

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30031 Politics of the European Union**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Lecturers: Prof. Dimitris Papadimitriou and Dr. Paul Tobin
Rooms: 4.019 (Arthur Lewis Building) and 4.006 (Arthur Lewis Building)

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Office Hours: Dimitris: **Mondays 3-4; Wednesdays 12-1**
 Paul: **Wednesdays 10.00-12.00**
 Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: **Mondays 1-3pm, Mansfield Cooper G.22**

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

Mode of assessment: The essay is worth 40% and the exam 60% of the total mark.

Reading Week: **Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018**

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

Essay hand in date: **2 pm Monday 19th 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.

COURSE GUIDE

Prerequisites

There are no prerequisites for this course.

Aims

The European Union has developed from a narrow organisation that sought the peaceful management of the 'industries of war' following World War II into a supranational political system with executive, legislative and judicial institutions. European integration has made rapid progress in the last two decades, moving from the creation of a common market to a

currency union, enlargement to twenty-eight member states and further plans to strengthen economic and political union. On the other hand, recent setbacks (such as the collapse of the 'European constitution', the Eurozone crisis, and Brexit) have rekindled debates concerning the legitimacy, speed and direction of the European project. While member states retain sovereignty in many areas, they share it in others. Meanwhile, certain types of competence have been ceded almost entirely to the EU. The module explores the historical context behind integration, the development of EU institutions, the decision-making process and popular attitudes to closer union, as well as selected policy areas. These themes will help students better understand the policies and processes underpinning current debates on the EU's future.

Objectives

By the end of the course students should have developed knowledge and skills in the following areas:

- where European integration originated and how it developed;
- how the European Union is governed;
- how the European Union manages a range of policy areas;
- key issues in current debates about European integration;
- key analytical and theoretical tools for understanding the European Union.

COURSE TEXTS

Introductory

- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics* (5th Edn), 2016

Institutions and Policy Making

- Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union* (4th Edn), 2014
- Hix, S. and B. Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union* (3rd Edn), 2011
- Nugent, N. *The Government and Politics of the European Union* (7th Edn), 2010
- Wallace, H. M. Pollack and A. Young, *Policy-making in the European Union* (7th Edn), 2014

Theory

- Leuffen, D., B. Rittberger and F. Schimmelfennig, *Differentiated Integration: Explaining Variation in the European Union*, 2013
- Wiener, A. and T. Diez, *European Integration Theory* (2nd Edn), 2009

Please remain aware at all times that textbooks are very good for introducing you to the topic, but they must be supplemented with especially journal articles if you wish to attain a higher level of understanding of the topics. In addition, it is impossible to list all relevant publications in the reading lists for each week, so please consult the journals thoroughly, especially the most recent issues. See in particular the *JCMS* 'Annual Review of EU Activities' for annual coverage of events, starting from the first issue covering 1992 (these are issue number S1 or S2 each year). 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 journals listed.

TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

There are twenty lecture sessions and ten tutorials during the semester. For each topic, the lectures precede the tutorial by one week. The last lecture of the series 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.

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 SCHEME

The essay is worth 40% and the exam 60% of the total mark.

An **essay of 2800 words** in length (10% above or below is acceptable – any more and you will be penalised). The essay must be submitted via Turnitin on Blackboard **by 1200 on Monday 19 November**. Extensions to the deadline will only be granted for substantial reasons, such as illness. All requests for an extension must be made to the course administrator in the undergraduate support office. Such requests must be made prior to the deadline date.

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.

A **two-hour examination** in the exam period at the end of semester one. Two questions are to be answered.

Note: Examination papers evolve in the same way that course guides do, meaning that some previous papers may contain questions that are no longer covered by this course. Guidance on preparing for the exam will be provided in the final lecture.

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
- 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); presenting a question on the discussion board on Blackboard; and obtaining feedback from your peers during tutorials.

Assessed Essay

All students are expected to read and comply with University regulations concerning plagiarism, referencing and so on. Please consult the Course Guide Part II for more.

Note: It is the school's policy that students must not be able to reproduce assessed essays as exam answers.

1. What explains the UK's decision in the 2016 referendum to leave the EU?
2. To what extent does neofunctionalism explain the EU's history of integration?
3. 'The Eurozone Crisis was an unavoidable outcome of the introduction of the Euro'. Discuss.
4. Is the EU a democracy?
5. Critically assess the status of the EU as a global actor.

LECTURE OUTLINE

Week 1 (24 September)

1. Course introduction and administration
2. The evolution of European integration I: from Paris (1952) to the Single European Act (1986)

Week 2 (1 October)

3. The evolution of European integration II: from Maastricht (1993) to Lisbon (2009)
4. What drives European integration? Competing interpretations

Week 3 (08 October)

5. The European Union's institutions: overview I
6. The European Union's institutions: overview II

Week 4 (15 October)

7. The making of EU Policies
8. The EU and the member states: the case of the UK and Brexit

Week 5 (22 October)

9. The Single European Market
10. Economic and Monetary Union and the Eurozone Crisis

Week 6 (5 November)

11. The Lisbon Agenda and Europe 2020
12. Environmental Policy

Week 7 (12 November)

13. The Common Agricultural Policy
14. Regional Policy

Week 8 (19 November)

15. Freedom, Security and Justice
16. External economic relations

Week 9 (26 November)

17. Common Foreign and Security Policy
18. Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy

Week 10 (3 December)

19. Democracy and Accountability in the EU
20. Revision Session

TUTORIAL OUTLINE

Tutorial 1 (w/c 1 October)

Organisational tutorial

Tutorial 2 (w/c 8 October)

Theoretical approaches to understanding the EU

- ❖ What is the 'spill over' effect (citing some examples) and where does it lead?

Tutorial 3 (w/c 15 October)

Institutional governance in the European Union

- ❖ How does the European Commission differ from national executives?

Tutorial 4 (w/c 22 October)

The EU and its member states

- ❖ Why has Britain found it so difficult to come to terms with EU membership?

Tutorial 5 (w/c 5 November)

Economic and Monetary Union

- ❖ What are the root causes of the Eurozone crisis?

Tutorial 6 (w/c 12 November)

Environment, climate and energy policy

- ❖ Is the EU a global environmental pioneer?

Tutorial 7 (w/c 19 November)

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

- ❖ Is the CAP necessary?

Tutorial 8 (w/c 26 November)

Freedom, Security and Justice

- ❖ Why has the Dublin Convention failed to address the current refugee crisis?

Tutorial 9 (w/c 3 December)

External relations

- ❖ Is the EU a 'political pigmy' in its external relations?

Tutorial 10 (w/c 10 December)

Democracy and accountability in the EU

- ❖ What are the key manifestations of the EU's 'democratic deficit'?

TUTORIALS AND READING LISTS

1. Organisational tutorial (w/c 1 October)

Essential reading

Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, Politics in the European Union, part two.
Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, European Union Politics, part one.
Nugent, N., The Government and Politics of the European Union, parts one and two.

See also the EU gateway webpage – [www.http://europa.eu/](http://europa.eu/)

Further reading

Recommended books on European history:

Dinan, D. (2014) Europe Recast: A History of the European Union. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Judt, T. (2010) Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945. London: Pimlico.
Kaiser, W., B. Leucht and M. Rasmussen (eds) (2011) The History of the European Union: Origins of a Transnational Polity 1950-72. London: Routledge.
Stirk, P.M.R. (1996) A History of European Integration since 1914. London: Pinter.

Classic articles on European integration:

Bulmer, S. (1983) 'Domestic Politics and European Community Policy-Making', Journal of Common Market Studies, 21:4, 349-64.
Caporaso, J.A. (1996) 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-modern?', Journal of Common Market Studies, 34:1, 29-52.
Dashwood, A. (1977) 'The Principle of Direct Effect in European Community Law', Journal of Common Market Studies, 16:3, 229-45.
Deutsch, K.W. (1963) 'Supranational Organizations in the 1960s', Journal of Common Market Studies, 1:3, 212-18.
Hayes-Renshaw, F., C. Lequesne and P.M. Lopez (1989) 'The Permanent Representations of the Member States to the European Communities', Journal of Common Market Studies, 28:2, 119-37.
Hill, C. (1993) 'The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role', Journal of Common Market Studies, 31:3, 305-28.
Lindberg, L.N. (1967) 'The European Community as a Political System: Notes toward the Construction of a Model', Journal of Common Market Studies, 5:4, 344-87.
Mitrany, D. (1965) 'The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional', Journal of Common Market Studies, 4:2, 119-49.
Moravcsik, A. (1993) 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', Journal of Common Market Studies, 31:4, 473-524.
Moravcsik, A. and K. Nicolaïdis (1999) 'Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, Influence, Institutions', Journal of Common Market Studies, 37:1, 59-85.
Olsen, J.P. (2002) 'The Many Faces of Europeanization' Journal of Common Market Studies, 40:5, 921-52.
Puchala, D.J. (1971) 'Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration', Journal of Common Market Studies, 10:3, 267-84.
Simoniah, H. (1981) 'France, Germany, and Europe', Journal of Common Market Studies, 19:3, 203-19.
Taylor, P. (1968) 'The Concept of Community and the European Integration Process' Journal of Common Market Studies, 7:2, 83-101.
Wallace, W. (1982) 'Europe as a Confederation: the Community and the Nation-state', Journal of Common Market Studies, 21:1, 57-68.
Weilee, J. (1982) 'Community, Member States and European Integration: Is the Law Relevant?', Journal of Common Market Studies, 21:1, 39-56.

2. Theoretical approaches to understanding the EU (w/c 8 October)

- ❖ What is the 'spill over' effect (citing some examples) and where does it lead?

Essential reading

- Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, Politics in the European Union, part one.
Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapters 4 and 5.
Haas, E. 'Turbulent fields and the theory of regional integration', *International Organization*, 1976.
Hix, S. and B. Høyland, S. The Political System of the European Union. Palgrave, 2011 (chapter 1).
Lindberg, L.N. (1967) 'The European Community as a Political System: Notes toward the Construction of a Model', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 5:4, 344-87
Rosamond, B., Theories of European Integration, 2000 (chapters 2 and 3)
Schimmelfennig, F. & Rittberger, B. 'The EU as a system of differentiated integration: a challenge for theories of European integration?' in J. Richardson & S. Mazey, *European Union: Power and Policy Making*, 2015
Tranholm-Mikkelsen, J. 'Neofunctionalism: obstinate or obsolete? Millenium: Journal of International Studies, Summer 1991, pp 1-9.

Further reading

- Beyers, J., R. Eising and W. Maloney (2008) 'Researching Interest Group Politics in Europe and Elsewhere: Much We Study, Little We Know?' *West European Politics*, 31:6, 1103-28.
Börzel, T. (2005) 'Mind the Gap! European Integration between Level and Scope', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 217-36.
Börzel, T. (2010) 'European Governance: Negotiation and Competition in the Shadow of Hierarchy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:2, 191-219.
Bulmer, S. (2009) 'Politics in Time meets the Politics of Time: Historical Institutionalism and the EU Timescape', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16:2, 307-24.
Clark, J. and A. Jones (2008) 'The Spatialities of Europeanisation: Territory, Government and Power in Europe', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33:3, 300-18.
Clark, J. and A. Jones (2009) 'Europeanisation and its Discontents', *Space and Polity*, 13:3, 193-212.
Ellinas, A.A and E.N. Suleiman (2011) 'Supranationalism in a Transnational Bureaucracy: The Case of the European Commission', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:5, 923-47.
Favell, A. and V. Guiradon (2009) 'The Sociology of the European Union: An Agenda', *European Union Politics*, 10:4, 550-76.
Gilbert, M. (2008) 'Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46:3, 641-62.
Kreppel, A. (2011) 'Looking "Up", "Down" and "Sideways": Understanding EU Institutions in Context', *West European Politics*, 34:1, 167-79.
Lindberg L & Scheingold, S. *Europe's Would-Be Polity*, 1970
Lindberg L. (1963) *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
Moravcsik, A. (1998) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. London: UCL Press.
Piattoni, S. (2009) 'Multi-level Governance: A Historical and Conceptual Analysis', *Journal of European Integration*, 31:2, 163-80.
Radaelli, C.M. and K. O'Connor (2009) 'How Bureaucratic Elites Imagine Europe: Towards Convergence of Governance Beliefs?' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16:7, 971-89.
Rovnyi, I. and V. Bachmann (2012) 'Reflexive Geographies of Europeanization', *Geography Compass*, 6:5, 260-74.
Sandholtz W. (1996) *Membership Matters: Limits of the Functional Approach to European Institutions*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol.34 (3) September: 403-429.
Shore, C. (2011) '"European Governance" or Governmentality? The European Commission and the Future of Democratic Government', *European Law Journal*, 17:3, 287-303.

3. Institutional governance in the European Union (w/c 15 October)

❖ How does the European Commission differ from national executives?

Essential Reading

- Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, part three.
Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapters 9-12.
Nugent, N., *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, part three.
Egeberg, M. (2012) 'Experiment in Supranational Institution-building: The European Commission as a Laboratory', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:6, 939-50.
Shore, C. (2011) "European Governance" or Governmentality? The European Commission and the Future of Democratic Government', *European Law Journal*, 17:3, 287-303.

See also EU Institutions websites – http://europa.eu/pol/inst/index_en.htm

Further Reading

- Christiansen, T. (1999) *The EU Commission and European Governance*, London, Routledge, 1999
Cini, M. (1996) *The European Commission*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996
Costello, R. and R. Thomson (2013) 'The Distribution of Power among EU Institutions: Who Wins under Codecision and Why?', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:7, 1025-39.
Cram, L. (1994) 'The European Commission as a Multi-Organization', *JEPP*, 1(2) 1994.
Cram, L. (2001) Whither the Commission? Reform, renewal and the issue-attention cycle, *JEPP*, 8(5), p770-786, 2001
Delors, J. (1992) *Our Europe*.
Dinan, D. (2013) 'EU Governance and Institutions: Stresses Above and Below the Waterline', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51:S1, 89-102.
Edwards G. & Spence D. (eds.) (1994), *The European Commission*.
Endo, K. (1998) *The Presidency of the European Commission under Jacques Delors*.
Grant, C. (1994) *The House that Jacques Built*.
Hooghe, L. (2012) 'Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:1, 87-111.
Laffan, B. (1997) 'From Policy Entrepreneur to Policy Manager: The Challenge Facing the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4(3), 422-38
Nicoll W. & Salmon, T. (2001) *Understanding the EU*, (Chapter 6 "The Commission")
Nugent N. and Saurugger, S. (2002) Organizational structuring: the case of the European Commission and its external policy responsibilities, *JEPP*, Vol.9, Issue 3, p345-364
Nugent, N. (2002) The Commission's Services, ch. 7 in J. Peterson and M. Shackleton, *The Institutions of the European Union*, Oxford.
Nugent, N. & Rhinard, M. *The European Commission*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2015.
Page, E. (1996) *People Who Run Europe*, Oxford, OUP, 1996.
Peterson, J. (2002) The College of Commissioners, ch.4 in J. Peterson and M. Shackleton, *The Institutions of the European Union*, Oxford.
Pollack, M. (1997) "Delegation, Agency and Agenda-Setting in the European Community", *International Organization*, 51/1 (Winter 1997).
Ponzano, P. et al. (2012) 'The Power of Initiative of the European Commission: A Progressive Erosion?', *Notre Europe Study No. 89*, January 2012. Available at: http://www.notre-europe.eu/media/commission_power_of_initiative_ne_feb2012.pdf?pdf=ok
Rasmussen, A. (2012) 'Twenty Years of Co-decision since Maastricht: Inter- and Intrainstitutional Implications', *Journal of European Integration*, 34:7, 735-51.
Ross, G. (1994) 'Inside the Delors Cabinet', *JCMS* 32(4).
Ross, G. (1994) *Jacques Delors and European Integration*.
Schmidt, S.K. (2000) 'Only an Agenda Setter? The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics*, 1:1, 37-61.
Spence, D. (2000) 'Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose? Attempting to reform the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7 (1), 1-25
Stevens, A. (2000) *The Administration of the European Union*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000.
Wincott, D. (2001) Looking Forward or Harking Back? The Commission and the Reform of Governance in the European Union, *JCMS*, vol. 39, no. 5, pp. 897-911(15), December 2001
Wonka, A. (2015) 'The European Commission', in J. Richardson & S. Mazey, eds., *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 4th Edition.

4. The European Union and its member states (w/c 22 October)

- ❖ Why has the UK found it so difficult to come to terms with EU membership?

Essential reading

- Bulmer, S. and C. Lequesne (eds) (2013) *The Member States of the European Union* (2nd ed.), Chpts 1 and 6.
Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, Brexit Supplement (latest edition only) and chapter 25.
Nugent, N., *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, (7th ed), chapter 15.
Gamble, A. (2012) 'Better Off Out? Britain and Europe', *Political Quarterly*, 83:3, 468-77.
Copsey, N. and T. Haughton (2014) 'Farewell Britannia? "Issue Capture" and the Politics of David Cameron's 2013 EU Referendum Pledge', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52:S1, 74-89.
Schmidt, V.A. (2006) 'Adapting to Europe: Is It Harder for Britain?', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 8:1, 15-33.

Further reading

- Allen, D. and T. Oliver (2006) 'The Foreign and Commonwealth Office' and 'Foreign Policy', in I. Bache and A. Jordan (eds) *The Europeanization of British Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Auer, S. (2010) "New Europe": Between Cosmopolitan Dreams and Nationalist Nightmares', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:5, 1163-84.
Börzel, T.A. (2002) 'Member State Responses to Europeanization', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40:2, 193-214.
Bulmer, S. and M. Burch (2005) 'The Europeanization of UK Government: from Quiet Revolution to Explicit Step-Change?' *Public Administration*, 83:4, 861-90.
Craig, P. (2012) 'Subsidiarity: A Political and Legal Analysis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:S1, 72-87.
Daddow, O. (2012) 'Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 15:2, 210-27.
Dryburgh, L. (2010) 'Blair's First Government (1997-2001) and European Security and Defence Policy: Seismic Shift or Adaptation?', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 12:2, 257-73.
Duff, A. (2013) 'On Dealing with Euroscepticism' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51:1, 140-152.
Fontana, C. & Parsons, C. (2014) "One Woman's Prejudice": Did Margaret Thatcher Cause Europe's Anti-Europeanism? *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 53 (1), 89-105.
Gamble, A. (2006) 'The European Disunion', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 8:1, 34-49.
Geddes, A. (2013) *Britain and the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Numerous chapters.
George, S. (1998) *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (1998)
Gifford, C. (2007) 'Political Economy and the Study of Britain and European Integration: A Global-National Perspective', *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 9:3, 461-76.
Golub, J. (2012) 'How the European Union Does Not Work: National Bargaining Success in the Council of Ministers', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:9, 1294-1315.
Haverland, M. and M. Romeijn (2007) 'Do Member States Make European Policies Work? Analysing the EU Transposition Deficit', *Public Administration*, 85:3, 757-78.
Hawkins, B. (2012) 'Nation, Separation and Threat: An Analysis of British Media Discourses on the European Union Treaty Reform Process', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:4, 561-77.
James, S. (2009) 'Taming the 'Awkward State'? The Changing Face of European Policy-making under Blair', *Public Administration*, 87:3, 604-20.
Jensen, C. and J. Slapin (2012) 'Institutional Hokey-pokey: The Politics of Multispeed Integration in the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:6, 779-95.
Lequesne, C. (2013) 'A New Socialist President in the Elysée: Continuity and Change in French EU Politics', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51:S1, 42-54.
Majone, G. (2006) 'The Common Sense of European Integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13:5, 607-26.
Panke, D. (2012) 'Lobbying Institutional Key Players: How States Seek to Influence the European Commission, the Council Presidency and the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:1, 129-50.
Panke, D. (2012) 'Negotiation Effectiveness: Why Some States are Better than Others in Making Their Voices Count in EU Negotiations', *Comparative European Politics*, 10:1, 111-32.
Pryce, R. (1963) 'Britain out of Europe?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2:1, 1-10.
Rosamond, B. (2012) 'The European Union, Legitimacy and the Reconstruction of State Space', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:3, 324-41.
Schmidt, V.A. (2012) 'European Member State Elites' Diverging Visions of the European Union: Diverging Differently since the Economic Crisis and the Libyan Intervention?', *Journal of European Integration*, 34:2, 169-90.
Vassallo, V. (2013) 'Sarkozy and Merkel: The Undeniable The Undeniable Relevance of the Franco-German Bilateral Relationship in Europe', *German Politics & Society*, 31:1, 92-115.
Wallace, H (1997) 'At Odds with Europe', *Political Studies* 45(4).

5. Economic and Monetary Union (w/c 5 November)

❖ What are the root causes of the Eurozone crisis?

Essential reading

- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapter 26.
- Dyson, K. H. F. (2013) Sworn to grim necessity? Imperfections of European economic governance, normative political theory, and supreme emergency, *Journal of European Integration* 35(3), pp. 207-222.
- Hodson, D. (2014) 'Eurozone Governance: Recovery, Reticence and Reform', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52:S1, 186-201.
- Matthijs, M. and Blyth, M. (2015), *The Future of the Euro*, Oxford: OUP (Chapter 12)
- Overbeek, H. (2012) 'Sovereign Debt Crises in Euroland: Root Causes and Implications for European Integration', *The International Spectator*, 47:1, 30-48.
- Pisani-Ferry, J. (2014), *The Euro Crisis and Its Aftermath*, Oxford: OUP (Part 4)
- Tsoukalis, T. (2014) *The Unhappy State of the Union* (available for download) <http://www.policy-network.net/publications/4602/The-Unhappy-State-of-the-Union>
- Wallace, H. Pollack, M. and Young, A. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, (6th edition) chapter 7.

See also the relevant articles from the FT and Social Europe website – <http://www.social-europe.eu/#ios>

Further reading

- Andrews, D. (2013) 'Merged into One: Keystones of European Economic Governance, 1962-2012', *Journal of European Integration*, 35:3, 315-31.
- Bulmer, S. and Paterson, W.E. (2013), 'Germany as the EU's Reluctant Hegemon? Of Economic Strength and Political Constraints', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20 (10), 1387-1405.
- Copelovitch, M., Frieden, J. & Walter, S. (2016). 'The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis'. *Comparative Political Studies*. 49 (7), 811-840.
- Davies, W. (2013) 'When is a Market Not a Market: "Exemption", "Externality" and "Exception" in the Case of European State Aid Rules', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30:2, 32-59.
- de Grauwe, P. (2013) 'The Political Economy of the Euro', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16, 1-18.
- de Grauwe, P. and Y. Ji (2013) 'From Panic-driven Austerity to Symmetric Macroeconomic Policies in the Eurozone', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51:S1, 31-41.
- Dinan, D. (2012) 'Governance and Institutions: Impact of the Escalating Crisis', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:S2, 85-98.
- Dyson, K. H. F. (2012) 'Economic and monetary disunion?', in: Hayward, J. and Wurzel, R. eds. *European Disunion: Between Sovereignty and Solidarity*. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 181-199.
- Eichengreen, B. (2012) 'European Monetary Integration with Benefit of Hindsight', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:S1, 123-36.
- Flassbeck, H. & Lapavistas, C. (2015). *Against the Troika: Crisis and Austerity in the Eurozone* (London: Verso).
- Hix, S. and B. Høyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, chapter 10.
- Jones, A., J. Clark and A. Cameron (2010) 'The Global Economic Crisis and the Cohesion of Europe', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 51:1, 35-51.
- Jones, E. (2003) 'Liberalized Capital Markets, State Autonomy, and European Monetary Union', *European Journal of Political Research*, 42:2, 197-222.
- Jones, E. (2010) 'The Economic Mythology of European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:1, 89-109.
- Lindstrom, N. (2010) 'Service Liberalization in the Enlarged EU: A Race to the Bottom or the Emergence of Transnational Political Conflict?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48:5, 1307-27.
- Salines, M., G. Glöckler, and Z. Truchlewski (2012) 'Existential Crisis, Incremental Response: The Eurozone's Dual Institutional Evolution 2007-2011', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:5, 665-81.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2014). 'Speaking to the Markets or to the People? A Discursive Institutional Analysis of the EU's Sovereign Debt Crisis'. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 16, pp.188-209.
- Snaith, H. (2014) 'Narratives of Optimum Currency Area Theory and Eurozone Governance', *New Political Economy*, 19:2, 183-200.
- van Apeldoorn, B. (2008) 'The Contradictions of "Embedded Neoliberalism" and Europe's Multi-level Legitimacy Crisis: The European Project and its Limits', in B. van Apeldoorn, J. Drahokoupil and L. Horn (eds) *Contradictions and Limits of European Governance: From Lisbon to Lisbon*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 21-43.

6. Environment, climate and energy policy (w/c 15 November)

❖ Is the EU a global environmental pioneer?

Essential reading

- Burns, C. & Tobin, P. 'The Limits of Ambitious Environmental Policy in Times of Crisis'. In: Adelle, C., Biedenkopf, K. & Torney, D. Eds. (2017). *European Union External Environmental Policy: Rules, Regulations and Governance Beyond Borders*, Basingstoke: Palgrave. (Digitised on Blackboard)
- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapter 23.
- Kilian, B. & Elgström, O. (2010). 'Still a Green Leader? The European Union's Role in International Climate Negotiations'. *Cooperation and Conflict*. 45 (3), pp.255-273.
- Skovgaard, J. (2014). 'EU Climate Policy after the Crisis'. *Environmental Politics*. 23(1), pp.1-17.
- Steinebach, Y. & Knill, C. (2016). 'Still an entrepreneur? The changing role of the European Commission in EU environmental policy-making.' *Journal of European Public Policy*, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1149207.

Further reading

- Bäckstrand, K. & Elgström, O. (2013). 'The EU's role in climate change negotiations: from leader to 'leadiorator''. *Journal of European Public Policy*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2013.781781>
- Burns, C. & Carter, N. (2010). 'Is Co-decision Good for the Environment? An Analysis of the European Parliament's Green Credentials.' *Political Studies*. 58, (pp.123-142).
- Costa, O. (2008). 'Is Climate Change Changing the EU? The Second Image Reversed in Climate Politics.' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 21 (4), pp.527-544.
- Damro, C. & Méndez, P. L. (2003). 'Emissions trading at Kyoto: from EU resistance to Union innovation'. *Environmental Politics*. 12 (2), pp.71-94.
- Delbeke, J. & Vis, P. Eds. (2015). *EU Climate Policy Explained*. (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Delreux, T. & Happaerts, S. (2016). *Environmental Policy and Politics in the European Union*. (London: Palgrave).
- Fischer, S. & Geden, O. (2015). 'The Changing Role of International Negotiations in EU Climate Policy.' *The International Spectator*. 50 (1), pp.1-7.
- Grant, W., Matthews, D. & Newell, P. (2000). *The Effectiveness of European Union Environmental Policy*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.).
- Groen, L., Niemann, A. & Oberthür, S. (2012). 'The EU as a Global Leader? The Copenhagen and Cancun UN Climate Change Negotiations'. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*. 8 (2), pp.173-191.
- Jordan, A. (2000). 'The Politics of Multilevel Environmental Governance: Subsidiarity and Environmental Policy in the European Union'. *Environment and Planning A*. 32, pp.1307-1324.
- Jordan, A. & Liefferink, D. (2004). *Environmental Policy in Europe: the Europeanization of National Environmental Policy*. (Routledge: Oxford).
- Lekakis, J. N. & Kousis, M. (2013). 'Economic Crisis, Troika and the Environment in Greece'. *South European Society and Politics*. 18 (3), pp.305-331.
- Lenschow, A. & Sprungk, C. (2010). 'The Myth of a Green Europe'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 48 (1), pp.133-154.
- Maltby, T. (2013). 'European Union energy policy integration: A case of European Commission policy entrepreneurship and increasing supranationalism'. *Energy Policy*. 55, pp.435-444.
- Oberthür, S. & Roche Kelly, C. (2008). 'EU Leadership in International Climate Policy: Achievements and Challenges.' *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*. 43 (3), pp.35-50.
- Parker, C. F. & Karlsson, C. (2010). 'Climate Change and the European Union's Leadership Moment: An Inconvenient Truth?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 48 (4), pp.923-943.
- Schreurs, M. A. & Tiberghien, Y. (2007). 'Multi-Level Reinforcement: Explaining European Union Leadership in Climate Change Mitigation'. *Global Environmental Politics*. 7 (4), pp.19-46.
- Selin, H. & VanDeveer, S. (2015). 'Broader, Deeper and Greener: European Union Environmental Politics, Policies, and Outcomes'. *Annual Review of Environmental Resources*. 40, pp.309-335.
- Skjaerseth, J. B. (1994). 'The Climate Policy of the EC: Too Hot to Handle?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*. 32 (1), pp.25-45.
- Tobin, P. (2017). 'Leaders and Laggards: Climate Policy Ambition in Developed States'. *Global Environmental Politics*, 17 (4), pp.28-47.
- Tobin, P., Schmidt, N., Tosun, J. & Burns, C. (2018). 'Climate Policy Innovation: Mapping States' Paris Climate Pledges'. *Global Environmental Change*, 48, pp.11-21.
- Vogler, J. & Stephan, H. R. (2007). 'The European Union in Global Environmental Governance: Leadership in the Making'. *International Environmental Agreements*. 7, pp.389-413.
- Wurzel, R. K. W. & Connelly, J. Eds. (2011). *The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics*. (Abingdon: Routledge).

7. Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (w/c 19 November)

❖ Is the CAP necessary?

Essential Reading

- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, chapter 22.
- Coleman, W.D. (1998), 'From Protected Development to Market Liberalism: Paradigm Change in Agriculture', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5 (4), pp. 632-51.
- Daugbjerg, C. and Swinbank, A. (2009), *Ideas, Institutions and Trade: The WTO and the Curious Role of EU Farm Policy in Trade Liberalization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chs. 1 and 6).
- Daugbjerg, C. and Swinbank, A. (2011), 'Explaining the "Health Check" of the Common Agricultural Policy: Budgetary Politics, Globalisation and Paradigm Change Revisited', *Policy Studies*, 32 (2), pp. 127-41.
- Grant, W. (1995) 'The Limits of Common Agricultural Policy Reform and the Option of Renationalisation', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2 (1), pp. 1-18.
- Bache, I, George, S. and Bulmer, S. (2011) *Politics in the European Union* (Ch. 26).
- Schwaag Serger, S. (2001), 'Negotiating CAP Reform in the European Union – Agenda 2000', Lund: Swedish Institute for Food and Agricultural Economics.
- Wallace H., W. M. Pollack and A. Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 2010, (6th Edn), (Ch. 8) but also the 5th edition (Ch. 7).

See also Wyn Grant's up-to-date blog on the CAP: <http://commonagpolicy.blogspot.co.uk/>

Supplementary Reading

- Ackrill, R. (2000), *The Common Agricultural Policy*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Coleman, W.D. and Tangermann, S. (1999), 'The 1992 CAP Reform, the Uruguay Round and the Commission: Conceptualizing Linked Policy Games', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37 (3), pp. 385-405.
- Daugbjerg, C. (2003), 'Policy Feedback and Paradigm Shift in EU Agricultural Policy: The Effects of the Macsharry Reform on Future Reform', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10 (3), pp. 421-37.
- Daugbjerg, C. and Swinbank, A. (2007) 'The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (1), pp. 1-22.
- Fennell, R. (1997), *The Common Agricultural Policy: Continuity and Change*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Garzón, I. (2006) *Reforming the Common Agricultural Policy: History of a Paradigm Change*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grant, W. (1997) *The Common Agricultural Policy*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Greer, A. (2005) *Agricultural Policy in Europe*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ingersent, K.A. and Rayner, A.J. (1999), *Agricultural Policy in Western Europe and the United States*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Knudsen, A.C.L. (2009) *Farmers on Welfare: The Making of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lowe, P., Buller, H. and Ward, N. (2002), 'Setting the Next Agenda? British and French Approaches to the Second Pillar of the Common Agricultural Policy', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18 (1), pp. 1-17.
- Lynggart, K. (2007), 'The Institutional Construction of a Policy Field: A Discursive Institutional Perspective on Change within the Common Agricultural Policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14 (2), pp. 293-312.
- Milward, A.S. (1992), *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, London: Routledge (Ch. 5).
- Moyer, H.W. and Josling, T.E. (1990), *Agricultural Policy Reform: Politics and Processes in the EC and the USA*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Ritson, C. and Harvey, D.R. (eds) (1997) *The Common Agricultural Policy* (2nd edition), Wallingford: CAB International.
- Roederer-Rynning, C. (2003), 'From "Talking Shop" to "Working Parliament"? The European Parliament and Agricultural Change' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41 (1), pp. 113-35.
- Skogstad, G. (1998), 'Ideas, Paradigms and Institutions: Agricultural Exceptionalism in the European Union and the United States', *Governance*, 11 (4), pp. 463-90.
- Verdun, A. and Croci, O. (eds) (2005) *Institutional and Policy-Making Challenges to the European Union in the Wake of Eastern Enlargement*, Manchester: Manchester University Press (Ch. 4 by Grant on 'The Common Agricultural Policy: Challenges in the Wake of Eastern Enlargement').

8. Freedom, Security and Justice (w/c 26 November)

❖ Why has the Dublin Convention failed to address the current refugee crisis?

Essential reading

- 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>
- 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
- Monar, J. (2013) 'The EU's Growing Role in the External AFSJ Domain: Factors, Framework and Forms of Action'. Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Latest Articles section.
- 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
- Tsourd, E. and De Bruycker, P. (2015) "EU Asylum Policy: In Search of Solidarity and Access to Protection, Working Paper, Migration Policy Centre, EUI. Available at: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/35742/MPC_PB_2015_06.pdf?sequence=1
- Wallace, H., Pollack, M. and Young, A. (2006) *Policy-Making in the European Union* (chapter 19)

See also EU Justice and Home Affairs websites at: http://europa.eu/pol/justice/index_en.htm

Further reading

- Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, chapter 31.
- Boswell, C. (2003) 'The "External Dimension" of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy', *International Affairs*, 79:3, 619-38.
- Carrapico, H. and F. Trauner (eds) (2012) 'The External Dimension of EU Justice and Home Affairs: Post-Lisbon Governance Dynamics', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 17:2/1. Special issue. All papers are potentially of interest.
- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapter 21.
- Geddes, A. (2009) *Migration as Foreign Policy: The External Dimension of EU Action on Migration and Asylum*. Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, available at: <http://www.sieps.se/en/publikationer/migration-as-foreign-policy-20092>
- Guiraudon, V. (2000) 'European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-Making as Venue Shopping', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38:2, 251-71.
- Lavenex, S. (2004) 'EU External Governance in Wider Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11:4, 680-700.
- Lavenex, S. (2006) 'Shifting Up and Out: The Foreign Policy of European Immigration Control', *West European Politics*, 29:2, 329-50.
- Lavenex, S. (2007) 'Mutual Recognition and the Monopoly of Force: Limits of the Single Market Analogy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14:5, 762-79.
- Monar, J. (2012) 'Justice and Home Affairs: The Treaty of Maastricht as a Decisive Intergovernmental Gate Opener', *Journal of European Integration*, 3:7, 717-34.
- Monar, J. (2014) 'Justice and Home Affairs', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52:S1, 141-56.
- Rees, W. (2008) 'Inside Out: the External Face of EU Internal Security Policy', *Journal of European Integration*, 30:1, 97-111.
- Smith, K.E. (2009) 'The Justice and Home Affairs Policy Universe: Some Directions for Further Research', *Journal of European Integration*, 31:1, 1-7.
- Trauner, F. (2009) 'Deconstructing the EU's Routes of Influence in Justice and Home Affairs in the Western Balkans', *Journal of European Integration*, 31:1, 65-82.
- Trauner, F. and H. Carrapico (2012) 'The External Dimension of EU Justice and Home Affairs after the Lisbon Treaty: Analysing the Dynamics of Expansion and Diversification', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 17:2/1, 1-18.
- Trauner, F. and I. Kruse (2008) 'EC Visa Facilitation and Readmission Agreements: A New Standard EU Foreign Policy Tool?', *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 10:4, 411-38.
- Wallace, H., M. Pollack, and H. Young, *Policy-making in the European Union*, chapter 19.
- Wolff, S., N. Wichmann and G. Mounier (eds) (2009) 'The External Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs: A Different Security Agenda for the EU?', *Journal of European Integration*, 31:1. Special issue. All papers are potentially of interest.
- Zhyznomirskaya, L. (2011) 'The European Union's "Home Affairs" Model and its European Neighbours: Beyond the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice?', *Comparative European Politics*, 9:4-5, 506-23.

9. External relations (w/c 3 December)

❖ Is the EU a 'political pigmy' in its external relations?

Essential reading

- Bache, I., S. George and S. Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union*, chapters 32 and 33.
- Bickerton, C.J., B. Irondelle and A. Menon (2011) 'Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-state: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:1, 1-21.
- Bretherton, C. and Vogler, J. (2006) *The European Union as a Global Actor* (2nd Ed.). London: Routledge. Chs. 7-8.
- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borragan, *European Union Politics*, chapters 16 and 17.
- Damro, C. (2012) 'Market Power Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19:5, 682-99.
- Hadfield, A. and D. Fiott (2014) 'Relations with the Rest of the World: From Chaos to Consolidation?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52:S1, 170-85.

See also the Foreign & Security Policy websites at: http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm

See also the DG websites at: <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/>

Further reading

- Bachmann, V. (2013) 'The EU's Civilian/Power Dilemma', *Comparative European Politics*, 11:4, 458-80.
- Bretherton, C. and A. Niemann (2013) 'EU External Policy at the Crossroads: The Challenge of Actorness and Effectiveness', *International Relations*, 37:3, 261-75. This is the first article in a special issue: all papers are potentially of interest.
- Emerson, M., et al. (2011) *Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor: Institutions, Law and the Restructuring of European Diplomacy*. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies. Available at: <http://www.ceps.eu/book/upgrading-eus-role-global-actor-institutions-law-and-restructuring-european-diplomacy>
- Hadfield, A. and D. Fiott (2013) 'Europe and the Rest of the World', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51:S1, 168-82.
- Helwig, N. (2013) 'EU Foreign Policy and the High Representative's Capability-Expectations Gap: A Question of Political Will', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 18:2, 235-54.
- Hill, C. and M. Smith (2011) *International Relations and the European Union*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press (see especially chapters 1, 4, 8, 19).
- Howorth, J. (2011) 'The "New Faces" of Lisbon: Assessing the Performance of Catherine Ashton and Herman van Rompuy on the Global Stage', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 16:3, 303-23.
- Menon, A. (2009) 'Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten', *International Affairs*, 85:2, 227-46.
- Meunier, S. (2005) *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Meunier, S. and K. Nicolaidis (2006), 'The EU as a Conflicted Trade Power', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13:6, 906-25 (see also other articles in this Special Issue on EU trade policy).
- Moravcsik, A. (2009) 'Europe: The Quiet Superpower', *French Politics*, 7:3/4, 403-22.
- Siles-Brügge, G. (2014), *Constructing European Union Trade Policy: A Global Idea of Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. See esp. Chs. 1 and 6.
- Skander, N. (2011) 'Governance in EU Foreign Policy: Exploring Small State Influence', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:2, 164-80.
- Sjursen, H. (ed.) (2006) 'What Kind of Power? European Foreign Policy in Perspective', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13:2. Special issue. All papers are potentially of interest, especially Sjursen.
- Sjursen, H. (ed.) (2011) 'The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Quest For Democracy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:8. Special issue. All papers are potentially of interest.
- Smith, M.E. (2011) 'A Liberal Grand Strategy in a Realist World? Power, Purpose and the EU's Changing Global Role', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:2, 144-63.
- Spence, D. (2012) 'The Early Days of the European External Action Service: A Practitioner's View', *Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 7:1, 115-34.
- Thomas, D.C. (2012) 'Still Punching below its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:3, 457-74.
- Toje, A. (2011) 'The European Union as a Small Power', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:1, 43-60.
- Vanhoonacker, S. and K. Pomorska, K. (2013) 'The European External Action Service and Agenda-setting in European Foreign Policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:9, 1316-31.
- Woolcock, S. (2012), *European Union Economic Diplomacy: The Role of the EU in External Economic Relations*. Farnham: Ashgate. Chapter 3.
- Young, A. and J. Peterson (2014) *Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

10. Democracy and Accountability in the European Union (w/c 10 December)

❖ What are the key manifestations of the EU's 'democratic deficit'?

Essential Reading:

- Bomberg, E. Peterson, J., Corbett, R. (2012) *The European Union: how does it work* (3rd ed) (chapter 7)
- Cini, M. and N. Perez-Solorzano Borraran, *European Union Politics*, chapters 24 and 25.
- Hix, S. (2005) *The Political System of the European Union* (2nd ed) (chapter 6).
- Laureote-Heard, K. (2010) 'Legitimacy and effectiveness-two principal standards of good governance', *European Union Governance: Effectiveness and Legitimacy in European Commission Committees*, Routledge: Taylor and Francis, pp. 16-36
- Majone, G. (1998), 'Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards', *European Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Richardson, J. & Mazey, S. *EU: Power and Policy-Making*, (2015) (Chapter 18)
- Sanchez-Cuenca (2000), 'The Political Basis of Support for European Integration', *European Union Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 147-171.

Further Reading:

- Andersen S. and Eliassen, K. (1995) *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?*.
- Banchoff T. and Smith M. (eds), (1998) *Legitimacy and the EU*.
- Beetham, D. and Lord, C. *Legitimacy and the European Union*.
- Bellamy R. and Warleigh A. (eds) (2001) *Citizenship and Governance in the EU*.
- Blondel J. et al. (1998) *People and Parliament in the EU: Participation, Democracy and Legitimacy*
- Chrysoschoou, D. (1998) *Democracy in the European Union*.
- Eriksen E. and Fossum J. (eds.) (2000), *Democracy in the European Union – Integration Through Deliberation*.
- Farrell, M. et al. (eds) (2002), *European Integration in the Twenty-First Century*
- Garcia, S. (1993) *Europe's Fragmented Identities and the Frontiers of Citizenship*, London, Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Hayward, J. (ed.) (1995), *The Crisis of Representation in Europe*
- Hoskins C. and Newman M. (eds.), *Democratizing the European Union*
- Laffan, B. (1999) 'Democracy and the European Union', in Cram *et al*, *Developments in the European Union* (ch17)
- Lord, C. (2001) , Assessing Democracy in a Contested Polity, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, , vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 641-661(21)
- Lord, C. and Beetham, D. (2001) 'Legitimizing the EU: Is there a 'Post-Parliamentary Basis' for its Legitimation?', *JCMS*, Vol. 39, No. 3.
- Neunreither K. and Wiener A. (2000), *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*
- Nicolaidis K. and Howse R. (eds) (2001), *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the US and EU*.
- Pinder J. (ed.), (2000) *Foundations of Democracy in the European Union*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000.
- Scharpf, F. (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?*
- Schmitt H. and Thomassen, J. (1999) *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*
- Schmitter, P. (1999) *How to Democratize the EU ... and Why Bother?*
- Wiener, A. (1999) *European' Citizenship Practice: Building Institutions of a Non-State*

JOURNAL TIPS AND USEFUL 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
European Foreign Affairs Review
European Security
European Union Politics
Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of European Integration
Journal of European Public Policy
Journal of European Social Policy
Perspectives on European Politics and Society
West European Politics

To repeat from the introduction to the module, not all relevant articles from these journals can be listed here, so please consult the journals thoroughly, especially the most recent issues. See in particular the *JCMS* 'Annual Review of EU Activities' for annual coverage of events, starting from the first issue covering 1992. 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 recent developments you could consult *European Access*, which is available in the European Documentation Centre. The Library is a **European Documentation Centre**, which means that it receives copies of many of the EU's official publications. It also receives a range of brochures giving an introduction to EU policies, institutions, etc. As EU publications they tend to be rather uncritical but can be a useful, further source of information. The EDC is also a useful source on recent developments in the EU.

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

- Take a ball and thread with you when you browse: You need to scan a lot of pages to discover what's there. Note down or file the more valuable-looking ones as you go.
- Evaluate web pages as sources: Unlike books or articles published by familiar sources there is no known and reliable process of evaluation, editing and checking web pages - a political party with two dozen members including a webwizard can look awfully solid on screen.
- When you take down, or cite, a source, record the date: unlike paper texts, web pages can be changed many times in a few days.

Key websites on European integration

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.

EU Observer – <http://euobserver.com/>

EurActiv – <http://www.euractiv.com/>

European Voice – <http://www.europeanvoice.com/>

Europe's World – <http://www.europesworld.org/>

European Affairs – <http://www.euronews.com/european-union/>

Social Europe – <http://www.social-europe.eu/#ios>

EU Think-tanks and Research Institutes

Centre for European Reform – <http://www.cer.org.uk/>

Centre for European Policy Studies – <http://ceps.be/content/about-ceps>

European Policy Centre – <http://www.epc.eu/>

ISIS Europe – <http://www.isis-europe.eu/>

The European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) – <http://www.iss.europa.eu/>

The European Council on Foreign Relations – <http://www.ecfr.eu/>

Institute of International and European Affairs – <http://www.iiea.com/>

EU Politics blogs

FT Brussels blog – <http://blogs.ft.com/brusselsblog/>

The Economist blog – <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne>

Centre for European Reform blog – <http://centreforeuropeanreform.blogspot.co.uk/>

EU Documents

The Publications Office of the European Union –
http://publications.europa.eu/index_en.htm

Overview of EU Publications, reports and statistics –
http://europa.eu/publications/index_en.htm

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****Russian Politics
POLI 30072
Semester: 2****Credits: 20****Lecturer and Course Convenor: Prof. Yoram Gorlizki****Room: 4.025 Arthur Lewis Building****Telephone: (0161) 275 4251****Email: Yoram.Gorlizki@manchester.ac.uk****Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00-4:00 & Wednesday 11:00-12:00****Book via SOHOL at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>****Lectures: Mondays 15:00-17:00, in****Tutorials:** All students registered on the course should already be allocated to a tutorial group on the Student System**Mode of assessment:** 2,500 word assessed essay (35%), tutorial participation, preparation and log (15%), and 2 hour summer exam (50%). The main forms of **formative assessment** on this course are the assessed essay and the log.**Reading Week: THERE IS NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO****Administrators:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

Essay Submission Date and Time: Monday 18 March 2019, 14:00**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

**RUSSIAN POLITICS
POLI 30072**

**Politics, School of Social Sciences
University of Manchester**

I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this course is to introduce students to key debates in Russian politics. The course begins by analysing the fall of the Soviet system. Why did the Soviet Union collapse? What continuities are there between the Soviet political system and its Russian successor? It then goes on to look at more recent developments. Who is Vladimir Putin and why has he become so powerful? What is “rent-seeking” and who are the Russian “oligarchs”? Why is corruption such an endemic problem in Russia? What are “virtual politics” and the “virtual economy” and why should Russia be prone to either? Is this huge country made up of a patchwork of diverse political regimes or of a unified state? The course concludes by examining Russia’s recent forays in the Crimea and Ukraine and tentatively asks whether Russia may in fact offer viable alternative positions on some of the world’s key problems to those provided by the West. By the end of the course students will have learned about the main political events in Russia since 1991; examined the problems of a society undergoing social and economic transformation; and become familiar with theoretical and historically informed analyses of the Russian political system.

II. COURSE ORGANIZATION

The course will be organized around weekly lectures and tutorials. **Lectures** will take place from **15:00-17:00 on Mondays in Humanities Bridgeford Street G32**. They will provide an introduction to key topics and a starting point for students' own reading. The introductory lecture will take place on **Monday 28 January**.

There are three **Tutorial** groups. Students taking this course will already have been assigned to one of these groups on the student system. Please do not switch tutorial groups without permission of the course convenor. The first tutorials will be held in the week beginning **4 February**. You will find a full explanation of the contents and purpose of the tutorials in part VI of this guide.

Attendance at tutorials is **compulsory**. You are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on the course. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should contact your 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 for non-attendance. 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 a refusal to allow you to resit a failed exam.

The University’s Academic Standards Code of Practice specifies that a 20 credit course is

expected to require about 200 hours work by students.

III. ASSESSMENT

The course will be assessed by a **compulsory 2,500 word assessed essay**, which will account for 35% of the marks, by a **two-hour summer exam** which will account for 50% of the total, and by **tutorial participation, preparation and log**, which will account for the remaining 15%. For your **assessed essay** you may choose any of the seven titles found in **section VIII of this guide**. These questions are based on parts I and II of the course (i.e. lectures & tutorials 1-3; for the structure of the course, see p.9 of this guide). The **exam**, which will have **seven questions** of which you will have to answer two, will be based on parts III and IV of the course (i.e. lectures and tutorials 4-10; for a sample exam paper refer to section IX of this guide).

Assessed Essay

The deadline for the **essay** is **2:00 pm on Monday 18 March 2019**. Details on the format of the essay, on referencing and bibliography, on submission, on deadlines, and on feedback are available on pp.6-8, 11-19 of **the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II**. Please ensure that **all the pages are numbered** and that you indicate the **total number of words** at the end of the essay. Failure to do so will result in a deduction of **2 marks**. Please also make every effort to keep the essay **under 2,500 words** as, on this course, **1 mark will be docked for every 50 words in excess of that total**.

Late submissions: 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 (see below). After 5 days a mark of 0 will be assigned. Please note a "day" is 24 hours and that the clock starts ticking as soon as the submission deadline has passed. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace. Unless a student has this permission, any assessed essay that is submitted after the relevant exam will be marked as 0.

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: julie.tierney@manchester.ac.uk / jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk
- Philosophy, Politics & Economics: lynn.dignan@manchester.ac.uk
- BA Social Sciences: joseph.barrett@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

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.

Please also note that the University regards **plagiarism**—the theft or expropriation of someone else's work without proper acknowledgement, presenting the material as if it were one's own—as a serious academic offence, the consequences for which can be very severe, up to and including expulsion from the University. You can find more information on **plagiarism on p.29 of the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II**

Tutorial Participation, Preparation and Log

Much of the learning on this course takes place in the tutorials, whose success will depend on your input. Assessment on this part of the course will count for **15% of the overall marks**. Unlike the assessed essay and the exam, marks for participation and preparation are awarded at intervals of 5% (i.e. 40%, 45%, 50%, 55% etc.). Assessment rests on **three criteria: (1) Participation**. You are not awarded marks for merely attending tutorials; so if you attend but make no or little effort to participate you will get a low mark. At the same time you cannot participate without attending; equally, the general quality of participation in class depends on a good turnout. **If you do not attend tutorials or attend only rarely you will almost certainly drop a class on this course.** As a rough guide: a student who, all other things being equal, would have received 80% for participation, preparation and the log (i.e. for this part of the course) had they attended all tutorials, will receive a mark of 15% if they attend only two. (2) **Preparation**. Each tutorial has **three core readings**, which are available either through Blackboard or from one of the course textbooks. You are expected to do these readings; please be prepared to contribute your thoughts on them at the tutorial. It should be noted that at each tutorial a student will be expected to act as a “discussant” (I shall explain this system in greater detail at the first tutorial). It should be emphasized that the participation and preparation marks are only loosely connected to your performance as a discussant. More important is evidence that you have thought about the themes of the seminar, and that you have reflected on the reading materials and on the lecture. (3) **Tutorial Log**. After the ninth tutorial, you will be required to submit a **650 word log** summarizing your reflections on the tutorials **by 2:00 pm on Thursday 2 May 2019**. What you can say in 650 words is quite limited, so I would encourage you to **focus on no more than two tutorials**, ideally from parts III and IV of the course: this will enable you—if you so wish—to use the feedback on the log to prepare for the exam, where you will have to answer two questions.

What am I looking for in a log? 1. I am especially interested in your own **added input**. Try to avoid giving a running commentary or a rehash of the tutorials. **2.** Try to fix on no more than **two or three points**. It is unlikely that you will be able to pack more into 650 words. By way of example, these could be: on a particular event or cultural phenomenon covered in a tutorial; on a point on which you disagree with a writer or with the views of other students in your class; on what appears to you to be a contradiction or puzzle that still needs to be explained; or on anything else that you learned about in class that surprised you. **3.** Try to **develop** each point. This means putting together a string of sentences in which the idea unfolds. Make good use of **paragraphs**. So, for example, if you have three main points to make, why not express them in three separate paragraphs? However many paragraphs you use, it is important that you write **clearly**, in a way that will be easy for me to follow. **4.** Some logs may develop into “think pieces” or “opinion pieces.” This is not a problem—it may even add zest to your log—so long

as your argument is properly supported and lucidly argued. You can also make your log more distinctive by making connections to other courses you are doing or incorporating something from your own personal experience. **5.** You must keep your log to **650 words**. Think of this as a kind of discipline; it is like a haiku or a sonnet in which you want to express a particular idea but have to operate within certain parameters. **6.** Remember that the log can turn into the germ of an idea for one of your **exam essays**. Even after the log has been submitted, try to think how you may develop its core ideas in the exam.

Please also note that I have placed six successful logs from last year and from the previous year's course to give you an idea of the kind of thing I'm looking for.

IV. GENERAL READINGS

1. Post-Soviet Russia

Students are advised to purchase **either** of the following two **recommended texts**:

Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2012)

Stephen Wegren, ed., *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, 6th ed (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015)

These are the best texts for the course. Five of the seminars will draw on chapters from these volumes, while the other chapters also provide additional background material. You may want to buy one and have a friend get the other and then share the two.

Alternatives to the above are:

Daniel Treisman, ed., *The New Autocracy: Information, Politics and Policy in Putin's Russia* (Brookings, 2018) [An excellent up-to-date introduction, however, unlike the texts above only five of the readings (chaps 2-6) are keyed in to this course]

Maria Lipman and Nikolai Petrov, eds., *Russia in 2020: Scenarios for the Future* (Carnegie Endowment, 2011) [Although more loosely connected to the course than either of the recommended texts, this compilation has chapters that address seven of the tutorial topics.]

Stephen K. Wegren and Dale R. Herspring, eds., *After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, 5th ed. (Rowman and Littlefield, 2013) [This has earlier versions of the articles listed as key readings in the tutorials]

Other books that might serve as accompaniments to the course are:

Vladimir Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia: Analysing Post-Soviet Regime Changes* (Pittsburgh, 2015)

Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune: the Battle for Oil and Power in Russia* (Harvard, 2012)

Alena Ledeneva, *Can Russia Modernize? Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance* (Cambridge, 2013)

Alena Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works* (Cornell, 2006)
Richard Sakwa, *The Crisis of Russian Democracy: The Dual State, Factionalism and the Medvedev Succession* (Cambridge University Press, 2011)

One of the most popular ways of getting into Russian politics is through the personality of the Russian president for most of the period since 2000. Useful introductions to Putin's leadership include:

Masha Gessen, *The Man without A Face: the Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin* (Granta, 2012)
Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (Brookings, 2013)
Ben Judah, *Fragile Empire: How Russia Fell In and Out of Love with Vladimir Putin* (Yale, 2013)
Stephen Lee Myers, *The New Tsar: The Rise and Reign of Vladimir Putin* (Penguin, 2015)
Angus Roxburgh, *The Strongman* (I.B. Tauris, 2012)
Mikhail Zygar, *All the Kremlin's Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin* (Perseus, 2016)

For engrossing accounts of the social and economic background to themes explored in the course, have a look at any of the following:

Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism* (Yale, 2016)
Chrystia Freeland, *Sale of the Century: the Inside Story of the Second Russian Revolution* (Abacus, 2005)
David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs* (Public Affairs, 2002)
Andrew Jack, *Inside Putin's Russia* (Granta, 2003)
Andrew Meier, *Black Earth: Russia After the Fall* (Harper, 2004)
Arkady Ostrovsky, *The Invention of Russia: The Journey from Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War* (Atlantic, 2015)
Peter Pomerantsev, *Nothing Is True and Everything Is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia* (Perseus, 2014)
David Remnick, *Resurrection* (Random House, 1997)

2. The Soviet System

Although the course focuses on events in Russia after Communism, students with little background in the area will need to acquaint themselves with the rudiments of the pre-existing system. Basic guides include:

Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991* (Oxford, 1991)
Jerry Hough and Merle Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (Harvard, 1979)
Robert Tucker, *The Soviet Political Mind* (Norton, 1971) chaps 1, 2, 6, 8

The course also includes a session on *perestroika*. Good readable accounts include:

Jack Matlock, *Autopsy of an Empire* (Random House, 1995)
David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb* (Knopf, 1994)
William Taubman, *Gorbachev: His Life and Times* (Simon and Schuster, 2017)

Students seeking more advanced accounts of the classical system may turn to the following:

(i) Neo-Weberian Perspectives

- T H Rigby, 'Traditional, Market and Organizational Societies and the USSR,' *World Politics* 16, 4 (1964): 539-57
T H Rigby, 'Stalin and the Mono-organizational Society,' in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (Norton, 1977) esp pp. 53-9
Ken Jowitt, *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (California, 1992) chaps 1, 3-4

(ii) Economic Analyses

- Gregory Grossman, 'Command Economy,' in John Eatwell et al, eds., *The New Palgrave: Problems of the Planned Economy* (Norton, 1990), 58-62
Ed A Hewett, *Reforming the Soviet Economy* (Brookings, 1988) chaps 3-4
Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* (Oxford, 1992) chaps 3-7, 15 (advanced)
Michael Ellman, *Socialist Planning* 3rd ed (Cambridge, 2014)

3. Journals

A number of journals which regularly feature articles on Russia are available from the John Rylands Library, either in electronic form or in hard copy. You are advised to look at recent volumes as a way of familiarizing yourself with current research on Russian politics.

Post-Soviet Affairs
Europe-Asia Studies
Slavic Review
World Politics
Demokratizatsiya

Journal of Communist and Transition Politics
Journal of Democracy
Problems of Post-Communism
Communist and Post-Communist Studies
East European Politics

4. Keeping up to date

Russian Politics on the Net

There is now a plethora of sources on Russia on the net. Most have very useful archives, which you can turn to in order to back up your research for the assessed essay. The following is a relatively small selection, categorized by type:

1. Independent News Services

The best two are:

- Johnson's Russia List www.russialist.org
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty <http://www.rferl.org/section/Russia/161.html>

2. Foundations and Think Tanks

- [http: www.carnegie.ru/en](http://www.carnegie.ru/en)
- [http: www.carnegieendowment.org/programs/russia](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/programs/russia)
- [http: www.csis.org/russiaeurasia](http://www.csis.org/russiaeurasia)
- [http: www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org)

3. Russian Newspapers (in English)

- www.moscowtimes.ru
- www.sptimes.ru
- www.mosnews.ru

4. Russian Language Sources

For those of you who read Russian, you may want to have a look at the following:

- <http://www.polit.ru>
- <http://www.strana.ru>
- [http: www.izvestia.ru](http://www.izvestia.ru)

For official Russian government sites, which include recent legislation, turn to the following:

- *Russian Government Network Home Page:* <http://www.gov.ru/>
- *The Presidency's home page:* <http://www.kremlin.ru/>
- *Russia on the net* (searchable index of Russian sites): <http://www.ru/>

Useful independent sites include:

- www.compromat.ru
- <http://www.golos.org/>

5. YouTube

Some of the most illuminating and educative teaching materials can be found on YouTube. These include anything from historical footage, news clips, and electoral adverts to political rap-songs and independent opposition videos. Please use YouTube wisely. Although it is an important supplement to academic works, it should not be viewed as a replacement or surrogate for scholarship.

One of the best compilations of YouTube clips on Russia can be found on Peter Rutland's personal website, which currently has 180 clips (which you can browse on the search button).

prutland.web.wesleyan.edu/russia_videos.htm

6. *Russian TV*

For those of you with Russian, the most reliable and independent news and current affairs programmes on Russian TV at the moment are available on the web. Have a look at and “Dozhd TV,” which can be found at: <http://tvrain.ru/>

V. LECTURES

Part I: Fall of the Old System

1. The Post-Stalin Social Contract
2. Perestroika

Part II: State-Building

3. Vladimir Putin, the Executive Vertical and the Rise of the “Network State”

Part III: The Distribution of Wealth and Power

4. The Politics of Economic Reform
5. Corruption
6. Electoral Politics

Part IV: The Russian Tradition after Communism

7. Russian Political Culture
8. Maintaining the Russian Homeland: Regions and Regionalism
9. What is Russia? Inventing the Nation and the “New Russian Idea”
10. Russia in the World

Part V: Conclusion

11. Revision lecture (one hour)

VI TUTORIALS

Readings

Tutorials are based on the readings outlined under each tutorial heading (see this section, below) and on material covered in the lectures. There are a number of ways to access the readings. I will expect all students to have direct access to readings from the **course texts** (either through personally buying or sharing a copy with a friend). All **journal articles** should be available directly through the John Rylands e-journals facility. All other key readings will either be posted on the **course Blackboard page [BB]**. In addition, for essays and exam purposes there is a fuller list of readings for each topic in **Part VII** of this guide.

Participation

For each tutorial I have outlined in advance the key questions and issues that we will be looking

at. This will enable you to read with clear objectives in mind. The seminars will not be based on formal individual presentations. Instead, we shall be using a system of “**discussants**” which I shall elaborate on in the first introductory tutorial. In the tutorial summaries which follow I have tried to make it as clear as possible what forms of participation will be expected of you at each session.

Tutorial 1: Social Contract vs Protection Racket

In this opening tutorial we shall be looking at two very different perspectives on the relationship between state and society after Stalin. As will become apparent later in the course, these perspectives have significant implications for our interpretations of the post-communist period. Following a brief introduction you will be divided into two groups and asked to think about how well each of these terms describe the Soviet Union from the time of Stalin's death until Gorbachev's accession. Each group will be asked to give a short presentation of their answers to these questions.

41-90, esp. 61-4, 71-74 [BB]

GROUP A

Soviet System as 'Social Contract'

1. We often hear about the problems of the old Soviet system. For over thirty years, however, the Soviet Union was an unquestioned superpower with little sign of domestic unrest. How can we account for the stability and apparent strength of the regime over the 1960s and 1970s?
2. Was the stability of the system entirely due to apathy and state repression? Or did the regime actually enjoy some social support?
3. What are the disadvantages of the 'social contract' as a metaphor for relations between state and society after Stalin?

READING

Peter Hauslohner, 'Politics Before Gorbachev: De-Stalinization and the Roots of Reform,' in Seweryn Bialer, ed. *Politics, Society and Nationality Inside Gorbachev's Russia* (Westview, 1989),

GROUP B

Soviet System as 'Protection Racket'

1. Numerous writers have referred to 'informal practices' which existed under the Soviet system. What examples of 'informal practices' can you think of? Do you think 'informal practices' were useful for the running of the system?
2. What is the difference between 'informal practices' and 'corrupt practices'?
3. On the basis of your reading of Simis, how widespread do you think 'corrupt practices' and organized tribute were under the old system? If they were widespread, why do you think this was so?

READING

Konstantin Simis, *USSR: Secrets of a Corrupt Society* (Simon and Schuster, 1982) chap 2 [BB, 5 copies of chapter in HD, & book on reserve at HD]

Joseph S. Berliner, *Factory and Manager in the USSR* (Cambridge, 1957) chp 11 [BB and book on reserve in HD]

Tutorial 2: Perestroika

The purpose of this tutorial is to move beyond popular interpretations of perestroika that many of us may have gleaned from the press. We begin by looking at perestroika from two very different perspectives and then go on to build on approaches introduced in last week's seminar.

PART I

You will be divided into two groups. One group will be asked to imagine you are Mikhail Gorbachev and the other steel workers from Magnitogorsk.

GROUP A

Mikhail Gorbachev

1. How would you have outflanked opponents from the party apparatus and from the economic bureaucracies?
2. Who were your natural allies? (Clue: who did worst out of the 'social contract'?)
3. Knowing what you know now, would you have approached perestroika differently?

READING

Either Daniel Treisman, "The Captain," Chap 1 of *The Return*, 1-40 [BB]
OR Stephen Kotkin, "The Drama of Reform," Chapter Three of *Armageddon Averted* (OUP, 2008) [BB]

PART II

GROUP B

Steel Workers in Magnitogorsk

1. What are the main benefits and drawbacks for you of radical reform of the old system?
2. Let's say you are very angry about how things are turning out. How would you go about organizing yourselves?
3. How do you rate Gorbachev's leadership?

READING

Stephen Kotkin, *Steeltown, USSR* (Philadelphia, 1990) chap 1 (BB and 5 copies in HD)

1. Why do you think it was so hard for Gorbachev to reform the Soviet system?
2. Why did the Soviet political elite not do more to stop Gorbachev and prevent the disintegration of the Soviet system?

BACKGROUND READING

Geoffrey Hosking, *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (Vintage, 1991) chap 1 [BB]

You may also want to have a look at *My Perestroika* by Robin Hessman, clips from which are available on line

Tutorial 3: The Russian Presidency and the Consolidation of the Russian State

In this session we look at the institutional design of the Russian political system since 1991. The seminar will be divided into two sections. In the first we re-examine the conflict between parliament and president from 1991 to 1993 and its aftermath; in the second we take matters up to the current Putin presidency.

I. We begin by considering the showdown of October 1993. By way of background note the following: Yeltsin was elected with a clear majority as Russian president in June 1991; the Russian Parliament, which consisted of 1,050 deputies, had been voted in at the Russian parliamentary elections in the spring of 1990.

You will be divided into two groups. Consider what your plan of action would have been in autumn 1991 in the light of the constraints outlined below. *Note:* There is one golden rule you have to observe: sorely tempted as you might be, you cannot close down the press, kill your opponents or send them to Siberia.

GROUP A

President Yeltsin

1. What is the source of your legitimacy?
2. What law-making and executive powers do you have and how would you use them?
What networks would you take advantage of?

Russia has had quite a history of very rapid political polarization. What were the root causes of the polarization between 1991 and 1993? Read the article by Breslauer. Now consider the relevance of the following areas:

- (a) The nature of the issues
- (b) Personal stakes involved

GROUP B

Russian Parliament

1. What is the source of your legitimacy?
2. What law-making and executive powers do you have and how would you use them?
What networks would you exploit?

II. For the second half of today's seminar consider the following questions:

- (a) Putin came to power as a "state builder": What did he do to rebuild the Russian state?
- (b) To what extent is Pomerantsev right when he argues that the "country is a dictatorship in the morning, a democracy at lunch, and an oligarchy by suppertime"? What does he mean?

READING

George Breslauer, 'The Roots of Polarization,' *Post-Soviet Affairs* 9, 3 (1993): 223-230 [BB]
AND EITHER Wegren, *Return to Putin's Russia*, 6th ed, chaps 1 and 2 (or Herspring, *After Putin's Russia*, 5th ed, chaps 1 and 2) **OR**
Daniel Treisman, *The Return*, chapters 3 and 4 **AND**
Ben Judah, "Putin's Court," chapter five of *Fragile Empire* (Yale, 2013) [BB] **OR**
Alena V. Ledeneva, *Can Russia Modernize*, chapter 2 **OR**
Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, chap 3. [BB] or chap.9
You might want to have a look at the article in the October 2011 issue of the LRB by Peter Pomerantsev at <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v33/n20/peter-pomerantsev/putins-rasputin>

Tutorial 4: The Political Economy of Reform

In this session we will be looking at topics which have been the subject of fierce debates in Russia and abroad. Positions in this debate are rooted in very different perspectives on the role of the state in the economy and on the nature of social change. One of the main issues facing transitional economies such as Russia's was: How does one 'create' a market that works? Following the experiment in Poland in 1990, some reformers argued that Russia needed a dose of 'shock therapy' to straighten out the economy. Others believed that the social costs and the potential for instability stemming from such policies would bring political and economic catastrophe to Russia. What was shock therapy? We will begin by identifying and discussing the main tenets of shock therapy. We shall then discuss the following questions:

1. Have a look at the article by Aslund. Aslund paints a fearful picture of the dangers of 'rent-seeking.' How would you define 'rent-seeking'? What are the main types of 'rent-seeking'? What could have been done to prevent it?
2. How would you explain the Russian economic 'crash' of 1998? Consider, in particular, the interests of the state and of the rent-seeking groups, whose early opportunities, as identified by Aslund, had begun to dwindle by the mid-1990s.
3. Arguably the main beneficiaries of rent-seeking were the new class of 'oligarchs' who emerged in the 1990s. Who were the oligarchs of the 1990s? How different are they from Putin's "crony oligarchs" of the 2000s? What role does Putin play in "managing" the oligarchs?

READING

Anders Aslund, 'Reform vs 'Rent-Seeking' in Russia's Economic Transition,' *Transition* (26 January 1996): 12-16 [BB] **AND EITHER**
Wegren, *Return to Putin's Russia*, 6th ed, chap. 8 (or 5th ed chap 8) **OR**
Daniel Treisman, *The Return*, chap 6 **AND**
Clifford Gaddy and Barry Ickes, "The Russian Economy to 2010: the Challenge of Managing Rent Addiction," chap 9 in Maria Lipman and Nikolai Petrov, eds., *Russia in 2020: Scenarios for the Future* (Carnegie, 2011) [BB] **OR**
Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune*, chap 7 [BB]

Tutorial 5: Corruption

In this seminar we shall be looking at two closely related topics. **The first** concerns the fate of the Soviet 'nomenklatura' and the extent to which the people running Russia now are the same as those who were in charge of the Soviet system. Kryshtanovskaia and White argue that the Soviet elite began to split into economic and political wings towards the end of the Soviet era. The political elite began to engage in the new competitive politics of post-communism which involved raising funds, campaigning, appearing at press conferences and competing in elections. The emerging post-communist economic elite, meanwhile, took over economic assets. I shall begin the seminar by asking you which route you would have taken and why.

The **second topic**, which will take up most of the tutorial, concerns the rise of the Russian mafia and the struggle with corruption. We will discuss the following questions.

1. How would you define the 'mafia'? Although it is extremely difficult to estimate the extent of the mafia in the post-Soviet era there are good logical reasons why it may have grown. What are they? (Two clues: first consider the power of the Russian state in 1990s; second, go back to the discussion of 'rent seeking' in tutorial 4.)

2. Read the chapter by Volkov. Why is the mafia such a problem for the Russian state? To what extent are the activities of the post-communist mafia simply an offshoot of the corrupt practices of 'organized tribute' of the late Soviet era that we observed in the first tutorial? What are the differences between the new mafia and the old mafia? Why is the mafia a bad thing for Russia?

3. We then move to the period since 2000. Under Putin and Medvedev there has been renewed interest in the topic of corruption and "protection" in Russia. Why does corruption remain so prevalent in Russia? Why is it so difficult to fight?

4. What do "otkaty" and "reiderstvo" tell us about levels of corruption in Russia today?

READING

Stephen Handelman, *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafiya*, (Yale, 1995) chap 1 (5 copies in HD) **OR**

Paul Gregory, 'Sketches of New Russians,' *Problems of Post-Communism* (Sept/Oct 1996): 51-61 [Library e-journal service] **AND**

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*

(Cornell, 2002), chap 2 [BB] **AND**
Daniel Treisman, *The Return*, 346-54, 362-8, 374-7 **OR**
Wegren, ed., *Back to Putin's Russia*, 6th ed., chap 9 **OR**
Alena V. Ledeneva, *Can Russia Modernize*, chap 3 (esp 98-110) [BB] or *How Russia Really Works*, chap. 3

Tutorial 6: Post-Communist Elections

In this tutorial we see how electoral competition has changed the ways in which Russian politicians behave. We begin by looking at the Russian parliamentary elections of December 1995. As the second post-communist national election, the 1995 contest is important because it enables us to detect patterns in voting behaviour. It was also significant because it set the context for the forthcoming presidential elections of June 1996. We shall then go on to look at subsequent parliamentary and presidential elections.

1. Why do you think that the communists did so well in the December 1995 election? Now consider the presidential campaign which began in earnest in January 1996. You will be divided into two groups. Each will be asked to imagine that they are one of the two leading contestants and to work out a strategy for the forthcoming electoral campaign. You will have to take account of the conditions set out below.

GROUP A

Boris Yeltsin

It is January 1996. You have 7% ratings in the polls. Although you constantly deny it you have a severe drinking problem. You are not in good health: you were recently rushed to hospital with cardiac complaints. You cannot run on your economic record which in terms of economic growth and inflation has been poor. You have six months left before the elections. What do you do?

GROUP B

Gennady Zyuganov

You are buoyed by the good performance of your party, the communists, at the recent parliamentary elections. Nevertheless the vast majority of your supporters are OAPs. You know that you will need to break through the so-called 'red-ceiling' of diehard communist supporters in order to win the presidency. You also know that most of the media is against you and, however reluctantly, for Yeltsin. What do you do?

2. In the 1990s the "parties of power" fared poorly but from 1999 until 2007 Unity and then United Russia did spectacularly well. How do you account for this?

3. The ascendancy of Vladimir Putin in 2000 seemed to usher in a new era. Are the presidential elections since 2000 best seen as an example of "virtual politics"? How important is "managed television coverage" in manipulating the Russian electorate? Is Putin's popularity real? Why does it matter?

4. What are the functions of elections in Russia today? What has happened to elections as an institution? In what way are they "authoritarian"?

READING

Either Alena Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works* (Cornell, 2006), chap 2 [BB] **OR**
Andrew Wilson, *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Communist World* (Yale, 2005)
chap 2 [BB] **AND**
Henry Hale, *Why Not Parties in Russia?* (Cambridge, 2006), chap 5, 219-234 [BB] **AND**
Wegren, ed., *Return to Putin's Russia*. 5th ed, chap. 6 **OR** Treisman, *The Return*, chap 7 **OR**
Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, "An Autopsy of Managed Democracy," *Journal of*
Democracy, 23, 3 (July 2012): 33-45 [BB] **OR**
Nikolai Petrov, Masha Lipman and Henry Hale, "The Dilemmas of Hybrid Regime
Governance," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30, 1 (2014): 1-26 [Library e-journal service]
Tutorial 7: Russian Political Culture After Communism

The purpose of this tutorial is to examine whether Russian political culture presents a major obstacle to the adoption of democratic and market values in Russia. To what extent are Russians fundamentally different from us?

We begin by considering the opening question together. Read through the article by Tucker *or* the piece by Keenan. Both pieces outline themes which are central to most notions of Russian political culture. First, there is the antimony of 'state' and 'society' in the piece by Tucker. Secondly, there are the 'informality' of Russian political culture and the abiding fear of chaos and instability covered in the piece by Keenan. Both features appear to be right but which, if either, is the 'prime mover' behind Russian political culture? What features of the modern Russian political system can a grasp of Russian political culture help us to understand better?

1. Some authors have argued that the massive social modernization of the Soviet period matters more than cultural traditions rooted in the remote past. They also argue that glasnost and perestroika are testimony to the triumph of 'modern' values born of this transformation. On the basis of earlier tutorials (esp. 1, 2, 3, 5) to what extent do you agree with this view?
2. Now have a look at the piece by Rose. Rose sees contemporary Russia as an 'anti-modern' society shaped in large part by the Soviet experience. (This seems to run against both 1. and 2. above.) Do you agree?
3. To what extent does the advent of a "new cold war" make us think of Russians as more different from us than they really are?

READINGS

Either: Robert Tucker, 'The Image of Dual Russia,' in Tucker, *The Soviet Political Mind* (Norton, 1971) 121-142 [BB and 5 copies in HD] **OR**
Edward L. Keenan, 'Muscovite Political Folkways,' *The Russian Review* vol.45, 2 (1986): 115-181 [John Rylands e-journal service] **AND**
Richard Rose, 'Living in an Anti-modern Society,' in Brown, *Contemporary Russian Politics*, 293-303 [BB] **AND**
Alena Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works*, chap. 4 **OR**
Geoffrey Hosking, "Patronage and the Russian State," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 78, 2 (April 2000): 301-320 [Library e-journal service]

Tutorial 8: The Regional Dimension

It is now something of a cliché that one finds the 'real Russia' in the provinces. We still know relatively little about what actually happens at the local level. In this seminar we begin by identifying the main trends in regional politics since the end of communism. We go on to establish a comparative typology of regions. The tutorial then looks at how the centre has, under both Yeltsin and Putin, attempted to maintain control over the provinces.

1. Gelman describes three types of regional regime in Russia, which vary in large part according to the role of regional elites. What are these regional regime types? What does Gelman's analysis tell us about democratization in Russia as a whole?
2. How powerful were regional governors under Yeltsin? Have a look at the article by Treisman. Confronted with entrenched governors and regional elites, how did Yeltsin attempt to maintain control over the regions?

To answer these questions consider:

- (a) intergovernmental transfers
- (b) the role of regional alliances
- (c) the difference in status between regions and republics

3. What steps has Putin taken to gain control over provincial elites? Has he managed to erect a proper executive or power vertical, as he planned, or has he presided over the creation of a "botched vertical" and a "rotten state"? How could we tell? How powerful are regional leaders? Are they "dictators" in their own right?

READING

Either: Vladimir Gelman, 'Regime Transition, Uncertainty and Prospects for Democratization: The Politics of Russia's Regions in Comparative Perspective,' in Brown, *Contemporary Russian Politics*, 499-512 **[BB] AND**

Daniel Treisman, 'The Politics of Intergovernmental Transfers in Post-Soviet Russia,' *British Journal of Political Science* 26, 3 (1996): 299-335 [Library e-journal service] **AND EITHER** Wegren, *Putin's Russia*, 6th ed chap 3 (or Wegren, *After Putin's Russia*, 5th ed. chap. 3 **OR** Treisman, *The Return*, chap. 8

Tutorial 9: Inventing the Nation

In this session we examine the efforts, after communism, to establish a Russian national identity. The seminar begins with a look at the particular difficulties of establishing a post-imperial nation. We then examine the positions of different groups towards the Russian nation. The seminar ends by asking whether the Russians need a national identity and, if so, why.

We will be covering the following questions in open forum. Have some notes on these topics prepared in advance of the tutorial.

1. Read the chapter by Hosking. What relationship does Hosking describe between the formation of the Russian nation and the origins of the Russian Empire? Which came first? In what ways has the close relationship between empire and nation made it particularly hard for Russians to establish a post-imperial national identity?
2. What are the 'raw materials' out of which a new Russian nation can be constructed? Consider in particular the following:
 - (a) language (i.e. Russian)
 - (b) ethnicity (ties of blood and kinship)
 - (c) religion (i.e. the Russian Orthodox Church)

Have a look at the chapter by Hill and Gaddy. Why was it so hard for Yeltsin and his allies to articulate a new "Russian Idea" in the 1990s?

3. Now have a look at the article by Tolz. Tolz argues that rather than resuscitating the Russian Empire or re-establishing the USSR, the Putin administration aimed to affirm Russia's position as a nation-state. Do you agree with her assessment? Why is it important for Russians to think of themselves as a "nation" at all?
4. To what extent do you agree with Maruelle's argument that Putin has not drifted towards a form of Russian "nationalism" but has, instead, tried to position Russia as the bastion of a new "anti-liberal European civilization"?

READING

Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire, 1552-1917* (HarperCollins, 1997) Introduction
[BB]

Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (Brookings, 2013), chap 3

[BB]

Vera Tolz, "Russia: exiled, submerged and restored," in Simon Dixon, ed., *Oxford Handbook on Modern Russian History* (BB)

Marlene Laruelle, "Russia as anti-Liberal European Civilization," in Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud, *The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism* (Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 275-297 [BB]

Tutorial 10: Russia in the World

Thirty years ago Russia was universally regarded as a superpower. Stripped of its union republics, which became independent nation-states, and economically unable to sustain its formidable armed forces, in the early 1990s Russia had to adjust to being a medium-scale actor on the world stage. At the same time, in terms of territory and raw materials Russia has the potential to be a major international player, both in Europe and in Asia. The country's geopolitical aspirations have been enhanced by Putin's efforts to consolidate political authority and the country's reputation abroad. For this seminar I would like you to consider the following questions.

1. Tsygankov writes of Moscow's fear of 'destabilization resulting from the US strategy of global regime change.' What does he mean? What does Russia have to fear from the US? Why is Russia so keen to establish "multipolarity" in world affairs? Why do you think that Donald Trump has heaped so much praise on Putin's method of government?
2. Why did Russia take over Crimea in 2014? What are Russia's intentions in Ukraine? To what extent do you agree with Mearsheimer that the Ukraine crisis is, actually, the "West's fault"?
3. Does Russia's control of energy resources mean that it has once again become a major international power? How has Russia tried to turn its control of energy into leverage over other states and how have these states responded?
4. What is "soft power"? To what extent does Russia's new-found influence rest on soft power or, by contrast, is it a result of Russia's successes in the new global "information war"?

READING

Stephen Wegren, *Back to Putin's Russia*, 6th ed, chaps 11-13 (or Wegren, *After Putin's Russia*, 5th ed., chaps 11-13) **OR**

Daniel Treisman, *The Return*, chap 9 **AND**

Marshall I. Goldman, "The Dog Barks but the Caravan Moves On," *Demokratizatsiya*, 15, 4 (Fall 2007): 360-370 **AND**

John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, 93 (2014): 77-89 [Library e-journal service]
Thomas Graham, "Russia and the World," in Lipman and Petrov, eds, *Russia in 2020*, chap. 1

VII. COURSE READINGS

In addition to the core readings outlined above, the readings which follow provide more in-depth coverage of particular issues and will be useful for course essays and for exam preparation. As a convenient way of breaking down the readings I have organized them around each of the lectures. As a rule, I have broken the readings for each lecture into two sections, which correspond to the themes covered in that lecture. Although I have endeavoured to set out a broad range of readings for you to choose from, please do feel free to use your initiative in finding other sources. You may want to use the Journals and websites indicated in section IV of this guide as a starting point. Please feel free to approach me for advice on readings either during my office hours or at other times by arrangement.

Part I: Fall of the Old System

Lecture 1: The Post-Stalin Social Contract

Samuel Baron, *Bloody Saturday in the Soviet Union: Novocherkassk, 1962* (Stanford, 2001)
Seweryn Bialer, *Stalin's Successors: Leadership, Stability and Change in the Soviet Union* (CUP, 1980) chaps 8 & 9
George Breslauer, 'On the Adaptability of Soviet Welfare-State Authoritarianism,' in Karl W. Ryavec, ed. *Soviet Society and the Communist Party* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 3-25 [3 copies in LL]
George Breslauer, *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders: Building Authority in Soviet Politics* (George Allen, 1982), 3-14
Choi Chatterjee, David L. Ransel, Mary Cavender, and Karen Petrone, eds., *Everyday Life in Russia Past and Present* (Indiana UP, 2015) esp. chaps 8, 9 and 10
Natalya Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* (Routledge, 2013)
Linda J. Cook, *The Soviet Social Contract and Why it Failed* (Harvard, 1993)
Walter Connor, 'Generations and Politics,' *Problems of Communism* 21, 5 (1975): 20-31
Thomas Crump, *Brezhnev and the Decline of the Soviet Union* (Routledge, 2016)
Yoram Gorlizki, 'Policing Post-Stalin Society: The Militia and Public Order under Khrushchev' *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, 44, nos.2-3 (April-September 2003): 465-480
David Granick, *Job Rights in the Soviet Union and their Consequences* (CUP, 1987)
Thane Gustafson, *Reform in Soviet Politics* (CUP, 1982), chaps 1, 2
Steven E. Harris, *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after*

- Stalin* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)
- Peter Hauslohner, 'Gorbachev's Social Contract,' *Societ Economy* 3, 1 (1987) reproduced in Hewett and Winston, *Milestones in Glasnost and Perestroika* (Brookings, 1991) esp 33-36
- Allen Kassof, 'The Administered Society: Totalitarianism without Terror,' *World Politics* 16, 4 (1964)
- Vladimir A. Kozlov, *Mass Uprisings in the USSR* (M.E. Sharpe, 2002)
- Mervyn Matthews, *The Passport Society: Controlling Movement in Russia and the USSR* (Boulder, Co., 1993)
- Alistair McAuley, *Economic Welfare in the Soviet Union* (Madison UP, 1979)
- T.H. Rigby, 'Khrushchev and the Rules of the Game,' in Ferenc Feher and Robert F. Miller, *Khrushchev and the Communist World* (Croom Helm, 1986)
- Brian D. Silver, 'Political Beliefs of the Soviet Citizen: Sources of Support for Regime Norms,' in James R. Millar, ed., *Politics, Work and Daily Life in the USSR: A Survey of Former Soviet Citizens* (CUP, 1987), 100-141
- William Taubman, *Governing Soviet Cities: Bureaucratic Politics and Urban Development in the USSR* (Praeger, 1973)
- 'Towards a Communist Welfare State,' *Problems of Communism* 9, 1 (1960): 1-22; 9, 3: 44-51
- Robert C. Tucker, 'The Politics of Soviet De-Stalinization,' in Tucker *The Soviet Political Mind* (Norton, 1971)
- Christopher J. Ward, *Brezhnev's Folly* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009)
- Stephen White, 'Economic Performance and Communist Legitimacy,' *World Politics* 38, 3 (1986): 462-482
- Victor Zaslavsky, 'Closed Cities and the Organized Consensus,' in Victor Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State* (M E Sharpe, 1982), 130-164
- Victor Zaslavsky, 'The Soviet Social Structure and the Principles of State-Engineered Stratification,' in Gail Lapidus, *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation* (Westview, 1995), 116-123

Lecture 1: Brezhnev and Political Corruption

- Raymond A. Bauer, Alex Inkeles and Clyde Kluckhohn, *How the Soviet System Works* (Vintage, 1961) chap 8
- Joseph S. Berliner, *Factory and Manager in the USSR* (Cambridge, 1957) chaps 1, 11, 12 [5 copies of chap. 11 in LL]
- Joseph S. Berliner, 'The Informal Organization of the Soviet Firm,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 66 (1952): 342-365
- David Crowley and Susan Reid, eds., *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Northwestern University Press, 2010), esp chaps 3-4 and 11
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, 'The Soviet Political System: Transformation or Degeneration,' in Brzezinski, ed., *Dilemmas of Change in Soviet Politics* (Columbia, 1969), 1-34 [originally in *Problems of Communism* (Jan-Feb, 1966)]
- Michael Clarke, ed. *Corruption: Causes, Consequences and Control* (Macmillan, 1983)
- Luc Duhamel, *The KGB campaign against corruption in Moscow* (University of Pittsburgh Press 2010)
- Yoram Gorlizki, 'Political Reform and Local Party Interventions Under Khrushchev,' in Peter Solomon, ed., *Reforming Justice in Russia, 1864-1994: Power, Culture and the Limits of Legal Order* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 258-282

- Yoram Gorlizki, "Too Much Trust: Regional Party Leaders and Local Political Networks Under Brezhnev," *Slavic Review*, 69, 3 (Fall 2010): 676-700
- Yoram Gorlizki, "Scandal in Riazan: Networks of Trust and the Social Dynamics of Deception," *Kritika* 14, 1 (2013): 261-296
- Yoram Gorlizki, 'Structures of Trust after Stalin,' *Slavonic and East European Review*, 91, 1 (January 2013): 119-146
- Gregory Grossman, 'The Second Economy of the USSR,' *Problems of Communism* 26, no.5 (1977): 25-40
- Gregory Grossman, "Subrosa privatization and marketization in the USSR," *Annals of the American Association of Political and Social Sciences* (Jan 1990) 44-52
- Gregory Guroff and Fred V. Carstensen, eds, *Entrepreneurship in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union* (Princeton, 1983)
- Ken Jowitt, 'Neotraditionalism,' in Jowitt, *New World Order: The Leninist Extinction* (California, 1992) chap. 4, 120-158, esp 121-130, 147-151 (originally published as 'Soviet Neo-Traditionalism: The Political Corruption of a Leninist Regime,' *Soviet Studies* 35, 3 (1983): 275-97) [3 copies in LL]
- John M. Kramer, 'Political Corruption in the USSR,' *Western Political Quarterly* 30, 2 (June 1977): 213-244
- Neringa Klumbyte and Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, eds., *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964-1985* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014)
- Alena Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchanges* (CUP, 1998)
- James Millar, 'The Little Deal: Brezhnev's Constitution,' *Slavic Review* 44 (1985): 694-706 (reprinted as 'The Little Deal: Brezhnev's Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism,' in Millar, ed., *Soviet Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Vera Dunham* (Westview, 1988), 3-19
- Louise Shelley, 'Corruption in the Post-Stalin Era,' *East European Constitutional Review* 9, 1-2 (2000): 70-74
- Charles A. Schwartz, 'Corruption and Political Development in the USSR,' *Comparative Politics* 11 (1979): 425-442
- Charles A. Schwartz, "Economic Crime in the USSR: A Comparison of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev Eras," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 30 (2008): 281-296
- Vladimir Shlapentokh, *Public and Private Life of the Soviet People* (OUP, 1989)
- Vladimir Shlapentokh, *A Normal Totalitarian Society: How the Soviet Union Functioned and How it Collapsed* (M.E. Sharpe, 2001)
- Peter Solomon, Jr., "Soviet Politicians and Criminal Prosecutions: The Logic of Party Intervention," in James R. Millar, ed., *Cracks in the Monolith: Party Power in the Brezhnev Era* (M.E. Sharpe, 1992)
- Steven J. Staats, 'Corruption in the Soviet System,' *Problems of Communism* 21 (Jan-Feb 1972): 40-47
- Hedrick Smith, *The Russians*, (Times Books, 1976), chaps 1, 3
- Lev Timofeyev, *Russia's Secret Rulers* (Knopf, 1992)
- Vladimir G. Treml and Michael Alexeev, 'The Growth of the Second Economy in the Soviet Union and its Impact on the System,' in Robert W. Campbell, ed. *The Post-Communist Economic Transition* (Westview, 1994)
- Arkady Vaksberg, *The Soviet Mafia* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1991) chaps 1, 10
- John P. Willerton, *Patronage and Politics in the USSR* (CUP, 1992)
- Victor Zaslavsky, *The NeoStalinist State* (ME Sharpe, 1982), 137-147

- Sergei I. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Soviet City: The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dnepropetrovsk, 1960-1985* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)
- Vladislav Zubok, “ ‘Do not think that I am soft’: Leonid Brezhnev,” in Steven Casey and Jonathan Wright, eds., *Mental Maps in the Era of Detente and the End of the Cold War 1968-1991* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Lecture 2: Breakdown of the Social Contract

- Leon Aron, “Everything you think you know about the Soviet Collapse is Wrong,” *Foreign Policy* 8 (187): 64-70
- Leon Aron, “The ‘Mystery’ of the Soviet Collapse,” *Journal of Democracy* Volume 17, Number 2, (April 2006): 21-35
- Anders Åslund “Revisiting the End of the Soviet Union,” *Problems of post-Communism*, 58, 4-5 (2011): 46 - 55
- Donna Bahry, 'Society Transformed? Rethinking the Social Roots of Perestroika,' *Slavic Review*, 53, 2 (1993): 512-554
- Rodric Braithwaite, *Across the Moscow River: The World Turned Upside Down* (Yale University Press, 2001)
- Archie Brown, “Did Gorbachev as General Secretary Become a Social Democrat?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 65, 2 (2013): 198-220
- Archie Brown, “The Gorbachev Factor Revisited,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, 58, 4-5 (2011): 56 - 65
- Cynthia Buckley, “The Myth of Managed Migration: Migration Control and Markets in The Soviet Period,” *Slavic Review*, 54 (1995): 896-916
- Valerie Bunce, “The Political Economy of the Brezhnev Era: The Rise and Fall of Corporatism,” *British Journal of Political Science*, 13 (1983): 129-158
- John Bushnell, “The New Soviet Man Turns Pessimist,” in Stephen F. Cohen et al, eds, *The Soviet Union Since Stalin* (Macmillan, 1980)
- Robert F. Byrnes, ed., *After Brezhnev* (Frances Pinter, 1983)
- T. Casier, “The Shattered Horizon: How Ideology Mattered in Soviet Politics,” *Studies in East European Thought* 51 (1999)
- Stephen Cohen, “Was the Soviet System Reformable?” *Slavic Review* 63, 3 (2004): 459-488
- Linda Cook, 'Brezhnev's Social Contract and the Gorbachev Reforms,' *Soviet Studies* 44,1 (1992): 37-56
- Anthony D'Agostino, *Gorbachev's Revolution* (New York UP, 1998)
- Alexander Dallin, 'Causes of the Collapse of the USSR,' *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8, 2 (1992): 279-302
- Karen Dawisha, “The Question of All Questions: Was the Soviet Union Worth Saving?” 63, 3 (2004): 513-526
- Jane Dawson, *Eco-nationalism: Anti-nuclear Activism and National Identity in Russia* (Duke, 1996)
- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy From Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution* (Princeton, 1995) chaps 4, 5.
- Vladimir Gel'man, Otar Marganiya and Dmitry Travin, *Re-examining Economic and Political Reforms in Russia, 1985-2000: Generations, Ideas and Changes* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014)
- Graham Gill, “Political Symbolism and the Fall of the USSR,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 62, 3 (2013): 244-263

- Emma Gilligan, *Defending Human Rights in Russia: Sergei Kovalev, Dissident and Human Rights Commissioner, 1969-1996* (Routledge, 2004)
- Stephen E. Hanson, "Reform and Revolution in the Late Soviet Context," *Slavic Review*, 63, 3 (2004): 527-34
- Peter Hauslohner, 'Gorbachev's Social Contract,' *Soviet Economy* 3, 1 (1987) reproduced in Hewett and Winston, *Milestones in Glasnost and Perestroika* (Brookings, 1991) esp 37-42, 47-50
- Leslie Holmes, "Perestroika: A Reassessment," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65, 2 (2013): 186-197
- Robert Hornsby, *Protest, Reform and Repression in Khrushchev's Soviet Union* (Cambridge, 2013)
- Antony Jones, Walter D. Connor, and David E. Powell, eds., *Soviet Social Problems* (Boulder, 1991)
- Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (OUP, 2001)
- Mark Kramer, "The Reform of the Soviet System and the Demise of the Soviet State," *Slavic Review*, 63, 3 (2004): 505-512
- Gail Lapidus, 'Social Trends,' in Robert F. Byrnes, ed., *After Brezhnev* (Indiana, 1983), 186-249
- Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon* (California, 1990), chaps 6-8
- Janine Ludlam, 'Reform and the Redefinition of the Social Contract under Gorbachev,' *World Politics* 43 (Jan 1991): 284-312
- Amy Knight, "The Coup That Never Was: Gorbachev and the Forces of Reaction," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 58, 4-5 (2011): 66 - 74
- Blair A. Ruble, 'The Social Dimensions of Perestroika,' in Hewett and Winston, *Milestones*, 91-103
- Nancy Ries, *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroika* (Cornell, 1997)
- Gertrude Schroeder, 'The Slowdown in Soviet Industry, 1976-1982,' *Soviet Economy* 1,1 (January 1985)
- Joseph Schull, "The Self-Destruction of Soviet Ideology," in Susan G. Solomon, ed, *Beyond Sovietology: Essays in Politics and History* (ME Sharpe, 1992), 8-24
- Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (Cambridge, 2013)
- Benjamin Tromly, *Making the Soviet Intelligentsia: Universities and Intellectual Life under Stalin and Khrushchev* (Cambridge, 2013)
- Crawford Young, "The Strategy of Political Liberalization: A Comparative View of Gorbachev's Reforms," *World Politics*, 45, 1 (1992): 47-65
- Alexei Yurchak, *Everything was forever, until it was no more: the last Soviet generation* (Princeton, 2006)

For a highly influential article which divided the ruling elite into 'reformers' and 'conservatives' see:

- Stephen F. Cohen, 'The Friends and Foes of Change' in Stephen F. Cohen, Alexander Rabinowitch and Robert Sharlet, eds, *The Soviet Union Since Stalin* (Indiana, 1980); also reprinted in Stephen F. Cohen, *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* (OUP: 1985)

For more on Gorbachev's perspective, see:

- George Breslauer, 'Evaluating Gorbachev as Leader,' *Soviet Economy* 5, 4 (1989): 299-340 (reproduced in Hewett and Winston, *Milestones*, 390-430)

George Breslauer, *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders* (CUP, 2002)
 Archie Brown, *Seven Years that Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective* (Oxford, 2007)
 Anatoly S. Chernyaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev* (Penn State Press, 2000)
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VIII. ASSESSED ESSAY TITLES (ON PARTS I AND II OF THE COURSE)

1. Are relations between state and society in the Soviet Union after Stalin best characterized as a "social contract" or a "protection racket"?
2. To what extent do you agree with James Millar's argument that, under Brezhnev, the Soviet Union was held together by a "little deal" between political leaders and an acquisitive society which enabled reciprocal economic relationships to flourish?
3. Was it ideological or economic failure that led to the collapse of the Soviet system?
4. How important were rebellions among the Soviet Union's nationalities to the collapse of the Soviet Union?
5. Was the collapse of the Soviet Union a "black swan event"?

6. Why did Perestroika fail?
7. How could the polarization of Russian state and society from 1991 to 1993 have been prevented?
8. "In contemporary Russia, unlike the old USSR or present-day North Korea, the stage is constantly changing: the country is a dictatorship in the morning, a democracy at lunch, an oligarchy by suppertime, while, backstage, oil companies are expropriated, journalists killed, billions siphoned away. ...It's a strategy of power based on keeping any opposition there may be constantly confused, a ceaseless shape-shifting that is unstoppable because it's indefinable." (Peter Pomerantsev). To what extent is this an accurate description of the Russian state under Putin?
9. "The role of money in [Putin's] system is important but commonly misunderstood. Money is ever-present in the system, but it is not money that guarantees loyalty or holds the top level together. Instead, it is the fact that money derives from activity that is or could be found to be illegal. Participants in the system are not bought off in the classic sense of the term; they are compromised...Enforcement of group cohesion in [Putin's] special world is achieved not by positive incentives but by special threats" (Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy). Discuss.

IX. SAMPLE ESSAY TITLES FOR THE SUMMER EXAM (ON PARTS III AND IV OF THE COURSE)

1. Would it be more accurate to say that big business has hijacked the state, or that the state has subordinated big business, in Russia since 2001?
2. Despite campaigns against it, corruption continues to be widespread under Putin and Medvedev. Why is this so?
3. To what extent has Putin mobilized the so-called party of power, United Russia, to achieve, in Horvath's words, a "preventive counter-revolution"?
4. Is contemporary political culture in Russia commensurate with democracy?
5. "Despite his efforts to centralize the State, Putin's policies have led to the creation of regional mini-fiefdoms in Russia." Discuss.
6. How serious a problem is ethnic nationalism in Russia today?
7. Does Russia's control of energy resources mean that it has once again become a major international power?

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30231: Gender, Sex and Politics**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20**Lecturers: Dr Nicola Mulkeen and Dr Stephen Hood**

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4.044 Arthur Lewis Building
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Office Hours: Wednesday 10am-11am; Friday 12pm-1pm

Room: Dr Stephen Hood
4.037 Arthur Lewis Building
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Email: Stephen.Hood@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tuesday 1pm-2pm; Friday 12pm-1pm

Lectures: **Thursday 9am-11am, Roscoe 2.2****Tutorials:** Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System. Tutorials will be based upon discussion of the **previous** week's lecture topic.**Mode of assessment:** Two reading reviews, one essay, 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
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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****

Assessment	Weighting	Deadline
Reading review 1	20% 1,400 words	5 th November 2018
Reading review 2	20% 1,400 words	10 th December 2018
Essay	50% 3,400 words	14 th January 2019
Participation	10%	Ongoing

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.

Organisation

There will be one two-hour lecture per week and one one-hour seminar per week.

Course Content

How is gender constructed? Why is something as individual as sexual desire so socially normalized and politically disciplined? What are the roles of “choice” and “social construction” respectively in determining gender roles, sexual preferences, sexual behaviour, norms of appearance, and, crucially, opportunities and life chances? Should we worry that women are still underrepresented in the public sphere, or should we take this as an expression of free choice? Should the state regulate, let alone prohibit, practices such as pornography or prostitution? Should we worry about norms of appearance and gender stereotypes in the media and pop culture, or accept them as the expression of legitimate social preferences?

The aim of this course is to try and understand why gender and sex are relevant categories in politics, whether and how they give rise to inequalities and disadvantages, and what should be done about it. We shall address these questions mainly from a *normative* perspective, that is, by asking 1) what, if anything, is morally problematic about the role that gender and sex play in influencing power relationships on the one hand; and 2) how political institutions ought to address gender and sexual differences (be they natural or socially constructed) on the other. In other words, we shall ask what, if anything, is wrong about gender representations and relations in our society and what, if anything at all, should be done about it.

The course will be structured along two main parts. In the first (topics 1-5) we shall address conceptual and theoretical issues concerning sexual and gender differences: what they are; how they influence our behaviour and our understanding of the world; what gender equality might mean in moral as well as political terms. In doing so, we shall look at some prominent feminist perspectives as well as theories of differences between genders and their implications for disadvantage, morality, and the way we look at the world. In the second (topics 6-9) we shall look at particularly salient policy issues which concern the relationships between genders, and ask which moral and political concerns they may raise on the basis of the theoretical perspectives we have studied. We shall ask questions such as: is the unequal division of care work a private matter or a public concern? Is the unequal participation of men and women in the labour force a problem? Does pornography silence women? Should we worry about norms of appearance in popular culture?

At the end of the course, students will both be familiar with a range of the most prominent approaches in feminist theorizing, and be able to apply their insights in appraising policies and institutional proposals.

Course Aims

The aims of this module are to:

- Foster knowledge and understanding of the basic concepts which inform theoretical and empirical discussions of politics and gender.
- Foster knowledge and understanding of the core normative issues within gender theory - issues to do with how we should politically respond to gender.
- Demonstrate the interplay between *normative* and *empirical* considerations when it comes to assessing, proposing, and recommending policies.
- Expose students to the most important and innovative approaches to gender, sex, and sexuality that have been made in normative political theory in the last several decades.
- Equip students with the skills necessary to understand and critically analyse real-world arguments relating to the political significance of gender, sex, and sexuality.
- Help students to draw their own conclusions regarding gender theory, and the relationship of this theory to specific practical public policy issues.

Course Outcomes

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Employ a rigorous theoretical approach to critically evaluate the main arguments regarding the significance of gender, sex, and sexuality.
- Use analytic reasoning to draw their own conclusions about how contemporary liberal democracies should respond to the significance of gender, sex, and sexuality.
- Discuss political movements, policies, and claims in terms of their underlying theoretical assumptions.

Employability

POLI30231 equips students with the theoretical background necessary to expertly engage in political debates—amongst policymakers, non-governmental organizations, and activists—about how political life shapes (and should be shaped by) gender, sex, and sexuality. Such debates arise for those working in the government and third sectors, whether in the UK or abroad.

