

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI20332**
The Politics of (In)security
Semester: 2
Credits: 20

Convenor: Dr Luke Bhatia
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Lecturers : Dr Luke Bhatia
Prof Peter Lawler (peter.lawler@manchester.ac.uk)
Dr Andrew Slack (andrew.slack@manchester.ac.uk)

Teaching Associate: Dr Sabrina Villenave (sabrina.villenave@manchester.ac.uk)

Teaching Assistant: Amanda Kallstig (amanda.kallstig@manchester.ac.uk)

Office Hours (also known as "Feedback, Assessment and Advice Hours"):

Please make use of these! We are here waiting for you to come to chat to us and are very friendly!

Tutor Office Hours:

Each student is assigned a tutorial and a tutor at the beginning of the module. Your tutor will have office hours every week and will let you know the times of these at the beginning of term. You should in the first instance go to see your tutor if you have any questions or queries about the course; if you wish to discuss the readings; as well as for feedback and advice about your assignments.

Lecturer Office hours:

Both lecturers in this module also have two weekly office hours as follows which you are very welcome to attend to discuss with them anything to do with the course.

Luke Bhatia

Thursdays 2-3 and Friday 2-3 (Book via Email), Rm 4.044 Arthur Lewis Ext: 68027

Peter Lawler

Wednesdays 11-1.30 (Book via SOHOL), Rm 4.055 Arthur Lewis Ext: 54249

Andrew Slack

Monday 3-4 and Wednesday 1-2 (Book via SOHOL), Rm 4.020 Arthur Lewis Ext: 54909

Sabrina Villenave

Tuesday 2.30-3.30 (Book via Email), Rm 4.011 Arthur Lewis Ext: 54890

Amanda Kallstig

Tuesday 2-3 (Book via Email)

Lectures: Thursday 12-2pm University Place Theatre A

Tutorials: Allocate yourself a tutorial using the Student System

Mode of assessment:

Assessment		
Mode of Assessment	Assessment Weighting	Deadline
Seminar Participation	10%	Ongoing in tutorials
Article Analysis (1,750 words)	25%	Monday 4 th March 2019, 2pm
Essay (2,700 words)	65%	Monday 13 th May 2019, 2pm

Reading Week: NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO

Easter Break: Monday 8th April – Friday 26th April 2019

Administrator: Luke Smith, luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk, 0161 306 6906
Dagme Tesfaye, dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk, 0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Essay hand in date: Monday 13th May 2019, before 2pm, on Blackboard

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 13.05.2019 – 07.06.2019

Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home school's procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk/
dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Course OVERVIEW

What is security? Who is secure? What does it mean to be secure? Who is (are) the agent(s) of security? These are the central questions framing the course and the broader debate in international politics following the end of the Cold War. Indeed, the end of the Cold War signalled an opening in the intellectual field of security studies through which a growing body of scholars, disillusioned by the politics of the Cold War, sought to challenge the assumptions underpinning dominant discursive understandings of what security means. These interrogations stem from critical challenges to orthodox claims that state sovereignty and the pursuit of “national interest” equal security. Instead of a cohesive theoretical enterprise, this scholarship signals a critical attitude. Critical security studies, thus, is not a coherent, unified body of scholarship, rather it includes a disparate body of scholarship (Poststructuralism, Feminisms, Critical Security Studies, Postcolonialism, Constructivism, Human Security) sharing similar critiques of orthodox security studies. One of the central contributions of this literature is the explicit connection between theory and practice. While traditional and mainstream approaches to international security assume a distance between theory(s) and practice(s) of security, critical scholarship foregrounds how theory is fundamentally intertwined with the practice of security.

At the end of this course, students should:

- Come away with a sense of what is at stake in ‘security’ both as a theoretical concept and as an ontological category.
- Develop a critical understanding of how security has been rearticulated and challenged in our contemporary context through an engagement with some of the most pressing security issues of our day (including migration, surveillance, the environment and terrorism).
- Have confidence in their critical reading skills, developed through the article analysis and final essay

Communication:

- Students must read their **University e-mails** regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.
- Course information will also be shared on **Blackboard**. Please check the site regularly.
- This course guide must be read in conjunction with **Part II: Course Unit Guide** available on Blackboard which has almost all the information you need on referencing and essay formatting expectations.
- This module outline must be read in conjunction with the **Tutorial Guide** and **Assessment Advice** documents, also shared on Blackboard. These documents are as important as the module outline and Part II guide, and form part of the assessment guidelines.
- **We love getting emails from students!** Please contact us should you have any questions, concerns, or want to chat over something. We will respond within three working days (unless you receive an out-of-office informing you clearly otherwise). Just note please that the course team are likely to be on vacation during the Easter

break, and they are under no obligation to respond between Monday 8th April and Friday 26th April.

RECOMMENDED TEXTS

- Shepherd, Laura J. (ed.) *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Routledge, 2013). NB: this book has a number of excellent chapters about research methods.
- Vaughan-Williams, N. and Peoples, C. *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2010 (first edition), 2014 (Second edition)).
- Williams, Paul. D (ed.) *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press) 2008 (First edition), 2012 (second edition) 2016 (fourth edition).

All of these textbooks are excellent and are used throughout the course. While we have, in most cases, only recommended one chapter from any one of these textbooks, other chapters are relevant. This is especially the case in the first four weeks ("Part I"), when we cover a wide range of approaches to security (which are then discussed more in Part II). If you are struggling to understand a particular approach or issue, in the first instance, have a look at the relevant chapters in one these textbooks.

A more advanced text which usefully overviews the field of International Security Studies is Hansen, L and Buzan, B. (2009) *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press). While we label this as "advanced" it really isn't difficult to read, and we'd strongly urge students wanting a high 2:1 or a 1st to look at this text at some point.

USEFUL JOURNAL SOURCES

You are encouraged to go beyond the reading list, especially in the preparation of your essay. Security Studies is a huge field and this reading list only taps the surface of this very exciting field. Journal articles are often the quickest way into a debate. Look at the bibliography of any articles you found particularly interesting/useful for some more references.

This list of journals are the ones that often publish articles related to security studies. You might find others.

Cooperation & Conflict; European Journal of International Relations; Foreign Affairs; Global Society; International Feminist Journal of Politics; International Relations; International Security; International Studies Perspectives; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Refugee Studies; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; Review of International Studies; Security Dialogue (NB Security Dialogue is an excellent resource to browse – especially for the more critically inclined approaches).

ASSESSMENTS

PLEASE REFER TO THE "ASSESSMENT ADVICE" DOCUMENT ON BLACKBOARD FOR FULL DETAILS ON EACH ASSESSMENT. HERE WE ONLY OUTLINE THE BASIC EXPECTATIONS.

(1) Article Analysis (25%)

Due Monday 4th March 2019, 2pm

1,750 words (with the usual 10% margin either way)

The article analysis must be submitted via Blackboard. Go to the folder 'Assessments' and upload as a Word document.

You may choose any *academic journal article* listed in list entitled 'Choose your Article Analysis to Analyse from this List'. This list is available in the 'Assessment Advice' Document (available under 'course content' on bb) and on Blackboard as a separate document under 'Course Content'. It is highly recommended that you discuss your choice with your tutor before you begin.

If you wish to select your own article, you must have your choice approved by your tutor or course convener in writing (by email) in advance of submission.

Failure to follow these instructions about the selection of readings will result in an automatic 50% deduction in your mark for the article analysis.

The article analysis is a sustained reflection on the detractions, merits, and implications of one article chosen from the reading list. The assignment should be no more than 1750 words long and should critically interrogate the assumptions and commitments of the article chosen. This is much more than simply agreeing or disagreeing with the arguments, or trying to pick out what the author has done "wrong". Rather, you should critically explore the claims being put forward, the assumptions (explicit or implicit) that underwrite these claims, and the implications for theory and/or practice that emerge from the article(s).

The purpose of the assignment is to demonstrate your ability to critically analyze an author's argument. You must demonstrate then that you can accurately summarise the argument of the author and offer some critical reflections on that argument.

To help you complete this task you may want to think about the following questions:

- Why did you choose this article: what is important about it to you and how is this relevant to the readings you have been doing in this module?
- What is the central argument that the author makes? How does this argument contribute to security studies scholarship?
- What evidence and/or reasoning does the author provides in support of his/her key arguments?
- Is there anything in the article that you find at all questionable, or that you might challenge? Why? (hint – you might disagree with the ontology or epistemology of these articles.)

- What difference did reading this article make to you with regard to what you think about the concept of 'security' in a way that is relevant to the types of issues/ debates we have been discussing in this module?

You need to make a statement about other readings too. ***We expect you to support your analysis with a broad range of relevant readings.*** Don't forget to include a bibliography!

The bibliography is not included in the word count.

Please see the "Assessment Advice" document on blackboard for more information about what is involved in writing a good article analysis for this module and 'thinking critically'.

(2) Tutorial Participation (10%)

Tutorial participation will be assessed throughout the module.

There is a dedicated Tutorial Guide which details how each of the tutorials will be organized as well as clearly outlining what you should prepare in advance of each tutorial. The module outline indicates what the required reading for each tutorial is. Each student can clearly see therefore how they are expected to prepare for tutorials.

With this in mind please note that the tutorial participation is not a mark for attendance – attendance is compulsory! Nor are high marks only awarded to those who talk the most. Marks are awarded for thoughtful participation in group activities, evidence of preparation and reading, insightful comments and collegial behaviour. i.e. Marks are awarded to those students who demonstrate preparation (having read and reflected on the readings and having researched the topic) for the tutorial. There will be opportunities for students to contribute to tutorials in both small and large groups each week.

Please see the **Assessment Advice** document for further advice and information, including the assessment criteria for tutorial participation.

This is not a punitive exercise, rather it is generated by the reality that regular attendance, preparation for and participation in tutorials is directly related to success in the course.

(4) Essays (65%)

**Due Monday 13th May 2019 before 2pm. Submit via Turnitin
2,700 words (with the usual 10% margin either way)**

Essay Questions:

1. Why does “security” matter?
2. What is the relationship between security and insecurity?
3. Pick an issue and discuss how successfully this has been securitized.
4. Does security of the state always translate into security of the people?
Discuss in relation to migration or the environment.
5. How have human centred and critical understandings of security challenged the state’s traditional role as referent object of security?
6. Which approach to security do you find most persuasive? Discuss with reference to any issue in Part II.

In answering your question, **you MUST clearly demonstrate knowledge from both Part I and Part II of the course.** That is: we expect you to respond to the question by paying close attention to an issue (Part II) *and* by locating your argument/discussion within a theoretical framework (Part I). This means that you will need to be *selective*. You are NOT expected to discuss every single security approach or issue covered in this course.

Essays should be no more than 2,700 words, and are to be word-processed, 12 pt. font, and fully referenced. Referencing should be consistent throughout, and must conform to either the MLA/Harvard (referencing in the text) or Chicago/Cambridge (footnotes/endnotes) methods of formatting. The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate references will result in the deduction of marks. Essays must conform to faculty guidelines regarding footnoting and bibliography. Please see Course Unit Guide Part II: Policies, Procedures and Other Useful Information for POLI Course Units available from the undergraduate office (Arthur Lewis Building). The Part II guide is also on Blackboard.

The Part II guide should be consulted in the first instance should you have any queries about referencing, formatting or word counts. Module staff will not answer emails about concerns clearly covered in the Part II guide, or in this module outline.

Please see the “Assessment Advice” document on Blackboard for further advice on essay writing and what we are looking for. You will have an opportunity to discuss your essays with your tutors during their office hours, and during the final tutorial. Please note that you can come to see your tutor to discuss your essay and your essay plan at any point during their office hours during term time.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty normally carry severe penalties, and ignorance of the rules is not a legitimate excuse for this type of behaviour. You should consult the University's statement on plagiarism which can be found in Course Unit Guide Part II: Policies, Procedures and Other Useful Information for UG Course Units. Please read (or re-read) the statement on plagiarism and become familiar with it. Academic integrity is a very serious matter and we are contractually obligated to report all instances of academic dishonesty within this course, should any arise. Thus, if you are at all unsure about what constitutes dishonest behaviour, please make an appointment to see us.

Feedback

We will provide you with formative feedback on your written work within 15 working days of submission.

You can get feedback on your progress or ask questions about the course at any time. Please just make an appointment to see your tutor or the course convenor. We are always happy to speak to you. Your tutor and the course convenor will respond to your email within 72 hours during term time but will not respond at weekends or during the vacation periods.

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK	LECTURE TOPIC	TUTORIAL TOPIC
WEEK 1 28.01-01.02	INTRODUCTION The Practice and Study of Security Studies Luke Bhatia	**NO TUTORIAL**
WEEK 2 04.02-08.02	FROM STRATEGIC STUDIES TO SECURIZATION THEORY Key insights and approaches Peter Lawler	Introduction: What is Security?
WEEK 3 11.02-15.02	BROADENING THE SECURITY AGENDA From National Security to Human Security Luke Bhatia	Debating Security
WEEK 4 18.02-22.02	CONSTRUCTING SECURITY Poststructuralism and Postcolonialism Sabrina Villenave	Human Security
Week 5 25.02-01.03	ENGENDERING SECURITY Feminist Approaches Andrew Slack	Constructing Security
WEEK 6 04.03-08.03	SECURIZATION OF REFUGEES AND MIGRATION Andrew Slack	Engendering Security
WEEK 7 11.03-15.03	ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY Resources, (Political) Ecology and Conflicts Peter Lawler	Migration and Security
WEEK 8 18.03-22.03	RADIOACTIVE SECURITY Nuclear, (Non)Proliferation and Arms Control Peter Lawler	Environmental Security
WEEK 9 25.03-29.03	GLOBALIZED SECURITY Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Intervention Peter Lawler	Radioactive Security
WEEK 10 01.04-05.04	CONCLUSIONS: IMPLEMENTING SECURITY POLICY Luke Bhatia	Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping
*****EASTER BREAK*****		
WEEK 11 29.04-03.05	**NO LECTURE**	Implementing Security and Essay Development.

Part I: (Re)Defining Security

Part One of the course seeks to introduce a range of approaches to the study of security. These various approaches will be contextualised and investigated further in Part Two when we examine a range of concerns normally thought of as being security issues.

LECTURE 1: INTRODUCTION

The Practice and Study of Security Studies

Dr. Luke Bhatia

This first lecture will introduce the module team and outline the aims, objectives and assessments for this course, as well as highlight the expectations which will be made of students who decide to take it. It will ALSO offer substantive discussion about the way in which 'security' has become a contested concept through the following questions: Whose security matters? What does it mean to be secure? Who is (are) the agent(s) of security? So come along prepared to engage!

Required Readings:

- Hansen, L and Buzan, B. 'Defining International Security Studies' in *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.8-20
- Booth, K. 'Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist', in Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams (eds), *Critical Security Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 83-119. Also available at:
<http://www.yorku.ca/yciss/publications/OP26-Booth.pdf>
- Matthews, J. T. (1989) 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 68, No. 2, pp. 162 – 77

Further Readings:

- Aradau, C., Huysmans, J. Neil, A., Voelkner, N (eds) (2014) *Critical Security Methods: New Frameworks for Analysis* (Routledge)
- Baldwin, D. A. (1997) 'The Concept of Security', *Review of International Studies* (1997) 23: 5 -26.
- Buzan, B. (1997) 'Rethinking Security after the Cold War', *Cooperation and Conflict* Vol. 32, No.1, pp. 5 – 28.
- Hollis, M and Smith, S. (1991) *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford University Press)
- Huysmans, J. (2005) *What is Politics?* (Edinburgh University Press)
- Krause, K.' Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of "Critical Security Studies" *Cooperation and Conflict* (1998) 33 (3) pp.298-333
- Mutimer, D. (2007, 2010) 'Critical Security Studies: A Schematic History' in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies* (Oxford University Press). [Chapter 4 in 1st edition, chapter 6 in second edition].
- Shepherd, L.J. (2013) 'Introduction: Critical Approaches to Security in Contemporary Global Politics' in L.J. Shepard (Ed) *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Routledge, 2013)
- Smith, S. (2005) 'The Contested Concept of Security' in Ken Booth (ed) *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (London: Lynne Rienner).

LECTURE 2

FROM STRATEGIC STUDIES TO SECURITIZATION THEORY

Key Insights and Approaches

Prof. Peter Lawler

In this lecture we look at Strategic Studies, the dominant, largely realist-influenced approach to security during the Cold War. We will go on to examine various challenges to it that emerged during the Cold War and in its early aftermath, including Peace and Conflict Studies, ideas of 'Common Security' and Barry Buzan's then path-breaking argument for widening the definition of security. Out of the latter came the call for a new field of 'International Security Studies', which ultimately led to the emergence of the concept of 'securitization'.

Required Readings:

- Peoples, C. (2010) 'Strategic Studies and its Critics' in John Baylis, James J. Wirtz & Colin S. Gray (eds) (2010) *Strategy in the Contemporary World: Introduction to Strategic Studies*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press) * **See PDF on Blackboard.**
- Peoples, C. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010) 'Securitization Theory', in Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies: an Introduction* (London: Routledge) *
- Cohn, C. 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 12/4, pp. 687-718.

Further Readings:

- Buzan, B. (1992) *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf).*
- Buzan, B. et al 'Introduction' (1998) in Buzan, B, Waever, O. de Wilde, J. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner)*
- Elman, C. & Jensen, M. (2013) 'Realisms' in Paul D. Williams (ed) *Security Studies: An Introduction*, (London: Routledge) (See also Colin Elman 'Realism' in the 2008 1st Edition of this book) *
- Hansen, L and Buzan, B. (2009) 'Strategic, Studies, Deterrence and the Cold War', in *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp39-65 *
- Hansen, L and Buzan, B. (2009) 'The Cold War Challenge to National Security, in *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp. 101-155 *
- Hansen, L and Buzan, B. (2009) 'Widening and Deepening Security', in *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp. 187-255. *
- Freedman, L. (2003), *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd Ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)*
- Krause, K. and Williams, M. (1996) Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods, *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol.10, No.40, pp.229-254
- Lawler, P. (2002) 'Peace Research, War and the Problem of Focus', *Peace Review*, 14(1), pp.7-14.
- Lawler, P (2008/2013) 'Peace Studies' in Paul D. Williams (ed) *Security Studies: An Introduction*, (London: Routledge)*
- McSweeney, B. (1996) 'Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School' *Review of International Studies* (1996), 22: 81-93. See responses in the same journal by Buzan and Waever (1997), 23: 241-250.

McDonald, M. (2008) Securitization and the Construction of Security, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.14, No.4, pp.563-587

Shaw, M. (Ed) (1984), *War, State and Society* (London: Macmillan)*

Stockholm Peace Research Institute (1985), *Policies for Common Security* (London: Taylor & Francis) *

LECTURE 3 - BROADENING THE SECURITY AGENDA

From National Security to Human Security and Beyond

Dr. Luke Bhatia

In this lecture, we will begin to consider how security has been re-conceptualized from a state-centred concept to a human-centric one. Two main schools of thought will be explored this week: Human Security and Critical Security Studies. The lecture will examine the extent to which human security broadens the security agenda and challenges our understanding of what security means. The lecture will then look at the emancipatory theory advanced by critical security studies.

Required Readings:

- Booth, Ken (1991) 'Security and Emancipation' *Review of International Studies* Vol. 17: 313-326
- Hampson, S O. 'Human Security' in Williams, Paul. D(ed.) *Security Studies: An Introduction*, 1st edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) Chapter 16, pp. 229-243 [if you read the 2nd edition is it chapter 19, pp. 279-294]
- Newman, Edward (2010) 'Critical human security studies' *Review of International Studies* Vol. 36: 77-94.

Further Reading:

- Bellamy, Alex J. and McDonald, M. (2002) 'The Utility of Human Security: Which Humans? What Security? A Reply to Thomas and Tow', *Security Dialogue*, Vol.33, No. 2, pp.373-377.
- Burgess, J. Peter and Taylor Owen, (eds.) (2004) 'Special Section: What Is "Human Security"?', *Security Dialogue*, Vol.35, No.3: from page 345 onwards.
- Chandler, David (2008) 'Human Security: The Dog That Didn't Bark', *Security Dialogue*, Vol.39, No.4.
- Hudson, Heidi (2005) 'Doing' Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security', *Security Dialogue* 36, 2: 155 – 174.
- Paris, Roland (2001) 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?' *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 87–102.
- Peoples, Columba (2011) 'Security after emancipation? Critical Theory, Violence and Resistance.' [Review of International Studies](#), Vol. 37, No. 3: 1113-1135.
- Nunes, João (2012) 'Reclaiming the political: Emancipation and critique in security studies' *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 43, no. 4: 345-361.
- Thomas, Nicholas and Tow, William T. (2002) 'The Utility of Human Security: Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention', *Security Dialogue*, Vol.33, No.2, pp.177-192
- UNDP Human Development Report 1994 (UNDP, New York: 1994). Chapter 2: New Dimensions of Human Security (available from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf).
- Wyn Jones, Richard (1995) 'Message in a bottle'? Theory and praxis in critical security studies, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 16:3, 299-319.

LECTURE 4 - POSTCOLONIALISM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM

Constructing Security

Dr. Sabrina Villenave

The lecture this week will introduce postcolonial and post-structural approaches to security, both of which highlight how senses of security and insecurity are constructed and represented – for example around ideas of Western superiority and modern statehood.

Required Readings:

Are you unsure about either of the approaches that we covered in the lecture? If so, start with the relevant chapter(s) here:

- *Post-structuralism*: Burke, Anthony 'Post-structural security studies' Chapter 7 in L.J. Shepard (Ed) 2013. *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Routledge: London). *
- *Post-colonialism*: M. Laffey and S. Nadarajah 'Postcolonialism' Chapter 9 in Williams, Paul. D (ed.) *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press) *

In addition, you MUST read the following two journal articles:

- Hansen, Lene (2011) 'The Politics of Securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis: A post-structuralist perspective' *Security Dialogue* Vol 42, No. 4-5: 357-69
- Barkawi, Tarak and Laffey, Mark (2006) 'The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.32, pp.329-352

Further Readings:

- Bilgin, Pinar (2010) The 'Western-Centrism' of Security Studies: 'Blind Spot' or Constitutive Practice? *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 41 no. 6 615-622
- Blaney, David and Inayatullah, Nayeem (2004) *International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (Routledge 2001)
- Campbell, David. (1992) *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press). (post-structuralism)
- Diprose, R. and Ferrell, R. (eds) (1991) *Cartographies: Poststructuralism and the Mapping of Bodies and Spaces* (Allen and Unwin)
- Dillon, Michael (1996) *Politics of Security: Towards a political Philosophy of Continental Thought* (Routledge: London) (in particular chapter 4: "Interlude: (in)security")
- Fanon, F. (various editions) *The Wretched of the Earth* (Pluto Press)
- Jabri, Vivenne (2013) *The Postcolonial Subject: Claiming Politics/Governing Others in Late Modernity* (Routledge)
- Mbembe, Achille (2001) *On the Postcolony* (University of California Press)
- Muppidi, Himadeep (2012) *The colonial Signs of International relations* (Oxford University Press)
- Nandy, Ashis (1989, 2011) *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (Oxford University Press)
- Sharp, J. (2011) 'A subaltern critical geopolitics of the war on terror: Postcolonial security in Tanzania', *Geoforum*, Vol.42, Issue 3: 297-305
- Stern, M. (2006) "'We" the subject: The Power and Failure of Insecurity' *Security Dialogue*, Vol.37, No.2, pp. 187-205
- Wilkinson, Claire (2007) 'The Copenhagen School on Tour in Kyrgyzstan: Is Securitization Theory Useable Outside Europe?' *Security Dialogue* vol. 38 no. 1 5-25

LECTURE 5 - ENGENDERING SECURITY

Feminist Analysis of Security, Subjectivity and Representation

Dr. Andrew Slack

This week's lecture will consider how Feminist analysis helps us understand specific gender representations of 'security'. In particular, it will consider why taking feminism seriously involves a reassessment of security (and security issues) as we have come to know them rather than the simple addition of women or gender into the existing security lens.

Required Readings:

- Video: Hutchings, K. 'Feminism and International Relations', The Open University, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajAWGztPUiU>
- *Feminism*: Shepherd, LJ 'Feminist Security Studies' Chapter 2 in LJ Shepard (Ed) 2013. *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Routledge: London).
- Students should pick an Article to read of their choice from Maria Stern and Annick Wibben (eds.) 2014. 'A decade of feminist security studies revisited': <https://journals.sagepub.com/page/sdi/collections/virtual-collections/feminist-security-studies-revisited>

Further Readings:

- Bilgic, A. (2015) 'We are not barbarians': Gender politics and Turkey's quest for the West', *International Relations*, Vol.29, No.2, pp.198-218
- Cohn, C. (1987) 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals', *Signs*, Vol.12, No.4: 687-718
- Enloe, C. (2nd Edition) *Bananas, Beaches, Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (University of California Press)
- Hudson, NF. 'Securitizing Women's Rights and Gender Equality', *Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.8, Issue, 1, pp.53-70
- McLeod, Laura (2013) 'Back to the future: Temporality and gender security narratives in Serbia' *Security Dialogue* 44(2) 165–181 (feminism and post-structuralism)
- Pain R. (2017) 'Globalised fear? Towards an emotional geopolitics' *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(4), 466-486
- Shepherd, Laura (ed.) (2013) 'The State of The Discipline: A Security Studies Forum' *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 14, No. 4: 436-462. (uses a number of post-structural and postcolonial ideas to rethink the "state" of feminist security studies).
- Shepard, LJ (2014) *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, (Routledge) pp. 17-27
- Tickner, J. Ann (1992) *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (Columbia University Press) Available Here <http://www.ces.uc.pt/ficheiros2/files/Short.pdf>
- Weber C. (2016) *Queer IR Theory* (Oxford University Press)
- Wibben, Annick (2011) *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (Routledge: London)
- Zalewski, Marysia. (2013) *Feminist International Relations: 'Exquisite Corpse'* (Abingdon: Routledge)

Part II: New Security Issues and New Security Threats(?)
Part Two of the course seeks to investigate various security issues. We will be building on and extending the various approaches to security that we introduced you to in Part One.

Lecture 6

SECURITIZATION OF REFUGEES AND MIGRATION

Dr. Andrew Slack

This lecture will look at will consider how migration has become framed as a security issue. Focusing on a series of empirical borders, as well as the idea of 'everyday borders' it will consider the process(es) through which migrants have become associated with a security threat (securitized) over time, and the way in which this has resulted in the criminalization of asylum as well as criminalization of the movement of certain types of people. We will consider how this depends on distinguishing 'them' from 'us', for example via distinctions between 'real' asylum seekers from 'economic migrants', 'trafficked' from 'smuggled', and 'victims' from 'criminals'.

Key Readings:

- Peoples, C and Vaughan-Williams, N. (1st or Second Edition) 'Chapter: Migration and Border Security' in *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (Routledge)
- Mamadouh, V. (2012) The Scaling of the 'Invasion': A Geopolitics of Immigration Narratives in France and the Netherlands, *Geopolitics*, Vol.17, Issue. 2: pp.377-401
- Rygiel, K. (2011) 'Bordering Solidarities: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement and Camps at Calais', *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.15, No.1: pp.1-19
- Nava, O (2015) 'Everyday Borders', <https://vimeo.com/126315982>

Further Readings:

- Adamson, Fiona. B. (2006) 'Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security', *International Security*, Vol.31, No.1, pp.165-199
- Aradau, C. (2004). 'The Perverse Politics of Four-Letter Words: Risk and Pity in the Securitisation of Human Trafficking.' *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 33(2): pp.251-277.
- Aradau, C. (2008). *Rethinking Trafficking in Women: Politics out of Security*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bigo, D., Huysmans, J. and Buonfino, A. (2008) 'Politics of Exception and Unease: Immigration, Asylum and Terrorism in Parliamentary Debates in the UK', *Political studies* Vol 56, no 4, pp.766-788
- Brown, W. (2010) *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (Zone Books)
- Boswell C. (2007) 'Migration control in Europe after 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.45, Issue 3. Pp589-610
- Bosworth, M and Guild, M 'Governing Through Migration Control: Security and Citizenship in Britain', *The British Journal of Criminology*, 48(6), pp.703-719
- Ceyhan, Ayse and Tsoukala, Anastassia (2002) 'The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies,' *Alternatives: Local, Global, Political*, Vol.27, pp.21-39
- Diez, Thomas and Squire, Vicky. (2008) 'Traditions of Citizenship and the Securitization of Migration in Germany and Britain', *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.12, No.6, pp565-582
- Geiger, M. and A. Pécoud, Eds. (2010). *The Politics of International Migration Management*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Huysmans, Jef. (2000) 'The European Union and the Securitization of Migration,' *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol.38, No.5, pp. 751-77
- Innes, Alexandria J. (2011) 'Performing security absent the state: Encounters with a failed asylum seeker in the UK' *Security Dialogue*, 45, pp.565-581
- Malkki, Lisa, (1996) 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization,' *Cultural Anthropology* Vol.11, No.3, pp.377-404.
- McDonald, Matt. (2008) Securitization and the Construction of Security, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.14, No.4, pp.563-587 [Uses migration as one example when considering the limitations of the Copenhagen Securitization thesis]
- Noxolo, P and Huysmans, J. (2009) Community, Citizenship and the 'War on Terror': *Security and Insecurity* (Palgrave: Basingstoke)

- Nyers, P. (2005) Taking Rights, Mediating Wrongs: Disagreements over the Political Agency of Non-Status Refugees, in J. Huysmans (ed.) *The Politics of Protection: Sites of Insecurity and Political Agency* (Routledge) pp.48-67
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2016). 'De-canting 'Trafficking in Human Beings', Re-centring the State.' *The International Spectator* 51(1): pp.58-73.
- Stritzel, Holger. (2007) 'Towards a Theory of Securitization: Copenhagen and Beyond', *European Journal of International Relations*, 13: 357-84.
- Vaughan-Williams, N (2016) 'Borders' in A Ní Mhurchú, A. and Shindo, R. (eds) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge)
- Yeo, C. (2014, 24 January). "Questions to a bisexual asylum seeker in detention."
<https://web.archive.org/web/20171030010229/https://www.freemovement.org.uk/questions-to-a-bisexual-asylum-seeker-in-detention/https://web.archive.org/web/20171030010229/https://www.freemovement.org.uk/questions-to-a-bisexual-asylum-seeker-in-detention/>

Lecture 7 - ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

Resources, (Political) Ecology and Conflict

Prof. Peter Lawler

After reviewing the origins of Green political thought and environmental perspectives on IR, this lecture will consider how environmental degradation and resource strain have been produced as security threats linked to ideas of 'scarcity' and 'over population'. It will draw upon postcolonialism to help us think about environmental threats as political issues (rather than merely material issues) in arguments for and against the securitization of the environment.

Required Readings:

- Peoples, C and Vaughan-Williams, N. (1st or Second Edition) 'Chapter: Environmental Security' in *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (Routledge)
- Barnett, J and Adger, N. (2007) 'Climate Change, Human Security, and Violent Conflict', *Political Geography*, 26, pp.639-655
- Hartman, Besty. (2010) 'Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict: Rhetoric, Reality and the Politics of Policy Discourse', *Journal of International Development*, 22, pp.233-246

Further Readings:

*** See the special issue 'Climate change and migration: from geopolitics to biopolitics' in *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (2014), which has seven articles looking at the intersections between security, climate change and migration.

Barnett, J. (2001) *The meaning of environmental security: Ecological politics and policy in the new security era*, (London: Zed Books)

Biswas, Niloy Ranjan (2011) "Is the Environment a Security Threat?", *International Affairs Review*, Vol. XX No. 1

Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole and de Wilde, Japp (1998) 'Introduction' In: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner Publishers), pp.1-27

Clay, E. and Stokke, O. (eds) (2000) *Food Aid and Human Security*, (London: Frank Cass).

Dalby, Simon (2000) *Environmental Security* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

Dalby, Simon (2008) 'Chapter 18: Environmental Change', In: PD Williams (ed.) *Security Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.260-273.

Dalby, Simon (2015) "Anthropocene Formations: Environmental Security, Geopolitics and Disaster", *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 34, No 2-3, pp.233-252

Eckersley, Robyn (2013) 'Green Theory' in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Foster, E. (2013) 'Green Security' in L J Shepherd (ed) *Critical Approaches to Security: an Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Routledge)

Mehta, L. (Ed) (2010) *The Limits to Scarcity: Contesting the Politics of Allocation* (Earthscan Ltd) [A variety of chapters critiquing Malthusian inspired approaches to understanding environmental change linked to ideas of 'necessity' and exploring the politics of both instead].

Hartmann, Betsy, TED Talk – 'Beyond Apocalypse and Back to Earth' -

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L3CHcA8HOYg&feature=youtu.be_gdata

Hartmann, B. (eds) (2005) *Making Threats: Biofears and Environmental Anxieties* (Rowman and Littlefield)

Homer-Dixon, Thomas (1999) *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Oxford: Princeton University Press)

- Hulme, M. (2009) *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Graeger, Nina. (1996) 'Review Essay: Environmental Security?', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.33, No.1. pp.109-116
- Keen, D. (2008) *Complex Emergencies*, (Cambridge: Polity Press), chapter 5.
- Mathews, J (1989) 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.68, No.2, pp.162-7
- Mazo, J. (2010) 'Chapter 3: Dafur: The First Modern Climate-Change Conflict' In *Climate Conflict: How Global Warming Threatens Security and What to do About it* (Routledge)
- McDonald, D. (2010) *Food Security*, (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Michael T. Klare (2002) *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Henry Holt and Company)
- Nixon, Rob (2011), *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press)
- O'Neill, Kate. (2009) *The Environment and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Verhoeven, Harry (2011) 'Climate Change, Conflict and Development in Sudan: Global Neo- Malthusian Narratives and Local Power Struggles', *Development and Change*, Vol.42, Issue.3, pp.679-707

Lecture 8 - RADIOACTIVE SECURITY

Nuclear, (Non)Proliferation and Arms Control

Prof. Peter Lawler

In the post-Cold War, the politics of nuclear weapons based security and strategy have been sidelined somewhat, yet the weapons and their lethality remain with us. In this lecture we will look at the evolution of nuclear weapons themselves, critically examine the origins and development of the prevailing nuclear non-proliferation and control regime and go on to examine the nuclear weapons debates. The elimination of nuclear weapons has long been a central concern of Peace Research but newer critical voices, notably from postcolonial perspectives, are adding an interesting twist to the debate!

Required Readings:

- Sidhu, WPS, (2013) 'The Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Regime' in Paul D. Williams (ed) *Security Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge)
- Waltz, K. 2012. "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 91 (4).
- Harrington, Anne. (2016) Power, violence, and nuclear weapons, *Critical Studies on Security*, 4:1, 91-112.

Further Readings:

** See the excellent special issue 'Nuclear Politics: Beyond Positivism' in *Critical Studies on Security* Vol. 4, No. 1 (2016). There are seven articles in this special issue and all represent the very latest thinking in nuclear weapons.

Bell, Mark S. & Nicholas L. Miller (2015) "Questioning the Effect of Nuclear Weapons on Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Bell & Miller Questioning the Effect of Nuclear Weapons 2015Vol. 59, Non. 1 pp. 74-92

Biswas, S. (2001) "Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?' *Alternatives* 26:4 pp. 485-522.

Cohn, Carol (1987) 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals' *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 687-718.

Freedman, L. (2003) *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 3rd. Ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Gusterson, H. (2004), 'Nuclear Weapons and the Other in Western Imagination,' in *People of the Bomb: Portraits of America's Nuclear Complex* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,). Available at: http://people.reed.edu/~ahm/Courses/Stan-PS-314-2009-Q1_PNP/Syllabus/EReadings/Gusterson1999Nuclear.pdf

Howlett, D. and Simpson, J. (2000) 'Nuclear Proliferation: the Evolving Policy Debate', in Croft, S. and Terriff, T. eds. *Critical Reflections on Security and Change* (London: Frank Cass)

Mutimer, D. (2000) 'Testing Times: Of Nuclear Tests, Test Bans and the Framing of Proliferation' *Contemporary Security Policy* 21:1, pp. 1-22

Randall, M. (2007) 'Nuclear Weapons and Intergenerational Exploitation,' *Security Studies* 16:4, pp. 525-554.

Ruzicka J. and Wheeler, N. (2010), 'The Puzzle of Trusting Relationships in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,' *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1, pp. 69-85.

US Department of Energy and US Department of Defense (2008) *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*. Available online at <http://www.defense.gov/news/nuclearweaponspolicy.pdf>

Utgoff, V A (2002), Proliferation, Missile Defence and American Ambition, *Survival* Vol. 44 Issue 2: pp. 85-102

van Munster, R. and Sylvest, C. (2014) 'Reclaiming nuclear politics? Nuclear realism, the H-bomb and globality' *Security Dialogue* 45: 530-547.

Waltz, K. (1981). 'The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Better' *Adelphi Papers*, Number 171. London: IISS. pp.679-70

Prof. Peter Lawler

One of the marked features of the post-Cold War era has been the rise in the number of armed interventions in the name of humanitarianism. In this lecture we look at earlier models of UN-centred peace-keeping (which was a key focus of much Peace Research), going on to examine the emergence of more muscular forms of 'Liberal' intervention, the concept of 'R2P' and the critical debates that surround them. Liberal interventionism figures large in the critical security studies theoretical literature, notably in the work of poststructuralists who, amongst other things, take issue with the universalising assumptions that underpin it.

Required Readings:

- Orford, A (1999) 'Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism,' *European Journal of International Law* 10:4 679-712.
- Paris, R (2010) 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding' *Review of International Studies* (2010), 36: 337- 365.
- Pugh, M (2013) 'Peace Operations' in Paul. D Williams (Ed) *Security Studies: an Introduction*, (London: Routledge)

Further Readings:

Bellamy, Alex and Williams, Paul, D., (2011), 'The new politics of protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the responsibility to protect,' *International Affairs*, 87:4 825–85.

Chandler, David, (2002), *From Kosovo to Kabul : human rights and international intervention*, London: Pluto Press

Charter of the United Nations [especially chapters VI and VII];
<http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>

Chesterman, Simon (2001), *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chomsky, Noam, (2002), *The New Military Humanism*, Monroe: Common Courage Press.

Colin S. Gray (eds) (2010) *Strategy in the Contemporary World: Introduction to Strategic Studies*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

David Chandler 'The Uncritical Critique of Liberal Peace', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36 (2011), Special Issue: Evaluating Global Orders, pp.137-155.

Farrell, T. (2010) 'Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations' in John Baylis, James J. Wirtz &

Fischer, David (1996), 'The Ethics of Intervention', *Survival*, Vol. 36, pp. 51-59
http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/adamcurtis/2011/03/goodies_and_baddies.html

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), pp. 1-18.

McLeod, Laura (2015) 'A Feminist Approach to Hybridity: Understanding Local and International Interactions in Producing Post-Conflict Gender Security' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*: 48-69.

Pattison, J. (2008) 'Just War Theory and Privatisation of the Military Force', *Ethics & International Affairs*, Volume 22 (2): 143 – 162.

Pattison, J. (2008) 'Whose Responsibility to Protect? The duties of humanitarian intervention', *Journal of Military Ethics*, Volume 7 (4): 262 – 283.

Roberts, Adam (1993), 'Humanitarian War: Military Intervention and Human Rights', *International Affairs*, Vol. 69 No. 3, pp. 429-450

Roland Paris, 'International Peacebuilding and the Mission Civilisatrice,' *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002), pp. 637-656.

Roland Paris 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding' *Review of International Studies* (2010), 36: 337- 365.

Sandra Whitworth, *Men, Militarism & UN Peacekeeping* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp.23-52.

Sherene H. Razack, *Dark Threats & White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 153-166.

Sidaway, J. (2012) 'Subaltern geopolitics: Libya in the mirror of Europe', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 178, No. 4 (December 2012): 296-301.

Väyrynen, Tarja (2004), 'Gender and UN Peace Operations: The confines of modernity' *International Peacekeeping* 11 (1), 125-142.

Williams, Paul D (2013) *Security Studies: an Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge) [ch 28, 'Private Security']

Case studies in Humanitarian Intervention

Bolton, John (1994), "Wrong Turn in Somalia", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73 No. 1.

Caplan, Richard (1998), "International Diplomacy and the crisis in Kosovo", *International Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 4, pages 745-761

Clark and Herbst (1995), "Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74 No. 3, pp. 2-8

Chesterman, Simon (2011) "'Leading from Behind': The Responsibility to Protect, the Obama Doctrine, and humanitarian Intervention in Libya", *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 279-285.

Duffield, M. (1994). "Bosnia and the future of military humanitarianism". *Middle East Report* Vol. 24 (2-3): pp. 16-7

Ignatieff, Michael (2001), *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*, New York: Picador.

Kuperman, Alan J. (2013) "Lessons from Libya: How Not to Intervene", Belfer Center Policy Brief (available at: [Kuperman policy brief published version 2.pdf](#))

Kuperman, Alan J. (2015) "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 66

Scherrer, Christian P. (2004), *Genocide and the Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War*, Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Smith, Martin and Latawski, Paul (2003), *The Kosovo Crisis: And the Evolution of a Post-Cold War European Security*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Wheeler, Nicholas J. (2000) "Humanitarian Intervention after Kosovo: emergent norm, moral duty or the coming anarchy?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 77, No. 1, , pages 113-128

Zoubir, Y. (2002) 'Libya in US Foreign Policy: From Rogue State to Good Fellow?' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Feb. 2002): 31-53.

Lecture 10 – CONCLUSIONS: IMPLEMENTING SECURITY POLICY

Dr. Luke Bhatia

To conclude this course, this final lecture will discuss ways of approaching the essay questions, via a “mock” question asking about the relationship between the theory and practice of security. This consideration of the link between the theory and practice of security has very much been at the heart of the course, and is the reason why we ask you to link part one and part two in your essay response. It is expected that you have been a busy bee over the Easter vacation reading and preparing for your final essay, and so there will be time in the lecture for questions.

Rather than set a reading list, I provide the reference for the article which I use as the basis of my discussion for the “mock” question. You might find it helpful to have a quick read through prior to the lecture in so you are familiar with the material, and can focus on the mechanics of “how to answer the essay question”.

- McLeod, Laura (2011) ‘Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (Political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 594-611.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI20521**
Questions about International Politics
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

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Lecturers: Dr Cristina Masters (cristina.masters@manchester.ac.uk)
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 Dr Andreja Zevnik (andreja.zevnik@manchester.ac.uk)

Office Hours: Office hours need to be booked by email or via SOHOL at
<https://mats.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/mats/sohol/>

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 Jennifer Hobbs (jennifer.hobbs@manchester.ac.uk)

Lectures: **Mondays 10-12am, Mansfield Cooper G.20**

Lecture Podcasts: <https://video.manchester.ac.uk/lectures>

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: Tutorial Participation (10% of total mark)
 Lecture Group Work (10% of total, 2 x 5%)
 1,500 word Critical Reflection (25% of total mark)
 3,500 word Essay (55% of total mark)

Reading week: **29 October – 2 November 2018**

Christmas Break: **17 December 2018 – 7 January 2019**

Administrators: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906
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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****Critical Reflection BB submission date: **Monday, November 19th, 2018, 2pm**Essay BB submission date: **Monday, January 14th, 2019 by 2pm****Communication:** Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.**Examination period:** 14.01.2019 – 25.01.2019**Re-sit Examination period:** 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019



POLI20521

Questions about International Politics

COURSE AIMS

There are many significant questions that intrigue students of international politics. This course aims to provide students with the opportunity to explore such questions in an analytically sophisticated way. It will do so by drawing on the ways in which scholars have already thought about these questions and examining the strengths and weaknesses of their responses. It will relate scholars' responses to actual practices of international politics, thereby demonstrating opportunities to think critically not only about scholars' analyses, but also the practices of international politics themselves. More specifically, the course will relate key questions covered in the module to the following four sets of themes:

- 1) power/knowledge/truth
- 2) language/representation
- 3) identity/difference/subjectivity
- 4) governance/resistance

This course will show how such questions can and have been tackled, while also stressing that the important questions of international politics remain open and are continuously re-formulated, re-examined and challenged by each new generation of students. In this way, the course is aimed at getting students to think critically about international politics in two senses of the term. The first seeks to develop a broad set of critical thinking skills necessary for interrogating and revealing the unquestioned assumptions that implicitly inform our worldviews. The second is more particular to IR as a discipline and will familiarize students with critical thinking in IR theory by thinking through a number of 'sacred cows' in international politics – the state,

military power, and the inevitability of violence and exclusion, for example. In this vein, the course will aim to dislodge what are often taken as 'givens' and so-called 'common sense' understandings of international politics.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

On completion of this unit successful students will be able to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of how to critically ask questions about international politics.
- Demonstrate the ability to think critically about questions, ways of tackling them and the implications of different strategies for doing so.
- Outline and discuss strengths and weaknesses of different theoretical positions in relation to international politics.
- Articulate their own views on how to ask questions about international politics with recourse to (and sometimes rejection of) the literature covered in the course.

Knowledge and understanding of the subject:

- Demonstrate an ability to think critically about international politics;
- Demonstrate an understanding of critical approaches to the study of international politics;
- Outline and discuss the differences between positivist and post-positivist approaches to IR;
- Demonstrate an ability to think critically about 1) power/knowledge/truth, 2) language/representation, 3) identity, difference and subjectivity, and 4) governance and resistance;
- Evaluate different interpretations of the complex core concepts covered in the course;
- Articulate their own views on international politics with recourse to (and sometimes rejection of) both the literature covered in the course and literature and information gathered for the critical reflection and research essay.

Intellectual and Transferable Skills

- Gather, organise and deploy analytical evidence, data and information from a variety of secondary and some primary sources;
- Construct reasoned argument, synthesise relevant information and exercise critical judgement;
- Reflect on their own learning and seek and make use of constructive feedback.
- Critically analyse and disseminate information.
- Manage their own learning self-critically.
- Recognise the importance of explicit referencing and the ethical requirements of study, in particular critical and reflective use of information and communications technology in the learning process.
- Communicate effectively and fluently in speech and writing. Employers require Politics and International Relations graduates to be able to communicate ideas effectively to a varied audience. This ability to translate complex ideas to a wide audience is a particularly valued skill!
- Use communication and information technology, including audiovisual technology, for the retrieval and presentation of information.
- Progress through the degree programme to become mature, independent learners who can demonstrate initiative, self-organisation and time management attributes. The ability to identify opportunities for continuous

learning and development, leading to future continuous professional development, is particularly valued by employers.

- Collaborate with others to achieve common goals through, for example group work, group projects, group presentations. Employers regard collaboration and the identification of common goals highly.

COURSE TEACHING & LEARNING METHODS

A variety of learning methods are used in the course, which include:

- Lectures and tutorials;
- Whole group, small group and individual teaching and learning;
- Student-led and tutor-led sessions;
- Discussion-based and knowledge-based classes.

Teaching and learning methods are designed to:

- Meet the aims and objectives of the course and degree programme;
- Foster knowledge and enthusiasm for the subject;
- Stimulate engagement and ownership of the learning process;
- Encourage deep learning by students;
- Develop a strong knowledge base of the course material through a wide range of methods including critical reading of a wide range of texts;
- Foster independent research using both primary and secondary sources;
- Enable seminar-based discussion for communicating ideas and presenting ideas in a variety of formats;
- Take proactive account of the different circumstances and needs of students, facilitating wider participation.

MAIN TEXTBOOK

This course follows the approach of a particular textbook and each week one of the readings is taken from it. It is strongly recommended that you buy it.

Edkins, Jenny and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction, 2nd edition* (Routledge: London 2013). [Please note that first edition from 2008 can also be used]

Textbooks and how to use them

Textbooks are useful to give you a first introduction to new material and to provide you with some background and context. As such they are important, especially if you are new to this area or if you find reading scholarly texts difficult.

Reading textbooks is however not enough at this level. You must also read the articles listed as required reading and explore the wider literature. Especially for your essay, you must find your own material. You must avoid relying on textbooks for your essays.

In order to get you started on the wider literature further reading is listed in three places:

- 1) there is a short list for each lecture topic;

- 2) there are very useful lists of further reading at the end of each chapter in the *Global Politics* textbook and these have not been replicated in the course guide;
- 3) there is additional further reading, organized around approaches, at the back of this course guide.

Textbooks other than the one used for this course are usually organized either around issues or around theories. You may find some of the following useful in complementing the course:

Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010). [This gives good introductions to a range of theories and links these to issues in international politics through case studies in each chapter.]

Burchill, Scott et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 4th edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2009). [Gives a bit more detail on different theoretical approaches, but does not link the theories to issues or events in international politics.]

Griffiths, Martin (ed.), *International Relations for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (London: Routledge 2007). [Chapters are quite short, but they offer very good introductions.]

Edkins, Jenny and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009). [Offers introductions to the work of critical theorists whose work has influenced scholars in International Relations. This will be very helpful in following up on some of the thinkers introduced on this course.]

Tetreault, Mary Ann and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, *Politics as if People Mattered*, 2nd revised edition (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield 2009).

Other key texts

Booth, Ken, and Steve Smith (eds.) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1995). [This is not written for students specifically, but it is useful nevertheless.]

Edkins, Jenny, *Postructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1999). [This is quite advanced but an excellent introduction to poststructuralism in IR.]

Shapiro, Michael J., *Studies in Trans-disciplinary Method: After the aesthetic turn* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Steans, Jill, *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates and Future Directions*, 2nd revised edition (Cambridge: Polity Press 2006).

Weber, Cynthia, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, 3rd revised edition (London: Routledge 2009). [This is a bit different: it uses films to elucidate IR theories.]

Key Journals

Alternatives; British Journal of International Relations; Conflict, Security & Development; Critical Military Studies; Critical Studies on Security; Cooperation & Conflict; Global Society; Environment & Planning D: Society & Space; European Journal of International Relations; International Feminist Journal of Politics; International Organization; International Political Sociology; International Politics; International Political Sociology; International Relations; International Security; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of International Relations & Development;

Journal of Peace Research; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; Review of International Studies; Security; Political Geography; Theory, Culture & Society; and War & Cultural Studies.

COURSE ORGANISATION

Lectures

There will be one two-hour lecture per week. Lecture attendance is expected and strongly encouraged. The reality is that students who attend lectures regularly achieve better grades as they benefit from sustained engagement with the course material. Students who do not regularly attend generally underperform as they miss out on the active learning environment generated through lectures. To ensure attendance in lectures there will be three group assessments in random lectures throughout the semester (see below for further details).

PowerPoint slides will be available to download from the course unit Blackboard site. However, remember that merely consulting the slides will not prepare you adequately for the successful completion of this course and they only provide the 'shape' of the lecture not the substance.

Tutorials

Tutorials are compulsory. **You will have one 50minute tutorial per week, commencing the same week as lecture (September 24th, 2018).** There will be 10 tutorial meetings during the semester. You are expected to come to the tutorials prepared and to have read the required reading. In the tutorials, you will discuss required readings. This is crucial to developing analytical and critical skills. Participation in tutorial which clearly demonstrates that you have read and are ready to engage, will count toward your participation mark. Participation that *does not* demonstrate you have read does not count as participation. Tutorial participation counts for 10% of your overall mark and frequently makes all the difference in final marks for the course.

You can expect your tutor to be well prepared and to offer guidance, clarification and contextualization of key issues, ideas and concepts. Tutorials are especially designed to provide as much opportunity as possible for you to participate and to apply your knowledge and explore questions raised in the course lectures and readings. The amount of knowledge you gain from a tutorial is dependent upon your willingness to participate and share insights gained from the readings as well as articulate any uncertainties or difficulties you have with the course material.

You are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should let your tutor know. If this is not possible, you should explain your absence as soon as possible after the tutorial. Do not wait to be contacted for non-attendance. Unexcused absences can lead to an unsatisfactory report at the end of the course.

Organisation of tutorial groups

You should have enrolled online for a tutorial prior to the commencement of the course. If you need to change tutorial group for a good reason, please see Julie Tierney or Jay Burke in the Undergraduate Office, G.001 Arthur Lewis Building.

How to read

In order to get the most out of reading it is important to give some thought to what we do when we read and how we might improve on this. The following suggestions are based on ideas by Naeem Inayatullah of Ithaca College and Jenny Edkins of Aberystwyth University.

In order to get the most out of the reading for this module you should try to be open-minded about the lecture and reading material and read with care, while also being critical. This is not an easy task. It is important to remember that any critique, just like the arguments developed in the texts you are reading, expresses a position. It is not an objective response and in that way superior. Carefully think through the position of the reading and your position in relation to it.

One way of dealing with this situation is to distinguish different ways of reading. We might first of all focus on what the author is trying to do and how this is revealed and/or concealed in the text. Most obviously, we can focus on the text's message and how it is developed and supported. But an exclusive focus on this aspect can make it difficult to effectively respond to the text and also means that we have to ignore our own expectations as readers which may well be different from those of the author.

So a different way to read would be to ignore the author's purpose and instead focus on what we are hoping to get out of a text. This will allow us a fruitful engagement with the text: we will find aspects that we consider unsatisfactory and that we wish to question. The problem with this way of reading is, however, that focusing on our own expectations and passions allows us to respond, but often not to the text. That is, this approach often loses sight of the specificities of the text it is trying to respond to. Because such a reading is not careful, it often misses the point of the text.

Therefore, using only one of these ways of reading means to evade the challenge of learning from an engagement with the text. Arguably, then, the best strategy is to combine both, despite the difficulty of doing so. In order to try and do this it is a good idea to think about what expectations and needs we bring to the text and *put them to one side in the first instance*. This is necessary to enable us to read a text with care and generosity, because to do so we have to do our best to accept the author's assumptions and to think through their argument on its own terms.

Once we have done this, we can then bring our own ideas and hopes back into play, trying to be as critical as we can be, while also trying to identify what is done well in the text. At this stage of your reading it might be helpful to think about how you would hope for readers to engage with your own written work.

Finally, it is helpful to think through what the author's responses would be to our criticisms. As you can see, in order to read in this way you have to read each text more than once. You also have to spend time thinking about what you are reading and what you are learning from it.

Feedback

You will be given written feedback on your written work on this module. Please make sure that you read the comments carefully as they are designed to help you improve

on future work. You can increase the amount of feedback you receive by participating actively in seminar discussions as this will mean you will be able to get oral feedback on your ideas from your seminar tutor. You are also welcome to consult the teaching team on this course during their office hours. Your seminar tutor should be your first port of call. S/he will be happy, for example, to give you feedback on your plan for the essay during office hours.

Assessment requirements

There are four elements that contribute towards your mark for *Questions about International Politics*.

- (1) Lecture-based group work (2x5%) 10%
- (2) Tutorial participation 10%
- (3) Critical Reflection 25%
- (4) Essay 55%

(1) Lecture Group Work

Because of the dynamic and interactive nature of lectures, students should treat lectures the same as tutorials by attending all of these if possible and expecting to contribute to in class where called upon. To ensure that students get the most out of their lectures there will be **three lecture group work assessments** to be completed during the two-hour lecture timeslot. The group work will be relevant to the chosen lecture and not require additional reading or research outside of required readings for each week. Students will **not** be informed of which lectures this will occur in therefore regular lecture attendance is necessary!

The lecture group work will be assessed on your best two out of three assessments. If you miss **one** of the lectures where lecture group work is undertaken, this mark will be dropped and you will be assessed on the remaining two. **If you miss more than one lecture group work assessment you will need to contact the UG office and complete a mitigating circumstances form.** If your mitigating circumstance meets the criteria and is approved by the UG office you will be given an alternative assessment of equal work. If your reasons do not meet the criteria, you will forego the 5% mark for each assessment missed. This is not a punitive exercise, rather it is generated by the reality that regular attendance in lectures is directly related to success in the course.

(2) Tutorial Participation

10 per cent of your course mark is awarded for your active participation in seminars. This is not a mark for attendance – attendance is compulsory! Nor are high marks only awarded to those who talk the most. Marks are awarded for thoughtful participation in-group activities, evidence of preparation and reading, insightful comments and collegial behaviour. Open discussion is a critical aspect of the learning process. Remember, this is your class so it can only be as good as you make it.

Your tutorial leader will make use of the assessment criteria below, and tutorial participation will be assessed throughout the module. You can prepare for tutorials effectively by reading and reflecting upon the issues raised in the lecture.

	Mark	Assessment criteria for participation in tutorials
High 1 st Class	80	Student is an outstanding element in the dynamic of the tutorial; made insightful, well informed remarks; evidence of wider reading and independent, critical thought.
	75	Full attendance and participation; Student is a key element in the dynamic of the tutorial; student made insightful, well informed remarks; evidence of reading and independent thought.
1 st Class	70	Full attendance and participation; student made insightful, well-informed remarks; evidence of reading and independent thought.
2.1 Class	65	Student made some very well informed remarks, clear evidence of preparation
2.2 Class	55	Student made some thoughtful remarks
3 rd Class	45	Student made little attempt to participate
	40	
F	30- 39	Student made no attempt to participate
	0 -29	Student missed the tutorials

(3) Critical Reflection (19.11.2018)

Students are asked to write a **1,500 word** critical reflection on a dystopian novel pertinent to the course and critically analyze how the novel answers, and has you think, perhaps differently, about one set of the key concepts covered in the course (see both lists below). This will count for 25% of your mark and is **due Monday, November 19th, 2018, 2pm** via Blackboard.

Choose **one** of the following sets of key concepts covered in the course:

1. power/knowledge/truth
2. language/representation
3. identity/difference/subjectivity
4. governance/resistance

And choose **one** novel from the following list:

1. *The Dispossessed*, Ursula K. LeGuin (1974)
2. *Parable of the Sower*, Octavia E. Butler (1993)
3. *Dawn*, (*Xenogenesis series*, *Lilith's Brood*), Octavia E. Butler (1987)
4. *The Handmaid's Tale* by Margaret Atwood (1985)
5. *1984* by George Orwell (1949)
6. *The City & The City*, China Miéville (2009)
7. *Station Eleven*, Emily St. John Mandel (2014)
8. *Exit West*, Moshin Hamid (2017)
9. *American War*, Omar El Akkad (2017)

For the critical reflection students are asked to read a dystopian novel and analytically and critically reflect on how this work of fiction helps to think through one set of key concepts covered in the course and listed above. Lectures and required reading should be used as your navigation points. For example, what answers might *The City and the City* offer for critically thinking through identity/difference/subjectivity? How is language (discourse) used in the *Handmaid's Tale*? What work is language/ discourse doing?

The key concepts are your guide for the assessment and your critical reflection should *not* simply summarize or describe the novel. Instead your critical reflection should think through how the novel might help you better grasp and understand key concepts. Keep in mind that to engage in good analysis some description or summary is always necessary, but it should not make up the bulk of the word count.

In marking the assessment we will be primarily asking whether the reflection demonstrates considered rather than superficial thought. For example, superficial thought = "I really enjoyed reading the novel, it made me think about things." Considered thought goes into more reflective detail, grappling with key ideas in the text and with *interpretation* of the discussion relevant to the key concepts you are focusing on. How does the novel get you to think about these concepts, is this new and different to how you understand them, what do you think these interpretations offer for how to think about what's going on in the world and how we find out about the world and international politics?

This is a challenging assignment. It is asking students to *academically* (in an analytical and critical capacity) engage with fiction. The rationale for the assignment are located in two of the early questions we engage in the course: 'how do we begin to think of the world?' and 'how do we find out about what is going on in the world'. Because the course is attempting to show how academic texts are not the only or primary source material for our everyday knowledge about the world, suggests taking seriously how cultural artifacts (linguistic, visual, and sensory) often play a far more significant role in "meaning making" (how and what we know, what and who matters, etc.) in international politics.

For example, bell hooks (2006), a prominent black American feminist, argues that film frequently stands 'in for the quintessential experience of border crossing for everyone who wants to take a look at difference and the different without having to experientially engage "the other".' And as Terrell Carver (2010, 426) argues:

The differences between a Saturday night's entertainment at the movies and the same night 'on the job' in international politics are...of outcome, rather than of genre. Factuality and reality are internal tropes within the dramas that political actors are creating.

And according to Umberto Eco 70% of what we "know" is likely learned from Hollywood. The implication, as Simon Philpott (2010, 337) points out, is 'that popular culture...is an important part of how the world is mediated by ordinary people.' These prompts are intended for you to take seriously how stories and visions of international politics are produced all around us, to critically engage how international politics is articulated and represented, and how cultural artifacts such as novels may (or may not) help us better understand the complex world we live in.

Note, this is not a research assignment and does not require students to work with sources beyond the novel, lectures and required reading, although you are welcome

to undertake additional research. We do strongly encourage you to take the required readings as your navigating points for the essay. If you do consult readings in the course and key sources from the list below to guide you in the assessment, reference and footnote as you would any written assignment for the course.

Popular Culture & IR Reading List

Bleiker, Roland. 2009. *Aesthetics and World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caso, Frederica and Caitlin Hamilton, eds. 2015. *Popular Culture and World Politics: Theories, Methods, Pedagogies*. Full text online at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/04/22/edited-collection-popular-culture-and-world-politics/>

Grayson, K., Davies M, Philpott S. 2009 "[Pop Goes IR? Researching the Popular Culture-World Politics Continuum](#)." *Politics* 29(3): 155-163.

Shapiro, Michael. 2012. *Studies in Trans-Disciplinary Method: After the Aesthetic Turn* (Abingdon: Routledge)

Shepherd, Laura J. 2013. *Gender, Violence and Popular Culture: Telling Stories*. London: Routledge.

Rancière, Jacques. 2013 (2004). *The Politics of Aesthetics*. London: Bloomsbury Press.

Zalewski, Marysia. 2013. *Feminist International Relations: Exquisite Corpse*. London: Routledge.

Special Issue on Aesthetics and Politics in *Global Society* 24(3), 2010.

(4) Essay (14.01.2019)

Essay Questions:

You must choose one of the following questions covered in the module:

1. **Who do we think we are?**
2. **Why do we obey?**
3. **Does the nation-state work?**
4. **Why does politics turn to violence?**
5. **How can we stop harming others?**
6. **Why is people's movement restricted?**

And choose one empirical practice in international politics,

Possible empirical practices include, but are not limited to:

Migration and border control practices (UK/EU border control practices in Calais or Mediterranean ports, Frontex, US/Mexico border control and patrol, detention of minors at the US border, Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre, refugees vs. immigrants); **war** (war on terror, terrorism, drone war, nuclear war, cyber warfare and hacking, ethnic conflicts, sexual violence in war, Manchester bombing 2017); **politics of identity/representation** (neo-colonialism, Brexit, populism, white nationalism, fascism); **protest movements** (Women's March, Black Lives Matter, Hong Kong Umbrella Movement, Arab Spring), and so forth.

The list of possible empirical practices to choose from is endless, so we encourage you to speak with us when deciding your empirical focus/topic.

The essay requires that you think through a variety of competing responses to the chosen question and to critically reflect on the politics of the “answers” for how you plan to focus your essay. Considering this, the more specific the empirical practice, the easier it will be to research and the more chance for developed critical analysis.

Answers are not intended to be exhaustive but instead – and informed by what you have learned in the module – should offer a critical reflection on how the question is answered in the context of your chosen empirical practice, to think through what the possible answers are doing, what realities they make (im)possible, and what politics they may or may not engender.

How to approach the essay:

1. Choose **one question** and choose **one empirical practice**.
2. Begin research on how the question is already answered in IR. Potential sources include policy documents, public statements by politicians and pundits, academic sources, news coverage, TV shows, film, documentary, photography, art, and so forth.
5. Consider how the question is being answered in your initial research in relation to the two different modes of thinking in international politics (problem-solving vs. critical theory) and in relation to the key concepts covered in the module (power/knowledge/truth; language/representation; identity/difference/ subjectivity; governance/resistance).
3. Decide your focus including which answer(s) and where and by whom they are taking place.
4. Do additional and more focussed research on the answer you are exploring and the context.
5. Get ready to write!

Three potential ways to answer the question:

1. Choose one answer and critique it.
2. Choose two competing answers, critically analyze them and align yourself with one answer.
3. Choose an answer and critically defend it.

Now you are ready to:

1. Develop an argument. Write it out in one or two sentences and have this handy.
2. Develop a structure to unpack and critically analyze the argument.
3. Write an introduction that sets the ‘scene’ for answering the question and clearly states what the essay is aiming to achieve, why and how.
4. Develop and write the analysis, arguments, opinions, evidence and justifications for each ‘step’ in making your argument. Remember that citation is important for developing your arguments and providing analysis, evidence and justification. Quotes, however, should not stand in for your analysis but rather support the claims developed in the essay. Subheadings are quite useful for ensuring that you stay focused on developing one point at a time and in an orderly fashion.
5. Write a conclusion that sums up the essay and succinctly shows how you have answered the stated question in your chosen empirical context.
6. Finally, carefully review and edit your work prior to submission. Make sure you have followed a citation style in the Politics Part II Guide, that you have properly cited sources in the essay and provided all pertinent bibliographic

information.

7. Submit your essay on Blackboard before the deadline!

Essay Submission Procedure:

Your 3,500word essay must be submitted electronically through the module's BB9 site by **Monday, January 14th, 2019, 2pm**. Essays submitted after this time/date will be marked late and penalties will apply (see below). Full instructions on how to do this are available on the module's BB9 site. Ensure that pages are numbered and include a word count (the word count may vary by around 10% above or below the limit and does not include the bibliography). Please also ensure that the essay **includes your student number but not your name**. Essays are anonymous so please refrain from typing your name on title pages and/or headers/footers.

Essays are an opportunity for students to take up a key question in international politics and more deeply pursue it in a relevant empirical context of your choice. Essays should have a clear argument, be critical, analytically substantiated, and, of course, well researched. **The minimum required number of academic sources for the essay is 10 sources outside of required course material (includes journal articles, book chapters, government or NGO documents, and books; excludes websites, news articles, blogs, and Wikipedia).** Students can use as many readings from the course as they choose, however, you are encouraged to read as widely as possible as research is the key to a strong essay!

See the **Part II Guide** for all requirements regarding essay formatting, referencing, plagiarism, and submission. It is available on Blackboard. All submitted assignments should be double-spaced on one side of each sheet. Standardised rules for footnotes and bibliographies are available from the Undergraduate Office. If an assessed essay fails to satisfy these rules, the Discipline Area requires that it be penalised by the deduction of marks, normally to a maximum of 10 marks where the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 28)

You MUST contact your Programme Administrator in your home school to request an extension. Your Programme Administrator is the only individual authorized to grant a deadline extension.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
 - Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
 - BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
 - BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
 - School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
 - School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk
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- If granted an extension, the student will be provided with written confirmation of the extension and the new due date.
 - A student who asks for an extension must complete the correct Mitigating Circumstances Form (available from their Programme Administrator) and provide evidence of the reasons for seeking extension.

- If granted an extension, a student will normally have to submit her/his project before the beginning of the examination period.

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Late Submission of Essays and other Coursework will be penalised.

Please see the Policy on Submission of Work for Summative Assessment on Taught Programmes at:

<http://www.tlso.manchester.ac.uk/map/teachinglearningassessment/assessment/sectionb-thepracticeofassessment/policyonsubmissionofworkforsummativeassessment/>

Late penalties will be applied unless the student's Home School grants an extension

The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate referencing for an assessment essay will be penalised by the deduction of marks - normally to a maximum of 10 marks if the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate.

Essays must NOT be e-mailed to Politics or to a member of staff. No essay sent in this way will be marked.

Statement on Plagiarism: Plagiarism is regarded as a very serious offence. Please note that all essays will be submitted to a plagiarism check using *Turnitin* software. Serious cases may result in expulsion from the University. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be found in the **Part II Guide**, their programme handbooks, or obtained from the Undergraduate Office.

(<http://www.studentnet.manchester.ac.uk/policies/display/?id=102536&off=RegSec-%3EAcaReg-%3ETLSO>)

Hints for Writing Essays

Read the assessment criteria in the *Politics Part 2 Guide*. They give a good indication of what you are trying to show in an essay.

Read the question carefully, and be sure you fully understand the question.

An essay must not be a collection of random observations on the general topic, but rather a response to the question. This means that your essay must have an argument.

In other words, your essay should try to prove something and it should use reasoning and appropriate evidence to do so. Do not include everything that springs to mind on the general issue. Your job is to identify the most important points. You need to back up each point. Never make an unsupported assertion. If you are unable to

write a whole paragraph substantiating a point, you should leave that point out. It is either not important enough or you simply lack the knowledge to make it.

Evidence can be drawn from the scholarly literature and from what is often called 'primary sources', such as newspapers or documents. In either case, you must identify the source of your evidence and provide references. If you are in any doubt about how to do this, please refer to the advice on referencing in the *Politics Part 2 Guide*. If you do not do this correctly, you will have marks deducted and you may even be accused of plagiarism.

You need to read widely for your essay. You must consider the possibility that there are differences in accounts or interpretations. Remember also that you are trying to show your understanding of the relevant literature.

It is vital that you give careful thought to the organization of your essay. There is no one right way to organize an argument, but whether an argument works or is persuasive depends to a significant extent on how it is developed. You must therefore plan your essay. Try to construct a plan including:

- (a) an introduction which establishes your starting points and provides an accurate 'road map' of the essay,
- (b) a number of sections which cover the aspects of the question, and
- (c) some conclusions which draw together your analysis.

Make sure that you stick to your plan throughout the essay. There should be no material in your essay that does not contribute to your argument. If you do not know what the structure of your argument is, it is very likely that the reader does not know either. This means that your argument is in all likelihood confusing.

Remember that the reader does not know what you are thinking. You have to say how the points you are making contribute to your argument. This is called signposting: in other words, make sure that the reader knows at all times where your argument is going. No one likes feeling lost.

Present your own ideas. Provide more than a bland summary of other people's ideas but do so as part of a considered argument in which relevant evidence is presented, rather than through a series of unsupported assertions.

After you have finished writing, leave your essay for a while. Then reread and edit it. Read the introduction and then the conclusion. In a good essay, these will 'hang together'. The conclusion should deal with the concerns and main issues raised in the introduction. Check whether your conclusion is a response to the question: if it is not, you have gone wrong somewhere.

Make sure that your essay is written clearly. Do not use big words in an attempt to impress. If you understand something properly, then you can explain it simply.

TIMETABLE

Lecture	Tutorials: week starting	Lecture topic	Lecturer
24 Sept	Tutorials begin this week!	1. Introduction: The politics of asking questions about the ‘sacred cows’ of global politics	Cristina Masters
1 Oct	1 Oct	2. How do we begin to think about the world? PART I	Cristina Masters
8 Oct	8 Oct	3. How do we begin to think about the world? PART II (Key Concepts)	Cristina Masters
15 Oct	15 Oct	4. How do we find out what is going on in the world?	Cristina Masters
22 Oct	22 Oct	5. Who do we think we are?	Andreja Zevik
5 Nov	5 Nov	6. Why do we obey?	Andreja Zevnik
12 Nov	12 Nov	7. Does the nation-state work?	Jess Gifkins
19 Nov	19 Nov	8. Why does politics turn to violence?	Jess Gifkins
26 Nov	26 Nov	9. How can we stop harming others?	Jess Gifkins
3 Dec	3 Dec	10. Conclusion: Time to change the world? (Roundtable)	Cristina Masters

READING GUIDE

1 Introduction: Why ask questions to think through international politics?

Date: 24 September 2018

Lecturer: Dr Cristina Masters

****No readings** Tutorials begin this week so make sure you are registered on the Student System!**

2 How do we begin to think about the world? PART I

Date: 1 October 2018

Lecturer: Dr Cristina Masters

Key concepts: power, knowledge, truth, language, representation, positivism, post-positivism

Tutorial question(s):

1. Reflect on 'truths' you hold about international politics, what are they and how have you come to know these truths?
2. What does critical thinking mean to you?
3. Do you understand language as a reflection of reality or do you understand it as doing more than this? If so, what do you think language is doing?
4. What is power? Where can we locate it and whom do we think has power?

Required Reading:

Edkins, Jenny and Maja Zehfuss, "Introduction", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008/2013).

AND

Pin-Fat, Véronique, "How do we begin to think about the world?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008/2013).

AND

Smith, Steve, "Positivism and Beyond", in: Ken Booth, Marysia Zalewski & Steve Smith (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism & Beyond* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1996), pp. 11-44. (available as an e-book via the library)

Highly recommended:

Murray Li, T. (2007) 'Introduction: The Will to Improve' in *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics* (Duke University Press): 1-30. (This will be made available on blackboard. This chapter is very useful for students to reflect upon what 'thinking critically' involves as it discusses this at some length.)

Further reading:

Campbell, David, "Beyond Choice: The Onto-politics of Critique", *International Relations* 19 (2005), 127-34.

Duvall, Raymond and Latha Varadarajan, "Traveling in Paradox: Edward Said and Critical International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 36 (2007), 83-99.

Hutchings, Kimberley, "Happy anniversary! Time and critique in International Relations theory", *Review of International Studies* 33 (2007), 71-89.

Kratochwil, Friedrich, "Looking back from somewhere: reflections on what remains 'critical' in critical theory", *Review of International Studies* 33 (2007), 25-45.

Rupert, Mark, "Antonio Gramsci", in: Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009).

- Shaw, Karena and R.B.J. Walker, "Situating Academic Practice: Pedagogy, Critique and Responsibility", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35 (2006), 155-65.
- Smith, Steve, "Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11", *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004), 499-515.
- Cohn, Carol, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals", *Signs* 12 (1987), 687-718.
- Cohn, Carol, "War, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War", in: Cooke, Miriam and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering war talk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993), 277-46.
- Dodge, Toby, "Coming face to face with bloody reality: Liberal common sense and the ideological failure of the Bush doctrine in Iraq", *International Politics* 46: 2/3, 253-75.
- Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989).
- Howell, Alison, "Victims or Madmen? The Diagnostic Competition over 'Terrorist Detainees at Guantánamo Bay", *International Political Sociology* 1:1 (2007), 29-47.
- Shaw, Karena, "Whose knowledge for which politics?", *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003), 199-221.
- Smith, Steve, "The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory", in: Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity 1995).
- Walker, R.B.J., *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

3 How do we begin to think about the world? PART II

Key concepts

Date: 8 October 2018

Lecturer: Dr Cristina Masters

Required reading/watching:

****Note:** these are all online resources that are shorter in length and more condensed. Do your best to read and watch as much as possible, they are particularly good resources for your critical reflection.

Foucault on the subject and power:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2017/02/michel-foucault-subject-and-power.html>

<https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/foucault-power-is-everywhere/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua4wrcS9u3A>

Foucault on disciplinary power:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/foucaults-concept-of-discipline-summary.html>

Foucault on power and knowledge:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/foucault-on-power-and-knowledge-summary.html>

Foucault on discourse:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2017/03/foucault-concept-of-discourse-explained.html>

Foucault on resistance:

Carl Death (2010), "Counter-conducts: A Foucauldian Analytics of Protest," *Social Movement Studies*, 9:3, pp. 235-251.

Foucault on governmentality:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governmentality>

Gayatri Spivak on the Subaltern:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/gayatri-spivak-can-subaltern-speak.html>

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/gayatri-spivak-can-subaltern-speak.html>

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/gayatri-spivak-can-subaltern-speak.html>

Edward Said on colonialism and representation:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orientalism_\(book\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orientalism_(book))

Jacques Derrida on deconstruction:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deconstruction>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HKJISY0DBBA>

Jean Baudrillard on simulacra:

<http://culturalstudiesnow.blogspot.co.uk/2012/10/simulacra-and-simulation-by-jean.html>

Stuart Hall on representation:

Representation & The Media, watch lecture for free at:

<https://shop.mediaed.org/representation--the-media-p174.aspx>

Transcript of lecture: <https://www.mediaed.org/transcripts/Stuart-Hall-Representation-and-the-Media-Transcript.pdf>

4 How do we find out what is going on in the world?

Date: 15 October 2018

Lecturer: Dr Cristina Masters

Key concepts: power, knowledge, truth, language, representation, experience, the everyday, aesthetics

Tutorial questions:

1. Where and how do you find out what is going on in the world?
2. What do you do when confronted with competing and contradictory narratives of the same event?
3. Do you connect yourself to global events and if so, how and why, and if not, why not?
4. What is the relationship between seeing and knowing, vision and knowledge?

Required reading:

Lisle, Debbie, "How do we find out what is going on in the world?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008/2013).

AND

Bleiker, Roland, "Introduction", in: *Aesthetics and World Politics* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York 2009/2012), pp. 1-17. * "Chapter 1: The Aesthetic Turn in International Relations Theory" is also worth a read.* (available as an e-book via the library)

AND

Shim, David, (2016) "Between the International and the Everyday: Geopolitics and Imaginaries of Home" in *International Studies Review*, 18(4), pp. 597-613. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viw025>

AND

Enloe, Cynthia, (2011) "The Mundane Matters" in *International Political Sociology*, 4(5), pp.447-450. **This is a part of a special forum with a series of short essays that are definitely worth reading!**

Worth reading:

Connolly, William E. "Fake news and 'postmodernism': The fake equation," *The Contemporary Condition* (May 2018)
<http://contemporarycondition.blogspot.com/2018/05/fake-news-and-postmodernism-fake.html>

"Disinformation and 'fake news': Interim Report." House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee. (24 July 2018)

Highly recommended:

- Salter, Mark B, ed. *Making Things International I: Circuits and Motion* (2015) & *Making Things International II: Catalysts and Reactions* (2016) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Enloe, Cynthia, *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire* (University of California Press: Berkley 2004).
- Franklin, M. I., "How does the way we use internet made a difference?", Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction, 2nd edition* (Routledge: London, 2013).
- Stanley, L. and Jackson, R. (2016) Introduction: Everyday narratives in world politics. *Politics*, 36 (3): pp. 223-235.

Watch:

There are a number of interesting videos on the topic – please see some of them:

Chandler, Daniel, "Semiotics for Beginners",
<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem08c.html>

You may also wish to watch Stuart Hall on YouTube, Representation & the Media:

Featuring Stuart Hall,

1 of 4: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aTzMsPgssOY&feature=related>

2 of 4: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwa1sR1hmdc&feature=related>

3 of 4: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjVuE5Df_qA&feature=related

4 of 4: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QC-MjIpcTnY&feature=related>

OR

RSA Animate short video lecture by Sir Ken Robinson:

'Changing Education Paradigms':

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDZFcdGpL4U>

Further reading:

- Ackerly, Brooke A., Maria Stern and Jaqui True (eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006).
- Campbell, David, "Atrocity, memory, photography: imaging the concentration camps of Bosnia – the case of ITN versus *Living Marxism*", Part 1 and 2, *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 1, nos. 1 and 2 (2002).
- Der Derian, James, *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 2001).
- Enloe, Cynthia, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (University of California Press: Berkley 1989).
- Foucault, Michel, "Truth and Power", in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press 2000). Also in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (London: Penguin Books various editions) and in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf or Pantheon Books 1980).
- Robinson, Piers, *The CNN Effect: The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention* (London: Routledge 2002).