More generally, 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 oral 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>

Course schedule

Topic		Lecture date	Lecturer
Intro	Introduction to the course and key concepts	27 th September	NM/SH
1	Liberal feminism	4 th October	SH
2	Radical feminism	11 th October	SH
3	Intersectionality	18 th October	SH
4	'Women's voice' and the ethics of care	25 th October	NM
29th October-4th November – Reading Week – No lecture			
First reading review due		5 th November	
5	Gendered standpoints on knowledge	8 th November	SH
6	Gender and the family	15 th November	NM
7	Gender, work and opportunities	22 nd November	NM
8	Gendered appearance, poise and behaviour	29 th November	NM
9	Pornography	6 th December	NM
Second reading review due		10 th December	
Essay due		14 th January	

Acronyms of lecturers' initials:

NM = Dr Nicola Mulkeen

SH = Dr Stephen Hood

Assessment

The mode of assessment is via two critical reading reviews, each worth 20% of the total mark, an assessed essay worth 50% of the total mark and tutorial participation worth 10% of the total mark.

Reading review

The two reading reviews should each be a 1,400 word piece of work that demonstrates a strong comprehension and critical engagement with one of a list of texts. Each piece of work should be submitted online via Turnitin and must include your student ID number and a word count for the work. There is a 10% leeway on the word counts, but word counts outside this range, or those lacking a word count, will be penalised.

20% - Reading review 1 (due on 5th November) should provide a critical review of one of the following texts:

- 1) Beauvoir, Simone de. 1949. "Introduction" in *The Second Sex*, translated by H.M. Parshley. Vintage Classics. Pp. 13-34. Link will be emailed to students once it is available.
- 2) Groenhout, Ruth. 2002. 'Essentialist Challenges to Liberal Feminism.' *Social Theory and Practice* 28: 51–75.
- 3) Bryson, Valerie. 1992. *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction*. Palgrave. Ch. 10.
- 4) Lugones, Maria C. and Elizabeth V. Spelman. 1983. "Have We got a Theory for You! Cultural Imperialism and the Demand for the 'Woman's Voice.'" *Hypatia* 1, 573-81.
- 5) Held, Virginia. "Feminist Transformations of Moral Theory." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 50, 1990, 321-44.

20% - Reading review 2 (due on 10th December) should provide a critical review of one of the following texts:

- 1) Fricker, Miranda. 2007. Section 1.3 from Chapter 1 ("The Central Case of Testimonial Injustice") and sections 7.1-7.3 of Chapter 7, "Hermeneutical Injustice," (i.e. all chapter except last section, 7.4), *Epistemic Injustice*, Oxford University Press (available on Oxford Scholarship Online).
- 2) Okin, Susan M., 1989. *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. Basic Books, chapter 7;
- 3) ALL THREE OF:
Hirshman, Linda, November 1st, 2005. "Homeward Bound," *The American Prospect*, available at: <http://prospect.org/article/homeward-bound-0> ;
Jaffe, Sarah, Winter 2013. "Trickle Down Feminism", *Dissent*, available at: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/trickle-down-feminism>;

hooks, bell, October 28th, 2013. "Dig Deep: Beyond 'Lean In'" *The Feminist Wire*, available at: <http://www.thefeministwire.com/2013/10/17973/>;

- 4) Chambers, Clare, 2004. "Are Breast Implants Better than female Genital Mutilation?", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 7: 1-33;
- 5) Langton, R., 1993, "Speech Acts and Unspeakable Acts", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 22(4): 293–330.

50% - Essay (due on 14th January):

A list of essay questions will be circulated early in the course. Students should provide a 3,400 word answer to one of these questions. **Note – while students are free to choose the topic of their essay, it should be on a topic which was NOT tackled in one of the two reading reviews.** Essays should be submitted online via Turnitin. There is a 10% leeway on the word count, but word counts outside this range will be penalised. You must indicate your word count at the end of the essays. You must not put your name anywhere on your essays. Regulations and guidelines concerning word counts, referencing and bibliography, late submission, deadline extensions, and plagiarism are set out in the Politics Guide Part 2.

10% - Participation

The participation mark will be based on active participation during weekly tutorials. Tutorial participation will be based not just on the quantity of contributions, but also upon the extent to which they demonstrate a strong engagement with set readings and with the issues covered. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should email one of the lecturers as soon as possible. Non-attendance at tutorials without providing a good reason will be considered when deciding upon participation marks.

Assessment Criteria

Work will be assessed in reference to the following criteria:

High First Class (80+)

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.

Reviews: answers are **exceptional**, showing insight and depth of understanding of the chosen source, a genuine critical engagement with the material along with clarity of analysis and of expression.

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 team-working skills.

First Class (70-79)

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.

Reviews: answers are **excellent**, showing insight and depth of understanding of the chosen source, critical engagement with the material along with clarity of analysis and of expression.

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 team-working skills.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

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.

Reviews: answers are **very good**, showing qualities such as a strong understanding of the chosen source, critical engagement with the material or clarity of analysis and of expression.

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 team-working skills.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

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

Reviews: answers are **good**, showing qualities such as a firm understanding of the chosen source, attempts at a critical engagement with the material along with clarity of analysis and of expression (albeit limited in extent).

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 team-working 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)

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.

Reviews: answers are **sufficient**, showing some understanding of the chosen source and rudimentary attempts at a critical engagement with the material. Reviews may include important errors and inaccuracies.

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 team-working 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.

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 will be:

- Verbal comments provided during lectures and seminars, in response to students' contributions. (Note: in order to take advantage of this form of feedback, you have to contribute!)
- Comments on written work. These will help you improve for upcoming assignments. We have intentionally repeated this form of assessment to help you see improvement over the course of the semester. Comments here will help you with structure, content, and style of your subsequent essays -- as well as future written work within and beyond university.
- Discussion with lecturers about lectures, seminars, and readings during the lecturer's office hours, via email, and before or after lectures and seminars.

Readings

Students are strongly encouraged to purchase or have access to the following book, which should be considered a core text for the entire course:

Saul, Jennifer, 2003. *Feminism: Issues and Arguments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

You are required to read the required readings each week. If you haven't read these, you will have trouble understanding and participating in lectures and seminars. The number of items varies almost every week, but this reflects the accessibility of the assigned texts, so the reading burden is more evenly distributed than it seems ☺. Recommended readings are not strictly speaking required, but doing them will significantly strengthen your understanding of a topic and your capacity to participate in tutorials. Many (but not all)

recommended readings are general overviews which will help you situate the required readings in a broader debate. The further reading is meant as a source of inspiration for the topics that interest you particularly, and particularly for the three topics you decide to write your essays about. You are however encouraged, and indeed expected, to undertake independent bibliographical research for your essays: reading the 'further readings' is not enough. The bibliography of the required, recommended and further readings is a good place to start off.

All required readings, are either available online or will be made available on Blackboard. Some further readings will require you to go to the library to find a book. Very few (and especially non-academic) further readings are not available at the library and you will have to purchase the relevant books or get access to them in some other way if you intend to read them (none of those are in the "required" or "recommended" categories). If you have tried all the methods below and still have trouble accessing required readings, please contact the relevant lecturer for that week.

If it is a journal article:

The quickest way is to search Google Scholar (<http://scholar.google.com>). Type in the title and it will bring up the link to the online e-journal site for that article. There are a number of e-journal sites and all look a bit different. Look for something like 'institutional login' or 'Shibboleth' login, and log in using your Manchester username and password to get access. For accessing nearly all e-readings you will need your Manchester username and password. (The University uses the system called 'Shibboleth'. There is another called 'Athens' – make sure you don't try to log in through this as it won't work.)

If it is a book:

Search the online library catalogue. There will be a direct link from the result page of the book to the online version, accessible from any computer provided you know your Manchester username and password. Sometimes there will be no online version, and you will have to go to the library to get the book.

If it is anything else: Google it (there are several newspaper articles, non-academic journal articles, and blog entries among the required readings).

If it is not available online but is a required reading: Check Blackboard.

Introduction and Key Concepts (Stephen Hood)

lecture 27 Sept; seminar w/c 1 Oct

What are gender and sex? Are they 'out there' in the world, or 'only' in our minds? What's their connection to 'feminism'? Also, admin and assessment guidance.

Required Reading:

- Beauvoir, Simone de. 1949. "Introduction" in *The Second Sex*, translated by H.M. Parshley. Vintage Classics. Pp. 13-34. Link will be made available to students.

Recommended Reading:

- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough." *The Sciences*, 20-24.

Further Reading:

- Alcoff, Linda. 1988. "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory." *Signs* 13(3), 405-436.
- Bach, Theodore. 2012. "Gender Is a Natural Kind with a Historical Essence." *Ethics* 122(2), 231-272.
- Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40(4), 519-531.
- Delphy, Christine. 1993. "Rethinking Sex and Gender." *Women's Studies International Forum* 16(1), 1-9.
- Haslanger, Sally. 2000. "Gender and Race: (What) Are They? (What) Do We Want Them to Be?" *Nous* 34(1), 31-55.
- Rich, Adrienne. 1980. "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." *Signs* 5(4), 631-660.
- Sveinsdóttir, Ásta Kristjana. 2011. "The Metaphysics of Sex and Gender." In Charlotte Witt (ed.), *Feminist Metaphysics*. Springer.
- Young, Iris M. 2005. "Lived Body vs. Gender: Reflections on Social Structure and Subjectivity." In *On Female Body Experience: Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Topic 1: Liberal Feminism (Stephen Hood)

lecture 4 Oct; seminar w/c 8 Oct

Liberal feminists emphasize that people of all genders possess the same moral capacities (in particular, the capacities for rationality and reasonableness). So, people of all genders should have the same liberal rights—the same rights to freedom and equality. But liberal feminism faces the challenge that liberalism’s guiding values might prevent the true realization of equal rights between genders. Left to their own free choice, many people will act to entrench, rather than challenge, gendered and sexualized social norms. Whether this is a problem is a matter of debate.

Required Reading:

- Groenhout, Ruth. 2002. ‘Essentialist Challenges to Liberal Feminism.’ *Social Theory and Practice* 28: 51–75.
- Hoff Summers, Christina. 2013. “How to Get More Women (and Men) to Call Themselves Feminists.” *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/06/how-to-get-more-women-and-men-to-call-themselves-feminists/277179/>
- Hoff Summers, Christina. 2012. “You Can Give a Boy a Doll, but You Can’t Make Him Play With It.” *The Atlantic*.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2012/12/you-can-give-a-boy-a-doll-but-you-cant-make-him-play-with-it/265977/>

Further Reading:

- Cudd, Ann E. 2004. “The Paradox of Liberal Feminism: Preference, Rationality, and Oppression.” In Amy R. Baehr (ed.), *Varieties of Feminist Liberalism*. Rowman and Littlefield. Pp. 37-61.
- Eisenstein, Zillah. 1981. *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism*. Longman.
- Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. W.W. Norton and Co. Esp. chs 3, 4, and 14.
- MacKenzie, Catriona and Natalie Stoljar (eds). 1999. *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency and the Social Self*. Oxford University Press.
- Meyers, Diana T. (ed.). 1997. *Feminists Rethink the Self*. Westview.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1869. *The Subjection of Women*. Longmans. Esp. ch. 1.
- Nussbaum, Martha. 1999. *Sex and Social Justice*. Oxford University Press. Esp. ch. 2.
- Okin, Susan Moller. 1979. *Women in Western Political Thought*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 9.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. 1792. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Esp. ch. 9. Available here: <http://www.bartleby.com/144/>

Topic 2: Radical Feminism (Stephen Hood)

lecture 11 Oct; seminar w/c 15 Oct

Unlike liberal feminists, radical feminists believe that true gender equality cannot possibly be achieved within the prevailing political order. This is because patriarchy is much more deeply entrenched than most of us realise. Gendered norms and rules require a much deeper -- more radical -- shift in the way we think and act. Radical feminists question many of our day-to-day experiences of agency and choice. While this move is politically inspiring, it faces the problem that it seems to undermine our very sense of self.

Required Reading:

- Bryson, Valerie. 1992. *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction*. Palgrave. Ch. 10. (Available as an e-book through university library website.)
- Goldberg, Michelle. 2014. "What Is A Woman? The Dispute Between Radical Feminism and Transgenderism." *The New Yorker*.
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/08/04/woman-2>
- MacKinnon, Catharine. 1987. *Feminism Unmodified*. Harvard University Press. Ch. 1. Link will be made available to students.
- Murphy, Meghan. 2015. "Playboy Feminism™: How the Gentleman's Porn Rage Co-opted the Women's Movement." *New Statesman*.
<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/06/playboy-feminism-how-gentleman-s-porn-rag-coopted-women-s-movement>

Further Reading:

- Dworkin, Andrea. 1987. *Intercourse*. Basic Books. Esp. ch. 5. Ariel Levy's "Forward" in the 2006 edition gives a good background on Dworkin's life.
- Bartky, Sandra L. 1990. *Femininity and Domination*. Routledge. Chs 1 and 2.
- Burgess-Jackson, Keith. 1995. "John Stuart Mill, Radical Feminist." *Social Theory and Practice* 21: 369–396.
- Figes, Eva. 1970. *Patriarchal Attitudes*. Stein & Day. Esp. chs 1, 2, 6, 7.
- Firestone, Shulamith. 1970. *The Dialectic of Sex*. Milliam Morrow and Company.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1993. "Beyond the Master/Subject Model: Reflections on Carole Pateman's Sexual Contract." *Social Text*, 37:173-181.
- Jaggar, Alison. 1983. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. Rowman and Littlefield. Chs 5, 9.
- Millett, Kate. 1970. *Sexual Politics*. Esp. ch. 2.
- Pateman, Carole. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford University Press.
- Schaeffer, Denise. 2001. "Feminism and Liberalism Reconsidered: The Case of Catherine MacKinnon." *American Political Science Review* 95: 699–708.

Topic 3: Intersectionality (Stephen Hood)

lecture 18 Oct; seminar w/c 22 Oct

Both liberal and radical feminisms (in their early forms) face the criticism that they derive from the experiences of white, rich, Western, mostly heterosexual, mostly cis-gendered, women. Intersectionalists force us to consider the way gender and sexuality intersect with other axes of identity, in particular race and class, to produce unique forms of disadvantage. The result is a theory that is more attuned to detail, but is also more fragmented.

Required Reading:

- Crenshaw, Kimberlé . 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6), pp. 1241-1251; 1296-1299. That is, the required reading is only the Introduction, Section I, and the Conclusion.
- Lugones, Maria C. and Elizabeth V. Spelman. 1983. "Have We got a Theory for You! Cultural Imperialism and the Demand for the 'Woman's Voice.'" *Hypatia* 1, 573-81.
- Video: Rihanna, "Bitch Better Have My Money."
[http://www.vevo.com/watch/rihanna/bitch-better-have-my-money-\(explicit\)/QM5FT1590005](http://www.vevo.com/watch/rihanna/bitch-better-have-my-money-(explicit)/QM5FT1590005) [Warning: this video has nudity and implies extreme violence - the video is not strictly speaking "required", though the commentaries below are.]
- McKenzie, Mia. 2015. "This is What Rihanna's BBHMM Video Says about Black Women, White Women and Feminism." *Black Girl Dangerous*.
<http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2015/07/this-is-what-rihannas-bbhmm-video-says-about-black-women-white-women-and-feminism/>
- Ellen, Barbara. 2015. "Rihanna's Self-indulgent Video is Not Clever. It's Pure Misogyny." *The Guardian*.
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/05/rihannas-video-bitch-better-have-my-money-misogynistic>

Further Reading:

- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. "The Politics of Black Feminist Thought" In Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (eds), *Feminist Theory Reader: Local And Global Perspectives*. Second Edition. Routledge. Pp. 341-356.
- Cynthia Feliciano, Belinda Robnett, Golnaz Kolmaie. 2009. "Gendered Racial Exclusion Among White Internet Daters." *Social Science Research* 38, 39-54.

- hooks, bell. 1991- 1992. "Theory as Liberatory Practice." *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism* 4(1), 1-12.
- hooks, bell. 1982. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. South End Press. Esp. "Introduction."
- Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Crossing Press. Esp. the speech "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House."
- Narayan, Uma. 1997. *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism*. Routledge. Esp. ch. 1.
- Sayeed, Almas. 2002. "Chappals and Gym Shorts: An Indian Muslim Woman in the Land of Oz." In Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (eds), *Feminist Theory Reader: Local And Global Perspectives*. Second Edition. Routledge. Pp. 270-280.
- Spelman, Elizabeth V. 1997. "Woman: The One and the Many." In *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*. Ed. Diana Tietjens Meyers. Routledge. Pp. 161-79.
- Wing, Adrien K. 2000. "Global Critical Race Feminism for the Twenty-first Century." In: *Global Critical Race Feminism: An International Reader*. Eds. Angela Y. Davis and Adrien K. Wing. NYU Press. Pp. 1-26.
(See also the other essays in this volume.)

Topic 4: 'Women's Voice' and the Ethic of Care (Nicola Mulkeen)

lecture 25 Oct; seminar 5 w/c Nov

Whether you're a liberal, a radical, an intersectionalist, or a combination, you probably acknowledge that there are differences—whether 'innate' or 'socially constructed'—between people of different genders. This week we ask how these differences inform conceptions of right and wrong, justice and injustice. Advocate of the 'ethic of care' claim that mainstream conceptions of morality and justice are problematically masculine. They advocate a rethinking of morality and justice from a feminized standpoint, which emphasizes the values of care, interdependency, and particularity. This faces the problem that it overgeneralizes about femininity, and prevents feminine people from breaking free from care roles.

Required Reading:

- Held, Virginia. "Feminist Transformations of Moral Theory." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 50, 1990, 321-44.
- Hoagland, Sarah Lucia. 1991. 'Some Thoughts about 'Caring.'" In C. Card (ed.), *Feminist Ethics*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. Pp. 246-264. Link will be made available to students.

Further Reading:

- England, Paula, and Nancy Folbre. 1999. 'The Cost of Caring.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 561, 39-51.
- Fisher, Berenice and Joan Tronto. 1990. 'Toward a Feminist Theory of Care.' Pp. 35–62 in E. Abel and M. Nelson (eds), *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In A Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Held, Virginia (ed.). *Justice and Care: Essential Readings in Feminist Ethics*. Westview, 1995.
- Held, Virginia. 2006. *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, and Global*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Esp. ch. 1.
- Kittay, Eva Feder. 1999. *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality and Dependence*. New York: Routledge.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1973. 'The Claim to Moral Adequacy of a Highest Stage of Moral Judgment.' *Journal of Philosophy* 70(18).
- Robinson, Fiona. 2010. 'After Liberalism in World Politics? Towards an International Political Theory of Care.' *Ethics and Social Welfare* 4(2), 130–144.

- Romain, Dianne. 1992. 'Care and Confusion.' Pp. 27–44 in E. Browning-Cole and S. Coultrap-McQuin (eds), *Explorations in Feminist Ethics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ruddick, Sara. 1980. 'Maternal Thinking.' *Feminist Studies* 6(2), 342–367.
- Tronto, Joan. "Beyond Gender Difference to a Theory of Care." *Signs* 12(4) 1987, 644-663.
- Tronto, Joan. "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments." *Hypatia* 10(2), 1995, 141-149
- Walker, Margaret Urban. 1989. "Moral Understandings: Alternative 'Epistemology' for a Feminist Ethics." *Hypatia* 4, 15–28.

****Reading Review I: DUE MONDAY 5 NOVEMBER**

Topic 5: Gendered Standpoints on Knowledge (Stephen Hood)

lecture 8 Nov; seminar w/c 12 Nov

As the ethic of care reexamined morality and justice, so 'standpoint theory' reexamines science. Standpoint theorists claim that scientific knowledge is deeply influenced by the identities of scientists and their audiences—particularly, by their gendered and sexualized identities. The typical methods and approaches of the social sciences (e.g., anthropology, sociology, political science, social psychology) contain problematic biases, assumptions, and frameworks that block out certain viewpoints. Taken to the extreme, standpoint theory runs the risk of denying our ability to ever 'know' anything at all.

Required Reading:

- Saul, Jennifer. 2003. "Feminism, Science, and Bias" in *Feminism: Issues & Arguments*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 232-260. Available at:
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=d2208437-ae28-e611-80bd-0cc47a6bddeb>
- ➔ Copy and paste, do not click on it!
- Fricker, Miranda. 2007. Section 1.3 from Chapter 1 ("The Central Case of Testimonial Injustice") and sections 7.1-7.3 of Chapter 7, "Hermeneutical Injustice," (i.e. all chapter except last section, 7.4), *Epistemic Injustice*, Oxford University Press (available on Oxford Scholarship Online).

Recommended ReadingVery Useful General Overview:

- Anderson, Elizabeth, "Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), forthcoming URL = <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2015/entries/feminism-epistemology/>>

Further Reading:

- Fricker, Miranda. 1999. "Epistemic Oppression and Epistemic Privilege." *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 29(1), 191–210.
- Alcoff, Linda, and Elizabeth Potter, (eds.) 1993. *Feminist Epistemologies*. Routledge.
- Anderson, Elizabeth, 1995, "Feminist Epistemology: An Interpretation and Defense", *Hypatia*, 10: 50-84.
- Haraway, Donna "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective" *FTR*, 391-403.
- Hartsock, Nancy. "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism," in Sandra Harding and Merrill B. Hintikka (eds.), *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*, Springer 1983

- Hawkesworth, Mary E., 1989. "Knowers, Knowing and Known: Feminist Theory and Claims of the Truth" *Signs*, 14(3), 533-557.
- Hekman, Susan J. 1990. "Comment on Hawkesworth's 'Knowers, Knowing and Known Feminist Theory and Claims of the Truth'" *Signs* (15)2, 417-419.
- Hekman, Susan, 1996, "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited", *Signs*, 22: 341-365.
- Hookway, Christopher, 2010, "Some Varieties of Epistemic Injustice: Reflections on Fricker", *Episteme*, 7: 151-63.
- Narayan, Uma. "The Project of Feminist Epistemology: Perspectives from a Nonwestern Feminist" In Carole R. McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (eds), *Feminist Theory Reader: Local And Global Perspectives*. Second Edition. Routledge. Pp. 332-340.
- Pinnick, Cassandra, Noretta Koertge and Robert Almeder, (eds.), 2003. *Scrutinizing Feminist Epistemology: An Examination of Gender in Science*. Rutgers.
- Rolin, Kristina, 2006, "The Bias Paradox in Feminist Standpoint Epistemology." *Episteme*, 3(1-2), 125-37.

Topic 6: Gender and the Family (Nicola Mulkeen)

lecture 15 Nov; seminar w/c 19 Nov

The idea that “the personal is political” – and that the distinction between a public sphere (where standards of justice and political morality apply) and a private sphere (which public institutions ought not to interfere with) should therefore be questioned – is perhaps the most general running theme within feminist thought. This week’s topic explores the role of the “private” social form par excellence, – i.e. the family – in shaping gender roles and perpetuating social inequalities between men and women. We shall look at feminist critiques of the idea that the family is “different” from other social institutions, as well as at feminist analyses of the various ways in which power and other inequalities generated within the family affect the inequality between men and women in other societal spheres. We shall also examine some policy proposals to reform marriage, divorce, and the unequal division of care and housework responsibilities.

Required Reading:

- Okin, Susan M., 1989. *Justice, Gender, and the Family*. Basic Books, chapters 7 and 8;

Recommended Reading:

- Saul, Jennifer, 2003. “The Politics of Work and Family,” in *Feminism: Issues & Arguments*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 5-43.
(N.B. this chapter will also constitute required reading for next week’s topic, so it is strongly advised to read this week and have a more informed overview of the connection between family policy and gender workforce participation)
- Satz, Debra, “Feminist Perspectives on Reproduction and the Family”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/feminism-family/>;
- Okin, Susan, 1989. *Justice, Gender and the Family*, New York: Basic Books, rest of the book;
- Chambers, Clare, 2013. “The Marriage-Free State,” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 113: 123-143;
- Pateman, Carole, 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press;

Further Reading:

- Mill, John Stuart, 1869. *The Subjection of Women*, Indianapolis: Hackett, Publishing Co., 1988;
- Weitzman, Lenore, J 1985, *The Divorce Revolution: The Unexpected Social and Economic Consequences for Women and Children in America*, New York: Free Press;

Topic 7: Gender, Work, and Opportunities (Nicola Mulkeen)

lecture 22 Nov; seminar w/c 26 Nov

Second-wave feminists argued that there was one crucial way to liberate women from the burdens of family life which we have addressed in last week's topic – namely, to get them out of the house and into the workforce. Meaningful work was considered to be the key instrument to achieve social, economic and human emancipation. This week, we shall examine the relation between gender and work: what are the obstacles to a fair (equal?) access to work opportunities for women? Are the categories of “double shift” and “glass ceiling” still relevant? Recently, the issue of women's participation in the workforce, especially in positions of power, has been revitalized by mainstream public interventions by high-powered women (such as Sheryl Sandberg's book *Lean In*). This new brand of feminism, however, has been heavily criticized within the feminist intellectual world. On the one hand, it has been accused of being too “neoliberal”, of uncritically accepting the steep social hierarchy of the current workforce structure, and of putting the entire responsibility of “making it” on individual women, rather than pointing at systemic barriers. On the other, it has been criticized for its lack of an intersectional perspective, focused as it is on socially privileged white women.

Required Reading:

- Saul, Jennifer, 2003. “The Politics of Work and Family,” in *Feminism: Issues & Arguments*. Oxford University Press;
- Watch this video:
https://www.ted.com/talks/sheryl_sandberg_why_we_have_too_few_women_leaders

→The following are all short and accessible op-eds or blog entries, don't be put off by the number:

- Hirshman, Linda, November 1st, 2005. “Homeward Bound,” *The American Prospect*, available at: <http://prospect.org/article/homeward-bound-0>;
- Jaffe, Sarah, Winter 2013. “Trickle Down Feminism”, *Dissent*, available at: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/trickle-down-feminism>;
- hooks, bell, October 28th, 2013. “Dig Deep: Beyond ‘Lean In’” *The Feminist Wire*, available at: <http://www.thefeministwire.com/2013/10/17973/>;
- Tsing Loh, Sandra, July/August 2008. “I Choose my Choice!”, *The Atlantic*, available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/07/i-choose-my-choice/306847/>;
- Brooks, Rosa, February 25th, 2014 “Recline, Don't ‘Lean In’” *The Washington Post*, available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/she-the-people/wp/2014/02/25/recline-dont-lean-in-why-i-hate-sheryl-sandberg/>;

Recommended reading (Very Helpful General Overview):

- Ferguson, Ann and Hennessy, Rosemary, "Feminist Perspectives on Class and Work", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2010 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2010/entries/feminism-class/>;

Further Reading:

- Review of *Lean In* in the NYT by A.M. Slaughter:
<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/10/books/review/sheryl-sandbergs-lean-in.html>;
- Barrett, Michele, 1980. *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*, London: Verso;
- A Collection of articles, extremely useful to collect figures and factual information:
<http://feminism.eserver.org/workplace>;
- Friedan, Betty, 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*, New York : W.W. Norton;
- Linda Hirshman, 2006. *Get to Work...And Get a Life, Before It's too Late*. New York: Penguin;
- Sandberg, Sheryl, 2013. *Lean In: Women, Work, and the Will to Lead*, WH Allen;
- Fraser, Nancy, 2009. "Feminism, Capitalism, and the Cunning of History," *New Left Review* 56;
- Federici, Silvia, 2012. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. PM Press;
- Rottenberg, Catherine, 2014. "The Rise of Neoliberal Feminism," *Cultural Studies* 28: 418-437;

Topic 8: Gendered Appearance, Poise, and Behaviour (Nicola Mulkeen)

lecture 29 Nov; seminar w/c 3 Dec

Large breasts, slim waistlines, skinny legs and broad hips have not always been considered physically attractive (look at baroque paintings!). Even more importantly, perhaps, they do not often come together (thin women, for example, tend to have small breasts and narrow hips); as a result, if their combination is repeatedly portrayed as *the* ideal of beauty, the danger is to reinforce unrealistic standards of appearance. This week, we shall examine gendered norms and standards with regard to things such as appearance, poise, and behavior. Are women expected to live up to more demanding, time-consuming, unrealistic, and/or harmful beauty standards? Are women taught to speak softly and not occupy a lot of space? Finally, even if the answer to these questions is positive, it is not clear what our social and political response to the problem should be: breast implants, for instance, might be sexist and harmful (in some cases, just as sexist and harmful as other more widely condemned – and often non-Western – practices) – but does this automatically mean that they should be banned?

Required Reading:

- Saul, Jennifer, 2003. "Feminine Appearance," in *Feminism: Issues & Arguments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 140-169;
- Chambers, Clare, 2004. "Are Breast Implants Better than female Genital Mutilation?", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 7: 1-33;
- Watch this video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjIQBjWYDTs>;

Recommended Reading:

- Lots of resources and figures available here: <http://www.about-face.org/educate-yourself/>;
- Papadaki, Evangelia (Lina), "Feminist Perspectives on Objectification", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2014/entries/feminism-objectification>;

Further Reading

- Bordo, Susan, 1993. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*, Berkeley: University of California Press;
- Christa D'Souza, The Observer 2007, "My name is Christa. I'm an age-orexic" <http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2007/may/13/healthandwellbeing.features>
- Bartky, Sandra-Lee, 1990, *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*, New York: Routledge.

- Chambers, Clare, 2008. *Sex, Culture and Justice: The Limits of Choice*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Chapters 1 and 5;

Topic 9: Pornography (Nicola Mulkeen)

lecture 6 Dec; seminar w/c 10 Dec

Pornography is traditionally criticized by conservatives for its “obscenity” and defended by liberals in the name of free speech. The debate on pornography within feminism is different. Anti-porn feminists do not care about the sexually explicit nature of pornography (and often refuse to call all sexually explicit material “porn”) but accuse modern pornography of eroticizing the degradation of, and violence on, women, in a way that has several harmful effects – among which the most prominent are the silencing of women and the sexual “normalization” of rape. Some feminists go as far as to argue that pornography cannot be defended in the name of free speech because it is not *only* speech, and because it hinders women’s speech. Many sex-positive feminist authors, artists, and porn stars forcefully reply that pornography can instead play a key role in the sexual liberation of women.

Required Reading:

- Dworkin, R., 1985, “Do We Have a Right to Pornography?” in *A Matter of Principle*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, ch. 17.
- Langton, R., 1993, “Speech Acts and Unspeakable Acts”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 22(4): 293–330.

Recommended Reading:

- Saul, Jennifer, 2003. “Pornography,” in *Feminism: Issues & Arguments*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 7-16; 30-38;
- West, Caroline, “Pornography and Censorship”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2013/entries/pornography-censorship/>;
- MacKinnon, C., 1987, “Not a Moral Issue” in *Feminism Unmodified*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 146–162.

Further Reading:

- Mikkola, Mari. 2011. “Illocution, Silencing and the Act of Refusal,” *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 92 (3), 415-437.
- Saul, Jennifer. 2006. “Pornography, Speech Acts, and Context,” *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 106 (2006), 229-248.
- Jacobson, Daniel. 1995. “Freedom of Speech Acts? A Response to Langton,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 24 (1), 64-79.
- Langton, Rae. 1990. “Whose Right? Ronald Dworkin, Women, and Pornographers,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 19(4): 311-359.

- Dworkin, A., 1981, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, London: The Women's Press;
- Cornell, D. (ed.), 2000, *Feminism and Pornography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press;
- This online article by Wendy McElroy: <http://jlampl.net/A%20Feminist%20Defense%20of%20Pornography.pdf>;
- Eaton, A. W., 2007. "A Sensible Antiporn Feminism," *Ethics* 117: 674-715;
- Texts on pornography in Alison Jaggar, *Living with Contradictions* – will be made available on Blackboard;

There will be no lecture in w/c 10th December. Instead, we strongly encourage you to make an appointment to discuss your second reading review and/or essay. Extensive office hours will accommodate this.

****Reading Review 2: DUE 10 December**

****Essay: DUE 14 January**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30241: Elections and Voters in Britain**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20**Lecturer: Robert Ford****Room:** 4.038**Telephone:** 0161 275 3571**Email:** rob.ford@manchester.ac.uk (**NOT** robert.ford@manchester.ac.uk - he is a molecular biology professor)**Twitter:** @robfordmancs**Office Hours:** Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>**Tutors:** NONE**Lectures:** **Monday 11.00-13.00 Roscoe 2.5****Tutorials:** Three tutorial groups on Monday afternoons between 1pm and 4pm.
Please allocate yourself to a tutorial group via the student system**Mode of assessment:** 1 hour exam (30% of final mark)
3,000 word essay (45% of final mark)
4 Learning logs (around 400 words each) (25% of final mark)**Reading Week:** **Monday 29th October - Friday 2nd November 2018****Administrators:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Jay 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 3rd December

Learning logs: 4 hand in dates: Friday October 19th; Friday November 9th; Friday November 23rd; Friday December 7th

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

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 27.01.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 01.09.2019

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
- 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.

**POLI30241 *Elections & Voters:*
Semester 1 2018-19 Course Guide**

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COURSE INFORMATION

Credit Rating; 20 credits:

The University of Manchester's Academic Standards Code of Practice specifies that a 20 credit module is expected to require a total of 200 hours work in total from every student.

Taught in; Semester One (September-December 2018)

Pre-requisites / Co-requisites; none.

SCOPE OF THE COURSE

The remit of the course is to consider the democratic process as a whole, and to address the central question of why electors behave the way they do, and the implications for political representation. The course focuses on understanding voting behaviour in Britain, comparing behaviour in the two countries and how it changes over time in each. Students will achieve an understanding of modern psephology. They will be able to analyse the impact of social cleavages - such as class, geography, ethnicity, gender and age - upon electoral behaviour. They will be able to assess the utility of social psychological and issue-based approaches to voting behaviour. They will be able to scrutinise the structural impact of the electoral environment, including the media, the established rules of the game, campaigning, polling, electoral context and party organisations, and consider how all these factors shape our political landscape.

The course proceeds in three parts. The course proceeds in three parts. We begin by examining the social roots of politics in structural divisions such as those created by class, gender, age, ethnicity, and geography. The second part considers the psychology of voting behaviour. We examine how voters come to identify with political parties, how they understand political ideologies, and how they form views about issues and political leaders, and consider how all these things influence the choices voters make. In the third part of the course

AIMS OF THE COURSE:

- To provide students with an environment that enables the development of a firm grasp of the key issues and events in modern psephology.
- To allow students to develop powers of critical, analytical thinking and logical arguments about contemporary issues and controversies surrounding elections and voters.

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE:

- Successful students will have achieved a good understanding of modern psephology and be able to express themselves clearly in assignments and in seminar discussions.
- Students will develop the ability to recognise, analyse and assess explanations of voting behaviour and the electoral environment in Britain.
- Successful students will analyse and assess secondary data about the role of individuals and groups in the electoral process requiring organisational and communication skills.
- To enable the analysis of recurring themes of electoral politics, including questions of the demographic fundamentals, psychological affinity to political parties, issue voting, the influence of structural forces on voting behaviour, of the media, political marketing and advertising and the emergence of new agenda in the electoral process.

TEACHING AND LEARNING METHODS:

The course will be taught through lectures and tutorial seminars. **Tutorials** will develop the themes and questions posed in each week's lectures. Students will be expected to read and reflect upon some of the assigned readings prior to each tutorial seminar, and to provide a total of four learning logs detailing these reflections.

TEACHING MATERIALS AND VLE:

The course guide, lecture slides, web material, additional readings, comments and announcements are available on the course Blackboard site, accessed via the student portal: <https://www.portal.manchester.ac.uk/>. **Lecture slides for each week will be made available before lectures and tutorials commence.** This course is making full use of Blackboard version 9 (Bb9). Please ensure you are familiar with the site and check it regularly. Electronic submission of essays will utilise the *Turnitin* plagiarism detection software and is administered through the BB9 site.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment is via 3 tasks:

- i. Learning logs (25%) - a total of four logs of around 400 words each must be submitted through the course. You must complete two learning logs on different topics from the first half of the course material; and two learning logs on different topics from the second half - you are free to choose which topics these are on.

Questions for learning logs are provided in each week's course material. Learning logs should be submitted via Turnitin.

Learning log Deadlines: These are provided on the first page of this document

Failure to attend seminars without adequate explanation will result in mark reductions on learning logs (30 marks for each seminar missed).

- ii. 3,000 word essay (45%) on the topics covered in part 1 of the course
- ii. 1 hour exam (30%) - covering topics from part 2 and part 3 of the course

COURSE ORGANISATION:

Lectures take place every **Monday at 11am** in Roscoe 2.5. Each week there is also a single one hour tutorial. Tutorials are scheduled Monday afternoons - please sign up for a tutorial slot as soon as possible. The provisional lecture programme and learning questions are attached to this course guide.

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 course convener 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. Learning logs submitted by those absent without reason from associated tutorials will be given a mark reduction of 30 marks per absence. Unexcused absences will therefore result in a lower grade on the learning log assessment and a lower course grade. Unexplained absences can also lead to unsatisfactory tutor's reports at the end of the course (affecting future job references by other tutors), and even exclusion from the course.

2018 ASSESSMENT ESSAY QUESTIONS

Assessment essay topics are drawn from the topics covered in the first sections of the course - "Political choice in Britain" You must attempt one of these questions for your assessment essay

Please note that all topics covered in the second section of the course will be assessed in the exam, but there will NOT be questions in the exam on the first section of the course

Choose **one** of the following questions:

- 1) Are the changes in class voting patterns the result of social change, party choices or both?
- 2) What explains the differences between the vote choices of ethnic minorities and the white majority in Britain?
- 3) Do different generations have different political outlooks, and if so why? Do these generational differences explain why young and old people vote differently?
- 4) What factors drive the differences in the political choices of men and women in Britain?
- 5) Is there a "North/South divide" in British politics? If so, why? If not, why not?
- 6) What is partisan identity and how does it influence British voters' political attitudes and political choices?

Grading guidelines

These criteria are adapted from the Politics Part II guide and **should be read alongside these criteria.**

High First Class (85-100)

Such answers *fully* answer the question in a coherent manner and can be expected to show *excellence* with respect to the following criteria, achieving a standard significantly ahead of what is expected from students at this level. Such work will exhibit *all or most of* the following qualities:

- exceptional insight in response to the question and deep understanding of the material
- exceptional clarity of analysis and of expression;
- Taking full ownership of the material and the question set
- Outstanding knowledge of the relevant literature and its limitations
- Critically evaluates existing work, with original reflections from the student
- Develops new and interesting questions and perspectives in a rigorous way

First Class (70-84)

Such answers are *highly competent* and provide a *near-full* and well-structured answer to the question, at the top end of the standard expected from students at this level. Answers can be expected to indicate *some of* the following qualities:

- Good insight in response to the question and rounded understanding of the material;
- Clear analysis and expression
- Taking ownership of the question and material
- Full knowledge of the relevant literature
- Critical evaluation, with some evidence of original reflection on the material
- Some development of original questions and perspectives

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such answers are *overall competent* and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question and

can be expected to indicate *most of* the following qualities:

- Some insight in response to the question
- Mostly clear analysis and expression
- Some evidence of ownership of the question and material
- Reasonable-to-good understanding of the material
- Some evidence of critical evaluation
- Generally competent knowledge of the relevant literature

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such answers indicate *some understanding* of the issues and provide an adequate answer to the question.

They can be expected to show *most of* the following features:

- Some effort to respond to the question
- Intermittent evidence of clarity in analysis and expression
- A basic but competent level of understanding of the material
- Limited but discernable awareness of the relevant literature

Third Class (40-49)

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

- Little or no engagement with the question or insight in response to the issues it raises
- Analysis and expression mostly unclear, unstructured or absent
- Significant errors of fact and interpretation suggesting failure to understand the material
- Little to no evidence of critical evaluation or reflection
- Knowledge of the relevant literature basic or absent

Fail (0-39)

Such answers, at the upper end, will show similar features to the compensatable fail category above and, at the lower end, will resemble the uncompensatable fail category.

2018 Lecture & Tutorial Programme

Part I: The social roots of political conflict: class, race, gender, age/generation, geography

Week 1: Introduction and orientation

Lectures: 1: Overview of course and the POLI30241 quiz!
2:

Learning log question: *NO QUESTION AS NO TUTORIALS THIS WEEK*

Week 2: Class conflicts, old and new

Lectures: 1: The social roots of politics; How and why social class structured political choice in Britain
2: Has class voting declined and if so why?

Learning log question: *Why does social class influence people's political preferences?*

Week 3: Identity and diversity

Lectures: 1: Ethnicity, identity and vote choice 1: Ethnic minorities in Britain
2: Ethnicity, identity and vote choice 2: The white majority in a diversifying Britain

Learning log question: *Why is racial and ethnic identity such a powerful predictor of voting choices in Britain?*

Week 4: Generations and gender

Lectures: 1: Do generations vote differently? If so why?
2: Gender, generation and vote choice

Learning log question (DO ONE ONLY):

EITHER: Do male and female voters think differently about politics, or do they just face different personal and economic circumstances?

OR: Do the conditions people grow up with leave a lasting impact on their political preferences?

Week 5: Geography

Lectures: 1: The "North-South divide"
2: Context or composition?

Learning log question:

Are people's political preferences and vote choice influenced by where they live? If so, why?

****October 29th-November 3rd: READING WEEK. NO LECTURES OR CLASSES THIS WEEK

Week 7: Party Identity and partisan bias

Lectures: 1: Social Psychological models of voting;
2: Party Identification

Learning log question: *What is party identification and how can it help explain political choices?*

Part II: Inside voters' heads: the psychology of political choice

Week 8: 7. Ideology- defining the divides that matter

Lectures: Morning: Left, Right and the vote - Anthony Downs' big idea
Afternoon: New ideological divides

Learning log question: *What do we mean when we talk about "left wing" and "right wing"?*

Week 9: Performance politics – the economy, leadership, competence

Lectures: Morning: The issue agenda - is it "the economy, stupid?"
Afternoon: Leaders - are voters just looking for a good manager?

Learning log question (ANSWER ONE ONLY):

- (i) Why do people think the economy is so important in deciding election results? Are they right to think so?
- (ii) Do people support a party because they like the leader, or do they like the leader because they support the party? How can we tell?

Week 10: Nationalism, sovereignty and choice in two referendums: IndyRef and Brexit

Lectures: Morning: Should we stay or should we go? Scotland's independence referendum and its political effects
Afternoon: Should UK stay or UK go? The Brexit referendum and its political effects

Learning log question:

What effects do referendums have on voters political choices? Answer with reference to EITHER the 2014 Scottish independence referendum or the 2016 EU referendum

Part III: Putting it all together: Explaining turnout and choice

Week 11: The battle is won by those who show up – turnout and why it matters

Lectures: Morning: Turnout - who votes, who doesn't, why it matters
Afternoon: Low turnout: is it a problem? What can we do?

Learning log question: *Why do so many voters stay at home on polling day?*

Week 12: What just happened? Competing explanations for the 2015 and 2017 general elections

Lectures: Morning: The majority no one expected: explaining the 2015 election
Afternoon: The Hung Parliament no one expected: explaining the 2017 election

Learning log question: *What factors drove the changes in voters' choices between 2015 and 2017?*

TEXTS RECOMMENDED FOR PURCHASE:

There is a massive literature on this subject, and you are not expected to master it all. What follows is, therefore, an aid to structure your reading rather than a definitive list of sources. In particular students are encouraged to augment their reading of books and journals with primary sources from the printed and electronic media. This will be particularly important in any assessment of recent election results: 2010, 2015 and 2017.

There are a few 'core' books that you ought to be familiar with.

Essential Purchases: You might wish to purchase the following books which cover much of the core material and present cutting edge analysis of recent elections in Britain. I will endeavour to make as much core material as possible available via the blackboard site.

David Denver, Christopher Carmen and Robert Johns (2012) *Elections and Voters in Britain* (3rd edition) Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (earlier editions are also fine) is the best starting point

For the 2017 and 2015 British elections, I recommend Philip Cowley and Dennis Kavanagh (2015) *The British General Election of 2017* and (same authors) *The British General Election of 2015*. These are the latest entries in the "Nuffield" election series has produced a book for each British election since 1950. Earlier editions are well worth consulting to provide context on the individual elections we cover.

"Britain Votes 2017" (Tonge, Leston-Bandeira and Wilks-Heeg (eds)) and "Britain Votes 2015" (Geddes and Tonge eds)- two collections of essays in Parliamentary Affairs are also worth checking out (both are also published as edited books), as is "None Past The Post" (Allen and Bartle (eds))

The first academic accounts of the 2016 Brexit vote are also emerging. I recommend "Brexit: Why Britain voted to leave the European Union" by Harold Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whitley and "Brexit and British Politics" by Geoffrey Evans and Anand Menon

I recommend consulting britishelectionstudy.com for accessible ongoing analysis of public opinion, political engagement and voting in the 2015-22 election cycles by the British Election Study research team, lead by researchers here at Manchester.

For a more general and lighter hearted introduction to electoral politics and voting behaviour, Philip Cowley and Robert Ford (eds) "Sex, Lies and the

Ballot Box (2014) and "More Sex, Lies and the Ballot Box" (2016) provide accessible short summaries on a range of issues in electoral politics and voter behaviour

Recommended blogs

The political science blogosphere has grown explosively in the last few years. There are now some excellent academic bloggers providing up to the minute comment and analysis on elections and voting. It is worth checking these out regularly, or searching their archives for relevant material

LSE British Politics and Policy - <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/> - hosted by LSE but a broad tent with posts from a wide range of academics and policy analysts

politicshome.com - "all today's politics in one place"

Manchester Policy Blogs

UKpollingreport

Chris Hanretty (professor who blogs at medium.com)

Hopi Sen

Mark Pack

ConservativeHome.com

Left Foot Forward

The Staggers

Spectator Coffee House

Lord Ashcroft

The Economist.com

American based political science/politics blogs

Pew Research Centre for the People and the Press - <http://www.people-press.org/> - probably the best internet resource for comment and analysis of American public opinion and political preferences

The Monkey Cage <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/>

FiveThirtyEight - <http://fivethirtyeight.com/> - authored by the now-infamous Nate Silver. Provides very interesting analysis on US politics and polling (NOW HAS A NEW SITE LAUNCHING ON ESPN.com)

New York Times "The Upshot" <http://www.nytimes.com/section/upshot>

Vox.com - terrific website with mix of in-depth analysis, research and journalism:
<http://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics>

<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/pollster/> - Excellent electoral analysis from Mark Blumenthal and regular academic guests including Simon Jackman and Michael McDonald.

**TOPIC READING LISTS: *NOTE THESE WILL BE OCCASIONALLY UPDATED
DURING THE COURSE***

Part I: Social roots of British politics

**TOPICS 1-5 FORM PART 1 OF THE COURSE. YOU MUST WRITE THE COURSE
ESSAY ON ONE OF THESE TOPICS**

Week 2: Class conflicts, old and new

Learning log question: Why was class so central to political choice in 1960s Britain? How has this changed, if at all?

Core Reading

Denver, D, Carmen, C and Johns, R (2012) *Elections and Voters in Britain* 3rd edition, Chapter 3 (chapter 3-4 in 2nd edition)

Evans, G and Tilley, J (2016) "The New Class War: Excluding the working class in 21st century Britain", <http://www.ippr.org/juncture/the-new-class-war-excluding-the-working-class-in-21st-century-britain>

Heath, O (2015) "Policy representation, social representation and class voting in Britain", *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(1): 173-193

Additional Reading: Class

Butler, D & Stokes, D (1974) *Political Change in Britain* (2nd edition) Chapters 4, 5, 8 & 9

Clarke, H; Sanders, D; Stewart, M and Whiteley, P (2004) *Political Choice in Britain*, Chapters 2 & 3.

Curtice, J (2017) "The Tories Wooed Working Class Voters Very Successfully", <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/the-tory-election-campaign-succeeded-among-working-class-voters-tm6mvv7lg>

Evans, G (2000) "The Continued Significance of Class Voting", *Annual Review of Political Science*

Evans, G; Heath, A & Payne, C "Class: Labour as a catch-all party?" Ch. 5 in Evans, G and Norris, P (eds) (1999) *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long Term Perspective*

Evans, G and Mellon, J (2016) "Identity, awareness and attitudes: why are we still working class?" in *British Social Attitudes: the 31st report*

Evans, G and Mellon, J (2016) "The New Face of British Class Voting", *British Election Study* blog <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-resources/the-new-face-of-british-class-voting/#.V9qzOZgrJhE>

Evans, G and Tilley, J (2012) '[How parties shape class politics: Explaining the decline of the class basis of party support](#)', *British Journal of Political Science* 42(1): 137-161

Evans, G and Tilley, J (2017) *The New Politics of Class: The Political Exclusion of the British Working Class*, OUP - available to download via Oxford Scholarship Online:

<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198755753.001.0001/acprof-9780198755753>

Ford, R and Goodwin, M (2014) *Revolt on the Right*, Chapters 3 and 4

Heath, A; Jowell, R and Curtice, J (2001) *The Rise of New Labour*. OUP. Chapters 2, 5 and 7. *The full text of this book is available online via the library*

Heath, A; Jowell, R and Curtice, J (1985) *How Britain Votes* Chapters 2 & 3

Jennings, W and Stoker, G (2017) "Tilting Towards the Cosmopolitan Axis? Political Change in England and the 2017 Election", *Political Quarterly* 88(3): 359-369

Week 3: Identity and diversity

Core Readings

Ford, R and Goodwin, M (2014) ""Understanding UKIP: Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind", *Political Quarterly*,

Heath, A; Fisher, S; Rosenblatt, G; Sanders, D and Sobolewska, M (2013) *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapters 4,6,8,10 - full text available online

Khan, O and Heath, A (2012) "Ethnic Minority British Election Study: Key Findings", available for download on Runnymede website

<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/EMBESbriefingFINALx.pdf>

Sobolewska, M and Ford, R (2016) "The politics of immigration: old and new" in "Developments in British Politics 10

Additional Reading

Ashcroft, Michael (2011) "Degrees of Separation: Ethnic Minority Voters and the Conservative Party" - available for download at: <http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/DEGREES-OF-SEPARATION.pdf>

Campbell, R (2011) "The Politics of Diversity", in Heffernan, Cowley and Hay (eds) *Developments in British Politics 9*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Dennison, J and Goodwin, M (2015) "Immigration, Issue Ownership and the Rise of UKIP", *Parliamentary Affairs* 68 (supp 1): 168-87

Ford, R and Goodwin, M (2014) "Revolt on the Right: Explaining support for the radical right in Britain", chapters 3-5 Full text available via MyiLibrary -

<http://lib.myilibrary.com/Open.aspx?id=582303>

Heath, A; Fisher, S; Sanders, D and Sobolewska, M (2011) "Ethnic Heterogeneity in the social bases of voting at the 2010 British General Election", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21(2): 255-277

Jennings, S; Stoker, G and Twyman, J (2016) "The Dimensions and Impact of Political Discontent in Britain", *Parliamentary Affairs* 69: 876-900

Martin, N (2016) "Do Ethnic Minority Candidates Mobilise Ethnic Minority Voters? Evidence

from the 2010 British General Election", *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (1): 159-180

Sobolewska, M; Fieldhouse, E and Cutts, D (2012) "Taking Minorities For Granted? Ethnic Density, Party Campaigning and Targeting Minority Voters in 2010 British General Election", *Parliamentary Affairs*

Saggar, S (2000) "Race and Representation: electoral politics and ethnic pluralism in Britain", London: Harvester Wheatsheaf

Week 4: Gender and generations

Core readings

Ronald Inglehart & Pippa Norris "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women and Men's Voting Behaviour in Global Perspective" *International Political Science Review*.
Inglehart, R and Norris, P (2002) "Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Shorrocks, R (2016) "Modernisation and government socialization: Considering explanations for gender differences in cohort trends in British voting behavior", *Electoral Studies* 42: 237-248

Additional Reading

Butler and Stokes (1974) – chapters 9 & 10
Campbell, R (2004) "Gender, Ideology and Issue Preference: Is there such a Thing as a Political Women's interest in Britain?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6, 20-46
Campbell, R and Lovenduski, J (2005) "Winning Women's Votes? The incremental track to equality", *Parliamentary Affairs*
Childs, S (2008) *Women and British Party Politics: Descriptive, Substantive and Symbolic Representation*. Esp Chs. 2, 5, 6.
Childs, S and Webb, P (2011) *Sex, Gender and the Conservative Party: From Iron Lady to Kitten Heels*
Campbell, R (2006) "Gender and the Vote in Britain" Essex: ECPR Press
Grasso, M.T., Farrall, S., Gray, E., Hay, C., and W. Jennings (2017) "Thatcher's Children, Blair's Babies, political socialisation and trickle-down value-change: An age, period and cohort analysis" *British Journal of Political Science* (Open Access) <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000375>
Inglehart, R (1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 2,3,5, 11
Ford, R (2014) "How will our parties cope with the growing generational divide in politics?", *New Statesman* <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/12/how-will-our-parties-cope-growing-generational-divide-todays-politics>
Norris, P (1999) "Gender: A gender-generation gap?" Ch. 8 in Evans & Taylor (eds.) *Critical Elections* pp. 148-63.
Prosser, C and Green, J (2018) "Women, Men and the 2017 General Election", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/women-men-and-the-2017-general-election-by-jane-green-and-chris-prosser/#.W5FDEehKiUk>
Tilley, J (2005) 'Libertarian-authoritarian value change in Britain, 1974-2001', *Political Studies* 53(2): 442-453

Week 5: Geography

Learning log question

Either: When do ideological differences matter to voters?

Or: Does Britain have a North/South political divide? Why/why not?

Core reading

Denver, Carmen and Johns (2012): Chapter 7.

Heath, Jowell and Curtice (1986) "How Britain Votes", chapter 6

Johnston, R and Pattie, C (2006). *Putting Voters in their Place: Geography and Elections in Great Britain*.

Available online via Oxford Scholarship Online:

<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199268047.001.0001/acprof-9780199268047>

O'Brien, N and Wells, A (2012) *Northern Lights: Public Policy and the Geography of Political Attitudes*,

London: Policy Exchange

Download here: <http://www.policyexchange.org.uk/images/publications/northern%20lights.pdf>

Additional reading

Fieldhouse, E (2014) "Thatcher's Legacy Still Looms Large: The North-South Divide in Britain's Electoral Support", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/thatchers-legacy-still-looms-large-the-north-south-divide-in-britains-electoral-support/#.W5FHAehKiUk>

Fieldhouse, E (1995) "Thatcherism and the Changing Geography of Political Attitudes", *Political Geography*

Gallego, A; Buscha, F; Sturgis, P and Oberski, D (2016) "Places and Preferences: A Longitudinal Analysis of Self-Selection and Contextual Effects, *British Journal of Political Science* 46: 529-550

Harrop, M; Heath, A and Openshaw, S (1991) "Does Neighbourhood Influence Voting Behaviour - and why? ", *British Elections and Parties Review*

Johnston, R et al (2016) "Britain's changed electoral map in and beyond 2015: the importance of geography"

Johnston, R and Pattie, C (2011) "The British General Election of 2010: a three party contest - or three two party contests?", *The Geographical Journal*

Johnston, R; Jones, K; Propper, C and Burgess, S (2007) "Region, Local Context and Voting in the 1997 General Election in England", *American Journal of Political Science*

Johnston, R et al (2005) "Spatial Scale and the Neighbourhood Effect", *British Journal of Political Science*

McAllister, I; Fieldhouse, E and Russell, A (2002) "Yellow Fever? The Political Geography of Liberal Voting in Great Britain", *Political Geography*

McAllister, I & Studlar, D "Region and Voting in Britain, 1979-87 - Territorial Polarisation or Artifact?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36, 168-99

WEEK 6 - READING WEEK

Week 7: Party identity and partisan bias

Core reading

Huddy, L; Bankert, A and Davies, C (2018) "Expressive versus Instrumental Partisanship in Multiparty European Systems", *Political Psychology*

Iyengar, S; Sood, G and Lelkes, Y (2012) "Affect, not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization", *Public Opinion Quarterly*

Tilley, J and Hobolt, S (2011) "Is the government to blame? An experimental test of how partisanship shapes perceptions of performance and responsibility", *Journal of Politics* **73**(2): 316-330.

Additional reading

Denver, Carmen and Johns (2012) pp. 61-65, 74-76, 85-86

Clarke, Sanders, Stewart and Whiteley (2004) *Political Choice in Britain*, Chapter 6

John Bartle "Improving the Measurement of Party Identification in Britain" in Justin Fisher, Cowley, Denver & Russell (eds.) *British Elections & Parties Review* - vol. 9

John Bartle "The Measurement of Party Identification in Britain: where do we stand now?" in Jon Tonge et al. (eds.) *British Elections & Parties Review* vol. 11.

Harold Clarke *et al.* "Tory trends: party identification and the dynamics of Conservative support since 1992" *British Journal of Political Science* 27, 299-331.

Evans, Geoffrey. 1999. Economics and Politics Revisited: Exploring the Decline in Conservative Support, 1992 - 1995. *Political Studies* XLVII: 139 - 151.

Ron Johnston & Charles Pattie "The strength of party identification among the British electorate: An exploration", *Electoral Studies* 15, 295-309.

Butler & Stokes "Political Change in Britain", Chapters 2, 3, 20

Ian Budge *et al.* *Party Identification and Beyond*

Part II: Inside voters' heads – understanding the motivations driving political choice

Week 8: Ideology

Core reading

Evans, G and Neundorff, A (2018) "Core political values and the long term shaping of partisanship in the British electorate", *British Journal of Political Science*,
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/151445623.pdf>

Johns, R and Brandenberg, H (2013) "The Declining Representativeness of the British Party System and Why It Matters", *Political Studies* online early view. Available here:
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-9248.12050/abstract>

Wheatley, J (2017) "The polarisation of party supporters since 2015 and the problem of the 'empty centre'", *LSE British politics and Policy blog* <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/the-polarisation-of-party-supporters-since-2015/>

Additional reading: Ideology

Adams, J; Green, J and Milazzo, C (2012) "Who Moves? Elite and Mass Level Depolarization in Britain 1987-2001", *Electoral Studies*

Butler and Stokes (1974) "Political Change in Britain", ch.15: Ideological Factors in Change
Denver, D; Carman, C and Johns, R (2012), p.96-105 in Chapter 4 "Issues, Policies and Performance"

Ford, R (2014) "In America, polarization is a problem. In Britain, it could be a solution", *Washington Post* "Monkey Cage" blog https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/02/20/in-america-polarization-is-a-problem-in-britain-it-could-be-a-solution/?utm_term=.36e13fa6d931

Heath, Jowell and Curtice (2001) "The Rise of New Labour", chapters 4 "Margaret Thatcher's Nationalism & 5 "Old Labour and the Social Democratic Party"

Heath et al (1991) "Understanding Political Change", chapter 13: "The Great Moving Right Show"

Kenny, M (2016) "Ideological Politics and the Party System", in Heffernan et al (eds) "Developments in British Politics 10"

Pattie, C and Johnston, R (2016) "Talking with one voice? Conversation networks and political polarisation", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 18(2): 482-97

Week 9: Performance politics – the economy, leaders, competence

Learning log question

Either: Could Labour have won as big a victory in 1997 with a less popular leader? Why/why not?

Or: What role did the global financial crisis play in Labour's 2010 defeat?

Core reading

Clarke, H; Sanders, D; Stewart, M and Whiteley, P (2011) "Valence Politics and Electoral Choice in Britain, 2010", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21(2): 237-253

Denver, D; Carmen, C and Johns, R (2012) "Party Image and Party Leaders", chapter 5 in "Elections and Voters in Britain"

Sanders, D (1999) "Conservative incompetence, Labour responsibility and the feelgood factor: why the economy failed to save the Conservatives in 1997", *Electoral Studies* (18): 251-270

Whiteley, P; Clarke, H; Sanders, D and Stewart, M (2015) "The Economic and Electoral Consequences of Austerity Policies in Britain", *Parliamentary Affairs* 68(1): 4-24

Additional reading

Bartle, J and Crewe, I (2002) "The Impact of Party Leaders in Britain: Strong Assumptions, Weak Evidence", in King (ed) "Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections"

Butler, D and Stokes, D (1974) "Images of the Parties", "The Pull of the Leaders", ch.16 & 17 in "Political Change in Britain" (2nd edition)

Butler and Stokes (1974) "Chapter 18: The Economic Context" in "Political Change in Britain" (2nd edition)

Clarke, Sanders, Stewart and Whiteley (2014) *Affluence, Austerity and Electoral Change in Britain* (CUP) - chapters 2, 5, 8, 9 - full text available via "Cambridge Core" (link on library page for the book)

Clarke, Sanders, Stewart and Whiteley (2009) *Performance Politics and the British Voter* (CUP).

Chapters 2, 3 and 9 - full text available via Cambridge Core (link on library page for the book)

Clarke, Sanders, Stewart and Whiteley (2004) *Political Choice in Britain* (OUP). Ch 4. -full text # available via Oxford Scholarship Online

Crewe, I and King, A (1994) "Did Major Win? Did Kinnock Lose? Leadership Effects in the 1992 Election", in Heath, Jowell and Curtice (eds) "Labour's Last Chance?"

Evans, G and Andersen, R (2005) "The Impact of Party Leaders: How Blair Cost Labour Votes", *Parliamentary Affairs*

Evans, G and Chzhen, K (2016) "Re-evaluating the Valence Model of Political Choice", *Political Science Research and Methods*

Green, J (2013) "Party and voter incentives at the crowded centre of British politics", *Party Politics*

Heath Jowell and Curtice (2004) "The Rise of New Labour", chapters 6,7, and 9 - full text available - link on library page for the book.

Heath, Jowell and Curtice (1986) "Competence and Fairness", ch.11 in "How Britain Votes Sanders *et al.* "Government Popularity and the Falklands War: a Reassessment" *British Journal of Political Science Vol. 17* 1987

Stevens, D; Karp, J and Hodgson, R (2011) "Party leaders as movers and shakers in British campaigns? Results from the 2010 election", *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21(2): 125-145

Week 10: Nationalism, sovereignty and choice: two referendums

Core reading

- Curtice, J (2018) "Scotland: How Brexit has created a new divide in the nationalist movement",
British Social Attitudes 35
- Curtice, J (2017) "The vote to leave the EU: Litmus test or lightning rod?", British Social Attitudes 34 http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/39149/bsa34_brexit_final.pdf
- Curtice, J (2015) "Has the referendum campaign made a difference?" Scottish Social Attitudes 2014 report <http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/563071/ssa-2014-has-the-referendum-campaign-made-a-difference.pdf>
- Ford, R and Goodwin, M (2017) "Britain after Brexit: A Nation Divided", *Journal of Democracy* 28(1) 17-29

Additional reading

- Clarke, H; Goodwin, M and Whiteley, P (2017) "Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual Level Analysis of the 2016 EU Referendum Vote, *Parliamentary Affairs*
- Clarke, H; Goodwin, M and Whiteley, P (2017) "Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union", Cambridge University Press
- Curtice, J (2016) "Brexit: Behind the Referendum", *Political Insight* 7(2): 4-7
<http://pli.sagepub.com/content/7/2/4.full>
- Curtice, J (2017) "From IndyRef1 to IndyRef2? The State of Nationalism in Scotland", Scottish Social Attitudes report, <http://www.ssa.natcen.ac.uk/media/38910/ssa16-2fr8m-1indyref-2-1ndyr8f-tw0-two.pdf>
- Curtice, J (2015) "How Scotland Voted: economic perceptions in the Scottish Independence Referendum:
https://strathprints.strath.ac.uk/53562/1/CurticeJ_IPPI_2015_How_Scotland_voted_economic_perceptions_in_the_Scottish_independence_referendum.pdf
- Johns, R and Mitchell, J (2016) "Takeover: Explaining the extraordinary rise of the SNP", chapters 1, 6, 7
- Kaufmann, E (2016) "Its not the economy, stupid: The Brexit vote was about values",
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2016/08/11/its-not-the-economy-stupid-the-leave-vote-was-driven-by-values/>
- Mellon, J and Prosser, C (2017) "Has Brexit Broken British Voting?"
<http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/has-brexit-broken-british-voting/#.W5FEv-hKiUk>
- Mitchell, J (2015) "Sea Change in Scotland", *Parliamentary Affairs* 68 (supp 1): 88-100
- Mycock, A and Hayton, R (2015) "The Party Politics of Englishness", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 16: 251-72
- Prosser, C and Fieldhouse, E (2017) "A tale of two referendums: the 2017 election in Scotland",
<http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/a-tale-of-two-referendums-the-2017-election-in-scotland/#.W5FDZuhKiUk>

PART III: Putting it all together – explaining two choices: the choice to participate, and the choice between parties

Week 11: The battle is won by those who show up – who turns out and why it matters

Learning log question

Why was turnout so much lower in 2001-2010 than in elections before or since?

Core Reading

Birch, S (2016) "Our new voters: Brexit, political mobilisation and the emerging electoral cleavage", *Juncture* <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/newe.12003/full>

Curtice, J (2005) "Turnout: Electors Stay Home – Again" in P. Norris and C. Wlezien (eds.) *Britain Votes 2005*.

Denver, Carmen and Johns (2012) Elections and Voters in Britain, Chapter 2. - full text available online via Dawsonera - see: <https://www.dawsonera.com/abstract/9780230369849>

Heath, O (2007) "Explaining Turnout Decline in Britain, 1964-2005: Party Identification and the Political Context", *Political Behaviour*

Additional reading

Clarke, Sanders, Stewart and Whiteley (2004) *Political Choice in Britain*, Chs 7 and 8.

Denver, D (2008) "Another Reason to Support Marriage? Turnout and the Decline of Marriage in Britain", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*

Denver, D; Hands, G & MacAllister, I (2003) "Constituency Marginality and Turnout in Britain Revisited" in Colin Rallings *et al.* (eds.) *British Elections & Parties Review* 13.

Fieldhouse, E and Cutts, D (2016) "Shared Partisanship, Household Norms and Turnout: Testing a Relational Theory of Electoral Participation", *British Journal of Political Science* forthcoming (open access online)

Fieldhouse, E and Cutts, D (2008) "Diversity, Density and Turnout: The effect of neighbourhood ethno-religious composition on voter turnout in Britain", *Political Geography*

Gerber, A; Huber, G; Doherty, D and Dowling, C (2016) "Why People Vote: Estimating the Social Returns to Voting", *British Journal of Political Science*

Heath, A and Taylor, B (1999) "New Sources of Abstention?" in Evans, G and Norris P (eds) *"Critical Elections"*

Henn, M; Weinstein, M and Wring, D (2002) "A Generation Apart? Youth and Political Participation in Britain", *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*

Pattie, C; Seyd, P & Whiteley, P (2004) *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*

Pattie, C; Seyd, P and Whiteley, P (2003) "Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitudes and Behaviour in Britain" *Political Studies* 51, 443-68.

Pattie, C and Johnston, R (2003) "The Growing Problem of Electoral Turnout in Britain? Voluntary and Involuntary Non-Voters in 2001", *Representation*

Singh, S (2016) "Compulsory Voting and Dissatisfaction with Democracy", *British Journal of Political Science*, online early view

Week 12: What just happened? Competing explanations for the 2015 and 2017 general elections

Core reading

- Green, J and Prosser, C (2016) "Learning the Right Lessons from Labour's 2015 defeat", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/learning-the-right-lessons-from-labours-2015-defeat/#.W5FFO-hKiUk>
- Mellon, J et al (2018) "Brexit or Corbyn? Campaign and Inter-Election Vote Switching in the 2017 UK General Election", *Parliamentary Affairs*, forthcoming
(<https://academic.oup.com/pa/advance-article/doi/10.1093/pa/gsy001/4838038>)
- Tonge et al (2018) "Conclusion: An Election that Satisfied Few and Solved Little", in Tonge et al (eds) "Britain Votes 2017". Also available via Parliamentary Affairs
(https://academic.oup.com/pa/article/71/suppl_1/267/4930862)
- Tonge and Geddes (eds) (2015) "Britain Votes 2015", particularly introduction and conclusion

Additional reading

- Curtice, J; Fisher, S and Ford, R (2016) "Appendix 2: The Results Analysed" in Cowley, P and Kavanagh, D (eds) "The British General Election of 2015"
- Curtice, J; Fisher, S; Ford, R and English, P (2018) "Appendix 1: The Results Analysed" in Cowley, P and Kavanagh, D (eds) "The British General Election of 2017"
- Prosser, C et al (2018) "The Myth of the 2017 Youthquake election", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-myth-of-the-2017-youthquake-election/#.W5FCgehKiUk>
- BES team (2018) "Youthquake: A Reply to Our Critics", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/youthquake-a-reply-to-our-critics/#.W5FCp-hKiUk>
- Prosser, C and Green, J (2018) "Women, Men and the 2017 General Election", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/women-men-and-the-2017-general-election-by-jane-green-and-chris-prosser/#.W5FDEehKiUk>
- Prosser, C and Fieldhouse, E (2017) "A tale of two referendums: the 2017 election in Scotland", <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/a-tale-of-two-referendums-the-2017-election-in-scotland/#.W5FDZuhKiUk>
- Tilley, J and Evans, G (2017) "The New Politics of Class After the 2017 Election", *Political Quarterly*

SAMPLE EXAM PAPER

ONE HOUR PAPER

ELECTIONS & VOTERS

POLI 30241

The use of electronic calculators and dictionaries is not permitted.

—

Answer ONE question

1. Does it matter for voters how ideologically distinct Britain's political parties are? Why/why not?
2. Why do many people consider the economy to be a central factor in British elections? Are they right to do so?
3. When and why do party leaders influence the choices voters make?
4. Discuss the impact of the Scottish independence referendum and the EU referendum on British voters' choices
5. Why did turnout in British elections fall between the 1960s and 2001? Why has it risen since?
6. What factors best explain the changes in British voters' choices between 2015 and 2017?

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

POLI30271**Semester: 1****Credits: 20**

Lecturer:	Dr Nicola Mulkeen		
Room:	Arthur Lewis, 4.044		
Telephone:	0161-3068027		
Email:	nicola.mulkeen@manchester.ac.uk		
Office Hours:	Wednesday 10-11am; Friday 12-1pm.		
Tutor:	Nicola Mulkeen		
Lectures:	Monday 1-3pm		
Tutorials:	Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System		
Mode of assessment:	Essay and Examination		
Reading Week:	Monday 29 th October – Friday 2 nd November 2018		
Administrators	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: 12th November 2018 @ 2pm via Blackboard
Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly,
as important information will be communicated in this way.

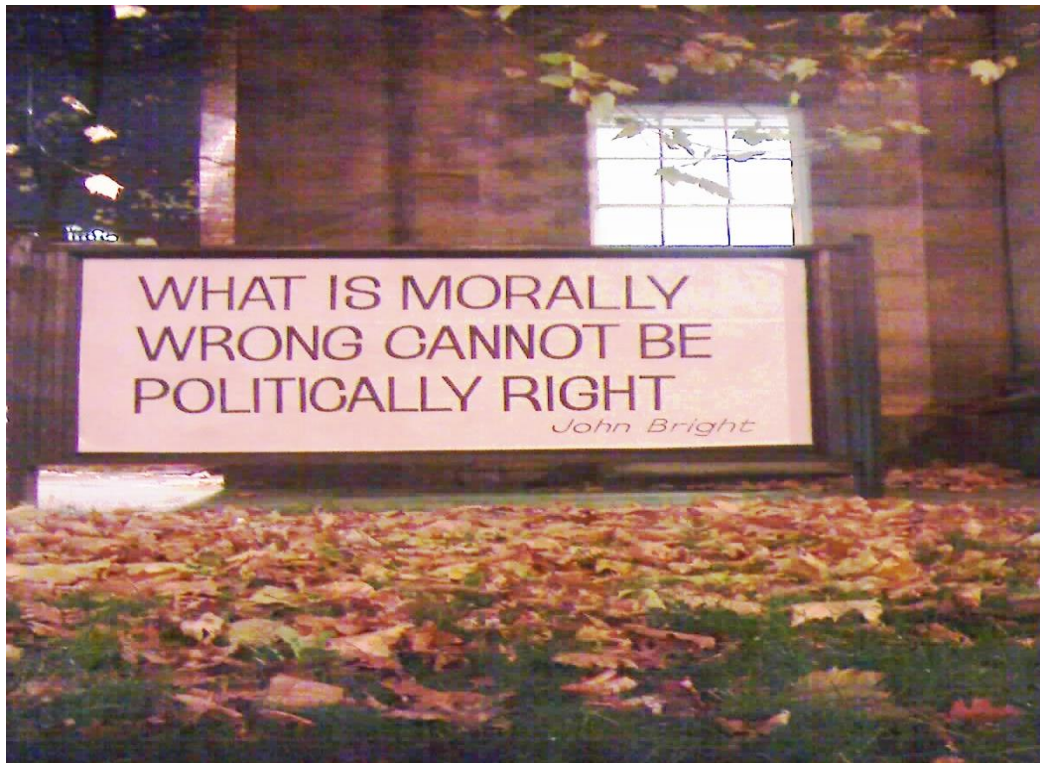
Examination period:
Re-sit Examination period:

University of Manchester - Politics

POLI 30271

Political Morality and ‘Dirty Hands’

Course Outline
Semester 1 – 2018/2019



Poster outside the Quaker House in Manchester 2003 quoting John Bright (1881-1889) MP for Manchester in 1847.

Lecturer: Dr Nicola Mulkeen

Contact details

Arthur Lewis Building 4.044

Phone: (0161) 3068027

***E-mail:* nicola.mulkeen@manchester.ac.uk**

Office hours
Wednesday 10-11am; Friday 12-1pm.
For alternative times contact via email above.

Please do not use SOHOL

1. Aims

This course aims to introduce students to a particular difficult and under theorized aspect of our moral reality; namely, the problem of 'dirty hands' and whether it is possible and desirable to develop a political morality. To this end, the course examines deontological (duty based) and consequentialist moral thinking, the public/private distinction, and moral conflicts and dilemmas. In short, the course seeks to investigate in depth the problem of a political morality and 'dirty hands' to highlight and better understand the difficulties that arise in seeking to engage in strong and effective political action within the constraints of morality.

2. Objectives

At the conclusion of the course, students should be able to distinguish between deontological and consequentialist moral theories, understand and apply the criteria for identifying various kinds of moral conflict (such as moral dilemmas), be familiar with the standard public/private distinction and some of its critiques, and be able to argue for or against the possibility of necessary and sufficient conditions for the phenomenon of 'dirty hands'. With these theoretical tools students should be able to argue for or against the existence of phenomena such as 'dirty hands' and a distinct political morality.

3. Credits

The course will earn 20 credit points under the University's credit rating system.

**The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice states that a
 20 credit modules are expected to require a total of 200 hours of work**

4. Prerequisites

No prerequisites are needed for this course although an acquaintance with political and ethical theory (such as that done in IPT, ISJ, AAP, CDP or any ethics course in Philosophy) would be useful. This series of lectures **does not** assume a prior acquaintance with the salient philosophical issues that are central to understanding the material in this course.

5. Lectures and Tutorials

- The lecture arrangements consist of *one lecture per week, on Monday 1-3pm in Crawford House, TH2 throughout the 1st semester.*

First lecture begins 24th September 2018.

- Tutorials times and venues will be:

TU01	Crawford House Seminar Room D	Tuesday	11.00-12.00
TU02	Simon_4.50 Seminar Room A	Tuesday	12.00-1.00
TU03	Roscoe-3.4	Tuesday	14.00-15.00

- **First tutorials begin 25th September 2018.**

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory.

Students are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course. 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 an unsatisfactory 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 a refusal to allow you to re-sit a failed examination.

6. Course Details

There is no prescribed text for the course since the material will be taken from a large number of books and articles. However, there are a number of strongly *recommended* texts. Unfortunately, they are quite expensive but if finances allow, they would be very useful purchases. These books are available, or can be ordered, at Blackwells. Given their price and usefulness in this course, the Singer, Stocker, Rynard & Shugarman, Primoratz, Thompson and Mendus books should be first choices if you intend to buy books from the list below. (Please note: If you cannot afford to purchase any of these texts, you will be able to obtain access to them in the John Rylands Library. I have placed these texts on *short loan* so that you can gain access to them throughout the course.)

1. Singer, P. (ed.) (1993) *A Companion to Ethics*, (Oxford: Blackwells).
2. Stocker, M. (1990) *Plural and Conflicting Values*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
3. Primoratz, I. (ed.) (2007) *Politics and Morality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
4. Rynard, P. and Shugarman, D.P. (eds.) (2000) *Cruelty and Deception: the Controversy Over Dirty Hands in Politics* (Ontario, Broadview Press).
5. Thompson, D. (1987) *Political Ethics and Public Office*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press).
6. Mendus, S. (2009) *Politics and Morality* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
7. Coady, CAJ (2008) *Messy Morality: the Challenges of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
8. Applbaum, Arthur I. (1999) *Ethics for Adversaries: The Morality of Roles in Public and Professional Life* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton U.P).
9. Garrett, S.A. (1996) *Conscience and Power: An Examination of Dirty Hands and Political Leadership*, (London: Macmillan).
10. Rachels, J and Rachels S. (2007) *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* (New York: McGraw-Hill).
11. Shafer-Landau, R. (2012) *The Fundamentals of Ethics* 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
12. Buckler, S. (1993) *Dirty Hands: The Problem of Political Morality*, (Aldershot: Avebury).
(Out of print - you will need to look in 2nd hand book shops.)
13. Parrish, John. M (2007) *Paradoxes of Political Ethics* (Cambridge University Press).

Library holdings and copyright laws

Due to stringent copyright laws I am unable to make photocopies of the relevant readings to hand out to the class. However, most of the readings are available in electronic form and can be accessed through the library via the BB page. Students will also (for a small fee) be able to obtain a copy of articles from journals not available in the John Rylands Library from the British Library through the Inter-Library Loan facility. Note that this service could take a week or more so order the required article(s) ASAP.

If you are unable to find a reading, do inform me as soon as possible so that we can make contingency plans.

7. Course Outline Summary

Lecture	Date of lecture	Topic	Readings per topic See bibliography for full details
Week 1	24/9/18	Outlining the course and first encounters with - 'dirty hands' and a 'political ethic/morality'	Primoratz (2007) intro; Rynard & Shugarman (2000) intro.; Mendus (2009) intro; Garrett (1996) Preface, Chs.1-2; Coady (1990) & (1993); Thompson (1987), Chs 1-2; Walzer (1974); Havel, Ch 1; de Wijze (1994a & 1994b); Coady: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dirty-hands/
2	1/10/18	Moral theories Deontological, Consequentialist and Virtue approaches.	Rachels and Rachels (2007) Chs 1-9, 12 and 13; Smart & Williams (1973): 30-42, 62-74, 77-150; Kymlicka (1990): Ch 2; Raphael (1994); Chs 4-6; Williams (1985) Chs 3-4; Kant, Chs 1-2; Slote, Ch 3; & Pence in Singer.
3	15/10/18	Moral conflict Do moral dilemmas exist? Moral Monism Vs Pluralism	Sinnott-Armstrong Chs 1-3; Gowans Intro, Chs 1, 2, 6, 9, and 12; Nussbaum, Chs 1-3; Berlin (1990) Ch 1. Mason: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/value-pluralism/ McConnell: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/moral-dilemmas/
4	22/10/18	Public/private distinction Duties of professionals and politicians.	Benn Chs 1, 2, 7, 11, 12; Thompson Ch 5; Okin Ch 6.
5	29/10/18	Political duties Additional normative duties and responsibilities? Does politics require a certain character?	Machiavelli; Weber; de Wijze (1994b); Williams (1981); Nagel (1978).
6	5/11/18	Reading Week/ No lecture or tutorials	
7	12/11/18	Is there such a phenomenon as 'dirty hands'? 3 possible responses, impossible duties, necessary and sufficient conditions.	Walzer (1974); Thompson Chs 1 and 2; de Wijze (1994a). TYrillis?
8	19/11/18	The dirt of 'dirty hands'. Justified betrayal and the furthering of evil projects.	de Wijze (1994a); Nielsen (1996a); Stocker, Chs. 1-2; Rynard & Shugarman Chs 3, 5, 8, 9, 11 & 14.
10	26/11/18	'Dirty hands' and moral emotions: 'Tragic Remorse' Punishing 'Dirty Hands'	de Wijze, S. (2004); Williams, B. (1994) chs 3-4; Gaita, R. (1991) ch 4. Levy, N. (2007); Meisels, T. (2008); Bedau and Kelly http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/punishment/ and Duff http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/legal-punishment/
11	3/12/18	Democratic DH DH and War	Shugarman, (2000); Sutherland, (2000); Archard, (2013); Bellamy (2010); Hollis 1982. Walzer 2004:Emergency Ethics; Neu 2012; Walzer 1977: 304-335.
12	10/12/18	Political ethic? Is one possible? Necessary? The need for deception, secrecy and violence? Maxim? Relationship to JWT?	Thompson Ch.4; de Wijze (1994b); Nagel (1978); Wolgast (1991); Galston; Appelbaum.

8. Assessment and Examinations

- There is one compulsory assessed essay and a 2-hour examination.
- Essay to count 40% and the examination counts for 60% of final mark.

There is a sample of examination questions for this course below.

9. Essay topics, submission dates and related information

Students are required to write an assessed essay (max. 2500 words) which counts for 40% of the final mark. **I will post on BB the essay questions in the 3rd week of the 1st semester.**

NOTE: The essay submission deadline: 12th November 2018

For how to obtain an extension if needed, see 'Extensions' in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part II, p.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.

More information relevant to the submission of your essay

- i) The **lack of a proper bibliography** and appropriate references will be penalised by the deduction of marks - normally to a maximum of 10 marks if the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate. The bibliography/final list of references that is required for both the Harvard and Chicago referencing styles does not count towards the word limit of an essay/extended essay/dissertation. All footnotes relating to the Chicago style, all references in the text relating to the Harvard style (e.g. Russell, 2012: 3), as well as all other footnote material and quotes, do count toward the word limit. In addition, if appendixes are used (sometimes the case with dissertations, rarely with essays), these are **not** counted in the final word count.
- ii) Essays must not be e-mailed to the Department or to a member of staff; no essay sent in this way will be marked.
- iii) A description of Politics' guidelines for different class indicators - what distinguishes first class from 2(i) work, for example, or a 2(i) from a 2(ii) - is included Politics Course Unit Guide Part 2- Policies, procedures and other useful information for all Politics course units.
- iv) For instruction on handing in your essay see Politics Part II Guide available on BB. If you have any concerns please contact Julie Tierney or in the UG office on the ground floor of the ALB.
- v) For all assessed work, it is important to comply with the word limit given in the course guide. You may be penalised up to 5 points if your essay is significantly longer or shorter than specified. As a guide, an acceptable variation is 10 percent above or below the word limit. **You must indicate the word count at the end of your essay. Failure to do so will result in a deduction of 2%.**
- vi) I would also draw your attention to the degree classification criteria (modelled on SoSS guidelines). Contained in the Politics Part II Guide available on BB. Please make sure you are familiar with these criteria.

Past Examination Questions

Below is an example of the kind of questions that could be asked.

1. What is the phenomenon of 'dirty hands'? Is it possible to characterise its necessary and sufficient conditions?
2. Is it possible to give a clear account of what constitutes the 'dirt' of 'dirty hands'?
3. What does Thompson mean by '*democratic dirty hands*'?
4. 'The phenomenon of 'dirty hands' arises from 'an effort to refuse '*absolutism*' without denying the reality of the '*moral dilemma*''. Discuss.
5. Does a notion of a 'political morality' require us to accept an untenable distinction between the public and private domains of our lives?
6. Can one get 'dirty hands' in private life?
7. Does political office impose additional moral duties on persons?
8. Is deceit or betrayal ever justified as part of legitimate political activities in a democratic society?
9. Is Weber right that politics is a vocation?
10. Should a strong and effective politician be concerned with the morality of his/her actions?
11. 'Kant's deontological moral theory does not do justice to our moral experience'. Discuss.
12. Is morality all of one piece, so that its constraints in the political realm are the same as they would be in any other sphere of human endeavour?

Before writing your essay, please read carefully the guide to writing philosophy essays that is included below in this course guide.

11. Details of weekly lecture topics and readings

NB: Tutorial questions and reading will be made available on Blackboard the week before the tutorial.

*

Lecture 1 - Intro: Outlining 'dirty hands' & 'political morality'

General introduction to the concept of dirty hands and exploring its relationship to a notion of political morality

Required reading

1. Walzer, M. 1973. 'Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands'. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*. 2(2) (Winter).
2. Coady, C.A.J. 1993. 'Politics and the Problem of Dirty Hands' in Singer, P. (ed.) 1993 *A Companion to Ethics* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers).

Further reading

1. Garrett, S. 1996. *Conscience and Power: An Examination of Dirty Hands and Political Leadership*, Preface and Ch 1.
2. Rynard, P. & Shugarman, D. (eds) 2000. *Cruelty & Deception*, Introduction: 11-18 and Appendix: 251-261.
3. Primoratz, I. (ed.) 2007. *Politics and Morality*, Introduction
4. Mendus, S. 2009. *Politics and Morality*, Introduction.
5. Coady, C.A.J. 2009. 'The Problem of Dirty Hands' <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dirty-hands/>
6. Nieuwenburg, Paul. 2014. 'Conflicts of Values and Political Forgiveness' in *Public Administration Review* 74/3:

Lecture 2 - Moral theories: Deontological, Consequentialist and Virtue approaches

What makes an action right (good) or wrong (bad)?

Required reading

1. Kymlicka (1990) *Contemporary Political Philosophy* Ch 2.
2. Pence 'Virtue Ethics' in Singer ed. (1993) pp. 249-258.
3. Davis, 'Contemporary Deontology' in Singer ed. (1993) pp. 205-218.

Further reading

1. Smart & Williams (1973) *Utilitarianism - For and Against* 30-42, 62-74, 77-150.
2. Raphael (1994) *Moral Philosophy* Chs 4-6.
3. Williams (1981) 'Moral Luck' in *Moral Luck*.
4. Quinn (1989) 'Actions, Intentions and Consequences: The Doctrine of Double Effect' (This reading is also found in Darwall (2003) *Deontology* Chapter 11.)
5. Darwall (2003) *Consequentialism* pp. 1-7 and Chapter 6 (Pettit article)
6. Hirsthouse 'Normative Virtue Ethics in Darwall (2003) *Virtue Ethics* pp.184-202.
7. Shafer-Landau, R. (2012) *The Fundamentals of Ethics* Chapters 9-12, 16 and 17.
8. Rachels and Rachels (2007) *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* Chapters 1-9 and 12.
9. Sinnott-Armstrong: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/consequentialism/>
10. Alexander and Moore: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-deontological/#WeaDeoThe>
11. Hursthouse: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-virtue/>
12. McIntyre: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/double-effect/>

Lecture 3 - Do Genuine Moral Conflicts Exist?

Can there be real moral conflict and real moral dilemmas? Moral monism versus moral pluralism.

Required reading

1. Nussbaum 1986. *The Fragility of Goodness*: chs 2 & 3. For an interview with Nussbaum on morality and goodness see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWfK1E4L--c>
2. Berlin 1990. 'The Pursuit of an Ideal' in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*.
3. Sinnott-Armstrong 1988. *Moral Dilemmas*: chs 1-3.

Further reading

1. Gowans 1987. *Moral Dilemmas*: Introduction.
2. Lukes 1991. 'Making sense of Moral Conflict' in *Moral Conflict and Politics*.
3. Cohen 2003. *101 Ethical Dilemmas*, dilemmas 78-81. Choose a dilemma that interests you.
4. Stocker 1990. 'Moral Conflict', pp. 85-126 - This is an excellent but tough chapter.
5. Mason: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/value-pluralism/> ***
6. McConnell: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/moral-dilemmas/> ***

Lecture 4 - The public/private distinction

Public and private life. The duties of politicians compared with private citizens.

Required reading

1. Thompson 1987. *Political Ethics and Public Office* Chapter 5.
2. Okin 1989. *Justice, Gender, and the Family* Chapter 6.

Further reading

1. Benn and Gaus (eds.) 1983. *Public and Private in Social Life* Chapters 1, 2, 5, 7, 11, 12. (See especially the article by Ruth Gavison from 124 onwards.***)
2. Nussbaum 1986. *The Fragility of Goodness* Chapter 3.
3. DeCew: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/privacy/> (Especially section 3.)

Lecture 5 - Political duties and character

Does a successful politician require a certain character?

What can we legitimately demand to know about a politician's private life?

Required reading

1. Weber 1955. 'Politics as a Vocation' *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Trans. and eds. Gerth, H.H. and Wright Mills, C., (OUP, New York).
2. de Wijze 1994. 'Towards a Political Ethic: Exploring the Boundaries of a Moral Politics' in *Philosophical Papers*, Vol XXIII, No. 3. 194-201.

Further reading

1. Galston 1991. 'Toughness as a Political Virtue' *Social Theory and Practice* Vol. 17, 2 Summer.
2. Wolgast 1991. 'The Virtue of a Representative' *Social Theory and Practice* Vol. 17, 2 Summer.
3. Williams 1981. 'Politics and moral character' in *Moral Luck* (CUP).
4. Nagel 1978. 'Ruthlessness in Public Life' Hampshire, S. in *Public and Private Morality* (CUP).
5. Machiavelli 1981. *The Prince* ed. George Bull, (London, Penguin Books).

6. Thompson 1987. 'The Private Lives of Public Officials'. *Political Ethics and Public Office*, Ch5: 123-47.

Lectures 6 and 7 The Phenomenon of 'Dirty Hands' – Conceptual Space and Necessary and Sufficient conditions

Can we make conceptual space for the possibility of DH scenarios? What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for getting dirty hands? What is the 'dirt' in dirty hands?

Required Reading

1. Walzer 1974. 'Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands'
2. de Wijze 1994a. 'Dirty hands - doing wrong to do right'.
3. de Wijze 1996. 'The real problem of dirty hands - reply to Kai Nielsen'.

***There is a great deal of reading which needs to be done for this section. You should try to do it slowly over the remainder of the course. You can be selective and after reading a few articles you will be better able to decide what aspect of dirty hands interests you the most. However, I recommend that you read at least 3 of the papers listed below.

1. Stocker 1990. *Plural and Conflicting Values* Chs 1-2.
2. Sutherland 1995. 'The Problem of Dirty Hands in Politics: Peace in the Vegetable Trade'.
3. Benn and Gaus (eds.) 1983. *Public and Private in Social Life* Ch.7
4. Garrett 1996. *Conscience and Power: An Examination of Dirty Hands and Political Leadership* Chs 1-2.
5. Nielsen 1996b. 'Reply to Stephen de Wijze', *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 15 (4)
6. Goodwin – PhD thesis – sections on N and S conditions for DH – thesis on Blackboard
7. Applbaum, *Ethics for Adversaries* Chs 2 & 7.
8. Primoratz, *Politics and Morality* Chs 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 11.
9. Tillyris 2016. 'After the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis: Towards a Dynamic Account of Dirty Hands in Politics'.
10. Tillyris 2015. 'Learning How Not to Be Good': Machiavelli and the Standard Dirty Hands Thesis.
11. Rynard and Shugarman (eds.) 2000 - read the following articles.

Note that the first 4 articles argue for the notion of 'dirty hands' while the subsequent 4 argue against it:

FOR: Beiner, 'Missionaries and Mercenaries' Ch 2.
 Allett, 'Bernard Shaw and Dirty-Hands Politics' Ch 3.
 Sorell, 'Politics, Power and Partisanship' Ch 4.
 Simpson, 'Justice, Expediency, and Practices of Thinking' Ch 6.

AGAINST Nielsen, 'There is No Dilemma of Dirty Hands' Ch 8.
 Yeo, 'On the one hand and on the other' Ch 9.
 McDonald, 'Hands: Clean and Tied or Dirty and Bloody' Ch11.
 Shugarman, 'Democratic Dirty Hands?' Ch 14.

Lecture 8 Dirty Hands – Tragic Remorse and Punishment

*What is the appropriate moral emotion to feel when getting dirty hands?
 Should those who dirty their hands be punished for so acting?*

Punishment and dirty hands

Required Reading:

1. Levy, Neil 2007. 'Punishing the Dirty' in I Primoratz (ed.) *Politics and Morality* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan).

Further Reading

1. Meisels, T. 2008. 'Torture and the Problem of Dirty Hands' *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, Vol XXI, No. 1.
2. de Wijze, S. 2012. 'Punishing "dirty hands" - three justifications' in *Ethical Theory Moral Practice*.
3. Bedau and Kelly 'Punishment' <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/punishment/> and Duff 'Legal Punishment' <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/legal-punishment/>

Moral emotions and dirty hands

Required Reading

1. de Wijze, S. 2004. 'Tragic-Remorse - The Anguish of Dirty Hands' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 7: 453-471.

Further Reading

1. Williams, B. (1994) *Shame and Necessity* (London: University of California Press): Chs 3 & 4.
2. Gaita, R. (1991) *Good and Evil: An absolute conception*, (London: Macmillan): Ch 4.

Lecture 9 Democratic Dirty Hands (DDH) and DH in war

DDH

What are democratic DH and are they possible? If DDH are possible, do citizens get DH too and are they accountable for such acts? Do politicians in a democracy need to wear clean gloves?

Key Readings

1. Shugarman, D.P. 2000. 'Democratic Dirty Hands?' in Rynard and Shugarman (eds.)
2. Sutherland, S.L. 2000. 'Retrospection and Democracy: Bringing Political Conduct Under the Constitution' in Rynard and Shugarman (eds.)

Further Readings for DDH

3. Archard, D. 2013. 'Dirty hands and Complicity of the Democratic Public.' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 16: 777-790.
4. Bellamy, R. 2010. 'Dirty hands and clean gloves: Liberal ideals and real politics.' *European Journal of Political Theory* 9(4): 412-430.
5. Hollis, M. 1982. 'Dirty Hands.' *British Journal of Political Science* 12 (4): 385-398.
6. de Wijze, S. 2018. 'The Problem of Democratic Dirty Hands: Citizen Complicity, Responsibility, and Guilt' in *The Monist* April (forthcoming)
7. de Wijze, S. 2014. 'Political Accountability and Moral Pollution: Defending Democratic Dirty Hands' in *Biblioteca della libertà*, Anno XLIX, n. 209, gennaio-aprile
http://www.centroeinaudi.it/images/abook_file/209online_de%20Wijze.pdf

DH in War

Is all justified war a case of DH? Do the criteria for DH mirror those for Just War Theory (JWT)?

Readings for DH in War

1. Neu, Michael 2012. 'Why McMahan's Just wars are only Justified and why that matters.' *Ethical Perspectives* 19/2: 235-255.
2. Orend, Brian, "War", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2008 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/war/>
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4. Walzer, M. 2004. 'Emergency Ethics' in *Arguing about War*
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Lecture 10 Defining a Political Morality/Ethic

*What are the limits of a moral politics in the face of the demands of realpolitik?
Does the role of a politician provide the justification for a breach of moral principles?*

Required Reading

1. de Wijze, S. 1994. 'Towards a Political Ethic: Exploring the boundaries of a moral politics'.
2. Thompson, D. 1987. *Political Ethics and Public Office*, Ch. 4.
3. Benjamin, M. 1990. *Splitting the Difference: Compromise and Integrity in Ethics and Politics*. (The entire book is useful but particularly good are chapters 4 and 6.)
4. Dobel, J.P. 1990. *Compromise and Political Action: Political Morality in Liberal and Democratic Life*. (Entire book is useful but especially good are chapters 1-3 and 8.)
5. Walzer, M. 1977. *Just and Unjust Wars* pp. 251- 268 (Supreme Emergency)
6. Gorrry, Jon. 2000. 'Just War' or Just War? The Future(s) of a Tradition'
7. Applbaum 1999. *Ethics for Adversaries*, Ch. 9 and 10.

For those interested in a real life case study we will have additional tutorial on the Nazi destruction of the small Czech town of Lidice. (Date of tutorial to be arranged).

Case study: Lidice.

Readings:

1. Garrett, S.A. 1996. *Conscience and Power: An Examination of Dirty Hands and Political Leadership* (Macmillan Press Ltd., London), Chs 3 and 4.
2. Beneš, Eduard. 1954. *Memoirs of Dr. Eduard Beneš*, trans. Godfrey Lias, George Allen and Unwin.
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12. Táborický, Edward 1973. 'Politics in Exile, 1939 – 1945' in *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, eds. Radomir Luza and Victor Mamatey, Princeton University Press.
13. Wandycz, Piotr. 1973. 'The Foreign Policy of Eduard Beneš' in *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, eds. Radomir Luza and Victor Mamatey, Princeton University Press.
14. Wiener, Jan. 1969. *The Assassination of Heydrich*, Grossman Publishers.

Web Resources

Warning: Some of these sites contain shocking and disturbing photographs of Nazi atrocities.

1. We remember Lidice (Names of 82 children from Lidice killed in Chemlno)
<http://www.zchor.org/lidice1.htm>
2. History of Lidice village - http://www.lidice-memorial.cz/history_en.aspx

3. Eduard Beneš http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edvard_Bene%C5%A1
4. SOE http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/soe_01.shtml
5. Operation *Antropoid* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Anthropoid
6. Assassination Operation Anthropoid - this is an excellent source of photos and info on the entire operation from the beginning to the end. It is the work of the Czech Ministry of Defence - pdf available on BB.

12. Select Bibliography

Colour codes: I have given different colours to readings that primarily focus on different topics. This will help you decide what to read from this extensive bibliography. There is **NO** expectation that you read all of the references listed below. Your essay choice will guide you to the relevant articles. If you require some assistance with this, please come and see me.

Blue: Focus on DH and/or cases of unavoidable moral wrongdoing
Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.
Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas
Black: General background for the module

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Blue: Focus on DH and/or cases of unavoidable moral wrongdoing

Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.

Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas

Black: General background for the module

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Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.

Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas

Black: General background for the module

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Blue: Focus on DH and/or cases of unavoidable moral wrongdoing

Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.

Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas

Black: General background for the module

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Blue: Focus on DH and/or cases of unavoidable moral wrongdoing

Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.

Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas

Black: General background for the module

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¹ This book is also found in the bookshops under the title *Schindler's List*.

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Blue: Focus on DH and/or cases of unavoidable moral wrongdoing
Red: Focus on PM, role moralities etc.
Green: Focus on Moral Theories and moral conflicts/dilemmas
Black: General background for the module

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13. BlackBoard Information

For the convenience of students, the overhead slides (and other information) will be placed on Blackboard.

PLEASE NOTE

The overhead slides etc. on Blackboard for POLI 30271 lectures are 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 for either ASSESSED 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.

14. Guidelines on Writing a Political Philosophy Paper

Students often ask if I could give guidelines on how to write a political philosophy essay. The following may help.

- The following guide by **James Pryor** is useful even for those students who feel that they have mastered this skill.
- Philosophical writing is different from the writing you'll be asked to do in other courses.
- Most of the writing skills and strategies described below will also serve you well when writing for other courses, but don't automatically assume that they all will.
- Nor should you assume that every writing guideline you've been given by other teachers is relevant when you're writing a philosophy paper.
- Note that some of those guidelines are routinely violated in good philosophical prose (e.g., see the guidelines on grammar, below).

What Does One Do in a Philosophy Paper?

A philosophy paper consists of the reasoned defence of some claim. Your paper must offer an argument. It can't consist in the mere report of your opinions, nor in a mere report of the opinions of the philosophers we discuss. You have to *defend* the claims you make. You have to offer reasons to believe them.

N.B. you can't just say: My view is that P.
 You must say something like: My view is that P. I believe this because...
 or: I find that the following considerations...provide a convincing argument for P.

There are a variety of things a philosophy paper can aim to accomplish. **It usually begins by putting some thesis or argument on the table for consideration.** Then it goes on to do one or two of the following:

- Criticize that argument; or show that certain arguments for the thesis are no good
- Defend the argument or thesis against someone else's criticism
- Offer reasons to believe the thesis
- Offer counter-examples to the thesis
- Contrast the strengths and weaknesses of two opposing views about the thesis
- Give examples which help explain the thesis, or which help to make the thesis more plausible
- Argue that certain philosophers are committed to the thesis by their other views, though they do not come out and explicitly endorse the thesis
- Discuss what consequences the thesis would have, if it were true
- Revise the thesis, in the light of some objection

No matter which of these aims you set for yourself, you have to explicitly present reasons for the claims you make. Students often feel that since it's clear to them that some claim is true, it does not need much argument. But it's very easy to overestimate the strength of your own position. After all, you already accept it. You should assume that your audience does *not* already accept your position; and you should treat your paper as an attempt to persuade such an audience. Hence, don't start with assumptions which your opponents are sure to reject. If you're to have any chance of persuading people, you have to start from common assumptions you all agree to.

A good philosophy paper is modest and makes a small point; but it makes that point clearly and straightforwardly, and it offers good reasons in support of it. People very often attempt to accomplish too much in a philosophy paper. The usual result of this is a paper that's hard to read, and which is full of inadequately defended and poorly explained claims. So don't be over-ambitious. Don't try to establish any earth-shattering conclusions in your 5-6 page paper. Done properly, philosophy moves at a slow pace.

Originality

The aim of these papers is for you to show that you understand the material and that you're able to think critically about it. To do this, your paper does have to show some independent thinking. That doesn't mean you have to come up with your own theory, or that you have to make a completely original contribution to human thought. There will be plenty of time for that later on. An ideal paper will be clear and straightforward (see below), will be accurate when it attributes views to other philosophers (see below), and will contain thoughtful critical responses to the texts we read. It need not always break completely new ground. But you should try to come up with your own arguments, or your own way of elaborating or criticizing or defending some argument we looked at in class. Merely summarizing what others have said won't be enough.

Three Stages of Writing

1. Early Stages

The early stages of writing a philosophy paper include everything you do before you sit down and write your first draft. These early stages will involve *writing*, but you won't yet be trying to write a complete paper. You should instead be taking notes on the readings, sketching out your ideas, trying to explain the main argument you want to advance, and composing an outline. Discuss the issues with others. As I said above, your papers are supposed to demonstrate that you understand and can think critically about the material we discuss in class. One of the best ways to check how well you understand that material is to try to explain it to someone who isn't already familiar with it. I've discovered time and again while teaching philosophy that I couldn't really explain properly some article or argument I thought I understood. This was because it was really more problematic or complicated than I had realized. You will have this same experience. So it's good to discuss the issues we raise in class with each other, and with friends who aren't taking the class. This will help you understand the issues better, and it will make you recognize what things you still don't fully understand. It's even more valuable to talk to each other about what you want to argue in your paper. When you have your ideas worked out well enough that you can explain them to someone else, verbally, then you're ready to sit down and start making an outline.

Make an outline

Before you begin writing any drafts, you need to think about the questions: In what order should you explain the various terms and positions you'll be discussing? At what point should you present your opponent's position or argument? In what order should you offer your criticisms of your opponent? Do any of the points you're making presuppose that you've already discussed some other point, first? And so on. The overall clarity of your paper will greatly depend on its structure. That is why it is important to think about these questions before you begin to write. I strongly recommend that you make an outline of your paper, and of the arguments you'll be presenting, before you begin to write. This lets you organize the points you want to make in your paper and get a sense for how they are going to fit together. It also helps ensure that you're in a position to *say* what your main argument or criticism is, before you sit down to write a full draft of your paper. When students get stuck writing, it's often because they haven't yet figured out what they're trying to say. Give your outline your full attention. It should be fairly detailed. (For a 5-page paper, a suitable outline might take up a full page or even more.) I find that making an outline is at least 80% of the work of writing a good philosophy paper. If you have a good outline, the rest of the writing process will go much more smoothly.

Start Work Early

Philosophical problems and philosophical writing require careful and extended reflection. Don't wait until two or three nights before the paper is due to begin. That is very stupid. Writing a good philosophy paper takes a great deal of preparation. You need to leave yourself enough time to think about the topic and write a detailed outline. Only then should you sit down to write a complete draft. Once you have a complete draft, you should set it aside for a day or two. Then you should come back to it and rewrite it. Several times. At least 3 or 4. If you can, show it to your friends and get their reactions to it. Do they understand your main point? Are parts of your draft unclear or confusing to them? All of this takes time. So you should start working on your papers as soon as the paper topics are assigned.

2. Write a Draft

Once you've thought about your argument, and written an outline for your paper, then you're ready to sit down and compose a complete draft. Use simple prose. Don't shoot for literary elegance. Use simple, straightforward prose. Keep your sentences and paragraphs short. Use familiar words. The issues are deep and difficult enough without your having to muddy them up with pretentious or verbose language. Don't write using prose you wouldn't use in conversation: if you wouldn't say it, don't write it. You may think that since your lecturer or tutor already know a lot about this subject, you can leave out a lot of basic explanation and write in a super-sophisticated manner, like one expert talking to another. I guarantee you that this will make your paper incomprehensible. If your paper sounds as if it were written for a third-grade audience, then you've probably achieved the right sort of clarity. In your philosophy classes, you will sometimes encounter philosophers whose writing is obscure and complicated. Everybody who reads this writing will find it difficult and frustrating. The authors in question are philosophically important despite their poor writing, not because of it. So do not try to emulate their writing styles.

Make the structure of your paper obvious

You should make the structure of your paper obvious to the reader. Your reader shouldn't have to exert any effort to figure it out. Beat him over the head with it. How can you do this? First of all, use connective words, like:

- because, since, given this argument
- thus, therefore, hence, it follows that, consequently
- nevertheless, however, but
- in the first case, on the other hand

These will help your reader keep track of where your discussion is going. Be sure you use these words correctly! If you say AP. Thus Q.' then you are claiming that P is a good reason to accept Q. You had better be right. If you aren't, we'll complain. Don't throw in a 'Athus' or a 'Atherefore' to make your train of thought sound more logical than it really is. Another way you can help make the structure of your paper obvious is by telling the reader what you've done so far and what you're going to do next. You can say things like:

- I will begin by...
- Before I say what is wrong with this argument, I want to...
- These passages suggest that...
- I will now defend this claim...
- Further support for this claim comes from...
- For example...

These signposts really make a big difference. Consider the following paper fragments:

- ...We've just seen how X says that P. I will now present two arguments that not-P. My first argument is...My second argument that not-P is...
- X might respond to my arguments in several ways. For instance, he could say that...However this response fails, because...
- Another way that X might respond to my arguments is by claiming that...This response also fails, because...
- So we have seen that none of X's replies to my argument that not-P succeed. Hence, we should reject X's claim that P.
- I will argue for the view that Q. There are three reasons to believe Q. Firstly... Secondly... Thirdly...The strongest objection to Q says... However, this objection does not succeed, for the following reason...

Isn't it easy to see what the structure of these papers is? You want it to be just as easy in your own papers. A final thing: make it explicit when you're reporting your own view and when you're reporting the views of some philosopher you're discussing. The reader should never be in doubt about whose claims you're presenting in a given paragraph. You can't make the structure of your paper obvious if you don't know what the structure of your paper is, or if your paper has no structure. That's why making an outline is so important. Be concise, but explain yourself fully.

To write a good philosophy paper, you need to *be concise but at the same time explain yourself fully*. These demands might seem to pull in opposite directions. (It's as if the first said 'Don't talk too much,' and the second said 'Talk a lot.') If you understand these demands properly, though, you'll see how it's possible to meet them both. We tell

you to be *concise* because we don't want you to ramble on about everything you know about a given topic, trying to show how learned and intelligent you are. Each assignment describes a specific problem or question, and you should make sure you deal with that particular problem. Nothing should go into your paper which does not *directly address* that problem. Prune out everything else. It is always better to concentrate on one or two points and develop them in depth than to try to cram in too much. One or two well-mapped paths are better than an impenetrable jungle. Formulate the central problem or question you wish to address at the beginning of your paper, and keep it in mind at all times. Make it clear what the problem is, and why it is a problem. Be sure that everything you write is relevant to that central problem. In addition, be sure to say in the paper *how* it is relevant. Don't make your reader guess.

One thing I mean by 'explain yourself fully' is that, when you have a good point, you shouldn't just toss it off in one sentence. Explain it; give an example; make it clear how the point helps your argument. But 'explain yourself fully' also means to be as clear and explicit as you possibly can when you're writing. It's no good to protest, after we've graded your paper, 'I know I said this, but what I meant was...'. Say exactly what you mean, in the first place. Part of what you're being graded on is how well you can do that. Pretend that your reader has not read the material you're discussing, and has not given the topic much thought in advance. This will of course not be true. But if you write as if it were true, it will force you to explain any technical terms, to illustrate strange or obscure distinctions, and to be as explicit as possible when you summarize what some other philosopher said. In fact, you can profitably take this one step further and pretend that your reader is *lazy*, *stupid*, and *mean*. He's *lazy* in that he doesn't want to figure out what your convoluted sentences are supposed to mean, and he doesn't want to figure out what your argument is, if it's not already obvious. He's *stupid*, so you have to explain everything you say to him in simple, bite-sized pieces. And he's *mean*, so he's not going to read your paper charitably. (For example, if something you say admits of more than one interpretation, he's going to assume you meant the less plausible thing.) If you understand the material you're writing about, and if you aim your paper at such a reader, you'll probably get an A.

Use plenty of examples and definitions! It is very important to use examples in a philosophy paper. Many of the claims philosophers make are very abstract and hard to understand, and examples are the best way to make those claims clearer. Examples are also useful for explaining the notions that play a central role in your argument. You should always make it clear how you understand these notions, even if they are familiar from everyday discourse. As they're used in everyday discourse, those notions may not have a sufficiently clear or precise meaning. For instance, suppose you're writing a paper about abortion, and you want to assert the claim 'A foetus is a person.' What do you mean by 'a person'? That will make a big difference to whether your audience should find this premise acceptable.

In a philosophy paper, it's okay to use words in ways that are somewhat different from the ways they're ordinarily used. You just have to make it clear that you're doing this. For instance, some philosophers use the word 'person' to mean any being which is capable of rational thought and self-awareness. Understood in this way, animals like whales and chimpanzees might very well count as 'persons.' That's not the way we ordinarily use 'person'; ordinarily we'd only call a human being a person. But it's okay to use 'person' in this way if you explicitly say what you mean by it. And likewise for other words.

Don't vary your vocabulary just for the sake of variety. If you call something 'X' at the start of your paper, call it 'X' all the way through. So, for instance, don't start talking about 'Plato's view of the *self*,' and then switch to talking about 'Plato's view of the *soul*,' and then switch to talking about 'Plato's view of the *mind*.' If you mean to be talking about the same thing in all three cases, then call it by the same name. In philosophy, a slight change in vocabulary usually signals that you intend to be speaking about something new.

Using words with precise philosophical meanings.

Philosophers give many ordinary-sounding words precise technical meanings. Consult the handouts on Philosophical Terms and Methods to make sure you're using these words correctly. Don't use words that you don't fully understand. Use technical philosophical terms only where you need them. You don't need to explain general philosophical terms, like 'valid argument' and 'necessary truth.' But you should explain any technical terms you use which bear on the specific topic you're discussing. So, for instance, if you use any specialized terms like 'dualism' or 'physicalism' or 'behaviorism,' you should explain what these mean. Likewise if you use technical terms like 'supervenience' and the like. Even professional philosophers writing for other professional philosophers need to explain the special technical vocabulary they're using. Different people sometimes use this special vocabulary in different ways, so it's important to make sure that you and your readers are all giving these words the same meaning. Pretend that your readers have never heard them before.

Presenting and assessing the views of others

If you plan to discuss the views of Philosopher X, begin by figuring out what his arguments or central assumptions are. Then ask yourself: 're X's arguments good ones? Are his assumptions clearly stated? Are they plausible? Are they reasonable starting-points for X's argument, or ought he have provided some independent argument for them? Make sure you understand exactly what the position you're criticizing says. Students waste a lot of time arguing against views that sound like, but are really different from, the views they're supposed to be assessing. Remember, philosophy demands a high level of precision. It's not good enough for you merely to get *the general idea* of somebody else's position or argument. You have to get it exactly right. (In this respect, philosophy is more like a science than the other humanities.) A lot of the work in philosophy is making sure that you've got your opponent's position right. You can assume that your reader is stupid (see above). But don't treat the philosopher or the views you're discussing as stupid. If they were stupid, we wouldn't be looking at them. If you can't see anything the view has going for it, maybe that's because you don't have much experience thinking and arguing about the view, and so you haven't yet fully understood why the view's proponents are attracted to it. Try harder to figure out what's motivating them.

Philosophers sometimes do say outrageous things, but if the view you're attributing to a philosopher seems to be *obviously crazy*, then you should think hard about whether he really does say what you think he says. Use your imagination. Try to figure out what reasonable position the philosopher could have had in mind, and direct your arguments against *that*.

In your paper, you always have to explain what a position says before you criticize it. If you don't explain what you take Philosopher X's view to be, your reader cannot judge whether the criticism you offer of X is a good criticism, or whether it is simply based on a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of X's views. So tell the reader what it is you think X is saying. Don't try to tell the reader everything you know about X's views, though. You have to go on to offer your own philosophical contribution, too. **Only summarize those parts of X's views that are directly relevant to what you're going to go on to do.**

Sometimes you'll need to argue for your interpretation of X's view, by citing passages which support your interpretation. It is permissible for you to discuss a view you think a philosopher *might* have held, or should have held, though you can't find any direct evidence of that view in the text. When you do this, though, you should explicitly say so. Say something like:

Philosopher X doesn't explicitly say that P, but it seems to me that he's assuming it anyway, because...

Quotations

When a passage from a text is particularly useful in supporting your interpretation of some philosopher's views, it may be helpful to quote the passage directly. (Be sure to specify where the passage can be found.) However, direct quotations should be used *sparingly*. It is seldom necessary to quote more than a few sentences. Often it will be more appropriate to paraphrase what X says, rather than to quote him directly. When you are paraphrasing what somebody else said, be sure to say so. (And here too, cite the pages you're referring to.) Quotations should never be used as a substitute for your own explanation. And when you do quote an author, you still have to explain what the quotation says *in your own words*. If the quoted passage contains an argument, reconstruct the argument in more explicit, straightforward terms. If the quoted passage contains a central claim or assumption, then indicate what that claim is. You may want to give some examples to illustrate the author's point. If necessary, you may want to distinguish the author's claim from other claims with which it might be confused.

Paraphrases

Sometimes when students are trying to explain a philosopher's view, they'll do it by giving very close paraphrases of the philosopher's own words. They'll change some words, omit others, but generally stay very close to the original text. For instance, Hume begins his *Treatise of Human Nature* as follows:

All the perceptions of the human mind resolve themselves into two distinct kinds, which I shall call impressions and ideas. The difference betwixt these consists in the degrees of force and liveliness, with which they strike upon the mind, and make their way into our thought or consciousness. Those perceptions, which enter with most force and violence, we may name impressions; and under this name I comprehend all our sensations, passions, and emotions, as they make their first appearance in the soul. By ideas I mean the faint images of these in thinking and reasoning.

Here's an example of how you *don't* want to paraphrase:

Hume says all perceptions of the mind are resolved into two kinds, impressions and ideas. The difference is in how much force and liveliness they have in our thoughts and consciousness. The perceptions with the most force and violence are impressions. These are sensations, passions, and emotions. Ideas are the faint images of our thinking and reasoning.

There are two main problems with paraphrases of this sort. In the first place, it's done rather mechanically, so it doesn't show that the author understands the text. In the second place, since the author hasn't figured out what the text means well enough to express it in his own words, there's a danger that his paraphrase may inadvertently change the meaning of the text. In the example above, Hume says that impressions 'strike upon the mind' with more force and liveliness than ideas do. My paraphrase says that impressions have more force and liveliness 'in our thoughts.' It's not clear whether these are the same thing. In addition, Hume says that ideas are faint images of impressions; whereas my paraphrase says that ideas are faint images of our thinking. These are not the same. So the author of the paraphrase appears not to have understood what Hume was saying in the original passage.

A much better way of explaining what Hume says here would be the following:

Hume says that there are two kinds of 'perceptions,' or mental states. He calls these impressions and ideas. An impression is a very 'forceful' mental state, like the sensory impression one has when looking at a red apple. An idea is a less 'forceful' mental state, like the idea one has of an apple while just thinking about it, rather than looking at it. It is not so clear what Hume means here by 'forceful.' He might mean...

Anticipate objections

Try to anticipate objections to your view and respond to them. For instance, if you object to some philosopher's view, don't assume he would immediately admit defeat. Imagine what his comeback might be. How would you handle that comeback? Don't be afraid of mentioning objections to your own thesis. It is better to bring up an objection yourself than to hope your reader won't think of it. Explain how you think these objections can be countered or overcome. Of course, there's often no way to deal with *all* the objections someone might raise; so concentrate on the ones that seem strongest or most pressing.

What happens if you're stuck?

Your paper doesn't always have to provide a definite solution to a problem, or a straight yes or no answer to a question. Many excellent philosophy papers don't offer straight yes or no answers. Sometimes they argue that the question needs to be clarified, or that certain further questions need to be raised. Sometimes they argue that certain assumptions of the question need to be challenged. Sometimes they argue that certain answers to the question are *too* easy, that is, they won't work. Hence, if these papers are right, the question will be *harder* to answer than we might previously have thought. These are all important and philosophically valuable results. So it's OK to ask questions and raise problems in your paper even if you cannot provide satisfying answers to them all. You can leave some questions unanswered at the end of the paper. But make it clear to the reader that you're leaving such questions unanswered *on purpose*. And you should say something about how the question might be answered, and about what makes the question interesting and relevant to the issue at hand.

If something in a view you're examining is unclear to you, don't gloss it over. Call attention to the unclarity. Suggest several different ways of understanding the view. Explain why it's not clear which of these interpretations is correct. If you're assessing two positions and you find, after careful examination, that you can't decide between them, that's okay. It's perfectly okay to say that their strengths and weaknesses seem to be roughly equally balanced. But note that this too is a claim that requires explanation and reasoned defence, just like any other. You should try to provide reasons for this claim that might be found convincing by someone who didn't already think that the two views were equally balanced.

Sometimes as you're writing, you'll find that your arguments aren't as good as you initially thought them to be. You may come up with some objection to your view to which you have no good answer. Don't panic. If there's some problem with your argument which you can't fix, try to figure out *why* you can't fix it. It's okay to change your thesis to one you can defend. For example, instead of writing a paper which provides a totally solid defence of view P, you can instead change tactics and write a paper which goes like this:

One philosophical view says that P. This is a plausible view, for the following reasons...However, there are some reasons to be doubtful whether P. One of these reasons is X. X poses a problem for the view that P because... It is not clear how the defender of P can overcome this objection.

Or you can write a paper which goes:

One argument for P is the 'Conjunction Argument,' which goes as follows...At first glance, this is a very appealing argument. However, this argument is faulty, for the following reasons...One might try to repair the argument, by...But these repairs will not work, because...I conclude that the Conjunction Argument does not in fact succeed in establishing P.

Writing a paper of these sorts doesn't mean you've 'given in' to the opposition. After all, neither of these papers commits you to the view that not-P. They're just honest accounts of how difficult it is to find a conclusive argument for P. P might still be true, for all that.

Rewrite, and Keep Rewriting

Now you've written a complete draft of your paper. Set the draft aside for a day or two. Then come back to the draft and re-read it. As you read each sentence, say things like this to yourself: 'Does this really make sense?' 'That's totally unclear!' 'That sounds pretentious.' 'What does that mean?' 'What's the connection between these two sentences?' 'Am I just repeating myself here?' and so on.

Make sure every sentence in your draft does useful work. Get rid of any which don't. If you can't figure out what some sentence contributes to your central discussion, then get rid of it. Even if it sounds nice. You should never introduce any points in your paper unless they're important to your main argument, and you have the room to really explain them. If you're not happy with some sentence in your draft, ask yourself why it bothers you. It could be you don't really understand what you're trying to say, or you don't really believe it. Make sure your sentences say exactly what you want them to say. For example, suppose you write 'Abortion is the same thing as murder.' Is that what you really mean? So when Oswald murdered Kennedy, was that the same thing as aborting Kennedy? Or do you mean something different? Perhaps you mean that abortion is *a form of* murder. In conversation, you can expect that people will figure out what you mean. But you shouldn't write this way. Even if your TF is able to figure out what you mean, it's bad writing. In philosophical prose, you have to be sure to say exactly what you mean.

Also pay attention to the structure of your draft. When you're revising a draft, it's much more important to work on the draft's structure and overall clarity, than it is to clean up a word or a phrase here or there. Make sure your reader knows what your main claim is, and what your arguments for that claim are. Make sure that your reader can tell what the point of every paragraph is. It's not enough that *you* know what their point is. It has to be obvious to your reader, even to a lazy, stupid, and mean reader. **If you can, show your draft to your friends or to other students in the class, and get their comments and advice. I encourage you to do this.** Do your friends understand your main point? Are parts of your draft unclear or confusing to them? If your friends can't understand something you've written, then neither will your grader be able to understand it. Your paragraphs and your argument may be perfectly clear to you but not make any sense at all to someone else. Another good way to check your draft is to **read it out loud**. This will help you tell whether it all makes sense. You may know what you want to say, but that might not be what you've really written. Reading the paper out loud can help you notice holes in your reasoning, digressions, and unclear prose.

You should **count on writing many drafts of your paper**. At least 3 or 4!!

Minor Points

Beginning your paper

Don't begin with a sentence like 'Down through the ages, mankind has pondered the problem of...' There's no need to warm up to your topic. You should get right to the point, with the first sentence. Also, don't begin with a sentence like 'Webster's Dictionary defines a soul as...'. Dictionaries aren't good philosophical authorities. They record the way words are used in everyday discourse. Many of the same words have different, specialized meanings in philosophy.

Grammar

It's OK to end a sentence with a preposition. It's also OK to split an infinitive, if you need to. (Sometimes the easiest way to say what you mean is by splitting an infinitive. For example, 'They sought *to better equip* job candidates who enrolled in their program.') Efforts to avoid these often end up just confusing your prose. Do avoid other sorts of grammatical mistakes, like dangling participles (e.g., 'Hurt by her fall, the tree fell right on Mary's leg before she could get out of the way'), and the like. You may use the word 'I' freely, especially to tell the reader what you're up to (e.g., 'I've just explained why... Now I'm going to consider an argument that...'). Don't worry about using the verb 'is' or 'to be' too much. In a philosophy paper, it's OK to use this verb as much as you need to.

Mechanics

Aim to make your papers *less than* or equal to the assigned word limit. Longer papers are typically too ambitious, or repetitious, or full of digressions. Your grade will suffer if your paper has these defects. So it's important to ask yourself: What are the most important things you have to say? What can be left out? But neither should your papers be too short! Don't cut off an argument abruptly. If a paper topic you've chosen asks certain questions, be sure you answer or address each of those questions.

How You'll Be Graded

You'll be graded on three basic criteria:

- How well do you understand the issues you're writing about?
- How good are the arguments you offer?
- Is your writing clear and well-organized?

We do not judge your paper by whether we agree with its conclusion. In fact, we may not agree amongst ourselves about what the correct conclusion is. But we will have no trouble agreeing about whether you do a good job arguing for your conclusion. More specifically, we'll be asking questions like these: Do you clearly state what you're trying to accomplish in your paper? Is it obvious to the reader what your main thesis is?

- Do you offer supporting arguments for the claims you make? Is it obvious to the reader what these arguments are?
- Is the structure of your paper clear? For instance, is it clear what parts of your paper are expository, and what parts are your own positive contributions?
- Is your prose simple, easy to read, and easy to understand?
- Do you illustrate your claims with good examples? Do you explain your central notions? Do you say exactly what you mean?
- Do you present other philosophers' views accurately and charitably?

Good luck with the writing!

===== Nm September 2018

Additional readings to add to bibliography

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Starr, B. 1999. 'The Structure of Max Weber's Ethic of Responsibility.' *Journal of Religious Ethics*. 27/3: 407-434.

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS

DISSERTATION HANDBOOK 2018/19

****POLI30300 and POLI30380******Semester: 1 and 2****Credits: 40 (POLI30300) and 20 (POLI30380)****Module Convenors:****Liz Richardson** liz.richardson@manchester.ac.ukRoom 4.062, 4th floor Arthur Lewis Building, ring extension 50879 from the phones on 4th floor reception**Kevin Morgan** kevin.morgan@manchester.ac.ukRoom 4.056, 4th floor Arthur Lewis Building, ring extension 54907 from the phones on 4th floor reception**Lecture Room:** University Place, Lecture Theatre A**Lectures:** Tuesdays 16.00-18.00 weeks 1-5, and 10**Administrators:**Luke Smith: Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Jay Burke: jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

Handbook Contents:

1. *Annotated bibliography and topic form*
2. *Key Information*
3. *Key Dates & Week by Week Guide*
4. *Study Guides*
5. *Aims and Objectives*
6. *Ethical Approval*
7. *Rules*
8. *Supervision*
9. *Conventions*
10. *Employability*
11. *Advice on Dissertations*
12. *Supervisory Meeting Log [detach and take to supervisory meetings]*

Note: This course guide should be read in conjunction the Blackboard course website and the Degree Handbook for your programme available here:www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/handbooks/.

Please regularly check your emails for course updates/information.

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

Annotated bibliography & topic form to be handed in to the undergraduate office, Arthur Lewis Building (ALB), G.001 by 2 p.m. Friday 12th October 2018

Initial ethics review to be completed by Monday 3rd December 2018

Dissertation submission deadline- 2pm Tuesday 30th April 2019

2 hard-copies to the hand-in desks, common room, ground floor, ALB
plus
students must also submit ONE electronic copy of their dissertation to Turnitin via Blackboard.

1. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY & TOPIC FORM

To be completed by all students writing a Politics dissertation (POLI 30300 or 30380). Complete and print it off, and *sign it at the bottom*.

The student must return the completed printed out form by 2pm on Friday 12th October 2018 to G.001, Arthur Lewis Building, Undergraduate Office.

SUBMIT IN HARD COPY (NOT VIA EMAIL).

Which course are you on?

POLI 30300 (40 credits)

POLI 30380 (20 credits)

Student name:

Degree programme:

NOTES:

The aim of this form is to help you develop your ideas. Some ideas will work; others will not. It is part of the process. You can *change your topic* later if your initial ideas do not work.

You have more than one potential idea at the start. This is normal. If you have more than one idea, then this form also helps you decide what to choose. *If you have more than one big topic to choose from, then fill out the form for your two favourite topics.* Answer each question for each of the two strongest topics. You do NOT have to have more than one idea.

1. Describe your current broad area of interest in two to three sentences, in your own words.

2. In roughly 50-75 words, say why you personally feel passionate about your broad topic. For example, think about what about this area makes you angry, sad, happy or hopeful? Why does it matter to you as a human being?

3. What is your basic hunch about what your answer or argument might be by the end? Be bold in answering this question.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Provide an annotated bibliography with a minimum of three references, up to a maximum of seven references. The format is:

- the reference (correctly formatted – check Politics Part 2 Guide)
- a short summary of the core ideas, arguments and/or results
- brief assessment of what is good or not so good about the piece
- how it might relate to your own questions, thoughts and ideas

Aim for around 100-150 words per reference.

Please type and print off, sign and submit.

I confirm that I have read, understood and agree to abide by the University's statement on plagiarism. I also confirm that I have read, understood, and agree to abide by the rules governing the POLI 30300 and POLI 30380 dissertations.

Signature of student:

Registration number:

Date:

2. KEY INFORMATION

Politics Dissertations are worth either 20 or 40 credits depending upon their code: **POLI 30300 40 credits / POLI 30380 20 credits.**

Dissertation Submission: Tuesday 30th April 2019, 2pm (Common Room, Ground Floor, Arthur Lewis Building)

According to the University's Academic Standards Code of Practice, a 40 credit dissertation should represent about 400 hours work; a 20 credit dissertation, 200 hours.

Module Convenors:

Liz Richardson

liz.richardson@manchester.ac.uk

Office hours: Semester 1 – Tuesdays 11.00-12.00.

Other appointments by arrangement.

Please email for an appointment

Room 4.062, 4th floor Arthur Lewis Building, ring extension 50879 from the phones on 4th floor reception

Kevin Morgan

kevin.morgan@manchester.ac.uk

Office hours: Semester 1 - Tues 2-3; Thurs 3.30-4.30 Please use SOHOL:

Room 4/056, 4th floor Arthur Lewis Building, ring extension 54907 from the phones on 4th floor reception

<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Undergraduate Dissertation Ethical Approval

All students need to complete an on-line ethical approval form. It is required that ethical approval is given *before* the project begins.

The deadline for the initial ethics review is Monday 3rd December 2018.

This is a very quick and straightforward online checker, to see if you need to apply for ethical approval or not. Most students will not need to apply. The checker tool will confirm that you either do, or do not need to apply. Your supervisor has to confirm you have done the online checker by the deadline.

If you do have to apply, you need to know soon, as you might be prevented from doing fieldwork if you do not have ethical approval. Ethical approval is needed, for example, if you want to interview vulnerable groups. Not all primary research (such as interviews or surveys) will need ethical approval.

Get Organised

Use this guide to find out:

- Where and when to attend dissertation lectures and what they cover.
- How supervision works
- The details and deadlines of the assessment
- What general readings are recommended for planning a dissertation project

Read on to ensure that you know how to get the most out of your degree.

KNOW HOW

Information on the ethics process for under-graduate dissertations can be found at:

<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/assessments/ethical-approval/>

The on-line ethics approval tool can be accessed here:

http://www.training.itservices.manchester.ac.uk/uom/ERM/ethics_decision_tool/story_html5.html

See Section 6 of the handbook and blackboard for more details.

3. DISSERTATION KEY DATES & WEEK BY WEEK GUIDE

ALL sessions are held on Tuesdays, 16.00 to 18.00 [University Place Lecture Theatre A]

Week 1 Tues 25 th Sept. 2018	Essential information How to starting choosing a dissertation topic How to write Annotated bibliography assignment
Week 2 Tues 2 nd October	How to maximise chances of success What makes a good essay What makes a good question Where students go wrong How to mess up your dissertation How not to mess up your dissertation
Week 3 Tues 9 th Oct	How do I do my dissertation research? Part 1 Thinking about research designs Starting to think about sources
Week 4 Tues 16 th Oct	How do I find material for my dissertation? Reviewing existing strategies What are sources? How to find sources Literature reviews Submit <u>Hard-Copy</u> of Annotated Bibliography & Topic Form to G.001 (ALB) by 2pm, Friday 12th October
Week 5 23 rd Oct	How do I do my dissertation research? Part 2 Briefing on research methods & methods of inquiry *includes political theory, primary empirical research, secondary sources, and secondary empirical analysis*

Week 6 29 th Oct – 2 nd Nov 2018	Reading week
Week 7 5 th -9 th November	First supervisory meeting No lecture
Week 8	No lecture
Week 9	No lecture
Week 10 Tues 27 th Nov	LECTURE/PROBLEM SOLVING SESSION Are you on track or are you behind schedule? Going back to your question – refine, or start again? What to do when you get stuck
Week 11	Deadline for completing initial ethics review by Monday 3rd December 2018
Semester 2	
April 2019	Final day for any supervisor feedback: LAST DAY BEFORE EASTER BREAK - Friday 5 th April 2019
April 2019	DEADLINE and SUBMISSION OF DISSERTATION Submission: Two hard copies, Tuesday 30th April 2019, 2pm (Common Room, Arthur Lewis Bdg) <i>Plus</i> an electronic copy to Turnitin via Blackboard.

4. STUDY GUIDES ON DOING A DISSERTATION

Burnham, P. et al., (2008) *Research Methods in Politics*, 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Denscombe, M. (2003) *The Good Research Guide for Small-scale Social Research Projects*, 2nd edition, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Flick, U. (2015) *Introducing Research Methodology: A Beginner's Guide to Doing a Research Project*, London: Sage.

Greetham, B. (2009) *How to Write Your Undergraduate Dissertation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Halperin, S. and Heath, O. (2012) *Political Research: Methods and Practical Skills*. Oxford: Open University Press.

Hart, C. (1998) *Doing a Literature Review*. London: Sage.

Marsh, D. and G. Stoker (eds.) (2010) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. 3rd edn, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reardon, D. (2006) *Doing Your Undergraduate Project*, London: Sage.

Robson, C. (2007) *How to Do a Research Project: A Guide for Undergraduate Students*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Silbergh, D. (2001) *Doing Dissertations in Politics: A Student Guide*. London Routledge.

Thomas, G. (2017) *How to do your research project: a guide for students*, London: Sage.

Wisker, G. (2009) *The Undergraduate Research Handbook*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Literature on Political Analysis/Research Methods [a selection, but by no means an exhaustive list to assist in developing a methodology for your dissertation]

Ackerly, BA, Stern, M. and True, J. (eds.) (2006) *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ackerly, BA, True, J. (2008) 'Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations', *International Studies Review*, 10(4): 693-707.

Alvesson, M. and Sholdberg, K. (2010) *Reflexive Methodology: New Visions for Qualitative Research*, London: Sage .

Aradau, C and Hysmans, J. (2014) 'Critical methods in International Relations: The politics of techniques, devices and acts' *European Journal of International Relations*, 20 (3): 596-619. (Please also make use of the excellent list of references used by the authors).

Baggini, J and Fosl, P. (2010) *The Philosopher's Toolkit: A Compendium of Philosophical Concepts and Methods*, selections from chapters 1 & 2.

Boix, C, and Stokes, S.C. (2007) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, oxford: OUP. (especially chapters 4-6)

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burnham, P. et al. (2004) *Research Methods in Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Cox, R. W. (1983) 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12(2): 162-75.

Fearon, J. and Wendt, A. (2002) 'Rationalism v. constructivism: a skeptical view', in Walter Carlsnaes et al., (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*.

Fink, A. (2009) *Conducting Research Literature Reviews*, 3rd edition, London: Sage.

Gaiser, Ted J. and Schreiner, Anthony E. (2009), *A Guide to Conducting Online Research*, London: Sage.

Geddes, B. (2003) *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (especially chapters 2-4)

Goodin, R. E. and Klingemann, H-D. (1996) 'Political Science: The Discipline', in R. E. Goodin and H-D. Klingemann (eds.) *A New Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, P. (2003) "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hay, C. (2010) 'Political Science in an Age of Acknowledged Interdependence', in C. Hay (ed.) *New Directions in Political Science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Hay, C. (2002) *Political Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. (especially Chapters 1 & 2)

Held, D. (1991) 'Introduction' in D. Held (ed.) *Political Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity.

Held, D. and Leftwich, A. (1984) 'A Discipline of Politics?', in A. Leftwich (ed.) *What is Politics?* Oxford: Blackwell.

Heywood, A. (1994) *Political Ideas and Concepts*. London: Macmillan.

Hollis, M. (1994), *The Philosophy of Social Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (especially chapter 4).

King, G., Keohane, R. and Verba, S. (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,

Online Resource

<http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s5458.pdf>

Lakatos, I. (1973) *Science and Pseudoscience*, radio broadcast and transcript available from the LSE web site, Online Resource
<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/philosophy/about/lakatos/scienceAndPseudoscienceTranscript.aspx>

Leopold, D. and Stears, M. (eds.) (2008) *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Martin, M. (1994) 'Taylor on interpretation and the sciences of man', in Michael Martin and Lee McIntyre, (eds.) *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*.

Parsons, C. (2007) *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Popper, Karl (1959/2002), *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, Routledge: London, chapter 1, E-book

Salter, M. and Mutlu, C. (2013). *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge: London. This is an **excellent** textbook which is a "must look at" if you are planning a dissertation with any kind of critical orientation

Shepherd, L. (2013) *Critical Approaches to Security*. Routledge: London. See part II on Methods – all of these chapters are useful even if you are not doing a dissertation concerned with some aspect of security studies or international relations

Taylor, C. (1971) 'Interpretation and the sciences of man', *Review of Metaphysics* 25(1):

5. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Undertaking a dissertation should be regarded as one of the most rewarding academic ventures you will engage in during your undergraduate degree programme. It is unlike any other course you have so far taken. It should be seen as the culmination of an academic and intellectual journey that you have been on since arriving in Manchester, allowing you to draw on the full range of subject material covered over the previous two years of study. Past students are quick to reflect that defining, researching and writing a dissertation was one of the most satisfying and interesting experiences of their undergraduate days.

What makes the dissertation different is that it offers you the opportunity to develop intellectual independence while specialising in-depth in a topic of interest. The emphasis is on constructing an independent, inquiry-based study. This involves seeking out a researchable problem, deciding on a relevant literature [and a related set of primary and secondary sources where appropriate], employing an appropriate methodology and drawing your subsequent research together to offer a sustained and analytically reflexive argument. By, defining, researching and writing a dissertation, you will develop a valuable set of transferable skills: time management, meeting a deadline, initiative in deciding upon and locating relevant academic and empirical sources, problem-solving, developing a capacity for independent research, communicating effectively in writing, and working with academic and empirical sources.

A student who writes a politics dissertation will

1. develop deep knowledge about a chosen topic.
2. develop intellectual independence.
3. learn to define a researchable problem.
4. learn to decide upon appropriate academic and empirical sources.
5. deploy the scholarly apparatus of Bibliography and footnotes effectively.
6. learn to employ an appropriate methodology
7. develop a sustained argument.
8. develop analytic skills.
9. learn to meet a deadline.
10. learn to communicate effectively in writing.
11. learn to deploy information from academic and empirical sources.

6. ETHICAL APPROVAL

Principles

All students will need to complete an on-line ethical approval form. It is required that ethical approval is given *before* the project begins. For most students, this will mean checking that they do not need to make a full application for ethical approval.

Detailed information on the ethics process for under-graduate dissertations can be found both on blackboard and at the link below:

<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/student-intranet/undergraduate/assessments/ethical-approval/>

The on-line ethics approval tool can be accessed here:

http://www.training.itservices.manchester.ac.uk/uom/ERM/ethics_decision_tool/story_html5.html

It is assumed that most undergraduate research will require a 'light-touch' approach to ethical approval. However, if your dissertation involves collecting data from people in any form (e.g. questionnaires, focus groups, interviews, observations) you **will need ethical approval**.

The implications of not doing so could range from a reduced mark for your work to legal action against the researcher and/or University. (For the same reasons, you need to inform us of any changes to your project.) Ethical approval must be given before the project can proceed. For this reason, you are strongly advised to start thinking about this process as early as possible.

What you need to do?

- The first stage is to complete the Ethics Decision Tool. This should be completed with your supervisor preferably during your first supervisory meeting, and **before 3rd December 2018**.
- **It is really important that you answer the questions** accurately so that you reach the correct outcome for your project. Please note that completing and gaining approval from your supervisor does not provide ethical approval for your project. The purpose of the form is to help you to identify whether your project raises ethical issues and therefore requires further ethical review.
- Most UG projects should not involve more than minimal risk. **If you do not need further ethical review you can proceed with your dissertation/ project.**
- If the Ethics Decision tool determined that you require ethical approval then you need to log on to the online Ethical Review Manager (ERM) to create a new ethics application and have it reviewed and approved so you can start your research. Without ethical approval you cannot start your research. It is recommended that you read the School's guidance document SoSS guidance for students on ethics before logging on to the ERM. You will find full guidance documents and training videos on how to complete the application on the ERM site.

- It is really important that applicants read the guidance notes **BEFORE** logging into ERM and discuss their project with their supervisor to decide which route of review is most appropriate.

7. RULES

The following rules apply to all students, regardless of degree programme, who write POLI 30300 and POLI 30380 dissertations.

a. Submission of the Dissertation

A student must submit **TWO** printed, double spaced, and bound copies of their POLI 30300 or POLI 30380 dissertation written in English to the Common Room in Arthur Lewis Building no later than **2pm on Tuesday 30th April 2019**. Students must also submit an electronic copy of their dissertation to Turnitin via Blackboard.

ANY STUDENT WHO WITHOUT SUFFICIENT REASON FAILS TO SUBMIT A DISSERTATION BY THE DEADLINE WILL BE PENALIZED BY THE DEDUCTION OF MARKS. Please see the standard Politics Part 2 Course Guide [on Blackboard] for the penalty for unexcused late submission.

IN ADDITION, ANY STUDENT WHO WITHOUT SUFFICIENT REASON FAILS TO SUBMIT HER/HIS DISSERTATION BY THE END OF THE EXAMINATION PERIOD WILL NORMALLY BE AWARDED A MARK OF ZERO (0).

****COMPUTER OR PRINTER FAILURE WILL RARELY IF EVER BE ACCEPTED AS A LEGITIMATE EXCUSE FOR LATE OR PARTIAL SUBMISSION.****

b. Supervisor

Supervisors will be allocated by the module convenors. No special preference will be given to any students. All students will be allocated blindly with respect to student names and the dissertation tutor's allocation is final. **Only in very special circumstances can students request to change supervisor, and only then if a conflict of interest arises, and if the dissertation tutor deems this a sufficient reason.** The dissertation tutor cannot accept requests from individual students, for fairness to all students. Any problems the student considers has not been dealt with sufficiently by the dissertation tutor can be taken to the Director of Undergraduate Studies.

Each student must submit their **Annotated Bibliography and Topic Form** (p.2/3 of handbook) to G.001 (Arthur Lewis Building) on the

specified date, **Friday 12th October 2018**. Supervisors will be allocated immediately, and so meeting the deadline is imperative. Any student who does not submit the form will not be allocated in the first round of allocations.

Every student will be supervised by a committed staff member who will guide and support them through their dissertation experience.

c. Dissertation Tutor and Course Instructors

The Dissertation Tutor coordinates the dissertation training and allocates students to supervisors. Dissertation advice should always come from the supervisor. Procedural queries can be directed to the Dissertation Tutor **IF** they are not detailed in the handbook. In the unlikely outcome of a problem with the supervisor, please seek to discuss the issue with your supervisor first. If no resolution can be found, please contact the Dissertation Tutor to arrange a meeting.

d. Deadline Extensions

See the Politics Part II guide on the blackboard site. All usual rules and conditions apply.

e. Length of Dissertations

- The length of the 20 credit POLI 30380 dissertation should be between 6,500 and 7,000 words of text [including footnotes and references].
- The length for 40 credit POLI 30300 dissertation should be between 11,000 and 12,000 words of text [including footnotes and references].

These top limits are MAXIMUMS: there is no percentage leeway. A shorter dissertation than the above range may risk being insufficiently developed. This should be discussed with the supervisor if there is any concern over word length.

The specified word length **includes** all footnotes (Chicago) and in text references (Harvard); however, the Bibliography, abstract, title page, table of contents, and appendices do **not** count towards these word limits.

STUDENTS MUST NOT EXCEED THESE MAXIMUMS. IF THEY DO, THEY MAY BE PENALISED BY THE DEDUCTION OF MARKS AND/OR BY THE EXAMINERS NOT READING THE ENTIRE DISSERTATION.

f. Dissertations must be printed and written in English

POLI 30300 and POLI 30380 dissertations must be printed on only one side of A4 paper and MUST be double spaced. All dissertations must be written in English.

g. Layout

In addition to the text, the completed dissertation must have a title page, an abstract, a table of contents, references (or footnotes) and a bibliography.

i. A submission sheet is available from G.001. Attach the completed submission sheet to your dissertation when you submit it.

ii. The title page must give

- (a) code for the course unit (POLI 30300 or POLI 30380),
- (b) the full title of the dissertation,
- (c) the student's registration number, not her/his name since dissertations are marked anonymously
- (d) the year,
- (e) the student's degree programme, and
- (f) the supervisor, and
- (g) the word count (the number of words of text)

iii. Coming after the title page, an abstract of about 100-200 words for a 20 credit dissertation and no more than 300 words for a 40 credit dissertation briefly summarises the dissertation's problem, data, and arguments (or thesis).

iv. The table of contents should give the titles and the page references of the chapters or sections.

v. A student must use references (or footnotes) to credit the work of other scholars that s/he has used. See the Politics Part II guide on the blackboard site for bibliographic conventions.

vi. A Bibliography of sources used comes at the end of the dissertation. The Bibliography lists alphabetically by author all works used and provides full bibliographic information for each source. See the Politics Part II guide on the blackboard site for bibliographic conventions.

h. 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. The University's policy on plagiarism is available from the University's web site.
<http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=2870>

There is additional useful guidance on plagiarism and referencing in the Crucial Guide:

<http://www.studentnet.manchester.ac.uk/crucial-guide/academic-life/support/referencing-and-plagiarism/>

KNOW HOW

Avoiding Plagiarism

You can learn how to avoid plagiarism in 20 minutes – head to the online tutorial, *Original Thinking Allowed*, at:

<http://libassets.manchester.ac.uk/ml/e/avoiding-plagiarism>



The following short statement on plagiarism is intended only to supplement, not to replace, the University's regulations that are available on the University's web site.

A dissertation must be the work of the student. Students must avoid plagiarism which is the excessive use without acknowledgement of material, reproduced verbatim or closely paraphrased, from books, articles or other academic and empirical sources. Direct

copying or paraphrasing the work of another person--whether the work of another student or published sources such as books, reports, or journals--is permitted only if the source of the quoted or paraphrased material is acknowledged.

An exact quotation should be indicated by quotation marks. A quotation or a paraphrase from another person's work should acknowledge the source of the material by giving the author, the title of the article, the title of the book or journal, place of publication, publisher, and date of publication in the case of books, year and volume number in the case of journals, and page numbers. (See below "Conventions" . The Scholarly Apparatus of Bibliography and References and the Appendix on Bibliography and Referencing.)

To copy or paraphrase the work of another individual without acknowledging the source of such material constitutes plagiarism which is a serious academic offence. Since plagiarism in a dissertation is a type of cheating and may be equivalent to cheating in an examination, plagiarism in the dissertation may be penalized by a variety of penalties depending upon the extent and/or seriousness of the plagiarism: a loss of marks, a mark of 0, permanent loss of credits (and hence loss of honours status), suspension, and/or expulsion from the degree programme and/or the university.

- i. Dissertations must not reproduce in whole or in large part an assessed course essay and/or extended essay.

A dissertation must **not** reproduce, in whole or in large part, an assessed course essay and/or a previous first or second year extended essay. The student is responsible for ensuring that s/he does not violate this prohibition. Any violation of this prohibition will be **severely penalized** by the deduction of marks or even by a mark of 0 in serious cases.

- j. Submission: Dissertations must not be e-mailed to the school

Any dissertation which rather than being properly submitted [see above] is simply e-mailed to the school and/or supervisor on the deadline date will normally not be read or marked, and therefore will receive a mark of 0.

- k. A student's responsibility to establish authorship of her/his dissertation

Submission of a dissertation bearing a student's name does not constitute evidence that the submitted dissertation is actually the student's. **Rather a student must establish authorship of the submitted dissertation:** (a) by writing on the topic agreed with her/his supervisor, (b) by meeting regularly with her/his supervisor to discuss the agreed topic, sources, arguments, the student's progress, etc., (c) by submitting draft chapters to her/his supervisor, (d) by retaining and, if requested to do so, submitting notes on their reading and research and/or drafts.

When a student does not establish authorship of the submitted dissertation, her/his dissertation will normally receive a mark of 0. In addition, the student's failure to establish authorship will constitute possible evidence of plagiarism.

Any student who submits a dissertation on a topic other than the one formally agreed with her/his supervisor will normally receive a mark of zero (0). However, a student who does so will have an opportunity to show that the submitted work is the student's own work.

See the **Politics Part II Guide** for policy and procedures regarding plagiarism.

8. SUPERVISION

The dissertation is an independent, inquiry-based piece of work. The support you receive will be different to any other course you have previously taken. Communication is important. It is **your responsibility** to make early contact with your supervisor, sending them the annotated bibliography and topic form in advance of the first meeting.

Supervisors will meet with you at frequent intervals throughout the process of researching and writing the dissertation. For example:

POLI30300 Dissertation A (40 credits): 6 x 30 minute meetings (or equivalent)

POLI30380 Dissertation B (20 credits): 4 x 30 minute meetings (or equivalent)

Depending on your balance of credits across the two semesters (some students may have 70:50 or 50:70 splits) you may want to have more of your meetings in one semester than the other but, as a general rule, it is wise to have at least two meetings in the first semester, so that you have made some headway with the dissertation by the Christmas break.

The supervisory period terminates on the final day of semester before the Easter break – **Friday 5th April 2019**. Supervisors will not look at material after this date.

Key Supervisory Principles

Your supervisor is there to provide on-going feedback and guidance on your dissertation.

The Supervisor will assist with providing key advice on:

- question framing,
- theory-building,
- the research design or argument
- and the appropriate methodology.

They may offer advice on some preliminary readings, but it is not the responsibility of the supervisor to provide an extended reading list or to provide a design, argument, theory, etc. Nor will they act as an editor - reading and correcting your written prose. The emphasis throughout will be on providing you with feedback on the quality of your work and how to improve it.

The Student will:

- select their own topic, find readings, generate a research design or argument, and locate evidence and supporting materials, as well as analysing such evidence.
- take responsibility for organising meetings and for agreeing mid-way deadlines (e.g. for feedback) with the supervisor, via email or in person. **It is the student's duty to establish contact and keep in touch with their supervisor throughout the year.**
- raise any concerns or problems with their supervisor at the earliest opportunity. You should organise meetings and submit work to be read in a timely fashion, and as early as possible.

Supervisory Meetings

A student should meet regularly with their supervisor in order to obtain helpful guidance. At these meetings, a student is able to consult with the supervisor about the chosen topic, about narrowing the topic to a researchable question or problem, and about how to identify relevant academic and empirical sources. If you need help with academic and empirical sources, talk with your supervisor.

Also, the student can discuss with the supervisor their reading, potential methodology and/or research data and its relevance for the topic and also any problems that the student has encountered. These meetings with the supervisor will help establish the student's authorship of the submitted dissertation.

Given the differences between a dissertation as an extended piece of independent inquiry-based research and a standard course essay and given the aims and objectives of the dissertation, a student writing a politics dissertation should not expect their supervisor to provide a topic and/or a reading list. However, the supervisor is available to help a student define a researchable question or problem and to provide advice about how to seek out relevant sources, both academic and empirical. Hence, meeting with the supervisor should help ensure that the student's research remains focused on the student's chosen topic. In addition, the supervisor can help a student with the structure of the dissertation.

In subsequent meetings, students may submit via email or bring hard-copies of draft chapters or sections for supervisors to look-over and comment on any issues that may need addressing in terms of the development of the thesis. Supervisors are not expected to provide edited feedback highlighting misprints, name corrections, typos, poor English etc.

The Final Meeting:

The final supervisory meeting has to be arranged up to the 5th April 2019. In order to ensure fairness in the supervisory process, supervisors should not look at or read any material after this date.

The final meeting itself should involve the reading by the supervisor of, at a maximum, **a half of the dissertation (or equivalent)**. This can either be sent in email form to your supervisor prior to the meeting or you may bring a hard-copy along with you (please agree this with your supervisor). In circumstances in which you have not written a draft, this meeting will be a final discussion of the progress of the dissertation, identifying problems and clarifying your argument. The submission of draft material for the supervisor to read after this meeting is not permitted. At this final meeting the Supervisor should never give any indication of a mark or grade. The purpose of the meeting is to look over and give feedback on the draft work in order to advise whether the dissertation is at the appropriate level and conforms to the course's aims and objectives.

At this meeting, the supervisor will also provide advice and comment on the work being produced and provide students with feedback on where and how that work can be improved prior to the final submission deadline. Matters that supervisors can comment on in this meeting include:

- the research question
- dissertation structure
- methodology
- and the balance of coverage (for example between theory and empirical matter)

- referencing
- and general academic style

The last meeting provides opportunities for feedback on the development of the dissertation; students and supervisors will want to ensure they discuss both general and substantive issues in sufficient depth in this final one-to-one session. Sufficient formative and summative feedback should be given by supervisors to provide the student with the opportunity to improve their work before their submission of a final draft. It is not the role of the supervisor at or prior to this meeting to have read verbatim the draft material, but instead to have sufficiently looked over and identified any issues that still need addressing in the areas listed above.

General Supervisory Themes

A student who is unsure about what constitutes plagiarism and/or about what material needs to be referenced should consult with their supervisor for advice. Similarly, a student may consult their supervisor about the proper style for references and a Bibliography and about how to write an abstract.

Also, if a student is uncertain whether they should use material from an assessed essay or a previous extended essay in their dissertation, they should consult with their supervisor.

In addition, a student may discuss their proposed work schedule with their supervisor especially since each dissertation student's timetable needs to be customised to reflect the number of taught credits s/he takes each semester and the dates for the submission of their assessed essays and other academic commitments.

Students are strongly urged to see their supervisors on the prescribed number of occasions to discuss their topic, for help with both academic and empirical sources, for help with structuring the dissertation, and so forth.

9. CONVENTIONS

1. Number pages consecutively and clearly, preferably at the bottom centre, at the top centre, in the top right-hand corner, or in the bottom right-hand corner.
2. Presentation: Students should double space between lines of text and allow a 4 cm. margin on the left and 2.5 cm. margins on the other three sides of each page.
3. Long quotations of three lines or more should be indented and may be either single- or double-spaced. Quotation marks should not be placed around indented long quotations.

4. An abstract of about 100 to 200 words for a 20 credits dissertation and no more than 300 words for a 40 credits dissertation should follow the title page. An abstract briefly summarises the essay's problem, the data, and the arguments. A student who wants to see an actual abstract should consult one of the many scholarly journals in which an abstract accompanies each article: e.g., Public Administration, British Politics, Party Politics, Political Studies, Journal of Politics, American Political Science Review, Politics, International Organization, Pacific Review and Philosophy and the Social Sciences.

Warning: The lack of an abstract will be penalised by the deduction of 2 marks.

5. The Scholarly Apparatus of a Bibliography and References (or Footnotes)

Like all essays, a dissertation **must** employ the scholarly apparatus of referencing and a Bibliography. At the end of the dissertation, you **must** provide a **Bibliography** that lists your sources in **alphabetical order** by author's surname. In the dissertation, you **must reference** any quotation, any data, any views which you attribute to an author, and any view or interpretation which you have taken from another source. References--either Harvard style referencing in the text, or footnotes at the bottom of the page, or endnotes at the end of the work--enable the reader to find as easily as possible the authority for every important fact not obviously of the 'textbook' kind and the sources contributing to all ideas and comments. Whatever referencing and bibliographic styles you choose to use, ***be consistent***.

In terms of the numbers of sources that comprise your bibliography, this will vary from one dissertation to the next and depend on which dissertation track you are on [POLI30300 or POLI30380]. As a general [though not strict] guide, **for students completing the POLI30300 dissertation a MINIMUM of 40 academic sources should be referenced in your bibliography. For students completing the POLI30380 dissertation a minimum of 20 academic sources should be referenced in your bibliography.**

Warning: Since one aim of the dissertation is to ensure that students know how to use the scholarly apparatus of references (footnotes) and Bibliography, the lack of a proper and extensive Bibliography and appropriate, accurate referencing will be penalised by the deduction of marks. **Normally, a maximum of 10 marks will be deducted to penalise an entirely inadequate scholarly apparatus. In some cases a larger penalty may be imposed. For example, if the lack of Bibliography and/or referencing makes it difficult to determine whether a student has plagiarised or to estimate the amount of work which a student has done, a larger penalty may be imposed.**

6. Title page - A student's registration number, not their name: Dissertations are marked anonymously. Hence the title page should only give the student's registration number, not their name. To prevent pages from going missing, a student's registration number should appear on each page of the dissertation.

10. 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>

11. ADVICE ON DISSERTATIONS

- a. What is an undergraduate dissertation?

A dissertation is not simply an extended essay and should never be regarded as such. It is instead a unique piece of work that encourages a piece of independent, inquiry-based research. Defining, researching and writing a dissertation provides students with an organising focus for their final year. A dissertation provides a student with an opportunity to develop intellectual independence and to specialise in-depth in a topic of interest. A student chooses and defines the particular topic of the dissertation; then the supervisor helps the student to narrow the broad topic to a researchable problem and to decide upon the appropriate sources.

Dissertations teach students how to define a researchable problem, to decide upon appropriate sources, an appropriate methodological approach and to develop a sustained argument. Therefore, writing a

dissertation is qualitatively different from writing an essay in a taught course unit not only because a dissertation is much longer than an essay but also because, in contrast to an essay in a taught course unit, the student is responsible for defining a researchable problem and for deciding what sources to use. Of course, a student's supervisor will help her/him with these two tasks; but unlike a course essay, it is the student's, not the supervisor's, job to define a researchable problem and to decide what sources are relevant.

b. The benefits of writing an undergraduate dissertation in politics and reassurance from past students

Although researching and writing a dissertation is hard work, that experience can also be immensely satisfying and rewarding. When you begin, the dissertation will seem daunting. However, despite the inevitable anxiety, students who put in the work usually find that the dissertation is the most satisfying, interesting, and even enjoyable part of their undergraduate experience.

The dissertation develops many transferable skills that are highly valued by employers: effective time management, capacity for independent work, using your initiative in finding sources, and problem solving. Together with a good dissertation mark, the development of these skills enables your tutor to write a better reference for you. At the same time, employers will often inquire about it and how you as a student went about doing your dissertation. It is seen as a contribution that enhances an individual's CV.

c. The difference between 20 and 40 credit dissertations

The aims and objectives of writing a politics dissertation apply equally to both 20 and 40 credit dissertations, i.e., 20 and 40 credit dissertations have the same aims and objectives.

As stated under the preceding "Rules", 20 and 40 credit dissertations are distinguished by length: about 6,500-7000 words of text for POLI 30380 (when written in the politics discipline area) and about 11-12,000 words of text for POLI 30300. In addition, because a 40 credit dissertation should represent about 400 hours work and a 20 credit dissertation about 200 hours (see the University's "Academic Standards Code of Practice"), 20 credit dissertations cannot be expected to exhibit the same breadth and extent of coverage of a topic. As a result, the Politics discipline area expects 40 credit dissertations i) to exhibit greater familiarity with the relevant literature (i.e., a greater range of sources), ii) to encompass a greater range of cases, comparisons, and/or issues, and/or iii) to develop an issue(s) or topic more thoroughly (i.e., in greater depth). Therefore, when marking dissertations, academic staff keep the different weights in mind.

The intrinsic quality of the argument does **not** distinguish 20 and 40 credit dissertations. For example, a competent descriptive account is at best a 2-ii regardless of whether the dissertation is worth 20 or 40 credits. Also, regardless of whether the dissertation is worth 20 or 40 credits, the Discipline Area looks for analysis for a dissertation to attain an upper second. Furthermore, regardless of credit-rating, first class dissertations are not only analytic but also to contain strong evidence of originality (in conception, argument, approach, and/or research data). Since the intrinsic quality of the argument does not distinguish 20 from 40 credit dissertations, the McKenzie prize is open to both; and dissertations of both lengths have won that prize.

d. Defining and choosing a topic

Part of the object of writing a dissertation is to enable students to learn how to define a researchable problem. Students should consult with their supervisors who will help them develop a topic for their dissertation and to narrow it to a researchable question.

A student will choose a potential topic early on in the first semester of Level 3 in order and then decide upon a final topic by the end of the third week. By then, you will have needed to have read some of the literature about the chosen topic in order to develop or formulate a researchable question or problem. In addition, in consultation with your supervisor, a student needs to ensure that the chosen topic can be done within the constraints of an undergraduate dissertation including ethic approval and that they will have access to the required materials, data, and academic literature.

On the dissertation questionnaires, students have commented favourably upon Politics' flexibility with regard to the range of dissertation topics. This flexibility reflects our desire that students define their own topics and pursue their intellectual interest. However, this flexibility also reflects a student's responsibility for choosing a topic and developing a researchable problem. **The supervisor is not responsible for providing a student with a topic.**

e. Dissertations must not reproduce in whole or in large part an assessed essay and/or a previous extended essay. (See "Rules".)

In order to prevent a student from using the same work more than once, a student is prohibited from incorporating an assessed essay or a previous extended essay into a student's dissertation. This rule reflects the uncontroversial view that a student should not be able to submit the same work twice and should not be credited twice for the same work. The dissertation must be a **new** piece of work and therefore must **not** be a longer version of a previous extended essay or of an assessed essay.

However, as with other academic work, including by lecturers, we often build on our intellectual interests. Therefore it is to be expected that

students might develop work in the same general area as previous essays. This is entirely appropriate, as long as the work is substantially new and/or revised. If a student is uncertain whether s/he should use material from an assessed essay or previous extended essay in her/his dissertation, the student should consult with her/his dissertation supervisor.

f. Academic and empirical sources

POLI30300 (40 credits) & POLI30380 (20 credits) **must** use primarily academic sources.

Academic sources include books, chapters in collections, journal articles, professional papers delivered at conferences or published as working papers, etc. Every dissertation needs to use **academic sources** (the fruits of previous research) to provide background and the interpretations of previous scholarship. A student should discuss with her/his supervisor previous work in the field and how it relates to the student's own research. A student uses academic sources to provide the context for her/his dissertation. Your supervisor can help you with academic sources.

Cite it Right



You can learn how to reference properly in 15 minutes – head to the online tutorial, *Citing it right*, at: <http://libassets.manchester.ac.uk/ml/e/introducing-referencing/>

KNOW HOW

Empirical sources provide students and other scholars with non-pre-digested arguments, information, evidence or data. For **empirical** POLI30300 and POLI30380 dissertations, the following sources could provide students with empirical material: data sets, newspaper and magazine articles, interviews, documents, government reports, archival material, convention proceedings, diaries, correspondence, parliamentary (or legislative) hearings and reports, official reports, etc. Your supervisor can help you decide what empirical source(s) are relevant for your dissertation.

If you are uncertain about academic and empirical sources, consult your supervisor.

As noted above - as a general [though not strict] guide, for students completing the POLI30300 dissertation a MINIMUM of 40 academic sources should be referenced in your bibliography. For students completing the POLI30380 dissertation a minimum of 20 academic sources should be referenced in your bibliography.

g. Allocation of a supervisor

The module convenors will allocate all politics students to supervisors immediately following the submission of the topic forms during Wk3. This is to ensure a fair process for all students and that all students are given the same amount of time and attention to their dissertations. Rather than offer a set-list of prescribed topics that students can choose from, the rationale is to encourage the widest possible choice when it comes to students identifying the research project they wish to pursue. Again, this is to emphasise that dissertations are a different entity to other forms of assessment, one which stresses the importance of independent, inquiry-based learning. This approach does mean that fitting supervision to a supervisor's specialism is a managed-process, but in all cases, supervisors possess the generic knowledge and skills to offer the support you require to deliver on your dissertation.

h. Issues regarding the nature and quality of supervision

If a student is concerned with the nature and/or quality of the supervision which s/he is receiving, s/he should approach the convenor for POLI30300 and POLI30380. If the convenor is unable to deal with the problem, the student will be referred to the Politics Undergraduate Director.

i. 12th October 2018 Deadline to Submit Topic Form

All students writing politics dissertations should complete and return the Annotated Bibliography & Topic Form at the beginning of this document (pp.2-3) by the specified date to G.001. **This must be submitted in hard copy not via email.**

The form indicates that the student has read and understood the rules governing the dissertation as well as the University's policy on plagiarism, in addition to providing the necessary information in allocating supervisors. Students should provide as much information as possible on their area of interest, so suitable supervisors may be found.

It is the student's responsibility to return the completed form to G.001 by the appropriate date.

j. One of the secrets of writing a successful dissertation: A work schedule and effective time management

Dissertation students should heed the warning of a former student: **"Warn students that the dissertation will take much longer than expected."** A good dissertation requires and develops good time management--a valuable transferable skill. The combination of assessed essays and a dissertation places a premium on effective time management. Since almost all final year taught POLI course units have an assessed essay which is usually due near the end of the teaching semester, a student must make maximum use of the early weeks of both

semesters to work on the dissertation. Students who leave their dissertations until late in the semester will find it difficult, if not impossible, to work on assessed essays and the dissertation simultaneously.

To help each student develop a work schedule or timetable that is appropriate for his/her dissertation and the timing of her/his other academic commitments, the end of this handbook provides a Supervisory Meeting Log. The log should note i) how much progress you have made in your dissertations at different time intervals ii) the agreed date the student will next see her/his supervisor.

While the student remains responsible for managing her/his time effectively and for completing the log for her/his dissertation, the work schedule provides a student with clear guidance about how to organise her/his time to complete the dissertation successfully.

- k. How to achieve a higher mark and how to avoid a lower mark: i) See your supervisor regularly and ii) the importance of revising and re-writing your dissertation

A number of students used the dissertation questionnaire to advise future dissertation students. Here is their advice to you: "Tell every student to see their supervisor regularly." "Pass on to other students the benefits of regular use of supervisor; I know my dissertation was much better because of my supervisor's help."

The quality of a dissertation always suffers when the submitted dissertation (or a part of it) is essentially an unrevised first draft that has not benefited from revision and especially revision in light of a supervisor's comments and suggestions. Also, too frequently, students underestimate the amount of work involved in producing a final polished version of their dissertations that is clearly structured and clearly written. It is unfortunate when the submitted dissertation is an unrevised first draft that the student knows how to improve but was unable to do so because she or he simply lacked the time to revise it.

- l. Begin writing as soon as possible.

It is in a student's interest to begin writing as soon as possible. Early writing of a plan and/or introduction help students clarify the problem to be addressed by the dissertation and therefore focuses a student's research. Early writing also emphasises gaps in information and the argument and therefore underlines what materials a student needs to consult. Each time a student writes a draft of a chapter, the draft will indicate what research remains to be done, what arguments need fuller development, what points need clarification, etc. Finally, early writing will reduce the amount of writing and re-writing needed later on to produce a final polished version.

m. Note-Taking

When taking notes, a student should record the source of information, data, arguments, etc., in case s/he needs to footnote it when writing the dissertation. Unattributed quotations, data, arguments, statistics, etc. detract from the quality of a dissertation and can result in the loss of marks.

n. Writing the dissertation in chapters or sections

Students might find it easier and less daunting to write the dissertation if they think of it as a coherent collection of chapters which are similar to long course essays. For example, the introductory first chapter might be 500-1500 words long and will establish the problem to be addressed, might place the dissertation in its historical or scholarly context, and/or might summarize the argument (or thesis) of the dissertation. After the introduction come 3 to 5 substantive chapters (or sections) of 2000-3500 words; each substantive chapter or section could develop a major point of the argument of the dissertation. Of course, chapters need not be the same length. The conclusion then summarises the thesis and explores the significance of the findings of the dissertation.

The chapters or sections should link together into a coherent argument but should avoid covering the same ground.

o. Length

There is no advantage to be gained from writing an overlong dissertation. Students are strongly advised to consult their tutors at the earliest opportunity if they are having difficulties with excessive length. Marks for a dissertation are essentially awarded for the quality, not the quantity, of the content and for the care evident in the presentation.

In addition, a dissertation that exceeds the maximum length may be penalised by the deduction of marks and/or by the examiners reading only part of the dissertation.

Conversely, markers might wonder whether an overly short dissertation actually reflects the work that a student should have dedicated to a dissertation (about 200 hours for the 20 credit POLI 30380 dissertation and about 400 hours for the 40 credits POLI 30300 dissertation.)

p. Composition of the dissertation

A student should aim for originality. Do not write a dissertation that consists, in whole or in part, of passages derived from books or articles. At best, a dissertation should reflect an original piece of independent-inquiry based research. At the very least, a student is expected to offer an original research question, identify a core/relevant literature and draw it together in a unique way, the opinions and arguments of other authors

using your own words in such a way as to demonstrate that you understand them and to ensure that the dissertation is written in your own style.

q. The purpose of penalising unexcused late submission and of granting extensions

Unexcused late submission of assessed work is penalised in order to avoid the unfair advantaging and disadvantaging of students and also to ensure that staff and external examiners had sufficient time for marking. If a penalty for unexcused late submission were not imposed, students who submitted their work on time would be unfairly disadvantaged, and students who ignored deadlines would be unfairly advantaged. In addition, the convenor for POLI30300 and POLI30380 grants extensions to students who suffer external interference in order to avoid unfairly disadvantaging such students.

r. Extensions

See the Politics Part II guide.

s. Submit two bound copies; and make a 3rd copy for yourself

A student must submit **two** bound copies plus one electronic copy. One copy will be held for a year and you will be able to collect the other copy after the final meeting of the relevant examinations board has confirmed all the marks of the students. You will be sent an email when you are able to collect your copy. Feedback from both markers will be available online through your student services centre when the examination results are released.

t. Binding the dissertation

The requirement that the dissertation be bound is not intended to be a financial burden. Rather dissertations need to be bound so that pages do not go missing and so that dissertations can be stored. Therefore, any method of binding that serves these purposes is acceptable.

u. How the dissertation is marked

POLI30300 and POLI30380 dissertations are first and second marked by a member of staff and by your supervisor in accordance with the double marking rules employed by the politics discipline area. External examiners, usually a member of staff at another university, adjudicate when internal markers cannot agree upon a mark. In addition, external examiners must decide when the internal mark for the dissertation is a borderline case (39, 49, 59, and 69) and must confirm all firsts and fails.

- v. Notification of marks and receiving a copy of the report on your dissertation

The supervisor writes a brief report on the dissertation. This report highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the dissertation and explains the mark awarded. A copy of that report is placed in the student's file so that it is available for future reference.

A student can obtain a copy of the dissertation report through the Student Self-Service System but **only after the marks have been confirmed by the relevant examinations board**. All marks are **provisional** until confirmed by the appropriate external examiner and board of examiners. Therefore, the mark for the dissertation is not official until after the final examiners' meeting. Hence, a student will be notified of the official, final mark for the dissertation when s/he receives notification of all her/his marks.

In order to ensure equal treatment of students, individual supervisors will **not** inform students of their marks. Therefore, students must not ask their supervisors for their marks.

- w. Past dissertations are available on the BB website

Some students find it reassuring to be able to look at politics dissertations from previous years since those actual examples provide another indication of what is involved in researching and writing an undergraduate politics dissertation. These are available on the course website.

12. Supervisory Meeting Log

Note: *POLI30300 Dissertation A (40 credits): 6 x 30 minute meetings (or equivalent). POLI30380 Dissertation B (20 credits): 4 x 30 minute meetings (or equivalent).*

*Detach a hard-copy of this log and bring it to each of your supervisory meetings**

Meeting 1: Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

Meeting 2: Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

Meeting 3 : Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

Meeting 4: Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

Meeting 5 : Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

Meeting 6: Brief Note on Progress

Date of Next Meeting:

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30322 ETHICAL ISSUES IN WORLD POLITICS****Semester: 2****Credits: 20**

Lecturer: Professor Peter Lawler
Room: 4.055 Arthur Lewis Building
Telephone: 0161 275 4529
Email: peter.lawler@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Workshop: Tuesday 14:00-16:50 (Chemistry G.08)

Mode of assessment: Essay of 3,850 words (70%), 3x group learning logs (15%), group presentation (15%).

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*****

Learning Log 1	11.59pm	Monday 4 th February 2019	(Submit via turnitin)
Learning Log 2	11.59pm	Monday 11 th February 2019	(Submit via turnitin)
Learning Log 3	11.59pm	Monday 18 th February 2019	(Submit via turnitin)
Group Presentations		Tuesday 9 th April 2019	(Submit photo via turnitin)
Essay Deadline	2.00 pm	Monday 13 th May 2019	(Submit via turnitin)

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.

POLI 30322: Ethical Issues in World Politics

1. Essential Information

Course Aims

This course involves studying the moral aspects of a variety of principle issues in contemporary world politics. Its main aim is to introduce students to a number of ethical difficulties surrounding identifying and applying ethical principles to aspects of world politics such as war and human rights. We will begin by asking the question if, and to what extent, moral action is possible in international politics. We then go on to analyse key theoretical approaches to the place of ethics in world politics, and then moves to consider specific issues such as war, human rights, torture, relations with non-human species, and the environment.

Learning Outcomes

The objectives of the course are both general and subject specific. By the end of the course, students should attain the subject-specific objectives of an advanced undergraduate level ability to:

- Identify, describe and analyse the conflicts of value and priority within the dominant approaches to ethics in world politics;
- Identify and critically assess the assumptions that underpin specific ethical positions and arguments;
- Outline, compare and evaluate competing understandings of a specific ethical issue;
- Understand and critically engage with the possibilities and limits of universality in world politics;
- Develop your own ethical position as a critical evaluation of both theories and practices of ethics in world politics.

Intellectual and transferable skills

On your CV, these are the skills that have been graded as evidence of their development on the course. They include the ability to:

- Gather, organise and deploy analytical evidence, data and information from a variety of sources;
- Construct well-reasoned arguments, synthesise relevant information and exercise critical judgement;
- Develop reflective improvement through seeking and making use of constructive criticism in the form of feedback;
- Be responsive to and manage differences of opinion self-critically, respectfully and openly*.
- Collaborate successfully with others to achieve a common goal, e.g. through study groups*.
- Critically analyse and disseminate information effectively and fluently in speech and writing*;
- Become a mature, independent learner possessing initiative, self-organisation and time management skills*.

* These skills are specifically assessed through group work.

Course Textbooks

Bell, Duncan (2010) *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Includes further online resources)

Dower, Nigel (2007) *World Ethics: The New Agenda*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press (available as an e-book from the library)

Teaching Methods

The course will be taught on the basis of ten weekly three-hour workshops. These workshops are absolutely central to the learning experience at an advanced undergraduate level and attendance is **compulsory**. *If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a workshop, you should contact the tutor as soon as possible to explain your absence.*

The workshops have been carefully designed as a form of enquiry-based learning (EbL). They provide you with as much opportunity as possible for you to participate, discuss, apply, enhance and problematise your knowledge. The amount of knowledge you will gain from the workshop experience is dependent upon your preparation, willingness to participate and ability to share information. Learning is deep, dynamic, participatory, and a group endeavour including your peers as well as the course convenor. Workshop readings are listed under each subject heading in the course guide. There will be 10 workshop meetings during the year.

- **Each student *must* prepare for every workshop** – questions and tasks have been set in advance.
- You are expected to contribute to the discussions based on wide reading. The weekly essential readings are the *minimum* expected of you and you should be looking to supplement these with additional readings from the extended lists.
- The achievement of learning outcomes wholly relies on your co-operation in preparing the set tasks ready for discussion. If you do not prepare, you will be “free-riding,” contributing nothing to your fellow students and putting at risk the success of the workshop session for everyone.

Study Groups

In the first workshop you will be assigned to a study group. These study groups are an essential dimension of the learning experience on this module and should meet on a weekly basis outside of class. In these meetings you should take the opportunity to reflect on the readings for the module and prepare responses to the specific workshop questions in advance of the session. It is crucial that you arrange a time and place to meet and that you attend these sessions. You will remain in these study groups for both the group poster project and the group learning logs (further instructions for these assessments are provided later in the course handbook).

2. Course Summary and Timetable

Date	Workshop Topic	Assessment Deadlines
29 January	1. Introductory Session	

	Part 1. Theorising ethics in world politics	
5 February	2. Borders/Boundaries as ethical limits: Realism and Communitarianism	Learning Log 1 - 4 Feb 11:59pm
12 February	3. Beyond Borders/Boundaries: Cosmopolitanism	Learning Log 2 – 11 Feb 11:59pm
19 February	4. Anti-foundational ethics beyond inside/outside: Poststructuralism	Learning Log 3 – 18 Feb 11:59pm
	Part 2. Ethical dilemmas in world politics	
26 February	5. Universality: Are Human Rights universal?	
5 March	6. Just War: Can violence be ethical?	
12 March	7. Torture: Is it ever right to (debate) torture?	
19 March	8. Ethics, other species and ecology	
	Group Poster Projects	
2 April	9. Group presentation workshop	
9 April	10. Group presentations	Poster Presentation
13 May		Essay submission

3. Modes of Assessment

The assessment tasks have been carefully designed to provide you with the skills, knowledge, support and feedback you require to succeed at advanced undergraduate level.

Essay (70%)

You must submit a **3,850-word** essay for assessment as 70% of your overall mark. Please respond to ONE of the questions listed below. You must use the exact wording of the question.

It is crucial that the essay contains both a conceptual and empirical dimension. The essay **MUST** therefore draw together material from both Part I and Part II of the course. Critical analysis of the theoretical and conceptual material covered in this course should therefore be grounded within a specific empirical context. It is not enough to provide one at the expense of the other. You are encouraged to discuss your essay with the course convenor before submission.

The essay questions are very broad. You will need to narrow the focus in order to make it answerable within the word count. Essays should have a clear argument, be critical, analytically substantiated, and, of course, well researched. **The minimum required number of sources for the essay is 11 sources outside of course material (includes journal articles, book chapters, government or NGO documents, and books; excludes websites, news articles, blogs, and Wikipedia).**

Questions:

1. "Assertions about the universality of human rights simply deny the reality of those whom it claims to represent and speak for, disclaiming their histories and imposing another's through a hegemonising move" (Kapur 2006: 674). Discuss.
2. Can the resort to war ever be morally justified?
3. Is it ever permissible to (debate) torture?
4. What ethical obligations, if any, do humans have in their relationship with the natural world?

You may write your own question but **ONLY** if the question has been approved by the course convenor via email no later than **20th March 2019**.

Submission of your essay must be completed through *Turnitin* via the POLI30322 Blackboard space.

Word limits. For all assessed work, it is important to comply with the word limit given in the course guide. You may be penalised if your essay is significantly longer or shorter than specified. As a guide, an acceptable variation is 10 percent above or below the word limit.

The bibliography/final list of references that is required for both the Harvard and Chicago referencing styles does not count towards the word limit of an essay/extended essay/dissertation. All footnotes relating to the Chicago style, all references in the text relating to the Harvard style (e.g. Russell, 2012: 3), as well as all other footnote material and quotes, do count toward the word limit.

Referencing in footnotes and the bibliography must conform to University Guidelines (detailed in the Course Unit Guide Part II – available on Blackboard). Marks will be deducted for a failure to comply with these guidelines.

Plagiarism is a serious offence. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can either be found in your programme handbooks or obtained from the UG office (ALB, G.001). The University uses sophisticated plagiarism software (*Turnitin*) that detects all forms of plagiarism, including self-plagiarism. Plagiarism guidance for students can also be accessed via:

<http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=2870>

Feedback on assessed essays will be available through the Student Self-Service System. You will receive summative and formative feedback from the course convenor no later than 15 working days after the submission deadline.

Group Learning Logs (15%)

In Part I (workshops 2-4) of the course you will be required to produce a **one, A4 page** weekly learning log that outlines your study group's reflections on the approach to ethics in world politics covered in that week's workshop. **The mark for the learning logs is a group (not individual) mark.**

Each weekly learning log *must* include the following:

- A list of the distinguishing characteristics of the specific approach(es) to ethics covered in the week's workshop;

- A list of reasons why the approach(es) is relevant to world politics;
- A list of common criticisms of the approach(es).
- A bibliography. The bibliography is not included in the one-page limit.

You will have the opportunity to explain your list in class. The aim of this assignment is to support, develop and enhance your comprehension and analysis of the major approaches to ethics in world politics. It also aims to develop generic skills relating to collaborative work.

Your logs are graded according to your ability to demonstrate:

- A high level of understanding of all the specified reading for the relevant workshop.
- An ability to identify key characteristics of each approach.
- An ability to summarise, with nuance and accuracy, complex key characteristics of each approach in bullet points.
- An ability to articulate the ethical relevance of each approach in bullet points.
- An ability to show how, and to what degree, criticisms undermine specific aspects of each approach.
- An ability to work together as a group to research the approaches covered by the learning logs and engage with literature beyond that which is listed in the course guide.
- A group ability to coordinate and share your efforts, research and insights in order to submit the logs on time.
- Putting into practice your own rules for group work.

Submission of the learning log is through *Turnitin* via the POLI30322 Blackboard space. Penalties will be applied for late submission.

Group Presentations (15%)

In the final workshop of the course your study group must present a **20-minute** presentation supported by PowerPoint (or other software) slides that presents your study group's answer to the question:

Can there be ethics in world politics?

You can choose to address this question in any way you like, and visually represent your material as you wish, but you must draw on at least one **example** AND make use of **theoretical literature** in your presentation. It is extremely unlikely that all members of a study group will agree on this question. You are not, therefore, expected to present a consensus in your presentation. While these points of division may be included in your presentation it is imperative that this remains coherent. Do not forget to answer the question and do not forget to provide a bibliography along with your presentation.

The feedback sheet that will be used for this assignment is reproduced below. You will receive feedback on this assignment within 15 working days of the presentation.

Submission of your group poster must be completed through *Turnitin* via the POLI30322 Blackboard space. Create and upload a pdf document that includes a photograph of your poster, the names of members of your group and includes the bibliography!

You must also create your own rules for ensuring fairness in group work. These must be submitted with learning log 1. The course convenor will apply said rules and penalties, if required.

Ensuring Fairness in Group Work

OPTION 1: Your study group is strongly encouraged to develop its own rules for group work, including penalties. These are the penalties the course convenor will apply, if required.

You might want to include rules on the following:

- How will you create a supportive and friendly study group?
- How will you ensure nobody is excluded from participating? e.g. how will you ensure people who are shy can contribute and feel equally involved?
- Who will email the learning logs to Peter Lawler and submit them on Turnitin by the deadline?
- How often will you meet to work together on the learning logs?
- Where will you meet?
- How will you divide tasks?
- How will the group produce the learning log (i.e. the document for emailing)?
- How will you ensure fairness?
- What will be the penalties (if any) if a member of the group does not do the tasks and work asked of them?
- What will you do in case of illness or mitigating circumstances?

No matter what your rules, the following principle applies: 'Your fair share of work' simply means that you must contribute an equal amount of effort to the best of your ability. It does **not** imply any academic level of achievement. Therefore, your study group's rules will provide no grounds for penalising a member for their contribution because of a judgment that a person is academically weaker than another. ***Your rules do not allow you to pass any academic judgment upon your fellow group members.*** The group tasks evaluate a wide range of skills, only some of which are 'academic'. You all, potentially, bring different strengths to them and the group. Please value them and each other.

OPTION 2: Or, your study group can choose to be bound by the rules set out below.

Each member of a study group will have an equal share of points unless it can be shown that an individual has contributed less. In such cases, the number of points will be decreased to reflect the proportion of work contributed. If you have contributed nothing, you will receive 0 points and therefore a mark of 0% for this assignment.

If a member of your group has not contributed fully and as required, other members of the study group *must* notify the course convenor and an appropriate adjustment to the distribution of the final marks will be made. *You will be penalised if you do not contribute your fair share of work.*

Members of the group must notify the course convenor of anyone not contributing a fair share of work **before** the poster presentation. Adjustments cannot be made after the presentation. You will be asked to provide evidence of lack of work from a group member (e.g. emails). Hearsay is insufficient.

In all cases where someone is being penalised they will be notified immediately.

Note: 'Your fair share of work' simply means that you must contribute an equal amount of effort to the best of one's ability. It does **not** imply any academic level of achievement. Therefore, the rules above provide no grounds for a group being able to penalise a member for their contribution because they think that person is academically weaker than others. The rules above do not allow you to pass any judgement upon your fellow group members. The poster presentation task evaluates a wide range of skills, only some of which are 'academic'. You all, potentially, bring different strengths to the task. Please value them and each other.

Group Presentation Feedback Sheet

Name of students in study group

Peter Lawler

Date

First Marker

Peter Lawler

Agreed Mark

%

The ticked categories do not represent exact marks and are purely indicative. Remember that the internally agreed mark is provisional and subject to moderation until the Examination Boards.

<i>Indicators of poor quality</i>	0-39	40-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-84	85+	<i>Indicators of high quality</i>
No signs of teamwork and co-ordination									Excellent teamwork and co-ordination
No examples/evidence given or used ineffectually									Excellent use of examples and/or other evidence
No awareness of key issues									Firm grasp of key issues
No identification and questioning of key assumptions									Excellent analytical assessment of key assumptions and issues
Argument confused, ineffectual or wholly derivative									Logical and effective argumentation
No or minimal /basic literature referred to									Effective deployment of literature above and beyond the required reading
No obvious structure									Clear and logical structure
Presentation too long/short									20 minutes: perfectly timed.
Slides poorly organised and presented									Slides extremely well designed and presented.
Fails to answer the question									Full and continuous focus on answering the question
Lacks references									Correct and appropriate referencing
Other Comments									

4. Workshops and Reading Lists

This section of the course handbook contains essential information about the content of the weekly workshops. It is critical that you have read all the required reading for each workshop. This is the *minimum* expectation for each session and you are strongly required to read more widely on each topic. As well as individual reading it is strongly encouraged that you meet on a weekly basis with your study group to discuss the readings and prepare responses to the workshop questions which will form the foundations of workshop activities.

Workshop 1: Introduction

In this introductory session we will meet each other, discuss the module format and the key issues that will be covered. We will also make arrangements for the study groups. Please make sure that you have read this handbook in advance as it contains important information that you must be aware of.

The convener will then make a short “warm up” presentation about key terms in moral philosophy to provide a basic introduction to some common terms used in debates about morality and ethics: intentions vs consequences; and cosmopolitanism vs communitarianism. This will be followed by a brief discussion about what the key questions surrounding the notion of ethics ‘and’ world politics are, and we will seek to highlight the problems and concerns that are provoked.

Workshop Questions

- What are the key expectations and requirements of this module?
- Are there reasons to doubt the presence of ethics in world politics?
- In your opinion, what are the main ethical issues and challenges in world politics today?

Workshop 2: Borders/boundaries as ethical limits: Realism and Communitarianism

In this seminar, we will consider two approaches to ethics which, in different ways, focus on the ethical significance of the state (and other forms of community: realism and communitarianism. In doing so, we will explore different ways of framing the relationship between ethics and the state, focusing on the possible limitations and tensions that emerge from such formulations. By the end of this workshop, you should understand the differences between communitarianism and realism and the different values and prospects for ethics in world politics that they suggest.

Workshop Questions

You should each prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- What are the defining features of realist and communitarian approaches to ethics in world politics? What the similarities and distinguishing features of these approaches? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches?
 - *Realism*: Realism is generally held to take a pessimistic view of international politics. What does this mean for realist understandings of the place of morality in international politics? Are realists of like mind when it comes to ethics in international politics?

- *Communitarianism*: To what extent should our membership of national communities or citizenship influence our ethical commitments? What other communal relationships might impact upon our moral reasoning? Does communitarianism eliminate our ethical obligations towards “distant strangers”?
- What is the relationship between the State and ethics?

Required Reading

A. Realism and the ‘National Interest’

Bell, Duncan (ed). (2010), *Ethics and World Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press [Ch. 5 “Political Realism and the Limits of Ethics”]

Morgenthau, Hans J. (1985). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred Knopf [chapter 1: ‘A Realist Theory of International Politics’].

B. Communitarianism and the ‘Moral Standing of States’

Bell, Duncan (ed). (2010), *Ethics and World Politics*, [Ch 7 “Defending Community: Nationalism, Patriotism, and Culture”]

Dower, Nigel (2007) *World Ethics: The New Agenda* (2nd Ed) [Chapter 3 “Internationalism and Communitarianism”] (Available on Blackboard)

Walzer, Michael (1985). ‘The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 9(3): 209-229.

Additional recommended reading

Pin-Fat, Véronique (2010). *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. London: Routledge [chapter 3: ‘Divine universality: Morgenthau, alchemy and the national interest’]. (Available as an e-book)

Pin-Fat, Véronique (2010). *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. London: Routledge [chapter five: ‘Binary universality: Walzer, thinning the thick and fattening up the thin’]. (Available as an e-book)

Rosenthal, Joel (1991) *Righteous Realists: Political Realism, Responsible Power and American Culture in the Nuclear Age*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press (In library HD collection)

Workshop 3: Beyond borders/boundaries: Cosmopolitanism

In this workshop, we will consider cosmopolitan approaches to ethics in world politics. Contrasting with the more *bounded* or statist approaches to ethics described in the previous workshop, you will be encouraged to explore the relative strengths and weaknesses of these putatively more inclusive approaches to ethics in world politics. By the end of this workshop, you should have an understanding of overlaps and divergences between mainstream approaches to international ethics.

Workshop Questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- What are the defining features of a cosmopolitan approach to ethics in world politics?

- Do you find the idea of yourself as a “citizen of the world” meaningful?
- What are the key political implications of a commitment to cosmopolitanism?

Required Reading

Bell, Duncan. 2010. *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 8: ‘Cosmopolitanism’].

Beitz, Charles (1983). ‘Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment’, *Journal of Philosophy* 80(10): 591-600.

Dower, Nigel (2007) *World Ethics: The New Agenda* (2nd Ed) [Chapter 4 “Cosmopolitan Theories”]
On Blackboard

Dower, Nigel (2007) *World Ethics: The New Agenda* (2nd Ed) [Chapter 5 “Cosmopolitanism and Community”] (On Blackboard)

Additional recommended reading

Beitz, Charles (1980). ‘Non-intervention and Communal Integrity’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 9(4): 385-391.

Hayden, Patrick (2009). “Cosmopolitanism Past and Present” in Patrick Hayden (ed) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Ethics and International Relations*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009. (Available as an e-book)

O’Neill, Onora (1993) “Kantian Ethics” in Peter Singer (ed), *A Companion to Ethics*, Oxford, Blackwell pp. 175-185 (In library HD collection)

Pin-Fat, Véronique (2010). *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. London: Routledge [chapter four: ‘Ideal universality: Beitz, reason and the ghost of Houdini’]. (Available as an e-book)

Workshop 4: Anti-foundational ethics beyond inside/outside: Poststructuralism

In this workshop, we will consider poststructural approaches to ethics in world politics which claim to offer a radical alternative to the foundational ethical arguments we have covered on the course so far. In contrast to the other approaches, poststructuralism does not represent a single, coherent position on the question of how we should configure or think ethically about world politics. Instead, it is a diverse tradition which, in IR, draws on the work of thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ludwig Wittgenstein, David Campbell, and Judith Butler. In various ways, they endeavour to destabilise the certitudes upon which much, if not most thinking about ethics depends. In this workshop will explore the significance, possibilities and limitations of anti-foundational approaches to ethics. By the end of this workshop, you should be able to differentiate between and critically engage with foundational and anti-foundational approaches to ethics in world politics.

Workshop Questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- What is an anti-foundational approach to ethics? How is it different to what we’ve studied so far?

- What do you make of the claim made by many poststructuralists that ethics and politics are inseparably intertwined?
- Does the absence of secure foundations eliminate the possibility of acting ethically?
- What are the key criticisms of poststructural approaches?

Required Reading

Bell, Duncan (2010). *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 3: 'Ethics and Post-structuralism'].

Campbell, David (1998). 'Why Fight: Humanitarianism, Principles, and Post-structuralism'. *Millennium* 27(3): 497-521.

Lawler, Peter (2008) "The Ethics of Postmodernism" in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. (Available on Blackboard)

Zehfuss, Maja (2009) "Poststructuralism" in Patrick Hayden (ed) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Ethics and International Relations*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009. (Available as an e-book)

Additional recommended reading

Pin-Fat, Véronique. 2016. "(Im)possible Universalism: Remarks on the Politics and Ethics of Grammar." *E-International Relations*, Last Modified 29 July 2016. <http://www.e-ir.info/2016/07/29/impossible-universalism-remarks-on-the-politics-and-ethics-of-grammar/>.

Fagan, Madelaine (2013) *Ethics and Politics after Poststructuralism: Levinas, Derrida and Nancy*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press (Chapter 1 "Ethics, Politics, Limits") (Available as an e-book)

Workshop 5: Universality: Are Human Rights universal?

'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in the spirit of brotherhood.'

Article 1, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

In this workshop, we will examine the (widely accepted) position that human rights are universal by definition. Focussing on prominent debates around difference, this workshop will encourage you to analytically revisit and apply some of the insights from Section I of the course in order to critically assess the impact of culture, race, religion and gender on the universalising claims of rights talk. By the end of this workshop, you should have a contextually-aware position on the questionable universality of human rights and have adopted an informed position on the applicability of these across cultures.

Workshop Questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- Are human rights universal? What are the dominant approaches to this question and which, if any, do you find most convincing?

- What impact might culture, race, and gender have on the universalising claims of most rights talk?
- Who is the 'human' referred to in 'human rights'?

Required Reading

- Bell, Duncan (2010). *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 13: 'Human Rights'].
- Fernandez, Sonya (2009). The crusade over the bodies of women. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43(3-4), 269-286. (Available on blackboard)
- Kapur, Ratna (2006). Human rights in the 21st century: take a walk on the dark side, *Sydney Law Review*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2006, 665-87. (Available on blackboard)
- Langlois, Anthony J. (2009). "Human Rights Universalism." In *The Ashgate Companion to Ethics and International Relations*, ed. Patrick Hayden. Surrey: Ashgate. (available as an e-book)

Additional Recommended reading

- Donnelly, Jack. 2007. "The Relative Universality of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 29(2):281-306. (available online)

Workshop 6: Just War: Can violence ever be ethically justified?

War remains a crucial instrument in contemporary foreign policy. Interestingly, the durability of warfare is because of, and not in spite of, its long-standing relationship with ethics. In the post-Cold War era we have witnessed a widespread consensus amongst a disparate coalition of non-governmental organisations, just war theorists, international lawyers, human rights activists, and state militaries that war can play a crucial role in realising ethical outcomes in world politics. Indeed, it seems increasingly to be widely believed that if you are serious about ethics then you must come to embrace war to some extent at least. In this workshop, we will examine a range of approaches to the increasingly intimate relationship between the martial and the ethical. From just war theorists, who attempt to place restraints on both the recourse to (*jus ad bellum*) and conduct within (*jus in bello*) war, to pacifists, who largely maintain an absolute prohibition on armed conflict, by the end of this workshop you should have developed your opinion on how we can approach the issue of realising ethical outcomes through violence and the challenges and tensions that arise from such an enterprise.

Workshop Questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- Is there such a thing as 'just' war? What might make recourse to war justifiable?
- Is *how* a war is fought of ethical significance?
- What is the political significance of describing a war as 'just'?
- Does a commitment to ethics entail a commitment to war?
- What are the key ethical challenges and tensions that emerge from the practice of warfare?

Required Reading

Bell, Duncan (2010). *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 16: 'The Ethics of War: Just War Tradition'].

Bell, Duncan (2010). *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 16: 'The Ethics of War: Critical Alternatives'].

Johnson, JM. (2016) 'Beyond a politics of recrimination: Scandal, ethics and the rehabilitation of violence', *European Journal of International Relations* [Online first]. (Available on blackboard)

And choose ONE article from below

Just War Theory

Open Letter (2002). 'What We're Fighting For: A Letter from America', available at:

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/justwar_letter020102.html.

Realism

Mearsheimer, John J. (2005). 'Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism vs Neo-conservatism', *Open Democracy*, available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-americanpower/morgenthau_2522.jsp.

Feminism

Sjoberg, Laura (2008). 'Why Just War needs Feminism now more than ever', *International Politics* 45(1): 1-18.

Pacifism

May, Larry (2011). 'Contingent Pacifism and the Moral Risks of Participating in War', *Public Affairs Quarterly* 25(2): 95-111.

Poststructuralism

Zehfuss, Maja (2012). 'Killing Civilians: Thinking the Practice of War', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14(3): 423-440.

Workshop 7: Torture: Is it right to (debate) torture?

'[I]n a way, essays ... which do not advocate torture outright, [but] simply introduce it as a legitimate topic of debate, are even more dangerous than an explicit endorsement of torture: while – for the moment, at least – an explicit endorsement would be too shocking and therefore rejected, the mere introduction of torture as a legitimate topic allows us to entertain the idea while retaining a pure conscience ('Of course I'm against torture – whom does it hurt if we simply discuss it!'). Such legitimisation of torture as a topic of debate changes the background of ideological presuppositions and options much more radically than its outright advocacy: it changes the entire field while, without this change, outright advocacy remains an idiosyncratic view. The problem here is that of fundamental ethical presuppositions: of course you can legitimise torture in terms of short-term gain (saving hundreds of lives) – but what about the long-term consequences for our symbolic universe? Where do we stop?'

Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, pp.103-104

In this workshop we will explore the ethical arguments about the (im)permissibility of torture. Situated within the context of recent debates about the role of torture (or 'enhanced interrogation') in the global 'war on terror', this workshop will explore the arguments of proponents and critics of torture and the ethico-political significance of thought experiments such

as the 'ticking time bomb'. As well as exploring these interventions, this workshop will also consider the important question of whether it is even permissible to stage debates about the permissibility of torture. The ultimate aim of the workshop is therefore to call into question the legitimacy of the workshop itself!

Workshop Questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- Can there be an ethical defence of torture?
- Can there be an ethical defence of *debating* torture? What dangers, if any, are there in raising torture as a topic of debate? Might you want to limit how torture is discussed, if at all?
- What should a workshop on torture legitimately include in your opinion? What would be your view if I, or a member of the seminar, showed pictures of the abuse at Guantanamo Bay or Abu Ghraib, for example? Would you find it morally objectionable?

Required Reading

Adelman, R.A. (2014). 'Atrocity and Aporiae: Teaching the Abu Ghraib Images, Teaching Against Transparency', *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies* 14(1): 29-39.

Blakeley, Ruth (2007). 'Why Torture?' *Review of International Studies* 33(3): 373-394. (available on Blackboard)

Dauphinée, E., (2007). 'The politics of the body in pain: Reading the ethics of imagery'. *Security Dialogue*, 38(2): 139-155.

Lukes, Steven (2005). 'Liberal Democratic Torture', *British Journal of Political Science* 36(1): 1-16.

Additional recommended reading

Keating, V. C. (2014). Contesting the international illegitimacy of torture: The Bush administration's failure to legitimate its preferences within international society. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 16(1), 1-27

Miller, P. (2011). Torture approval in comparative perspective. *Human Rights Review*, 12(4), 441-463

Newbery, S. (2013). Terrorism, torture and intelligence. *International Politics*, 50(4), 512-531

Williams, Howard (2010). The torture convention, rendition and Kant's critique of 'pseudo-politics'. *Review of International Studies*, 36, pp 195-214

Van Veen, Elspeth (2010) Captured by the camera's eye: Guantánamo and the shifting frame of the Global War on Terror. *Review of International Studies*, Available on CJO 2010

Workshop 8: Ethics, Other Species, and Ecology: challenging the centrality of the human species

In many senses, one can summarise concerns with ethics in world politics as an engagement with the politics of the human. The first part of the course has looked at theoretical pictures of the human subject, whilst the second has sought to illustrate how these pictures of 'the human' affect global political practice. Yet, however we wish to define or deconstruct the 'human' or 'humanity', what about the relationship between our conceptions of or doubts about humans/humanity and the non-human world? In this workshop we will consider the question of ethics against the backdrop of a widely-acknowledged environmental/ecological crisis and the context of a multi-species world. Humans share the planet with other species whom they variously dislike, fear, adore, eat, kill, mistreat, or breed in large numbers to satisfy a range of entirely human species-needs. How might non-human species problematise our ethical landscape(s)? The sheer force of human dominance has led some to argue that we live in a unique human-influenced geologic time period: the Anthropocene. What issues might this raise regarding ethics? How might the debates around the ethical dimensions of intra-species life intersect with the ethical dimensions of species existence in a global natural environment and inter-species ethics?

Workshop questions

You must prepare answers to the following questions in advance of the workshop:

- Do non-human species have rights? If not, why not? If so, how are they to be articulated and by whom?
- How might variations in human culture(s) intersect with understanding of the rights of other species?
- What ethical issues does the human relationship with the environment raise?
- Is human responsibility for protection of the environment transcultural, i.e. equally shared by all regardless of self-identification, or cultural and/or geographical location?
- Do natural objects (trees, rocks, rivers, etc) have "moral standing"?

Required reading

- Bell, Duncan (2010). *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [chapter 10 "Green Political Theory"]
- Elliot, Robert (1993) "Environmental Ethics" in Peter Singer (ed), *A Companion to Ethics*, Oxford, Blackwell pp. 284-293. (In library HD collection)
- Villanueva, Gonzalo (2018) "Against Animal Liberation? Peter Singer and his Critics", *Sophia*, 57(1), pp. 5-19 (On blackboard)

Recommended additional reading

- Babcock, Hope M. (2016) "A Brook with Legal Rights: The Rights of Nature in Court", *Ecology Law Quarterly*. 43(1), pp.1-51.
- Hardin, Garrett (1968) 'The Tragedy of the Commons', *Science* 162:3859, pp. 1243-1248
- Malpass, Alice *et.al.* (2007) 'Globalising the consumer: Doing Politics in an Ethical Register', *Political Geography* 26(3), pp. 231-249

O'Neil, Kate (2009) *The Environment and International Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) [Introduction]

Singer Peter (2011) "Equality for Animals", in Peter Singer, *Practical Ethics* (3rd ed), pp. 48-70 (see also Chapter 5 "Taking Life: Animals")

Workshop 9: Group Presentation Workshop

In this workshop you will work in your study groups to prepare for the group presentations. All presentations must be supported by a PowerPoint (or other slide software) presentation. You will be encouraged to speak to the course convenor to receive additional guidance and feedback on the presentation.

Workshop 10: Group Presentations

In this workshop each study group will make a 20-minute presentation, supported by PowerPoint (or other slide software). You must bring the presentation on a USB stick along with a copy of the associated bibliography with you. Remember the time allocated is like an essay word limit – too brief or too long a presentation may attract a penalty!

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI30362: Political Ideologies in Modern Britain
2018-19 semester 2
Credit rating: 20

Lecturer and tutor: Kevin Morgan
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.056
Telephone: 0161-275-4907
Email: Kevin.morgan@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tues 12-1, Weds 11-12
 Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>
Lectures: Williamson Building G47, Tues 10-12
Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment: Assessed essay (1) of 2,800 words (40% of final mark). Assessed essay (2) of 3,500 words (50% of final mark). Tutorial participation (10% of final mark).

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

Administrator: Luke Smith, luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk 0161 306 6906 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

The deadline for the first assessed essay is **Monday 25 March 2019**
 The deadline for the second assessed essay is **Wednesday 15 May 2019**

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

Examination period: 15.05.2019 - 05.06.2019
Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 - 30.08.2019

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Scope of the course

The course provides an introduction to the concept of ideology and the articulation of political ideas in Britain from the late nineteenth century to the present. Specific ideological formations discussed include liberalism; fabianism; conservatism; labour socialism; fascism; communism; revisionism; new left and new right. In each case, key texts and exponents are identified as representing key features of these bodies of ideas. Key themes addressed include attitudes to the state and the market; to competing conceptions of political authority; to values of freedom, equality and social justice; to constructions of the nation and its enemies; and to the role of social or political agency. By locating different ideological formations in their specific development, the module also provides a historical narrative of political ideas in modern Britain. Concluding with the years that lead from Blair to Brexit, this will allow us to reflect on claims that Britain has now become a post-ideological society, and assess how far configurations of left and right established at the end of the nineteenth century have now run their course.

Aims of the course

- To introduce students to selected key movements, ideas, concepts and personalities in British politics and assist the development of a knowledge and understanding of their significance and inter-relationship with each other
- To encourage students to develop powers of critical, analytical thinking and the ability to construct logical arguments regarding the role of ideology and of distinct party traditions in modern Britain.

Objectives of the course

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

- Demonstrate a good understanding of the concept of ideology and express themselves in coursework and written assignments.
- Recognise, deconstruct and assess the arguments of significant political movements and thinkers.
- Analyse and organise secondary data about British political movements and demonstrate appropriate organisational and communication skills in the handling of this data.
- Make critical and effective use of contested political literatures and concepts, and show familiarity where appropriate with original texts and sources as well as secondary sources.
- Engage with the challenges involved in the successful articulation of ideas and values in changing political contexts
- Assess the significance of transnational influences in the construction of political ideology

Course organisation

There will be weekly lectures and tutorials as outlined in the programme on p. 7. Lecture slides will be made accessible via Blackboard in advance of the lecture, and for each topic there will be made available topic guidelines covering both tutorial and essay preparation.

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
- 50 hours for seminar preparation (5 hours of reading and preparation for each of 10 substantive seminars)
- 120 hours to research and write the 2 assessed essays

Assessment of work

Assessment is by (i) two assessed essays, the first of 2,800 words and counting for 40 per cent of the final mark, the second of 3,500 words and counting for 50 per cent of the final mark; and (ii) tutorial participation, counting for 10 per cent of the final mark.

The **assessed essay** questions are provided immediately below. The nine questions broadly correspond to the course's nine weekly topics, and guidance will be provided

regarding both the general requirements of the assessment and each of the specific topics. Essays should draw upon the lectures and course readings and will be assessed accordingly.

Guidance on **tutorial preparation and participation** will be provided separately, and marks will be awarded on the basis of the University's standard expectations as outlined above. If you have good reason for missing or being unable to prepare for a tutorial, it is important that you let me know in good time.

2018-19 assessed essay questions

- For your first assessed essay you must choose a question from sections one or two.
- For your second essay you may choose a question from any section.
- But you must not choose both of your essay questions from the same section.
- Formative feedback on your first essay will be provided in good time to assist you with the second and longer essay.
- For all these reasons, you are strongly advised to give preliminary consideration to your choice of both essay topics before beginning work on the first of them.

Section One (first or second assessed essay)

1. Did the 'new' liberalism represent the abandonment of traditional liberal principles, as some liberal critics alleged?
2. Norman Mackenzie described Fabianism as a 'middle-class, quasi-scientific, technocratic or managerial form of collectivism very different from the ambiguities of social democracy' Was he right?
3. Do Conservative responses to the rise of mass democracy demonstrate the 'adaptability' (Freedman) of Conservative ideology? You may discuss with primary reference to *either* (i) 'the crisis of Conservatism' (1880-1914) *or* (ii) Baldwin and the inter-war years.

Section Two (first or second assessed essay)

4. Was Mosley justified in describing the fascism of the BUF as a new political synthesis that drew on the left as well as the right?
5. Is the attraction of so many British socialists to the USSR best explained by Draper's idea of the 'two souls' of socialism? Discuss with reference to at least *two* specific examples from the period 1917-56.
6. How important (if at all) was socialist ideology in the ideals and achievements of Attlee's Labour Party?