- Shaheen, J.G., (2003). Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 588(1), pp.171-193.
<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/588/1/171.abstract>
- Shapiro, Michael J., "The New Violent Cartography", *Security Dialogue* 38, 3 (2007), pp. 291-313.
- Sylvester, Christine, *War as Experience: Contributions from international relations and feminist analysis* (Routledge: London 2013).
- Vrasti, Wanda, "The Strange Case of Ethnography and International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 37 (2008), 279-301.

5 Who do we think we are?

Date: 22 October 2018

Lecturer: Dr Andreja Zevnik

Key concepts: Identity, difference, subjectivity, belonging

Tutorial questions:

1. Why does it matter to ask who we think we are?
2. What theoretical perspective to identity do you find most revealing? Why?
3. What role does identity play in world politics?
4. Are there limits to identity? Could we think about difference and belonging in different terms?

Required Reading:

Wibben, Annick T.R., "Who do we think we are?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008/2013).

AND

Inayatullah, Naeem and David L. Blaney, "Introduction" in, *International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (New York: Routledge 2004), pp.1-17 (Available on Blackboard)

Further reading:

Many of the readings listed at the back of the handbook under postcolonialism, feminism and poststructuralism are also relevant.

Campbell, David, *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1998).

Campbell, David, *Writing security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1998).

Darby, Philip, "Pursuing the Political: A Postcolonial Rethinking of Relations International", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33 (2004), 1-32.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1996), 127-144. (Available on Blackboard)

Escobar, A (2011 [1995]) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton University Press) Escobar, A. (2008) *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes* (Duke University Press).

Flynn, Donna K. (1997) "'We are the Border': Identity, Exchange, and the State along the Benin-Nigeria Border", *American Ethnologist* 24: 337.

Ferguson, J. (1994) *The Anti Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, Second Edition, (University of Minnesota Press)

Ferguson, J (2006) *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Duke University Press).

Gilroy, Paul. (2002) *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Colour Line* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

- Gray, John. (2002) *Men are from Mars – Women are from Venus* (London: Harper Collins).
- Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson (1992) "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference", *Cultural Anthropology* 7: 6-23.
- Hall, Stuart (1996) "Introduction: Who needs 'Identity'?" in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London: Sage Publications).
- Hall, Stuart (2006) "Race the Floating Signifier". In seven parts – all seven parts available on youtube. For part 1 see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bRk9MZvOd2c&noredirect=1>
- Held, Virginia (2006) *An Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, Global* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hooks, b. (1984) *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press).
- Kapoor, Ilan (2013) *Celebrity Humanitarianism* (Routledge).
- Krishna, Sankaran, *Postcolonial Insecurities: India, Sri Lanka, and the Question of Nationhood* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1999).
- Mamdani, M. (2004) *Good Muslim. Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Doubleday).
- Mandaville, Peter, "How do religious beliefs affect politics?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", in: Chandra Talpade Mohanty et al. (ed.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1991), 51-80. Also *Feminist Review* 30 (1988), 61-88.
- Moyo, D. (2010) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is another way for Africa* (Penguin Books).
- Nandy, Ashis (1983) *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press)
- Rutherford, J. (ed) (1990) *Identity, Community, and Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp.207-221, See in particular, Bhabha, H. "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha", pp.207-221
- Selwyn, B. (2014) *The Global Development in Crisis* (Polity).
- Wilson, J. (2014) *Jeffrey Sachs, Counterblasts* (Verso).

6 Why Do We Obey?

Date: 5 November 2018

Lecturer: Dr Andreja Zevnik

Key concepts: power, sovereignty, law, authority, obedience, resistance

Tutorial questions:

1. How important is authority in everyday and in global politics?
2. Why it is important to understand the source(s) of authority?
3. How do representation, discourse, everyday practices or rituals govern ways in which we (as citizens of a particular state) go about our daily lives?
4. Can resistance be thought/or acted out only in relation to authority?

Required Reading:

Edkins, Jenny, "Why do we obey?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008/2013).

Foucault, Michel, "The Subject and Power", *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (1982), 777-95. Also in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press 2000). and in: Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (various editions).

AND

Shani, Giorgio, "Who has rights?" Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction, 2nd edition* (Routledge: London, 2013).

Further reading:

Amoore, Louise, "Algorithmic War: Everyday Geographies of the War on Terror", *Antipode* 41:1 (2009), 49-69.

Badiou, Alain, *The Re-birth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings* (Verso: London, 2012)

Barnett, Michael, "Power in International Politics", *International Organization* 59 (2005), 39-75.

Bleiker, Roland, "Discourse and Human Agency", *Contemporary Political Theory* 2 (2003), 25-47.

Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Politics* (various editions); Chapter 8.

Derrida, Jacques, 'Force of Law: Mythical Foundations of Authority' in: Drucilla Cornell and Michael Rosenfeld eds., *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

Edkins, Jenny, *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1999), Chapter 3.

Edkins, Jenny and Véronique Pin-Fat, "Through the Wire: Relations of Power and Relations of Violence", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 34 (2005), 1-24.

- Edkins, Jenny, Véronique Pin-Fat and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.), *Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics* (New York: Routledge 2004).
- Elden, Stuart, "Why is the world divided territorially?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).
- Foucault, Michel, "Truth and Power", in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press 2000). Also in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (London: Penguin Books various editions) and in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf or Pantheon Books 1980).
- Hindess, Barry, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell 1996).
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince* (various editions), Chapter 20-21 (XX-XXI).
- Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, special issue on power 33:3 (2005).
- Mokhtari, Shadi, 'Human rights and power amid protest and change in the Arab World', *Third World Quarterly*, 36:6 (2015): 1207 – 1221.
- Morgenthau, Hans J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (various editions), Chapter 3.
- Neal, Andrew, "Michel Foucault", in: Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009).
- Illan Wall, 'A different constituent power: Agamben and Tunisia' in: Stone, Wall, Douzinas, *New critical legal thinking: law and the political* (London: Routledge, 2012): 46 – 66.
- Odyseos, Louiza, 'The question concerning human rights and human rightlessness: disposability and struggle in the Bhopal gas disaster', *Third World Quarterly*, 36:6 (2015): 1041 – 1059.
- Shapiro, Michael J., "How does the nation-state work?" in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).

7 Does the nation-state work?

Date: 12 November 2018

Lecturer: Dr Jess Gifkins

Key concepts: identity/difference/subjectivity & governance/resistance

Tutorial questions:

1. How 'real' are nations and states?
2. What are some effects of conflating 'nation' with 'state'?
3. What are some current challenges to the nation-state?
4. Can global issues like climate change and refugee flows be managed by nation-states?
5. Does the nation-state work for whom?

Required Reading:

Shapiro, Michael J. 2008/2014 "Does the nation-state work?" in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London).

AND

Elden, Stuart, "Why is the world divided territorially?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).

AND

Habermas, Jürgen. 1998 'The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship', translated by Ciaran Cronin, *Public Culture*, 10(2):397-416.

Further Reading:

Barsky, Robert F. 2016 "Want to Prevent Lone-Wolf Terrorism? Promote a 'Sense of Belonging'." August 30. <https://theconversation.com/want-to-prevent-lone-wolf-terrorism-promote-a-sense-of-belonging-63487>

Bleiker, Roland, David Campbell, Emma Hutchison, and Xzarina Nicholson. 2013 "The visual dehumanization of refugees." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 398-416.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2008 'Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State' *Annual Review of Sociology* 2008 34(1):153-179.

Chatterjee, Partha 1994 'The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories', Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Diedring, Michael "Refugee crisis: How language contributes to the fate of refugees." (blog) The Elders. <http://theelders.org/article/refugee-crisis-how-language-contributes-fate-refugees>

- Follis, K. S. (2015). "Responsibility, Emergency, Blame: Reporting on migrant deaths on the Mediterranean in the Council of Europe." *Journal of Human Rights* **14**(1): 41-62.
- Glanville, Luke 2014 'Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History', Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Matthew Gibney, (2004) *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Martin, Susan (2010) 'Climate Change, Migration and Governance', *Global Governance*, 16: 397-414
- Seymour, Michael (ed) 2004 'The Fate of the Nation-State', McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, and Judith Butler. 2011 'Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging', Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tierney, Stephen 2005 'Reframing Sovereignty? Sub-State National Societies and Contemporary Challenges to the Nation-State' *International & Comparative Law Quaterley*, 54(1): 161-183.

8 Why Does Politics Turn to Violence?

Date: 19 November 2018

Lecturer: Dr Jess Gifkins

Key concepts: power/knowledge/truth & language/representation

Tutorial questions:

1. How has violence in war changed over time?
2. How can we distinguish political violence from other forms of aggression?
3. How does dehumanizing language relate to violence?
4. How would you interpret the language that is used to describe war and weaponry? In what ways is it connected to gender?
5. In what ways does language shape what we 'know' about the world and violence?

Required reading:

Bourke, Joanna, "Why does politics turn to violence?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).

AND

Amoore, Louise and de Goede Maraïke, "What counts as violence?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction, 2 edition* (Routledge: London, 2013).

AND

Cohn, Carol. 1987 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', *Signs*, 12(4) pp. 687-718.

To watch:

Judith Butler, "Frames of War: The Politics of Ungrievable Life" at:
<http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2009/02/harc-frames-of-war-the-politics-of-ungrievable-life/>

A pertinent website is:

Histories of Violence
<http://historiesofviolence.com>

Further reading:

Amoore, Louise, "Algorithmic War: Everyday Geographies of the War on Terror", *Antipode* 41:1 (2009), 49-69.

Barnett, Michael, "Power in International Politics", *International Organization* 59 (2005), 39-75.

Bialasiewicz, Luiza et al., "Performing Security: The Imaginative Geographies of Current Strategy", *Political Geography* 26 (2007), 405-22.

Booth, Ken (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2005).

- Bosmajian, Haig. 1974 'The Language of Oppression', Washington: Public Affairs Press.
- Butler, Judith, "Introduction: Precarious Life, Grievable Life", in *Frames of War* (London: Verso 2009), pp. 1-32.
- Campbell, David, "The Biopolitics of Security: Oil, Empire, and the Sports Utility Vehicle", *American Quarterly* 57: 3 (2005), 943-972.
- Campbell, David, *Writing security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1998).
- Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Politics* (various editions); Chapter 8.
- Dalby, Simon, "Geopolitics, the revolution in military affairs and the Bush doctrine", *International Politics* 46: 2/3 (2009), 234-52.
- Derrida, Jacques, 'Force of Law: Mythical Foundations of Authority' in: Drucilla Cornell and Michael Rosenfeld eds., *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Dexter, Helen, "New War, Good War and the War on Terror: Explaining, Excusing and Creating Western Neo-interventionism", *Development and Change* 38: 6 (2007), 1055-1071.
- Dillon, Michael, "Governing Terror", *International Political Sociology* 1: 1 (2007), 7-28.
- Douzinis, Costas, 'Stasis Syntagma: the names and types of resistance' in: Stone, Wall and Douzinis, *New Critical legal Thinking: Law and the Political* (London: Routledge, 2012): 32 – 45.[on BB9]
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn, "Why is people's movement restricted?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).
- Edkins, Jenny, *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1999), Chapter 3.
- Edkins, Jenny and Véronique Pin-Fat, "Through the Wire: Relations of Power and Relations of Violence", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 34 (2005), 1-24.
- Edkins, Jenny, Véronique Pin-Fat and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.), *Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics* (New York: Routledge 2004).
- Elbe, Stefan, "AIDS, Security, Biopolitics", *International Relations* 19: 4 (2005), 403-419.
- Elden, Stuart, "Why is the world divided territorially?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).
- Foucault, Michel, "Truth and Power", in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* (New York: The New Press 2000). Also in: Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (London: Penguin Books various editions) and in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf or Pantheon Books 1980).
- Gibson, James W. 1986 'The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam', New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Gouliamas, Kostas and Christos Kassimeris eds. 2011 'The Marketing of War in the Age of Neo-Militarism', New York and Abingdon: Routledge.

- Gregory, Thomas. 2015 'Drones, Targeted Killings, and the Limitations of International Law', *International Political Sociology*, 9(3): 197-212.
- Hindess, Barry, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell 1996).
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince* (various editions), Chapter 20-21 (XX-XXI). *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, special issue on power 33:3 (2005).
- Masters, Cristina, "Judith Butler", in: Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009).
- May, Todd, "The Dignity of Non-violence", Chapter 2 in Brad Evans, *On Violence* (full text online here: <http://historiesofviolence.com/wp-content/uploads/No-1-On-Violence.pdf>)
- Michaels, Jeffery H. 2013 'The Discourse Trap and the US Military: From the War on Terror to the Surge', New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Molloy, Sean, *The Hidden History of Power Politics: A Genealogy of Realism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2006).
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- Neal, Andrew, "Michel Foucault", in: Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009).
- Illan Rua Wall, 'A different constituent power: Agamben and Tunisia' in: Stone, Wall, Douzinas, *New critical legal thinking: law and the political* (London: Routledge, 2012): 46 – 66. [on BB9]
- Rosén, Frederki. 2016 'Collateral Damage: A Candid History of a Peculiar Form of Death', Hurst Publishers.
- Shapiro, Michael J., "How does the nation-state work?" in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).
- Shapiro, Michael J., "The New Violent Cartography", *Security Dialogue* 38, 3 (2007), 291-313.
- Shapiro, Michael J., *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1997).
- Stahl, Roger. 2010 'Militainment Inc. War, Media and Popular Culture', New York and Abingdon: Routledge.
- Steuter, Erin, and Deborah Wills. 2008 'At War with Metaphor: Media, Propaganda, and Racism in the War on Terror', Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Zehfuss, Maja, "Subjectivity and Vulnerability: On the War with Iraq", *International Politics* 44 (2007), 58-71.

9 How can we stop harming others?

Date: 26 November 2018

Lecturer: Dr Jess Gifkins

Key concepts: language/representation & governance/resistance

Tutorial questions:

1. What is the 'responsibility to protect'?
2. What are some of the tensions between sovereignty and human rights?
3. Do states have a duty to respond to atrocity crimes in other countries?
4. Does it matter whether states use language on the 'responsibility to protect'?
5. What challenges are there in implementing the 'responsibility to protect'?

Required Reading:

Bellamy, Alex J. 2010. 'The Responsibility to Protect - Five Years On'. *Ethics and International Affairs* 24(2): 143-169.

AND

Orford, Anne. 2008/2014 'What can we do to stop people harming others?' in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London).

AND

Gifkins, Jess. 2016. 'R2P in the UN Security Council: Darfur, Libya and Beyond'. *Cooperation and Conflict* 51(2): 148-165.

Further reading:

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Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul D. Williams. 2011. 'The New Politics of Protection? Cote d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect'. *International Affairs* 87(4): 845-870.

Bellamy, Alex J. 2015. 'The Responsibility to Protect Turns Ten'. *Ethics and International Affairs* 29(2): 161-185.

Bellamy, Alex J. 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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- Glanville, Luke. 2013. 'Intervention in Libya: From Sovereign Consent to Regional Consent'. *International Studies Perspectives* 14(3): 325-342.
- Glanville, Luke. 2014. 'Syria Teaches Us Little about Questions of Military Intervention'. *E-IR Into the Eleventh Hour: R2P, Syria and Humanitarianism in Crisis*.
- Hehir, Aidan. 2013. 'The Permanence of Inconsistency: Libya, the Security Council, and the Responsibility to Protect'. *International Security* 38(1): 137-159.
- Mallavarapu, Siddharth. 2015. 'Colonialism and the Responsibility to Protect'. In *Theorising the Responsibility to Protect*, eds. Ramesh Thakur and William Maley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mani, Rama and Weiss, Thomas G. eds. 2011. 'Responsibility to Protect: Cultural Perspectives in the Global South'. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- McLeod, Laura (2011) Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (Political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325 *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13 (4): 594-611.
- Morris, Justin. 2013. 'Libya and Syria: R2P and the Spectre of the Swinging Pendulum'. *International Affairs* 89(5): 1265-1283.
- Orford, Anne. 2011. *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pattison, James 2010, 'Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?', Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Obradovic-Wochnik, Jelena (2009) 'Knowledge, Acknowledgement and Denial in Serbia's Responses to the Srebrenica Massacre' *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (17) 1.
- Ralph, Jason and Adrian Gallagher. 2015. 'Legitimacy faultlines in international society: The responsibility to protect and prosecute after Libya'. *Review of International Studies* 41(3): 553-573.
- Ralph, Jason and Jess Gifkins. 2016. 'The purpose of United Nations Security Council practice: Contesting competence claims in the normative context created by the Responsibility to Protect'. *European Journal of International Relations* 23(3): 630-653.
- Rehn, E., Johnson Sirleaf, E., 2002, *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building* (New York, USA: UNIFEM).
- Subotic, Jelena (2011) 'Expanding the scope of post-conflict justice: Individual, state

and societal responsibility for mass atrocity' *Journal of Peace Research* 48(2): 157–169.

Thakur, Ramesh. 2016. 'The Responsibility to Protect at 15'. *International Affairs* 92(2): 415-434.

Weiss, Thomas G. 2014. 'Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It'. *The Washington Quarterly* 37(1): 7-20.

Welsh, Jennifer. 2013. 'Norm Contestation and the Responsibility to Protect'. *Global Responsibility to Protect* 5(4): 365-396.

Wheeler, Nicholas J. 2000. *Saving Strangers: humanitarian intervention in international society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zehfuss, Maja. (2009) 'Hierarchies of Grief and the Possibility of War: Remembering UK Fatalities in Iraq.' *Millennium* (38)2: 1-22.

10 Conclusion: What can we do to change the world?

Date: 3 December 2018

Key concepts: governance, resistance, violence, non-violence

Tutorial questions:

1. What does it mean to be 'governed'?
2. What form(s) does resistance take?
3. What is the relationship between governance, resistance and violence?
4. Is resistance futile?

Required reading:

Zehfuss, Maja, "What can we do to change the world?", in: Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction* (Routledge: London 2008).

AND

Guillaume, Xavier, (2011) "Resistance and the International: The Challenge of the Everyday", in *International Political Sociology*, 4(5), pp. 459-462.

AND

Hutchings, Kimberly, (2018) "Pacifism is dirty: toward an ethico-political defence," in *Critical Studies on Security* 6(2), pp. 176-192.

Highly recommended:

Jabri, Vivienne, "Critical Thought and Political Agency in Time of War", *International Relations* 19:1 (2005), 70-78.

Further reading:

Campbell, David, "Why Fight: Humanitarianism, Principles, and Post-structuralism", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 27: 3 (1998), 497-523.

Edkins, Jenny, "Ethics and Practices of Engagement: Intellectuals as Experts", *International Relations* 19: 1 (2005), 64-69.

Lenin, Vladimir, What is to be done? Can be accessed:

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/download/what-itd.pdf>

[particularly look at chapters 2, 3 and 4]

Newman, Saul, From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-authoritarianism and the dislocation of power. Can be accessed on-line: <http://zinelibrary.info/files/Newman%20-%20From%20Bakunin%20to%20Lacan%20-%20Anti-Authoritarianism%20and%20the%20Dislocation%20of%20Power.pdf>

[especially chapters 7 and 8]

Smith, Steve, "Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11", *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004), 499-515.

Zehfuss, Maja, "Jacques Derrida", in: Jenny Edkins and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (London: Routledge 2009).

Further Reading: Approaches

The way we think about international politics is traditionally thought of as divided into various approaches. You will find this division in many of the textbooks and some of the readings for the course also make reference to different approaches. Below you can find suggestions of readings if you want to follow up on particular approaches.

Critical Theory

Introductions and overviews

Brown, Chris, *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf 1992), Chapter 8.

Devetak, Richard, "Critical Theory", in: Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd edition (London: Palgrave 2005).

Linklater, Andrew, "The achievements of critical theory", in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International theory: positivism and beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 279-298.

Linklater, Andrew, "Critical Theory", in: Martin Griffiths (ed.), *International Relations for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (London: Routledge 2007).

More advanced

Brown, Chris, "'Turtles all the way down': anti-foundationalism, critical theory and international relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23 (1994), 213-36.

Cox, Robert W., *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press 1987).

*Cox, Robert W., "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10 (1981), 126-55; also reproduced in an abridged form in Robert O. Keohane, *Neorealism and its Critics* ((New York: Columbia University Press 1986).

Cox, Robert, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12 (1983), 162-75.

Cox, Robert with Timothy Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996).

Forum on Andrew Linklater, *The Transformation of Political Community in Review of International Studies* 25: 1 (1999).

Forum on Habermas, *Review of International Studies* 31:1 (2005).

George, Jim, *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1994), Chapters 6 and 7.

Habermas, Jürgen, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (London: Heinemann 1972). [philosophy background]

Habermas, Jürgen, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1, *Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (various editions 1984). [philosophy background]

Habermas, Jürgen, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2, *Lifeworld and System* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1987). [philosophy background]

- Hoffman, Mark, "Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 16 (1987), 231-250.
- Hoffmann, Mark, "Conversations on Critical International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17 (1988).
- Jahn, Beate, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Critical Theory and the Latest Edition of Liberal Idealism", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 27 (1998), 613-41.
- Linklater, Andrew, "Realism, Marxism and Critical International Theory", *Review of International Studies* 12 (1986), 301-12.
- Linklater, Andrew, "The Question of the Next Stage in International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21 (1992), 77-98.
- *Linklater, Andrew, *Beyond Realism and Marxism: critical theory and international relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1990), esp. Chapter 1.
- *Linklater, Andrew, *Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan 1990).
- *Linklater, Andrew, *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1998), especially Chapters 1 and 2.
- Linklater, Andrew, "The Problem of Community in International Relations", *Alternatives* 15 (1990), 135-53.
- Linklater, Andrew, "Citizenship and sovereignty in the post-Westphalian state", *European Journal of International Relations* 2 (1996), 77-103.
- Linklater, Andrew, "Towards a Sociology of Global Morals with an Emancipatory Intent", *Review of International Studies* 21 (2007), 135-50.
- Wyn Jones, *Critical Theory and World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2001).
- Wyn Jones, Richard, *Security, Strategy and Critical Theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1999).

Feminism

Introductions and overviews

- Enloe, Cynthia, "Feminism", in: Martin Griffiths (ed.), *International Relations for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (London: Routledge 2007).
- Grant, Rebecca and Kathleen Newland (eds.), *Gender and international relations* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press in association with Millennium: Journal of International Studies 1991).
- Hutchings, Kimberley, "1988 and 1998: Contrast and Continuity in Feminist International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 37 (2008), 97-105. [See also various other contributions on feminist international relations in the same issue.]
- Peterson, V. Spike and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, 2nd edition (Boulder: Westview Press 1999).
- Steans, Jill, "Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the 'Mainstream' of International Relations", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5 (2003), 428-53.

- Steans, Jill, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1998).
- Sylvester, Christine, "The Contributions of Feminist Theory to International Relations", in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Relations Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996).
- Tickner, J. Ann, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press 1990).
- True, Jacqui, "Feminism", in: Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd edition (London: Palgrave 2005).

More advanced

- Ackerly, Brooke, A, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006).
- Beckman, Peter R. and Francine D'Amico (eds.), *Women, Gender, and World Politics: Perspectives, Policies, and Prospects* (Westport: Bergin and Garvey 1994).
- Butler, Judith, *Bodies That Matter* (New York: Routledge 1993), esp. Chapter 1.
- Butler, Judith, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge 2004).
- Cohn, Carol, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals", *Signs* 12 (1987), 687-718.
- Cohn, Carol, "War, Wimps and Women: Talking Gender and Thinking War", in: Cooke, Miriam and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering war talk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993), 277-46.
- *Enloe, Cynthia, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1990).
- Enloe, Cynthia, *Maneuvers* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1999).
- "Feminists Write International Relations", *Alternatives*, 18: 1 special issue (1993).
- Harding, Sandra, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press 1986). [background]
- Hooper, Charlotte, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press 2001).
- Jabri, Vivienne and Eleanor O'Gorman (eds.), *Women, Culture and International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1999).
- Jones, Adam, "Does 'gender' make the world go round? Feminist critiques of international relations", *Review of International Studies* 22 (1996), 405-29.
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- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", in: Chandra Talpade Mohanty et al. (ed.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1991), 51-80. Also *Feminist Review* 30 (1988), 61-88.
- Peterson, V. Spike, "Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21 (1992), 183-206.

- Peterson, V. Spike, *Gendered states: feminist (re) visions of international relations theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1992, 1999).
- Peterson, V. Spike, "Whose Rights? A Critique of the 'Givens' in Human Rights Discourse", *Alternatives* 15 (1990), 303-44.
- Pettman, Jan Jindy, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (London: Routledge 1996).
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- Tickner, J. Ann, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists", *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (1997), 611-32.
- Whitworth, Sandra, "Gender in the Inter-Paradigm Debate", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 18 (1989), 265-72.
- Whitworth, Sandra, "Theory as Exclusion: Gender and International Political Economy", in: Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999).
- Whitworth, Sandra, *Feminism and International Relations: Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions* (London: Macmillan 1994).
- Youngs, Gillian, "Feminist International Relations: A contradiction in terms? Or why women and gender are essential to understanding the world 'we' live in", *International Affairs* 80 (2004), 75-87.
- Zalewski, Marysia, "The Women/'Women' Question in International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23 (1994), 407-23.
- Zalewski, Marysia, "Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?", *International Affairs* 71 (1995).
- Zalewski, Marysia, "Where is Woman in International Relations? 'To Return as a Woman and Be Heard'", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 27 (1998), 847-67.

Liberalism and Neoliberalism

Please note that the list below is about an international relations theory called Neoliberalism which is unfortunately not identical to neoliberalism as a phenomenon in the global political economy as referred to in the readings about inequality and the environment. To follow up about neoliberalism please follow the suggestions for further reading at the end of the relevant chapters in the *Global Politics* textbook.

Introductions and overviews

Macmillan, John, "Liberal Internationalism", in: Martin Griffiths (ed.), *International Relations for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (London: Routledge 2007).

Burchill, Scott, "Liberalism", in: Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd edition (London: Palgrave 2005).

Little, Richard, "The Growing Relevance of Pluralism?", in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996).

More advanced

LIBERALISM

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey, "The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization", *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (1999), 403-34.

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey (eds.), *Democracy, liberalism, and war: rethinking the democratic peace debate* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2001).

Carr, E.H., *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Politics* (various editions). [a critique]

Cavallar, Georg, "Kantian perspectives on democratic peace: alternatives to Doyle", *Review of International Studies*. 27 (2001), 229-48.

Clark, Ian, *The Hierarchy of States: reform and resistance in the international order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989), Chapter 3.

Deudney, Daniel and G. John Ikenberry, "The Nature and Source of Liberal International Order", *Review of International Studies* 25 (1999), 179-96.

Donaldson, Thomas, "Kant's global rationalism", in: Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel (eds.), *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992).

*Doyle, Michael, "Liberalism and World Politics", *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986), 1151-69.

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Doyle, Michael W. and G. John Ikenberry (ed.), *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1997).

Doyle, Michael W., *Ways of War and Peace. Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company 1997).

- Franke, Mark, "Immanuel Kant and the (Im)Possibility of International Relations", *Alternatives* 20 (1995), 279-322.
- Fukuyama, Francis, "The End of History?", *The National Interest* (summer 1989).
- Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Hamish Hamilton 1992).
- Gleditsch, Nils Peter and Thomas Risse, "Special Issue: Democracy and Peace", *European Journal of International Relations* 1:4 (1995).
- Hurrell, Andrew, "Kant and the Kantian paradigm in international relations", *Review of International Studies* 16 (1990), 183-206.
- Hutchings, Kimberly, *Kant, Critique and Politics* (London: Routledge 1996).
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- Kegley, Charles W., "The Neoidealist Moment in International Studies? Realist Myths and the New International Realities", *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (1993), 131-46.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye (eds.), *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (various editions).
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (various editions).
- Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye, "Power and Interdependence Revisited", *International Organization* 41 (1987), 725-53.
- Layne, Christopher, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of Democratic Peace", *International Security* 19 (1994), 5-49.
- Linklater, Andrew, *Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations*, 2nd edition (London: Macmillan 1990), Chapter 6.
- Little, Richard, "International Relations and the Triumph of Capitalism", in: Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Political Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press 1995).
- MacMillan, John, "Liberalism and the democratic peace", *Review of International Studies* 30 (2004), 179-200.
- Onuf, Nicholas G. and Thomas J. Johnson, "Peace in the Liberal World: Does Democracy Matter?", in: Charles W. Kegley (ed.), *Controversies in International Relations Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1995), 179-97.
- Russett, Bruce, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993), esp. Ch. 1, 2 and 6.
- Smith, Hazel (ed.), *Democracy and International Relations: critical theories/problematic practices* (London: Macmillan 2000).
- Smith, Michael Joseph, "Liberalism and international reform", in: Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel (eds.), *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992).
- Waltz, Kenneth N., *Man, the state and war: A theoretical analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press 1959), esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

- Williams, Howard and Ken Booth, "Kant: theorist beyond limits", in: Ian Clark and Iver Neumann (eds.), *Classical theories of international relations* (London: Macmillan 1996).
- Williams, Michael C., "The Discipline of the Democratic Peace: Kant, Liberalism and the Social Construction of Security Communities", *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (2001), 525-53.
- Zacher, M.W. and R.A. Matthew, "Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands", in: Charles Jr. Kegley, *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1995), 107-50.

NEOLIBERALISM

- Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy", *World Politics* 38 (1985), 226-54.
- Baldwin, David A. (ed.), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press 1993), esp. Chapter 1.
- Grieco, John, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism", *International Organization* 42 (1988), 485-507.
- Haggard, Stephen and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes", *International Organization* 41 (1987).
- Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger, "Integrating Theories of International Regimes", *Review of International Studies* 26 (2000), 3-33.
- Kegley, Charles Jr., *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1995).
- Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security* 20 (1995), 39-51.
- *Keohane, Robert O., "International Liberalism Reconsidered", in: John Dunn (ed), *The Economic Limits to Modern Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990).
- *Keohane, Robert O., "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics" in: Robert O. Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder: Westview Press 1989).
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- Kratochwil, Friedrich and John G. Ruggie, "International Organizations: A State of the Art or the Art of the State", *International Organization* 40 (1986).
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- Nye, Joseph, "Neorealism and Neoliberalism", *World Politics* 40 (1988), 235-51.
- Powell, Robert, "Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate", *International Organization* 48 (1994), 313-44.
- Rosecrance, Richard and A. Stein, "Interdependence: Myth or Reality?", *World Politics* 26 (1973).

- Rosecrance, Richard et al., "Whither Interdependence?", *International Organization* 31 (1977).
- Ruggie, John G., "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution", *International Organization* 46 (1992), 561-98.
- Ruggie, John G., "The United States and the United Nations: Toward a New Realism", *International Organization* 39 (1985), 343-56.
- Young, Oran, "Political Leadership and Regime Formation: On the Development of Institutions in International Society", *International Organization* 45 (1991), 281-308.

Marxism

Introductions and overviews

- Linklater, Andrew, "Marxism", in: Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater et al., *Theories of International Relations*, 3rd edition (London: Palgrave 2005).
- Brown, Chris, "Marxism and international ethics", in: Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel, *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992), 229-45.
- Hobden, Stephen and Richard Wyn Jones, "Marxist Theories of International Relations", in: John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Maclean, John, "Marxism and International Relations: A Strange Case of Mutual Neglect", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17 (1988), 295-319.
- Rupert, Mark, "Marxism", in: Martin Griffiths (ed.), *International Relations for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction* (London: Routledge 2007).
- Rupert, Mark, "Marxism and Critical Theory", in: Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007).

More advanced

- Burnham, Peter, "The Communist Manifesto as International Relations Theory", in: Mark Cowling (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto: New Interpretations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1998).
- Cox, Michael, "Rebels without a Cause? Radical Theorists and the World System after the Cold War", *New Political Economy* 3 (1998), 445-60.
- Cox, Robert W., "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12 (1983), 162-75.
- Cox, Robert with Timothy Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996).
- Gill, Stephen and David Law, *The Global Political Economy: Perspectives, Problems and Policies* (New York: Harvester 1988), Ch. 5, 6 and 7.
- Gill, Stephen (ed.), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993).

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- Halliday, Fred, *Rethinking International Relations* (London: Macmillan 1994).
- Kubalkova, Vendulka and Albert Cruickshank, *Marxism and International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1985), esp. Chapters 1-3.
- Lacher, Hannes, "Making Sense of the International System: The Promises and Pitfalls of the Newest Marxist Theories of International Relations", in: Mark Rupert and Hazel Smith (eds.), *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge 2002).
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- Marx, Karl, "Preface to *A Critique of Political Economy*", in: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Writings*, ed. by David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1977), 388-392. [also, for instance, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>]
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- Rosenberg, Justin, "What's the Matter with Realism?", *Review of International Studies* 16 (1990), 285-303.
- Rosenberg, Justin, *The Empire of Civil Society: a critique of the realist theory of international relations* (London: Verso 1994), esp. Chapter 5.
- Rupert, Mark, "Globalising common sense: a Marxian-Gramscian (re-)vision", *Review of International Studies* 29, special issue (2003), 181-98.

Postcolonialism

Introductions and overviews

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS
COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20531: British Politics & Society since 1940: from Blitz to Brexit
Semester: 1st
Credits: 20

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Mode of assessment: Essay of 2,800 words (40%); two-hour examination (50%);
tutorial participation (10%)

Reading Week: Mon 29 October – Fri 2 November 2018

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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

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Please note you only need to submit an electronic copy of your paper via Turnitin

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Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

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You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
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- School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

This guide provides basic information about the course under the following headings: General course information (pp. 3-4); Lecture programme and tutorial information (pp. 4-5); Assessment arrangements (pp. 5-6); Assessed essay questions and dummy exam paper (p.-7); Information on course readings and other supporting materials (p. 8); Recommended course texts (p. 8); Introductory topic readings (pp. 10-15).

General course information

Scope of the course:

This course will analyse the development of post-war British politics, in particular such themes as the nature and durability of the ‘consensus’ over social and economic policy that may have existed. The fortunes and ideologies of the major parties of government will be examined, as will issues such as racism and immigration, the role of trade unions and the challenges of modernisation and decline. On the basis of the course, it will be possible to consider the latest realignments of British politics with both theoretical insight and depth of historical perspective.

Aim of the course:

The aim of this course is to provide an analysis of British politics since the 1940s, looking especially at the extent to which governments adhered to a dominant social-democratic policy paradigm in the decades after 1945, and similarly a post-Thatcherite or neo-liberal paradigm since the 1970s. The concepts of consensus and hegemony will be thus critically assessed to establish how far the ruptures and continuities of recent British politics can be understood in terms of the making and/or breaking of one or other dominant paradigm. There is a particular focus on the role of parties, ideology and challenges arising from beyond the political mainstream. The course will also consider how and why Britain since the 1950s has evolved from a seemingly stable two-party system to a more fragmented and unpredictable ‘multi-party’ democracy.

Objectives of the course:

- By the completion of this course students will be familiar with developments in government and party politics since 1940, and have the ability to reflect critically on the construction of political debates and agendas around such issues as affluence, social class, modernisation and national and ethnic identity.
- Students will have achieved an understanding of modern British politics and the role of the British political tradition, and will be able to express themselves in coursework and assessment assignments.
- Students will have developed an ability to evaluate the changing fortunes and political character of the main political parties and to locate these in relation to wider developments in the economy, culture and society.
- Students will develop skills in assessing both primary sources and secondary political texts and employing these in a critical way in both written assessments and class discussion.

Course Organisation: There will be weekly lectures and tutorials as outlined below. Lecture slides will be made accessible via Blackboard in the week before the lecture.

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice states that a 20 credits course unit should require a total of about 200 hours of work by the student.

- 20 hours of lectures
- 10 hours of seminars
- 2 hour examination
- 60 hours for seminar preparation (6 hours of reading and preparation for each of 10 substantive seminars)
- 60 hours to research and write the essay
- 50 hours for exam revision

Lecture and tutorial programme

- Week 1** **27 Sept 2018**
Introduction to the course and the politics of consensus
(introductory tutorials 1-4 Oct)
- Week 2** **4 Oct 2018**
Labour's road to 1945 and the politics of democratic socialism
(tutorials 8-11 Oct)
- Week 3** **11 Oct 2018**
The 'old' and 'new' Conservatism: from austerity to affluence
(tutorials 15-18 Oct)
- Week 4** **18 Oct 2018**
Modernisation or decline? Government and popular politics in the 1960-70s
(tutorials 22-25 Oct)
- Week 5** **25 Oct 2018**
Thatcherism, theory and practice
(tutorials 5-8 Nov)
- Week 6** No lecture or tutorial: reading week
- Week 7** **8 Nov 2018**
Attlee's heir or Thatcher's? New Labour back in power
(tutorials 12-15 Nov)
- Week 8** **15 Nov 2018**
From the margins or the mainstream? Immigration and the 'racialisation' of British politics
(tutorials 19-22 Nov)

Week 9 22 Nov 2018

The break-up of Britain?

(tutorials 26-9 Nov)

Week 10 29 Nov 2018

Corbyn and the Labour tradition: the challenge to consensus?

(tutorials 3-6 Dec)

Week 11 6 Dec 2018

Brexit and the party system: the politics of losing control?

(tutorials 10-13 Dec)

Week 12 13 Dec 2018

Revision lecture

Tutorials run from weeks 2 to 12 of the course with the exception of week 6. Week 2 is an introductory tutorial, and the tutorial topics thereafter will match the previous week's lecture topic as indicated above.

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory. You are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should contact the tutor with this information. If you are unable to do this, you should explain your absence as soon as possible. You should not wait to be contacted by the course tutor(s) for non-attendance. Unexcused absences can lead to unsatisfactory tutor's reports at the end of the course (affecting future job references by other tutors), and may result in exclusion from this course or in refusal to allow you to re-sit a failed exam.

Assessment arrangements

This course is assessed via (i) essay (ii) unseen examination paper (iii) tutorial participation.

(i) One 2,800 word essay (40% of the final mark): hand-in date 19 November 2018.

All essays should be fully referenced in accordance with the department's standardised guidelines regarding footnotes and bibliography (copies available from the SoSS Undergraduate Office).

You must submit the essay electronically through the Turnitin, on the module's BB9 site by the above deadline. Full instructions on how to do this are available on the module's BB9 site. Essays must NOT be faxed or e-mailed to Politics or to a member of staff. No essay sent in this way will be marked.

See the **Part II Guide** for all requirements regarding essay formatting, referencing, plagiarism, and submission. It is available on Blackboard. All submitted assignments should be double-spaced. Ensure that pages are numbered

and include a word count (the word count may vary by around 10% above or below the limit). Standardised rules for footnotes and bibliographies are available from the Undergraduate Office. If an assessed essay fails to satisfy these rules, the Discipline Area requires that it be penalised by the deduction of marks, normally to a maximum of 10 marks where the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate.

Late Submission of Essays and other Coursework will be penalised.

Please see the Policy on Submission of Work for Summative Assessment on Taught Programmes at:

<http://www.tlso.manchester.ac.uk/map/teachinglearningassessment/assessment/sectionb-thepracticeofassessment/policyonsubmissionofworkforsummativeassessment/>

Late penalties will be applied unless the students Home School grants an extension

The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate referencing for an assessment essay will be penalised by the deduction of marks - normally to a maximum of 10 marks if the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate.

Statement on Plagiarism: Plagiarism is regarded as a very serious offence.

Please note that all essays will be submitted to a plagiarism check using *Turnitin* software. Serious cases may result in expulsion from the University. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be found in the **Part II Guide**, their programme handbooks, or obtained from the Undergraduate Office.

The assessed essay questions may be found immediately below (p. 5).

(ii) **A two hour unseen examination paper [50%]**

On the exam paper there will be a choice of 6 questions **broadly corresponding to the topics in weeks 5 and 7-11 course**. Students will be required to answer **any 2 of these 6 questions**. Please note that the precise scope of this course has changed from year to year: past exam papers may be used as a guide to the way in which particular topics have come up in the past: nevertheless, for the topics to be assessed you should be guided only by materials and themes discussed in this year's course. A sample exam paper may be found below (p. 6).

(iii) **Tutorial participation[10%]**

Your tutor will provide guidance on forms of preparation and participation, and marks will be awarded on the basis of the University's standard expectations as outlined above. If you miss a tutorial with good reason, it is important that you let your tutor know.

Assessed essay questions

For the assessed essay, you **must** choose **one** of the following questions broadly corresponding to weeks 2-4 of the course:

1. Conservatives in 1951 described the Attlee governments as an ‘attempt to impose a doctrinaire Socialism’ on Britain. Were they right?
2. They failed in modernising Britain because they promised too much and delivered too little. Do you agree with this assessment of the Wilson and Heath governments 1964-74?
3. Does the idea of a post-war consensus provide the best way of explaining the changes made by Britain’s Conservatives in successfully recovering from the defeat of 1945?

Dummy exam paper (questions NOT to be used for the assessed essay)

For guidance in exam preparations, the following sample paper gives an indication of the broad scope and coverage of the paper you can expect in January. The broad scope and coverage are also the same as on last year’s (2017-18) paper. Earlier papers may be consulted for examples of how particular topics may come up but **not** for the overall scope of the paper.

Do NOT select one of these questions for your assessed essay (unless by agreement with the course convenor where you are submitting an alternative assessment in lieu of the exam).

POLI 20531 British Politics and Society Since 1940

Answer TWO questions

1. Since the 1950s Scotland has come to threaten the ‘break-up of Britain’, but Wales has not. Is this verdict justified, and if so why?
2. Was Labour’s advance at the 2017 general election the result of it returning to its radical roots?
3. Which parties have stood to gain most from the politicisation of race and immigration, and why?
4. Did New Labour in power represent the renewal of British social democracy or its abandonment?
5. Was Thatcherism a “two-nations project”?
6. Does Brexit prove that Britain’s two-party system has fallen apart?

Information on course readings and other supporting materials

There is a vast literature on British politics and society since 1940. Guidance and course reading preparation is organised in the form of a weekly tutorial and exam or essay preparation guide which will be provided for each topic on Blackboard and principally comprises the following.

1. Questions

Providing guidance on key issues to be addressed through reading and class discussion.

2. Key readings

These are the required readings for tutorial preparation unless your tutor specifies alternatives. All should be readily accessible electronically or directly through the Blackboard site.

3. General texts and alternative readings

Further items directly supporting the lecture that (except as stated) should be readily accessible. Where applicable references are also given to the recommended course textbooks by Morgan and Childs (see below). These may be particularly helpful to students without any prior familiarity with themes and issues in post-war British politics. Nevertheless, they should be regarded as introductory texts that in each case need to be supplemented by more critical readings.

4. Supplementary reading

The course recommends a wide variety of readings, from polemical articles to extensively documented monographs. These need to be used with discrimination: one of the course objectives is to develop skills of using rigorously, critically and effectively the different types of source from which build up our understanding of politics. These skills may be particularly important for students writing dissertations in their final year. For this reason we do not specify a particular number of items that should be consulted, cited or listed in essay bibliographies. It is clearly important to familiarise yourself with alternative arguments and interpretations. Though you are not restricted to these, it is also important that your reading is centrally based on the literatures recommended in the course guide and discussed in lectures and tutorials. Beyond this, you are encouraged to use insight and discretion as to how you follow up the different themes and lines of argument you encounter and credit for this will be given in formal assessment.

There is also a vast range of contemporary sources in diverse media are easily accessed via the internet. These can give a vivid sense of how political debates have been constructed and represented, and can enhance both understanding and enjoyment of the issues discussed. The assessed essay in particular offers scope to demonstrate the ability to make effective and critical use of such materials and in developing and supporting your arguments. The recommendations provided are of necessity highly selective.

5.Essay/exam preparation

Except where clearly indicated in the guidance provided and/or teaching materials, the course does not have a prescriptive approach as to specific texts or arguments to be cited in assessed essays or exam scripts. You are therefore encouraged to engage imaginatively with a variety of reading and show initiative in how you present your own understanding of the issues discussed. There are, however, core issues which you are expected to address and general parameters within which an effective answer will need to be constructed. Appropriate guidance is therefore provided in the case of each topic, and you are also encouraged to seek the advice of your tutor, who may be able to offer feedback on a preliminary short essay plan or proposed bibliography. Markers will also be guided by the Politics grade descriptors which you will find in the Politics Part II guide.

Recommended course texts

There is no one overall textbook for the course. Nevertheless, there are a number of general overviews of British politics that students have found useful, particularly where they have no prior familiarity with broader themes and issues discussed in the course. These can therefore be used as introductory texts but in each case will need to be supplemented by more critical readings.

The most straightforward chronological overviews are easily accessible:

Kenneth Morgan
David Childs

Britain since 1945: the People's Peace
Britain Since 1945

Other overviews have a more critical focus dealing respectively with issues of political economy; democracy and the state; and social policy:

Andrew Gamble
David Marquand

Britain in Decline (1994 edn).
*Britain Since 1918. The strange career of
British Democracy*

Rodney Lowe

The Welfare State in Britain since 1945 (1999
edn)

Introductory topic readings

As described above, you should refer to the weekly tutorial and assessment preparation guide for directions as to possible reading. However, the following suggestions are provided in case you wish to read ahead on any particular topic.

Week 1

Introduction to the course: the politics of consensus

Rodney Lowe	‘The Second World War, consensus and the foundations of the welfare state’, <i>Twentieth Century British History</i> , 1, 2, 1990.
Kevin Hickson	‘The post-war consensus revisited’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 75 (2), Apr-Jun 2004, pp.142-154’.
D. Kavanagh & P.Morris	<i>Consensus politics from Attlee to Thatcher</i> (1989)
David Marquand	<i>The Unprincipled Society</i> , ch. 1, 'Keynesian Social Democracy'.
David Marquand et al	‘The decline of post-war consensus’, <i>Contemporary Record</i> , 2:3 (1988), 28-35
Ben Pimlott et al	‘Is the post-war consensus a myth?’, <i>Contemporary Record</i> , 2:6 (1989), 12-15

Week 2

Labour’s road to 1945 and the politics of democratic socialism

Martin Francis	‘Economics and ethics: the nature of Labour’s socialism, 1945-51’, <i>Twentieth Century British History</i> , 6, 2, 1995.
David Marquand	<i>Britain Since 1918. The strange career of British democracy</i> (2008), ch. 5.
John Callaghan	<i>Socialism in Britain since 1984</i> (1990), chs 10-11
Andrew Thorpe	<i>A History of the British Labour Party</i> (2008 edn), chs 6-7.
Geoffrey Foote	<i>The Labour Party’s Political Thought</i> , (1997 edn), chs 8, 12.
Jose Harris	‘Labour’s political and social thought’ in Duncan Tanner et al. <i>Labour’s First Century</i> , pp. 8-45
S Fielding, et al.	<i>England Arise. The Labour Party and popular politics in 1940s Britain</i> (1995), chs 4-7.
Ross McKibbin	<i>Parties and People 1914-51</i> (2010). (Ch. 5.)
Jim Tomlinson	<i>Democratic Socialism and Economic Policy. The Attlee years 1945-51</i> (1997)
David Childs	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , ch. 2
Kenneth Morgan	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , chs 2-3

Week 3**The 'old' and 'new' Conservatism: from austerity to affluence**

Harriet Jones	'New Conservatism' in Coneckin et al, <i>Moments of Modernity</i> .
John Ramsden	'A Party for Owners or a Party for Earners?' How Far Did the British Conservative Party Really Change after 1945', <i>Transactions of Royal Historical Society</i> , 37, Jan 1987, 49-63.
Kevin Jeffreys	<i>Retreat from New Jerusalem. British politics 1951-64</i> (1997)
Michael Pinto-Duschinsky	'Bread and circuses? The Conservatives in office 1951-64' in Bogdanor and Skidelsky, <i>The Age of Affluence</i> , pp. 55-77.
Harriet Jones	'The Cold War and the Santa Claus syndrome: dilemmas in Conservative social policy-making 1945-57' in Francis and Zweiniger-Bargielowska, <i>The Conservatives and British Society 1880-1990</i> , pp. 240-54
Kenneth Morgan	<i>Britain since 1945</i> , chs 4-6.
David Childs	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , chs 4-6
John Turner	'A land fit for Tories to live in: the political ecology of the British Conservative Party 1944-94', <i>Contemporary European History</i> vol. 4 pt. 2 (1995).
David Willetts	<i>Modern Conservatism</i> (1992), especially part 1
E.H.H. Green	'Searching for the Middle Way: the political economy of Harold Macmillan' in idem, <i>Ideologies of Conservatism</i> (2002), ch. 6
J.D. Hoffman	<i>The Conservative Party in Opposition 1945-1951</i> (1964).
Mark Jarvis	<i>Conservative Governments, Morality and Social Change in Affluent Britain 1957-64</i>
Harriet Jones	""This is Magnificent!": 300,000 houses a year and the Tory revival after 1945', <i>Contemporary British History</i> , 14, 1 (2000), pp. 99-121.
Rodney Lowe	'The replanning of the Welfare State, 1957-64' in Francis and Zweiniger-Bargielowska, <i>The Conservatives and British Society 1880-1990</i> , pp. 240-54.

Week 4**Modernisation or decline? Government and popular politics in the 1960-70s**

Andrew Gamble	<i>Britain in Decline</i> , 1994 edn, ch. 4.
Gregory Elliott	<i>Labourism and the English Genius</i> , 1993, ch. 3
Kenneth Morgan	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , chs 7-9

David Childs	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , chs 7-9
Richard Coopey et al, eds	<i>The Wilson Governments 1964-1970</i> , 1993.
David Howell	<i>British Social Democracy</i> , 1976, ch. 9: 'The second time as farce'.
John Callaghan	<i>Socialism in Britain since 1884</i> , 1990, ch. 13.
John Campbell	<i>Edward Heath: a biography</i> , 1993. (Ch. 15.)
Mark Garnett	'Planning for power: 1964-70' in Anthony Seldon & Stuart Ball (eds), <i>Recovering Power: The Conservatives in Opposition since 1867</i> (2005), ch. 9
Jim Tomlinson	'Conservative modernisation 1960-64: too little, too late?', <i>Contemporary British History</i> , 11, 3, 18-38.
Brendan Evans & Andrew Taylor	<i>From Salisbury to Major. Continuity and change in Conservative politics</i> , 1996, ch. 6.

Week 5

Thatcherism, theory and practice

Stuart Hall	<i>The Hard Road to Renewal. Thatcherism and the crisis of the left</i> , chs 8-9
Andrew Gamble	<i>The Free Economy & the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism</i> (1994 edn), esp. ch 7
Bob Jessop et al	<i>Thatcherism: A Tale of Two Nations</i> , esp. chs 1-2
R Skidelsky (ed)	<i>Thatcherism</i> (1988)
E.H.H. Green	'Thatcherism: a historical perspective' in idem, <i>Ideologies of Conservatism</i> (2004)
Dennis Kavanagh	<i>Thatcherism and British politics: the end of consensus?</i> (1987), esp. ch. 1
Kenneth Morgan	<i>Britain since 1945</i> , chs 12-13
David Childs	<i>Britain since 1945</i> , chs 9-10
Andrew Gamble	<i>The Free Economy & the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism</i> (1994 edn)
Hugo Young	<i>One of Us</i> (1991 edn), especially chs 4-8

Week 7

Attlee's heir or Thatcher's? New Labour back in power

Eric Shaw	<i>Losing Labour's Soul? New Labour & the Blair government</i> (2007), esp. ch. 8: 'What does New Labour stand for?'
Richard Heffernan	<i>New Labour and Thatcherism. Political change in Britain</i> (2000), especially chs 7-9
David Coates & Colin Hay	'The Internal and External Face of New Labour's Political Economy', <i>Government and Opposition</i> , 36 (4), 447-71, 2001.
Kenneth Morgan	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , ch. 14
David Childs	<i>Britain Since 1945</i> , chs 12-14

Matt Beech & Simon Lee (eds)	<i>Ten Years of New Labour</i> (2008)
James Cronin	<i>New Labour's Pasts: The Labour Party and its Discontents</i> (2004)
Raymond Plant, et al (eds)	<i>The Struggle for Labour's Soul</i>
Andrew Thorpe	<i>A History of the British Labour Party</i> (2008 edn), ch. 12 'Blair and New Labour in Power'
Steven Fielding	<i>The Labour Party : continuity and change in the making of 'New' Labour</i> , ch. 1: 'Introduction: What is New Labour?'

Week 8 From the margins or the mainstream? Immigration and the 'racialisation' of British politics

Shamit Saggat	<i>Race and Politics in Britain</i> , 1992. (Ch. 7.)
Zig Layton-Henry	<i>The Politics of Immigration</i> , 1992. (Ch 2, 4 and 7 especially)
Paul B. Rich	'Ethnic politics and the Conservatives in the post-Thatcher era' in Shamit Saggat, ed., <i>Race and British Electoral Politics</i> , 1998.
John Solomos	<i>Race and Racism in Britain</i> , 1989 edn, chs 3-4
R. Miles and A. Phizacklea	<i>White Man's Country</i> , 1984.
S. Saggat	<u>"Immigration and the politics of public opinion in Britain"</u> <i>University of Yale Politics Papers</i> [online http://www.yale.edu/cpworkshop/Saggat%20Paper.pdf]
Kalbir Shukra	'New Labour debates and dilemmas' in Shamit Saggat, ed., <i>Race and British Electoral Politics</i> , 1998
Paul B. Rich	<i>Race and Empire in British politics</i> , 1990 edn, ch. 8: 'End of empire and the rise of "race relations"'
R Eatwell & M Goodwin (eds)	<i>The New Extremism in Twenty-First Century Britain</i> .
Nigel Copsey	<i>Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy</i>
Nigel Copsey	'Changing course or changing clothes? Reflections on the ideological evolution of the British National Party 1999-2006', <i>Patterns of Prejudice</i> , 41(1), pp.61-82.

Week 9 The break-up of Britain?

H. Elcock & M. Keating, (eds)	<i>Remaking the union: devolution and British politics in the 1990s</i> , 1997
A.H. Birch	<i>Political Integration and Disintegration in the British Isles</i>

Jonathan Bradbury	<i>Union and Devolution. Territorial politics in the United Kingdom from Thatcher to Blair</i>
A.H. Birch	<i>Political Integration and Disintegration in the British Isles</i>
Peter Dorey	‘Welsh nationalism and demands for devolution’ in Dorey (ed.) <i>The Labour governments, 1964-1970</i> (2006)
H Elcock & M Keating (eds)	<i>Remaking the Union; devolution and British politics in the 1990s</i> (1998)
Gerry Hassan (ed)	<i>The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power</i>

Week 10 Corbyn and the Labour tradition: the challenge to consensus?

Richard Seymour	<i>Corbyn: the strange rebirth of radical politics</i> (2016)
W. Stephen Gilbert	<i>Jeremy Corbyn: accidental hero</i> (2016)
Steve Richards	‘Leadership, loyalty and the rise of Jeremy Corbyn’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 87, 1 (2017), 12-16
Patrick Diamond	‘Assessing the performance of UK opposition leaders: Jeremy Corbyn’s “Straight talking, honest politics”’, <i>Politics and Governance</i> , 4, 2 (2017), 15-24
Tom Quinn	‘From the Wembley Conference to the ‘McDonnell Amendment’: Labour's Leadership Nomination Rules’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 89, 1 (2018), 474-81
Peter Dorey and Andrew Denham	‘The longest suicide vote in history: the Labour leadership election of 2015’, <i>British Politics</i> , 11, 3 (2016), 259-82
Tim Bale	<i>Five Year Mission: the Labour Party under Ed Miliband</i> (2015)

Week 11 Brexit and the party system: the politics of losing control?

Katharine Dommett	‘Post-democratic party politics’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 87, 1 (2016), 86-90
Vernon Bogdanor	‘Europe and the Sovereignty of the People’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 87, 3, (2016), 348-51
Albert Weale	‘Nostalgic Democracy Triumphs over Democratic Internationalism’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 87, 3, (2016), 352-4
Jack Hayward	‘The Populist Challenge to Élitist Democracy in Europe’ in Jack Hayward (ed.), <i>Elitism, Populism, and European Politics</i> (1996) (e-book)
Philip Lynch	Conservative modernisation and European integration: From silence to salience and schism, <i>British Politics</i> , 10, 2 (2015)
Sara B. Hobolt	‘The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent’, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 23, 9 (2016), 1259-77
Robert Saunders	‘A tale of two referendums: 1975 and 2016’, <i>Political Quarterly</i> , 87 (3), 318-22

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19**

POLI20602 Arguing about Politics Semester: 2 Credits: 20

Convener: Dr Liam Shields
Room: Arthur Lewis Building, 4.063
Telephone: 0161 2754887

Lecturer(s): Dr Richard Child: Richard.Child@Manchester.ac.uk
 Dr Stephen Hood: Stephen.Hood@Manchester.ac.uk
 Dr Nicola Mulkeen: Nicola.Mulkeen@Manchester.ac.uk
 Professor James Pattison: james.pattison@Manchester.ac.uk
 Dr Liam Shields: Liam.Shields@Manchester.ac.uk
 Dr Juri Viehoff : Juri.Viehoff@Manchester.ac.uk

Office Hours: email for appointments

Lectures: **Mondays Mansfield Cooper G.19 11am – 1pm.**

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: One two-hour unseen examination (questions will be based on the last six topics) to be taken at the end of the course worth 60% of the mark and an assessed essay (2,600 words) (based on one of the first three topics) worth 40% of the mark.

Reading Week: **NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO**

Administrator: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906

Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499
 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ

Essay hand in date: 4 th March 2019

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 13.05.2019 – 07.06.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Course Schedule

- Lectures start the week commencing 28th January
- Tutorials start the week commencing 4th February
- The Easter Break is 8th April to 29th April
- There will be no teaching scheduled on the week commencing 25th February. This is to allow you more time to work on your essays, due on the following Monday, 4th March.

Introductory Lecture		28 th January	LS
Lecture 1	Designer Babies	4 th Feb	LS
Lecture 2	Exploitation	11 th Feb	NM
Lecture 3	Effective Altruism	18 th Feb	JP
25th Feb		Essay Writing Week	
Lecture 4	Ethics of Competition	4 th Mar	SH
Lecture 5	Justice and Taxation	11 th Mar	JV
Lecture 6	Ethics of Voting	18 th Mar	RC
Lecture 7	State Authority and Respect for Citizens	25 th Mar	JV
Lecture 8	Solidarity	1 st Apr	JV
Lecture 9	Punishment	29 th Apr	RC
Concluding Lecture		6 th May	LS

Tutorials

Thursday 10-11 – Samuel Alexander_A114

Thursday 11-12 – Samuel Alexander_A114

Friday 12-1 – Samuel Alexander_A114

Friday 1-2 – Samuel Alexander_A114

Friday 2-3 – Samuel Alexander_A114

Friday 3 -4 - Ellen Wilkinson B2.4

1. Designer babies

Lecture Theme: It is now possible to select certain genetic traits in unborn children by gene editing or by selecting certain sperm and eggs that will create a fetus. The products of this practice are often referred to as designer babies. Our genetic profile can greatly affect the shape and quality of our lives and so one might think that we should do what we can to improve the quality of life of any children we have conceived, but this is highly controversial. In this lecture we consider the moral status of “designing” our off-spring. In particular, we ask we can be obliged to select against certain traits, such as genetic illness and disability, and select in favor of certain “desired” traits, including sex selection.

Required Reading:

Savulescu, Julian. "Procreative beneficence: why we should select the best children." *Bioethics* 15.5-6 (2001): 413-426.

Liao, S. Matthew. "Selecting children: The ethics of reproductive genetic engineering." *Philosophy Compass* 3.5 (2008): 973-991.

Further Reading:

Clayton, Matthew. "Individual autonomy and genetic choice." *A companion to genetics* (2002): 191-205.

Sparrow, Robert. "Defending deaf culture: The case of cochlear implants*." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 13.2 (2005): 135-152

Parker, Michael. "The best possible child." *Journal of Medical Ethics* 33.5 (2007): 279-283.

Savulescu, J. and G. Kahane, 2009, "The Moral Obligation to Create Children with the Best Chance of the Best Life," *Bioethics* 23(5): 274–290.

Heyd, David, 2003, "Male or Female, We Will Create Them: The Ethics of Sex Selection for Non-Medical Reasons," *Ethical Perspectives*, 10(3–4): 204–214.

Vehmas, Simon, 2002, "Is It Wrong to Deliberately Conceive or Give Birth to a Child with Mental Retardation?," *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, 27(1): 47–63.

Purdy, Laura. "Is preconception sex selection necessarily sexist?." *Reproductive biomedicine* online 15 (2007): 33-37.

Purdy, Laura. "Prenatal testing and disability rights." *Social theory and practice* 27.4 (2001): 681-687.

Liao, S. Matthew. "The ethics of using genetic engineering for sex selection." *Journal of medical ethics* 31.2 (2005): 116-118.

Podcast

Julian Savulescu Podcast on Design your babies: <http://philosophybites.com/2012/04/julian-savulescu-on-designer-babies-.html>

Sample Questions

- When, if ever, is sex selection permissible?
- If we are able to “design” a baby should we always choose so as to maximize the expected welfare of the child?
- Can we explain why we should select against illnesses and disabilities without also committing ourselves to selecting the “best” child?
- What if any moral limits are there on genetic selection?

2. Exploitation

Lecture Theme: Despite the fact that we intuitively recognise that certain transactions are exploitative the concept of exploitation is notoriously complex. To see this, consider a common case of exploitation: sweatshop contracts. Most people think these contracts are morally defective in some respect, yet sweatshop workers often earn far more than their compatriots, and freely choose (even compete) to enter these contracts. Because exploitative transactions generally improve the situation of the exploited, it is extremely difficult to articulate which moral principles are violated in these cases, and how we ought to deal with exploitation. The aim in this lecture is to consider three fundamental questions. What exactly is exploitation? What makes exploitation so wrong? And when, if ever, can exploitation be justified?

Required tutorial reading:

Matt Zwolinski, 'Sweatshops, Choice and Exploitation' *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 17 (2007), pp.689-727.

Additional reading:

Elizabeth Anderson, 'Is Women's Labour a Commodity?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19 (1990), pp.71-92.
G.A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Ben Ferguson, 'The Paradox of Exploitation' *Erkenn* 81 (2016), pp.951-972.

***Ben Ferguson and Hillel Steiner, 'Exploitation' *Oxford University Handbook of Distributive Justice*, (ed.) Serena Olsaretti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).**

***Robert Goodin, 'Exploiting a Situation and Exploiting a Person' in Andrew Reeve eds., *Modern Theories on Exploitation* (London: Sage, 1987), pp.166-200.**

Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1887).

Margaret Jane Radin, *Contested Commodities: The Trouble with Trade in Sex, Children, Body Parts and Other Things* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

***Ruth Sample, *Exploitation: What it is and Why it is Wrong* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003).**

Debra Satz, 'Markets in Women's Reproductive Labor' *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 21 (1992), pp.107-131.

Debra Satz, 'Markets in Women's Sexual Labor' *Ethics* 106 (1995), pp.63-85.

Hillel Steiner, 'A Liberal Theory of Exploitation' *Ethics* 94 (1984), pp.225-241.

Hillel Steiner, 'Exploitation: A Liberal Theory Amended, Defended and Extended' in *Modern Theories of Exploitation*, (ed.) A Reeve, (London & Los Angeles: Sage, 1987), pp.132-148.

Hillel Steiner, 'Exploitation takes Time' in *Essays for Ian Steedman*, (eds.) P.A Samuelson & J. Vint (London: Routledge, 2009).

Hillel Steiner, 'Liberalism, Neutrality and Exploitation' *Politics, Philosophy and Economics* 12 (2013), pp. 335-344.

***Nicholas Vrousalis, 'Exploitation, Vulnerability and Social Domination' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 41 (2013), pp.131-157.**

Alan Wertheimer, 'Two Questions About Surrogacy and Exploitation' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 21 (1992), pp.132-164.

Alan Wertheimer, *Exploitation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

David Zimmerman, 'Coercive Wage Offers' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 10 (1981), pp.131-145.

Sample questions:

1. What are the necessary defects that make an exchange exploitative?
2. How, if at all, are facts about the intention of the agents involved or the unjust background conditions against which they operate relevant to assessing charges of exploitation?
3. Does the wrong making feature involved in exploitation necessarily involve some kind of harm to its victim?
4. Can exploitation be justified?

3. Effective Altruism: Giving Humanitarian Aid and Undertaking Humanitarian Intervention

Lecture Theme: This week we will consider the case for ‘effective altruism’. This is the notion that we are morally required not simply to help others, but to help others *effectively*. This might mean, for instance, that we are morally required to give to certain charities rather than others. Or it might mean that instead of working for an NGO, we should maximise our income potential (e.g. become a lawyer) and then give most of our money to the best possible charity. The lecture and seminar will also consider what this might mean for states engaging in humanitarian intervention—it is sometimes objected to humanitarian intervention that rather than using military force to try to save lives (e.g. in Kosovo and Libya) states should instead give humanitarian aid to tackle global poverty.

Core Readings

MacAskill, William (2015). *Doing Good Better: How Effective Altruism Can Help You Make a Difference* (London: Guardian Faber Publishing).

Singer, Peter (2015). *The Most Good You Can Do: How Effective Altruism is Changing Ideas About Living Ethically* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

Oberman, Kieran (2017). ‘War and Poverty’. *Philosophical Studies*, First Online, doi.org/10.1007/s11098-017-1012-4

Further Reading

Gabriel, Iason (2017). ‘[Effective Altruism and its Critics](#)’, *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 41/4: 451–73.

Gray, John (2015). ‘[How and How Not to be Good](#)’, *New York Review of Books*, May 21 2015. Available at <http://www.politique-actu.com/dossier/good-john-gray/1349813/>

MacAskill, William (2014). ‘Replaceability, Career Choice, and Making a Difference’, *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 17/2: 269–83

McMahan, Jeff (2016). ‘[Philosophical Critiques of Effective Altruism](#)’, *The Philosopher’s Magazine*, 73. [Available on <http://jeffersonmcmahan.com/publications/>]

McMahan, Jeff (2017). ‘[Doing Good and Doing the Best](#)’, in Paul Woodruff (eds) *The Ethics of Giving: Philosophers’ Perspectives on Philanthropy* (New York: Oxford University Press). [Available on <http://jeffersonmcmahan.com/publications/>]

Pummer, Theron (2016). ‘Whether and Where to Give’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 44/1: 77–95.

Rubenstein, Jennifer C. (2016). ‘The Lessons of Effective Altruism’, *Ethics & International Affairs*, 30/4: 511–26.

Srinivasan, Amia (2015). ‘[Stop the Robot Apocalypse](#)’, *London Review of Books*, 37/18: 3-6.

[Valentino](#), Benjamin A. (2011). ‘The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Notion’, *Foreign Affairs*, [November/December 2011](#), 60–73.

[Symposium on Singer’s book in the Journal of Global Ethics:](#)

Skelton, Anthony (2016). ‘The Ethical Principles of Effective Altruism’, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 12/2: 137–46.

Igneski, Violetta (2016). ‘Living a Meaningful and Ethical Life in the Face of Great Need: Responding to Singer’s *The Most Good You Can Do*’, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 12/2: 147–53.

Isaacs, Tracy (2016). ‘The Most Good We Can Do: Comments on Peter Singer’s *The Most Good You Can Do*’, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 12/2: 154-60.

Singer, Peter (2016). ‘The Most Good You Can Do: A Response to the Commentaries’, *Journal of Global Ethics*, 12/2: 161-69.

Useful websites

<https://80000hours.org/>

<https://www.centreforeffectivealtruism.org/>

<https://www.givingwhatwecan.org/>

<https://www.thelifeyoucansave.org/>

Sample Questions

- Are you morally required to give aid to the most effective charities?
- Was the humanitarian intervention in Libya in 2011 morally wrong because the resources used for this intervention could have been better spent elsewhere, e.g. on tackling global poverty?
- What, if anything, is wrong with choosing a career path that is sub-optimal in terms of humanitarianism?

4. Justice and Taxation.

Lecture Theme: The most obvious way in which the state can actually implement abstract ideas about distributive justice and economic fairness is through taxation and subsequent redistribution. But should the state always tax and redistribute when it can? And if so: how should it organize the tax system? It is only in recent years that political theorists have (re-)focused their attention on normative puzzles regarding taxation. In this lecture/seminar, we will look at the topic of taxation and justice, starting with foundational issues (do we have moral entitlements to pre-tax income?) but subsequently addressing the justification of more particular kinds of taxation in the domestic context (e.g. inheritance tax) and ‘novel’ challenges to a justice-oriented tax system under globalization.

Required Reading:

O'Neill, Martin, and Shepley Orr. 2018. *Taxation: Philosophical Perspectives*. Oxford: OUP. Introduction
Brock, Gillian. 2008. “Taxation and Global Justice: Closing the Gap between Theory and Practice.” *Journal of Social Philosophy* 39 (2): 161–84.
Valentynne, Peter 2018. ‘Libertarianism and Taxation’ in: O'Neill and Orr op.cit.

Further Reading:

Murphy, L. & Nagel, T. (2001) ‘Taxes, Redistribution, and Public Provision’ *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 30, 1, 53–71.
Murphy, L. and Nagel, T. 2004. *The Myth of Ownership: Taxes and Justice* Oxford: OUP.
Dietsch, P. 2016 *Catching Capital* Oxford University Press.
Nili, S. 2015. ‘Global Taxation, Global Reform, and Collective Action’ *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, Vol.1, 1, 83-103.
White, S. 2018. Moral Objections to Inheritance Taxation. in: O'Neill and Orr op.cit.
Brock, Gillian. 2008. “Taxation and Global Justice: Closing the Gap between Theory and Practice.” *Journal of Social Philosophy* 39 (2): 161–84.
Halliday, D. 2018. *Inheritance of Wealth: Justice, Equality, and the Right to Bequeath*. Oxford: OUP.
International Bar Association. 2013. “Tax Abuses, Poverty and Human Rights.” A Report of the International Bar Association’s Human Rights Institute Task Force on Illicit Financial Flows, Poverty and Human Rights. <https://www.ibanet.org/Document/Default.aspx?DocumentUid=4977CB3D-4988-4C9C-84C7-9050A5CB2311>

Sample Questions

- Are property rights prior to state institutions?
- What justifies a (progressive) income tax system?
- Should inheritance be taxed higher than gifts between living persons?
- If global tax competition a *philosophical* problem?

5. Ethics of Competition

Lecture theme: We organise many areas of social life in a competitive manner: e.g. multi-party democratic elections, markets for goods and services, meritocratic job markets. This lecture will assess two questions relating to such competitive contexts: 1) whether we have good reasons to support the use of competitive arrangements over more cooperative forms of organisation; 2) in what ways, and for what reasons, the behaviour of participants in competitive schemes might justifiably be limited. This second question will be illustrated via an examination of issues related to doping in sports and the use of cognitive enhancing ‘smart drugs’ as study aids.

Required Tutorial Reading:

- Schermer, M. (2006) ‘On the Argument That Enhancement is “Cheating”’. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, Vol. 34, No.2, pp.85-88.
- Savulescu, J., Foddy, B., & Clayton, M. (2004). ‘Why We Should Allow Performance Enhancing Drugs In Sport’. *British Journal Of Sports Medicine*, Vol. 38, No.6, pp. 666-670.

Additional reading:

Competition

- Dworkin, R. (2011). *Justice For Hedgehogs*. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP. (Ch. 13).
- Green, S.J.D. (1989) ‘Competitive Equality of Opportunity: a defense.’ *Ethics* Vol. 100, no. 1, pp. 5-32.
- Hayek, F.A. (2002) ‘Competition as a Discovery Procedure.’ Trans. M.S. Snow *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics* Vol. 5, no. 3 pp. 9-23.
- Wolff, J. (1998). ‘The Ethics of Competition’ pp. 82-96 in *The Legal and Moral Aspects of International Trade: Freedom and Trade: Volume 3* eds. G. Parry, A Qureshi and H Steiner. Routledge.

Ethics in competitive situations

- Applbaum, A. I. (2000). *Ethics For Adversaries: The Morality of Roles in Public and Professional Life*. Princeton University Press. (Ch.6).
- Green, S. P. (2004). ‘Cheating’. *Law and Philosophy*, Vol. 23(2), pp. 137-185.
- Heath, J. (2007). ‘An Adversarial Ethic For Business: Or When Sun-Tzu Met The Stakeholder’. *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 72, No. 4, pp. 359-374.*
- Loland, S. (1999) ‘Justice and Game Advantage in Sporting Games’. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 2, No.2, pp 159-178.

Doping/cognitive enhancement

- Buchanan, A. (2011). *Better Than Human: The Promise And Perils Of Enhancing Ourselves*. Oxford University Press.
- Cakic, V. (2009) ‘Smart Drugs For Cognitive Enhancement: Ethical and Pragmatic Considerations in the Era of Cosmetic Neurology’ *Journal of Medical Ethics*, Vol. 35, No.10, pp.611-615.*
- de Sio, F., Robichaud, P., & Vincent, N. A. (2014). ‘Who Should Enhance? Conceptual and Normative Dimensions of Cognitive Enhancement.’ *Humana Mente Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 6, pp.179-197.
- Farah, M. J., Illes, J., Cook-Deegan, R., Gardner, H., Kandel, E., King, P., ... & Wolpe, P. R. (2004). ‘Neurocognitive Enhancement: What Can We Do And What Should We Do?’ *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, Vol. 5, No.5, pp. 421-425.
- Goodman, Rob (2010) ‘Cognitive Enhancement, Cheating, and Accomplishment’. *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*, Vol 20, No. 2, pp. 145-160.
- Kious, B. M. (2008). ‘Philosophy on Steroids: why the anti-doping position could use a little enhancement.’ *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics*, 29(4), 213.*
- Sandel, M. (2004). ‘The Case Against Perfection’. *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 293(3), pp. 51-62.
- Veber, M. (2014). ‘The Coercion Argument Against Performance-Enhancing Drugs.’ *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, 41(2), 267-277.

Sample questions

1. When engaged in a competitive practice, what sort of ethical concerns should participants abide by?
2. Should the use of cognitive enhancing drugs as study aids for university work be treated in the same way as performance enhancing drugs in sports?
3. Is doping immoral?

6. Ethics of Voting

Lecture theme: Voting enables citizens collectively to have a potentially huge impact on how well or badly people's lives go. But there is no legal requirement that voters know anything about what they are voting on, and no legal requirement that they vote for good reasons. From a legal point of view it is therefore perfectly acceptable for a citizen who is completely ignorant of the relevant issues to vote in a particular election for purely selfish or immoral reasons. But the fact that the *law* is so permissive when it comes to voting does not mean our *ethical* views about voting must be similarly permissive. Are citizens morally obliged to vote? If they do vote are they obliged to vote well? What is the difference between voting well and voting badly? Are there ways of satisfying one's civic duties without educating oneself about politics and voting well? Do these alternatives render it permissible to abstain from voting?

Required reading:

Brennan, Jason, 'Polluting The Polls: When Citizens Should Not Vote', *Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, 87 (4), 2009: 535-49.

Further reading

Articles and individual chapters

- Brennan, Jason, "The Ethics and Rationality of Voting", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/voting/>>.
- Burt, Shelley, 'The Good Citizen's Psyche: On the Psychology of Civic Virtue', *Polity*, 23, (1990): 23-38.
- Brennan, Jason, *Against Democracy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2016, chapter 2.
- Caplan, Bryan, *The Myth of the Rational Voter*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. (Executive summary available at <http://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa594.pdf>).
- Christiano, Thomas, 'The Authority of Democracy', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 12 (3), 2004: 266-290.
- Crittendon, Jack, 'Civic Education', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Zalta, available at <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/civic-education/>>.
- Edlin, Aaron, Andrew Gelman, and Noah Kaplan, "Voting as a Rational Choice: Why and How People Vote to Improve the Well-Being of Others", *Rationality and Society*, 19 (3), 2007: 293-314.
- Goldman, Alvin I., 'Why Citizens Should Vote: A Causal Responsibility Approach to Voting', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 16 (2), 1999: 201-217.
- Hanna, Nathan, 'An Argument for Voting Abstention', *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 23 (4), 2009: 275-86.
- Lomasky, Loren E. and Brennan, Geoffrey, 'Is there a duty to vote?' *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 17 (1), 2000: 62-86.
- Lever, Annabelle, 'Is Compulsory Voting Justified?' *Public Reason*, 1 (1), (2009): 57-74.
- Lever, Annabelle, 'Compulsory Voting: A Critical Perspective', *British Journal of Political Science*, 40 (4), (2010): 897-915.
- Maring, Luke, 'Debate: Why Does the Excellent Citizen Vote?' *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, (early view, DOI: 10.1111/jopp.12081).
- Sheehy, Paul, 'A Duty Not to Vote', *Ratio*, Volume 15, Issue 1, March 2002: 46-57.
- Vanderheiden, S., 'The Obligation to Know: Information and the Burdens of Citizenship', *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, April 2016, Volume 19, Issue 2, 2016: pp. 297-311.

Books

- Brennan, Jason, *The Ethics of Voting*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. (Available as an ebook through the library website).
- Dagger, Richard, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Sample questions

1. Is it morally permissible for citizens not to vote?
2. If citizens vote, must they vote well?
3. What does 'voting well' entail?
4. May citizens vote in their own self-interest?
5. Must citizens vote sincerely?

7. State Authority and Respect for Citizens

Lecture Theme: One distinctive feature of the state is that it issues laws that claim political authority over citizens, which is normally understood to imply that citizens have legal and moral duties *because* the state commands it. Many theorists have worried that a convincing justification for the state's political authority is hard to come by. After clarifying the issue and distinguishing it from others (e.g. political obligation and legitimacy) we investigate this problem of political authority. We do so by looking more closely at the more general case of practical authority: when can it ever be justified that one person's commands generate duties for another? Manned with some answers from the philosophical literature, we turn back to the state and analyse in more detail the complaint that political authority disrespects citizens' autonomy.

Required reading

Green, Leslie. 1990. *The Authority of the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Additional reading

Raz, Joseph. 1986. *The Morality of Freedom*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Part I

Raz, Joseph. 2005. "Problem of Authority: Revisiting the Service Conception, The." *Minn. L. Rev.* 90: 1003.

Christiano, Thomas. 2013. "Authority." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Zalta, E. (ed.)

<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/authority/>.

Perry, Stephen. 2013. "Political Authority and Political Obligation." *Oxford Studies in Philosophy of Law* 2: 1–74.

Enoch, David. 2014. "Authority and Reason-Giving." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 89 (2): 296–332.

Darwall, Stephen. 2009. "Authority and Second-Personal Reasons for Acting," in *Reasons for Action*, ed. David Sobel and Steven Wall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 134–54.

Sample of tutorial questions

1. Is there a necessary conflict between authority and autonomy?
2. Instrumentalist justifications of authority are pointless. Discuss.
3. Should we be philosophical anarchists?

8. Solidarity

Lecture Theme: Compared to such issues as justice, legitimacy or democracy, solidarity has received scarce attention by political theorists. This is surprising given the wide appeal that solidarity-talk has in actual political discourses. In this lecture we analyse what role the concept of solidarity should play in political theory and practice, and we critically examine a number of recent philosophical accounts of solidarity in the writings of Tommie Shelby, Avery Kolers, Sally Scholz and others.

Required reading

- Kolers, Avery. 2016. *A Moral Theory of Solidarity*. Oxford: OUP Introduction & chapt. 3
- Scholz, Sally J. 2009. "Feminist Political Solidarity." In *Feminist Ethics and Social and Political Philosophy: Theorizing the Non-Ideal*, Tessman, L. (ed.) Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-6841-6_12.

Additional reading (should you want to delve deeper into the issues)

- Sangiovanni, A. 2015. "Solidarity as Joint Action." *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, Vol.32, 4
- Shelby, T. 2005. *We Who Are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity*. Harvard University Press.
- Kolers, A. 2014. "The Priority of Solidarity to Justice." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 31 (4): 420–433.
- Miller, David. 2017. "Solidarity and Its Sources." In *The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies*, edited by Will Kymlicka and Keith Banting, 61–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, Robert L (1992) "Can War be Morally Justified? The Just War Theory" in Jean Bethke Elshtain (ed.) *Just War Theory*, New York: New York University Press
- Scholz, Sally J. 2007. "Political Solidarity and Violent Resistance." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 38 (1): 38–52.
- Taylor, Ashley E. 2015. "Solidarity: Obligations and Expressions." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23 (2): 128–45.
- Stjerno, Steinar. 2004. *Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sample of tutorial questions

1. Does solidarity require deference to the worst-off members of the group?
2. Is solidarity prior to justice? If, so, in what way?
3. Is the idea of human solidarity meaningless?
4. Can there be solidarity in unjust groups?

9. Punishment

Lecture Theme: Why might state officials *want* to punish citizens? What makes it morally *permissible* for state officials to punish citizens? In this lecture we consider the strengths and weaknesses of various answers that have been offered to these questions.

Required Tutorial Reading

Joel Feinberg, 'The Classic Debate,' in Joel Feinberg and Hyman Gross (eds.), *Philosophy of Law*, 4th ed., (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1991), pp. 646-50. (The same article can be found in most of the multiple editions of this book).

Further Reading

Articles and Individual Chapters

*Hart, H.L.A. (1960) 'Prolegomenon to the Principles of Punishment', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 60: 1-14 & 16-26.

*Cottingham, J.G. (1979) 'Varieties of Retribution', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 29: 238-46.

*Rawls, J. (1955) 'Two Concepts of Rules' *Philosophical Review*, 64: 3-32.

* Wellman C.H., (2009) 'Rights and State Punishment', *The Journal of Philosophy*, 8: 419-439.

*Goldman, A.H., (1979) 'The Paradox of Punishment', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 9 (1): 42-58.

Bedau, H.A. (1978) 'Retribution and the Theory of Punishment', *The Journal of Philosophy*, 75 (11): 601-620.

Dagger, R. (2008) 'Punishment as Fair Play', *Res Publica* 14: 259-275.

Duff, A. (2003) 'Punishment', in *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics*, ed. H. LaFollette, Oxford University Press: 331-57.

Farrell, D.M., (1995) 'Deterrence and the Just Distribution of Harm', *Social Philosophy and Policy*: 220-240.

Gardner, J. (2007) *Offences and Defences*, Oxford University Press: chapters 10 & 11.

Hampton, J. (1984) 'The Moral Education Theory of Punishment', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 13 (3): 208-238.

Hart, H.L.A. (2008) *Punishment and Responsibility*, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press: chapters 1 & 2 and Intro by John Gardner.

Nino, C.S. (1983) 'A Consensual Theory of Punishment', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 12: 289-306.

Scanlon, T.M. (2003) *The Difficulty of Tolerance*, Cambridge University Press: ch.12.

Stephen P. Garvey, 'Alternatives to Punishment', in John Deigh and David Dolinko (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Criminal Law*, (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp.493-513.

Wellman, C.H. (2012) 'The Rights Forfeiture Theory of Punishment', *Ethics* 122 (2): 371-393.

Books

*Boonin, D. (2008) *The Problem of Punishment*, Cambridge University Press.

*Matravers, M. (2000) *Justice and Punishment*, Oxford University Press: introduction and chs. 1-3. [Also available from www.oxfordscholarship.com]

*Ten, C.L. (1987) *Crime, Guilt and Punishment*, Oxford University Press: especially chapters 1, 2, 7.

Acton, H.B. (ed.) (1969) *The Philosophy of Punishment*, Macmillan.

Duff A. and Garland, D. (1994) *A Reader on Punishment*, Oxford University Press: especially chapters by Murphy, Feinberg, von Hirsch.

Duff, A. (2003) *Punishment, Communication, and Community*, Oxford University Press.

Honderich, T. (2006) *Punishment: The Supposed Justifications Revisited*, Pluto Press.

Kramer, M. (2011) *The Ethics of Capital Punishment*, Oxford University Press.

Lacey, N. (1988) *State Punishment: Political Principles and Community Values*, Routledge.

Tonry, M. (ed.) (2011) *Why Punish? How Much? A Reader on Punishment*, Oxford.

Von Hirsch, A., Ashworth, A. and Roberts, J. (eds.) (2009) *Principled Sentencing: Readings on Theory and Practice*, 3rd Edition, Hart Publishing.

Sample questions

1. What is 'retributive justice', and can the value of retributive justice on its own justify state punishment?
2. Do pure consequentialist theories of punishment inevitably imply that it is sometimes permissible to punish the innocent?
3. Can consequentialists justify proportionate punishments? Does it matter if they can't?
4. Is it true that offenders 'forfeit' their rights not to be punished when they break the law?
5. Can forward-looking and backward-looking considerations be coherently combined in a single theory of punishment (i.e. are so-called 'mixed theories' of punishment coherent)?

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20711: THE POLITICS OF GLOBALISATION**Semester: 1****Credits: 20**

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Lecturer	Dr Robbie Watt
Telephone	0161 306 6929 (internal x66929)
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Room	4.038 Arthur Lewis Building
Feedback and Advice Hours	Monday 1-2 & Wednesday 11-12. Arrange by SOHOL or email.
Lectures	Friday 9-11, Chemistry G.53
Tutors	Will Harvey (william.harvey@manchester.ac.uk) Konrad Sobczyk (konrad.sobczyk@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk)
Tutorials	Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
Reading week	29 October to 2 November 2018
Modes of assessment	2,600 word essay (40%), examination (60%)
Administrators	Luke Smith, Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk , 0161 306 6906 Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk , 0161 275 4751 UG Office, G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ******Essay hand in date:** Monday 5 November 2018 (by 2pm, via Blackboard)**Communication:** Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this wayExamination period: **14.01.2019 - 25.01.2019**Re-sit Examination period: **19.08.2019 - 30.08.2019**

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II, page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You **MUST** submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a Politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any on-going support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a 'day' is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Course Unit Aims

This course will provide a critical examination of globalisation. Students will be introduced to the main debates on the impact of globalisation on world order and of the issues surrounding the historical emergence of a global economy. The course is organised so as to provide a background understanding of international political economy after the Second World War, the global turn towards the 'free market', and then to explore a series of major issues that provide windows onto the encompassing process of globalisation: production, money and finance, trade, governance, crisis, and the politics of anti-globalisation and anti-austerity.

The course therefore acts as an introduction to the academic discipline of International Political Economy (IPE). IPE is a vibrant and rapidly growing field of study that emerged in the early 1970s. At the most basic level it is concerned with the connections between politics and economics, the national and the global, within contemporary world order. However, and as the course demonstrates, such a simple definition raises as many questions as it does answers!

Intended Learning Outcomes:

On completion of this unit successful students will be able to:

- understand basic concepts in the study of globalisation;
- have knowledge of a range of different issues connected with globalisation and the emergence of a global economy;
- be able to evaluate different scholars' interpretation of issues related to globalisation;
- understand the political challenges brought about by globalisation;
- Have enhanced critical, evaluative, and communicative skills through participation in class discussions, delivery of class portfolios, and production of course essays.

Teaching and learning methods

The course will be taught through lectures and tutorial seminars. **Tutorials follow one week after the lecture** (see page 9 of this Guide).

A **Tutorial Guide** for this course unit has been produced to help you better prepare for tutorials and, hopefully, to maximise your chances of performing well in the essay and exam. This is available on Blackboard. In this guide the '**required reading**' for each tutorial refers to the minimum expected of you. All required reading will be available to you through Blackboard. You should of course endeavour to go beyond the minimum wherever possible and this course unit guide provides a much more extensive list of readings on each topic. The more you read and think about the tutorial beforehand, the better the tutorial experience is going to be for you and for others.

Assessment

Assessment is via two components:

- i. 2,600 word essay (40%)
- ii. 2 hour exam (60%)

The Essay

The essay is **2,600 words** long and is worth 40 per cent of the total marks for the course unit. This year's essay question is:

What were the most significant features of the “embedded liberal compromise”? Did the compromise allow for a “golden age” of capitalism? Why did it end?

The objective of the essay is to allow students to gain a good understanding of the determinants of, and limits to, the period of post-war growth and prosperity in the West. This will, in turn, allow students to comprehend and evaluate the subsequent turn toward market-led economic governance across the world from the 1970s onwards – the core object of inquiry on this course.

The essay must be submitted by **2pm on Monday 5 November 2018**. One typescript (which must be typed, double-spaced, and properly referenced) must be **submitted on-line via the course unit's Blackboard space**. Full instructions on how to do this are available on Blackboard.

Ensure that pages are numbered and include a word count (the word count may vary by around 10% above or below the limit). Essays must not be emailed to any member of staff. No essay submitted in this way will be marked.

See the **Politics Part II Guide** for all requirements regarding essay formatting, referencing, plagiarism, and submission. It is also available on Blackboard. All submitted assignments should be double-spaced on one side of each sheet. Standardised rules for footnotes and bibliographies are available from the Undergraduate Office. If an assessed essay fails to satisfy these rules, the Discipline Area requires that it be penalised by the deduction of marks, normally to a maximum of 10 marks where the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate.

Plagiarism is a very serious offence. Please note that **all essays will be submitted to a plagiarism check using Turnitin's Originality Check software**. Serious cases may result in expulsion from the University. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be found in the **Part II Guide**, their programme handbooks, or obtained from the Undergraduate Office.

What help can you expect with your essay?

The first three lectures on the course cover essential ground relating to the essay topic, and will provide you with an initial outline from which to conduct your own independent research into the topic. It is therefore essential that you attend these lectures and the follow-up tutorials.

Time will be given over in lecture four to provide you with generic tips on how best to approach Politics essays, as well as this essay specifically.

In preparation for the essay, you should draw upon the lectures and further readings contained in this Course Guide in justifying your answer. You will also find additional reading resources we think might help you prepare for the essay in Blackboard. **However, you are also encouraged to conduct your own search for relevant literature and evidence.** The best essays will usually be those that demonstrate a good degree of independent research while delivering a coherent, analytical and critical line of argument.

Students are, in addition, encouraged to visit any of the course teaching team with essay plans and queries relating to the essay during advice and feedback or ('office') hours. The POLI20711 teaching team is committed to helping you make the most of your research into this topic and to help you produce the best essay you can.

How will your essay be graded?

Very High First Class (90-100)

Such answers are exceptional and *fully* answer the question demonstrating the attainment of all learning objectives and in adherence to all guidelines. The answer will be expected to show an exceptional level of achievement with respect to the following criteria:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature.

High First Class (80-89)

The essay is outstanding and *provides a near-full* answer to the question, demonstrating some original research and showing an outstanding level of achievement of all the following qualities: insight and depth of understanding of the material; the exercise of advanced critical judgement along with exceptional fluent clarity of analysis and of expression; and extensive and detailed knowledge of relevant literatures.

First Class (70-79)

Such answers are excellent and provide a *largely-full* and well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate excellence in *some or most of* the following qualities:

- ☐☐insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- ☐☐the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- ☐☐knowledge of the relevant literature

Note: while first and high first class answers will often demonstrate a degree of theoretical awareness, it is not the case that essays will be penalised for not demonstrating theoretical awareness on this course. This would be unfair, given the limited time given over to theories of IPE and globalisation on this particular course.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such answers are very good and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate *some of* the following qualities:

- ☐☐a good or very good understanding of the material;
- ☐☐clarity of analysis, of argument and of expression;
- ☐☐a demonstrable grasp of the relevant literature

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such answers are good and provide a clear answer to the question. They can be expected to show *most of* the following features:

- a firm understanding of the material;
- clarity of analysis and argument, albeit limited in extent;
- some awareness of the relevant literature
- crucially, upper-second class essays often fail to score more highly – notwithstanding a good deal of effort and preparation on the part of the student – because they fail to organise their argument into a logical and coherent structure

Note: What distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class is:

- a greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument
- some selective knowledge of the relevant literature, not mere awareness of its existence
- crucially, lower second-class essays often tend to lapse into a descriptive answer to the question and therefore lacks any clear line of argument

Third Class (40-49)

Such answers are sufficient and demonstrate a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and offer *only partial* answers to the question. They can be expected to show some of the following features:

- sparse coverage of the material with several key elements missing;
- unsupported assertions and a lack of clear analysis or argument;
- important errors and inaccuracies

Fail (30-39)

Such answers are insufficient and, while showing some awareness of the area, fail to deal with the question in a way that suggest more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject. They are often error-prone, lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

When and how will you get feedback (or 'feed-forward') on your essay?

We will mark your essay within 15 working days of submission. So, you can expect to receive access to your provisional grade and to your feedback on or around 23 November. This then gives you three further weeks until the end of term in which to ask for further feedback.

Feedback will initially be provided means of comments in Turnitin. You can expect to find in-text comments, highlighting particular strengths, weaknesses, and errors, or providing tips about particular aspects of your essay. In addition, you will find a summative comment that will summarise the strengths and weaknesses of your essay as a whole. Crucially, we will provide an element of 'feed-forward', that is some constructive advice on how to improve your essay writing and to bear in mind for future essay assignments.

If, after having received your feedback via Turnitin, you feel you'd like to discuss your essay further – or perhaps just get some more advice on how to approach essays more generally – we are more than happy to do so. You can arrange a meeting with any one of the POLI20711 teaching team via SOHOL – or by email if that is their preferred method of scheduling meetings. We can also answer any queries by email, although it is usually much more effective to meet face to face.

The Exam

The Exam constitutes 60 per cent of the overall grade. It will take place in the January exam period - you will be notified of the exact date during the semester. The exam is **two hours long**.

The objective of the exam is to allow you to demonstrate your understanding and critical awareness of **two** of the topics covered in detail after week three of the course. That is, you will be expected to provide an answer to questions relating to two of the following topics:

- The global restructuring of production
- The politics of money and finance
- The politics of global trade
- Governance in a global era
- Globalisation and crisis
- Resisting globalisation
- Globalisation, Trump and Brexit

Further guidance on what to expect on the exam will be provided by the Convenor during the lecture programme. Time will also be devoted to discussing best practice and how to approach this exam specifically during the final tutorial.

How will your exam be graded?

Very High First Class (90-100)

Answers are exceptional and *fully* answer the question, demonstrating the attainment of all learning objectives and in adherence to all guidelines. The answer will be expected to show an exceptional level of achievement with respect to the following criteria:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature under exam conditions.

High First Class (80-89)

Such answers are outstanding and provide a *near* full and well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate an outstanding level of achievement in all these areas:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature

First Class (70-84)

Such answers are excellent and provide a *largely* full and well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate excellence in *some or most of* the following qualities:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature

Note: while first and high first class answers will often demonstrate a degree of theoretical awareness, it is not the case that exam answers will be penalised for not demonstrating theoretical awareness on this course. This would be unfair, given the limited time given over to theories of IPE and globalisation on this particular course.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such answers are very good and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate *some of* the following qualities:

- ??a good or very good understanding of the material;
- ??clarity of analysis, of argument and of expression;
- ??a demonstrable grasp of the relevant literature

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such answers are good and provide a clear answer to the question. They can be expected to show *most of* the following features:

- ??a firm understanding of the material;
- ??clarity of analysis and argument, albeit limited in extent

Note: What usually distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class is:

- ?? a greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument. Lower-second class answers are often too dependent upon the relevant lecture for the question, often amounting to a competent reiteration of the lecture itself.
- ?? some selective knowledge of the relevant literature, not mere awareness of its existence. Lower-second class answers often fail to give any indication of where the student has acquired their knowledge of a topic – put simply, they tend not to provide some reference to their sources and the material they have read in preparation for the exam.
- ?? crucially, lower second-class essays often tend to lapse into a descriptive answer to the question and therefore to lack any clear line of argument

Third Class (40-49)

Such answers are sufficient and demonstrate a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and offer *only partial* answers to the question. They can be expected to show some of the following features:

- ??sparse coverage of the material with several key elements missing;
- ??unsupported assertions and a lack of clear analysis or argument;
- ??important errors and inaccuracies

Fail (30-39)

Such answers are insufficient and, while showing some awareness of the area, fail to deal with the question in a way that suggest more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject. They are often error-prone, lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Lecture Programme

Date	Topic
28 September	Introduction: The Globalisation Debate (GC)
5 October	The 'Golden Age' of Post-War Capitalism (GC)
12 October	After the 1970s: 'neoliberal globalisation' (GC)
19 October	The Global Restructuring of Production (WH) (This lecture will also include an essay briefing from GC)
26 October	The Politics of Money and Finance (GC) <u>READING WEEK</u>
9 November	The Politics of Global Trade (RW)
16 November	Governance in a Global Era (RW)
23 November	Globalisation and Crisis (RW)
30 November	Resisting Globalisation (GC)
7 December	Postscript: (Anti-)Globalisation, Trump and Brexit (GC) (This last lecture will also include an exam briefing)

Tutorial Programme

Week Commencing	Topic
1 October	The Globalisation Debate
8 October	The 'Golden Age' of Post-War Capitalism
15 October	After the 1970s: 'neoliberal globalisation'
22 October	The Global Restructuring of Production (This tutorial will also include some guidance on essay best practice) <u>READING WEEK</u>
5 November	The Politics of Money and Finance
12 November	The Politics of Global Trade
19 November	Governance in a Global Era
26 November	Globalisation and Crisis
3 December	Resisting Globalisation
10 December	(Anti-)Globalisation, Trump and Brexit (This tutorial will also include some guidance on exam best practice)

Extensive Reading Lists

Note: The **required reading** for each tutorial is detailed in the **Tutorial Guide** for this course unit (available in Blackboard). Below you will find more extensive reading lists for each topic to help you better prepare for the assessed essay and exam. **These lists are by no means exhaustive of the vast literature now available on globalisation and IPE, and you are strongly encouraged to search for literature on the topics covered in the essay and exam using the library's bibliographic databases as well as online resources such as Google Scholar.**

Some useful textbooks

There is no formal requirement to own or have regular access to one textbook for this course. However, students do often take comfort from having a single, reliable reference as we visit successive topics – some of which may be entirely new to them. If you would like to purchase a textbook, we recommend:

O'Brien, R. and Williams, M. (2016) *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics*, 5th ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

Blackwell's book store often stock second-hand copies of this textbook at the start of term, and you can get second-hand copies on line through vendors such as Amazon's marketplace.

Guidance as to which specific chapters you may wish to consult – as a supplement to the required reading – is provided in the course Tutorial Guide.

Appelbaum, R. & Robinson, W. (eds.) (2005) *Critical Globalization Studies* (London: Routledge).

Balaam, D and M. Veseth (eds.) (1996) *Readings in International Political Economy* (London: Prentice-Hall).

Cohen, B. (2008) *International Political Economy: An Intellectual History* (Princeton University Press).

Dunn, B. (2008) *Global Political Economy: A Marxist Critique* (London: Pluto).

Gill, S. and Law, D (1988) *The Global Political Economy*, (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf).

Gilpin, R. (2005) *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order* (Princeton University Press).

Murphy, C. and Roger Tooze (eds.) (1991) *The New International Political Economy* (Boulder: Lynn Rienner).

Palan, R. (ed.) (2000) *Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories* (Routledge).

Phillips, N. (ed.) (2005) *Globalizing International Political Economy* (Palgrave).

Ravenhill, J. (2005) *Global Political Economy* (Oxford: OUP).

Strange, S. (1994) *States and Markets: An Introduction to International Political Economy* second edition (Pinter).

Stubbs, R. & Underhill, G. (eds.), (2006) *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, 3rd Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Watson, M. (2005) *Foundations of International Political Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Weiss, T.G. and R. Wilkinson (2013) *International Organization and Global Governance* (London: Routledge).

The following lists provide additional recommended reading for each of the weekly topics covered in the lecture programme.

1. The Globalisation Debate

- Bowles, Paul (2008) 'Globalization: A Taxonomy of Theoretical Approaches', in Henry Veltmeyer (ed) *New Perspectives on Globalization and Anti-globalization: Prospects for a New World Order?* London: Ashgate.
- Bruff, Ian (2005) 'Making Sense of the Globalisation Debate When Engaging in Political Economy Analysis', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7(2).
- Cerny, Philip (1997) 'Paradoxes of the Competition State: The Dynamics of Political Globalization', *Government and Opposition*, 32(2), 251-274.
- Cerny, Philip (1999) 'Globalizing the Political and Politicizing the Global: International Political Economy as a Vocation', *New Political Economy*, 4(1), 147-62.
- Clapham, Christopher (2002) 'The Challenge to the State in a Globalized World', *Development and Change*, 33(5).
- Clark, Ian (1998) 'Beyond the Great Divide: Globalization and the Theory of International Relations', *Review of International Studies* 24(4).
- Clark, Ian, *Globalization and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford University Press, 1997), chapter 1.
- Cox, Robert, *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (Columbia University Press, 1987), chapter 7.
- Gamble, Andrew (2001) 'Neoliberalism', *Capital and Class*, 75.
- Gill, Stephen (1998) 'New Constitutionalism, Democratisation and Global Political Economy', *Pacifica Review*, 10(1).
- Gilpin, Robert *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*
- Gilpin, Robert *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton University Press, 1987), chapter 1.
- Gowan, Peter (2001) 'Explaining the American Boom: The Roles of "Globalisation" in the United States Global Power', *New Political Economy*, 6(3), 359-374.
- Harvey, David *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Held, David and Anthony McGrew (1998) 'Globalization and the End of the Old Order', *Review of International Studies*, 24 (Special Issue), 219-44.
- Held, David *et al Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, (Polity Press, 1999), introduction.
- Helleiner, Eric 'From Bretton Woods to Global Finance: A World Turned Upside Down', in Stubbs and Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, (Macmillan, 1994).
- Higgott, Richard (1999) 'Economics, Politics and (International) Political Economy: the Need for a Balanced Diet in an Era of Globalisation', *New Political Economy*, 4(1).
- Hirst, Paul and Graeme Thompson (2002) 'The Future of Globalization', *Cooperation & Conflict*, 37(3), 247-268.
- Hirst, Paul and Grahame Thompson, *Globalization in Question*, (Polity Press, 1999), second edition, chapter 1.
- Jones, R. J. Barry, *The World Turned Upside Down? Globalization and the Future of the State* (Manchester University Press, 2000), chapter 1.

- Katzenstein, Peter *et al* (1998) 'International Organization and the Study of World Politics', *International Organization*, 52(4), 645-85.
- Kellner, Douglas (2002) 'Theorizing Globalization', *Sociological Theory*, 20(3).
- Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye (2000) 'Globalization: What's New, What's Not, and So What?', *Foreign Policy*, 118.
- Krasner, Stephen 'The accomplishments of international political economy', in S. Smith, K. Booth and M. Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Krasner, Stephen (1994) 'International Political Economy: Abiding Discord', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1), 13-20. AND Susan Strange, (1994) 'Wake Up, Krasner! The World Has Changed', *Review of International Political Economy* 1(2).
- Kratke, Michael and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, 'The Emergence of IPE', in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill (eds.) *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (3rd edition, Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Langhorne, Richard *The Coming of Globalization: Its Evolution and Contemporary Consequences* (Palgrave, 2001), chapter 1.
- Modelski, George 'Globalization', in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds), *The Global Transformations Reader*, Part I.
- Morton, Adam (2004) 'New Follies on the State of Globalisation Debate', review article, *Review of International Studies*, 30(1).
- OECD, *Open Markets Matter* <http://www.oecd.org/ech/events/open.htm>
- Perraton, Jonathan and David Goldblatt (1997) 'The globalization of economic activity', *New Political Economy* 2(2), 257-77.
- Phillips, Nicola, 'Globalization Studies in International Political Economy', in Nicola Phillips (ed.) *Globalizing International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2005).
- Radice, Hugo (2000) 'Globalization and national capitalisms: theorizing convergence and differentiation', *Review of International Political Economy*, 7(4), 718-42.
- Robert Keohane and Helen Milner (eds.) *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), introduction and conclusion.
- Rodrik, D. (2012) *The Globalization Paradox* (Oxford University Press).
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1995) 'At Home Abroad, Abroad At Home: International Liberalisation and Domestic Stability in the New World Economy', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 24(3), 507-26.
- Rupert, Mark, *Ideologies of Globalization*, (Routledge, 2000), chapter 3.
- Scholte Jan Aart, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd edition, (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2005), chapters 1&2.
- Schwartz, Herman M. 'Globalization: The Long View', in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill (eds.) *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (third edition, Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Swyngedouw, Erik (2004) Globalisation or 'Glocalisation'? Networks, Territories and Re-Scaling. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17(1), 25-48.
- Underhill, Geoffrey (2000) 'State, market and global political economy: genealogy of an (inter?)-discipline', *International Affairs*, 76(4), 805-24.
- Wade, Robert 'Globalization and its limits: reports of the death of the national economy are greatly exaggerated', in Suzanne Berger and Ronald Dore (eds.), *National Diversity and Global Capitalism* (Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Weiss Linda (1997) 'Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State', *New Left Review*, 225.

Weiss, Linda (1999) 'Globalisation and National Governance: Antinomy or Interdependence?' *Review of International Studies*, 25.

Zysman, John (1996) 'The Myth of a 'Global' Economy: Enduring National Foundations and Emerging Regional Realities', *New Political Economy* 1(2)

2. The 'Golden Age' of Post-War Capitalism, and;

3. After the 1970s: 'neoliberal globalisation'

Note that many of the textbooks already listed above will have chapters that detail and analyse the main transformations associated with the immediate post-war period and from the crises of the 1970s. In addition, the following might be useful:

Burnham, Peter (2001) 'Marx, international political economy and globalisation', *Capital and Class*, 75, 103-112.

Cerny, Philip (2008) 'Embedding Neoliberalism: Evolution of a Hegemonic Paradigm', *Journal of International Trade and Diplomacy*, 2(1).

Cheru, Fantu (2001) 'Overcoming Apartheid's Legacy: the ascendancy of neoliberalism in South Africa's anti-poverty strategy', *Third World Quarterly*, 22(4), 505-527.

Clarke, S. (1988) *Keynesianism, Monetarism and the Crisis of the State* (London: Edward Elgar).

Crouch, C. (2011) *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (London: Polity).

Cypher, J. M. (1998) 'The Slow Death of the Washington Consensus on Latin America', *Latin American Perspectives* 25(6), 47-51.

Gamble, A. (1994) *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Gill, Stephen (1995) 'Globalisation, Market Civilisation, and Disciplinary Neo-liberalism', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24(3).

Harvey, David (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Harvey, David (2007) 'Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610(1), pp. 21-44.

Kiely, Ray (2005) 'Globalisation and poverty and the poverty of globalisation theory', *Current Sociology*, 53(6).

Le Vine, M. (2005) 'Chaos and Globalization in the Middle East', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 33(3), 394-411.

Maddison, Angus (2007) *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective/Historical Statistics* (Paris: OECD).

Minns J. (2001) 'Of Miracles and Models: The Rise and Decline of the Developmental State in South Korea', *Third World Quarterly*, 22(6), 1025-1043.

O'Riain, Sean (2000) 'States and Markets in an Era of Globalization', *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1).

Owusu, F. (2003) 'Pragmatism and the gradual shift from Dependency to Neoliberalism: The World Bank, African Leaders, and Development Policy in Africa', *World Development*, 31(10), 1655-1672.

Panitch, L. (2013) *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire* (London: Verso).

Peck, J. (2013) *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason* (Oxford University Press).

- Robert W. Cox with Timothy J. Sinclair, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Robinson, William (2004) 'Global Crisis and Latin America', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23(2), 135-153.
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1982) 'International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order', *International Organization*, 36(2); reprinted as chapter 2 in Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity*, (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Shields, Stuart (2003) 'The charge of the "Right Brigade": Transnational social forces and Poland's neoliberal transition', *New Political Economy*, 8(2), 225-44.
- Stedman Jones, D. (2012) *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton University Press).
- Stein, Arthur (1984) 'The Hegemon's Dilemma: Great Britain, the United States, and the International Economic Order', *International Organization*, 38(2).
- Weiss, L. (2000) 'Developmental States in Transition: Adapting, Dismantling, Innovating, not Normalizing', *The Pacific Review*, 13(1), 21-55.

4. The Global Restructuring of Production and Work

- Amoore, Louise 'Making the Modern Multinational', in Christopher May (ed) *Global Corporate Power* (Lynne Rienner, 2006)
- Amoore, Louise (2000) 'International Political Economy and the Contested Firm', *New Political Economy* 5(2).
- Bernard, Mitchell 'Post-Fordism and Global Restructuring', in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, (Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Brynjolfsson, E. and A. McAfee (2011) *Race Against the Machine* (Digital Frontier Press, 2011)
- Dicken, Peter 'A New Geo-Economy', in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds, *The Global Transformations Reader*, Part IV.
- Elias, Juanita (2005) 'Stitching-up the labour market: Recruitment, Gender and Ethnicity in the Multinational Firm', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1) pp. 90-111.
- Harrod, Jeff 'The Century of the Corporation', in Christopher May (ed) *Global Corporate Power* (Lynne Rienner, 2006)
- Harvey, David, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford University Press 2003) – chapter 2
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COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20722 POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT**Semester: 2****Credits: 20**

Lecturer: Dr Robbie Watt
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.038
Telephone: 0161 306 6929
Email: robert.watt@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tuesday 3-4pm & Wednesday 11am-12. Request by email or book via SOHOL at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lecturer: Dr Japhy Wilson
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.026
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Office Hours: Tuesday 16:00-17:00 & Thursday 16:00-17:00. Book via SOHOL at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Tutors: Fadil Ersozer – fadil.ersozer@manchester.ac.uk
 Konrad Sobczyk – konrad.sobczyk@manchester.ac.uk
 Jana-Maria Fey – jana.fey@manchester.ac.uk

Lectures: Tuesday 11:00-13:00, Stopford Building, Lecture Theatre 2

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: Development Report Review: 1,750 words (25%)
 Group presentation: in tutorials (25%)
 Coursework essay: 3,500 words (50%)

Reading Week: NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO

Administrator: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906
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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Development report hand in date: 11 March 2019

Essay hand in date: 13 May 2019

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

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OVERVIEW

Course aims

This course will introduce students to the study of politics in the contemporary developing world, exploring the conceptual and practical struggles that underlie international and national efforts to combat poverty and exclusion. Various theoretically-informed answers to the questions ‘how can we end poverty?’ and ‘what does “development” entail?’ will be explored, including modernization, industrialization and free trade; structural reform of the capitalist global economy and ending dependency; and discursive challenges to dominant framings of ‘poverty’ and ‘development’. The role of major development institutions (the World Bank and IMF, the UN, bilateral donors, NGOs etc) will be considered, and we will address issues of environmental sustainability, urbanization, and everyday life. Cases from across the ‘global south’ will be examined throughout the module.

Cross-cutting themes such as gender and class, western intervention, and social movements will be repeatedly encountered. The course finishes by exploring theoretical and 'actually-existing' alternatives to the mainstream development paradigm, with particular emphasis on indigenous social movements and post-neoliberal state projects in contemporary Latin America.

Intended learning outcomes

On completion of this unit successful students will be able to demonstrate:

1. Understanding of the major approaches to the study of politics of development;
2. Familiarity with a wide range of cases from the developing world, and the ability to apply theoretical approaches to those cases;
3. Understanding of the complex dynamics that produce and sustain underdevelopment and poverty.

Employability outcomes:

This is an ideal module for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different careers, voluntary roles, internships and work placements. It could be particularly useful for people considering careers in the civil service, journalism, think tanks, research and policy, and charitable organisations. Understanding of international politics and considered awareness of challenges of poverty, inequality and development are valuable for careers in these sectors. Through this course you will demonstrate the ability to produce in-depth analysis on these topics.

The course requires students to:

- Engage in independent research, identifying and examining relevant sources;
- Exercise critical judgement and take an analytical approach to policy;
- Develop and demonstrate excellent written communication skills;
- Work as part of a group to research and deliver an oral and visual presentation;
- Manage their own workload and develop time management skills;
- Be open to new ideas and unfamiliar ways of doing things.

Teaching and learning methods

The course runs over 10 weeks, each consisting of **2 hours of lectures** and a **1-hour tutorial**. Tutorials follow one week after the lecture.

Reading is a key learning method, and consequently **you are expected to read widely and extensively** for this course. Required reading set as preparation for tutorials and/or lectures should be seen as an initial starting point. Deeper understanding is achieved by reading beyond the core set texts. A selection of relevant books, journals, text-books and other sources are provided in this guide, to be supplemented by your own research and acquisition of reading material.

Lectures

The **lectures are a central part of this module**. Lectures will involve presentations from the lecturer, activities, and opportunities for discussion. For part of the two-hour class you will be expected to listen to presentations by the lecturer and other colleagues, take notes, and ask questions. During the class there will be individual tasks, and work to be conducted with partners or in small groups. **You are encouraged to attend all lectures, to come prepared if required, and to engage fully with activities.** These classes are designed to help you understand the

complex materials, cases and literature we will cover, and they are an important part of your learning experience. They will also contain important guidance on the assignments.

The lectures are scheduled as follows:

Lec. 1, 29.01.19	Introduction: The Contested Politics of Development
Lec. 2, 05.02.19	Development as Modernization
Lec. 3, 12.02.19	Development as Capitalism
Lec. 4, 19.02.19	Development as Discourse
Lec. 5, 26.02.19	Gender and Development
Lec. 6, 05.03.19	Sustainable Development and Climate Change
Lec. 7, 12.03.19	Development and the Production of Space
Lec. 8, 19.03.19	Development and Everyday Life
Lec. 9, 26.03.19	Alternative Developments
Lec. 10, 02.04.19	Conclusion: The Contemporary Politics of Development

PowerPoint slides will be available on the course Blackboard site. This is no substitute for attendance – the slides are only part of the material that will be presented.

Tutorials

A Tutorial Guide accompanies this Course Guide. This is designed to help you prepare effectively for the tutorials. The Tutorial Guide will be available via Blackboard. Please read the tutorial guide to find out what to expect in the tutorials, and to know what to prepare and read in advance.

Weekly tutorials are a central part of this module and attendance is compulsory. Tutorials are where you can discuss your questions about what you have read and heard in the lectures, test out ideas for the essay and other assessments, and learn from your colleagues as well as the tutor. Transferable skills such as debating, synthesis and critique, group work, oral presentations, communication and reflexive learning are developed through tutorials.

If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending, you should contact the tutor as soon as possible to explain your absence. It might be possible to attend another tutorial, but you must inform the tutor or you will be marked as absent.

Tutorials will require various forms of preparation. Usually this will comprise essential and recommended reading. **The essential reading must be completed before attending the tutorial: if this is not done the tutor may ask you to leave and read the material, in which case you will be marked as absent.** Once you have completed the essential reading, please try to read some of the recommended reading. You are also encouraged to read additional materials not listed in the course outline which are relevant to the topic. With all your readings please keep clear and accurate notes. This preparation enables you to specify the author and title of the texts if you refer to them in tutorials (as you would in written references). These notes will be invaluable in writing your essay.

Additional preparation may involve researching a case or country, watching a film, looking at a website online, or doing some research. Seminar tutors will be able to provide further advice on preparing for tutorials.

Many of the essential readings will be available to download through the course Blackboard site, or they will be accessible through the library. Additional readings will be listed and you will be expected to know how to access them, and to find your own additional materials through web search engines (such as google scholar).

The tutorial schedule is as follows:

Tutorial 1 Week begins 04.2.19	Introduction: The Contested Politics of Development
Tutorial 2 Week begins 11.2.19	Development as Modernization
Tutorial 3 Week begins 18.2.19	Development as Capitalism
Tutorial 4 Week begins 25.2.19	Development as Discourse
Tutorial 5 Week begins 04.3.19	Gender and Development
Tutorial 6 Week begins 11.3.19	Sustainable Development and Climate Change
Tutorial 7 Week begins 18.3.19	Development and the Production of Space
Tutorial 8 Week begins 25.3.19	Development and Everyday Life
Tutorial 9 Week begins 01.4.19	Alternative Developments
	Easter break
Tutorial 10 Week begins 29.4.19	Conclusions and Contemporary Politics of Development

Your Student Voice

You will be invited to complete a course evaluation at the end of the module. This allows you to anonymously indicate your views about the quality of the teaching, the organisation of the module, and the quality of the feedback you received on your work. As a teaching team, we welcome your views. We are especially interested in your reflections on what you valued about the teaching of the course, plus any suggestions you have for improvement of the course in future years.

Student Voice: changes made

Previous student evaluations of this course have been positive, with many students stating that they found the course content interesting and engaging.

Some former students have suggested that more advice is needed for the assessments, especially for the presentation and most particularly for the development report review. The course guide now includes more comprehensive advice on the expectations for each assignment. The teaching team will also devote more time in-class to help with preparation of assessed work. Furthermore, the development report exercise has been simplified: a more limited choice of reports to review should enable greater in-class discussion of relevant content.

Some former students requested a more balanced approach to the discussion of topics in international development. To provide this, the lecturers and tutors will aim to discuss various perspectives on the topics covered, to highlight the diversity of both critical and more mainstream views about the challenges of development.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment is via three components:

- A critical review of a development report (25%)
- A group presentation (25%)
- An essay (50%)

Review of a development report (25%)

The task is to write a critical review (1,750 words) of a report produced by a global institution on contemporary trends in labour and work in development. You can choose to review one of two reports: either a World Development Report, published by the World Bank, about the changing nature of work; or a Global Human Development Report, published by the UN Development Programme, about the role of work in human development. The review should be submitted through Turnitin by 2pm on **11 March 2019**.

You must choose to review one of the following reports:

World Bank (2019) *World Development Report 2019: The Changing Nature of Work*, Washington: D.C., World Bank.

United Nations Development Programme (2015) *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development*, New York, UNDP.

The reports can be accessed electronically via the following web addresses:

- <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2019>
- <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2015-work-human-development>

The task is to write a critical review of the report, **not** to write only generally about the issue discussed.

The report should: (a) summarise the purpose, scope, approach and argument of the report; and (b) critically evaluate some aspect(s) of the report.

You should explain why the report is significant and interesting. Explain the most important things about the report to a reader who has not read the report.

For the critical evaluation, think about: Who has written the report? Who is the report for? What are its implicit and explicit assumptions? Which points are most controversial or political? What theoretical or conceptual critiques could you make about the report? What have been the wider reactions to the report from academics, journalists, civil society groups or politicians? You do not have to cover all these issues. Do think about how to make your report interesting and informative. You must remain focused on reviewing the report, rather than writing a general development essay.

You can structure your report in any way you choose, but you must have an introduction, proper paragraphs and sections, a conclusion, and a full bibliography. You should of course cite the report in full. You can also refer to other sources. All quotations, maps, graphs and data need full citations.

For an example of one way to critically review a report of this sort (albeit in greater depth), see:

Brockington, D. (2012) 'A Radically Conservative Vision? The Challenge of UNEP's *Towards a Green Economy*', *Development and Change*, 43, 1, pp. 409-422.

Group presentation (25%)

In tutorials #5-9 the class will begin with a group presentation. The groups will be assigned by the tutor and each will have 3-4 people.

The task is to give a 10-minute presentation relating to the topic of the tutorial, exploring the theme as a whole or an aspect of it. The presentation should have an empirical focus on ONE country in the developing world. The country case should help to illustrate and unpack the issues involved in the tutorial topic. So, you could present on gender inequality in Pakistan, or sustainable development in Brazil, for example. The presentation should offer a coherent argument or analysis: it is not intended to be merely a fact-finding or summarising exercise. Groups can decide between themselves how to divide up the presentation, but it is essential that all members contribute to both the design and the delivery.

Before the day of your presentation you need to email your tutor the following materials:

- Any power point slides or presentation materials you will use;
- One side of A4 [or 500 words] as a handout for the rest of the class;
- A diary of your preparation as a group. This should include details of how you decided on the topic, how you divided the research and the roles between you, and what each member of the team contributed to the task. Dates and locations of at least two meetings you hold prior to your presentation should be included. This should also be no more than one side of A4 [or 500 words].

After the in-class presentation there will be a short period of questions from the rest of the class: your answers will also form part of the assessment.

The group will receive a single assessment grade for everyone, so it is important to work together, help each other along, and use your different skills. Group work can be challenging and stressful in different ways to solo assignments, but it is important to learn how to work together, cooperate and organize different roles. Difficulties within the group should be resolved within the group where possible and recorded in the diary. Having difficulties will not be penalized: if you can show evidence of having worked through them and resolved them then this will be rewarded in the assessment. Any groups experiencing serious difficulties with collaboration are strongly advised to contact their tutor well in advance of the presentation date. In some cases, students may be asked to demonstrate that they are contributing constructively to the preparation of the assignment, to be eligible to receive the collective group mark.

It is advisable to start working on the presentation assignment well in advance of the deadline. This is necessary to enable sufficient time for preparatory reading, research, collaboration, preparation of materials, and practicing of the presentation.

You should aim to demonstrate the following indicators of high quality presentations:

- Excellent teamwork and co-ordination;
- Full and continuous focus on the issues;
- Excellent use of examples and/or other evidence;
- Firm grasp of key issues;

- Excellent analytical treatment of key assumptions;
- Originality and evidence of research;
- Clear and logical structure;
- Perfectly timed;
- Handout / slides extremely well-designed and presented.

Your tutor can provide advice to help you prepare the group presentation. Your tutor will provide written feedback on your teamwork, preparation, presentation (oral and visual), and responses to questions, as well as the grade.

Essay (50%)

The final assignment for the module is a 3,500 word essay. Essay questions will be provided on Blackboard in week 2.

The objective of the essay is to demonstrate a good understanding of the politics of development and an ability to analyse a relevant case (or cases) in a theoretically informed manner. All answers will be expected to show an understanding of the broader theoretical literature and to include materials from your own research as well as the reading list. **All answers should include one or more empirical examples or case studies to illustrate your argument.** The aim of the essay is to present a persuasive argument that answers the question and demonstrates extensive reading and research, as well as careful thought and reflection.

Students should consult the material available through the Politics Hub on improving your mark, writing essays, and using feedback. Politics essay writing and referencing guidelines should be consulted and followed closely. Time in lectures and tutorials will be devoted to preparing for the essays and answering your questions: most questions should be answered here, rather than in emails to the lecturer or tutors.

The essay is worth 50% of the final mark. The deadline for submission of the assessed essay is **Monday 13 May 2019**. Essays must be uploaded to Turnitin via the course Blackboard site by 2pm. Any essays uploaded after that date and time will be treated as late and will receive a penalty for late submission (see the Politics Part II guide for details).

Advice and feedback on assignments

Advice and guidance will be provided in lectures and tutorials to help you achieve effective completion of each assignment. If you have questions about the expectations then you are encouraged to ask the lecturer or your tutor for advice either in-class or during advice and feedback hours, or if necessary by email.

Feedback on your work, and the associated grade, will ordinarily be provided by your tutor. Our aim is to return the feedback to you within 15 working days. Feedback on your development report review and your essay will take the form of in-text comments and summative comments, available on Turnitin. In-text comments will highlight strengths, weaknesses and errors, and give tips about specific aspects of your work. Summative comments will summarise the overall strengths and weaknesses of your work. The feedback will offer constructive advice on how to improve your work in the future. Feedback on your group presentation will similarly highlight strengths and weaknesses and offer advice on how to improve. Your tutor will send you this feedback by email, along with a grade and an indication of your group's level of achievement against the indicators of high quality presentations.

In line with the Politics Department's feedback norms – which are set to enable explaining of the mark and suggestions for improvement, without being overwhelming – you can expect summative feedback commentaries of roughly in the region of the following amounts:

- Development report review ~ 75-110 words.
- Group presentation ~ 80-120 words.
- Essay ~ 110-160 words.

If, after having received your feedback, you feel you would like to discuss your work further then we are happy to do so. You are welcome to contact your tutor or one of the lecturers to arrange a meeting during advice and feedback hours.

Coursework submission in Politics

For the Politics procedures on essay submission, presentation, extensions, late essays, and referencing, see the Politics Part II guide for details. A copy of this is available on the blackboard site for this module. There is extensive guidance and advice on everything from referencing to essay structure. Please read it carefully: especially if you have not taken many or any Politics modules before.

Ensure your registration numbers and the course code, POLI20722, appear on each page of your coursework. We mark assessed essays anonymously, so do not include your name anywhere. Pages should be numbered.

IMPORTANT: When submitting through Turnitin, put your student ID number followed by your assignment title in 'Submission Title' box. Only upload a WORD version of your essay, no PDFs please.

Extensions

See Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29.

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk
dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk

- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tsso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is the submission of work that is not your own. To present the work of others as your own is dishonest. All sources must be attributed, or there will be strict penalties. Furthermore, the essay must not reproduce in whole or in large part another assignment. The student is responsible for ensuring that her/his project does not violate this prohibition. Any violation of this prohibition will be severely penalised by the deduction of marks or even by a mark of 0 in serious cases.

Reports on coursework will be provided to students through Blackboard. Students should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations boards in June. Make sure you read your feedback carefully: it is intended to help you.

Grading criteria

These criteria are adapted from the Politics Part II Guide, which should be read alongside these criteria.

Very High First Class (90+)

Such assignments are *exceptional* and fully address the required task in a coherent manner and can be expected to show *exceptional achievement* in these respects:

- Essays fully answer the question and demonstrate exceptional insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of exceptional critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; outstanding and comprehensive knowledge of the relevant literature; and a level of originality not usually characteristic of work submitted by students at this level.
- Group presentations demonstrate thorough preparation and exceptionally clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork; the exercise of an exceptionally high standard critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; an ability to draw upon and process complex data; links to scholarly debates; and a degree of originality not usually characteristic of work submitted by students at this level.
- Development report reviews are clear and succinctly summarise the report's purpose; they are virtually free from errors; demonstrate exceptional insight and depth of understanding of the issue and the institution; and critically analyse the report from a highly cogent and original perspective.

High First Class (80-89)

Such assignments are *outstanding* (80-89) and address the required task in a *near-full* and well-structured manner and can be expected to show outstanding or exceptional achievement in most of these respects.

- Essays fully answer the question and demonstrate outstanding insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of outstanding critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; outstanding and full knowledge of the relevant literature; and some degree of originality.
- Group presentations demonstrate thorough preparation and outstanding clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork; the exercise of an outstanding level of critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; an ability to draw upon and process complex data; links to scholarly debates; and some degree of originality.
- Development report reviews are clear and succinctly summarise the report's purpose; they are almost free from errors; demonstrate outstanding insight and depth of understanding of the issue and the institution; and critically analyse the report from a cogent perspective.

First Class (70-79)

Such assignments are *excellent* and address the required task in a *largely-full* and well-structured manner and can be expected to show excellent achievement in most of these respects.

- Essays fully answer the question and demonstrate excellent insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of excellent critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; excellent and full knowledge of the relevant literature.
- Group presentations demonstrate thorough preparation and excellent clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork; the exercise of an excellent level of critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; an ability to draw upon and process complex data; links to scholarly debates.
- Development report reviews are clear and succinctly summarise the report's purpose; they are almost free from errors; demonstrate excellent insight and depth of understanding of the issue and the institution; and critically analyse the report from a cogent perspective.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such assignments are *very good* and address the required task in a generally well-structured manner, and can be expected to indicate *most of* the following qualities:

- Essays mainly answer the question and demonstrate very good understanding of the material; show some critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; and a demonstrable grasp of the relevant literature.
- Group presentations demonstrate thorough preparation and clear communication; effective teamwork; the exercise of some very good critical judgment along with some analysis of materials and data; and show links to scholarly debates.
- Development report reviews are clear and succinctly summarise the report's purpose; they are largely free from errors; demonstrate very good understanding of the issue and the institution; and make some interesting and informative critical points.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such assignments are *good* and indicate *some understanding* of the issues and address the required task in an adequate manner. They can be expected to show *most of* the following features:

- Essays tackle aspects of the question and demonstrate firm understanding of the material; some clear analysis and argument, although limited in extent; and some awareness of the relevant literature.
- Group presentations demonstrate some preparation and clear communication; provide evidence of some teamwork; and discuss a range of largely relevant materials and data.

- Development report reviews are mainly clear and attempt to summarise the report's purpose; they may have some errors; demonstrate sound but limited understanding of the issue and the institution; and attempt to set-out some critical points.

Note: What distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class is greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument, as well as at least some selective knowledge of the relevant literature, not mere awareness of its existence.

Third Class (40-49)

Such assignments are *sufficient* and indicate a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and address the required task in a partial manner. They can be expected to show the following features:

- Essays address the question in a limited and partial manner, demonstrate sparse understanding of the material; with unsupported assertions and little clear analysis or argument; and important errors and inaccuracies.
- Group presentations demonstrate basic preparation and some communication; provide little evidence of any teamwork; and discuss some relevant materials and data together with some materials that have little relevance to the issue under discussion.
- Development report reviews are limited and often tangential discussions of the report's purpose; they have frequent errors, some serious; demonstrate limited understanding of the issue and the institution; and do provide any critical evaluation.

Third Years: Fail (0-39)

Such assignments are *insufficient* and, at the upper end, fail to deal with the task in a way that suggests more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject, while, at the lower end, they fail to demonstrate engagement with the task.

READING

The following sections contain:

- Introductory readings, useful textbooks, and good online sources. Please make use of these for your own research, and to help with topics you find confusing or difficult.
- Extensive additional reading lists corresponding to the lecture topics, which will be of use in preparing for your essay. You will be expected to engage with some of this material, in some depth, in your assignments. The lecturer may ask you to do additional preparatory work for particular weeks.

Required and recommended reading for the tutorials is given in the separate Tutorial Guide.

Introductory readings and useful textbooks

There is no one textbook for this course. All readings are available through blackboard, the library, or online sources. However, if you wish to purchase a book for this module I recommend Burnell, Randall and Rakner, *Politics in the Developing World*, OUP. However, any of the texts on the list below will be helpful in clarifying key terms and debates, and providing suggestions for case studies and further reading.

Burnell, P., Randall, V. and Rakner, L. (eds) (2014) *Politics in the Developing World*, 4th edition, Oxford: OUP. Earlier editions are also available, and there is an online resource centre with more materials: <http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/politics/countries/burnell4e/>

- Adams, W. M. (2008) *Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in a Developing World*, Abingdon: Routledge. [E-book access through the library]
- Baker, A. (2014) *Shaping the Developing World: The West, the South, and the Natural World*, London: Sage.
- Calvert, P. and Calvert, S. (2007) *Politics and Society in the Developing World*, Harlow: Pearson.
- Chari, S. and Corbridge, S. (eds) (2008) *The Development Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Desai, V. and Potter, R. B. (eds) (2008) *The Companion to Development Studies*, London: Hodder.
- Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. (eds) (2014) *Global Politics: A New Introduction*, Abingdon: Routledge. [E-book access through the library]
- Handelman, H. (2011) *The Challenge of Third World Development*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Haslam, P., Schafer, J. and Beaudet, P. (eds) (2012) *Introduction to International Development: Approaches, Actors and Issues*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haynes, J. (2002) *Politics in the Developing World*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kiely, R. (2007) *The New Political Economy of Development: Globalization, Imperialism, Hegemony*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kingsbury, D., McKay, J., Hunt, J., McGillivray, M. and Clarke, M. (2012) *International Development: Issues and Challenges*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kothari, U. (ed.) (2005) *A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies*, Zed: London and New York.
- Krishna, S. (2009) *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the twenty-first century*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- McMichael, P. (ed.) (2010) *Contesting Development: Critical Struggles for Social Change*, Abingdon: Routledge. [E-book access through the library]
- McMichael, P. (2012) *Development and Change: A Global Perspective*, London: Sage.
- Parfitt, T. W. (2002) *The End of Development? Modernity, Post-Modernity and Development*, London, Pluto. [E-book access through the library]
- Payne, A. (ed.) (2004) *The New Regional Politics of Development*, Basingstoke: Palgrave. [E-book access through the library]
- Selwyn, B. (2014) *The Global Development Crisis*, Cambridge: Polity. [E-book access through the library]
- Selwyn, B. (2017) *The Struggle for Development*, Cambridge: Polity. [E-book access through the library]
- Sethi, R. (2011) *Politics of Postcolonialism: Empire, Nation and Resistance*, London, Pluto. [E-book access through the library]
- Smith, B. C. (2009) *Understanding Third World Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Weatherby, J. et. al. (2009) *The Other World: Issues and Politics of Developing World*, New York: Pearson-Longman.

- Williams, D. (2012) *International Development and Global Politics: History, Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge. [E-book access through the library]
- Willis, K. (2011) *Theories and Practices of Development* [2nd edn.], Hoboken: Taylor and Francis. [E-book access through the library]

Journals

You should also become familiar with some of the key journals in development studies and international politics, and browse them for interesting articles of use for your own research.

Antipode
Development and Change
European Journal of Development Research
Gender and Development
Global Governance
Globalizations
Journal of Development Studies
Journal of International Development
Journal of Peasant Studies
New Political Economy
Review of International Political Economy
Review of International Studies
Studies in Comparative International Development
Third World Quarterly
World Development

Useful online resources

African Development Bank <http://www.afdb.org/en/>
 Aid Info <http://www.aidinfo.org/>
 Amnesty International <http://www.amnesty.org/>
 Asian Development Bank <http://www.adb.org/>
 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/>
 DfID, UK <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-international-development>
 Development at Manchester <http://developmentatmanchester.com/>
 Development Studies Association (UK) <http://www.devstud.org.uk/>
 Failed States Index <http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2013-sortable>
 Food and Agriculture Organisation <http://www.fao.org/home/en/>
 Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/>
 Friends of the Earth International <http://www.foei.org/en>
 Global Water Partnership <http://www.gwp.org/>
 Global Witness <http://www.globalwitness.org/>
 Greenpeace International <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/>
 The Guardian (UK) – Global Development <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development>
 Human Development Index <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi>
 International Labour Organisation <http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm>
 Jubilee Debt campaign (UK) <http://jubileedebt.org.uk/>
 Le Monde Diplomatique, English version <http://mondediplo.com>
 Make Poverty History <http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/takeaction/>
 Mediciens Sans Frontiere <http://www.msf.org/>
 Millennium Development Goals <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

Millennium Villages Project <http://millenniumvillages.org/>
 MST Brazil <http://www.mstbrazil.org/>
 Overseas Development Institute (UK) <http://www.odi.org.uk/>
 OECD <http://www.oecd.org/>
 Oxfam <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/>
 Pambazuka News www.pambazuka.org
 Third World Network <http://www.twinside.org.sg/>
 UN Conference on Trade and Development <http://unctad.org/en/Pages/Home.aspx>
 UN Development Programme <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home.html>
 UN Environment Programme <http://www.unep.org/>
 UNICEF <http://www.unicef.org/>
 UN Women <http://www.unwomen.org/>
 USAID <http://www.usaid.gov/>
 WaterAid <http://www.wateraid.org/uk>
 Association for Women's Rights in Development <http://www.awid.org/>
 World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org/>
 World Food Programme <http://www.wfp.org/>
 World Trade Organisation <http://www.wto.org/>

EXTENDED READING LISTS

The following extensive list of readings should be consulted when preparing for lectures, and when doing the research for your essays and exam. Note that even this list is just the tip of the iceberg in the volume of material on development. Through snowballing techniques (looking at the references in key recent articles), browsing the journals, and using search engines like google scholar and web of knowledge, you should be able to find masses of reading on any topic that interests you.

Introduction: The Contested Politics of Development

Use the list of course textbooks suggested above – any of the introductions to these will be a good way to prepare for the module.

Davis, M. (2001) *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*, London: Verso.

Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of Slums*, London: Verso.

Dodds, K. (2008) 'The Third World, Developing Countries, the South, Poor Countries,' in Desai, V. and Potter, R. B. (eds) *The Companion to Development Studies*, London: Hodder.

Fukudu-Parr, S. and Yamin, A. E. (2013) 'The Power of Numbers: A critical review of MDG targets for human development and human rights', *Development*, 56, 1, pp. 58-65.

Gabay, C. (2012) *Civil Society and Global Poverty: Hegemony, Inclusivity, Legitimacy*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Green, M. & Hulme, D. (2005) 'From Correlates and Characteristics to Causes: Thinking About Poverty from a Chronic Poverty Perspective', *World Development*, 33, 6, pp. 867-879.

Greig, A., Hulme, D. and Turner, M. (2007) *Challenging Global Inequality*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Harrison, G. (2010) 'The Africanization of poverty: A retrospective on "Make poverty history"', *African Affairs*, 109, 436, pp. 391-408.

- Hickey, S. and Bracking, S. (2005) 'Exploring the politics of chronic poverty: from representation to a politics of justice?' *World Development*, 33, pp. 851-865.
- Jomo, K. S. (ed.) (2007) *Flat World, Big Gaps*, London: Zed.
- Kenny C. (2005) 'Why Are We Worried About Income? Nearly Everything that Matters is Converging', *World Development*, 33, 1, pp. 1-19.
- Kiely, R. (2007) *The New Political Economy of Development*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Krishna, A. (2007) 'For Reducing Poverty Faster: Target Reasons Before People', *World Development*, 35, 11, pp. 1947-1960.
- Krishna, A. (2010) *One Illness Away: Why People Become Poor and How They Escape Poverty*, Oxford: OUP.
- Payne, A. (2006) 'Blair, Brown and the Gleneagles agenda: making poverty history, or confronting the global politics of unequal development?' *International Affairs*, 82, 5, pp. 917-935.
- Shaffer, P. (2012) 'Post-development and Poverty: an assessment', *Third World Quarterly*, 33, 10, pp. 1767-1782.
- Simon, D. and Närman, A. (eds) (1999) *Development as Theory and Practice: Current Perspectives on Development and Development Co-operation*, Harlow: Longman.
- Sutcliffe B. (2004) 'World Inequality and Globalization', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 20, 1, pp. 15-37.
- Thomas, C. (2008) 'Poverty, development and hunger' in Baylis, J., Smith, S. and Owens, P. (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 468-488.
- Vandemoortele, V. (2014) 'Post-2015 agenda: mission impossible?' *Development Studies Research*, 1, 1, pp. 223-232.
- Wade, R. (2004) 'Is Globalization Reducing Poverty and Inequality?' *World Development*, 32, 4, pp. 567-589.
- Williams, H. L. (2014) 'Wacky races: Miller, Pogge and Rawls, and conceptions of development in the global justice debate', *Journal of International Political Theory*, 10, 2, pp. 206-228.
- Wilkinson, R. and Hulme, D. (eds) (2012) *The Millennium Development Goals and Beyond: Global Development after 2015*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Wilson, J. (2014) 'Model Villages in the Neoliberal Era: The Millennium Development Goals and the Colonization of Everyday Life', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41, 1, pp. 107-125.

Development as Modernization

This section contains a selection of texts which articulate or discuss some of the most central and influential approaches to development. Many of these (implicitly or explicitly) present development as a universal process of modernization, progress and westernization, in which all countries can participate with the right policies and conditions. Many focus on economic growth, trade liberalization, or democratization. Some are texts explicitly critical of key aspects of modernization.

- Abrahamsen, R. (2004) 'The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance', *Third World Quarterly* 25, 8, pp. 1453-1467.

- Acemoglu, D. and J. A. Robinson (2012) *Why Nations Fail: the Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, London: Profile Books Limited.
- Anand, S. and Sen, A. K. (1996) *Sustainable Human Development: Concepts and Priorities*, New York: UNDP.
- Barnes, A. and Brown, G.W. (2011) 'The idea of partnership within the Millennium Development Goals: Context, Instrumentality, and the Normative Demands of Partnership', *Third World Quarterly*, 32, 1, pp. 165-180.
- Bebbington, A J., Hickey, S. and Mitlin, D (2008) *Can NGOs Make a Difference? The Challenge of Development Alternatives*, London: Zed.
- Cammack, P. (2004) 'What the World Bank means by poverty reduction and why it matters', *New Political Economy*, 9, 2, 189-221.
- Chesterman, S., Ignatieff, M. and Thakur, R. (eds) (2005) *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*, New York: United Nations University Press.
- Clapham, C. (1998) 'Degrees of Statehood', *Review of International Studies*, 24, pp. 143-157.
- Clapp, J. (2004) 'WTO Agricultural Trade Battles and Food Aid', *Third World Quarterly*, 25, 8, (pp. 1439-1452).
- Collier, P. and Dollar, D. (2002) *Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Building an inclusive world economy*, Washington DC: World Bank.
- Collier, P. (2008) 'The politics of hunger: How greed and illusion fan the food crisis', *Foreign Affairs*, 87, 6, pp. 67-79.
- DeMars, W. E. (2005) *NGOs and transnational networks: Wild cards in world politics*, London: Pluto.
- Diamond, L. (1997) *Guns, Germs and Steel: The fates of human societies*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Easterly, W.R. (2009) 'How the Millennium Development Goals are unfair to Africa', *World Development*, 37, 1, pp. 26-35.
- Edwards, M. (1999) 'International Development NGOs: Agents of Foreign Aid or Vehicles for International Cooperation?' *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 28, 4, pp. 25-37.
- Engel, S. (2014) 'The not-so-great aid debate', *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 8, pp. 1374-1389.
- Easterly, W. R. (2001) *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Easterly, W. R. (2007) *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's efforts to aid the rest have done so much harm and so little good*, Oxford: OUP.
- Ferguson, N. (2004) *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, London: Penguin.
- Fioramonti, L. (2013) *Gross Domestic Problem: The Politics Behind the World's Most Powerful Number*, London: Zed Books.
- Fridell, G. (2014) 'Fair trade slippages and Vietnam gaps: the ideological fantasies of fair trade coffee', *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 7, pp. 1179-1194.
- Gabay, C. (2012) *Civil Society and Global Poverty: Hegemony, Inclusivity, Legitimacy*, Abingdon: Routledge.

- Gabay, C. (2012) 'The Millennium Development Goals and Ambitious Developmental Engineering', *Third World Quarterly*, 33, 7, pp. 1249-1265.
- Gould, J. (ed.) (2005) *The New Conditionality: The Politics of Poverty Reduction Strategies*, London: Zed Books.
- Gros, J.-G. (1996) 'Towards a Taxonomy of Failed States in the New World Order: Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti', *Third World Quarterly*, 17, 3, pp. 455-71.
- Harrison, G. (2004) *The World Bank and Africa: The construction of governance states*, London: Routledge.
- Harrison, G. (2010) *Neoliberal Africa: The impact of global social engineering*, London: Zed.
- Hickel, J. (2017) 'Is global inequality getting better or worse? A critique of the World Bank's convergence narrative', *Third World Quarterly*, 38, 10, pp. 2208-2222.
- Huntingdon, S. 'The change to change: Modernization, development and politics', *Comparative Politics*, 3, 3, pp. 283-322.
- Hutchings, A. (2009) *Changing Big Business: The Globalisation of the Fair Trade Movement*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Jackson, R. (2000) *The Global Covenant: Human conduct in a world of states*, Oxford: OUP.
- Jolly, R. & Santos, R. (2016) 'From Development of the "Other" to Global Governance for Universal and Sustainable Development', *IDS Bulletin*, 47, 2, pp. 13-31.
- Kothari, U. and Cooke, B. (2001) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London: Zed.
- Lipset, S. M. (1959) 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy', *The American Political Science Review*, 53, 1, pp. 69-105.
- Manji, F. and O'Coill, C. (2002) 'The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa', *International Affairs*, 78, 3, pp. 567-583.
- Migdal, J. S. (1988) *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton: PUP.
- Moyo, D. (2009) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa*, London: Allen Lane.
- Narlikar, A. (2003) *International Trade and Developing Countries: Bargaining Coalitions in the GATT and WTO*, London: Routledge.
- Peterson, V. S. (2014) 'How is the world organized economically', in Edkins, J. and Zehfuss, M. *Global Politics: A New Introduction*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 363-384.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2014) 'Protest Begets Progress, Probably: *Human Development Report 2013*', *Development and Change*, 45, 5, pp. 1205-1218.
- Przeworski, A. (2000) *Democracy and development: Political institutions and material well-being in the world, 1950-1990*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Rodrik, D. (2003) *In Search of Prosperity: Analytic Narratives on Economic Growth*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rotberg, R. I. (ed.) (2004) *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton: PUP.
- Sachs, J. (2005) *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, London: Penguin.

- Saith, A. (2006) 'From Universal Values to Millennium Development Goals: Lost in Translation', *Development and Change*, 37, 6, pp. 1167-1199.
- Thirlwall, A. P. (2008) 'Development and Economic Growth', in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) *The Companion to Development Studies*, London: Hodder. See also chapters 2.1-2.5.
- Weiss, T. G. and Gordenker, L. (eds) (1996) *NGOs, the UN and Global Governance*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Wilkinson, R. (2009) 'The problematic of trade and development beyond the Doha Round', *Journal of International Trade and Diplomacy*, 3, 1, pp. 155-186.
- Wilson, J. (2014) *Jeffrey Sachs: The Strange Case of Dr Shock and Mr Aid*, London: Verso.
- Whitfield, L. (2009) (ed.) *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*, Oxford: OUP.
- Zartman, W. (1995) *Collapsed States: The disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Ziai, A. (2011) 'The Millennium Development Goals: back to the future?' *Third World Quarterly*, 32, 1, pp. 27-43.

Development as Capitalism

This section contains a selection of texts which articulate or discuss more radical or heterodox approaches to development, including Marxist-influenced accounts of dependency, and postcolonial analyses of more exclusionary and exclusive models of development, such as colonialism and neo-colonialism.

- Andreasson, S. (2010) *Africa's Development Impasse: Rethinking the Political Economy of Transformation*, London: Zed Books.
- Ashman, S. (2009) 'Capitalism, Uneven and Combined Development and the Transhistoric', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 22, 1, pp. 29-46.
- Bateman, M. (2010) *Why Doesn't Microfinance Work? The destructive rise of local neoliberalism*, London: Zed Books.
- Bernstein, H. (2000) 'Colonialism, Capitalism, Development', in Allen, T. and Thomas, A. (eds) *Poverty and development into the twenty first century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Callaghy, T. M. (1995) 'Africa and the World Political Economy', in Harbeson, J. W. and Rothchild, D. (eds) *Africa in World Politics: Post-Cold War Challenges*, Boulder CO: Westview.
- Callinicos, A. and Rosenberg, J. (2008) 'Uneven and Combined Development: The Social-Relational Substratum of "the International"? An Exchange of Letters', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21, 1, pp. 77-112.
- Cammack, P. (1997) *Capitalism and Democracy in the Third World: The Doctrine for Political Development*, London: Leicester University Press.
- Cammack, P. (2018) "World Bank, World Development Report 2019: The Changing Nature of Work" available at: <https://whatsworthreading.weebly.com/changing-nature-of-work.html>
- Césaire, A. (1972) *Discourse on Colonialism*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Chossudovsky, M. (1997) *The Globalisation of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms*, London: Zed.

- Conway, D. and Heynen, N. (2008) 'Classical dependency theories: from ECLA to Gunder Frank' in Desai, V. and Potter, R. (eds) *The Companion to Development Studies*, London: Hodder. See also chapters 2.8, 2.9, 2.10.
- Davidson, B. (1992) *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, Oxford: James Currey.
- Davis, M. (2008) 'The Origins of the Third World', in Chari, S. and Corbridge, S. (eds) *The Development Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 14-30.
- Dirlik, A. (2002) "Rethinking Colonialism: Globalization, Postcolonialism and the Nation" *Interventions* 4:3 pp. 428-448
- Dore, E. (2002) 'Understanding Capitalism in the Third World', in Saad-Filho, A. (ed.) *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction*, London: Pluto.
- Evans, P. (1979) *Dependent Development: the alliance of multinational, state, and local capital in Brazil*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hartsock, N. (2006) "Globalization and Primitive Accumulation: The Contributions of David Harvey's Dialectical Marxism" in N. Castree and D. Gregory (eds.) *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* Oxford: Blackwell pp. 167-190.
- Harvey, D. (2003) *The New Imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2006) *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, London: Verso.
- Harvey, D. (2014) *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, London: Profile.
- Fanon, F. (1967) *The Wretched of the Earth*, London: Penguin.
- Gunder Frank, A. (1988) 'The Development of Underdevelopment', in Wilber, C.K. (ed.) *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, New York: Random House, pp. 109-119.
- Kapoor, I. (2002) "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency vs. Postcolonial Theory" *Third World Quarterly* 23:4 pp: 647-664
- Krishna, S. (2009) *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the twenty-first century*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Leys, C. (1996) *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*, London: James Currey.
- McMichael, P. (2012) *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective*, London: Sage, chapter 2.
- McNally, D. (2009) 'From Financial Crisis to World-Slump: Accumulation, Financialization, and the Global Slowdown', *Historical Materialism*, 17, 2, pp. 35-83.
- Moore, Jason W. (2011) 'Ecology, Capital, and the Nature of Our Times: Accumulation and Crisis in the Capitalist World Ecology', *American Sociological Association*, XVII, 1, pp. 107-146.
- Prashad, V. (2007) *The Darker Nations: A Peoples' History of the Third World*, New York: The New Press
- Rodney, W. (1981) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: Bogle L'Ouverture Publications.

- Robinson, W. I. (2004) 'Global Crisis and Latin America', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23, 2, pp. 135-153.
- Rosenberg, J. (2006) 'Why is there no International Historical Sociology?' *European Journal of International Relations*, 12, 3 (2006), pp. 307-340.
- Saull, R. (2012) 'Rethinking Hegemony: Uneven Development, Historical Blocs, and the World Economic Crisis', *International Studies Quarterly*, 56, pp. 323-338.
- Sklair, L. (2001) *The Transnational Capitalist Class*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith, N. (1984) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Taylor, M. (2007) "Rethinking the Global Production of Uneven Development" *Globalizations* 4:4 p.529-542
- Valenzuela, S. J. and Valenzuela, A. (1978) 'Modernization and dependency: Alternative perspectives in the study of Latin American underdevelopment', *Comparative Politics*, 10, 4, pp. 535-557.
- Wallerstein, I. (1979) *The Capitalist World-Economy: Essays*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Ward, Callum and Manuel B Aalbers (2016) "'The shitty rent business': What's the point of land rent theory?" *Urban Studies* (available on Early View).
- Williams, G. (1994) 'Why Structural Adjustment is Necessary and Why it Doesn't Work', *Review of African Political Economy*, 21, 60, pp. 214-235.
- Wilson, J. (2014) *Jeffrey Sachs: The Strange Case of Dr Shock and Mr Aid*, London: Verso.
- Wolfe, P (1997) "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory from Marx to Postcolonialism" *The American Historical Review* 102:2 pp. 388-420.
- Young, C. (1995) 'The Heritage of Colonialism', in Harbeson, J. W. and Rothchild, D. (eds) *Africa in World Politics: Post-Cold War Challenges*, Boulder CO: Westview.
- Zeller, C. (2008) 'From the Gene to the Globe: Extracting Rents based on Intellectual Property', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15, 1, pp. 86-115.

Development as Discourse

This section contains a selection of texts which discuss the discursive construction of development and poverty, particularly through categories of race, identity, gender and civilization. As such there is considerable overlap with the previous section, for example in the discussion of the various dimensions and legacies of colonialism, and students should consult material from both lists.

- Ahluwalia, P. (2001) *Politics and Post-Colonial Theory: African Inflections*, London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (1998) *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, London: Routledge.
- Bilgin, P. and Morton, D. (2002) 'Historicising Representations of "Failed States": Beyond the Cold War Annexation of the Social Sciences', *Third World Quarterly*, 23, 1, pp. 55-80.
- Coates, K. (2004) *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

- Doty, R. L. (1996) *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Edkins, J. (2000) *Whose Hunger? Concepts of famine, practices of aid*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Escobar, A. (2004) 'Beyond the Third World: Imperial Globality, Global Coloniality, and Anti-Globalisation Social Movements', *Third World Quarterly*, 25, 1, pp. 207-230.
- Ferguson, J. (1990) *The anti-politics machine: 'Development', depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Ferguson, J. (2006) *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Fouquier, T. (2008) 'Neoliberal governance of states: The role of competitive indexing and country benchmarking', *Millennium*, 37, 2, pp. 303-326.
- Frankenberg, R. (1993) *White women, race matters: the social construction of whiteness*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gabay, C. and Death, C. (eds) (2014) *Critical Perspectives on African Politics: Liberal interventions, state-building and civil society*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gagné, N. (2012) 'Indigenous Peoples: A Category in Development', in Haslam, P., Schafer, J. and Beaudet, P. *Introduction to International Development: Approaches, Actors and Issues*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garner, S. (2009) *Racisms: An Introduction*, London: Sage.
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2002) *The Racial State*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hansen, T. B. and Stepputat, F. (eds) (2001) *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Hettne, B. (2009) *Thinking About Development*, London: Zed Books.
- hooks, B. (1982) *Ain't I a woman?: Black women and feminism*, London: Pluto.
- Jones, B. G. (2005) 'Africa and the Poverty of International Relations', *Third World Quarterly*, 26, 6 pp. 987-1003.
- Kothari, U. (2002) 'Feminist and postcolonial challenges to development' in Kothari, U. and Minogue, M. (eds) *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Lemay-Hébert, N. and Mathieu, X. (2014) 'The OECD's discourse on fragile states: expertise and the normalisation of knowledge production', *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 2, pp. 232-251.
- Li, T. M. (2007) *The will to improve: Governmentality, development and the practice of politics*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, London: Routledge.
- Maaka, R. and Anderson, C. (2006) *Indigenous Experience: Global Perspectives*, Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Mayer, R. (2002) *Artificial Africa: Colonial images in the time of globalization*, Dartmouth: University Press of New England.

- Mbembe, A. (2001) *On the Postcolony*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2005) *The Idea of Latin America*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mudimbe, V.Y. (1994) *The Idea of Africa*, London: James Currey.
- Nettle, D. and Suzanne R. (2000) *Vanishing voices: the extinction of the world's languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rist, G. (1997) *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, London; Zed.
- Said, E.W. (1978) *Orientalism*, London: Routledge.
- Said, E.W. (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*, London: Vintage.
- Scott, J. C. (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sharp, J. P. (2009) *Geographies of Postcolonialism*, London: Sage.
- Shilliam, R. (ed.) (2011) *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, colonialism and investigations of global modernity*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Seth, S. (ed.) (2013) *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A critical introduction*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Strongman, L. (2014) 'Postcolonialism and international development studies: a dialectical exchange?' *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 8, pp. 1343-1354.
- Taylor, Y. (2006) *Growing Up in Slavery: Stories of Young Slaves as Told by Themselves*, Chicago: Chicago Review Press.
- Walvin, J. (2007) *A Short History of Slavery*, London: Penguin.

Gender and Development

This section contains readings on several topics: development institutions and NGOs, the MDGs, and gender and development. Search through to find items of interest, and use the abstract to articles and the backs of books to decide whether they will be of use.

This section contains readings on gender and development. Search through to find items of interest, and use the abstract to articles and the backs of books to decide whether they will be of use.

- Baker, A. (2014) *Shaping the Developing World: The West, the South, and the Natural World*, London: Sage, especially chapters 6 and 12.
- Bakker, I. (2007) 'Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 12(4), pp.541-556.
- Bandarage, A. (1997) *Women, Population and Global Crisis*, London: Zed.
- Boserup, E. (2008) 'The economics of polygamy', in Chari, S. and Corbridge, S. (eds) *The Development Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 231-240.
- Chant, S. & McIlwaine, C. (2016) *Cities, slums and gender in the global south: towards a feminised urban future*, London: Routledge.

- Chant, S. (ed.) (2010) *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Coole, D. (2013) 'Too many bodies? The return and disavowal of the population question', *Environmental Politics*, 22, 2 pp. 195-215.
- Corrêa, S. (1994) *Population and Reproductive Rights: Feminist Perspectives from the South*, London: DAWN and Zed Books.
- Enloe, C. (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Federici, S. (2014) *Caliban and the Witch (2nd edition)*, Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia.
- Harman, S. (2012) 'Women and the MDGs: too little, too late, too gendered' in Wilkinson, R. and Hulme, D. (eds.) *The Millennium Development Goals and Beyond: Global Development after 2015*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 84-101.
- Hickel, J. (2014) 'The "girl effect": liberalism, empowerment and the contradictions of development', *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 8, pp. 1355-1373.
- Kabeer, N. (2015) 'Gender, poverty, and inequality: a brief history of feminist contributions in the field of international development', *Gender and Development*, 23(2), pp. 189-205.
- Marchand, M. H. (1996) 'Reconceptualising 'Gender and Development' in an Era of 'Globalisation'', *Millennium*, 25, 3, pp. 577-603.
- Mezzadri, A. (2016) *The Sweatshop Regime: Labouring Bodies, Exploitation and Garments Made in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **[E-book]**
- Momsen, J. (2010) *Gender and Development*, London: Routledge. **[E-book]**
- Pettman, J. J. (1996) *Worlding Women: a feminist international politics*, London: Routledge.
- Rai, S. (2002) *Gender and the Political Economy of Development: From Nationalism to Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Roberts, A. (2015) 'The Political Economy of "Transnational Business Feminism"', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17(2), pp.209–231.
- Shiva, V. (1989) *Staying Alive: Women, ecology and development*, London: Zed.
- Steans, J. & Tepe, D. (2010) 'Introduction – Social reproduction in international political economy: Theoretical insights and international, transnational and local sitings', *Review of International Political Economy*, 17(5), pp.807-815.
- Vorhölter, J. (2017) 'Homosexuality, Pornography and other "Modern Threats" – The Deployment of Sexuality in Recent Laws and Public Discourses in Uganda', *Critique of Anthropology*, In Press, Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0308275X16682601>.
- Walby, S. (2005) 'Introduction: comparative gender mainstreaming in a global era', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4), pp.453–470.
- Wangari, E. (2004) 'Reproductive Technologies: a Third World Feminist Perspective', in Saunders, K. (ed.) *Feminist Post-Development Thought*, London: Zed Books.
- Waylen, G. (2007) *Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions and Gender Outcomes*, Oxford: OUP.

This week focuses on the links between development and environmental change. The readings below highlight the transformations of 'nature' occurring as a result of development. They also describe the politics of and implications of environmental changes, of resource exploitation, and of conservation efforts, with a focus on developing countries. Many of the texts listed also consider climate change as a case that illustrates the challenges of reconciling development with sustainability.