Section Three (second assessed essay only)

7. Did revisionism and the new left in their different ways both signify the exhaustion of traditional socialist ideology?
8. Why did Thatcher's conservative critics regard her as ideologically alien to the Conservative Party? Were they right to believe this?
9. The original forecasts of the end of ideology were not wrong, they were merely premature. Discuss this assessment of the end-of-ideology thesis with particular reference to British politics since Blair.

Essay submission procedure and statement on plagiarism

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.

Extensions: The Politics statement specifying criteria for granting extensions for assessed work is available from the Undergraduate Office.

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. There are no discretionary periods or periods of grace.** A student who submits work 1 second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission. Unless a student has this permission, any assessed essay that is submitted after the relevant exam, will be marked as 0.

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.

2018-19 lecture and tutorial programme

Attendance at tutorials is compulsory. You are expected to make every effort to attend tutorials on this course and prepare for the tutorial by reading the recommended readings, using alternatives from those suggested if for any reason you have difficulty in accessing these.

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 for non-attendance.

Lectures take place each Tuesday 10-12, Williamson Building G47. Lecture slides and topic guidelines will be made accessible on Blackboard in advance of the lecture.

Week 1 INTRODUCTION TO COURSE

29 Jan. Studying ideologies
Introduction to basic concepts and course organisation

Weeks 2-4 THE AGE OF THE MASSES?

5 Feb. Liberalism: from individualism to collectivism
12 Feb. The socialist challenge
19 Feb. Conservatism and mass democracy: a case of adaptability?

Weeks 5-7 AN AGE OF EXTREMES?

26 Feb. Fascism: reactionary modernism?
5 Mar. Communism and the new civilisation
12 Mar. Labour's road to 1945

Weeks 8-10 THE END OF IDEOLOGY?

19 Mar. The end of ideology? (i) The left in an age of affluence
26 Mar. Neo-Conservatism, neo-liberalism and the new right
2 April The end of ideology? (ii) 'endism', populism and the persistence of ideology.
30 Apr Overview

Tutorial and essay preparation: weekly topic guides

There is a wealth of literature available for this course and you will be given extensive reading suggestions to draw upon in assessed work. These will mainly be provided in the form of a weekly topic guide, available on Blackboard at least a week in advance of the relevant topic, which will be your principal point of reference for both class and essay preparation. The material in each case is organised under the following headings.

1. Questions

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

2. Required readings

Required readings for tutorial preparation, which should be readily accessible electronically.

3. Alternative key readings

Further items directly supporting the lecture, which can also be used in the case of any difficulty in accessing the required readings.

4. Further recommended readings

For selective use in essay preparation, you are provided with extensive alternative recommended readings ranging from polemical articles to fully documented monographs

5. Essay preparation

The course seeks to avoid as far as possible an overly 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 each case.

General guidance on reading

One course objective 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.

Because these sources vary so widely, there is not attempt to 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. If you are in any doubt as to the level of reading required for the assessed essays, by all means let me see a provisional bibliography and I will be happy to provide feedback.

Please note: do be prepared to make full use of the library's resources including the many materials still not yet available in electronic form. The materials most commonly used will normally be in the High Demand collection. If you do have difficulty getting hold of materials, and need advice as to reading materials for your essay, please let me know at the first opportunity.

Introductory texts

There are many general texts on ideologies and ideologies, and some of these will be indicated in the first week of the course. However, there is no single text that covers the themes to be discussed in a specifically British context. **Robert Eccleshall et al (eds), *Political Ideologies: an introduction* (2003 edn)** provides a useful introduction to the key ideologies discussed and does draw quite heavily on British examples. This is probably the best starting point for more extensive reading and the essays in the book have helpful reading suggestions. **Michael Freeden, *Ideology: a very short introduction*** also provides a useful starting point. Both texts are available as e-books through the library catalogue. (NB: there are also later editions of the *Political Ideologies* collection, but the 2003 edition is the most useful to us. There is also a very basic text, **Robert Leach (1996 edn), *British Political Ideologies*** which has chapters on liberalism (ch 3), conservatism (ch 4) and labourism/socialism (ch 5) which can serve as an accessible introduction within a specifically British context. There is also a second edition (2009) available in paperback. However, this is a very basic text and can only be used as a starting point. More stimulating is **Rodney Barker (1997 edn) *Political Ideas in Modern Britain***, which is very readable and has some brief discussion of many of the figures we will be discussing in the course. However, it ranges very widely and is difficult to use as a textbook – and is also, unfortunately, not in print.

Works of reference

An indispensable work of reference is the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessible through the library's list of databases (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/>). This has entries on most of the key figures discussed in the course. Many are short and can be used for background and context; others are substantial scholarly essays, and some will be singled out in the recommended readings.

Original materials

The university library also holds original texts and edited collections, some of which will be highlighted in the weekly topic guides or made available digitally. Manchester has other rich collections of contemporary pamphlet and periodical materials including the **Labour History Study and Archives Centre** (<http://82.71.77.169/archive.htm>) and the **Working Class Movement Library** in Salford (<http://www.wcml.org.uk/>). There is no requirement to use these collections, but students who have done so have found the staff extremely helpful.

Summary reading guide

The following selections will allow you to make a start on any of the course topics. However, for essay preparation please be sure to consult the more extensive reading suggestion provided in the weekly topic guides.

Week two

Liberalism: from individualism to collectivism

- Stefan Collini (1979), *Liberalism and sociology : L.T. Hobhouse and political argument in England, 1880-1914*, esp. ch. 4 'New Liberal theorist'
- Michael Freeden (1996), *Ideologies and Political Theory: a conceptual approach*, chs 4-5
- Michael Freeden (1978), *The new liberalism : an ideology of social reform*, esp. ch. 4 'The nature of Liberal social reform'
- Harold Perkin (1977), 'Individualism versus collectivism in the nineteenth century Britain: a false antithesis?', *Journal of British Studies*, 1977, pp. 105-18
- John M. Robson (1968), *The improvement of mankind : the social and political thought of John Stuart Mill*, ch. 7: 'Mill's views on society and politics'
- Peter Weiler (1972), 'The New Liberalism of L.T. Hobhouse', *Victorian Studies*, 16, 2, 141-67
- Peter Weiler (1982) *The new liberalism : liberal social theory in Great Britain 1889-1914*

Week three

The socialist challenge

- Mark Bevir (2002), 'Sidney Webb: utilitarianism, positivism and social democracy', *Journal of Modern History*, 74, pp. 217-52.
- G.W. Foote (1985, new edn 1997), *The Labour Party's Political Thought*, ch. 2
- Eric Hobsbawm (1964), 'The Fabians reconsidered' in *Labouring Men. Studies in the history of Labour*
- A.M. McBriar (1962) *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884-1918* (still a standard account: chs 1-5 and esp ch 6 are good for Fabian ideas)
- Kevin Morgan, *The Webbs and Soviet Communism* (2006), ch 1-2, 4-5
- R.H. Tawney (1953), *The Webbs in perspective*.
- J.M. Winter (1974) *Socialism and the Challenge of War. Ideas and politics in Britain 1912-18*, ch. 2, pp. 29-68: 'The Webbs' approach to socialism'.
- Willard Wolfe (1975) *From Radicalism to Socialism. Men and ideas in the formation of Fabian socialism*, ch. 8

Week four

Conservatism and mass democracy: a case of adaptability?

- Robert Eccleshall (1977), 'English Conservatism as Ideology', *Political Studies*, 25, 1, pp. 62-83
- John D. Fair and John A. Hutcheson Jr (1987), 'British Conservatism in the twentieth century: an emerging ideological tradition', *Albion*, 19, 4, 549-78

- E.H.H. Green (1991), 'The strange death of Tory England', *Twentieth Century British History*, 2, 1, pp. 67-88.
- W.H. Greenleaf (1973), 'The character of modern British Conservatism' in Benewick, Berki & Parekh, eds, *Knowledge and Belief in Politics: the problem of ideology*
- David Jarvis (1996), 'British Conservatism and Class Politics in the 1920s', *English Historical Review*, 111, 440, 59-84
- Ross McKibbin (1990), 'Class and conventional wisdom: the Conservative Party and the "public" in inter-war Britain' in McKibbin, *Ideologies of Class*, ch 8
- Andrew Taylor (2005), 'Stanley Baldwin, heresthetics and the realignment of British politics', *British Journal of Political Science*, 35, 429-63

Week five

Fascism: reactionary modernism?

- Robert Benewick (1972), *The Fascist Movement in Britain*, esp. ch. 7: 'British fascist ideology'
- Philip Coupland (1998), 'The blackshirted utopians', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33, pp. 255-72
- Stephen Cullen (1987), 'The development of the ideas and policy of the British Union of Fascists, 1932-40', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 22, pp. 115-36
- Julie V. Gottlieb (2000), *Feminism Fascism: women in Britain's fascist movement 1923-1945*, esp. ch. 3: 'The ideology of feminine fascism'.
- D.S. Lewis, *Illusions of Grandeur: Mosley, fascism and British society 1931-81*, esp. ch. 2: 'Corporatism: the philosophy and programme of the BUF'
- Thomas Linehan (2000), *British fascism 1918-39: parties, ideologies and culture*
- Neill Nugent (1977), 'The ideas of the BUF' in Neill Nugent and Roger King, eds, *The British Right*

Week six

Communism and the new civilisation

- Andrew Thorpe (1998), 'Stalinism and British politics', *History*, 83, pp. 608-27.
- Bill Jones (1977), *The Russian Complex*, chs 1-2.
- Kevin Morgan (2006), *The Webbs and Soviet Communism: Bolshevism and the British left part 2*, chs 7-10
- Kevin Morgan (2013), 'Class cohesion and trade union internationalism; Fred Bramley, the British TUC and the Anglo-Russian Advisory Council', *International Review of Social History*, 58, 3, 429-61
- John Callaghan (1990), *Socialism in Britain since 1889*: ch. 7: 'The impact of the Bolshevik revolution'.
- Royden Harrison (1987), 'Sidney and Beatrice Webb' in Carl Levy, ed., *Socialism and the intelligentsia 1880-1914*.
- P. Deli (1985) 'The image of the Russian purges in the *Daily Herald* and the *New Statesman*', *Journal of Contemporary History* 20, 261-82.
- Barbara Drake (1949), 'The Webbs and Soviet Communism' in M. Cole, *The Webbs and their work*

Week seven

Labour's road to 1945

- Stephen Brooke (1989), 'Revisionists and fundamentalists. The Labour Party and economic policy during the Second World War', *Historical Journal* 32, 157-75.
- John Callaghan (1990) *Socialism in Britain since 1889*, chs 9-10
- Elizabeth Durbin (1985) *New Jerusalem. The Labour Party and the Politics of Democratic Socialism*, pts 2-3.
- Steven Fielding (1992) 'Labourism in the 1940s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 3, 2, 138-53.
- Martin Francis (1995) 'Economics and ethics. The nature of Labour's socialism 1945-51', *Twentieth Century British History* 6, 220-43.
- Ben Jackson, *Equality and the British Left. A study in progressive thought, 1900-64*.
- Jim Tomlinson (1992), 'Planning: debate and policy in the 1940s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 3, pp. 154-74;

Week eight

The end of ideology? (i) The left in an age of affluence

- C.A.R. Crosland (1956), *The Future of Socialism*
- Madeleine Davis (2006), 'The Marxism of the British New Left', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11, 3, 335-58
- Madeleine Davis (2013), 'Reappraising British socialist humanism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 18 (1) pp. 1-25
- Radhika Desai (1994) *Intellectuals and Socialism. 'Social Democrats' and the Labour Party*, chs 4-5
- G.W. Foote (1985, new edn 1997), *The Labour Party's Political Thought*, part 4.
- Martin Francis (1997) 'Mr Gaitskell's Ganymede? Reassessing Crosland's *The Future of Socialism*', *Contemporary British History*, 11, 2.
- Ben Jackson (2007), *Equality and the British Left*, chs 5-7

Week nine

Neo-Conservatism, neo-liberalism and the new right

- Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (eds) (2012), *Making Thatcher's Britain* (see esp. the chapters by Saunders, for Thatcherism as ideology; and Jackson, for Thatcherism and neo-liberalism)
- Robert Eccleshall (2000), 'The doing of British Conservatism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 5, 3, 275-287
- Andrew Gamble (1994), *The Free Economy & the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*, esp. ch. 2: 'The new right'
- E.H.H. Green (2001), 'Thatcherism: a historical perspective' in Green, *Ideologies of Conservatism*, ch. 8
- Stuart Hall (1988), *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the crisis of the left*
- Bob Jessop et al (1984), 'Authoritarian populism, two nations and Thatcherism', *New Left Review*, 147, 32-60

- Rachel S. Turner (2007), 'The "rebirth of liberalism": the origins of neo-liberal ideology', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 12, 1, 67-83

Week ten

The end of ideology? (ii) 'endism', populism and the persistence of ideology

- Tim Bale (2011). *The Conservative Party from Thatcher to Cameron*, ch. 7: 'The Politics of And'.
- Mark Bevir (2000), 'New Labour: a study in ideology', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 2, 3, pp. 277-301
- Stephen Evans, 'Consigning its Past to History? David Cameron and the Conservative Party', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 2, pp. 291–314, Feb. 2008.
- Michael Freeden (2005), 'Confronting the chimera of a 'post-ideological' age', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8, 2, 247-62
- Matthew Lakin & Marius S. Ostrowski (2014) 'Ideology in the age of the coalition: the strange rebirth of British centrism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 19:1, 15-40
- Gayil Talshir (2005), 'The phoenix of ideology', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8, 2, Pages 107-124
- Andrew Gamble (2000), *Politics and Fate*, ch. 2: 'The end of history'

POLI30452 Politics of Hate 2018-2019

Convenor: Prof. Angelia Wilson **Office: ALB 4.014** **Twitter: AngeliaWilson89**
Telephone: 0161 275 4766 **Email: a.r.wilson@manchester.ac.uk**
Office Hours: **Monday 3.00-4.00** **Wednesday 9.30-10.30**
For alternatives, email for an appointment

The content of the course has three key elements. First, the course material considers the theoretical constructions of hate associated with oppositional politics. This includes, for example, the political construction of 'enemies' and 'allies' as well as the role of identity, religion and ideological fundamentalisms as political grounding for hate. Second, it will involve cultivating an awareness of political strategies, such as framing, rhetoric, synthetic personalization, the role of political and movement elites, etc. Third, the course will focus on case studies of recent political issues. Student assessments must incorporate all three elements of the course.

Mode of assessment:

60% Essay 4,000 words – analytical frames applied to case studies

40% Projects: 2 projects @ 20% each 750 words – understanding the analytical frames

Don't Panic! We will talk through the Essay and the Projects so you are clear about the criteria and the questions.

Lectures Monday 10-12

Tutorials Monday 12-1;1-2;2-3 (one hour tutorial for each student)

Analytical Frames

Session 1	Jan. 28	Introduction to Course	
Session 2	Feb. 4	Psychology of Hate	
Session 3	Feb. 11	Constructing Enemies and Allies	
Session 4	Feb. 18	Hate as Political Strategy	Project 1 Due Feb 19th
Session 5	Feb. 25	Discourse as Strategy	
Session 6	March 4	Ethics of Hate	Project 2 Due March 5th

Case Studies

Session 7	March 11	Nationalism & Patriotism	
Session 8	March 18	US Religion & Politics	
Session 9	March 25	Northern Ireland & the power of the DUP**	
Session 10	April 1	#metoo: hating women, hating men	
Session 11	April 29	Hate: Possible Futures	Essay Due: May 13th

****This session have a special guest speakers for the first hour:**

March 25th Prof. Jonathan Tonge, expert on Northern Ireland and the DUP

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

Communication: Students must read their University **e-mails** regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way. In addition, reading and news about the course will be updated on Blackboard throughout the course. Students should check the course Blackboard page twice per week.

The content of this course is designed for third years to bring together various aspects of the discipline of politics. For example, you will be asked to think about political communication, political cultures, political history, foreign policy, political morality and policy analysis. However, the primary focus of the course is ethics, ideology and power. So while you are thinking about issues in contemporary politics, these three themes are essential points of understanding the material and will be essential elements of assessment.

ATTENDANCE: ALL students are expected to attend all lectures & tutorials. All students are expected to complete ALL of the required reading for each lecture and tutorial.

REQUIRED READING You will find required readings on BlackBoard in advance weekly - **only**. This to ensure the course can react to contemporary issues in politics and be relevant and engaging for students. In addition, a list of Related Reading will be placed on Blackboard to supplement reading in each topic. You will also find all assessments and related material on Blackboard as the course progresses.

ASSESSMENT: Details regarding assessment - essays and projects – **will be provided during class and available on Blackboard**. For policies regarding essay submission, extensions, bibliography, etc **YOU MUST CONSULT Politics Course Guide 2**. All assessments are submitted online via **turnitin**.

All students are expected:

- 1. to attend each session – attendance will be taken at the beginning of each session;**
- 2. to read ALL relevant required reading BEFORE each session;**
- 3. to participate verbally in class each week and in themed blackboard discussion groups;**
- 4. to show respect for the beliefs of others in accordance with university non-discrimination and diversity policies and in the spirit of academic inquiry.**

Those unwilling or unable to do the above, except in cases formally presented as mitigating circumstance to the course convener, will find that their assessment and enjoyment of the course will suffer.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI30461
Power, Space and Popular Culture: Thinking Critically about Geopolitics
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Dr Martin Coward
Room: ALB 4.030
Telephone: 0161 275 1281
Email: martin.coward@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: Monday, 3-5, Roscoe 1.010

Tutorials: Monday 10-1, please see your timetable for specific time/place

Mode of assessment: 2 Essays (see below)

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 dates:

Essay 1 (2500 words, 40%) – 2pm, Monday 1st November 2018

Essay 2 (3000 words (60%) – 2pm, Monday 14th January 2019

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

COURSE OUTLINE, AIMS AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

This course examines geopolitics – the relationship between politics, power and geography. Geopolitics comprises representations and interpretations of the relation between power and space. Critical scholars have argued that geopolitical concepts should be seen as ‘imagined geographies’. Such imagined geographies are as much a product of popular culture as they are of scholarly texts. While popular geopolitics (films, novels, etc) are different to scholarly geopolitics, they are both, nonetheless, imagined geographies that represent the spaces and powers of geopolitical forces and actors. The course will examine a number of different geopolitical representations in a variety of media: scholarly texts, policy documents, military doctrines, film, television, novels, and comics to name a few.

The course has two interrelated strands. First, the course examines how meaning is constructed in visual and other media. How do we read texts, pictures, films, novels as representations or discourses that produce particular imagined geographies? The course thus attempts to think critically about the resources one needs to read the geopolitical representations found in various media. Second, the course outlines the main trends in geopolitical thinking from the late 19th century to the contemporary era. Classical geopolitics imagined the world to be made up of territorial states competing for scarce resources, basing its theories on quasi-scientific analogies with biological organisms and Darwinian ideas. More recent military geopolitical understandings of the war on terror have represented the world as a post-territorial order in which non-state actors are the principle threat. Popular geopolitics meanwhile has drawn on apocalyptic imagery in order to imagine the ways in which urbanisation, overpopulation and fragile ecologies might interact. The aim is to examine the politics of geopolitical representations of the relation between space and power both historically and in the contemporary era.

This course aims to

- Equip students to critically investigate geopolitical discourses and representations.
- To give students good grounding in trends in geopolitical thinking from classical geopolitics to the geopolitics of the war on terror.
- To understand how a variety of media (scholarly texts, policy documents, military doctrine, films, television, comics) represent the relationship of power and space in imagined geographies.

On completion of this course successful students should be able to

- Explain the key assumptions and conceptual propositions of classical geopolitics.
- Understand critical approaches to geopolitics.
- Show the way in which representations and discourse are constitutive of imagined geographies of global politics.
- Understand visual and discursive methods in the study of global politics
- Interrogate key texts and concepts
- Construct, critique and defend arguments.

TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

Week	Week beginning	Lecture Topics	Tutorial Topics	Notes
1	24/09/2018	1. Introduction: geopolitics, imagined geographies and architectures of enmity	NO TUTORIAL	
2	01/10/2018	2. Formal, Practical and Popular: analysing geopolitical discourse	1. Introduction	
3	08/10/2018	3. Classical geopolitics	2. Geopolitical discourse	
4	15/10/2018	4. Critical geopolitics	3. Classical geopolitics	
5	22/10/2018	5. Popular geopolitics	4. Critical geopolitics	
6	29/10/2018	READING WEEK - NO LECTURE	NO TUTORIAL	
7	05/11/2018	6. Geopolitics of imperialism and colonialism	5. Popular geopolitics	1 st Essay Due 05/11/18
8	12/11/2018	7. Geopolitics of globalisation	6. Geopolitics of imperialism and colonialism	
9	19/11/2018	8. Geopolitics of the war on terror	7. Geopolitics of globalisation	
10	26/11/2018	9. Geopolitics of the anthropocene	8. Geopolitics of the war on terror	
11	03/12/2018	10. Superheroes, zombies and aliens	9. Geopolitics of the anthropocene	
12	10/12/2018	NO LECTURE	10. Superheroes, zombies and aliens	
2 nd Essay Due 14/01/18				

NB: Students are responsible for consulting timetables to find days, times and rooms for lectures and tutorials.

Attendance

Attendance at lectures is strongly recommended, and attendance at tutorials is compulsory. A record of attendance at tutorials will be kept and unsanctioned absences will be followed up by the undergraduate team. If you are unable to attend your tutorial please contact the lecturer to explain your absence or arrange to attend another tutorial.

Lectures

Lectures are on Monday 3-5, Roscoe_1.010

There will be 10 lectures. Please see the above schedule for further information. Each lecture will be 1 hour and 50 minutes long with a break in the middle. Lectures will begin at 3 and finish at 4.50.

Questions and discussion are encouraged during lectures. However, please respect your fellow students and the lecturer and keep unrelated noise to a minimum. You are welcome to use laptops and tablets in lectures, however please turn mobile phones to silent on entering the lecture theatre. Students who disrupt lectures will be warned once and asked to leave on the second occasion.

Lecture slides will be available prior to the lecture on Blackboard for students to download, and/or print-out and/or annotate. No handouts will be distributed.

Lectures will be recorded via the university podcast service. Podcasts will be made available in two batches

- 1. at the end of week 5 (by 26th October)**
- 2. at the end of week 11 (by 7th December).**

If a student is registered with the Disability Advisory Support Service (DASS) and DASS has determined that access to the recording is a reasonable adjustment for that student, a recording will be made available to that student 24 hours after the lecture. Students are welcome to record lectures on their own devices for their own purposes. Please remember, however, that lectures are copyright of the lecturer and the University of Manchester and so cannot be shared online without permission.

Tutorials

There will be 10 one-hour tutorials. The tutorials begin in the second week of the course. Please see the above schedule for further information. The purpose of each tutorial is to discuss the themes raised by lectures and essential readings. The topic of each tutorial is indicated in the schedule above. *To make the tutorial successful, you must read the essential readings prior to attending the tutorial.*

Tutorials are an integral element of the learning experience for this module. They will provide you with the opportunity to explore issues raised in the lectures and readings in more detail in conversation with your peers and the module leader. The tutorial is an opportunity for you to clarify your understanding of the literature and rehearse arguments. Both are best done in conversation with both the module leader and other students.

It is expected that students will treat every member of the tutorial with respect and listen to what everyone has to contribute. You should remember that this course examines material that is potentially politically contentious. Disruptive behaviour including, though not limited to, persistent lateness, not switching your mobile phone to silent, texting or reading text messages, using social media on any device without the module leader's permission, listening to music (with or without headphones), derogatory language including racist/sexist/homophobic comments, unconstructive interruptions/comments, and failure to listen will not be tolerated.

ASSESSMENT

This course is assessed by 2 Essays

- **Essay 1** - 2500 words, worth 40% of overall mark
- **Essay 2** - 3000 words, worth 60% of overall mark

Essay Questions

You can find the questions for both essays at the end of this course guide.

Assessment Deadlines

- Essay 1: 2pm, Monday 1st November 2018
- Essay 2: 2pm, Monday 14th January 2019

All essays are **to be submitted to Turnitin only** (via blackboard) – no hard copies are required.

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 / 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.

Writing essays

Please make sure you read the Politics Course Unit Guide Part 2 (available on Blackboard). In this guide, you can find:

- Assessment criteria
- lots of good advice about writing essays

In addition, the following comments may help you to understand what I am looking for when marking your essays:

Analytic Content: Higher grades will be given to work that demonstrates both comprehension *and* critical analysis of the relevant literature and cases. Lower grades will be given to work that simply summarizes or describes literature and/or cases. It is helpful, therefore, to ask yourself: 'In addition to outlining the key arguments and concepts in the literature am I: a) showing how they apply to cases? and b) providing the reader with my *own* analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and concepts found in the literature (e.g., in relation to a case)?' If you are only repeating what is in the literature – without also applying and critically analysing it – you will restrict your marks. In other words, you will be required to *engage* with the literature rather than merely repeat it. The best essays will therefore outline the key insights in the literature relevant to the question, but also apply these insights to cases as well as provide their own argument about the strengths and weakness of the literature (often in relation to the way the literature relates to a case).

Development of an Argument: Higher grades will be given to work that has a clearly stated thesis and a logically developed argument underpinned by evidence in support of that thesis. Lower grades, including failures, will be given to work that has no thesis or has a thesis that is not logically developed or adequately supported by evidence provided in the body of the essay. It is helpful, therefore, to ask yourself "Does my essay make an argument?" A strong essay seeks to convince the reader of the soundness of its central argument (rather than simply asserting its rightness). Your essay will only be convincing if the argument is clear, the literature is fully explored, counter arguments are catered for, and everything is supported by evidence.

Grammar, Spelling, and Style: Effective communication requires you to minimise grammatical and/or spelling errors. Do *not* rely solely on grammar and spelling checkers found in word processing software as these do not pick up all errors. Read your work aloud before submission or ask a student also taking the course to proof read the essay. If you need some help with writing style or grammar issues, you are encouraged to look at the library's My Learning Essentials resources: <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/using-the-library/students/training-and-skills-support/my-learning-essentials/>

Meeting the Requirements of the Assignment: All written work *must* be of the appropriate length, *must* use the required type of resources, and, most importantly, *must* address the questions posed.

Referencing and Bibliographies

No essay is complete without proper referencing and bibliography. Please consult the Politics Course Unit Guide Part 2 (available on Blackboard) for information about how to reference and compile bibliographies. *Any submitted work that doesn't reference properly, references inconsistently, or does not have a bibliography may lose marks.* Please also make sure you understand what plagiarism is, what its consequences are for you, and how to avoid it. If you do not understand how to reference and/or what plagiarism is, please see the course leader.

Formatting essays

Please ensure your essays follow these formatting guidelines:

- essays should be 1.5 or double-spaced
- pages should be numbered sequentially and each page should have a number
- essays should use a minimum of 12 point font
- essays should have minimum left and right margins of 2.5cm
- quotations longer than four lines should be single-spaced and indented
- essays should be in black font only

Maximum word limit on assessed work

There is a maximum word limit of **+/- 10%** on written assessments:

- A 2500 word essay word essay can be between 2250 and 2750 words.
- A 3000 word essay word essay can be between 2700 and 3300 words.

Essays with a word count outside this margin may lose marks. **Please see the Politics Part 2 guide for further details about word counts. Please note that the Part 2 Guide has the following to say about what is and is not included in the word count:**

- The bibliography/final list of references that is required for both the Harvard and Chicago referencing styles does not count towards the word limit of an essay/extended essay/dissertation.
- All footnotes relating to the Chicago style, all references in the text relating to the Harvard style (e.g. Russell, 2012: 3), as well as all other footnote material and quotes, do count toward the word limit.

Feedback

You will receive online written feedback on your assessment via Grademark. Instructions on how to access this feedback can be found in the Politics Course Unit Guide Part 2 (available on Blackboard). Feedback will identify strengths, weaknesses and ways to improve. **You should make sure you read and understand your feedback.** Once you have received your feedback, you are also welcome to see the course lecturer to discuss feedback further.

Help with Assignments/Essays

The course lecturer will answer queries and provide advice on assignments. It is always best to see the course lecturer in person and there will be regular office hours where you can discuss questions you have about the essays. You can book office hour appointments via SOHOL (<https://mats.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/mats/sohol/StudentLogin.asp>).

You can also ask questions by email but please note:

1. Emails will be answered in normal working hours (i.e., 9-6). I aim to answer emails within 5 working days (i.e., not including weekends). Do not send reminders before 5 working days have expired.

2. Email is not suited to complex questions that need long answers. These should be addressed in office hours.

Please note it is Politics policy **not** to read or comment on essay drafts.

READINGS

Reading is an essential element of this module. Some of these readings are challenging and difficult. Please make sure that you take notes when reading. Remember, tutorials are intended for you to discuss the readings further. This means that you should bring questions you have about any of the readings to the relevant tutorial. ***Students should see tutorials as a safe forum to ask any questions that arise from the readings or lecture material. The module leader is also willing to discuss the readings individually or in small groups during office hours.***

Independent research

You are encouraged to do your own research and identify new sources. However:

1. Please be aware of the ways in which academic sources are critically assessed (e.g., peer review). You should make sure you think carefully and critically about the credibility of sources you find. If you have questions about the credibility of sources contact the course lecturer.
2. Your own research should be **in addition to, not instead of** reading the essential and further readings below.

Text Books

There are no text books for this course. However, if you consider buying books, there are 2 that should be your priority:

1. Dittmer J (2010) *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield
2. Ó Tuathail G (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press*

***NB** Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Gerard Toal refer to the same author

How to use this list

For each lecture topic you will find a short summary of the topic and a list of readings, divided into essential and further readings as well as questions to guide reading.

Essential reading: These are the readings that will form the background for the lectures and will be the focus of discussion in the tutorials. For each topic, therefore, you will find one set of readings that will be referred to in the lectures and discussed in the tutorials. Please try to read as many of the relevant essential readings as possible prior to attending the corresponding lectures and tutorials. I understand you may not be able to read all of the essential readings each week. However, please try and read at least 2 of the relevant essential readings prior to each tutorial. Please note that you are expected to read and refer to **all** of the relevant essential readings when writing essays. Essays that do not refer to relevant essential readings may lose marks.

Further Reading: These readings should be consulted when researching a topic in more depth. While it is not expected that you will have read further readings for the tutorials, if you have done so it will enhance the discussion. It is expected that essays will make reference to relevant further readings.

Guiding Questions: *For each topic in the reading list below you will also find a set of guiding questions. These questions are intended to guide your reading. They indicate what the main questions raised by the topic are. Thinking about these questions as you read will help you to focus on the key issues. They will thus help you to focus your thinking and relate one text to another via common questions. Tutorial discussions may not address these questions directly, but if you have tried to answer the questions before coming to the tutorials you will have a much better grasp of the key points of the literature and be better prepared to engage in discussions.*

READING LIST

Topic 1

Introduction: geopolitics, imagined geographies and architectures of enmity

Outline of Topic

This first topic will explore the key concepts of the course. In particular this topic will examine what it means to argue that geography is a discourse imbued with power relations. Geopolitics can be said to be the way in which geography and politics are interrelated. This raises questions about the way in which geography is imagined to have certain properties as well as the political effects that follow from these. The concepts of imagined geographies and architectures of enmity will be used to understand the way that geopolitics constitutes spaces and identities. The key forms of geopolitics that this course examines – classical, critical, and popular will be defined. The methodological challenges of working with diverse types of material from scholarly texts to images, films, novels and so on will also be discussed. The structure of the course will be outlined and the assessment explained.

Guiding Questions

1. How is geopolitics defined?
2. How are power and space related in geopolitics?
3. What are 'imagined geographies' and 'architectures of enmity'?

Essential Readings

- Agnew J (2003) *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics*, 2nd edition. Routledge: London, Chapter 2, pp. 15-34
- Dittmer J (2010) *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield: Chapter 1, pp.1-22
- Gregory D (2004) *The Colonial Present*. Oxford: Blackwell: Chapter 2, pp.17-29
- Ó Tuathail G (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press; Introduction, pp.1-15

Further Reading

Agnew J and Corbridge S (1995) *Mastering Space: Hegemony, Territory and International Political Economy*. Routledge: London

Black J (1997) *Maps and Politics*. London: Reaktion Books

Chun A (2009) On the geopolitics of identity. *Anthropological Theory* 9(3): 331-349.

Dalby S (1991) Critical Geopolitics: Discourse, Difference and Dissent. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9(3): 261-283.

Dijkink G (1996) *National Identity and Geopolitical Visions: Maps of Pride and Pain*. Routledge, London

Gregory D (1994) *Geographical Imaginations*. Oxford: Blackwell

Gregory D & Predd A (eds.) (2007) *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence*. London: Routledge

Harley JB (1988) Maps, Knowledge, and Power. In: Cosgrove D and Daniels S (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meusburger P, Gregory D, Suarsana L (eds.) *Geographies of Knowledge and Power*. London: Springer

Murphy AB, Bassin M, Newman D, Reuber P, and Agnew J (2004) Is There a Politics to Geopolitics? *Progress in Human Geography* 28(5): 619-640

Ó Tuathail G, Dalby S, and Routledge P (2006) *The Geopolitics Reader*. New York: Routledge.
Shapiro, MJ (2009) *Cinematic Geopolitics*. London: Routledge

Shapiro MJ (1997) *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press

Shapiro MJ (2007) The New Violent Cartography. *Security Dialogue* 38(3): 291-313

Topic 2

Formal, Practical and Popular: analysing geopolitical discourse

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the methodological challenges of researching and analysing geopolitical discourses. The topic looks at 3 types of geopolitical discourse – formal, practical and popular geopolitics. The topic considers what discourse is, taking it to broadly refer to the ways in which meaning is constructed. Discourse thus refers to language, images, sounds, and material objects among other things. This topic should give students the resources to think critically about the texts, images and other sources they will encounter in the course.

Guiding Questions

1. What are representation and discourse?
2. How can we analyse geopolitical discourses and representations?

Essential Readings

- Dittmer J (2010) *Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield: Chapter 2, pp.23-46
- Lakoff G and Johnson M (1980) Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language. *The Journal of Philosophy* 77(8): 453-486
- Milliken J (1999) The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods. *European Journal of International Relations* 5(2): 225-254
- O'Tuathail G and Agnew J (1992) Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning in American Foreign Policy. *Political Geography* 11(2): 190-204.

Further Reading

Barthes R (1973) *Mythologies*. London: Paladin [especially the essay 'Myth Today', pp. 117-174

Barthes R (1993) *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. London: Vintage.

Bennett P and McDougall J (eds.) (2013) *Barthes' Mythologies Today: Readings Of Contemporary Culture*. London: Routledge

Berger J (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. London : Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Cobley P (2009) *The Routledge Companion to Semiotics*. London: Routledge

Culler J (1990). *Barthes* (Rev. ed.). London: Fontana.

Culler J (1986). *Ferdinand de Saussure* (Rev. ed.). London: Fontana.

De Fina A, Schiffrin D, and Bamberg M (2006) *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fairclough N (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Fairclough N, Mulderrig J, and Wodak R (2011) Critical Discourse Analysis. In: van Dijk TA (ed.) *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, second edition*. London: Sage, pp. 357-378

Feldman A (1997) Violence and vision: The prosthetics and aesthetics of terror. *Public Culture* 10(1): 24-60.

Hallin D (1986) Cartography, community and the cold war. In: Manoff R and Schudson M (eds.) *Reading the News*. New York: Pantheon, pp 109-145

Hallin D (1986) We keep America on top of the world. In: Gitlin T (ed.) *Watching Television*. New York: Pantheon, pp 9-41

Hansen L (2015) How Images Make World Politics: International Icons and The Case Of Abu Ghraib. *Review of International Studies* 41(2): 263-288.

Hansen L, (2011). Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad cartoon crisis. *European Journal of International Relations*, 17(1), pp. 51-74

Hansen L (2006) *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and The Bosnian War*. London: Routledge.

Howarth D (2000) *Discourse*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Kendall G (2007) What Is Critical Discourse Analysis? *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 8(2). Available online: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/255>

Laclau E (2007) *Discourse*. In: Goodin RE, Pettit P, and Pogge T (eds) A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy, Volume 1, 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.541-547.

Müller M (2008) Reconsidering the concept of discourse for the field of critical geopolitics: Towards discourse as language and practice. *Political Geography* 27(3): 322-338.

Müller M (2011). Doing discourse analysis in Critical Geopolitics. *L'Espace Politique* 12. Available online: <https://espacepolitique.revues.org/1743>

Phillips L and Jørgensen M W (2002) *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage

Rose G (2016) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, 4th ed. London: Sage

Rose G (2016) Rethinking the geographies of cultural 'objects' through digital technologies: Interface, network and friction. *Progress in Human Geography* 40(3): 334-351.

van Dijk TA (1993) Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society* 4(2): 249-283.

Wetherall M, Taylor S, and Yates SJ (eds.) (2001) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. London; Sage

Topic 3

Classical geopolitics

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the origin of modern geopolitics. Classical geopolitics refers broadly to a set of European thinkers who brought developments in natural sciences to bear on geography in order to outline what they perceived to be the 'laws' that governed international politics. Broadly speaking classical geopolitics originates at the end of the 19th century in the context of European imperialism. Classical geopolitics is concerned with the question of the political ordering of the world. Broadly speaking its central question is how states survive and grow. It is a form of knowledge that generates hierarchies of civilization and is constitutive of imperial/colonial power. We will examine classical geopolitics through the work of key thinkers such as Halford Mackinder and Fredrich Ratzel.

Guiding Questions

1. How are the state and power related in classical geopolitics?
2. How are geography and identity related in classical geopolitics?

Essential Readings

For this week it is essential that you read the following primary texts:

- Mackinder HJ (2004) The Geographical Pivot of History (1904). *The Geographical Journal* 170(4): 298–321
- Ratzel F (1896) The Territorial Growth of States. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 12(7): 351-361

In addition, please read one or both of the following:

- Agnew, J. (1994). The territorial trap: the geographical assumptions of international relations theory. *Review of international political economy*, 1(1), 53-80.
- Ó Tuathail G (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press; Chapter 1, pp.16-43

Further Reading

Abrahamsson C (2013) On the genealogy of Lebensraum. *Geographica Helvetica* 68(1): 37-44. Available online: www.geogr-helv.net/68/37/2013/

Atkinson D and Dodds K (eds.) (2002). *Geopolitical traditions: Critical histories of a century of geopolitical thought*. London: Routledge.

Barnes TJ and Abrahamsson C (2015) Tangled complicities and moral struggles: the Haushofers, father and son, and the spaces of Nazi geopolitics. *Journal of Historical Geography* 47: 64-73.

Bassin M (1987) Race contra space: the conflict between German Geopolitik and National Socialism. *Political Geography Quarterly* 6(2): 115-134.

Bassin M (1987) Imperialism and The Nation State in Friedrich Ratzel's Political Geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 11(4): 473-495.

Bowman I (1942) Geography vs. Geopolitics. *Geographical Review* 32: 646–658

Cohen S (1973) *Geography and Politics in a World Divided*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cohen S (20015) *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 3rd edition. London: Rowman and Littlefield

Farinelli, F. (2000). Friedrich Ratzel and the nature of (political) geography. *Political Geography*, 19(8), 943-955.

Gottman J (1975) The Evolution of the Concept of Territory. *Social Science Information* 14(3/4): 29–47

Gottmann J (1951) Geography and International Relations. *World Politics* 3(2): 152–173

Halas M (2014) Searching for the Perfect Footnote: Friedrich Ratzel and the Others at the Roots of Lebensraum. *Geopolitics* 19(1): 1-18

Herwig HH (1999) Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and lebensraum. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 22(2-3): 218-241

Heske H (1987) Karl Haushofer: His role in German geopolitics and in Nazi politics. *Political Geography Quarterly* 6(2): 135-144.

Kaplan R (2015) The Revenge of Geography. *Orbis* 59(4): 479-490

Kaplan R (2012) *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. New York: Random House

Kaplan R (2009) The Revenge of Geography. *Foreign Policy* (May/June)

Knutsen TL (2014) Halford J. Mackinder, Geopolitics, and the Heartland Thesis. *The International History Review* 36(5): 835-857

Mackinder H (1904) The development of geographical teaching out of nature study. *Geographical Teacher* 2: 191–197

Mahan AT (2010) *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mahan AT (1890) The United States Looking Outward. *Atlantic Monthly* 66(398): 816-24.

Marklund C (2015) The Return of Geopolitics in The Era Of Soft Power: Rereading Rudolf Kjellén On Geopolitical Imaginary And Competitive Identity. *Geopolitics* 20(2): 248-266.

Murphy D (1997) *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918-1933*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press.

Ó Tuathail G (1992) Putting Mackinder In His Place: Material Transformations and Myth. *Political Geography* 11(1): 100–118.

Smith N (2003) *American Empire: Roosevelt's Favourite Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Smith N (1984) Isaiah Bowman: Political geography and geopolitics. *Political Geography Quarterly* 3: 69–76

Smith W (1980) Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of *Lebensraum*. *German Studies Review* 3: 51–68.

Spykman NJ (1938) Geography and Foreign Policy I. The American Political Science Review 32(1): pp. 28-50

Spykman NJ (1938) Geography and Foreign Policy II. The American Political Science Review 32(2): pp. 213-236

Tunander O (2001) Swedish-German geopolitics for a new century: Rudolf Kjellén's 'The State as a Living Organism'. *Review of international Studies* 27(3): 451-463.

Weigert HW (1942) Haushofer and the Pacific. *Foreign Affairs* 20: 732-742

Wolkersdorfer G (1999) Karl Haushofer And Geopolitics - The History of A German Mythos. *Geopolitics* 4(3): 145-160.

Venier P (2011) Main theoretical currents in geopolitical thought in the twentieth century. *L'Espace Politique* 12. Available online: <https://espacepolitique.revues.org/1714>

Topic 4

Critical geopolitics: from orientalism to scopic regimes

Outline of Topic

This topic introduces the various critiques of classical geopolitics. Drawing inspiration from in Michel Foucault's work on knowledge and power and Edward Said's on Orientalism, Critical Geopolitics starts from the proposition that there is nothing natural about geography. Rather than looking for law-like relationship between geography and power, critical geopolitics examines the various ways in which geography and politics are discursively constructed. The central claims of this critical thinking about geopolitics were initially outlined by Gearoid O'Tuathail (Gerard Toal). Toal's critique of classical geopolitics will be outlined. In particular the way that crucial geopolitics constructs identity and legitimates violence will be examined. Finally, the concept of scopic regime will be used to identify the way in which geopolitical thought constructs a field of vision over which power can be exercised.

Guiding Questions

1. How is space constructed?
2. What are the politics of constructing space?
3. How is geopolitical knowledge a form of power?
4. How do geopolitical texts represent otherness?
5. What is a scopic regime?

Essential Readings

- Dikeç, M. (2012). Space as a mode of political thinking. *Geoforum*, 43(4), 669-676.
- Grayson, K., & Mawdsley, J. (2018). Scopic regimes and the visual turn in International Relations: Seeing world politics through the drone. *European Journal of International Relations*, epub ahead of print (<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354066118781955>).
- Ó Tuathail G (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press; Chapter 2, pp.44-57
- Said E (2003) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books: pp. 49-73 (Chapter 1, part 2: 'Imaginative Geography and Its Representations: *Orientalizing the Oriental*')

Further Reading

Agnew JA (2003) *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge

Ashley R (1987) The geopolitics of geopolitical space: Towards a critical social theory of international politics. *Alternatives* 12: 403–434

Campbell, D (1998) *Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity, revised edition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Cowen D and Smith N (2009) *After geopolitics? From the geopolitical social to geoeconomics*. *Antipode* 41(1): 22-48.

Crary J (1992) *Techniques Of The Observer*, MIT Press, Chapter 1. pp.1-24

Dittmer, J. (2017). *Diplomatic Material: Affect, Assemblage, and Foreign Policy*. Duke University Press.

Dodds K (2001) Political geography III: critical geopolitics after ten years. *Progress in Human Geography* 25(3): 469–484

Foucault, M (1995) *Discipline and Punish*, New York: Vintage (Part 3, Chapter 3: Panopticism, pp. 195-230).

Graham S and Healey P (1999) Relational concepts of space and place: Issues for planning theory and practice. *European planning studies* 7(5): 623-646.

Haverluk TW, Beauchemin KM, and Mueller BA (2014) The Three Critical Flaws of Critical Geopolitics: Towards a Neo-Classical Geopolitics. *Geopolitics* 19(1): 19-39

Jay M (1988) 'Scopic Regimes of Modernity', in Hal Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality*. San Francisco: Bay Press

Kelly P (2006) A Critique of Critical Geopolitics. *Geopolitics* 11(1): 24-53.

Malpas J (2012) Putting space in place: philosophical topography and relational geography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30(2): 226-242.

Mamadouh V and Dijkink G (2006) Geopolitics, International Relations and Political Geography: The Politics of Geopolitical Discourse. *Geopolitics* 11(3): 349-366.

Metz C (1982) *Psychoanalysis and Cinema: The Imaginary Signifier*. Macmillan. Chapter 4. pp.58-68

Mitchell T (1988) *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ó Tuathail G (1994) (Dis)placing Geopolitics: Writing on The Maps of Global Politics. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12(5): 525-546.

Ó Tuathail G (1994) The critical reading/writing of geopolitics: Re-reading/writing Wittfogel, Bowman and Lacoste. *Progress in Human Geography* 18: 313–332

Ó Tuathail G and Dalby S (eds.) (1998) *Rethinking Geopolitics*. London: Routledge

Roberts SM et al (2000) Review Symposium: Gearoid O'Tuathail (1996) Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space. *Political Geography* 19(3): 345-396

Said E (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred Knopf

Sharp, JP (2013) Geopolitics at the margins? Reconsidering genealogies of critical geopolitics. *Political Geography* 37: 20-29.

Squire V (2015) Reshaping critical geopolitics? The materialist challenge. *Review of International Studies* 41(1): 139-159.

Topic 5

Popular Geopolitics

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the role popular culture plays in geopolitics. Popular culture plays a key role in constituting imagined geographies. As such popular culture is constitutive of imagined spaces and the power relations within and between them. Popular culture is thus geopolitical. This topic will examine what popular culture is and what role it plays in geopolitical discourse.

Guiding Questions

- What is popular culture?
- What role does popular culture play in imagined geographies?
- What are common geopolitical themes in popular culture?

Essential Readings

- Dittmer J and Gray N (2010) Popular geopolitics 2.0: Towards new methodologies of the everyday. *Geography Compass* 4(11): 1664-1677.
- Grayson K, Davies M, and Philpott S (2009) Pop goes IR? Researching the popular culture–world politics continuum. *Politics* 29(3): 155-163.
- Hughes R (2007) Through the looking blast: geopolitics and visual culture. *Geography Compass* 1(5): 976-994.
- Sharp, J. P. (1993). Publishing American identity: popular geopolitics, myth and The Reader's Digest. *Political geography*, 12(6), 491-503.

Further Reading

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso Books.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

Bos, D. (2018). Answering the Call of Duty: Everyday encounters with the popular geopolitics of military-themed videogames. *Political Geography*, 63, 54-64.

Buzan B (2010) America in space: The international relations of Star Trek and Battlestar Galactica. *Millennium* 39(1): 175-180.

Caso F and Hamilton C (eds.) (2015) *Popular Culture and World Politics: Theories, Methods, Pedagogies*. E-International Relations publishing. Available here: <http://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Pop-Culture-and-World-Politics-E-IR.pdf>

Campbell D (2007) Geopolitics and visibility: Sighting the Darfur Conflict. *Political geography* 26(4): 357-382.

Dittmer J and Sturm T (eds.) (2016) *Mapping the end times: American evangelical geopolitics and apocalyptic visions*. London: Routledge.

Dittmer J and Dodds K (2008) Popular Geopolitics, Past and Future: Fandom, Identities, and Audiences. *Geopolitics* 13(3): 437–457

Dodds, K. (2006). Popular geopolitics and audience dispositions: James Bond and the internet movie database (IMDb). *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31(2), 116-130.

Dodds K (2008) 'Have you seen any good films lately?' Geopolitics, international relations and film. *Geography compass* 2(2): 476-494.

Dunnett O (2009) Identity and geopolitics in Hergé's adventures of Tintin. *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(5): 583-598.

Funnell, L., & Dodds, K. (2016). *Geographies, Genders and Geopolitics of James Bond*. London: Palgrave.

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Topic 6

Geopolitics of imperialism and colonialism

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the relationship between geopolitics, empire and colonialism. Classical geopolitics arose in the context of imperialism and its imagined geographies often legitimate colonial projects. Concepts such as Lebensraum, for example, have legitimized imperial expansion in Africa and Europe. Geopolitics is a form of knowledge that is constitutive of forms of power and authority. From mapping to knowing and managing populations, geopolitical texts have been a key part of imperialism and colonialism.

Guiding Questions

1. How are the spaces of empire and colony discursively constructed?
2. How are colonial/imperial geopolitics and violence related?
3. What is the significance of lebensraum for geopolitics?

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- Mitchell T (1989). The world as exhibition. *Comparative studies in society and history* 31(2): 217-236.
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Topic 7

Geopolitics of globalisation

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the ways in which the process of global interconnection referred to as globalization gave rise to new geographical imaginations and architectures of enmity. Globalization has given rise to ideas of time-space compression, fluidity and networking. These metaphors have had a profound influence on the geopolitics of globalization. We will examine the ways in which the geopolitics of globalization – especially the metaphor of the network has led to the emergence of a new architecture of enmity.

Guiding Questions

1. How are the geographies of globalisation imagined?
2. How does globalisation challenge existing geopolitical ideas?

Essential Readings

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Topic 8

Geopolitics of the war on terror

Outline of Topic

This topic looks at the imagined geographies of the war on terror. Broadly speaking the war on terror could be said to have begun with the 2001 attacks on the world Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, though it has antecedents in the US response to the 1998 African Embassy bombings. This topic examines the various ways in which the interventions that comprise the war in terror have been represented. Central to this are the perceived objectives of such interventions as well as the characterization of the opponents this war will face.

Guiding Questions

1. What are the imagined geographies of the war on terror?
2. How does Barnett's 'map' construct relations of identity and violence?
3. What role do imagined geographies play in legitimating the war on terror?
4. What is the value of the concept of the 'everywhere war'?

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Topic 9

Geopolitics of the Anthropocene: imagining environmental and urban change

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the imagined geographies associated with the period of world history in which human activity has been seen as the primary influence on ecosystems. There are two broad trends that are attributed to human activity: climate change and urbanization. How the environment and cities are imagined gives rise to specific geographical imagination and architectures of enmity. At the heart of the geopolitics of the anthropocene are ideas of catastrophe or disaster. Anthropogenic change is perceived as a catalyst for systemic disasters. Examining these narratives of collapse gives a strong sense of the perceived vulnerabilities humanity faces in the anthropocene.

Guiding Questions

1. What is the anthropocene?
2. What are the imagined geographies of climate change and urbanisation?
3. How are identity and violence related in imagined geographies of climate change and urbanisation?

Essential Readings

- Clark N (2014) Geo-politics and the disaster of the Anthropocene. *The Sociological Review* 62(S1): 19-37.
- Dalby S (2007) Anthropocene Geopolitics: Globalisation, Empire, Environment and Critique. *Geography Compass* 1: 103–118
- Kaplan RD (1994) The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation, Tribalism, And Disease Are Rapidly Destroying the Social Fabric of Our Planet. *The Atlantic* February. Available online: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/>
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Further Reading

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Dalby S (2015) Geoengineering: the next era of geopolitics?. *Geography Compass* 9(4): 190-201.

Dalby S (2014) Rethinking geopolitics: Climate security in the Anthropocene. *Global Policy* 5(1): 1-9.

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- Hommel D, and Murphy AB (2013) Rethinking geopolitics in an era of climate change. *GeoJournal* 78(3): 507-524.
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- Kilcullen D (2013) *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Knight J (2015) Anthropocene futures: People, resources and sustainability. *The Anthropocene Review* 2(2): 152-158.
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- Le Billon P (2001) The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts. *Political Geography* 20(5): 561–584
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Topic 10

Superheroes, zombies and aliens

Outline of Topic

This topic examines the way that imagined geographies and architectures of enmity are represented in popular culture. Popular culture is a ubiquitous and influential vector for the discursive construction of geopolitical understandings of the world. We will examine the way in which superheroes have embodied imagined geographies of cultural power from the early part of the twentieth century. We will then look at the architectures of enmity represented in Zombie fiction. We will then look at the way in which techno-fetishistic science fiction and its staged encounters with aliens shape understandings of the present and its possible futures. The emphasis in this topic is examining the way in which everyday images and texts constitute imagined geographies and reproduce power relations.

Guiding Questions

1. What do zombies, superheroes and aliens tell us about the imagined geographies of everyday life?
2. What do zombies tell us about imagined geographies of race, migration and consumption?
3. What do superheroes tell us about imagined geographies of national identity?

Essential Readings

- Dittmer J (2005) Captain America's Empire: Reflections on Identity, Popular Culture, and Post-9/11 Geopolitics. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95: 626–643.
- Fishel S and Wilcox L (2017) Politics of the Living Dead: Race and Exceptionalism in the Apocalypse. *Millennium* 45(3): 335-355.
- Saunders RA (2012) Undead spaces: Fear, Globalisation, and the Popular Geopolitics of Zombiism. *Geopolitics* 17(1): 80-104.
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Further Reading

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ESSAY QUESTIONS

If you feel that there is an area of course material that you would like to write about that is not covered by these questions please discuss this with the module leader. Essays written in response to a question which has not been agreed with the module leader will receive zero.

Essay 1

1. Critically assess the classical geopolitical claim that state power and geography are related.
2. What is critical about critical geopolitics?
3. How does Gerard Toal's claim that 'the geography of the world is not a product of nature but a product of histories of struggle...over the power to organize, occupy, and administer space' (1995, p.1) help us critically analyse classical geopolitics?
4. 'Geopolitics [is] a discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft 'spatialize' international politics in such a way as to represent it as a 'world' characterized by particular types of places, peoples and dramas.' (Toal & Agnew, 1992, p.192) Discuss in relation to Halford Mackinder's *The Geographical Pivot of History*
5. How are science, geography and imperialism related in classical geopolitics?

Essay 2

1. How did the 'imaginative geographies' (Said, *Orientalism*) of imperialism and colonialism generate specific forms of power? Illustrate your discussion with empirical examples.
2. The geopolitics of empire and imperialism are underpinned by gendered imaginative geographies. Discuss.
3. Globalization has been said to lead to both a borderless world and a networked society. What can these imagined geographies tell us about the geopolitics of globalisation?
4. Does the neoliberal 'vision of almost infinite openness and interdependency' (Roberts, Secor & Sparke 2003) mask a geopolitics of inequality and exclusion?
5. How do the geopolitics of the war on terror justify intervention and targeted killing?
6. What is the relationship between popular, practical and formal geopolitics in the war on terror?
7. 'Megacities and rising sea levels will define the geopolitics of security in the anthropocene.' Discuss using examples.
8. What is the role of apocalypse in the popular geopolitics of the anthropocene?
9. What can superheroes tell us about contemporary geopolitics? Illustrate your answer with examples from either the Marvel or DC universe.
10. Critically evaluate the claim that zombies reveal the contemporary popular geopolitics of race and class.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30721: International Political Economy**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20**Contact Information:****Lecturer:** Dr Stuart Shields**Telephone:** 0161 275 7824**Room:** 4.023 Arthur Lewis Building**Email:** stuart.shields@manchester.ac.uk**Assessment Feedback & Advice Hours:**

Mondays and Tuesdays 12-1 during term time only. You can book an appointment to see me on SOHOL at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/> or email me.

Lectures: Tuesday, 10-12, Samuel Alexander A101**Tutorials:** Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System**Mode of Assessment**

3,000 word final tutorial learning portfolio

3,000 word essay

Assessment Weighting

50%

50%

Reading Week: Monday 29th October – Friday 2nd November 2018**Administrators:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk 0161 306 6906Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk 0161 275 2499**UG Office**

G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

Assessed work hand in dates:Tutorial learning portfolio: Friday 14th December 2018Essay: Monday 14th January 2019**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: 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 aims:

The main aim of this course is to introduce students to the academic study of International Political Economy (IPE). Principal objectives include canvassing leading theoretical approaches to IPE; examining the historical development of the global political economy; outlining the main structural features of the global political economy; and exploring selected current developments. On completion of this course, students should be able to:

1. Demonstrate a working knowledge of the disciplinary history of IPE and its leading theoretical approaches.
2. Interrogate the political basis of so-called economic issues.
3. Assess the significance for the global political economy of selected contemporary developments

Learning Outcomes:

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

1. Demonstrate a broad understanding of major theoretical approaches to IPE and a thorough knowledge of relevant literature.
2. Describe and analyse the changing nature of the global political economy
3. Stimulate critical thinking in the analysis of international/world events through reflective practice and, in doing so, to be aware of their own assumptions and values and the consequences of these.
4. Have enhanced your critical, evaluative, and communicative skills through your participation in class discussions, your research and tutorial learning portfolio, delivery of class presentations, and your production of a course research essay.

Course organisation:

The course runs for 12 weeks in total over 10 two-hour lecture/workshops, and 10 one-hour tutorials.

Lecture schedule	Tutorial schedule
1. IPE as an academic discipline?	
2. From 'orthodox' to 'critical' IPE.	1. Introduction/course housekeeping
3. IPE as IR – realism vs liberalism.	2. Pathways to IPE
4. Marxist approaches to IPE.	3. 'US' vs the 'British' school debate.
5. Desert Island castaways ...	4. Orthodox IPE - realism and liberalism
6. Neo-Gramscian approaches.	5. Capital, class, crisis: Marxist approaches to IPE.
7. Feminist IPE and gender in a global economy.	6. Half way(ish) review – theory, agency, structure, history.
8. Post-structuralist and post-colonial IPE and economic 'knowledge'.	7. Neo-Gramscian perspectives
9. Whither IPE?	8. Gender and (re)production in the global economy.
10. Essay writing workshop	9. Neoliberalism, knowledge,

	finance.
	10. Final workshop - topic to be agreed

However, given the realities of a rapidly changing global political economy I reserve the right to change this schedule as real world events dictate!

Lectures:

PowerPoint slides will be available to download after the lectures from the course Blackboard site. The slides are for guidance only, and alone will not be adequate resources for learning, writing essays, or successful completion of the course.

Tutorials:

Tutorials commence one week after the lectures and broadly follow (though they don't directly correspond) to the lectures. The tutorial is absolutely central to the learning experience and attendance is **compulsory**. *If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending, you should contact me as soon as possible to explain your absence.* Each tutorial consists of a brief introduction by the tutor, and then a mixture of student group presentations, class discussions, and problem solving activities designed to explore in more detail the subject at hand.

Each student is required to:

- Prepare fully for tutorials. This means you are required to read the **essential reading** (more is obviously better), and be prepared to explain and discuss it in class. The readings provide the material that will be used as the basis for tutorial discussions.
- **You must arrive at the tutorials prepared for discussion. 'The readings weren't available' is not a valid excuse for non-preparation.** You should all be familiar with the John Rylands University Library's Electronic Resources by this stage of your University life! Most of the journal articles listed in subsequent pages can be downloaded free of charge and read off-screen or printed. In addition, you can use several databases (for example, the IBSS database) to source your own reading material using various key word searches.
- Develop a reflective learning portfolio for the duration of the course. This is assessed and counts as 50% of your final mark (see section below on portfolios). The portfolio is intended to be about your thinking through the course - it is a record of the development of your learning across the course and a commentary on, and an opportunity to probe further the topics discussed.

Assessment:

Assessed essay:

The question for the compulsory 3,000 word assessed essay for this module should be taken from the list provided after reading week. Your answer to the question will be expected to show an understanding of the wider literature and background materials not just textbooks but you are also expected to include research material of your own. This does not

mean random stuff you find on the Internet, magazine articles from the dentist, wikipedia, or random posts your friends make on snapchat.

The assessed essay counts for 50% of the final mark. The deadline for the submission of the assessed essay is on the front page of this document. Essays must be uploaded to Turnitin via the course Blackboard site by 14.00. Any essays uploaded after that date and time will be treated as late and receive the standard School sanction for late submission of essays (see the Politics Part 2 guide on the course BB site).

We mark assessed essays anonymously, so you should only write your registration number on Turnitin. You gain no advantage from putting your name on the essay. If anything it is the opposite - it just shows you cannot follow basic instructions - which is probably not the impression you want to be making in an essay.

Bibliography and referencing:

The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate references will be penalised by the deduction of marks - normally to a maximum of 10 marks if the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate. For full details - see the Politics Part 2 guide.

Essays must be submitted to Turnitin in **12 point font and one and a half or double spaced**. This is a basic requirement and being unable to follow such a straightforward instruction is again probably not the impression you want to be making in an essay.

Essays should be fully and appropriately referenced. Referencing should be consistent throughout, and must conform to either the Harvard (referencing in the text) or Cambridge (footnotes/endnotes) methods of formatting (see the Politics Part 2 guide). Inappropriate presentation, lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate referencing will result in the deduction of 10 marks. References and Bibliography do not count towards the word limit; however, any explanatory footnotes or appendices do. Please see the Politics Part 2 guide for full details of relevant deductions.

Tutor report on the assessed essay

Reports on assessed essays will normally be available for students within 15 working days. Report forms will be available online through Turnitin on Blackboard. Students should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations boards in June.

Assessed tutorial portfolio:

The second dimension of assessment, counting for 50% of the overall mark for this course comes from a reflexive tutorial portfolio.

The tutorial portfolio is a collection of work that documents your learning experience and development throughout the course. They are intended to provide you not only with a record of what you have done, but also allow you to track the development of your thinking across the subject matter and enable you to raise pertinent questions relating to the literature you

have read, the research you have undertaken, and the tutorial-based activities in which you have participated.

Alongside your critical thinking and discipline related development I hope that POLI30721 students also acquire useful employability-related skills. Writing solid, robust, concise and easy-to-read analytical summaries is a tool that can be transferred to other fields. All of the politicians, bureaucrats, government and international organisation officials that I've interviewed for my research during my career to date have always considered summarising information a crucial tool that undergraduate education should develop.

The portfolio will consist of a word-processed, one page summary (maximum 300 words - indicate the word total at the top of each portfolio) of your key thoughts and personal impressions from each week. I am not looking for any specific information or format. What I am looking for is evidence that you have completed the readings, and, more importantly, that you are critically reflecting on their content and not just passively absorbing it. This assignment is about me hearing your voice and analysis. Please do not just summarise the readings. This will also ensure you are well prepared to contribute to collective discussion. Your portfolios can also include your responses to the content of previous tutorials.

I look for two things in particular from the portfolio. First, signs that you have thought about and reflected on the readings (and where relevant tutorial discussions). Try to avoid simply rehashing the readings or the contents of a tutorial. I am interested in your own reasoned views and impressions. Secondly, writing that is clear and concise. In general, you can only squeeze two or three points into 300 words. So consider how you can best convey these points. How are you organising your ideas? Please avoid bullet points and try to express your ideas in prose.

You will be required to submit each portfolio at the end of each tutorial.

The exception will be the final portfolio, which should be submitted together with the rest of the entries as the last entry in the completed portfolio. The final page of your portfolio should be a conclusion that reflects upon what you have learnt across the tutorials, how your understanding of the subject area has changed and developed, and where you feel work needs to be done to improve the way in which we think about IPE.

Students who have not attended a tutorial (and who have not provided an adequate excuse for their absence) will not be permitted to submit a portfolio for that week and the relevant number of marks will be deducted from the total.

In past years, students have found the learning portfolios hard work, but extremely useful. Please note that all portfolios from a cross-section of students across the course are sent to the external examiner at the end of the module.

The final version of each portfolio must be uploaded to Turnitin via the course Blackboard site by 2 pm on the date listed on the front page. Any portfolios uploaded after that date and time will be treated as late and receive the standard School sanction for late submission of essays. Details of the deductions for late submission are in the Part 2 guide. Only the SoSS UG Office grants students extensions.

Workload:

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice specifies that a 20 credit course is expected to require about 200 hours work by students. At 3rd year level it is essential that you read for your degree as, in conjunction with discussion and critical reflection, it forms the basis of the learning experience. Failure to read the required amount will negatively affect your portfolio marks and your understanding of the field. You can supplement this with further reading that will enable you to expand and build upon your knowledge and understanding of the field as well as assist in your portfolio and essay preparation. You are encouraged to complement your reading with other sources you have identified through your own research (particularly relating to recent, current and unfolding events). As a courtesy to your fellow students, please return your books and other materials as quickly as possible to the appropriate library so that others may use them.

Reading and sources:

The majority of sources for this course are journal articles. The reading lists are by no means exhaustive and as advanced 3rd year students your learning should be self-directed and your reading wide. Roam the library shelves and browse databases and online sources for further books and articles. Be aware, in addition, that IPE owes much to the academic endeavour of other disciplines, and consequently that useful sources may be found in a range of other disciplines such as international relations, sociology, economic history, economics, geography, political economy, politics and international law.

At the time of preparation all books listed are in the John Rylands University Library, or are on order. Material is drawn from a range of online journal articles available via JRULM electronic journals. Most of the newest literature on IPE is to be found in academic journals. Please, ensure that you take the time to regularly look through the journals to see whether newly published articles will help you develop your understanding of current processes of change in the global political economy.

Journals provide a useful source of information, particularly concerning contemporary events and theoretical issues. Some of the most relevant journals are listed below. It is worthwhile keeping an eye of the latest issues of these journals as they often have good articles surveying pertinent subjects. Many journals are accessible electronically, and can be accessed through the Library electronic resources page. Articles are also available using a number of specialist databases, which again can be accessed from the library's electronic resources page.

Many journals carry articles of concern to students of IPE, it's worth regularly keeping up to date with the following:

Alternatives
Antipode
Capital and Class
Competition and Change
European Journal of International Relations
Global Governance
Global Society
Globalizations
International Affairs
International Journal of Political Economy
International Organization
International Studies Quarterly
Millennium
New Left Review
New Political Economy
Review of International Political Economy
Review of International Studies
Review of Radical Economics
World Development
World Economy
World Politics

All good quality newspapers carry stories of relevance to students of IPE. In particular, I would recommend the Financial Times, The Economist, and any of the broadsheets.

Official publications can also be very useful, and you are encouraged to use primary sources in your written work and independent research for the essay.

Electronic sources similarly, are extremely valuable for research purposes, and you should feel free to make use of relevant websites and databases. Many actors in world political and economic relations maintain their own websites, and might be useful in your research. Remember that information taken from web-based sources must be acknowledged and referenced as systematically as information taken from books and journals, and that the rules on plagiarism apply in exactly the same way.

Core books or suggestions for purchase:

This course is designed as an advanced level exploration of key topics in the study of IPE. It is not taught from a textbook and you are encouraged to take ownership of your own learning in this course. If you think some background reading might be helpful I have asked Blackwells to stock the following excellent collections. With the Shields et al book I've used as many of the chapters from that as key readings.

- Blyth, Mark (ed) (2009) Handbook of International Political Economy: IPE as a Global Conversation, New York: Routledge.

- Palan, Ronen (ed) (2012) *Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories*, 2nd Edition, London: Routledge.
- Shields, Stuart, Ian Bruff & Huw Macartney (eds) (2011), *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

If there is anything you remain unclear about email me, or ask me before or after a lecture or tutorial.

POLI30721 International Political Economy tutorial reading guide 2018

First some advice - help with reading critically ...

POLI30721 is a tough course that will require you to strengthen your critical reading skills. Active, critical reading is directly linked to your ability to deliberate on the ideas central to the module and effectively convey those ideas in writing. Asking questions about the authors and texts you encounter, and thinking and talking about the answers, is a rigorous process. It is sometimes slow and always demanding. Reading actively, thoughtfully, and critically may be one of the most challenging activities you encounter. It will test the limits of your energy, patience, and intellect. Although mastering critical reading strategies will not make the reading process an easy one, it can make reading much more satisfying and productive and thus help you handle difficult material with confidence. The following suggestions come from previous students of POLI30721 and I hope may help you become a more skilful reader of the material.

Preview:

Read the introductory comments for each reading. Who is the author? Why would the author be interested in this topic? What perspective might this author have about the topic?

Note the place of publication. From what journal, magazine, or book was this piece taken? Might the publication have a particular focus or slant on the subject?

Look at the title. Sometimes a title will announce the subject of the text and its thesis. Knowing what to expect can help you as you look for the author's main points.

Skim:

Read the first paragraph closely because it may announce the author's thesis and it may give you a sense of how the argument or essay is organised.

Run your eye over the rest of the piece, looking for key expressions that indicate the author's conclusions, such as "It follows that...." Passages of this sort often occur as the first or last sentence in a paragraph.

Note headings:

They may help you generate a basic structure for the author's position.

Pay special attention to the last paragraph because it will probably offer a summary and a brief restatement of the writer's thesis.

Read with a Pencil:

Underline, highlight, annotate - engage with the text by carefully reading, not just letting your eyes rove across the page while you listen to your favourite TV show, catch up with Facebook or swipe left on Tinder.

Underline or highlight the main ideas, but don't get carried away. If you are underlining or highlighting most of a page, you are probably not thinking carefully enough about which are the key points.

The marginal annotations, the notes you write to yourself in the margins of the text, should be brief and selective. Probably they will consist of hints or clues, such as "really?" "I don't get this" "does this follow?" "!!!" "any examples?" "idea for the paper" "compare with Keohane reading" "???" "ask about this in class"

What you annotate depends largely on your purpose. If you are reading an essay to learn more about how an author identifies a problem, you will annotate one sort of idea. If you are reading an essay to learn more about the steps an author says must be followed to solve a problem, you will annotate other ideas.

The most common piece of advice and reading tip from previous POLI30721 students ... do not fall behind in the reading!

Tutorial 1: Introductory housekeeping session!

There is no reading or portfolio entry expected for this week. I will probably ask you to do something silly as an icebreaker though.

Tutorial 2: Pathways to IPE

Guiding questions

1. What is the relationship between politics and economics in IPE?
2. What is the relationship between states and markets in IPE?
3. What is the relationship between the domestic and the international in IPE?
4. How are 'global' relations different from 'international' relations?

Essential readings:

- Strange, Susan (1970) 'International Economics and International Politics: A Case of Mutual Neglect', *International Affairs*, 46(2) pp. 304-15.
- Phillips, Nicola (2005) 'Globalizing the Study of International Political Economy', in Nicola Phillips (ed.) *Globalizing International Political Economy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 1-19.
- Tooze, Roger (1997) 'IPE in an Age of Globalization', in John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds) *The Globalization of World Politics*, First Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 213-30.
- Underhill, Geoffrey (2000) 'State, market and global political economy: genealogy of an (inter?)-discipline', *International Affairs*, 76(4) pp. 805-24.

Supplementary readings:

Biersteker, Thomas J. (1993) 'Evolving Perspectives on International Political Economy: Twentieth-Century Contexts and Discontinuities', *International Political Science Review*, 14:1.

Blyth Mark and Hendrik Spruyt (2003) 'Our Past as Prologue: Introduction to the Tenth Anniversary Issue of the Review of International Political Economy', *Review of International Political Economy* 10(4).

Cerny, Philip (1999) 'Globalizing the Political and Politicizing the Global: International Political Economy as a Vocation', *New Political Economy*, 4(1) pp. 147-62.

Cohen, Benjamin (2007) 'The Transatlantic Divide: Why are American and British IPE so Different?' *Review of International Political Economy* 14(2) pp. 197-219.

Denemark, Robert and Robert O'Brien, (1997) 'Contesting the Canon: international political economy at UK and US universities', *Review of International Political Economy*, 4(1) pp. 214-238.

Gamble, Andrew (1995) 'The New Political Economy', *Political Studies*, 43(3) pp. 516-30.

Goede, Marieke de (2003) 'Beyond economism in international political economy', *Review of International Studies*, 29(1) pp. 79-97.

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).

Katzenstein, Peter et al (1998) 'International Organization and the Study of World Politics', *International Organization*, 52(4) pp. 645-85.

Katzenstein, Peter (1997) 'Introduction: Domestic and International Forces and Strategies of Foreign Economic Policy', *International Organization*, 31(4) pp. 587-606.

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 D. 'International Political Economy: Abiding Discord', *Review of International Political Economy* 1:1 (1994) – AND Susan Strange, (1994) 'Wake Up, Krasner! The World Has Changed', *Review of International Political Economy* 1:2.

Ruggie, John Gerard 'At Home Abroad, Abroad At Home: International Liberalisation and Domestic Stability in the New World Economy', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1995), pp. 507-26.

Tutorial 3: The 'US' versus the 'British' school debate.

Guiding questions:

1. What are the main tenets of the 'American' school of IPE?
2. What are the main tenets of the 'British school' of IPE?
3. Is it possible to combine aspects of the 'British' and 'American' schools?
4. What are the main drawbacks of distinguishing contrasting and competing perspectives in IPE in terms of the 'British' and 'American' schools?

Essential readings:

- Cohen, B.J (2007) 'The transatlantic divide: Why are American and British IPE so different?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 14(2): pp. 197-219.
- Higgott, R and Watson, M. (2008) 'All at sea in a barbed wire canoe: Professor Cohen's transatlantic voyage in IPE', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15(1): pp. 1- 17.
- Cammack Paul (2011), 'Knowledge versus Power in the field of IPE', in Stuart Shields, Ian Bruff and Huw Macartney, eds, *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blyth, Mark "Torn Between Two Lovers? Caught in the Middle of British and American IPE" *New Political Economy* 14(3).

Supplementary readings:

- Germain, Randall D. (2009) 'The "American" school of IPE? A dissenting view', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 95-105.
- Katzenstein, Peter (2009) 'Mid-Atlantic: Sitting on the knife's sharp edge', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1):122-135.
- Keohane, Robert (2009) 'The old IPE and the new', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 34-46.
- Lake, David (2009) 'TRIPs across the Atlantic: Theory and epistemology in IPE', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 47-57.
- Leander, Anna (2009) 'Why we need multiple stories about the global political economy', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 321-8.
- Maliniak, Daniel and Michael J. Tierney (2009) 'The American school of IPE', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 6-33.
- McNamara, Kathleen R. (2009) 'Of intellectual monocultures and the study of IPE', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 72-84.
- Cohen, B.J. (2008) 'The transatlantic divide: A rejoinder', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15(1): pp. 30-4.
- Phillips, Nicola (2009) 'The slow death of pluralism', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 85-94.
- Ravenhill, J. (2008) 'In search of the missing middle', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15(1): pp. 18-29.
- Underhill, Geoffrey R.D. "Political Economy, the 'US School', and the Manifest Destiny of Everyone Else" *New Political Economy* 14(3).
- Wade, Robert(2009) 'Beware what you wish for: Lessons for international political economy from the transformation of economics', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 106-121.
- Weaver, Catherine(2009) 'Reflections on the American school: An IPE of our making', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(1): 1-5.
- Worth, Owen (2011) *Reclaiming Critical IPE from the 'British' School* in Stuart Shields, Ian Bruff and Huw Macartney, eds, *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tutorial 4: Orthodox approaches to IPE – realism and liberalism

Guiding questions:

1. What are the major assumptions of economic liberalism?
2. What are the major assumptions of realist IPE?
3. Which position, if either, captures the reality of the world better?

Essential readings:

- Greenwold, Stephen (1999) 'Strategic Interests and International Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 4(1) pp. 97-112.
- Axelrod Robert and Robert Keohane, (1985) 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics*, 38.
- Martin, Lisa (1992) 'Interests, Power and Multilateralism', *International Organization*, 46(4): 765-92.

- Helleiner, Eric (2002) 'Economic nationalism as a challenge to economic liberalism? Lessons from the 19th century', *International Studies Quarterly*, 46(3): 307-29.

Supplementary readings:

Realism

Richard Ashley, 'The Poverty of Neorealism', in Robert Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics* (Columbia University Press, 1986). Also available in *International Organization* 38:2 (1984).

Joseph Grieco, 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the newest Liberal Institutionalism', *International Organization*, 42: 3 (Summer 1998).

Isabelle Grunberg, 'Exploring the "Myth" of Hegemonic Stability', *International Organization*, 44: 4 (Autumn 1990).

Christine Harlen, 'A Reappraisal of Classic Economic Nationalism and Economic Liberalism', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43:4 (1999).

Robert Jervis, 'Realism, Game Theory and Cooperation', *World Politics*, 40:3 (1988).

Klaus Knorr, 'The nature of national economic power', in Richard Little and Michael Smith (eds.), *Perspectives on World Politics*, (Routledge, 1991).

John Gerard Ruggie, 'Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward an Neorealist Synthesis', *World Politics*, 35 (1985).

Liberalism

David Long, 'The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: a case for closure', *Millennium*, Vol. 24, no. 3 (1995): 489-505.

Friedrich Kratochwil and John Ruggie, 'International organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State', *International Organization*, vol. 40, no. 4 (1986): 753-755.

Helen Milner, 'International Theories of Co-operation Among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses', *World Politics*, 44:3 (1992)

Robert Axelrod and Robert Keohane, 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics*, 38 (1985) also in Robert Baldwin (ed.), *Neoliberalism and Neorealism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Joseph M. Grieco, 'Anarchy and the Limits of Co-operation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism', *International Organization*, 42:3 (Summer 1988).

Beth V. Yarbrough and Robert M. Yarbrough, 'Cooperation in the Liberalization of International Trade: After Hegemony, What?', *International Organization*, 41: 1 (Winter 1987).

Duncan Snidal, 'The Game Theory of International Relations', *World Politics*, 38: 1 (October 1985).

Milner, Helen V. (1998) 'International Political Economy: Beyond Hegemonic Stability', *Foreign Policy*, No. 110.

Tutorial 5: Capital, class, crisis: Marxist approaches to IPE.

Guiding questions:

1. What are the major assumptions of Marxist approaches to IPE?

2. How would Wallerstein characterise the relationship between core and periphery?
3. Why do Marxist approaches persist despite the collapse of the USSR?

Essential readings:

- Burnham, P. (2001) 'Marx, international political economy and globalisation', *Capital and Class*, 75: pp. 103-112.
- Cammack, P. (2002) 'Attacking the Poor', *New Left Review*, 13, 125-134.
- Holloway, J. (1994) 'Global Capital and the National State', *Capital & Class*, 18(1): 23-49.
- Wallerstein, I. (1974) 'The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16: 4 (1974).

Further readings:

- Bonefeld, W. (2008) 'Global Capital, National State, and the International', *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, 36(1): 63-72.
- Burnham, Peter (2010) 'Class, Capital and Crisis: A Return to Fundamentals', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 8: 27-39
- Cammack, Paul (2009) 'Poverty Reduction and Universal Competitiveness', *Labour, Capital, and Society*, 42, 1&2)
- Clarke, Simon (2001) 'Class Struggle and Global Overaccumulation', in R Albritton, M Itoh, R Westra, A Zuege (eds) *Phases of Capitalist Development: Booms, Crises and Globalization* (London: Macmillan).
- Davenport, Andrew (2013) 'Marxism in International Relations: Condemned to a Realist Fate?', *European Journal of International Relations* 19(1): 27-48.
- Holloway, J (1995) 'Global Capital and National State', in W Bonefeld & J Holloway (eds) *Global Capital, National State and the Politics of Money* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Burnham, Peter (1994) 'Open Marxism and Vulgar International Political Economy', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1:2.
- Maclean, John (1998) 'Marxism and International Relations: A Strange Case of Mutual Neglect', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 17: 2.

Other Marxist and World-Systems/Dependency approaches:

- Blaney, David (1996) 'Reconceptualizing Autonomy: The Difference Dependency Theory Makes', *Review of International Political Economy*, 3: 3.
- Brenner, Robert 'The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism', *New Left Review* 104:1 (1977).
- Denemark, Robert (1999) "World System History: From Traditional International Politics to the Study of Global Relations." *International Studies Review* 1(2):167-199.
- Drainville, André (1994) 'International Political Economy in the Age of Open Marxism', *Review of International Political Economy* 1:1.
- Gills, Barry (1987) 'Historical Materialism and International Relations Theory', *Millennium*, 16:(2).
- Namkoong, Y (1999) 'Dependency Theory: Concepts, Classifications, and Criticisms', *International Area Studies Review*, 2(1): 121-150.

el-Ojeili, Chamsy (2015) 'Reflections on Wallerstein: The Modern World-System, Four Decades on', *Critical Sociology*, 41(4-5): 679–700.

Rupert, Mark and Hazel Smith (eds.) *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (Routledge, 2002).

Theda Skocpol, 'Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A theoretical and historical critique', *American Journal of Sociology*, 82:5 (1977).

Warren, Bill (1973) 'Imperialism and Capitalist Industrialization', *New Left Review*, 81.

Tutorial 6: Theory, history and the 'real world' – course halfway(ish) review!!

IMPORTANT: You will need to bring with you either one of the broadsheet newspapers (Guardian, Telegraph, FT, etc) or a 'serious' news-related magazine (Economist, Prospect etc). Look for evidence that the theoretical perspectives we have discussed are manifest in the real world. You should try to find evidence that fits with each of the main perspectives we discussed in class (realism, liberalism, marxism). Be creative in your thinking! You will need to present your work and explain why you think the evidence tells us what you think it tells us!

Guiding questions

1. How does theory relate to practice in IPE?
2. What is the relationship between agent and structure in IPE?
3. Each theory of IPE rests on certain assumptions (explicit or implicit) about how world order is constituted, how history is made and how change can be effected – what are the assumptions of realist/liberal and Marxist IPE.

Essential readings:

- Tooze, Roger and Craig Murphy (1996) 'The Epistemology of Poverty and the Poverty of Epistemology in IPE: Mystery, Blindness, and Invisibility', *Millennium*, 25 (3), 681-707.
- Watson, Matthew (2011) 'The Historical Roots of Theoretical Traditions in Global Political Economy', in John Ravenhill (ed.) *Global Political Economy*, (third edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 29-66.
- van der Pijl, Kees (2009) 'Preface' in *A Survey of Global Political Economy*.
- Weber, Cynthia (1994) 'Good Girls, Little Girls, and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations', *Millennium* 23(2).

Further readings:

Colin Hay and David Marsh 1999 'Introduction: Towards a New (International) Political Economy?', *New Political Economy*, 4 (1), 5-22.

Geoffrey Underhill 2000 'State, Market and Global Political Economy: Genealogy of an (Inter-?) Discipline', *International Affairs*, 76 (4), 805-24.

Louise Amoore et al 2000 'Paths to a Historicized International Political Economy', *Review of International Political Economy*, 7 (1), 53-71.

- Stephen Krasner 1994 'International Political Economy: Abiding Discord', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1 (1), 13-20.
- Susan Strange 1994 'Wake Up, Krasner! The World Has Changed', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1 (2), 209-19.
- Steve Smith, 'Positivism and Beyond', in Smith et al. (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (1995), pp. 11-44.
- Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum 2001 'Pre-Disciplinary and Post-Disciplinary Perspectives', *New Political Economy*, 6 (1), 89-102.
- David Held and Anthony McGrew 1998 'Globalization and the End of the Old Order', *Review of International Studies*, 24 (Special Issue), 219-44.
- Roger Tooze 2000 'Susan Strange, Academic International Relations and the Study of International Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 5 (2), 280-90.
- Strange, Susan 1991 'An Eclectic Approach', in Craig Murphy and Roger Tooze (eds) *The New International Political Economy*, London: Lynne Rienner.
- Cerny, Philip 1999 'Globalising the Political and Politicising the Global: International Political Economy as a Vocation', *New Political Economy*, 4 (1), 147-62.
- Inayatullah, Naeem and David Blaney 1999 'Towards an Ethnological IPE: Karl Polanyi's Double Critique of Capitalism', *Millennium*, 28 (2), 311-40.

Tutorial 7: Neo-Gramscian perspectives on hegemony and emancipation

Guiding questions:

1. What are the key concepts that neo-Gramscian IPE develops in order to further a critical understanding of class and state?
2. How does neo-Gramscian IPE provide for insightful and convincing critical understanding contemporary capitalism?
3. To what extent does neo-Gramscian IPE provide an insightful and convincing critical understanding of the state in contemporary capitalism?

Essential readings:

- Cox, R. (1981) *Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 10(2): pp. 126-55.
- Gill, S. (1995) 'Globalisation, Market Civilisation, and Disciplinary Neoliberalism', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 24(3): pp. 399-423.
- Robinson W. (2001) 'Social Theory and globalization: the rise of the transnational state', *Theory and Society*, 30(2): pp. 157-200.
- Cox, R. (1983) 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 12(2): pp. 162-75.

Supplementary readings:

Special issue (2016) *From International Relations to World Civilizations: The Contributions of Robert W. Cox*, *Globalizations* 13(5).

- van Appeldoorn, Bastiaan (2000) 'Transnational class agency and European Governance: the case of the European Round Table', *New Political Economy*, 5:2 (2000) 157-82.
- Burnham, Peter (1991) 'Neo-Gramscian Hegemony and the International Order', *Capital & Class*, 45: 73-93.
- Carroll, William K. and Colin Carson (2003) "The Network of Global Corporations and Policy Groups: A Structure for Transnational Capitalist Class Formation?" *Global Networks*, 3 (1): 29-57.
- Germain, Randall D. and Kenny, Michael (1998) 'Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians,' *Review of International Studies*, 24(1): pp. 3-21.
- Gill, Stephen (ed.), *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Ives, Peter and Nicola Short (2013) 'On Gramsci and the International: A Textual Analysis', *Review of International Studies*, 39(3): 621-642
- Mittelman, James H. (1998) 'Coxian Historicism as an Alternative Perspective in International Studies', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 23(1) 63-92.
- Murphy, Craig (1998) 'Understanding IR: Understanding Gramsci', and Mark Rupert, '(Re-) Engaging Gramsci: a Response to Germain and Kenny', *Review of International Studies*, 24: 3 (July 1998).
- Overbeek, H. (2004) 'Transnational class formation and concepts of control: notes towards a genealogy of the Amsterdam project in international political economy', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 7(2): pp. 113-41
- Robinson, W. (1998) 'Beyond Nation-State Paradigms: Globalisation, Sociology, and the Challenge of Transnational Studies', *Sociological Forum*, 13(4): 561-94.
- Rupert, M. (1995) *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shields, S. (2008) 'How the East was won: Globalisation, transnational social forces and Poland's transition to a market economy' *Global Society*, 22(4).
- Shilliam, R. (2004), 'Hegemony and the Unfashionable Problematic of "Primitive Accumulation"', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33(1), pp. 59-88.

Tutorial 8: Gender and (re)production in the global economy.

Guiding questions:

1. What are the key trends and tendencies that characterise the emergence and expansion of global production networks?
2. What are the key concepts that feminist political economy develops in order to further a critical IPE understanding of global production?
3. To what extent does feminist political economy provide for an insightful and convincing critical understanding of global production?

Essential readings:

- Elias, Juanita (2011), 'Critical Feminist Scholarship and IPE' in Stuart Shields, Ian Bruff and Huw Macartney, eds, *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Bedford, Kate and Shirin M. Rai, (2010) 'Feminists Theorize International Political Economy' *Signs*, 36(1): 1-18.
- Peterson, V. Spike (2005) 'How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Economy', *New Political Economy* 10(4): 499-521.
- Waylen, Georgina (2006) 'You still don't understand: why troubled engagements continue between feminists and (critical) IPE', *Review of International Studies* 32: 145-164.

Supplementary readings:

- Bair, J. (2005) 'Global Capitalism and Commodity Chains: Looking Back, Going Forward', *Competition and Change*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 153-180.
- Bakker, I. (2007) 'Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 541-556.
- Bergeron, S (2001) "Political Economy Discourses of Globalization and Feminist Politics", *Signs*, 26 (4).
- Elias, J. (2005) 'The gendered political economy of control and resistance from the shop floor of the multinational firm: A Case Study from Malaysia', *New Political Economy* Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 203-222.
- Elias, J. and Beasley, C. (2009) 'Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalization: Transnational Business Masculinities and Beyond', *Globalizations*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 281-95.
- Elias, Juanita & Adrienne Roberts (2016) 'Feminist Global Political Economies of the Everyday: From Bananas to Bingo', *Globalizations* 13(6).
- Elson, Diane (1998) *The Economic, the Political and the Domestic: Businesses, States and Households in the Organization of Production*. *New Political Economy* 3, 2: 189-208.
- Enloe, Cynthia (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Pandora Books.
- Fraser, Nancy (2014) 'Behind Marx's Hidden Adobe: For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism', *New Left Review* 86: 55-72.
- Gibson-Graham, J-K (1995), *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): Feminist Political Economy*, Aldershot: Blackwell.
- Hajek Katharina and Benjamin Opratko (2016) 'Crisis Management by Subjectivation: Toward a Feminist neo-Gramscian Framework for the Analysis of Europe's Multiple Crisis', *Globalizations* 13(2): 217-231.
- Marchand, M. and Sisson Runyan, A. (eds.) (2010) *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*, 2nd Edition, Routledge.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (1999) *Gender and Globalization: Female Labour and Women's Mobilization*, *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. V, No. 2.
- Murphy, Craig (1996) 'Seeing Women, Recognizing Gender, Recasting International Relations', *International Organization*, 50(3).
- Peterson, V. Spike (2002) 'Rewriting (Global) Political Economy as Reproductive, Productive and Virtual (Foucauldian) Economies' in *International Feminist Journal of Politics* Vol. 4, No 1 pp. 1-30.
- Prügl, Elisabeth (2015) 'Neoliberalising Feminism' *New Political Economy*, 20(4), pp.614- 631.

Roberts, Adrienne (2012) 'Financial Crisis, Financial Firms ... and Financial Feminism? The rise of Transnational Business Feminism and the necessity of Marxist-Feminist IPE', *Socialist Studies* 8(2): 85-108.

Steans, Jill (2003) 'Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the "Mainstream" of International Relations', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5:3.

Waylen, Georgina (1997) 'Gender, Feminism and Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 2(2).

Tutorial 9: Post-structuralism and post-colonialism - the construction of economic knowledge.

Seminar Guiding Questions:

1. What do you consider the defining characteristics of neoliberalism?
2. What are the key concepts that post-structuralism or post-colonialism develop in order to further a critical IPE understanding of the power of neoliberal economics?
3. To what extent does post-structuralism or post-colonialism provide for an insightful and convincing critical understanding of the power of neoliberal economics?

Essential Reading:

- Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002) 'Neoliberalizing space', *Antipode* Vol. 34, No. 3, 380-404.
- De Goede, M. 'Introduction: International Political Economy and the Promises of Poststructuralism', in Marieke De Goede (ed) *International Political Economy and Poststructural Politics* (Palgrave 2005).
- Griffin, Penny (2012) 'Post-structuralism in/and IPE', in Shields, et al (eds) *Critical IPE*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Dannreuther, C and O. Kessler (2017) 'Racialised Futures: On Risk, Race and Finance', *Millennium*, 45(3): 356-379

Supplementary reading:

Agathangelou, Anna M. and L. H. M. Ling (2004) 'The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poiesis of Worldism', *International Studies Review* 6(4) pp. 21-49.

Amin, Ash and Ronen Palan (2001) 'Towards a Non-Rationalist International Political Economy', *Review of International Political Economy*, 8(4) pp.559-577.

Blyth, Mark (2003) 'From Comparative Capitalism to Economic Constructivism', *New Political Economy* 8 (2): pp. 263-274.

Bonefeld, W. (2012) 'Freedom and the Strong State: On German Ordoliberalism', *New Political Economy*, 17(5): 633-656.

Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore (2010) 'After Neoliberalization?' *Globalizations* 7(3), pp.327-345.

Breslau, Daniel (2003) 'Economics invents the economy: Mathematics, statistics, and models in the work of Irving Fisher and Wesley Mitchell', *Theory and Society*, 32(2): 379-411.

Brown W. (2006) *Africa and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood*. *Review of International Studies* 32(2) 119-143.

- de Goede, M. (2003) 'Beyond Economism in International Political Economy', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 79-97.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynne (2001) 'Desert Tracts: Statecraft in Remote Places', *Alternatives*, 26(4) pp. 523-544.
- Ferguson, James and Akhil Gupta (2002) 'Spatializing States: Governmentality in Africa and India', *American Ethnologist*, 29(4) pp. 981-1002.
- Hardie, I. and MacKenzie, D. (2007) 'Assembling an Economic Actor: The Agencement of a Hedge Fund', *Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 57-80.
- Inayatullah, N. and Blaney, D. (2004) *International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (London: Routledge).
- Jessop, Bob (2007) 'From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power', *Political Geography*, 26(1): 34-40.
- Konings, M. (2010) 'Neoliberalism and the American State' in *Critical Sociology*. 36(5): pp. 741-765.
- Langley, Paul (2010) 'The performance of liquidity in the sub-prime mortgage crisis', *New Political Economy*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 71-98.
- MacKenzie, D. (2004) 'The Big, Bad Wolf and the Rational Market: Portfolio Insurance, the 1987 Crash and the Performativity of Economics', *Economy and Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 303-34.
- Mugge, D. (2015) 'Studying macroeconomic indicators as powerful ideas', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(3): 410-27.
- Sabaratnam, M. (2011) 'IR in Dialogue... but Can We Change the Subjects? A Typology of Decolonising Strategies for the Study of World Politics'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 39(3): 781-803.
- Shilliam, R. (2017) 'Race and World Politics' in Bayliss, J, Smith, S. and Owens, P. (eds.) *Globalization of World Politics* (7th ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tickner, A (2003) 'Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23(2): 295-324.

Tutorial 10: Final workshop

Topic and readings to be discussed in class.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI 30791 Gender, War & Militarism**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Dr Cristina Masters
Room: ALB 4.022
Telephone: 0161 275 1308
Email: cristina.masters@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Tuesdays 11am-12noon, please email to book an appointment

Lecture/seminar: Tuesdays 1-4pm, University Place 4.205

Mode of assessment: Research Essay 60%
 Group Presentation 20%
 Reading Response Journal 20%

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

Jay Burke, jay.burke@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

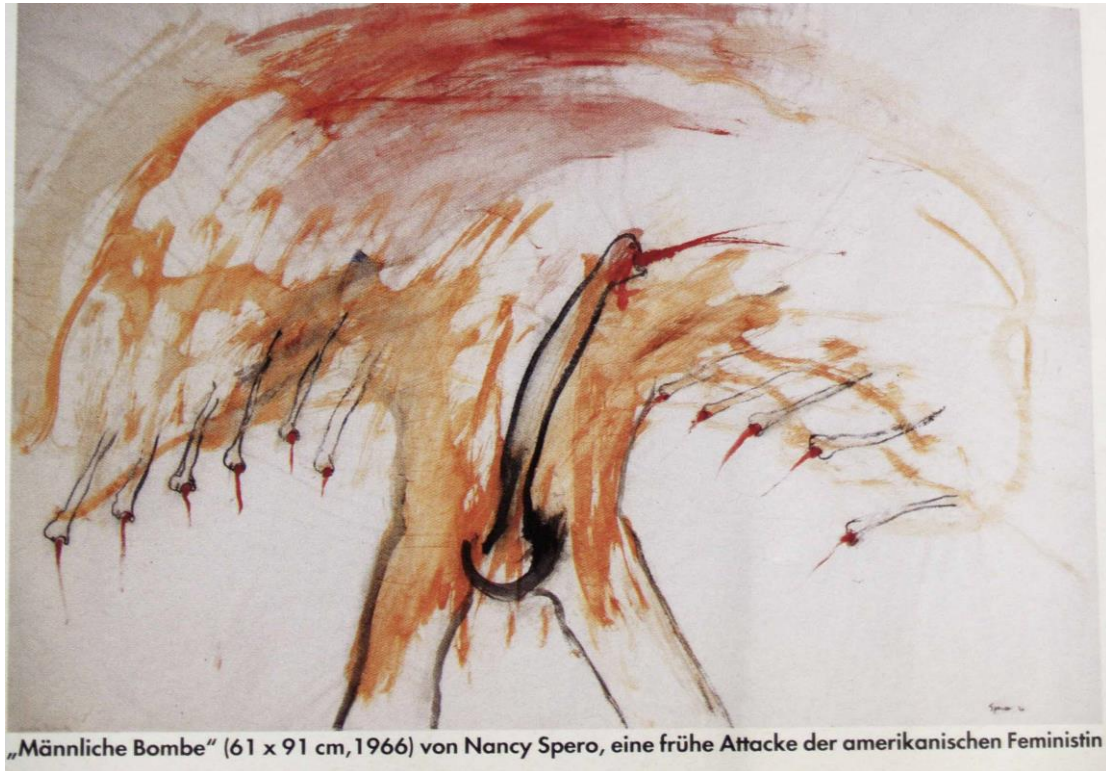
Essay hand in date: Monday, January 7th, 2019 by 2pm via Bb.

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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GENDER, WAR & MILITARISM



„Männliche Bombe“ (61 x 91 cm, 1966) von Nancy Spero, eine frühe Attacke der amerikanischen Feministin

COURSE AIMS

This course explores the complex relationship between gender, war and militarism in international politics. Beginning with an understanding of gender as constitutive, the course will examine:

1. How gendered representations are central logics in practices of war and militarism;
2. How war and militarism produce gender in a variety of competing and conflicting ways;
3. How war and militarism produce a range of gendered affects and effects.

The course will develop a deep and critical engagement with the three central categories of analysis – gender, militarism and war – and work at the intersections of the core concepts. It will also critically explore other categories of analysis (race, class, and sexuality **and** embodiment, experience and the everyday) to further complicate the relationship between subjectivity and violence.

Some of the questions the course will explore are: What is gender? How does it work with other differences? What is its relationship to violence? What is the relationship between subjectivity and violence? What is war? What is militarism? Where and when are they taking place? Who does war/militarism? How are these gendered? What, if any, are alternatives to militarism and war? How does this involve (or not) gender? Feminism?

The course takes seriously how gender works to shape bodies, enact embodiments and experiences of war and militarism through complex arrangements of power and violence. Taking gender seriously, then, is crucial to rethinking the so-called “realities” of war and militarism. The objective of this course, then, is to sensitise students to the politics of gender as a relation of power that constitutes militarism and war and to critically engage how gender serves as a profound limit to how we might otherwise “be” in the world. The course encourages both a reconceptualisation of “gender”, “war” and “militarism”, and a broadening of the “international politics”, thus what we deem as “international” and “political”.

COURSE TEACHING & LEARNING METHODS

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

- Lectures and seminars;
- 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.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

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

Knowledge and understanding of the subject:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the complex relationship between gender, war and militarism;
- Demonstrate an understanding of feminist approaches to the study of war and militarism in relation to both mainstream and critical approaches;
- Outline and discuss how critically engaging with gender is significant to international politics;
- Demonstrate an ability to think critically about feminism and the gendered politics of violence in international politics;
- Evaluate different interpretations of the complex relationship between the three core concepts in the course;
- Articulate your own views on gender, war and militarism with recourse to (and sometimes rejection of) both the literature covered in the course and literature and information gathered for the 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.

PRELIMINARY & ESSAY READING

1. Ackerly, Brooke A., Maria Stern, and Jacqui True, eds., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
2. Åhäll, Linda and Thomas Gregory, eds., *Emotions, Politics & War* (London: Routledge 2015).
3. Cohn, Carol, ed., *Women & Wars* (Polity Press, 2013).
4. Enloe, Cynthia, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd edition (London: University of California Press, 2014).
5. Kronsweil, Annica & Erica Svedberg, eds., *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices* (London: Routledge, 2013).
6. McSorley, Kevin, ed., *War and the Body: Militarisation, practice and experience* (London: Routledge, 2013).
7. Parpart, Jane L., and Marysia Zalewski, *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (London: Zed Books, 2008).
8. Shepherd, Laura, *Gender, Violence & Popular Culture: Telling Stories* (London: Routledge, 2013).
9. Repo, Jemima, *The Biopolitics of Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
10. Sjöberg, Laura, *Gender, War & Conflict* (London: Polity Press, 2014).
11. Sjöberg, Laura & Sandra Via, eds., *Gender, War & Militarism: Feminist Perspectives* (Praeger, 2010).
12. Steans, Jill and Daniela Tepe-Belfrage (eds.), *Handbook of Gender in World Politics* (Oxford: Edward Elgar, 2016)
13. Steans, Jill, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*, 3rd Edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
14. Sylvester, Christine, *War As Experience* (London: Routledge, 2013).

15. Weber, Cynthia, *Imagining America at War: Morality, Politics, and Film* (London: Routledge, 2006).
16. Zalewski, Marysia, *Feminist International Relations: Exquisite Corpse* (London: Routledge, 2013)

KEY JOURNALS

The following journals will provide much of the leading-edge feminist research on gender, war and militarism. Critical international politics journals that are not explicitly feminist also provide space for feminist engagement in IR.

Feminist Journals

Feminist Review; Feminist Studies; Gender and History; Gender & Politics; Hypatia; International Feminist Journal of Politics; Signs: A Journal of Women and Culture; Women's History Review; Women's Studies International Forum; Women's Studies International Quarterly; Men & Masculinities.

IR/Security Journals

Security Dialogue; Review of International Studies; Critical Military Studies; Critical Studies on Security; Cooperation & Conflict; British Journal of International Relations; International Feminist Journal of Politics; Alternatives: Global, Local, Political; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; International Security; Global Society; Environment & Planning D: Society & Space; International Political Sociology; Political Geography; Journal of International Relations & Development; Conflict, Security & Development; Theory, Culture & Society; Journal of Peace Research; International Relations; and War & Cultural Studies.

EVALUATION

1. Research Essay (4,000 words)

Due Monday January 7th, 2019, by 2pm via Blackboard

Choose one of the following essay questions:

1. Are feminism and militarism/war compatible? If so, how? If not, why not? Think carefully about different articulations of feminism.
2. What is an anti-war feminist position? Thinking through feminist and/or queer anti-war organisations such as "Code Pink" and "Queer Trans Ban War" critically detail the position and how it (de)mobilises notions of gender, sexuality, class, and race.
3. Women's integration into full combat roles in the US and British militaries raise questions about whether or not it is a cause for feminist celebration. Critically discuss the following question, should women fight?
4. How does war and/or militarism depend on "affective economies" (Ahmed 2004)? How are these gendered?
5. Critically evaluate the University of Manchester in relation to either Alison Howell's concept of "martial politics" or Cynthia Enloe's concept of "militarisation".
6. Audre Lorde famously argued the "master's tools will never dismantle the master's house". Can the military be transformed through the "inclusion" of previously excluded groups? Critical reflection on what 'transformation' might mean will be important.
7. What is an intersectional feminist analysis of war or militarism? Critically analyse the position for what it enables.
8. What does the film *Wonder Women* or *Black Panther* tell us about the relationship between gender, race, and sexuality **and** war and/or militarism?

What are the gendered and racial representational logics of war/militarism?
Do they challenge or reinstate dominant gender norms?

9. Is the “feminine” changing in relation to war? In other words, does the feminine solely function as a constitutive ‘outside’ to war’s masculine representations or can it be (also) understood through a notion to ‘feminine’ militarised masculinity?