- Adams, W. M. (2008) *Green Development: Environment and sustainability in a developing world*, Abingdon: Routledge. **[E-book]**
- Agyeman, J., Bullard, R. D. and Evans, B. (eds) (2003) *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World*, London: Earthscan.
- Baker, A. (2014) *Shaping the Developing World: The West, the South, and the Natural World*, London: Sage, chapter 13.
- Barnett, J. and Adger, W. N. (2007) 'Climate change, human security, and violent conflict', *Political Geography*, 26, 6, pp. 639-655
- Boserup, E. (1976) 'Environment, Population, and Technology in Primitive Societies', *Population and Development Review*, 2, pp. 21-36.
- Bulkeley, H. and Newell, P. (2010) *Governing Climate Change*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Clapp, J. and Dauvergne, P. (2005) *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dalby, S. (2009) *Security and Environmental Change*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Death, C. (2010) *Governing Sustainable Development: Partnerships, protests and power*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Death, C. (2011) "'Greening" the 2010 FIFA World Cup: Environmental sustainability and the mega-event in South Africa', *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 13, 2, pp. 99-117.
- Death, C. (2012) 'A predictable disaster for the climate – but who else won and lost in Durban at COP17?' *Environmental Politics*, 21, 6 pp. 980-986.
- Death, C. (2014) 'The Green Economy in South Africa: Global Discourses and Local Politics', *Politikon*, 41, 1, pp. 1-22.
- Dyson, T. (2008) 'On development, demography and climate change: The end of the world as we know it?' in Chari, S. and Corbridge, S. (eds) *The Development Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 546-555.
- Diamond, J. (2011) *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive*, London: Penguin.
- Fletcher, R., Breitling, J. & Puleo, V. (2014) 'Barbarian hordes: the overpopulation scapegoat in international development discourse', *Third World Quarterly*, 35, 7, pp. 1195-1215.
- Goldman, M. (2001) 'The Birth of a Discipline: Producing Authoritative Green Knowledge', World Bank-Style', *Ethnography*, 2, 2, pp. 191-217.
- Hartmann, B. (1998) 'Population, Environment and Security: A New Trinity', *Environment and Urbanization*, 10, 2, pp. 113-127.
- Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1994) 'Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases', *International Security*, 19, 1, pp. 5-40.

- Homer-Dixon, T. F. (1999) *Environment, Scarcity and Violence*, Princeton: PUP.
- Hulme, M. (2009) *Why we disagree about climate change: Understanding controversy, inaction and opportunity*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Kaplan, R. (1994) 'The coming anarchy', *Atlantic Monthly*, 273, 2, pp 44-76.
- Keen, D. (2008) *Complex Emergencies*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lee, J. R. (2009) *Climate change and armed conflict: Hot and cold wars*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Lohmann, L. (2006) *Carbon Trading: A critical conversation on climate change, privatisation and power*, Development Dialogue 48, Uppsala; Dag Hammarskjöld Centre and Corner House.
- Markanya, M. and Halsnaes, K. (eds) (2002) *Climate change and sustainable development: Prospects for developing countries*, London: Earthscan.
- Newell, P. and Paterson, M. (2010) *Climate Capitalism: Global warming and transformation of the global economy*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Newell, P. (2012) *Globalization and the environment: Capitalism, ecology and power*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Peet, R., Robbins, P. and Watts, M. J. (eds) (2011) *Global Political Ecology*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Salih, M. A. M. (ed.) (2009) *Climate change and sustainable development: New challenges for poverty reduction*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Saunders, C. (2008) 'The Stop Climate Chaos Coalition: Climate change as a development issue', *Third World Quarterly*, 29, 8, pp. 1509-1526.
- Stern, N. H. (2007) *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Tanner, T. and Horn-Phatanothai, L. (2013) *Climate Change and Development*, London: Routledge.
- Toulmin, C. (2009) *Climate Change in Africa*, London: Zed Books.
- Verhoeven, H. (2011) 'Climate Change, Conflict and Development in Sudan: Global Neo-Malthusian Narratives and Local Power Struggles', *Development and Change*, 42, 3 pp. 679-707.
- World Bank (2010) *Development and Climate Change: World Development Report 2010*, Washington DC: World Bank.

Development and the Production of Space

This section includes readings on urbanization, infrastructure development, natural resource extraction, iconic development projects, place-based conflicts, and other projects, mechanisms, and processes, through which 'development' is radically transforming the socio-spatiality of the planet.

- Alden, C. (2007) *China in Africa*, London: Zed.
- Apter, Andrew (2005) *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brautigam, D. (2009) *The Dragon's Gift: The real story of China in Africa*, Oxford: OUP.

- Brenner, Neil (2014). *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*, Berlin: Jovis.
- Brenner, Neil and Christian Schmid (2015) 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?' *City*, 19:2-3, pp. 151-182.
- Browder, John O. and Brian J. Godfrey (1997) *Rainforest Cities: Urbanization, Development and Globalization in the Brazilian Amazon*, New York: Colombia University Press.
- Coronil, Fernando (1997) *The Magical State: Nature, Money and Modernity in Venezuela*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fawaz, Mora, 2009. "Neoliberal Urbanity and the Right to the City: A View from Beirut's Periphery" *Development and Change* 40:5 pp 827-852
- Ferguson, J. (2005) "Seeing Like an Oil Company: Space, Security and Global Capital in Neoliberal Africa" *American Anthropologist* 107:3 pp. 377-382.
- Friedmann, J. (2005) *China's Urban Transition*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Garfield, Seth (2013) *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States and the Nature of the Region*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Harvey, David (2001) *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Harvey, D (2009) 'Reshaping Economic Geography: The World Development Report 2009', *Development and Change*, 40:6, pp. 1269-1277.
- Harvey, Penny and Hannah Knox (2012) 'The Enchantments of Infrastructure', *Mobilities*, 7:4, pp. 521-536.
- Kanai, Juan Miguel (2014) 'On the Peripheries of Planetary Urbanization: Globalizing Manaus and Its Expanding Impact', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32, pp. 1-17.
- Kimerling, Judith S. (1991) *Amazon Crude*, New York: Natural Resources Defence Council.
- Labban, Mazen (2014) 'Deterritorializing Extraction: Bioaccumulation and the Planetary Mine', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 104:3, pp. 560-576.
- Larkin, Brian (2013) 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42:3, pp. 327-343.
- Luque-Ayala, Andrea and Simon Marvin (2016) 'The Maintenance of Urban Circulation: An Operational Logic of Infrastructural Control', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 34:2, pp. 191-208.
- Merrifield, Andy (2013) 'The Urban Question under Planetary Urbanization', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37:3, pp. 909-922.
- Moore, Jason W. (2015) *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*, London: Verso.
- Muñoz, Hepzibah (2004) 'State, Capital, and "Second Nature": Reterritorialization and the Plan Puebla Panama', *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 15:1, pp. 67-82.
- Perreault, Tom (2012) 'Dispossession by Accumulation? Mining, Water and the Nature of Enclosure on the Bolivian Altiplano', *Antipode*, 45:5, pp. 1050-1069.
- Rogers, Dennis and Bruce O'Neill (2012) 'Infrastructural Violence: Introduction to the Special Issue', *Ethnography*, 13:4, pp. 401-412.

- Roy, A. (2011) "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35:2 pp. 223-238.
- Scott, Ian (1982) *Urban and Spatial Development in Mexico*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press/World Bank.
- Shmid, Christian (2008) 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a three-dimensional dialectic' in Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom and Christian Schmid (eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, London: Routledge, pp. 27-45.
- Shmueli, Andrew (2008) 'Totality, Hegemony, Difference: Henri Lefebvre and Raymond Williams' in Kanishka Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom and Christian Schmid (eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, London: Routledge, pp. 212-230.
- Smith, Neil (1984) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Smith N (2002) 'New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy', *Antipode*, 34:3, 427-450. Also available in Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds.) *Spaces of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 80-103.
- Starr, Susan Leigh (1999) 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure' *American Behavioural Scientist*, 43, pp. 377-391.
- Swyngedouw, E (2004) 'Globalisation or Glocalisation? Networks, Territories, and the Politics of Rescaling', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17:1, pp. 25-49.
- Watts, Michael (2011) 'Petro-Violence: Community, Extraction and Political Ecology of a Mythic Commodity', in Nancy Lee Peluso and Michael Watts (eds.) *Violent Environments* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 189-212.
- Wilson, J (2014) 'The Violence of Abstract Space: Contested Regional Developments in Southern Mexico', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31:2, pp. 516-538.
- Wilson, J (2011) 'Colonising Space: The New Economic Geography in Theory and Practice', *New Political Economy*, 16:3, pp. 373-397.
- Wilson, J (2017) 'Fantastical Materializations: Interoceanic Infrastructures in the Ecuadorian Amazon', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 35:5 pp 836-854.

Development and Everyday Life

This week focuses attention on the multiple ways in which 'development' impacts on everyday life – through micro-credit schemes, participatory development programmes, social engineering projects, population displacement, and the regulation of everyday survival activities, among other processes.

Altamirano-Jiménez, Isabel (2004) 'North American First Peoples: Slipping Up into Market Citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 8:4, pp. 349-365.

Boelens, Rutgerd, Jaime Hoogesteger and Michel Baud (2015) 'Water reform governmentality in Ecuador: Neoliberalism, centralization, and the restraining of polycentric authority and community rule-making', *Geoforum*, 64, pp. 281-291.

Cammack, P (2014) "The World Development Report 2015: Programming the Poor" SEARC Working Paper Series number 7

- Comaroff, J (2007) "Beyond Bare Life: AIDS, (Bio) Politics and the Neoliberal Order", *Public Culture*, 19:1.
- Craig, D and D Porter (2004), "The Third Way and the Third World: Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion Strategies in the Rise of 'Inclusive Neoliberalism'" *Review of International Political Economy* 12:2 pp. 226-263.
- Dreze, J. and Sen, A. (2002) *India: Development and Participation*, Oxford: OUP.
- Ferguson, J. (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gabay, C. (2012) 'The Millennium Development Goals and Ambitious Developmental Engineering', *Third World Quarterly*, 33:7, pp. 1249-1265.
- Gibb, Matthew (2006), 'Artisanal and small-scale mining in West Africa: an overview of sustainable development and environmental issues' in Gavin M. Hilson (ed.) *Small-Scale Mining, Rural Subsistence and Poverty in West Africa*, Rugby: Practical Action Publishing p. 41-54.
- Graham, D. T. and Poku, N. K. (2012) *Migration, Globalization and Human Security*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Grandin, Greg (2009) *Fordlandia: The Rise and Fall of Henry Ford's Forgotten Jungle City*, New York: Picador.
- Hardt M and A Negri (2000) 'Biopolitical Production' in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (eds.) *Empire*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 22-41.
- Harrison, G (2005) "Economic faith, social project and a misreading of African society: the travails of neoliberalism in Africa" *Third World Quarterly* 26:8 pp. 1303-1320.
- Hilson, Gavin and Clive Potter (2005) 'Structural Adjustment and Subsistence Industry: Artisanal Gold Mining in Ghana', *Development and Change*, 36:1, pp. 103-131.
- Hilson, Gavin and Sadia Mohammed Banchirigah (2009) 'Are Alternative Livelihood Projects Alleviating Poverty in Mining Communities?', *Journal of Development Studies*, 45:2, pp.172-196.
- Ilcan, S. and Phillips L. (2010) 'Developmentalities and Calculative Practices: The Millennium Development Goals', *Antipode* 42:4, pp. 844-874.
- Keating, C et al (2010) "The Rationality of Empowerment: Microcredit, Accumulation by Dispossession, and the Gendered Economy" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36:1 pp. 153-176
- Kothari, U. and Cooke, B. (2001) *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, London: Zed.
- Krishnadas, J. (2008) 'Rights to Govern Lives in Postdisaster Reconstruction Processes', *Global Governance*, 14, pp. 347-367.
- Lemke, T. (2001) 'The birth of bio-politics: Michel Foucault's lecture at the College de France on neo-liberal governmentality', *Economy and Society*, 30:2, pp. 190-207.
- Li, T M (2009) "Exit from Agriculture: A Step Forward or a Step Backward for the Rural Poor?" *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36:3 pp. 629-636
- Li, T.M. (2007) *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Livingstone, I. (1979) 'On the Concept of "Integrated Rural Development Planning" in Less Developed Countries', *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 30:1, pp. 49-53.

- Nyamu Musembi, C (2007), 'De Soto and Land Relations in Rural Africa: breathing life into dead theories about property rights', *Third World Quarterly*, 28:8, pp. 1457-1478.
- Oya, Carlos (2005) 'Sticks and Carrots for Farmers in Developing Countries: Agrarian Neoliberalism in Theory and Practice', in Afredo Saad-Filho and Deborah Johnston (eds.) *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, London: Pluto Press, pp. 127-134.
- Perelman, Michael (2000) *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Richey, Lisa Ann and Stefano Ponte (2008) Better Red than Dead? Celebrities, Consumption and International Aid", *Third World Quarterly*, 29:4, pp. 711-729.
- Richey, Lisa Ann and Stefano Ponte (2011) *Brand Aid: Shopping Well to Save the World*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sachs, Jeffrey (2005) *The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen in Our Lifetime*, London: Penguin.
- Sachs, Jeffrey (2006) 'The Millennium Villages Project: A New Approach to Ending Poverty', Washington DC: Centre for Global Development.
- Sanchez, Pedro *et al* (2007) 'The African Millennium Villages' *PNAS*, 104:43, pp. 16775–16780.
- Sanchez, Pedro, Glenn Denning and Generose Nziguheba (2009), 'The African Green Revolution moves forward', *Food Security*, 1, pp. 37-44.
- Scott, J C (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Durham: Yale University Press.
- Taylor, L. (1998) *Citizenship, participation and democracy: Changing dynamics in Chile and Argentina*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Weber, H (2002) 'Global Governance and poverty reduction: the case of microcredit', in Rorden Wilkinson and Steve Hughes (eds.), *Global Governance: Critical Perspectives*, London: Routledge.
- Whitfield, Lindsay (2005) 'Trustees of Development from Conditionality to Governance: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Ghana', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43:4, pp. 641-664.
- Wickens, C and Sandlin, J (2007) "Literacy for What, Literacy for Whom? The Politics of Literacy Education and Neo-Colonialism in UNESCO and World Bank Sponsored Literacy Programmes" *Adult Education Quarterly* 57:4 pp. 275-292
- Wilson, J (2011) 'Notes on the Rural City: Henri Lefebvre and the Transformation of Everyday Life in Chiapas, Mexico', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29, pp. 993-1009.
- Wilson, J. (2014) 'Model Villages in the Neoliberal Era: The Millennium Development Goals and the Colonization of Everyday Life', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41:1, pp. 107-125.
- Wilson, J (2015) 'A Strange Kind of Science: Making Sense of the Millennium Villages Project', *Globalizations*, 12:4, pp. 645-659.
- Wilson, J (2015) 'Paradoxical Utopia: The Millennium Villages Project in Theory and Practice', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17:1 pp. 122-143.
- Wilson, J (2016) 'The Village that Turned to Gold: A Parable of Philanthrocapitalism', *Development and Change*, 47:1, pp. 3-28.

Alternative Developments

The readings for this week focus on alternative developments and alternatives to development, in both theory and practice, including critical assessments of post-neoliberal experiments in Latin America, explorations of indigenous social movements, and radical challenges to development orthodoxy from Marxist, post-colonial, and post-development perspectives

Arsel, Murat (2012) 'Between Marx and Markets? The State, the 'Left Turn' and Nature in Ecuador', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103:2, pp. 150-163.

Briggs, J and Sharp, J (2004) "Indigenous Knowledges and Development: A Postcolonial Caution" *Third World Quarterly* 25:4 pp. 661-676

Brush, Stephen B. (1993) 'Indigenous Knowledge of Biological Resources and Intellectual Property Rights: The Role of Anthropology' *American Anthropologist*, 95:3, pp. 653-671.

Burbach, Roger, Michael Fox and Federico Fuentes (eds.) (2013) *Latin America's Turbulent Transitions: The Future of Twenty-First Century Socialism*, London: Zed.

Burchardt, Hans-Jurgen and Kristina Dietz (2014) '(Neo-)extractivism – a new challenge for development theory in Latin America?', *Third World Quarterly*, 35:3, pp. 468-486.

Castaneda, Jorge (2006) 'Latin America's Left Turn' *Foreign Policy* May/June.

Coronil, F. (2008) 'Beyond occidentalism: Toward nonimperial geohistorical categories', in Chari, S. and Corbridge, S. (eds) (2008) *The Development Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Craig, Raymond B. (2004) *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*, Durham: Duke University Press

Cunningham, Patrick. (2007) 'Reinventing An/Other Anti-Capitalism in Mexico: The Sixth Declaration of the EZLN and the 'Other Campaign'', *The Commoner*, 12, pp. 79-109.

Davidov, Veronica (2013) 'Mining versus Oil Extraction: Divergent and Differentiated Environmental Subjectivities in "Post-Neoliberal" Ecuador', *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 18:3, pp. 485-504.

De la Cadena, M (2010) 'Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections Beyond "Politics"', *Cultural Anthropology* 25:2 pp. 335-370.

Echeverría, Bolívar (2011) 'Potemkin Republics: Reflections on Latin America's Bicentenary' *New Left Review*, 70, pp. 53-61.

Ellner, Steve (2012) 'The Distinguishing Features of Latin America's New Left in Power: The Chávez, Morales and Correa Governments', *Latin American Perspectives*, 39, pp. 96-114.

Elwood, Sarah et al (2016) 'Learning from Postneoliberalisms', *Progress in Human Geography*, (available on Early View).

Escribano, Gonzalo (2013) 'Ecuador's energy policy mix: development versus conservation and nationalism with Chinese loans', *Energy Policy*, 57, pp. 152-159.

Esteva, Gustavo (2007) 'The Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca: A Chronicle of Radical Democracy', *Latin American Perspectives*, 34, pp. 129-144.

- Esteva, Gustavo (2008) 'The Oaxaca Commune and Mexico's Coming Insurrection' *Antipode*, 42:4, pp. 978-993.
- Garmany, Jeff (2008) 'The Spaces of Social Movements: O Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra from a Socio-spatial Perspective', *Space and Polity*, 12:3, pp 311-328.
- Gibson-Graham, JK (2005) "Surplus Populations, Post-Development and Community Economies", *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 26:1, pp 4-16.
- Gray, K. and Murphy, C.N. (2013) 'Introduction: rising powers and the future of global governance', *Third World Quarterly*, 34:2, pp. 183-193.
- Grinberg, Nicolas and Guido Starosta (2009) 'The Limits of Studies in Comparative Development of East Asia and Latin America: The Case of Land Reform and Agrarian Policies', *Third World Quarterly*, 30:4, pp. 761-777.
- Grinberg, Nicolas and Guido Starosta (2015) 'From Global Capitalism to Varieties of Centre-Leftism in South America: The Cases of Brazil and Argentina', in Susan J. Spronk and Jeffrey Webber (eds.) *Crisis and Contradiction: Marxist Perspectives on Latin America in the Global Political Economy* Leiden: Brill, pp. 236-273.
- Grosfoguel, R (2011) "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking and Global Coloniality", *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 1:1, pp. 1-38.
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- Gudynas, Eduardo (2011) 'Buen Vivir: Today's Tomorrow', *Development*, 54:4, pp. 441-447.
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- Stolle-McAllister, (2005) 'What Does Democracy Look Like? Local Movements Challenge the Mexican Transition', *Latin American Perspectives*, 32:15, pp. 15-35.
- Van der Haar, Gemma (2007) 'Land Reform, the State, and the Zapatista Uprising in Chiapas', in Sarah Washbrook (ed.) *Rural Chiapas Ten Years after the Zapatista Uprising*, London: Routledge, pp. 68-91.
- Veltmeyer, Henry and James Petras (2014) *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism for the Twenty-First Century?*, London: Zed.
- Webber, Jeffrey (2016) 'Evo Morales and the political economy of passive revolution in Bolivia, 2006–15', *Third World Quarterly*, 37:10, pp.1855-1876.
- Weiss, T. G. (2009) 'Moving Beyond North-South Theatre', *Third World Quarterly*, 30:2, pp. 271-284.
- Wilson J (2015) 'Concrete Jungle: The Planetary Urbanization of the Ecuadorian Amazon', *Human Geography*, 8:3, pp. 1-23.
- Wilson, J (2017) 'The Nature of Post-Neoliberalism: Building Bio-Socialism in the Ecuadorian Amazon', *Geoforum*, 81, pp. 55-65.
- Yates, Julian S. and Karen Bakker (2013) 'Debating the "post-neoliberal turn" in Latin America', *Progress in Human Geography*, 38:1, pp. 1-29.

Conclusions and Contemporary Politics of Development

This final lecture reviews the course as a whole, integrating and synthesising the multiple topics, concepts and cases that have been covered in previous weeks. Contemporary issues in international development, such as the UN's recently launched Sustainable Development Goals, will be considered from modernisation, capitalism/dependency, and discourse analytical perspectives. The lecture will cover links between initiatives such as the UN's development Goals and the institutions supposed to deliver them, the gendered elements of the programme, their potential to deliver sustainability, and their implications for social space and the regulation of everyday life. There is no additional reading for this lecture. However, the texts listed as introductory reading and those listed for the first lecture would be useful in this context.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20742 Gender and Politics in Comparative Perspective

Semester: 2

Credits: 20

Co-convenor: Professor Georgina Waylen

Room: Arthur Lewis Building G.018

Telephone: x54770

Email: georgina.waylen@manchester.ac.uk

Office Hours: Tuesdays 3-4.00pm, Thursdays 11-12.00pm

Co-convenor: Dr Rosalind Shorrocks

Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.041

Telephone: x54437

Email: rosalind.shorrocks@manchester.ac.uk

Office hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Tutor: Dr Leah Culhane (leah.culhane@manchester.ac.uk)

Lectures: **10am-12 noon. Lecture Theatre 4. Stopford Building**

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: 4,200 word essay and group presentation

Reading Week: **NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO**

Administrator: Julie Tierney, julie.tierney@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906

Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499
UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – ASSESSMENT*****

Mode of Assessment	Assessment Weighting	Deadline
Essay	60%	2pm, 8 TH April 2019
Participation	10%	Tutorials
Group Presentation	30%	8 th May 2019

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: julie.tierney@manchester.ac.uk/ jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tsso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Course Overview

This course aims to provide an introduction to the key debates and themes involved in the study of gender and politics from a comparative perspective. It will ask what it means to claim that politics is gendered given multiple and intersecting claims and identities; explore how far different groups of men and women behave differently as political actors; and asks whether 'politics' and political systems are gendered in particular ways that affect different groups of men and women differently.

Course Aims

The course aims to give students a better understanding of the ways in which gender operates in the conventional political arena, namely in terms of voting behaviour, political recruitment, political parties and government, the executive, and policy-making. But taking a broad definition of what counts as political, the module also aims to explore how gender operates in movements that are active outside of the state and the conventional political arena. The course will consider the differing strategies adopted to promote and enhance gender equality and assess the arguments for and against each one.

Learning Outcomes

In this course, students will:

Knowledge and Understanding

- Gain a substantive knowledge and understanding of the range of perspectives on how politics is gendered and how gender issues may be understood as political issues

Intellectual skills

- Critically analyse gender issues in contemporary politics and public policy
- Apply theoretical tools in the analysis of gender issues to contemporary politics and public policy
- Develop an understanding of the empirical analysis of gender in politics

Transferable skills and personal qualities

- Present critical arguments concerning the issues discussed in the course
- Engage with one another in a critical and respectful manner
- Gain oral, teamwork, written, and research skills

Teaching and Learning

This course is co-convened by Dr Rosalind Shorrocks and Professor Georgina Waylen. Please address any queries about the course content and assessment to them.

There is one 2 hour lecture each week, starting from week 1. These lectures are **held 10am-12 noon on Wednesdays** in the **Stopford Building, Lecture Theatre 4**. Lectures are shared between Dr Rosalind Shorrocks and Professor Georgina Waylen. Lecture attendance is compulsory.

Tutorials

There are ten tutorial meetings during the semester, starting from week 2. Tutorial attendance is also compulsory and tutorial participation accounts for 10% of the final mark for the course. Tutorials will be held with Dr Leah Culhane. You should allocate yourself to a tutorial group at the start of the semester.

There is compulsory reading to be completed before each tutorial, which you will find later in this course guide. The tutorial discussion will be partially based on this reading and students who have completed the reading will gain the most from the tutorial.

Assessment

This course is assessed by:

1. Active tutorial participation: 10%
2. Group presentation: 30%
3. 4,200 word essay: 60%

Tutorial Participation (10%)

The participation grade is assessed on the basis of your engagement in tutorials. Students are expected to be attentive in tutorials, to contribute to discussions, and to listen respectfully to the tutor and other students. Your tutor will grade your tutorial participation at the end of the semester.

Essay (60%)

The 4,200 word essay (+/-10% each way) is due on Monday 8th April. Choose **ONE** of the following nine questions to answer.

Essay Questions

1. How does adopting a gendered perspective help us to understand politics in different ways?
2. Why have gender vote gaps changed over time in European countries?
3. 'Women are less likely to participate in politics than men.' Discuss.
4. Explain the role of political parties in achieving gender equality in political representation
5. Why are there so few gender-balanced executives?
6. What determines whether governments promote gender equality policies?
7. Can men represent women?
8. Using the example of one gender-based movement, assess how effective it has been.
9. Is it possible to talk about the feminist movement?

Group Presentation (30%)

Group presentations will take place on Wednesday 8th May during lecture time. They should be based on a **case study of a gender-based strategy for change**. This case study will be selected by the group, but you should consult with the course convenors on the topic too. Final approval for the case study will be given by the course convenors during the presentation drop-in on Wednesday 1st May, but you are strongly encouraged to have spoken to the course convenors about your ideas before this date.

Groups will have approximately 5 members. Presentations will last for 10 minutes, and a minimum of 3 people from the group should speak during the presentation.

Each individual student should also write 750 words about the case study. This should include (1) what is the case study?; (2) why was it chosen?; (3) what is the argument made in the presentation?; and (4) what was your individual contribution?

50% of the presentation mark will be based on the group's presentation, and the same mark will be given to all group members for this. 50% of the presentation mark will be based on the individual 750-word write-up, and marks for this will be individual. The total presentation mark will be the average of these two marks.

Assessment Criteria

The assessment on this course will be in accordance with the social science grade descriptors (<https://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/assessment/>). The following section details how these grade descriptors will be applied to the assessments used in POLI20742 to grade achievement of the course's learning outcomes.

Very high first class (90-100)

Participation: **exceptional** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating both knowledge and a *full* critical analysis of the readings and other scholarly work, clearly expressed arguments, and listening fully and attentively to other students.

Essay: An essay which is **exceptional**, well-structured, and *fully* answers all aspects of the question, demonstrating knowledge and understanding of a wide range of the relevant scholarly literature, and exercises advanced critical judgement in evaluating theories, arguments, and empirical evidence.

Presentation: presentations which are **exceptional** and *fully* cover all relevant aspects of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of the case study, and show advanced critical judgement in evaluating its effectiveness and weaknesses. A thorough and detailed account of the student's individual contribution is required.

High first class (80-89)

Participation: **outstanding** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating both knowledge and a *near-full* critical analysis of the readings, an awareness of other scholarly work, clearly expressed arguments, and listening fully and attentively to other students.

Essay: An essay which is **outstanding** and provides a *near-full* and well-structured answer to all aspects of the question, demonstrating knowledge and understanding of a wide range of the relevant scholarly literature, and exercises advanced critical judgement in evaluating theories, arguments, and/or empirical evidence.

Presentation: presentations which are **outstanding** and provide a *near-full* account of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of the case study, and show advanced critical judgement in evaluating it. A thorough and detailed account of the student's individual contribution is required.

First class (70-79)

Participation: **excellent** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating knowledge and a *largely-full* critical analysis of the readings, clearly expressed arguments, and listening fully and attentively to other students.

Essay: An essay which is **excellent** and provides a *largely-full* and well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating very good knowledge and understanding of the relevant scholarly literature, and exercises advanced critical judgement in evaluating theories, arguments and/or empirical evidence.

Presentation: presentations which are **excellent** and provide a *largely-full* account of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrating an in-depth knowledge of the case study and show advanced critical judgement in evaluating it. A thorough and detailed account of the student's individual contribution is required.

Upper-second class (60-69)

Participation: **very good** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating a good knowledge of the compulsory readings with some critical analysis clearly expressed, and attentive listening to other students.

Essay: An essay which is **very good** and provides a generally well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating a good or very good knowledge and understanding of the relevant scholarly literature, and shows some critical judgement in evaluating theories, arguments and/or empirical evidence.

Presentation: presentations which are **very good** and provide a clear account of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrating a good or very good knowledge of the case study and some critical judgement in evaluating it. A comprehensive account of the student's individual contribution is required.

Lower-second class (50-59)

Participation: **good** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating a firm knowledge of the compulsory readings with some critical analysis of the ideas attempted, and listening well to other students.

Essay: An essay which is **good** and provides clear answer to the question, demonstrating a firm knowledge and understanding of some of the scholarly literature, and shows some limited critical judgement in evaluating theories, arguments, and/or empirical evidence.

Presentation: presentations which are **good** and provide a largely clear account of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrating a firm knowledge of the case study and some limited critical judgement in evaluating it. A clear account of the student's individual contribution is required.

Third class (40-49)

Participation: **sufficient** engagement in tutorial discussions, demonstrating sparse knowledge of the compulsory readings with some errors and inaccuracies.

Essay: An essay which is **sufficient** and provides a *partial* answer to the question, demonstrating sparse knowledge and understanding of some of the scholarly literature, some unsupported assertions, a lack of clear analysis/argument, and some errors and inaccuracies.

Presentation: presentations which are **sufficient** and provide a sparse account of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, demonstrating some knowledge but with unsupported assertions and some errors and inaccuracies. Some account of the student's individual contribution is required.

Fail (30-39)

Participation: **insufficient** engagement in tutorials demonstrating only a basic awareness of some readings.

Essay: an essay which is **insufficient** and fails to answer the question, demonstrating a basic awareness of the scholarly literature with a lack of coherence, structure, and independent thought.

Presentation: presentations which are **insufficient** and show only a basic awareness of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, with a lack of coherence, structure, or analysis.

Bad fail (20-29)

Participation: **inadequate** engagement in tutorials and the most basic awareness of some readings.

Essay: an essay which is **inadequate** and fails to demonstrate the ability to answer the question, demonstrating the most basic awareness of the literature and completely lacking in coherence, structure, and evidence of independent thought.

Presentation: presentations which are **inadequate** and show the most basic awareness of some aspects of the chosen gender-based strategy for change, with a complete lack of coherence, structure, or analysis.

Very bad fail (10-19)

Participation: **severely inadequate** engagement in tutorials and an almost complete lack of engagement with the reading.

Essay: an essay which is **severely inadequate** and demonstrates an almost complete lack of engagement with the question or scholarly literature.

Presentation: presentations which are **severely inadequate** and demonstrate an almost complete lack of engagement with the case study.

Extremely bad fail (0-9)

Participation: **profoundly inadequate** engagement in tutorial and complete lack of engagement with any material.

Essay: an essay which is **profoundly inadequate** and demonstrates a complete lack of engagement with the question or any material.

Presentation: presentations which are **profoundly inadequate** and demonstrate a complete lack of engagement with the case study.

Feedback

Feedback enables students to understand where they have succeeded in meeting the learning outcomes for this course and where improvement is needed. Feedback will be provided in a variety of ways in this course, both before and after assessments are due, through feedback on specific pieces of work, and through regular discussions with tutors. Students should note that whilst some feedback will be received automatically, it is up to them to make use of tutorials, tutor advice and feedback hours, and lecturer advice and feedback hours to discuss feedback further. We encourage you to do so.

Feedback will be provided in a variety of ways on this course:

1. Feedback on essay ideas or essay plans by Rosalind Shorrocks in the essay drop-in on the 27th March, during lecture time, or by Georgina Waylen in her office (ALB 4.018) on Monday 25 March between 11.00am and 1.00pm.
2. Feedback on the proposed presentation case study on the 1st May, during lecture time.
3. Written individual feedback on your completed essay and presentation. Feedback will be provided within 15 working days of the submission deadline and will be available via Blackboard.
4. Advice and feedback hours with tutors and lecturers. Both the lecturers and the tutor will have advice and feedback hours, where you can make an appointment to discuss both your written work and more general questions about the course. Please do make use of these advice and feedback hours as they are your opportunity to have more individual discussions with tutors and lecturers.
5. Discussion with other students and tutors. Tutorial discussions in particular will give you the opportunity to assess your own understanding of the material and how well you are putting your arguments across.

Course Structure and Key Dates

The course is structured so that tutorials cover the same material as the lecture from the previous week. The table below shows lectures, tutorials, and other key dates.

Week 20	Weds 30 th Jan: Lecture 1 – Introduction: What is Gender and Politics in a Comparative Perspective? (R Shorrocks and G Waylen) No tutorial
Week 21	Weds 6 th Feb: Lecture 2 – Attitudes, Preferences, and Voting (R Shorrocks) Introductory Tutorial: What is Gender and Politics in a Comparative Perspective?
Week 22	Weds 13 th Feb: Lecture 3 – Political Participation (R Shorrocks) Tutorial: Attitudes, Preferences, and Voting
Week 23	Weds 20 th Feb: Lecture 4 – Parties and Legislatures (R Shorrocks) Tutorial: Political Participation
Week 24	Weds 27 th Feb: Lecture 5 – Executives and Policy-making (G Waylen) Tutorial: Parties and Legislatures
Week 25	Weds 6 th March: Lecture 6 – Representation (R Shorrocks) Tutorial: Executives and Policy-making
Week 26	Weds 13 th March: Lecture 7 – Feminisms and Feminist Movements (G Waylen) Tutorial: Representation
Week 27	Weds 20 th March: Lecture 8 – Other Gender-Based Movements (G Waylen) Tutorial: Feminisms and Feminist Movements
Week 28	Weds 27 th March: Essay Drop-in during lecture time (RS) and Monday 25 March 11.00-1.00pm (GW in ALB 4.018) Tutorial: Other Gender-Based Movements
Week 29	Weds 3 rd April: Lecture 9 – Gender-Based Strategies for Change (G Waylen) No tutorial Mon 8th April: Essay Deadline
Easter break 8 th April – 26 th April	
Week 33	Weds 1 st May: Confirm presentation topic with co-convenors during lecture time Tutorial: Gender-Based Strategies for Change

Week 34	Weds 8th May: Group Presentations during lecture time No tutorial

Below is a detailed list of the readings and key questions for each topic of the course. Readings that are starred (**) are compulsory readings for the tutorials. For additional readings please consult the co-convenors and your tutor.

Topic 1: Introduction: What is Gender and Politics in a Comparative Perspective?

Key Questions

1. What do we mean by gender?
2. What definition of politics are we using?
3. What does it mean to say politics is gendered?
4. What does using a comparative perspective on gender and politics mean?

Reading

**Karen Celis et al (2014) 'Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, A Gendered Discipline' in G Waylen et al (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford University Press.

(See also the chapters on Sex, Gender and Sexuality by Mary Hawkesworth and Intersectionality by Patricia Hill Collins and Valerie Chepp)

**Karen Beckwith (2010), 'Introduction: Comparative Politics and the Logics of a Comparative Politics of Gender', *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, 1: 159-68.

Karen Beckwith (2005), 'A Common Language of Gender', *Politics & Gender*, 1,1: 128-137.

Drude Dahlerup (2018), *Has Democracy Failed Women?*, Polity.

Meryl Kenny and Fiona Mackay (2018), 'Feminist and Gendered Approaches', in V Lowndes, D Marsh and G Stoker (eds) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. Palgrave.

Joni Lovenduski, (2005), *Feminizing Politics*, Polity.

**Joni Lovenduski, (1998), 'Gendering Research in Political Science', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol 1: 333-56.

Mona Lena Krook and Sarah Childs (2010), 'Women, Gender and Politics: An Introduction' in ML Krook and S Childs (eds), *Women, Gender and Politics: A Reader*. Oxford University Press.

Topic 2: Attitudes, Preferences, and Voting

Key Questions

1. To what extent do women and men differ in their political preferences and voting behaviour?
2. What explains such gender gaps?

3. How and why do these gender gaps change over time and between countries?

Reading

Attitudes and Preferences

Campbell, R (2012) What Do We Really Know about Women Voters? Gender, Elections and Public Opinion. *The Political Quarterly*. 83(4).

** Gottlieb, J., Grossman, G., and Robinson, A (2018) Do Men and Women Have Different Policy Preferences in Africa? Determinants and Implications of Gender Gaps in Policy Prioritization. *British Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 611-636

Howell, S., and Day, C (2000) Complexities of the Gender Gap. *Journal of Politics* 62(3): 858-874

Wilcox, C., Hewitt, L., and Allsop, D (1996) The Gender Gap in Attitudes toward the Gulf: A Cross-National Perspective. *Journal of Peace Research*. 33(1): 67-82

Voting Behaviour

Emmenegger, P., and Manow, P (2014) Religion and the Gender Vote Gap: Women's Changed Political Preferences from the 1970s to 2010. *Politics & Society* 42(2): 166-193

** Giger, N (2009) Towards a Modern Gender Gap in Europe? *The Social Science Journal*. 46(3): 474-492

Inglehart, R and Norris, P (2003) *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*

Immerzeel, T., Coffe, H., van der Lippe, T (2015) Explaining the gender gap in radical right voting: A cross-national investigation in 12 Western European countries. *Comparative European Politics*. 2015. 13(2): 263-286

Kauffmann, K., and Petrocik, J (1999) The changing politics of American men: Understanding the sources of the gender gap. *American Journal of Political Science*. 43(3): 864-887

Shorrocks, R (2018) Cohort Change in Political Gender Gaps in Europe and Canada: The Role of Modernization. *Politics & Society*. 46(2): 135-175

Heterogeneity and Gender Gaps in the US

Cassese, E., and Barnes, T (2018) Reconciling Sexism and Women's Support for Republican Candidates: A Look at Gender, Class, and Whiteness in the 2012 and 2016 Presidential Races. *Political Behavior*.

Deckman, M (2014) A Gender Gap among Evangelicals? An Examination of Vote Choice by Gender and Religion in the 2008 Presidential Election. *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*. 35(3): 199-221

** Huddy, L., Cassese, E., and Lizotte, M (2008) Sources of Political Unity and Disunity among Women: Placing the Gender Gap in Perspective in Whitaker, L (ed.) *Voting the Gender Gap* p.141-169. University of Chicago Press (available online).

Topic 3: Political Participation

Key Questions

1. How and why do women and men differ their political participation?
2. Do they participate at different rates or in different ways?
3. Why do fewer women than men stand for political offices?

Reading

Political knowledge and interest

Coffe, H (2013) Women Stay Local, Men Go National and Global? Gender Differences in Political Interest. *Sex Roles* 69(5-6): 323-338

Verba, S., Burns, N., and Schlozman, K (1997) Knowing and Caring about Politics: Gender and Political Engagement. *The Journal of Politics*. 59(4): 1051-72

Political participation

Beauregard, K (2014) Gender, political participation and electoral systems: A cross-national analysis. *European Journal of Political Research*. 53(3): 617-634

** Coffe, H., and Bolzendahl, C (2010) Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation. *Sex Roles*. 62(5-6): 318-333

Coffe, H., and Bolzendahl, C. (2011) Gender Gaps in Political Participation Across Sub-Saharan African Nations. *Social Indicators Research*, 102(2): 245-264

** Desposato, S., and Norrander, B (2009) The Gender Gap in Latin America: Contextual and Individual Influences on Gender and Political Participation. *British Journal of Political Science*. 39(1): 141-162

Isaksson, A., Kotsadam, A., and Nerman, M (2014) The Gender Gap in African Political Participation: Testing Theories of Individual and Contextual Determinants. *The Journal of Development Studies*. 50(2): 302-318.

** Schlozman, K., Burns, N., and Verba, S (1994) Gender and the Pathways to Participation: The Role of Resources. *Journal of Politics*. 56(4): 963-990

Tong, J (2003) The gender gap in political culture and participation in China. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 36(2): 131-150

Women candidates and the 'supply side'

Krook, M L (2010) Why are fewer women than men elected? Gender and the Dynamics of Candidate Selection. *Political Studies Review*. 8(2): 155-168

Lawless, J (2015) Female Candidates and Legislators. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 18: 349-66

** Norris, P., and Lovenduski, J (1993) 'If Only More Candidates Came Forward': Supply-Side Explanations of Candidate Selection in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*. 23(3): 373-408

Topic 4: Parties and Legislatures

Key Questions

- How can political parties increase women's representation in parliaments?
- Where are gender quotas adopted and why?
- How effective are gender quotas?

Reading

Political Parties

Hinojasa, M (2012) *Selecting Women, Electing Women: Political Representation and Candidate Selection in Latin America*, Chapters 1 & 9. Temple University Press. (Available online)

Luhiste, M (2015) Party Gatekeepers' Support for Viable Female Candidacy in P-R List Systems, *Politics & Gender*. 11: 89-116

Kunovich, S and Paxton, P (2005) Pathways to power: The role of political parties in women's national representation. *American Journal of Sociology*. 111(2): 505-552

** Miki, C (1999) Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties. *Political Parties*. 5(1): 79-98

Quotas and Legislatures

Bauer, G (2008) Fifty/Fifty by 2020: Electoral Gender Quotas for Parliament in East and Southern Africa. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 10(3): 348-368

Catalano-Weeks, A (2018) Why are Gender Quota Laws Adopted by Men? The Role of Inter- and Intraparty Competition. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1-39

** Dahlerup, D (2006) *Women, Quotas, and Politics*. Routledge. Especially the Introduction. (Available online)

Hogg, C (2009) Women's political representation in post-conflict Rwanda: A politics of inclusion or exclusion? *Journal of International Women's Studies*. 11(3): 34-55

Hughes, M (2011) Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide. *American Political Science Review*. 105(3): 604-620

** Krook, M (2004) Gender Quotas as a Global Phenomenon: Actors and Strategies in Quota Adoption. *European Political Science* 3(3): 59-65

Murray, R (2014) Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All. *American Political Science Review*. 108(3): 520-532

Paxton, P (1997) Women in National Legislatures: A Cross-National Analysis. *Social Science Research*. 26(4): 442-464

Tripp, A and Kang, A (2008) The global impact of quotas: On the fast track to increased female legislative representation. *Comparative Political Studies*. 41(3): 338-361

Topic 5: The Executive and Policymaking

Key Questions

1. Are men and women's paths to executive office different?
2. Are there significant differences in men and women's positions in executives?
3. How do gender equality policies differ? Are some easier to promote than others?
4. What does it mean to say that the welfare state and welfare policy is gendered?

Reading

The Executive

**Diana O'Brien and Catharine Reyes-Housholder (2019), 'Women and Executive Politics, in Rudy Andeweg, Robert Elgie, Ludger Helms, Juliet Kaarbo and Ferdinand Muller-Rommel (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Executives*. Oxford University Press.

Tiffany Barnes and Michelle Taylor-Robinson (2018), 'Women Cabinet Ministers in Highly visible posts and the empowerment of women: are the two related?', in Amy Alexander, C Bolzendahl and F Jalalzai (eds) *Measuring Women's Empowerment Across the Globe*. Palgrave.

Maria Escobar-Lemon and Michelle Taylor-Robinson (2009) 'Getting to the Top: Career paths of women in Latin American Cabinets', *Political Research Quarterly*, 62, 4: 685-699.

Farida Jalalzai (2008) 'Women Rule: shattering the Executive Glass ceiling', *Politics & Gender*, 4, 2, 205-231.

Farida Jalalzai (2018) 'Women Heads of State and Government' in Amy Alexander, C Bolzendahl and F Jalalzai (eds) *Measuring Women's Empowerment Across the Globe*. Palgrave.

Mona Lena Krook and Diana O'Brien 'All the Presidents Men: the numbers of portfolio allocations of female cabinet ministers, *Journal of Politics*, 74, 3: 840-55.

See also

C Annesley, (2015), Rules of Ministerial Recruitment, *Politics & Gender*, 11, 4: 618-642.

T Barnes and D O'Brien (2018), 'Defending the Realm: the appointment of female defence ministers worldwide', *American Journal of Political Science*, 62, 2: 355-368.

D O'Brien (2015), "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Reform and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies, *American Journal of Political Science*, 59, 4, 10: 22-39.

Reyes-Housholder and Schwindt-Bayer, (2016) 'the Impact of Presidentas on Women's political activity' in Janet Martin and MaryAnn Borelli (eds), *The Gendered Executive: A comparative analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chief Executives*, Temple University Press.

Policy and Policymaking

Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon (2018) *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights around the Globe*. Cambridge University Press.

** Htun and Weldon 2010 'When do governments promote women's rights: A framework for the comparative analysis of sex equality policy, *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, 1:207-16.

Amy Mazur 2002, *Theorizing Feminist Policy*, Oxford University Press.

** Ann Orloff 1996 'Gender in the Welfare State', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22: 51-78 (also reprinted in Krook and Childs (eds))

**M Laparriere and A S Orloff (2018), Gender and Welfare States', in Barbara J Riseman, C Frayimt (?) and W Scarborough (eds) *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*. Springer (2nd ed).

Diane Sainsbury (ed), 1999, *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*, Oxford University Press. Especially the introduction.

Topic 6: Representation

Key Questions

1. What are the different types of representation?
2. Who can represent women's interests?
3. What are the consequences of having greater women's representation?

Reading

Representation

** Mansbridge, J (1999) Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'. *The Journal of Politics*. 61(3): 628

Phillips, A (1995) *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. Oxford University Press. Especially Chapter 1. See also an update from Anne Phillips here: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/government/2017/09/06/the-politics-of-presence-do-politicians-represent-us/>

Pitkin, H (1967) *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press.

Sapiro, V (1981) When are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women. *American Political Science Review*. 75(3): 701-716

Impact on Policy ('Substantive' Representation)

** Alik, M (2016) Welfare State and Representation: Do Women Make the Welfare State or Does the Welfare State Make Women Representatives? *Representation*, 52(4): 253-269

Celis., K and Childs, S (2012) The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims? *Political Studies*. 60(1): 213-225

Childs, S (2002) Hitting the Target: Are Labour Women MPs 'Acting for' Women? *Parliamentary Affairs*. 55(1): 143-153

Childs, S., and Krook, M (2006) Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes. *Politics & Gender*. 2(4): 491-530

Clayton, A., and Zetterberg, P (2018) Quota Shocks: Electoral Gender Quotas and Government Spending Priorities Worldwide. *Journal of Politics*, 80(3)

Impact on Attitudes ('Symbolic' and 'Descriptive' Representation)

** Alexander, A (2012) Change in Women's Descriptive Representation and the Belief in Women's Ability to Govern: A Virtuous Cycle. *Politics & Gender* 8(4): 437-464

Atkeson, L., and Carrillo, N (2007) More is better: The Influence of Collective Female Descriptive Representation on External Efficacy. *Politics & Gender*, 3(1): 79-101 (US)

Dassonneville, R., and McAllister, I (2018) Gender, Political Knowledge, and Descriptive Representatives: The Impact of Long-Term Socialization. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Topic 7: Feminisms and Feminist Movements

Key Questions

1. Is Feminism a Western Concept
2. Are women's rights universal?
3. Can men be feminists?
4. Are feminist movements political?

Reading

Rita Kaur Damoon, (2013) 'Feminisms' in G Waylen et al (eds) (2014) *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*.

Chandra Mohanty (1988) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and colonial discourses, *Feminist Review*, 30, Autumn, pp61-88.

See also Chandra Mohanty (2003) 'Under Western Eyes Revisited' in *Signs*, 28, 2, 499-535. And also her book, *Feminism without borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*.

Valerie Bryson (2016), *Feminist Political Theory*. Palgrave 3rd edition. Read particularly chapters 8-15.

Christina Ewig and Myra Marx Ferree, 'Feminist Organizing: what's old, what's new? History, Trends and Issues' in G Waylen et al (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*.

Sylvia Walby 2011 *The Future of Feminism*, Polity.

Elizabeth Evans, 2015 *The Politics of Third Wave Feminism*, Palgrave
<https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1057/9781137295279.pdf>

A Basu (ed) (2010) *Women's Movements in the Global Era: the Power of Local Feminisms*, Boulder CO: Westview.

N Yuval-Davis (2006) 'Intersectionality and Feminist Politics' *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 3: 193-209.

J Dean and K Aune (2015) 'Feminism Resurgent: Mapping Contemporary Feminist Activisms in Europe', *Social Movement Studies*, 4, 4, 375-395.

J Dean (2010), *Rethinking Contemporary Feminist Politics*, Palgrave.

Nancy Fraser (2013) *The Fortunes of Feminism: From State Managed Capitalism to Neo Liberal Crisis*. Verso.

C Rottenberg (2014), 'The Rise of Neo-Liberal Feminism', *Cultural Studies*, 28, 3, 418-437.

Topic 8: Women's Movements and Other Gender- and Sexuality-based Movements

Key Questions

1. Are women too divided to unite around common interests?
2. What are women's movements and what impact have they had?
3. What explains the rise to prominence of LGBTQ and anti-gender movements?

Reading

Women's Movements

**K Beckwith (2000) 'Beyond Compare Women's Movements in Comparative Perspective' *European Journal of Political Research*, 37, 4: 431-68. (also reprinted in Krook and Childs, eds) –

See also K Beckwith (2013) 'the comparative study of women's movements' in Waylen et al, *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*.

M Molyneux (1985) 'Mobilization without emancipation: Women's interests the state and the revolution in Nicaragua', *Feminist Studies*, 11, 2: 227-54. (also reprinted in Krook and Childs)

L Baldez (2003) 'Women's Movements and Democratic Transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany and Poland' *Comparative Politics*, 35, 3: 253-272.

Aili Tripp, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesgia and Alice Mungwa (2009) *African Women's Movements: Changing Political Landscapes*. Cambridge University Press.

Waylen, G (1993) 'Women's Movements and Democratization in Latin America, *Third World Quarterly*, 14, 3: 573-88.

Other Gender and Sexuality Based Movements

Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte (eds), 2014, *LGBT Activism and the Making of Europe: A Rainbow Europe*, Palgrave.

**Phillip Ayoub, 2017, 'A Struggle for Recognition and Rights: Expanding LGBT activism' in Alison Brysk and Michael Stahl (eds), *Expanding Human Rights, Twentieth Century Norms and Governance*. Edward Elgar.

A Kuhar and D Paternotte (eds) 2017. *Anti-Gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing Against Equality*. RLI. Particularly the introduction and conclusion.

**S Bracke and D Paternotte (2016) 'Unpacking the sin of gender' *Religion and Gender*, 6, 2: 143-154.

Topic 9: Gender-based strategies for change

Key Questions

1. How effective are quotas/gender mainstreaming/state feminism?
2. What are the main advantages and disadvantages of each of them?

Readings

The readings for topics 1-8, especially on policy-making, quotas, representation, and feminist/women's movements, will also be helpful for this topic.

Quotas and Representation

S Franceschet, ML Krook and J Piscopo (eds) (2012), *The Impact of Gender Quotas: Women's Descriptive, Substantive and Symbolic Representation*. Oxford University Press.

R Murray (2012) 'Quotas for Men', *American Political Science Review*, 108, 3: 520-532.

M Swers (2002) *The difference women make: the policy Impact of women in Congress*, University of Chicago Press.

Gender mainstreaming

**Sylvia Walby (2005) 'Gender Mainstreaming: Productive tensions in Theory and practice' in Special Issue on Gender Mainstreaming, *Social Politics*, 12, 3: 321-343.

M Daly (2005) 'Gender Mainstreaming in Theory and Practice, *Social Politics*, 12.3: 433-450.

J Squires (2005) 'Is Mainstreaming Transformative?' *Social Politics*, 12, 3:366-388.

J Outshoorn and J Kantola (eds) (2007), *Changing State Feminism*, Palgrave.

State feminism/State women's machineries

See Amy Mazur, 2002, *Theorizing feminist policymaking*, Oxford University Press

Laurel Weldon 2002, *Protest, Policy and the Problem of Violence against Women: A Cross National Analysis*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Louise Chappell, 2002, *Gendering Government: Feminist Engagement with the State in Australia and Canada*. UBC Press.

Louise Chappell, 2002, 'The Femocrat Strategy: Expanding the Repertoire of Feminist Activism', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 55, 1, 85-98.

**Susan Franceschet and Jennifer Piscopo 2010,'Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52, 3, Fall: 1-29.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018-19

POLI 20801 – THE POLITICS OF POLICY-MAKING
Semester: 1 Credits: 20**Lecturer and convenor:** Liz Richardson**Tutor:** Temidayo Eseonu**Office:** Arthur Lewis Building 4th floor**Phone/text:** 0161 275 0879 or mobile: 07765 603420**Emails:** liz.richardson@manchester.ac.uk
temidayo.eseonu@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk**Office Hours:****Liz:** Tuesdays 11.00-12.00 and other times by appointment ****Email for an appointment******Dayo:** To be confirmed (TBC)**Lectures:** Tuesdays 13.00-15.00, Simon Building, Room 2.61Lectures start Tuesday 25th September 2018**Tutorials:** Starting in week 1 (Wed 26th or Thurs 27th September)

Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System.

Assessment: 40% assessed essay of 2,600 words, due Monday 12th November 2018 (mark and feedback Monday 3rd December)
60% two hour exam**Examination period:** 14.01.2019 - 25.01.2019**Re-sit exam period:** 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019**Reading Week: Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018****Administrator:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building



0161 275 2499

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*******Assessed essay hand in date: Monday 12th November, 2018**This guide should be read in conjunction with the **Politics Part 2 Guide** available on Blackboard. Other crucial information, including tutorial tasks, lecture slides and any additional readings will be posted on Blackboard.**Communication:** Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way. There will also be announcements on Blackboard.

Contents of this guide

1. Aims and learning outcomes

2. Course content

TO ADD

Background

1. Aims and learning outcomes

This course will aim to provide students with conceptual and empirical insights into the development and implementation of public policies. On completion students should possess an understanding of models of policy-making and implementation and be able to apply this understanding to contemporary policy examples. Case studies will be examined and will include examples from current policy agendas.

2. Course content

Public policies have far reaching consequences for citizens ranging from the restriction of liberty to the provision of free school meals. Governments need policy interventions to act. Ministers cannot directly arrest criminals, provide health care to patients or teach this module. Rather Governments must act through such means as making or amending legislation, the allocation of public expenditure, executive and regulatory action, 'nudge' and other informational tools, and manipulating the 'machinery of government' in various ways, all of which are in themselves very political processes.

Common perceptions of contemporary public policy are that a widening range of actors and agencies are involved, but that government works harder to implement policy 'on the ground'. Increasingly Governments are seeking not only to respond to political demands but to shape agendas and encourage behavior change from citizens. 'Policy' is thus the means by which politics is connected to government activity in the real world.

The main aim of the course is to provide conceptual and empirical insights into the development and implementation of public policy. Contemporary case studies will be used drawing on relevant fields, such as health and social care, criminal justice, and other topical policy cases. The primary focus in the lectures is on case studies from the UK, but examples from around the world are very welcome in tutorials, essays and exams. Much of the academic literature is directly relevant to policy-making across different countries in the global north.

This course unit aims to extend knowledge about power and the nature of government into thinking about how governments seek to address perceived problems. It also seeks to make connections in the opposite direction, i.e. from knowledge of social problems, to thinking about governmental strategies for addressing them. The module is designed to equip students with conceptual tools to interpret and analyse governmental interventions in a range of policy areas.

3. Intended learning outcomes

On completion of the course unit, students should be able to

- Demonstrate a critical awareness of the role of concepts and theories applicable to the study of public policy-making.
- Apply relevant concepts and theories to substantive case material drawn from the field of public policy.
- Use electronic resources to identify relevant empirical material, summarise key ideas and concepts both in writing and verbally, and work in small groups.

4. Employability outcomes (how this module relates to getting work experience and paid jobs)

This is a great module for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs, voluntary roles, internships and work placements. It could be particularly useful for people considering careers in the civil service, journalism, think tanks, research and policy, and charitable organisations.

It requires students to:

- grasp detailed and concrete policy and political problems across a range of topics, places and contexts
- understand the challenges and difficulties of making good decisions, and making things happen as intended, in policy and practice
- understand how processes of problem identification and problem solving might be improved

Teaching and Learning

5. Topic Guide

Before each lecture the lecture slides will be on Blackboard. Also shown will be the **tutorial task** for the topic.

The topics for the lectures, tutorials each week are:

Lecture

Week 1	25 Sept	Intro: What is policy-making? Course overview	
Week 2	2 Oct	Topic 1	Power and policy-making
Week 3	9 Oct	*NO LECTURE*	
Week 4	16 Oct	Topic 2	Tools of policy
		<i>Assessed essay questions released</i>	
Week 5	23 Oct	Topic 3	Citizen participation in policy-making
		<i>Opportunity for informal feedback on assessed essay plans</i>	
Week 6		READING WEEK	
Week 7	6 Nov	Topic 4	Policy framing
		<i>Opportunity for informal feedback on assessed essay plans</i>	
Week 8	13 Oct	Topic 5	Bureaucracy, bureaucrats and policy-making
		<i>Assessed essay hand in Monday 12th November</i>	
Week 9	20 Nov	Topic 6	The implementation process
Week 10	27 Nov	Topic 7	Street level bureaucrats

Week 11	4 Dec	Topic 8	Policy evaluation
		<i>Marks & feedback on assessed essay Monday 3rd December</i>	
Week 12	11 Dec	Revision lectures and tutorials	
		Christmas break	
		<i>Exam sometime between 14th and 25th January 2019</i>	

6. Lectures

There is one 2 hour lecture per week which will give an overview of the topic and introduce the concepts and theories involved and relate this to contemporary policy examples. The lecture will also set out the tutorial activity associated with this topic. Some lectures will include participatory exercises as needed to understand the material. **Lecture notes** will be provided on blackboard as well as the relevant **tutorial task activity**. There will also be **additional readings** for essay preparation or exam revision.

7. Tutorials

The tutorial task will relate to the lecture topic for that week. The tutorials are designed to make sure all students have grasped the basic material, and feel confident developing their own ideas. Tutorials will use a range of methods to help all students to participate. More detailed instructions on each tutorial will be explained in the lecture and made available on Blackboard. There is an example of a tutorial task from previous years in **Appendix 3** in this document.

Each week you are expected to read the **key text/s**. You may be asked to provide a synopsis or consider questions based around the ideas in the article.

All weeks will need to look at concrete policy examples for the topic being discussed. Sometimes the policy examples used will be from the core reading for the tutorial. Sometimes you will be asked to research and gather material on a policy example to bring to the tutorial group. A list of electronic sources for policy examples follows the guidance on academic sources below.

8. Assessment

Assessment will be by:

- one assessed essay of 2,600 words, worth 40% of the final mark;
- a two hour exam answering two questions, worth 60% of the final mark

Assessed essay questions

The assessed essay questions are designed to relate to the first two topics of the module. You chose one of the two to answer. The essay is due in on the **12 November 2018**. The questions will be provided in the fourth week of teaching and will be posted on Blackboard.

There is an example of assessed essay questions from a previous year in **Appendix 1** of this course guide. There is an opportunity for informal feedback on essay plans in weeks 5 and 7.

Figures, charts and diagrams are permitted in the assessed essay. They are not included in the word count. Refer to any charts or figures in the text, e.g. 'as shown in Figure 1, these arguments can be summarised into four categories'. Then insert the Figures at *the end of the essay* so you can word count without including them. Diagrams, figures and charts are sometimes particularly

useful as an aid to illustrate your argument and analysis. **So, it is permitted, but** not required, expected or compulsory to have one. You will not be marked down if one is not included.

Exam questions

The exam questions will relate to the last six topics of the module and you will be expected to answer two questions in the exam. Past exam questions can be found on the University past papers website <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/pastexams.aspx>

There are also sample exam questions from previous years in **Appendix 2** of this course guide.

Criteria for assessment

The general criteria for assessment at higher 1st, 1st, 2.1 etc can be found in the Politics Part 2 guide (<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/course-information/politics/>).

There is a detailed guide to how to get each mark (1st, 2.1 etc) in Appendix 4 at the end of this course guide.

There are some general tips on essay writing in the Politics Part 2 guide. In summary:

- Make an argument! Do **NOT** use the format you had in school or sixth form of 'on one hand', 'on the other hand', and in conclusion. Instead, you need to come down on one side or the other, from the start and stick to your argument!
- Give a basic outline of the argument in summary at the start – do not wait until the conclusion to say what you believe
- For this module- use practical real world examples, that you have researched and have details about. Use the news as inspiration.
- Make the point of each paragraph explicit "this means that....", "the point here is..."
- Use your conclusion to say something interesting, as well as summarise the argument. Reflect on your argument, so what? what does all this mean for the world? for social change? for what other questions we should ask.....?

9. Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

10. Feedback

The School of Social Sciences is committed to providing timely and appropriate feedback to students on their academic progress and achievement.

Before hand-in

There are opportunities for informal feedback on assessed essay plans in weeks 5 and 7.

Students can get extra feedback before or after hand-in at other times through:

- office hour appointments
- e-mailing Liz and Dayo
- asking questions (before, during, and after lectures)
- feedback on how the whole class did from Liz during lectures
- during tutorials
- hand-writing ideas, plans, or notes, and sending a photo of them to Liz or Dayo, or handing in your scribbles

After hand-in/marks released

The main form of written feedback after hand-in is feedback on your assessed essay. You will get these comments on Monday 3rd December, in lots of time to help with revision for the exam.

The policy in Politics is that feedback is usually given within *15 working days* of the hand-in date unless there are holiday periods (including Easter), where the feedback might take longer.

Politics guidelines on how much written feedback you get on assessments are:

- essays of 1,500 words will have commentaries roughly in the region of 70-100 words
- essays of 2,000 words will have commentaries roughly in the region of 80-120 words
- essays of 3,000 words will have commentaries roughly in the region of 100-150 words

11. Reading and other resources for the course

There are a few text books which between them will provide good overview of most of the topics covered. The library has arranged for multiple copies and/or e-copies of these books to be made available. Two core books are:

Cairney, Paul. (2012) *Understanding Public Policy*, Houndmills, Palgrave

Knill, Christoph and Tonsun, Jale. (2012) *Public Policy A New Introduction*, Houndmills, Palgrave

The following three books also give **good overviews** of the conceptual material and would be valuable for providing background reading on most topics.

Hill, Michael. (2005) *The Public Policy Process*, Harlow, Pearson Education.

This is a good basic text book which will have sections on most of the topic areas above. If you were going to buy one book I would recommend this one

Hudson, John and Lowe, Stuart. (2009) *Understanding the Policy Process*, Bristol, Policy Press. This book is designed for those with a particular interest in social and welfare policies.

Parsons, Wayne. (1995) *Public Policy: an introduction*, Aldershot, Edward Elgar Press.

This is a detailed and comprehensive text book which will cover most of the concepts and theories covered by the course. An absolute classic in its day.

This recent book offers an alternative normative perspective and critique of conventional policy designs (spot one of the authors...)

Durose, C. and Richardson, L. (2016) *Designing public policy for co-production: theory, practice and change*, Bristol, The Policy Press.

A critique of conventional approaches to policy-making, and proposed alternative co-productive approach, including 12 'vignette' examples of policy from the UK and the USA.

The following are also recommended as **relevant**:

John, P. et al (2011) *Nudge, nudge, think, think: experimenting with ways to change civic behavior*, London, Bloomsbury Academic.

Introductory sections especially.

John, P. (2012) *Analyzing Public Policy*, 2nd Edition, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge.

This is a comprehensive critique of some of the broad social science approaches which underpin the analysis of public policy, excellent to provide an overview of the literature and of the strengths and weaknesses of how to study public policy.

King, A. and Crewe, I. (2013) *The Blunders of Our Governments*, London, Oneworld Books.

An illuminating read on some of major policy failures, with good empirical examples, although only a limited theoretical analysis of the causes.

Moran, M., Rein, M. and Goodin, R. (2008) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

This is an excellent (but expensive) collection of articles covering all aspects of public policy theorizing. Probably beyond the budget to buy but good for reference.

Information sources and electronic resources for this course

Texts

Useful material is highlighted here and on BB. These could be supplemented with literature searches for example using the University Library (<http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/>) 'search resources'; or International Bibliography of Social Science (IBSS). It is also useful to look at the bibliographies of material you already have, this often indicates further relevant material.

Journals

In addition, to texts, it is worthwhile to look at appropriate journals as these publications convey innovative ideas in the discipline, summarise original research and often offer more concise explanations of ideas found in full texts. Relevant journals for this course include: Policy and Politics, Social Policy and Society, Critical Social Policy, Social Policy and Administration, Journal of Social Policy, Public Administration, Governance, Public Administration Review, Political Studies, British Journal of Politics and International Relations.

Media sources

As well as the BBC (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/>) you should also check the websites of quality papers, for example The Guardian, The Independent, The Times, The Telegraph, The Financial Times which often have specialist articles and features and to search for articles on a specific topic. Listen to the Today programme on Radio 4 in the mornings – this will provide inspiration for many policy examples – useful if you are stuck for ideas.

Government

The Government provides a lot of information about its activity online, this can be a useful resource. A good place to start for information about how Government works is <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/>

Individual departments have their own websites, providing more specific information about their policies, initiatives and work. For example, Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-communities-and-local-government>, the Home Office, www.homeoffice.gov.uk, Department of Health, www.dh.gov.uk, Department for Work and Pensions www.dwp.gov.uk. You can also sign up for updates and newsletters on a particular policy area or initiative.

To look at how a policy is implemented and delivered in particular area, it may also be useful to look at the websites of the government agencies, for example <http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/> for the Borders Agency or at the websites for a particular council, for example Salford City Council www.salford.gov.uk

Parliament

Visit <http://www.parliament.uk/> to access House of Commons debates on policy issues and particularly the work of the various select committees who shadow the work of each Government department and who often provide an overview of contemporary pressing policy or political problems and fascinating transcripts of their investigations.

Political Parties

Political parties provide some information online about their policies and perspectives on social issues:

Labour: <http://www.labour.org.uk/>

Conservatives: www.conservatives.com

Liberal Democrats: www.libdems.org.uk

Blogs

As well as the political bloggers two really relevant blogs postings come from:

<http://www.policy.manchester.ac.uk/blogs/>

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/british-politics-and-policy-at-lse/>

Twitter

This is increasingly important in government organizations, individual politicians and academics as well as social commentators sharing information and links to relevant reports and other electronic media. Just google the relevant name or # and sign up. Lots of members of staff in Politics and across the University have twitter feeds like @FrancescaGains @UoMPolicy, and other useful people include @peterjohn10 and @CairneyPaul

Research institutes/ think tanks

Think tanks carry out innovative, challenging and accessible research. Much of it is often free to download. Some notable think tanks conducting relevant research are:

- **Think tanks (research and disseminating information)**

Institute of Fiscal Studies: www.ifs.org.uk

National Institute of Economic and Social Research: www.niesr.ac.uk

Policy Studies Institute: www.psi.org.uk

Institute for Government <https://instituteforgovernment.org.uk>

- **Think tanks loosely associated with the centre right or political right**

Adam Smith Institute: www.adamsmith.org

Centre for Policy Studies: www.cps.org.uk

Institute of Economic Affairs: www.iea.org.uk

Respublica: <http://www.respublica.org.uk/>

Social Affairs Unit: www.socialaffairsunit.org.uk

- **Think tanks loosely associated with the centre, centre left or New (and New Old!) Labour**

DEMOS: www.demos.co.uk

Fabian Society: www.fabian-society.org.uk

Institute for Public Policy Research: www.ippr.org.uk

Joseph Rowntree Foundation: www.jrf.org.uk

Social Market Foundation: <http://www.smf.co.uk/>

Appendix 1. Past assessed essay questions

Politics of Policy Making Essay Questions 2014 - 5

Essay guidance

Pick **one** title from the three below. The essay should be 2,000 words and is due in on the 17th November

Use the politics part 2 guide for information on submission, referencing and assessment criteria – this guide is posted under the course content folder. NB – Submission via Turnitin before 2pm

Use the reading lists for topics 1 – 3 in the content folders and general reading in course guide (- see link to lists).

A good structure is important – begin with a short introduction flagging the problematisation the essay is designed to tease out and how you intend to tackle the question. Have clear sections to your argument and link the different parts of the argument together. Make sure your conclusion flows from the body of the essay. You must use policy examples to illustrate the debates you cover.

The balance between the analytical arguments and their illustration with empirical examples should be about 20 to 25% roughly, so around 500-600 words of the 2,600 but this can be devoted to one case study or to several policy examples. Draw on policy examples either from:

- text books eg Hill, Parsons, Richards and Smith. Hudson and Lowe,
- policy case studies in the academic literature
- use 'search it' through John Rylands website to identify journal articles
- contemporary policy issues for which there is only primary literature

All policy examples discussing primary literature must have proper sources – official reports, newspapers of record, speeches, select committee reports for example (blogs are often opinions and so represent only a certain type of evidence).

QUESTIONS

- 1 Is Lindblom (1959) correct to argue that a wise policy maker should proceed through incremental policy changes to avoid lasting mistakes? Discuss in relation to a contemporary policy example or examples.
- 2 Does an examination of decision making in Government enough to understand the operation of the second face of power (Bachrach and Baratz (1962) in policy making? Discuss in relation to a contemporary policy example or examples.

Appendix 2. Past exam questions

POLI20801T

Two Hours

POLI20801 THE POLITICS OF POLICY MAKING

January Exam 2013

Answer two questions.

Please use policy examples to illustrate your answers.

Your answers should be in essay form.

1. Can problem definition be value free?
2. Why don't government agendas respond to public concern about political issues?
3. Is it possible for policy makers to ensure 'perfect implementation' (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984)?
4. Are 'blame games' inevitable in contemporary governance?
5. Do street level bureaucrats still have to exercise discretion in a governance era?
6. Can e-governance overcome the difficulties of engaging citizens in policy making?
7. Are targets a valuable tool for government?

1 of 1

End of examination paper

POLI20801T
Two Hours

POLI20801T THE POLITICS OF POLICY MAKING
January Exam 2014

Answer two questions.

Please use policy examples to illustrate your answers.

Your answers should be in essay form

1. Can the process of framing a policy issue be objective and value-free?
2. To what extent can Kingdon's concept of 'windows of opportunity' for policy change be applied in the British context?
3. How can the study of policy implementation help us to understand contemporary policy delivery?
4. Which political actors are the most powerful in the British core executive?
5. Have street level bureaucrats been replaced by frontline workers in contemporary governance?
6. What are the obstacles to citizen involvement in policy-making?
7. How can we measure whether or not a policy has been successful?

Appendix 3: example of a tutorial task – TO ADD

Appendix 4: Politics of Policy-making – how we mark assessed essays and exams

See: <https://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/assessment/>

Very High First Class (90-100)

Such answers are **exceptional** and *fully* answer the question demonstrating the attainment of all learning objectives and in adherence to all guidelines. The answer will be expected to show an exceptional level of achievement with respect to the following criteria:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature.

High First Class (80-89)

Such answers are **outstanding** and provide a *near-full* and well-structured answer to the question and can be expected to indicate an outstanding level of achievement of all of the following qualities:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- good knowledge of the relevant literature.

First Class (70-79)

Such answers are **excellent** and provide a *largely-full* and well-structured answer to the question and can be expected to indicate excellence in *some or most of* the following qualities:

- insight and depth of understanding of the material;
- the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression;
- knowledge of the relevant literature.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such answers are **very good** and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question and can be expected to indicate *some of* the following qualities:

- a good or very good understanding of the material;
- clarity of analysis, of argument and of expression;
- a demonstrable grasp of the relevant literature.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such answers are **good** and provide a clear answer to the question. They can be expected to show *most of* the following features:

- a firm understanding of the material;
- clarity of analysis and argument, albeit limited in extent;
- some awareness of the relevant literature.

Note: What distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class is greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument, as well as at least some selective knowledge of the relevant literature, not mere awareness of its existence.

Third Class (40-49)

Such answers are **sufficient** and demonstrate a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and offer *only partial* answers to the question. They can be expected to show some of the following features:

- sparse coverage of the material with several key elements missing;
- unsupported assertions and a lack of clear analysis or argument;
- important errors and inaccuracies.

Fail (30-39)

Such answers are **insufficient** and, while showing some awareness of the area, fail to deal with the question in a way that suggest more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject. They are often error-prone, lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Bad Fail (20-29)

Such answers are **inadequate** and fail to demonstrate the ability to engage with the question. They demonstrate only the most basic awareness of the area and may contain errors. They will be almost completely lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Very Bad Fail (10-19)

Such answers are **severely inadequate** and exhibit an almost complete lack of engagement with the area or question.

Extremely Bad Fail (0-9)

Such answers are **profoundly inadequate** and exhibit a complete lack of engagement with the area or question.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20881: Ideals of Social Justice
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Convenor: Dr Stephen Hood
Room: 4.037 Arthur Lewis Building
Telephone: 0161 3065421
Email: Stephen.Hood@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tuesday 1pm-2pm; Friday 12pm-1pm
 Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Tutors: Jodie Lamb (Jodie.Lamb@manchester.ac.uk)
 Ruxandra Ivanescu (Ruxandra.Ivanescu@manchester.ac.uk)

Lectures: Thursday 3pm-5pm, Stopford TH 3

Lecturers: Dr Stephen Hood (convenor)
 Dr Nicola Mulkeen ((Nicola.Mulkeen@manchester.ac.uk)
 Professor Hillel Steiner (Hillel.Steiner@manchester.ac.uk)
 Dr Liam Shields (Liam.Shields@manchester.ac.uk)

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: 60% - Two hour unseen examination
 30% - 2,100 word essay
 10% - tutorial participation

Reading Week: Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018

Administrator: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906
 Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499
 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ

Essay hand in date: Monday 5th November

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 25.01.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You **MUST** submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk/ jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Please read this course outline through very carefully as it provides all the essential information for students attending this course

Course Content

Everyone claims to love social justice – or nearly, at least – yet it is very hard to pinpoint exactly what it is. This course will introduce you to key issues and schools of thought within contemporary political theory by examining, in particular, how contemporary political theorists spell out and defend ideals of social justice. We'll first ask what the concept of social justice stands for, what it means to put forward an ideal of it, and what it takes to justify such an ideal. We'll then move on to critically analysing different substantive ideals of social justice and the most crucial disagreements between them. In so doing, we will ask questions such as: What are the fairest rules for a system of social cooperation, and how do we come to determine them? How should we understand the values of freedom and equality respectively, and is there a tension between two? If so, what is the correct balance between them? Should people's wellbeing and economic holdings mirror their choices? Are people entitled to the advantages generated by their innate talents? What is the role of property rights within a theory of distributive justice? Is a just society simply one that respects individual rights and fair distributive shares, or should it also constitute a "community" in a richer sense? Should a just society shy away from promoting controversial ideals of human flourishing (is that even possible?)? Is justice a matter of respecting rights-bearing, independent, autonomous people, or is that a false vision of what humans are like (and if so, what should take its place)?

In assessing different ideals of social justice, you will be introduced to analytical methods in normative political theory, and will learn how to use them yourself. You will learn how to analyse, distil, and critically appraise normative arguments, and how to make some yourself. This will also help you understand and appraise arguments about justice and fairness made by politicians, journalists, and policy-makers. You will, for instance, be able better to understand what such arguments assume (and whether these are sound assumptions) and how they get to their conclusions from such assumptions. This will give you skill to criticize views you deem inadequate more forcefully, and to defend your own in a more compelling way.

Course Aims

On completion of the course, successful students will:

- Have a good grasp of the main ethical/normative issues at stake in formulating and defending an ideal of social justice;
- Understand objections to the main solutions proposed in the literature;
- Be able to distinguish empirical from normative objections to specific proposals;
- Be able to develop analyses of ethical issues in contemporary politics;
- Be able to relate these to current political debates, thus locating the relevant moral dilemmas within them;
- Be able to apply the arguments and approaches studied to real and hypothetical cases;

Intellectual and Transferable Skills

The course will contribute to the development of key transferable skills and personal qualities, valuable within a wide range of different jobs, voluntary roles, internships and work placements. These include:

- Ability to logically assess and evaluate complex written material;
- Ability to clearly present critical arguments both verbally and in writing;
- Ability to engage with others in a critical yet respectful manner;
- Teamwork and research skills.

Prerequisites:

POLI 10702 (Introduction to Political Theory). Dispensation in special cases is possible: students should contact the convenor Dr Stephen Hood – this will be judged on the basis of your previously taken courses.

Lectures and Tutorials

The lecture arrangements consist of: one lecture per week lasting two hours, Thursdays from 3-5pm. Students are required to attend one tutorial group every week. **Tutorials will take place the week following the relevant lecture.** Students will be able to select a tutorial group in the same way as they selected their module options. Please contact the administrator (Luke Smith) if you confront problem with selecting a tutorial.

Under each topic in this course guide, there are some questions headed “To think about for tutorials.” Your tutorial might not cover exactly these questions, but these questions give you some guidance for your reading, to prepare for tutorial discussion.

There will be a **Reading Week** (29th October – 4th November) where there will be no lecture or tutorials.

* PLEASE NOTE *

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory. Students are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course. If they know in advance that circumstances beyond their control will prevent them from attending a tutorial, they should contact their tutor with this information. If they are unable to do this, they should explain their absence as soon as possible. Students should not wait to be contacted by tutors for non-attendance. Unexcused absences can lead to a poor participation mark, an unsatisfactory tutor’s report at the end of the course (affecting future job references), and may even result in exclusion from this course or in a refusal to allow you to re-sit a failed examination.

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice states that a 20 credit module is expected to require a total of 200 hours' work

Assessment

The mode of assessment is a two-hour unseen examination taken at the end of the course worth 60% of the total mark, an assessed essay worth 30% of the total mark, and tutorial participation worth 10% of the total mark.

1. The examination paper will have two sections. Students must answer ONE question from each section. Section A will contain questions on topics 4, 5, 6. Section B will contain questions on topics 7, 8, 9. **A sample exam paper can be found at the back of this guide.**

2. The assessed essay must be **2,100 words** in length, with 10% flexibility in both directions. Word counts outside of this range will be penalised. **Essays are due at 2pm on Monday 5th November 2018.** The essays must be typed, double-spaced in a reasonable font (e.g. 12 point in Times New Roman). **Assessed essays must be submitted electronically using the University’s Turnitin/Blackboard system – do not email your essay to your tutor.** Essays are expected to refer to material from the required and further readings.

Essay questions will be made available via Blackboard.

3. The tutorial participation mark will be based on active participation during weekly tutorials. Information regarding tutorial topics will be given by tutors in the first tutorials. You are required to hand in preparatory work for every tutorial, in hardcopy at the beginning of each tutorial. These will be approx. 200 words in response to required readings -- again, your tutor will give you more information on what they expect. The purpose of this is threefold: (1) to give you an incentive to actually do the reading, (2) to increase the quality of tutorial discussion for everyone, (3) as evidence that you can fall back on in case there is any dispute over your attendance. These three purposes are served simply by your doing the exercise: therefore, your answers will not be marked. As long as you hand them in, your participation mark will only be based on your participation during tutorials. However, failure to submit will be penalised by deducting 4 points from your participation mark for every missing piece.

Students are required to bring the prescribed texts to the tutorials.

For the convenience of students, lecture slides, some lecture outlines, and certain required readings will be posted on Blackboard. Please note, however, that the material on Blackboard is not a comprehensive set of notes and **must not** serve as a substitute for attending lectures and doing the prescribed and recommended readings for this course. Those students who simply reproduce this material in either **essays** or **examinations** will be marked down and deemed to have not done adequate work, nor attained an adequate level of understanding of the material required, for the course. Should you encounter difficulties accessing the web or Blackboard materials, consult the administrator, Luke Smith.

Assessment Criteria

Work will be assessed in reference to the following criteria:

High First Class (80+)

Exam: answers are **exceptional** and fully answer the question, showing insight and depth of understanding of the material, the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression, and exceptional knowledge of the literature under exam conditions.

Essay: essays are **outstanding** and fully answer the question, showing insight and depth of understanding of the material, the exercise of advanced critical judgement along with fluent clarity of analysis and of expression, and extensive and detailed knowledge of the literature.

Participation: **exceptional** engagement with in-class discussions, demonstrating an outstanding ability to ask questions, talk about the readings, and listen to others, with real clarity of thought and expression in a group environment, and exceptional standards of preparation and teamworking skills.

First Class (70-79)

Exam: answers are **excellent** and provide a largely-full answer to the question, showing insight and depth of understanding of the material, the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression, and strong knowledge of the literature under exam conditions.

Essay: essays are **excellent** and provide a largely-full answer to the question, showing insight and depth of understanding of the material, the exercise of advanced critical judgement along with fluent clarity of analysis and of expression, and detailed knowledge of the literature.

Participation: **excellent** engagement with in-class discussions, demonstrating a very strong ability to ask questions, talk about the readings, and listen to others, with clarity of thought and expression in a group environment, and excellent standards of preparation and teamworking skills.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Exam: answers are **very good** and provide a near-full and generally well-structured answer to the question, showing qualities such as a good or very good understanding of the material, clarity of analysis and of expression, and a solid grasp of the literature under exam conditions.

Essay: essays are **very good** and provide a near-full and generally well-structured answer to the question, showing qualities such as a good or very good understanding of the material, clarity of analysis and of expression, and a demonstrable grasp of the literature.

Participation: **very good** engagement with in-class discussions, demonstrating a very good ability to ask questions, talk about the readings, and listen to others, with evidence of clarity of thought and expression in a group environment, and very good standards of preparation and teamworking skills.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Exam: answers are **good** and provide a clear answer to the question, showing qualities such as a firm understanding of the material, clarity of analysis and of expression (albeit limited in extent), and some awareness of the literature under exam conditions.

Essay: essays are **good** and provide a clear answer to the question, showing qualities such as a firm understanding of the material, clarity of analysis and of expression (albeit limited in extent), and some awareness of the literature

Participation: **good** engagement with in-class discussions, demonstrating some evidence of the ability to ask questions, talk about the readings, and listen to others, with instances of clarity of thought and expression in a group environment, and evidence of sound preparation and teamworking skills.

Note: What distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class is greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument, as well as at least some selective knowledge of the relevant literature, not mere awareness of its existence.

Third Class (40-49)

Exam: answers are **sufficient** and provide a partial answer to the question, showing a rudimentary understanding of the issues. Such answers may include unsupported assertions and a lack of clear analysis or argument, alongside important errors and inaccuracies and a sparse knowledge of the literature under exam conditions.

Essay: essays are **sufficient** and provide a partial answer to the question, showing a rudimentary understanding of the issues. Such answers may include unsupported assertions and a lack of clear analysis or argument, alongside important errors and inaccuracies and a sparse knowledge of the literature.

Participation: **sufficient** engagement with in-class discussions, demonstrating a very strong ability to ask questions, talk about the readings, and listen to others, with clarity of thought and expression in a group environment, and excellent standards of preparation and teamworking skills.

Fail (30-39)

Such answers are **insufficient** and, while showing some awareness of the area, fail to deal with the question in a way that suggest more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject. They are often error-prone, lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Bad Fail (0-29)

Such answers are, at best, **inadequate** and fail to demonstrate the ability to engage with the question. They demonstrate only the most basic awareness of the area and may contain errors. They will be almost completely lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Readings

Many required readings are available online through the University of Manchester subscription to ebooks and journals. Those which are not will be made available electronically on Blackboard, at least a week before the relevant tutorial, if not earlier. To get hold of some further readings, you might have to go to the Library and find a book. Please note that you should base your essay and exam questions on a wider knowledge than the required readings only.

Although there is no core text for the course, students are strongly encouraged to get hold of at least one of the two following introductory texts:

1. Swift, A. (2014) *Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide* (Polity).
2. Kymlicka, W. (2002) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: Second Edition* (OUP).

In the lists below, further readings that are marked * and/or are in bold are the most important further readings, and should be prioritised where possible.

Course schedule

Topic		Lecture date	Lecturer
Intro	What is an Ideal of Social Justice? + basic admin	27 th September	SH
1	Utilitarianism	4 th October	NM
2	Liberal Egalitarianism: Justice as Fairness	11 th October	NM
3	Ideals of Social Justice: Neutral or Perfectionist?	18 th October	SH
4	Libertarianism and Distributive Justice	25 th October	HS
29 th October-4 th November – Reading Week – No lecture			
5	What is Freedom, and Why Do We Value It?	8 th November	SH
6	Distributive and Relational Equality	15 th November	LS
7	Equality: What Else?	22 nd November	LS
8	Feminism and Justice	29 th November	NM
9	Marxism and Justice	6 th December	NM
Course Review, Exam Preparation, Open Q&A		13 th December	SH

Acronyms of lecturers' initials:

SH = Dr Stephen Hood

NM = Dr Nicola Mulkeen

HS = Prof Hillel Steiner

LS = Dr Liam Shields

27th September: What Is An Ideal Of Social Justice?

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

i) Swift, A. (2006). *Political Philosophy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 9-21.

ii) **Section I only** from Lamont, J. and Favor, C. (20014). "Distributive Justice," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL:
<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/justice-distributive/>;

Lecture Topic:

How do we go about assessing ideals of social justice? How does justice differ from other virtues such as excellence, charity, or efficiency? What is social justice, and how does it differ from, say, criminal, personal, or international justice? And what does it mean to spell out and defend an ideal of social justice? This lecture will introduce some of the key concepts and questions that will be tackled throughout the course.

In tutorials:

Your tutors will provide very important admin information about what to expect in your tutorials, participation marks, tutorial requirements, etc. You will also have the opportunity to ask questions you might have about the course.

No essay or exam questions will be assigned on this introductory topic; there are no further readings, either.

4th October: Utilitarianism

Lecturer: Dr Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, chapter 2, pp. 10-20 (sections 1 and 2) and pp. 32-52 (sections 4, 5, and 6).
- ii) Ursula Le Guin, 'The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas', in *The Wind's Twelve Quarters*, (pp. 254-62. (Available online at <https://www.utilitarianism.com/nu/omelas.pdf>).

Lecture Topic:

The principle of utility requires agents to act so as to maximise human well-being (utility). This entails that when it comes to creating states and legal systems we should do so in whatever way maximises human well-being. On this view the just state is one in which the major political and legal institutions that regulate the interaction of citizens are conducive to maximising the overall amount of human well-being. In this lecture we discuss why utilitarianism has been considered by many to be the correct theory of social justice, and we also consider some of the serious problems it faces.

To think about while reading:

Utilitarians demand that the state should maximise overall well-being, but is it really possible to compare the well-being of different people in such a way that would enable the state to pursue this goal?

Is there any objective sense in which one person's life can be said to be going better than another's?

If more well-being can be produced overall by pursuing policies that lead to great suffering for a small minority, would the state be justified in following this policy?

In what sense does utilitarianism offer an interpretation of the idea that the state should treat all citizens with 'equal concern and respect'? Is this an attractive interpretation?

Would you walk away from Omelas?

Further Reading:

Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, section I, 'Of the Principle of Utility'. (Multiple copies available online, e.g.

<https://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/bentham/morals.pdf>).

Hugh Breakey, 'The Epistemic and Informational Requirements of Utilitarianism', *Utilitas*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (March 2009), pp. 72-99.

*Robert Goodin, *Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 (esp. chapters 1 and 2). Online access available at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/utilitarianism-as-a-public-philosophy/DFAF4F0BDBA6B06F9BCB1DDC3D0A26A7>.

Robert Goodin, 'Utility and the Good', in Peter Singer (ed.), *A Companion to Ethics*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp. 241-48.

Russell Hardin, 'The Utilitarian Logic of Liberalism', *Ethics*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Oct., 1986), pp. 47-74.

Will Kymlicka, 'Rawls on Teleology and Deontology', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer, 1988), pp. 173-190.

*John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*, chapter 2 'What Utilitarianism Is'. (Multiple copies available online, e.g. <https://www.utilitarianism.com/mill2.htm>).

Tim Mulgan, *Understanding Utilitarianism*, Stocksfield: Acumen, 2007.

Philip Pettit, 'Consequentialism', in Peter Singer (ed.), *A Companion to Ethics*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp. 230-40.

John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971 (original edition) or 1999 (revised edition), section 5.

11th October: Liberal Egalitarianism: Justice As Fairness

Lecturer: Dr Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971 (original edition) or 1999 (revised edition), **sections 1-4** (sections 11, 14-15, 17, 20-21, 24 will also be helpful to you if you have time, but these are not required).
- ii) Freeman, S., 'Introduction' in S. Freeman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), **pp. 1-20**.

Lecture Topic:

In this lecture we analyse John Rawls's liberal egalitarian theory of social justice, which he calls "Justice as Fairness". Rawls presented his theory as an alternative to, and improvement on, the previously dominant theory of utilitarianism. We consider the ways in which Rawls's theory is supposed to improve on the utilitarian theory, and we discuss a range of objections that have been raised against both his method and his conclusions.

To think about while reading:

- What is the difference between principles of justice, political policies, and specific laws?
- What is the 'basic structure' of society and why is it important for theorising about justice?
- Why is the correct view about justice not simply the view held by the majority in a particular society?
- How does the method of reflective equilibrium help to justify our beliefs about justice?
- How well do you understand the fundamental ideas of Rawls's theory?
- Why does Rawls insist that the parties in the Original Position are self-interested? How can the choice of principles by self-interested people lead to a conclusion about what is just?
- Why does Rawls insist that the parties in the Original Position would apply maximin reasoning?
- What is the point of the Original Position if it is merely a hypothetical thought experiment? No actual contract is being signed, so why should people in the real world stick to what the principles demand?
- What are the two principles of justice as fairness, and why are they 'lexically ordered'?

Further Reading:

- Barry, B., *The Liberal Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).
- Bedau, H. A., 'Social Justice and Social Institutions', *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 111, (1978), pp. 159-175.
- Buchanan, A. 'A Critical Introduction to Rawls' Theory of Justice' in Blocker and Smith (1980) *John Rawls' Theory of Social Justice: An Introduction* (Ohio University Press), pp. 5-39.
- *Cohen, G. A., 'Where the Action is: On the Site of Distributive Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 26, (1997), pp. 3-30.
- Daniels, N., (ed.) *Reading Rawls* (London: Basic Books, 1975), chaps. by Nagel, Scanlon, Hart and Daniels.
- Daniels, Norman, "Reflective Equilibrium", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/reflective-equilibrium/> (Intro and sections 1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.2.1, 4.1).
- *Farrelly, C., *An Introduction to Contemporary Political Theory* (London: Sage, 2004), chap. 1.
- Farrelly, C., 'Justice in Ideal Theory: A Refutation', *Political Studies* 55, (2007), pp. 844-864.
- *Freeman, S., (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), chaps. 1, 3, 5, 6, 12.
- Freeman, S., *Justice and the Social Contract* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- *Freeman, S., *Rawls* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), chaps. 1-5.

- *Kymlicka, W. *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 53-75.
- Lehning, P., *John Rawls: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- *Mandle, J., *John Rawls's 'A Theory of Justice': An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Pigliucci, M., 'Reflective Equilibrium', https://philosophynow.org/issues/88/Reflective_Equilibrium
- Pogge, T., *Realizing Rawls* (Cornell University Press, 1989).
- *Pogge, T., *John Rawls: His Life and Theory and Justice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), chaps. 2, 4-6, 9.
- *Rawls, J., *Justice as Fairness - A Restatement*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- Scanlon, T., 'Rawls on Justification', in S. Freeman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 139-167.
- *Sen, A., 'What Do We Want From a Theory of Justice?' *The Journal of Philosophy* 103, (2006), pp. 215-238.
- Valentini, L., 'Ideal vs. Non-ideal Theory: A Conceptual Map', *Philosophy Compass* 7/9, (2012), pp. 654-664.
- Wenar, Leif, "John Rawls", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/rawls/> (Sections, 1, 2 and 4).

18th October: Social Justice: Neutral Or Perfectionist?

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Wall, S. (1998) *Liberalism, Perfectionism and Restraint* (Cambridge University Press): chap. 1, "Perfectionism."
- ii) Quong, Jonathan (2010). *Liberalism without Perfection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Chapter 1 ("What Kind of Liberalism?")

Lecture Topic:

We tend to think that ideals of justice should be neutral between different religions, cultures, and so on. An ideal of justice that reflected only Christian values, for example, would be wrong. Justice is about giving people what they are entitled to, not about promoting one way of life above all others. This view is "neutralism." Many theorists hold that neutralism is a chimera: a "neutral" state inevitably disadvantages members of society who are not part of the majority culture. Others believe that neutrality is not even desirable, and that the state should actively promote valuable ways of life. These people are "perfectionists." Some perfectionists try to maintain the value of individual freedom, by maintaining that valuable ways of life are those which promote *autonomy* and are autonomously endorsed. These people are "liberal perfectionists." In this lecture, we examine the debate between neutralists and perfectionists.

To think about while reading:

The rationale for state neutrality; the distinction between perfectionism in general and liberal perfectionism; perfectionism and coercion; perfectionism and paternalism.

Further Reading:

- ***Rawls, John, 1993. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press. Lecture V;**
- Mulhall, Stephen, and Swift, Adam, 1996 (2nd ed.). *Liberals and Communitarians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press - pp. 25-35, ch. 5, pp.218-221, and pp. 249-58;
- ***Sher, George, 1997. *Beyond Neutrality: Perfectionism and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press – chapters 2-4;**
- Chan, Joseph, 2000. 'Legitimacy, Unanimity and Perfectionism', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 29: 5-42;
- ***Clarke, Simon, 2006. 'Debate: State Paternalism, Neutrality, and Perfectionism,' *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14: 111-121;**
- Ackerman, Bruce, 1980, *Social Justice and the Liberal State*, New Haven: Yale University Press;
- Quong, Jonathan (2010). *Liberalism without Perfection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, rest of the book;
- Arneson, Richard, 2000, "Perfectionism and Politics," *Ethics*, 111: 37–63;
- Arneson, Richard, 2003, "Liberal Neutrality on the Good: An Autopsy," in *Perfectionism and Neutrality*, S. Wall and G. Klosko (eds.), Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 191–208;
- Barry, Brian, 1995, *Justice as Impartiality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press;
- Dworkin, Richard, 1978, "Liberalism," in *Public and Private Morality*, S. Hampshire (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 113–43;
- Hurka, Thomas, 1993, *Perfectionism*, New York: Oxford University Press;
- Larmore, Charles, 1987, *Patterns of Moral Complexity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ***Mill, John Stuart, 1859, *On Liberty*, E. Rapaport (ed.), Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1978;**
- Nagel, T., 1991, *Equality and Partiality*, New York: Oxford University Press;

***De Marneffe, Peter, 1990. 'Liberalism, Liberty, and Neutrality', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19: 253–74;**

***Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 5;**

25th October: Libertarianism And Distributive Justice

Lecturer: Professor Hillel Steiner

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Nozick, R., *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), pp. 149 – 182.
- ii) Steiner, H., *An Essay on Rights* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), ch's. 7 & 8.

Lecture Topic:

This lecture first considers how the moral requirement of not using persons merely as means to others' ends underpins the libertarian prohibition of standard forms of state redistribution through welfare benefits and economic regulation. It then explores the kinds of redistribution that are compatible with that prohibition.

To think about while reading:

Patterns, End-States, and Entitlements
Appropriation, Restitution, and Equality

Examples of possible exam questions:

- i) 'Since people are entitled to their natural assets, inequalities resulting from the employment of those assets are just.' Discuss.
- ii) Are redistributive policies tantamount to the partial enslavement of some persons by others?
(**N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings**).

Further Reading:

*Wolff, J., *Robert Nozick* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991).

Paul, J., *Reading Nozick* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

Meadowcroft, J., 'Libertarianism', in F. D'Agostino & G. Gaus (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 421 – 432.

Steiner, H., 'Left Libertarianism', in F. D'Agostino & G. Gaus (eds.), *Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 412 – 420.

Narveson, J., *The Libertarian Idea* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2001).

Cohen, G.A., *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), ch's. 3, 4, 9, 10.

Rothbard, M.N. *The Ethics of Liberty* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Otsuka, M., *Libertarianism without Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Vallentyne, P., 'Introduction: Left Libertarianism – A Primer', in P. Vallentyne & H. Steiner (eds.), *Left Libertarianism and Its Critics: The Contemporary Debate* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000).

8th November: What Is Freedom, And Why Do We Value It?

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Miller, D., 'Introduction', in D. Miller (ed.), *Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Reprinted in his *The Liberty Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
- ii) Pettit, P. and Lovett, F. (2009), 'Neorepublicanism: A Normative and Institutional Research Program', *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 11-29.

Lecture Topic:

Social justice might intuitively refer to an equitable distribution of socioeconomic resources, but thinkers in the liberal and republican (and libertarian) traditions have traditionally stressed that the first requirement of social justice is equal liberty. Yet they differ fundamentally about what liberty is. This week, we will analyse different concepts of liberty – negative, positive, and republican – and discuss their different policy and institutional implications.

To think about while reading:

The different concepts of liberty and their normative appeal

Do we need to decide on a particular interpretation of liberty or is it more helpful to have several different conceptions?

Is republican liberty genuinely a 'third' kind of liberty? What are its policy implications?

The relationship between liberty and the possession of socioeconomic resources

Examples of possible exam questions:

- i) Which conception of the value of political liberty should we adopt?
- ii) Is negative liberty an attractive political ideal?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

***Berlin, I. 'Two Concepts of Liberty' in Goodin and Pettit (2005) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, and in Miller (2006) *The Liberty Reader*, ch. 2.**

Carter, I. (1999) *A Measure of Freedom* (Oxford University Press), intro and chaps. 1-2.

***Cohen, G. A. 'Freedom and Money' in Otsuka (eds.) (2011) *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and other Essays in Political Philosophy* (Princeton University Press), chap. 8. (Available as an e-book).**

Goodin and Pettit (2005), *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Blackwell), chapters in part V 'Liberty', especially by Taylor, Cohen, Skinner and Waldron.

Gray, J. (1986) *Liberalism* (Open University Press).

Kramer, M. (2003) *The Quality of Freedom* (Oxford University Press) chaps. 1-2.

Laslett, P (ed.) (1956) *Philosophy, Politics and Society* (Blackwell).

Mill, J.S. (1991) *On Liberty and Other Essays* (Oxford University Press).

***MacCallum, G. C. (1967) 'Negative and Positive Freedom' *Philosophical Review* 76 (3): 312-334, and in Miller, *The Liberty Reader*, ch. 5.**

***Miller, D. ed. (2006) *The Liberty Reader* (Edinburgh University Press), chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12.**

Miller, D. (1983) 'Constraints on Freedom' *Ethics* 94 (1): 66-86, also in his *The Liberty Reader*, ch. 9.

***Pettit, P. (1997) *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford University Press), chs. 1-3.**

Skinner, Q. (1998), *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge University Press).

Steiner, H. (1994) *An Essay on Rights* (Blackwell) chap. 2.

Swift, A. (2001) *Political Philosophy* (Polity Press) chap. 2.

Taylor, C., 'What is Wrong with Negative Liberty' in Goodin and Pettit (2005) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, and in Miller, *The Liberty Reader*, ch. 7.

15th November: Distributive And Relational Equality

Lecturer: Dr Liam Shields

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Kymlicka, W. (2002) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press), ch. 3, 'Liberal Equality', in particular sections 2 (pp. 57-60), 3 b) (pp. 70-75), and 4 (pp. 75- 87).
- ii) Scheffler, S. (2003) 'What is Egalitarianism?', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 31, 5-39.

Lecture Topic:

Many liberal egalitarians regard the value of equality as requiring a (roughly) equal initial distribution of resources among all individuals so as to cancel out arbitrary disadvantage between them. Yet so called 'relational egalitarians' hold that equality is not primarily a distributive value, but a demand on the kind of interpersonal relations citizens should have with each other, and argue that this is how it has in fact been seen in most of the history of Western political theory. This week we will discuss the merits and drawbacks of both views of equality, and their differing implications for the basic structure of a just society.

To think about while reading:

Is equality of opportunity the most plausible conception of equality? If so, how should it be interpreted? Is equality of outcome possible? Desirable? Do distributive and relational equality conflict? What is the relationship between liberty and equality?

Examples of possible exam questions:

- i) What is the point of equality?
- ii) Does equality require equalising luck?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

***Anderson, E. S. (1999) 'What Is the Point of Equality?' *Ethics*, 109: 287-337.**

Clayton and Williams (eds.) (2002) *The Ideal of Equality* (Palgrave), chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6.

de Wijze, S. (2005) 'Equality' in MacKenzie, Iain. *Political Concepts: A Reader and Guide* (Edinburgh University Press)

Arneson, Richard (1989), 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare', *Philosophical Studies* 56, 77-93.

***Cohen, G.A. (1989), 'On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice', *Ethics* 99, 906-944.**

Daniels, N. (2002), 'Democratic Equality – Rawls's Complex Egalitarianism', in Freeman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge University Press),

***Dworkin, R., (1981), 'What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10, 283-345, and 'What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10, 185-246, also in Dworkin, R. (2000), *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), chs. 1 and 2.**

Pojman, L and Westmoreland, R. (eds.) (1997) *Equality - Selected Readings* (Oxford University Press).

Holtug and Lippert-Rasmussen eds. (2006) *Egalitarianism: New Essays on the Nature and Value of Equality* (Oxford University Press), esp. chaps. 2, 4, 11.

Kymlicka, W. (2002), *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, ch. 5 'Marxism', section 3 ('Social Democracy and Social Justice').

Mason, A. 'Ideals of Equality' *Ratio* Dec 1997, Vol 10 No. 3 (Special issue of the journal, available online), esp. chaps. by Parfit, Miller, Norman and Richards.

- Mason, A. (2006) *Levelling the Playing Field: The Idea of Equal Opportunity and Its Place in Egalitarian Thought* (Oxford University Press), Intro and Chap. 1.
- Miller, D. and Walzer, M. (eds.) (1995) *Pluralism, Justice and Equality* (Oxford University Press), chaps. 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11.
- Nagel, T. (1991) *Equality and Partiality* (Oxford University Press)
- Norman, R. (1987) *Free and Equal* (Oxford University Press)
- Rae, D. (1981) *Equalities* (Harvard University Press)
- *Scanlon, T. (2002) 'The Diversity of Objections to Inequality' in Clayton and Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Palgrave)**
- Scheffler, S. (2005) 'Choice, Circumstance, and the Value of Equality', *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 4, 5-28.
- Schemmel, C. (2012), 'Distributive and Relational Equality', *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 11, 123-148.
- Sen, A. (1979) 'Equality of What?', *The Tanner Lecture on Human Values* 1979, available at: http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/s/sen80.pdf
- Temkin, L. (2003) 'Egalitarianism Defended' *Ethics* 113 (4): 764-782.
- Walzer, M. 'Complex Equality' in Goodin and Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.
- Williams, B. 'The Idea of Equality' in Goodin and Pettit (2005) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology* and in his *Problems of the Self* (Cambridge University Press 1973)
- Wolff, J. (1998) 'Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27, 97-122

22nd November: Equality: What Else?

Lecturer: Dr Liam Shields

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Derek Parfit, 'Equality or Priority?' Lindley Lecture, reprinted in *The Ideal of Equality*, ed. A. Williams and M. Clayton (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 81–125,
- ii) Harry Frankfurt, 'Equality as a Moral Ideal', *Ethics* 98, (1987), pp. 21–43.

Lecture Topic:

This week we consider alternatives to the ideal of equality in the distribution of benefits and burdens. In the lecture we focus on the ideals of priority, which stresses the importance of benefitting the least advantaged, even if this requires greater inequality and the ideal of sufficiency, which stresses the irrelevance of equality if everyone were to have enough. In addition, to examining the reasons that can be given for preferring these ideals to equality we examine the perceived problems of these rival ideals to get a better informed idea of what a truly just society would be like.

To think about while reading:

Although ideals of equality, priority and sufficiency will often have identical verdicts in cases, why should we focus on cases where they offer us distinctive verdicts?

Is the levelling down objection a good objection to Equality? If so, does a similar objection apply to Sufficiency or Priority?

Are there any cases where we should not prioritize the least advantaged?

Examples of possible exam questions:

i) "If everyone had enough it would be of no moral consequence if some had more than others" Do you agree with this claim?

ii) Is Priority or Sufficiency the most convincing rival to Equality?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

***Arneson, R. 2005. Distributive justice and Basic Capability Equality: 'Good Enough' is Not Good Enough. In A. Kaufman, ed. Capabilities Equality: Basic Issues and Problems. London: Routledge: 17-43.**

Axelsen, David V., and Lasse Nielsen. "Sufficiency as Freedom from Duress." *Journal of Political Philosophy* (2014).

Brown, C. 2005. Priority or Sufficiency... or Both? *Economics and Philosophy* 24: 199-220.

Broome, John. "Equality versus priority: a useful distinction." *Economics and Philosophy* (2001): 1-10.

Benbaji, Y. 2005. The Doctrine of Sufficiency: a Defence. *Utilitas* 17: 310-32.

Benbaji, Y. 2006. Sufficiency or Priority? *European Journal of Philosophy* 14: 327–348.

***Casal, P. 2007. Why Sufficiency is not enough. *Ethics* 117: 296-326.**

***Crisp, R. 2003a. Equality, Priority, and Compassion. *Ethics* 113: 745-63.**

Crisp, R. 2003b. Egalitarianism and Compassion. *Ethics* 114: 119-126.

Goodin, R. 1987. Egalitarianism, Fetishistic and Otherwise. *Ethics* 98: 44-49.

Hausman, Daniel M. "Equality versus priority: a misleading distinction." *Economics and Philosophy* (2015): 1-10.

Holtug, N. 2006. Prioritarianism. in N. Holtug & K. Lippert-Rasmussen eds. *Egalitarianism: new essays on the nature and value of equality*. Oxford University Press: 125-155.

***Huseby, R. 2010. Sufficiency: Restated and Defended. *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 18: 178-197.**

Jensen, Karsten Klint. "What is the difference between (moderate) egalitarianism and prioritarianism?." *Economics and Philosophy* 19.01 (2003): 89-109.

McCarthy, David. "Utilitarianism and prioritarianism II." *Economics and Philosophy* 24.01 (2008): 1-33.

McCarthy, David. "Utilitarianism and prioritarianism I." *Economics and Philosophy* 22.03 (2006): 335-363.

Otsuka, Michael. "Prioritarianism and the Separateness of Persons." *Utilitas* 24.03 (2012): 365-380.

Otsuka, Michael. "Prioritarianism and the Measure of Utility." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23.1 (2015): 1-22.

Persson, Ingmar. "Why levelling down could be worse for prioritarianism than for egalitarianism." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 11.3 (2008): 295-303.

Roemer, J. 2004. Eclectic Distributional Ethics. *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 3: 267-81.

Shields, L. 2012. The Prospects for Sufficiencyarianism. *Utilitas* 24: 101-117.

Tännsjö, Torbjörn. "Utilitarianism or Prioritarianism?." *Utilitas* 27.02 (2015): 240-250.

Voorhoeve, Alex. "Introduction to the symposium on equality versus priority." *Economics and Philosophy* (2015): 1-2.

***Temkin, L. 2003b. Equality, Priority or What? *Economics and Philosophy* 19: 61-87.**

Widerquist, K. 2010. How The Sufficiency Minimum Becomes a Social Maximum. *Utilitas* 22: 474-480.

Weirich, Paul. "Utility tempered with equality." *Nous* (1983): 423-439.

29th November: Feminism And Justice

Lecturer: Dr Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Nussbaum, Martha. "Rawls and Feminism." In Samuel Freeman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- ii) Tronto, Joan. "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments." *Hypatia* 10(2), 1995, 141-149.

Lecture Topic:

Ideals of social justice tend to start with the idea of rational, independent, autonomous persons, who interact with each other only in the marketplace or in public political debate. The aim for an ideal of social justice, then, is to regulate these 'public sphere' interactions. According to feminist critics, this conception of citizens is woefully misguided: it rides roughshod over existing inequalities of gender, race, and class; it relies on an imaginary dichotomy between the 'public' sphere (of markets and politics) and the 'private' sphere (of family and work); and it disregards the fact that all of us are deeply dependent on others at various times in our lives. Some feminists have therefore advocated a shift away from 'justice' theorising, with a push towards 'care' theorising. The idea here is to rethink our political ideals from a standpoint that emphasises 'private' relations of empathy, interdependency, and particularity. However, this 'care' ideal faces some problems: that it overgeneralizes about femininity, and prevents feminine people from breaking free from care roles.

To think about while reading:

The ability of liberal theories (Rawls' theory in particular) to respond to feminist concerns and objections.
The public/private distinction.
Care as an alternative to justice.

Examples of possible exam questions:

- i) Can liberalism properly respond to the fact of dependence?
- ii) To what extent are 'justice' and 'care' irreconcilable values?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

- Bhandary, Asha. "Dependency in Justice: Can Rawlsian Liberalism Accommodate Kittay's Dependency Critique?" *Hypatia* 25(1), 2010, 140–156.
- Engster, Daniel. "Rethinking Care Theory: The Practice of Caring and the Obligation to Care." *Hypatia* 23(3), 2005, 50–74.
- Farrelly, Colin. *An Introduction to Contemporary Political Theory*, 2004. Chapter 8.
- Hartley, Christie. "Disability and Justice." *Philosophy Compass* 6(2), 2011, 120-132.
- Held, Virginia. "Feminist Transformations of Moral Theory." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 50, 1990, 321-44.
- Held, Virginia (ed.). *Justice and Care: Essential Readings in Feminist Ethics*. Westview, 1995.
- *Kittay, Eva Feder. "Human Dependency and Rawlsian Equality." In Diana T. Meyers ed., *Rethinking the Self*. Westview, 1996.
- *Mansbridge, J.J. and Okin, S.M. "Feminism." In Goodin and Pettit (eds), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. 1996.
- *Minow, Martha. "Justice Engendered." In Goodin and Pettit (eds), *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.
- *Okin, Susan. *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. Basic Books, 1991.

- Okin, Susan. "Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions" *Ethics* 108(4), 1998, 661- 684.
- Okin, S. M. "'Mistresses of Their Own Destiny': Group Rights, Gender, and Realistic Rights of Exit' in Goodin and Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.
- *Pateman, C. 'The Fraternal Social Contract' in Goodin and Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.
- Sunstein, C. R. (1989) 'Introduction: Notes on Feminist Political Thought' *Ethics* 99: 219-228.
- *Tronto, Joan. "Beyond Gender Difference to a Theory of Care." *Signs* 12(4) 1987, 644-663.
- *Young, I. M. (1995) 'Mothers, Citizenship, and Independence: A Critique of Pure Family Values' *Ethics* 105 (3): 535-556.
- *Young, I. M. 'Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship' in Goodin and Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy*.

6th December: Marxism And Justice

Lecturer: Dr Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Husami, Z. (1978) 'Marx on Distributive Justice' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 8, 27-64.
- ii) Wolff, J. 'Karl Marx' entry in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (online).

Lecture Topic:

Much of this course discusses ideals of justice in the liberal, republican, and libertarian traditions. Historically, liberal egalitarian theories of social justice can be seen, at least in part, as responses to socialist, and in particular Marxist, critiques of classical liberal theories. Yet Marx himself eschewed the language of social justice, and it is a matter of controversy whether he held a theory of justice. This week, we will discuss this controversy, and analyse and evaluate challenges that Marxist accounts of justice pose to liberal ones.

To think about while reading:

The fundamental ideas of Marxism, including exploitation and the labour theory of value, historical materialism and the role of (a) the legal and political superstructure and (b) ideology (especially the enabling role of liberal ideology in supporting capitalism). The role of justice and equality, if any, in Marxist thought. Marxist challenges to liberal social justice.

Examples of possible exam questions:

- i) Is communism an ideal of justice?
- ii) Would Marx describe a society whose basic structure satisfied Rawls's two principles of justice as unjust?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

- Cohen, G. A. (1978, 2000) *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence* (Oxford University Press).
- Cohen, G. A. (1986) 'Marxism and Functional Explanation' in Roemer, J. (1986) *Analytical Marxism* (Cambridge University Press): 221-234.
- Cohen, G. A. (2000) *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* (Harvard University Press).
- *Cohen, G. A. (2005) 'The Structure of Proletarian Unfreedom', in Goodin and Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy*. (Also available in Roemer (1986) *Analytical Marxism*).**
- Cohen, G.A. (2009) *Why Not Socialism?* (Princeton University Press).
- *Cohen G. A. (2011) *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice and other essays* (Princeton University Press) chaps. 7 and 10. (Available as an e-book).**
- Elster, J. (1986) *An Introduction to Karl Marx* (Cambridge University Press).
- *Kymlicka W. (2002), *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, ch. 5 ('Marxism').**
- Lukes, S. 'Can the Base Be Distinguished from the Superstructure?' in Miller and Siedentop (eds.) (1983) *The Nature of Political Theory* (Oxford University Press). (Also accessible online in the journal *Analyse-und-Kritik*)
- *Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, (available online).**
- Marx and Engels (1978) *The Marx-Engels Reader* (Norton & Company).
- Roemer, J. 'Should Marxists be Interested in Exploitation?' in Roemer, J. (ed.) (1986) *Analytical Marxism* (Cambridge University Press): 260-282.
- Rawls, J (2001), *Justice as Fairness – A Restatement* (Harvard University Press), §52 'Addressing Marx' Critique of Liberalism', pp. 176-179.

- *Rawls, J. (2007), *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Harvard University Press), 'Lectures on Marx', pp. 319-372**
- Singer, P. (2001) *Marx: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press).
- *Wolff, J. (2003) *Why Read Marx Today?* (Oxford University Press)**

13th December: Course Review, Exam Preparation, Open Q&A

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

This one-hour lecture will provide a course review and offer some advice for exam preparation. The second part of the two-hour slot will be an open Q&A session – you will be able to ask both substantive questions and questions on exam preparation. Normal tutorials on Marxism and Justice will also run this week.

Sample Examination Paper

Time allowed: 2 Hours

Answer TWO questions, ONE question from each section.

SECTION A

1. 'Since people are entitled to their natural assets, inequalities resulting from the employment of those assets are just.' Discuss.
2. Which conception of the value of political liberty should we adopt?
3. Does equality require equalising luck?

SECTION B

4. Is Priority or Sufficiency the most convincing rival to Equality?
5. Is justice gender-neutral?
6. Would Marx describe a society whose basic structure satisfied Rawls's two principles of justice as unjust?

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018-2019

POLI20902 How To Conduct Politics Research

Semester: One

Credits: 20

Convener: Dr. Olga Onuch

Office Room: ALB 4th floor (please ring for access - consult binder in foyer)

Email: olga.onuch@manchester.ac.uk

Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: Tuesdays Weeks 1-10 (Schuster Blackett Theater) 13:00 -15:00

Lecturers:

[Dr. Olga Onuch](#)

[Dr. Silke Trommer](#)

[Dr. Marta Cantijoch](#)

[Dr. Martin Coward](#)

[Dr. Paul Tobin](#)

[Dr. Juri Viehoff](#)

Tutorials: Weeks 1-10 *Please allocate yourself to a tutorial group online.*

Tutorial Instructors (click on the link for e-mail):

[Dr. Olga Onuch](#)

[Dr. Silke Trommer](#)

[Dr. Marta Cantijoch](#)

[Dr. Martin Coward](#)

[Dr. Paul Tobin](#)

[Dr. Juri Viehoff](#)

Mode of assessment:

Assignment One 1,500 - 1,750 words (no leeway) 25%

Research Project 4,000 - 4,550 words (no leeway) 65%

Tutorial Participation 10%

Attendance in tutorials is mandatory

Administrators: Luke Smith, G.001 Arthur Lewis Building, [+44 \(0\) 161 306 6906](tel:+441613066906),
luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk

*** * * IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ * * ***

ASSIGNMENT ONE DUE BY 2PM ON MONDAY 4 March, 2019

RESEARCH PROJECT DUE BY 2PM ON MONDAY 6 May, 2019

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

POLI20902

How To Conduct Politics Research

2018-2019

Course Convener: Dr. Olga Onuch
olga.onuch@manchester.ac.uk

Office hours by appointment via [Sohol](#): Tuesdays & Wednesdays

Lectures Tuesdays (Schuster Blackett Theater) 13:00 - 15:00

Tutorials (assign yourself to a group)

*If a student is uncertain about any of the following information relating to **POLI20902 How To Conduct Politics Research**, they should consult directly with the **course convener Dr. Olga Onuch**, who will be present in lectures and will answer general course related questions over black board on **a weekly basis**.*

Tutorial Groups Times and Locations

TU#	Start	End	Day	Weeks	Room	Teacher
TU01	11:00	12:00	Thursday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_2.19	Dr. Coward
TU02	11:00	12:00	Wednesday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_2.05	Dr. Viehoff
TU03	12:00	13:00	Wednesday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_2.05	Dr. Viehoff
TU04	10:00	11:00	Thursday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_2.19	Dr. Coward
TU05	14:00	15:00	Thursday	19-29	Uni Place_3.209	Dr. Tobin
TU06	15:00	16:00	Thursday	19-29	Sam Alex_A18	Dr. Trommer
TU07	13:00	14:00	Thursday	19-29	Uni Place_5.204	Dr. Tobin
TU08	10:00	11:00	Friday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_4.08	Dr. Cantijoch Cunill
TU09	11:00	12:00	Friday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_4.08	Dr. Cantijoch Cunill
TU10	10:00	11:00	Wednesday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_4.08	Dr. Onuch
TU11	09:00	10:00	Wednesday	19-29	Mansfield Cooper_2.19	Dr. Onuch
TU12	16:00	17:00	Thursday	19-29	Zochonis_B22	Dr. Trommer

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Course Content and Aims

This course allows students to develop their research skills preparing them to conduct independent research in politics, with the aim of writing a 4000-4550 word Research Project in year two. This course will build on modules offered in year one (*Making Sense of Politics* and *Study Skills*), and will help prepare students for their third year dissertations. Students will exercise some intellectual independence and will be provided with an opportunity to investigate the benefits and drawbacks of different research methods and types of data/sources in a rigorous manner.

Primarily students will be taught the main elements of research design and how to set up and conduct an independent research project. Including: an exploration of how a research project differs from an essay, how we select

research questions, how we conduct literature reviews, how we engage with academic literature and how this informs the case/s, types of data /sources, and methods of analysis we employ in our research.

This course provides a guided introduction to independent research through group supervision, which will be followed up on in the third year with one-to-one supervision.

Course Objectives

On completion of this unit students will have:

- developed an understanding of what is an appropriate research question;
- identified appropriate secondary and primary sources/ types of data to explore their chosen question;
- developed an understanding of the key steps of research design to answer the question;
- improved their ability to critically assess existing evidence;
- developed their analytical skills;
- developed an awareness of research approaches, methods and techniques;
- demonstrated knowledge and understanding of a chosen topic in greater depth;
- developed a range of transferable skills such as time management, meeting a deadline, problem-solving, effective written communication;
- used the scholarly apparatus of Bibliography and footnotes appropriately;
- developed greater intellectual independence;
- developed a greater awareness of the uses to which different research methods can be put;
- developed confidence to include some empirical analysis in independent research projects.

Course Organization

In ten lectures students will be taught different theoretical and methodological approaches and will be exposed to a variety of primary and secondary sources and types of data employed by scholars of Politics.

The ten tutorials will be specifically employed to debate and discuss the different elements of research design. Tutorials will offer students the opportunity to practice using and assessing different types of data and sources and methods. Thus, participation will count for 10% of the final mark.

This is not a mark for “talking a lot” but rather a mark for making meaningful and well-informed contributions.

Midway through the course the students will complete Assignment One. Students will select one question out of a set list of possible research questions covering a wide range of themes across Politics and IR taught at the Politics Department (incl. Normative and Critical Political Theory, IR/IPE, and Comparative Politics) and will write a short analytical explanation why they selected the question, its significance for the study of politics, what sort of puzzle it is and how it may guide the type of research methods, types of data/sources and analyses they employ. Students will also write a short Annotated Bibliography to accompany this analytical report, that can be later used for the literature review in the final assignment. Getting to know the broader spectrum of key themes in Politics and IR will be exciting and highly relevant to both Politics students as well as students from other disciplines and pathways (who will in no way be disadvantaged and are eligible to take the course).

For their final assignment students, after having previously selected their research question, will write a Research Project exploring how best to design a research project answering this question. They will be asked to include a literature review discussing the different approaches/perspectives on the topic and will assess how to navigate this debate. Students will then choose a methodological approach and explain how and why they made this choice (why this is the best manner in which to answer their chosen question) and will also address why other approaches are less useful. Next, students will be responsible for identifying and locating three types of data/sources (such as [but not exclusively] documents and reports, media sources, video interviews, surveys and primary texts). They will then analyze these data/sources and assess their strengths and weakness, elucidating how they could be employed in a stand-alone research project, how they may be complimented and how they help answer the chosen research question. Based on this mini-analysis they will be asked to draw some preliminary conclusions.

Weekly Lecture and Tutorial Schedule at a Glance

WEEK OF	LECTURE TUESDAY	TUTORIAL AS SCHEDULED
28 January	29 January LECTURE 1 (OO)	TUTORIAL 1

4 February	5 February LECTURE 2 (OO)	TUTORIAL 2
11 February	12 February LECTURE 3 (ST/OO)	TUTORIAL 3
18 February	19 February LECTURE 4 (MC/TBC)	TUTORIAL 4
25 February	26 February LECTURE 5 (OO/OO)	TUTORIAL 5 FRIDAY MARCH 1 LAST DAY TO ASK ABOUT SCHOLARLY SOURCES TO BE USED IN THE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
4 March ASSIGNMENT ONE ANNOTATED BIBLIO DUE MONDAY MARCH 4 @ 2PM	5 March LECTURE 6 (OO/OO)	TUTORIAL 6
11 March	12 March LECTURE 7 (MCC/MCC)	TUTORIAL 7
18 March	19 March LECTURE 8 (OO/JV)	TUTORIAL 8
25 March	26 March LECTURE 9 (MC/PT)	TUTORIAL 9
1 April	2 April	TUTORIAL 10

	LECTURE 10 (PT/JV) Last week to Speak to your group supervisor in person!	LAST WEEK TO MEET WITH YOUR TUTOR IN PERSON AS PER YOUR TUTOR'S AVAILABILITY – SO BOOK IN ADVANCED.
5 April – 22 April	EASTER BREAK	NO CONTACTING YOUR TUTORS/COURSE CONVENOR – <u>THEY WILL NOT REPLY</u>
29 APRIL	NO LECTURE	NO TUTORIAL 3 MAY 4PM IS THE <u>LAST DAY TO</u> CONTACT YOUR TUTOR/COURSE CONVENOR OVER E- MAIL FOR CLARIFICATION.
ASSIGNMENT TWO RESEARCH PROJECT DUE 6 MAY @ 2PM	ASSIGNMENT TWO RESEARCH PROJECT DUE 6 MAY @ 2PM	ASSIGNMENT TWO RESEARCH PROJECT DUE 6 MAY @ 2PM

Assessment

Grading Criteria

- ✓ The grading criteria which are applied in Politics can be found in the **Politics Course Unit Guide Part II**, available on the Blackboard site for this course.
- ✓ **Additional marking criteria** for the Research Project include the **awareness of issues of research design and methods**.
- ✓ Please see the **individual assignment marking criteria**, which are located at the end of this document and **use these as self-assessment check-lists**.

Attendance

- Attendance is compulsory for all tutorials.
- It is **your responsibility** to ensure that you have signed the attendance sheet.
- Attendance in lectures is highly recommended as **digital recordings of lectures will NOT be made available on blackboard**. This does not affect students who are registered with DASS.

Participation in Tutorials

- ✓ Participation will be marked during all tutorials **on a weekly basis in tutorials 2-10**.
- ✓ It is your responsibility to ensure that you participate **in small group exercises/activities and/or class discussions** at a satisfactory level. You can check in with your instructor midway through to make sure you are doing well in this regard.
- ✓ Participation will be marked out of 1 each week and thus, out of 9 in total for all weeks 2-10. This will be weighted accordingly to account for 10% of the final grade.
- ✓ To help facilitate participation, each week will have at least one small group activity to ensure that everyone will have a chance to participate. Instructors will also assess your regular contributions to other types of class discussion if applicable.
- ✓ The instructors will focus their assessment the **quality of your contributions** (for instances whether it is based on lecture and reading content). This ensures that just because one student speaks a great deal they are not unfairly advantaged over quieter students who participate less frequently but whose contributions are of a high quality.
 - *0 no contributions made, not present, not made up in office hours.*
 - *up to 0.3 unsatisfactory contributions: only speaking when prompted, unsatisfactory quality of contributions with no or little reference to lectures or readings.*

- 0.45 *satisfactory contributions: engaging when unprompted, satisfactory quality of contributions with some reference to readings and lectures*
 - 0.55 *good contributions: engaging regularly in class activities/discussion, a good number of independent contributions when unprompted, with a good quality of references made to readings and lectures.*
 - 0.65 *very good contributions: actively engaging in class activities/discussion, very good number of independent contributions when unprompted, with a very good quality of references made to readings and lectures.*
 - 0.75 *excellent contributions: very actively engaging in class activities/discussion, an excellent quality of contributions with an excellent level of reference to readings and lectures.*
 - 0.85 *outstanding contributions – highly actively engaging in activities/discussions, outstanding quality of contributions with an outstanding level of reference to readings and lectures.*
- ✓ If you are not able to attend class due to an illness you must try to let **your tutor** know that you will be absent **in advance of class**. In the case of **serious emergencies** you can notify your tutor as soon as can do so safely.
 - ✓ You will be able to make up for participation of **up to TWO missed tutorials** without a doctor's note/Mit. Circs. during your **tutorial leader's office hours** in the **TWO weeks following your absence**. After this date you have forfeited your participation mark.
 - ✓ This does not affect students who have been granted Mit. Circs.

Assignment One: Puzzle, Question and Literature

Assignment One will require you to: reflect on what topic/puzzle you would like to research for your project, select a research question (from the list of possible research questions provided at the end of this document), and compose a short Annotated Bibliography (examples of ABs are provided in the week by week syllabus) demonstrating how the selected texts connect and help develop the Research Project and narrow down your research question.

Assignment One will be made up of three parts:

1. A question selection (must be selected from the list of possible questions provided) and justification short answer.
2. A short Annotated Bibliography with a minimum of 8 sources, 6 of which must be scholarly (articles in scholarly peer-reviewed journals

and books published by academic/university presses – text books do not count) sources. All sources **must be in the English language** and media news items are **not accepted**.

3. A conclusion: focused on how the literature discussed aids in the narrowing down of the research question (case selection/comparative approach).

- ✓ Assignment One must show evidence that students have thought about, and understood, the content of the relevant lectures and tutorials.
- ✓ Assignment One will amount to **25% of your overall mark**.
- ✓ Assignment One must be submitted **electronically via Blackboard**.
- ✓ Assignment One must be **1,500 - 1,750 words (no leeway)**.
- ✓ Please read the full Assignment One guidelines and marking criteria found at the end of this document.
- ✓ You will receive written formative feedback.
- ✓ A **late submission** of Assignment One will result in **marks being deducted** as per the rules set out in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II.
- ✓ A **failure to submit** Assignment One will result in a **mark of 0** as per the rules set out in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II.

Assignment Two: The Research Project

- ✓ The Research Project must have a title page, an abstract, all required sections, be properly referenced (using the Harvard or Chicago styles – see the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II for further guidance on referencing), include a Bibliography of the sources used.
- ✓ The Research Project **MUST** be submitted **electronically**.
- ✓ The Research Project will amount to **65% of your overall mark**.
- ✓ The Research project should be **4,000 - 4,550 words**.
 - That word length includes footnotes; however, the Bibliography, title page, and abstract **do not count** towards the word limit.
 - Please also note that, because the word limit is a range rather than a fixed amount, the 10% leeway allowed to 'normal' essays does **not** apply here.
 - Research Projects that are either **too short or too long** will be penalised by **deduction of 5 points**.
 - If appendices are used (for example with details of your empirical data collection or transcripts), these **do not** count in the final word count.
- ✓ The normal penalties for late submission apply (See Politics Course Unit Guide Part II).
- ✓ All sources must be in the English language.

- ✓ Please read the full Assignment Two guidelines and marking criteria found at the end of this document.

Required Components of Research Project

- ✓ The Research Project must include (see assignment outline for all details on the sections) a/an:
 - Title page
 - Abstract
 - Introduction section (situating the puzzle, stating the research question, and providing a roadmap),
 - Literature review (this is not an annotated bibliography),
 - Methodology (description and justification) section,
 - Data collection/sources (description and justification) section,
 - Data analysis section,
 - Conclusion section.
 - **The absence of any of these sections will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks each.**
- ✓ The project must contain **references** (parenthetical or footnotes or endnotes) that credit the work of other scholars and all sources used in the text.
 - You **must** reference any quotation, any data, any views that can be attributed to someone else, and any view or interpretation or 'facts,' which you have taken from any other source (institutional/governmental/organizational/news sources).
 - References are meant to enable the reader to find, as easily as possible, the authority for every source contributing to all your ideas and comments.
 - All references in the text, all references in footnotes, as well as all other footnote material and quotes, **do count** toward the word limit. For this reason, use of the **Harvard Style (parenthetical or in-text referencing)** is **strongly recommended**.
 - For guidance on referencing styles see the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II.
 - Please see the section on Avoiding Plagiarism and Self-Plagiarism below.
- ✓ The project must include a **bibliography**.
 - It should list alphabetically by author all works used and provide full bibliographic information for each source. The list should NOT be numbered.

- The bibliography can be either in Harvard or Chicago referencing styles and **does not** count towards word count.
- The **lack of a proper bibliography** and appropriate, **accurate consistent** referencing will be penalised by the deduction of **up to 10 marks** (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II). In some cases, **a larger penalty may be imposed**. This is because inadequate referencing and/or lack of a bibliography make it difficult to determine whether the student has done an appropriate amount of work.

EXPERIMENT ONE

I have recently been inspired by a professor at Columbia University Joseph Howley who ran a small experiment to see if his students are reading the syllabus. I too want to see if you are reading the syllabus. This is the 1/4 way mark - if you have read the syllabus up until this point send me - the course convener - an e-mail with an image of the Oasis rock band and in the subject line of the e-mail write: ITS OASIS. Oh yeah, and keep on reading.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 28)

- ✓ You **MUST** contact your Programme Administrator in your home school to request an extension. Your Programme Administrator is the *only* individual authorized to grant a deadline extension for POLI20902.

1. Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk
2. Philosophy Politics & Economics: lynn.dignan@manchester.ac.uk
3. BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
4. BA (Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk
5. School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
6. School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk

- ✓ If granted an extension, the student will be provided with written confirmation of the extension and the new due date.
- ✓ A student who asks for an extension must complete the correct Mitigating Circumstances Form (available from their Programme Administrator) and provide evidence of the reasons for seeking extension.

- ✓ If granted an extension, a student will normally have to submit her/his project before the beginning of the examination period.

Re-sits

- ✓ Except in the case of plagiarism, a student who has to re-sit POLI20902 may write on the same question or topic. However, if s/he wishes, a student who has to re-sit POLI20902 may write on a different topic or question.
- ✓ A student who has plagiarized and therefore has to re-submit her/his POLI20902 Research Project **must** write the re-submitted POLI20902 **project on a different topic** unless s/he is given permission by the convener to write on the same topic.

Marking and Notification of Marks

- POLI20902 assignments are marked by your respective tutor.
- You will be notified of your provisional mark on the student system.
- All marks are provisional until they have been confirmed by the examination board in June of each year.

Recommended reading (and other resources)

Guides on How To Write a Research Project

- *How to Do Your Research Project*: a guide for students in education and applied social sciences. By: Gary Thomas Los Angeles, California: SAGE 2nd ed. 2013
 - Highly recommended purchase!
 - This book is the best mixture of a 'how to' and introduction to methods at the very basic level.
 - Has online resources for students.
 - Reading from this book will be assigned on a weekly basis.
 - It is available in the library.

Thematic Weekly Lecture and Tutorial Readings

- ✓ Please consult the week-by-week syllabus for more details.

- ✓ You are responsible for completing all assigned readings in advanced of the lectures and tutorials – as class activities and tutorial tasks will require you to have some knowledge of the topic.

Sources and Data

When researching a topic for a Research Project, a student should read advanced specialist sources and should **not** simply rely upon introductory textbooks and lectures. Students should also **not** rely on media coverage of the topic, or even worse internet coverage on the topic (this includes blogs, social media etc. unless they are analysed as primary data as part of your Project's empirical content). Lack of suitable academic sources in the Project will usually result in a lower quality Project, which may receive a considerably lower grade. Students should consult the extensive bibliographies in their course guides and use the libraries' electronic bibliographical databases or alternative academic databases such as scholar.google.com to identify appropriate sources.

- ✓ Google Scholar www.scholar.google.com.
- ✓ Learn to use intelligently the advanced search function.
- ✓ The library offers guidance on how to search for sources and how to judge their quality and organise weekly drop in sessions and other courses.
- ✓ <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/academic-support/my-learning-essentials/skills-clinics/>
- ✓ Many library staff can also be approached in person!

Electronic databases

Electronic databases can help you identify journal articles and books on particular subjects. Those provided by the Library are listed and described on its subject information web pages at :

<http://subjects.library.manchester.ac.uk/politics/databases/>

<http://subjects.library.manchester.ac.uk/philosophy/databases/>

Most important Politics Data Bases:

- ✓ IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences)
- ✓ SCOPUS
- ✓ International Political Science Abstracts
- ✓ PAIS (Public Affairs Information Service)

- ✓ Social Sciences Citation Index

Most important Philosophy database: Philosopher's Index

You will need your username and password to access resources identified through these databases, and often to access the databases themselves. You can get these from the library website by signing on to Shibboleth.

Although these databases have different interfaces, they all work in the same kind of way.

- ✓ Search for keywords that define your subject, or for important authors.
- ✓ Once you have found items of interest, check the Library catalogue (<http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk>) to see if it is in stock.
- ✓ If it is a journal article, it might be held in either print or electronic form (or both).
- ✓ If the Library subscribes to an electronic version of a journal, you can connect directly from a link in the catalogue.
- ✓ If the item you want is not in stock, check other local libraries (MMU Library and Manchester Central Library) to see if it is available there.
- ✓ If you still cannot find it, you can order the item on interlibrary loan. This costs £2 per item, and they usually arrive within a week.

Electronic journals

Most journals are available in electronic form, and they can easily be accessed on and off campus. There is a list of the Library's stock of electronic journals, with links, on its web pages. Access - especially off campus - is by username and password. There is a journals list available on black board – consult that!

Useful empirical resources for your projects

Below is a list of resources you may find useful for your project. These are not the only resources that are available – you will very likely find something that is of more interest to you and your research.

This could be the most interesting and rewarding way to experience this independent research project. Even those interested in theoretical questions may find that there is relevant empirical information that they may find inspiring. Many top theorists use empirical data to support or test their theories - for example David Miller on nationalism.

Secondary Data Archives

- ✓ Fedstats - an American government statistics website
<http://www.fedstats.gov>
- ✓ The Statistical Abstract of the United States
<http://www.census.gov/data.html>
- ✓ UN Statistics Data <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/databases.htm>
- ✓ The World Factbook <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook>
- ✓ World Bank Data <http://data.worldbank.org>
- ✓ Polity IV <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>
- ✓ Data Catalogue World Bank <http://datacatalog.worldbank.org>
- ✓ Bank of England Data Sets
<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/research/Pages/onebank/datasets.aspx>
- ✓ Office for National Statistics website <http://www.ons.gov.uk>
- ✓ Gender Data Portal <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/gender/>
- ✓ Human Rights Data <http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html>
- ✓ Correlates of War <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>
- ✓ Peace Accords Matrix <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/>
- ✓ IPI: Providing for Peacekeeping database
<http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/contributions/>

Speeches

- ✓ British Political Speech Archive
<http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm>
- ✓ American speeches <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/>
- ✓ The American Presidency Project (APP), non-profit and non-partisan, is the leading source of presidential documents on the internet
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>
- ✓ Fidel Castro speech archive
<http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/la/cb/cuba/castro.html>
- ✓ Women's speeches <http://gos.sbc.edu/>
- ✓ Women's Political Communication Archives
<http://www.womenspeecharchive.org/>
- ✓ Political party web archives,
<http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/webarchive/2013/12/political-party-web-archives.html>
- ✓ Russian Presidential Archives
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts>

Government documents and archives

- ✓ US Archives Library Information Center
<http://www.archives.gov/research/alic/reference/govt-docs.html>
- ✓ Columbia University has been a U.S. Federal government depository since 1882. <http://library.columbia.edu/locations/usgd.html>
- ✓ UK government publications
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications?official_document_status=command_and_act_papers or
<http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/publications/government/>
- ✓ UK National Archives <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>
- ✓ Government of Canada Documents
<http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/ourCatalogue.html>
- ✓ Government reports and Acts of Parliament
<http://lrweb.beds.ac.uk/guides/a-guide-to-referencing/cite-govt-report>
- ✓ Official Journal of the European Union. EU law and other public EU documents. https://europa.eu/european-union/documents-publications/official-documents_en
- ✓ The site enables you to consult Government Explanatory Memoranda (EMs) on EU documents submitted to Parliament from April 2012.
<http://europeanmemoranda.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/>

Surveys

- ✓ British Election Study <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data/>
- ✓ European Social Survey <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>
- ✓ Latino Barometer <http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp>
- ✓ Eurasia Barometer <http://office.eurasiabarometer.org/>
- ✓ Latin American Public Opinion <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/>
- ✓ Asia Barometer <http://www.asianbarometer.org/news>
- ✓ World Values Survey <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>
- ✓ Barometer Survey <http://www.globalbarometer.net/>
- ✓ Pew Research Survey <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research>
- ✓ YouGov Surveys <https://yougov.co.uk/news/categories/politics>
- ✓ Ipsos MORI Surveys <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/3766/Reactions-to-Brexit-across-16-countries.aspx>

Social Media

- ✓ Google Analytics https://www.google.com/analytics/#?modal_active=none
- ✓ Twitter Analytics <https://analytics.twitter.com/about>
- ✓ Harvest SM data <http://schoolofdata.org/harvesting-and-analyzing-tweets/>

- ✓ TweepsMap <http://tweepsmap.com/>
- ✓ Tweet Archivist <http://www.tweetarchivist.com/about>
- ✓ Twitter Chat creates a permanent archive of all Tweets around any hashtag <http://twchat.com>

News/Media

- ✓ LexisNexis® Academic <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic>
- ✓ New York Times Article Archive
<http://www.nytimes.com/ref/membercenter/nytarchive.html>
- ✓ Guardian and Observer Digital Archive
<https://www.theguardian.com/info/2012/jul/25/digital-archive-notice>

Reference Managers

Keep track of your references with a reference manager – a popular a free favorite is Zotero – it integrates with your browser and your office word (or other software).

- ✓ Zotero <https://www.zotero.org/>
- ✓ Mendeley <https://www.mendeley.com/>
- ✓ EndNote <http://endnote.com/>
- ✓ Bibtex if you use LaTeX <http://www.bibtex.org/>

Writing Help

- ✓ For those who struggle with English academic writing **Language Centre** offers some courses and resources:
<http://www.languagecentre.manchester.ac.uk/>
- ✓ The Library website also has a range of learning resources on how to write academic papers, conduct research and manage your time.
<http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/academicsupport/mylearningessentials>

Tutorials

Allocation of tutorial group

- ✓ Please sign yourself up for a tutorial group online.

The role of the tutorial leader

- ✓ There is a strong correlation between attending tutorials regularly and doing well on a Research Project!

- ✓ Tutorial leaders will act as guides who will facilitate your discussion and comprehension of how to conduct an independent research project and will provide group supervision.
- ✓ Tutorial leaders are all very experienced scholars who actively conduct politics research and thus, they will be using their own experiences throughout the course. Students should take the opportunity to ask about their tutorial leaders experiences in conducting research and apply this to their own Research Projects.
- ✓ Tutorial leaders will **NOT** read a draft of the entire Research Project.

Plagiarism

Avoiding Self-Plagiarism

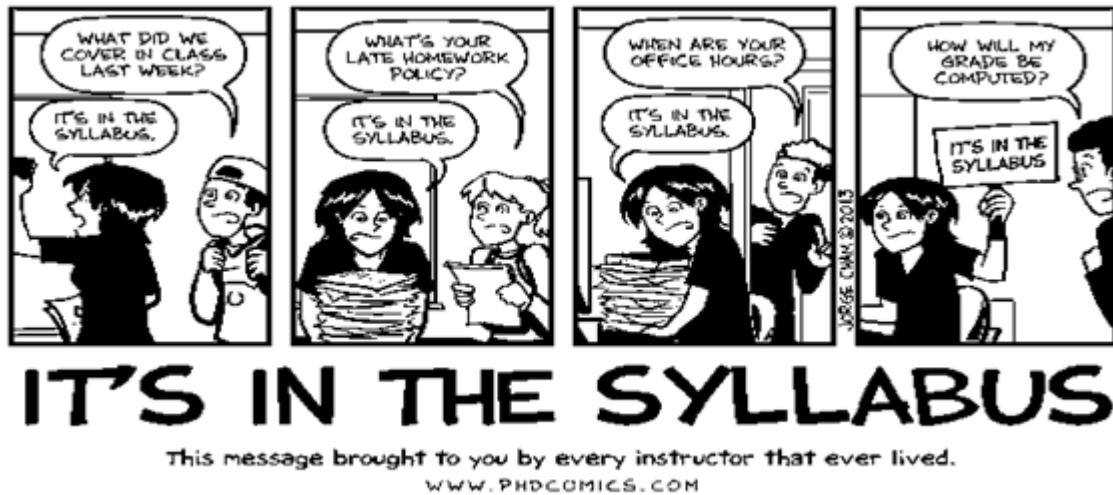
- ✓ The project must **not** reproduce in whole or in large part an assessed course essay and/or a first-year extended essay. The student is responsible for ensuring that her/his project does not violate this prohibition. Any violation of this prohibition will be **severely penalised by the deduction of marks or even by a mark of 0 in serious cases.**
- ✓ If a student is uncertain whether s/he should use material from an assessed essay or a previous first year extended essay in her/his Research Project, the student should consult with the POLI20902 course convenor during the scheduled tutorials.

Avoiding Plagiarism

- ✓ The University of Manchester regards plagiarism as a very serious offence. All students are expected to read and comply with University regulations concerning plagiarism. These regulations are available from the university's Web site (<http://www.campus.manchester.ac.uk/media/library/tlao/plagiarism-guidance-for-students.pdf>) and guidance is also available in the Politics Part 2 Guide.
- ✓ Sadly in the past students have ignored this advice and have been punished severely. For example some students who 'only' cut and pasted one section out of their otherwise hard-worked-on Project had been failed. NO AMOUNT of cut and pasting (even if you state the source!) will be tolerated. Cut and pasting refers to snippets of someone else's text, which does not appear in quotation marks.
- ✓ Beware that TurnItIn will pick up cut and paste text EVEN IF you change some words and word order!

- ✓ Very lengthy, but well referenced quotes will not be treated as plagiarism, but are likely to result in a very poor mark as the student would have not shown enough of their own work to meet the marking criteria.

WEEK TO WEEK SYLLABUS



WEEK ONE

LECTURE ONE INTRODUCTION TO INDEPENDENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

29 January

Hour 1 General introduction to research projects and a discussion of how research projects differ from essays. (OO)

In the first hour we will briefly explore what the course is about, what to expect, and what we expect of you. We will also briefly highly some things to keep in mind about academic writing.

Questions:

- ✓ Who will be teaching you? *The Dream Team of Politics Research!*
- ✓ What will we learn in the course?
- ✓ What is the difference between extended essays and independent research projects?
- ✓ What is research all about?
- ✓ What are the basics of academic writing that we should keep in mind?
- ✓ How do we cite as academics?

- ✓ What are the most common mistakes?

Key Terms:

- Essay – rule of threes
- Point-proof-analysis
- Footnotes
- Harvard style in text citation.
- Quotations

Hour 2 Developing a research question, understanding different puzzles in politics. (OO)

In this lecture we will briefly explore the difference between research topic, research puzzle and research question. And we will begin to unpack how to go from a topic - to puzzle - to research question.

Questions:

- What are the basics of research design?
- What is a puzzle?
- What is a good question?
- How do we choose a research question?
- How do we go from topic, to puzzle, to research question?
- How do we develop a research question?
- Why is the question so important in determining later research design?
- What is a Hypothesis?
- What are the most common mistakes?

Key Terms:

- The “Puzzle”
- Research question
- Research design
- Systematization
- Analytical
- Theory testing
- Theory building
- Inference

Readings:

- Chapter One: “Your Introduction: Starting Points” in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>]
- Chapter Two: “Preparation: Project Management, Ethics and Getting Clearance” in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second

Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>]

Videos:

- Conducting Research in Social Science:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=khyAL5E-iMI>
- What is research? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-saL_vpSSf4
- What is research? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EEuul8hBip8>
- What is research? <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v50ct9xJVKE>
- Picking your topic is research:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0B3Gjlu-1o>
- Picking your topic : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXNztCLYgxc>
- Citations: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMhMuVvXCVw>
- In text citations: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R5igNRmKLug>

TUTORIAL 1

FROM PUZZLES TO QUESTIONS & FROM QUESTIONS TO PUZZLES

Get ready for class discussion:

- a. What is the difference between an independent research project and extended essay?
- b. How do we conduct research?
- c. What is a research question?

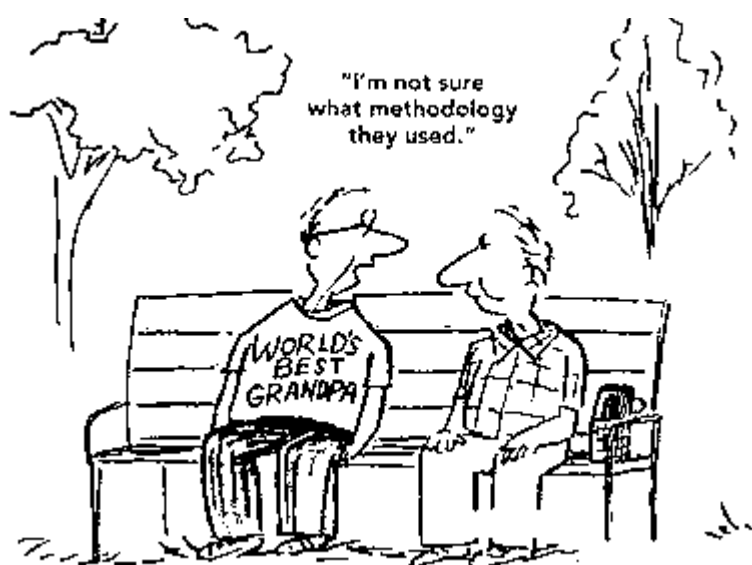
Readings:

- Chapter One: “Your Introduction: Starting Points” in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)
- Chapter Two: “Preparation: Project Management, Ethics and Getting Clearance” in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion

website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>
[Find in Library](#)

EXPERIMENT TWO

Remember how I was inspired by that professor at Columbia University Joseph Howley who ran a small experiment to see if his students are reading the syllabus? Again, we too want to see if you are reading the syllabus. This is more or less the 1/2 way mark of the syllabus - if you have read the syllabus up until this point send YOUR TUTORIAL LEADER an e-mail with an image of either the Stone Roses or Smiths or Children of Zeus or Levelz this time you get to choose and in the subject line of the e-mail write: I Prefer Stone Roses [or] I Prefer the Smiths [or] I Prefer the Children of Zeus [or] I Prefer the Levelz. And keep on reading!!! You'll never know what important information is listed below if you don't read it.



WEEK TWO

LECTURE TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ACADEMIC LITERATURE

5 February

Hour 1 Exploring how a research question is situated in and developed by existing scholarly work. (OO)

In this lecture we will examine how to further specify a research question by engaging with existing scholarship. We will focus on how and why a RQ must incorporate existing scholarship throughout its development.

Questions:

- Q1 How do we engage with the existing literature?
- Q2 How do you use academic literature as evidence/support?

Key Terms:

- Engage with the literature
- Critical analysis
- Filling in the Gaps
- Debates
- Theoretical and ideological perspectives.
- Generating hypothesis from the literature.

Hour 2 Conducting a literature review... and an Annotated Bibliography (OO)

In this lecture we will highlight the difference between an Annotated Bibliography and a literature review and we will be joined by a guest speaker who will provide us with a short introduction to library resources.

Questions:

- Q1 What is an Annotated Bibliography?
- Q2 What is a Literature Review?
- Q3 What is a Theoretical Framework?
- Q4 Where do we find it?

Key Terms:

- Annotated Bibliography
- Literature Review
- Key words search

Readings:

- Chapter Three: "The Literature Review" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)
- Chapter Four: "Decide on Your Question – Again" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)
- "Comparing the Annotated Bibliography to the Literature Review." Available at: <https://www.una.edu/writingcenter/docs/Writing-Resources/Comparing%20the%20Annotated%20Bibliography%20to%20the%20Literature%20Review.pdf>

Annotated Bibliography How To and Samples:

- <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/614/03>
- <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/specific-types-of-writing/annotated-bibliography>
- <http://guides.library.cornell.edu/annotatedbibliography>
- <http://www.lib.uoguelph.ca/get-assistance/writing/specific-types-papers/writing-annotated-bibliography>
- https://www.princeton.edu/statebuilding/contributions/annotatedBibliography_DevelopmentalCapacity.pdf
- <https://www.brandeis.edu/projects/fse/slavery/united-states/docs/manchester-bib.pdf>

Literature Review How To and Samples:

- Webster, J. & Watson, R. (2002). "Analyzing the Past to Prepare for the Future: Writing a Literature Review." *Management Information Systems Quarterly*, 26(2):3. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4132319?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Chapter One in: Hart, C. (1998). *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination*. London: Sage. [Find in Library](#)

- An example of a literature review article see: Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. (1996). "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms*." *Political studies*, 44(5):936–57.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x/full>
- Taylor, D. (2016). "The Literature Review: A Few Tips On Conducting It." Available at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/specific-types-of-writing/literature-review>

Videos:

- Developing a research project: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWLYCYeCFak>
- Research Question: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWLYCYeCFak>
- Research Question: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=89NonP_iZZo
- Literature review: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jiQJjXTD0VI>

TUTORIAL 2: FROM PUZZLE TO LITERATURE REVIEW

Get ready for class discussion:

- a. What is a literature review?
- b. And how is it different from an annotated bibliography?
- c. How to find academic literature relevant to your project? And where to find relevant research to your topic?

Readings:

- "Chapter Three: The Literature Review" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)
- "Chapter Four: Decide on Your Question – Again" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website:

<https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)

- “Comparing the Annotated Bibliography to the Literature Review.” Available at: <https://www.una.edu/writingcenter/docs/Writing-Resources/Comparing%20the%20Annotated%20Bibliography%20to%20the%20Literature%20Review.pdf>

WEEK THREE

LECTURE THREE DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHICAL, ONTOLOGICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES IN POLITICS & THEMES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

12 February

Hour 1 **Basic understanding of different philosophical, ontological and ideological approaches in politics. (ST)**

This lecture will explore the fact that one and the same research question can be approached in many different ways. The particular approach researchers take towards their research will be rooted in broader perspectives within philosophy of science. Different approaches to the study of politics often have very different ideas about what the nature of social and political reality is (this is meant by the term “ontology”). They also differ in their assessment of how we can gain knowledge about this social and political reality (this is meant by the term “epistemology”). Finally, researchers do not live outside of any social and political context. Every researcher invariably brings his or her own values, worldviews, and normative preferences to their research project. These ideological underpinnings need not distort the research process, if we show awareness that they exist and take this into account in our interpretation of research findings.

Questions:

1. What are the most important features of the social world for political researchers to focus upon?
2. What are some of the most important ontological issues for political research?

Key Terms:

- Ontology
- Epistemology
- Individualism
- Holism

- Positivism
- Constructivism

Hour 2 Introduction to key themes in comparative politics research (OO).

This lecture will cover a short introduction to key themes in comparative politics. The lecture will briefly discuss the history of comparative politics and different understandings of what is included.

Comparative politics tradition comes out of the US and at first covered an array non-US politics – with a strong concentration on LA and theories of democratization. With the advent of ‘new institutionalism’ comparative politics’ focus also shifted to who do institutions works and how does institutional design affect the quality of democracy, government and governance. Although the best developed literature was focused on western industrialized democracies, research on transition to democracy (specifically in eastern Europe) also dominated the debate. This was followed on with a turn towards EU enlargement and the interaction between local, national and supranational governance. Although there is a strong focus on institutions, scholars also investigate diverse aspects of what explains, guides, promotes and impedes political representation and participation be it institutional (electoral) and extra-institutional (NGOs, Civil Society, and Protest). In this lecture, we will seek to answer is comparative politics about subjects (actors, institutions), place, space, time, or method.

Questions:

- Q1 What is comparative politics?
- Q2 What is comparative government?

Key Terms:

▪ Power	▪ Institutions	▪ Political
▪ Comparative	▪ Public	behavior
method	policy	▪ Inference
▪ Inference		

Readings:

Philosophy of Politics:

- Hay, C. (2011). "Political Ontology.' Ch.23 in: *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. R.E. Goodin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199604456.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199604456-e-023>

OR

- Marsh, D. and Furlong, P. (2002). "A Skin Not A Sweater: ontology and epistemology in political science.' pp. 17–41 in: *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, ed. D. Marsh and G. Stoker. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=m70cBQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA184&dq=Theory+and+Methods+in+Political+Science&ots=SKa72ED234&sig=ZjyeEQjO4_cRLpIJJSqVumlxBRM#v=onepage&q=Theory%20and%20Methods%20in%20Political%20Science&f=false Find in Library

Comparative Politics:

- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. (1996). "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms*." *Political studies*, 44(5): 936–57.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x/full>

OR

- Lijphart, A. (1971). "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *American Political Science Review*, 65(03): 682–93.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/1955513?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Videos:

- *10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b1XGPvbWn0A>
- *10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman in Hijab*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgw6y3cH7tA>



TUTORIAL 3: FROM PUZZLE TO PHILOSOPHIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Get ready for class discussion:

- a. What are the different ways to approach research in politics and how to identify these perspectives in the literature?
- b. What are the different approaches to conducting comparative politics research?

Readings:

Philosophy of Politics:

- Hay, C. (2011). "Political Ontology." Ch.23 in: *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. R.E. Goodin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199604456.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199604456-e-023>
- Marsh, D. & Furlong, P. (2002). "A Skin Not A Sweater: ontology and epistemology in political science." pp. 17–41 in: *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, ed. D. Marsh and G. Stoker. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=m70cBQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA184&dq=Theory+and+Methods+in+Political+Science&ots=SKa72ED234&sig=ZjyeEQjO4_cRLpIJSqVumlxBRM#v=onepage&q=Theory%20and%20Methods%20in%20Political%20Science&f=false Find in Library

Comparative Politics:

- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. (1996). "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms*." *Political studies*, 44(5): 936–57.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x/full>
- Lijphart, A. (1971). "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *American Political Science Review*, 65(03): 682–93.
doi:10.2307/1955513.
http://www.jstor.org/stable/1955513?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

WEEK FOUR

LECTURE FOUR THEMES IN IR AND THEORY

19 February

Hour 1 Introduction to key themes in IR/IPE research. (MC)

This lecture will outline the key historical trends in research on international politics. We will examine the major debates that have defined the discipline of International Relations since its inception in the early twentieth century. In particular we will focus on the methodological questions that have been at the heart of these debates. Of the so-called 'great debates' that have defined the study of international relations, 2 are particularly important: liberalism-realism; and positivism-post-positivism. These debates have given rise to a variety of perspectives on international politics as well as methodologies for research. We will quickly examine the key ontological, epistemological and methodological commitments that have characterized 4 broad schools of thinking about international politics: idealism/liberalism; realism; poststructuralism; and constructivism. Throughout we will ask: what counts as data in the study of international politics?; how is that data gathered?; and how is it analyzed?

Questions:

- Q1 What actors, forces and problems define the field of international relations?
- Q2 What is realism and why has it been criticised?
- Q3 What is positivism and how has it been challenged?
- Q4 What counts as data in the study of international relations?

Key Terms:

- Realism
- Idealism/liberalism
- Constructivism
- Poststructuralism
- Positivism vs. post-positivism
- Problem solving theory vs. critical theory

Hour 2 Themes in Political Theory: Conceptual Analysis and Thought Experiments (TBC)

We will explore two important approaches to engaging in philosophical argument generally and political theory in particular. This methodology is used extensively in political theory modules such as *Introduction to Political Theory* (1st year module) and *Ideals of Social Justice and Challenges for Democratic Politics* (2nd year modules). Philosophical analysis within the Anglo-American tradition seeks to explore issues in order to obtain conceptual clarity and the logical consistency and coherence of concepts and ideas used in understanding our world. In political theory, this usually applies to the exploration of normative (moral) concepts which apply to social institutions. Two ways of carrying out this task is to use the methods of 'conceptual analysis' and 'thought experiments'.

Questions:

- Q1 What is political theory?
- Q2 How do we think like a theorist?
- Q3 How do we write a political theory research project?
- Q4 What is conceptual analysis and how does it work when exploring political theoretical questions?
- Q5 What are 'thought experiments' and why are they useful in exploring political theoretical ideas?
- Q6 How is the relationship between conceptual analysis and thought experiments?