Essays are an opportunity for students to take up key issues in gender, war and militarism and more deeply pursue a topic either covered in the course or closely related. 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 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!

Essays should be 4,000 words (with a 10% margin above or below), word-processed, 12 pt. font, double-spaced, 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. Please see the Politics Part II Handbook for further guidelines and below for additional advice.

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/>

Extensions (see Politics 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: 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

- 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.

The final essay is worth **60% of your final mark.**

Learning Outcomes:

- Utilise knowledge of the course and research creatively to construct a reasoned argument, identify conclusions and communicate these persuasively in writing;
- Synthesis, dissemination and substantiation of complex ideas and arguments;
- Critical evaluation, explanation and analysis of empirical and theoretical evidence;
- Critically engage with a wide range of sources in a variety of media to effectively extract and present key information, analyses and conclusions;
- Demonstrate appropriately wide ranging theoretical, conceptual and empirical knowledge in relation to the chosen essay question;
- Select and use theory to assess competing explanations/understandings of key concepts and practices in relation to gender, war and militarism.

2. Group Presentations

4 December 2018 – in seminar 1-4pm

Working with your group pick a military recruitment campaign and analyse it through a feminist, postcolonial, anti-racist, Marxist and/or queer curiosity (choose one or a carefully configured mix). You can choose a campaign from anywhere in the world, although you will likely be restricted to English speaking countries.

The assessment is asking groups to apply feminist knowledge developed throughout the course to the chosen recruitment campaign to ask key "critical" questions about the campaign, such as who, what, where, when, why, and how possible. In other words, how do recruitment campaigns work through and/or reconfigure logics of gender, race, sexuality? What gendered/raced/sexed/classed stories are campaigns telling? What are the effects?

More specific questions to ask are:

1. How are women and men, femininity and masculinity represented?
2. Where are men and women in the campaign?
3. What are they doing?
4. Where is the campaign taking place? If in multiple (geographical) sites, how are they (dis)connected?
5. What are the geographies, spaces and spatialities of the recruitment campaign?
6. How are racial/ethnic minorities represented? What are they doing? Where are they?
7. What "work" is class doing?

8. What are the affective registers/economies? What feeling(s) is the campaign attempting to evoke?
9. What are the visual aesthetics? What does war and militarism “look” like?
10. Are there (gendered) temporal dimensions? Is there a before, during and after? What is this telling us about war/militarism and is gender doing any work?
11. Crucially, what is excluded from the visual “frame” of the campaign?

Don't attempt to answer all of these questions! Instead develop a more focussed approach for what work gender, race, sexuality and class might be (or not) doing in the campaign, what it might tell us about who the “desired” subject of war is, what war is about, and, importantly, what might be hidden from view.

Groups will produce a **powerpoint presentation of 15 minutes** to present to the class in our final seminar. Groups will be marked on the analytical substance of the presentation and how well it visually and orally captures a feminist analysis of the campaign. Given the strict time limit substantive content should be carefully curated, rather than exhaustively approached. Try to avoid having members of the group present individual analysis of the campaign where there is greater risk of presenting interesting ‘individual’ insights that do not add up to a coherent and cohesive analysis. Alternatively, work together, and with a feminist curiosity, to think through the campaign and decide on a narrative focus for the presentation.

The Group Presentation is worth **20% of your final mark**.

Learning Outcomes:

- Negotiate, synthesise and creatively present complex ideas and arguments concerning the work of gender, race, sexuality and class in military recruitment campaigns;
- Using collaboration to learn and teamwork to fairly and evenly divide workload;
- Use of visual material to present ideas and arguments;
- Oral communication of analyses, arguments and conclusions;
- Preparation for the essay through peer-led teaching and learning.

3. Reading Response Journal (2000 words)

Due Monday, November 26th by 2pm via Blackboard

For this assignment, keep an ongoing journal in which you reflect on the course readings, summarize them, and document your responses to them. You are asked to complete four journal entries throughout the course, with **each entry be approximately 500 words (10% margin either way)**.

For each journal entry, provide a brief (maximum 100 words) summary of the reading under consideration. Identify the primary claim that the author is making, and how she is supporting or developing her ideas. Then, respond to the reading by outlining your response to the reading. Some questions you might consider for your response are: What have you learned from this reading? What ideas and/or feelings, or questions and concerns, were stirred up by it? What was comfortable and known? What was not? How might your positionality (e.g., your identity, context, academic and/or professional background) have influenced your response?

Your reading response journal will be evaluated based on the quality of your writing, depth of engagement, originality, and evidence of critical analysis and self-reflexivity. In particular I will consider two questions in my evaluation: **(1)** is it convincing that the readings were done? **and (2)** has considered thought, rather than superficial thought,

been applied? (For example, superficial thought = “I really enjoyed reading about “cyborg soldiers and masculinity” or “I learned a lot from the chapter”. Considered thought goes into more reflective detail, grappling with key ideas in the text and with argument and/or evaluation and/or interpretation of the discussion.)

Reading Response Journal is worth **20% of your final mark.**

Learning Outcomes:

- Demonstrate an ability to identify key arguments, supporting analyses, and empirical and theoretical evidence;
- Assess sources in terms of their relevance and quality in support of fulfilling specific analytical tasks;
- Self-reflexivity in thinking through one’s positionality in relation to material
- Preparation for independent essay research by facilitating and developing key critical reading skills.

4. Seminar Participation

You are expected to come to the seminars prepared and to have read assigned readings. Seminars are an opportunity for students to engage critically with the material covered in the course. The expectation is that students arrive in seminar prepared to discuss the assigned reading in a collegial and constructive environment. This means that you must read *before* you arrive in class. While this may seem obvious students often confuse participation with physical presence. Participation means substantive engagement with the material (in other words, quality not quantity), this not only requires that you show up to seminar every week, but importantly that you participate in the class. Keep in mind that you and your colleagues are all in the same ‘boat’, so when you do have reservations about speaking up in class other students are also experiencing the same apprehension. Considering open discussion is critical to learning, it matters that you learn to participate constructively throughout your academic career. Remember, this is your class so it can only be as good as you make it!

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 towards the texts and read with care, while being critical at the same time. This is obviously not an easy task. It is important to remember that any critique, just like the arguments developed in the text you are reading, expresses a position. It is not an objective response and in that way superior to the text’s position.

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.

What Can You Expect From Me?

This is a student driven course. As such, you can expect that I will be responsive to your concerns. You can also expect that I will grade and return assignments promptly. If you are having problems with any aspect of the course, please let me know so that we can work to resolve them. You are welcome to visit me during office hours, other times via mutually convenient appointment, or to contact me through email (please allow 48 hours for a response and note that email correspondence will not be addressed on weekends).

Written Assignments

The following criteria will be used to evaluate your written assignments. Please be sure to read them carefully. 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.*

Analytic Content: Higher grades will be given to work that demonstrates a keen comprehension of reading and lecture materials in combination with an interpretation and critical analysis of that material. Lower grades will be given to work that summarizes or describes the reading and lecture materials. To ensure that you are proceeding prudentially, ask yourself "Am I telling the reader what I think about the concepts and ideas in my paper and why they are important to my argument, or am I simply telling the reader what these concepts are?" In other words, you will be required to engage with the literature rather than merely repeating it.

Development of an Argument: Higher grades will be given to work that has a clearly stated thesis and set of logically developed and reasonably comprehensive arguments in support of that thesis. Lower grades will be given to work that has no thesis or has a thesis that is not logically developed or adequately supported by evidence provided in the body of the paper. It is therefore helpful to ask yourself "Does my paper attempt to prove a point?" A strong paper seeks to convince the reader of the soundness of its central argument (i.e., that you are 'right' in your assessment). Imagine that you are trying to tell people about a brilliant idea for how gender is central to understanding war and militarism – have you anticipated and accounted for their questions and potential counter-arguments in your paper? NOTE:

a paper that has a clear thesis is almost unavoidably analytical whereas the failure to develop a thesis and logical supporting arguments will make the analytic requirement difficult to meet.

Grammar, Spelling, and Style: Higher grades will be given to written work that is grammatically correct and clearly articulated. Lower grades will be given to work that is difficult to read and/or understand due to excessive grammatical and/or spelling errors. Do not rely solely on grammar and spelling checkers found in word processing software as these do not pick up the vast majority of errors. Different approaches to proof-reading work for different people, but I would recommend the following strategy: after completing a first draft of your assignment, put it away for a while (ideally, for a few days); when you pick it up again, read it carefully, slowly, and aloud because when we are familiar with a paper we tend to skim it during proof-reading, thereby missing errors (make sure that you are reading it word for word!). Mistakes in grammar may not always look wrong, but they usually sound wrong. If you need some help with writing style or grammar issues, you are encouraged to seek assistance.

Meeting the Requirements of the Assignment: All written work must be submitted on time, must be of the appropriate length, must use the required number and type of resources, and, most importantly, must address the issues or questions posed in the assignment.

Mechanics and Aesthetics: Higher grades will be given to written work that includes all of the basic requirements of any written assignment. This includes a title page (with a title, your name, student number, and course number), complete and proper referencing in a major recognized format (above all else be consistent), and numbered pages. Furthermore, all the conventions of essay writing should be observed: double-spacing, use of a standardized 12 point size font, uniform one inch margins, single-spacing and indenting of quotations longer than four lines, printing in black ink only, et cetera. Lower grades will be assigned to work that does not include all of these elements and to work that is sloppy in general. Again, careful proof reading is key here.

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 that can be found in *Politics Part II Guide*. Please read (or re-read) the statement on plagiarism and become familiar with it. Academic integrity is a very serious matter and I am 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 me.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS

Week 1

25 September 2018: Introduction to the Course

- Cynthia Enloe, Preface "It's Not All About Trump" and Chapter 1 "Pink Pussy Hats vs. Patriarchy" in *the Big Push: Exposing and Challenging the Persistence of Patriarchy* (Myriad, 2017), ix-xiii, pp.1-23.
- Marysia Zalewski, "Feminist International Relations: Making Sense..." in Laura Shepherd, ed., *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 28-43. (Electronic copy)

PART I: Conceptual Framings

Week 2

2 October 2018: What is gender?

Watch: Cordelia Fine, "Delusions of Gender"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3jnpvyY8l_Y

Required Reading:

- Laura J. Shepherd, "Sex or Gender? Bodies in World Politics and Why Gender Matters," in *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations* (Routledge, 2010), pp. 3-16. (Electronic copy)
- Anne Fausto-Sterling, "Dueling Dualisms," in *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (Basic Books, 2000), pp. 1-29. (Blackboard)
- Judith Butler, "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire," in *Gender Trouble* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 1-46. (Electronic copy)

Highly Recommended:

- Jemima Repo, "Introduction: Gender, Genealogy, Biopolitics," in *The Biopolitics of Gender* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Seminar discussion questions:

1. What is gender? What are the complexities presented by concepts of sex, gender and sexuality?
2. What does it mean to think of gender as performative?
3. What are the implications of thinking about gender as a biological versus a social category?
4. Is gender a discrete category of analysis? What other categories does it intersect with?

Week 3

9 October 2018: Militarism? War? Martial Politics?

Fiction: *Burnt Shadows* (Kamilla Shamsie)

Required Reading:

- Cynthia Enloe, "How Do They Militarize a Can of Soup?" in *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (University of California Press, 2000), pp. 1-34. (Blackboard)

- Alison Howell, "Forget 'militarization': race, disability and the 'martial' politics of the police and university," *International Feminist journal of Politics* 20:2 (2018), pp. 117-136. (Electronic copy)

Seminar Discussion Questions:

1. How is war traditionally defined? Which historical and recent conflicts count as wars? Which do not, and why?
2. What is militarism? How is it gendered?
3. How do war and militarism *perform* gender? How does gender intersect with race in war and militarism?
4. What is the implication of thinking about war as a part of everyday life rather than a radical departure from it? How is militarism implicated in this? How is gender/race/sexuality/class implicated in this?
5. In what ways do you understand your life to be militarised?
6. Does war appear different from what you already know?

Week 4

16 October 2018: On bodies, affect and experience in/of war and militarism

****Guest Lecture by Jennifer Hobbs****

Required Reading:

- Christine Sylvester, "Introduction: War questions for Feminism and International Relations," in *War As Experience: Contributions from International Relations and Feminist Analysis* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 1-14. (Electronic copy)
- Linda Åhäll and Thomas Gregory (eds), "Introduction: mapping emotions, politics and war," in *Emotions, Politics & War* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 1-14. (Electronic copy)
- Kevin McSorley (ed), "War and the body," in *War and the Body: Militarisation, practice and experience* (London, Routledge, 2013), pp. 1-31. (Electronic copy)

Highly recommended:

- S.L. Dyvik and L. Greenwood, "Embodying Militarism: Exploring the Spaces and Bodies In-Between," *Critical Military Studies* 2:1-2 (2016), pp. 1-6. (Electronic copy)
- Alison Howell, "Making War Work: Resilience, emotional fitness, and affective economies in Western militaries," in Linda Åhäll and Thomas Gregory, eds., *Emotions, Politics & War* (Routledge 2015), pp. 141-153. (Electronic copy)
- Julia Welland, "Joy and War: Reading pleasure in wartime experiences," *Review of International Studies* 44:3 (2018), pp. 438-455. (Electronic copy)

Seminar discussion questions:

1. What does it mean to make the body a key site for exploring war?
2. How is war a social activity?
3. Does war appear different from what you already know?
4. How is experience of war gendered?
5. How does the body go missing in dominant accounts of war?
6. How does thinking through emotions disturb or reinstate dominant gender narratives?
7. What does it mean to make the body a key site for exploring war?
8. How is war a social activity?

9. How do we account for the claim by Elaine Scarry that war is about injuring bodies?
10. How does thinking through emotion challenge rational accounts of war?
11. How is experience of war gendered?
12. Are emotions gendered?
13. How does the body go missing in dominant accounts of war?
14. How do aesthetics and affect help (or not) recover the (gendered) body in war?

PART II: Challenging traditional conceptualisations of gender (re)produced in discourses and practices of war and militarisation

Week 5

23 October 2018: Where are the Women?

Watch: Cynthia Enloe, "Women and Militarization: Before, During, and After Wars"
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfCktWyARVo>

Documentary: *The Invisible War* (2012)

Film: *Wonderwoman* (2017), *GI Jane* (1997), *Testament of Youth* (2014)

TV: *Homeland* (2011-), *The Handmaid's Tale* (2017-)

Fiction: *Sand Queen* (Helen Benedict), *A Thousand Splendid Suns* (Khaled Hosseini), *Half a Yellow Sun* (Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie), *The Handmaid's Tale* (Margaret Atwood)

Required Reading:

- Cynthia Enloe, "Preface" and "Eight Women: One War", in *Nimo's War, Emma's War: Making Feminist Sense of the Iraq War* (University of California Press, 2010), preface and pp.1-18. (Electronic copy)
- Laura Sjoberg, "Where are the Women?" in *Gender, War & Conflict* (Polity Press, 2014), pp. 23-53. (Electronic copy)
- Laura Sjoberg and Caron Gentry, "Introduction: A Woman Did That?" in *Beyond Mothers, Monsters & Whores: Thinking About Women's Violence in Global Politics* (Zed Books, 2015), pp. 1-26. (Electronic copy)

Highly recommended:

- Katharine M. Millar, "Death does not become her: An examination of public construction of female American soldiers as liminal figures," *Review of International Studies* 41 (2015), pp. 757-779. (Electronic copy)
- Carol Cohn, "Women and Wars: Toward a Conceptual Framework," in *Women & Wars* (Polity Press, 2013), pp. 1-35.
- Dara Kay Cohen, "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations* 65:3 (2013), pp. 383-415. (Electronic copy)
- Jasbir Puar, "Abu Ghraib and US Sexual Exceptionalism," *Works and Days* 29:1/2 (2011), pp. 115-141.
<http://www.worksanddays.net/2011/File08.Puar,%20J%2006.pdf>.
- L. Briggs, "Making Race, Making Sex," *International Feminist journal of Politics*, 17:1 (2015), pp. 20-39.
- Kelly Oliver, "Women: The Secret Weapon of Modern Warfare?," *Hypatia* 23:2 (2008), pp. 1-16.
- Laura Sjoberg and Caren Gentry, *Mothers, Monsters & Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics* (Zed, 2007), Chapters 1& 2.

- Joanna Bourke, "Torture as Pornography," *Guardian* (London), May 7, 2004, 6. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/may/07/gender.uk>

Seminar discussion questions:

1. What are women's roles in war and militarism?
2. In what ways are women's roles in war oversimplified in war narratives? How and why?
3. How are myths of women as wars' innocents and protected 'other' sustained? How and why?
4. What roles do women play in stories that justify wars? In war preparation? In war-fighting? In war economies? In post-conflict reconstruction? How are the experiences of women in these roles gendered?
5. How are women's (perceived and actual) roles in war(s) related to men?
6. What is the relationship between women and femininity? Are women war's other? What is women's relationship to the other in war and militarism?
7. What are some strategies for better understanding the complexities of women's roles in war(s)?
8. Do women have a shared experience of war?
9. Why might it be problematic to ask 'where are the women'?

Week 6: READING WEEK October 29th to November 2nd

Week 7

6 November 2018: Where are the Men?

Film: *The Hurt Locker* (2008), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *American Sniper* (2014)

Fiction: *The Yellow Birds* (Kevin Powers)

Biography: *Guantánamo Diary* (Mohamedou Ould Slahi)

Required Reading:

- Laura Sjoberg, "Where are the Men?," in *Gender, War & Conflict* (Polity Press, 2014), pp. 54-84. (Electronic copy)
- Kimberly Hutchings, "Making Sense of Masculinity and War," *Men & Masculinities* 10:4 (2008), pp. 389-404. (Electronic copy)
- Marsha Henry, "Problematizing military masculinity, intersectionality and male vulnerability in feminist critical military studies," *Critical Military Studies*, 3:2 (2017), pp.182-199. (Electronic copy)
- Marysia Zalewski, "What's the problem with the concept of military masculinities?" *Critical Military Studies*, 3:2 (2017), pp. 200-205. (Electronic copy)

Highly recommended:

- Elizabeth Mesok, "Masculinity, Men and Sexual Violence in the US Military," in *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*, ed., Marysia Zalewski, Paula Drummond, Elisabeth Prügl and Maria Stern (Routledge, 2018), pp. 57-70.
- Maria Baaz and Maria Stern, "Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)," *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (2009), pp. 495-518.
- Jane L. Parpart and Marysia Zalewski, "Introduction: Rethinking the Man Question," in *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (London: Zed Books, 2008), pp. 1-22. (Electronic copy)

- Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999)
- Bonnie Mann, 'Preface' and "Introduction: Strange Cousins," in *Sovereign Masculinity: Gender Lessons from the War on Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), preface and pp. 1-12.

Seminar Discussion Questions:

1. What are men's roles in war and militarism?
2. What are the ways men's roles in war are oversimplified in war narratives? How and why?
3. How are myths of masculinity sustained? Why? Does this normalise war in international politics?
4. Do men have a shared experience of war?
5. Have images of militarised masculinity remained similar across time, place, and culture? How have they changed? What does this tell us about gender?
6. What is the relationship between masculinity and the 'other' in war and militarism?
7. How are men's roles in war(s) related to women?
8. What is the role of sex and biology in war?
9. Can masculinity be severed from practices of war? In other words can we have war without a notion of masculinity?
10. Why might it be problematic to ask 'where are the men'?

Part III: Feminist engagements with practices of war and militarism

Week 8

13 November 2018: (Black) women, gays and trans in the military: on the politics of bans and (strange) inclusions and exclusions

Check out:

Queer Trans War Ban at: <https://queertranswarban.wordpress.com>

Palm Center at <https://www.palmcenter.org>

Required reading:

- Megan H. MacKenzie, "Will letting women fight fix gender inequality: why it's no panacea for the Military's ills," *Foreign Affairs*, April 23, 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-04-23/will-letting-women-fight-fix-gender-inequality>
- Clare Duncanson and Rachel Woodward, "Regendering the military: Theorizing Women's Military Participation," *Security Dialogue* 47:1 (2016), pp. 3-21. (Electronic copy)
- Eli Massey and Yasmin Nair, "Inclusion in the Atrocious," *Current Affairs*, March 22, 2018. <https://www.currentaffairs.org/2018/03/inclusion-in-the-atrocious>
- Wendy M. Christensen, "The black-citizen subject: black single mothers in US recruitment material," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39:14 (2016), pp. 2508-2526.

Highly recommended:

- Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43:6 (1991), pp. 1241-1299.
- Aaron Belkin, "'Don't ask, don't tell': Does the Gay Ban Undermine the Military's Reputation?," *Armed Forces & Society* (2007), pp. 1-16.

<http://aaronbelkin.org/pdfs/Debating%20the%20Gay%20Ban%20in%20the%20Military%20-%201st%20chpt.pdf>

- A. C. King, "The Female Combat Soldier," *European Journal of International Relations* 15 (2015), pp. 1-22. (Electronic copy)
- Megan MacKenzie, "Women in Combat: Beyond 'Can They?' Or 'Should They?'" *Critical Studies on Security* 1:2 (2013), pp. 239-242. (Electronic copy)

Seminar Discussion Questions:

1. Should women/gays/trans/minorities fight?
2. Can the military be transformed through the inclusion of previously excluded groups?
3. Does inclusion further normalise, depoliticise and entrench militaries and war?
4. What is the relationship between military participation and recognition?

Week 9

20 November 2018: Sexual(ised) violence, war and militarism

Required reading:

- Melanie Richter-Montpetit, "Empire, Desire, Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner 'Abuse' in Abu Ghraib and the Question of 'Gender Equality'", *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2007), 9(1): p. 38-59. (Electronic copy)
- Rachel Pain, "Intimate War," *Political Geography* 44 (2014), pp. 64-73. (Electronic copy)
- Marysia Zalewski, et.al., "Introduction: Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics," in *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*, ed., Marysia Zalewski, Paula Drummond, Elisabeth Prügl and Maria Stern (Routledge, 2018), pp. 1-19.
- "Reflections" in *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*, ed., Marysia Zalewski, Paula Drummond, Elisabeth Prügl and Maria Stern (Routledge, 2018), pp. 239-255.

Highly recommended:

- Rachel Pain, "Everyday Terrorism: Connecting domestic violence and global terrorism." *Progress in Human Geography* 38:4 (2014), pp. 531-550. (Electronic copy)

Seminar Discussion Questions:

1. What work is sexual violence doing in war and militarism?
2. How is sexual violence connected to subjectivity and/or identity?
3. Are there differences between sexual violence against women and men?
4. How are different forms of violence in war connected? What are they connected to?

Week 10

27 November 2018: Cyborg soldiers and new (gender) bodily configurations

Film: *Ex-Machina* (2015); *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015)

Fiction: *Grounded* (George Brant)

Required reading:

- Mary Manjikian, "Becoming Unmanned: The Gendering of Lethal Autonomous Warfare Technology," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16:1 (2014), pp. 48-65. (Electronic copy)

- Cristina Masters, "Bodies of Technology and the Politics of the Flesh," in Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, eds., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (Zed Books, 2008), pp. 87-108. (Electronic copy)
- Cara Daggett, "Drone Disorientations: How 'Unmanned' Weapons Queer the Experience of Killing in War," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17:3 (2015), pp. 361-379. (Electronic copy)

Highly Recommended:

- Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12:4 (1987), pp. 687-718. (Blackboard)
- Rey Chow, *The Age of the World Target: Self-Referentiality in War, Theory, and Comparative Work* (London: Duke University Press, 2006), passim.
- Medea Benjamin, *Drone Warfare: Killing By Remote Control* (London: Verso, 2013), passim.

Seminar Discussion Questions:

1. How is gender configured in advanced military technology?
2. What does it mean to "queer" war?
3. Does drone warfare mark the end of warrior culture?
4. What is the everyday of war in the context of drones? How is war experienced by a drone pilot? How is war experienced by individuals on the ground where drones are in operation?
5. What is the relationship between 'seeing' and 'space', i.e., war by remote control?
6. What affective registers does drone war work through?
7. How does drone warfare embody and disembody?
8. Is high tech war more ethical?
9. What are the visual dimensions of contemporary war?
10. Is a camera a weapon of war? If so, how?

Week 11

4 December 2018: Group presentations!

The end that is hopefully a beginning!

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI 30822 War and the Politics of Ethics**
Semester: 2
Credits: 20

Lecturer(s):	Professor Maja Zehfuss
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Telephone:	(0161) 2754937 (Ext: 54937)
Email:	maja.zehfuss@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours:	Book via SOHOL at http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/
Lectures:	Thursday, 12noon-2pm, Kilburn_TH 1.3
Tutorials:	Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
Mode of assessment:	Critical Review Paper (1,500 words; 20%) Group Research Presentation (20%) Research Essay (4,000 words; 60%)
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*****Critical Review hand in date: Monday **8 March, 2pm**Essay hand in date: Monday **13 May, 2pm****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: 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.

Course Outline

This course aims to enable students to think critically about the problem of ethics and its political implications in the context of war. It raises the question of what 'ethics' might mean in the context of war by bringing together theoretical arguments and cases studies. This involves examining traditional notions of ethics such as just war thinking, more recent critiques of the notion of 'ethics' and indeed versions of ethics that are evident in soldiers' views of their role. Throughout the course, students will link these arguments to ethical questions that have arisen in relation to selected wars.

Course Overview

	Lecture	Seminar (week of)	
1	31 Jan	4 Feb	Challenges of Thinking War and Ethics
2	7 Feb	11 Feb	The 'Good War' and the Barbarity of Warfare
3	14 Feb	18 Feb	The Idea of Just War
4	21 Feb	25 Feb	Questioning Ethics
5	28 Feb	4 March	Targeting, 'Collateral Damage' and the Politics of Counting
6	7 March	11 March	Drone Warfare: Geopolitics and Embodiment
7	14 March	18 March	Gentle War: Using Culture
8	21 March	1 April	Refusing to Fight <i>Group Presentation</i>
<u>No lecture or seminar in the week starting 25 March</u>			
9	4 April	29 April	The Warrior Ethos and Soldiers' Responsibility
10	2 May	6 May	War and the Politics of Ethics

Course Aims

- To introduce existing thinking on ethics in relation to the problematic of war
- To critically examine traditional notions of ethics in the context of war
- To explore ethical questions that arise in the context of war
- To employ theoretical arguments to critically analyse and discuss concrete ethical dilemmas that arise in wars

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course students should be able to

- To identify strengths and weaknesses of existing thinking on ethics in relation to the problematic of war
- To critically examine traditional notions of ethics in the context of war
- To identify ethical questions that arise in the context of war
- To deploy thinking on ethics in order to critically analyse and discuss concrete ethical dilemmas that arise in wars
- To demonstrate good oral and written communication skills
- To demonstrate good research skills
- To demonstrate the ability to work both independently and with others as part of a team
- To reflect on their own learning, using constructive feedback

Intellectual & Transferable Skills

This module helps students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs. It requires students to summarise and analyse information so as to enable clearly articulated interpretations, involving both independent and team work. The module provides opportunities to present analyses in written and oral form.

Teaching methods

This course consists of one weekly lecture plus one weekly tutorial. The format of the tutorials will vary. You will be expected to contribute actively.

You must come prepared to discuss the questions listed for each seminar, having read at least the 'required reading'. You should also consider whether you have questions of your own that you think might be addressed in the seminar. The seminar questions are meant to start off your thinking about a topic, not to limit it.

The key point to stress is that you need to read for every seminar. It is not possible to have an intelligent and informed debate about the issues raised in this course if you do not read widely. A simple rule is that you will get far more out of the course the more you read.

Reading

The required readings listed are REQUIRED for the tutorials.

You must read widely and independently, especially for your essay. The readings listed for each seminar do not reflect the sum total of what you should read.

The course will show that the particular circumstances of war matter. You will be expected to discuss the seminar themes in the context of examples from particular wars. The course will refer at least to the NATO intervention in Kosovo, US-led intervention in Iraq 2003 and the contemporary wars often referred to as the 'war on terror'. You should aim to read widely on at least one of these.

This course guide lists a variety of sources, e.g. history books, philosophical texts, documents and journalists' and soldiers' accounts of particular wars. It is important that you read from a wide range of sources. It is also important, when doing so, to think about the kind of source you are using. Obvious questions to ask yourself include: Who wrote the text and for what purpose? Does this (kind of) text provide the information that you need in order to explore the question you have? Are there alternative sources that might be more suitable?

There are a number of strategies for finding more readings:

- Look at the bibliography of articles that you found particularly useful.
- If you find an author particularly interesting, check whether they have written more on the subject you are interested in.
- Use Google Scholar (as opposed to Google).
- Explore key journals (see below).
- Consider whether there might be reports by government agencies, international organisations or NGOs on the issue.
- See the further readings listed at the end of this course guide.

There are a number of journals that are particularly relevant to this course and which you may wish to explore to find material:

Critical Military Studies: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rcms20/current>

Critical Studies on Security: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcss20>

European Journal of International Relations: <https://journals.sagepub.com/home/ejt>

International Political Sociology: <https://academic.oup.com/ips>

Journal of Military Ethics: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/smil20>

Millennium: Journal of International Studies: <https://journals.sagepub.com/home/mil>

Review of International Studies: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-international-studies>

Security Dialogue: <https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/sdib>

Although there is no book that covers the entirety of the course, there are some that are particularly helpful:

Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations*, any edition.

O'Callaghan, Ronan, *Walzer, Just War and Iraq: Ethics as Response* (Abingdon: Routledge 2016).

Zehfuss, Maja, *War and the Politics of Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018).

Course Requirements

Attendance

Attendance at lectures is strongly recommended, and attendance at tutorials is compulsory. A record of attendance at tutorials will be kept and unsanctioned absences will be followed up by the undergraduate team. If you are unable to attend your tutorial please contact the convenor to explain your absence.

Assessment

The assessment for this course consists of three elements:

1. Critical Review Paper (1,500 words; 20%)
2. Group Research Presentation (20%)
3. Research Essay (4,000 words; 60%)

The Critical Review Paper and the Essay are **to be submitted to Turnitin only** (via blackboard).

(1) Critical Review Paper

The Critical Review Paper is designed to help you practice your critical analytical skills. For this paper, you need to read one article from the list below very carefully and engage with its argument. That is, you need to explore its claims, the assumptions (explicit and implicit) that underpin them and their implications. In the paper, you need to demonstrate your ability to accurately summarise the author's argument and offer an analysis on it that goes beyond merely stating whether you agree or disagree.

Questions that will help you with this task include:

- What is the central argument the author makes?
- What evidence and/or reasoning does the author offer in support of this argument and/or of key claims that contribute to it?
- What assumptions are involved? Does the author explicitly state them?
- Is there something in the article that you would question? On what grounds?
- What larger ethical and political issues arise in thinking through the article?
- Has this article led you to rethink something? If so, how?

Choose one of the following articles:

Delori, Mathias, "Humanitarian violence: how Western airmen kill and let die in order to make live", *Critical Military Studies* online.

Johnson, Jamie M., "Beyond a politics of recrimination: ethics, scandal and the rehabilitation of violence", *European Journal of International Relations* 23:3 (2017), 703-726.

O'Callaghan, Ronan, "Secular theology and noble sacrifice: the ethics of Michael Walzer's just war theory", *Review of International Studies* 39 (2013), 361-383.

Shah, Nisha, "Gunning for war: infantry rifles and the calibration of lethal force", *Critical Studies on Security* 5:1 (2017), 81-104.

(2) Group Research Presentation

All students have to prepare for and take part in a group presentation for Seminar 8: Refusing to Fight.

You will be assessed as a group for this presentation, not as individuals. Each student in any one group will receive the same mark. This is to emphasise that you are being assessed on your ability to work as part of a team to deliver an effective presentation.

Each group of 2 to 3 students will have to agree on a case study: an example where a soldier or several soldiers have refused to fight. You will have to submit a proposal regarding your case studies by Monday 18 March. **This must be submitted through Blackboard by one student on behalf of the group.**

In the proposal, you need to outline your case in about 200 words and list at least 5 sources that you will use for your research. You also need to explain in 200 words why you want to explore this case.

Each group will work together to prepare a 12-minute presentation. You have to work together as a group. This means that you have to be responsible for the division of work in the group. If any problems arise, contact the course convenor immediately (and not in the last minute or even after the presentation). You have to do your own research for your presentation. All members of the group have to contribute to the presentation and be available at the seminar to participate in discussion and answer questions from the rest of the group. It is not necessary for all students speak as part of the presentation.

The group is expected to prepare visual material to support their presentation and present the work/research they have done.

In the presentation, you will have to address at least the following questions:

1. In each case, why did the soldier(s) refuse to fight? What reasons, if any, did they give? What reasons were attributed to them by others?
2. What was the reaction to their refusal by the military and by their society?
3. What ideas about ethics were invoked?

Remember as you research your presentation that not all those who refuse to fight are conscientious objectors: they may have gone AWOL or deserted for any number of reasons; or they may be refusing an order that they believe to be illegal.

Your visuals aids and notes for the presentation have to be submitted through Blackboard by one student on behalf of the group by Monday 8 April. Failure to do so will result in the loss of marks.

(3) Essay

You must write one compulsory 4,000 word essay.

Essays must conform to departmental guidelines on formatting, footnotes and bibliography.

No matter which essay question you choose, you will have to present a detailed case study of actual events in war in your essay. You will also have to show that you have engaged with the more theoretical literature on the topic. The point of the essay is to bring the two together.

Your answers to the selected essay question will be expected to show an understanding of the wider literature and background material as well as content from the seminars **but you are expected to rely predominantly on research material of your own**. Evidence of originality, independent and critical thinking will be rewarded. Marks will be awarded for intellectual insight and development, evidence of reading and research, questioning of the literature and case study material, and self-reflection.

Essay Questions

Choose one of the following questions

1. Should militaries count the civilian casualties they cause?
2. Does the use of high-tech weapons make warfare more ethical?
3. Does the use of cultural knowledge make warfare more ethical?
4. Does holding soldiers responsible for their behaviour in warfare make warfare more ethical?
5. Can war be justified with reference to ethics?
6. How does a commitment to ethics legitimise war?

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

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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

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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.

Assessment Criteria

Your work is assessed into different class categories by using the following criteria:

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.

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 form is it possible for us to feed *back* on the *student's work*. The main forms of feedback on this course are in response to the Critical Review and the Research Essay. 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: 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.

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. This has almost all the information you need on referencing and essay formatting expectations.

Please feel free to contact the course convenor if you have any questions, concerns or suggestions. My office hours are for you: please do not hesitate to come to talk through matters related to the course. I use the SOHOL booking system to ensure that I have time when you come.

Alternatively, you can email me. This is best for queries that have a straightforward answer. You will normally receive a response within three working days (unless you receive an out-of-office informing you clearly otherwise). If you email me, please help me by telling me which of my courses you are taking.

Challenges of Thinking War and Ethics

- What is war? What are the implications of the answer to this questions for how we think about war in ethical terms?
- How are certain types of warfare made ethically preferable?
- What can scandals tell us about war? Why does Johnson argue that scandals revitalize the principles they appear to contest?
- Why might focusing on ethical failure not lead to more ethical war?

Key Reading

Johnson, Jamie M., "Beyond a politics of recrimination: ethics, scandal and the rehabilitation of violence", *European Journal of International Relations* 23:3 (2017), 703-726.

Shah, Nisha, "Gunning for war: infantry rifles and the calibration of lethal force", *Critical Studies on Security* 5:1 (2017), 81-104.

Further Reading

Barkawi, Tarak and Shane Brighton, "Powers of War: Fighting, Knowledge, and Critique", *International Political Sociology* 5 (2011), 126-143.

Campbell, David, "Representing Contemporary War", *Ethics & International Affairs* 17:2 (2003), 99-108.

Coker, Christopher, *Ethics and War in the 21st Century* (Abingdon: Routledge 2008).

Dannatt, General Lord, *The Battle for Hearts and Minds: Morality and Warfare Today*, Annual Lecture 2011 (London: Theos 2013).

Dauphinee, Elizabeth, "War Crimes and the Ruins of Law", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 37:1 (2008), 49-67.

Duffield, Mark, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*. (Cambridge: Polity Press 2007).

Gregory, Derek, "The everywhere war", *The Geographical Journal* 177:3 (2011), 238-250.

Gregory, Derek, "War and Peace", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (2010), 154-186.

Hutchings, Kimberly, "War and moral stupidity", *Review of International Studies* (2017), online.

Jabri, Vivienne, *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (Houndmills: Palgrave 2007).

Mulaj, Klejdar, "Violence of war, ontopology, and the instrumental and performative constitution of political community", *Review of International Studies* (2017), online.

The 'Good War' and the Barbarity of Warfare

- Why is the Second World War seen as a 'good war'?
- How does the 'good war revival' impact on contemporary politics?
- Is bombing cities a barbaric form of warfare?
- Does it matter?

Essential Reading

Dexter, Helen, "New War, Good War and the War on Terror: Explaining, Excusing and Western Neo-Interventionism", *Development and Change* 38:6 (2007), 1055-1071.

Overy, Richard, "Bombed Into Defeat? Air Power and the End of the Second World War", *RUSI Journal* 160:4 (2015), 10-13.

Thomas, Ward, *The Ethics of Destruction: Norms and Force in International Relations* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2001), Chapter 4.

Further Reading

Davis, Mike, *Dead Cities* (New York: The New Press 2002), Chapter 3.

Dexter, Helen, "The 'New War' on Terror, Cosmopolitanism and the 'Just War' Revival", *Government and Opposition* 43:1 (2008), 55-78.

Garrett, Stephen A., *Ethics and Airpower in World War II: The British Bombing of German Cities* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1993).

Grayling, A.C., *Among the Dead Cities: Was the Allied Bombing of Civilians in WWII a Necessity or a Crime?* (London: Bloomsbury 2006).

Overy, R.J., *The Air War 1939-1945* (Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House 1991).

Overy, R.J., *Why The Allies Won* (London: Pimlico 1996), Chapter 4.

Overy, Richard, "Bombed Into Defeat? Air Power and the End of the Second World War", *RUSI Journal* 160:4 (2015), 10-13.

Sebald, W.G., *On the Natural History of Destruction*, Translated by Anthea Bell (London: Penguin Books 2004).

Shaw, Martin, *The New Western Way of War* (Cambridge: Polity Press 2005), esp. Chapter 1.

Thomas, Ward, *The Ethics of Destruction: Norms and Force in International Relations* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2001), Chapter 5.

Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations*, 3rd edition (New York: BasicBooks 2000), Chapter 16.

Walzer, Michael, *Arguing about War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2004), Chapter 3.

The Idea of Just War

- What does it mean to say that a war is 'just'?
- Why might the idea of just war be problematic?

Essential Reading

The key text that is referenced in almost all contemporary discussions of just war in the field of International Relations is Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars*. It is strongly recommended that you read the whole book at some point during this course.

Rengger, Nicholas, "On the just war tradition in the twenty-first century", *International Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 2 (2002).

Walzer, Michael, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations*, various editions, Part 1 (esp. Chapter 3).

O'Driscoll, Cian, "Learning the Language of Just War Theory: The Value of Engagement", *Journal of Military Ethics* 6:2 (2007), 107-116.

Further Reading

Bellamy, Alex J., "Is the war on terror just?", *International Relations* 59 (2005), 39-75.

Bellamy, Alex J., *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity 2006).

Burke, Anthony, "Just War or Ethical Peace? Moral Discourses of Strategic Violence after 9/11", *International Affairs* 80:2 (2004), 329-355.

Burke, Anthony, *Beyond Security, Ethics and Violence: War against the Other* (London: Routledge 2007), esp. Chapter 6.

Christopher, Paul, *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall 1994).

Coates, A.J., *The ethics of war*, 2nd edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016), Chapters 6 and 10.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (ed.), *Just War Theory* (New York: New York University Press 1992).

Elshtain, Jean Bethke, "How to Fight a Just War", in: Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds.), *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2002), 263-269.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke, *Just War Against Terror: The Burden of American Power in a Violent World* (New York: Basic Books 2003).

Holmes, Robert L., *On War and Morality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1989), Chapters 4 and 5.

Johnson, James Turner, *Ethics and the Use of Force: Just War in Historical Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate 2011).

Lazar, Seth, 'War', in: Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2016), <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/war/>.

McMahan, Jeff, *Killing in War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009).

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Questioning Ethics

- Is ethical war a paradox?
- What does it mean to consider that ethics is not separate from politics?
- Why does Fagan term responsibility im-possible?

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Targeting, 'Collateral Damage' and the Politics of Precision

- Who may be targeted in modern war? What are the implications?
- Whose lives are protected?
- Has targeting become more ethical?
- What is the impact of construing 'collateral damage' as accidental?
- Should soldiers' lives be risked or sacrificed more readily than those of civilians? If so, why? If not, why not?

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Drone Warfare: Geopolitics and Embodiment

- Do drones make warfare more moral?
- Do drones complicate the ways in which the morality of warfare has been assessed?
- What does it mean to argue that drones remove human experience from war? Why is such an argument problematic?

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Gentle War: Using Culture

- How have militaries used culture to make war less violent? Is this just 'window dressing'?
- What does it mean to say that war is 'people-centred'?
- Can war be made gentler? What is the impact of trying to do so?
- Does the use of cultural knowledge just make killing more efficient?

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Refusing to Fight

Group Presentation

- Under what circumstances have soldiers refused to fight?
- What reasons have they given?
- How have their states and societies reacted?
- Why are such refusals important?

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The Warrior Ethos and Soldiers' Responsibility

- What is the warrior ethos? Why is it seen as significant?
- Is there a difference between killing in war and murder? What is it?
- How have soldiers been responsibilised? Why is this potentially problematic?

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War and the Politics of Ethics

- Can war be justified ethically? What does it mean to do so?
- Given that war raises so many problematic issues in relation to ethics, why are there so many attempts to justify in ethical terms?

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The 9-11 Commission Report: Final Report of the Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (New York: W.W. Norton 2004), esp. Chapter 10.

Walzer, Michael, *Arguing About War* (New Haven and London: 2004), Chapter 11.

Woodward, Bob, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks 2004).

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30842 — POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: LANGUAGE AND
POWER****Semester: 2****Credits: 20**

Lecturer(s): Dr Nick Turnbull
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<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>
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Lectures: Monday 10-11am: University Place 2.218

Tutorials: Monday 11am-1pm: University Place 3.210
Monday 3-5pm: Zochonis B22

Mode of assessment:

Group research exercise	10%
Research paper	35%
Essay	55%

Easter break: 8 April – 28 April 2019

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

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*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*******Essay hand in date:**

Data collection & presentation	2pm, Thursday 7 March 2019
Research paper	2pm, Thursday 21 March 2019
Essay	2pm, Thursday 16 May 2019

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

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 27.01.2019

Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 01.09.2019

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

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.

Aims

The course aims to introduce students to the latest research in political communication. The primary aim will be to analyse and debate the exercise of power through political language and symbols. The course is oriented around the theory of the public sphere and whether contemporary politics and media upholds normative standards. Students will study issues regarding regulation of the media, how audiences respond to and interpret political communication, how political issues are framed to generate popular support and exclude alternative views, and debate the uses of social media in politics. They will learn about important theories of political communication and develop the methodological skills to apply them in empirical research. Assessment includes a research-led element in the form of an empirical observation of a public political event in Manchester. A key aim of the course will be to take a critical and holistic view of the public sphere as a field of communication essential to political life.

Intended learning outcomes

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

- Understand and critically analyse theories of political communication
- Understand the exercise of power through political language and symbols
- Understand and employ several methodological approaches to the study of the public sphere
- Analyse political communication in the public sphere
- Identify and debate ideology in political language
- Critically analyse the role of communication for political institutions
- Critically analyse empirical data, including political speeches, election campaigns, and media content
- Present their work effectively to an audience of their peers

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 writing 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/>

Course content

The course will introduce students to the field of political communication. It will explain key aspects of the field, including competing theories of the public sphere; competing theories of

political communication; how political communication intersects with party systems; and the institutions of political communication, focusing on the media and its relationship with citizens. It will include a strong emphasis on the theory of the public sphere along with empirical research. This includes a student-led empirical research project. We will examine many forms of communication including election campaigns, the role of spin doctors, media institutions (including media scandals), policy framing and the rising importance of social media. We will cover a wide range of political issues, including social policy, the economy, British politics, the European Union, US politics, and international politics. Ultimately, the course will focus on the question of whether contemporary political communication serves democracy or hinders it.

Classes

1 x 1-hour lecture; 1 x 2-hour seminar: The course comprises a series of 10 lectures and 10 x 2-hour seminars. Seminars will be a mixture of lectures, small group work and whole group discussion. In seminars, the emphasis will be on learning through problem-based exercises involving empirical analyses of political communication. This includes, for example, learning through creating simulated election campaigns, spin strategies for public policy.

Seminars are there to help you understand the scholarly concepts by working through and debating them. Adequate preparation is always the best way of achieving a good result. Each student is expected to come to the tutorial fully prepared; you should be familiar with the lecture material that corresponds to the relevant seminar and read the **Key Reading** for each week. Please bring any questions you have about the reading to class and ask them during the seminar.

Attendance of tutorials is compulsory. If you know in advance that you will not be able to attend a particular tutorial make sure you email you tutor as soon as possible to explain your absence.

Reading lists: each topic has an extensive reading list addressing the weekly topic from a variety of perspectives. These are available to help you with research for your essay. I note that they are a guide only.

Assessment

Assessment is via three tasks:

1. **Group Empirical Research exercise on Manchester's public sphere: 10%.** Data collection and critical reflection (500 words) + field notes (no limit)
2. **Research paper: essay including data analysis from Assignment One, 2,500 words: 35%**
3. **Major essay, 3,500 words: 55%**

1. Group Empirical Research exercise

Assignment One is to research the public sphere in Manchester. Your research will form part of an ongoing, student-led research project in this course in which we examine the quality of the local public sphere. It is supported by Social Responsibility funding from the University of Manchester, which pays for the recordings to be transcribed and used later in a research exercise. We will investigate what types of public political events take place in the city and discover the types of questions asked of presenters, along with their responses. We will use this to reflect upon whether the local public sphere constitutes a productive, critical and democratic reflection on the life of the city.

Work together in groups appointed/approved by the Convenor. As a group, you are to locate and study a public event that constitutes an instance of public sphere debate in Greater Manchester. You should **observe and record the event, write up field notes** including relevant accompanying details and reflections on methodology, and deposit the data on the University server as directed by the Course Convenor. Audio files need to be reasonable quality as they will later be sent for transcription. You must confirm that you have consulted University research ethics and risk management guidelines before going ahead. **You must also obtain approval from each of the main speakers to record proceedings.**

Your **GROUP** is to **jointly**:

1) Submit ONE document detailing your activities. **Write a critical reflection on methods (500 words)** about the research and include with it your **field notes**. Use the Bryman reading (or any good methods book) to think through research issues from observation to sampling and inference.

a) The **critical reflection** of 500 words should include:

1. a **justification** of your choice of event to observe,
2. a discussion of any practical **issues** encountered in the exercise that pertain to successful data collection, e.g. locating a source, recording data, securing permission, etc.
3. reflections on **methodology**, including a discussion of **sampling** and **validity**, and group reflections on the event in regard to its status as a public sphere event.

b) The **field notes** should be written in the same document **following** your 500-word critical reflection. Field notes are an informal record of ALL research matters undertaken during the group stage, i.e., dates and times of group meetings, email exchanges, social media exchanges, planning matters, thoughts and reflections. You should **include evidence that you have followed ethics and risk management** procedures and **obtained explicit permission to record from the main speakers and event organiser**. Otherwise, there is NO SET FORMAT. It is simply good research practice to keep them to prepare you for writing the first essay. **Be as thorough as possible**: these are a record of your practices and deliberations and will be viewed again by other researchers long after you have graduated.

2) produce an audio recording of the event.

The **audio file** should be audible and the field notes should indicate the identities of the key speakers and questioners. The file will be transcribed using Social Responsibility funding and made available for future students and researchers. **Deposit the audio file** on the server in the space allocated (detailed instructions will be provided).

The **grade** will be based on the **quality of the 500 word report AND thoroughness of the field notes**. The data deposit is a 'hurdle' assessment, requiring only evidence that it has been effectively completed.

Like most research, this is a group effort, requiring **teamwork**. The aim of the exercise is to give you transferable skills related to employability: working in teams to solve a problem. **All group members will receive the same grade**. Groups can report any member who does not participate effectively and I will **deduct marks** from that individual student if they provide evidence in support of the claim.

Due date: 2pm, Thursday 7 March 2019

2. Research paper: Individually, write an essay of 2,500 words on the following question:

What is the state of the democratic public sphere in Manchester? Is it effective as a means of critical questioning? Use empirical data from your observations in your answer.

Due date: 2pm, Thursday 21 March 2019

3. Major Essay: Write an essay of 3,500 words on one of the following questions:

1. Is the media in crisis? What are the effects of media change for democratic public spheres?
2. 'Spin made New Labour, spin finished it off' (Benedict Brogan, *Daily Telegraph*). Discuss.
3. Is the controversial media coverage of Jeremy Corbyn's tenure as Labour Party leader due to poor political communications strategy or media bias?
4. Can governments successfully control the framing of public policy problems to their own advantage? Illustrate your argument with reference to at least two policy cases.
5. Was the EU referendum campaign an example of an effective public sphere?
6. Is social media good for democracy?
7. What are the prospects for the realisation of a global public sphere?

Due date: 2pm, Thursday 16 May 2019

Your answers to the essay question will be expected to show an understanding of the wider literature and background material as well as content from the seminars but **you are expected to rely predominantly on your own research of scholarly literature**. Evidence of originality and critical thinking will be rewarded. Marks will be awarded for rigorous argumentation, answers focused on the question, intellectual insight and development, evidence of reading and research, critical questioning of the literature, and self-reflection.

iv. Guidelines for submitting written work

All work must be submitted **ONLINE** via Turnitin. All essays will be checked for plagiarism. Please keep a backup, either electronic or hard copy.

All submitted assignments should be **double-spaced** and use **12-point font**. Standardised rules for footnotes and bibliographies are set out in the **Politics Part II Guide**, available on Blackboard. If written work fails to satisfy these rules regarding scholarly apparatus, 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. All work will be examined for plagiarism using Turnitin software. All marks remain provisional until the Examination 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 marks and comments provided on the first assignment and course essay. Feedback will also be provided each week during seminar activities.

I also draw your attention to the variety of generic forms of feedback available to you on this as on all SOSS courses. These include: meeting the lecturer/tutor during office hours; e-mailing questions to the lecturer/tutor; asking questions from the lecturer (before and after lecture); presenting a question on the discussion board on Blackboard; and obtaining feedback from your peers during tutorials.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the theft or expropriation of someone else's work without proper acknowledgement, presenting the material as if it were one's own. Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and the consequences are severe. Students should read the Guidelines for Students reproduced in the Politics Part 2 Guide and the University's guidance for students on plagiarism and other forms of academic malpractice: <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=2870>

Support

Lecture slides and other materials are available on the course Blackboard site – access through My Manchester:

<https://www.portal.manchester.ac.uk/uPortal/render.userLayoutRootNode.uP>

You can access some library materials directly from this course guide using the Link2Lists feature: <http://www.readinglists.manchester.ac.uk/index.html>

Course Summary:

Week commencing		Lectures	Seminars	
28 Jan	Week 1	Introduction: Studying political communication		
4 Feb	Week 2	The public sphere	The public sphere in the advanced democracies	1
11 Feb	Week 3	Critical reflections on the public sphere	The public sphere as critical questioning	2
18 Feb	Week 4	Institutions and regulation	Researching the public sphere: Assignment #1	3
25 Feb	Week 5	Electoral-professional parties	Election campaigns & Leadership	4
4 Mar	Week 6	Policy making and spin: a Faustian bargain?	Policy design and framing	5
11 Mar	Week 7	News production	Media regulation and freedom	6
18 Mar	Week 8	Politicians and social media	Social media and contemporary politics	7
25 Mar	Week 9	International political communication	A global public sphere?	8
1 Apr	Week 10	Conclusion: state of the public sphere	Evaluating democratic public spheres	9
		EASTER BREAK		
29 Apr	Week 11		Essay preparation	10

Week 6: Guest lecture by Anthony Vigor, former advisor to Gordon Browne MP

Week 8: Guest lecture by Liam McLoughlin, University of Salford

Lecture programme

28 January

Introduction: Studying political communication

Political communication is about mediation between public and representatives; affected by your view of democracy (procedural/representative or participatory/substantive); 'public sphere' refers to the institutions and to the quality and type of communication/debate involved; also depends on theory of communication employed to study it, and approach to political science analysis; many concepts from the field in common use in political discourse (framing, narrative, story, message, etc.); discussed at A-level but we aim for deeper approach.

4 February

The public sphere

Theories of the public sphere; historical development of public spheres (from agora to salon to Twitter); brief history of communication (oral, written, printing press, electronic); comparison between democracies and authoritarian states; non-unitary public sphere in complex societies; the role of communication in theories of representation and participation; public sphere as realm of questioning or decision-making?; political economy of the public sphere; going viral.

11 February

Critical reflections on the public sphere

Critical reflections on Habermas's theory of the public sphere; feminist critique of the public sphere; the bourgeois public sphere; postmodernist alternatives; Habermas's responses to criticism; the theory of communicative action and discourse ethics; deliberative democracy; multiple public spheres; Castoriadis's theory of autonomous and heteronomous societies; modern public sphere as realm of questioning.

18 February

Institutions and regulation

The Fourth Estate; media law and regulation, including ownership; censorship; parliament and representatives; influence of owners on content.

25 February

Electoral-professional parties

Contemporary media strategies; public relations, private and public; government communications; professionalised political parties; spin doctors; public reception; party databases and voter tracking; opinion polling in the public sphere; social media management; media celebrities; media training; promoting public sphere deliberation or corrupting will formation?

4 March

Policy making and spin: a Faustian bargain?

How political communication is integrated into the policy development process. Guest lecture by Anthony Vigor, former advisor to Gordon Browne MP

11 March

News production

Media production for profit; state media; types of media – television, newspapers, internet; selective attention and coverage; journalists and their careers; celebrity politics and media capital; elite media networks; media power – manufacturing consent?

18 March

Politicians and social media

Politicians and the new world of social media; why they use it and how; comparison with traditional media use; types of content posted by politicians; use as broadcast vs dialogue. Guest lecture by Liam Mccloughlin (University of Salford).

25 March

International political communication

Can there be a global public sphere?; is there even a European public sphere?; internet and global communication; communication across state cultures (see *States of Denial*); globalization of insult.

1 April

Conclusion: state of the public sphere

Course overview; revisit public sphere as a concept; question of normative evaluation.

Seminar Programme

Read the marked key reading each week. In most weeks I have also listed a textbook reading which provides introductory and background material. I have listed further reading if you wish to pursue a particular topic for the essay. The readings are available from the Library, either in digitized form or in the High Demand Collection. Keep an electronic copy of this course guide on your computer and follow the links.

Textbook: There is not set textbook. If you would like to have a general reading text, I recommend, Aeron Davis (2010) *Political Communication and Social Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge, £25.99. Blackwell's bookshop has copies in stock.

Seminar 1 (Wk 2): The public sphere in the advanced democracies

Topics: Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere; critical engagements with public sphere theory; representative vs deliberative democracy.

Key reading

Davis, A. (2010) 'Citizens, political representation and parliamentary public spheres', *Political Communication and Social Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 2, pp. 18-34.

Habermas, J. (1996) 'The Transformation of the Public Sphere's Political Function' in W. Outhwaite (ed.) *The Habermas Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 28-31. Available library: <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=95c3827a-0554-e611-80c6-005056af4099> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Other sources

Eriksen, E.O. and J. Weigard (2003) *Understanding Habermas: Communicative action and deliberative democracy*. London: Continuum.

Habermas, J. (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. Thomas Berger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, J. (2004) 'Public Space and Political Public Sphere: The biographical roots of two motifs in my thought', Commemorative Lecture, Kyoto. Available: http://ikesharpless.pbworks.com/f/Kyoto_lecture_Nov_2004,+Jurgen+Habermas.pdf (accessed 8 January 2019).

Johnson, P. (2006) *Habermas: Rescuing the public sphere*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kuhn, R. (2007) *Politics and the Media in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 2.

Lippman, W. (1922) *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Oddvar, E. and E.J.E. Fossum (eds) (2000) *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through deliberation?* London: Routledge. Available online via Library.

Outhwaite, W. (ed.) (1996) *The Habermas Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press, Part II Rationality and the Public Sphere.

Richardson, K., Parry, K. and J. Corner (2015) *Political Culture and Media Genre: Beyond the news*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Risse, T. (2003) 'An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical clarifications and empirical indicators', Archive of European Integration (AEI). Available: <http://aei.pitt.edu/6556/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Street, J. (2011) *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy*, 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 12.

Seminar 2 (Wk 3): The public sphere as critical questioning

Topics: Critical literature on the public sphere concept; the feminist critique of the public/private dichotomy; critique of the bourgeois public sphere; postmodernism; empirical research on the public sphere; multiple public spheres; Habermas's communicative action and discourse ethics; autonomous vs heteronomous societies; questioning in democracy.

Key reading

- Fraser, N. (1990) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text* 25/26: 56-80. Available library: <http://www.jstor.org/manchester.idm.oclc.org/stable/466240> (accessed 8 January 2019).
- McKee, A. (2005) 'Introduction', *The Public Sphere: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-31. Available library: <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=e2ac2d2c-0554-e611-80c6-005056af4099> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Other reading

- Benhabib, S. (1986) *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the boundaries of the political*.
- Bohman, S. (2000) *Public Deliberation: Pluralism, complexity and democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Calhoun, C. (ed.) (1992) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.
- Calhoun, C.J. (2002) 'Imagining Solidarity: Cosmopolitanism, Constitutional Patriotism, and the Public Sphere', *Public Culture* 14(1): 147-171.
- Calhoun, C.J. (2002) 'The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism', *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101(4): 869-897.
- Castoriadis, C. (1997) 'Democracy as Procedure and Democracy as Regime', *Constellations* 4(1): 1-18.
- Coleman, S. (2018) 'The Elusiveness of Political Truth: From the conceit of objectivity to intersubjective judgement', *European Journal of Communication* 33(2): 157-171.
- Couldry, N., Livingstone, S. and T. Markham (2010) *Media Consumption and Public Engagement: Beyond the presumption of attention*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Crossley, N. and J.M. Roberts (eds) (2004) *After Habermas: New perspectives on the public sphere*. Oxford: Blackwell/Sociological Review.
- Dahlberg, L. (2005) 'The Habermasian Public Sphere: Taking difference seriously?' *Theory and Society* 34: 111-136.
- Dahlgren, P. (1995) *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, democracy and the media*. London: Sage.
- Dahlgren, P. (2006) 'The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation', *Journal of Political Communication* 22(2): 147-162.
- Dryzek, J.S. (2000) *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, critics, contestations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eder, K. (2006) 'The Public Sphere', *Theory, Culture and Society* 23(2-3): 607-611.
- Elstub, S. (2010) 'The Third Generation of Deliberative Democracy', *Political Studies Review* 8: 291-307.
- Emden, C.J. and D. Midgley (eds) (2013) *Beyond Habermas: Democracy, knowledge, and the public sphere*. New York: Berghahn Books. Available online via Library.
- Feree, M.M. et al (2002) 'Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies', *Theory and Society* 31(3): 289-324.

- Fraser, N. (1990) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy', *Social Text* 25/26: 56-80.
- Fraser, N. (1995) 'Politics, Culture, and the Public Sphere: Toward a postmodern conception', in L.J. Nicholson and S. Seidman (eds), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond identity politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 287-312.
- Fraser, N. (1995) 'Politics, Culture, and the Public Sphere: Toward a postmodern conception', in L. Nicholson and S. Seidman (eds), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond identity politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 287-312.
- Fraser, N. (2014) *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gimmler, A. (2001) 'Deliberative Democracy, the Public Sphere, and the Internet', *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 27(4): 21-39.
- Giorgi, L. von Homeyer, I. and W. Parsons (eds) (2006) *Democracy in the European Union: Towards the emergence of a public sphere*. London: Routledge.
- Hauser, G. (1999) *Vernacular Voices: The rhetoric of publics and public spheres*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Herman, E.S. and N. Chomsky (1988) *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon.
- Hohendahl, P.U. and Silberman, M. (1979) 'Critical Theory, Public Sphere and Culture. Jürgen Habermas and His Critics', *New German Critique* 16 (Winter): 89-118.
- Kellner, D. (2000) 'Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy: A critical intervention', in L.E. Hahn (ed.), *Perspectives on Habermas*. Chicago, Ill: Open Court, pp. 259-
- Kohn, M. (2000) 'Language, Power, and Persuasion: Toward a Critique of Deliberative Democracy', *Constellations* 7(3): 408-429.
- Lee, C., McQuarrie, M. and E.T. Walker (eds) (2015) *Democratizing Inequalities: Dilemmas of the new public participation*. New York: New York University Press. Available online via Library.
- McLaughlin, L. (1993) 'Feminism, the public sphere, media and democracy' *Media Culture Society* 15: 599-620.
- Ornebring, H & Jonsson, A (2004) 'Tabloid Journalism and the public sphere: a historical perspective on tabloid journalism', *Journalism Studies* 5(3): 283-95.
- Squires, C.R. (2002) 'Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres', *Communication Theory* 12(4): 446-468.
- Susen, S. (2011) 'Critical Notes on Habermas's Theory of the Public Sphere', *Sociological Analysis* 5(1): 37-62.
- West, M.D. (2013) 'Is the Internet an Emergent Public Sphere?' *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 28(3): 155-159.
- Wilhelm, A. (2000) *Democracy in the Digital Age*. London: Routledge.
- Young, I.M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ytre-Arne, B. (2011) 'Women's magazines and the public sphere', *European Journal of Communication* 26(3): 247-261.

Seminar 3 (Wk 4): Researching the public sphere: Assignment #1

Topics: Planning empirical research; locating research objects; understanding research ethics issues and obtaining ethics approval; thinking about political interaction in terms of public sphere theory; obtaining field data and presenting it; working in research groups.

Key reading

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2, 'Social research strategies', pp. 18-43. Available **Library High Demand** Collection.

Research ethics at The University of Manchester:

<http://www.staffnet.manchester.ac.uk/services/rbess/governance/ethics/does-your-research-require-ethical-approval/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Other reading

Benson, R. (2004) 'Bringing the Sociology of Media Back In', *Political Communication*, 21(3): 275-292.

Blumer, J. and Kavanagh, D. (1999) 'The third age of political communication: influences and features', *Political Communication* 16(3): 209-230.

Burnham, P. et al. (2008) *Research Methods in Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 10 'Discourse Analysis and Other Methods', pp. 248-264.

Chilton, P. and C. Schäffner (2005) 'Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse', in P. Chilton and C. Schäffner (eds), *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic approaches to political discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, pp. 1-41. Available online via Library.

De Fleur, M.L. and S. Ball-Rokeach (1989) *Theories of Mass Communication*. New York and London: Longman.

Donsbach, W. and M.W. Traugott (eds) (2008) *The SAGE Handbook of Public Opinion Research*. London: Sage. Available online via Library.

Fairclough, N (2000) *New Labour, New Language?*, London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2000b) 'Discourse, Social Theory, and Social Research: The discourse of welfare reform', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2): 163-95.

Foster, S. (2010) *Political Communication*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, ch. 7.

Frey, L.R. and K.N. Cissna (eds) (2009) *Handbook of Applied Communication Research*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis. Available online via Library. See Part II: 'Methods of Applied Communication Research'.

Goodin, R.E. and Saward, M. (2005) 'Dog Whistles and Democratic Mandates', *Political Quarterly*, 76(4): 471-6.

Hay, C. and Rosamond, B. (2002) 'Globalization, European integration and the discursive construction of economic imperatives', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(2): 147-67.

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Seminar 4 (Wk 5): Election campaigns & Leadership

Topics: Spin, charisma, celebrity, authenticity, authority, electoral-professional parties, Corbyn, Blair, May, journalism

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Seminar 5 (Wk 6): Policy design and framing

Topics: How language frames social problems and policy responses to them; understanding conflicts in public opinion and attitudes towards policy; examples in social policy - construction of taxpayers and welfare recipients; left-wing responses to right-wing critiques of welfare state (New Labour).

Key reading

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- Jowett, G.S and V. O'Donnell (eds) (1999) *Propaganda and Persuasion*. London: Sage.
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Seminar 6 (Wk 7): Media regulation and freedom

Topics: Conceptualising media power in terms of commercial activity; media scandals and the question of regulation; examples of scandals - phone hacking, the Hillsborough disaster, WikiLeaks; political economy of media.

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- Lilleker, D., Jackson, N.A. and R. Scullion (eds) (2006) *The Marketing of Political Parties: Political marketing at the 2005 British general election*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

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Seminar 7 (Wk 8): Social media and contemporary politics

Topics: What is the contribution of social media to contemporary political communication? Is it a new deliberative democracy or louder, faster, angrier prejudice? Twitterati vs twitter revolutionaries; clicktivism; 'post-truth' and 'post-fact' discourse; fake news; persuasion and social media; anti-elitism and populism.

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- Sunstein, C. (2007) *Republic.com 2.0*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vaccari, C. (2017) 'Online Mobilization in Comparative Perspective: Digital appeals and political engagement in Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom', *Political Communication* 34(1): 69-88.
- Van Dijck, J. and T. Poell (2015) 'Social Media and the Transformation of Public Space', *Social Media + society* 1(2): 1-6.
- Vromen, A. et al (2014) 'Young People, Social Media and Connective Action: From organisational maintenance to everyday political talk', *Journal of Youth Studies* 19(1): 80-100.
- Wojcieszak, M. and B. Smith (2013) 'Will Politics be Tweeted? New media use by Iranian youth in 2011', *New Media & Society* 16(1): 91-109.
- Zhu, Q. Skoric, M. and S. Shen (2017) 'I Shield Myself from Thee: Selective avoidance on social media during political protests', *Political Communication* 34(1): 112-131.

Seminar 8 (Wk 9): A global public sphere?

Topics: Does the internet support a global public sphere?; cosmopolitans vs citizens; debating international conflict; thinking beyond state borders, empathy (e.g. Alan Kurdi; *States of Denial*); communicating across global distances; language and translation; EU public sphere – eurozone crisis; political satire and the globalization of insult (e.g. Charlie Hebdo, Danish cartoons).

Key reading

Davis, A. (2010) 'Politics and the communication between the national and the global', *Political Communication and Social Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 8, pp. 114-130.

Habermas, J. (2010) 'Germany and the Euro-Crisis', *The Nation* 9 June. Available: <http://www.thenation.com/article/germany-and-euro-crisis/> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Other reading

Beck, U. (2006) *Power in the Global Age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Castells, M. (2008) 'The New Public Sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(1): 78-93.

Cohen, S. (2001) *States of Denial: Knowing about atrocities and suffering*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fenton, N. (2012) 'The Internet and Social Networking' and 'The Internet and Radical Politics', Chapters 5 and 6 in J. Curran, N. Fenton and D. Freedman (eds), *Misunderstanding the Internet*, London & New York: Routledge.

Hoiijer, B. (2004) 'The Discourse of Global Compassion: The audience and media reporting of human suffering', *Media Culture and Society* 26(4): 513-31.

Hoskins, A. (2005) *Televising War: From Vietnam to Iraq*. London: Continuum.

Ivanova, A. et al (2014) 'Global Climate Change, Global Public Sphere? Media Attention for Climate Change in 27 Countries', in Canel M.J. and Voltmer K. (eds) *Comparing Political Communication across Time and Space*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 210-227.

Negrine, R. (2008) *The Transformation of Political Communication: Continuities and Changes in Media and Politics*. Basingstoke: Sheffield, ch. 7.

Rojecki, A. (2005) 'Media Discourse on Globalization and Terror', *Political Communication* 22(1): 63-81.

Rolston, B. & McLaughlin, G. (2004) 'All news is local: covering war in Iraq in Northern Ireland's daily newspapers', *Journalism Studies* 5(2): 191-202.

Ruigrok, N. (2007) 'Global Angling with a Local Angle: How U.S., British, and Dutch Newspapers Frame Global and Local Terrorist Attacks', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(1): 68-90.

Street, J. (2011) *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy*, 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 8.

Volkmer, I. (2003) *The Global Public Sphere: Public communication in the age of reflective interdependence*. Cambridge: Polity.

Seminar 9 (Wk 10): Evaluating democratic public spheres

Topics: Is there a *crisis* of political communication in today's democracies? Has the professionalisation of communication eroded trust in politics? Is there a deliberative public sphere? Or is there an anarchic, complex transmission of messages? Can we specify normative criteria for evaluating public spheres? Populism today.

Key reading

Davis, A. (2010) 'The 'crisis' of politics and communication in ageing democracies', *Political Communication and Social Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 10, pp. 146-163.

Deacon, D. and D. Wring (2015) 'The UK Independence Party, Populism and the British News Media: Competition, collaboration or containment?' *European Journal of Communication* DOI: 10.1177/0267323115612215. Available:

<http://journals.sagepub.com/manchester.idm.oclc.org/doi/abs/10.1177/0267323115612215> (accessed 8 January 2019).

Other reading

- Couldry, N. (2010) *Why Voice Matters: Culture and politics after neoliberalism*. London SAGE, Chapter 4: 'Media and the Amplification of Neoliberal Values'.
- Kuhn, R. (2007) *Politics and the Media in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 10.
- O'Shaughnessy, N.J. (2004) *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of mass seduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, Chapter 4: 'Integuments of propaganda' and Chapter 7: 'Propaganda and the Symbolic State'.

Seminar 10 (Wk 11): Course review + essay preparation

Preparation: There is nothing to prepare this week. Make sure you have started work on the essay and come to class prepared to discuss how you have prepared for the essay, including your approach to the question.

Key reading: None

General sources on political communication

Relevant **scholarly journals** of interest include:

American Political Science Review

British Journal of Politics and International Relations

British Politics

Convergence

European Journal of Communications

Journal of Advertising

Journal for crime conflict and the media

Journal of Mass Media Ethics

Journal of Political Marketing

Journalism Studies

Mass Communication and Society

Media, Culture and Society

New Media and Society

Parliamentary Affairs

Political Communication

Political Studies

Politics

PS. Political science and politics.

Newspapers publishing about the media:

The Guardian – Monday: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/media>

The Independent – Wednesday: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media>

The Times – Wednesday

The Observer – Sunday: Business and Media section

Financial Times - <https://www.ft.com/?edition=uk>

Daily Telegraph - <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/>

Other news sources on contemporary politics, including the media:

Huffington Post: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/media/>

New Statesman: <http://www.newstatesman.com/>

Red Pepper: <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/>

The Nation: <http://www.thenation.com/>

The Spectator: <http://www.spectator.co.uk/>

Total Politics: <http://www.totalpolitics.com/>

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI30861 Africa and Global Politics****Semester I****Credits: 20**

Lecturer: Dr. Carl Death
Room: 4.011 Arthur Lewis Building
Telephone: 0161 275 4890
Email: carl.death@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Please book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: **Fridays 12-2pm, University Place 4.206**

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
 Tuesday 10:00-10:50, Simon building, 5.08
 Tuesday 11:00-11:50, Simon building, 5.08
 Tuesday 12:00-12:50, Simon building, 5.08

Mode of assessment:

1. A 1,500 word country report on a country of your choice, in the style of a foreign office briefing paper (20%)
2. Class participation, including a mock election (20%)
3. A 4,000 word coursework essay (60%)

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*****

Country report hand in date: 22 October 2018

Essay hand in date: 7 January 2019

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

Course aims:

In this course, students will investigate the politics of postcolonial Africa. It provides students with the theoretical and conceptual tools for analysing recent developments in sub-Saharan Africa and global politics, and covers some of the main debates and issues in the study of politics on the continent. The relevance and applicability of postcolonial perspectives on African politics will be a guiding theme. The module draws on examples and case studies from a range of countries, and students are encouraged to develop their knowledge of both continent-wide trends, and specific countries and regions. The course also seeks to critically examine and contest dominant myths, stereotypes and discourses about the continent. Many of our images of Africa are of famine, corruption, civil war and ethnic hatred, and whilst these issues are important, these images often obscure more than they reveal about contemporary African politics. Africa is also a place of dynamic change and of economic, political and cultural transformations, and of various forms of resistance to the colonial and postcolonial myths which structure representations of Africa within global politics.

Learning outcomes:

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

- identify some of the most important relationships between global structures, discourses and institutions, and African politics;
- understand and explain the history and transformation of colonial power relations, poverty, corruption, authoritarianism, violence and resistance on the continent;
- critically assess dominant representations of Africa as poor, corrupt, violent, and wild;
- apply some of the general concepts and theories of African studies to specific empirical examples.

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. In particular, it will demonstrate:

- the ability to understand a different and complex region of the world;
- the ability to do research on places where reliable data does not always exist in the same ways as in Europe or North America;
- the ability to write a report on a country and issue for a policy audience;
- the ability to work well in teams and prepare a strategy and presentation on behalf of a South African political party;
- the ability to understand sophisticated interdisciplinary academic literature, and write about it critically.

Course organisation:

The module is organised thematically, and is held together through engagement with postcolonial perspectives, authors and debates on African politics. Throughout the course we critically interrogate powerful myths, stereotypes and discourses about African politics: that Africa is poor, rising, corrupt, unfree, violent, wild, and so on.

Each week there is a two-hour class for the whole module, and a one-hour tutorial in groups.

Lecture 1, 28.9.18	<i>Introduction: a continent of 'shithole countries'?</i>
Lecture 2, 5.10.18	<i>The biggest myths about African politics: e.g. 'Africa is poor'</i>

Lecture 3, 12.10.18	<i>'Africa is rising... now that colonialism is over'</i>
Lecture 4, 19.10.18	<i>'Africa is fantastically corrupt'</i>
Lecture 5, 26.10.18	<i>'Africa is unfree and undemocratic'</i> • <i>Election prep</i>
29 Oct- 2 Nov	READING WEEK
Lecture 6, 9.11.18	<i>'Africa is tribal'</i> • <i>Mock SA election</i>
Lecture 7, 16.11.18	<i>'Africa is violent'</i>
Lecture 8, 23.11.18	<i>'Africa needs saving'</i>
Lecture 9, 30.11.18	<i>'Africa is wild'</i>
Lecture 10, 7.12.18	Conclusion: 'Africa uprising'?

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. **All classes are compulsory, and students are expected to come prepared and to engage fully with the activities. The assessment grades for participation will include work done in and for the Friday and Tuesday classes (see below).** If students have particular learning requirements, difficulties, or prior commitments that cause problems for attendance then please come and speak to me or email me as soon as possible.

PowerPoint slides and other learning materials will be available on the course Blackboard site. These are no substitute for attendance – the slides are only part of the material that will be discussed.

TUTORIALS:

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 learn from your colleagues. Transferable skills such as debating, synthesis and critique, group work, oral presentations, communication and reflexive learning are developed through tutorials. You can use tutorials to prepare for your assignments and these should be the main place to get answers to your questions.

If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending, you should contact the lecturer as soon as possible to explain your absence. It might be possible to attend another tutorial, but you must inform the lecturer or you might be marked as absent.

Tutorials will require various forms of preparation. Usually this will comprise two essential readings. **The essential reading must be completed in order to attend and fully participate in the tutorial.** If you have problems which prevent you from doing the reading please notify the lecturer in advance.

Additional preparation may involve researching a particular case or country, watching a film or looking at a website online, or doing some research to prepare for an activity or presentation in class. The lecturer will provide further advice or guidelines 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 2.10.18	<i>Introduction: myths and postcolonial theory</i>
Tutorial 2 9.10.18	<i>Africa is poor: Tanzania</i>
Tutorial 3 16.10.18	<i>Colonialism is over: Nigeria</i>
Tutorial 4 23.10.18	<i>Africa is corrupt: Nigeria</i> • <i>Election prep</i>
29 Oct – 2 Nov	<i>READING WEEK</i>
Tutorial 5 6.11.18	<i>Africa is unfree: South Africa</i>
Tutorial 6 13.11.18	<i>Africa is tribal: South Africa</i>
Tutorial 7 20.11.18	<i>Africa is violent: Sierra Leone</i>
Tutorial 8 27.11.18	<i>Africa needs saving: Sierra Leone</i>
Tutorial 9 4.12.18	<i>Africa is wild: South Africa</i>
Tutorial 10 11.12.18	<i>Africa uprising: South Africa</i>

ASSESSMENT:

Country report:

The 1,500-word country report is worth 20% of the module mark and is due on Monday 22 October 2018. This is deliberately early in the course so you get to know a particular country in some detail. There will be plenty of opportunity to discuss the assignment in the first few weeks of class.

The Foreign Affairs Committee in Parliament frequently travels abroad in order to gather evidence for its inquiries. Members need to be armed with a short country brief for these visits. Imagine that the Committee is shortly to visit a country of *your* choice in Africa. You have been asked to prepare the brief.

Your task is to write a country briefing note explaining a key issue (or set of linked issues) for UK parliamentarians before they visit the country. It should be specific, detailed, and comprehensible to someone who is not an expert on that country.

The brief – no more than 1,500 words – does not set out a suggested programme of meetings, nor can it provide a comprehensive history of the country or survey of its politics. Instead it should be a guide for a non-expert audience about a key issue, or several linked topics, on a specific country, demonstrating a detailed understanding of important domestic political figures, parties or institutions.

It should be concise but detailed; well researched but easily understandable by intelligent people who have no knowledge of the country. It should contain focused background information about areas relevant to the key topics you have selected, where necessary to understand the topic. It can also make the case that a particular issue is important, but the tone should be more in the style of a factual report or briefing, rather than polemic or campaigning material.

You may use any source of information available to you, and your sources should be clearly referenced (see Politics Part II guide for details). The credibility and quality of your sources will be a major determinant of your mark.

Remember, the report is designed for a policy audience, not an academic audience. You are not required to discuss academic literature or theories in depth – a Foreign Affairs committee would

probably not be interested in such material. Present facts and arguments in clear and direct ways, and consider the sorts of sources which would be regarded as 'authoritative' by a Foreign Affairs committee.

There are no sample reports available because you should come up with your own topics, countries, and style of writing. However, you can find similar country briefings on websites such as the Economist, Freedom House, UNDP, and The Africa Report. More guidance will be provided in the classes and tutorials, and see the marking criteria below.

(NOTE: *This is drawn from an actual written exercise given to applicants for the post as committee specialist with the Foreign Affairs Committee*)

In-class assessments: participation and role-play (20%):

Individual participation in classes and tutorials will be assessed by the lecturer, and a grade will be assigned at the end of the course. Formative feedback will be available during the semester. In-class participation will account for 10% of the overall module mark.

On Friday 9 November we will hold a mock South African election. Groups will be assigned in tutorials at the start of the course, and preparation time will be allocated in class. Grades will be assigned per group on the basis of the preparation and participation in the class debate and will represent 10% of the overall module mark.

More details will be provided in the classes and tutorials, and see the marking criteria below.

Essay:

The 4,000 word essay is worth 60% of the final grade, and is due on Monday 7 January 2019.

There is one question, which has enough flexibility to permit you to choose your focus and argument.

Question: What are the most powerful myths or representations about Africa, and how are they resisted? Discuss with relevance to one or more case studies.

Don't try to cover too much! All answers should address the question with reference to specific empirical examples or case studies, and focus on particular countries and/or issues. Any of the issues studied in this course – poverty, colonialism, development, conflict, democracy, corruption, ethnicity, land, education etc – can and should be selected as ways to narrow down your answer.

All answers will be expected to show an understanding of some of the broader theoretical literature and to include materials from your own research as well as the reading list. You are expected to make use of the set readings in answering whichever question you choose, and the reading lists also indicate key texts.

The aim of the essay is to present a persuasive argument that gives one answer to the question (don't worry too much about whether it is 'the right' answer), and demonstrates extensive reading and research, as well as careful thought and reflection. Do not be afraid to critique and challenge the question or key authors discussed on the course.

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 classes 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.

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.

To ensure that pages do not go missing, students should ensure that pages are numbered and their registration numbers and the course code, POLI30861, appear on each page. We mark assessed work anonymously. **Please do not write your name on the report or essay.**

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.

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.

You will be provided with feedback on all your assignments, and there will be opportunities in class to discuss how to improve your work. Students should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations boards in June.

These criteria are adapted from the Politics Part II guide and should be read alongside this.

High and Very High First Class (80-100)

Such assignments *fully* address the required task in a coherent manner and can be expected to show *excellence* in a number of respects:

- Essays fully answer the question and demonstrate exceptional insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; exceptional knowledge of the relevant literature; and a degree of originality not usually characteristic of work submitted by students at this level.
- In-class participation and role-play demonstrate thorough preparation and exceptionally clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork; the exercise of outstanding critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; flexibility and quick-thinking; careful listening to others; 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.
- Country reports are clear, attractively and professionally presented, and virtually free from errors; demonstrate exceptional insight and depth of understanding of the material and the country; integrate diverse, imaginative, authoritative and relevant materials; and present an unusually cogent and original argument or perspective.

First Class (70-79)

Assignments are *highly competent* and address the task in a *near-full* and well-structured manner.

- Essays answer the question and demonstrate insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; and good knowledge of the relevant literature.
- In-class participation and role-play demonstrate good preparation and clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork; careful listening to others; some critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; flexibility and quick-thinking; ability to draw upon and process data; and draw connections to scholarly debates.
- Country reports are clear, attractively and professionally presented, and largely free from errors; demonstrate insight and depth of understanding of the material and the country; integrate varied, authoritative and relevant materials; and present a cogent argument or perspective.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such assignments are *overall competent* 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 understanding of the material; show some critical judgment along with clarity of analysis and of expression; and knowledge of the relevant literature.
- In-class participation and role-play demonstrate sound preparation and mainly clear communication, analysis and expression; good teamwork; careful listening to others; an ability to draw upon and process some data; and draw connections to some scholarly debates.
- Country reports are clear and well presented, with some errors; demonstrate research and understanding of the material and the country; integrate appropriate materials; and highlight relevant issues.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such assignments 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 basic understanding of the material; some analysis and argument, although limited in extent; and some awareness of the relevant literature.

- Group role-play and debates demonstrate some preparation and mainly clear communication, analysis and expression; some teamwork; and some awareness of relevant data and issues.
- Country reports are clear, with some errors; demonstrate basic understanding of the material and the country; and highlight some relevant issues and materials.

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 indicate only 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.
- In-class participation and role-play demonstrate limited and partial preparation and poor communication; little or no teamwork; limited evidence of listening to others; and with basic and minimal awareness of relevant data and issues.
- Country reports are often inaccurate and contain important errors; sparse understanding of the material and the country; and are often unclear and poorly presented.

Fail (0-39)

Such assignments, at the upper end, fail to deal with the task in a way that suggest more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the subject, while, at the lower end, they fail to demonstrate the ability to engage with the task at all.

The following sections contain:

- A. 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.
- B. A tutorial guide with all the readings you will be required to do before each week's class, as well as a short list of key texts and further reading which you should start from when planning your essays. There are also additional links and stories on blackboard.

There is also an additional, separate (and extensive) additional reading list on blackboard. You will be expected to engage with some of this material, in some depth, in your assignments, as well as going well beyond what is listed here to find your own sources.

With all your readings please keep clear and accurate notes, and be prepared 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 preparing for your final essay which will be expected to make use of the set readings.

A. Introductory readings and useful textbooks

If you need a primary textbook, especially as a starting point or if you are struggling with core concepts and issues, I recommend:

Thomson, A. (2016) *An Introduction to African Politics* (London; Routledge). An online version of this book is available through the library.

I also recommend reading:

Maathai, W. *The Challenge for Africa* (New York: Random House, 2009).

It is not an academic text and is more accessible and easier to read than many other texts listed here, but it gives an excellent introduction and first-hand practitioner and activist's perspective on African politics, and covers many of the same topics that we do on the course.

Supplementary general books on Africa which may be useful or interesting reference guides or starting points include:

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D. M. and Scheibler, A. (eds) (2013) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (Abingdon; Routledge).

Cheeseman, N., Whitfield, L. and Death, C. (eds) (2017) *The African Affairs Reader: Key texts in Politics, development and international relations* (Oxford; OUP).

Cooper, F. (2002) *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge; CUP).

Ellis, S. (2011) *Season of Rains: Africa in the World* (London; Hurst and Company).

Falola, T. (2002) *Key events in African History: A Reference Guide* (Westport: Greenwood Press).

Harrison, G. (2002) *Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Basingstoke; Palgrave).

Hyden, G. (2006) *African Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge; CUP).

Illife, J. (2007) *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge; CUP).

Parker, J. and Rathbone, R. (2007) *African History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; OUP).

Tordoff, W. (2002) *Government and Politics in Africa* (Basingstoke; Palgrave).

Journals

You should also become familiar with some of the key African studies journals in addition to the broader range of development studies and international politics journals, and browse them for interesting articles of use for your own research.

I am one of the co-editors of *African Affairs* – the top-rated African studies journal in the world – and I strongly recommend you make use of some of the excellent research articles, briefings and book reviews published here. See <https://academic.oup.com/afraf> and <https://twitter.com/AfrAfJournal>

Africa: Journal of the International African Institute
African Journal of Conflict Resolution
African Studies Review
Critical African Studies
Journal of Contemporary African Studies
Journal of Eastern African Studies
Journal of Modern African Studies
Journal of Southern African Studies
Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies
Review of African Political Economy

Useful online resources include:

One of the best places to find insightful essays and reports is: <https://africanarguments.org/>

Africa is a country (blog) <https://africasacountry.com/>
Africa Spectrum <http://hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp>
African Development Bank <http://www.afdb.org/en/>
The African Union www.africa-union.org
Afrobarometer survey data <http://www.afrobarometer.org/>
AllAfrica news <http://allafrica.com/>
Aid Info <http://www.aidinfo.org/>
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/>
The Commission for Africa <http://www.commissionforafrica.info/>
The Conversation (Africa) <https://theconversation.com/africa/who-we-are>
Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa www.codesria.org
Democracy in Africa (blog) <http://democracyinafrica.org/>
DfID, UK <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-international-development>
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/>
Global Witness <http://www.globalwitness.org/>
Jubilee Debt campaign (UK) <http://jubileedebt.org.uk/>
Make Poverty History <http://www.makepovertyhistory.org/takeaction/>
Millennium Development Goals <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>
Millennium Villages Project <http://millenniumvillages.org/>
NEPAD www.nepad.org
The Nordic Africa Institute <http://www.nai.uu.se/>
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
The Royal African Society www.royalafricansociety.org
Third World Network <http://www.twinside.org.sg/>
World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org/>
World Food Programme <http://www.wfp.org/>

There are also a range of links and articles on the module blackboard site, organized by topic, which may be of interest.

NOVELS:

Africa has a rich literary tradition. Often novels can teach us as much about life, politics and society as academic texts, and you are advised explore this aspect of Africa in your spare time. Below are a few favourites:

<u>Chinua Achebe (Nigeria)</u>	Things Fall Apart A Man of the People Anthills of the Savannah
<u>Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (Kenya)</u>	Petals of Blood The Devil on the Cross
<u>Mariama Ba (Senegal)</u>	So Long a Letter
<u>Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (Nigeria)</u>	Purple Hibiscus Half of a Yellow Sun Americanah
<u>T. Dangarembgra (Zimbabwe)</u>	Nervous Condition
<u>Camara Laye (Guinea)</u>	The African Child
<u>Ayi Kwei Armah (Ghana)</u>	The Beautiful Ones are not Yet Born
<u>Binyavanga Wainaina (Kenya)</u>	One day I will write about this place How to write about Africa (Essay: goo.gl/h33NYD)
<u>J.M. Coetzee (South Africa)</u>	Waiting for the Barbarians Disgrace
<u>Nadine Gordimer (South Africa)</u>	Get a Life Guest of Honour
<u>Andre Brink (South Africa)</u>	A Dry White Season
<u>Njabulo Ndebele (South Africa)</u>	The Cry of Winnie Mandela
<u>Zakes Mda (South Africa)</u>	The Heart of Redness
<u>Taiye Selasi (Ghana/Nigeria)</u>	Ghana Must Go
<u>Wole Soyinka (Nigeria)</u>	The burden of memory, the muse of forgiveness
<u>J.E. Agualusa (Angola)</u>	The Book of Chameleons
<u>Other</u>	
<u>Ryszard Kapuściński</u>	The Shadow of the Sun: My African Life
<u>Charles Larson</u>	Under African Skies: Modern African Stories
<u>Rob Spillman</u>	Gods and Soldiers: The Penguin Anthology of Contemporary African Writing

You may also be interested in watching films like *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Black Panther* (2018) *Blood Diamond* (2006), *The Constant Gardener* (2005), *Cry Freedom* (1987), *Cry Freetown* (2000), *Disgrace* (2008), *District 9* (2009), *Hotel Rwanda* (2004), *Invictus* (2009), *The Last King of Scotland* (2006), *Moolade* (2004), *Out of Africa* (1985), *Sarafina!* (1992), *Tsotsi* (2005), *Zulu* (1964). There are many other African films – such as the prolific Nollywood productions – which go far beyond this rather mainstream list. The BBC World Service programmes *Focus on Africa* are also useful.

Tutorial guide

1. Introduction: Myths and postcolonial theory

The first tutorial will involve some getting to know each other and discussing the course and the assignments. You should also read these two essential texts:

Maathai, W. (2009) *The Challenge for Africa* (New York: Random House), introduction and chapter 1. See <https://goo.gl/y9TXWJ>

Wainaina, B. (2006) 'How to write about Africa', *Granta*, 19 January, available at <https://granta.com/How-to-Write-about-Africa/>

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays to think about discourse, representations and myths:

Abrahamsen, R. (2003) 'African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge', *African Affairs* 102, 407, pp. 189-210.

Abrahamsen, R. (2017) 'Africa and international relations: Assembling Africa, studying the world', *African Affairs* 116, 462, pp. 125-139.

Ahluwalia, P. (2001) *Politics and Post-Colonial Theory: African Inflections* (Abingdon; Routledge).

Ahluwalia, P. (2010) *Out of Africa: Post-structuralism's colonial roots* (Abingdon; Routledge).

Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. L. (2012) *Theory from the South; Or, How Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa* (Boulder, CO; Paradigm).

Doty, R. L. (1996) *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (University of Minnesota Press; Minneapolis)

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

Gallagher, J. (ed.) (2015) *Images of Africa: Creation, Negotiation, and Subversion* (Manchester: MUP).

Harrison, G. (2013) *The African presence: Representations of Africa in the construction of Britishness* (Manchester: MUP).

Mbembe, A. (1992) 'Provisional Notes on the Postcolony', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 62, 1, pp. 3-37.

Mbembe, A. (2001) *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley; University of California Press).

Mkandawire, T. (ed.) (2005) *African intellectuals: Rethinking politics, language, gender, and development* (London; Zed Books).

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988) *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (London; James Currey).

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1994) *The Idea of Africa* (London; James Currey).

Musila, G. (2017) 'Navigating epistemic disarticulations', *African Affairs* 116, 465, pp. 692-704.

2. Africa is poor (Tanzania)

In this class we will confront one of the dominant images of Africa: that it is defined by poverty. What does that mean? Why is Africa poor? What have politicians and development professionals – both Africans and others – sought to do about it? How has this dominant representation of Africa been resisted?

Read the two essential texts, and come to class prepared to discuss them in some detail. Make sure you read them closely – and can write a sentence or two on each summarizing the core argument.

N.b. there is not much reading this week, but next week there is quite a lot to read. So please consider starting next weeks' texts (Fanon and/or Branch and Mampilly) in advance.

Thomson, A. (2016) *An Introduction to African Politics* (London; Routledge), Chapter 3, 'Ideology: Nationalism, socialism, populism and state capitalism' [& case study Tanzania and ujamaa] Available as eBook through library.

Shivji, I. G. (2006) *Let the people speak: Tanzania down the road to neo-liberalism* (Dakar; CODESRIA), 'Introduction: From national to neo-liberalism', pp. 1-13. Available as hard copy from lecturer.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about development, poverty or Tanzania:

Abrahamsen, R. (2000) *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa* (London; Zed).

Abrahamsen, R. (2004) 'The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance', *Third World Quarterly* 25, 8, pp. 1453-1467.

Aké, C. (1996) *Democracy and Development in Africa* (Washington D.C.; Brookings Institute).

Cooper, F. (2002) *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge; CUP).

Green, M. (2003) 'Globalizing development in Tanzania: Policy franchising through participatory project management', *Critique of Anthropology* 23, 2, pp. 123-43.

Harrison, G. (2004) *The World Bank and Africa: The construction of governance states* (Abingdon; Routledge).

Harrison, G. (2010) *Neoliberal Africa: The impact of global social engineering* (London; Zed).

Harrison, G. (2018) 'Authoritarian neoliberalism and capitalist transformation in Africa: all pain, no gain', *Globalizations*, (2018) online first DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2018.1502491

Jennings, M. (2002) "'Almost an Oxfam in itself': Oxfam, Ujamaa, and development in Tanzania", *African Affairs* 101, pp. 509-530.

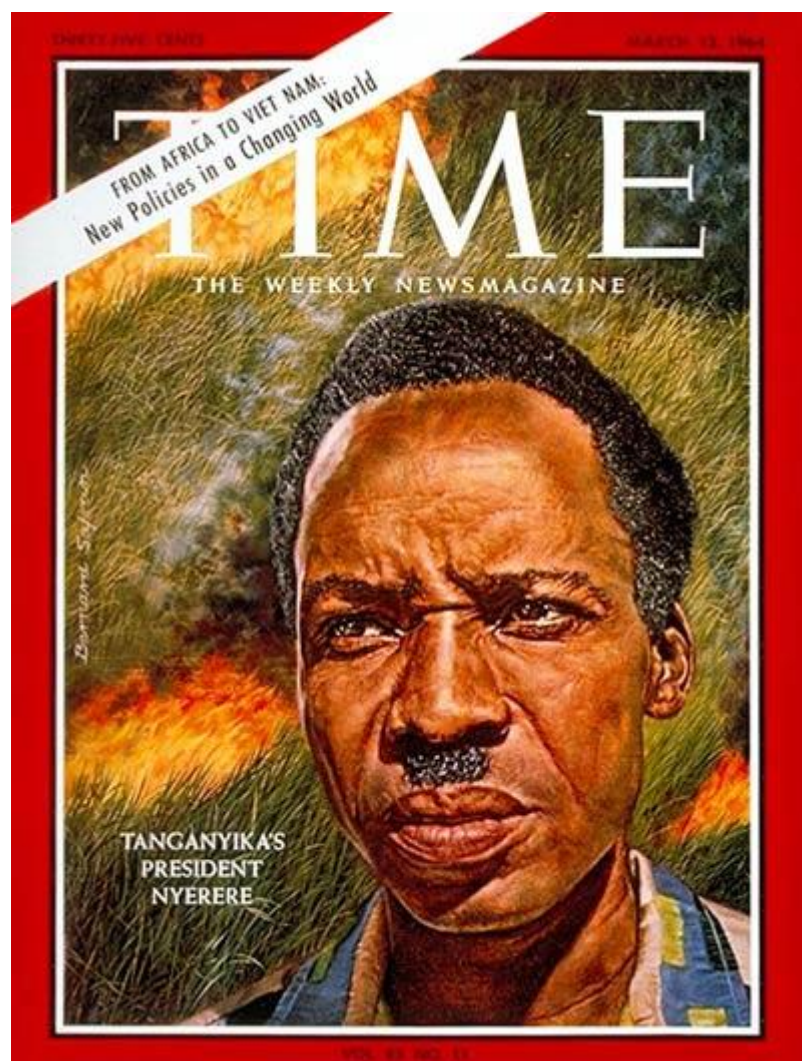
Jerven, M. (2013) 'For richer, for poorer: GDP revisions and Africa's statistical tragedy', *African Affairs* 112, 446, pp.138-147.

Jerven, M. (2015) *Africa: Why economists get it wrong* (London; Zed books).

Jones, B. G. (2005) 'Africa and the Poverty of International Relations', *Third World Quarterly* 26, 6, pp. 987-1003.

Ferguson, J. (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis; Minnesota Press).

- Nyerere, J. K. (1968) *Freedom and socialism: Uhuru na ujamaa, a selection from writings and speeches, 1965-1967* (London; OUP).
- Rotberg, R.I. (2013) *Africa Emerges: Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities* (Cambridge; Polity).
- Scott, J.C. (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven; Yale University Press), especially chapter 7, 'Compulsory villagization in Tanzania'.
- Whitfield, L. (2017) 'An introduction to the political economy of development', in Cheeseman, N., Whitfield, L. and Death, C. (eds) *The African Affairs Reader: Key texts in Politics, development and international relations* (Oxford; OUP).



3. Colonialism is over: Nigeria

In this class we will confront one of the central claims of postcolonial theory – that the colonial experience is constitutive of the postcolonial present – in the light of the counter-claim that colonialism was a long time ago, a brief and transitory episode (at least in Africa), and that African leaders cannot avoid their own responsibility for the contemporary ‘state of Africa’. To what extent are these ‘myths’ about Africa? How are they resisted?

Read these two essential texts and come to class prepared to discuss them. Although they are long, some parts can be skim-read. And they will set-you up well for the rest of the course.

Fanon, F. (2001) ‘The Pitfalls of National Consciousness’, in F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London; Penguin), pp. 121-163. Available on blackboard.

Branch, A. and Z. Mampilly (2015), *Africa uprising: Popular protest and political change* (London: Zed Books), chapter 2: Mobs or mobilizers? Nkrumah, Fanon, and anti-colonial protest, and Chapter 5: The precipitous rise and fall of Occupy Nigeria. Available as eBook through library.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about colonialism, post-colonial theory, or Nigeria:

Agbibo, D.E. (2013) ‘Have we heard the last? Oil, environmental insecurity, and the impact of the amnesty programme on the Niger Delta resistance movement’, *Review of African Political Economy*, 40, 137, pp. 447-465.

Césaire, A. (1972) *Discourse on colonialism*, tr. J. Pinkham, (New York; Monthly Review Press).

Mamdani, M. (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (London; James Currey).

Nkrumah, K. (1965) *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism* (London; Nelson).

Nwajiaku-Dahou, K. (2012) ‘The political economy of oil and “rebellion” in Nigeria’s Niger Delta’, *Review of African Political Economy*, 39, 132, pp. 295-313.

Obadare, E. (2009) ‘The Uses of Ridicule: Humour, “Infrapolitics” and Civil Society in Nigeria’, *African Affairs*, 108, 431, pp. 241-261.

Obi, C. (2008) ‘Enter the dragon? Chinese oil companies and resistance in the Niger Delta’, *Review of African Political Economy*, 35, 117, pp. 417-434.

Obi, C. (2009) ‘Structuring transnational spaces of identity, rights and power in the Niger Delta of Nigeria’, *Globalizations*, 6, 4, pp. 467-481.

Osaghae, E. E. (1995) ‘The Ogoni Uprising: Oil politics, minority agitation, and the future of the Nigerian State’, *African Affairs*, 94, 376, pp. 325-344.

Parker, J. and Rathbone, R. (2007) *African History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; OUP), chapter 5: Colonialism in Africa.

Saro-wiwa, K. (1992) *Genocide in Nigeria: the Ogoni Tragedy* (Port Harcourt; Saros International Publishers).

Thomson, A. (2016) *An Introduction to African Politics* (London; Routledge), chapter 2: History.

Watts, M.J. (2013) *Silent Violence: Food, Famine, and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria* (Athens: University of Georgia Press).

4. Africa is corrupt: Nigeria

In this tutorial we consider the problem (or myth?) of corruption in Africa. Corruption can be regarded as a problem everywhere in the world, but it is particularly associated with African politics, and Nigeria is often seen as the epitome of neo-patrimonialism. In this tutorial we will discuss why this is, and what we actually mean by corruption. How have Africans sought to challenge and resist corruption – or the representation of Africa as corrupt?

There are two essential readings which you are expected to read and come prepared to talk about.

Ndjio, B. (2014) 'Overcoming socio-economic marginalisation: Young West African hustlers and the reinvention of global capitalism', in E. Obadare and W. Willems (eds) *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in the 21st Century* (Woodbridge; James Currey), pp. 85-103. Available as eBook through library.

Routley, L. (2016) 'Chapter 1: 'A simple question: What is corruption?', in L. Routley, *Negotiating corruption: NGOs, governance and hybridity in West Africa* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 18-38. Available as eBook through library.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about corruption, anti-corruption policies, or Nigeria:

Agbibo, D. E. (2018) 'Informal urban politics and predatory politics in Africa: The role of motor-park touts in Lagos', *African Affairs*, 117, 466, pp. 62-82.

Bach, D.C. (2011) 'Patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism: Comparative trajectories and readings', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 49, 3, pp. 275-294.

Bayart, J.-F. (1993) *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (London; Longman).

Bayart, J.-F. (2000) 'Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion', *African Affairs*, 99, pp. 217-267.

Blundo, G. and J.P.O. de Sardan (eds) (2006) *Everyday Corruption and the State: Citizens and Public Officials in Africa* (London; Zed).

Bracking, S. (2007) *Corruption and Development: The Anti-Corruption Campaigns* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Bratton, M. and van de Walle, N. (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa* (Cambridge; CUP), Chapter 2: Neopatrimonial Rule in Africa

Chabal, P. and J.-P. Daloz (1999) *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*, (Oxford; James Currey).

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D. M. and Scheibler, A. (eds) (2013) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (Abingdon; Routledge), chapters by Erdmann and de Sardan.

Cheeseman, N., Death, C. and Whitfield, L. (2017), 'An introduction to the African state', in Cheeseman, N., Whitfield, L. and Death, C. (eds) *The African Affairs Reader: Key texts in Politics, development and international relations* (Oxford; OUP).

deGrassi, A. (2008) "Neopatrimonialism" and Agricultural Development in Africa: Contributions and Limitations of a Contested Concept', *African Studies Review*, 51, pp. 107-133.

de Sardan, J.P.O. (1999) 'A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, 1, pp. 25-52.

Ekeh, P. (1975) 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, 1, pp. 91-112.

- Ellis, S. and Shaw, M. (2015) 'Does organized crime exist in Africa?' *African Affairs* 114, 457, pp. 505-528.
- Lawson, L. (2009) 'The Politics of Anti-Corruption Reform in Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47, 1, pp. 73-100.
- Mkandawire, T. (2015) 'Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections', *World Politics* 67, 3, pp. 563-612.
- Okorie, M.M. (2018) 'Presidential amnesty and resource control militancy in a petro-state', in C. Obi and T. B. Oriola (eds) *The unfinished revolution in Nigeria's Niger Delta: Prospects for environmental justice and peace* (Abingdon; Routledge), pp. 60-75.
- Pitcher, A., Moran, M.H. and Johnston, M. (2009) 'Rethinking patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism in Africa', *African Studies Review* 53, 1, pp. 125-156.
- Routley, L. (2012) 'NGOs and the formation of the public: Grey practices and accountability', *African Affairs* 111, 442, pp. 116-134.
- Tangri, R. and Mwenda, A. (2006) 'Politics, donors, and the ineffectiveness of anti-corruption institutions in Uganda', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 44, 1, pp. 101-124.
- Taylor, S. D. (2006) 'Divergent politico-legal responses to past presidential corruption in Zambia and Kenya: catching the "big fish", or letting him off the hook?' *Third World Quarterly* 27, 2, (2006), pp. 281-301.
- Tripp, A. M. (2002) 'Women's Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule', *Development and Change* 32, 4, pp. 33-54.



5. Africa is unfree: South Africa

Is African politics authoritarian? Has democratization has changed anything important? What does freedom mean? Is African society politically passive? Does it depend on your perspective? How have Africans sought to change/challenge this reality/representation? South Africa is an excellent case study of where a democratic revolution has been increasingly critiqued as the limits to change have become clearer.

There are three essential readings this week, but two are quite short:

Biko, S. (1987) 'Our strategy for liberation', in *I Write What I Like: A Selection of his Writings*, (London: Heineman), pp. 148-151. Available as eBook through library.

Mbembe, A. (2007) 'Biko's testament of hope', in Chris van Wyk (ed.) *We write what we like: Celebrating Steve Biko* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press), pp. 135-148.

Posel, D. (2010) 'Races to consume: Revisiting South Africa's history of race, consumption and the struggle for freedom', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, 2, pp. 157-175.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about democracy, social movements or South Africa:

Ahluwalia, P. (2002) 'The Struggle for African identity: Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance', *African and Asian Studies* 1, 4, pp. 265-277.

Ballard, R., Habib, A., Valodia, I. and Zuern, E. (2005) 'Globalization, marginalization, and contemporary social movements in South Africa', *African Affairs* 104, 417, pp. 615-634.

Beresford, A. (2014) 'Nelson Mandela and the politics of South Africa's unfinished liberation', *Review of African Political Economy* 41, 140, pp. 297-305.

Bond, P. (2000) *Elite transition: From apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa* (London; Pluto).

Cheeseman, N. (2015) *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform* (Cambridge; CUP).

Death, C. (2011) 'Counter-conducts in South Africa: Power, Government and Dissent at the World Summit', *Globalizations* 8, 4, pp. 425-438.

Death, C. (2016) 'Counter-conducts as a mode of resistance: Ways of "not being like that" in South Africa', *Global Society* 30, 2, pp. 201-217.

Fine, B. (2012) 'Assessing South Africa's New Growth Path: Framework for change?' *Review of African Political Economy* 39, 134, pp. 551-568.

Gibson, N. C. (ed.) (2006) *Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press).

Hansen, T. B. and Stepputat, F. (eds) (2001) *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, (Durham; Duke University Press), chapters by Jensen, Buur and Norval.

Hassim, S. (2005) 'Voices, hierarchies and spaces: Reconfiguring the women's movement in democratic South Africa', *Politikon* 32, 2, pp. 175-193.

Hearn, J. (2000) 'Aiding Democracy? Donors and Civil Society in South Africa', *Third World Quarterly* 21, 5, pp. 815-830.

- Marais, H. (2011) *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (London; Zed Books).
- Manji, F. and S. Ekine (eds) (2012) *African Awakening: The emerging revolutions* (Cape Town: Pambazuka).
- Matthews, S. (2011) 'Becoming African: Debating post-apartheid white South African identities', *African Identities* 9, 1, pp. 1-17.
- Meintjes, S. (2017) 'Women organising for liberation in South Africa', in B. Badri and A. M. Tripp (eds) *Women's Activism in Africa: Struggles for Rights and Representation* (London: Zed Books), pp. 205-224.
- Mngxitama, A., Alexander, A. and Gibson, N.C. (eds) (2008) *Biko Lives! Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*, (New York; Palgrave Macmillan).
- Mueller, L. (2018) *Political protest in contemporary Africa* (Cambridge; CUP).
- Paret, M. (2018) 'Beyond post-apartheid politics? Cleavages, protest and elections in South Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 56, 3, pp. 471-496.
- Robins, S. (2014) 'The 2011 Toilet Wars in South Africa: Justice and Transition between the Exceptional and the Everyday after Apartheid', *Development and Change* 45, 3 pp. 479-501.
- Vale, P. and Maseko, S. (1998) 'South Africa and the African Renaissance', *International Affairs* 74, 2, pp. 271-287.
- Zuern, E. (2009) 'Democratization as liberation: Competing African perspectives on democracy', *Democratization* 16, 3, pp. 585-603.



6. Africa is tribal: South Africa

This tutorial continues to explore issues related to the South African transition from apartheid, but this week with a particular focus on race and ethnicity. One prominent myth about African politics is that it is dominated by ethnic identities and tribal divisions. How accurate is this? Is South Africa unique, or typical, of wider African dynamics? How have South Africans resisted this representation of politics?

There are two essential readings this week, both by Mahmood Mamdani, one of the most influential contemporary scholars of African politics:

Mamdani, M. (2002) 'Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)', *Diacritics* 32, 3-4, 33-59.

Mamdani, M. (2001) 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, 4, pp. 651-664.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about ethnicity, race or South Africa:

Alexander, P. (2010) 'Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis', *Review of African Political Economy* 37, 123 (2010), pp. 25-40.

Berman, B. J. (1998) 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism', *African Affairs* 97, 388, pp. 305 – 341.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D. M. and Scheibler, A. (eds) (2013) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (Abingdon; Routledge), chapter by Lynch.

Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. L. (2001) 'Naturing the Nation: Aliens, Apocalypse and the Postcolonial State', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, 3, pp. 627-651.

Hassim, S. (2014) 'Violent Modernity: Gender, Race and Bodies in Contemporary South African Politics', *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 41, 2, 167-182.

Hodgson, D.L. (2009) 'Becoming Indigenous in Africa', *African Studies Review* 52, no. 3, pp. 1–32.

Isaksson, A.-S. and Bigsten, A. (2017) 'Clientelism and ethnic divisions in African countries', *African Affairs* 116, 465, pp. 621-647.

Jenkins, S. (2012) 'Ethnicity, Violence, and the Immigrant-Guest Metaphor in Kenya', *African Affairs* 111, 445, pp. 576-596.

Lynch, G. (2006) 'Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity Politics in Contemporary Kenya', *Review of African Political Economy* 107, pp. 49-65.

Mama, A. (2001) 'Challenging Subjects: Gender and Power in African Contexts', *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 5, 2, pp. 63–73.

Mamdani, M. (2012) *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press).

Mandela, N. (1993) 'South Africa's Future Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs* 72, 5, pp. 86 – 97.

Mbembe, A. (2008) 'Passages to Freedom: The Politics of Racial Reconciliation in South Africa', *Public Culture* 20, 1, pp. 5-18.

Musila, G. (2015). 'Laughing at the Rainbow's Cracks? Blackness, Whiteness and the

Ambivalence of South African stand-up comedy', in E. Obadare and W. Willems (eds) *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of resistance in the 21st century* (London: James Currey), pp. 147-166.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012) 'Bringing identity into international relations: Reflections on nationalism, nativism and xenophobia in Africa', in S. Cornelissen, F. Cheru and T. M. Shaw (eds) *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 69-86.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2006) *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa* (London: Zed Books).

Renner, J. (2014) 'The Local Roots of the Global Politics of Reconciliation: The Articulation of "Reconciliation" as an Empty Universal in the South African Transition to Democracy', *Millennium* 42, 2, pp. 263-285.

Vigneswaran, D. and L. B. Landau (2012), 'The transformation of sovereign territoriality: A case study of South African immigration control', in S. Cornelissen, F. Cheru and T. M. Shaw (eds) *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 121-143.

Yanacopulos, H. (2014) 'The Janus Faces of a Middle Power: South Africa's Emergence in International Development', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, 1, pp. 203-216.



7. Africa is violent: Sierra Leone

In this tutorial we turn to Sierra Leone to consider the widespread myth that African politics is distinctively violent and characterized by conflict. Is Africa more violent than elsewhere? Why did the conflict in Sierra Leone become so violent? Does it depend on your perspective? How have Africans sought to change/challenge this reality/representation?

There are two essential readings, one on Sierra Leone, and one on conflict in Africa more generally. The first article on Sierra Leone contains some particularly distressing material.

Peters, K. and P. Richards (1998) “‘Why We Fight’: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone’, *Africa* 68, 2, pp. 183-210.

Straus, S. (2012) ‘Wars do end! Changing patterns of political violence in Sub-Saharan Africa’, *African Affairs* 111, 443, pp. 179-201.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about conflict, violence or Sierra Leone:

Abdullah, I. (1998) ‘Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone’, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, 2, pp. 203-235.

Ballentine, K. and Sherman, J. (eds) (2003) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Boulder; Lynne Rienner).

Berdal, M. (2005) ‘Beyond Greed and Grievance – And not too soon...’ *Review of International Studies* 31, 4, pp. 687-698.

Bøås, M. and Dunn, K. C. (2007) *African Guerillas: Raging against the machine* (Boulder; Lynne Rienner).

Bøås, M. and Dunn, K. C. (2017) *Africa’s insurgents: Navigating an evolving landscape* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).

Collier, P. (2000) ‘Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective’, in M. Berdal and D. M. Malone (eds) *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder; Lynne Rienner).

Collier P. and Hoeffler, A. (2002) ‘On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 1, pp. 13-28.

Cramer, C. (2002) ‘Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War,’ *World Development* 30, 11, pp. 1845-1864.

Denney, L. (2011) ‘Reducing poverty with teargas and batons: The security-development nexus in Sierra Leone’, *African Affairs* 110, 439, pp. 275-294.

Fanon, F. (2001) ‘Concerning violence’, in F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London; Penguin), pp. 27-84.

Fanthorpe, R. (2006) ‘On the Limits of Liberal Peace: Chiefs and Democratic Decentralization in Post-War Sierra Leone’, *African Affairs* 105, 418, pp. 27-49.

Hoffman, D. (2004) ‘The Civilian Target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: Political Power, Military Strategy and Humanitarian Intervention’, *African Affairs* 103, pp. 211-226.

Hoffman, D. (2006) ‘Disagreement: Dissent politics and the War in Sierra Leone’, *Africa Today* 52, 3, pp. 3-22.

- Jackson, R. (2002) 'Violent Internal Conflict and the African State: Towards a Framework of Analysis', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 20, 2, pp. 29-52.
- Lawrence, P. (2007) 'Collier on War and Peace: Statistics in Command', *Review of African Political Economy* 111, pp. 168-175.
- Mamdani, M. (2001) *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Oxford; James Currey).
- Mkandawire, T. (2002) 'The terrible toll of post-colonial "rebel movements" in Africa: towards an explanation of the violence against the peasantry', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40, 2, pp. 181-215.
- Reno, W. (1995) *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (Cambridge; CUP).
- Reno, W. (1999) *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder; Lynne Rienner).
- Richards, P. (1996) *Fighting for the Rain Forests: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*, (London; IAI).
- Richards, P. (1999) 'New political violence in Africa: Secular sectarianism in Sierra Leone', *GeoJournal* 47, pp. 433-442.
- Williams, P. (2011) *War and Conflict in Africa* (London; Polity).
- Zack-Williams, A. B. (1999) 'Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War 1991-1998', *Third World Quarterly* 20, 1, pp. 143-162.



8. Africa needs saving: Sierra Leone

In this tutorial we reflect upon various forms of relationship between Africa and the west, with a continued focus on Sierra Leone. Does Africa need to be 'saved' by the west? How important/appropriate is contemporary aid, intervention, humanitarianism? What are the alternatives? How have Africans sought to change/challenge this reality/representation? What are the roles that Africa and Africans fulfill for Western politics?

There are two key readings:

Christensen, M. M. (2016) 'The Underbelly of Global Security: Sierra Leonean Ex-Militias in Iraq', *African Affairs* 115, 458, pp. 23-43.

Gallagher, J. (2009) 'Healing the scar? Idealizing Britain in Africa, 1997-2007', *African Affairs* 108, 432, pp. 435-451.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about international intervention, humanitarianism, or Sierra Leone:

Abrahamsen, R. (2004) 'A Breeding Ground for Terrorists? Africa and Britain's "War on Terrorism"', *Review of African Political Economy* 31, 102, pp. 677 – 684.

Abrahamsen, R. (ed.) (2013) *Conflict and Security in Africa* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer).

Adebajo, A. (2009) *From Global Apartheid to Global Village: Africa and the United Nations*, (Scotsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press).

Baaz, M.E. and M. Stern, (2009) 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly* 53, 2, pp. 495–518.

Baaz, M.E. and M. Stern (2011) 'Whores, men, and other misfits: Undoing "feminization" in the armed forces in the DRC', *African Affairs* 110, 441, pp. 563-585.

Bah, A. B. (2013) 'The Contours of New Humanitarianism: War and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone', *Africa Today* 60, 1, pp. 2-26.

Beswick, D. (2010) 'Peacekeeping, Regime Security and "African Solutions to African Problems": Exploring motivations for Rwanda's involvement in Darfur', *Third World Quarterly* 31, 5, pp. 739-754.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D. M. and Scheibler, A. (eds) (2013) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (Abingdon; Routledge), chapter by Curtis.

Daley, P. (2013) 'Rescuing African bodies: celebrities, consumerism and neoliberal humanitarianism', *Review of African Political Economy* 40, 137, pp. 375-393.

De Heredia, M. I. (2017) *Everyday Resistance, Peacebuilding and State-making: Insights from 'Africa's World War'* (Manchester; Manchester University Press).

Duffield, M. (2007) *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World Of Peoples* (Cambridge; Polity).

Edkins, J. (1996) 'Legality with a vengeance: Famines and humanitarian relief in "complex emergencies"', *Millennium* 25, 3, pp. 547-575.

Edkins, J. (2000) *Whose Hunger? Concepts of famine, practices of aid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Grovogui, S. N. (2002) 'Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition',

Hagmann, T. and F. Reyntjens (eds) (2016) *Aid and authoritarianism in Africa: development without democracy* (London; Zed books).

Mamdani, M. (2010) 'Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4, 1, pp. 53-67.

Medie, P. A. (2013) 'Fighting gender-based violence: The women's movement and the enforcement of rape law in Liberia', *African Affairs* 112, 448, pp. 377-397.

Pailey, R. N. (2017) 'Liberia, ebola and the pit-falls of state-building: Reimagining domestic and diasporic public authority', *African Affairs* 116, 465, pp. 648-670.

Sabaratnam, M. (2017) *Decolonising intervention: International statebuilding in Mozambique* (London; Rowman and Littlefield).

Williams, P. and A. Bellamy (2005) 'The responsibility to protect and the crisis in Darfur', *Security Dialogue* 36, pp. 27-47.



9. Africa is wild: South Africa

In this tutorial we return to South Africa to explore the connections between the politics of land, environment, and development. The image of Africa as wild, untamed, and primeval lies behind many of the other myths we examine on the course. How 'wild' is Africa? In what ways is conservation (and environmentalism more generally) political in Africa? How has Africa been represented as particularly wild and in need of conserving? In what ways have Africans resisted these framings?

The two essential readings are:

Büscher, B. and Ramutsindela, M. (2016) 'Green Violence: Rhino Poaching and the War to Save Southern Africa's Peace Parks', *African Affairs* 115, 458, pp. 1-22.

Death, C. (2014) 'Environmental Movements, Climate Change, and Consumption in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, 6, pp. 1215-1234.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about environmentalism, climate change, or land:

Ali, S.H. (ed.) (2007) *Peace Parks: Conservation and Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge, MA; MIT Press).

Amanor, K. S. and Moyo, S. (eds) (2008) *Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* (London; Zed).

Bassey, N. (2012) *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and the Climate Crisis in Africa* (Cape Town: Pambazuka Press).

Boone, C. (2014) *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Brockington, D. (2006) 'The politics and ethnography of environmentalism in Tanzania', *African Affairs* 105, 418, pp. 97-116.

Brockington, D. and Scholfield, K. (2010) 'The work of conservation organisations in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48, 1, pp. 1-33.

Brockington, D., Duffy, R., and Igoe, J. (2008) *Nature Unbound: Conservation, Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas* (London: Earthscan).

Death, C. (2013) 'Environmental mainstreaming and post-sovereign governance in Tanzania', *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 7, 1, pp. 1-20.

Death, C. (2016) 'Green states in Africa: beyond the usual suspects', *Environmental Politics* 25, 1, pp. 116-135.

Death, C. (2016) *The Green State in Africa* (New Haven; Yale University Press).

Duffy, R. (2006) 'Non-governmental organisations and governance states: The impact of transnational environmental management networks in Madagascar', *Environmental Politics* 15, 5, pp. 731-749.

Duffy, R. (2006) 'The potential and pitfalls of global environmental governance: The politics of transfrontier conservation areas in Southern Africa', *Political Geography* 25, pp. 89-112.

Duffy, R. (2010) *Nature Crime: How we're getting conservation wrong* (London; Yale).

- Dunn, K. C. (2009) 'Contested State Spaces: African National Parks and the State', *European Journal of International Relations* 15, 3, pp. 423-466.
- Dzingirai, V. (2003) 'The New Scramble for the African Countryside', *Development and Change* 34, 2, pp. 243-263.
- Ellis, S. (1994) 'Of Elephants and Men: Politics and Nature Conservation in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 1, pp. 53-69.
- Leach, M. and Mearns, R. (eds) (1996) *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment* (Oxford; James Currey).
- Manji, A. (2006) *The Politics of Land Reform in Africa: From communal tenure to free markets* (London; Zed Books).
- Manji, A. (2017) 'Property, conservation and enclosure in Karura Forest, Nairobi', *African Affairs* 116, 463, pp. 186-205.
- Nelson, F. (ed.) (2010) *Community Rights, Conservation and Contested Land: The Politics of Natural Resource Governance in Africa* (Abingdon; Earthscan).
- Neumann, R. P. (1998) *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley; University of California Press).
- Patel, Z. (2006) 'Africa: A Continent of Hope?' *Local Environment* 11, 1, pp. 7-15.
- Ramutsindela, M. (2007) *Transfrontier Conservation in Africa: At the confluence of capital, politics and nature* (Cambridge MA: CABI).
- Scoones, I., Chaumba, J., Mavedzenge, B. and Wolmer, W. (2012) 'The New Politics of Zimbabwe's Lowveld: Struggles over land at the margins', *African Affairs* 111, 145, pp. 527-550.
- Schroeder, R. A. (1999) 'Geographies of Environmental Intervention in Africa', *Progress in Human Geography* 23, 3, pp. 359-378.
- Shipton, P. (2009) *Mortgaging the Ancestors: Ideologies of attachment in Africa* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press).
- Sunseri, T. (2005) "'Something else to burn': Forest squatters, conservationists and the state in modern Tanzania', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, 4, pp. 609-640.
- Woodhouse, P. (1997) 'Governance and Local Environmental Management in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 24, 74, pp. 537-547.



10. Africa uprising: South Africa

In the final tutorial we reflect upon the politics of postcolonialism and decolonization through an example close to where we all work: the university. The #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements started in South Africa but have spread more widely, and raise big questions about education, society and emancipation. This case leads us to ask, again: is Africa postcolonial? Is it possible to decolonise universities and the academy? Could this lead to new ways of representing Africa? How important is education – and the university – to the ways in which Africans are challenging myths and creating alternative representations of Africa?

The essential readings are:

Hodes, R. (2017) 'Questioning "Fees must fall"', *African Affairs* 116, 462, pp. 140-150.

Mngxitama, A. (2018) 'Is a decolonised university possible in a colonial society?' in O. U. Rutazibwa and R. Shilliam (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge), chapter 27, pp. 335-349. Available as eBook through library.

You may also be interested in the following. Many will be useful for your essays if writing about education and postcolonialism, or for the course more generally:

Appiah, K. A. (1991) 'Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?' *Critical Inquiry* 17, 2, pp. 336–357.

Brambra, G.K., Gebrial, D. and Nisancioglu, K. (eds) (2018) *Decolonising the University: Understanding and Transforming the Universities' Colonial Foundations* (London: Pluto Press).

Briggs, R. C. and S. Weathers (2016) 'Gender and location in African politics scholarship: The other white man's burden?' *African Affairs* 115, 460, pp. 466-489.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton; Princeton University Press).

Cooper, F. (2005) *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkley; University of California Press).

Death, C. (2013) 'Governmentality at the limits of the international: African politics and Foucauldian theory', *Review of International Studies* 39, 3, pp. 763-787.

Death, C. (2017) 'An introduction to Africa and the world', in Cheeseman, N., Whitfield, L. and Death, C. (eds) *The African Affairs Reader: Key texts in Politics, development and international relations* (Oxford; OUP).

Fanon, F. (1986) *Black Skin, White Masks* (London; Pluto).

Lonsdale, J. (2005) 'African Studies, Europe, and Africa', *Afrika Spectrum* 40, 3, pp. 377-402.

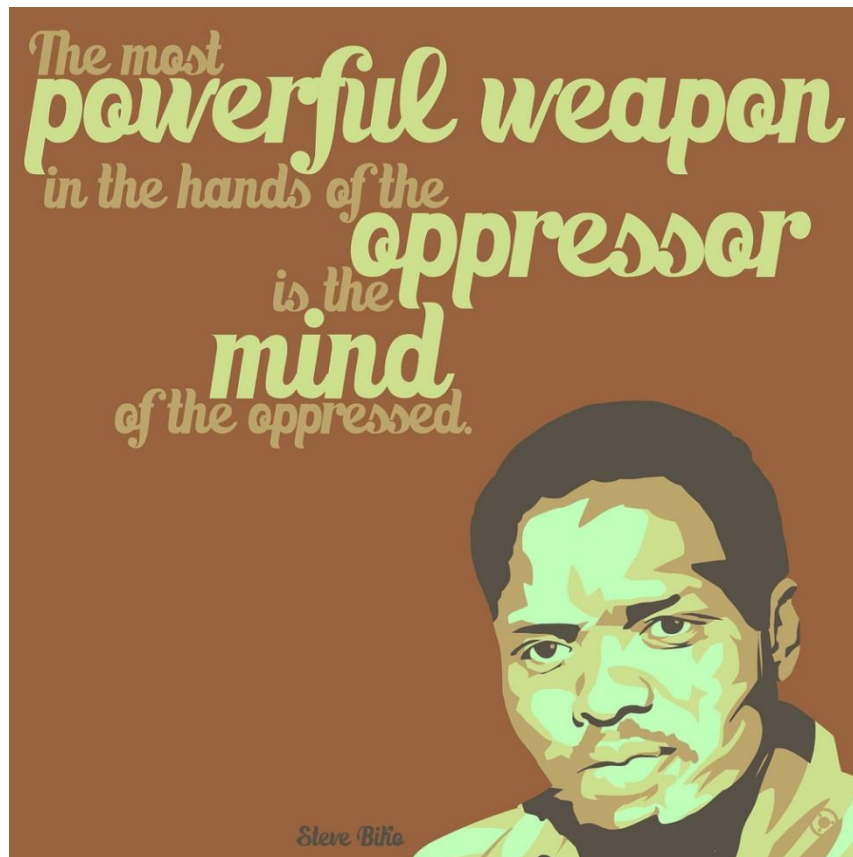
Mama, A. (2007) 'Is it ethical to study Africa? Preliminary thoughts on scholarship and freedom', *African Studies Review* 50, 1, pp. 1-26.

Mamdani, M. (2018) 'The African university', *London Review of Books*, 40, 14, available at <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v40/n14/mahmood-mamdani/the-african-university>

Mbembe, A. (2006) 'On the Postcolony: A Brief Response To Critics', *African identities* 4, 2, pp. 143-178.

Mbembe, A. and L. Meintjes (2003) 'Necropolitics', *Public Culture* 15, 1, pp. 11-40.

- Medie, P. A. and A. J. Kang (2018) 'Power, knowledge and the politics of gender in the Global South', *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1, 1-2, pp. 37-53.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2015) 'Decoloniality as the Future of Africa', *History Compass* 13, 10, pp. 485–496.
- Niang, A. (2016) 'The imperative of African perspectives on International Relations (IR)', *Politics* 36, 4, pp. 453-466.
- Rhodes Must Fall Oxford (2018) *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonize The Racist Heart of Empire* (London; Zed Books).
- Saul, J.S. (2003) 'Africa: The Next Liberation Struggle?' *Review of African Political Economy* 30, 96, pp.187-202.
- Seth, S. (ed.) (2013) *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A critical introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- wa Thiong'o, N. (1986) *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language and Literature in Africa* (London: James Curry).
- Williams, A. (1997) 'The Postcolonial Flaneur and Other Fellow-Travellers: Conceits for a Narrative of Redemption', *Third World Quarterly*, 18, 5, pp. 821-841.



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

POLI 30892
War and Genocide in the twentieth century

Semester: 2
Credits: 20

Lecturer: Dr Martin Coward
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.030
Telephone: 0161 275 1281
Email: martin.coward@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: Thursday 3-5, Samuel Alexander Building A101

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

Mode of assessment: 2 Essays (see below)

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 dates:
Essay 1 (2500 words, 40%) – 2pm 04/03/19
Essay 2 (3000 words, 60%) – 2pm 13/05/19

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

COURSE OUTLINE, AIMS AND LEARNING OUTCOMES

This course examines the relationship between war and genocide in the 20th century. War and genocide have been integral to the 20th century. This course seeks to show how such organised violence has distinctive, evolving dynamics that are a product of politics, society and technology. In order to do this, the course examines a series of historical cases including: the historical emergence of modern war; the total warfare of WWI and WWII; the so-called new and networked warfare of the late 20th and early 21st Century; and genocide in a number of forms. The course will also examine the question of the relation between colonialism and organised violence and the ways in which such an enquiry might help us to decolonise the study of war and genocide. Overall the course will contend that war and genocide both reflect and constitute a complex relation between society, politics and technology in the 20th century.

This course aims to:

- Outline the nature and politics of organised violence in the 20th century.
- Identify 2 of the central forms of organised violence in the 20th century: war and genocide.
- Show how each of these forms of organised violence evolves over time through the examination of appropriate case studies.
- Examine the colonial history of war and genocide and engage with calls to decolonise the study of war.
- Consider possible responses to war and genocide through prevention, intervention or justice.
- Provide students with an opportunity to examine the way in which representative cases of war and genocide exemplify the way in which organised violence both reflects and constitutes relationships between politics, society and technology.

Learning outcomes:

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

- Understanding of key theories of war and genocide.
- Understanding of major historical cases of war and genocide in the long 20th Century.
- The ability to construct and communicate conceptual arguments through the analysis of empirical cases.

TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

This course will be taught through a combination of lectures and tutorials. The Table below sets out the teaching arrangements for the course.

Week	Week beginning	Lecture	Tutorial Topic	Notes
1	28/01/2019	Introduction & Key Concepts	No Tutorial	
2	04/02/2019	Modern War: From Total War to The New Western Way of War	Key Concepts	
3	11/02/2019	Air Power: from strategic bombing to drones	Modern War	
4	18/02/2019	21 st Century War: New Wars, Netwars & The New Military Urbanism	Air Power	
5	25/02/2019	Modern Genocide: Concepts and Colonial Origins	New War & Netwar	
6	04/03/2019	The Holocaust	Genocide: Concepts and Colonial Origins	1 st Essay Due 04/03/19
7	11/03/2019	Revolution and Genocide	The Holocaust	

8	18/03/2019	Ethnic nationalism: Bosnia & Rwanda	Revolution and Genocide	
9	25/03/2019	Prevention, Intervention & Justice	Ethnic Nationalism and Genocide	
10	01/04/2019	Decolonising War and Genocide	Prevention, Intervention and Justice	
Easter Break				
11	29/04/2019	No Lecture	Decolonising War and Genocide	
12	06/05/2019	No Lecture	No Seminar	2 nd Essay Due 13/05/19

NB: Students are responsible for consulting timetables to find days, times and rooms for lectures and tutorials.

Attendance

Attendance at lectures is strongly recommended, and attendance at tutorials is compulsory. A record of attendance at tutorials will be kept and unsanctioned absences will be followed up by the undergraduate team. If you are unable to attend your tutorial please contact the convenor to explain your absence or arrange to attend another tutorial.

Lectures

Lectures are on Thursday 3-5, Samuel Alexander Building A101

There will be 10 lectures. Please see the above schedule for further information. Each lecture will be 1 hour and 50 minutes long with a break in the middle. Lectures will begin at 3 and finish at 4.50.

Questions and discussion are welcome during lectures. Unless you are asking a question or raising a topic of discussion, however, please respect your fellow students and the lecturer and keep unrelated noise to a minimum. You are welcome to use laptops and tablets in lectures, however please turn mobile phones off on entering the lecture theatre. Students who disrupt lectures will be warned once and asked to leave on the second occasion.

Lecture slides will be available prior to the lecture on Blackboard for students to download, and/or print-out and/or annotate. No handouts will be distributed.

Lectures will be recorded via the university podcast service. Podcasts will be made available in two batches at the end of weeks 5 and 10. If a student is registered with the Disability Advisory Support Service (DASS) and DASS has determined that access to the recording is a reasonable adjustment for that student, a recording will be made available to that student 24 hours after the lecture. Students are welcome to record lectures on their own devices for their own purposes. Please remember, however, that lectures are copyright of The University of Manchester and so cannot be shared online without permission.

Tutorials

There will be 10 one-hour tutorials. The tutorials begin in the second week of the course. Please see the above schedule for further information. The purpose of each tutorial is to discuss the themes raised by lectures and essential readings. The topic of each of the tutorial is indicated in the schedule above. To make the tutorial successful, it is expected that you will have read the essential readings related to the tutorial topic.

Tutorials are an integral element of the learning experience for this module. They will provide you with the opportunity to explore issues raised in the lectures and readings in more detail in conversation with your peers and the module leader. The tutorial is an opportunity for you to clarify your understanding of the literature and rehearse arguments. Both are best done in conversation with both the module leader and other students.

It is expected that students will treat every member of the tutorial with respect and listen to what everyone has to contribute. You should remember that this course examines material that is both politically contentious and potentially distressing. Disruptive behaviour including (though not limited to) showing up late, having your mobile ring or answering a call, texting or reading text messages, using social media on any device (without the module leader's permission), listening to music, derogatory language including discriminatory (e.g., racist, sexist, homophobic or transphobic) comments, interrupting other students and/or the seminar leader, failure to listen, and other forms of unacceptable conduct will not be tolerated.

ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

This course is assessed by 2 Essays

- **Essay 1** - 2500 words, worth 40% of overall mark
- **Essay 2** - 3000 words, worth 60% of overall mark

Further details regarding these essays can be found below.

Assessment Deadlines

- Essay 1: Monday 4 March 2019, 2pm
- Essay 2: Monday 13 May 2019, 2pm

All essays are **to be submitted to Turnitin only** (via blackboard) – no hard copies are required.

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.

Essay Questions

You can find the essay questions at the end of this course guide.

Writing essays

Please make sure you read the Politics Course Unit Guide Part 2 (available on Blackboard). In this guide, you can find:

- Assessment criteria
- lots of good advice about writing essays

In addition, the following comments may help you to understand what I am looking for when marking your essays:

Analytic Content: Higher grades will be given to work that demonstrates both comprehension *and* critical analysis of the relevant literature and cases. Lower grades will be given to work that simply summarizes or describes literature and/or cases. It is helpful, therefore, to ask yourself: 'In addition to outlining the key arguments and concepts in the literature am I: a) showing how they apply to cases? and b) providing the reader with my *own* analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and concepts found in the literature (e.g., in relation to a case)?' If you are only repeating what is in the literature – without also applying and critically analysing it – you will restrict your marks. In other words, you will be required to *engage* with the literature rather than merely repeat it. The best essays thus will outline the key insights in the literature relevant to the question, but also apply these insights to cases as well as provide their own argument about the strengths and weakness of the literature (often in relation to the way the literature relates to a case).

Development of an Argument: Higher grades will be given to work that has a clearly stated thesis and a logically developed argument underpinned by evidence in support of that thesis. Lower grades will be given to work that has no thesis or has a thesis that is not logically developed or adequately supported by evidence provided in the body of the essay. It is helpful, therefore, to ask yourself "Does my essay make a logical argument?" Please note that simply showing competing perspectives on a topic **is not an argument**. An argument shows us which of these perspectives/combination of perspectives is more compelling, or the modifications necessary to make perspective/combination of perspectives plausible. Moreover, a strong essay seeks to convince the reader of the soundness of its central argument rather than simply asserting its rightness. Your essay will only be convincing if the argument is clear, the literature is fully explored, counter arguments are examined (though not necessarily accepted), and everything is supported by evidence.

Grammar, Spelling, and Style: Effective communication requires you to minimise grammatical and/or spelling errors. Do *not* rely solely on grammar and spelling checkers found in apps as these do not pick up all errors. Read your work aloud before submission or ask a student also taking the course to proof read the essay. If you need some help with writing style or grammar issues, you are encouraged to look at the library's My Learning Essentials resources: <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/using-the-library/students/training-and-skills-support/my-learning-essentials/>

Meeting the Requirements of the Assignment: All written work *must* be of the appropriate length, *must* use the required type of resources, and, most importantly, *must* address the questions posed.

Essays must meet the following formatting requirements:

- essays should be 1.5 or double-spaced
- pages should be numbered sequentially and each page should have a number
- essays should use a minimum of 12 point font
- essays should have minimum left and right margins of 2.5cm
- quotations longer than four lines should be single-spaced and indented
- essays should be in black font only

Lower grades (including failures) will be assigned to work that does not satisfy all of these requirements.

Feedback

You will receive online written feedback on your assessment via Grademark. You will receive instructions on how to access this feedback. Feedback will identify strengths, weaknesses and ways to improve. **You should make sure you read and understand your feedback.** Once you have received your feedback, you are also welcome to see the course convenor to discuss feedback further.

Help with Assignments/Essays

The course convenor will answer queries and provide advice on assignments. I will provide feedback on essay plans (max 2 pages) and introductions/conclusions (max 1 page), but please note it is Politics policy **not** to read or comment on essay drafts.

Style and Referencing

All Politics modules require students to follow specific guidelines concerning the proper style for all written work, including essays. These guidelines are in *The Politics Part II Guide*, which is available on Blackboard. Any submitted work that fails to adhere consistently to this Guide or is improperly referenced **may lose marks** as specified in the guide.

Maximum word limit on assessed work

There is a maximum word limit of +/- 10% on written assessments:

- A 2500 word essay word essay can be between 2250 and 2750 words.
- A 3000 word essay word essay can be between 2700 and 3300 words.

Essays with a word count outside this margin may lose marks. Please see the Politics Part 2 guide for further details about word counts. Please note that the Part 2 Guide has the following to say about what is and is not included in the word count:

The bibliography/final list of references that is required for both the Harvard and Chicago referencing styles does not count towards the word limit of an essay/extended essay/dissertation.

All footnotes relating to the Chicago style, all references in the text relating to the Harvard style (e.g. Russell, 2012: 3), as well as all other footnote material and quotes, do count toward the word limit.

Further information

Please see the Politics Part II guide on blackboard for further advice about referencing, writing tips and more.

READINGS

Reading is an essential element of this module. You are expected to read each week in order to get the maximum from the course.

Essential Readings

You should read a minimum of 2 essential readings prior to attending each seminar. However, to get the most out of the course, students are strongly encouraged to complete all the essential readings each and every week. When writing an essay you should make sure you have read and referred to all the relevant essential readings. Please note that the essential readings relevant to an essay may come from more than one week/topic. ***Essays that do not reference the relevant essential readings will lose marks.***

Further readings

Further readings are intended to indicate sources you can consult if you have either a particular interest in a topic or are writing an essay on it. There will be no expectation that students will have read any further readings prior to seminars (although if you have the discussion will be better informed). However, there will be an expectation that essays will make reference to relevant further readings. *Essays cannot be written from the essential readings alone.*

Some of these readings are challenging and difficult. Please make sure that you take notes when reading. Remember, seminars are intended for you to discuss the readings further. This means that you should bring questions you have about any of the readings to seminars. ***Students should see seminars as a safe forum to ask any questions that arise from the readings or lecture material. The module leader is also willing to discuss the readings individually or in small groups during office hours.***

Text Books

There are no text books for this course. However, the reading list makes extensive use of two books in particular:

1. Shaw, M, *War and Genocide: Organized Killing in Modern Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003) [referred to as Shaw, *War and Genocide* in reading list below]
2. Jones, A, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, **3rd edition** (London: Routledge, 2017) **NB – note 3rd edition.** [Referred to as Jones, *Genocide* in reading list below]

If you consider buying texts, these should be your priority.

READING LIST

How to use this list:

For each lecture topic you will find a short summary of the topic and a list of readings, divided into essential and further readings as well as questions to guide reading.

Essential reading: These are the readings that will form the background for the lectures and will be the main focus of discussion in the seminars. For each topic, therefore, you will find one set of readings that will be referred to in the lectures and discussed in the seminars. It is important, therefore, that you make an effort to read as many as possible of the relevant essential readings prior to attending the corresponding lectures and seminars.

Further Reading: These readings should be consulted when researching a topic in more depth. As noted above, while it is not expected that you will have read further readings for the seminars, if you have done so it will enhance the discussion. It is expected that essays will make reference to relevant further readings.

Guiding Questions: For each topic in the reading list below you will also find a set of guiding questions. These questions are intended to guide your reading. They indicate what the main questions raised by the topic are. Thinking about these questions as you read will help you to focus on the key issues. They will thus help you to focus your thinking and relate one text to another via common questions. Tutorial discussions may not address these questions directly, but if you have tried to answer the questions before coming to the tutorials you will have a much better grasp of the key points of the literature and will be better prepared to engage in discussions.

Topic 1 - Introduction & Key Concepts

Outline of Lecture

This lecture introduces the module, its content and conceptual themes. I will begin by outlining the defining characteristics of war, genocide and terror. While the lecture will not offer one single definition for each concept, it will sketch the various problematics that must be considered when defining war, genocide and terror as well as the ways in which they are inter-related. The lecture will examine Shaw's continuum of warfare as one way of understanding the relations between war, genocide and terror. The lecture will emphasise the importance of seeing all 3 types of violence as political and organised. The lecture will examine the concepts necessary for understanding the organisation of violence – the actors involved, the territories controlled and the power exercised in each form of violence. The lecture will emphasise the way in which the organisation of violence distinguishes war, genocide and terror from other forms of violence in the modern era and lends them their distinctively political character.

Guiding Questions

1. What makes war, genocide and terror distinctive forms of political violence?
2. How are war, genocide and terror related?
3. How are the concepts of war, genocide and terror defined?
4. What does it mean to say that war, genocide and terror are forms of organised violence?

Essential Readings

1. Malešević, Siniša, *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Introduction, pp.1-14 and Chapter 2, pp.50-88
2. Shaw, Martin, 'Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks for Organised Violence', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3:1 (2009), pp. 97 – 106 Available Online. URL: <http://www.ijcv.org/index.php/ijcv/article/view/50/50>
3. Shaw, *War and Genocide*, Chapters 1 and 2, pp.14-53

Further Reading

Arendt, H, *On Violence* (London: Harcourt, 1970)

Aron, R, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War*, tr. Christine Booker & Norman Stone (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983)

Barkawi, T. And Brighton, S, 'Powers of War: Fighting, Knowledge, and Critique', *International Political Sociology*, 5:2 (2011), pp.126–143

Barnes, C, 'The functional utility of genocide: Towards a framework for understanding the connection between genocide and regime consolidation, expansion and maintenance', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 7:3 (2005), 309-330

Bartrop, P, 'The relationship between war and genocide in the twentieth century: A consideration', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4:4 (2002), 519-53

Black, Jeremy, *War: a short history* (London: Continuum, 2009)

Bousquet, A, 'War' in Amenta E, Nash, K & Scott, A (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp.180-189

Coker, C, *Barbarous Philosophers; reflections on the Nature of War from Heraclitus to Heisenberg* (London: Hurst, 2010)

Combs, Cynthia, C, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*, 7th edition (London: Pearson, 2013)
Freedman, L, ed., *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Collins, R, *Conflict Sociology: A Sociological Classic Updated*, Abridged and Updated by Stephen K. Sanderson (London: Paradigm Publishers, 2009)

Demmers, Jolle, *Theories of violent conflict: An introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Gat, Azar, *War in Human Civilisation* (Oxford: OUP, 2006)

Giddens, A, *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Polity, 1985)

Heath-Kelly, C, *Politics of Violence: Militancy, International Politics, Killing in the Name* (London: Routledge, 2013)

Hirst, P, *War and Power in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001)

Huntington, S P, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1957)

Huttenbach, Henry R. 'From the editor: In favor of the genocidal: A caveat for the academic', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1:3 (1999), pp.307-308

Joas, H, *War and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003)

Kaldor, Mary, 'Warfare and Capitalism', in Thompson, E. P, ed., *Exterminism and Cold War* (London, Verso, 1982), pp.261-288

Kiernan, B, *Blood And Soil: A World History Of Genocide And Extermination From Sparta To Darfur* (London : Yale University Press, 2007)

Kuper, L, *Genocide: Its Political Uses in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981)

Levene, Mark, 'Why Is the Twentieth Century the Century of Genocide?', *Journal of World History*, 11:2 (2000), pp.305-336

Mann, M, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Mann, M, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 2, The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Mann, M, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 3, Global Empires and Revolution, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Mann, M, *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)

Naimark, N, *Genocide: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Nye Jr, Joseph S., and David A. Welch. *Understanding global conflict and cooperation: an introduction to theory and history* 9th ed (Pearson, 2016)

Paret, Peter, *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992)

Sarkees, Meredith Reid, *The COW Typology of War: Defining and Categorizing Wars* (Version 4 of the Data), available online: http://www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/WarData_NEW/COW%20Website%20-%20Typology%20of%20war.pdf

Scheper-Hughes, N and Bourgois, P, 'Introduction: Making Sense of Violence' in Scheper-Hughes, N and Bourgois, P, eds., *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)

Sharma, V S, 'A social theory of war: Clausewitz and war reconsidered', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 28:3 (2015), pp.327-347

Shaw, M, 'The General Hybridity Of War And Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 9:3 (2007), 461-473

Shaw, M, *War and Genocide: Organized Killing in Modern Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 2003)

Shaw, M, *The Dialectics Of War: An Essay In The Social Theory Of Total War And Peace* (London: Pluto 1988)

Shaw, M, *The Sociology Of War And Peace* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1987)

Shaw, M, 'War and Social Theory' in Shaw, M, ed., *War, State, and Society* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984)

Small, Melvin and Singer, J. David, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil War, 1816–1980*. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982)

Tilly, C, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in Evans, P, Rueschemeyer, D and Skocpol T, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1985), pp.161-191

Tilly, C, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

von Clausewitz, Carl, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989)

Waltz, K N, *Man, The State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959)

Topic 2 - Modern War: From Total War to The New Western Way of War

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines the evolution and characteristics of modern, inter-state war. The patterns of organised violence have historically evolved as political, technological, social and economic factors have changed. Modern war can be said to emerge in the context of industrialised states. Modern war reaches its apogee in the total, industrial war that characterises both World Wars. The principle characteristic of modern war is the organisation of states to produce overwhelming force capable of eliminating other states thought to pose an existential risk. Modern war typically harnesses a military-industrial complex to a form of state-led nationalism leading to conscripted, mechanised armed forces capable of destruction on an industrial scale. This lecture also examines the evolution of inter-state war in the last 25 years. It has been argued that modern war experienced a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) at the end of the Cold War that has reorganised warfighting by advanced industrial (i.e., western) states. The nature of the potential reorganisation of western warfighting – particularly the influence of information technologies - will be critically assessed with a particular emphasis on the way management of risk produces particular patterns of violence.

Guiding Questions

1. What are the economic, social, political and technological processes that lead to the emergence of modern warfare?
2. What are the principle characteristics of modern war?
3. What were the social, economic, political and technological factors that gave rise to changes in western warfare after the Cold War?
4. What is a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)?

Essential Readings

1. Förster, S., Total War and Genocide: Reflections on the Second World War. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 53 (2007): 68-83
2. Hirst, P, *War and Power in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 7-78
3. Latham, Andrew & Sethi, Kabir, 'The Transformation of War', in Snyder, Craig A, ed., *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, 3rd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.175-200
4. Shaw, M, *The New Western Way of War* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), pp.71-97

Further Reading

Barkawi, T, *Globalization and War* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006)

Becker, A. The Great War: World war, total war. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97:900 (2015), 1029-1045.

Bell, David, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (London: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2007)

Beier, J M, 'Outsmarting Technologies: Rhetoric, Revolutions in Military Affairs, and the Social Depth of Warfare', *International Politics* 43 (2006), pp.266–280

Chickering, R, Forster, S & Greiner, B eds., *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction 1937-1945*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., 2005)

Dandeker, C, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990)

Der Derian, J, 'From War 2.0 to quantum war: the superpositionality of global violence', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67:5 (2013), pp.570-585

Freedman, Lawrence, *Strategy: A History* (Oxford: OUP, 2013)

Gat, A, 'The Changing Character of War' in Strachan, H and Scheipers, S eds., *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.27-47

Gray, S, 'How Has War Changed Since the End of the Cold War?', *Parameters*, 35 (2005), pp.14-26 [available online:
<http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/Articles/05spring/gray.pdf>]

Gray, C S, *War, Peace and International Relations: An Introduction to Strategic History* (London: Routledge, 2012)

Gray, C S, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Hanson, V D, *The Western way of war: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, 2nd edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989)

Haug, K E and Maaø, O J, eds., *Conceptualising Modern War* (London: Hurst, 2011)

Heuser, Beatrice, *Reading Clausewitz* (London: Pimlico, 2002)

Howard, M, *War in European History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976)

Imlay, T. Total war. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 30: 3 (2007), 547-570.

Jordan, D, Kiras, J D, Lonsdale, D J, Speller, I, Tuck, C and Walton, C D, *Understanding Modern Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Koistinen, P A C, *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1980)

Kramer, A. *Dynamic of destruction: Culture and mass killing in the First World War* (Oxford University Press, 2007)

Mandel, R, *Security, Strategy, and the Quest for Bloodless War* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2004)

McInnes, c and Sheffield, G D, eds., *Warfare in the twentieth Century: Theory and Practice* (London: Unwin, 1988)

Parker, G, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the west, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1988)

Pick, D, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (London: Yale University Press, 1996)

Sheehan, M, 'The Evolution of Modern War', in Baylis, J, Wirtz, J and Gray, C S, eds., *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, 4th edition (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.39-60

Townshend, C, *The Oxford History of Modern War*, new edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

van Creveld, Martin, *The Transformation of War*, (New York: Free Press, 1991)

Topic 3 - Air Power: from strategic bombing to drones

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines the role of a key component of modern and contemporary warfare: air power. The use of aerial platforms for surveillance, defence and offence has had a substantial impact on the patterns of organised violence in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. From its early use in colonial warfare in the Middle East and as an adjunct to the mechanised forces of WWI the aeroplane provided novel possibilities for organising violence. In the mid-20th century air power brought the annihilationist tendencies of modern, total war to fruition in the raids on cities such as Dresden and Tokyo. Throughout the Cold War air power was central to the strategic and tactical success of mutually assured destruction. More recently air power has been credited with shaping a form of war that has given liberal states the possibility of remotely policing areas of the world perceived to be unruly. The drone has been a key figure in this evolution of the role air power plays in organising violence.

Guiding Questions

1. What role did strategic bombing play in the organisation of violence in WWII?
2. How has drone warfare reorganised violence in the twenty-first century?

Essential Readings

1. Hewitt, Kenneth, 'Proving Grounds of Urbicide: Civil and Urban Perspectives on the Bombing of Capital Cities', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 8:2 (2009), pp. 340-375. Online: <http://www.acme-journal.org/vol8/Hewitt09.pdf>
2. Killingray, David. "A swift agent of government': air power in British colonial Africa, 1916–1939." *The Journal of African History* 25:4 (1984), pp.429-444.
3. Markusen, E and Kopf, D, *The Holocaust And Strategic Bombing: Genocide And Total War In The Twentieth Century* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), chapters 4 and 8, pp. 55-78 and pp. 151-182
4. Neocleous, Mark. "Air power as police power." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31:4 (2013), pp.578-593.

Further Reading

Alex J. Bellamy (2008) *The Ethics of Terror Bombing: Beyond Supreme Emergency*, *Journal of Military Ethics*, 7:1, 41-65

Biddle, Tami Davis, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914-1945* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2002)

John Buckley, *Airpower in the Age of Total War* (London: UCL Press, 1999)

Corum, James S. "The myth of air control: Reassessing the history." *Air & Space Power Journal* 14:4 (2000), pp.61-

Cox, Jafna L. "A splendid training ground: the importance to the Royal Air Force of its role in Iraq, 1919–32." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 13:2 (1985), pp.157-184.

Crang, Jeremy A & Addison, Paul eds., *Firestorm: The Bombing of Dresden 1945* (London: Pimlico, 2006)

Davis, Mike, *Dead Cities: And Other Tales* (New York: the New Press, 2004)

Dean, David J. 'Airpower in Small Wars: The British Air Control Experience,' *Air University Review* July-August (1983) Available online: <http://www.au.af.mil/au/afri/aspi/airchronicles/aureview/1983/jul-aug/dean.html> or <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA215899> [pdf]

Friedrich, Jorg, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

Grayling, A C, *Among the Dead Cities: Was the Allied Bombing of Civilians in WWII a Necessity or a Crime?* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006)

Grosscup, B., 2006. *Strategic terror: The politics and ethics of aerial bombardment*. Zed Books.

Hansen, Randall, *Fire and Fury - The Allied Bombing of Germany, 1942-1945*. (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2008)

Hewitt, K, 'Place Annihilation: Area Bombing and the Fate of Urban Places', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73 :2 (1983), pp. 257-284

Hippler, T. *Bombing the People: Giulio Douhet and the Foundations of Air-Power Strategy, 1884–1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013

Huttenbach, Henry R. 'From the editor: In favor of the genocidal: A caveat for the academic', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1:3 (1999), pp.307-308

Lindqvist, Sven, *A History of Bombing* (London: Granta, 2001)

Meilinger, Phillip S. "Trenchard and" morale bombing": The evolution of Royal Air Force doctrine before World War II." *The Journal of Military History* 60:2 (1996), pp. 243-270.

Pape, R A. *Bombing to Win: Airpower and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Paris, Michael. "Air Power and Imperial Defence 1880-1919." *Journal of Contemporary History* 24:2 (1989), pp.209-225.

Press, D, 'The Myth of Air Power in the Persian Gulf War and the Future of Warfare', *International Security*, 29:2 (2001), pp. 5–44

Primoratz, I, ed., *Terror from the Sky: the Bombing of German Cities in World War II*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010)

Satia, Priya. "The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia." *The American Historical Review* 111:1 (2006), pp.16-51.

Sebald, W G, *On The Natural History Of Destruction* (New York: Random House, 2003)

Selden, M., 'A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq'. *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 5:5 (2007). Available online <https://apjpf.org/-Mark-Selden/2414/article.html>

Semelin, Jacques, 'Around the "G" Word: From Raphael Lemkin's Definition to Current Memorial and Academic Controversies,' *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*. 7:1 (2012) Available at: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/gsp/vol7/iss1/5>

Smith, Melden E., 'The Strategic Bombing Debate: The Second World War and Vietnam', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12:1 (1977), pp. 175-191

Young, Marilyn B. & Tanaka, Yuki eds., *Bombing Civilians: A Twentieth-century History* (New York: the New Press, 2009)

Topic 4 - 21st Century war: New Wars, Netwars & The New Military Urbanism

Outline of Lecture

This lecture further examines the ways in which war has been said to have changed since the end of the Cold War. This lecture focuses on the changes associated with globalisation, particularly the effect of transnational flows of people, goods, money and ideas. Two understandings of the way that these flows reorganise violence will be critically assessed: Mary Kaldor's concept of new war; and Arquilla and Ronfeldt's concept of netwar. Both can be said to have highlighted the growing centrality of non-state actors in contemporary organised violence. The lecture will also examine the way in which organised violence is increasingly urbanised in the contemporary period. Organised violence has regarded the city as posing special problems for warfare. It is home to civilians who should be protected under the norms and laws of war. Moreover, its infrastructures and buildings create complex spaces that problematise fire and manoeuvre tactics. However, the city is also the heart of the modern nation-state and thus a target for modern war. It also affords small asymmetric forces resources that can multiply the force they can bring to bear on large modern militaries. As such, the city has become a battleground. From Cold War plans to destroy cities in first strikes to contemporary counter-insurgency, war is being urbanised in a variety of ways.

Guiding Questions

1. How does Mary Kaldor define old and new wars?
2. What is new about new wars?
3. How has globalisation affected war in the contemporary period?
4. How have networked infrastructures and relationships affected organised violence in the contemporary period?
5. How are organised violence and the city related in the contemporary period?

Essential Readings

1. Kaldor, M, 'In Defence of New Wars', *Stability*, 2:1 (2013), pp. 1-16 [available online at <http://www.stabilityjournal.org/articles/10.5334/sta.at/>]
2. Kaldor, M, *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era*, 3rd edition (Polity Press, 2013), Introduction, pp.1-14.

3. Arquilla, John, & Ronfeldt, David, 'The Advent of Netwar (revisited)' in Arquilla, John, & Ronfeldt, David, eds., *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (RAND, 2001) [available online at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1382/MR1382.ch1.pdf>]
4. Graham, S, 'Cities as Battlespace: The New Military Urbanism', *City* 13:4 (2009), 383-402

Further Reading

Andreas, P, 'The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48 No.1 (2004), pp.29–51

Arquilla, John, & Ronfeldt, David, eds., *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy* (RAND, 2001) [Available online: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1382.html]

Arquilla, John, & Ronfeldt, David, eds., *In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information age* (RAND, 1997) [Available online: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR880.html]

Berdal, M, 'The 'New Wars' Thesis Revisited' in Strachan, H and Scheipers, S eds., *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.109-133

Berdal, M, 'How "New" are "new Wars"? Global Economic Change and the Study of Civil War', *Global Governance*, 9 (2003), pp.477-502

Berdal, M and Malone, D M, eds. *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000)

Cebrowski, A. and Garstka, J. J., 'Network-Centric Warfare?: Its Origin and Future', *Proceedings of the US Naval Institute*, 139 (1998) [Available online: <http://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/1998-01/network-centric-warfare-its-origin-and-future>]

Chojnacki, S, 'Anything new or more of the same? Wars and military interventions in the international system, 1946–2003', *Global Society*, 20:1 (2006), pp. 25-46

Coward M, 'Network-Centric Violence, Critical Infrastructure and the Urbanisation of Security'. *Security Dialogue*, 40:4-5 (2009), 399-418.

Devetak, Richard & Hughes, Christopher W., eds., *The Globalization Of Political Violence: Globalization's Shadow* (New York: Routledge, 2008)

Dillon, M, 'Network Society, Network-Centric Warfare and the State of Emergency', *Theory, Culture & Society* 19:4 (2002), pp. 71-79.

Duffield, Mark, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (London: Zed Books, 2001)

Graham, S, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism* (London: Verso, 2010)

Graham, S, 'Postmortem City', *City* 8:2 (2004), 165-196

Jung, D, ed., *Shadow Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts And New Wars: A Political Economy Of Intra-State War* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Kaldor, M, 'Introduction' in Kaldor, M & Vashee, B, eds., *Restructuring the Global Military Sector: Volume 1 – New Wars* (London: Pinter, 1997), pp. 3-33

Kaldor, Mary, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999)

Kalyvas, S N, "' New" and "Old" Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?', *World Politics* 54 (2001), pp. 99–118

Kilcullen, D, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Krebs, V. 'Uncloaking Terrorist Networks', *First Monday*, 7:4 (2002) Online. Available at: <http://pear.accc.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/941/863>.

Maaø, O J, 'Beyond Mary Kaldor's New Wars: A Critique', in Haug, K E and Maaø, O J, eds., *Conceptualising Modern War* (London: Hurst, 2011), pp. 65-88

Munkler, H, *The New Wars* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005)

Norton, R J, 'Feral Cities', *Naval War College Review*, LVI: 4 (2003), pp. 97-106. Available here: <https://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/9a5bddeb-e16e-48fc-b21a-22515e79aaa9/Feral-Cities---Norton,-Richard-J-.aspx>

Rid, T & Hecker, M, *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2009)

Smith, M L R, 'Guerrillas In The Mist: Reassessing Strategy And Low Intensity Warfare', *Review of International Studies*, 29:1 (2003), pp.19–37

Weizman, E, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007)

Weizman, E, *A Civilian Occupation* (London: Verso, 2003)

Topic 5 - Modern Genocide: Concepts and Colonial Origins

Outline of Lecture

This is the first lecture discussing the third of the three forms of violence analysed in this course: genocide. The lecture will start by outlining the centrality of organisation to genocide. The lecture will then examine the competing ways in which genocide has been defined in order to outline its key conceptual and empirical characteristics. Of particular concern will be the importance of intent, victims and scale in defining genocide. The lecture will also show how genocide is related to other forms of organised violence: war and terror. The lecture will then examine the roots of modern genocide in imperialism/colonialism. Central to understanding colonial genocide is the relation between the imperial state's territorial ambitions, its exploitation of indigenous populations/resources and exterminist dynamics. These dynamics are witnessed in the colonisation of Latin America, Africa, and Asia by European powers. Examining colonial origins enables us to see the key dynamics that define modern genocides.

Guiding Questions

1. Why is it important to highlight the organisation of violence in genocide?
2. How has genocide been defined by at least 3 different scholars/organisations?
3. How would you define genocide?
4. How is genocide related to war and terror?
5. What is the relation between the territorial ambitions of settler colonialism and genocide?
6. To what extent does colonialism provide the template for a genocide such as the Holocaust?

Essential Readings

1. Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 1, pp.3-87 and Chapter 3, pp. 147-199
2. Shaw, M, *What is Genocide?* 2nd edition (Cambridge, Polity, 2007), ch.10, pp.169-191 [This is a revised version of chapter 9 in the first edition]
3. Madley, B, 'Patterns of frontier genocide 1803–1910: the aboriginal Tasmanians, the Yuki of California, and the Herero of Namibia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:2 (2004), 167-192
4. Wolfe, P., Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4 (2006), pp.387-409.

All students should familiarise themselves with The *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 1948:
<http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm>

Further Reading

Concepts

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Bartrop, P, 'The relationship between war and genocide in the twentieth century: A consideration', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4:4 (2002), 519-53

Chalk, F & Jonassohn, K, eds., *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990)

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Feierstein, Daniel, *Genocide as Social Practice: Reorganizing Society under the Nazis and Argentina's Military Juntas*. (Rutgers University Press, 2014). Open Access: www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wq9vn.

Gomez-Suarez, Andrei. "Perpetrator blocs, genocidal mentalities and geographies: the destruction of the Union Patriótica in Colombia and its lessons for genocide studies." *Journal of Genocide Research* 9.4 (2007): 637-660.

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Kiernan, B, *Blood And Soil: A World History Of Genocide And Extermination From Sparta To Darfur* (London : Yale University Press, 2007)

Lemkin, Raphael, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (Washington DC, Carnegie Council, 1944), especially Chapter 9, sections I and II:

<http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-1.htm>

&

<http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/AxisRule1944-2.htm#Techniques>

Levene, Mark, *Genocide in the Age of the Nation State, Volume 1: The Meaning of Genocide*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005)

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Moses, A D, 'Lemkin, Culture and the Concept of Genocide', in Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19-41.

Naimark, N, *Genocide: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

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Semelin, Jacques. *Purify and destroy: the political uses of massacre and genocide* (Columbia University Press, 2007)

Shaw, M, *Genocide and International Relations: Changing Patterns in the Transitions of the Late Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Straus, Scott, 'Second-Generation Comparative Research on Genocide', *World Politics*, 59:3 (2007), pp. 476-50

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Colonial Genocide

Arendt, H, *The Origins Of Totalitarianism* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1966)

Brantlinger, P. 'Dying races': rationalizing genocide in the nineteenth century', in J. N. Pieterse and B. Parekh, eds. *The Decolonization of Imagination* (London: Zed, 1995), pp. 43–56

Davis, Mike, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001)

Depelchin, Jacques, 'The history of mass violence since colonial times – Trying to understand the roots of a mindset', *Development Dialogue* No.50 (2008). Online: http://www.daghammarskjold.se/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/Development_dialogue_50_web.pdf

Fitzpatrick, Matthew P. 'The Pre-History of the Holocaust? The Sonderweg and Historikerstreit Debates and the Abject Colonial Past', *Central European History*, 41:3 (2008), pp 477-503

Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost : A Story Of Greed, Terror, And Heroism In Colonial Africa* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1999)

Kakel, Carroll P, *The Holocaust as Colonial Genocide: Hitler's 'Indian Wars' in the 'Wild East'* (London: Palgrave, 2013)

Kistner, Ulrike, 'Lineages of racism in genocidal contexts – Lessons from Hannah Arendt in contemporary African genocide scholarship', *Development Dialogue* No.50 (2008). Online: http://www.daghammarskjold.se/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/Development_dialogue_50_web.pdf

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Mamdani, M, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2001)

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Stratton, John, 'It almost needn't have been the Germans': The state, colonial violence and the Holocaust', *European Journal Of Cultural Studies*, 6:4 (2003), pp. 507-527

Sousa, Ashley Riley, "'They will be hunted down like wild beasts and destroyed!': a comparative study of genocide in California and Tasmania", *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:2 (2004), pp.193-209

Zimmerer, Jürgen, 'Colonialism and the holocaust– Towards an archeology of genocide', *Development Dialogue* No.50 (2008). Online: http://www.daghammarskjold.se/wp-content/uploads/2008/12/Development_dialogue_50_web.pdf

Topic 6 - The Holocaust

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines what for many constitutes the exemplary case of twentieth century genocide: the Nazi destruction of the European Jews in the Holocaust or *Shoah*. 3 key dimensions of the Holocaust will be discussed: its modernity, its bureaucratic foundations and the camp system. The lecture will problematise the uniqueness of the Holocaust without diminishing its exemplary force. The lectures will show how elements of the Holocaust are instructive for understanding, in a comparative fashion, other genocides.

Guiding Questions

1. How are modernity and exterminism related?
2. To what extent is the bureaucracy the central component of the Holocaust?
3. Is the Holocaust unique?

Essential Readings

1. Bauman, Z, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), Chapter 4, pp.83-111 [if you plan to write an essay on the holocaust you should read the whole book]
2. Bloxham, D, *The Final Solution: A Genocide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapter 7, pp.261-300
3. Freeman, Michael. "Genocide, civilization and modernity." *British Journal of Sociology* 46:2 (1995): 207-223
4. Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 6, pp.318-391

Further Reading

Arendt, H, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on The Banality Of Evil* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994)

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Bergen, D, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003)

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Gigliotti, S, and Lang, B, eds, *The Holocaust: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005)

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Hilberg, R, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Meier, 1985).

Hitler, A, *Mein Kampf*, (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1999)

Horowitz, I, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, 4th edn (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997)

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Mann, M, *The Dark Side Of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), Chapters 7-10, pp.180-317

Mazower, M, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London: Penguin, 2008)

Millett, K, *The Politics of Cruelty* (London: WW Norton, 1994), Chapter 2, pp.44-73

Pohl, D, 'The Holocaust and the concentration camps' in Caplan, J & Wachsmann, N, eds., *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories* (London: Routledge, 2010) pp. 149-166

Snyder, T, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (London: Bodley Head, 2010)

Sofsky, W, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Stone, D, *Histories of the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Wachsmann, N, *KL. A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York, London: Little, Brown, 2015)

Topic 7 - Revolution and Genocide

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines the relationship between revolution and genocide. The lecture will critically assess the claim that revolution is organised in a manner that predisposes it to genocide. In cases such as China, Russia and Cambodia, revolutionaries visited extraordinary violence in the name of revolutionary ideals on those deemed to pose an obstacle to progress. These cases pose questions about the manner in which the state may wage genocidal war upon its own citizens.

Guiding Questions

1. Will every revolution tend towards genocidal dynamics?
2. Can we say that the famines experienced in revolutionary Russia and China comprise genocides?
3. What conceptual problems are encountered in judging whether Khmer Rouge actions in Cambodia comprise genocide?

Essential Readings

1. Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 5 (pp.258-317) and 7 (pp. 392-431)
2. Melson, Robert, *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), Chapter 1, pp.1-40
3. Mann, M, *The Dark Side Of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), Chapter 11, pp.318-353
4. Skocpol, Theda, "Social Revolutions and Mass Military Mobilization." *World Politics*, 40:2, (1988): 147–168.

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Kraminick, Isaac. "Reflections on Revolution: Definition and Explanation in Recent Scholarship." *History and Theory* 11:1 (1972): 26-63.

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Boobbyer, P, *The Stalin Era* (London: Routledge, 2000)

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Davies, S and Harris, J. eds, *Stalin: A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

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Gill, G, *Stalinism*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998)

Gregory, P. *Terror by Quota: State Security from Lenin to Stalin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009)

Hoffman, D. ed., *Stalinism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003)

Ivanova, G. *Labor Camp Socialism: The Gulag in the Soviet Totalitarian System* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000)

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Kizny, T. *Gulag: Life and Death Inside the Soviet Concentration Camp* (Buffalo, NY: Firefly, 2004)

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Read, C. ed., *The Stalin Years: A Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

Pohl, J. *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937-1949* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

Polian, P. *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004).

Werth, N. 'Mass Deportations, Ethnic Cleansing and Genocidal Politics in the Later Russian Empire and the USSR' in Bloxham, D & Moses, A D, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 386-406.

Cambodia

Chandler, D. *Brother Number One: A Political Biography of Pol Pot* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).

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Tyner, James A, *The Killing of Cambodia: Geography, Genocide and the Unmaking of Space* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008)

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China

Becker, Jasper, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine*. (New York: Henry Holt, 1998)

Dikötter, Frank, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958–1962* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010)

Jisheng, Yang, *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958–1962* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012)

Tyner, James A. *Genocide and the geographical imagination: Life and death in Germany, China, and Cambodia* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012)

Topic 8 - Ethnic nationalism: Bosnia & Rwanda

Outline of Lecture

This lecture Examines two key cases of late-twentieth century genocide: Bosnia and Rwanda. In both cases genocidal violence was attributed to 'ethnic' rivalries and/or 'tribal hatreds'. The lecture will critically assess the accuracy of describing these genocides as 'ethnic cleansing' and contest the commonly held perception that these genocides are the result of ancient hatreds. The lecture will also outline the role of globalisation, crises of society, economy and state and the politics of identity in generating a genocidal pattern of organised violence.

Guiding Questions

1. How can the cases of Bosnia and Rwanda illustrate the role economic, social and political crises play in genocide?
2. What distinctive patterns of organised violence can we see in the cases of Bosnia and Rwanda?
3. To what extent is the Rwandan genocide embedded in international/transnational dynamics?
4. Why should we challenge the idea that ethnic-nationalism is the expression of ancient hatreds?
5. Is ethnic cleansing a euphemism for genocide?

Essential Readings

For historical background on Bosnia and Rwanda see: Jones, *Genocide*, chapter 8 (pp.432-469) and chapter 9 (pp.470-523)

1. Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew. "A brief history of ethnic cleansing." *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (1993), pp.110-121.
2. Eltringham, N, *Accounting for Horror: Post-Genocide Debates in Rwanda* (London: Pluto, 2004), pp.1-33

3. Lemarchand, René, 'Disconnecting the Threads: Rwanda and the Holocaust Reconsidered', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4:4 (2002), pp.499-518
4. Shaw, M, *What is Genocide?*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Polity, 2015), ch.5, pp.66-83
[This is a revised version of chapter 4 in the first edition]

Further Reading

Ethnic-nationalism and Genocide

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Semelin, J, 'Analysis of a Mass Crime: Ethnic Cleansing in the Former Yugoslavia 1991-1999', in Gellately, R & Kiernan, B, eds., *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

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Rwanda

Andersen, Regine. "How multilateral development assistance triggered the conflict in Rwanda." *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (2000): 441-456.

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des Forges, A. Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda (Human Rights Watch), Online: <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1999/rwanda/>

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Thompson, A. ed., *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

Uvin, P, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 1998)

Verwimp, Philip, 'Machetes and Firearms: The Organization of Massacres in Rwanda', *Journal of Peace Research*, 43:1 (2006), pp. 5-22

Verwimp, P 'The political economy of coffee, dictatorship, and genocide', *European Journal of International Political Economy* 19:2 (2003), pp.161-181

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Topic 9 - Prevention, Intervention & Justice

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines the possible responses to organised violence: prevention, intervention and justice. The lecture will start by looking at the ways in which organised violence can be prevented and, failing that, how it is possible to intervene in escalating violence. The lecture will consider diplomacy, confidence building, early warning systems, and institutional mechanisms including the United Nations Security Council. The lecture will focus on the need for an understanding of the way in which organised violence escalates in order that this process can be contested and open conflict can be prevented. While prevention is ideal, some forms of organised violence escalate into wars, insurgencies, terrorism or genocide. Halting these patterns of organised violence requires coercive means. This lecture looks at the 3 most common mechanisms for intervention: diplomatic; economic; and military. The lecture will particularly focus on the legal and ethical questions raised by intervention. The lecture then considers the aftermath of organised violence. In particular, the lecture examines the question of justice for the victims of organised violence. Justice falls broadly into two types: retributive and restorative. The use of both types of justice in the aftermath of war or genocide will be critically examined. Given the limited remedy justice provides for the victims of organised violence, the lecture will also consider the way in which memorialisation and education might provide some lasting response in the aftermath of war, terrorism or genocide.

Guiding Questions

1. How can the escalation of organised violence be prevented?
2. What are the different coercive means for intervening in war, insurgency, terrorism or genocide?
3. What ethical and legal problems are raised by coercive intervention?
4. What is the difference between retributive and restorative justice?
5. Is effective justice for the victims of organised violence possible?
6. Can memorialisation or education provide a response to organised violence?

Essential Readings

1. Jones, *Genocide*, Chapter 16, pp.749-808
2. Stanton, Gregory H, 'Could the Rwandan genocide have been prevented?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:2 (2004), pp.211-228

3. Wheeler, N J, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 21-52
4. Schabas, William, 'Genocide Trials and Gacaca Courts', *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 3 (2005), pp.879-895

Further Reading

Bass, G J, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Bell, Duncan, (ed), *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 11.

Bellamy, Alex J, 'Getting away with mass murder', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14:1 (2012), pp.29-53

Bellamy, A J, Williams, P and Griffin, S, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004)

Chandler, D, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton* (London: Pluto Press, 1999)

Chuter, D, *War Crimes: Confronting Atrocity in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2003)

Clark, Natalya, J., 'The 'crime of crimes': genocide, criminal trials and reconciliation', *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (2012): 57.

Colwill, J, 'From Nuremberg to Bosnia', *Social Justice* 22 (1995), pp. 111-128

Cushman, Thomas, 'Is genocide preventable? Some theoretical Considerations', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5:4 (2003), pp.523-542

Elbadawi, E and Sambanis, N, 'Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflict', *Journal of African Economies*, 9:3 (2000), pp. 244-269

Fawthrop T. and Jarvis, H. *Getting Away with Genocide: Elusive Justice and the Khmer Rouge Tribunal* (London: Pluto Press, 2004)

Freedman, L, 'Force and the international community: Blair's Chicago speech and the criteria for intervention' *International Relations* 31:2 (2017), pp. 107 - 124

Hehir, Aidan, 'The special adviser on the prevention of genocide: adding value to the UN's mechanisms for preventing intra-state crises?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 13:3 (2011), pp.271-286

Holzgrefe, J L, and Keohane, R O, eds., *Humanitarian intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Hughes, R, 'Ordinary theatre and extraordinary law at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33:4 (2015), pp.714 – 731

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), pp.11-38 Available online: <http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>

Jacobs, J. (2011). 2010 Paul Hanly Furfey Lecture - Sacred Space and Collective Memory: Memorializing Genocide at Sites of Terror. *Sociology of Religion* 72:2, pp.154-165

Janssen, Dieter, 'Humanitarian intervention and the prevention of genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10:2 (2008), pp.289-306

Jeffrey A. 'Justice incomplete: Radovan Karadžić, the ICTY and the spaces of international law', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27:3 (2009), pp.387-402.

Knaus G & Martin F, 'Travails Of The European Raj', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14 No. 3 (July 2003), pp. 60-74

Lambourne, Wendy, 'Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding after Mass Violence', *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3 (2009)

Langenbacher & Shain, eds, 2010 Power and the Past: Collective Memory and International Relations

Levene, Mark, 'A dissenting voice: or how current assumptions of deterring and preventing genocide may be looking at the problem through the wrong end of the telescope, Part I', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:2 (2004), pp.153-166

Levine, Mark, 'A dissenting voice: Part II', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:3 (2004), pp. 431-445

Magnarella, Paul J, *Justice in Africa: Rwanda's Genocide, Its Courts, and the UN Criminal Tribunal* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)

Mayroz, Eyal, 'The legal duty to 'prevent': after the onset of 'genocide'', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14:1 (2012), pp.79-98

Meron, T, 'International Criminalization of Internal Atrocities', *American Journal of International Law* 89 (1995), 554-577

Minow, M. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1998)

Møse, Erik, 'Main Achievements of the ICTR', *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 3(2005), pp.920-943

Owen, J, *Nuremberg: Evil on Trial* (London: Headline, 2006)

Rettberg, Angelika, and Juan E. Ugarriza. "Reconciliation: A comprehensive framework for empirical analysis." *Security Dialogue* 47:6 (2016): 517-540.

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi and Mariezcurrena, Javier, (eds), *Transitional Justice in the Twenty First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006):213.

Schabas, William A, *The UN international criminal tribunals: the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Schabas, William, 'The Relationship Between Truth Commissions and International Courts: The Case of Sierra Leone', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25:4 (2003), pp.1035-1066

Scharf, M P, *Balkan Justice: The Story Behind the First War Crimes Trial Since Nuremberg* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1997)

Shapiro, M *War Crimes, Atrocity and Justice* (Cambridge: Polity, 2015)

Snyder, J & Vinjamuri, L, 'Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice,' *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 5–44

Stover E. and Weinstein, H. eds, *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Toal, G. And C. Dahlman, *Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Totten, Samuel, 'The intervention and prevention of genocide: Sisyphean or doable?', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6:2 (2004), pp.229-247

Trim, D J B, 'Humanitarian Intervention' in Strachan, H and Scheipers, S eds., *The Changing Character of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.151-166

Wielenga, C and Harris, G., 'Building peace and security after genocide: The contribution of the gacaca courts of Rwanda.' *African Security Review* 20 (2011): 18.

Topic 10 - Decolonising War and Genocide

Outline of Lecture

This lecture examines the impact of de- and post-colonial theory on the study of war and genocide. The lecture examines what it means to have a post- or decolonial approach to scholarship. The focus here will be on both recovering subaltern histories and agency as well as thinking about the ways in which western theoretical precepts have been challenged. On the one hand it is important to decentre the Eurocentric history of war and genocide. This means recognising the roles colonialism, empire and imperialism played in the dynamics of modern war and genocide as well as the ways in which the Eurocentric story elides a range of indigenous, black and Asian actors. Secondly, it means thinking about the conceptual matrix – especially the nation-state central to orthodox understandings of both war and genocide.

Guiding Questions

1. What does it mean to decolonise the study of war and genocide?
2. How is colonisation and empire integral to the history of modern war and genocide?
3. How does the Eurocentric story of modern war and genocide elide non-western actors and histories?
4. How does decolonisation challenge the focus on the nation state in the study of war and genocide?

Essential Readings

1. Barkawi, T. *Soldiers of Empire: Indian and British Armies in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 255-281 'Cosmopolitan Military Histories and Sociologies.'
2. Barkawi, T. 'Decolonising war'. *European Journal of International Security*, 1:2 (2016): 199-214.
3. Meiches, Benjamin, 'The Charge of Genocide: Racial Hierarchy, Political Discourse, and the Evolution of International Institutions,' *International Political Sociology*, <https://academic.oup.com/ips/advance-article/doi/10.1093/ips/oly030/5262204>
4. Turner, J. 'Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government.' *European Journal of International Relations*, 24:4 (2018): 765–790. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066117734904>

Further Reading

Ashcroft, Bill, et al. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. (London: Routledge, 1995)

Blaney, David L., and Arlene B. Tickner. "Worlding, ontological politics and the possibility of a decolonial IR." *Millennium* 45:3 (2017): 293-311.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the critique of history,' *Cultural Studies*, 6:3 (1992): 337-357

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

Comaroff, Jean, & Comaroff John L. "Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa." *Anthropological Forum*, 22:2 (2012): pp. 113-131

Comaroff, Jean, & Comaroff John L. *Theory from the South* (London: Routledge, 2012)

Connell, R, 'Decolonizing Sociology.' *Contemporary Sociology*, 47:4 (2018): 399–407.

Connell, R, *Southern Theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science* (Allen & Unwin, 2007)

Erichsen, Casper, and Olusoga, David. *The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's forgotten genocide and the colonial roots of Nazism* (Faber & Faber, 2010.)

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. (Penguin, 2001)

Jones, Branwen Gruffydd, ed. *Decolonizing International Relations*. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Howell, Alison & Richter-Montpetit, Melanie. 'Racism in Foucauldian Security Studies: Biopolitics, Liberal War, and the Whitewashing of Colonial and Racial Violence,' *International Political Sociology*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/oly031>

Killingray D, Plaut M. *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War*. (Boydell & Brewer Ltd 2012).

Lentin, Alana 'Charlie Hebdo: White Context and Black Analytics.' *Public Culture*, 31: 1 (2019): 45–67. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-7181835>

Mbembé, A "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15:1 (2003): 11-40.

Olusoga, David. *The World's War*. (Head of Zeus, 2014.)

Phillips, Barnaby. *Another Man's War: The Story of a Burma Boy in Britain's Forgotten Army*. (Oneworld Publications, 2014)

Spivak, G. C. 'Can The Subaltern Speak?' in Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Macmillan Education: Basingstoke, 1988) pp. 271-313.

Tucker, K, 'Unraveling Coloniality in International Relations: Knowledge, Relationality, and Strategies for Engagement,' *International Political Sociology* 12 (2018): 215–232

ESSAY QUESTIONS

You should choose a question from the appropriate list below. These questions have been constructed to cover the key areas of the course. However, if you feel that there is an area of course material that you would like to write about that is not covered by the questions above please discuss this with the module leader. Essays written in response to a question which has not been agreed with the module leader will receive zero.

Essay 1:

1. Does placing war and genocide on a spectrum help us understand the conceptual relationships between different types of political violence?
2. Does the allied strategic bombing of Germany and/or Japan in world War 2 demonstrate the usefulness of the concept of genocidal massacre in understanding the relationship between total war and genocide?
3. How did the rise of the modern state lead to the distinctive dynamics of modern warfare? Discuss in relation to empirical examples.
4. Why does modern war tend towards total war? Discuss in relation to either World War 1 or World War 2.
5. Critically assess the argument that there is nothing new about new wars.
6. Critically assess Shaw's argument that technological, political and social changes in the post-Cold War era have led to a New Western Way of War.
7. Are Arquilla and Ronfeldt correct that globalisation and information technology have led to new, networked forms of war? Discuss in relation to empirical examples.
8. Critically assess the argument that the urbanisation of war is leading to new patterns of political violence? Illustrate your argument with empirical examples.

Essay 2

1. Critically assess the argument that The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide should protect political groups. Use empirical examples to illustrate your argument.
2. Why does settler colonialism tend towards genocide? Discuss in relation to the destruction of one of the following: the Herero and Nama; the Aboriginal Tasmanians; the Native Americans.
3. Critically assess the argument that modern genocides are colonial in nature.
4. Why does Bauman argue that 'Without modern civilization and its most central essential achievements, there would be no Holocaust.' (Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, 87)?
5. Is the concept of ethnic cleansing a euphemism for genocide? What are the political effects of distinguishing between these two types of political violence??
6. Why are revolutions and genocide related to one another? Discuss in relation to at least one of the following: Russia; China; Cambodia.
7. How does the concept of ancient hatreds obscure the dynamics of genocide? Discuss in relation to either the Bosnian or Rwanda genocide.
8. How can genocide be prevented at an early stage? Discuss in relation to empirical examples.
9. Critically assess the role that justice can play after genocide. Discuss in relation to either Bosnia or Rwanda.
10. How can we decolonise the study of war and genocide?

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI31002

IDEOLOGIES OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM

Semester: 2
Credits: 20

Lecturer: Dr Japhy Wilson

Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.026

Telephone: 0161 2754889

Email: japhy.wilson@manchester.ac.uk

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/>

Lectures: **Mondays 13:00-15:00, Roscoe 3.5**

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

Mode of assessment: 1,750-word essay (25%)
20-minute group presentation (25%)
3,500-word essay (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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UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

Assessed work hand-in dates:

Short essay: 6th of March 2019

Extended essay: 6th of May 2019

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

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 outline

This course provides an advanced introduction to the critique of ideology in the context of global capitalism. Following the end of the Cold War, we were told that we were now living in a 'post-ideological' era, in which the clash of opposing worldviews had been resolved, and liberal capitalism had triumphed. Any remaining differences were to be negotiated within a relatively unquestioned framework of representative democracy, market economics and cosmopolitan humanitarianism, or else excluded from the parameters of rational debate and legitimate contestation. Meanwhile, the concept of ideology was discarded as outmoded and irrelevant.

But far from spelling the end of ideology, the global era has been accompanied by a proliferation of ideological discourses, strategies, fantasies and rituals. This has led to the re-emergence of the critique of ideology, and its reconceptualization in new and more complex forms, in order to

address the continued reproduction of global capitalism amidst an accelerating avalanche of social, political, economic and ecological crises, accompanied in recent years by a growing crisis of legitimacy.

This course offers students the opportunity to engage with multiple approaches to the critique of ideology, to develop their own understanding of ideology, and to apply this understanding through the critical analysis of the ideological dimensions of key aspects of contemporary capitalism, including neoliberalism, globalization, technocratic governance, nationalist populism, far-right extremism, charity, philanthropy, ecology, economic crisis, apocalyptic cultural narratives, and a variety of neoliberal and post-neoliberal utopias. Through a research-driven investigation of these themes, the course will provide students with the conceptual tools and critical skills required to identify and deconstruct the ideological dimensions of the global political economy.

The course begins by introducing some of the key themes and concepts of ideology critique, before presenting a comprehensive overview of the history of ideology, in relation to the historical consolidation of the global capitalist system. From the fourth lecture onwards, the course develops the key theoretical approaches introduced in the initial lectures, through an exploration the dominant ideological strategies and social fantasies of contemporary global capitalism.

Course aims

- To introduce and critically assess key approaches to the critique of ideology, in relation to various dimensions of contemporary global capitalism.
- To explore how multiple aspects of the global political economy are shaped and sustained by ideological discourses, strategies, fantasies and rituals.
- To identify the contradictions of global capitalism, and to decipher the ways in which these contradictions manifest themselves within and beyond ideology.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course, students will be able to demonstrate the following:

Knowledge and understanding: A sophisticated understanding of the literature on the critique of ideology, and a broad knowledge of the relationship between ideology and key dimensions of the global political economy.

Intellectual skills: The capacity to critically engage with policy documents, media reports, and promotional campaigns associated with various aspects of contemporary global capitalism.

Transferable skills and personal qualities: Improved writing, debating, and presentation skills; the capacity to summarise, criticise and mobilise complicated ideas; the ability to make sense of and to challenge complex theoretical arguments; the ability to decipher ideological discourses and rituals.

As with other modules in Politics, this module will be useful 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 organizations.

Course organisation

The course is organised around ten topics. Each topic is addressed by a two-hour lecture and a one hour tutorial. Each lecture will provide a broad critical overview of the topic in question, and will focus on the theoretical and conceptual problematics presented by this theme. The first five tutorials will focus on elucidating the theoretical dimensions of ideology critique, while the remainder of the tutorials will offer student-driven applications of these theories to the themes in question, in relation to contemporary examples of the ideologies of global capitalism.

LECTURES

Topic	Lecture date	Lecture topic	Tutorial date (week commencing)
1	28.01.2019	Introduction: What is Ideology?	28.01.2019
2	04.02.2019	History of Ideology I	04.02.2019
3	11.02.2019	History of Ideology II	11.02.2019
4	18.02.2019	The Neoliberal Complex	18.02.2019
5	25.02.2019	The Post-Political Condition	25.03.2019
6	04.03.2019	The Libidinal Economy	04.03.2019
7	11.03.2019	Ethical Capitalism	11.03.2019
8	18.03.2019	Apocalypse	18.04.2019
9	25.03.2019	Utopia	25.05.2019
10	01.04.2019	Conclusion: Beyond Ideology?	01.05.2019

The lectures are an indispensable element of this course. Each lecture is intended to be interactive, and in addition to listening to presentations by the lecturer and taking notes, you are encouraged to ask questions and engage with class discussions. **You are expected to attend all lectures, to come prepared, and to engage fully with the activities.** The lectures are designed to help you understand the complex literatures and processes that we will cover, and are a vital component of your learning experience. They will also contain important guidance on the assignments.

Lecture slides will be available online, via the course BlackBoard site. You are strongly encouraged to refer to these slides, as a guide to the key themes and concepts addressed in the course.

TUTORIALS

Weekly tutorials are a central element of this module and **attendance is compulsory**. Tutorials provide a forum for you to ask questions and deepen your understanding concerning the readings and the lectures. They also allow you to test out ideas for the essays and presentations, and learn from your colleagues as well as the lecturer. The course is conceived as a collective research project. You may be asked to complete small research tasks for the first few tutorials, and the tutorials for weeks 6-9 tutorials will be student-driven, and based around your assessed presentations. Transferable skills such as debating, synthesis and critique, group work, oral presentations, communication and reflexive learning will be developed through the tutorials.

If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending tutorial, you should contact the lecturer as soon as possible to explain your absence.

Tutorials will begin promptly, and it is essential that you arrive on time.

Tutorials will require various forms of preparation, including required and recommended reading. **The required readings are a basic minimum** in terms of preparation for each tutorial. Once you have completed the essential readings, try to read some of the recommended readings, as this will greatly enhance your learning and contribute to your preparations for the assessments. You may also be required to read or prepare additional materials relevant to the topic of a given tutorial. With all your readings, aim to keep clear and accurate notes, and be prepared 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 tutorial discussions and in writing your essays.

Additional preparation may involve researching a particular case, watching a film, looking at a website, or doing other forms of research to prepare for an activity or presentation in class. The lecturer will provide further advice and guidelines on preparing for tutorials.

Many of the required readings will be available to download through the course BlackBoard site. All others they will be accessible through the library. You will be expected to know how to access readings, and to find additional materials through web search engines (such as Google Scholar).

It will be useful for you to bring your course guide with you to lectures and tutorials, at which you will be provided with advice on the readings it contains.

ASSESSMENTS

Short essay

The 1,750-word short essay is worth 25% of the overall mark for the course and is due on **Wednesday 6th of March 2019**. This is deliberately early on in the course, so you can receive feedback on this piece of work in time to inform your preparations for the main assignment.

The title of the short essay is 'What is ideology?' The essay is designed to encourage you to **engage with the theoretical approaches to ideology addressed in the first three lectures** of the course, although you are welcome to engage with material addressed in the rest of the course as well. You should aim to demonstrate an understanding of the theoretical approaches discussed in the first three lectures, and your references and bibliography should reflect your engagement with this literature.

The short essay could be approached in a variety of ways. For example, you could a) compare and contrast two or more theories of ideology; b) offer a historical overview of the critique of ideology; c) argue for or against the validity of the concept of ideology; d) propose your own theory of ideology (in dialogue with the readings); e) illustrate a theory of ideology through appeal to specific examples; f) none of the above!

There will be plenty of opportunities to discuss the short essay in lectures and tutorials.

As this essay comes early in the course, you are **not** expected to set out your own fully developed theory of ideology! Instead, you **are** expected to reflect upon the difficulties and ambiguities involved in the definition of ideology, and the complexities of the literature on the topic.

This short essay will be a stepping stone in the development of your own understanding of ideology, and will be invaluable in guiding your research on your assessed presentation and your longer assessed essay.

The short essay is to be submitted by 2pm on the 12th of March, 2018, via TurnItIn (accessed through BlackBoard). The word count (excluding bibliography) should be within +/-10% of the 1,750-word limit, and must be clearly stated at the end of the review. Submissions that are significantly longer or shorter than the word limit may be penalised by up to 5 points.

Group presentations

Tutorials 6-9 will be based around group presentations worth 25% of the final mark. The groups will be assigned by the lecturer in **the first tutorial** and will consist of teams of three or four students, who are expected to work together to produce a single coherent presentation.

Each group will deliver a 20-minute presentation, focusing on the topic of the tutorial, broadly defined. As already mentioned, this course is conceived as a collective research project, and the group presentations constitute an important student contribution in this regard. Rather than simply summarising the readings, groups should therefore use the readings as inspiration for conducting a small team research project on a specific contemporary example of the ideology in question. Groups will present their ideology critique to the class at the beginning of the relevant tutorial, as the starting point for our discussions. This will be followed by questions and constructive debate involving the whole class, after which we will turn to a more detailed consideration of the week's readings. Your presentation slides will be posted on Blackboard, as a resource for fellow students.

Presentation topics **must be approved** by the lecturer beforehand. Groups are also encouraged to make use of the lecturer's office hours, in order to test ideas and ensure that the presentation is appropriate for the themes of the week in question.

On or before the day of your presentation **you must submit the following materials to the lecturer via email and on BlackBoard via TurnItIn** (the latter is a requirement for the external evaluation and approval of course assessment):

- PowerPoint slides and/or other presentation materials.
- Handout for the class, including key ideas and references (one side of A4).
- A brief reflective 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 (500 words maximum).

The group will receive a single assessment grade for everyone, so it is vitally 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: indeed, if you can show evidence of having worked through them and resolved them then this will be rewarded in the assessment. In the event that there are significant problems (e.g. a member of the group is not responding or participating) you must contact the lecturer immediately.

Feedback on presentations will be provided on: teamwork, research, argument, presentation (oral and visual), and responses to questions.

Extended essay

The extended essay is worth **50%** of your mark, and is therefore the most important piece of assessment on the course. The word limit is **3,500 words**, and it is due on **Monday 6th May 2019**.

The aim of the extended essay is **to engage in depth with one of the central questions addressed during weeks 4-10 of the course, and/or to think across several such themes**. Your response to the question **must not** focus on the same theme addressed in your group presentation. The lecturer will be able to clarify any ambiguities in this regard.

The extended essay **must** respond to **one** of the following questions:

- 1: Based on a specific example, how does ideology function in contemporary global capitalism?
- 2: What is neoliberalism, and how does it operate ideologically?
- 3: To what extent can global capitalism be described as post-political?
- 4: What is populism, and how does it operate ideologically?
- 5: What is the relationship between capitalism and enjoyment?
- 6: What are the ethics of contemporary global capitalism?
- 7: How has the spirit of capitalism changed over time?
- 8: How do apocalyptic discourses operate ideologically in contemporary global capitalism?
- 9: What is the nature of utopia under conditions of global capitalism?
- 10: 'There is no way out of ideology'. Discuss.

The extended essay should demonstrate an understanding of the theoretical debates concerning the given question, and the capacity to deploy one or more of these theoretical approaches in the critique of ideology, in relation to the topic of the question. This can be **either** a general discussion of the theme of the question, **or** a more detailed case study of one or more examples related to this theme. The essay should present a persuasive argument that **answers the question**, and **demonstrates extensive reading and research**, as well as critical thought and reflection.

Essay planning will be discussed in detail in lectures and tutorials. Students should also 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.

The word count (excluding bibliography) should be within +/-10% of the 3,500-word limit, and must be clearly stated at the end of the essay. Submissions that are significantly longer or shorter than the word limit may be penalised by up to 5 points.

NOTE: The authors of particularly original and perceptive essays will be encouraged to submit them to the Politics undergraduate journal Juncture: <https://www.junctureuom.co.uk> Any essay written for this module which is published by Juncture will be included in future course guides. The first such essay was published in the second issue of Juncture in 2018 and can be found in the readings for Week 9: Utopia. It is by Holly Clarke, and is entitled "Crypto-Utopia, Crypto-Apocalypse: Technological Global Capitalism, the Bitcoin Ideology and Its Utopian Manifestations in 'Puertopia'".

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 student number and the course code, POLI31002, appear on each page of your coursework. We mark assessed essays anonymously, so do not include your name anywhere. Pages should be numbered.

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.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ

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, attendance at a disciplinary hearing, or even by a mark of 0 in serious cases. Further guidance on plagiarism can be found in the Politics Part II Guide (pp. 19-20) which is available on the course's Blackboard site.

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.

Assessment criteria

See Politics Part II Guide 2018-19 – available on Blackboard.

TOPIC GUIDE AND READING LIST

General Reading

There is no textbook for this course. However, the following are good introductory readings:

A thought-provoking introduction to ideology critique:

- Eagleton, T. (2007) *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso)

An advanced introduction to radical theories of ideology:

- Rehman, J. (2013) *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Brill: Leiden)

A challenging collection of classic essays on ideology:

- Žižek, S. ed. (1994) *Mapping Ideology* (New York: Verso)

A useful mainstream introduction to ideology:

- Freedman, M. (2003) *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press)

A recent pop-cultural introduction to Slavoj Žižek's influential critique of ideology:

- Žižek, S. (2015) *Trouble in Paradise: From the End of History to the End of Capitalism* (London: Penguin)

An important recent contribution to the critique of the ideologies of global capitalism:

- Boltanski, L. and E. Chiapello (2017) *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Verso)

An accessible application of psychoanalytic theory to core ideologies of contemporary capitalism:

- McGowan, T. (2016) *Capitalism and Desire: The Psychic Cost of Free Markets* (New York: Columbia University Press)

An application of Žižek's critique of ideology to the politics of capitalist development:

- Wilson, J. (2014) *Jeffrey Sachs: The Strange Case of Dr Shock and Mr Aid* (London: Verso)

A sophisticated philosophical reflection on the theories of Marx and Lacan:

- Tomsic, S (2015) *The Capitalist Unconscious: Marx and Lacan* (London: Verso)

Useful introductory texts on the psychoanalytical theory of Jacques Lacan:

- Bailly, L (2009) *Lacan: A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford: One World)
- Homer, S (2005) *Jacques Lacan* (New York: Routledge)
- Žižek, S. (2007) *How to Read Lacan* (New York: WW Norton)

Articles on the relationship between ideology and global capitalism can be found across a broad range of journals in the fields of political theory, political economy, international relations, development studies, cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, geography, philosophy, and more. Routledge's *Journal of Political Ideologies* (available through e-journals) is an excellent place to start. However, be aware that much of what we discuss in this course does not necessarily identify itself as 'ideology critique', and may not even mention the word 'ideology'. Discourse analysis, critical theory, deconstruction, and the critique of political economy will also be addressed...

Slavoj Žižek, the leading contemporary exponent of ideology critique, has starred in two films presenting his theories of ideology, *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* (2006), and *The Pervert's Guide to Ideology* (2013), both directed by Sophie Fiennes. These films provide an entertaining and illuminating introduction to ideology critique, and will be drawn upon throughout the course.

1. Introduction: What Is Ideology?

What is the status of 'ideology' under conditions of global capitalism? The great ideological struggles of the 20th century are over, and the concept of ideology has supposedly been relegated to the dustbin of history, along with the failed 'totalitarian' ideologies of the past. And yet the brave new world of global capitalism has proven more chaotic and crisis-ridden than we had been led to expect, and in place of a 'pragmatic' post-ideological universe, we are now confronted with what Slavoj Žižek has called a 'plague of fantasies'. This lecture will open our enquiry into this situation, providing an overview of the course, and introducing some of the key themes and techniques of ideology critique.

Required Reading:

Chiapello, E (2003), "Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology: The Example of the Concept of the 'Spirit of Capitalism'", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 6(2):1 pp. 155-171 (**focus on p.155-166**)

Rehmann, J (2013) "Introduction" in J Rehmann *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: Brill) pp. 1-13 (**focus on p. 1-8**)

Further Reading:

Cloud, D L (2006) "The Matrix and Critical Theory's Desertion of the Real" *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3:4 pp. 329-354

Eagleton, T (2007) *Ideology: An Introduction* Chapters One and Two (London: Verso) pp. 1-61

Freedon, M (2006) "Ideology and Political Theory" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11:1 pp. 3-22

Fukayama, F (1989) "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 pp. 3-18

Giddens, A (1983) 'Four theses on ideology', *Canadian Journal of Social and Political Theory*, VII, pp. 18-21

Jameson, F (1978) "Ideology and Symbolic Action" *Critical Inquiry* 5:2 pp. 417-422

Laclau, E (1996) "The death and resurrection of the theory of ideology", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 1(3): 201-220

- Lichtheim, G (1965): "The Concept of Ideology" *History and Theory* 4:2 pp. 164-195
- McGowan, T (2016) "Introduction: After Injustice and Repression" in T McGowan, *Capitalism and Desire: The Psychic Cost of Free Markets* (New York: Columbia University Press) pp. 1-18
- Maynard, J L (2013), 'A Map of the Field of Ideological Analysis', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 18(3): 299-327
- Van Dijk, T A (2006) "Ideology and Discourse Analysis" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11:2 pp. 115-140
- Scott-Smith, G (2002) "The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the End of Ideology and the 1955 Milan Conference: 'Defining the Parameters of Discourse'" *Journal of Contemporary History* 37:3 pp. 437-455
- Žižek, S (2008) "Preface to the Second Edition: My Own Private Austria" in S Žižek *The Plague of Fantasies* (Second Edition) pp. vii-xxiv (note: in particular p. xi-xv)
- Žižek, S (2017) "Ideology is the Original Augmented Reality" *Nautilus* 02/11/2017

2. History of Ideology I

This is the first of two weeks reflecting on the history of ideology critique, in relation to the development and consolidation of capitalism on a global scale. This week traces the first phase of this history: the invention of the concept of ideology in the context of the French Revolution; Marx's development of the critique of ideology as a weapon in the struggle against an emergent industrial capitalism; and the increasingly sophisticated and divergent concepts of ideology developed in response to the rise of consumer capitalism and the welfare state in the early twentieth century.

Required Reading:

- Heinrich, M (2004) "The Secret of the Fetishism of Commodities and Money" in M Heinrich *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital* New York: Monthly Review Press 2004 pp. 70-79
- Rehmann, J (2013) "The Concept of Ideology in Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony" in J Rehmann *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: Brill) pp. 117-146 **(focus on p. 126-146)**

Further Reading:

- Adorno, T (1994) "Messages in A Bottle" in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* (Verso) pp. 34-45.
- Benhabib, S (1994) "The Critique of Instrumental Reason" in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 66-92
- Cox, R (1983) "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method" *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 12:2 pp. 162-175
- Eagleton, T (2007) "From the Enlightenment to the Second International" in T Eagleton *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso) pp. 63-91
- Klaehn, J (2002) "A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model'" *European Journal of Communication* 17:2 pp. 147-182
- Lukacs, G (1971) "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat" in G Lukacs *History and Class Consciousness* (London: Merlin Press) pp. 83-110
- Marcuse, H (1964) *One Dimensional Man* (Chapter One) Boston: Beacon Press pp. 1-18
- Marx, K and F Engels (2000) "The German Ideology" in David McClellan ed. *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 175-208

- Marx, K (2000) "Preface to a Critique of Political Economy" in David McClellan ed. *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 424-429
- Marx, K (1976) "The Fetishism of the Commodity and Its Secret" in K Marx, *Capital: Volume One* (New York: Random House) pp. 163-177
- Rehmann, J (2013) *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Brill: Leiden), Chapters 1-4 (pp. 15-146)
- Rupert, M. (2005) "Reading Gramsci in an Era of Globalising Capitalism" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8:4 pp. 482-497
- Taussig, M (2010) "Fetishism and Dialectical Deconstruction" in M Taussig *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press pp. 3-12
- Weber, M (2004) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Chapter Two London: Routledge pp. 13-38

3. History of Ideology II

This week continues our history of ideology critique, which was resuscitated in the 1960s in the context of the wave of revolutionary movements that swept the world over the course of this decade. Following the failure of these movements, however, the concept of ideology was increasingly abandoned, in favour of poststructuralist theories of subjectivation, discourse, and hyperreality. The 'end of ideology' was declared in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall, as part of a broader 'end of history'. At the same time, however, a new and more complex understanding of ideology emerged, which integrated elements of Marxism and post-structuralism with concepts drawn from psychoanalysis, opening a revitalized field of ideology critique.

Required Reading:

- Montag, W (1995) "The Soul is the Prison of the Body: Althusser and Foucault 1970-1975" *Yale French Studies* 88 pp. 53-77
- Žižek, S (1994) "The Spectre of Ideology" in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 1-33 (**focus on pages 7-23**)

Further Reading:

- Althusser, L (1994) "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 100-140
- Barrett, M (1994) "Ideology, Politics, Hegemony: From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe" in S. Žižek *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 235-265
- Baudrillard, J (2001) *Selected Writings* Chapter Seven (Stanford: Stanford University Press) pp. 169-180
- Debord, G (1983) *The Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black and Red)
- Foucault, M (1984) "Disciplines and Sciences of the Individual" in Paul Rabinow ed. *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon pp. 169-256
- Glynos, J (2001) "The Grip of Ideology: A Lacanian Approach to the Critique of Ideology" *Journal of Political Ideologies* pp. 191-214
- Homer, S (2005) *Lacan* (Chapters 2, 3 and 5 on the Imaginary, the Symbolic and the Real) London: Routledge
- Jameson, F (1994) "Postmodernism and the Market" in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 278-295
- Laclau, E (2006) "Ideology and Post-Marxism" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11:2 pp. 103-114

- Pfaller, R (2005) "Where is Your Hamster? The Concept of Ideology in Slavoj Žižek's Cultural Theory" in G Boucher et al (eds.) *Traversing the Fantasy: Critical Responses to Slavoj Žižek* Aldershot: Ashgate pp. 105-122
- Rehmann, J (2013) *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Brill: Leiden), Chapters Six and Seven pp. 147-221
- Vighi, F & Feldner, H (2007) "Ideology Critique or Discourse Analysis? Žižek Against Foucault", *European Journal of Political Theory* 6(2): 141-159
- Žižek, S (1989) "How Did Marx Invent the Symptom?" in S. Žižek *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso) pp. 11-54, also available in S. Žižek ed. *Mapping Ideology* pp. 296-331
- Žižek, S (2008) "The Seven Veils of Fantasy" in S. Žižek *The Plague of Fantasies* (London: Verso) pp. 1-56

4. The Neoliberal Complex

This week we begin to put the theories of ideology to work in the critique of specific dimensions of contemporary global capitalism, through which the theories will simultaneously be developed and refined. The task begins with neoliberalism, the dominant ideology of global capitalism since the early 1980s, according to which economically optimal outcomes are achieved through the pursuit of individual self-interest under the guidance of 'the invisible hand of the market'. We explore Marxist, poststructuralist and psychoanalytic theories of neoliberalism, which interpret it as a hegemonic strategy, a process of subjectivation, and a form of obsessional neurosis. These approaches are developed through attention to the career trajectory of the celebrity development economist Jeffrey Sachs, which embodies the evolution of the 'neoliberal complex'.