Key Terms:

- Conceptual analysis
- Thought Experiments
- Clarity and Coherence
- Philosophical Argumentation
- Fallacious thinking

Readings:

IR/IPE:

- Kurki, M. & Wight, C. (2010). "International Relations and Social Science." In Dunne, Kurki & Smith. (2010). *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 14-35 [Find in Library](#)

Political Theory:

- Brown, J. & Fehige, Y. (2014). "Thought Experiments," in: Zalta, N. (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/thought-experiment/>

Further Reading

- Hoffman, M. (1987). Critical theory and the inter-paradigm debate. *Millennium*, 16(2): 231-250. <http://journals.sagepub.com/manchester.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1177/03058298870160022801>
- Schmidt, B.C. (2012). "On the History and Historiography of International Relations" in: Carlsnaes, W. Risse, T. and Simmons, B.A. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd edition. London: Sage. pp. 3-28
- Lapid, Y. (1989). "The third debate: On the prospects of international theory in a post-positivist era." *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(3): 235-254. <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article-abstract/33/3/235/1807432>
- Margolis, E. & Laurence, S. (2014). "Concepts," in: Zalta, N. (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/concepts/> [see section 5 in particular]
- A useful overview of Conceptual Analysis by Andrew Cullison. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3B9l2EAeGEE>
- Cohen, M. (2005). *Wittgenstein's Beetle and Other Classic Thought Experiments*. Oxford: Blackwell. [Read Introduction and Notes for Experimenters] [Find in Library](#)
- Schick, T. & Vaughn L. (2010). *Doing Philosophy: An Introduction Through Thought Experiments*. Boston: McGraw Hill Higher Education [Find in Library](#)

Videos:

- The Pig That Wants To Be Eaten
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=albCJtdeNf8>

TUTORIAL 4 UNDERSTANDING KEY THEMES IN IR/IPE & POLITICAL THEORY

Get ready for class discussion:

- What are the main perspectives in the study of international relations?
- What are the key methodological problems in the study of international relations?
- What is 'conceptual analysis' (CA)?
- What are 'thought experiments' (TE) and how do they aid, if at all, the process of conceptual analysis?
- What are the pros and cons of CA and TE?

Readings:

IR/IPE:

- Kurki, M. & Wight, C. (2010). "International Relations and Social Science." In: Dunne, Kurki & Smith. (2010). *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 14-35 [Find in Library](#)

Political Theory:

- Brown, J. & Fehige, Y. (2014). "Thought Experiments," in: Zalta, N. (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/thought-experiment/>

WEEK FIVE

LECTURE FIVE UNDERSTANDING QUALITATIVE & QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

This week we will introduce the difference between qualitative and quantitative research design approaches. We will highlight how the approaches differ and how they can be complementary. We will distinguish between qual. and quant. data, data collection and data analysis. These will be explored in greater detail in future lectures.

Hour 1 Qualitative Research Design (OO)

Questions:

- Q1 What is qualitative data?
- Q2 What are qualitative methods of data collection?
- Q3 What are qualitative methods of analysis?

Key Terms:

▪ Causal inference	▪ Structured
▪ Triangulation	▪ Semi-structured
▪ Systematization	▪ Icebreakers
▪ Population & Sample	▪ Research ethics
▪ Elite Interviews	▪ Snowball sample
▪ Group interviews	

Hour 2 Quantitative Research Design (OO)

Questions:

- Q1 What is quantitative data?
- Q2 What are quantitative methods of data collection?
- Q3 What are quantitative methods of analysis?

Key Terms:

▪ Inference	▪ Correlation
▪ Population	▪ Primary v. Secondary Data
▪ Sample	▪ Descriptive statistics
▪ Probability	▪ Statistical analyses
▪ Causality	▪ Statistical software

Readings:

- "Chapter Six Methodology Part 2: The Design Frame" Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education*

and Applied Social Sciences. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)

- “Chapter Seven The Right Tools for the Job: Data Gathering” Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)

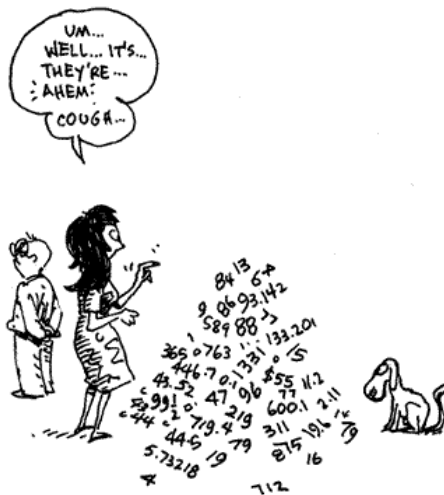
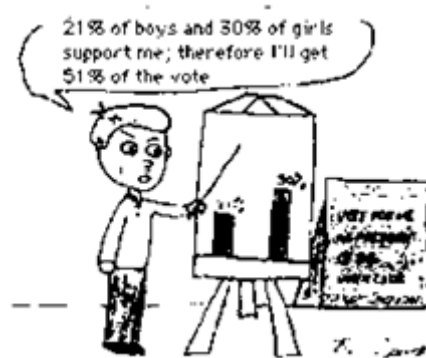
TUTORIAL 5
UNDERSTANDING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE
RESEARCH DESIGN

Get ready for class discussion:

- a. What is the difference between quantitative and qualitative data and analysis?
- b. Do some questions suit one or the other approach more (or can they suit both) and why?

Readings

- “Chapter Six Methodology Part 2: The Design Frame” Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)
- “Chapter Seven The Right Tools for the Job: Data Gathering” Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)



WEEK SIX

LECTURE SIX SELECTING CASES COMPARATIVE METHOD V. CASE STUDY

5 March

Hour 1 Case Studies. (OO)

We will discuss how you select cases and will introduce the case study as a research method and we will address common misconceptions about the

approach. The lecture will define, and then explore: what a case study is?, what case studies do?, and we will investigate how case studies can help us better understand a broad range of individual, organisational, social, political and cultural phenomena?

We will then explain how to choose cases and explore how we can identify what our case is a case of.

Questions:

- Q1 What is a case study?
- Q2 What are the benefits of case studies?
- Q3 How do we justify case selection?
- Q4 How do we link theory + academic literature to our case selection?

Key Terms:

▪ Inference	▪ Method/methodology
▪ Generalizability	▪ Research design
▪ Local	▪ Subject v. object
▪ Sub-nation	▪ Context-dependent
▪ National	knowledge v. context-
▪ Critical cases	independent knowledge
▪ Outliers	▪ Causality
▪ What is your case a case of?	▪ Description v. analysis
▪ Case study	

Hour 2 Different Comparative methods: Why Compare? (OO)

This lecture will discuss the ins and outs of comparative method and how it enhances our knowledge and understanding of the world. We will highlight the different ways in which we can compare. The lecture demonstrate how comparative method does not take away from in-depth research but actually facilitates a deeper understanding of political phenomena, institutions and actors. We will explain how the comparative method can be qualitative or quantitative as well as large n or small n. The lecture will also highlights how a study of a single case can be comparative in nature.

Questions:

- Q1 What is comparative method?
- Q2 What are the benefits of comparative method?
- Q3 How do we justify case selection when we compare?
- Q4 How do we link theory + academic literature to our case selection when we compare?

Key Terms:

- Inference
- Large N
- Small N
- Generalizability
- Mills Methods of Comparison
- Local
- Sub-nation
- National
- International (cross-national)
- Inter-regional
- Intra- regional

Readings:**Case Study:**

- Gerring, J. (2004). "What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?," *American Political Science Review*, 98(2): 341-354.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/what-is-a-case-study-and-what-is-it-good-for/C5B2D9930B94600EC0DAC93EB23618633>
- Seawright, J. & Gerring, J. (2008). "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2): 294–308.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1065912907313077>

Comparative Method:

- Mahoney, J. (2007). "Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics." *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(2): 122–44.
<http://cps.sagepub.com/content/40/2/122.short>
- Tarrow, S. (2010). "The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice." *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(2): 230–59.
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414009350044>

Further Reading:

- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- King, Keohane & Verba. (1994). *Designing Social Enquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
[Find in Library](#)
- Ragin, C. (1989). *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkley: University of California Press.
<http://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=mZi17vherScC&oi=fnd>

<https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=CbetAQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=gerring+case+studies&ots=kbB5GJSXwJ&sig=TdyOLYR RoH7aErVUL8Qs0VfmMWI#v=onepage&q=gerring%20case%20studies&f=false>

- Ragin, C. & Becker, H. (1992). *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Enquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=CbetAQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=gerring+case+studies&ots=kbB5GJSXwJ&sig=TdyOLYR RoH7aErVUL8Qs0VfmMWI#v=onepage&q=gerring%20case%20studies&f=false>

Video:

- Choosing a research method: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WDo7jwikqqI>

TUTORIAL 6 CASE STUDIES AND WHY DO WE COMPARE?

Get ready for class discussion

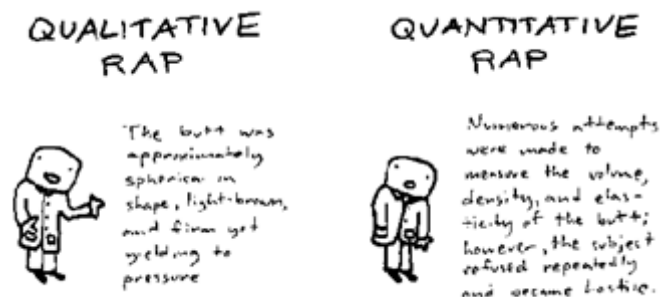
- a. Why do we compare?
- b. What are the different ways we compare? (National, local, regional etc.)
What is inference?
- c. What are case studies?
- d. How can case studies help us the deeply understand processes and mechanisms?

Case Study:

- Gerring, J. (2004). "What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?," *American Political Science Review*, 98(2): 341-354. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/what-is-a-case-study-and-what-is-it-good-for/C5B2D9930B94600EC0DAC93EB23618633>
- Seawright, J. & Gerring, J. (2008). "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2): 294-308. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1065912907313077>

Comparative Method:

- Mahoney, J. (2007). "Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics." *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(2): 122–44. <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/40/2/122.short>
- Tarrow, S. (2010). "The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice." *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(2): 230–59. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0010414009350044>



WEEK SEVEN

LECTURE SEVEN QUANTITATIVE DATA SOURCES AND SURVEYS

12 March

Hour 1 Analysing quantitative data sources. (MCC)

We will briefly introduce different approaches to using quantitative data sources in political research projects. First, the lecture will present some classic examples of how quantitative data is used in politics by both researchers and practitioners. Second, we will introduce the different types of quantitative data sources that exist and the wide range of topic areas they can be used to address. Third, students will be presented with an overview of existing sources of political data, where they can be found and how they can be used to address research questions. Finally, we will provide a basic outline of the practicalities of analysing quantitative data using SPSS and Excel.

Questions

- Q1 What can quantitative data sources be used for?
Q2 What types of quantitative data sources exist?
Q3 Where can quantitative data sources be found?
Q4 How do you analyse quantitative data?

Key Terms

- Datasets
- Statistical Analysis
- Primary vs Secondary
- Micro versus Macro Data
- Big Data
- Surveys
- Excel
- SPSS

Hour 2 Focus on draw-backs and benefits of surveys. (MCC)

This lecture will cover one of the most commonly used (and misused!) methods in political research; the survey. The first part of the lecture will introduce the survey as a research tool and emphasize how empirical survey analysis must be integrated into a wider theoretical study of the substantive topic. The second part of the lecture will discuss the benefits of using surveys and the principles of good survey design and analysis with a particular focus on knowledge claims. The third part of the lecture will discuss the common pitfalls of survey analysis and the tendency for students to see it as the 'default option' when carrying out a research project. The final stage of the lecture will introduce some of the basic tools for designing, disseminating and collating surveys and survey data.

Questions:

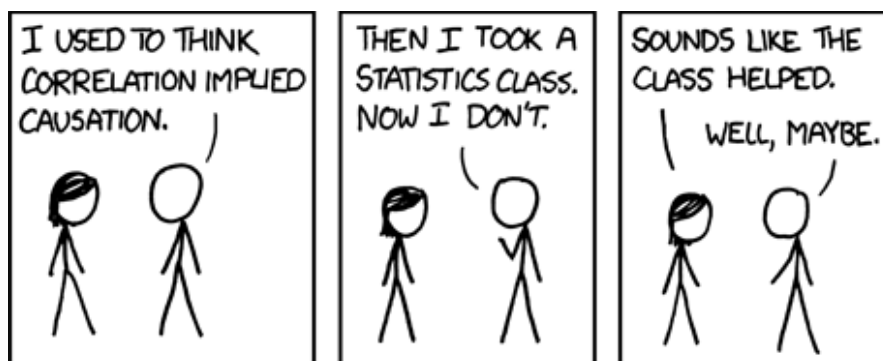
- Q1 What is a survey?
Q2 Why do we use surveys?
Q3 What are surveys not good for?
Q4 Common mistakes/errors in conducting and analysing surveys.

Key Terms:

▪ Operationalisation	▪ Sample Bias
▪ Causality	▪ Measurement Error
▪ Inference	▪ Social Media
▪ Data Quality	▪ Survey Monkey

Readings

- Chapter Five: 'The Survey,' in: Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory, methods and techniques*. London: Sage. pp. 117-163. [Find in Library \(ebook available\)](#)
- Chapter One: 'Why is my evil lecturer forcing me to learn statistics?,' in: Field, A. (2013). *Discovering statistics using IBM SPSS Statistics*. Fourth edition. London: Sage. pp.1-39. [Find in Library](#)
- Chapter Eight: "How to Analyse the Information You Gather" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library \(ebook available\)](#)



TUTORIAL 7

SURVEYS THE GOOD, BAD AND THE UGLY

Get ready for class:

- Why survey?
- What are the benefits?
- What are the obstacles?

Readings:

- **Pages 117-142** Chapter Five: 'The Survey'; in Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory, methods and techniques*. London, Sage. pp. 117 – 163. [Find in Library \(ebook available\)](#)
- **Pages 247-271** in Chapter Eight: "How to Analyse the Information You Gather" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library \(ebook available\)](#)

WEEK EIGHT

LECTURE EIGHT QUALITATIVE DATA SOURCES AND INTERVIEWS

19 March

Hour 1 Analysing qualitative data sources. (OO)

We will introduce students to the different forms that can be taken by qualitative research, and subsequently of the different sources that are often consulted/produced in qualitative research projects. The key benefits of and challenges inherent to the analysis of qualitative data sources are then outlined, related principally to the core characteristic of the data consulted/produced in qualitative projects: people's understandings, interpretations and perspectives regarding the topic under consideration.

Questions:

- Q1 What sources are often consulted/produced in qualitative research projects?
- Q2 What are the benefits inherent to the analysis of qualitative data sources?
- Q3 What are the challenges inherent to the analysis of qualitative data sources?

Key Terms:

- Interpretations
- Meaning-making
- Sources
- Subjectivity
- Rigour

Videos:

- On the power of perceptions and meaning-making:
 - 'Oppressed Majority' <http://www.itsnicethat.com/articles/film-oppressed-majority> (11 minutes, quite powerful)
 - 'Africa for Norway' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJLqyuxm96k> (4 minutes, more humorous)

Hour 2 A focus on draw-backs and benefits of interviews. (ST)

The second hour of the lecture focuses on interview-based research. It discusses when and how interviews are appropriate tools for academic information gathering, good practices and traps in interviewing for research, and how to use data collected through interviewing in an academic research project.

Questions:

- Q1 In what circumstances is interviewing an appropriate empirical tool?
- Q2 What are the main challenges of conducting a great interview?
- Q3 How can interview data be used in academic writing?

Key Terms:

- Structured interviews
- Semi-structured interviews
- Questionnaire
- Interrogation v. Conversation
- Interviewer-interviewee relations
- Silence

Videos:

- See a qualitative interview demonstration with mistakes <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U4UKwd0KExc>
- And a demonstration of the same, improved interview: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNMTJTnrTQQ>

Readings:

Qualitative Data Sources:

- Keats, P. (2009). "Multiple text analysis in narrative research: visual, written, and spoken stories of experience," *Qualitative Research*, 9(2): 181-95. <http://qrj.sagepub.com/content/9/2/181.short>

Interviews:

- Davies, P. (2001). "Spies as Informants: Triangulation and the Interpretation of Elite Interview Data in the Study of the Intelligence and Security Services," *Politics*, 21(1): 73-80.
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9256.00138>

Further Reading:

- Kvale, S. (1995). "The social construction of validity," *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(1): 19-40. <http://qix.sagepub.com/content/1/1/19.short>
- Hermanowicz, J. (2002). "The Great Interview: 25 Strategies for Studying People in Bed," *Qualitative Sociology*, 25(4): 479-499.
<http://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:1021062932081>

TUTORIAL 8

INTERVIEWS: MORE THAN JUST TALKING TO PEOPLE

Get ready for class:

- a. How do interviews help us?
- b. What are the benefits?
- c. What are the obstacles?
- d. Who do we interview?

Readings:

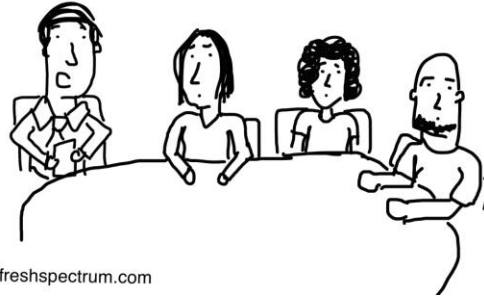
- Keats, P. (2009). "Multiple text analysis in narrative research: visual, written, and spoken stories of experience," *Qualitative Research*, 9(2): 181-95. <http://qrj.sagepub.com/content/9/2/181.short>
- Alshenqeeti, H. (2014). "Interviewing as a Data Collection Method: A Critical Review," *English Linguistics Research*, 3(1): 39-45.
<http://www.sciedupress.com/journal/index.php/elr/article/view/4081>

I'll start with a few basic questions, leading you to my own preconceived responses. Then I'll interrupt you and go into a long unrelated personal anecdote. Finally, when the interview is over, I'll attribute the lack of substantive feedback on you being quiet and uncooperative.



freshspectrum.com

I invited you all to join our focus group because you were the easiest to track down and therefore should provide us with the best feedback.



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WEEK NINE

LECTURE NINE MEDIA ANALYSES

26 March

Hour 1 **Analysing traditional and new media sources qualitatively.**
(MC)

Hour 2 **Analysing traditional and new media sources qualitatively.**
(PT)

In this lecture we will look at the ways in which traditional and new media might be sources for politics and international relations research. Media can be broadly defined as channels of communication. These channels can take a number of forms such as film, radio, television, print newspapers and more recently new or social media such as facebook, twitter, instagram and so on. Broadly speaking the lecture will examine the way in which politics and international relations researchers can examine the ways in which traditional and new media convey meaning to particular audiences. The lecture will start by looking at the way in which traditional media can be approached quantitatively – specifically through content analysis, political

economy and audience research. The lecture will then turn to quantitative questions about the meaning conveyed by traditional media – particularly film, television and print media. The emphasis in this part of the lecture will be on semiotics – the way in which meaning is produced. The lecture will then turn to the way in which new media can play a role in political debates, and the ethics of using such sources as data for research. Finally, the lecture will look at more quantitative research on new media – specifically how network analyses can trace the influence of new media on policy formation.

Questions:

- Q1 How would you research the impact of particular media messages?
- Q2 How do images affect politics and international relations?
- Q3 What role can social media play in politics?

Key Terms:

- Discourse
- Content analysis
- Semiotics
- Film
- Television
- Journalism
- Social Media

Readings:

- Hansen, L. (2011). "Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad cartoon crisis." *European Journal of International Relations*, 17(1):51-74
<http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/17/1/51.abstract>
- Small, T. A. (2011). "What the Hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on twitter." *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6): 872-895.
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572?src=recsys&_rct=M

Further reading:

- Banks, M. (2001). *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage. [Find in Library](#)
- Gavin, N. T. (2009). "Addressing climate change: a media perspective," *Environmental Politics*, 18(5): 765-780.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09644010903157081?src=ecsys>

- Leiserowitz, A. (2006). "Climate Change Risk Perception and Policy Preferences: The Role of Affect, Imagery and Values," *Climatic Change*, 77, pp.45-72. <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10584-006-9059-9>
- Manzo, K., (2012). "Earthworks: the geopolitical visions of climate change cartoons," *Political Geography*, 31(8), pp.481-494. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0962629812001096>
- Philips, L. & Jørgensen, M., W. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage. [Google Books](#)
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. Sage [Find in Library](#)
- Shaheen, J., G. (2003). "Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 588(1): 171-193. <http://ann.sagepub.com/content/588/1/171.abstract>
- Silverman, D. (2006). "Visual Images" in: David Silverman ed., *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 3rd edition. London: Sage. pp.241-267. [Google Books](#)
- Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E. & Sheaffer, T. (2013). "Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First," *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2): 115-137. <http://hij.sagepub.com/content/18/2/115.abstract>

TUTORIAL 9

MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA AS A RESEARCH SOURCE

Get ready for class:

- a. How would you research the impact of particular media messages?
- b. How do images affect politics and international relations?
- c. What role can social media play in politics?

Readings:

- Hansen, L. (2011). "Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad cartoon crisis," *European Journal of International Relations*, 17(1): 51-74
<http://ejt.sagepub.com/content/17/1/51.abstract>
- Small, T., A. (2011). "What the Hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on twitter," *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6): 872-895.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2011.554572?src=recsys&=recsys&>



WEEK TEN

LECTURE TEN

DOCUMENTS AS DATA: DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS TEXTUAL ANALYSES (DISCOURSE, CONTENT AND MORE)

2 April

Hour 1 Analysing primary official documents (PT)

This lecture focuses on the questions that arise from how to analyse texts for different purposes. Quite obviously, there is a relationship between your

research question, the way in which you "read" a text, and the findings that you may have. We will introduce the ways in which we might think about textual analysis. This will begin with a discussion about what texts are, the different types of texts and documents that you might encounter in doing politics research, and how you might find them. Attention will then move to recent official documents related to the politics of climate change, which will be analysed in two different ways- content analysis, and discourse analysis. By the end of the lecture, students will understand how to choose documents for analysis, and have a basic understanding of how to analyse them.

Questions:

- Q1 What kind of primary documents can we use as data?
- Q2 How do we find such documents?
- Q3 How do we analyze such documents?
- Q4 What is discourse analysis?
- Q5 What is content analysis?

Key Terms:

▪ Liberalism/Feminism/Communitarianism	▪ Archives
▪ History of Ideas	▪ Transcripts
▪ Normative theory	▪ Theory texts as sources (the 'data' of Political theorists)
▪ Analyzing documents	▪ Discourse analysis
▪ Primary documents	▪ Content Analysis
▪ Secondary documents	

Hour 2 Working With Theoretical Texts. (JV)

In the second hour, we will concentrate on analysis of political theory texts. For political theory research, written texts are, in effect, the 'data' we work with. The lecture will outline some of the processes through which theorists engage with written material. It will examine how we develop an understanding of the argument of a theoretical text through the identification of the argument's aims, structure and key claims. It will then outline some of the possible argumentative strategies for responding to existing texts that might be used as the basis for theoretical research.

Questions:

- Q6 When reading theoretical texts, how do we identify the key claims and points of argument?

Q7 What methods do we use to develop an understanding of the structure of an existing argument?

Q8 What are some of the different ways in which a piece of theoretical research might engage with existing texts and arguments?

Key Terms:

- Theory texts as sources (the 'data' of Political theorists)
- Empirical claims
- Normative claims
- Premises and conclusion
- Proof and refutation
- Internal and external critique

Readings:

- *This is just ONE reading of 15 pages. Mutlu and Salter introduce post-marxist and post-structural discourse analysis and Lobo-Guerro and Neal talk about the challenges of using archival or legal documents in relation to their specific research.*
 - Mutlu, C. & Salter, M. (2012). "The Discursive Turn: Introduction" pp113-119 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge: London. [Find in Library](#)
 - Lobo-Guerro, L. (2012). "Archives" pp. 121-4 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. [Find in Library](#)
 - Neal, A. (2012). "Legislative practices" pp. 125-8 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. [Find in Library](#)
- Frankfurt, H. (1997). "Equality and Respect," *Social Research*, 64(1):3-15.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971156>
(When reading through this article, try to identify key claims of Frankfurt's argument within the text.)
- Chapter Nine: "Concluding and Writing Up" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)

Further Reading:

- Cohen, G., A. (2011) "How To Do Political Philosophy," pp. 225–235 in: M. Otsuka (ed.) *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Especially paragraphs 1-5.)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rp56.17>



TUTORIAL 10

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS: A PRACTICAL INTRODUCTION

Get ready for class:

- What kind of primary documents can we use as data?
- How do we find such documents?
- How do we analyze such documents?
- What is discourse analysis?
- What is content analysis?
- When reading theoretical texts, how do we identify the key claims and points of argument?
- What methods do we use to develop an understanding of the structure of an existing argument?
- What are some of the different ways in which a piece of theoretical research might engage with existing texts and arguments?

Readings:

- This is just ONE reading of 15 pages. Mutlu and Salter introduce post-marxist and post-structural discourse analysis and Lobo-Guerro and Neal talk about the challenges of using archival or legal documents in relation to their specific research.

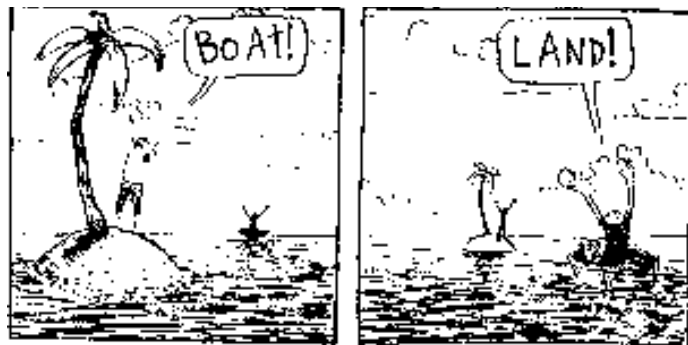
- Mutlu, C. & Salter, M. (2012). "The Discursive Turn: Introduction" pp113-119 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge: London.

[Find in Library](#)

- Lobo-Guerro, L. (2012). "Archives" pp. 121-4 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. [Find in Library](#)
- Neal, A. (2012). "Legislative practices" pp. 125-8 in: *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge. [Find in Library](#)
- Frankfurt, H. (1997). "Equality and Respect," *Social Research*, 64(1):3-15.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971156>
(When reading through this article, try to identify key claims of Frankfurt's argument within the text.)
- Chapter Nine: "Concluding and Writing Up" in: Thomas, G. (2013). *How to Do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Companion website: <https://studysites.uk.sagepub.com/thomas/study/default.htm>] [Find in Library](#)

Further Reading:

- Cohen, G., A. (2011) "How To Do Political Philosophy," pp. 225–235 in: M. Otsuka (ed.) *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Especially paragraphs 1-5.)
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rp56.17>



GOOD LUCK ON YOUR RESEARCH PROJECTS!

Assignment One: Annotated Bibliography Guidelines

Assignment One will amount to 25% of your overall mark, must be submitted electronically via Blackboard and must be 1,500 - 1,750 words (no leeway).

DUE Before 2pm **MONDAY 4 March, 2019**

- ✓ You must reflect on what topic/puzzle you would like to research for your project, select a research question from the list of available questions provided to you by the course convener and available on black board, and compose a short Annotated Bibliography demonstrating how the selected texts connect and help develop the Research Project.
- ✓ Assignment One must show evidence that you have thought about, and understood, the content of the relevant lectures and tutorials.

Components of Assignment One:

- ✓ The title page must give
 - ✓ the course unit code: POLI20902,
 - ✓ the title: ASSIGNMENT ONE: QUESTION SELECTED,
 - ✓ the student's identification number (see: swipe card), but NOT the student's name in accordance with anonymous marking,
 - ✓ the year,
 - ✓ the tutorial leader's name,
- ✓ The word count (the number of words in the text). The failure to provide word count will be penalised with the deduction of 2 points.
- ✓ The failure to provide a completed title page (with course code, title, Student ID, Year, Tut. leader name) will be penalised with the deduction of 2 points.
- ✓ All pages of Assignment One must be numbered.

The main body text:

1. **Chose one research question from the list of available questions** provided to you by the course convener and available on black board. In two paragraphs – discuss your selection and give a justification for your selection. Things to consider (150-200 Words):
 - a. What are you interested in researching and why?
 - b. Is it an empirical or theoretical puzzle?
 - c. Why is this an important question to research?
 - d. How viable is it for a politics research project?
2. Write a short **Annotated Bibliography** related to your selected question. There must be a minimum of 8 sources, 6 of which must be scholarly (articles in scholarly peer-reviewed

journals and books published by academic/university presses – text books do not count) sources. All sources must be in the English language (1250 - 1500 words).

Things to consider *overall*:

- a. What is the existing literature on your topic?
- b. What has been said before?
- c. Who are the key scholars?
- d. And what is the state of the art today?
- e. What are key themes or approaches?
- f. What is the key debate/divide?
- g. What non-academic/scholarly literature is available?
- h. How does each source help you answer your question and how will it guide your research design?

Things to consider for *each entry*:

- a. What is the main argument/what is the main finding of the article/book/source?
- b. What cases does this source utilize?
- c. What methodology does this source utilize?
- d. How does this source contribute to the debate?
- e. How does this source help you refine your question? Or help you develop your own research project?
- f. How is this source different from other sources you have used?

3. Concluding statements (100-150 words):

- a. How will you continue to search for more literature – what other types of sources may you also require?
- b. Revisit to your research question and ask yourself, based on what the literature discusses, do you need to further specify your question?
 - (1) Do you need to specify a particular period of time?
 - (2) Do you need to specify a case study?
 - (3) Do you need to specify that you will use comparative method?

Assignment One: Marking Criteria

All marking criteria listed in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II will be used, plus the below will be taken into account.

Criterion	Marks Deducted

**BASIC ASSIGNMENT PROPERTIES
CAN ONLY AMOUNT TO A MAX OF 5 MARKS OFF
(ALL IN PART TWO HB)**

1. The failure to provide word count is penalised with a deduction of 2 points.	
2. The failure to provide a completed title page (with course code, title (question chosen), Student ID, Year, Tut. leader name) is penalised with the deduction of 2 points.	
3. Assignments can be penalised up to 5 points if they are significantly longer or shorter than specified (1,500 - 1,750 words (no leeway), has to be in range, use your judgment).	
TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (MAX 5)	

**FORMATING BASED ON COURSE GUIDANCE, SYLLABUS AND
EXPECTTAIONS**

4. The assignment is broken down into 10 components 1 - intro, 2-9 are the 8 references discussed in the Annotated Bibliography (AB), and 10- conclusion. If any of these are missing deduction of 5 marks.	
5. Did the student select a research question? If missing deduction of 2 points unless student was already penalised for not having an introduction. (e.g., there is an intro but no clear question selected.)	
6. Is there a clear justification for the selection of the research question. (e.g., there is an intro but not clear justification). If missing deduction of 2 points unless student was penalised for not having an introduction.	

7. Did the student compose a short Annotated Bibliography (AB) demonstrating how the selected texts connect and help develop the Research Project? THIS IS ABOUT FORMAT – DID STUDENTS FAIL TO USE THE CORRECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY (AB) FORMAT. If incorrect format used deduction of 2 points.	
8. Were at least 6 of the 8 sources scholarly articles/texts? These are peer-review journals and scholarly/university presses. If not deduction of 2 points.	
9. Were the non-scholarly articles/texts (if any) satisfactory or as defined in lecture? (e.g.: Think Tank, NGO and Gov. Report or popular book like “No Logo” or “Development and its Discontents” etc.). If newspapers were used deduction of 2 points for each.	
TOTAL DEDUCTIONS	

CONTENT OF AB NARRATIVE

10. Does the assignment show evidence that the student has thought about, and understood, the content of the relevant lectures and tutorials? If missing or unsatisfactory deduct as required.	/20
11. Does the AB make reference to some or all of the following in a satisfactory manner: a. a variety of key scholars, b. a good variety of sources and is not ONLY focused on one country case, c. state of the art today, d. key themes or approaches, e. key debates/divides, f. indication how these will guide the students research design. If missing or unsatisfactory deduct as required.	/30
12. Does each entry in AB follow the required outline of content as detailed in the assignment guideline? a. What is the main argument/what is the main finding of the article/book/source? b. What cases does this source utilize? c. What methodology does this source utilize? d. How does this source contribute to the debate? e. How does this source help you refine your question? Or help you develop your own research project? f. How is this source different from other sources you have used? If missing or unsatisfactory deduct as required.	/30

13. Does the conclusion include an indication of how the Research Question will be further refined? If missing or unsatisfactory deduct as required.	/20
TOTAL	/100
OVERALL TOTAL WITH DEDUCTIONS	/100

Assignment Two: Research Project Guidelines

Some Basics:

The Research Project must have: a title page, an abstract, all required sections, be properly referenced (using the Harvard or Chicago styles – see the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II for further guidance on referencing), and include a Bibliography with all the sources that you have used.

- ✓ All pages must be **numbered**.
- ✓ The Research Project **MUST** be submitted **electronically**.
- ✓ The Research Project will amount to **65% of your overall mark**.
- ✓ The normal penalties for late submission apply (See Politics Course Unit Guide Part II).

DUE: **MONDAY 6 May, 2019**

Length/Word Count:

- ✓ The Research project should be **4,000-4,550 words**. That word length includes footnotes; however, the Bibliography, title page, appendices and abstract **do not count** towards the word limit. Please also note that, because the word limit is a range rather than a fixed amount, the 10% leeway allowed to 'normal' essays does **not** apply here.
- ✓ Research Projects that are either **too short or too long** will be penalised by **deduction of 5 points**.
- ✓ If appendices are used (for example with details of your empirical data collection), these **do not** count in the final word count.

Components of a Politics Project:

The **title page** must give

- the course unit code: POLI20902
- the title: ASSIGNMENT TWO: QUESTION SELECTED (you must choose the same question as in assignment one)
- the student's identification number (see: swipe card), but **NOT** the student's name in accordance with anonymous marking,
- the year,
- the tutorial leader's name, and
- the word count (the number of words in the text). **The failure to provide word count will be penalised with the deduction of 2 points.**
- **The failure to provide a completed title page** (with course code, title, Student ID, Year, Tut. leader name) will be **penalised with the deduction of 2 points.**

The **abstract** should follow the title page. An abstract is a brief summary of the main problem that the project explores and the argument of the project.

- The abstract should be between **100 and 200 words** long.
- Note that abstracts are not divided into separate paragraphs.
- To see an abstract consult any of the main politics journals such as, for example, *Political Studies* or *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*.
- **The absence of an abstract or an entirely inadequate abstract will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks.**

The main body text of the Research Project must include a/an:

Introduction section (in no particular order)

- You will introduce and situate the puzzle.
- You will clearly state your specific research question that stems from the puzzle.
- You will provide a justification why this is an important topic to study.
- You will providing a roadmap for the sections and items to be covered in the later sections.

Literature review (this is not an annotated bibliography),

- You will situate your main research question in the relevant scholarly literature, explaining how different scholars approached the topic and what are the main debates in the literature.
- All sources must be in the English language.

Methodology section: You will describe what methodological approach you have chosen *relating it back to your question* and explaining *why* you think *this is the best method to answer your question*. In no particular order you should:

- Clearly state if you are taking a qualitative or quantitative or mixed method approach?
- Make explicit if you are doing an empirical project or a theory project and justify why?
- Elucidate which theoretical approach/framework have you selected, **if any** and why?
- Elucidate what ontological or ideological approach have you selected, **if any** and why?
- Make clear your case selection. Explain whether you are taking a case study or comparative approach? And why? Identify what your case is a case of and justify your case selections.

Data collection/sources section:

- What types of data/sources would be suitable to answer your research question?
- List and discuss the quality, relevance and potential limitations of at least three types data/sources. All sources must be in the English language.
- Describe in detail which three different types of data/sources you have located. These can include, but are *not limited to*:
 - An online video interview
 - A transcript of an interview
 - A transcript of a speech
 - An online video speech
 - Survey Data
 - Index or composed data set

- Official documents (of a government, IGO, NGO, SMO [can include stickers, posters or pamphlets])
- Organizational websites
- An online video of focus group
- Social media content (collected in systematic fashion)
- News media content (collected in systematic fashion)
- For questions 36-47 in blue – normative theory questions: Primary texts (written by theorists) – if you are doing a theory project all three of your sources can be these – but do remember that many political theorists also rely on a variety of empirical sources and official documents.

- Justify why/how these data sources are the most useful in answering your research question.
- Describe how (the process, the system, the sampling etc.) have you found each data sources.
- Acknowledge both the strengths/benefits and weaknesses/drawbacks of each source, and how this may affect the way you answer your research question.
- What other data/sources could be also be helpful in answering your question and Why?

Data analysis section

- Describe in detail what approach you have chosen to analyse the different data sources (there may be more than one method of analysis you are using if you have several different types of data sources).
- Explain why do you think this is the best approach in order to answer your research question.
- Acknowledge both the strengths/benefits and weaknesses/drawbacks of the method of analysis, and how this may affect the way you answer your research question.
- Describe what you have found in your analysis and how this has helped in answering your question.
- What are some preliminary conclusions – findings -arguments ?

Conclusion section

- Summarise your research design and highlight its strength and weaknesses in answering your chosen research question.
- State what are some preliminary findings/conclusions/arguments and highlight what else can be done, expanded upon in future research.

The absence of any of these sections will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks each.

- The project must contain **references** (parenthetical or footnotes or endnotes) that credit the work of other scholars, institutions, organizations and other sources used in the text.
 - You **must** reference any quotation, any data, any views that can be attributed to someone else, and any view or interpretation or 'facts,' which you have taken from any other source (institutional/governmental/organizational/news sources).

- References are meant to enable the reader to find, as easily as possible, the authority for every source contributing to all your ideas and comments.
 - All footnotes relating (Chicago style), all references in the text (Harvard style (e.g. Russell, 2012: 3)), as well as all other footnote material and quotes, **do count** toward the word limit. For this reason use of the **Harvard Style (parenthetical or internal referencing) is strongly recommended**.
 - For guidance on referencing styles see the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II.
 - Please see the section on Avoiding Plagiarism and Self-Plagiarism below.
- The project must also include a **bibliography**.
 - This is a list of the sources used by the author of the Politics Research Project.
 - It should list alphabetically by author all works used and provide full bibliographic information for each source. The list should NOT be numbered.
 - The bibliography can be either in Harvard or Chicago referencing styles and **does not** count towards word count.
 - The **lack of a proper bibliography** and appropriate, **accurate referencing will be penalised by the deduction of up to 10 marks (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II)**. In some cases, a **larger penalty may be imposed**. This is because inadequate referencing and/or lack of a bibliography make it difficult to determine whether the student has done an appropriate amount of work.

Assignment Two: Marking Criteria

All marking criteria listed in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II should be used, plus the below should be taken into account. **These criteria are not to replace the general marking criteria as outlined in Politics Guide Part II**, but simply to add to these to achieve greater consistency.

The below notes are for consistency purposes but tutors will rely their academic judgment during assessment.

All deductions will be listed at the bottom of the comments section.

CRITERION	MARKS DEDUCTED/ OR MARKS TOTAL

BASIC ASSIGNMENT PROPERTIES CAN ONLY AMOUNT TO A MAX OF 5 MARKS OFF (ALL IN PART TWO HB)

1. The failure to provide word count is penalised with a deduction of 2 points .	
2. The failure to provide a completed title page (with course code, title (question chosen must be the same as in assignment one), Student ID, Year, Tut. Leader name) is penalised with the deduction of 2 points .	
3. The research project should be 4,000-4,550 words . That word length includes footnotes; however, the Bibliography, title page, and abstract and appendices do not count towards the word limit. Please also note that, because the word limit is a range rather than a fixed amount, the 10% leeway allowed to 'normal' essays does not apply here. a. If appendices are used (for example with details of your empirical data collection or transcripts), these do not count in the final word count b. Research Projects that are either too short or too long will be penalised by deduction of 5 points	

TOTAL MARKS DEDUCTED (MAX 5)	

4. Abstract ✓ The abstract should be between 100 and 200 words long. ✓ The absence of an abstract or an entirely inadequate abstract will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks.	
TOTAL MARKS DEDUCTED	

CONTENT OF RESEARCH PROJECT BASED ON COURSE GUIDANCE, SYLLABUS AND EXPECTATIONS

5. Introduction section a. Has the puzzle been adequately introduced and situated? b. Is the specific research question that stems from the puzzle clearly stated? c. Is there a clear and scholarly justification of why the chosen topic is important to study. d. Has a roadmap been provided? e. Out of 10 marks: deduct as appropriate if any of the above are missing /not completed satisfactorily.	/10
6. Literature review a. Has the main research question been situated in the relevant scholarly literature? b. Has the student satisfactorily explained how different scholars approached the topic? c. And has the student highlighted the main debates in the literature? d. Has the student related the literature directly to their chosen research question? e. Out of 10 marks: deduct as appropriate if any of the above are missing /not completed satisfactorily. f. If the student has written out an Annotated Bibliography instead of a literature review deduct 5 marks.	/10

7. Methodology section: The student is to describe the methodological approach they have chosen <i>relating it back to their question</i> and explaining <i>why</i> they think <i>this is the best method to answer your question</i>. - Has the student clearly stated if they are taking a qualitative or quantitative or mixed method approach? - Has the student made explicit if they are doing an empirical project or a theory project and have they justified why? - Has the student elucidated which theoretical approach/framework they have selected, if any, and why? - Has the student elucidated which ontological or ideological approach they have selected, if any, and why? - Has the student made clear their case selection. - Have they explained whether they are taking a case study or comparative approach? And why? - Has the student identified what their case is a case of and have they justified their case selections. Out of 20 marks: deduct as appropriate if any of the above are missing /not completed satisfactorily.	/20
8. Data collection/sources section: - Has the student elucidated what types of data/sources are suitable to answer their research question? - Has the student elucidated listed and discussed the quality, relevance and potential limitations of at least three types of data/sources. If at least three types of data/sources where not used deduct marks as appropriate - Has the student justified why/how these types of data/ sources are the most useful in answering their research question? - Has the student described how (the process, the system, the sampling etc.) they have found each data sources? - Has the student acknowledged both the strengths/benefits and weaknesses/drawbacks of each source, and how this may affect the way their answer your research question? - Has the student discussed what other data/sources could be also be helpful in answering their question and why? Out of 25 marks: deduct as appropriate if any of the above are missing /not completed satisfactorily.	/25
9. Data analysis section - Has the student described in detail the approach they have chosen to analyse the different data sources. - Has the student explained why do they think this is the best approach in order to answer their research question.	/25

c. Has the student acknowledged both the strengths/benefits and weaknesses/drawbacks of the method of analysis, and how this may affect the way they answer their research question. d. Has the student described what they have found through their analysis and how this has helped in answering their question. e. Has the student discussed some preliminary conclusions – findings –arguments? Out of 25 marks: deduct as appropriate.	
10. Conclusion section a. Has the student summarised their research design and highlighted its strength and weaknesses in answering their chosen research question? b. Has the student clearly stated what some of preliminary findings/conclusions/arguments are and have they highlight what else can be done, or expanded upon in future research? Out of 10 marks: deduct as appropriate if any of the above are missing /not completed satisfactorily.	/10
TOTAL	/100

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

11. The absence of any of the above sections will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks each.	
12. References and Bibliography a. Lack of a proper (correctly formatted) bibliography listing all sources, this includes inconsistent or incomplete listings, b. Lack of appropriate, accurate referencing, this includes inconsistent or incomplete listings, c. Incorrect use of long quotations, not indented long quotations, or missing quotation marks To be penalised by the deduction of up to 10 marks (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II). In some cases, a larger penalty may be imposed in plagiarism in suspected.	

TOTAL MARKS DEDUCTED	
TOTAL WITH ALL DEDUCTIONS	/100

List of Research Questions

List of Research Questions
1. How has the portrayal of Muslims in the media influenced attitudes towards ethnic communities? [choose country/countries/cases]
2. What role does media bias play in influencing electoral campaigns? [choose country/countries/electoral cycles/cases]
3. What explains the rise in electoral support for populist parties and politicians in established democracies? [choose country/countries]
4. What explains decline in turnout in national elections? [OR] Does decline in turnout represent a challenge to representative democracy [choose country/countries/cases]
5. How can we explain youth mobilization in protest movements? [choose country/countries or choose movement/s /protest waves/protest events]
6. What motivates and what mobilizes <i>individuals</i> to join-in a protest? [choose country/countries or choose movement/s /protest waves/protest events]
7. How do different approaches (multi-cultural and assimilational) to immigration affect integration? [choose country/countries/cases]
8. Does institutionalised racism explain police-citizen relationships in minority-ethnic neighbourhoods? [choose country/countries/cases]
9. What explains authoritarian backsliding in [choose region or country/ies]?
10. What was the role of churches in developing and strengthening social network ties among social movement participants? [choose country/ies/cases/]
11. How does campaign finance affect the quality of democracy in the US? [N.B.: You can approach this question in comparative perspective by also choosing an-other country/countries/cases to compare the case of US to.]
12. Why did individuals vote to 'Exit the EU' in the 2016 Referendum?
13. Why did individuals vote for Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election in the US?
14. What are the perils of presidentialism? [Compare the Trump presidency with at least one

other country/President]
15. What explains rates of descriptive representation of women in legislatures? [choose country/countries/cases]
16. What role do executive-legislative institutional arrangements play in achieving democratic stability? [choose country/countries/cases]
17. What role do socio-tropic and/or ego-tropic economic factors play in the outcome of elections? [choose country/countries/cases]
18. To what extent does populist discourse help explain political polarization in democracies? [choose country/countries/cases]
19. What are the political impacts of media reporting of terrorism? [choose actor/actors and country/countries/cases]
20. What are the effects of neo-liberal SAPs on the relationship between citizens and the State in democratizing contexts? [pick a region or country case in Latin America, Asia, Africa]
21. What are the effects of neo-liberal SAPs on levels of poverty and inequality? [pick a region or country case in Latin America, Asia, Africa]
22. What is the relationship between economic growth and democratic consolidation in non-western democracies? [pick a region or country case/s in Post-Soviet Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa]
23. In what way has the organised use of social media by advocacy groups and epistemic communities influenced the climate change debate? [choose country/countries/cases]
24. What role does international coordination play in finding a solution to the refugee crisis?
25. What are the obstacles to gender equality in the US military? [N.B.: You can approach this question in comparative perspective by also choosing an other country/countries/cases to compare the case of the US to.]
26. How can we assess poverty alleviation programs of USAID/CIDA/EU/World Bank/IBRD/DEFAIT/SIDA in [pick region/country/ies]?
27. What best accounts for rising inequality in the post-war era [pick region or country case, or approach the question from large n perspective]?

28. What accounts for the divergent trajectories of Al-Qaida and ISIS? [choose country/countries/cases/historical periods etc.]
29. What accounts for the failure of the World Trade Organization's Doha Round of multilateral trade negotiations?
30. What explains the recruitment of young males into terrorist networks in western Europe [choose country/countries]?
31. How can we assess the competition between intra-regional and inter-region trade agreements in Asia? [N.B.: You can approach this question in comparative perspective by also choosing an other region to compare the case of Asia to, you can also focus on within Asia case studies.]
32. What factors are central to explaining 'frozen conflicts' relating to territorial disputes? [Some examples include: Chechnya, Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Ukrainian – Russo Conflict in Eastern-Ukraine/Crimea, Kashmir, and many more]
33. How do 'local' and 'international' actors relate to each other in post-conflict contexts? [choose country/countries/cases]
34. What explains 'ethnic conflict' [pick cases or country/ies to focus on]?
35. What drives the development of a variety of capitalisms in Western Industrial States? And do different varieties of capitalism have equally diverse effects of the state of political economy in a society? [pick two countries or two regions]
N.B.: The below questions are intended for normative political theory projects.
36. What role does electoral legitimacy play in authoritarian contexts?
37. Is democratic governance essential to any liberal society?
38. What gives Governments the political legitimacy to pass laws which we are duty bound to follow?
39. Do persons hold inalienable rights? If so, what are they and how can they be justified?
40. Must a just society be an equal society? If so, what does equality mean in this context?
41. What does it mean to be politically free?
42. Is there a limit to offensive speech? or how politically correct does political speech need to

be?
43. Are there special moral rules for politician? If so, how does it licence and constrain them in their activities as rulers?
44. Is capital punishment morally defensible in a liberal democratic society?
45. Is there a hierarchy between the protection of secular civic rights and religious freedoms? (possible cases: veil ban in France and Kim Davis in the US)
46. Do nations have a right to exclude others from entering the country? If so, what is the justification for this? If not, what is the justification this this?
47. Outline and critically evaluate the role of the principles of proportionality and noncombatant immunity used in setting out the principles of <i>jus in bello</i> ?

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19**

POLI20961 CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATIC POLITICS Semester: 1 Credits: 20

Convenor: Liam Shields**Room:** ALB 4.027**Email:** liam.shields@manchester.ac.uk**Office Hours:** Email for appointment

Lecturers: Stephen Hood: Stephen.hood@Manchester.ac.uk
 Nici Mulkeen: Nicola.mulkeen@manchester.ac.uk
 Joseph Roberts: joseph.roberts-2@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Tutors: Joseph Roberts: above
 Rebecca Simpson: beccy.simpson@manchester.ac.uk
 Vittorio Gerosa: Vittorio.gerosa@gmail.com

Lectures: Tuesdays 3pm – 5pm Stopford Lecture Theatre 6**Tutorials:** Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: 60%: Two-hour unseen examination
 30%: 2,100 word assessed essay
 10%: tutorial participation

Reading Week: Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018

Administrator: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906
 Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499
 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****Essay hand in date: **Monday 5th November 2018**

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 25.01.2019**Re-sit Examination period:** 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Please read this course outline through very carefully as it provides all the essential information needed for students attending this course

1. Course Content

Political theorists have historically developed political ideals for a socially homogeneous, autonomous, and self-contained polity. Some would argue that contemporary democracies are defined by their lacking these features. They are characterized by widespread and profound disagreement; by intense social and cultural diversity; by ever-increasing migratory pressures; by market pressure toward the privatization of public goods provision; and, far from being self-contained, they are integrated in international institutional and economic orders which deeply affect them. While the study of what an ideally just society looks like is an essential part of political theory (tackled in the parallel course POLI20881 *Ideals of Social Justice*), this course starts from problems in existing societies instead, and takes a bottom-up approach. It focuses on the ethical issues raised by some of the main challenges that contemporary democracies are facing at the moment, examines the extent to which these societies are equipped to deal with the problem by democratic means, and asks which legitimate avenues of opposition and resistance may be open to citizens and residents if they are not.

2. Aims and Learning Outcomes

Students will learn how to use the tools of contemporary normative political theory – conceptual analysis and rigorous normative argument – to make sense of the ethical dimension of a series of pressing real-world political problems and their ethical dimension, and to connect them to questions of public policy design and the functioning of democratic institutions.

On completion of the course, successful students will:

- Have a good grasp of the main ethical/normative problems raised by the challenges to contemporary societies addressed in the course;
- Understand objections to the main solutions proposed in the literature;
- Be able to distinguish empirical from normative objections to specific policies;
- Be able to develop analyses of ethical issues in contemporary politics and public policy;
- Be able to relate these to current political debates, thus locating the relevant moral dilemmas within them;
- Be able to apply the arguments and approaches studied to real and hypothetical cases;

The course will contribute to the development of the following transferable skills and personal qualities:

- Ability to present critical arguments concerning the issues discussed in the course;
- Ability to engage with one another in a critical yet respectful manner;
- Oral, teamwork, written, and research skills.

3. Assessment and Examinations

The mode of assessment is a two-hour unseen examination to be taken at the end of the course worth 60% of the total mark, an assessed essay worth 30% of the total mark, and tutorial participation worth 10% of the total mark.

1. The assessed essay must be **2,100 words** in length +/-10%. The essays must be typed, double-spaced in a reasonable font (e.g. 12 point in Times New Roman). **Assessed essays must be submitted electronically using the University's Turnitin/Blackboard system.**

Essay questions will be taken from the first three topics.. The list of essay questions will be provided at the first introductory lecture.

Late submission of essays: There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the students Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned. **Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the**

submission deadline has passed. Unless a student has this permission, any assessed essay that is submitted after the relevant exam, will be marked as 0.

2. The examination paper will have two sections. Students must answer ONE question from each section. Section A will contain one question each from topics 4, 5 and 6. Section B will contain one question each from topics 7, 8 and 9.
3. The tutorial participation mark will be based on active participation during weekly tutorials. Note that you are primarily being assessed on the *quality* rather than *quantity* of your tutorial participation. Thus, you don't have to do lots of talking to get a high participation mark. Offering the occasional thoughtful response to the questions of other class participants, or simply raising your own questions about the reading(s), shows just the kind of reflective and critical engagement with the texts we are looking for.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk/jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tsso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

4. Course Readings

Some required readings will be made available electronically via the course website. There is no set textbook for the course. Having a good look at standard introductions to political theory will be of value for the course, but there is – as of yet – no introduction or textbook whose approach is relevantly similar to the one taken by the course (focus on the ethical dimension of real-world public policy questions and dilemmas for democracies).

The following introductory texts have chapters that are very helpful for some topics tackled in the course:

- McKinnon, C., ed. (2015), *Issues in Political Theory*, 3rd edition, Oxford University Press; especially chapters 4 and 5.
- Heywood, A. (2015), *Political Theory: An Introduction*, 4th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, especially chapters 4,6,10,11.
- Wolff, J. (2011), *Ethics and Public Policy*, Routledge, 2011.
- Wolff, J., and de-Shalit, A. (2007), *Disadvantage*, Oxford University Press - for topics poverty and health inequality
- Crouch, C. (2004), *Post-Democracy*, Polity – for the weeks on democracy, governance, and globalisation.

5. Schematic overview of course

Date	Topic	Lecturer
25 Sep	General Introduction And Admin	LS
2 Oct	Freedom Of Speech	SH
9 Oct	Democracy, Governance, and Political Inequality	SH
16 Oct	Educational Inequality	LS
23 Oct	Health Inequality	SH
30 Oct	<u>Reading Week – No Lecture/Tutorial</u>	
6 Nov	Universal Basic Income	JR
13 Nov	Climate Change	NM
20 Nov	Partisanship in Politics	SH
27 Nov	Migration	NM
04 Dec	Refugees And Fair Shares	NM

9. Outline of lectures and tutorials on each topic

Readings marked * are particularly recommended further readings and should be prioritised where possible.

Lecture 1	Introduction to Challenges for Democratic Politics

Lecturer: Liam Shields

Required reading: the course guide.

Lecture 2	Freedom of Speech

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

i) David van Mill. 2016. "Freedom of Speech." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/freedom-speech/> Sections 2-6 only; you can also skip the sections on pornography: Sections 2.2, 3.2, and 4.1.

ii) Katharine Viner. 2016. "How Technology Disrupted the Truth." *The Guardian* 12 July 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jul/12/how-technology-disrupted-the-truth>

Lecture Topic:

In contemporary liberal democracies, freedom of speech is thought to serve (at least) two purposes. First, it allows us to debate, so that those debates can lead us all to true beliefs and thereby to more sound democratic decisions. Second, freedom of speech respects and promotes our innate right to autonomy -- that is, our right to direct our own lives, including the speech we make and hear in those lives. These are the 'truth' and 'autonomy' arguments for freedom of speech. However, it's not clear whether unregulated speech really does lead us to the truth, or does respect and promote our autonomy. In this lecture, we will consider what the values of truth, non-harm, and autonomy might imply for what speech we should punish, restrict, permit, and promote.

Tutorial Topics:

The argument from truth for unregulated speech.

The argument from autonomy for unregulated speech.

Problems with these arguments.

Connections between truth, autonomy, and democracy.

Connections between speech and other socioeconomic and civil/political problems.

Further Reading:

- *Braddon-Mitchell, D. and C. West (2004) 'What is Free Speech?' *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12, 437–460 -- see pp. 444-460.
- *Brison, S.J. (1998) 'The Autonomy Defense of Free Speech.' *Ethics* 108, 312-339.
- Dworkin, R. (1977) "What Rights Do We Have?", in Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*. Harvard University Press. (Has been put in library high demand section.)
- Dworkin, R. (1985) *A Matter of Principle*. Harvard University Press. (Has been put in library high demand section.)
- *Dworkin, R. (2000) 'Free Speech, Politics and the Dimensions of Democracy' in Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue*. Harvard University Press. (Has been put in library high demand section.)
- *Feinberg, J. (1988) *Offence to Others: The Moral Limits of the Criminal Law*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Available online via University library.)
- Fish, S. (1994) *There's No Such Thing as Free Speech...and it's a good thing too*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 8. (Available online via University library.)

- Habermas, J. (2007) "How To Save The Quality Press?" *Sign and Sight* 21/5/2007, Available at: <http://www.signandsight.com/features/1349.html>
- Langton, R. (1990) "Whose Right? Ronald Dworkin, Women, and Pornographers," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19(4), 311–359.
- Mackinnon, C. (2007) 'Should We Tolerate Holocaust Denial?' *Res Publica* 13, 9-28.
- Marcuse, H. (1965) "Repressive Tolerance" in Wolff, Moore, and Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*. Beacon Press. Available at: <http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/pubs/60spubs/65repressivetolerance.htm>
- *Mill, J.S. (1859) *On Liberty*. J.W. Parker and Son. Chapter 2. (Available freely online -- Google it.)
- Riley, J. (2005) "J.S. Mill's Doctrine of Freedom of Expression." *Utilitas* 17(2), 147-179.
- *Scanlon, T. (1972) "A Theory of Freedom of Expression," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 1(2): 204–226.
- Sunstein, C. (1995) *Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech*. Free Press. (Not currently held by library, but a purchase request has been placed for an e-book.)
- Waldron, J. (1987) "Mill on the Value of Moral Distress." *Political Studies* 35(3), 410-423.
- *Waldron, J. (2012) *The Harm in Hate Speech*. Harvard University Press. (Available online via University library.)

Lecture 3

Democracy, Governance, and Political Inequality

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

- i) **Dryzek, J, and Dunleavy, P. (2009). "Policy-Making: From Government to Governance," in *Theories of the Democratic State* (Palgrave), pp. 140-149.**
- ii) **Hazenberg, H. (2013). "Is Governance Democratic?" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 18: 285-307.**
- ➔ **Non-academic material (also required – these are very short and accessible) (N.B. these are all related to the recommended reading below)**
- iii) **Read this blog entry: <http://crookedtimber.org/2013/02/11/post-democracy/>;**
- iv) **Read this article in Aeon by Henry Farrell (same author as blog entry above): <http://aeon.co/magazine/society/henry-farrell-post-democracy/>;**
- v) **And watch this short interview with Colin Crouch on his concept of post-democracy: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FnTOiso08HM>;**

Recommended (though not required) Reading:

- i) ***Crouch, C. (2004). *Post-Democracy* (Polity);**
- ➔ **This book, whilst offering a descriptive analysis more than a normative critique, offers a good conceptual overview of the alleged process of "hollowing-out" of democratic processes which we address this week, and which Crouch labels "post-democracy". The book also analyses phenomena such as globalisation, the role of the global firm in policy making, and the decline of party politics, which constitute very useful background for topics 3 and 4.**

Lecture Topic:

In traditional democratic theory, all members of the demos enjoy equal opportunities to affect authoritative democratic decisions. This week, we shall examine some key ways in which real democratic societies in the 21st century diverge from this model. In particular, we shall analyse the often referred to but perhaps somewhat vague concept of "governance". What is it, and in what sense is it different from "government"? In what sense is "governance" related to privatization? Is

governance conducive or inimical to democratic inclusion? We shall also briefly look at the concept of post-democracy and what it entails for contemporary democratic societies.

Tutorial Topics:

The difference between governance and government; the arguments in favour of governance on democratic grounds; the arguments against governance on democratic grounds; the concept of post-democracy.

Further Reading:

- *Christiano, T. (2001). "Democracy as Equality," Estlund, D. (ed.), *Democracy* (Blackwell), pp. 31–51.
- *Christiano, T. (2015) "Democracy," in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/democracy>, last accessed on Sept 6th, 2015;
- Cohen, J. (2002). "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy," in Estlund, D. (ed.), *Democracy* (Blackwell), pp. 87–107.
- *Etzioni, A. (2010). "Is Transparency the Best Disinfectant?" in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 18: 389–404;
- Hachez, N. and Wouters, J. (2011). "A Glimpse at the Democratic Legitimacy of Private Standards," *Journal of International Economic Law*, 14: 677–710;
- *Offe, C. (2009). "Governance: An 'Empty Signifier'?" *Constellations* 16: 550–562.
- Palumbo, A. (2010). "Introduction: Political Accountability Reconsidered: Debates, Institutions, Rationale," in Palumbo A. and Bellamy, R (eds.) *Political Accountability* (Ashgate);
- *Pettit, P. (2004). "Depoliticizing Democracy," in *Ratio Juris* 17: 52–65;
- Pettit, P. (2008). "Three Conceptions of Democratic Control," in *Constellations* 15: 46–55;
- Rosanvallon, P. (2008). *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust* (Cambridge University Press).
- *Urbinati, N. (2010). "Unpolitical Democracy," *Political Theory* 38: 65–92.

Lecture 4	Educational Inequality

Lecturer: Dr Liam Shields

Required tutorial reading:

Academic

- i) Swift, Adam. "The morality of school choice." *Theory and Research in Education* 2.1 (2004): 7-21
- ii) Anderson, E., 'Rethinking Equality of Opportunity: Comment on Adam Swift's How Not to Be a Hypocrite', *Theory and Research in Education* 2, 323-342.

Journalistic

- iii) Toby Young, The Best Way to Bring Back Grammar Schools:
<http://www.spectator.co.uk/2016/07/the-best-way-to-bring-back-grammar-schools/>
- iv) Adam Swift, the great liberal dilemma
<http://www.theguardian.com/education/2003/mar/26/schools.uk>

For further empirical research you can see Sutton Trust: www.suttontrust.com

Fact Sheet on Grammar Schools: <http://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/GRAMMAR-SCHOOLS-FACT-SHEET.pdf>

As well as the below readings you may also like to browse:

<https://edeq.stanford.edu/sections/private-school-and-school-choice>

Lecture Topic:

One problem faced by many contemporary democracies is growing inequality stemming from inequality in educational opportunity. In this lecture we draw on some ideas about educational fairness to help identify which inequalities in contemporary societies are most problematic and consider what actions, if any, should be taken to address them. Issues we will cover include those raised by private, selective and religious schooling as well as different ways of understanding citizen's entitlements to education and any allowance that should be made for religious or parental freedom in school choice.

Tutorial Topics:

What is it that we should find problematic or troubling about educational inequality? Is it that many receive an inadequate education? Is it that naturally talented children do not fare equally well or is it something else? What do answers to the above questions imply regarding what we should do about the existence of private, religious or selective schools? Do parents act morally by sending their children to private or selective schools?

Examples of possible essay questions:

- i) Are there any conditions under which sending your children to a private school would not be unfair?
- ii) 'We should not be disturbed by many of the inequalities of education because children have an entitlement only to an adequate and not equal education'. Discuss.

Further Reading:

- Anderson, E. (2007), 'Fair Opportunity in Education: A Democratic Equality Perspective' *Ethics* 117, 595-622.
- Bou-Habib, P. (2014) *The Moralized View of Parental Partiality*, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 22.1, pp. 66-83.
- Brighouse, Harry, and Adam Swift. (2009), 'Educational Equality versus Educational Adequacy: A Critique of Anderson and Satz', *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 26, 117-128.
- Brighouse, H. (2008), 'Putting Educational Equality in its Place' *Education Finance and Policy* 3, 444-466.
- Brighouse, H. (2004), 'What's Wrong with Privatizing Schools?', *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 38, 617-631.
- Brighouse, H. (2000), *School Choice and Social Justice* (Oxford University Press)
- Calvert, J. (2014) Educational Equality: Luck Egalitarianism, Pluralist and Complex, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 48.2, pp. 75-85.
- Clayton, M., and Stevens, D. (2004), 'School Choice and the Burdens of Justice', *Theory and Research in Education* 2, 111-126
- Friedman, Milton. "Public schools: Make them private." *Education Economics* 5.3 (1997): 341-344.
- Macleod, C. (2004), 'The Puzzle of Parental Partiality: Reflections on How Not to Be a Hypocrite: School Choice for the Morally Perplexed Parent.' *Theory and Research in Education* 2, 309-321.
- Marples, R. (2017) Parents' Rights and the Control of Children's Education, in: J. Ahlberg and M. Cholbi (eds.), *Procreation, Parenthood, and Educational Rights: Ethical and Philosophical Issues* (New York, Routledge), pp. 337-367.
- Marples, Roger. "What's Wrong with Private Schools." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 52.1 (2018): 19-35.
- Reich, R. (2008), 'Common Schooling and Educational Choice as a Response to Pluralism', in *School Choice Policies and Outcomes: Philosophical and Empirical Perspectives on Limits to Choice in Liberal Democracies*, Walter Feinberg and Christopher Lubienski, eds. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press).
- White, J. (1994) *The Dishwasher's Child: Education and the End of Egalitarianism*, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 28.2, pp. 173-181.
- White, J. (2016) *Justifying Private Schools*, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 50.4, pp. 496-509.

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Daniels, N., Kennedy, B., and Kawachi, I. (2000) 'Justice is Good for Our Health', *Boston Review* February 1, 2000, available at <http://bostonreview.net/forum/norman-daniels-bruce-kennedy-ichiro-kawachi-justice-good-our-health>, and the response by Marmor, T., available at <http://bostonreview.net/forum/justice-good-our-health/ted-marmor-policy-options>
- ii) BBC, 18 March 2013, 'NHS told to do more to 'reduce health inequalities'', available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-21807157>
- iii) Marmot, M. (2006) 'Status Syndrome: A Challenge to Medicine', *Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA)* 295, 1304-1307

Lecture Topic:

Many people seem to think that health is somehow 'special': that, even if it is alright for people to fare differentially well, in socioeconomic terms, over the course of their lives, it is much less acceptable for them to be substantially more or less healthy because of this fact. Yet research undertaken over the last 30 years shows not only that the rich live longer, but seems to suggest that more equal societies do generally better in terms of overall health than more unequal societies— and, furthermore, that this is not explained by differential access to health care. This week, we will discuss what, if anything, is particularly problematic about health inequality from the point of view of justice, the challenges that it poses for public policy, and which ways there might be of tackling the problem.

Tutorial Topics:

The normative relationship between health and justice
The empirical relationship between health and inequality
Definition of health and the social determinants of health
Deriving policy implications from empirical findings about health

Examples of possible exam/essay questions:

- i) When, if ever, is health inequality unjust?
 - ii) 'If we are interested in better health outcomes, we should prioritise redistributing income and wealth over investing in health care.' Discuss.
- (N.B. Answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).**

Further Reading:

- *Barry, B. (2005), *Why Social Justice Matters* (Polity), ch. 6.
- **Boston Review*, February 1, 2000, responses to Daniels, Kennedy, and Kawachi, especially those by Emanuel, and Anand and Peter, and Daniel's, Kennedy's, and Kawachi's 'Reply', all available from <http://bostonreview.net/forum/norman-daniels-bruce-kennedy-ichiro-kawachi-justice-good-our-health>.
- Eyal, N., Hurst, S., Norheim, O., and Wikler, D., eds. (2013), *Inequalities in Health: Concepts, Measures, and Ethics* (Oxford University Press), especially chapters by Marmot and LeGrand.
- Daniels, N. (2008), *Just Health: Meeting Health Needs Fairly* (Oxford University Press), esp. chs 1-3.
- Hausman, D. (2007), 'What's Wrong with Health Inequalities?', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 15, 46-66.
- Marmot, M. (2004), *Status Syndrome* (Bloomsbury), especially chs. 1-5
- Marmot, M. and Wilkinson, R., eds. (2005), *The Social Determinants of Health* (Oxford).
- *Preda, A. and Voigt, K. (2015), 'The Social Determinants of Health: Why Should We Care?', *American Journal of Bioethics* 15, 25-36.

- Sreenivasan, G. (2007), 'Health Care and Equality of Opportunity', *Hastings Center Report* 37, 21-31.
- Weinstock, D. (2011), 'How Should Political Philosophers Think About Health?', *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 36, 424-435
- Wilkinson, R. (1992), 'Income Distribution and Life Expectancy' *British Medical Journal* 304 (BMJ), 165-168.
- Wilkinson, R. and Pickett (K.) (2009), *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better* (Allen Lane), chs. 6 and 7. For the debate that ensued after publication of the book, have a look at <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/authors-respond-questions-about-spirit-levels-analysis>
- *Wolff, J. (2011), 'How Should Governments Respond to the Social Determinants of Health?', *Preventive Medicine* 53, 253-255.

Lecture 6

Universal Basic Income

Lecturer: Joseph Roberts

Required Tutorial Reading:

- Van Parijs, P. 'Basic Income: A Simple and Powerful Idea for the Twenty-First Century', *Politics and Society*, 32:1 (2004), pp. 7-39.
- White, S., 'Liberal Equality, Exploitation, and the Case for an Unconditional Basic Income', *Political Studies*, 45:2 (1997), pp. 312-26.

Lecture Topic: Universal Basic Income is a radical proposal to provide citizens with a subsistence income unconditionally. Citizens would not have to work or perform any service to the community in order to receive it. The idea, which has been considerably developed by analytic political theorists is receiving considerable attention from politicians and activists around the world. In this lecture we will consider what UBI's central features are as well as the arguments for and against.

Tutorial Topics:

Definitions of UBI and similarities and differences between it and other policies/proposals. Which versions of UBI are most attractive and why? Should it be global in scale? How high must the income level be? Does UBI exploit workers? Should UBI be means tested or conditional? It is practically possible? Does UBI increase Freedom? Is UBI an adequate replacement for the welfare state? Are there any objections that apply to all forms of UBI?

Examples of possible exam/essay questions:

- i) UBI always involves the exploitation of those who work to produce the wealth that is redistributed?
- ii) "UBI would be an adequate replacement for all welfare provision" Critically discuss this statement.

(N.B. Answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Websites and Journalism

- Rogers, B. et. al, Forum on Basic Income "Basic Income in a Just Society", *Boston Review*, <http://bostonreview.net/forum/brishen-rogers-basic-income-just-society>
- Van Parijs, P. et al, Symposium on 'Delivering a Basic Income', *Boston Review*, October/November 2000, available <http://bostonreview.net/forum/ubi-van-parijs> Also see responses.
- For an overview of some basic income experiments: <http://basicincome.org/news/2017/05/basic-income-experiments-and-those-so-called-early-2017-updates/>
- Basic Income Studies*, available at <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/bis>
- Basic Income Earth Network*, available at <http://www.basicincome.org/bien/index.html>

Further Reading:

Ackerman, Bruce and Alstott, Anne (1999), *The Stakeholder Society*, chs. 1,2, and 11 (pp. 210-216 only).

Ackerman, B. & Alstott, A., 'Why Stakeholding?', *Politics and Society*, 32:1 (2004), pp. 4160.

Arneson, Richard J. "Is socialism dead? A comment on market socialism and basic income capitalism." *Ethics* 102.3 (1992): 485-511.

Atkinson, A., 'The Case for a Participation Income', *The Political Quarterly*, 67:1 (1996), pp. 67-70.

Barry, B., 'Real Freedom and Basic Income', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 4:3, (1996), pp. 242-276.

Birnbaum, Simon. "Should surfers be ostracized? Basic income, liberal neutrality, and the work ethos." *Politics, philosophy & economics* 10.4 (2011): 396-419.

Birnbaum, Simon. "Radical liberalism, Rawls and the welfare state: justifying the politics of basic income." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 13.4 (2010): 495-516.

Birnbaum, Simon, and Jurgen De Wispelaere. "Basic income in the capitalist economy: the mirage of "exit" from employment." *Basic Income Studies* 11.1 (2016): 61-74.

Casassas, David, and Jurgen De Wispelaere. "The Alaska model: a republican perspective." *Alaska's Permanent Fund Dividend*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. 169-188.

Clark, C. & Kavanagh, C., 'Basic Income, Inequality, and Unemployment: Rethinking the Linkage between Work and Welfare', *Journal of Economic Issues*, 30:2 (1996), pp. 399-406.

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Lindsay Stirton. "The many faces of universal basic income." *The Political Quarterly* 75.3 (2004): 266-274.

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Lindsay Stirton. "The public administration case against participation income." *Social Service Review* 81.3 (2007): 523-549.

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Lindsay Stirton. "A disarmingly simple idea? Practical bottlenecks in the implementation of a universal basic income." *International Social Security Review* 65.2 (2012): 103-121.

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Leticia Morales. "Is there (or should there be) a right to basic income?." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 42.9 (2016): 920-936.

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and José Antonio Noguera. "On the political feasibility of universal basic income: An analytic framework." *Caputo, RK (comp.), Basic Income Guarantee and Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, Nueva York (2012): 17-38.

Gheaus, Anca. "Basic Income, Gender Justice and the Costs of Gender-Symmetrical Lifestyles." *Basic Income Studies* 3.3 (2008).

McKinnon, Catriona (2003) "Basic Income, Self-Respect, and Reciprocity", *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 20 (2), 143-158.

McKay, 'Rethinking work and Income Maintenance Policy: Promoting Gender Equality through a Citizen's Basic Income', *Feminist Economics*, 7:1 (2001), pp. 97-118.

Offe, Claus. "Basic income and the labor contract." *Basic income studies* 3.1 (2008).

Pateman, 'Democratizing Citizenship: Some Advantages of a Basic Income', *Politics and Society*, 32:1 (2004), pp. 89-105.

Pettit, Philip. "A republican right to basic income?." *Basic Income Studies* 2.2 (2007): 1-8.

Robeyns, Ingrid. "Introduction: Revisiting the feminism and basic income debate." *Basic Income Studies* 3.3 (2008).

Robeyns, Ingrid. "Feminism, Basic Income and the Welfare State." *Gender and Economics* (2010): 132-148.

Robeyns, Ingrid. "Should Feminists Endorse Basic Income?." *Basic Income Studies* 3.3 (2008).

Thurow, L., 'Government Expenditures: Cash or In-Kind Aid?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 5:4 (1976), pp. 361-381.

Van Donselaar, Gijs. "The freedom-based account of solidarity and basic income." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 1.3 (1998): 313-333.

Van der Veen, R., 'Real Freedom versus Reciprocity: Competing Views on the Justice of Unconditional Basic Income', *Political Studies*, 46:1 (1998), pp. 140-163.

Van Parijs, Philippe (1991) "Why Surfers Should be Fed: The Liberal Case for an Unconditional Basic Income", *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 20 (2), 101-131.

Van Parijs, Philippe (1995), *Real Freedom for All*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Parijs, Philippe (1992), "Basic Income Capitalism", *Ethics* 102 (3), 465-484.

Van Parijs, P., 'Basic Income and the Two Dilemmas of the Welfare State', *The Political Quarterly*, 67:1 (1996), pp. 63-66

Van Parijs, P., 'Reciprocity and the Justification of an Unconditional Basic Income: Reply to Stuart White', *Political Studies*, 45:2 (1997), pp. 327-330.

Van Parijs, P., Debate on 'A Capitalist Road to Communism', *Basic Income Studies*, 1:1 (2006)

White, S., 'Reconsidering the Exploitation Objection to Basic Income', *Basic Income Studies*, 1:2: Article 4 (2006).

White, Stuart. "What's wrong with workfare?." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 21.3 (2004): 271-284.

Wright, E. O., 'Reducing Income and Wealth Inequalities: Real Utopian Proposals', *Contemporary Sociology*, 29:1 (2000), pp. 143-56.

Zelleke, Almaz. "Basic income in the United States: Redefining citizenship in the liberal state." *Review of Social Economy* 63.4 (2005): 633-648.

Zelleke, Almaz. "Basic income and the Alaska model: Limits of the resource dividend model for the implementation of an Unconditional Basic Income." *Alaska's Permanent Fund Dividend*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. 141-155.

Zwolinski, Matt. "Property rights, coercion, and the welfare state: The libertarian case for a basic income for all." *The Independent Review* 19.4 (2015): 515-529.

Lecture 7 Climate Change and Environmental Justice

Lecturer: Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial watching & reading:

1. Al Gore et al, *An Inconvenient Truth*. Hollywood, Calif: Paramount, 2006.
https://www.librarysearch.manchester.ac.uk/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma992975968539601631&context=L&vid=44MAN_INST:MU_NUI&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&tab=Everything&lang=en
2. S.M. Gardiner, 'Ethics and Global Climate Change', *Ethics*, 2004.

(* If you are interested Al Gore's recent documentary, *An Inconvenient Sequel: Truth to Power*, is great. (Available on Netflix))

Lecture Topic:

Protecting the environment is a key political challenge. On what principles should action against climate change be based? How big a role should risk and uncertainty play in our decisions? And how should the burdens arising from climate change be distributed? How does action against climate change interact with other major moral challenges, such as global economic justice, combating world poverty, and population ethics?

Tutorial Topics:

Does it matter whether responses to climate change are conceived along the lines of justice or responsibilities for past wrongdoing? Why not have a big party and use up all the world's resources? Should incentive-changing proactive policies be introduced as a response to climate change?

Examples of possible exam/essay questions:

(N.B. Answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

1. Should the costs arising from climate change be based according to ability to pay?
2. Is the concept of second-order responsibilities useful as a way of thinking about how to deal with climate change?

Further Reading:

- Elizabeth Cripps, *Climate Change and the Moral Agent: Individual duties in an Interdependent World*, Oxford University Press 2013.
- **Elizabeth Cripps, 'Population, Climate Change, and Global justice: A Moral Framework for Debate,' *Journal of Population and Sustainability* 1 82) 2017.
- ***S. Caney, 'Two Kinds of Climate Justice: Avoiding Harm and Sharing Burdens', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 2014.
- Catriona McKinnon, 'Endangering Humanity: An International Crime?,' *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 2017.
- Catriona McKinnon, *Climate Change and Future Justice: Precaution, Compensation and Triage*, Routledge 2011.
- Special Issue on Climate Justice, *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric*, 8 (2) 2015.
- D.G. Arnold (ed.), *The Ethics of Global Climate Change* (CUP, 2011).
- J. Broom, *Climate Ethics: Ethics in a Warming World* (Norton, 2012).
- S.M. Gardiner, *A Perfect Moral Storm: The Ethical tragedy of Climate Change* (OUP, 2011).
- R.E. Goodin, 'Selling Environmental Indulgences', in S. Gardiner, S. Caney, D. Jamieson, H. Shue (eds.), *Climate Ethics: Essential Readings* (OUP, 2010).
- C. Hayward & Dominic Roser (eds.), *Climate Justice in a non-ideal world* (OUP, 2016).
- D. Moellendorf, *The Moral Challenge of Dangerous Climate Change: Values, Poverty, and Policy* (CUP, 2014).
- S. Vanderhoven, *Atmospheric Justice: A Political Theory of Climate Change* (OUP, 2008).

Lecture 8

Partisanship and Polarisation

Lecturer: Dr Stephen Hood

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Ypi, L. (2016). 'Political Commitment and the Value of Partisanship'. *American Political Science Review*, 110(3), 601-613.
- ii) Sunstein, C. R. (2002). 'The Law of Group Polarization'. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 10(2), 175-195.