Required Reading:

- Harvey, D (2005) "The Construction of Consent" in D. Harvey *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 39-63 (**focus on p 39-44**)
- Lemke, T (2001) "The Birth of Bio-Politics: Michel Foucault's Lecture at the College de France on Neoliberal Governmentality" *Economy and Society* 30: 2 pp. 190-207 (**focus on p.197-204**)
- Wilson, J (2017) "The Neoliberal Neurosis and the Economics of Anxiety" in E Eklundh et al (eds.) *Politics of Anxiety* London: Rowman and Littlefield pp. 165-187 (**focus on p. 165-172**)

Further Reading:

- Bjerg, O (2014) "Analyzing Financial Markets" in O Bjerg, *Making Money: The Philosophy of Crisis Capitalism* (London: Verso) pp. 19-34
- Bonefeld, W (2012) "Adam Smith and Ordoliberalism: On the Political Form of Market Liberty" *Review of International Studies* pp. 233-250
- Cammack, P. (2004) "What the World Bank Means by Poverty Reduction and Why It Matters", *New Political Economy*, 9:2 pp. 189-211
- 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
- Eagleton-Pierce, M (2016) "Historicizing the Neoliberal Spirit of Capitalism" in S Springer, K Birch and J MacLeavy (eds.) *The Handbook of Neoliberalism* New York: Routledge pp. 17-26
- Fine, B and L Harris (1987) "Ideology and Markets: Economic Theory and the 'New Right'" *Socialist Register* 23 pp. 365-392
- Flisfeder, M (2018) "The Ideological Algorithmic Apparatus: Subjection Before Enslavement" *Theory & Event* 21:2 pp. 457-484

- Gunder, M (2010) 'Planning as the Ideology of (Neoliberal) Space', *Planning Theory*, 9:4 pp. 298-314
- Holborrow, M (2007) "Language, Ideology and Neoliberalism" *Journal of Language and Politics* 6:1 pp. 51-73
- McNay, L (2009) "Self as Enterprise": Dilemmas of Control and Resistance in Foucault's The Birth of Biopolitics" *Theory, Culture & Society* 26:6 pp. 55-77
- Peck, J and A Tickell (2001) "Neoliberalizing Space" *Antipode* 34: 3 pp. 380-404
- Read, J (2009) "A Genealogy of Homo-Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production of Subjectivity" *Foucault Studies* 6 pp. 25-36
- Rehmann, J (2013) "Friedrich Hayek and the Ideological *Dispositif* of Neoliberalism" in J Rehmann *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: Brill), Chapters 1-6 (pp. 271-300)
- Taylor, M (2004), 'Responding to Neoliberalism in Crisis: Discipline and empowerment in the World Bank's new development agenda', *Research in Political Economy* 21: 3-30
- Žižek, S (2010) "A Permanent Economic Emergency" *New Left Review* 64: 85-95

5. The Post-Political Condition

This week explores the ideological content of the political processes that have unfolded in tandem with neoliberalization. We begin with an overview of critical analyses of the discourses of 'the end of history' and 'globalization'. The processes of depoliticization associated with these discourses have been argued to constitute a 'post-political condition', in which the struggle between radically opposed visions of the nature of capitalism and the future of humanity have been replaced by consensual forms of technocratic management in accordance with a predetermined set of 'pragmatic' objectives. This ideological configuration has been increasingly disrupted in recent years, however, by the rise of right-wing populisms and violent fundamentalisms. How do these tendencies operate ideologically, and to what extent do they challenge or reinforce the post-political condition?

Required Reading:

- Steger, M (2005) "Ideologies of Globalization" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10:1 pp. 11-30
- Žižek, S (2006) "Against the Populist Temptation" *Critical Inquiry* 32 pp. 551 (focus on p. 551-557 and 565-569)

Further Reading:

- Badiou, A (2016) "Reflections on the Recent Election" *Verso Blog* 15/11/2016
- Bessner, D and Sparke, M (2017) "Nazism, neoliberalism, and the Trumpist challenge to democracy" *Environment and Planning A* 49:6 pp. 1214-1223
- Brenner, J and N Fraser (2017) "What is progressive neoliberalism? A debate" *Dissent* 64:2 pp. 130-140
- Daly, G (2009) "Politics of the Political: Psychoanalytic Theory and the Left(s)" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 14:3 pp. 279-300
- Derrida, Jacques (1994) "Spectres of Marx" *New Left Review* pp. 31-58
- Douglas, I (1997) "Globalisation and the End of the State?" *New Political Economy* 2:1 pp. 165-177
- Gerbaudo, P (2017) "The populist era" *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 65 pp. 46-58

- Gill, S. (1998) "New Constitutionalism, Democratization, and Global Political Economy" *Pacific Review* 10:1 pp. 23-38 (note: focus on pages 23-32)
- Hanlon, C (2001) "Psychoanalysis and the Post-Political" An Interview with Slavoj Žižek" *New Literary History* 32:1 pp. 1-21
- Johnson, R (2017) "Ideology in the Age of Post-Truth Politics" *Open Democracy* 12/04/2017
- Stanley, B (2008) "The thin ideology of populism" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13:1 pp. 95-110
- Streeck, Wolfgang (2017) "The Return of the Repressed" *New Left Review* 104 pp. 5-18
- Van Puymbroeck, N and Oosterlinck, S (2014) "Opening Up the Post-Political Condition: Multiculturalism and the Matrix of Depoliticization" in J Wilson and E Swyngedouw eds. *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) pp. 86-108
- Wilson, J and Swyngedouw, E (2014) "Seeds of Dystopia: Post-Politics and the Return of the Political in J Wilson and E Swyngedouw eds. *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) pp. 1-22
- Woodley, D (2013) "Radical Right Discourse Contra State-Based Authoritarian Populism: Neoliberalism, Identity and Exclusion after the Crisis" in J. Richardson ed. *Analysing Fascist Discourse* Florence: Taylor and Francis pp. 17-36

6. The Libidinal Economy

If the previous two lectures focused on the 'economic' and 'political' dimensions of contemporary global capitalism, this week we shift our attention to the more 'social' dimension. We begin with an enquiry into the nature of the 'new spirit of capitalism' that is said to have accompanied the rise of neoliberalism. At the level of discourse, this spirit is argued to consist in characteristics of competitiveness, risk-taking and a certain 'entrepreneurialism of the self'. But the new spirit of capitalism operates not only at the level of discourse, but also at the level of affect, through the mobilization of 'enjoyment'. In contrast to the prohibitive societies of the past, ours is a society of 'commanded enjoyment', which is mobilized and regulated through mechanisms including consumerism, nationalism, and mediatized relationships to distant human suffering.

Required Reading:

- Dean, J (2006) "Enjoyment as a Category of Political Theory" Žižek's *Politics* New York: Routledge pp. 1-46
- Stavrakakis, Y (2007) "The Consumerist Politics of Jouissance and the Fantasy of Advertising" in Y Stavrakakis, *The Lacanian Left: Psychoanalysis, Theory, Politics* New York: State University of New York pp. 227-253

Further Reading:

- Bohm, S and A Batta (2010) "Enjoying Commodity Fetishism with Lacan" *Organization* 17 pp. 345
- Boltanski, L and E Chiapello (2005) "The New Spirit of Capitalism" *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 18:3/4 pp. 161-188
- Cole, A and G Shulman (2018) "Donald Trump, the TV Show: Michael Rogin Redux" *Theory & Event* 21:2 pp. 336-357
- Comaroff, J (2007) "Beyond Bare Life: AIDS, (Bio) Politics and the Neoliberal Order" *Public Culture* 19:1
- Daly, G (2007) "Ideology and Its Paradoxes: Dimensions of Fantasy and Enjoyment" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 4:2 pp. 219-238

- Dikeç, M (2013), 'Immigrants, *Banlieues*, and Dangerous Things: Ideology as an aesthetic affair', *Antipode*, 45(1): 23-42
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2016) "The Ecstatic Edge of Politics: Sociology and Donald Trump" *Contemporary Sociology* 45:6 pp. 683-688
- Kozinets, R (2008) "Technology/Ideology: How Ideological Fields Influence Consumers' Technology Narratives" *Journal of Consumer Research* 34: 6 pp. 865-881
- Lane, J F (2002) 'The Stain, the Impotent Gaze, and the Theft of Jouissance: Towards A Žižekian Reading of Robbe-Grillet's *La Jalousie*' *French Studies* 56:2, 193-206
- McGowan, T (2016) "The Subject of Desire and the Subject of Capitalism" in T McGowan, *Capitalism and Desire: The Psychic Cost of Free Markets* (New York: Columbia University Press) pp. 19-50
- Presskorn, T and O Bjerg (2014) "The Falling Rate of Enjoyment: Consumer Capitalism and Compulsive Buying Disorder" *Ephemera: Theory of Politics in Organization* 14: 2 pp. 197-219
- Stavrakakis, Y (2010) "Discourse, Affect, Jouissance: Psychoanalysis, Political Theory and Artistic Practices" Paper delivered at the Art & Desire Seminar Series, Istanbul, June 2010
- Žižek, S (1996) "Invisible Ideology: Political Violence Between Fiction and Fantasy" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1:1 pp. 15-32
- Žižek, S (1993) "Enjoy Your Nation as Yourself!" in S Žižek *Tarrying with the Negative: Kant, Hegel and the Critique of Ideology* Durham: Duke University Press pp. 200-238
- Žižek, S (2005) "The Subject Supposed to Loot and Rape: Reality and Fantasy in New Orleans" *In These Times* 20/10/2005

7. Ethical Capitalism

This week builds on the theme of enjoyment as an ideological category, through an analysis of the dominant contemporary forms of charity and philanthropy. Such activities may seem to be the very antithesis of enjoyment, involving a renunciation of enjoyment for the benefit of others less fortunate than ourselves. But in today's global capitalism, our charitable activities are increasingly incorporated into the products of our own consumption, through 'cause-related marketing' and 'compassionate consumerism', while philanthropy increasingly takes the form of celebrity-led spectacles of 'development' in the name of billionaire foundations and 'corporate social responsibility'. How do such activities operate ideologically in relation to the growing inequalities of global capitalism? What are the roles of ethical discourses and disavowed pleasures within this ideological formation?

Required Reading:

- Richey, L and S Ponte (2008) Better Red than Dead? Celebrities, Consumption and International Aid" *Third World Quarterly* 29:4 pp. 711-729
- Wilson, J (2014) "Fantasy Machine: Philanthrocapitalism as an Ideological Formation" *Third World Quarterly* 35:7 pp. 1144-1161

Further Reading:

- Douzinas, C (2007) "The Many Faces of Humanitarianism" *Parrhesia* 2 pp 1-28
- Farrell, N (2012) Celebrity Politics: Bono, Product (RED) and the Legitimising of Philanthrocapitalism" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*
- Fridell, G. (2007) "Fair Trade Coffee and Commodity Fetishism: The Limits of Market-Driven Social Justice" *Historical Materialism* 15: 4, p. 79-104

- Hawkins R (2012) "Shopping to Save Lives: Gender and Environment Theories Meet Ethical Consumption" *Geoforum* 43 pp.750-759
- Kapoor, I (2006) "Billionaire Philanthropy and Decaf Capitalism" in I. Hay and J. Beaverstock (eds) *Handbook on Wealth and the Super-Rich* Cheltenham: Edwin Elgar pp. 113-131
- Kapoor, I (2013), "Celebrities: Humanitarians or Ideologues?" in I Kapoor *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity* (London: Routledge) pp. 12-46
- McGoey, L (2012) "Philanthrocapitalism and Its Critics" *Poetics* 40 pp. 185-199
- Mooney G and L Hancock (2010) "Poverty Porn and the Broken Society" *Variant* 39/40 pp. 14-17
- Muller, Tanja R (2013) "The Ethiopian Famine Revisited: Band Aid and the Anti-Politics of Celebrity Humanitarian Action" *Disasters* 37:1 pp. 61-79
- Nickel P and A Eikenberry (2009) "A Critique of the Discourse of Marketized Philanthropy" *American Behavioural Scientist* 52 pp. 974-989
- Repo J and R Yrjola (2011) "The Gender Politics of Celebrity Humanitarianism in Africa" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13:1 pp. 44-62
- Richey, L and S Ponte (2011) *Shopping Well to Save the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Thorup, M (2013) "Pro Bono? On Philanthrocapitalism as Ideological Answer to Inequality" *Ephemera* 13: 3 pp. 555-576
- Wilson, J (2014) "The Jouissance of Philanthrocapitalism" in J Wilson and E Swyngedouw eds. *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) pp. 109-125
- Wilson, J (2015) "The Joy of Inequality: The Libidinal Economy of Compassionate Consumerism" *International Journal of Žižek Studies* 9:2 pp. 1-26

8. Apocalypse

The ideological deadlock of our age has been summarised in the following conundrum: 'It is easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism'. This week focuses on this strange state of affairs, through attention to the twin apocalyptic narratives of today: the omnipresent threat of ecological and economic crisis. Political discourse is saturated with doomsday predictions of imminent environmental destruction, accompanied by an absence of meaningful political action. Meanwhile a permanent state of economic emergency is declared, for which international cooperation and unlimited financial resources are immediately mobilized. Our cultural imaginaries are filled with post-apocalyptic visions, and haunted by zombies and vampires, while our supposedly disenchanted world is filled with a proliferation of evangelical faiths and new age belief systems. How can ideology critique help us to make sense of this perplexing situation?

Required Reading:

- McNally, D (2012), "Marx's Monsters: Vampire-Capital and the Nightmare World of Late Capitalism" in D McNally, *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism* (Chicago: Haymarket) pp. 113-173 (note: focus on p. 113-148)
- Swyngedouw, E (2010) "Trouble with Nature: 'Ecology as the New Opium for the Masses'" in J Healy and P Hiller (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory: Conceptual Challenges for Spatial Planning* Farnham: Ashgate pp. 299-318

Further Reading:

- Baskin, J (2015) "Paradigm Dressed as Epoch: The Ideology of the Anthropocene" *Environmental Values* 24 pp. 9-29

- Calder Williams, E. (2010) "Plague in the Gears" in E. Calder Williams, *Combined and Uneven Apocalypse* (Washington DC: Zero) pp. 72-93
- Fisher, M (2009) *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* Chapters 1-3 London: Zero pp. 1-20
- Fletcher, R (2013) "How I learned to stop worrying and love the market: virtualism, disavowal, and public secrecy in neoliberal environmental conservation", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31 pp. 796-812
- Fletcher, R, J Breitling and V Puleo (2014) "Barbarian Hordes: The Overpopulation Scapegoat in International Development Discourse" *Third World Quarterly* 35:7 pp. 1195-1215
- Froust, C and W O Murphy (2009) "Revealing and Reframing Apocalyptic Tragedy in Global Warming Discourse" *Environmental Communication* 3:2 pp. 151-167
- Godfrey, R, G Jack and C Jones (2004) "Sucking, Bleeding, Breaking: On the Dialectics of Vampirism, Capital and Time" *Culture and Organization* 10:1 pp. 25-36
- Kotsko, A (2017) "Neoliberalism's Demons" *Theory & Event* 30:2 pp. 493-509
- Lowy, M (2009) "Capitalism as Religion: Walter Benjamin and Max Weber" *Historical Materialism* 17 pp. 60-73
- Morton, T (2007) "Introduction: Towards a Theory of Ecological Criticism" in T Morton *Ecology Without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* Cambridge: Harvard University Press pp. 1-28
- Peck, J (2010) "Zombie Neoliberalism and the Ambidextrous State" *Theoretical Criminology* 14 pp. 104-110
- Stavrakakis, Y (1997) "Green Ideology: A Discursive Reading" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 2:7 pp. 259-279
- Swyngedouw, E (2010) "Apocalypse Forever? Post-Political Populism and the Spectre of Climate Change" *Theory, Culture, Society* 27 pp. 213-230
- White, L (2009) "Damien Hirst's Diamond Skull and the Capitalist Sublime," in L White and C Pajaczkowska eds. *The Sublime Now* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009) pp. 155-171.
- Wilson, J (2018) "Anamorphosis of Capital: Black Holes, Gothic Monsters and the Will of God" in Ilan Kapoor ed. *Psychoanalysis and the Global* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press pp. 164-185

9. Utopia

The 'end of history' and the 'end of ideology' were supposedly accompanied by a corresponding 'end of utopia'. Yet an unquestionable dearth of radical utopias has been accompanied by a flourishing of neoliberal utopias of various kinds: global city networks of 'friction-free capitalism'; libertarian paradises constructed on artificial floating islands; secluded kingdoms of 'happiness'; and nostalgic reconstructions of the imagined idyll of small-town American life, which harken back to the long-lost 'golden age' of capitalism. Meanwhile, attempts to transcend the contradictions of capitalism, either through the construction of new worlds at its frontiers, or through 'post-neoliberal' revolutions on its peripheries, have tended to reinforce the system they are struggling to escape. We look at different theories and examples of utopia, and ask what inspires utopias, how they function ideologically, and how they are undermined by the contradictions that they deny.

Required Reading:

- Barbrook, R and A Cameron (1996) "The Californian Ideology" *Science as Culture* 6:1 pp. 44-72
- Geoghegan, V (2004) "Ideology and Utopia" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9:2 pp. 123-138

Further Reading:

- Adams, R (2010) "Longing for a Greener Present: Neoliberalism and the Eco-City" *Radical Philosophy* 163 pp. 2-7
- Baeten, G (2002) "Western Utopianism/Dystopianism and the Political Mediocrity of Critical Urban Research" *Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography* 84: 3/4 pp. 143-152
- Baudrillard, J (2006) "Utopia Achieved" *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies* 3:2 available at https://www2.ubishops.ca/baudrillardstudies/vol3_2/jb_utopia.htm
- Chelsom Vogt, K (2016) "The post-industrial society: from utopia to ideology" *Work, Employment and Society* 30:2 pp. 366-376
- Clarke, H (2018) "Crypto-Utopia, Crypto-Apocalypse: Technological Global Capitalism, the Bitcoin Ideology and Its Utopian Manifestations in 'Puertopia'" *Juncture* 1:2 pp. 108-124
- Clarke, S (1990) "New Utopias for Old: Fordist Dreams and Post-Fordist Fantasies" *Capital & Class* 14:3 pp. 131-155
- Fitting, P (1991) "Utopias Beyond Our Ideals: The Dilemma of the Right-Wing Utopia, *Utopian Studies* 2: 1/2 pp. 95-109
- Hollow, M (2010) "Perfect Lives: Lifestyle Magazines and Utopian Impulses in Contemporary British Society" *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 15:1 pp. 17-30
- Hughes, J (2012) "The Politics of Transhumanism and the Techno-Millennial Imagination 1626-2013" *Zygon* 47:4
- Mieville, C (2014) "The Limits of Utopia" *Salvage* available at http://salvage.zone/mieville_all.html
- Orth, M (1990) "Reefs on the Right: Fascist Politics in Contemporary American Libertarian Utopias" *Extrapolation* 31:4 pp. 293-316
- Sargisson, L (2007) "Strange Places: Estrangement, Utopianism and Intentional Communities" *Utopian Studies* 18:3 pp. 393-424
- Steinberg, P, E Nyman and M Caraccioli (2012) "Atlas Swam: Freedom, Capital and Floating Sovereignities in the Seasteading Vision" *Antipode* 44: 4 pp 1532-1550
- Tutton, R (2018) "Multiplanetary Imaginaries and Utopia: The Case of Mars One" *Science, Technology and Human Values* 433 pp. 518-539
- Tiresh-Samuels, H (2012) "Transhumanism as a Secularist Faith" *Zygon* 47:4 pp. 710-734

10: Conclusion: Beyond Ideology?

We conclude our exploration of the ideologies of global capitalism with a summary of our findings, and a consideration of various approaches to the question of whether it is possible to escape ideology, and whether this should be a theoretical or political objective. We also explore recent examples of anti-capitalist struggles and manifestos, and enquire into their ideological content. The second half of the lecture will be run as a workshop for the preparation of your extended essays.

Required Reading:

- Cunningham, D and A Warwick (2013) "Unnoticed Apocalypse" *City* 17:4 pp. 433-448
- Laurence, M R (2017) "Speed the Collapse? Using Marx to Rethink the Politics of Accelerationism" *Theory & Event*, 20: 2 pp. 409-425

Further Reading:

- Anderson, B (2006) "Transcending without Transcendence: Utopianism and an Ethos of Hope" *Antipode* 38:4 pp. 691-710
- Cunningham, D (2015) "A Marxist Heresy? Accelerationism and Its Discontents" *Radical Philosophy* 191 pp.
- Dean, J (2014) "After Post-Politics: Occupy and the Return of Communism" in J Wilson and E Swyngedouw eds. *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press pp. 261-278
- Gardiner, M (1992) "Bakhtin's Carnival: Utopia as Critique" *Utopian Studies* 3:2 pp. 21-49
- Gardiner, M (2017) "Critique of Accelerationism" *Theory, Culture and Society* 34:1 pp. 29-52
- Hoffman, T (2017) "The New Realism: Seeking Alternatives to Postmodern Pessimism" *Theory & Event* 20:2 pp. 426-449
- Kellner, D (2010) "Ernst Bloch, Utopia and Ideology Critique" *Jaargang* 42: 2 pp. 40-48
- Levitas, R (2004) "Beyond Bourgeois Right: Freedom, Equality and Utopia in Marx and Morris" *The European Legacy* 9:5 pp. 605-618
- Olin Wright, E (2012) "Transforming Capitalism Through Real Utopias" *American Sociological Review* 78:1 pp. 1-25
- Ranciere, J (2004) "Introducing Disagreement" *Angelaki* 9:3 pp. 3-9
- Stavrakakis, Y (2016) "On Acts, Pure and Impure" *International Journal of Žižek Studies* 4:2 pp. 1-35
- Swyngedouw, E (2011) "Interrogating Post-Democratization: Reclaiming Egalitarian Political Spaces" *Political Geography* 30:7 pp. 370-380
- Tassin, E (2016) "Desire and Shipwreck" in SD Chrostowska and J Ingram (eds.) *Political Uses of Utopia: New Marxist, Anarchist, and Radical Democratic Perspectives* New York: Colombia University Press pp. 248-266
- Wilson, J (2018) "Amazon Unbound: Utopian Dialectics of Planetary Urbanization" in S Knierbein and T Viderman eds. *Public Space Unbound: Urban Emancipation and the Post-Political Condition* (New York: Routledge) pp. 23-37
- Žižek, S (1999) "The Politics of Truth" in S Žižek *The Ticklish Subject* pp.144-197

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

****POLI31011 WAR MEMORIES AND RECONCILIATION IN
EAST ASIA****

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/>

Lectures: Tuesday 11:00-13:00, University Place 3.204

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

Mode of assessment: short essay of 2000 words (30%), long essay of 4550 words (70%)

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: 14:00, Monday 5 November (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: 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: tsoo.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.

WAR MEMORIES AND RECONCILIATION IN EAST ASIA

WHY should war memories and reconciliation matter in International Relations? Pretty obvious, you might say – memories of the Holocaust remains highly important in Germany's relations with the rest of the world, as does Japan's history of invading and colonising states in Asia. Any denials of historical wrongs committed by these two countries often results in wide-spread international condemnation. Also recall Austria's (brief) isolation within the EU following the emergence of a coalition government which included Jörg Heider's Freedom Party, which had been accused of being anti-Semitic and praising Nazi policies. Yet, International Relations (IR) theory has traditionally been somewhat silent about how historical memories affects international politics. Neorealism, for instance, reduced fear and insecurities in interstate relations to the anarchical structure of the international system. While neoliberal-institutionalists did acknowledge how 'reputation' and 'image' could affect states' capacities into entering meaningful cooperative relations with one another, their focus was firmly on the present – i.e. how state behaviour of today could affect cooperation in the future. War memory has only recently generated greater attention as a result of the IR's renewed interest in issues such as identity, norms and their effects on international politics, as well as global ethics.

The focus of this course is two-fold, and in many ways is a child of this development in IR: first, we are interested in *why* and *what kind of* historical memories of wars matter. Second, we are interested in the ethical question of *whether* and *how* the pernicious effects of past memories can be overcome. We will think of these questions through the case studies of war memories in East Asia. This particular geographical region makes an excellent 'laboratory' to explore issues of war memory and reconciliation. This is because historical memories matter a great deal in East Asia, to the extent that even scholars with realist sympathies tend to agree that insecurity in the region is exacerbated by negative images emanating from memories of World War II. Furthermore, because of strategic concerns during the Cold War era, very few mechanisms designed to bring about a degree of inter-state reconciliation were introduced in East Asia, and this continues to this very day. Nevertheless, there have been several attempts by states and civil society actors to overcome the negative effects of the past, with varying degrees of success. The lessons and insights that East Asia can provide us could be (and I believe it to be) resonate and can be applied universally. And while this class may not be able to 'change the world', I certainly hope that it can further our thinking about how we can strive for a more 'ethical' and 'moral' international life...

Lecture outline

1. (25 September) Introduction
2. (2 October) Memory in International Politics: Does it Matter?
3. (9 October) Historical Background: the emergence of Japanese imperialism
4. (16 October) Historical Memories and Nationalism in East Asia
5. (23 October) History Museums in Japan, China and Taiwan

Reading Week 30 October—No Lecture or Tutes

6. (6 November) Film of Hannah Arendt
7. (13 November) The Textbook Issue and the Yasukuni Controversies
8. (20 November) The 'Comfort Women' Issue

9. (27 November) Reconciliation: How can it be achieved?
10. (4 December) Historical Memory and Reconciliation in Comparative Perspective: what can East Asia and the Rest learn from each other?

Tutorial outline

1. The Legacies of Imperialism
2. Collective Identity and the Issue of 'Remembering' and 'Forgetting'
3. 'Historical Revisionism': should it be silenced?
4. Comparing contested histories in Asia and Europe
5. Exhibiting the Past: thinking about history museums
6. Reactions to the Hannah Arendt film
7. Achieving Reconciliation: is there a 'perfect' apology? Prime Minister Abe's 70th Anniversary Speech.
8. Achieving Reconciliation: state vs. non-state solutions
9. Joint History Writing: a case study of reconciliation
10. Achieving Peace: What can we do?

Aims of the course

- Introduce you to the various controversies surrounding war memories in East Asia, and how it affects interstate relations in the region.
- Foster your ability to the relations between war memories and international politics in a theoretically-informed manner.
- Develop your ability to apply some basic theoretical concepts on reconciliation critically to empirical cases.
- Provoke your thinking on practical steps needed to overcome the negative effects of war memories, both in East Asia and beyond.

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>

Assessment

This course will be assessed in three parts:

- **A field report of 2,000 words:** ‘How is the history of the World War 1 or World War 2 depicted in the Imperial War Museum in Manchester? To what extent does the Museum overcome “national history” in its depictions of World War I or World War II?’

→ This essay will account for 30% of your marks, and will require you to visit the actual museum.

→ If you're not sure how to write a field report, there is a document on Blackboard that will give you some pointers. But the most important thing is to answer the question.

- Long essay of 4,550 words, which will account for 70% of your total marks. **You can either answer one of the following questions, or decide on your essay topic, but this must be done so in consultation with me.** I expect you to be familiar with correct referencing rules for academic essays, and reference your paper accordingly.
 - Why are textbooks ‘particularly important “sites of memory”’? Answer with reference to China, Japan, Taiwan or Korea.

→ **NB:** the quote comes from Laura Hein and Mark Selden (eds), *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2000), p. 4. You might want to have a look at this book as part of your essay research)
 - ‘Instead of seeking the forgiveness of Japan’s neighbours, Abe recast his war apology [of 2015] largely in the context of current Sino-Japanese relations that shed unfavourable light on China. His no-more-apologies caveat bodes ill for reconciliation as Japanese revisionists unwind past apologies and repentance’. Do you agree with this statement?
 - Are Europe’s experiences of reconciliation applicable to East Asia?

- Assess the role of NGOs in bringing about reconciliation for the 'comfort women' issue.
- Is a state apology crucial for reconciliation? Answer with reference to East Asia.

Thinking about your essay topic

The following questions below may help you in formulating your research question for your assessed essay.

- What is your research TOPIC?
- What is your RESEARCH QUESTION? (please remember that a question has a '?' at the end. Make sure you have a question that can be answered within the word limit)
- WHY are you interested in this topic?
- What is the SIGNIFICANCE of answering this question for the field you are researching?
- What is your PRELIMINARY ANSWER to the research question? (Please keep in mind that this is a preliminary answer based on your review of the existing literature. You have not done the research yet. You do not know the answer yet)
- What do you know about THE LITERATURE ON THE SUBJECT? (ask yourself who laid the groundwork for your research; demonstrate your grasp of the literature on your topic; show your ability to identify and evaluate the relevant sources; indicate your ability to integrate and synthesise the relevant literature).
- HOW would you approach this research question? (Make sure that the you set yourself an answerable question which is logistically feasible to undertake. What kind of evidence would you provide? How would you gather that evidence? Will you include definitions? Will there be a historical background section? Do you have a balanced variety of sources? Will you show opposing viewpoints? Will you be comparing and contrasting? Will you be using primary or secondary sources?) (at least one paragraph)
- MAKE A TENTATIVE LIST OF REFERENCES (at this stage you should have at least 15 sources [books, book chapters or peer-reviewed articles – avoid internet sources, if you can] that you have looked at. I will expect you to have 'read beyond' and identified sources outside those listed in this course guide)

You Decide on Your Feedback!

At the end of your bibliography in your essay, please can give me up to three bullet points (but no more) of what feedback you would like (e.g. 'How do you find my writing style?', 'Am I being too descriptive?' etc). I will do my best to address them in my comments. **No complicated, technical questions though**, as I simply can't provide such long, detailed answers when I have lots of essays to mark and comment upon! The 'feedback questions' will not count as part of your word count.

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

Other Policies

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 will 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.

1. Introduction

This session will consist of explaining the course and its aims, so no need to do anything...

...But in the second half of our time-slot, do go find yourselves a quiet spot, get yourselves a nice beverage (non-alcoholic please, we don't want you falling asleep during the tutorials), and read the following articles (don't worry, they're not too long—just skim them if you're out of time) to get you warmed up.

- Bruce Gilley, 'The case for colonialism', *Third World Quarterly* (published online, 8 September 2017, available on Blackboard

→ This article was withdrawn (but I managed to download it before it disappeared), but has proved to be something of an academic 'OMG, u ok hun?' moment, causing a furious row. In particular, see 1) How Gilley backs his argument; 2) What sources he uses; and 3) What argument he makes.

- Nathan J. Robinson, '[A quick reminder why colonialism was bad](#)', *Current Affairs*, 14 September 2017

→ One of the many refutations of Gilley's argument. Follow link above, or find the article on Blackboard (Course Content (on the left hand side) → Some readings for the classes and tutorials)

2. Memory in International Politics: Does it Matter?

At glance, it may come as a mystery to some as to why history and memories of the past should somehow matter in international politics. Some theories of International Relations in fact bracket out history altogether, arguing that material factors determine the dynamics of the international system. In this seminar, we will examine the role that historical memories plays in IR.

** In the second hour, you will prepare for the tutorial by doing research as a group on how Germany or the UK have attempted to construct nationalism by making use of the 'past', particularly the history of war(s). You are welcome (and even encouraged!) to bring your laptops with you to help you in this process. Please discuss the questions below, using specific examples.

- What particular 'pasts' are used to construct nationalism in Germany and the UK?
- What particular 'pasts' are likely to be crucial to national identity, and how are they likely to be securitised and cause 'history disputes'? (as a starting point, take a look at: <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/nov/06/sienna-miller-criticism-not-wearing-poppy-extreme>; <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8106634/Jon-Snow-veteran-Channel-4-News-presenter-in-new-poppy-fascism-row.html>; <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1326408/Jon-Snow-poppy-fascism-row-Does-know-offensive-hes-being.html>; <https://www.channel4.com/news/by/jon-snow/blogs/wear-poppy-air>; and <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/14/drunken-american-beaten-giving-nazi-salute-germany/>)

Essential Reading

- D. S. A. Bell, 'Introduction: Memory, Trauma and World Politics', in Duncan Bell (ed), *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006.
- Gerrit W. Gong, 'The Beginning of History: Remembering and Forgetting as Strategic Issues', *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2001, pp. 45-57.
- Karl Gustafsson, 'Memory Politics and Ontological Security in Sino-Japanese Relations', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2014, pp. 71—86.

Further Reading

- Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Thomas J. Christensen, 'China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia', *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1999, pp. 49-80.
- Nicholas D. Kristof, 'The Problem of Memory', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 6, 1998, pp. 37-49.
- Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992 (particularly the theory chapter).
- Thomas Berger, 'Set for stability? Prospects for conflict and cooperation in East Asia', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 26, 2000, pp. 405-428.

- J. J. Suh, 'War-like history or diplomatic history? Contentions over the past and regional orders in Northeast Asia', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2007, pp. 382-402.
- Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott, 'Generations and Collective Memories', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 54, no. 3, 1989, pp. 359-381.
- Ueno Chizuko and Jordan Sand, 'The Politics of Memory: Nation, Individual, and Self', *History and Memory*, vol. 11, 1999, pp. 129—152
- 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
- Ole Wæver, 'Securitization and Desecuritization', in Ronnie D. Lipschultz, *On Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995

3. Historical Background: the emergence of Japanese imperialism

In this lecture, we trace how and why Japan went to war with its neighbours.

Essential Reading

- W. G. Beasley, [*Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945*](#). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, pp. 1-13
- Robert Eskildsen, "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan," *American Historical Review* 107. 2 (2002): 388—418

Further Reading

- Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (eds), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984
- Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (eds), *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996
- Conroy, Hilary. *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960
- Lin, T. C. "Li Hung-chang: His Korea Policies, 1870-1885." *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 19, 1935, pp. 202—233.
- Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival*. London: Penguin, 2014.
- Inoue, Kiyoshi. *Nihon teikoku shugi no keisei*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001.

4. Historical Memories and Nationalism in East Asia

Memories of the war have, despite the official ending of hostilities, continued to be highly relevant and important in East Asia. Why is this? We will have a brief look at this dynamic with reference to nationalism in Japan, China and Korea.

Essential Reading

- William A. Callahan, 'History, Identity and Security: Producing and Consuming Nationalism in China', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2006, pp. 179-208
- Sung-jae Choi, 'The Politics of the Dokdo Issue', *Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2005, pp. 465—494
- Philip A. Seaton, [*Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'memory rifts' in historical consciousness of World War II*](#). Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, chapter 2.

Further Reading

- Geremie R. Barmé, 'To Screw Foreigners is Patriotic: China's Avant-Garde Nationalists', *The China Journal*, no. 34, July 1995, pp. 209-234
- Il Hyun Cho and Seo-Hyun Park, 'Anti-Chinese and Anti-Japanese Sentiments in East Asia: The Politics of Opinion, Distrust, and Prejudice', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, vol. 4, 2011, pp. 265—290.
- Erica Strecker Downs and Philip Saunders, 'Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyutai Islands', *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 3, Winter 1998/1999, pp. 114-146
- Alexis Dudden, *Troubled Apologies Among Japan, Korea, and the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Gerrit, Gong (ed), *Remembering and Forgetting: The Legacy of War and Peace in East Asia*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1996.
- Peter Hayes Gries, 'China's "New Thinking" on Japan', *China Quarterly*, no. 184, December 2005, pp. 831-850
- Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004
- Yinan He, [*'Remembering and Forgetting the War: Elite Mythmaking, Mass Reaction, and Sino-Japanese Relations, 1950-2006'*](#), *History and Memory*, vol 19, no. 2, 2007, pp. 43—74
- Jia Qingguo, 'Disrespect and distrust: the external origins of contemporary Chinese nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 14, no. 42, 2005, pp. 11-21
- Philip Seaton, [*'Historiography and Japanese War Nationalism: Testimony in Sensōron, Sensōron as Testimony'*](#), *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol. 8, issue 32, no. 3
- Allen S. Whiting, 'Assertive Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy', *Asian Survey*, vol. 23, no. 8, August 1983, pp. 913-933
- Allen S. Whiting, 'Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy after Deng', *China Quarterly*, no. 142, June 1995, pp. 295-316

- Alen S. Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989
- Allen S. Whiting and Xin Jianfei, 'Sino-Japanese Relations: Pragmatism and Passion', *World Policy Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 1990, pp. 107-135
- Dingxin Zhao, 'An Angle on Nationalism in China Today: Attitudes Among Beijing Students after Belgrade 1999', *China Quarterly*, no. 172, 2002, pp. 885-905
- Suisheng Zhao, 'A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1998, pp. 287-302
- Yongnian Zheng, *Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999
- Qiu, Jin. "The Politics of History and Historical Memory in China-Japan Relations." *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006, pp. 25—53
- Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center Press, 2006

5. History Museums in Japan, China and Taiwan

History museums are, despite their harmless appearance, highly political sites. What gets remembered and/or forgotten is often intimately linked with collective memory. You should have completed your visit to the Imperial War Museum in Manchester by now, and we will look at the case of Asia in this lecture.

Essential Reading

- Rana Mitter, 'Behind the Scenes at the Museum: Nationalism, History and Memory in the Beijing War of Resistance Museum, 1987—1997', *The China Quarterly*, no. 161, 2000, pp. 279—293.
- Takashi Yoshida, *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea*. Portland: Merwin Asia, 2014, Chapter 7.
- Takashi Yoshida, '[Revising the Past, Complicating the Future: The Yushukan War Museum in Modern Japanese History](#)'. *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 5, issue 12.

Further Reading

- Yoshiko Nozaki, *War Memory, Nationalism and Education in Post-War Japan, 1945-2007: The Japanese History Textbook Controversy and Ienaga Saburo's Court Challenges*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Caroline Rose, *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations: a case study in political decision-making*. London: Routledge, 1998
- Kazuhiko Togo, 'A Moratorium on Yasukuni Visits', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 169, no. 5, June 2006, pp. 5-15.
- Saburo Ienaga, 'The Glorification of War in Japanese Education', *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1993-1994, pp. 113-133.
- Naoko Shimazu, 'Popular Representations of the Past: The Case of Postwar Japan', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2003, pp. 101-116.
- Takashi Yoshida, *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea*. Portland: Merwin Asia, 2014.
- Karl Gustafsson, 'Memory Politics and Ontological Security in Sino-Japanese Relations', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2014, pp. 71—86.
- Brown, R. and Davis-Brown, B, 'The making of memory: the politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness', *History of the Human Sciences*, vol. 11, no. 4, 1998, pp. 17—32
- Crane, S. 'Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum', *History and Theory*, vol. 36, no. 4, 1997, pp. 44—63
- Witcomb, A, *Re-imagining the Museum*. London: Routledge, 2003
- Linda Symcox and Arie Wischut, *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*. Information Age Publishing, 2009
- Lucy Noakes and Juliette Pattinson, *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2014
- Sharon MacDonald, *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science and Culture*. London: Routledge, 1998

6. Hanna Arendt film watching

This week, you get a welcome break from listening to Suzuki (for it is he) babbling on for 2 hours, and we will be watching a film about Hannah Arendt. Arendt is a philosopher of Jewish extraction. She was born and studied in Germany (under Heidegger), and later fled to the US to avoid Nazi persecution. Her work is vast, and ranges from studies on revolutions and totalitarianism, but the subject of this film is her work *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. The famous term, 'the banality of evil' depicts the capacity of all of us to stop thinking, and carry out highly immoral acts (you will see this in the film). This work proved to be hugely controversial, and does give us food for thought on how history should be remembered, and what happens if 'orthodox narratives' of the past are challenged.

There is no need to prepare for this lecture (if you're really keen, you can try reading the actual [book](#)), but you will be required to take notes on your reactions of the film, and answer all the questions below. You will be required to bring your notes with you to the tutorial.

Questions to Answer

1. What aspects of the film did you like the most?
2. What aspects of the film were most interesting, in the context of this course?
3. How does the film relate to any topics we discussed in the class so far?

7. The Textbook Issue and the Yasukuni Controversy

There are various issues regarding 'history' that sours Japan's relations with its neighbours, but none are more explosive than the 'textbook issue' and the 'Yasukuni controversy'. We will take a look at these two issues, and examine why these two issues have proved to be so problematic.

Essential Reading

- Yoshiko Nozaki and Mark Selden, '[Japanese Textbook Controversies, Nationalism, and Historical Memory: Intra- and Inter-national conflicts](#)', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol. 7, issue 24, 2009.
- Alexander Bukh, 'Japan's History Textbooks Debate: National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization', *Asian Survey*, vol. 47, no. 5, 2007, pp. 683—704
- Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006, chapter 8 '[Patronizing the War Dead: The Contested Rites of Official Memory](#)'
- Kazuhiko Togo, 'A Moratorium on Yasukuni Visits', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, no. 169, 2006, pp. 5—15

Further Reading

- Mikyoung Kim, '[Myth and Fact in Northeast Asia's History Textbook Controversies](#)', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol. 6, issue. 8
- Tetsuya Takahashi, 'The national politics of the Yasukuni Shrine', in Naoko Shimazu (ed), *Nationalisms in Japan*. London: Routledge, 2006. Available from <http://www.japanfocus.org/data/takahashi_1642.pdf>
- Dore, Ronald. "Textbook Censorship in Japan: The Ienaga Case." *Pacific Affairs* 43, 1970-71, pp. 548—56.
- Ienaga, Saburo. "The Glorification of War in Japanese Education." *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1993/94, pp. 113—133.
- Hein, Laura and Mark Selden. "Learning Citizenship from the Past: Textbook Nationalism, Global Context, and Social Change." *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 30, no. 2, April-June 1998, pp. 3—15.
- Lee, Myon-Woo. "Textbook Conflicts and Korea-Japan Relations." *Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2001, pp. 421—446.
- John K. Nelson, 'Tempest in a Textbook: A Report on the New Middle-School History Textbook in Japan', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2002, pp. 129-148.
- Hamada, Tomoko. 'Constructing a National Memory: A Comparative Analysis of Middle-School History Textbooks from Japan and the PRC', *American Asian Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, Winter 2003, pp. 109—144.
- Falk Pingel, UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision. Paris/Braunschweig: UNESCO and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2010. <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001171/117188e.pdf>>

- Chunghee Sarah Soh, "Politics of the Victim/Victor Complex: Interpreting South Korea's National Furor over Japanese History Textbooks." *American Asian Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2003, pp. 145-178.
- Gotelind Müller (ed), *Designing History in East Asian Textbooks: Identity Politics and Transnational Aspirations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011)
- Kim, Seungryeol, 'International History Textbook Work from a Global Perspective: The Joint Franco-German History Textbook and Its Implications for Northeast Asia', *Journal of Northeast Asian History*, vol. 6, no. 2, December 2009, pp. 75—101.
- Kan Kimura, 'Discovery of Disputes: Collective Memories on Textbooks and Japanese-South Korean Relations', *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2012, pp. 97—124.
- Kazuhiko Kimijima, 'The Japan-South Korea Joint Study Group on History Textbooks and the Continuing Legacy of Japanese Colonialism', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1998, pp. 47-52. Available at <<http://criticalasianstudies.org/assets/files/bcas/v30n02.pdf>>.
- Yongwook Ryu, 'The Yasukuni Controversy: Divergent Perspectives from the Japanese Political Elite', *Asian Survey*, vol. 47, no. 5, pp. 705—726.
- Daiki Shibuichi, 'The Yasukuni Shrine Dispute and the Politics of Identity in Japan: Why All the Fuss?', *Asian Survey*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2005, pp. 197-215.
- John Nelson, 'Social Memory as Ritual Practice: Commemorating Spirits of the Military Dead at Yasukuni Shinto Shrine', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 62, no. 2, 2003, pp. 443-467.
- Zhao, Yali and Hoge, John D. 'Countering Textbook Distortion: War Atrocities in Asia, 1937-1945' *Social Education*, vol. 70, no. 7, November/December 2006, pp. 424—430.
- Roger B. Jeans, 'Victims or Victimizers? Museums, Textbooks, and the War Debate in Contemporary Japan' *Journal of Military History*, vol. 69, no. 1, January 2005, pp. 149—195.
- Zheng Wang, 'Old Wounds, New Narratives: Joint History Textbook Writing and Peacebuilding in East Asia', *History and Memory*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2009, pp. 101—126.
- Chapters 4 and 5 from the Japanese Society of History Textbook Reform, at <http://www.tsukurukai.com/05_rekisi_text/rekishi_English/English.pdf> → link no longer available, a PDF file will be made available on Blackboard
- There is a huge volume of works on history textbooks in Japan, which is partly a product of the extremely politicised nature of the issue. A list of other works can be found at <<http://www.gwu.edu/~memory/research/bibliography/historytextbooksedu.html>>

8. The 'Comfort Women' Issue

If we do accept that attempts to facilitate reconciliation is important, the question then becomes of how to achieve this. Unfortunately, this is not always easy in practice. In this session, we look at the 'Comfort Women' (sex slaves who were forced to serve the Japanese military against their will) issue and the attempts to seek redress for their suffering. Do you think that the 'Asian Women's Fund' was an acceptable method for seeking reconciliation? Are state apologies the only acceptable way to achieve reconciliation? Are state-led apologies politically feasible? Are non-state efforts to achieve reconciliation adequate? In this context, what do you think are the achievements and shortcomings of the 'Women's International War Crimes Tribunal'?

* This session includes the viewing of a documentary about the 'Women's Tribunal'.

Essential Reading

- Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, 'Comfort Women: Beyond Litigious Feminism', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2003, pp. 223-258.
- Alexis Dudden, 'We Came to Tell the Truth: Reflections on the Tokyo Women's Tribunal', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2001, pp. 591-602.
- Yayori Matsui, 'Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery: Memory, Identity and Society', *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2001, pp. 119-142.
- (If you have time) Kim, Puja 'Global Civil Society Remakes History: "The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000"', *positions*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2001, pp. 611-620.

Further Reading

The literature on 'comfort women' is huge. Many works in this area have been carried out by historians. Below is a small selection of works:

- Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Sarah C. Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Alexis Dudden, *Troubled Apologies Among Japan, Korea, and the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Hun Sook Kim, 'History and Memory: The "Comfort Women" Controversy', *positions*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1997, pp. 73-106.
- Hideko Mitsui, 'The Politics of National Atonement and Narrations of War', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2008, pp. 47-61.
- Ogata Yoshiaki, 'The Truth about the Question of "Comfort Women"' <http://www.sdh-fact.com/CL02_1/24_S4.pdf>. → an essay on the 'comfort women' issue written from a 'revisionist' point of view.
- Tessa Morris-Suzuki, 'Japan's "Comfort Women": It's time for the truth (in the ordinary, everyday sense of the word)'. Available from <<http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tessa-Morris-Suzuki/2373>>.

- Norma Field, 'The Courts, Japan's "Military Comfort Women", and the Conscience of Humanity: The Ruling in VAWW-Net Japan v. NHK'. Available from <<http://www.japanfocus.org/-Norma-Field/2352>>.
- Wada Haruki, 'The Comfort Women, the Asian Women's Fund and the Digital Museum'. Available from <<http://www.japanfocus.org/-Wada-Haruki/2653>>.
- Hayashi Hirofumi, 'The Japanese Movement to Protest Wartime Sexual Violence: a Survey of Japanese and International Literature', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2001, pp. 572-580.

More extensive lists of works can be found at the following websites:

- <http://proj1.sinica.edu.tw/~women/wqe.htm>
- <http://femijapan.pbworks.com/w/page/8847994/Comfort-Women-and-the-Legacy-of-WWII>
- <http://www.gwu.edu/~memory/research/bibliography/comfortwomen.html>
- Asian Women's Fund, 'The "Comfort Women" Issue and the Asian Women's Fund'. Available at <<http://www.awf.or.jp/pdf/0170.pdf>>. The Fund has now disbanded, but many of the key documents are available from its online Digital Museum, which can be accessed from <www.awf.or.jp>. This is a very useful source for anyone who wishes to find out more about the activities of the Fund and its legacy in facilitating reconciliation.

9. Reconciliation: how can it be achieved?

So far, we have looked at the various problems that Japan has encountered because of the 'history issue'. How, then can this be overcome? Here, we look at theories of reconciliation, as well as various measures taken by Japan to atone for the past.

Essential Reading

- Jennifer Lind, '[Memory, Apology and International Reconciliation](#)', *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 6, issue 11, 2008.
- Yinan He, [The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations since World War II](#). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, Chapter 1 'Explaining Deep Interstate Reconciliation'.
- Janna Thompson, 'Apology, Justice, and Respect: A Critical Defense of Political Apology', in Mark Gibney, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Niklaus Steiner (eds), *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Sarah C. Soh, 'Japan's National/Asian Women's Fund for "Comfort Women"', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 2, 2003, pp. 209-233.

Further Reading

- John Torpey, 'Introduction: Politics and the Past' in John Torpey (ed), *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003.
- David A. Crocker, 'Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework', *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 13, 1999, pp. 43-64.
- David Hundt and Roland Bleiker, 'Reconciling Colonial Memories in Korea and Japan', *Asian Perspective*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2007, pp. 61-91.
- Zachary D. Kaufman, 'Transitional Justice Delayed is not Transitional Justice Denied: Contemporary Confrontation of Japanese Human Experimentation During World War II Through a People's Tribunal', *Yale Law and Policy Review*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2008, pp. 645-659.
- Susan Dwyer, 'Reconciliation for Realists', *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 13, 1999, pp. 81-98.
- Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.
- John Torpey (ed), *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003.
- Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn (eds), *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Apologies and Reconciliation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- William J. Long and Peter Bracke, *War and Reconciliation: Reason and Emotion in Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2003.
- Caroline Rose, *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

- Akiko Hashimoto, *Japanese and German Projects of Moral Recovery: Toward a New Understanding of War Memories in Defeated Nations*. Cambridge: Harvard University, Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, 1999
- Shogo Suzuki, 'Can Apology Serve as a Security Policy? Responsible Scholarship and Breaking the Chains of Negative History in Sino-Japanese Relations', *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2008, pp. 319-333.
- Kinue Tokudome, 'The Japanese Apology on the "Comfort Women" Cannot be Considered Official: Interview with Congressman Michael Honda'. Available from <<http://www.japanfocus.org/-Kinue-TOKUDOME/2438>>.
- Rumiko Nishino, '[The Women's Active Museum on War and Peace: Its Role in Public Education](#)', *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 5, issue 12.
- Yeong Hwan Kim, '[Promoting Peace and Reconciliation as a Citizen of East Asia: The Collaborative East Asian Workshop and the Grassroots House Peace Museum](#)', *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 5, issue 12, 2007.
- Peter Li, 'The Asian-Pacific War, 1931-1945: Japanese Atrocities and the Quest for Post-War Reconciliation', *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1999, pp. 108-137.
- Norma Field, "War and Apology: Japan, Asia, the Fiftieth, and After." *positions: east asia cultures critique*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1997, pp. 1—49.
- Jae-Jung Suh, 'Truth and Reconciliation in South Korea', *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2010, pp. 503—524
- Hong Sung-pyo, 'The effects of "apology-backlash" recurrence on Korea-Japan relations', *Korean Social Science Journal*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2016, pp. 54-60
- Kazuhiko Togo, 'Japan's Historical Memory: Reconciliation with Asia', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, <<http://japanfocus.org/-Kazuhiko-TOGO/2997>>.
- Akira Chiba and Lanxin Xiang, 'Traumatic Legacies in China and Japan: An Exchange', *Survival*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2005, pp. 215-232.
- Marek M. Kaminski, Monika Nalepa and Barry O'Neill, 'Normative and Strategic Aspects of Transitional Justice', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 295—302

10. Historical Memory and Reconciliation in Comparative Perspective: what can East Asia and the Rest Learn From Each Other?

Japan is not the only country that has encountered problems with its past: one of the most famous case is of course Germany, which shocked the world by its systematic attempts to exterminate the Jewish people, as well as other minorities. How have Germany, as well as other states/regimes, attempted to reconcile with their former victims? How successful were they, and can their experiences be replicated?

Essential Reading

- Patrick Hein, 'Patterns of War Reconciliation in Japan and Germany. A Comparison', *East Asia*, no. 17, pp. 145—164
- Anne Sa'Adah, 'Regime Change: lessons from Germany on justice, institution building, and democracy', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2006, pp. 303—323
- James L. Gibson, 'The Contributions of Truth to Reconciliation: Lessons from South Africa', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2006, pp. 409—432

Further Reading

- Lisa J. Laplante, 'The Peruvian Truth Commission's Historical Memory Project: Empowering Truth-Tellers to Confront Truth Deniers', *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2007, pp. 433-452.
- Eric Brahm, 'Uncovering the Truth: Examining Truth Commission Success and Impact', *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 8, 2007, pp. 16-35.
- Peter Hays Gries and Kaping Peng, 'Culture Clash? Apologies East and West', *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 11, no. 30, 2002, pp. 173—178
- Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, 'Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks', *Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1998, pp. 53-61.
- Yinan He, [*The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations since World War II*](#). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009
- Jeffrey K. Olick and Daniel Levy, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Constraint: Holocaust Myth and Rationality in German Politics', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 62, no. 6, 1997, pp. 921-936.
- Christiane Wilke, 'Recognizing Victimhood: Politics and Narratives and Rehabilitation in Germany', *Journal Human Rights*, vol. 6, no. 4, 2007, pp. 479-496.
- Daniel Levy, 'The Future of the Past: Historographical Disputes and Competing Memories in Germany and Israel', *History and Theory*, vol. 38, no. 1, 1999, pp. 51-66.
- Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu (eds), *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006 (→ the first chapter has a good introduction to the theories of memory)

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

POLI31032	Children, the Family and Social Justice Semester: 2 Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Dr Liam Shields
Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.063
Office Hours: Book via email: liam.shields@manchester.ac.uk
Lectures: Usually 11 – 1 on Thursday Roscoe 1.009, but first lecture is 9-11 on Wednesday Zochonis E
Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
Mode of assessment: 2 x essay 3,150 words (45% and 45%) and participation (10%)
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 1: 11th March 2019
 Essay 2: 13th May 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: 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.

Schedule

Intro Lecture	30 th January	9-11	Zochonis E	No Tutorials
Lecture 1	7 th February	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 13 th February
Lecture 2	14 th February	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 20 th February
Lecture 3	21 st February	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 27 th February
Lecture 4	28 th February	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 13 th March

Essay 1 Due on 11th March, so no lecture on 7th March or tutorials on 6th

Lecture 5	14 th March	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 20 th March
Lecture 6	21 st March	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 27 th March
Lecture 7	28 th March	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 3 rd April
Lecture 8	4 th April	11 -1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 1 st May
Lecture 9	2 nd May	11-1	Roscoe 1.009	Tutorials 9 th May

Essay 2 Due 13th May

Intended Learning Outcomes

- A. An understanding of scholarly and public debates regarding the family and children in relation to social justice, including the ethical, legal and practical aspects of those debates.
- B. An enhanced capacity to analyse and evaluate competing arguments within contemporary public and academic debates about the family as a political institution and child as subjects of social justice
- C. A developed ability to formulate rigorous arguments and philosophical positions so that you can defend against other positions.

Expectations: Students are expected to have completed the required reading prior to seminars. Students should prepare a brief (250 words) summary of the argument of each required reading. Summaries will not be assessed directly, but sharing summaries in class may contribute to participation. If a student feels unable to contribute in class discussion she is may correspond with the convener for participation marks.

Assessment: The course will be assessed in three ways:

1. 3,150 word assessed essay (topics from lectures 2-5) (45%)
2. 3,150 word assessed essay (topics from lectures 6-9) (45%)
3. Seminar participation and contribution. (10%)

Suggested Essay Questions

Essay One

- What is the right to procreate? What if any conditions apply to its exercise?
- What, if anything, is morally wrong with gamete donation?
- Do children have a right to be loved?
- Are children public goods? What implications might the answer to this question have for how the costs of child-rearing should be shared?

Essay Two

- Do arguments from gestation or genetics succeed in establishing the relevance of biology to parental rights?
- Do parental interests help explain why we need not allocate child-rearing rights to the best possible custodians?
- What limits, if any, does the value of the family impose on the realization of equality of opportunity?
- Do parents have the right to enrol their children in religious practices?
- Does gender justice require an equal division of household labour?

READING LIST

Readings are marked as **required**, when students are expected to have read them before the seminar discussion. They are marked **recommended** if they are relevant to the central issue discussed. **Further reading** is relevant but not central to the topic or concerns issues that we may not get a chance to discuss in class but which you may wish to pursue in assessments.

There is no textbook for this course. Students will be required to read from a wide range of academic journals and research monographs. Students wishing to get a general sense of the literature in this area and the key debates may consult the following resources suitable for beginners.

For an excellent overview of many of the most important questions we discuss see: Hannan, Sarah, "Introduction: On The Morality of Procreation and Parenting" in Hannan, Sarah, Samantha Brennan, and Richard Vernon, eds. *Permissible Progeny?: The Morality of Procreation and Parenting*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Other useful introductory sources include:

- Brake, Elizabeth and Millum, Joseph, "Parenthood and Procreation", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/parenthood/>.
- Archard, David William, "Children's Rights", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2011 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/rights-children/>.

1) Introduction & Procreative Rights

Required Reading

Rulli, Tina. "The Ethics of Procreation and Adoption." *Philosophy Compass* 11.6 (2016): 305-315.

Benatar, David, "The Limits of Reproductive Freedom", in Archard, David and Benatar, David (ed.s). 2010. *Procreation and Parenthood: the ethics of bearing and rearing children*, Oxford University Press.

Recommended Reading

Conly, Sarah. "The right to procreation: Merits and limits." *American Philosophical Quarterly* 42.2 (2005): 105-115.

Elizabeth Harman, 'Can We Harm and Benefit in Creating?' *Philosophical Perspectives* 18 (2004): 89-113.

Paul, Laurie, 2015, "What You Can't Expect When You're Expecting," *Res Philosophica*, 92(2)

Benatar, David, 1997, "Why it is Better Never to Come into Existence," *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 34: 345–55.

Mary Warnock Podcast on the right to have a baby: <http://philosophybites.com/2008/05/mary-warnock-on.html>

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

Further Reading

The Right to Procreate

Gheaus, Anca. "Could There Ever Be a Duty to Have Children?." *Permissible Progeny?: The Morality of Procreation and Parenting* (2015).

Conly, Sarah. *One Child: Do We Have a Right to More?*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Young, Thomas, 2001, "Overconsumption and Procreation: Are they Morally Equivalent?," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 18(2): 183–192.

Meijers, Tim. "Climate change and the right to one child." *Human Rights and Sustainability: Moral Responsibilities for the Future* (2016): 181.

Floyd, S. and D. Pomerantz, 1981, "Is there a Natural Right to Have Children?," in *Morality and Moral Controversies*, John Arthur, (ed.), Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bayles, Michael D., 1979, "Limits to a Right to Procreate," in O'Neill and Ruddick 1979, pp. 13–24.

Brazier, Margaret, 1998, "Reproductive Rights: Feminism or Patriarchy?," in Harris and Holm 1998, pp. 66–76.

Overall, Christine. *Why have children?: the ethical debate*. Mit Press, 2012.

Overall, Christine. "What is the Value of Procreation as a Means of Family-Making?" *Family-Making: Contemporary Ethical Challenges* (2014): 89.

Cassidy, Lisa, 2006, "That Many of Us Should Not Parent," *Hypatia* 21(4): 40–57.

Harris, John, 1998, "Rights and Reproductive Choice," in Harris and Holm 1998, pp. 5–37.

Harris, John. "The right to found a family." *Children, Parents, and Politics* (1989).

Warnock, Mary. *Making babies: Is there a right to have children?*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Michelle Taylor-Sands. "Saviour siblings and collective family interests." *Monash bioethics review* 29.2 (2011): 12-1. Oxford University Press: 2002),

Smilansky, Saul, 1995, "Is there a moral obligation to have children?," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 12(1): 41–53

Rachels, Stuart. "The Immorality of Having Children." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 17.3 (2014): 567-582.

Wrongful Life

Feinberg, Joel. "Wrongful life and the counterfactual element in harming." *Social Philosophy and Policy* 4.01 (1986): 145-178.

Shiffrin, Seana Valentine, 1999, "Wrongful Life, Procreative Responsibility, and the Significance of Harm," *Legal Theory*, 5(2): 117–148.

McMahan, Jeff, 1998, "Wrongful Life: Paradoxes in the Morality of Causing People to Exist," in J. Coleman and C. Morris, (eds.), *Rational Commitment and Social Justice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Derek Parfit, *Reasons and Persons*, ch. 16

Elizabeth Harman, 'Can We Harm and Benefit in Creating?' *Philosophical Perspectives* 18 (2004): 89 - 113.

Gregory Kavka, 'The Paradox of Future Individuals,' *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 11 (1982): 93-112.

Harman, E. (2009) 'Critical Study: David Benatar, Better Never to Have Been', *Noûs*, 43 (4), 776–785.

Holtug, Nils, 2001, "On the Value of Coming into Existence," *The Journal of Ethics*, 5: 361–84.

Wasserman, David, 2005, "The Nonidentity Problem, Disability, and the Role Morality of Prospective Parents," *Ethics* 116: 132–152.

Woodward, James, 1986, "The Non-Identity Problem," *Ethics*, 96: 804–831.

Finneron-Burns, Elizabeth. "Contractualism and the Non-Identity Problem." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* (2016): 1-13.

Gardner, Molly. "Beneficence and procreation." *Philosophical Studies* 173.2 (2016): 321-336.

2) Procreative Technology

New reproductive technology enables us to make more decisions about the kind of children that develop and how they are to be born. Normative considerations bear upon the decisions about how to have a child and even once we have resolved to procreate. We will look at the normative problems raised by i) gamete donation and ii) surrogacy.

Required Reading

Satz, Debra, 1992, "Markets in Women's Reproductive Labor", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 21(2): 107–131.

Benatar, David. "The unbearable lightness of bringing into being." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 16.2 (1999): 173-180. [N.B. This is very short]

Recommended Reading

Anderson, Elizabeth, 1990, "Is Women's Labor a Commodity?," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 19: 71–92.

Ferracioli, Luara. "On the value of intimacy in procreation." *The Journal of Value Inquiry* 48.3 (2014): 349-369.

Further Reading

Gamete Donation

Bayne, T., 2003, "Gamete Donation and Parental Responsibility," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 20(3): 77–87.

Prusak, Bernard G. *Parental Obligations and Bioethics: The Duties of a Creator*. Vol. 14. Routledge, 2013.

Frith, Lucy. "Gamete donation and anonymity The ethical and legal debate." *Human Reproduction* 16.5 (2001): 818-824.

Page, Edgar, 1985, "Donation, Surrogacy, and Adoption," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*.

Weinberg, Rivka. "The moral complexity of sperm donation." *Bioethics* 22.3 (2008): 166-178.

Surrogacy

See special issue of *Journal of Applied Philosophy* on International Reproductive Markets:
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/japp.2016.33.issue-2/issuetoc>

Arneson, Richard, 1992, "Commodification and Commercial Surrogacy," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 21(2): 132–164.

Dodds, Susan and Karen Jones, 1989a, "Surrogacy and Autonomy," *Bioethics*, 3(1): 1–17. 1989b, Karen Jones, "Response to Purdy's 'Surrogate Mothering'," *Bioethics*, 3: 35–39.

Oakley, Justin, 1992, "Altruistic Surrogacy and Informed Consent", *Bioethics*, 6(4): 269–87.

Purdy, Laura, 1989, "Surrogate Mothering: Exploitation or Empowerment?," *Bioethics*, 3(1): 18–34.

Wilkinson, Stephen. "The exploitation argument against commercial surrogacy." *Bioethics* 17.2 (2003): 169-187.

Wertheimer, Alan. "Two questions about surrogacy and exploitation." *Philosophy & public affairs* (1992): 211-239.

Other topics

Genetic Selection

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

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.

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.

IVF

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Daniel Weinstock. "State Regulation and Assisted Reproduction: Balancing the Interests of Parents and Children." (2013).

Burley, Justine. "The price of eggs: Who should bear the cost of fertility treatments." *The Future of Human Reproduction: Ethics, Choice, and Regulation*, ed. John Harris and Soren Holm 127 (1998): 49.

3) Children's Rights

As human beings children are worthy of equal moral consideration. Many people believe that equal moral consideration entitles a person to certain rights to protect their choices. Such rights help us to explain why it is that you, and not I, can decide where you live, what meals you eat and what religion, if any, you worship. However, young children are not generally thought capable of making the kinds of choices that these rights are required to protect. This week we consider i) whether children can have rights, if so, ii) what they protect, and, in particular, iii) whether they can have a right to love.

Required Reading:

Brighouse, Harry. "What rights (if any) do children have." *The moral and political status of children* (2002): 31-52,
Liao, S. Matthew. "The Right of Children to Be Loved" *Journal of political philosophy* 14.4 (2006): 420-440.

Recommended Reading:

Griffin, J., 2002, 'Do Children Have Rights?' in *The Moral and Political Status of Children: New Essays*, D. Archard and C. Macleod (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press: 19–30.
Dwyer, James G. *The relationship rights of children*. Cambridge University Press, 2011: Appendix
Brennan, S., 2002, 'Children's Choices or Children's Interests: Which do their Rights Protect?' in *The Moral and Political Status of Children: New Essays*, D. Archard and C. Macleod (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press: 53–69.
Archard, David William, "Children's Rights", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2011 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/rights-children/>>.

Further Reading

Can Children have Rights?

Schrag, Francis. "The child in the moral order." *Philosophy* 52.200 (1977): 167-177.
Eekelaar, J., 1986, 'The Emergence of Children's Rights', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 6: 161–182.
O'Neill, O., 1988, 'Children's Rights and Children's Lives', *Ethics*, 98: 445–463.
Steiner, H., 1998, 'Working Rights', in *A Debate Over Rights*, Philosophical Enquiries, M.H. Kramer, N. Simmonds and H. Steiner, Oxford: Clarendon Press: 235–301.
Lundy, Laura. "United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and Child Well-Being." *Handbook of Child Well-Being*. Springer Netherlands, 2014. 2439-2462.
Haydon, Graham. "The 'Right to Education' and Compulsory Schooling*." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 9.1 (1977): 1-15.
Archard, David. *Children: Rights and childhood*. Routledge, 1993.
Brennan, Samantha, and Robert Noggle. "The moral status of children: Children's rights, parents' rights, and family justice." *Social Theory and Practice* 23 (1997): 1-26.

Right to Love

Cowden, Mhairi. "What's love got to do with it? Why a child does not have a right to be loved." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15.3 (2012): 325-345.
Matthew Liao, S. "Why children need to be loved." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15.3 (2012): 347-358.
Cowden, Mhairi. "A need is not a right." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 15.3 (2012): 359-362.

Right to an Open Future

Feinberg, Joel. "The child's right to an open future." in *Whose Child? Parental Rights, Parental Authority and State Power*, W. Aiken and H. LaFollette, H., Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams, and Co.: 124–153.
Mills, Claudia, 2003 "The Child's Right to an Open Future?" *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 34(4) Winter: 499–509.
Lotz, Mianna, 2006, "Feinberg, Mills, and the Child's Right to an Open Future," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 37(4): 537–551.
Prusak, Bernard G. "Not Good Enough Parenting." *Social Theory and Practice* 34.2 (2008): 271-291.

What is a Child?

Schapiro, Tamar, 1999, "What is a Child?" *Ethics* 109, 715–38.
MacLeod C (2010) Primary good, capabilities and children. In: Brighouse H and Robeyns I (eds) *Measuring Justice: Primary Goods and Capabilities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 174–193.
Brennan, Samantha. "The Intrinsic Goods of Childhood." Keynote address at conference on Children, Sport, and Physical Activity: Philosophical Dimensions, University of Western Ontario, London, ON. 2007.
Gheaus, Anca. "The 'intrinsic goods of childhood' and the just society." <https://www.academia.edu/2453658/The_intrinsic_goods_of_childhood_and_the_just_society>

4) Sharing the Costs of Child-Rearing

Many parents deliberately chose to have children knowing that they are expensive to care for. So why, then, should parents receive state subsidy for their activities while others who deliberately chose to avoid having children, perhaps because they are expensive, do not receive subsidies for their pet projects? This week we consider who should pay for the costs of child-rearing. In particular, we look at arguments for sharing the costs between parents and non-parents, restricting the costs to parents alone, and to imposing the costs of the children themselves.

Core Reading

Folbre, Nancy. "Children as public goods." *The American Economic Review* 84.2 (1994): 86-90
Casal, P. and Williams, A. (1995) 'Rights, Equality and Procreation', *Analyse and Kritik*, 17 (1), 93–116.

Recommended Reading:

Olsaretti, Serena. "Children as Public Goods?." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41.3 (2013): 226-258,
Clayton, *Justice and Legitimacy in Upbringing*. Chapter 2, esp. p. 61-86.
George, R. (1987) 'Who Should Bear the Costs of Children?', *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 1 (1), 1–42.
Tomlin, Patrick. "Should Kids Pay Their Own Way?." *Political Studies* (2014).

Further Reading:

Bou-Habib, P. (2013) 'Parental Subsidies: The Argument from Insurance', *Politics, Philosophy and Economics*, 12 (2), 197–216.
Vallentyne, P. (2002) 'Equality and the Duties of Procreators', in D. Archard and C. M. McLeod (eds), *The Moral and Political Status of Children*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 195–211. Casal, P. (1999) 'Environmentalism, Procreation, and the Principle of Fairness', *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 13 (4), 363–375.
Casal, P. and Williams, A. (2004) 'Equality of Resources and Procreative Justice', in J. Burley (ed.), *Dworkin and His Critics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 150–169.
George, R. (1994) 'On the External Benefits of Children', in D. T. Meyers, K. Kipnis and C. F. Murphy (eds), *Kindred Matters: Rethinking the Philosophy of the Family*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 209–217.
Olsaretti, Serena. "Children as negative externalities?." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 16.2 (2017): 152-173.
Serena Olsaretti, "Choice, Circumstances, and the Cost of Children," in I. Carter, M. Kramer, and S. de Wĳze (eds.), *Hillel Steiner and the Anatomy of Justice* (London: Routledge, 2009).
Bou-Habib, Paul, and Serena Olsaretti. "Equality, Autonomy, and the Price of Parenting." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 44.4 (2013): 420-438.
Steiner, Hillel. "Silver spoons and golden genes: Talent differentials and distributive justice." In Archard and MacLeod eds., *The Moral and Political Status of Children*.
Folbre, Nancy. *Who pays for the kids?: gender and the structures of constraint*. Routledge, 2004.
Rakowski, Eric. "Who should pay for bad genes?." *California law review* (2002): 1345-1414.

Generally on Public Goods

Klosko, George. "The principle of fairness and political obligation." *Ethics* (1987): 353-362.
Klosko, George. "Presumptive benefit, fairness, and political obligation." *Philosophy & public affairs* 16.3 (1987): 241-259.
McDermott, Daniel. "Fair-Play Obligations." *Political Studies* 52.2 (2004): 216-232.
Parsons, Stephen D. "Fair-Play Obligations: A Critical Note on Free Riding." *Political Studies* 53.3 (2005): 641-649.

5) Parental Rights: Genetic, Gestational and Intentional Accounts:

As a matter of fact most bearers of parental rights are biological parents, but technology, such as surrogacy and gamete donation, complicates this fact by enabling a variety of biological and other relations to children. This week we consider how these relations bear upon who gets to be a parent. In particular, we look at the significance of genetic, intentional and gestational relations.

Required Reading:

Archard, David. "What's blood got to do with it? The significance of natural parenthood." *Res Publica* 1.1 (1995): 91-106,
 Gheaus, Anca. "The Right to Parent One's Biological Baby." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 20.4 (2012): 432-455,

Recommended Reading:

Velleman, J. David. "Family history." *Philosophical Papers* 34.3 (2005): 357-378.
 Austin, Michael, 2004, "The Failure of Biological Accounts of Parenthood," *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, 38: 499–510.
 Millum, 2010, "How Do We Acquire Parental Rights?" *Social Theory and Practice*, 36(1): 112–132.
 Haslanger, Sally, 2009, "Family, Ancestry and Self: What is the Moral Significance of Biological Ties?," *Adoption & Culture*, 2(1).
 Elizabeth Brake "Willing Parents: A Voluntarist Account of Parental Role Obligations," in Archard and Benatar 2010, pp. 151–177

Further Reading:*Genetic*

Kolers, Avery and T. Bayne, 2001, "'Are You My Mommy?' On the Genetic Basis of Parenthood," *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 18(3): 273–85.
 Fuscaldo, Julianna, 2006, "Genetic Ties: Are they Morally Binding?," *Bioethics*, 20(2): 64–76.
 Neil Levy and Mianna Lotz, "Reproductive Cloning and a (Kind of) Genetic Fallacy," *Bioethics* 19 (2005): 232–50.
 Hill, J. L., 1991, "What does it mean to be a 'Parent'? The claims of biology as a basis for parental rights," *New York University Law Review*, 66: 353–420.

Gestation

Feldman, S., 1992, "Multiple Biological Mothers: The Case for Gestation," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 23: 98–104.
 Nelson, James Lindemann, 1991, "Parental Obligations and the Ethics of Surrogacy: A Causal Perspective," *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 5: 49–61.
 Gheaus, Anca. "Biological Parenthood: Gestational, Not Genetic." *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* (2017): 1-16.

Intentional

Bayne, T., and A. Kolers, 2003, "Toward a Pluralistic Account of Parenthood," *Bioethics* 17(3): 221–42.
 Van Zyl, Liezl, 2002, "Intentional Parenthood and the Nuclear Family," *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 23: 107–18.
 Steinbock, Bonnie, 1988, "Surrogate Motherhood as Prenatal Adoption," *Law, Medicine, and Health Care*, Volume 16.
 Shultz, M. M., 1990, "Reproductive Technology and Intent-based Parenthood: An Opportunity for Gender Neutrality," *Wisconsin Law Review*, 297(2): 297–398.
 Prusak, Bernard, 2011a, "The Costs of Procreation," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 42/1: 61–75.

6) Parental Rights: Interest Based Accounts

Any civilized society will deny abusive or neglectful parents custody of children. The child's well-being and her interests are an important factor in determining who should rear her, but to what extent do these considerations matter? Do other considerations sometimes trump the interests of the child? This week we consider i) whether children should always be placed with the best parent and ii) if not, when and why merely adequate parents can be good enough. We also consider iii) whether a policy of parental licensing can be justified.

Required Reading:

Vallentyne, Peter. "Rights and Duties of Childbearing." *Wm. & Mary Bill Rts. J.* 11 (2002): 991,
 Brighthouse, Harry, and Adam Swift. "Parents' Rights and the Value of the Family." *Ethics* 117.1 (2006): 80-108.

Recommended Reading:

Clayton, Matthew, *Justice and Legitimacy in Upbringing*, OUP Ch. 2,
Hannan, Sarah, and Richard Vernon. "Parental Rights: A role-based approach." *Theory and Research in Education* 6.2 (2008)
LaFollette, Hugh, 1980, "Licensing Parents," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 9(2): 183–97.
Shoeman, Ferdinand, 1980, "Rights of Children, Rights of Parents and the Moral Basis of the Family," *Ethics*, 91: 6–19.
Shields, Liam (2016) "How Bad Can a Good Enough Parent Be?", *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 46.2, pp. 163-182

Further Reading

Child-Centered

Dwyer, James. (2006) *The Relationship Rights of Children*. Cambridge University Press.
Purdy, Laura Martha. *In their best interest?: the case against equal rights for children*. Cornell University Press, 1992
Hedman, Carl. "Three approaches to the problem of child abuse and neglect." *Journal of social philosophy* 31.3 (2000): 268-285.
Archard, David. "Child abuse: parental rights and the interests of the child." *Journal of applied philosophy* 7.2 (1990): 183-194.

Dual-Interest

Schrag, F. 1976. Justice and the Family. *Inquiry* 19: 193-208.
Gheaus, Anca. "Is the Family Uniquely Valuable?." *Ethics and Social Welfare* 6.2 (2012): 120-131.
Reed, Ryan. "Are the Kids Alright? Rawls, Adoption, and Gay Parents." *Ethical theory and moral practice* 16.5 (2013): 969-982
Kupfer, Joseph. "Can parents and children be friends?." *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1990): 15-26.
Archard, David (2012). The Future of the Family. *Ethics and Social Welfare* 6 (2):132-142.
Shields, Liam (2016) "Parental Rights and the Importance of Being Parents", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. Online first

Licensing

De Wispelaere, Jurgen, and Daniel Weinstock. "Licensing Parents to Protect Our Children?." *Ethics and Social Welfare* 6.2 (2012)
Vopat, Mark. "Parent licensing and the protection of children." *Taking Responsibility for Children* (2007): 73-96.
Frisch, Lawrence E. "On Licentious Licensing: A Reply to Hugh LaFollette." *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1982): 173-180.
LaFollette, Hugh. "Licensing parents revisited." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 27.4 (2010): 327-343.
LaFollette, Hugh. "A reply to Frisch." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* (1982): 181-183.

7) Parental Partiality: Conferring Advantage

Whatever our responsibilities to children in general, parents have particular responsibilities to their own. It is widely held, for example, that parents can favour their own children in particular ways and this partiality is believed, by some, to be constitutive of the kind of love and intimacy, which makes the family a valuable social institution. This week we consider what if anything can ground that partiality and what its limits might be. In particular, we consider the ways that parental partiality can conflict with norms of equality of opportunity and we examine some ways of resolving this conflict.

Required Reading:

Brighouse, Harry, and Adam Swift. "Legitimate parental partiality." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 37.1 (2009): 43-80.
Munoz-Darde, V., 1999. Is the family to be abolished then? *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 99, 37–56.

Recommended Reading:

Reshef, Yonathan. "Re-thinking the value of families" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 16: 1, 130-150

MacLeod, Colin. "Liberal Equality and the Affective Family" in Archard and MacLeod.
 Vallentyne, Peter, and Morry Lipson. "Equal opportunity and the family." *Public Affairs Quarterly* (1989): 27-45.
 Miller, D. 2009. Equality of opportunity and the family. In: D. Satz and R. Reich, eds. *Toward a humanist justice: the political philosophy of Susan Moller Okin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Further Reading

Inheritance

Swift, A., 2005. Justice, luck, and the family: the intergenerational transmission of economic advantage from a normative perspective. In: S. Bowles, H. Gintis and M. Osborne-Groves, eds. *Unequal chances: family background and economic success*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 265–275
 White, S. What (If Anything) is Wrong With Inheritance Tax? *Political Quarterly* 79: 162-71
 Clayton, Matthew. "Equal inheritance." *Inherited Wealth, Justice and Equality* 165 (2012): 98.

School Choice

Macleod, Colin M. "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* 2.3 (2004): 309-321.
 Brighouse, H. 'Putting Educational Equality in its Place' *Education Finance and Policy* 3(4) October 2008.
 Anderson, E. 2007. Fair Opportunity in Education: A Democratic Equality Perspective. *Ethics* 117: 595-622.
 Anderson, E., 'Rethinking Equality of Opportunity: Comment on Adam Swift's How Not to Be a Hypocrite', *Theory and Research in Education*, 2 (2004), 323-342.
 Brighouse, Harry. "What's wrong with privatizing schools?." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 38.4 (2004): 617-631.
 Brighouse, H., *School Choice and Social Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2000)
 Clayton, Matthew, and David Stevens. "School choice and the burdens of justice." *Theory and Research in Education* 2.2 (2004): 111-126
 Reich, Rob, "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, 2008).

Bedtime Stories etc.

Segall, S., 2010. If you're a luck-egalitarian, how come you read bedtime stories to your children? *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 14, 23–40.
 Lazenby, H. 2010. One Kiss Too Many? Giving, Luck Egalitarianism and Other-affecting Choice. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18: 271-86.
 Mason, Andrew. "Putting story-reading to bed: a reply to Segall." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 14.1 (2011): 81-88.
 Friedman, Milton, and Rose Friedman. *Free to choose: A personal statement*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1990. See Ch. 6.
 Swift, A. "How Not to Be a Hypocrite: School Choice for the Morally Perplexed Parent", 2003, Routledge.

Equal Opportunity in General

Williams, Bernard (1962) "The Idea of Equality" in *Philosophy, Politics and Society* 2nd series ed. P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman. (Oxford: Blackwell)
 Westen, Peter. "The concept of equal opportunity." *Ethics* (1985): 837-850
 Miller, David. "Two Cheers for Meritocracy*." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 4, no. 4 (1996):
 Segall, Shlomi. "Should the best qualified be appointed?" *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 9, no. 1 (2012): 31-54
 Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Revised version. Belknap (1999): 63-64, 73-78, 263-278,
 Rawls, John. *Justice as Fairness: a restatement*. Belknap (2001). 43-44 and 163-166
 Cohen, Gerald A. "On the currency of egalitarian justice." *Ethics* (1989): 906-944.

Partiality in General:

Nagel, Thomas (1995). *Equality and Partiality*.

Niko Kolodny (2010). Which Relationships Justify Partiality? The Case of Parents and Children. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 38 (1):37-75

Cordelli, Chiara. "Distributive Justice and the Problem of Friendship." *Political Studies* (2014).

8) Parental Influence: Comprehensive Enrolment

Many parents share their religious, moral and philosophical views with their children who often take up those beliefs and practices as adults. We might think that sharing such beliefs and practices is as much a part of the valuable relationship between parent and child as is partially benefitting one's children. However, children are uniquely vulnerable to their environment have independent moral standing and so parental influence can be problematic. We consider the grounds and limits to parental rights and child's autonomy, which help to explain whether and why some forms of parental influence are wrongful and others are not, from supporting a football team to vegetarianism and religion.

Required Reading:

Clayton, Matthew. "Debate: The Case against the Comprehensive Enrolment of Children." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 20.3 (2012): 353-364.

Fowler, Tim. "Perfectionism for children, anti-perfectionism for adults." *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 44.3-4 (2014): 305-323.

Recommended

Arneson, R. & Shapiro, I. 1996. Democratic Autonomy and Religious Liberty: A Critique of Wisconsin v. Yoder. in Hardin, R. & Shapiro, I. (ed.s). *NOMOS XXXVIII: Political Order*. New York University Press: 365-411.

MacLeod, Colin M. "Conceptions of parental autonomy." *Politics & Society* 25.1 (1997): 117-140.

Weinstock, Daniel. "How the Interests of Children Limit the Religious Freedom of Parents", in Laborde and Bardon ed.s *Religion in Liberal Political Philosophy*. Oxford University Press (2017): 220-232.

Further

Fowler, Timothy. "The status of child citizens." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 13.1 (2014): 93-113.

Noggle, Robert. "Special agents: children's autonomy and parental authority." (2002).

Archard, D. 2002. Children, Multiculturalism and Education. in Archard, D. & MacLeod, C. (ed.s). *The Moral and Political Status of Children*. Oxford University Press: 142-60,

Fowler, T. 2010. "The Problems of Liberal Neutrality in Upbringing" *Res Publica* 16 (4):367-381.

Macleod, Colin. "Shaping Children's Convictions." *Theory and Research in Education* 1.3 (2003): 315-330.

Coleman, Joe. "Answering Susan: Liberalism, civic education, and the status of younger persons."

Archard and MacLeod (2002).

McLaughlin, T. H. "Religion, upbringing and liberal values: a rejoinder to Eamonn Callan." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 19.1 (1985): 119-127.

Coleman, Joe, 2003, "School Choice, Diversity, and a Life of One's Own," *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(1): 101-120.

Burt, Shelley. "Religious parents, secular schools: A liberal defense of an illiberal education." *The Review of Politics* 56.01 (1994): 51-70.

Dwyer, James G. *Religious schools v. children's rights*. Cornell University Press, 2001.

Brighouse, Harry. "Civic Education and Liberal Legitimacy." *Ethics* 108.4 (1998): 719-745.

Fowler, Tim. "The limits of civic education: The divergent implications of political and comprehensive liberalism." *Theory and Research in Education* 9.1 (2011): 87-100.

Morgan, Jeffrey. "Children's rights and the parental authority to instill a specific value system." *Essays in Philosophy* 7.1 (2006): 10.

Mullin, Amy. "Children, autonomy, and care." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 38.4 (2007): 536-553.

Macedo, Stephen. "Liberal civic education and religious fundamentalism: The case of God v. John Rawls?" *Ethics* (1995): 468-496.

Reidy, David A. "Education for citizenship in a pluralist liberal democracy." *The Journal of Value Inquiry* 30.1 (1996): 25-42.

Gutmann, Amy. "Civic education and social diversity." *Ethics* (1995): 557-579.

Callan, Eamonn. "Liberal Legitimacy, Justice, and Civic Education." *Ethics* 111.1 (2000): 141-155.

Brock, Dan, 2005, "Shaping Future Children: Parental Rights and Societal Interests," *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 13(4): 377-98.

Stevens, David. "Creating Greener Citizens: Political Liberalism and a Robust Environmental Education." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* (2014): 1-18.

Giesinger, Johannes. "Parental education and public reason: why comprehensive enrolment is justified." *Theory and Research in Education* 11.3 (2013): 269-279.

Christina Cameron, 'Clayton on comprehensive enrolment', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Jeffrey Morgan, 'A critical review of Matthew Clayton: justice and legitimacy in upbringing', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 28 (2009), 79–89.

Stolzenberg, Nomi Maya. "'He Drew a Circle That Shut Me out': Assimilation, Indoctrination, and the Paradox of a Liberal Education." *Harvard Law Review* (1993): 581-667.

9) *Justice in the Family and Justice of the Family*

Excessive state interference in the workings and organisation of the family may threaten its survival and its value. However, the family is also the locus of some of the most grievous and inequalities and injustices, such as child and domestic abuse. This week we consider how the demands of justice apply to the family. In doing so, we consider the demands of justice that apply to equality within the family, between partners, and consider how benefits and burdens within that relationship should be shared.

Core Reading

Okin, S. M., 'The Family: Gender and Justice' (extracts from *Justice, Gender and the Family*), in M. Clayton & A. Williams (eds.), *Social Justice*. Blackwell.

Rawls, John. *Justice as Fairness: a restatement*. Belknap (2001): 167-168

Munoz-Dardé, Véronique. "Rawls, Justice in the Family and Justice of the Family." *The philosophical quarterly* 48.192 (1998): 335-352.

Recommended

Cohen, Joshua. "Justice and Gender: Reflections on Susan Moller Okin", in Satz, Debra, and Rob Reich. *Toward a humanist justice: the political philosophy of Susan Moller Okin*. (2009).

Ingrid Robeyns (2007), "When Will Society Be Gender Just?" in Jude Browne, ed. *The Future of Gender*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 54-74. 12(1): 1-19.

Anca Gheaus (2008), "Basic Income, Gender Justice and the Costs of Gender-Symmetrical Lifestyles," *Basic Income Studies* 3(3).

Further

G. A. Cohen, *Rescuing Justice and Equality*, Ch. 3.

John Rawls, *The Basic Structure as Subject*, *The Philosophical Quarterly* 48.192 (1998): 335-352, Cohen, Joshua. "Okin on Justice, Gender, and Family." *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 22.2 (1992): 263-286.

Ronzoni, Miriam. "What makes a basic structure just?" *Res Publica* 14.3 (2008): 203-218.

Anne Phillips (2004), "Defending Equality of Outcome," *Journal of Political Philosophy*

Nancy Fraser (1994), "After the Family Wage: Gender Equity and the Welfare State," *Political Theory* 22(4): 591-698.

Anca Gheaus and Ingrid Robeyns (2011), "Equality-Promoting Parental Leave," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 42(2): 173-91.

Okin, Susan Moller. "Political liberalism, justice, and gender." *Ethics* (1994): 23-43.

Arneson, Richard J. "Feminism and family justice." *Public Affairs Quarterly* (1997): 313-330.

Susan Moller. "'Forty acres and a mule' for women: Rawls and feminism." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 4.2 (2005): 233-248.

Okin, Susan Moller. "Justice and Gender: An Unfinished Debate." *Fordham L. Rev.* 72 (2003): 1537.

Schouten, Gina. "Restricting Justice: Political Interventions in the Home and in the Market." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41.4 (2013): 357-388.

Rethinking the Family Justice, Gender, and the Family. by Susan Moller Okin Review by: Will Kymlicka *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter, 1991), pp. 77-97

Lina Eriksson and Robert E. Goodin (2007), "The Measuring Rod of Time: The Example of Swedish Day-Fines," *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 24(2): 125-36

Sally Hasslanger (2000), "Gender and Race: (What) Are They? (What) Do We Want Them to Be?" *Nous* 34(1): 31-55.

Brighouse Harry and Olin Wright Erik (2008), "Strong Gender Egalitarianism," *Politics and Society* 36(3): 360-72. Aristotelian Society, 1999.

Abbey, Ruth. "Back toward a Comprehensive Liberalism? Justice as Fairness, Gender, and Families." *Political theory* 35.1 (2007): 5-28.

De Wijze, Stephen. "The Family and Political Justice—The Case for Political Liberalisms." *The Journal of ethics* 4.3 (2000): 257-282.

Nussbaum, Martha. "Rawls's Political Liberalism. A Reassessment." *Ratio Juris* 24.1 (2011): 1-24.

Baehr, Amy R. "Feminist politics and feminist pluralism: Can we do feminist political theory without theories of gender?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12.4 (2004): 411-436.

Penrose, Brian. "Must the family be just?" *Philosophical papers* 29.3 (2000): 189-221.

Chambers, Clare. "VII—The Marriage-Free State." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (Hardback). Vol. 113. No. 2pt2. 2013.

Ingrid Robyens, Gender and the metric of justice', in: H. Brighthouse and I. Robeyns (eds.) *Measuring Justice: Primary Goods and Capabilities*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 215-235.

Okin, Susan Moller. "Justice and gender." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* (1987): 42-72.

Okin, Susan Moller. "Gender, the Public and the Private." *Feminism and politics* (1998): 116-141.

Young, Iris Marion. "Mothers, citizenship, and independence: A critique of pure family values." *Ethics* (1995): 535-556.

Frazer, Elizabeth, and Nicola Lacey. "Politics and the public in Rawls' political liberalism." *Political studies* 43.2 (1995): 233-247.

Brake, Elizabeth. "Rawls and Feminism: What Should Feminists Make of Liberal Neutrality?" *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 1.3 (2004): 293-309.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI31042 UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL CHOICE IN BRITAIN**Semester: 2****Credits: 20**

Course convenor: Dr Marta Cantijoch
Room: Arthur Lewis Building, 4th Floor, 4.028
Telephone: +44 (0)161 306 6927
Email: marta.cantijoch@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: Fridays 10am-12pm, Roscoe 4.4

Tutorials: Wednesdays 11am-13pm, Simon 6.004 (Computer cluster)

Mode of assessment: 3,500 word essay to be submitted electronically (50%)
 4 learning logs to be submitted electronically (40%)
 Attendance and participation (10%)

Reading Week: THERE IS 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*****

A 3,500 word essay is due **by 2pm on Monday 13th May 2019.**

4 learning logs are due **by 2pm on: 25th February, 11th March, 25th March, and 8th April.**

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

Course description

The main objective of this course is to provide an in depth analysis of the choices British voters make (including the choice whether or not to vote at all) with a focus on the evidence provided by the British Election Study and other data sources. Students will achieve an advanced understanding of modern electoral research, including the data and methods researchers use to analyse political choice. Students will also develop applied understanding of these methods through hands on workshops in which they will use British Election Study data to develop their own tables and graphs addressing important aspects of voting choice.

The course will address the main aspects of the political decision in Britain. The social divisions of class, ethnicity and origin will be examined. The impact of changing issue agendas, voters' assessments of party performance, the economy and electoral campaigns will also be examined in depth. Finally, the factors influencing the decision to vote at all will be considered, as well as other forms of political behaviour such as protest activities.

Course aims

On completion of this unit successful students will be able to demonstrate the following skills:

- Substantive knowledge of the main factors influencing vote choice in Britain and the methods used to establish their relative influence.
- Methodological knowledge of the main principles of survey data collection and analysis.
- Critical understanding of how to gather and analyse evidence for and against different hypotheses (about voting behaviour).
- Ability to analyse quantitative data independently and to present findings in writing using tables and charts.
- Intermediate usage knowledge of statistical software used to analyse survey data (SPSS).
- A range of transferable skills such as time management, meeting a deadline, problem-solving.
- Greater intellectual independence and increased confidence to develop empirical analyses in essays, projects and dissertations.

Intellectual and transferable skills

This is a great course for students considering a career in political journalism or thinking of becoming a politics researcher, for example in think tanks, public bodies, independent agencies, third sector organisations or academia. Students wishing to pursue postgraduate study after graduation will find this course extremely useful as it will help them develop analytical skills that are essential in most MA and MSc research-oriented programmes. While we will be focusing on elections and voting behaviour, the quantitative skills developed in this course can be applied to a wider range of substantive topics.

Schedule of sessions

Week	Tutorial Simon 6.004 Wednesdays 11am - 1pm	Lecture Roscoe 4.4 Fridays 2-3pm
1	No tutorial	1 st February Lecture 1: Welcome and introduction.
2	6 th February Tutorial 1: Analysing election results using aggregate data.	8 th February Lecture 2: Survey data in voting studies. Strengths and limitations.
3	13 th February Tutorial 2: Exploring and comparing different sources of survey data.	15 th February Lecture 3: The impact of institutional factors on voting behaviour.
4	20 th February Tutorial 3: Survey analysis on SPSS (introduction for beginners – Refresher for experienced users).	22 nd February Lecture 4: Structural factors and vote choice.
5	27 th February Tutorial 4: Cross-tabulation and Chi-square test.	1 st March Lecture 5: The declining role of party identity?
6	6 th March Tutorial 5: The logic of control. Controlled cross-tabulation.	8 th March Lecture 6: Valence politics and competence voting.
7	13 th March Tutorial 6: Scatterplots and correlation analysis.	15 th March Lecture 7: The election campaign, media effects.
8	20 th March Tutorial 7: Introduction to linear regression.	22 nd March Lecture 8: Turnout.
9	27 th March Tutorial 8: Introduction to logistic regression.	29 th March Lecture 9: Other modes of political participation.
10	3 rd April Tutorial 9: Specifying linear and logistic regression models: additional tips.	5 th April Lecture 10: Summary and discussion about final assessment.
11	EASTER	EASTER
12	EASTER	EASTER
13	EASTER	EASTER
14	1 st May Tutorial 10: 'Bring your own data' session	No lecture

INTRODUCTION

Lecture 1: Welcome and introduction. (01/01/2019)

Course overview: aims and objectives.

Schedule of sessions and organisational aspects of the module.

Modes of assessment (i.e. what is a learning log?).

Recommended readings:

- You should read this course guide.
- Always have the Politics Part 2 Guide handy!

THEME 1: STUDYING (BRITISH) ELECTIONS: ANALYTICAL STRATEGIES AND TYPES OF DATA.

Tutorial 1: Analysing election results using aggregate data. (📅 06/02/2019)

Common measures using aggregate data: the swing and the effective number of parties.

Caveats and limitations of aggregate data: the ecological fallacy.

Practical exercise: the current political scenario and the 2017 General Election (for dummies).

Lecture 2: Survey data in voting studies: strengths and limitations. (08/02/2019)

Types of survey data.

Sampling.

Election studies. The British Election Study (BES).

Tutorial 2: Exploring and comparing different sources of survey data. (📅 13/02/2019)

Downloading survey data online.

Using online data playgrounds.

Exercise: comparing self-reported and actual turnout.

Recommended readings:

📖 *From the course textbooks:*

Denver et al. (2012): chapter 1.

📖 *The classic text about the ecological fallacy:*

Robinson, W. S. (1950). "Ecological correlations and the behavior of individuals". American Sociological Review, 15, 351-357.

 *More about the Swing index:*

Read an interview with Prof Butler:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11511608/Meet-the-man-who-invented-the-Swingometer.html>

Have a look at the how they use the "Swingometer" on the BBC during election nights:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2015-32592264>

 *About the ENP index:*

Laakso, M. & Taagepera, R. (1979). "Effective number of parties: A measure with application to West Europe". Comparative Political Studies, 12 (1): 3-27.

Molinar, J. (1991). "Counting the Number of Parties: An Alternative Index." American Political Science Review, 85 (4): 1383-1391.

Dunleavy, P. & Gilson, C. (2010). "What about the 'Other' parties?", British Politics and Policy Blog, London School of Economics". Available at: <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/what-about-the-other-parties/>

THEME 2: UNDERSTANDING VOTING BEHAVIOUR (I): SYSTEMIC FACTORS

Lecture 3: The impact of institutional factors on voting behaviour. (15/02/2019)

Electoral institutions, electoral geography.

First past the post v proportional systems.

Tactical voting and rational choice.

Tutorial 3: Introduction to survey analysis on SPSS. ( 20/02/2019)

(Experienced users will get a refresher of SPSS with new and more advanced features)

Exercises: describing variables, transforming variables, basic tables, graphing.

*LOG 1 analysis developed during this session.

Recommended readings:

 *From the textbooks:*

Denver et al. (2012): chapter 7

Van der Eijk & Franklin (2009): chapter 3.

 *Additional support during your first steps on SPSS:*
Field (2009): chapter 3.

 *About electoral systems:*

Farrell, D. (2011) *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2nd Edition.

Sanders, D., Clarke, H. D., Stewart, M. C., & Whiteley, P. (2010). 'Simulating the effects of the alternative vote in the 2010 UK general election'. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 64 (1): 5-23.

 *An analysis of tactical voting in 2010:*

Johnston, R., & Pattie, C. (2011). 'Tactical voting at the 2010 British general election: rational behaviour in local contexts?'. *Environment and Planning-Part A*, 43 (6): 1323-1340.

THEME 3: UNDERSTANDING VOTING BEHAVIOUR (II): LONG-TERM INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Lecture 4: Structural factors and vote choice. (22/02/2019)

From social structure to voting behaviour.

Social cleavages (class, race/ethnicity, origin, religion).

Class voting.

Tutorial 4: Cross-tabulation and Chi-square test. (27/02/2019)

Exercise: Class voting in the 2015 General Election.

Lecture 5: The declining role of party identity? (01/03/2019)

Political de-alignment.

Supply-side theories: party system explanations.

Demand-side theories: social and cultural change.

Political Re-alignment.

Tutorial 5: The logic of control. Controlled cross-tabulation. (06/03/2019)

Exercise: Testing the role of party identification in a multivariate analysis of Conservative support.

*LOG 2 analysis developed during this session.

Recommended readings:

 *From the textbooks:*

Denver et al. (2012): chapter 3

Van der Eijk and Franklin (2009): Chapter 7

 *To know more about analyses of cross-tabulation and the use of control variables:*

Pollock (2012): chapters 3 & pp.164-196 in chapter 7.

Pollock (2012): chapter 4.

 *Some of the classics:*

Berelson, B.R., Lazarsfeld, P.F. and McPhee, W.N. (1954). Voting: A study of opinion formation in a presidential election. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E. & Stokes, D. (1960). The American Voter. New York: Wiley.

Lipset, S.M. & Rokkan, S. (1967). Party systems and voter alignments: crossnational perspectives. New York: The Free Press.

Franklin, M. N. (1985). The decline of class voting in Britain: changes in the basis of electoral choice, 1964-1983. Oxford University Press.

 *To understand current debates:*

Clarke, H., Sanders, D., Stewart, M. and Whiteley, P. (2004) 'Political Choice in Britain', Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evans, G. (2000). 'The continued significance of class voting'. Annual review of political science, 3(1), pp.401-417.

Evans, G. (1999). The end of class politics?: class voting in comparative context. Oxford University Press.

(And in particular, the following chapter: Nieuwbeerta, P. and De Graaf, N.D. (1999). 'Traditional class voting in twenty postwar societies', pp.23-56.).

Oesch, Daniel (2008) 'The changing shape of class voting'. European Societies, 10 (3): 329 - 355.

Blog post by BES researchers Jon Mellon and Chris Prosser about the Brexit referendum as a new key divide in British politics:

<https://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-findings/has-brexit-broken-british-voting/#.XEnMIIWLSpo>

 *About value change and post-materialism:*

Abramson, P., & Inglehart, R. (2009). Value change in global perspective. University of Michigan Press.

Flanagan, S. C., & Lee, A. R. (2003). The new politics, culture wars, and the authoritarian-libertarian value change in advanced industrial democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(3), 235-270.

 *About re-alignment:*

Mair, P. (1997). Party system change: approaches and interpretations (pp. 175-98). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kreisi, H. Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschie, S., & Frey, T. (2008). West European politics in the age of globalization (pp. 154-182). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ford, R., & Goodwin, M. J. (2014). *Revolt on the right: Explaining support for the radical right in Britain*. Routledge.

TOPIC 4: UNDERSTANDING VOTING BEHAVIOUR (III): SHORT-TERM CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

Lecture 6: Valence politics and competence voting. (08/03/2019)

Assessments of performance and vote choice.

Issue voting, issue ownership.

Economic evaluation, economic voting.

Tutorial 6: Scatterplots and correlation analysis. ( 13/03/2019)

Exercise: Analysing the impact of economic indicators on support for the incumbent.

Lecture 7: The election campaign, media effects. (15/03/2019)

Do campaigns matter?

Media effects, priming, framing.

The rise of digital media and digital campaigns.

Tutorial 7: Introduction to linear regression. ( 27/03/2019)

Exercise: exploring the effects of media exposure during an election campaign.

*LOG 3 analysis developed during this session.

Recommended readings:

 *From the textbooks:*

Denver et al (2012): chapters 4 and 6

Van der Eijk and Franklin (2009): chapter 6.

 To get help with correlation and linear regression analysis:

Pollock (2012): chapter 8.
Field (2009): chapters 7 and 8.

 About economic voting:

Dassonneville, R., & Lewis-Beck, M. S. (2018). A changing economic vote in Western Europe? Long-term vs. short-term forces. *European Political Science Review*, 1-18.

Electoral Studies, "Special edition – Economics and elections", 19 (2-3), 2000.

Fiorina M. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press

Hernández, E., & Kriesi, H. (2016). The electoral consequences of the financial and economic crisis in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(2), 203-224.

Lewis-Beck MS, Stegmaier M. 2000. Economic determinants of electoral outcomes. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 3:183–219

Sanders D. 2000. The real economy and the perceived economy in popularity functions: How much do voters need to know? A study of British data, 1974–1997. *Elec. Stud.* 19:275–94

 About party competence and valence politics:

Clarke, H., Sanders, D., Stewart, M., & Whiteley, P. (2011). Valence politics and electoral choice in Britain, 2010. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 21(2), 237-253.

Green, J., & Hobolt, S. B. (2008). Owning the issue agenda: Party strategies and vote choices in British elections. *Electoral Studies*, 27(3), 460-476.