Lecture Topic:

Ideals of democratic functioning and democratic discourse typically place a considerable importance on impartial notions of the common good. Yet, much actual democratic practice is instead structured around group identification and mobilisation, particularly in the form of political parties. A charge that has been laid against such group-based action is that it leads to more polarised and factional forms of politics and political debate, thus making it harder to attain the common good promised by democratic ideals. This lecture explores such issues via an assessment of the value of partisan political commitments and of their divisive potential.

Tutorial Topics:

What is the value of partisan political organisation?

Are political parties inherently divisive institutions?

What role is there within ideals of democracy for political parties?

Examples of possible essay/exam questions:

- i) Does political party identification undermine the democratic pursuit of the common good?
- ii) Can political parties be blamed for political polarisation?
- iii) What, if anything, is valuable about the partisan commitment of political party members?

(N.B. Essays and exam answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

- *Bonotti, M. (2011). 'Conceptualising Political Parties: a Normative Framework'. *Politics*, 31(1), 19-26.
- Katz, R. S. (2014). 'No Man Can Serve Two Masters: Party Politicians, Party Members, Citizens and Principal-Agent Models of Democracy'. *Party Politics*, 20(2), 183-193.
- *Muirhead, R. (2006). 'A Defense of Party Spirit'. *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(4), 713-727.
- Muirhead, R. (2010). 'Can Deliberative Democracy be Partisan? *Critical Review*, 22(2-3), 129-157.
- White, J., & Ypi, L. (2010). 'Rethinking the Modern Prince: Partisanship and the Democratic Ethos'. *Political Studies*, 58(4), 809-828.
- White, J., & Ypi, L. (2011). 'On Partisan Political Justification'. *American Political Science Review*, 105(2), 381-396.
- White, J., & Ypi, L. (2016). 'Factions and Parties: The New Partisanship'. *Renewal: a Journal of Labour Politics*, 24(2), 27.

Lecture 9**Migration**

Lecturer: Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Huemer, M. (2010), "Is There a Right to Immigrate?" *Social Theory and Practice* 36, 429-461.

Lecture Topic:

In this lecture we consider arguments from both sides of the migration debate. Should liberal democracies exercise less restrictive border controls than they currently do? Or, on the contrary, do they have the right to completely close their borders if they so wish?

Tutorial Topics:

What is the structure of Huemer's argument in his article? What are the advantages and disadvantages of this style of argument?

Are Huemer's substantive objections to immigration restrictions convincing?

Examples of possible exam/essay questions:

- i) Do liberal democracies have the right to completely close their borders to non-refugee migrants?
- ii) Explain and critically analyse *three* distinct arguments in favour of the claim that liberal democracies should adopt a policy of open borders.

(N.B. Answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

- *Abizadeh, A. (2006), "Liberal Egalitarian Arguments for Closed Borders: Some Preliminary

- Critical Reflections”, *Ethics and Economics* 4, 1-8.
- *Abizadeh, A. (2008), “Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders”, *Political Theory* 36, 37-65.
 - Bader, V. (2005), “The Ethics of Immigration”, *Constellations* 12, 331-361.
 - Blake, M. and Risse, M. (2006), “Is There a Human Right to Free Movement? Immigration and Original Ownership of the Earth”, *John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper Series*, (multiple copies freely accessible online).
 - *Blake, M. (2013), “Immigration, Jurisdiction, and Exclusion”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 41, 103-130.
 - *Carens, J. (1987), “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders”, *The Review of Politics* 49, 251-273.
 - Carens, J. (1996), “Realistic and Idealistic Approaches to the Ethics of Migration”, *International Migration Review* 30, 156-170.
 - Dwyer, J. (2007), “What's Wrong with the Global Migration of Health Care Professionals?: Individual Rights and International Justice”, *The Hastings Center Report* 37, 36-43.
 - *Fine, S. (2010), “Freedom of Association is Not the Answer”, *Ethics* 120, 338–356.
 - Joppke, C. (1998), “Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration”, *World Politics* 50, 266-293.
 - *Kates, M. and Pevnick, R. (2014), “Immigration, Jurisdiction, and History”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42, 179-194.
 - *Miller, D. (2010), “Why Immigration Controls Are Not Coercive: A Reply to Arash Abizadeh”, *Political Theory* 38, 111-120.
 - Scheffler, S. (2007), “Immigration and the Significance of Culture”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35, 93-125.
 - Wellman, C. H. (2008), “Immigration and Freedom of Association”, *Ethics* 119, 109–141.
 - Ypi, L. (2008), “Justice in Migration: A Closed Borders Utopia?” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 16, 391–418.

Lecture 10	Refugees and Fair Shares

Lecturer Nicola Mulkeen

Required tutorial reading:

- i) Gibney, Matthew J., (2015), “Refugees and Justice Between States”, *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 14 (4), 448–463.
- ii) BBC News website, ‘Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts’, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34131911>

Lecture Topic:

There is widespread agreement that developed countries have a collective duty to take in a significant number of refugees who have been displaced by recent crises. In this lecture we first discuss the definition of ‘refugee’ before considering which principles should guide a fair system of burden sharing between countries in response to the claims of refugees. Once we know what counts as each country’s fair share, we then consider whether any country has an obligation to do more than its fair share (to ‘take up the slack’) if it turns out (as it inevitably will do) that some countries are failing to fulfil their obligations to do even their initial fair share.

Tutorial Topics:

Should we adopt a narrow or a wide definition of ‘refugee’?

Which considerations are relevant when it comes to determining each country’s obligations to refugees? How, and to what degree, should the views of refugees themselves be taken into account when determining how to respond to applications for asylum?

What do you think the UK government’s policy response to the refugee crisis in Syria (and other countries) should be?

Examples of possible exam/essay questions:

- i) “In general, when some agents (whether individuals or states) fail to do their fair share of a collective duty, the remaining agents have a duty to take up the slack.” Discuss.
- ii) In order to fulfil their moral obligations to refugees, must all states bear an equal share of the burden to provide asylum to refugees (relative to their population size, GDP, and/or any other factors you think are morally relevant)?

(N.B. Answers will be expected to refer to material from the further reading section as well as the required readings).

Further Reading:

- Baatz, C. (2014), “Climate Change and Individual Duties to Reduce GHG Emissions”, *Ethics, Policy & Environment* 17, 1–19.
- Betts, A. & Collier, P. (2017), *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*, Allen Lane: St Ives. (Especially chapter 4).
- Cherem, M. (2015), “Refugee Rights: Against Expanding the Definition of a ‘Refugee’ and Unilateral Protection Elsewhere”, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 24, 183-205.
- Gibney, Matthew J., *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, (especially chapter 8). (Electronic access available online).
- Hohl, S. & Roser, D. (2011), ‘Stepping in for the Polluters? Climate Justice under Partial Compliance’, *Analyse & Kritik* 2, 477-500.
- Horton, K. (2004), “International Aid: The Fair Shares Factor”, *Social Theory and Practice* 30, 161-174.
- Hurley, P. (2003), “Fairness and Beneficence”, *Ethics* 113, 841–864.
- Karnein, Anja (2014), “Putting Fairness in its Place: Why there is a Duty to Take Up the Slack”, *The Journal of Philosophy* 111, 593-607.
- Miller, D. ‘Taking Up the Slack? Responsibility and Justice in Situations of Partial Compliance’ in Knight, C. and Stemplowska, Z. (2011) *Responsibility and Distributive Justice*, Oxford: OUP, chap. 12. (Available electronically via Oxford Scholarship Online at <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199565801.001.0001/acprof-9780199565801-chapter-12>).
- Shacknove, A. (1985), “Who is a Refugee?”, *Ethics* 95, 274-284.
- Suhrke, A. (1998), “Burden-Sharing During Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective versus National Action”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11, 396-415.
- Stemplowska, Z. (2016), “Doing more than one’s fair share”, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 19, 591-608.

Lecture 11

Course Review

Lecturer: Liam Shields

The final lecture will provide a review of the course, describe the main features of the exam paper, and provide some tips on how to revise for the exam and exam strategy.

No required reading

10. Web Information

For the convenience of students, lecture slides and certain required and recommended readings will be posted on Blackboard.

PLEASE NOTE

The material on Blackboard for the course lectures is not a comprehensive set of notes and **MUST NOT** serve as a substitute for attending lectures and doing the prescribed and recommended readings for this course. Those students who simply reproduce this material in either **CLASS ESSAYS** or **EXAMINATIONS** will be marked down and deemed to have not done adequate work, nor attained an adequate level of understanding of the material required, for the course.

Should you encounter difficulties accessing the web or Blackboard materials, consult the undergraduate Politics office.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI20982 Environmental Politics

Semester: 2

Credits: 20

Lecturers: Sherilyn MacGregor (convenor), Matthew Paterson & Paul Tobin
Room: 178 Waterloo Place
Telephone:
Email: Sherilyn.macgregor@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>
Tutor: Joanna Wilson Joanna.wilson@manchester.ac.uk
Lectures: Thursdays, 15.00-17.00 in Kilburn Lecture Theatre 1.4
Tutorials: Tuesdays (4 timeslots); allocate yourself to a tutorial using the Student System

Mode of assessment: group presentation (20%), portfolio (40%) and essay (40%).

Reading Week: NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO

Administrator: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906

Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Assignment hand in dates:

Portfolio	25 th March 2019, 2pm
Essay	13 th May 2019, 2pm

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 13.05.2019 – 07.06.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

POLI-20982 Environmental Politics

1. Course content

This course provides an introduction to one of the mainstays of the contemporary political agenda: the politics of the environment. On the one hand the course explores a number of well-established debates and fields within the study of politics as they have been applied to environmental problems – debates about social movements, political parties, government policy-making, international cooperation and conflict, the relationship between politics and the economy, and political theory. On the other hand it explores different ways of thinking about what is distinctive about the environment as a political problem. Does environmental politics challenge or undermine our traditional categories of political thought concerning, for example, the durability of political institutions, the capacity of states to deal with the contemporary problems they face, or various dominant modern values (freedom, democracy, economic growth)?

Since environmental politics frequently involves a series of competing claims and counter-claims, the course also focuses on developing your understanding of argumentation – your ability to navigate more effectively these competing claims and to advocate and defend your own position in contentious debates.

Course aims

This course will introduce you to some of the key historical, theoretical and practical dimensions of environmental politics and policy. In particular, it explores:

- the political nature of environmental problems and controversies;
- the diverse historical, political, and cultural roots of contemporary environmental problems and controversies;
- the range of theoretical, philosophical and ethical perspectives on environmental questions;
- connections between local and global environmental issues;
- challenges posed by environmental issues to political institutions;
- power relationships between countries and between social groups within political communities; and
- the various strategies and tactics used for environmental advocacy and change.

Emphasis is placed on the complexity of contemporary environmental issues and on developing the skills necessary to analysing and responding to them effectively.

Learning outcomes

On completion of this course, successful students will be able to demonstrate:

1. Understanding of the range of perspectives on environmental issues and how environmental issues maybe understood as political issues;
2. An ability to apply theoretical tools in the analysis of environmental problems and controversies;
3. A capacity for research and effective argumentation.

Academic and transferable skills

This is a highly relevant course for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs and voluntary roles as well as in active citizenship. It could be particularly useful for people considering careers in the civil service, journalism, think tanks, research and policy, teaching, and charitable and activist organisations. Our focus on argumentation, both written and verbal, across all work in the course should make it a particularly

good opportunity for you to develop a core critical skill that will be valuable to you in numerous aspects of your life.

2. Course Structure

The course is composed of ten two-hour lectures and ten one hour tutorials. These are designed to complement each other. Attendance at each is compulsory. The lectures will contain group presentations (usually two per lecture), and all students will participate in one group presentation during the course. The tutorials will be focused on specific readings around which the development of argumentation and/or research skills will be developed.

For the lectures, you are required to read a specific chapter of the main textbook by Doyle, McEachern & MacGregor, *Environment and Politics (4th edition)*, in preparation for the lecture. The lecture will assume you have read the assigned chapters in this book prior to class.

There is one specific reading to read prior to each tutorial, around which the tutorial discussion will be organized. *A Rulebook for Arguments* will also be essential reading for the argumentation exercises in the tutorials.

Below is a summary of course meetings. Details of group presentations will be provided prior to the course starting. You will be required to sign up for a topic in week 2; the first presentations will be given in week 3.

Lecture date	Topic	Lecturer	Reading for lecture	Tutorial date
31 Jan	Introduction	All	Doyle et al introduction	5 Feb
7 Feb	The political origins of environmental problems: competing frameworks	SM	Doyle et al ch 1/2	12 Feb
14 Feb	Environmental philosophy and ideologies	SM	Doyle et al ch 1/2	19 Feb
21 Feb	Environmental protest/movements	JW	Doyle et al ch 3	26 Feb
28 Feb	Environmental non-governmental organisations	PT	Doyle et al ch 4	5 Mar
7 Mar	Political parties and the environment	PT	Doyle et al ch 5	12 Mar
14 Mar	Capitalism and environmental politics	MP	Doyle et al ch 6	19 Mar
21 Mar	Environmental governance	MP	Doyle et al ch 7	26 Mar
28 Mar	Environmental citizenship	SM	Doyle et al ch 7	2 April
4 April	The environment as a challenge to existing political systems	MP	Doyle et al ch 1/2	30 April
2 May	Wrap and essay advice (1 hr)	SM/JW		

Tutorial date	Activity	Reading/preparation
5 Feb	Arguments: what they are and why they matter	Carter, N. (2004) 'Politics as if nature mattered' in Leftwich (ed) <i>What is Politics?</i> pp. 182-195. Weston's Introduction, chs 1 and 2.
12 Feb	(De)constructing arguments I	Hardin, G.(1968) 'The tragedy of the commons', <i>Science</i> , 162, 1243-1248.
19 Feb	Fun with fallacies	Lomborg, B./Burke, T. in Dryzek et al (eds) <i>Debating the Earth</i> , pp.74-88 Weston's chs 3, 4, 5 and appendices
26 Feb	(De)constructing arguments II	Ramsay, A. (2014) 'My environmentalism will be intersectional or it will be bullshit' <i>Open Democracy</i> (online); and Weston chs 7, 8, 9.
5 Mar	Have ENGOs become institutionalised?	Diani, M. & Donati, P. R. (1999) 'Organisational change in Western European Environmental Groups: A framework for analysis', <i>Environmental Politics</i> , 8(1), 13-34.
12 Mar	Is Inglehart's argument about the role of 'postmaterialist' [here, 'post-bourgeois'] values is accurate? How would we know if it were?	Inglehart, R. (1971) 'The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies', <i>American Political Science Review</i> , 65(4), 991- 1017.
19 Mar	How can we evaluate if capitalism 'can go green'?	Klein, N. (2011) Capitalism vs. the Climate. <i>The Nation</i> , November 28.
26 Mar	Explore the Sustainable Development Goals. What are the potential contradictions among them?	Read the SDGs, available here: http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html
2 Apr	Debating environmental citizenship: empowerment or environmentality?	Hobson, K. (2013) On the making of the environmental citizen. <i>Environmental Politics</i> 22(1): 56-72.
30 Apr	Essay-focused discussion of main course themes.	Complete first draft of essay.

3. Reading

There are two textbooks for the course. While these are available in the UoM Library, you are strongly advised to acquire your own copy of these books. Copies have been ordered via Blackwell's bookshop on campus. The books are:

Doyle, Timothy, Doug McEachern and Sherilyn MacGregor (2015) *Environment and Politics* (4th edition). London and New York: Routledge. E-book available

Weston, Anthony (2009) *A Rulebook for Arguments* (4th edition). Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.

Readings for the tutorials are available on Blackboard.

There is also a general reading list of relevant journals, books and other materials on environmental politics available on Blackboard.

4. Assessment

You will be assessed in the module via the following three assignments:

Assessment activity	Deadline	Length required	Weighting within unit
Argumentation portfolio	25 March, 2pm	2,500	40
Essay	13 May, 2pm	2,500	40
Group presentation	Variable	15 minutes	20

For all of these assignments, the quality of writing or oral presentation is integral to the assessment criteria. The communication of your ideas and evidence is an essential component of demonstrating the level of understanding you have developed of the material covered.

Your work will be assessed using the evaluation criteria set out in the Politics Unit Guide, Part 2. Note also the various pieces of guidance and advice as to requirements for written work, including how to reference, avoid plagiarism, and submit your work via Turnitin, in the Politics Unit Guide, Part 2.

Argumentation portfolio

A key objective of this course is to give you instruction on, and a chance to practise, your argumentation skills. In lectures and tutorials we will pay close attention to the way arguments are constructed and presented, as well as to the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of arguments. This will help you to fine-tune your own ability to make and defend an effective argument.

For this assessment, you will prepare a portfolio containing 4 short pieces of work totaling no more than 2,500 words (within a 10% +/- margin and excluding bibliography):

- i. **an argument analysis** which responds to a set of questions [500 words]
- ii. **a précis** of a blog with critique/counter-argument [800 words]
- iii. **a blog** in which you present and support an argument [800 words]
- iv. **a proposed abstract** for your research essay [400 words]

Detailed instructions for this assessment are provided in a separate document in Blackboard, along with examples. You must read these instructions. You also will have ample opportunity to

discuss these types of writing in lectures and tutorials. Essential reading for this assessment is *A Rulebook for Arguments* by Anthony Weston.

The portfolio (fully referenced, double spaced, and carefully proofread) must be submitted via Turnitin/Blackboard, by 25th March at 2pm. It is worth 40% of the final module mark.

Essay

The essay for this course is designed to get you to think across the breadth of the themes covered in the course. Your **argumentative essay** will provide a critical analysis of an environmental issue or problem using theories, concepts, and methods covered in the module.

You should research thoroughly and provide a critical, theoretically-informed analysis of one of the following questions using theories and concepts covered in the module. The key is to **answer the question** clearly and to provide good reasons, backed up by credible evidence, for your answer. Please read and follow Weston's advice about argumentative essay-writing.

Choose **one** of the following questions:

1. In his essay 'Politics as if Nature Mattered' Neil Carter presents a scathing critique of the anthropocentrism inherent in traditional conceptions of politics, arguing that: 'If we regard nature as simply there for us to use at our whim, then it is perhaps hardly surprising that we seem to have made a mess of it' (2004: 189). Do you agree? To what extent does this argument hold in 2019?
2. Acting inside or outside dominant political systems: which is the better political strategy for trying to solve the global environmental crisis?
2. Present an argument in support of or opposition to the following statement by the American eco-anarchist Murray Bookchin from 30 years ago:
'It is inaccurate and unfair to coerce people into believing that they are personally responsible for present-day ecological disasters because they consume too much or proliferate too readily. This privatization of the environmental crisis, like the New Age cults that focus on personal problems rather than on social dislocations, has reduced many environmental movements to utter ineffectiveness and threatens to diminish their credibility with the public. If "simple living" and militant recycling are the main solutions to the environmental crisis, the crisis will certainly continue and intensify (Bookchin 1989:19 quoted in Maniates 1992:38).

Essays should seek to incorporate relevant material learned across the various weeks of the course. They should also be based on research carried out to identify existing appropriate academic articles and books relevant to the way you plan to address the question – exclusive reliance on the textbook and essential readings for tutorials will not be adequate. The list of general books on Blackboard is a useful starting point for researching these essays.

Essays must be 2,500 words in length (within a 10% +/- margin and **excluding bibliography**), double-spaced, fully referenced and carefully proofread. Referencing should be consistent throughout, and must conform to either the Harvard (referencing in the text) or Cambridge (footnotes/endnotes) methods of formatting. The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate references will result in the deduction of marks (as will sloppy presentation and expression).

The essay must be submitted via Turnitin/Blackboard, by 13th May at 2pm. The essay is worth 40% of the final module mark.

Group presentation

Each student will participate in a group presentation. This is designed to develop not only your presentation skills (including using presentation software and public speaking) but also research and argumentation skills and your ability to work collaboratively with others.

Presentations will take place during the lectures. Each presentation will last about 15 minutes and will cover a specific topic within the theme of that week's lecture. There will normally be two presentations per week in the lectures from the 14th February onwards.

All students must speak and the group must use one coherent PowerPoint (or other suitable presentation software) presentation to organise and animate the material being delivered. Members of the group will gain the same mark for the presentation.

A list of topics for the presentations will be provided prior to the first lecture along with a sign-up form. There will be a maximum of 4 students per group so we cannot guarantee you get your first choice of topic. The presentation is worth 20% of the final mark.

Feedback

The School of Social Sciences is committed to providing timely and appropriate feedback to students on their academic progress and achievement, thereby enabling students to reflect on their progress and plan their academic and skills development effectively.

Please remember that feedback is necessarily *responsive*: only when you have done a certain amount of work and approaches us with it at the appropriate time/place is it possible for us to *feedback on your work*.

The main forms of feedback on this course are formative feedback through weekly tutorial discussions and during office hours. This will help you with the preparation of your assessed essay and your presentation. If possible, you will receive summative feedback on your presentation, argumentation portfolio, and essay during contact hours.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI20991 What is Europe?****Semester: 1****Credits: 20**

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Tutors: Dr. Fadil Ersozer

Lectures: Wednesdays, 1000-1200, Ellen Wilkinson 2.7

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: Essay (2600 words) – 40%; Exam (two hours) – 60%

Reading Week: Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018

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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Essay hand-in date: Monday 19th November 2018 by 2pm via Turnitin

Exam: Winter examination period

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 25.01.2019

Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

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Course rationale

One of the most surprising aspects of discussions which invoke the term 'Europe' is how rarely the term's meaning, both analytically and politically, is reflected upon. The most recent example is the UK's 2016 referendum on membership of the European Union (EU), when the dominant 'short-cut' summary of the debates would refer, incorrectly, to Britain's relationship with Europe. This is merely the latest in a long line of selective interpretations and uses of the term 'Europe', making it all the more necessary and desirable, especially in the current period, to enquire into its socio-historical meaning and why this matters for contemporary European politics and society.

The first half of the module introduces students to the historical evolution of the term 'Europe' and the implications of different interpretations of this term, before moving to cover the Cold War period and the significance of the end of the Cold War. The second part focuses on developments since the end of the Cold War, especially the wider/deeper European integration that it catalysed, while ensuring that students remain aware of the uneasy and politically important continuities in dominant interpretations of the term 'Europe'. On the latter, examples used include ongoing debates and conflicts over the Eurozone and refugee crises; also considered are the rise of populisms and the role of Russia and Turkey. Finally, the module reflects on what it means to be European in the late 2010s.

This module attracts students from a range of disciplinary backgrounds and from a number of different degree programmes. Therefore, while it is a comparative politics course, it approaches the notion of comparison in an open-ended and creative way. This is partly due to the module's broad understanding of what is politically relevant (for instance, the role of national and regional identities), and partly because of the different ways in which comparison is deployed in the module (for example, between different countries, between different European regions such as 'East' and 'West', between 'Europe' and 'non-Europe'). The aim is to show how the act of comparing is itself a political decision – **what** is compared (e.g. countries, regions, 'Europe'/'non-Europe'), and **on what basis** something is compared (e.g. political values, religion, economic development), is central to how the notion of 'Europe' is understood and debated.

Course aims

The course unit aims to:

- Familiarise students with different interpretations of the term 'Europe', and why they matter for our understanding of contemporary European themes and topics
- Place different countries and regions within their socio-historical context, thereby emphasising the interconnections which traverse all parts of the continent
- Focus on the significance of the EU and the end of the Cold War for the developments which have taken place since the 1980s
- Assist students in their oral and written communication skills

Learning outcomes

On completion of this unit, successful students will be able to:

- Utilise an interdisciplinary, historically informed framework for studying the evolution of European politics and society
- Relate general, pan-European developments to more specific, local case studies, be it different countries or regions in Europe
- Critically reflect on how processes of transformation and change co-exist with underlying continuities and stabilities
- Pursue independent study and learning, and the improvement of oral and written skills

Intellectual and transferable skills

This is a great module for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs, voluntary roles, internships and work placements. It could be particularly useful for people considering careers in the civil service, journalism, think tanks, research and policy, and charitable organisations.

Course assessment

The essay is worth 40% and the exam 60% of the total mark.

An essay of 2600 words in length (10% above or below is acceptable – any more than 10% and you will be penalised). Please note that, unless they are necessary for the development of your argument, I discourage the use of sub-headings.

The essay must be submitted via Turnitin by 2pm on Monday 19 November 2018.

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available

for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: julie.tierney@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Assessed essay question

All students are expected to read and comply with University regulations concerning plagiarism, referencing and so on. Please consult the Politics Course Guide Part II for more.

It is essential for a module such as this, covering a complex and multi-faceted topic, to ensure that students have a common foundation upon which they can develop their understanding of the themes and topics. As such, all students must answer this essay question:

'In what ways have different interpretations of the word "Europe" been historically significant for how we have understood European politics and society? Answer the question with the use of an image and with reference to a specific historical period.'

The image can be one of: photograph; painting; meme; advertising poster; mural; installation. Please feel free to ask me for advice should you be unsure about whether I will approve of the image you are thinking of using. Students are expected to reach their own judgment about how the image helps them answer the question. However, approximately 400 words of the essay should be devoted to covering key points about the image. They should include:

- Who produced it
- When it was produced
- For what purpose was it produced
- Why it could be seen as significant

An 'Essay guidance' document has been uploaded to Blackboard; please read it thoroughly and feel free to ask me any questions once you have read it.

Prior to the essay deadline, students will be encouraged to think about the essay question throughout the module. For instance, images will be used in a number of the lectures, and tutorials will make use of images as well (see below, under the 'Teaching Arrangements' heading). In other words, attending lectures and tutorials – especially lectures 1-10 and tutorials from week 2 to week 6 – will help students engage directly with what is required of them for answering the essay question. **Students are not permitted to discuss in the essay a historical period more recent than the Cold War.**

Finally, it is worth noting that students are strongly encouraged to search for articles, chapters and books to help them answer the essay question, i.e. which go beyond the readings set out below. Google Scholar is the best place to start.

Exam

There will be an examination of two hours in length in the exam period at the end of semester one. Two questions must be answered. The questions will draw on themes from all parts of the course, but the majority of them will cover those addressed in lectures 11-19 and tutorials from week 7 to week 11.

Examination papers evolve in the same way that course guides do, meaning that previous papers may contain questions that are no longer covered by this course. Guidance on preparing for the exam will be provided in lecture 20.

Feedback

The School of Social Sciences is committed to providing timely and appropriate feedback to students on their academic progress and achievement, thereby enabling students to reflect on their progress and plan their academic and skills development effectively. Feedback is necessarily *responsive*: only when a student has done a certain amount of work and submits it is it possible for us to feed *back* on the *student's work*. The main forms of feedback on this course are:

- Written comments, indicative scoring and the final grade on the assessed essay
- Exam grades
- Written comments on the groupwork for the tutorial (see 'Teaching Arrangements' below for more)
- Additionally, there are various generic forms of feedback available to you on this course, as on all SOSS courses. These include but are not limited to: meeting the lecturer/tutor during their office hours; e-mailing questions to the lecturer/tutor; asking questions from the lecturer (before and after lecture); and obtaining feedback from your peers during tutorials.

Course texts

There is no single core text. Nevertheless, three books are essential, in different ways, for successful completion of the module.

Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

As can hopefully be inferred from the titles of the books, *Formations of European Modernity* focuses on a number of the conceptual issues relevant for the module, *Contemporary Europe* considers the current socio-historical context, while *What is Europe?* covers virtually all of the main module themes, albeit (inevitably) in a more general manner than the other two books. It should be stressed that students must engage fully with *both* conceptual and empirical (historical and contemporary) themes in order to do well on the module.

Other useful publications include:

Bhabra, G.K. (2007) *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Davies, N. (2007) *Europe East & West* (London: Pimlico).

Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).

Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (Vintage: London).

Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity).

Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Teaching arrangements

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice states that a 20 credit module is expected to require a total of 200 hours' work.

There are twenty lecture sessions and ten tutorials during the semester. For each topic, the lectures precede the tutorial. Lectures 19 and especially 20 will serve as a revision session.

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory. You are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should contact your seminar tutor with this information. Unexcused absences can lead to an unsatisfactory tutor's report at the end of the course (affecting future job references by other tutors), and may even result in exclusion from this course or in refusal to allow you to re-sit a failed exam.

Tutorial organisation

Students will be divided into groups in the first tutorial. Each group will be tasked with introducing and leading one of the subsequent four tutorials, i.e. tutorials from week 3 to week 6 (inclusive). While this work is not assessed, preparation for and participation in the tutorial is *essential* for doing well on the module, especially for the essay question.

Each group will be required, for their tutorial, to bring an image with them that relates to the topic covered by that tutorial. As with the essay question, the image can be one of:

photograph; painting; meme; advertising poster; mural; installation. Again as with the essay, students are welcome to ask me or the module tutor for advice should they be unsure about the image they are thinking of using.

For their tutorial, groups will be expected to spend the first few minutes covering key points about the image. They can include:

- Who produced it
- When it was produced
- For what purpose was it produced
- Why it could be seen as significant

The next few minutes should relate the image to the topic via a discussion of the readings required for that tutorial. In other words, it is *not* enough for students simply to talk about an image in an unfocused manner. The best preparation for the essay will be to discuss both their chosen image and the required readings for that tutorial.

Please note that students cannot use any of the images discussed in the four tutorials for their essay, and nor can they use any of the images discussed in the lectures. A document containing the images used in tutorials and lectures will be placed on Blackboard and updated regularly; students need to consult this document. All images used must be emailed to the tutor, preferably before the tutorial.

Tutorials from week 7 to week 11 do not require the use of images, but students are free to contact their module tutor about any images they come across that they would like to discuss as part of the topic.

Lectures: outline and schedule

Week 1 (26 September)

1. Module introduction and administration
2. The significance of the word 'Europe'

Week 2 (3 October)

3. 'Europe': origins and evolutions
4. Connected histories and political divisions

Week 3 (10 October)

5. European heritages: choose your history?
6. Western European integration after 1945

Week 4 (17 October)

7. European dictatorships during the Cold War
8. The end of the Cold War: Germany

Week 5 (24 October)

9. The end of the Cold War: triumph of the West?
10. The return to Europe? European Union enlargement to the 'East'

Week 6 (7 November)

11. East-West connections and divisions into the 21st century
12. The Eurozone crises

Week 7 (14 November)

- 13. The refugee crises
- 14. The rise of populisms

Week 8 (21 November)

- 15. The European neighbourhood
- 16. Russia and Turkey

Week 9 (28 November)

- 17. Being 'European' in the late 2010s
- 18. Future prospects

Week 10 (5 December)

- 19. Conclusion
- 20. Exam tips

Tutorials: outline and schedule**Week 2 (w/c 1 October)**

'Europe' as place and as construction

Week 3 (w/c 8 October)

The idea of 'Europe'

Week 4 (w/c 15 October)

European heritages: choosing histories

Week 5 (w/c 22 October)

Post-1945 Western European integration

READING WEEK

Week 6 (w/c 5 November)

Post-Cold War enlargement of the European Union

Week 7 (w/c 12 November)

Eurozone crises

Week 8 (w/c 19 November)

Refugee crises

Week 9 (w/c 26 November)

Europe's peripheries: Russia and Turkey

Week 10 (w/c 3 December)

What is 'European' today?

Week 11 (w/c 10 December)

Future prospects

TUTORIALS AND READING LISTS

Week 2 (w/c 1 October): 'Europe' as place and as construction

Main tutorial question: Is there one Europe or are there several Europes?

Essential reading

Leontidou, L. (2004) 'The Boundaries of Europe: Deconstructing Three Regional Narratives'. *Identities*, 11:4, 593-617.

Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 1.

Further reading

Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Introduction.

Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapters 2-5. These are useful overviews of different historical legacies, especially religion.

Delanty, G. (2016) 'Multiple Europes, Multiple Modernities: Conceptualising the Plurality of Europe'. *Comparative European Politics*, 14:4, 398-416.

Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 1.

Pocock, J.G.A. (2002) 'Some Europes in Their History', in A. Pagden (ed.) *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 55-71.

Week 3 (w/c 8 October): The idea of 'Europe'

Main tutorial question: To what extent is it possible to achieve a consensus on what 'Europe' is?

Essential reading

Davies, N. (2007) *Europe East & West* (London: Pimlico). Chapter 1.

Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 1.

Further reading

Bhabra, G.K. (2007) *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 3.

Burke, P. (1980) 'Did Europe Exist Before 1700?' *History of European Ideas*, 1:1, 21-29.

Davies, N. (2007) *Europe East & West* (London: Pimlico). Chapter 2.

Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapters 1, 10.

Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). Chapter 2.

Kumar, K. (2008) 'The Question of European Identity: Europe in the American Mirror'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11:1, 87-105.

Nielsen, P. (2010) 'What, Where and Why is Europe? Some Answers from Recent Historiography'. *European History Quarterly*, 40:4, 701-13.

Pagden, A. (2002) 'Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent', in A. Pagden (ed.) *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 33-54.

Stråth, B. (2002) 'A European Identity: To the Historical Limits of a Concept'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5:4, 387-401.

Week 4 (w/c 15 October): European heritages: choosing histories

Main tutorial question: What histories should we choose to foreground when thinking about 'Europe', and on what basis?

Essential reading

- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 14.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 4.

Further reading

- Bhambra, G.K. (2007) *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapters 4, 5, 6.
- Bugge, O. (1999) 'The Use of the Middle: Mitteleuropa vs. Střední Evropa'. *European Review of History*, 6:1, 15-35.
- Davies, N. (2007) *Europe East & West* (London: Pimlico). Chapters 3, 10, 11.
- Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). Chapters 4, 6.
- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 8.
- Delanty, G. (2017) 'Entangled Memories: How to Study Europe's Cultural Heritage'. *The European Legacy*, 22:2, 129-45.
- Franzinetti, G. (2008) 'The Idea and Reality of Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth-Century'. *History of European Ideas*, 34:4, 361-68.
- Huistra, P., M. Molema and D. Wirt (2014) 'Political Values in a European Museum'. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 10:1, 124-36.
- Lähdesmäki, T. (2014) 'The EU's Explicit and Implicit Heritage Politics'. *European Societies*, 16:3, 401-21.
- Lähdesmäki, T. (2017) 'Narrativity and Intertextuality in the Making of a Shared European Memory'. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 25:1, 57-72.
- Mälksoo, M. (2009) 'The Memory Politics of Becoming European: The East European Subalterns and the Collective Memory of Europe'. *European Journal of International Relations*, 15:4, 653-80.
- Niklasson, E. (2017) 'The Janus-face of European Heritage: Revisiting the Rhetoric of Europe-making in EU Cultural Politics'. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 17:2, 138-62.
- Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 2.
- Radonić, L. (2017) 'Post-communist Invocation of Europe: Memorial Museums' Narratives and the Europeanization of Memory'. *National Identities*, 19:2, 269-88.
- Settele, V. (2015) 'Including Exclusion in European Memory? Politics of Remembrance at the House of European History'. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23:3, 405-16.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 2.
- van Gorp, B. and H. Renes (2007) 'A European Cultural Identity? Heritage and Shared Histories in the European Union'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98:3, 407-15.

Week 5 (w/c 22 October): Post-1945 Western European integration

Main tutorial question: How 'Western' was Western European integration after 1945?

Essential reading

- Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). Chapter 8.

Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 3.

Further reading

- Christiaens, K., J. Mark and J.M. Faraldo (2017) 'Entangled Transitions: Eastern and Southern European Convergence or Alternative Europes? 1960s-2000s'. *Contemporary European History*, 26:4, 577-99.
- Crump, L. and S. Godard (2018) 'Reassessing Communist International Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of COMECON and the Warsaw Pact in Relation to Their Cold War Competitors'. *Contemporary European History*, 27:1, 85-109.
- de Angelis, E. (2016) 'Enlargement and the Historical Origins of the European Community's Democratic Identity, 1961-1978'. *Contemporary European History*, 25:3, 439-58.
- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 11.
- Hansen, P. and S. Jonsson (2014) 'Another Colonialism: Africa in the History of European Integration'. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 27:3, 442-61.
- Ladrech, R. (2000) 'Historical Background', in R. Sakwa and R. Stevens (eds) *Contemporary Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), 23-47.
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 4. This is a useful overview of the European Union.
- Risse, T. and D. Engelmann-Martin (2002) 'Identity Politics and European Integration: The Case of Germany', in A. Pagden (ed.) *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 287-316.
- Tulli, U. (2016) 'The Search for a European Identity in the Long 1970s: External Relations and Institutional Evolution in the European Community'. *Contemporary European History*, 25:3, 537-50.

Week 6 (w/c 5 November): Post-Cold War enlargement of the European Union

Main tutorial question: Has there been a 'return to Europe' for post-socialist countries?

Essential reading

- Kuus, M. (2004) 'Europe's Eastern Expansion and the Reinscription of Otherness in East-Central Europe'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28:4, 472-89.
- Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 2.

Further reading

- Agnew, J. (2002) 'How Many Europes? The European Union, Eastward Enlargement and Uneven Development'. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 8:1, 29-38.
- Bideleux, R. (2015) 'The "Orientalization" and "De-Orientalization" of East Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula'. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 23:1, 9-44.
- Blokker, P. (2008) 'Europe "United in Diversity": From a Central European Identity to Post-nationality?' *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11:2, 257-74.
- Brennan, I. (2000) 'The Challenge of the East', in R. Sakwa and R. Stevens (eds) *Contemporary Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), 161-81.
- Delanty, G. (1995) *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). Chapter 9.
- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 12.
- Forchtner, B. and C. Kølvråa (2012) 'Narrating a "New Europe": From "Bitter Past" to Self-righteousness?' *Discourse & Society*, 23:4, 377-400.

- Hagen, J. (2003) 'Redrawing the Imagined Map of Europe: The Rise and Fall of the "Center"'. *Political Geography*, 22:5, 489-517.
- Special issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies* (2014, 52:1). 'Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West Divide?' Numerous articles are potentially of interest.
- Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (Vintage: London). Chapters 20, 21.
- Kohli, M. (2000) 'The Battlegrounds of European Identity'. *European Societies*, 2:2, 113-37.
- Moisio, S. (2002) 'EU Eligibility, Central Europe, and the Invention of Applicant State Narrative'. *Geopolitics*, 7:3, 89-116.
- Moisio, S. (2007) 'Redrawing the Map of Europe: Spatial Formation of the EU's Eastern Dimension'. *Geography Compass*, 1:1, 82-102.
- Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapters 3, 4, 5.
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 4. This is a useful overview of the European Union.
- Taylor, P.J. (1991) 'A Theory and Practice of Regions: The Case of Europe'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9:2, 183-95.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 7.
- Verovšek, P.J. (2014) 'Expanding Europe through Memory: The Shifting Content of the Ever-salient Past'. *Millennium*, 43:2, 531-50.

Week 7 (w/c 12 November): Eurozone crises

Main tutorial question: Which conceptions of 'Europe' are embodied in debates and conflicts over the Eurozone crises?

Essential reading

- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 13.
- Ervedosa, C. (2017) 'The Calibanisation of the South in the German Public "Euro Crisis" Discourse'. *Postcolonial Studies*, 20:2, 137-62.

Further reading

- Armingeon, K. and K. Guthmann (2014) 'Democracy in Crisis? The Declining Support for National Democracy in European Countries, 2007-2011'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 53:3, 423-42.
- Blokker, P. (2014) 'The European Crisis and a Political Critique of Capitalism'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17:3, 258-74.
- Dooley, N. (2017) 'Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf? Rethinking the Core and the Periphery in the Eurozone Crisis'. *New Political Economy*, 'Latest Articles' section.
- Harcourt, W. (2014) 'Women and the European Crisis'. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 25:3, 455-64.
- Hernandez, E. and H. Kriesi (2016) 'The Electoral Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55:2, 203-24.
- Jones, E. (2010) 'The Economic Mythology of European Integration'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:1, 89-109.
- Kroknes, V.F., T.G. Jakobsen and L.-M. Grønning (2015) 'Economic Performance and Political Trust: The Impact of the Financial Crisis on European Citizens'. *European Societies*, 17:5, 700-23.
- Niechoj, T. (2015) 'Which Future for Europe? A Scenario Analysis of European Integration', in J. Jäger and E. Springler (eds) *Asymmetric Crisis in Europe and Possible Futures: Critical Political Economy and Post-Keynesian Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 151-67.
- Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 3.

- Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 8.
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 2.
- Overbeek, H. (2012) 'Sovereign Debt Crises in Euroland: Root Causes and Implications for European Integration'. *The International Spectator*, 47:1, 30-48.
- Special issue of *Social Movement Studies* (2017) 'Resisting Austerity: Collective Action in Europe in the Wake of the Global Financial Crisis'. 16:1. All articles are potentially of interest.
- Tekin, B.Ç. (2014) 'Rethinking the Post-national EU in Times of Austerity and Crisis'. *Mediterranean Politics*, 19:1, 21-39.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 8.

Week 8 (w/c 19 November): Refugee crises

Main tutorial question: Which conceptions of 'Europe' are embodied in debates and conflicts over the refugee crises?

Essential reading

- Bhambra, G.K. (2017) 'The Current Crisis of Europe: Refugees, Colonialism, and the Limits of Cosmopolitanism'. *European Law Journal*, 23:5, 395-405.
- Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 6.

Further reading

- Bocskor, A. (2018) 'Anti-immigration Discourses in Hungary during the "Crisis" Year: The Orbán Government's "National Consultation" Campaign of 2015'. *Sociology*, 52:3, 551-68.
- de Genova, N. (2016) 'The European Question: Migration, Race, and Postcoloniality in Europe'. *Social Text*, 34:3, 75-102.
- Garelli, G., C. Heller, L. Pezzani and M. Tazzioli (2018) 'Shifting Bordering and Rescue Practices in the Central Mediterranean Sea, October 2013-October 2015'. *Antipode*, 50:3, 813-21.
- Holmes, S.N. and H. Castañeda (2016) 'Representing the "European Refugee Crisis" in Germany and Beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death'. *American Ethnologist*, 43:1, 12-24.
- Holzberg, B., K. Kolbe and R. Zaborowski (2018) 'Figures of Crisis: The Delineation of (Un)Deserving Refugees in the German Media'. *Sociology*, 52:3, 534-50.
- Special issue of *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (2016). 'Contemporary Far Right Racist Populism in Europe'. 37:6. All articles are potentially of interest.
- Kallius, A., D. Monterescu and P.K. Rajaram (2016) 'Immobilizing Mobility: Border Ethnography, Illiberal Democracy, and the Politics of the "Refugee Crisis" in Hungary'. *American Ethnologist*, 43:1, 25-37.
- Forum of *Mediterranean Politics* (2016). 'Interrogating the Mediterranean "Migration Crisis"'. 21:2. All articles are potentially of interest.
- Menéndez, A.J. (2016) 'The Refugee Crisis: Between Human Tragedy and Symptom of the Structural Crisis of European Integration'. *European Law Journal*, 22:4, 388-416.
- New Keywords Collective (2016) 'Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of "the Crisis" in and of "Europe".' *Near Futures Online* 1, 'Europe at a Crossroads' (March 2016): <http://nearfuturesonline.org/europecrisis-new-keywords-of-crisis-in-and-of-europe/>
- Nicolson, M., V. de Oliveira Andreotti and B.F. Mafi (2016) 'The Unstated Politics of Stranger Making in Europe: A Brutal Kindness'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19:4, 335-51.
- Scuzzarello, S. and C. Kinnvall (2013) 'Rebordering France and Denmark: Narratives and Practices of Border-construction in Two European Countries'. *Mobilities*, 8:1, 90-106.

Week 9 (w/c 26 November): Europe's peripheries: Russia and Turkey

Main tutorial question: How important are Russia and Turkey to drawing Europe's borders?

Essential reading

Morozov, V. and B. Rumelili (2012) 'The External Constitution of European Identity: Russia and Turkey as Europe-makers'. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47:1, 28-48.

Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 6.

Further reading

Aydın-Düzgüt, S. (2018) 'Foreign Policy and Identity Change: Analysing Perceptions of Europe among the Turkish Public'. *Politics*, 38:1, 19-34.

Baranovsky, V. (2000) 'Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?' *International Affairs*, 76:3, 443-58.

Special issue of *Comparative European Politics* (2012, 10:2). 'Turkish Membership in the European Union – The Role of Religion'. Several articles are of potential interest.

Dostál, P., E. Akçalı and M. Antonsich (2011) 'Turkey's Bid for European Union Membership: Between "Thick" and "Thin" Conceptions of Europe'. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 52:2, 196-216.

Special section of *East European Politics and Societies* (2017, 31:1). 'Recursive Easts, Shifting Peripheries'. Several articles are of potential interest.

Green, S. (2013) 'Borders and the Relocation of Europe'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42: 345-61.

Jones, S. and J. Subotic (2011) 'Fantasies of Power: Performing Europeanization on the European Periphery'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14:5, 542-57.

Kaya, A. (2018) 'Right-wing Populism and Islamophobia in Europe and Their Impact on Turkey-EU Relations'. *Turkish Studies*, 'Latest Articles' section.

Korosteleva, J. and S. White (2006) "'Feeling European": The View from Belarus, Russia and Ukraine'. *Contemporary Politics*, 12:2, 193-205.

Marcu, S. (2009) 'The Geopolitics of the Eastern Border of the European Union: The Case of Romania-Moldova-Ukraine'. *Geopolitics*, 14:3, 409-32.

Moisio, S. (1998) 'Finland, Geopolitical Image of Threat and the Post-Cold War Confusion'. *Geopolitics*, 3:3, 104-24.

Special issue of *South European Society and Politics* (2016, 21:1). 'Is Turkey De-Europeanising? Encounters with Europe in a Candidate Country'. Numerous articles are potentially of interest.

Special issue of *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* (2016, 107:2). 'Europe and its Others'. Numerous articles are potentially of interest.

Tsygankov, A.P. (2018) 'The Sources of Russia's Fears of NATO'. *Communist and Post-communist Studies*, 51:2, 101-11.

Vushko, I. (2018) 'Historians at War: History, Politics and Memory in Ukraine'. *Contemporary European History*, 27:1, 112-24.

Week 10 (w/c 3 December): What is 'European' today?

Main tutorial question: What is 'non-European' today?

Essential reading

Jenkins, R. (2008) 'The Ambiguity of Europe: "Identity Crisis" or "Situation Normal"?' *European Societies*, 10:2, 153-76.

Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 5.

Further reading

- Antonsich, M. (2008) 'EUropean Attachment and Meanings of EUrope: A Qualitative Study in the EU-15'. *Political Geography*, 27:6, 691-710.
- Antonsich, M. (2008) 'The Narration of Europe in "National" and "Post-national" Terms: Gauging the Gap between Normative Discourses and People's Views'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11:4, 505-22.
- Bhambra, G.K. (2007) *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Conclusion.
- Bhambra, G.K. (2009) 'Postcolonial Europe: Or, Understanding Europe in Times of the Postcolonial', in C. Rumford (ed.) *The Sage Handbook of European Studies*. London: Sage, 69-86.
- Damay, L. and H. Mercenier (2016) 'Free Movement and EU Citizenship: A Virtuous Circle?' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:8, 1139-57.
- Delanty, G. and C. Rumford (2005) *Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapters 3 and 4.
- Delanty, G. (2005) 'What Does It Mean to be European?' *Innovation*, 18:1, 11-22.
- Fligstein, N., A. Polyakova and W. Sandholtz (2012) 'European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:S1, 106-22.
- Fornäs, J. (2012) *Signifying Europe*. Bristol: Intellect. The full book is available here: <https://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/books/view-Book,id=4929/>
- Giglioli, I. (2017) 'Producing Sicily as Europe: Migration, Colonialism and the Making of the Mediterranean Border between Italy and Tunisia'. *Geopolitics*, 22:2, 407-28.
- Special issue of *Journal of European Studies* (2016, 46:3-4). 'Orientalism within Europe: Differences, Minorities and Division. All articles are potentially of interest.
- Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (Vintage: London). Chapter 23.
- Kinnvall, C. (2016) 'The Postcolonial Has Moved into Europe: Bordering, Security and Ethno-cultural Belonging'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54:1, 152-68.
- Koltsø, P. (2016) "'Western Balkans" as the New Balkans: Regional Names as Tools for Stigmatisation and Exclusion'. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68:7, 1245-63.
- Lähdesmäki, T. (2012) 'Rhetoric of Unity and Cultural Diversity in the Making of European Cultural Identity'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 18:1, 59-75.
- Mamadouh, V. (2009) 'Establishing a Constitution for Europe during European Union Enlargement? Visions of "Europe" in the Referenda Campaigns in France and the Netherlands'. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 26:3, 305-26.
- Manners, I. (2011) 'Symbolism in European Integration'. *Comparative European Politics*, 9:3, 243-68.
- Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 5.
- Outhwaite, W. (2016) *Europe since 1989: Transitions and Transformations* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 9.
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapters 6, 7.
- Pichler, F. (2008) 'European Identities from Below: Meanings of Identification with Europe'. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 9:4, 411-30.
- Rovisco, M. (2010) 'One Europe or Several Europes? The Cultural Logic of Narratives of Europe – Views from France and Britain'. *Social Science Information*, 49:2, 241-66.
- Schilde, K.E. (2014) 'Who Are the Europeans? European Identity Outside of European Integration'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52:3, 650-67.

Week 11 (w/c 10 December): Future prospects

Main tutorial question: Will there be one Europe or will there be several Europes?

Essential reading

- Bhambra, G.K. (2016) 'Whither Europe? Postcolonial versus Neocolonial Cosmopolitanism'. *Interventions*, 18:2, 187-202.

Triandafyllidou, A. and R. Gropas (2015) *What is Europe?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter 10.

Further reading

- Buhari-Gulmez, D. and C. Rumford (2016) 'Towards a ("Thick", "Thin", or "Parallel") European Society? Understanding the Dynamics of European Multiplicity'. *Innovation*, 29:1, 41-55.
- Davies, N. (2007) *Europe East & West* (London: Pimlico). Chapter 13.
- Delanty, G. (2013) *Formations of European Modernity: A Historical and Political Sociology of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Conclusion.
- Delanty, G. and C. Rumford (2005) *Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization* (Abingdon: Routledge). Conclusion.
- Della Salla, V. (2016) 'Europe's Odyssey? Political Myth and the European Union'. *Nations and Nationalism*, 22:3, 524-41.
- Special issue of *European Journal of Social Theory* (2014, 17:3). 'Europe in Crisis'. Numerous articles are potentially of interest.
- Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (Vintage: London). Chapter 24.
- Manners, I. and P. Murray (2016) 'The End of a Noble Narrative? European Integration Narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54:1, 185-202.
- Outhwaite, W. (2008) *European Society* (Cambridge: Polity). Chapter 6.
- Outhwaite, W. (2014) 'The Future of European Democracy'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 17:3, 326-42.
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) *Contemporary Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge). Chapter 8.
- Paasi, A (2001) 'Europe as a Social Process and Discourse: Consideration of Place, Boundaries and Identity'. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 8:1, 7-28.

Journals and websites

The reading list provided for each seminar is by no means an exhaustive list of all relevant books and articles. You are encouraged to make full use of the library resources. Some of the most important journals for this module are (alphabetically):

Comparative European Politics
Contemporary European History
East European Politics and Societies
Europe-Asia Studies
European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology
European Journal of Social Theory
European Journal of Sociology
European Legacy
European Review of History
European Societies
Innovation
Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe
Journal of Contemporary European Studies
Journal of European Studies
South European Society and Politics
West European Politics

To repeat, not all relevant articles from these journals can be listed in this module booklet, so please consult the journals thoroughly, especially the most recent issues. Please also

remember that numerous journals are of relevance for this module, so feel free to use whichever articles you find most relevant for your study – they do not need to be in the above journals – for example those that you find via a search engine such as Google Scholar.

The Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

The Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence hosts events relating to European Studies and the EU, including seminars. There are usually such seminars relevant to the study of the EU. For details of these and other events held in the partner Schools and Institutes of the JMCE, see: <http://www.manchesterjmce.ac.uk/>

Websites

EU gateway webpage – <http://europa.eu/>

From this gateway page you can search for a huge range of institutions, committees, policy areas, publications, treaties, and so on.

AlterEU – <https://www.alter-eu.org/>

EU Observer – <http://euobserver.com/>

EurActiv – <http://www.euractiv.com/>

Europe's World – <http://www.europesworld.org/>

European Affairs – <http://www.euronews.com/european-union/>

Politico – <https://www.politico.eu/>

Social Europe – <http://www.social-europe.eu/#ios>

Transnational Institute – <https://www.tni.org/en>

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS
COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018-19

POLI21002 Comparative West European Politics

Semester: 2

Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Dr. Paul Tobin
Room: 4.006, Arthur Lewis Building (ALB)
Telephone: 0161 275 4672
Email: paul.tobin@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tuesday 10.30-12.30, 4.006 ALB
 Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Tutors: **Bernard Gibbons** Bernard.Gibbons@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Thursday 11-12pm, 4.006 ALB

Louise Wylie Louise.Wylie@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Thursday 1-2pm, 4.006ALB

Lectures: **Tuesday 3-5pm, in Chemistry G.51**

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: 2600 word (+/- 10%) assessed essay (40%); and a 2-hour examination (60%).

Reading week: **NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO**

Administrators: Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk 0161 306 6906
 Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk 0161 275 2499
 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Essay submission time and date: By 2 pm. On Monday, 18th March 2018

STUDENT VOICE: Last year's students' module feedback has resulted in a wider range of essay questions this year, specific periods of analysis in the essay questions, and an extended reading list to help with essays, which is attached at the end of this outline (Appendix 3). Be sure to complete the student voice forms at the end of this term to help next year's students.

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 13.05.2019 - 07.06.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tso.law@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

This course guide must be read in conjunction with Part II: Course Unit Guide.

This Course Unit Guide Part Two can also be found at:

<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/handbooks/>

Course Content

Your tutors on this module are passionate about comparative West European politics. The three cases we look at – France, Germany and Sweden – are global leaders in a range of fields, demonstrate a plethora of important and interesting political features, and are ideal for exploring influential political theories. In addition to learning about important political theories, you will develop an understanding of the states' recent and current politics, covering topics as diverse as the rise of the far-right, environmental protection, economic priorities, gender equality, welfare policies, and foreign and security policy.

The states are also worth studying for the sake of personal interest: We hope that when you complete this module, you will have developed a passion for these countries, and find opportunity to apply this knowledge by visiting each of them at some point in your lifetime. They are stunning places to see in person.

Course Aims

This second year course, *Comparative West European Politics*, introduces some of the most important comparative politics theories and analytical models from the 1960s to the 2010s. For example, Lijphart, Ingelhart, and Sartori, amongst several others, are pioneers of this discipline and learning about them will be useful for many other modules you study too.

Comparative West European Politics is a potentially vast subject. We do not require your knowledge to be absolutely up-to-date (because of the time-lag in journal and book publication), but we do expect our students to take a lively interest in contemporary European politics.

There are no requirements for having taken previous modules, on comparative politics or European politics, as everything will be explained from a first principles perspective. The choice of themes is explicitly comparative, but for the sake of manageability, the course focuses on just three countries: the 'Latin' case of France, the 'Germanic' case of Germany, and the 'Nordic' case of Sweden. There is no need to speak French, German or Swedish in any way!

Learning Outcomes

This module enjoys three main learning outcomes:

- 1) you will explore the study of comparative politics, looking comparatively at three large democracies in Europe, namely France, Germany and Sweden, all of which reveal distinctive institutional patterns;
- 2) you will be introduced to some key political science theories and models. The selected theories and models have been chosen precisely because they are excellent vehicles for introducing second year students to the study of comparative politics; and
- 3) you will develop the conceptual understandings needed for more advanced comparative politics and specialised area courses in the third year.

Employability Outcomes

This module is a great choice for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs, voluntary roles, internships and work placements. The module could be particularly useful for people considering careers in the civil service, journalism, think tanks, research and policy, and charitable organisations. Although the cases are France, Germany and Sweden, the ideas we examine are applicable the world over. For example, you will learn about foreign policy, welfare policies, economic policies, party politics and much more, making this module an ideal grounding for a wide range of jobs.

Method of Assessment

The module is assessed by a **compulsory 2600 word (plus or minus 10%, i.e. 260 words) assessed essay** (40% of the course marks) and a **two hour exam** (60% of the course marks) in the summer exams at the end of the second semester. For the essay, you must choose one question from a choice of five. For the exam, you must choose two questions from a choice of seven. There is a sample exam paper from last year, included as **Appendix 1** to this Course Outline (please note- there was a choice of only six questions for last year's exam; you will have a choice of seven).

THE COMPULSORY ASSESSED ESSAY

It is a rule of the Politics Department that compulsory assessed essays must not be reproduced as exam answers. For this course, you must choose a question relating to the one of the four topics covered in the third to sixth pairs of lectures of the course (regarding governance, catch-all parties, environmental protection, and the rise of the far-right). All four of these topics will also be on the exam paper, but you cannot answer a question on the same topic as your chosen essay. For your essay, answer one of the following three questions:

1. To what extent is each of the French Fifth Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Sweden a consensual democracy? Use and critique the work of Lijphart to support your answer.
2. Evaluate the usefulness of Kirchheimer's 'catch-all party' thesis for explaining French, German and Swedish party politics since 1990. Select one party for each state and justify your choices.
3. What explains the varying levels of ambition shown by France, Germany and Sweden, respectively, towards environmental protection since 1990? Select one environmental policy area to compare across all three states and justify your choice.
4. Discuss the following statement: 'Far-right parties in France, Germany and Sweden since 1990 have been minor actors and have not influenced political life'. Select one party for each state and justify your choices.

(You are advised to see 'Guidelines for Writing Essays' - **Appendix 2**).

Students must submit their assessed essay online by 2pm on Monday 18th March 2018.

- Your essay must be double spaced and typed in at least 12 point in a readable font.
- Include the word count on your essay (at the top of the first page or at the end of the essay).
- Include page numbers.
- Please note that assessed work is marked anonymously – **DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THE ESSAY.**

Online/Electronic Submission

Submit your essay online via the course Blackboard site by 2pm on 19/03/17.

BEFORE SUBMITTING REMEMBER:

- It is vital that you **ONLY** enter your 7/8 digit ID number as the Submission Title. **DO NOT** enter anything else in this box. If we are unable to identify your work by ID number you may be counted as not having submitted anything.
- When submitting online please ensure you submit the correct version of your work and only a **word document**.

- Even though your name is automatically entered when submitting your essay (step 1 of 2), assignments are marked anonymously so your name will not be visible to the marker.

STATEMENT ON PLAGIARISM: The University of Manchester regards plagiarism as a very serious offence. All students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be either found in their programme handbooks or obtained from the Undergraduate Office.

THE COMPULSORY EXAM

The exam paper will have a choice of seven questions; you must answer ANY two of them (there are no 'sections' within the exam paper to choose between). Each question will relate to one of the tutorial topics. The tutorial topics that may be included in the exam are the seven tutorials from (and including) Tutorial 3 on Sartori and governance models parties, to Tutorial 9 on the states' foreign policies. As such, the topics covered in Tutorials 1-2, on why we compare and political instability are not covered in any of the assessments. However, they provide important contextual information that is relevant to the rest of the module, and demonstration of this knowledge should be included in your assessments.

Textbooks

You should certainly consult some of the following textbooks, and you may wish to purchase one or more of them, *but there is no need to do so*. The required readings for the tutorials are available online, and you can find more articles online about each of the essay and exam topics.

1. Comparative Textbooks

Hancock, M. D. et al Politics in Europe 6th ed (Macmillan: 2014).

This book has very good sections on France (by Safran), Germany (by Conradt) and Sweden (by Hancock). It is the most relevant text for the course, but it is sadly very expensive. There are multiple copies in the library. The previous two versions (5th ed from 2011 and 4th ed from 2006) would also suffice and can be bought cheaply, second-hand. The pre-2006 versions are too out-of-date to be especially helpful, but if you can find them very cheaply, they may still come in handy.

Colomer, J. M., Comparative European Politics. Third Edition (Routledge, 2008).

Chapters 3, 4 and 8 relate to Germany, France and the Nordic Countries (rather than Sweden specifically), respectively. A digitised copy of Chapter 3 is available from the University library.

Bale, T. European Politics: A Comparative Introduction (Palgrave: 2017).

This book is divided by themes, rather than states, and contains relevant chapters on parties and governance models in particular.

2. Country-specific books

France

DIG [Cole, A. French Politics and Society \(Taylor and Francis: 2004\).](#)

Cole, A., Meunier, S. and Tiberj, V. (eds.), Developments in French Politics 5 (Palgrave: 2013).

Germany

Roberts, G. K. German Politics Today (3rd Ed.) (Manchester University Press, 2016).

Padgett, S., Paterson, W. E. and Zohlnhöfer, R., Developments in German Politics 4 (Palgrave, 2014).

Sweden

Pierre, J. (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics (Oxford: 2017).

A more accessible, almost travel-based book on Sweden is Dominic Hinde's A Utopia Like Any Other: Inside the Swedish Model (Luath: 2016).

Lectures and Tutorials

The course is composed of ten two-hour lectures (Tuesday afternoons, 2-4pm, Chemistry G.51) given by Paul Tobin, and ten weekly tutorials, given by Bernard Gibbons and Konstantinos Kanellopoulos. The lectures and tutorials are intended to complement one another in an integrated structure so that attendance at both is essential if you are to cover the course's topics effectively.

Requirement for each tutorial: read three articles or chapters or their equivalent and be prepared to discuss your reading during the tutorial;

Preparation time each week: at least 3-4 hours

Attendance: Your attendance will be noted in a report which is lodged in your student file. These reports are consulted by tutors writing references. If you can't attend a tutorial, let Bernard or Konstantinos know in advance.

Week Commencing 28th Jan

Lecture Pair - 'Comparing apples and oranges'

Introduction to the module

Lecture 1- Introduction and why compare?

Lecture 2- The history of the three states

This topic is not asked about directly in the essay or exam questions, but provides vital contextual knowledge for both.

No tutorial

W/C 4th Feb

Lecture Pair - 'Crumbling governments and perilous instability'

Lecture 3- Political instability and stabilisation in the three states

Lecture 4- Sartori's polarised pluralities

This topic is not asked about directly in the essay or exam questions, but provides vital contextual knowledge for both.

Tutorial- Lijphart- Why compare?

W/C 11th Feb

Lecture Pair - 'The arc of the moral universe... bends towards justice'

Lecture 5- Republics and monarchies: The French, German and Swedish constitutions

Lecture 6- Lijphart's governance models

This topic relates to an essay question AND an exam question.

Tutorial- Explaining instability using Sartori

W/C 18th Feb

Lecture Pair 4- 'Big Tents and the centre ground'

Lecture 7- The states' political parties today and current governments

Lecture 8- Kirchheimer's 'catch all parties'

This topic relates to an essay question AND an exam question.

Tutorial- Lijphart's governance models

W/C 25th Feb

Lecture Pair 5- 'Hippy politics or investing in the future?'

Lecture 9- Inglehart's Silent Revolution

Lecture 10- Environmental policy in the three states

This topic relates to an essay question AND an exam question.

Tutorial- Kirchheimer's 'catch all parties'

W/C 4th March

Lecture Pair 6- 'The rise of the far-right?'

Lecture 11- Ignazi's Silent Counter-Revolution

Lecture 12- Far-right parties and Euroscepticism

This topic relates to an essay question AND an exam question.

Tutorial- Inglehart's Silent Revolution

W/C 11th March

Lecture Pair 7- 'Analysing the Invisible Hand'

Lecture 13- Rhodes & van Apeldoorn's varieties of capitalism

Lecture 14- The finance and economic policies of the three states

This topic relates to JUST an exam question.

Tutorial- Ignazi's Silent Counter-Revolution

W/C 18th March

Lecture Pair 8- 'Structural inequality and the social democratic utopia'

Lecture 15- Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare states

Lecture 16- Workers' rights and gender equality today

This topic relates to JUST an exam question.

Tutorial- Rhodes and van Apeldoorn's varieties of capitalism

W/C 25th March

Lecture Pair 9- 'Diplomacy and defence policy'

Lecture 17- The three states and the European Union

Lecture 18- NATO and the military

This topic relates to JUST an exam question.

Tutorial- Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare states

W/C 1st April

Lecture Pair 10- 'Wrapping up'

Lecture 19 & Lecture 20- Conclusion to the module, feedback and revision session

There is no additional exam question relating to this pair of lectures.

Tutorial- Manners and Whitman's differences in foreign policy

W/C 29th April

No lectures

Tutorial- Revision session, module feedback and final questions about the module

EXAM PERIOD: 15th May- 5th June 2019

TUTORIALS

For each tutorial, there are several journal articles or book chapters to read. As this module is comparative, it is important to have an understanding of all three states, so none of the required texts can be missed out. Learning to skim read while highlighting the main ideas is an important skill. Each text will take around an hour to read whilst making notes. Collectively, the reading represents around three-four hours of reading every week; the students who achieve the highest marks always stay on top of their reading.

Where a chapter or a book is labelled '**DIG**', it is digitised and available on Blackboard. According to Copyright Law, only one chapter per book can be digitised. This limitation is frustrating for academics and students alike, but is designed to protect the integrity of the publishing industry. As such, for example, in Hancock (2014), only the chapter on Sweden is digitised, even though it would have been better if the chapters on France and Germany were also digitised. All of the journal articles listed below are free to download from the journal's website, once you have signed in via your University of Manchester account.

In every reading, identify and keep one direct quotation that you feel is crucial to the main arguments of that piece. Using this technique for each text, each week, will make writing your essay and revising for the exam significantly easier.

In **Appendix 3** at the end of this document, there is a long list of additional texts you can read, relating to each of the tutorial topics. These texts will be especially useful for your essays and exams, and also feel free to read any that appeal in the run-up to your tutorials too.

First Tutorial (Week 2): Lijphart- Why compare?

This week's topic introduces the idea of comparative politics, and is not assessed via the essay questions, or the exam questions. Crucially, though, it lays the foundations for the comparative work you need to be able to show to do well in your essays and exams.

This week, you must read two texts:

First text:

First, skim-read a general summary about France, using one of the following two sources. You will read summaries about Germany and Sweden during the next two weeks.

EITHER Safran's chapter on France in Hancock et al Politics in Europe 6th ed (Macmillan: 2014), OR DIG Chapter One in Schwartz, V. R. (2011). *Modern France: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Second text:

[A. Lijphart, 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method' *The American Political Science Review*, 65 \(3\), pp.682-693.](#)

Notice that on the first page of the text above, Lijphart refers to Sartori, who is the scholar we focus on next week.

Questions to consider:

- Why do we compare?
- Can the comparative method be regarded as ‘the social scientist’s equivalent of the natural scientist’s laboratory?’
- What are the main problems with the comparative method?
- Should a political theory be rejected if a deviant case can be found?
- See p.690 of Lijphart- are the UK and USA comparable? If so/if not, are France, Germany and Sweden comparable? Why?
- What is the legacy of the French Revolution on today’s France?

Second Tutorial (Week 3): Explaining instability using Sartori

This week’s topic introduces the party systems of modern France, Germany and Sweden, and is not assessed via the essay questions, or the exam questions, but again provides vital knowledge about each case.

This week, you must read two texts. Skim-read the first to get a general feel of Germany, as you did for France last week.

First text:

EITHER Conradt’s chapter on Germany in Hancock et al Politics in Europe 6th ed (Macmillan: 2014), OR
DIG Schmidt’s chapter on Germany in Colomer Comparative European Politics (Routledge, 2008).

Second text:

DIG Sartori, G., ‘A Typology of Party Systems’, in Peter Mair, (ed.), The West European Party System (1990), pp. 316-349.

In this tutorial we will apply Sartori’s models to examine the historical instability of France and Germany, and discuss from the lecture notes the apparent stability of Sweden. Use the arguments made by Sartori, and your reading of the summaries of France and Germany, to consider the following questions:

- What are the strengths of Sartori’s approach?
- What are the weaknesses of Sartori’s approach? What does he overlook?
- Which is more problematic in your opinion: Long-term political dominance by just one political party, or political instability that creates very short-term governments? Why?
- Is Sweden as stable as we might initially think? What about its struggles to create a government in autumn 2018?

- Should we expect France, Germany and Sweden to remain stable indefinitely, or will every state slide back into instability eventually?

Third Tutorial (Week 4): Lijphart's governance models

There is an essay question on this topic, and it will be in the exam. If you answer the essay question related to this topic, you cannot answer an exam question on it.

This week, skim-read the final country case study. Then, read the subsequent two articles that are both short.

First text:

DIG Hancock's chapter on Sweden in Hancock et al Politics in Europe 6th ed (Macmillan: 2014).

Second text:

DIG Lijphart, A. (1984) "Chapter 2. The Consensus Model of Democracy" from Lijphart, Arend, *Democracies: patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries* pp.21-36, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Third text:

[Lewin, L. \(1998\). 'Majoritarian and Consensus Democracy: the Swedish Experience'. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 21 \(3\), pp.195-206.](#)

Questions to consider:

- Why does the type of governance model in a country matter?
- What are the general arguments behind Lijphart's famous distinction between 'majoritarian' and 'consensual' democracies?
- How far do France, the FRG (later, Germany) and Sweden exemplify this distinction between 'majoritarian' and 'consensual' democracies (looking in particular at executive-legislature and centre-periphery relations, the role of the electoral system, the pattern of political parties, and their role in government)?
- How far does the distinction bring out the key differences between their political systems? Consider the implications of the 'co-habitation' period 1986-8 and its aftermath in France, and the rise of the Greens in FRG (later, Germany).

Fourth Tutorial (Week 5): Kirchheimer's 'catch all parties'

There is an essay question on this topic, and it will be in the exam. If you answer the essay question related to this topic, you cannot answer an exam question on it.

There are two texts to read this week. The original text by Kirchheimer is in the additional reading list at the end of this document. You do not have to read Kirchheimer's chapter for the tutorial, but it is essential reading if you intend to write your essay or exam answers on this topic.

First text:

[Allen, C. S. \(2009\). "Empty nets": Social Democracy and the "Catch-All Party Thesis" in Germany and Sweden'. *Party Politics*. 15 \(5\), pp.635-653.](#)

Second text:

DIG [Chapter 8 in Cole's 'French Politics and Society' \(Routledge: 2017\).](#)

Questions to consider:

- In France, what explains the 1960s dominance and subsequent relative decline of Gaullism, and the resurrection of the Socialists and the simultaneous decline of the Communists?
- In Germany, how can we understand, and what explains the success of, Christian Democracy as an electoral force?
- Does the transformation of the German Socialists into a modern Social Democratic party vindicate Kirchheimer?
- What explains the success of the Swedish Social Democrats?
- Do the Swedish Social Democrats fulfil Kirchheimer's understanding of catch-all parties?
- Do you find catch-all theory plausible in the light of similar developments in other political systems (e.g. Thatcherism, New Labour)?
- To what extent are the 'catch-all' parties challenged by recent party system developments? (This latter point connects to the next two tutorial topics and reading).

Fifth Tutorial (Week 6): Inglehart's Silent Revolution

There is an essay question on this topic, and it will be in the exam. If you answer the essay question related to this topic, you cannot answer an exam question on it.

Again, there are two texts to read this week:

First text:

DIG Inglehart, R. & Rabier, J.-R. (1986). 'Political Reassignment in Advanced Industrial Society: From class based politics to quality of life politics'. *Government and Opposition*. 21 (4), pp.457-479.

Second text:

[Tobin, P. \(2017\). 'Leaders and Laggards: Climate Policy Ambition in Developed States'. *Global Environmental Politics*, 17 \(4\), pp.28-47.](#)

Questions to consider:

- What explains the rise of Green Politics in the 1980s?
- To what extent has there occurred a generational value-change in West European politics along the lines of Inglehart's 'Silent Revolution' theory? Why has there been such a change?
- What is your understanding of the difference between 'materialist' politics and 'post-materialist' politics?
- To what extent has the growth in new 'movements' (e.g. ecology, peace, feminism, the far right) a response to the depoliticisation of catch-allism discussed in the last tutorial?
- Are any of the three states a leader on climate change?
- Germany and Sweden seeking to phase-out nuclear power on their climate policies, while France is one of the most pro-nuclear states in the world. Is nuclear power an environmentally-friendly technology?

Sixth Tutorial (Week 7): Ignazi's Silent Counter-Revolution

There is an essay question on this topic, and it will be in the exam. If you answer the essay question related to this topic, you cannot answer an exam question on it.

Again, there are two texts to read this week:

First text:

[P. Ignazi, \(1992\) 'The silent counter-revolution: hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*. 22 \(1\), 3-34.](#)

Second text:

All three of the very short chapters ([10, 12 and 19](#)) on Germany, France and Sweden in [Wodak, R., Khosravinik, M. & Mjal, B. \(2013\). *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*](#). This whole book is available digitally via the university library.

Questions to consider:

- Has there been a revival of the Far Right in Western Europe?
- If there has been a revival, what explains it? If you think that hasn't, what have been the obstacles?
- Are 'New Politics' parties (like the far-right, and also the greens) a new kind of party?
- To what extent is the far-right a reaction to the progressive post-materialist politics of the New Left/Green/Alternative front?

- How can we explain the particular recent success in France of the far-right?
- Why do the other parties refuse to cooperate with far-right parties? Is this democratic?

Seventh Tutorial (Week 8): Rhodes and van Apeldoorn's varieties of capitalism

There is not an essay question on this topic, but it will be in the exam.

There are again only two readings this week. The first neglects Sweden somewhat, and so the second focuses just on Sweden.

First text:

[M. Rhodes & B. van Apeldoorn, 'Capital unbound? The transformation of European corporate governance'. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 5 \(3\), pp.406-427.](#)

Second text:

[Lindvall, J. \(2006\). 'The Politics of Purpose: Swedish Economic Policy after the Golden Age'. *Comparative Politics*. 38 \(3\), pp.253-272.](#)

Questions to consider:

- In what ways does the role of the state in the economy of these three countries differ?
- Where does Sweden fit into Rhodes and van Apeldoorn's typology? Is it an Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, or Latin state? Or is it something else?
- What are the main differences between state, business and trade union relations in the three cases?
- How are the three countries' models of political economy changing? What is driving the change?
- Is the rise of neo-liberalism an unstoppable force?

Eighth Tutorial (Week 9): Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare states

There is not an essay question on this topic, but it will be in the exam.

First text:

DIG Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). 'Part 1, Chapter 1: The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State.' In: Esping-Andersen G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Bristol: Polity), pp.21-62.

The second and final reading is a short chapter highlighting the variations in women's elected office in the three states:

DIG 'Chapter 1: The Temporal Dimension of Women's Political Participation' in: Mateo Diaz, M. (2008). *Representing Women? Female Legislators in West European Parliaments* (Colchester: ECPR Press).

Questions to consider:

- What is the role of unions in shaping French welfare policy?
- What do we mean by German 'corporatism'? How does it work?
- Does the Swedish welfare state represent a 'Social Democratic Utopia'?
- What explains the similarities and differences between the states' welfare policies?
- Why might gender equality affect welfare state policy, and vice versa?

Ninth Tutorial (Week 10): Manners and Whitman's differences in foreign policy

There is not an essay question on this topic, but it will be in the exam.

There are two texts to read.

First text:

DIG Simón, L. 'France and Germany: The European Union's 'central' Member States'. In: Hadfield, A., Manners, I. & Whitman, R. G. (2017). *Foreign Policies of EU Member States: Continuity and Europeanisation* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Second text:

DIG Bjereld, U. & Möller, U. 'Swedish Foreign Policy: The Policy of Neutrality and Beyond'. In: Pierre, J. (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Questions to consider:

- Are any of the three states a foreign policy leader on the global stage? Why?
- Why does France's nuclear weapon capacity give it greater international leverage? Should it?
- Does France still have an empire? How about Germany and Sweden?
- How has the legacy of World War 2 shaped Germany's foreign policy?
- To what extent is Sweden a neutral state in its foreign policy?

Tenth Tutorial (Week 11): Revision, module feedback and final questions about the module

This tutorial wraps up the module, and seeks to clarify any remaining questions about the exam.

APPENDIX 1: Last year's exam paper

POLI21002T

2 Hours

POLI21002 Comparative West European Politics

May/June Exam 2018

Please answer TWO of the following questions. Remember, you must discuss France AND Germany AND Sweden in your answer. If the question does not state a particular time period, provide your own justification for which time period you have chosen to examine. Please remember you CANNOT answer an exam question related to the same topic as your assessed essay.

1. To what extents have France, Germany and Sweden possessed 'catch-all' parties since the year 2000? Choose at least one party for each country and justify your choice. What does your answer tell us about Kirchheimer's theory?
2. 'Sweden is an environmental leader'. Critically evaluate this statement, by comparing the country with France and Germany.
3. What explains the apparent rise of the far-right in France, Germany and Sweden?
4. How far do you agree that the three countries possess three different varieties of capitalism?
5. Critically assess how the role of the state differs in the welfare provision of France, Germany and Sweden.
6. To what extent is Sweden actually a neutral state in its foreign policy? In your answer, compare Swedish neutrality with the foreign policies of France and Germany.

1 of 1

End of examination paper

APPENDIX 2: Guidelines for Writing Essays

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the essay, state what the chosen topic is, what your argument is, what your structure is, and why you are examining these issues. This section should constitute a concisely and precisely written paragraph. The reader should know your answer to the question by the end of this first paragraph. It should be clear how you intend to proceed through your essay. Once you have announced the overall structure of your essay, make sure that you adhere to it.

2. Quality of Argument

To achieve higher marks, you should make a strong, clear and confident argument that is nuanced and shows awareness of the relevant literature. The development of the argument should be cumulative: each section should carry the argument a stage further, and should provide supporting evidence, analysis and illustration. Sections should follow on from each other in a fluid and logical manner so that your argument is developed to its full extent. Keep the title of the essay in mind at all times during your argument so that your essay remains relevant throughout and the question is answered. Finally, bear in mind that creative and original arguments, based on neglected and nuanced supporting evidence, will earn you even more marks.

3. Strength of Conclusion

There should be a full conclusion paragraph to your essay, stating what has been achieved and its significance. This should be related back to the introduction and to the title of the essay.

4. Writing style

Try to write paragraphs of a similar length to each other, perhaps around 200-300 words in length each. Each paragraph should have one main idea that you then analyse in detail, and support your arguments with references (see next point). Sentences should be precise and concise; give examples to support your argument, and make sure that the sentence does not 'waffle'. Be sure to read your essay several times through, making changes as you go, to maximise your clarity and avoid simple spelling mistakes.

5. Source, References and Bibliography

You cannot gain an upper second or first class mark by simply referring to the main course textbooks or only the core reading for particular topic. For your argument to be well developed, you will need to read more widely, and you will need to identify the relevant literature. Ensure that you make use of your sources by employing quotations - and/or paraphrasing - effectively. This will provide evidence of your reading.

Your essay should include references and a bibliography - failure to include these may result in your essay not being marked and could lead to up to 10 marks being deducted. The references and bibliography should be presented in a scholarly fashion. **Please refer to the Part 2 Guide for full details on how to write references notes and bibliographies.**

Golden rule: If in doubt about whether a sentence needs referencing, you probably need to reference it!

In addition

Bear in mind that higher marks are gained by making sure that:

- your essay is well presented;
- your essay is not marred by poor spelling – this the includes names of people and places;
- your grammar and punctuation are of a good standard;
- your writing style is fluent, and that your ideas are well articulated;
- you make good use of paragraphs and break up your argument.

Finally, remember that the University of Manchester regards plagiarism as a very serious offence. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Make sure that your work is your own. All students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be either found in their programme handbooks or obtained from the Undergraduate Office (G.001). Paul loves teaching but has reported students for plagiarism before and will not hesitate to do so again (if necessary).

APPENDIX 3: Extended reading list

For each week's tutorial, it is only necessary to read the sources specified for each week. However, when it comes to writing your essays and preparing for the exams, a wider range of reading will be necessary. Please see below for a list of recommended, broader reading. This list is far from exhaustive though and strong students will conduct their own literature searches too.

France

[Cole, A. French Politics and Society \(Taylor and Francis: 2004\).](#)

Cole, A., Meunier, S. and Tiberj, V. (eds.), Developments in French Politics 5 (Palgrave: 2013).

Germany

Roberts, G. K. (2016). German Politics Today (3rd Ed.).

Padgett, S., Paterson, W. E. and Zohlnhöfer, R. (2014). Developments in German Politics 4.

Sweden

Pierre, J. (2017). The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics.

Hinde, D. A Utopia Like Any Other: Inside the Swedish Model (Luath: 2016).

Party politics and catch-all parties

DIG Kirchheimer, O.	"Chapter 6. The Transformation of Western European Party Systems" from LaPalombara, J. et al, Political Parties and Political Development pp.177-200, Princeton: Princeton University Press, (1966).
G. Braunthal	'Opposition in the Kohl Era: The SPD and the Left', <u>German Politics</u> , Vol. 7, No. 1, April 1998.
C. Clemens	'Party Management as a Leadership Resource: Kohl and the CDU/CSU', <u>German Politics</u> , 7:1, April 1998.
Poguntke, T.	'Towards a new party system: The vanishing of the catch-all parties in Germany', <u>Party Politics</u> , 20 (6), 2014.
G. Roberts	'The German Party System in Crisis' <u>Parliamentary Affairs</u> 48, no 2, 1995, pp. 125-140.
Lees, C.	'The paradoxical effects of decline' <u>Party Politics</u> , 18 (4), 2012.
J. Charlot	<u>The Gaullist Phenomenon</u> , Allen & Unwin, 1970.
Spoon, J.-J.	'Holding their own' <u>Party Politics</u> 15 (5), 2009.

- Allen, C. S. "‘Empty nets’: Social Democracy and the ‘Catch-All Party Thesis’ in Germany and Sweden”. *Party Politics*. 15 (5), pp.635-653(2009).
- Krouwel, A. ‘Otto Kirchheimer and the Catch-All Party’, West European Politics, 26 (2), 2003, pp.23-40.

Environmental policy

- Bäckstrand, K. & A. Kronsell, Rethinking the Green State: Environmental Governance towards Climate and Sustainability Transitions. Abingdon: Routledge (2015).
- Compston, H. & Bailey, I. Turning Down the Heat: The Politics of Climate Policy in Affluent Democracies. Basingstoke: Palgrave (2008).
- R. Inglehart ‘The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies’, American Political Science Review, 65 (1971), pp. 991-1017.
- R. Inglehart ‘Value Change in Industrial Societies’, American Political Science Review, 81/4 (1987), pp. 1289-303.
- H. Kitschelt ‘Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-nuclear Movements in Four Democracies’, British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 16, 1986.
- T. Poguntke ‘New Politics and Party Systems: The Emergence of a New Type of Party’, West European Politics, Vol. 10, 1987.
- R. Dalton ‘The Role of the Greens in West Germany Parliamentary Politics 1980-87’, Review of Politics, Vol. 50, 1988.
- P. Hainsworth ‘Breaking the Mould: the Greens in the French Party System’, in A. Cole (ed.), French Political Parties in Transition, 1990.
- T. Poguntke & R. Schmitt Beck ‘Bundis-90-Die Grunen after the fusion’, German Politics 3, 1 (1994), pp. 91-113.
- Tobin, P. ‘Leaders and Laggards: Climate Policy Ambition in Developed States’. *Global Environmental Politics*, 17 (4), pp.28-47.
- DIG Tobin, P. ‘Yellow and Blue Makes Green? Ecological Modernisation in Swedish Climate Policy’. In: Bäckstrand, K. & Kronsell, A. Eds. (2015). *Rethinking the Green State: Environmental Governance towards Climate and Sustainability Transitions*. Abingdon: Routledge.

The far-right

- Arzheimer, K. ‘The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany? West European Politics, 38 (3), 2015, pp.535-556.
- H-G. Betz ‘The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-wing Populist Parties in Western Europe’, Comparative Politics, 1993, 25 (4): 413-27.

- H-G. Betz 'The two faces of radical right-wing populism in Western Europe', Review of Politics, 1993, 55 (4): 663-85.
- Hellström, A., Nilsson, T. & Stoltz, P. 'Nationalism vs. Nationalism: The Challenge of the Sweden Democrats in the Swedish Public Debate'. Government and Opposition, 47 (2), 2012, pp.186-205.
- P. Ignazi 'The silent counter-revolution: hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe', European Journal of Political Research July 1992.
- P. Ignazi & C. Ysmal 'Le Pen, the National Front and the Extreme Right in France' Parliamentary Affairs, July 1992.
- Mayer, N. 'From Jean-Marie to Marie Le Pen: Electoral Change on the Far-right' Parliamentary Affairs, 66 (1), 2013, pp.160-178.
- Mulinari, D. & Neergaard, A. 'We are Sweden Democrats because we care for others' European Journal of Women's Studies, 21 (1), 2014.
- M. Schalis 'The National Front in France', West European Politics, Vol. 10, 1987. Parliamentary Affairs 1992.
- R. Stoss 'The problem of right-wing extremism in West Germany' West European Politics, 11 (2), 1988.
- P. Taggart 'New Populist Parties in Western Europe', West European Politics, 1995, 18 (1): 34-51.
- Vasiloupoulou, S. *Far Right Parties and Euroscepticism* (2016).
- DIG Wodak, R., Khosravini, M. & Mjal, B. *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse* (2013).

Economic policy

- R. Deeg 'The State, Banks, and Economic Governance in Germany', German Politics (1993), Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 149-76.
- C. Flockton 'The federal German economy in the early 1990s', German Politics (1993), Vol. 2, No. 2.
- Levy, J. D. 'From the *Dirigiste* State to the Social Anaesthesia State: French Economic Policy in the *Longue Durée*' Modern & Contemporary France, 16 (4), pp.417-435.
- Lundberg, E. 'The Rise and Fall of the Swedish Model'. *Journal of Economic Literature* 23 (1), (1985), pp.1-36.
- M. Maclean 'Privatisation in France 1993-94: new departures or a case of plus ça change?', West European Politics, 18: 2, 1995.
- D. Marsh, 'Reinventing German capitalism', German Politics, 5:3, August 1996.
- U. Schroder 'Corporate governance in Germany: the changing role of the banks' German Politics, 5:3, August 1996.
- M. G. Schmidt 'West Germany: the politics of the middle way', The Journal of Public Policy, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1987), pp. 139-77.

- V. Schmidt 'The decline of state dirigisme in France; the transformation of political economic policies and policy making processes', Governance, 9:4, pp. 375-405;
- Schön, L. Sweden's Road to Modernity: An Economic History (2010).
- Sianesi, B. 'An Evaluation of the Swedish System of Active Labor Market Programs in the 1990s'. The Review of Economics and Statistics, 86 (1), pp.133-155.
- R. Sturm 'How Independent is the Bundesbank?', German Politics (1995), 4,1, pp. 27-41.
- Zohlnhöfer, R. 'Partisan Politics, Party Competition and Veto Players: German Economic Policy in the Kohl Era' Journal of Public Policy, (2003), 23 (2), pp.123-156.
- Zohlnhöfer, R. 'Destination Anywhere? The German Red-Green Government's Inconclusive Search for a Third Way in Economic Policy' German Politics (2004), 13 (1), pp.106-131.

Welfare policy and gender politics

- Blomqvist, P. 'The Choice Revolution: Privatisation of Swedish Welfare Services in the 1990s' Social Policy & Administration, (2004), 38 (2), pp.139-155.
- Childs, S. & Lovenduski, J. 'Political Representation' in Waylen, G., Celis, K., Kantola, J. & Weldon, S. L. (2013). *Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Cowell-Meyers, K. 'The Contagion Effects of the Feminist Initiative in Sweden' Scandinavian Political Studies, (2017), 40 (4), pp.481-493.
- Kasza, G., J. 'The Illusion of Welfare 'Regimes'' Journal of Social Policy, (2002), 31 (2), pp.271-287.
- DIG Kaufmann, F.-X. ed. *Variations of the Welfare State: Great Britain, Sweden, France and J. Germany. Between Capitalism and Socialism* (2013).
- Kemmerling, A. & Bruttel, O. 'New Politics in German Labour Market Policy?: The Implications of the Recent Hartz Reforms for the German Welfare State' SSOAR, 2005.
- Korpi, W., Ferrarini, T. 'Women's Opportunities under Different Family Policy Constellations' Social Politics, (2013), 20 (1), pp.1-40.
- & Englund, S.
- Macrae, H. 'Rescaling Gender Relations: The Influence of European Directives on the German Gender Regime' Social Politics, (2006), 13 (4), pp.522-550.
- Selby, J. A. 'French Secularism as a 'guarantor' of women's rights? Culture and Religion, (2011), 12 (4), pp.441-462.
- Steinmo, S. 'Globalization and Taxation: Challenges to the Swedish Welfare State' Comparative Political Studies, (2002), 35 (7).
- Streeck, W. 'Economic Reform and the Political Economy of the German Welfare State' German Politics, 2005, 14 (2), pp.174-195.
- & Trampusch, C.

Foreign policy

- Behr, T. 'Enduring Differences? France, Germany and Europe's Middle East Dilemma' Journal of European Integration, (2008), 30 (1), pp.79-96.
- DIG Bjørrelid, U. & Möller, U. 'Swedish Foreign Policy' In: Pierre, J. (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics (Oxford: 2017).
- Brommesson, D. 'Normative Europeanisation: The case of Swedish foreign policy reorientation' Cooperation and Conflict (2010), 45 (2).
- Brommesson, D. 'What happens when a new government enters office?' Cooperation and Conflict (2012), 48 (1).
- DIG Bulmer, S. & Paterson, W. E. Chapter 5, German European Policy in the Twenty-First Century, In: *Germany and the European Union*, pp.142-166.
- Forsberg, T. 'German Foreign Policy and the War on Iraq: Anti-Americanism, Pacificism or Emancipation?' Security Dialogue (2005), 36 (2).
- Hadfield, A., Manners, I. & Whitman, R. G. *Foreign Policies of EU Member States: Continuity and Europeanisation* (2017).
- Irondelle, B. 'European Foreign Policy: the end of French Europe?' Journal of European Integration, (2008), 30 (1), pp.153-168.
- Miskimmon, A. 'German Foreign Policy and the Libya Crisis', German Politics, (2012), 21 (4), pp.392-410.
- Oppermann, K. & Viehrig, H. 'The Public Salience of Foreign and Security Policy in Britain, Germany and France' West European Politics, (2009), 32 (5), pp.925-942.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

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Semester Two
 Credits: 20

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Office Hours:	Tuesday 11:00-12:00, Wednesday 10:00-11:00 Book via SOHOL at http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/
Tutors:	Konstantinos Kanellopoulos k.kanell@manchester.ac.uk Room: ALB 4.19 Office Hours: TBC
Lectures:	Wednesday 11:00-13:00 (Hum Bridge St_G33)
Tutorials:	Tuesday 13:00-17:00 , (Zochonis_B22) ***Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System***
Mode of assessment:	Essay: 2,800 words (40% of total mark) Exam: 2 hours (60% of total mark)
Administrators:	Luke Smith, luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906 Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****Essay hand in date: **Monday 29 April 2019****Communication:** Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.**Examination period:** 13.05.2019 – 07.06.2019**Re-sit Examination period:** 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk / dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Aims

The course unit aims to:

Analyse the political and policy-making processes in contemporary Greece, Italy and Spain. The study of the three countries will be placed into a strong comparative perspective with particular attention focusing on (a) the common historical traits that shaped their political culture and development (b) the similarities and contrasts of their political institutions and policy-making processes (c) the nature of party political competition; (d) the impact of EU membership on their political systems and on their political economy and (e) their foreign policy orientation.

Objectives

On completion of this unit successful students will be able to demonstrate:

Knowledge and Understanding:

- Develop an in-depth knowledge of the political and policy-making processes of contemporary Greece, Italy and Spain.
- Build a good understanding of the historical traits that have shaped the political culture in Greece, Italy and Spain;
- Enhance their understanding of the political economy of Southern Europe and of the impact of European Union membership on the political and economic landscape in the region.

Intellectual skills:

- Develop their skills on the use of the comparative method in the study of political phenomena
- Enhance their ability to think critically about key developments in Southern Europe affecting the entirety of the European continent

Practical skills:

Transferable skills and personal qualities:

- Enhance their presentation and essay writing skills
- Pursue independent study and learning

Course Contents

This course is divided into five parts. The **first part** (week 1 and 2a) reviews the history of Southern Europe and identifies the main events that shaped its political development. The **second part** (weeks 2b-3) looks at the main political institutions in the three countries. Here the discussion shifts onto the outlook and functions of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary as well as onto the territorial structure and public administration of Greece, Italy and Spain. The **third part** (weeks 4-5) focuses on the main cleavages of Southern European politics, including issues that effect the quality of democracy in the region as well as the main characteristics of its political economy. The **fourth part** (weeks 6-7) focuses on the nature of party-political competition. Among the issues to be discussed here are the issue of personality politics as well as the operation and ideological outlook of the main political parties in Southern Europe. The **fifth part** concludes with the external dimension of Southern European politics, discussing foreign policy, relations with the European Union and the more recent refugee crisis.

Course Texts

You are recommended to purchase one or more of the following texts for this course:

Cotta, M. and Verzichelli, L. (2007) *The Political Institutions in Italy*, Oxford: OUP
Featherstone and Papadimitriou (2008), *The Limits of Europeanisation: reform capacity and policy conflict in Greece*, London: Plagrove (available at a special price from Blackwells)

Gunther, R. and Montero, J.R. (2009), *The Politics of Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
 Magone, J. (2009), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, Second edition, London: Routledge
 Newell, J. (2010), *The Politics of Italy: Governance in a Normal Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
 Kalyvas, S. (2015), *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
 Bosco, A. and Verney, S. (eds) (2018) *Crisis Elections, New Contenders and Government Formation*, London: Routledge
 Jones, E. and Pasquino, G. (eds) (2015), *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, Oxford: OUP
 Chislett, W. (2013) *Spain: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: OUP

Teaching Arrangements

The module is based on a series of 20 one-hour lectures and 10 weekly tutorials. Lectures will be held on **(Hum Bridge St_G33)** starting on **Wednesday 6 February**. Tutorials will start on **Tuesday 5 February** in **Zochonis_B22**.

Tutorial attendance rules

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory. You must make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should contact a tutor with this information. If you are unable to do this, you should explain your absence as soon as possible thereafter. You should not wait to be contacted by your tutor to explain non-attendance. Contact the Undergraduate Office on 0161 275 4878/4883.

Unexcused absences can lead to an unsatisfactory tutor's report at the end of the course (affecting job references) and may even lead to exclusion from this course or in a refusal to allow you to re-sit a failed exam.

Assessment Scheme

A 2,800-word essay (40% of total mark), to be submitted by **29 April 2019**

&

A 2-hour examination (60% of total mark)

**Guidelines on the assessment criteria used for the making of essays and exam scripts can be found on 'Politics Part-2 Guide' available on Blackboard*

Assessed Essay

The University of Manchester regards **plagiarism** as a very serious offence. All students are expected to read and comply with University regulations concerning plagiarism. These regulations are reproduced in an appendix to 'Politics Part-2 Guide' which can be found on Blackboard.

Late Submission of Essays and other Coursework will be penalised.

Please see the Policy on Submission of Work for Summative Assessment on Taught Programmes at: <http://www.tlso.manchester.ac.uk/map/teachinglearningassessment/assessment/sectionb-thepracticeofassessment/policyonsubmissionofworkforsummativeassessment/>

Late penalties will be applied unless the students Home School grants an extension

Standardised guidelines regarding footnotes and bibliography

The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate referencing will be penalised by the deduction of marks – normally to a maximum of 10 marks where the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate. Plagiarism is a serious offence.

Report on assessed essay

For those students who submit by the essay deadline, Politics attempts to ensure that the report will be available before the first day of the exam period in order to provide students with feedback. However, you should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations boards.

Feedback

The School of Social Sciences is committed to providing timely and appropriate feedback to students on their academic progress and achievement, thereby enabling students to reflect on their progress and plan their academic and skills development effectively. Students are reminded that feedback is necessarily *responsive*: only when a student has done a certain amount of work and approaches us with it at the appropriate fora is it possible for us to feed *back* on the *student's work*.

The main forms of feedback on this course are:

- (a) the written comments you will receive from your tutor on your tutorial presentation
- (b) the written comments you will receive on your assessed essay
- (c) summary written comments on your exam paper may be available upon request

We also draw your attention to the variety of generic forms of feedback available to you on this as on all SOSS courses. These include:

- (a) meeting the lecturer/tutor during their office hours
- (b) e-mailing questions to the lecturer/tutor
- (c) asking questions from the lecturer (before and after lecture)
- (d) presenting a question on the discussion board on Blackboard
- (e) obtaining feedback from your peers during tutorials

Assessed Essay Questions

Note: Students must not reproduce assessed essays as exam answers.

1. What accounts for the recent success of anti-systemic parties in Greece, Italy and Spain?
2. Was the Catalanian Parliament right to self-proclaim independence from Spain in 2017?
3. How successfully has SYRIZA reconciled its radical rhetoric while in opposition with its record in office?
4. What are the challenges facing Italy in remaining a leading member of the European Union?
5. Is the quality of democracy in Southern Europe poor ?

Lecture Outline

A. Mediterranean Politics in Context

6 February 2019

- Week 1a: Historical conceptions of Southern European ‘glory’ and ‘victimhood’
- Week 1b: Post-War Development: in search of democracy and stability

B. The Formal Rules of Southern European Politics

13 February 2019

- Week 2a: Transitions to Democracy: why, when and how?
- Week 2b: The Constitutional Boundaries of Executive Power: a story of Monarchs, Presidents and Prime Ministers

20 February 2019

- Week 3a Territorial Structure and Public Administration: between decentralisation and partitocrazia
- Week 3b Electoral Laws and Party Systems: fragmentation or consolidation?

C. Key Cleavages of Southern European Politics

27 February 2019

- Week 4a: The Uneasy Pursuit of the ‘National’: dominant ideologies and minority protection in Southern Europe
- Week 4b: The Politics of Protest and Violence in Southern Europe

6 March 2019

- Week 5a: The Informal Aspect of Southern European Politics: clientelism, nepotism and corruption
- Week 5b: The Political Economy of Southern Europe: one variety of capitalism or more?

D. The Nature of Political Competition

13 March 2019

- Week 6a: Leadership, Ideology and Mass Mobilisation in Southern European Politics
- Week 6b: Parties of the Centre-Left: organisation and ideological outlook

20 March 2019

- Week 7a: Parties of the Centre-Right: organisation and ideological outlook
- Week 7b: Fringe Parties: organisation and ideological outlook

E. Southern Europe in the World

27 March 2019

- Week 8a: The effects of EU membership: Europeanisation as modernisation
- Week 8b: Enter “PIGS”: the effects of the Eurozone crisis on Southern Europe

3 April 2019

- Week 9a: Foreign Policy: the world beyond the EU
- Week 9b: Southern Europe at a Crossroad: the refugee crisis and its implications

1 May 2019

- Week 10a: Revision Lecture

Tutorial Outline

Tutorial 1: Introduction and Organization (5 February)**Tutorial 2: Historical Legacies (12 February)**

- *Has Southern Europe been a victim or a perpetrator of colonialism?*

Tutorial 3: Transitions to Democracy (19 February)

- *Is there a single pattern of Southern European transition to democracy?*

Tutorial 4: Regionalism in Southern Europe (26 February)

- *What effects does regionalism have on the Spanish and/or Italian political system?*

Tutorial 5: National Identity and Minority Protection (5 March)

- *How do dominant national discourses affect 'significant others' in Greece and/or Cyprus?*

Tutorial 6: The Political Economy of Southern Europe (12 March)

- *What is the 'insider/outsider' problem in the political economy of Southern Europe?*

Tutorial 7: Political Parties I (19 March)

- *"Political parties in Greece, Italy and Spain are all about personality, not ideology". Discuss with reference to at least two political parties from the region.*

Tutorial 8: Political Parties II (26 March)

- *Discuss the success of anti-systemic parties in recent elections in Southern Europe*

Tutorial 9: European Union Membership (2 April)

- *Discuss the limits of Europeanisation in Southern European EU member states*

Tutorial 10: Immigration Crisis (30 April)

- *To what extent is Southern Europe to blame for the ongoing refugee crisis in the Mediterranean?*

Seminar 1: Organizational tutorial (5 February)

Organisation of the seminar group
Allocation of presentations

General Bibliography (most books can be found on short loan in the Library):

Suggested reading

- Bull, M and Rhodes, M. (eds) (2008), *Italy: A Contested Polity*, London: Routledge (Introduction).
Coulombis T. Bellou F. and Kariotis T. (eds) (2003) *Greece in the 20th Century*, London: Routledge (Chapter 1)
Encarnación, O. (2008), *Spanish Politics: Democracy After Dictatorship*, London: Polity (Chapter 2)
Featherstone and Papadimitriou (2008), *The Limits of Europeanisation: reform capacity and policy conflict in Greece*, London: Plagrove (Chapter 3)
Featherstone, K. (ed) (2005) *Politics and Policy in Greece: The Challenge of Modernisation*; London: Routledge (chapter 1).
Gunther, R. and Montero, J.R. (2009), *The Politics of Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1)
Gunther, R., Diamandouros N. and Puhle H.J. (eds) (1995). *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Newell, J. (2010), *The Politics of Italy: Governance in a Normal Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1)

Further Reading

- Abel, C and Torrents, N (1984) *Spain: Conditional Democracy*, London: Croom Helm.
Aliboni, R (ed) *Security Challenges in the Mediterranean Region*, Frank Cass, London, 1996.
Arrighi, G. (ed) (1985), *Semiperipheral Development: The Politics of Southern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage
Balfour, S (2004) *The Politics of Contemporary Spain*, London (Routledge)
Bell, D. (ed) *Democratic Politics in Spain: Spanish Politics after Franco*, London: Pinter.
Brenan, G (2nd Ed, 1950) *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background to the Spanish Civil War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Bufacchi, V and Burgess, S (1998) *Italy since 1989: Events and Interpretations*, London: Macmillan.
Bull, M and Rhodes, M. (eds) (2008), *Italy: A Contested Polity*, London: Routledge.
Burnett, S. (1998) *The Italian guillotine : Operation Clean Hands and the overthrow of Italy's First Republic*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
Carr, R (1982) *Spain 1808-1975*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Clogg, R. (2002) *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge (University Press).
Clogg, R. (1987), *Parties and Elections in Greece: the search for legitimacy*, London (C. Hurst)
Closa C. and Heywood P. (2004) *Spain and the European Union*, London: Palgrave
Collins, R (1990) *The Basques*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2nd edition.
Conversi, D (1997) *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*, London: Hurst.
Cotta, M. and Verzichelli, L. (2007) *The Political Institutions in Italy*, Oxford: OUP
Cotta, M. and Verzichelli, L. (2007) *The Political Institutions in Italy*, Oxford: OUP
Diamandouros, P. N. and Gunther, R. (2001) *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
Dimitrakopoulos, D. and Passas A. (eds) (2003), *Greece in the European Union*, London: Routledge
Dragonas, T. and Birtek F. (2009) *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, London: Routledge
Ethier, D (ed) (1990) *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia*, London: Macmillan
Featherstone, K. and Ifantis, K. (eds.) (1996), *Greece in a Changing Europe*, Manchester (MUP).
Featherstone, K. and Kazamias G. (ed) (2001), *Europeanization and the Southern Periphery*, London: Frank Cass.
Featherstone, K. (2013) *Europe in Modern Greek History*, London: Hurst

- Foot, J. (2003), *Modern Italy*, London: Palgrave.
- Furlong, P. (1994) *Modern Italy: representation and reform*, London: Routledge.
- Gibbons, J (1999) *Spanish politics today*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Gillespie, R and Youngs, R (eds) (2001) *Spain: the European and international challenges*, London: Frank Cass.
- Gillespie, R., Rodrigo, F. and Story, J. (eds) (1995) *Democratic Spain: reshaping external relations in a changing world*, London: Routledge.
- Ginsborg, P (1990) *A history of contemporary Italy: society and politics, 1943-1988*, London: Penguin.
- Ginsborg, P (2002) *Italy And Its Discontents 1980-2001* (Allen Lane)
- Gundle, S. and Parker, S. (1996) *The New Italian Republic*, London: Routledge.
- Gunther, R (ed) (1993) *Politics, society and democracy: the case of Spain*, Westview Press.
- Heywood, P (1995) *The Government and Politics of Spain*, London: Macmillan.
- Heywood, P (1997) (ed) *Political Corruption*, Manchester: Blackwell.
- Heywood, P (ed.) (1999) *Politics and Policy in Democratic Spain*, London: Frank Cass.
- Hine, D (1993) *Governing Italy: the politics of bargained pluralism*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Holman, O. *Integrating Southern Europe*, Routledge, London, 1996.
- Kalaitzidis, A. (2010), *Europe's Greece: a Giant in the Making*, London: Palgrave.
- Katz, R. and Ignazi, P (1996) *Italian Politics*, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Kazakos, P. and Ioakimidis, P.C. (eds.) (1995) *Greece and EC Membership evaluated* New York (St. Martin's Press).
- Koff, S. and Koff, S. (2000), *Italy: From the first to the second republic*, Routledge.
- Leston-Bandeira, C (ed) (2004) *Southern European Parliaments in Democracy*, London: Routledge
- Levy, C (ed) (1996) *Italian regionalism: history, identity and politics*, Oxford: Berg.
- Linz, J and Stepan, A (1996) *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Macdonald, S (1993) (ed) *Inside European identities: ethnography in Western Europe*, Oxford: Berg.
- Magone, J. (2009), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, London: Routledge
- Magone, J. (2009), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, Second edition, London: Routledge
- Mammone, A. and Veltri, G. (2010), *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe*, London: Rutledge
- Mar-Molinero, C. and Smith, A. (eds) (1996) *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, Oxford: Berg.
- McCarthy, P (1995) *The Crisis of the Italian State*, London: Macmillan.
- McCarthy, P. (1997) *The Crisis of the Italian State. From the Origins of the Cold War to the Fall of Berlusconi and Beyond*, New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Mény, Y and Knapp, A (1998) *Government and Politics in Western Europe*, Oxford: OUP.
- Mitsos A. and Mossialos E. (eds). (2000) *Contemporary Greece and Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Moreno, L (2001) *The federalization of Spain*, London: Frank Cass.
- Morlino, L (1998) *Democracy between consolidation and crisis: parties, groups, and citizens in Southern Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mouzelis, N. (1978), *Modern Greece: facets of underdevelopment*, London (Macmillan).
- Newell, J (2000) *Parties and Democracy in Italy*, Aldershot: Ashgate (ordered Sep. 2001)
- Newell, J (2002) *The Italian General Election of 2001: Berlusconi's Victory*, Manchester: MUP
- Newell, J. (ed) (2009), *The Italian General Election of 2008: Berlusconi Strikes Back*, London: Palgrave.
- Newton, M with Donaghy, P. (1997) *Institutions of Modern Spain*, Cambridge: CUP.
- O'Donnell, G, Schmitter, P and Whitehead, L (1986) (eds.) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Partridge, H. (1998), *Italian Politics Today*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Pérez Díaz, V (1999) *Spain at the crossroads: civil society, politics, and the rule of law*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Preston, P (1986) *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*, London: Methuen.
- Pridham, G (1991) (ed.) *Encouraging Democracy: the International Context of Regime Transition in Southern Europe*, New York: St Martin's Press.
- Psomiades, H. and Thomadakis, St. (eds.) (1993), *Greece, the New Europe and the Changing International Order* New York.
- Putnam, R.D., Leonardi, R. and Nanetti R.Y. (1993) *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Romero Salvadó, F. (1999) Twentieth Century Spain: Politics and Society in Spain, 1898-1998, London: Macmillan.
- Royo, S. and Christopher Manuel, P. (eds) (2004), Spain and Portugal in the European Union, London : Routledge.
- Sapelli, G (1995) Southern Europe Since 1945: Tradition and Modernity in Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey, London: Longman.
- Spotts, F and Wieser, T (1986) Italy: a difficult democracy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodhouse, C.M. (1982), Karamanlis: the restorer of Greek Democracy, Oxford (Clarendon).
- Woodhouse, C.M. (1985), The rise and fall of the Greek colonels, London (Granada).

Additional material can be found in the following academic journals. Please check regularly:

- * South European Society and Politics
- * Mediterranean Politics
- * European Journal of Political Research
- * West European Politics
- * Iberian Studies
- * International Journal of Iberian Studies
- * Italian Politics: A Review
- * Journal of European Public Policy
- * Journal of Modern Greek Studies
- * Parliamentary Affairs

Seminar 2: Historical Legacies (12 February)

Tutorial Question: Has Southern Europe been a victim or a perpetrator of colonialism?

Suggested Reading:

- Chislett, W. (2013) *Spain: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: OUP (chapter 1)
Clogg, R. (2002), *A Concise History of Greece*, (2nd edition), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 3)
Kalyvas, S. (2015), *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford: OUP (Chapter II and IV)
Partridge, H. (1998) *Italian Politics Today*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (Chapter 1)
Magone, J. (2009) (2nd ed), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, London: Routledge (chapter 1)
Mammone, A., Parini, E. and Veltri, G. (eds) (2003) *The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Italy: History*, London: Routledge (chapter 28)

Further Reading

- Andall, J. and Duncan, D. (eds.) (2005), *Italian Colonialism: Legacy and Memory*, Peter Lang, Oxford.
Balfour, S (2004) *The Politics of Contemporary Spain*, London (Routledge)
Beaton, R. and Ricks, D. (eds.) (2009), *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, romanticism and the uses of the past*, Ashgate, Surrey.
Bien, P. (2005), "Inventing Greece", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 23, No.2, pp.217-234.
Blanco, A. (2007), "Spain at the Crossroads: Imperial Nostalgia or Modern Colonialism?", *A Contracorriente*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp.1-11, available at:<http://acontracorriente.chass.ncsu.edu/index.php/acontracorriente/article/view/349>.
Bradley, G. and Wilson, J.P (2006), *Greek and Roman Colonization: Origins, Ideologies and Interactions*, Classical Press of Wales, Swansea.
Couloumbis T. Bellou F. and Kariotis T. (eds) (2003) *Greece in the 20th Century*, London: Routledge
Encarnación, O. (2008), *Spanish Politics: Democracy After Dictatorship*, London: Polity
Ginsborg, P (1990) *A history of contemporary Italy: society and politics, 1943-1988*, London: Penguin.
Gourgouris, S. (1996), *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, colonization and the institution of modern Greece*, Stanford University Press.
Guthenke C. (2008) *Placing Modern Greece: The Dynamics of Romantic Hellenism, 1770-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lange, M., Mahoney, J and vom Hau, M. (2006), "Colonialism and Development: A comparative analysis of Spanish and British Colonies", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 11, No.5, pp. 1412-1462.
Nelis J. (2007) "Constructing fascist identity: Benito Mussolini and the myth of Romanita" *Classical World* 100(4): 391-415.
Schmidt-Nowara, C. S. (2004). "La Espana Ultramarina": Colonialism and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Spain", *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 191-214.
Schmidt-Nowara, C. S., "A History of Disasters: Spanish colonialism in the age of Empire", *History Compass*, Vol. 5, No.3, pp. 943-954.
Seoane, S.S. (1998), "Spanish Colonialism during primo de Rivera's dictatorship", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1-2, pp.48-64.

See also general bibliography

Seminar 3: Democratic Transitions (19 February)

Tutorial Question: Is there a single pattern of Southern European transition to democracy?

Suggested Reading

- Diamandouros, P. N. and Gunther, R. (2001), *Parties, Politics and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins (Ch. 3 and 10).
- Karakatsanis, N. (2008) Political Learning as a Catalyst of Moderation: Lessons from Democratic Consolidation in Greece,” *Democratization*, Vol. 15, 2008
- Medhurst, K (1984) "Spain's Evolutionary Path from Dictatorship to Democracy", *West European Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 30-49
- Newell, J. (2010), *The Politics of Italy: Governance in a Normal Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1)
- Pridham, G (1984) "Comparative Perspectives on the new Mediterranean Democracies: a model of regime transition", *West European Politics*, April 1984, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 1-29
- Pridham, G. (1996), *Securing Democracy. Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe*, London, Routledge (chapter 1 and 3)

Further Reading

- Bermeo, N. (1997), "Myths of Moderation : Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 305-22.
- Bull, M and Rhodes, M. (eds) (2008), *Italy: A Contested Polity*, London: Routledge
- Clogg, R. (2002), *A Concise History of Greece*, (2nd edition), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 6)
- Danopoulos, C (1991) "Democratising the Military: Lessons from Mediterranean Europe", *West European Politics*, Vol. 14, pp. 25-41.
- Diaz-Ambrone, J (1984) "The transition to democracy in Spain" in Abel, Christopher and Torrents, Nissa (eds) *Spain: Conditional Democracy*, London: Croom Helm.
- Duggan, C (ed) (1995) *Italy in the Cold War: politics, culture and society, 1948-58*, Oxford: Berg.
- Fishman, R (1990) "Rethinking State and Regime: Southern Europe's Transition to Democracy", *World Politics*, Vol. 42, pp. 422-40.
- Furlong, P. (1994) *Modern Italy: representation and reform*, London: Routledge (Ch. 2).
- Gundle, S. and Parker, S. (1996) *The New Italian Republic*, London: Routledge Chapters 3 – 6
- Gunther, R (ed) (1993) *Politics, society and democracy: the case of Spain*, Westview Press, Boulder (Ch. 8)
- Gunther, R. and Montero, J.R. (2009), *The Politics of Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1)
- Heywood, P (1995), *The Government and Politics of Spain*, London: Macmillan (Ch. 2 and 3)
- Higley, John and Gunther, Richard (eds) (1992), *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkin, J. (1999), *Party Formation and Democratic Transition in Spain: The Creation and Collapse of the Union of the Democratic Centre*, London, Palgrave.
- Koff, S and Koff, S. (2000), *Italy: From the first to the second republic*, Routledge. (Chapters 1 and 2)
- Kogan, N (1983), *A Political History of Italy: The Postwar Years*, New York: Praeger Publishers.
- La Palombara, J (1987), *Democracy, Italian Style*, London, Yale University Press.
- Lijphart et al (1988), "A Mediterranean model of -democracy? The Southern European democracies in comparative perspective", *West European Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 7-25
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Seminar 4: Regionalism in Southern Europe (26 February)

Tutorial Question: What effects does regionalism have on the Spanish and/or Italian political system?

Suggested Reading

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- Encarnación, O. (2008), *Spanish Politics: Democracy After Dictatorship*, London, Polity (Chapter 6)
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Further Reading:

The 2015 Catalan Election: The Independence Bid at the Polls
Lluís Orriols & Toni Rodon
South European Society and Politics Vol. 21, Iss. 3, 2016

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South European Society and Politics Vol. 19, Iss. 2, 2014

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- See also general bibliography*

Seminar 5: National Identity and Minority Protection (5 March)

Tutorial Question: How do dominant national discourses affect 'significant others' in Greece and/or Cyprus?

Suggested Reading

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Further Reading

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- Featherstone, K. et al. (2011), *The Last Ottomans: The Muslim Minority of Greece 1940-1949*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan
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Seminar 6: The Political Economy of Southern Europe (12 March)

Tutorial Question: What is the 'insider/outsider' problem in the political economy of Southern Europe?

Suggested Reading

- Featherstone, K. and Papadimitriou, D. (2008), *The Limits of Europeanisation: reform capacity and policy conflict in Greece*, Basingstoke: Palgrave (chapter 3, pp. 45-57).
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Further reading

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- Matsaganis M. and Leventi. C., (2014) 'The Distributional Impact of Austerity and the Recession in Southern Europe', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3.

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- Petmesidou, M and M. Guillén A. (2014), 'Can the Welfare State as We Know It Survive? A View from the Crisis-Ridden South European Periphery', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3.
- Salmon, K. (2017), 'A Decade of Lost Growth: Economic Policy in Spain through the Great Recession', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 2.
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Seminar 7: Political Parties 1 (19 March)

Tutorial Question: “Political parties in Greece, Italy and Spain are all about personality, not ideology”. Discuss with reference to at least two political parties from the region.

Suggested Reading:

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Further Reading:

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- Bordignon, F. (2014) ‘Matteo Renzi: A ‘Leftist Berlusconi’ for the Italian Democratic Party?’
- Bosco, A and Morlino L. (eds) (2007), *Party Change in Southern Europe*, London: Routledge
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- Morlino, L. (1998). *Democracy Between Consolidation and Crisis: Parties, Groups and Citizens in Southern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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- Newell, J. (ed) (2009), *The Italian General Election of 2008: Berlusconi Strikes Back*, London: Palgrave.
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- Trantidis, A. (2014), 'Reforms and Collective Action in a Clientelist System: Greece during the Mitsotakis Administration (1990–93)', South European Society and Politics, Vol. 19, No. 2.
- Triga, V. (2017), 'Parties and Change in the Post-Bailout Cyprus: The May 2016 Parliamentary Elections', South European Society and Politics, Vol. 22, No. 2.
- Vasilopoulou, S. and Halikiopoulou, D. (2013), 'In the Shadow of Grexit: The Greek Election of 17 June 2012', South European Society and Politics, Vol. 18, No. 4.
- Vasilopoulou, S., Halikiopoulou, D. and Exadaktylos, T. (2014), "Greece in crisis: austerity, populism and the politics of blame". *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52 (2). pp. 388-402.

See also general bibliography

Seminar 8: Political Parties II (26 March)

Tutorial Question: Discuss the success of anti-systemic parties in recent elections in Southern Europe

Suggested Reading

- Bordignon F. and Ceccarini, L. (2013), 'Five Stars and a Cricket. Beppe Grillo Shakes Italian Politics', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 4.
- Bosco, A. and Verney, S. (2017) 'Breaking the Mould: Crisis Elections, New Contenders and the Travails of Government Formation in Southern Europe', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol 21. No. 4 (Special Issue).
- Bosco, A. and Verney, S. (2012), "Electoral Epidemic: The Political cost of economic crisis in Southern Europe", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 129-154.
- Ellinas, A. (2013), 'The Rise of Golden Dawn: The New Face of the Far Right in Greece', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 4.
- Ellinas, A. (2015), 'Neo-Nazism in an Established Democracy: The Persistence of Golden Dawn in Greece', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1.
- Giannetti, D., Pedrazzani, A. and Pinto, L. (2017), 'Party System Change in Italy: Politicising the EU and the Rise of Eccentric Parties', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 1
- Lamprianou, I. and Ellinas, A. (2017), 'Institutional Grievances and Right-Wing Extremism: Voting for Golden Dawn in Greece', *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 1.
- Kiokiolis, A (2016). "Podemos: The ambiguous promises of left wing populism in contemporary Spain", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 99-120.

Further Reading

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- Bordignon, F. and Ceccarini, L. (2013). "Five Stars and a Cricket: Beppe Grillo Shakes Italian Politics", *South European Society and Politics*, 18 (4): pp.427-449.
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- Kiokiolis, A (2016). "Podemos: The ambiguous promises of left wing populism in contemporary Spain", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 99-120.
- Kriesi, H. (2014), "The Populist Challenge", *West European Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 361-378.
- Mosca, L. (2014), "The Five Star Movement: Exception or Vanguard in Europe?", *Italian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 49, No.1, pp. 36-52.
- Natale, P. (2014), "The Birth, Early History and Explosive Growth of the Five Star Movement", *Contemporary Italian Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp.16-35.
- Rodon, T. and Hierro, M. J. (2016), "Podemos and Ciudadanos Shake up the Spanish Party System: The 2015 Local and regional elections", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 339-357.
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- Teperoglu, E. and Tsatsanis, E. (2014), "Dealignment, deligitimation and the implosion of the two-party system in Greece: The Earthquake election of 6 May 2012", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, Vol 24, No.2, pp. 222-242.
- Tronconi, F. (2015). "Bye-bye bipolarism: The 2015 Regional Elections and the New Shape of Regional Party System in Italy", *South European Society and Politics*, 20 (4): pp.553-571.
- Tsakatika, M. and Eleftheriou, C. (2013), "The Radical Left's Turn towards Civil Society in Greece: One Strategy, Two Paths", *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 18, No.1, pp.81-99.
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See also bibliography from Seminar 7

Seminar 9: European Union Membership (2 April)

Tutorial Question: Discuss the limits of Europeanisation in Southern European EU member states

Suggested Reading:

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- Bulmer S. and Laquesne C. (2005), *The Member States of the European Union*, OUP (chapters 7 and 11)
- Bulmer S. and Laquesne C. (2013), *The Member States of the European Union*, OUP (chapters 2 and 6)
- Featherstone, K. and Papadimitriou, D. (2008), *The Limits of Europeanisation: reform capacity and policy conflict in Greece*, Basingstoke: Palgrave (chapter 2).
- Featherstone, K., & Papadimitriou, D. (2017). 'Greece: a crisis in two level governance'. In D. Dinan, N. Nugent, & W. Paterson (Eds.), *The European Union in Crisis*, London: Palgrave.
- Magone, J. (2009), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, Second edition, London: Routledge (Chapter 8)
- Quaglia, L. and Radaelli, C. (2007) 'Italian politics and the European Union: A tale of two research designs', *West European Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 4.

Further Reading:

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- Balfour, S (2004) *The Politics of Contemporary Spain*, London (Routledge) (Chapter 11)
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- Balkir, C., Bolukbasi, T. and Ertugal, E. (2013). "Europeanisation and Dynamics of Continuity and Change: Domestic political economies in the 'Southern Periphery'", *South European Society and Politics*, 18 (2): pp.121-137
- Bell, D. (ed) *Democratic Politics in Spain: Spanish Politics after Franco*, London: Pinter (Ch. 8)
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- Bull, M and Rhodes, M. (eds) (2008), *Italy: A Contested Polity*, London: Routledge
- Closa C. and Heywood P. (2004) *Spain and the European Union*, London: Palgrave
- Coulombis T. Bellou F. and Kariotis T. (eds) (2003) *Greece in the 20th Century*, London: Routledge (Chapter by Tsoukalis)
- Daniels P. (1993) *Italy and the Maastricht Treaty*, in S. Hellman and G. Pasquino (eds) *Italian Politics: A Review*, vol.8, London, Pinter.
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- Dimitrakopoulos, D. and Passas A. (eds) (2003), *Greece in the European Union*, London: Routledge
- Dyson K. and Sepos A. (eds) (2010), *Which Europe? The Politics of Differentiated Integration*, London: Palgrave.
- Dyson, K (2002) *European States and the Euro*, Oxford: OUP (chapter by Radaelli)
- Dyson, K. and K. Featherstone (1996) *Italy and EMU as 'Vincolo Esterno': Empowering the Technocrats, Transforming the State'*, *South European Society and Politics*, 1(2), 272-299. (available from the photocopy collection in the short loan collection)
- Farrell, M. (2001) *Spain in the EU: the road to economic convergence*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Featherstone, K. (2008) 'Greece: A Suitable Accommodation?' in Dyson, K. *The Euro at Ten: Europeanization, Power, and Convergence*, Oxford, OUP.
- Featherstone, K. (2011) 'The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime', *JCMS*, 49 (2) pp. 193-217.
- Featherstone, K. (ed) (2005) *Politics and Policy in Greece: The Challenge of Modernisation*; London: Routledge.
- Featherstone, K. and Kazamias, G. (eds) (2001), *Europeanization and the Southern Periphery*, Frank Cass.

- Francioni F. (1992) (ed), Italy and EC Membership Evaluated, London, Pinter.
- Gibbons, J (1999) Spanish politics today, Manchester: Manchester University Press (Ch. 7)
- Gibson, H (ed) (2001) Economic Transformation, Democratization and Integration into the European Union: The Case of Southern Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Gillespie, R (1999) Spain and the Mediterranean: developing a European policy towards the South, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
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- Giuliani, M. (1996) Italy, in D. Rometsch and W. Wessels (eds) The EC and Its Member States, Manchester University Press.
- Grabbe H. and Hughes K. (1997), Eastward Enlargement of the European Union, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, European Programme, London.
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- Heywood, P (1995) The Government and Politics of Spain, London: Macmillan (Ch 12)
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- Jones B. & Keating M. (eds). (1995) The EU and the Regions; Oxford: OUP.
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- Kazakos, P. and Ioakimidis, P.C. (eds.) (1995) Greece and EC Membership evaluated New York (St. Martin's Press).
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- Kurth, J. and Petras J. (eds) (1993), Mediterranean Paradoxes: The Politics and Social Structure of Southern Europe. Providence: Berg.
- Lapavistas, C. et al (2010), *The Eurozone between Austerity and Default*, RMF occasional report, September (available on line).
- Magone, J. (2009), *Contemporary Spanish Politics*, London: Routledge
- Marks, M (1997) The Formation of European Policy in Post-Franco Spain, Aldershot: Avebury.
- Mitsopoulos, M. and Pelagidis, T. (2011), *Understanding the Crisis in Greece: From Boom to Bust*, London: Palgrave (Introduction and Conclusion)
- Mitsos A. and Mossialos E. (eds.) (2000) *Contemporary Greece and Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
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- Morata, F (1998) "Spain: Modernization through Integration" in Hanf, K. and Soetendorp, B. (eds) Adapting to European Integration: Small States and the European Union, London: Longman
- Newton, M. with Donaghy, P. (1997) Institutions of Modern Spain, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Ch 15)
- Pagoulatos, G. (2003), *Greece's New Political Economy State, Finance and Growth from Postwar to EMU*, London: Palgrave.
- Preston P. and Smyth D. Spain, the EEC and NATO
- Psomiades, H. and Thomadakis, St. (eds.) (1993), Greece, the New Europe and the Changing International Order New York.
- Putnam, R.D., Leonardi, R. and Nanetti R.Y. (1993) Making Democracy Work, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Royo, S. and Christopher Manuel, P. (eds) (2004), Spain and Portugal in the European Union, London : Routledge.
- Seers, D. and Vaitos C. (eds) (1982). The Second Enlargement of the EEC: The Integration of Unequal Partners. London: Macmillan.
- Simitis, C (2014) *The European Debt Crisis: the Greek Case*, Manchester: MUP (Chapters 31 and 32)
- Soros, G (2010), "The Crisis & the Euro", *New York Review of Books*, 19 August (available online)
- Dyson, K. and Featherstone, K. (1996), 'Italy and EMU as a 'Vincolo Esterno':

- empowering the technocrats, transforming the state', *South European society & politics*, 1 (2). pp. 272-299.
- Tilford, S. (2010) *How to Save the Euro*, Centre for European Reform, September (available on line)
- Verney, S. and Bosco, A. (2013). "Living Parallel Lives: Italy and Greece in an Age of Austerity", *South European Society and Politics*, 18 (4): pp.397-426
- Zahariades, N. (2013) "Leading Reform amidst Transboundary Crises: Lessons from Greece," *Public Administration*, 91 (3), pp. 648-62.

Seminar 10: Refugee / Immigration Crisis (30 April)

Tutorial Question: To what extent is Southern Europe to blame for the ongoing refugee crisis in the Mediterranean?

Suggested Reading

- Baubock, R. (2018), 'Refugee Protection and Burden-Sharing in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1.
- Geddes, A and Scholten, P. (2nd ed) (2016), *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, London: Sage (chapters 8 and 10)
- Tanja A. Börzel & Thomas Risse (2018), 'From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2018.
- Kaunert, C and Leonard, S. (2012) "The development of the EU asylum policy: venue-shopping in perspective", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 9, 2012
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- Zaun, N. (2018), 'States as Gatekeepers in EU Asylum Politics: Explaining the Non-adoption of a Refugee Quota System', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1.

Further Reading

- Last, T., Mirto, G., Ulusoy, O., Urquijo, I., Harte, J., Bami, N., Pérez, M.P., Delgado, F.M., Tapella, F.A., Michalaki, A., Michalitsi, E., Latsoudi, E., Tselepi, N., Chatziprokopiou, M. and Spijkerboer, T. (2016) 'Deaths at the borders database: evidence of deceased migrants' bodies found along the Southern external borders of the European Union', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(5): 693–712
- Amnesty International (2010) The Dublin II Trap: transfers of Asylum Seeker to Greece, Working paper. Available at : <http://www.amnesty.eu/static/documents/2010/GreeceDublinIIReport.pdf>
- Niemman, A. and Speyer, J. (2018), 'A Neofunctionalist Perspective on the 'European Refugee Crisis': The Case of the European Border and Coast Guard', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1.
- Peers, S. (2016) 'The final EU/Turkey refugee deal: a legal assessment', *EU Law Analysis blog*. URL (accessed 18 April 2017): <http://eulawanalysis.blogspot.jp/2016/03/the-final-euturkey-refugee-deal-legal.html>
- Slominski, P. and Trauner, F. (2018) 'How do Member States Return Unwanted Migrants? The Strategic (non-)use of 'Europe' during the Migration Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1.
- Toshkov, D. and de Haan, L. (2013) "The Europeanization of asylum policy: an assessment of the EU impact on asylum applications and recognitions rates", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 5

Websites

**Please consult these websites regularly as they contained up-to-date information on many of the topics discussed in this module*

Greece

Gateway to Greek Websites

(excellent starting point for research)

<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/gr.html>

Greek Parliament

<http://www.parliament.gr/>

Prime Minister's Office

<http://www.primeminister.gr>

Ministry of Economy and Finance

<http://www.ypetho.gr/ypourgeo/default.asp>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.mfa.gr/>

The Bank of Greece

<http://www.bankofgreece.gr/>

The Greek Socialist Party (PASOK)

<http://www.pasok.gr/gr/>

New Democracy Party (ND)

<http://www.nd.gr/>

The Greek Communist Party (KKE)

<http://www.kke.gr/>

Synaspismos

<http://www.syn.gr/>

Italy

Gateway to Italian Websites

(excellent starting point for research)

<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/it.html>

Presidency of the Republic

<http://www.quirinale.it/>

Chamber of Deputies (lower House of Parliament)

<http://www.camera.it>

Senate (upper House of Parliament)

<http://www.parlamento.it/senato.htm>

Government

<http://www.palazzochigi.it/>

Ministry of Economy and Finance

<http://www.tesoro.it/web/ML.asp>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.esteri.it/>

Bank of Italy

<http://www.bancaditalia.it/>

Movement of the Olive Tree

<http://www.ulivo.it/>

Democrats of the Left

<http://www.dsonline.it/>

Forza Italia

<http://www.forza-italia.it/>

National Alliance

<http://www.alleanzanazionale.it/>

Northern League

<http://www.leganord.org/>

Spain

Gateway to Spanish Websites

(excellent starting point for research)

<http://www.gksoft.com/govt/en/es.html>

The Monarchy

<http://www.casareal.es/casareal/home.html>

Congress of Deputies

<http://www.congreso.es/>

Senate

<http://www.senado.es/index.html>

Government

<http://www.la-moncloa.es/>

Ministry of Economy

<http://www.mineco.es/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<http://www.mae.es/>

Bank of Spain
<http://www.bde.es/>

Popular Party
<http://www.pp.es/turcana/nacional/home.jsp>

Socialist Party
<http://www.psoe.es/ambito/actualidad/home.do>

United Left
<http://www.izquierda-unida.es/>

Communist Party
<http://www.pce.es/>

The European Union

The Europa server – the gateway to all EU sites:
<http://www.europa.eu>

The European Parliament:
<http://www.europarl.eu.int/>

The European Parliament's UK site:
<http://www.europarl.eu.int/uk/>

The European Commission:
<http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/>

The Council of the EU:
<http://ue.eu.int/en/>

The European Court of Justice:
<http://curia.eu.int/>

The European Central Bank:
<http://www.ecb.int/>

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI21041 Asia-Pacific Security**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Shogo Suzuki
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.004
Telephone: 0161-275-0906
Email: shogo.suzuki@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Tutors: Michanne Steenbergen

Lectures: 9:00 (ugh)—11:00, Mansfield Cooper G22

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: Short essay of 1700 words (25%), Long essay of 3800 words (75%)

Reading Week: Monday 29 October-Friday 2 November 2018

Administrator: Luke Smith, luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk ☎ 0161 306 6906
 Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk ☎ 0161 275 2499
 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Essay hand in date: 14:00, Monday 29 October (short essay); 14:00, Monday 14 January 2019 (long essay)

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way.

Examination period: 15.05.2019 – 07.09.2019

Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)

Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You MUST submit applications through your home schools procedures regardless of whether it is a politics essay.

School of Social Sciences

We have moved to an online system to submit applications for mitigating circumstances. Information about the new system and the help and support that is available for you in the School is available at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/help-and-support/mitigating-circumstances/>

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

Information on mitigating circumstances and the link to the online application form can be found at <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/studentintranet/support/mitigatingcircumstances/>

School of Law

You can access information and the link to the online form through your Programme Page on Blackboard.

Please know that you can also speak to your home school/Programme Administrator in person to discuss your situation so they can help you to access the necessary help and support you need.

- Politics & International Relations: luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk/jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: sarah.baguley@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: rabia.nawaz@manchester.ac.uk
- BA(Econ): shau.y.chan@manchester.ac.uk / bernadette.julien@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Arts, Languages & Cultures: salc-studentsupport@manchester.ac.uk
- School of Law: tssolaw@manchester.ac.uk * Please note that the Student Support Officer in the School of Law is Ian Glassey so if you have any ongoing support needs please contact him directly at i.glassey@manchester.ac.uk

Late Submission of Essays

There will be a penalty of 10 points per day for up to 5 days (including weekends) for any assessed work submitted after the specified submission date, unless the student's Home School grants an extension. After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned.

Please note a "day" is 24 hours, i.e. the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. A student who submits work at 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

POLI21041
ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY

SOME EXPECTATIONS

- ★ Above all, you must read. The Asia-Pacific is a dynamic region, with many of the theoretical issues of security unfolding in real life, where there are readily-available test cases to apply theories of International Relations and Security. If you keep that in mind you will find the reading assignments enjoyable.
- ★ The course will be more interesting for all of us if we can have a lively conversation about the material, so for each lecture and tutorial, I will expect you to have read the readings listed under 'Essential Readings'. You are welcome to call time-out during lectures to ask a question or make a comment. While I expect you to participate, I also recognise that some students are more gregarious than others. If you are not a big talker, take heart. When it comes to class participation, quality is more important than quantity, and a good question is as valuable as a good comment.
- ★ Following from the above, it's worth noting that for each question you ask, there are probably about at least 5 people breathing a sigh of relief that someone has plucked up the courage to ask a question that they did not dare ask. So please don't hesitate to ask questions, particularly during the 'jargon-busting' sessions I will do before the lecture starts (see below for details on this).
- ★ When doing your own reading and research, use quality sources, and make a habit of going to the library. A substantial part of your tuition fees goes towards buying books and research material for your studies (rather than pay for my pathetic salary), so you might as well get value for money by using them. Check out books that might not be listed in this course guide. Remember: Google will not get you a degree. And don't you dare use Wikipedia for factual information or conceptual definitions. Any evidence of copy-and-paste from Wikipedia screams out: 'I couldn't be bothered to do some proper research', and gives a very bad impression: it will inevitably affect your grades.

SOME THINGS WE WILL DO IN THIS COURSE

- ★ JARGON-BUSTING! International Relations, like most other academic disciplines, is full of its own terminology and jargon. And like many texts of this nature, it is quite difficult to understand. So before the lecture starts, I will dedicate some time for some jargon-busting. You can ask me directly (and I would like you to, as your question is likely to be shared by at least 5 other people in the class anyway) what a particular word means, and what it also means in the context of the readings. However, this activity will only work and be effective if you have done some of the readings—and this again points to the importance of doing the readings in advance of the lectures.
- ★ DECIDE ON YOUR OWN FEEDBACK: if you would like, list a couple of bullet points of questions you would like to ask in the comments for your assignments (e.g. 'How is my structure?'; 'How is my writing style', etc). This way you can get comments tailored to your needs in your assessed work.

PRELIMINARY READING

There are tonnes of textbooks that you can pick up to get up to speed on the more theoretical/general aspects of security studies. Some of you who may not be familiar with Security Studies or International Relations may wish to read up on some of these books below.

While the course is open to all students, there is a degree of expectation that you have studied some aspects of political science/International Relations before. If you don't have this background, there is no need to panic, as I will allocate some time in the lectures for you to ask questions about any jargon you might find in the readings. Nevertheless, it would be a good idea for you to pick up a textbook on International Relations theory so you can get up to speed. These are also listed below.

- ★ Michael Yahuda, The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011, various editions available)
- ★ Alan Collins (ed), Contemporary Security Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, various editions available)
- ★ Paul D. Williams (ed) Security Studies: an Introduction (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)
- ★ Peter Hough (ed) International Security Studies (Abingdon: Routledge 2015)
- ★ Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James and Patrick M. Morgan, Security Studies Today (Oxford: Polity Press, 2001)
→ A bit old, but still relevant.
- ★ Scott Burchill et al, Theories of International Relations (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005) (other editions are available)
- ★ John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (eds), The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) (other editions are available)

ASSESSMENT

- ★ Short(ish) Essay (1700 words, 25% of marks): Answer the following essay question.
 1. 'The concept of security is contested and confusing'. Discuss.
- ★ Essay (3800 words, 75% of marks): Answer ONE of the following essay questions:
 1. Choose any country in Northeast and Southeast Asia. Analyse how the government of that country defines 'security' when implementing its security policy, and explain why the government has decided upon that particular understanding of security. As an outside observer, do you agree that theirs is the most appropriate definition for that country?
 2. 'The Trump administration is greatly damaging the security of the Asia-Pacific region'. Discuss.
 3. 'Talks of a "China threat" are greatly exaggerated'. Do you agree with this statement?
 4. What are the chances of North Korea abandoning its nuclear weapons?
 5. 'The state is very often not an adequate provider of human security for its own peoples.' Discuss with reference to the Asia-Pacific region.
 6. 'Talks of a security community in Southeast Asia are greatly exaggerated'. Discuss.
 7. Can the 'history issue' between Japan and its neighbours be considered a 'security issue'?

LECTURE SCHEDULE

1. Introduction (25 September)
2. Theories of IR and Security (2 October)
3. Hegemonic Stability: US hegemony in the Asia-Pacific (9 October)
4. Rising Powers: the Case of China's Rise (16 October)
5. The Korean Nuclear Crisis and Nuclear Deterrence theory (23 October)

Reading Week (29 October-2 November)

6. ASEAN and security communities (6 November)
7. Territorial Disputes (13 November)
8. Non-Traditional/Human Security (20 November)
9. Ontological Security: the 'history issue' in Northeast Asia (27 November)
10. Humanitarian Intervention (4 December)

HOW TO APPROACH THE SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS

For your presentations and participation, try to see if you can demonstrate:

- ★ Evidence of active listening
- ★ Evidence of reading and independent thinking
- ★ Evidence of having read the required material
- ★ Relevant contribution
- ★ Concern not to dominate the discussion
- ★ Avoidance of anecdotal / irrelevant accounts
- ★ Encouragement / enablement of others' contributions
- ★ Respectful treatment of others' beliefs, values and opinions
- ★ Evidence of ability to identify and evaluate different theoretical positions, bias, and orientation
- ★ Confident handling of critical concepts and analytical terms

EMAIL POLICY

- ★ Unless it is an urgent matter please refrain from emailing me, and come and see me during my office hours or after class instead. Please note that I will not respond to emails after normal working hours 9:00-17:30 and weekends. If you have an urgent question that requires a quick response, please keep this in mind.
- ★ Please do not email me to ask me for information that is already available in this Course Guide or on Blackboard (e.g. 'Please can you tell me what topic the tutorials are on this week?'). We have lots of emails to get through, and any emails of this kind are not only an unnecessary addition to our workload; they will also give people the impression that you simply couldn't be bothered to read through the Course Guide and are treating university staff like your personal assistants. Please keep in mind that if the answer to your query is already in your Course Guide, you may not get a response.
- ★ Please be polite in your emails (and if you're rude, don't expect me to reply, as I am neither a robot, nor your slave). Here are some excerpts from Columbia University professor Chris Blattman's blog entry on how to email your professor (<http://chrisblattman.com/2010/11/08/students-how-to-email-to-your-professor->

employer-and-professional-peers/) which serve as a good guide on how to write emails to people with whom you have a professional relationship. I am, however, fairly relaxed about the emoticon and the email addresses from high school...

- Kick the email address from high school. It's time for "hot_muffin92@hotmail.com" and "mikey_g@gmail.com" to rest in peace.
- Greet. Politely. Launching straight into the message is bad, but "Hi!" is poor form and "Hey Prof!" is an unmitigated disaster. "Dear" and "Hi" are fine, so long as you follow both by a name or title: "Hi Professor" or "Hi Mr. ____".
- Capitalize and punctuate. otherwise we will lol at yr sad attempts
- But not all punctuation. Of the exclamation point, Elmore Leonard said "You are allowed no more than two or three per 100,000 words of prose." That's roughly one exclamation point for every 500 messages you send. Use them wisely, for their overuse is the first sign of an immature mind. (Related, from Terry Pratchett: "Five exclamation marks, the sure sign of an insane mind.")
- Death to the emoticon. Keep them for your friends. And recall that, for centuries of the printed word, writers managed to convey sarcastic and funny without the semicolon and parenthesis. If you think your comment needs an emoticon, this is a sign you need to rewrite (or delete) the remark.
- Avoid fancy typefaces or "stationery". One word: cheeseball.
- Be clear and concise. Write short messages, make clear requests, get to your point rapidly, and offer to provide more information rather than launch into your life story. Most of us get over 200 emails a day we need to read and respond to. So say what you need in 2-4 sentences and ideally ask for simple answers (like yes or no).
- Don't ask for information before you've looked on Google. "Can you send me paper X?" is annoying. But the best I've received: a request to explain the Cold War.
- Don't sound presumptuous. Many people are busy and important (and everybody thinks they are). If you are asking for anything requiring time or energy, it is courteous to be demure.
- No quotes from famous people in your signature. See "cheeseball" above.
- With your juniors, do the above as fastidiously as with your seniors. Allow me, momentarily, to break rule #11: "Modesty is not only an ornament, but also a guard to virtue" – Joseph Addison
- ★ I will not respond to questions regarding bibliographical matters, i.e. where and how to locate books and articles. Your first port of call should be the library catalogue or the librarians, who are there to help you locate sources needed for your studies. Only after all these channels are exhausted should you come and see me.
- ★ If you have any questions about the concepts or empirical details of the course, you should book an appointment to come and see me, rather than emailing me your questions. Email discussions are extremely time-consuming and not pedagogically wise, as it is very difficult to understand students' intellectual questions (why a student finds this concept difficult and where he/she is coming from with regard to

the question, which part does he/she understand, not understand, etc etc) and equally difficult to explain them via email.

OTHER POLICIES

- ★ No Mobile Phones!!! If there is one thing I cannot stand in the modern-day class room, it is the use of mobile phones in any manner during lectures and seminars – it goes without saying that it is extremely discourteous and distracting for everyone, so please do not send text messages or make phone calls during lectures and seminars. From the front of the lecture theatre, it is actually very easy to spot someone using their mobile phone, so do not assume that you won't get caught. I will know. And I will find you. If you must use your phone, please excuse yourself from the lecture/seminar room.
- ★ Use laptops only for taking notes! While laptops can be brought in for taking notes, it goes without saying that you should not use it for surfing the internet or sending out emails. It is surprisingly easy to spot someone who is surfing the internet when he/she is not supposed to be. If anyone is cautioned for the second time doing this, the entire class will be banned from using laptops in this course. For the sake of your fellow classmates, please do not let this happen.

OTHER MATTERS:

- ★ If you have any problems with Blackboard, please see
<<http://www.studentnet.manchester.ac.uk/blackboard/>>
- ★ For details on referencing your essay, policies and procedures for essay writing, please consult 'Course Guide Part 2', which can be accessed at Blackboard.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- ★ A broad understanding of the political developments of war memory in East Asia, as well as attempts to overcome the legacy of war in the region;
- ★ Analytical skills: an ability to develop arguments which synthesise theoretical and empirical material;
- ★ Communication skills: ability to effectively articulate coherent, critically-informed arguments and ideas to a small and larger groups; ability to interact with colleagues in a constructive manner;
- ★ Writing skills: an ability to express concise, logical arguments in written form.
- ★ Employability
- ★ A degree in politics and international relations gives you many useful transferable skills including:
 - ★ The ability to research, source and examine information thoroughly;
 - ★ The ability to critically analyse evidence and construct coherent arguments;
 - ★ Excellent written and oratory skills;
 - ★ Intellectual independence and autonomy;
 - ★ Team working skills;
 - ★ A flexible and open-minded approach to work.

- ★ Examples of the types of jobs a Politics and IR degree might be relevant for can be found here:
http://www.prospects.ac.uk/options_politics_international_relations.htm
- ★ Additional support can be found here:
<http://www.careers.manchester.ac.uk/students/employable/skills/>
- ★ Details of how Manchester Politics graduates do can be found here:
<http://www.manchester.ac.uk/undergraduate/courses/search2014/atoz/course/?code=00675&pg=6>

1. Introduction

We will do some normal 'housekeeping' for the course, so there is no need for you to do any preparation.

2. Theories of IR and Security

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Stephen Walt, 'The renaissance of security studies', International Studies Quarterly (vol. 35, no. 2, 1991, pp. 211—239).
- ★ Muthiah Alagappa, '[Rethinking Security](#)' in Muthiah Alagappa (ed), Asian Security: Theory and Practice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- ★ Ole Wæver, '[Securitization and Desecuritization](#)', in Ronnie D. Lipshutz, ed., On Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 46-87
- ★ Jessica Tuchman Mathews, 'Redefining Security', Foreign Affairs (no. 2, 1989)

FURTHER READING

- ★ John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (eds), The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) (other editions are available)
 - Forgotten about concepts of International Relations theory? Never did International Relations theory before? Then take a look at this useful textbook and its various chapters. If you still don't understand, come and see me.
- ★ Ken Booth (ed), Critical Security Studies and World Politics (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2004)
- ★ Scott Burchill et al, Theories of International Relations (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005) (other editions are available)
 - For those of you worried about keeping up to speed with the concepts of International Relations theory, take a look at this useful textbook and its various chapters. Again, if you still don't get it, come and see me.
- ★ Barry Buzan, People, States and Fear: an Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era (Harlow: Pearson Longman 1991)
 - A classic work that systematically explored security beyond the traditional focus of the state. Definitely worth a read.
- ★ Victor D. Cha, 'Globalization and the Study of International Security', Journal of Peace Research (vol. 37, no. 3, 2000, pp. 391—403)
- ★ Alan Collins (ed), Contemporary Security Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, various editions available)
 - For those of you worried about keeping up to speed with the concepts of security, take a look at this useful textbook and its various chapters.
- ★ Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?', Daedalus (vol, 124, no. 3, 1995, pp. 53—98).

3. Hegemonic Stability: US hegemony in the Asia-Pacific

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Thomas J. Christensen, 'China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the security dilemma in East Asia', International Security (vol. 23, no. 4, 1999, pp. 49—80).
- ★ Peter Van Ness, 'Hegemony, not anarchy: why China and Japan are not balancing US unipolar power', International Relations of the Asia-Pacific (vol. 2, no. 1, 2002, pp. 131—150).
- ★ Christopher Layne, 'This time it's real: the end of unipolarity and the Pax Americana', International Studies Quarterly (vol. 56, no. 1, 2012, pp. 203—213).

FURTHER READING

- ★ Gilpin, Robert, War and Change in World Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), Chapter 1 'The Nature of Political Change'.
 - ★ Kenneth N. Waltz, 'Structural realism after the cold war', International Security (vol. 25, no. 1, 2000, pp. 5—41)
 - ★ Chalmers Johnson, 'American Militarism and Blowback: the Costs of Letting Pentagon Dominate Foreign Policy', New Political Science (vol. 24, no. 1, 2002, pp. 21—38)
- Perhaps not directly related to the readings of this session, but an interesting critical look at US security policy overseas.

4. Rising Powers: the Case of China's Rise

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ John Mearsheimer, [The Tragedy of Great Power Politics](#) (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), Chapter 2
- ★ Andrew Hurrell, 'Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?' [International Affairs](#) (vol. 82, no. 1 2006, pp. 1—19)
- ★ Björn Jerdén, 'The assertive China narrative: Why it is wrong and how so many still bought into it', [The Chinese Journal of International Politics](#) (vol. 7, no. 1, 2014, pp. 47—88)
- ★ Adam P. Liff and G. John Ikenberry, 'Racing toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma', [International Security](#) (vol. 39, no. 2, 2014, pp. 52—91)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Barry Buzan, 'China in international society: Is "peaceful rise" possible?' [The Chinese Journal of International Politics](#) (vol. 3, no. 1, 2010, pp. 5—36)
- ★ Aaron L. Friedberg, 'The sources of Chinese conduct: Explaining Beijing's assertiveness', [The Washington Quarterly](#) (vol. 37, no. 4, 2014, pp. 133—150)
- ★ Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," [World Politics](#), (vol. 30, no. 2. 1978, pp. 167—214)
→ This article is quite theory-heavy, but it's regarded as a classic because it's very good. For a good discussion in the context of this class, take a look at pp. 186—214
- ★ Alastair Iain Johnston, 'Is China a status quo power?', [International Security](#) (vol. 27, no. 4, 2003, pp. 5—56)
- ★ Alastair Iain Johnston, 'How new and assertive is China's new assertiveness?' [International Security](#) (vol. 37, no. 4, 2013, pp. 7—48)
- ★ Shogo Suzuki, 'Seeking "Legitimate" Great Power Status in Post-Cold War International Society: China's and Japan's Participation in UNPKO.' [International Relations](#) (vol. 22, no. 1, 2008, pp. 45—63)
→ Maybe out-dated now? Or is there still any relevance to what this idiot says in this article?

5. The Korean Nuclear Crisis and Nuclear Deterrence theory

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Kenneth N. Waltz, 'Nuclear myths and political realities', The American Political Science Review (vol. 84, no. 3, 1990, pp. 731—745)
- ★ John S. Park and Dong Sun Lee, 'North Korea: Existential Deterrence and Diplomatic Leverage', in Muthiah Alagappa (ed), The Long Shadow: Nuclear Weapons and Security in 21st Century Asia (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008)
- ★ Lyle J. Goldstein, "[Follow Beijing's Lead on Defusing the Volatile North Korea Crisis](#)", The National Interest, 4 July 2017
- ★ Victor D. Cha, 'The second nuclear age: proliferation pessimism versus sober optimism in South Asia and East Asia', Journal of Strategic Studies (vol. 24, no. 4, 2001, pp. 79—120)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Kenneth N. Waltz, 'The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better', Adelphi Papers (no. 171), London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981.
→ Long article, but hugely influential, and regarded as a classic in nuclear theory.
- ★ Thomas C. Schelling, 'Who Will Have the Bomb?', International Security (vol. 1, no. 1, 1976, pp. 77—91).
- ★ Thomas C. Schelling, 'Thinking about Nuclear Terrorism', International Security (vol. 6, no. 4, 1982, pp. 61—77)
- ★ Bernard Brodie, 'The Anatomy of Deterrence', World Politics (vol. 11, no. 2, 1959, pp. 173—191)
- ★ Bernard Brodie, 'The Development of Nuclear Strategy', International Security (vol. 2, no. 4, 1978, pp. 65—83)
- ★ Leon V. Sigal, Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998)
- ★ John W. Lewis and Xue Litai, China Builds the Bomb (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988)
- ★ Ramesh Thakur, 'Non-Compliance: Who Decides, What To Do?', Australian Journal of International Affairs (vol. 53, no. 1, 1999, pp. 71—81)
- ★ Mohan Malik, 'Nuclear Proliferation in Asia: the China Factor', Australian Journal of International Affairs (vol. 53, no. 1, 1999, pp. 31—41)

6. ASEAN and security communities

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Amitav Acharya, '[Collective identity and conflict management in Southeast Asia](#)', in Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds), [Security Communities](#) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- ★ David Martin Jones and Michael L. R. Smith, 'Making Process, not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order', [International Security](#) (vol. 32, no. 1, 2007, pp. 148—184)
- ★ David Martin Jones and Nicole Jenne, 'Weak States' Regionalism: ASEAN and the Limits of Security Cooperation in Pacific Asia', [International Relations of the Asia-Pacific](#) (vol. 16, no. 2, 2016, pp. 209—240)
- ★ Hiro Katsumata, David Martin Jones, and Michael L. R. Smith, 'Correspondence: ASEAN, Regional Integration, and State Sovereignty', [International Security](#) (vol. 33, no. 2, 2008, pp. 182—188)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Amitav Acharya, [Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order](#) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001)
→ [The book to read if you want to know more about the case for calling ASEAN a 'Security Community'.](#)
- ★ Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds), [Security Communities](#) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998)
→ A great book to read if you want to know more about the theoretical aspects of security communities.
- ★ Sorpong Peou, 'Realism and Constructivism in Southeast Asian Security Studies Today: A Review Essay', [The Pacific Review](#) (vol. 15, no. 1, 2002, pp. 119—138)
- ★ Sheldon W. Simon, 'Security Prospects in Southeast Asia: Collaborative Efforts and the ASEAN Regional Forum', [The Pacific Review](#) (vol. 11, no. 2, 1998, pp. 195—212)
- ★ Peter Eng, 'Transforming ASEAN', [The Washington Quarterly](#) (vol. 22, 1, 1999, pp. 49—65)

7. Territorial Disputes

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Eleanor Freund, '[Freedom of Navigation in the South China Sea: A Practical Guide](#)', Special Report, Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School for Science and International Affairs, 2017 [PDF also available on Blackboard]
- ★ Ian Storey and Cheng-yi Lin, 'Introduction', in Ian Storey and Cheng-yi Lin (eds), [The South China Sea Dispute: Navigating Diplomatic and Strategic Tensions](#) (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016)
- ★ M. Taylor Fravel, 'Regime insecurity and international cooperation: Explaining China's compromises in territorial disputes' [International Security](#) (vol. 30, no. 2, 2005, pp. 46—83)
- ★ M. Taylor Fravel, [US policy towards the disputes in the South China Sea since 1995](#) (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2014)
- ★ Joshua P. Rowan, 'The US-Japan security alliance, ASEAN, and the South China Sea dispute', [Asian Survey](#) (vol. 45, no. 3, 2005, pp. 414—436)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Ian James Storey, 'Creeping Assertiveness: China, the Philippines and the South China Sea Dispute', [Contemporary Southeast Asia](#) (1999, pp. 95—118)
- ★ Fravel, M. Taylor. 'China's strategy in the South China Sea', [Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs](#) (vol. 33, no. 3, 2011, pp. 292—319)
- ★ M. Taylor Fravel, "Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes," [International Security](#) (vol. 32, no. 3, 2007/2008, pp. 44-83)
- ★ Wei Zongyou, 'China's Maritime Trap' [The Washington Quarterly](#) (vol. 40, no. 1, 2017, pp. 167–184)
- ★ Brendon Taylor, 'The South China Sea is not a Flashpoint', [The Washington Quarterly](#) (vol. 37, no. 1, 2014, pp. 99–111)
- ★ Jacques deLisle, "Troubled Waters: China's Claims in the South China Sea," [Orbis](#) (vol. 54, no. 4, 2012, 608–642)
- ★ Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, "The Political Economy of Sino-Japanese Ties: The Limits and Risks of Economic Statecraft." In Steven E. Lobell and Norrin M. Ripsman, eds., [The Political Economy of Regional Peacemaking](#) (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 118–143

8. Non-Traditional/Human Security

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 1994. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- ★ Dewi Fortuna Anwar, 'Human Security: An Intractable Problem in Asia', in Muthia Alagappa (ed), Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003)
- ★ Yuen Foong Khong, 'Human security: a shotgun approach to alleviating human misery?', Global Governance (vol. 7, no. 3, 2001, pp. 231—236).
- ★ Lorraine Elliott, The Global Politics of the Environment (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), chapter 9, 'Environmental Security'

FURTHER READING

- ★ Pauline Kerr, 'The Evolving Dialectic between State-centric and Human-centric Security', Working Paper (2003/2, Department of International Relations, Australian National University).
 - ★ Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?', Daedalus (vol, 124, no. 3, 1995, pp. 53—98).
 - ★ Ken Booth, 'Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist', YCISS Occasional Paper (no. 26, October 1994)
- This paper strays into the more meta-theoretical aspects of what we call 'critical security', of which there is a certain overlap with Human Security. It's a bit of a tough read, but Booth is a scholar who often has interesting ideas; so if you're interested in the theoretical aspects of security, do have a look.

9. Ontological Security: the 'history issue' in Northeast Asia

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Ayse Zarakol, 'Ontological (In)security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan', International Relations (vol. 24, no. 1, 2010, pp. 3—23)
- ★ Karl Gustafsson, 'Memory Politics and Ontological Security in Sino-Japanese Relations', Asian Studies Review (vol. 38, no. 1, 2014, pp. 71—86)
- ★ Shogo Suzuki, 'The Importance of "Othering" in China's National Identity: Sino-Japanese Relations as a Stage of Identity Conflicts' The Pacific Review (vol. 20, no. 1, 2007, pp. 23—47)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Jennifer Mitzen, 'Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma', European Journal of International Relations (vol. 12, no. 3, 2006, pp. 341—370)
- ★ Brent J. Steele, 'Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War', Review of International Studies (vol. 31, no. 3, 2005, pp. 519—540)
- ★ Brent J. Steele, Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008)
- ★ Also check out the special issue on ontological security in the journal, Cooperation and Conflict (vol. 52, no. 1, 2017)

10. Humanitarian Intervention

ESSENTIAL READING

- ★ Mohammed Ayoob, 'Humanitarian intervention and international society', Global Governance (vol. 7, no. 3, 2001, pp. 225—230).
- ★ Samuel Makinda, 'Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Transformation in the Global Community', Global Governance (vol. 7, no. 3, 2001, pp. 343—362)
- ★ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, [The Responsibility to Protect](#) (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), pp. 11—18.
- ★ Sarah Teitt, 'The Responsibility to Protect and China's Peacekeeping Policy', International Peacekeeping (vol. 18, no. 3, 2011, pp. 298—321)

FURTHER READING

- ★ Pauline Kerr, 'The Evolving Dialectic between State-centric and Human-centric Security', Working Paper (2003/2, Department of International Relations, Australian National University).
- ★ Nicholas J. Wheeler, Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
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