Green, J., & Jennings, W. (2012). Valence as macro-competence: an analysis of mood in party competence evaluations in Great Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(2), 311-343.

Tilley, J., & Hobolt, S. B. (2011). 'Is the government to blame? An experimental test of how partisanship shapes perceptions of performance and responsibility'. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(2), 316-330.

 The role of the media:

Bimber, B. (2003). *'Information and American democracy: Technology in the evolution of political power'*. Cambridge University Press.

Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). 'News coverage of the gulf crisis and public opinion a study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing'. *Communication research*, 20(3), 365-383.

Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1944). 'The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential election'. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 176-187.

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1974). 'The spiral of silence a theory of public opinion'. *Journal of communication*, 24(2), 43-51.

 *About campaign effects:*

Arceneaux, K. (2006). 'Do campaigns help voters learn? A cross-national analysis'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 36(1), 159-173.

Brandenburg, H. (2006). 'Party strategy and media bias: A quantitative analysis of the 2005 UK election campaign'. *Journal of elections, public opinion and parties*, 16(2), 157-178.

Gerber, A. S., Gimpel, J. G., Green, D. P., & Shaw, D. R. (2011). 'How large and long-lasting are the persuasive effects of televised campaign ads? Results from a randomized field experiment'. *American Political Science Review*, 105(01), 135-150.

Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. F. (2000). 'New perspectives and evidence on political communication and campaign effects'. *Annual review of psychology*, 51(1): 149-169.

TOPIC 5: POLITICAL (DIS)ENGAGEMENT

Lecture 8: Turnout. (22/03/2019)

Who votes and who doesn't

Unequal turnout and why it matters

Contextual effects, companion effects

Tutorial 8: Introduction to logistic regression. (27/03/2019)

Exercise: Analysing turnout using logistic regression.

Lecture 9: Other modes of political participation. (29/03/2019)

The decline of turnout, the rise of protest

Disaffected or critical citizens?

Online participation.

Protest voting.

Tutorial 9: Specifying linear and logistic regression models: additional tips. (📅 03/04/2019)

Exercise: Testing for interaction effects.

*LOG 4 analysis developed during this session.

Recommended readings:

📖 From the textbooks:

Denver et al (2012): chapter 2.

💻 To get help with logistic regression analysis:

Pollock (2012): chapter 9.

Field (2009): chapter 19.

📖 Turnout, 'the big picture':

Aldrich, J. H. (1993). Rational choice and turnout. *American journal of political science*, 37(1): 246-278.

Blais, A., & Rubenson, D. (2013). The source of turnout decline: New values or new contexts?. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(1), 95-117.

Gallego, A. (2010). Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective. *Electoral Studies*, 29(2), 239-248.

Heath, O. (2007). 'Explaining turnout decline in Britain, 1964–2005: party identification and the political context'. *Political Behavior*, 29(4), 493-516.

Franklin, M. N. (2004). *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge University Press.

📖 The social bases of turnout:

Denver, D. (2008). 'Another reason to support marriage? Turnout and the decline of marriage in Britain'. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 10(4), 666-680.

Fieldhouse, E., & Cutts, D. (2012). 'The companion effect: household and local context and the turnout of young people'. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(03), 856-869.

 Non-electoral political participation:

Aelst, P., & Walgrave, S. (2001). 'Who is that (wo) man in the street? From the normalisation of protest to the normalisation of the protester'. *European Journal of Political Research*, 39(4), 461-486.

Dalton, R. J. (2008). 'Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation'. *Political studies*, 56(1), 76-98.

Moyser, G., & Day, N. (1992). *Political participation and democracy in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 229

Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge University Press.

Pattie, C., Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2004). *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Theocharis, Y. (2015). 'The conceptualization of digitally networked participation'. *Social Media & Society*, 1(2).

CLOSURE

Lecture 10: Summary and discussion about final assessment. (05/04/2019)

Tutorial 10: 'Bring your own data' session. ( 01/05/2019)

Exercise: develop the analyses for your essay with help from your lecturer.

 **The following books are strongly recommended in this course:**

Denver, David; Carman, Christopher & Johns, Robert (2012). "Elections and Voters in Britain" Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (3rd edition).

Van der Eijk, Cees & Franklin, Mark N. (2009) "Elections and Voters", Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

 **The following books are recommended for additional support with quantitative analyses:**

Pollock, Phillip H. III (2012). *The Essentials of Political Analysis*. (4th Edition). Washington DC: CQ Press.

Field, Andy (2009). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS*. (3rd Edition). London: Sage.

 **The following handbooks are excellent for "state-of-the art" accounts of the main theories and debates in elections and voting research*:**

Arzheimer, K., Evans, J., & Lewis-Beck, M. S. (Eds.) (2017). *The Sage Handbook of Electoral Behaviour*. Sage.

Fisher, J., Fieldhouse, E., Franklin, M., Gibson, R., Cantijoch, M. & Wlezien, C. (Eds.) (2018) *The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behaviour and Public Opinion*. Routledge.

(*these are very expensive! They are both available at the library as e-books).

ASSESSMENT

The course will be assessed by two pieces of coursework and active participation during lectures and tutorials:

- **Essay:** 3,500 word essay featuring original data analysis. 50% of overall grade.
Deadline: 2pm, Monday 13th May 2019.
- **Learning logs:** 4 logs to be handed in by 2pm on the dates indicated below. Each learning log should be an organised piece of writing of between 400 and 500 words responding to the guidance question set for each of them (specific details will be provided prior to the deadline on Blackboard and during tutorials). The grade will be an average of all log grades and will contribute towards 40% of the overall grade.
- **Attendance and participation:** students are expected to engage actively during lectures and tutorials. 10% of overall grade.

ESSAY: QUESTIONS AND GUIDELINES

Essay questions (choose **ONE**):

1. **Do candidate debates on TV during an election campaign matter? Do they help voters make up their mind about their preferences?**
2. **How influential were attitudes towards immigration in determining how people voted at the 2016 Brexit referendum?**
3. **"A system of proportional representation would increase turnout in British General Elections". Discuss.**
4. **An article published in The Economist on 06/07/2018 stated: "Labour is no longer the party of the traditional working-class. That may be a sensible tactic". Discuss.**

You should draw upon the lectures, course readings and other sources of your choice in justifying your answer. Your essay should include **at least one table or figure showing results obtained from an analysis of quantitative data.**

The analyses should be carefully thought through and be conducted with clear reference to the essay question and argument(s) you are making. You can use any of the datasets explored during the tutorials or you can find other available datasets. You can conduct your analyses on SPSS or use an online data playground to obtain your results.

Provide details about your data. This can be done in the text or, if you don't want to break the flow of the argument, on a footnote.

Presentation matters! Make sure to format your results appropriately. Your tables and/or figures must look professional: do not copy-paste results from SPSS. Include descriptive labels or titles and any necessary notes (e.g. data source).

You can include as many tables and/or figures as you consider necessary to support your arguments, but bear in mind that **each table or figure will be counted as the equivalent of 200 words**. See below for more details about the word limit.

The essay should be a maximum of **3,500 words** long. A 10% variation above/below the word limit is accepted. Therefore, the word count limit range for this essay is [3,150-3,850].

IMPORTANT! You will need to provide a detailed word count at the start of your essay. Include the word count of the text and the word count of any figures or tables. These will count towards the limit at the rate of **200 words each**.

For example, the following word count would be provided at the end of a hypothetical essay that includes 2,879 words of text, 1 table and 2 figures:

Word Count:

Text: 2,879 words

Tables: 200 words (1 table)

Figures: 400 words (2 figures)

Total: 3,479 words

(This is only an example! Your essay's word count may be different to this example)

Standard rules for footnotes and bibliography apply. You can use the Harvard or the Chicago referencing style. You need to provide a final list of references for any material cited in your report. This is required for both the Harvard and Chicago referencing styles.

The essay must be submitted electronically. The electronic version should be uploaded to Blackboard via Turnitin. Always retain a copy of your submission receipt.

Essays must not be emailed to any member of staff. No essay submitted in this way will be marked. If you have any personal or technical issues that prevent you from submitting your essay on time, you need to contact the course administrators (Luke Smith and/or Dagme Tesfaye). Do NOT contact the lecturer. This applies to claims for extensions due to mitigating circumstances or any technical problems uploading your report on Turnitin.

LEARNING LOGS: OBJECTIVES AND DEADLINES

Learning log should be a short piece of writing of between 400 and 500 words responding to the guidance questions set for each of them. Students are expected to attend the week's tutorial and take part in the discussion. All logs will feature a piece of empirical analysis that will be conducted during the tutorial.

Logs introduce elements that the students will be expected to execute as part of their final essay. The aim is for students to practise skills that are also transferable to their coursework in other modules and dissertations, and to their future professional activity.

Log 1: Exploring survey data on SPSS.

Objectives: Learning how to navigate SPSS; obtaining and preparing survey data for an analysis; understanding the structure and format of survey data. The log follows a tutorial where we will learn (or refresh) the main features of SPSS and how to use it to obtain and analyse BES data.

Analyses conducted during tutorial 3 (20/02/2019)

Deadline: 2pm, Monday 25/02/2019 (Turnitin submissions only)

Log 2: Controlled cross-tabulation.

Objectives: presenting the results of a cross-tab with a control variable and a chi-square test. During the tutorial we will produce a three-way cross-tab with a chi-square test and we will discuss the interpretation of the results. The log will present the results in a professionally-looking table or graph and summarise the findings in writing.

Analyses conducted during tutorial 5 (06/03/2019)

Deadline: 2pm, Monday 11/03/2019 (Turnitin submissions only)

Log 3: Linear regression.

Objectives: presenting the results of a linear regression model and interpreting the findings. During the tutorial we will learn how to fit and interpret a linear regression model. The log will present the results in a professionally-looking table and summarise the findings in writing.

Analyses conducted during tutorial 7 (20/03/2019)

Deadline: 2pm, Monday 25/03/2019 (Turnitin submissions only)

Log 4: Interaction effects.

Objectives: exploring interaction effects in a regression model. During the tutorial we will test the effects of interacting two independent variables. The log will present the results in a professionally-looking graph or table and summarise the findings in writing.

Analyses conducted during tutorial 9 (03/04/2019)

Deadline: 2pm, Monday 08/04/2019 (Turnitin submissions only)

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.

A warning on plagiarism

Plagiarism is regarded as a **very serious offence**. Students found cheating in this way are liable to incur severe penalties. Students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be found in the programme handbooks or obtained from the Undergraduate Office.

Accessing SPSS to produce your coursework

SPSS is available on all PCs in all computer clusters across the university

Alternatively, you can download SPSS onto your laptop or home PC from the IT website. Go to: <http://www.itservices.manchester.ac.uk/software/> and follow the instructions or contact the IT helpdesk if you require assistance.

Please note that your lecturers are not expected to assist with software installation.

The current version of SPSS at the University is v23 but previous versions (v20 to v22) are also fine for this course.

Important: Inability to access SPSS while being away from Campus (e.g. during the Easter holiday or weekends) is not grounds for an extension. You are expected to organise and plan ahead when you will need to conduct your analyses using SPSS.

POLI31062 American Politics**Convenor: Prof. Angelia Wilson****Telephone: 0161 275 4766****Office Hours:****Office: ALB 4.014 Twitter: AngeliaWilson89****Email: a.r.wilson@manchester.ac.uk****Monday 3.00-4.00 Wednesday 9.30-10.30****For alternatives, email for an appointment****This course aims to:**

1. Provide students with overview of American political culture
2. Detail the intersection of democracy, inclusion and exclusion
3. Articulate this intersection by addressing question such as “Why do people vote against their own best interests?”; “How does the legacy of racism(s) manifest in and impact upon contemporary politics?”; “How does the ‘American independent spirit’ transform into political hegemony of ‘conformity and normalcy’?”; “How is power understood in America and in American politics?”

Student should be able to:**Knowledge and Understanding:**

1. Articulate an understanding of the evolution of American political culture and connect this to contemporary debates.
2. Articulate an understanding of the complexity of American political culture and the intersections and tensions of democracy, inclusion and exclusion.

Intellectual skills:

1. Apply this new understanding to their everyday interpretations of American politics.

Practical skills:

1. Traditional academic essay writing;
2. More informed spectators of American politics and consumers of news events involving America.

Course Content

This course aims to offer synergy of teaching across the department that brings together student learning from theory, elections, policy and international relations. This course will begin by clarifying for students the particular interpretations of political ideologies articulated in American politics (e.g. liberalism, conservatism and, on occasion, radicalism) and will include an overview of American political history. The course then moves along three broad themes of inclusion, exclusion and democracy. These should provide continuity over each year but allow for some flexibility from one academic year to the next for incorporating current events.

The first theme of inclusion will focus on the American Dream as well as cultural and theological interpretations of community in America. The second theme of exclusion considers the historical and contemporary exclusion of African-Americans and the Latino communities as well as the importance of American exceptionalism in foreign relations. The final theme of democracy will include a look at the American electoral system, basics of the political demographic landscape and the current state of American democracy.

The course will be primarily taught through two hour lecture/discussion and small group tutorials. This will be supplemented by reading of core pieces (provided on Blackboard), the expectation that students will read online US news outlets, read independently beyond the core reading and attend special sessions with guest speakers.

Mode of assessment:

Assessment is twofold. There are two small projects of 750 words (each counting for 20% of the final mark) and one long essay of 4,000 words (60% of the final mark).

For all policies courses, any questions regarding essay submission, extensions, bibliography, etc YOU MUST CONSULT Politics Course Guide 2. All assessments are submitted online via turnitin.

Lectures Tuesday 9am - 11am

Tutorials Tuesday between 11am – 4pm (one hour)

Session 1	Jan 29	Introduction	
Session 2	Feb 5	Inclusion: The American Dream	
Session 3	Feb 12	Inclusion: Community in Decline	
Session 4	Feb 19	Inclusion: Religious Community	<u>P1 Due Feb 26th</u>
Session 5	Feb 26	Exclusion: American Exceptionalism & Foreign Policy*	
Session 6	March 5	Exclusion: Class and Protection	
Session 7	March 12	Exclusion: African-American & Latino Citizenship	
Session 8	March 19	Democracy: Changing Face of America	
Session 9	March 26	Democracy: Protest Politics & Populism	<u>P2 Due March 26th</u>
Session 10	April 2	Democracy: Precarious Balance of Power	
Session 11	April 30	Conclusion: America in crisis?	<u>Essay Due May 13th</u>

***This session has a guest speaker:** Prof Peter Gries, expert on American foreign policy

You will find required readings on BlackBoard in advance of each theme. Please be aware of this when planning your class preparation. A list of Related Reading will be placed on Blackboard to supplement reading in each topic. You will also find all assessments and related material on Blackboard as the course progresses.

All students are expected: 1. to attend each session – attendance will be taken at the beginning of each session; 2. to read <u>ALL</u> relevant required reading <u>BEFORE</u> each session; 3. to participate verbally in class each week and in themed blackboard discussion groups; 4. to show respect for the beliefs of others in accordance with university non-discrimination and diversity policies and in the spirit of academic inquiry. Those unwilling or unable to do the above, except in cases formally presented as mitigating circumstance to the course convener, will find that their assessment and enjoyment of the course will suffer.

Communication: Students must read their University **e-mails** regularly, as important information will be communicated in this way. In addition, reading and news about the course will be updated on Blackboard throughout the course. Students should check the course Blackboard page at least twice per week.

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

POLI31071 Politics of climate change

Semester: 2

Credits: 20

Lecturer(s): Robbie Watt
Room: ALB 4.038
Telephone: 0161 306 6929
Email: robert.watt@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Monday 1-2 pm and Wednesday 11-12 am. Book via email or SOHOL at <http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>
Tutors: Robbie Watt
Lectures: Zochonis Theatre C, Monday 9-11.
Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

TU01	Sam Alex A104	Thursday	12.00-13.00
TU02	Sam Alex A213A	Thursday	13.00-14.00

Mode of assessment: Essay (30%); Group presentation (20%); Research paper (50%)

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 2461

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

Assignment hand in dates:

Essay 5th November 2018, 2pm. To be submitted via Blackboard.

Research paper 14th January 2019, 2pm. To be submitted via Blackboard.

Group presentation Variable: on assigned date.

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

1. Introduction

This course facilitates advanced study of the dynamics of climate change politics. Climate change is one of the most significant consequences of, and challenges for, contemporary politics. We explore climate politics through three broad theoretical approaches. The first of these views climate change as a complex governance challenge; the second interprets climate change as a problem of capitalism; and the third engages climate change from a poststructuralist approach.

In the second part of the course, these theoretical entry points are used to generate focus on specific themes in climate change politics. This will provide you with the opportunity to develop your research skills by exploring, individually and in small groups, some central issues in climate change politics in significant detail.

Course aims

1. To explore the politics of climate change, at multiple scales and through a range of perspectives.
2. To develop students' research skills.
3. To develop students' capacities for collaborative work and group learning.

Learning outcomes

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

1. Understanding of key perspectives on climate change politics.
2. An ability to undertake empirical research on climate change politics.
3. Advanced reasoning and collaborative skills.

Employability outcomes

This module enables students 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. The module gives students the opportunity to develop transferable skills in the areas of collaborative group work, presentation, and research.

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.

Lectures will involve presentations from the lecturer, activities, and opportunities for discussion. The lectures from 5th November onwards will start with a group presentation. All students will participate in one group presentation during the course.

The tutorials will be focused on specific readings for that week's theme and will involve discussion and activities. Students are expected to attend, having completed the essential reading and any other required prior preparation.

Below is a summary of course meetings.

Lecture date	Topic	Tutorial date
24 Sep	Introduction	27 Sep
1 Oct	Climate change as a problem of governance	4 Oct
8 Oct	Climate change as a product of global capitalism	11 Oct
15 Oct	Climate change as a question of governmentality	18 Oct
22 Oct	Climate science as politics	25 Oct
Reading Week		
5 Nov	North-South climate politics and the UN system	8 Nov
12 Nov	Carbon markets and the commodification of climate	15 Nov
19 Nov	Business and climate change politics	22 Nov
26 Nov	The politics of climate change adaptation	29 Nov
3 Dec	NGOs and the pursuit of climate justice	6 Dec

3. Reading

A separate tutorial guide gives details of the essential and recommended readings for each tutorial topic. It indicates what to expect from the tutorials and it advises on how to prepare for these sessions. The essential readings will be linked via Blackboard wherever possible. Additional recommended reading for each week of the course will be made available on Blackboard.

There are no core texts for this course, but for useful background on climate change politics, the following are recommended:

Dessler, Andrew and Edward Parson (2010) *The Science and Politics of Global Climate Change, 2nd edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. There is an online version of this available via the library as well as paper copies.

Evans, Kate (2006) *Funny Weather: Everything You Didn't Want to Know About Climate Change But Probably Should Find Out*. London: Myriad Press. (This is an excellent cartoon book. There is one copy in the library and an e-book is available here for around US\$4.99 which is extremely good value. http://store.sequential.cc/catalogue/book/funny_weather_by_kate_evans/479).

Other good books on climate change politics that will be useful in various ways throughout the course.

Aldy, Joseph, and Robert Stavins. 2007. *Architectures for Agreement: Addressing Global Climate Change in the Post-Kyoto World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anshelm, Jonas, and Martin Hultman. 2014. *Discourses of Global Climate Change: Apocalyptic Framing and Political Antagonisms*. London: Routledge.

Aykut, Stefan C., Jean Foyer, and Edouard Morena. Eds. 2017. *Globalising the Climate: COP21 and the Climatisation of Global Debates*. London: Routledge.

Bailey, I. and Compston, H., 2012. *Feeling the Heat: The Politics of Climate Policy in Rapidly Industrializing Countries*. Springer.

Bulkeley, Harriet, 2015. *Accomplishing Climate Governance*. Cambridge University Press.

- Bulkeley, Harriet, Castán Broto, Vanesa, and Edwards, Gareth, 2015. *An Urban Politics of Climate Change: Experimentation and the governing of socio-technical transitions*. London: Routledge.
- Bulkeley, Harriet, Matthew Paterson and Johannes Stripple. Eds. 2015. *Towards a Cultural Politics of Climate Change: Devices, Desires and Dissent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bulkeley, Harriet, Liliana Andonova, Michele Betsill, Daniel Compagnon, Thomas Hale, Matthew Hoffmann, Peter Newell, Matthew Paterson, Charles Roger, and Stacy D VanDeveer. 2014. *Transnational Climate Change Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ciplet, David, Roberts, J. Timmons, and Khan, Mizan R., 2015. *Power in a Warming World: The New Global Politics of Climate Change and the Remaking of Environmental Inequality*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Compston, Hugh and Bailey, Ian, 2008. *Turning Down the Heat: The Politics of Climate Policy in Affluent Democracies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dryzek, John S., Richard B. Norgaard, and David Schlosberg. 2011. *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*. Oxford University Press.
- Green, Jessica. 2014. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Grubb, M., D. Brack, and C. Vrolijk. 1999. *The Kyoto Protocol: A Guide and Assessment*. London: Earthscan.
- Hadden, Jennifer, 2015. *Networks in Contention*. Cambridge University Press.
- Held, David, Roger, Charles, and Nag, Eva-Maria, 2014. *Climate Governance in the Developing World*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Hoffmann, Matthew J. 2010. *Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response After Kyoto*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hulme, Mike. 2010. *Why We Disagree About Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Klein, N., 2014. *This Changes Everything: Capitalism Vs. The Climate*. Simon and Schuster.
- Lohmann, Larry. 2006. 'Carbon Trading: A Critical Conversation on Climate Change, Privatization and Power.' *Development Dialogue*, no. 48: 1–356.
- Machin, Amanda. 2013. *Negotiating Climate Change: Radical Democracy and the Illusion of Consensus*. London: Zed Books.
- Malm, Andreas. 2015. *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam-Power and the Roots of Global Warming*. London: Verso Books.
- Meckling, Jonas. 2011. *Carbon Coalitions: Business, Climate Politics, and the Rise of Emissions Trading*. MIT Press.
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- Stevenson, H., 2013. *Institutionalizing Unsustainability: The Paradox of Global Climate Governance*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stevenson, Hayley and John S. Dryzek. 2014. *Democratizing Global Climate Governance*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Stripple, Johannes and Harriet Bulkeley (eds). 2014. *Governing the Climate: New Approaches to Rationality, Power and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Urry, John. 2011. *Climate Change and Society*. Polity.
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- Victor, David G. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vogler, John, 2016. *Climate Change in World Politics*. London: Palgrave.

4. Assessment

Students will be assessed via the following three assignments, all of which are designed to promote learning on this module:

Assessment activity	Deadline	Length required	Weighting within unit
Essay	5 th November, 2pm	2100	30
Group presentation	Variable	Variable	20
Research paper	14 th January, 2pm	3500	50

For each 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.

Students must note the various pieces of guidance and advice as to requirements for written work, including submission details, in the Politics Unit Guide, Part 2.

Essay

This essay aims to build your understanding and critical engagement with the three key approaches to climate change politics that are discussed in the first part of the course.

The question for the essay is:

What makes climate change political? Discuss academic literature on governance, capitalism, and governmentality in your answer.

The essay should be based on the essential and additional readings for the first three substantive weeks of the course (i.e. excluding the introduction), plus any further literature that is deemed relevant to the argument of the essay.

Essays are to be 2,100 words in length (within a 10% +/- margin and excluding bibliography), word-processed, single-spaced, and fully referenced. 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.

The essay must be submitted via Turnitin/Blackboard, by 5th November 2018 at 2pm. The essay is worth 30% of the final module mark.

Group presentation

Each student will participate in a group presentation. This is designed to develop your presentation skills, your skills of argumentation, and your ability to collaborate.

The presentations will take place at the start of each lecture from the 5th November onwards. The length of the presentation will vary by group size, on a ratio of 5 minutes per group member. Students will be allocated to group of 4 or 5 where possible (giving presentations of 20-25 minutes). Each presentation will cover a specific aspect of the theme of that week's lecture. Each group should come to the lecturer's office hours at least one week before their presentation is due to discuss their plans for the presentation.

Each group should send the lecturer any presentation materials, such as presentation slides, by email. This is to help with marking the assignment but also so that documentation relevant to the presentation can be provided to the external examiners for the module. For that reason, please either do not use Prezi or if you do, produce a version of the presentation in PowerPoint.

Students in each group will gain the same mark for the presentation. The presentation will be worth 20% of the final mark.

Students are advised to start working on their 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.

Any groups experiencing difficulties with collaboration are strongly advised to contact the lecturer at an early stage. 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.

Research paper

The purpose of this is to develop your research skills and your capacity to sustain your own argument over a substantial duration, and to enable you to develop an in-depth study on a topic of your choice. Research papers and essays are similar, but the former places more emphasis on devising a suitable research question which is then answered in a methodical fashion as part of an overall research strategy. Projects can be theoretical or empirical in focus, while the best will combine the two. Students developing empirically-focused topics need to be aware of the theoretical underpinnings of their work.

The paper may be based on the work done for your group presentation (in fact this is encouraged), or else on another topic of your choosing.

Papers are to be 3,500 words in length (within a 10% +/- margin and excluding bibliography), word-processed, single-spaced, and fully referenced. Referencing should be consistent throughout, and it 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.

The paper must be submitted via Turnitin/Blackboard, by 14th January 2019 at 2pm. The paper is worth 50% of the final module mark.

A one-page proposal for the paper should be submitted by November 23rd at 2pm. This should contain: a clear research question; a statement about the research to be carried out to address the question; and an indication of key literature to be used. You will be provided with feedback on your proposal by December 7th.

Advice and teaching support for assignments

Time will be allocated during lectures and tutorials for the provision of advice to help students with preparation for each assessment. Students will have opportunities to discuss their plans for each assignment with one another and with the course lecturer. Students are encouraged to ask questions of the lecturer either in person or via email if they are unsure of the expectations or unsure about how to prepare for an assignment. Students can also make use of advice and feedback hours ('office hours').

The essay is based on the first few weeks of the course, so regular attendance and reading in the initial weeks is highly advisable. The first part of the course, which promotes understanding of key approaches to climate change politics, is also designed to help students to produce group presentations and research papers that are theoretically informed and based on good foundational knowledge.

Allocations for group presentations will be made at an early stage and in line with students' preferred choice of topic, as far as possible. Time in lectures will be allocated to allow groups to meet briefly in an in-class setting, to help with the planning of collaborative work. Students are advised to begin preparation at an early stage by reading around the topic, starting with the essential and recommended reading, before planning the more specific content of the presentation. Discussing plans with the lecturer at an early stage is advisable. A meeting with the lecturer prior to the presentation during office hours is highly advisable.

The lectures and tutorials in the second part of the course deal with various issues in climate change politics that are inter-linked. Research papers are expected to have a relatively narrow focus on some aspect of one of these issues. Lectures and tutorials on specific topics are designed to help with preparation of this assignment. The best research papers will also demonstrate understanding of the wider literature on climate change politics from across the entire course, providing a synthesis that links broader issues in climate change politics to the narrower concerns of the research paper, as a means of contextualising the significance of the study. Students are therefore advised to recognise the importance of the wide range of issues discussed in the second part of the course, beyond the immediate concerns of group presentation and research paper topics.

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 time/place is it possible for us to feed *back* on the *student's work*. The main forms of feedback on this course are:

- formative feedback through weekly tutorial discussions and during office hours;

- formative feedback on a one-page research proposal for the research paper, to be submitted on 23rd November;
- summative feedback on essays, group presentations, and research papers.

The summative feedback on essays and group presentations, and the formative feedback on the research proposal, can be expected before the end of the semester. This will enable students to discuss feedback with the lecturer during advice and feedback hours, if so desired.

Formatting

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. A word-count must be included. Standardised rules for footnotes and bibliographies are available from the Undergraduate Office. If assessed written work fails to satisfy these rules, the Politics Department 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

Plagiarism is a very serious offence. All essays and research papers will be submitted to a plagiarism check using Turnitin's Originality Check software. Serious cases will be referred to a disciplinary panel for further investigation. In the most serious cases, plagiarism can 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.

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 / 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.

Assessment criteria

All assignments will be graded in line with the criteria set out in the Politics Part 2 Guide. These criteria are reproduced in abridged format below, with added details that relate to the more specific expectations for the assignments to be submitted for this module:

Very High First Class (90-100)

Essays

The answer is exceptional and fully answers the question demonstrating the attainment of all learning objectives and in adherence to all guidelines. The answer will show an exceptional level of achievement with respect to: 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.

Group presentations

As above, plus: exceptional achievement in the coherent presentation of material.

Research papers

As above, plus: exceptional achievement in the implementation of a coherent research strategy.

High First Class (80-89)

Essays

The answer is outstanding and provides a near-full answer to the question, demonstrating: excellent insight and depth of understanding of the material; the exercise of outstanding critical judgement along with exceptional fluent clarity of analysis and of expression; and extensive and detailed knowledge of relevant literatures.

Group presentations:

As for essays, plus: outstanding achievement in the coherent presentation of material.

Research papers:

As for essays, plus: outstanding achievement in the implementation of a coherent research strategy.

First Class (70-79)

Essays

Such answers are excellent and provide a largely-full and well-structured answer to the question, and can be expected to indicate some or most of the following qualities: good insight and depth of understanding of the material; the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression; full knowledge of the relevant literature.

Group presentations

As for essays, plus: coherent presentation of material.

Research papers

As for essays, plus: implementation of a coherent research strategy.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Essays

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: good understanding of the material; clear analysis, argument, and expression; competent knowledge of the relevant literature.

Group presentations

As for essays, plus: competent presentation of material.

Research papers

As for essays, plus: competent implementation of a research strategy.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Essays

Such answers are good and provide a clear answer to the question and can be expected to show most of the following features: a competent, if basic, understanding of the material; awareness of relevant literature; some clarity of analysis and argument, albeit limited in extent;

Note: What distinguishes a high Lower-second Class from a low Upper-second Class answer is a greater extent of understanding of material and clarity of analysis and argument.

Group presentations

As for essays, plus: mostly clear presentation of material.

Research papers

As for essays, plus: attempted implementation of a research strategy.

Third Class (40-49)

Essays

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: little engagement with the issues raised in the question; unclear analysis and expression; only basic knowledge of the literature; errors of fact and interpretation that suggest limited understanding; little or no evidence of critical evaluation.

Group presentations

As for essays, plus: unclear presentation of material.

Research papers

As for essays, plus: little or no implementation of a research strategy.

Fail (30-39)

Essays

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.

Group presentations

As for essays, plus: incoherent presentation of material.

Research papers

As for essays, plus: no indication of a research strategy.

Bad Fail (20-29)

All assignments

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. They will be almost completely lacking in coherence, structure and evidence of independent thought.

Very Bad Fail (10-19)

All assignments

Such answers are severely inadequate and exhibit an almost complete lack of engagement with the area or question.

Extremely Bad Fail (0-9)

All assignments

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

POLI31091: GLOBAL CAPITALISM, CRISIS AND REVOLT**Semester: 1****Credits: 20**

Convenor	Dr Greig Charnock
Telephone	0161 275 4905 (internal x54905)
Email	greig.chnock@manchester.ac.uk
Room	4.058 Arthur Lewis Building
Advice and Feedback Hours	Wednesday 12-1 & Thursday 9.30-10.30. Arrange via SOHOL: http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/
Lectures	Thursday 2pm-4pm, Simon 4.04
Tutorials	Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
Reading week	29 October to 2 November 2018
Modes of assessment	3,500 word assessed essay (50%) '3-2-1' weekly tutorial preparation, totalling 3,000 words (50%)
Administrators	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****

3-2-1 tutorial preparation: submit every Monday (commencing 1 October, by 3pm, via Blackboard); submit complete portfolio of all 3-2-1 entries via Blackboard by 3pm on Monday 10 December 2018.

Assessed Essay hand in date: 14 January 2019 (by 2pm, via Blackboard).

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: 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 one second-past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Course Unit Aims

This course will introduce students to theories and analyses of contemporary global capitalism, globalisation, crisis formation, the politics of crisis management, and the notion of post-capitalism which are derived from Karl Marx's critique of political economy.

Since the crises of the 1970s, notions of the 'national economy' – once strongly associated with the Keynesian-Welfare states of the West and the developmental states of the 'Third World' – have been rendered practically obsolete by the global restructuring of production, the deregulation of finance and money markets, and the liberalisation of international trade. This much is widely accepted to be the end-result of over three decades of 'globalisation' – signalling for many the triumph of liberalism, the free market and the End of History.

This module takes as its starting point the claim that much orthodox social scientific analysis is incapable of comprehending our present condition. In order to make sense of this claim, the module will introduce students to the basics of dialectical theorising, of the Marxian analysis of capital accumulation, and to a relational way of understanding the political economy of 'the global' and 'the national'. It will examine - from a Marxist perspective - why capitalism's history is necessarily the history of global uneven development; why we have witnessed cyclical crises of increasing depth and intensity since the 1970s; why until only recently there has been a consensus among international organisations and governments as to the promotion of global competitiveness; and why and how this consensus has come to be challenged by a range of actors and ideas – both progressive and reactionary. The course unit will offer students the chance to reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of contemporary Marxist scholarship in analytical and political terms.

Intended Learning Outcomes

Knowledge and Understanding: Students will develop and have the opportunity to demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of contemporary Marxist literatures and debates about contemporary global capitalism.

Intellectual skills: Students will be expected to critically engage with theoretical texts and analyses of contemporary political, economic and social events. They will also be encouraged to question the veracity not only of non-Marxist approaches to understanding global capitalism, but also the claims of Marxist scholarship as introduced on the module.

Transferable skills and personal qualities: Students will be encouraged to exercise and demonstrate their own independent, critical judgement of literature, arguments, and events. The module will foster improved writing, debating, and presentation skills, and the capacity to summarise, criticise and mobilise complex ideas.

Employability

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.

Teaching and learning methods

The module will be taught through lectures and tutorial seminars. **Tutorials follow one week after the lecture** (see page 10 of this Guide).

Assessment

Assessment is via two components:

- i. A 3,500 word assessed essay (worth 50%)
- ii. '3-2-1' weekly tutorial preparation, totalling 3,000 words (worth 50%)

The Assessed Essay

A list of assessed essay questions is available on the course unit Blackboard space, under 'Assessment'. You must select **one** of these questions to answer.

The essay is **3,500 words** long and is worth 50% of the total mark for the module. The essay must be submitted by **2pm** on **Monday 14 January 2019**. One copy (which must be typed, double-spaced, and properly referenced) **must be submitted on-line to Turnitin via the module Blackboard space**. Full instructions on how to do this are available on the module's Blackboard site.

Students should 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.

Note that **feedback on your essay will be provided electronically through Turnitin**.

See the **Politics 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.

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?

Time will be given over in the lecture programme 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 the Convenor with essay plans and queries relating to the essay during advice and feedback or ('office') hours. The Convenor is committed to helping you make the most of your research into this topic and to help you produce the best essay you possibly 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

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 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.

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

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, the Convenor 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 – the Convenor is more than happy to do so. He can also answer any queries by email, although it is usually much more effective to meet face to face.

'3-2-1' Weekly Tutorial Preparation

The best tutorials are undoubtedly those where most, preferably all, students participate in discussion. How good and useful that discussion is depends of course on how well prepared students are.

Individually, the tutorials should help you to consolidate your learning about a specific topic. You will have the opportunity to discuss your understanding of the issues with classmates and the convenor; to ask for further clarification and feedback on your understanding; to raise any problems or disagreements you have with the readings or your peers' interpretation of them; and to debate and discuss in a collegiate and supportive forum. If you attend all tutorials, and prepare and participate to the best of your ability, individual tutorials will become more interesting and rewarding as the programme goes on, since you will be able to identify recurrent themes and to exploit more effectively the knowledge base you acquire in the early weeks. This means that by the end of the tutorial programme you will be in a strong position to make a start planning and writing your assessed essay, which you will submit immediately after the winter break.

To better facilitate students' effective preparation and participation in tutorials, the Convenor has produced a **Tutorial Guide** (see page 12 onwards in this Course Guide). The Tutorial Guide provides a brief description of each the topics we will cover in the tutorials, the texts and other resources students are expected to utilise in preparation for the tutorial, and some questions students may wish to think about in order to focus their reading and organise their thoughts prior to the tutorial itself.

In order to further guarantee the most effective preparation and participation in tutorials, and to allow for effective feedback from the Convenor on students' formative learning in the tutorials themselves, **each student will submit a 300 word-long (maximum) '3-2-1' summary of their preparation one day prior to each tutorial**. This will be submitted via Blackboard and by no later than **3pm of the Monday immediately preceding the tutorial in question**. Students will submit their 3-2-1 summary to their particular tutorial group in Blackboard.

Please note that the Convenor will treat all submitted 3-2-1 documents anonymously, meaning that students can individually express their understanding, or uncertainties, without fear of being named in class or 'losing face' among other students.

Each weekly 3-2-1 document must be clearly presented and must contain **three sections**:

1. **'Three things I found out about this topic from my preparation'**
2. **'Two things I found interesting about this topic'**
3. **'One question I still have about this topic'**

The immediate objective of this exercise is to provide students with the opportunity to summarise key themes, rethink them in order to focus on what they are actually interested in, and then pose a question that can reveal where their understanding is partial, vague, or where further elaboration and discussion might be useful.

The Convenor will use the 3-2-1 documents submitted by each tutorial group to help structure the tutorial group in a more student-led and 'tailored' fashion, thereby ensuring that the discussion is based on students' own responses and ideas, and the information they have found, and the questions they themselves have raised. Since the tutorial discussion is therefore structured around the students' own input, it serves as **a valuable means of providing feedback**

and guidance orally in the tutorial itself and during the tutorial programme, rather than after it has ended.

Failure to submit a 3-2-1 document on time, and without a valid explanation, will incur a **penalty of 5% to be deducted from the overall grade available for this course unit**.

Each student will submit a final document, containing collated copies of **all ten weekly 3-2-1 documents**, by **3pm on Monday 10 December 2018**. This document will be graded on the basis of it providing evidence of consistently effective tutorial preparation, and is worth 50% of the final overall grade.

How will your '3-2-1' portfolio be graded?

Very High First Class (90-100)

The portfolio is exceptional and demonstrates a *full engagement* with *all* of the required readings. It demonstrates a *full understanding* of the core contribution of each set reading and of the nuances of the argument or analysis contained therein. It will show knowledge and comprehension of relevant literatures beyond the required readings. The portfolio clearly demonstrates the exercise of *advanced critical judgement* along with exceptional fluent clarity of analysis and of expression throughout.

High First Class (80-89)

The portfolio is outstanding and demonstrates a *full engagement* with *all* of the required readings. It demonstrates a *near-full understanding* of the core contribution of each set reading and of the nuances of the argument or analysis contained therein. It may even show knowledge and comprehension of relevant literatures beyond the required readings. The portfolio clearly demonstrates the exercise of *advanced critical judgement* along with outstanding fluent clarity of analysis and of expression throughout.

First Class (70-79)

The portfolio is excellent and shows a *full engagement* with *all* of the required readings. It demonstrates a *largely full understanding* of the core contribution of each set reading and of the nuances of the argument or analysis contained therein. It may even show some knowledge and comprehension of relevant literatures beyond the required readings. The portfolio demonstrates the exercise of *advanced critical judgement* along with excellent fluent clarity of analysis and of expression throughout.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

The portfolio is very good and demonstrates a *near full engagement* with the required readings. It shows a good or very good understanding of the material, and may include some reference to relevant literatures beyond the required readings. The portfolio demonstrates some degree of advanced critical judgement, though perhaps inconsistently so, along with good clarity of analysis and of expression for the most part.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

The portfolio is good in places but demonstrates a *partial or sporadic engagement* with the required readings. It shows a *firm understanding* of the material, but may be *lacking in*

precision or may demonstrate *some misunderstanding*. The portfolio shows only a limited degree of advanced critical judgement and may be lacking in clarity of analysis and expression in several places.

Third Class (40-49)

Such portfolios are sufficient and demonstrate only a *sparse engagement* with the required readings. They show a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and offer *only partial* insight into the core contributions of the readings. They contain some *important errors* and inaccuracies. They offer little or no demonstration of advanced critical judgement, and lack clarity of expression and analysis throughout.

Fail (30-39)

Such portfolios are insufficient and suggest little more than a fragmented and shallow acquaintance with the required readings. They are often error-prone, lacking in coherence, and evidence of independent thought. They are poorly written.

Lecture Programme

Date	Topic
27 September	Why 'Marxism'? Why how we do 'social science' matters
4 October	Value and the Circulation of Capital
11 October	The 'Globalisation' of Capitalism
18 October	Global Capitalism and the National State
25 October	Global Capitalism, Production and Work
	<u>READING WEEK</u>
8 November	Global Capitalism, Money and Debt
15 November	Crisis, the 'Great Recession' and the 'New Normal'
22 November	Anti-capitalism: Whose revolt is it anyway?
29 November	A World without Capital?
6 December	Course Plenary: Why (not) Marxism?

Tutorial Programme

Date	Topic
2 October	Why 'Marxism'?
9 October	The Circulation of Capital
16 October	The 'Globalisation' of Capitalism
23 October	Debating the State in Capitalism
	<u>READING WEEK</u>
6 November	Debating Capital and You: Production and Work Today
13 November	Debating Capital and You: Money and Debt Today
20 November	Debating the Crisis and its Aftermath
27 November	Debating Resistance, Struggle, Revolt
4 December	Debating 'post-capitalism'
11 December	Plenary: Debating Marxism

Background Reading

~~Here is a list of preliminary and general reading about Marxism that you might find interesting and/or relevant. Please note that specific readings are also listed on pages ?? ?? of this Handbook, under specific tutorial subject headings.~~

What is the purpose of tutorials?

~~School regulations state that attendance at all tutorials is compulsory. The best tutorials are undoubtedly those where most, preferably all, students participate in discussion. How good and useful that discussion is depends of course on how well prepared students are. In the remainder of this Handbook the 'required reading' for each tutorial refers to the minimum expected of you. **All required reading will be made available to you through Blackboard, and in good time.**~~

~~You should of course endeavour to go beyond the minimum wherever possible and this handbook also gives you an extensive list of readings on each topic. The more you read and think about the tutorial before hand, the better the tutorial experience is going to be for you and for others. The bonus is that you will also be better prepared for your assessed essay. Building up your knowledge and understanding throughout the whole module programme is far more likely to produce a good final grade than leaving it all to the last minute.~~

Background Reading

Here is a list of preliminary and general reading about Marxism that you might find interesting and/or relevant to the module and to your own research. Further readings are also listed from page 15 of this Course Guide, under specific tutorial subject headings. This Background Reading list is by no means exhaustive, and students are encouraged to read widely and to pursue their own reading and research interests.

Useful/interesting biographies of Marx

McLellan, D. (2006) *Karl Marx: A Biography*. 4th ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). First published in the 1970s, this was perhaps the first authoritative scholarly account of Marx's life and his intellectual and political development written in English.

Sperber, J. (2013) *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth Century Life* (London: Liverlight). A recent publication by a US historian, that attempts to place Marx's life and intellectual development within the context of nineteenth century European society, culture and politics.

Thomas, P. (2012) *Karl Marx* (London: Reaktion Books). A relatively recent biography that, like When's below, attempts to demonstrate the relevance of a 'post-Cold War' Marx.

When, F. (2001) *Karl Marx: A Life* (London: W. W. Norton & Co.). The first biography of Marx written after the end of the Cold War, and one that attempts to 'un-demonise' Marx. When reassesses Marx's life, work and legacy after the fall of the Soviet Bloc – drawing particular attention to the contemporary relevance of Marx's arguments about the 'globalisation' of capitalism.

Marx's own works

The Marx and Engels Internet Archive (marxists.org) is an invaluable, free repository for Marx's collected works.

Of Marx's own published works, the following are most immediately relevant to this module:

The Communist Manifesto (with F. Engels). There are innumerable published editions of this revolutionary pamphlet, originally published in 1848 when Marx was 30 years old and Engels 28.

Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1. This is arguably Marx's most significant work, originally published in 1867. It is a difficult but rewarding read. The most used edition is that published by Penguin Classics (1976). More recently Oxford University Press published an abridged version, which students may find less daunting.

Capital: Volumes 2 and 3 (also Penguin Classics, 1978 and 1981). These were put together and published after Marx's death by Engels using his unpublished drafts and notes. They are therefore somewhat fragmentary and subject to much scholarly debate as a result. They do nonetheless contain Marx's important writings on the circulation of capital, the credit system, crises, and ground-rent.

McLellan, D. (ed.) (2000) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). A comprehensive selection of Marx's writings spanning his early years as a law student in 1830s Germany, through his political journalism and activism in France, and to his final correspondence in the 1880s while still exiled in England.

Renton, D. (ed.) (2001) *Marx on Globalisation* (London: Lawrence & Wishart). A selection of Marx's writings which, Renton suggests, casts light on the process of globalisation, *avant la lettre*.

General texts/commentaries on Marx, Marxism, and global capitalism

Anievas, A. (ed.) (2010) *Marxism and World Politics: Contesting Global Capitalism* (Abingdon: Routledge). A collection of essays, mainly by international relations scholars, debating the relevance of various strands of Marxism for the study of contemporary world politics.

Arthur, C. J. and G. Reuten (eds) (1998) *The Circulation of Capital: Essays on Volume 2 of Marx's Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Bellofiore, R. and N. Taylor (eds) (2004) *The Constitution of Capital: Essays on Volume 1 of Marx's Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Callinicos, A. (1995, reprint 2010) *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* (London: Bookmarks). Callinicos is a well-known figure within British Marxism, and is a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Callinicos, A. (2014) *Deciphering Capital: Marx's Capital and its Destiny* (London: Bookmarks). This is perhaps Callinicos' most definitive assessment of Marx and the legacy of *Capital*, and which discusses its influence in broad historical and intellectual scope.

Campbell, M. and G. Reuten (eds) (2001) *The Culmination of Capital: Essays on Volume Three of Marx's Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Together, these edited books are useful companions to the three volumes of *Capital*, containing essays on various elements of Marx's analysis and argument written by preeminent European and North American Marx scholars

- (several of whom were/are members of the International Symposium on Marxist Theory).
- Blakely, G. and V. Bryson (eds) (2005) *Marx and Other Four-Letter Words* (London: Pluto Press). A collection of brief essays intended to provide clear introductions to key concepts in the Marxist canon – including a very useful essay on production and reproduction.
- Bonefeld, W. and J. Holloway (1995) *Global Capital, National States and the Politics of Money* (Basingstoke: Palgrave). This collection of essays provides conceptual and historical analyses of the role of money in global capitalism, paying particular attention to the significance of the crises of the 1970s for the ensuing decades of national state restructuring, neoliberal austerity and financial crises.
- Clarke, S. (1994) *Marx's Theory of Crisis* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). A comprehensive account of the development of Marx's ideas and arguments about why and when economic crises occur in capitalism, based upon a close, systematic reading of his notes and publications by one of the UK's leading Marxist scholars in recent decades.
- Dunn, B. (2009) *Global Political Economy: A Marxist Critique* (London: Pluto). This is a textbook of sorts, intended to give a Marxist perspective on the issues usually addressed by university modules on globalisation: global production, trade, finance, and so on.
- Fine, B., A. Saad-Filho and M. Boffo (eds) (2013) *The Elgar Companion to Marxist Economics* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar). This is a kind of encyclopaedia of Marxist terms and ideas that students may find useful for reference purposes.
- Fine, B. and A. Saad-Filho (2003) *Marx's Capital*. 4th ed. (London: Pluto). A clearly written, accessible introduction to Marx's main work, written with undergraduate students in mind.
- Harvey, D. (2007) *The Limits to Capital*. New and updated ed. (London: Verso). Harvey is perhaps the world's foremost Marxist scholar around today (he's certainly the most cited by other academics). First published in 1982, this is his most influential book, and, as with all his work, it is very eloquently written. Drawing upon a close, synthetic reading of Marx's main texts he pushes the latter's arguments further so as to explain crises and the periodic devaluation and destruction of overaccumulated capital in various forms: from post-industrial urban decay to large-scale inter-imperialist war. In so doing, he revolutionised the field of human geography.
- Harvey, D. (2010) *A Companion to Marx's Capital* (London: Verso); and Harvey, D. (2013) *A Companion to Marx's Capital Volume 2* (London: Verso). These are chapter-by-chapter commentaries on the first two volumes of *Capital*, based upon Harvey's recent lectures (see 'Other resources', below). Harvey tries to give Marx's analysis greater accessibility and relevance, using historical anecdotes and examples to illustrate the points discussed.
- Harvey, D. (2014) *Seventeen Contradiction and the End of Capitalism* (London: Profile Books). In this, Harvey tries again to make the essential elements of Marx's ideas about contradiction and crisis formation more accessible to a general readership.
- Harvey, D. (2017) *Marx, Capital and the Madness of Economic Reason* (London: Profile Books). Harvey's latest offering and another attempt to distil Marx's argument in *Capital* into an accessible and relevant set of ideas and concepts for a general social science readership.
- Heinrich, M. (2012) *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press). Written by one of Germany's leading contemporary Marx scholars.
- Ollman, B. (2003) *Dance of the Dialectic: Steps in Marx's Method* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press). Ollman is considered to be an authority on Marx's method and of dialectical social science in general. This is an anthology of his 'greatest hits', as it were.

Ollman, B. and T. Smith (eds) (2008) *Dialectics for the New Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). A collection of short essays by leading international Marxist theorists on dialectical method.

Saad-Filho, A. (2002) *The Value of Marx: Political Economy for Contemporary Capitalism* (London: Routledge). A useful overview of Marx's work contextualised within key debates in classical political economy and which aims to show their contemporary relevance to the study of economics.

Saad-Filho, A. (ed.) (2002) *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto). This contains chapters written by leading Marxist scholars that address different elements in Marx's works as well as contemporary issues and themes from a Marxist perspective.

Smith, H. and M. Rupert (eds) (2002) *Historical Materialism and Globalization* (London: Routledge). Another collection of essays that engage various theories and theorists from the Marxist tradition with the question of globalisation.

Smith, N. (2008) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capitalism and the Production of Space*, 3rd edition (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press). This stands alongside Harvey's *Limits to Capital* as a keystone work in Marxist geography. Smith shows how capital transforms and subsumes nature and the environment to the point beyond which it inscribes exploitation and inequality into the very physical and social landscapes of the entire globe.

Smith, T. (2009) *Globalisation: A Systematic Marxist Account* (Chicago: Haymarket Books). This author critiques several strands of globalisation theory while offering a systematic Marxian corrective to them.

Other resources

David Harvey has his own website at which you can download his lecture courses on volumes 1 and 2 of Marx's *Capital* as podcasts. They amount to hours' worth of listening/viewing, but to do so (even for a few hours) is rewarding. His website also contains many of his recent lectures, presentations and interviews. See davidharvey.org.

Other Marxist/radical scholars and scholarly organisations with their own websites, and that regularly post publications, lectures and blog entries on contemporary global affairs, include:

antipodefoundation.org

costaslapavitsas2.blogspot.co.uk

cseweb.org.uk (Conference of Socialist Economists)

davidmcnally.org

historicalmaterialism.org

monthlyreview.org

oekonomiekritik.de (texts by M. Heinrich in English and German)

socialistregister.com

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You should of course endeavour to go beyond the minimum wherever possible and this handbook also gives you an extensive list of readings on each topic. The more you read and think about the tutorial before hand, the better the tutorial experience is going to be for you and for others. The bonus is that you will also be better prepared for your assessed essay. Building up your knowledge and understanding throughout the whole module programme is far more likely to produce a good final grade than leaving it all to the last minute.

Tutorial 1: Why Marxism?

THE TUTORIAL GUIDE

What is the purpose of tutorials?

School regulations state that attendance at all tutorials is compulsory. To reiterate: the best tutorials are undoubtedly those where most, preferably all, students participate in discussion. How good and useful that discussion is depends of course on how well prepared students are. In the remainder of this Handbook the 'required reading' for each tutorial refers to the minimum expected of you. **All required reading will be made available to you through Blackboard, and in good time for you to most effectively prepare.**

Individually, the tutorials should help you to consolidate your learning about a specific topic. You will have the opportunity to discuss your understanding of the issues with classmates and the convenor; to ask for further clarification and feedback on your understanding; to raise any problems or disagreements you have with the readings or your peers' interpretation of them; and to debate and discuss in a collegiate and supportive forum. If you attend all tutorials, and prepare and participate to the best of your ability, individual tutorials will become more interesting and rewarding as the programme goes on, since you will be able to identify recurrent themes and to exploit more effectively the knowledge base you acquire in the early weeks. This means that by the end of the tutorial programme you will be in a strong position to make a start planning and writing your assessed essay, which you will submit immediately after the winter break.

How should you use this Guide?

In the pages that follow, under each tutorial heading you will find a brief blurb summarising the topic and the learning aims for the tutorial in question. Along with the lecture, this should orient your reading and provide you with a general sense of what you should focus on in that week's readings; which aspects are the most important to try to fully understand; and what the main controversies, problems, or fuzzy areas might be.

You will then find a short list of two to three questions for discussion, followed by a list of two or more compulsory readings or Internet-based media resources. In preparing for the tutorial you should read and make notes of your responses to these questions, so that you may then

compose your '3-2-1' summary for the particular tutorial in question.

Immediately following these questions for each week, you will find an extended list of readings. While you are very much encouraged to make use of these texts as the module progresses, you are not expected to read these for the purpose of the tutorial. Rather, these are texts that will hopefully prove useful as you prepare your final assessed essay.

Tutorial 1

Why Marxism?

The first task of this tutorial is to introduce you to each other and the Convenor. The Convenor will also briefly reiterate the module's intended learning outcomes, your responsibilities for the coming weeks, and how the tutorials will be organised.

The rest of the tutorial will allow you to discuss and to raise questions about the introductory lecture. In this, the Convenor suggested that Marxism represents a unique and very different way of not only analysing international economics and politics, but of engaging in social science generally. He began to explain some of Marx's basic concepts, like value and capital, to illustrate the distinctiveness of Marx's approach to understanding not only capitalism but humans' relationships between themselves in general. The questions below are intended as a springboard for initial discussion of the basis for this claim. Note that we will return to discuss your original thoughts on these themes again toward the end of the module.

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you personally think is the most pressing question facing society, and social scientists, today?
2. Which of the social sciences do you think is best placed to answer this question and why?
3. Based on your understanding of the reading so far, how might one approach the question *as a Marxist*?

Required Reading

- Saad-Filho, A (2006) 'Value, Capital and Exploitation', A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).
- Swyngedouw, E. (2009) 'Dialectics: Dialectical Reasoning and Dialectical Materialism', in R. Kitchin and N. Thrift (eds), *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier).
- Ollman, B (2003) *Dance of the Dialectic: Steps in Marx's Method* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), chapter one.

Further reading

- Ankarloo, D. (2002) 'New institutional economics and economic history', *Capital & Class*, 26(3): 3-36.
- Barnes, T. (2006) 'Between Deduction and Dialectics: David Harvey on Knowledge', in N. Castree and D. Gregory (eds), *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Bonefeld, W. (2001) 'Kapital and its subtitle: A note on the meaning of critique', *Capital & Class*, 25(3): 53-63.

- Bonefeld, W. (2014) *Critical Theory and the Critique of Political Economy: On Subversion and Negative Reason* (London: Bloomsbury), chapter 2.
- Burnham, P. (1994) 'Open Marxism and Vulgar International Political Economy', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1, 2: 221-31.
- Cammack, P. (2013) 'Classical Marxism', in T. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds), *International Organization and Global Governance* (London: Routledge).
- Cammack, P. (2010) 'Knowledge Versus Power in the Field of IPE', in S. Shields, I. Bruff and H. Macartney (eds), *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Christophers, B. (2010) 'On Voodoo Economics: Theorising Relations of Property, Value and Contemporary Capitalism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35:1, 94-108.
- Clarke, S. (1982) *Marx, Marginalism and Modern Sociology* (London: Macmillan), chapter 4.
- Cleaver, H. (2000) *Reading Capital Politically*, 2nd edition (Leeds: Anti/Theses; Edinburgh: AK Press), introduction.
- Fine, B. and D. Milonakis (2011) "'Useless But True": Economic Crisis and the Peculiarities of Economic Science', *Historical Materialism*, 19, 2: 3-31.
- Harvey, D. (1972) 'Revolutionary and counter-revolutionary theory in geography and the problem of ghetto formation', *Antipode*, 4(2): 1-13; republished in *Social Justice and the City*, revised ed. (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press), chapter 4.
- Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell), chapter 2.
- Harvey, D. (2010) *A Companion to Marx's Capital* (London: Verso), introduction.
- Harvey, D. (2012) 'History versus Theory: A Commentary on Marx's Method in *Capital*', *Historical Materialism*, 20:2, 3-38.
- Heinrich, M. (2012) *An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Karl Marx's Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press), chapter 2.
- Meiksins Wood, E. (1995) *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), introduction.
- Milonakis, D. and B. Fine (2009) *From Political Economy to Economics: Method, the social and the historical in the evolution of economic theory* (Abingdon: Routledge), chapters 3 and 4.
- Murray, P. (1988) *Marx's Theory of Scientific Knowledge* (New York: Humanity Books).
- Ollman, B. (1976) *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ollman, B. and T. Smith (eds) (2008) *Dialectics for the New Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Sayer, D. (1979) *Marx's Method: Ideology, Science and Critique in 'Capital'* (Hassocks: Harvester Press).
- Stallybrass, P. (1998) 'Marx's Coat', in P. Spyer (ed.), *Border Fetishisms* (London: Routledge).
- Starosta, G. (2015) *Marx's Capital, Method and Emancipatory Subjectivity* (Leiden: Brill).
- Sohn-Rethel, A. (1978) *Intellectual and Manual Labour: A Critique of Epistemology* (London: Macmillan).

- Van der Pijl, K. (2011) 'The Wages of Discipline: Rethinking International Relations as a Vehicle of Western Hegemony', *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies*, 41, 1: 5-26.
- Weeks, J. F. (2014) *Economics of the 1%: How Mainstream Economics Serves the Rich, Obscures Reality and Distorts Policy* (London: Anthem Press).

Tutorial 2

The Circulation of Capital

The second lecture will introduce you to a schematic representation of the circulation of capital to which we will return time and again as the weeks go by:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{LP} \\
 \text{M}-\text{C} \qquad \dots \text{P} \dots \text{C}-\text{M} + \Delta \text{M} \\
 \text{MP}
 \end{array}$$

In this tutorial we will review the lecture, and in light of your reading, so as to consolidate your initial understanding of what this scheme represents, along with its constitutive concepts, such as money, labour-power, profit, and surplus-value. In particular, we will identify the pressure points at which the circulation of capital might be delayed or obstructed, and will begin to think through their implications.

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you understand by Marx's concept of 'value'?
2. What is 'capital'? How does Marx's conception of 'capital' differ from its 'common sense' meaning?
3. Are there any aspects of Harvey's ten core features of the circulation of capital which you don't understand or which you find difficult to come to terms with?
4. Why might the circulation and accumulation of capital be considered contradictory?

Required Reading

Charnock, G., T. Purcell and R. Ribera-Fumaz (2014) *The Limits to Capital in Spain: Crisis and Revolt in the European South* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), chapter 1. This reading might also be useful for week 3.

Harvey, D (1985) 'The geopolitics of capitalism', in D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds), *Social Relations and Spatial Structures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave). You need only concentrate your reading on pages 129-32 of this chapter, i.e. those that explain the ten core features of the circulation of capital. These are summarised in Box 1.1, on pages 14-15 of the first reading from Charnock et al. The Harvey chapter is also republished in Harvey, D. (2001) *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (London: Routledge).

Viewing

Harvey, D. 'Marx and Capital: The Concept, the Book, the History', first lecture, 30 September 2016, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MceeO4Ulr8>

Further reading

- Arthur, C. J. (2002) 'Capital, Competition and Many Capitals', in M. Campbell and G. Reuten (eds), *The Culmination of Capital: Essays on Volume III of Marx's Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Burkett, P. (2006) 'Capitalism, Nature and the Class Struggle', in A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).
- Burnham, P. (2002) 'Class struggle, states and global circuits of capital', in M. Rupert and H. Smith (eds), *Historical Materialism and Globalisation* (London: Routledge).
- Fine, B. (2006) 'Contesting Labour Markets', in A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).
- Fine, B. and A. Saad-Filho (2003) *Marx's Capital*. 4th ed. (London: Pluto).
- Clarke, S. (1990/1) 'The Marxist Theory of Overaccumulation and Crisis', *Science & Society*, 54, 4: 442-67.
- Clarke, S. (1994) *Marx's Theory of Crisis* (London: Macmillan).
- Guerrero, D. (2003) 'Capitalist Competition and the Distribution of Profits', in A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).
- Harvey, D. (2017) *Marx, Capital and the Madness of Economic Reason* (London: Profile Books), chapter 1.
- Levidow, L. (2006) 'Technological Change as Class Struggle', in A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).
- McNally, D. (2010) *Global Slump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis and Resistance* (Oakland: PM Press), chapter 3.
- Moseley, F. (2002) 'Hostile Brothers: Marx's theory of the distribution of surplus-value in Volume III of *Capital*', in M. Campbell and G. Reuten (eds), *The Culmination of Capital: Essays on Volume III of Marx's Capital* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Zarembka, P. (2006) 'Capital Accumulation and Crisis', in A. Saad-Filho (ed.), *Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction* (London: Pluto).

Tutorial 3

The 'Globalisation' of Capital

This week, we evaluate the following argument recently put forward by Paul Cammack:

... the best insight into the contemporary governance of the global economy are found in the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from the 1840s. This, I suggest, is because the world they envisaged – one in which capitalism is globally dominant – is only now becoming a reality; and because their unique focus on the orientation of governments and international organisations towards competitiveness in the world market captures the most powerful dynamic shaping global politics today (Cammack, 2013: 169).

We examine the substance of Cammack's argument in detail, focusing on the global consensus on competitiveness as the prime driver of policymaking at a variety of scales; the pivotal role of international organisations in fostering this consensus and in disciplining national governments and other social actors; and the logic of poverty reduction in the developing world.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you think Cammack is right to suggest that it is only today meaningful to talk about a capitalist world?
2. Visit the website of the World Bank, the IMF, the World Trade organisation or the OECD. Can you find any evidence of their activities that would support or, alternatively, contradict Cammack's insistence that such organisations are playing a pivotal role in the establishment of a genuinely competitive capitalist world market?
3. Why does Cammack take issue with the alleviation of global poverty?

Required Reading

Everyone should read:

Cammack, P (2013) 'Classical Marxism', in T. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds), *International Organization and Global Governance* (London: Routledge).

Then read **either**:

Cammack, P (2017) 'Capitalist Development in the Twenty-First Century: States and Global Competitiveness', in T. Carroll and D. Jarvis (eds), *Asia after the Developmental State: Disembedding Autonomy* (Cambridge: CUP).

Or:

Cammack, P (2009) 'The shape of capitalism to come', *ANTIPODE*, 41, S1, pp. 262-280.

Or:

Cammack, P (2015) 'Production and Social Reproduction in the Contemporary World Market: The Social Reproduction Complex', available via Blackboard.

Further Reading

- Bonefeld, W. (1995) 'Monetarism and Crisis', in W. Bonefeld and J. Holloway (eds) *Global Capital, National States and the Politics of Money* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Bonefeld, W. (2006) 'Human Progress and Capitalist Development', in A. Bieler, W. Bonefeld, P. Burnham and A. D. Morton (eds) (2006) *Global Restructuring, State, Capital and Labour* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Burkett, P. and M. Hart-Landsberg (2001) 'Crisis and Recovery in East Asia: The Limits of Capitalist Development', *Historical Materialism*, 8, 1: 3-48.
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Tutorial 4

Debating the State in Capitalism

Orthodox approaches to international relations and international political economy tend to see 'the international economy' in terms of the aggregation of the world's 190-something national economies. Moreover, and because of the Western provenance of such approaches, they tend to associate the development of international economic relations with the political and economic fortunes of the most advanced capitalist countries – particularly the United States. But what if we conceptualise the world along different, Marxian lines? John Holloway (1995) writes that 'the world is not an aggregation of national states, national capitalisms or national societies: rather the fractured existence of the political as national states decomposes the world into so many apparently autonomous units'. In other words, capitalism is global in content and national only in form, and the events and processes we looked at under the heading of 'globalisation' last week represent only the more recent history of a much longer-term process of the expansion and consolidation of a genuine *world* market.

In this tutorial, we begin to delve more deeply into the relation between capitalism as a necessarily global system of social reproduction and the 'autonomy' of national states. We consider the debate between Marxian scholars who argue that the state must be considered as a (political) *form* of capital, on the one hand, and those who argue that Marx's ideas and arguments offer only a limited means of understanding why national states appear to be very different and behave differently. As we will see, each approach carries with it very different notions of how to analyse politics and the state, as well as ideas about what is necessary to enact and achieve political change that we will consider as the course progresses.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why is capitalism necessarily a global system?
2. Why does capitalism need the state?
3. In what ways might national states' economic policy-making be dependent upon or restricted by the dynamics of global capital?

Required Reading

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Tutorial 5

Debating Capital and the 'Class of 2019', Part I: Production and Work

In our own daily lives, we consume a variety of products and services. All of these goods have to be produced somewhere by someone. The UK is often said to be a 'post-industrial' society, and it is likely that much of the food you eat, clothes you wear, and the technologies you utilise have been produced elsewhere in a complex and variegated system of production spanning multiple locations across the globe. This session considers the extent to which capitalism underwent a 'global shift' from the 1970s onwards, characterised by the spatial optimisation of production and profit opportunities driven by foreign direct investment and the expansion of inter-firm alliances and joint ventures. In particular, the impact of so-called 'post-Fordist' forms of manufacturing and the roles of transnational corporations (TNCs) and labour will be scrutinised, and from the perspective of Marx's critique of political economy. By the end of the seminar, you will be aware of the most important consequences of changing patterns of production, such as the emergence of a New International Division of Labour on the back of global production networks, and the tensions this has provoked in regional and local labour markets – including those you may well be looking to enter after graduation. We also consider the impact of the so-called 'fourth industrial revolution' on production, work and therefore quality of life in the coming years ahead.

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you understand by the term 'new international division of labour' (NIDL)?
2. How might a Marxist explain the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial society in a country like the UK?
3. What is the role of developing countries in this NIDL?
4. From a Marxian perspective, how might capital be reshaping production and work in such a way that work (and incomes, careers, quality of life, etc) for your generation might differ significantly from those of your parents' or grandparents' generation?

Required Reading

Starosta, G. (2016) 'Revisiting the New International Division of Labour thesis', in G.Charnock and G. Starosta (eds), *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Glyn, A. (2006) *Capitalism Unleashed: Finance, Globalization, and Welfare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), chapter 5.

Then read *either*:

Schwab, K. (2016) *The Fourth Industrial Revolution* (Geneva: World Economic Forum), chapter 3;
or:

Friedman, G. (2014) 'Workers without employers: shadow corporations and the rise of the gig economy', *Review of Keynesian Economics*, 2(2): 171-188.

Further Reading

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Tutorial 6

Debating Capital and the 'Class of 2019', Part II: Money and Debt

Money will no doubt figure prominently in the key decisions you make in your own life. As an undergraduate student, for example, how are you paying for your education? Do you worry about getting value for your money – will university be worth it? Do you worry about getting a (well-paid) job after graduating? Do you worry about being in debt from a relatively early age? How much of your current lifestyle is dependent on access to cash or credit that you can't guarantee beyond the short term? Will this always be the case or will your relationship with money change over time? Will you enjoy more or less financial security the older you get? Will you have to work abroad to command a higher salary in the future? Are you worried about the so-called 'ticking time-bomb' of the pensions crisis? Have you thought about whether you will ever afford to stop working? When do you think is realistic retirement age: 65, 70 ... older still?

There are many more social questions posed by money. What should people do if inflation means that the price of basic goods like food and clothing rises steadily in the space of just a few years while incomes remain frozen (the average US household hasn't seen a real wage increase since the late 1970s)? Do you think it is prudent that people spend today only the money they can afford to spend today? Or should people, and indeed governments, borrow today in anticipation of better times and the ability to pay back tomorrow? Is debt a 'fact of life'? And, more topically, is it right that some people amass huge wealth while others (even living in close geographical proximity) struggle to make ends meet? In times of debt crises, for example, should bankers be paid huge bonuses while austerity policies impose cuts in social welfare?

This week we ask, 'what is money'? What is its function in capitalism? Has this function changed over time? How does money enter the relation between people and political institutions? We explore a Marxian understanding of the more concrete and contemporary relationships between us, our governments, and the increasingly 'neoliberalised' and 'financialised' economy.

Required Reading

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Roberts, A. (2016) 'Household Debt and the Financialization of Social Reproduction: Theorizing the UK Housing and Hunger Crises', in S. Soederberg (ed.), *Risking Capitalism* (Research in Political Economy, Volume 31), (London: Emerald): 135-164.

Soederberg, S. (2014) *Debtfare States and the Poverty Industry: Money, Discipline and the Surplus Population* (London: Routledge), chapter 3.

Watch

'Susanne Soederberg, author of *Debtfare States and the Poverty Industry*, on the Debt Crisis', 15 May 2014, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mn3dgcHZFys>

'Profits without Prosperity', *Harvard Business Review*, at <https://hbr.org/2014/09/profits-without-prosperity>

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Tutorial 7

Debating the Crisis and its Aftermath

The last global cycle of capital accumulation and growth lasted some fourteen to fifteen years. It encompassed the creation of the EMU as an ill-fated supranational policy response to the previous cycles of crisis and intensifying global competition. It ended with the collapse of high-profile investment banks in the US, in 2007, the onset of the longest and most destructive global recession since the 1930s, and a crisis of 'European integration'. It had been punctuated by several partial crises, affecting specific sectors, countries and regions of the world. One example was the 'dotcom crisis' of 2000. That crisis provoked flight from stock markets as investors searched for a 'safe haven' in which to invest, resulting in 'hyper-speculation' in the home mortgage market. By 2005, leveraging in the US banking system had reached debt-deposit ratios of 30:1. When the US housing bubble burst in August 2007 – the first sign being the so-called 'subprime' mortgage crisis – de-leveraging in the US banking sector sparked huge defaults and the state-coordinated bailouts of investment banks that were previously considered 'too big to fail'. This heralded a profound global crisis of overaccumulation and a 'great recession' from which – eight years on – much of the world is yet to fully recover.

This week, we examine various Marxist explanations of the roots of the crisis and of the ways in which states have sought to manage the crisis through such means as banking bailouts and the imposition of social austerity. We ask whether Marxists have a more convincing explanation of the crisis, and its management, than more orthodox accounts.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you think a Marxist analysis can persuasively explain the onset of crisis and recession in 2007-8?
2. Can Marxism usefully explain the actions of governments – particularly those within the European Union – in their attempts to deal with recession since 2008?

Required Reading/Viewing/Listening

Burnham, P (2010) 'Class, Capital and Crisis: A Return to Fundamentals', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 8: 27-39.

'Crises of Capitalism', RSA Animate of abridged lecture by David Harvey, at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOP2V_np2c0 (Full lecture (without animation) available at <http://www.thersa.org/events/video/archive/david-harvey-the-crises-of-capitalism>)

'Global Slump and the New Normal', Interview with David McNally, *Blacksheep: A Socialist Podcast*, 20 May 2014, at <http://blacksheepodcast.org/2014/05/20/023-pt-1-global-slump-the-new-normal-interview-with-david-mcnally/>

'The 2008 Financial Crisis: Explaining the Start', Wall Street Journal, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkl8na9gE8>

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Tutorial 8

Debating Resistance, Struggle and Revolt

Werner Bonefeld (2012) writes that:

The struggle against austerity is a struggle for the basic provision of human needs: housing, food, heating, clothing, and also for the time of affection and love. It is a struggle for existence. This struggle can be expressed in all sorts of different forms, including communism and socialism, and also nationalism and barbarism. The political left has no monopoly on the forms that progress takes. Progress is not a given. It has to be fought for.

This conceptualisation of 'struggle' is rather different from that usually attributed to Marxism, in which 'workers' – usually organised in and around the factory – are considered to be privileged subjects in the fight against 'capitalist exploitation'. Moreover, it suggests that 'struggle' may not always take a progressive, socially benign form.

This week, we ask whether Marxism best sheds light upon resistance to neoliberalism, globalisation and austerity in times of crisis. Are such struggles necessarily *class* struggles? Does it make sense to talk of anti-capitalist revolt when many people campaigning for democracy and social rights today do not self-identify as being either 'working class' or 'Marxist'? And does revolt necessarily pave the way to a better tomorrow for everyone?

Questions for Discussion

1. How useful is 'class' when trying to make sense of contemporary forms of resistance and revolt?
2. Do you think that Marxist scholarship must necessarily be feminist at the same time?
3. Can you find an example of a contemporary social movement that is obviously engaged in class struggle, or, otherwise, another that is obviously not concerned with capitalism or class but perhaps ought to be?

Required Reading

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Roediger, D. (2017) 'Introduction: Thinking through Race and Class in Hard Times', in *Class, Race and Marxism* (London: Verso).

Further Reading

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- Holloway, J. (2002) *Change the World Without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today* (London: Pluto Press).
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- Iñigo Carrera, J. (2006) 'Argentina: The Reproduction of Capital Accumulation through Political Crisis', *Historical Materialism*, 14, 1: 185-219.
- McNally, D. (2012) 'Slump, Austerity and Resistance', in *Socialist Register 2012: The Crisis and the Left* (London: Merlin Press).
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- Tepe-Belfrage, D. and J. Steans (2016) 'The new materialism: Re-claiming a debate from a feminist perspective', *Capital & Class*, 40(2), 305-326.
- Tilley L and R Shilliam (2017) 'Raced Markets: An Introduction', *New Political Economy*, 23: 534-543.

Tutorial 9

Debating 'Post-Capitalism'

What would a world beyond capitalism look like? And how might we get there? In recent years, and in light of the devastation caused by the last cycle of crisis and austerity, there has been something of a resurgence in debating alternatives to capitalism. For some, the old models remain valid: the class-conscious proletariat, led by its vanguard representatives, should seize power and implement new models of economic management. Others are more sceptical: political power is itself part of the problem, and we need to create the space for more imaginative, experimental and ludic forms of social reproduction and democracy. Others see emergent digital technologies and forms of collaborative economic relations that are already existent in capitalism as portending an inevitable transition from capitalism to a post-capitalist society – all that is needed is to push capital into the abyss it is already peering into, and to embrace the full potential of a networked, creative society that simply does not need capital in order to thrive. This week we debate several visions of 'post-capitalism'.

Required Reading

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Further Reading

- Balch, O. (2013) 'Buen vivir: the social philosophy inspiring movements in South America', *The Guardian*, 4 February, at <https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/blog/buen-vivir-philosophy-south-america-eduardo-gudynas>
- Bauwens, M. and V. Kostakis (2016) 'Towards a Commons-Centric Society: A Manifesto for Post-Capitalist Transition', working paper, Degrowth Study Group, Autonomous University of Barcelona, September.
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- Moulier Boutang, Y. (2011) *Cognitive Capitalism* (London: Polity Press).
- Pitts, F. H. (2016) 'A crisis of measurability? Critiquing post-operaismo on labour, value and basic income', *Capital & Class*.
- Srnicek, N. and A. Williams (2015) *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work* (London: Verso).
- Vercellone, C. et al. (2014) 'Theoretical Framework on Future Knowledge-Based Economy', D-Cent, 28 March, at <https://dcentproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/D3.1.pdf>
- Weeks, K. (2011) *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Tutorial 10

Why not Marxism?

We round up the module by reflecting on the overall validity and relevance of Marxism. In addition to identifying various weaknesses specific to the ideas and arguments we've encountered in previous weeks, we also examine criticisms that strike at the very foundations of Marxism and the critique of political economy. We ask whether the Marxian critique of political economy is guilty of economism and productivism, and whether Marxist theorising and analysis are innately masculinist and Eurocentric endeavours.

Questions for Discussion

1. Be prepared to outline what you think are the key elements of a critique of Marxism. Feel free to draw upon neo-classical economics, constructivism (including post-structuralist approaches), feminism, post-colonial theory, or competing variants of historical materialist or critical social theory.
2. With reference to your answer to question 1 in Tutorial 1, how convinced are you that Marxism is able to comprehend the most pressing problems facing social science today?

Required Reading

De Goede, M. (2003) 'Beyond economism in international political economy', *Review of International Studies*, 29, 1: 79-97.

Further reading

Anderson, K. B. (2010) *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Bellamy Foster, J. (2000) *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature* (New York: Monthly Review Press).

Chibber, V. (2014) 'Capitalism and Universalism: Escaping the cul-de-sac of postcolonial theory', in *Socialist Register 2014: Registering Class* (London: Merlin Press).

Christophers, B. (2014) 'From Marx to market and back again: Performing the economy', *Geoforum*, 57: 12-20.

Doel, M. (2006) 'Dialectical Materialism: Stranger than Fiction', in N. Castree and D. Gregory (eds), *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell).

Drucker, P. (2011) 'The Fracturing of LGBT Identities under Neoliberal Capitalism', *Historical Materialism*, 19, 4: 3-32.

Hartsock, N. (2008) 'Marxist Feminist Dialectics for the Twenty-First Century', in B. Ollman and T. Smith (eds), *Dialectics for the New Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

Hensman, R. (2011) 'Revisiting the Domestic-Labour Debate: An Indian Perspective', *Historical Materialism*, 19, 3: 3-28.

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- Peterson, V. S. (2005) 'How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Economy', *New Political Economy* 10, 4: 499-521.
- Sayer, S. (2007) 'The Concept of Labor: On Marx and his Critics', *Science & Society*, 71, 4: 431-451.
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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI32041 CONTEMPORARY PARLIAMENTARY STUDIES****Semester: 1****Credits: 20**

Lecturer(s): Dr Louise Thompson (Convenor)
Room: 4.003
Telephone: tbc – check blackboard for an update on this.
Email: louise.thompson-4@manchester.ac.uk

Office Hours: Wednesdays 10:30-12:00; Fridays 11:00-12:00

Lectures/ Tutorials Combined:

University Place 6.210	Friday	14.00-17.00

Assessment:

Assessment 1 (30%) – A 1000 word blog post on a current issue related to parliament.
 Deadline – 2PM Monday 29th October 2018.

Assessment 2 (70%) – A 4000 word essay selected from a list of question related to the course.
 Deadline – 2PM Monday 14th January 2019

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*****

First Assessment (Blog) Hand-in Date: 2pm – Monday 29th October 2018

Second Assessment (Essay) Hand-in-Date: 2pm – Monday 14th January 2019.

Day Visit to Westminster: Wednesday 14th 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



Introduction

The Palace of Westminster is one of the most photographed buildings in the world, visited by over 1 million people every year. But it is more than just a prominent tourist attraction – it is the core of the UK's political system; the building in which a deep history and culture combine (and sometimes clash) with the work of modern legislators and government. It is both the symbol of a stable state and a theatre in which ideologies clash and measures of public policy are debated.

This module offers an introduction to the UK Parliament, focusing on key questions such as: what does Parliament do? How effectively does it exercise its functions? And what is its relevance in twenty-first century Britain? Focusing on key themes of law-making, scrutiny and representation, the module offers a theoretically informed approach to the understanding of the UK Parliament and its relationship with both the executive and the wider public. You will be introduced to key theoretical debates such as the British Political Tradition and the Parliamentary Decline Thesis (PDT), as well as the mechanics of the legislative process, the committee system and question time.

Throughout the module we will draw on contemporary case studies showing all aspects of parliamentary life. Students will be encouraged to carry out independent research using parliamentary resources (including but not limited to: Hansard, committee reports and sessional information/statistics).

The module is organised in conjunction with the UK Parliament's outreach service, who will arrange for some guest speakers to visit our class and provide first-hand practitioner accounts of Parliament's work. One of the highlights of the module will be a class fieldtrip to the Houses of Parliament. Here we will have the opportunity to tour the building, hear from invited speakers and observe the two Houses in action.

Learning Objectives

The objectives of the course unit are:

- To develop a critical understanding of Parliament through the theoretical framework of the British Political Tradition and the Parliamentary State

- Apply this conceptual framework to explore how the contemporary UK Parliament works in practice.
- Situate this approach within a wider comparative and analytical literature on parliamentary institutions
- To develop awareness of contemporary issues and themes of parliamentary politics including legitimacy, diversity and representation, executive power and media relations.
- In so doing, encourage students to think analytically about the nature of the contemporary British political system.
- To develop an understanding of major political events and how they have affected the evolution of the British state.
- To develop skills of argument and analysis within a small, discussion group environment.

Learning Outcomes

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

- demonstrate knowledge of the structures, procedures and roles of key actors within the UK Parliament state
- critically appraise empirical studies of legislative behaviour both quantitatively and qualitatively
- critically appraise academic and journalistic accounts of legislative behaviour and the capacity of the legislature to hold the executive to account
- apply conceptual tools such as executive mentality, party loyalty and institutional culture
- demonstrate appropriate cognitive, communication and transferrable skills including making effective oral and written presentations, utilising specialist primary and secondary resources and having a critical awareness of these material, so deepening the capacity for independent learning.

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 (5 hours of reading and preparation for each of 10 substantive seminars plus 10 extra hours to prepare 2 seminar reports)
- 60 hours to research and write the essay
- 50 hours for exam revision

For guidance on study techniques see the [Undergraduate Handbook](#).

Teaching and Learning

The course comprises of 10 three hour sessions. There will be some weekly variation in the way these three hour sessions are organised, depending for example on whether there are external speakers from Parliament or guest speakers involved in delivering particular sessions – outlined below. The nature of the class may vary according to topic but it is likely that over the course of the module you will see a mix of short lectures as well as seminars which incorporate small group work, role-plays and debates. All students will be expected to have completed the required reading and to be actively following parliament through a mix of relevant news reports, TV and radio shows, Parliament TV, blogs, twitter and other online parliamentary resources.

Lectures/Seminar timetable

The lectures will take place on **Fridays 14.00-15.00 in University Place 6.210.**

Please note that our start and finish time may vary slightly on some weeks, due to the availability of the guest speaker (and potentially any delays in their train journey to Manchester!). I will do my best to inform you of any changes with as much notice as possible.

Lecture slides will be made available on Blackboard after the lecture (accessed through My Manchester).

Seminars/Workshops

A seminar or workshop is normally a small group meeting where you reflect upon and discuss an aspect from the course. You are **required to attend, prepare for** (about 5 hours of reading for each seminar) and **fully participate** in seminars. Successful seminars depend upon informed student participation. You **must read** the Essential Readings set by your seminar tutor each week.

Seminar attendance is compulsory. You are expected to make every effort to attend all seminars on this course: attendance at seminars is recorded and non-attendance will be reported to your degree programme. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a seminar, you should contact your tutor. If you are unable to do this, you should explain your absence as soon as possible. You should not wait to be contacted by tutors for non-attendance. Unexcused absences can lead to an unsatisfactory report at the end of the course that could adversely affect future job references. Finally, unexcused absences could lead to you being denied an opportunity to re-sit a failed examination or even to you being excluded from this course or from a degree programme or the university.

Day Visit to Westminster: Wednesday 14th November 2018

We have organised a visit to Westminster that will include free travel between Manchester and London. We should be able to accommodate all students who wish to attend but please let me know **as soon as possible if you are unable to attend.**

Advice and Feedback

Students can receive advice and feedback on their assessed work throughout the module. Lecturers and seminar tutors have dedicated feedback and advice hours each week, and are also available for meetings by appointment. Module leaders and seminar tutors can provide support and information concerning:

- The preparation of assessed work
- Progress on continuous assessment
- Essay plans
- The written comments on assessment sheets
- Ways to improve essays
- Module Evaluation

Academic support: If you are having difficulty in this course due to language problems, time management issues, or any other issues not related to the materials in the course, the University has a range of resources to support you. Please see the [Language Centre](#) for further information. Other University policies: relevant documents can be found here: [Policies](#). Complaints: If you have queries or complaints about the course unit, you should in the first instance address them to the tutor responsible for your seminar group. If you are not satisfied, you should then address them to the Undergraduate Office for politics. If the Office cannot address your concerns then the Course Convenor will try to do so. If you remain dissatisfied, we will advise you of procedures for taking matters further.

Assessments:

Assessment on this module will come in 2 parts;

Assessment 1 (30% of the overall mark) – One 1000 word blog on a contemporary issue related to the UK Parliament. Submission Deadline – 2PM Monday 29th October 2018.

This assessment requires you to;

- Identify a relevant contemporary debate or topic related to the UK Parliament.
- Briefly reflect and outline the core content of the issue.
- The blog should argue a clear argument which is developed throughout.
- It should show an awareness of the different perspectives and positions that are related to the issue.
- The blog must be analytical – simply describing the issue and the perspectives connected to it is not sufficient, you must develop a clear line of argument.
- Try to link to other relevant online material using hyperlinks where possible.

Keep an eye on the assessment section of the Blackboard site .You are encouraged to develop your own topic areas for your blog based on the course content. I am happy to offer advice on this and to help you choose a suitable topic. I will also upload a short guide on how to write a blog on the assessment section of Blackboard. If you are looking for inspiration, look through examples of blogs on the *policy@manchester* site. Other sites that may contain blogs on Parliamentary issues include the *PSA Parliaments* blog, the *Constitution Unit* blog, *Democratic Audit* and the LSE's *British Policy and Politics* blogs.

Assessment 2 (70% of your overall mark): One 4500 word essay on a question related to the course content. Submission Deadline – 2PM Monday 14th January 2018

Essay Questions:

1. Is the UK Parliament an 'active' legislature?
2. Does the Liaison Committee hold the Prime Minister to account?
3. Can MPs change the law?
4. Does the executive dominate parliament?
5. Are select committees powerful watchdogs over Government?
6. Is the House of Lords in need of reform?
7. Is the Parliamentary Decline Thesis (PDT) still valid?
8. What is the point of Prime Minister's Question Time?
9. Can Plaid Cymru make an impact in the House of Commons?
10. How has Britain's withdrawal from the EU affected the role and/or power of Parliament?

Referencing: You must reference appropriately and provide a Bibliography. If you do not provide a Bibliography and do not reference appropriately in your essay, you will be penalized by the deduction of marks. Please see the Standard [Part 2 Course Guide](#) for the policy on Bibliography and referencing as well as advice on good practice.

Submission:

You must also submit a copy ONLINE via Blackboard for plagiarism checking. All students must submit an electronic copy of their essay via Blackboard – if students fail to submit an electronic version we will consider them to have not submitted the essay.

Deadlines –

First Assessment (Blog) Hand-in Date: 2pm – Monday 29th October 2018

Second Assessment (Essay) Hand-in-Date: 2pm – Monday 14th January 2019.

LATE SUBMISSION OF COURSEWORK:

1. Definition of late submission: Any work that has been submitted after a deadline has passed is classed as late except in cases where an extension has already been agreed. 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 relates to first attempts only. Students who submit referral (resit) assignments after the deadline will be automatically subject to a mark of zero. There is no sliding scale in operations for resits/referrals.

2. Timing of penalties for late submission: There will be no calculations made for part-days. Any work submitted at any time within the first 24 hours following the published submission deadline will receive a penalty of 10 marks. Any work submitted at any time between 24 hours and up to 48 hours late will receive a deduction of 20 marks, and so on, at the rate of an additional 10 marks deducted per day/24 hours, up to 5 days. Late work submitted after 5 days will receive a mark of zero.

The Policy relates to calendar days, so includes weekends and weekdays. If an assessment deadline is at 2.00 pm on a Friday and the student submits it just before 2.00 pm on the following Monday, their penalty will be a 30 mark deduction, based on being late by three days/72 hours.

All submission deadlines are UK time.

Exceptions: In some cases, it may not be appropriate for students to hand in work late, and therefore a mark of zero will be awarded. Examples may include assessments that are marked as pass/fail rather than being awarded a specific mark; multiple choice questions; discussion boards and student presentations in seminars, etc., i.e. cases where assessment is instant and cannot be revisited later.

3. Consideration of the nature of assessment : In cases where a piece of work does not represent an entire assessment or unit, the penalty applies to the individual piece of work, not the total assessment or unit.

If a piece of work is not marked out of 100, the deduction per day is proportional to that for work marked out of 100. For example, for a piece of work marked out of 60, the deduction would be 6 marks per day/24 hours. After five days late, the mark would reduce to 0. The reduction is therefore 10% of the total assessment value, rather than 10% of the mark awarded.

See Table 1 below

Number of Days/Hours Late	Marks deducted (for work marked out of 100)	Marks deducted (for work marked out of 60)
1 (up to 24 hours after assessment deadline)	10	6
2 (more than 24 hours and up to 48 hours after the deadline)	20	12
3 (more than 48 hours and up to 72 hours after the deadline)	30	18
4 (more than 72 hours and up to 96 hours after the deadline)	40	24
5 (more than 96 hours and up to 120 hours after the deadline)	50	30
More than 5 days/120 hours after the deadline	100 (mark of zero awarded)	60 (mark of zero awarded)

Table 1: The deduction of marks for each day late relating to a piece of coursework/dissertation, either marked out of 100 or, as a further example, marked out of 60.

4. Implications of penalties for late submission:

i. Students whose assignment mark falls below a pass as a result of a late penalty, within the 5 day timeframe, will not be asked to resit the assignment.

- If a student's original mark before the application of the penalty was a pass, the mark recorded will not fall below the minimum compensatable pass mark for the programme.

Therefore, for *Undergraduate programmes* with a minimum compensatable pass mark of 30:

- UG marks after the penalty of between 31 and 39 are recorded as 31-39R. (Marks in the compensation zone after the application of the penalty are not capped but retain the mark after the penalty, with an 'R' suffix to signify that the mark is counted as a resit attempt, within the credit allowance for referrals.)
- UG marks that were pass marks before the penalty but that after the penalty fell to 30 or below are recorded as 30R (i.e. the minimum compensatable pass mark).

ii. When a piece of assessed work is more than 5 days late, the student is deemed to have failed through non-submission and receives a mark of zero with no credit. Any referral/resit that is required as a result does not have to necessarily take the form of the original assessment.

iii. Final year UG students with capped marks/marks of zero for assessments, due to late submission penalties, will still be eligible for Special Compensation if they have failed other units (see section J of the Undergraduate Degree Regulations).

5. Feedback in relation to work submitted late.

Work submitted within five days of the deadline will be marked and feedback provided; the feedback should reflect the mark achieved before the penalty was imposed. If a student submits work more than five days late, there is not a requirement for the work to be marked or feedback provided. This will be at the discretion of the marker.

Extensions: If external interference with your academic studies prevents you from meeting the submission deadline, you should apply for an extension. Extensions to the essay deadline will only be granted in exceptional circumstances. Please note that all applications for extensions should be submitted to the Undergraduate Office. The Standard [Part 2 Politics Course Guide](#) (available on the Politics website) provides information about the criteria and procedure for granting extensions.

Plagiarism: Students should follow good academic practice. See the Standard [Part 2 Politics Course Guide](#) and also your programme handbooks for the university's policy on plagiarism and also for advice on referencing and constructing a Bibliography. You can avoid plagiarism by learning to reference correctly: we will discuss how to do this in seminars. We use Turnitin software to check students' work for all forms of plagiarism and copying. Students will be called in to meet with the tutor and/or course convenor if the software reports an unacceptable level of similarity with other published work, including internet sources. All students must submit an electronic copy of their essay via Blackboard - if students fail to submit BOTH paper and electronic versions we will consider them to have not submitted the essay at all.

TIMETABLE

Sessions:Location: University Place 6.210			
Date	Title	Lecture	Speaker?
28 September	Introduction to Parliament and to the module	LT	
5 October	The parliamentary state, the British Political Tradition and the Parliamentary Decline Thesis	LT	
12 October	Holding Government to Account: PMQs and PQs	LT	Tom Hamilton (Author, Punch and Judy Politics)
19 October	Holding Government to Account: Select Committees	LT	Adam Mellows-Facer (Director of Research Services, House of Commons)
26 October	Making the Law: Scrutinising Legislation	LT	
2 November	*READING WEEK – NO CLASSES*		
9 November	Making the Law: Private Members' Bills	LT	Fergus Reid (PMB clerk)
16 November	Representation: MPs and their constituents	LT	
23 November	Representation: The House of Lords	LT	Nick Besly (House of Lords Clerk)
30 November	Representation: Parliament and Political Parties	LT	
7 December	UK Parliament and the Future	LT	Elin Jones (former WAC clerk and now Brexit Liaison Officer)
14 December	Conclusion/ Essays	LT	

Technical/Descriptive Reading:

The course is concerned with the contemporary UK Parliament and where possible this is reflected in the reading lists below. However, it is always useful to supplement the very latest reading and research on Parliament with a broader, historical overview. It is also essential to locate the contemporary work of the institution within a broader theoretical and conceptual framework.

Core Reading

The key text we will use during the course is:

- C Leston-Bandeira and L Thompson eds. (2018) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP.

For an introductory guide to the work of MPs the following book is fantastic (and a really good, short read!):

- E Crewe (2015) *The House of Commons; An Anthropology of MPs at Work*, London: Bloomsbury.

For more detail about how parliament works as well as its rules and procedures, please go to one of the following:

- P. Norton (2013) *Parliament in British Politics* [2nd edn] Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Rogers, R & Walters, R, (2015) *How Parliament Works*, [7th edn] London: Routledge
- Evans, P (2012) *DODS Handbook of House of Commons Procedure* [8th edn]

Useful online resources:

See the blackboard site for a full list of resources, but in particular I would note the following:

UK Parliament website: <http://www.parliament.uk/>

Parliament's website is a real treasure trove, full not only of records of parliamentary debates, reports and other material, but it has an amazing team of researchers who put together briefing papers on a very wide range of topics. Useful sections of the website include:

- **Lists of MPs and Peers:** <https://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/>
- **Hansard:** <https://hansard.parliament.uk/>
- **How Parliament Works pages** - <http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/>
- **Parliamentary Research Papers** [House of Commons Library/House of Lords Library] - <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/>
- **Select Committees** (see evidence sessions, reports and written evidence in particular)- <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/>
- **Parliament TV::** <https://parliamentlive.tv/Commons>

Other online material which may be useful includes:

- The **Political Studies Association's Parliaments and Legislatures Specialist Group** has a very useful website – with numerous links to relevant resources for this course, as well as a super blog: <https://parliamentsandlegislatures.wordpress.com/>
- **Records of MPs' activities** - <http://www.theyworkforyou.com> (be wary about relying too heavily on the statistics here though!)
- **History of Parliament Trust** - <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/>

TV/Radio

You are advised to set aside some time during the course to explore Parliament's website, which we will use extensively throughout the semester. The website contains substantial introductory information about parliament, which you should examine and learn, particularly if you have had little or no exposure to parliament in the past. Alongside this it will be useful to keep up to date with what is happening in parliament. To do this you may like to watch or listen to some of the following:

- **Parliament TV** - <http://www.parliamentlive.tv/Main/Home.aspx>
- **Today in Parliament/ Week in Westminster** [Radio 4] - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006s624>
- **Analysis** [Radio 4] - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006r4vz>
- **Pienaar's Politics** [Radio 5] - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00tl965>
- **Mark D'Arcy's blog** (particularly the 'Week Ahead' series): <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/correspondents/markdarcy>

Social Media:

Several of the teaching team in British Politics at Manchester have Twitter Accounts which they regularly use to offer running commentaries on events/issues related to the course. You are welcome to follow them@:

- **Mancehster Policy Blog:** @PoliBlogManc - <https://twitter.com/PoliBlogManc>
- **Francesca Gains:** @FrancescaGains - <https://twitter.com/FrancescaGains>
- **Andrew Westwood:** @AndyWWestwood - <https://twitter.com/andywwestwood>
- **Dave Richards:** @po1dr - <https://twitter.com/po1dr>
- **Maria Sobolewska:** @smthgsmthg <https://twitter.com/smethgsmthg>
- **Rob Ford:** @RobFordMancs - <https://twitter.com/robfordmancs>
- **Louise Thompson:** @louisevthompson - <https://twitter.com/LouiseVThompson>

Selection of other useful Twitter Accounts:

- **Parliament Outreach:** @UKParlOutreach - <https://twitter.com/UKParlOutreach>
- **UK Parliament:** @UKParliament - <https://twitter.com/UKParliament>
- **House of Commons:** @HouseofCommons - <https://twitter.com/HouseofCommons>
- **House of Lords** - @UKHouseofLords - <https://twitter.com/UKHouseofLords>
- **Parliament Live TV** - @ParliamentLive - <https://twitter.com/ParliamentLive>
- **BBC Parliament Democracy Live** - @BBCdemlive - <https://twitter.com/bbcdemlive>
- **ParlyApp** - @parlyapp - <https://twitter.com/parlyapp>
- **Commons Library** - @CommonsLibrary - <https://twitter.com/commonslibrary>

****Please note also that most parliamentary committees have twitter accounts****

Blogs:

Below are a selection of blogs on Westminster, Whitehall and British Politics more generally:

- **Manchester Policy blogs** - <http://blog.policy.manchester.ac.uk/>
- **Whitehall Watch** – <http://blog.policy.manchester.ac.uk/category/whitehallwatch/>
- **British Politics and Policy** - <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/>
- **Democratic Audit** - <http://www.democraticaudit.com/>
- **Ballots and Bullets** - <http://nottspolitics.org/>
- **Parliamentary Revolts** - <http://revolts.co.uk/>

- **UK Women & Politics Specialist Group** - <http://psawomenpolitics.wordpress.com/>
- **Lords of the Blog** - <http://lordsoftheblog.net/>
- **Rafael Behr Inside Westminster** - <http://www.newstatesman.com/rafael-behr>
- **The Coffee House** - <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/>
- **The Constitution Unit** – <http://constitution-unit.com/>
- **Political Insight [PSA Blog]** - <http://www.psa.ac.uk/insight-plus/blog>
- **The Future of the UK and Scotland** - <http://www.futureukandscotland.ac.uk/>
- **Institute for Government** - <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/>

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> This module is offered in association with the Parliamentary Outreach Team

and is designed to be of particular value to those students considering a career in politics.

Pre-Course Preparation:

If you are looking for a fairly relaxed introduction to the UK Parliament, it's a great idea to watch Michael Cockerill's 4-Part BBC Documentary '*Inside the Commons*'. The series offers an important background to the themes we will be exploring throughout the course and will be really useful to watch it at the outset of this module. It is also listed by some weeks as seminar preparation/watching and we may watch a few short clips from the series in class. If you enjoy this you may also like to watch '*Meet the Lords*'.

The programmes can be accessed here:

Programme 1 – 'Lifting the Lid' http://bobnational.net/record/274262/media_id/274912

Programme 2 – 'Upstairs Downstairs'

http://bobnational.net/record/273996/media_id/276108

Programme 3 – 'Party Games' http://bobnational.net/record/275572/media_id/277735

Programme 4 – 'Reinventing the House'

http://bobnational.net/record/277268/media_id/279429

Week 1. Introduction to the Course and Parliamentary Institutions in the UK

This is an introductory session in which we will discuss our initial impressions and knowledge about the UK Parliament and discuss the topics being studied over the course of the module. We will complete some simple challenges in small groups and use these to discuss wider issues about the role of the UK Parliament and its key challenges. This session is a useful foundation for the following week. We may wish to consider the central normative role played by Parliament within the British Political Tradition (acting formally to progress legislation and scrutinise the work of government). In assessing how far and when these normative expectations are met, it is key to have a greater understanding of Parliamentary institutions both empirically and analytically to consider the contribution of Parliament to the policy-making process in Whitehall and throughout the British political system. We can use an *empirical* focus on the core functions of the UK Parliament, and utilise a new institutional *analysis* to assess these functions. We can draw on the research being conducted here in Manchester on [understanding institutional change](#) in the UK Parliament. Initially the session will introduce core ideas from the new institutional literature and set out how those ideas have informed the analysis of parliamentary institutions.

Seminar Questions:

- What do you know about the UK Parliament? Have you visited? What impression do you think the institution makes on visitors?
- What role does Parliament perform? How has this changed over time?
- What do parliamentarians do?
- Which institutions/features of the UK Parliament are most important for its day to day functioning?
- What is the most important innovation in parliamentary practice to have occurred in recent years, and can how various proposals for parliamentary modernisation and reform be assessed?
- When are Parliamentary institutions amenable to change and when is reform problematic? What conditions do we need to force change?
- Why has reform of the House of Lords proved so troublesome?

Technical/Descriptive Reading

- Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (2018) Exploring Parliament – Chap. 1 Introduction - you may also want to look at Part II.
- Rogers, R & Walters, R, (2015) *How Parliament Works*, [7th edn] London: Routledge Ch.2 'Who is in Parliament'
- P. Norton (2013) *Parliament in British Politics* [2nd edn] Basingstoke:Palgrave – Chap. 2 'The Development of Parliament'

Key Articles

- Armitage, F. 2012 'From elite control to democratic competition: Procedural reform and cultural change in UK House of Commons Speakership elections' *British Politics* 7, pp. 135–162
- Kelso, A. (2009) Parliament on its knees: MPs' expenses and the crisis of transparency at Westminster. *Political Quarterly*, 80, (3), pp.329-338.
- Norton, P. (2001) Playing by the Rules: The Constraining Hand of Parliamentary Procedure, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 7 (3), pp. 13 – 33.
- Russell, M. (2009). House of Lords Reform: Are We Nearly There Yet? *Political Quarterly* 80 (1), pp. 119-125.

- Thompson, L. (2013) 'More of the Same or a Period of Change: The Impact of Bill Committees in the 21st Century House of Commons' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66 (3), pp. 459 – 479

References on 'new institutionalism'

- Lowndes, Vivien, (2002) "Chapter 4. Institutionalism" from Marsh, David and Stoker, Gerry, *Theory and Methods in Political Science* pp.90-108, Basingstoke,: Palgrave MacMillan. [19]
http://eml.manchester.ac.uk/lib/POLI32402/POLI32402_30029.pdf
- Goodin, R. (ed) 1996 *The Theory of Institutional Design*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Hall, P and Taylor, R. 1996 'Political science and the three new institutionalisms', *Political Studies* 44 (4) 936 – 57
- Hall, P. 2009 'Historical Institutionalism in Rationalist and Sociological Perspective' in Mahoney J and Thelen, K eds., *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency. Power*. New York, Cambridge University Press (available via Peter Hall's website)
- March J and Olsen, J. 1984. 'The New Institutionalism: Organisational Factors in Political Life', *American Political Science Review*, 78 3
- Lowndes, V and Roberts, M. 2012 *Why Institutions Matter* Basingstoke, Palgrave
- Ostrom, E. 1999 'Institutional Rational choice', in Sabatier, P. *Theories of the Public Policy Process*, Oxford, Westview Press.
- Peters, B Guy. 1999 *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The 'New Institutionalisms'* London Pinter
- Krook, M., Mackay, F. (eds) 2011. *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke, Palgrave.

References on the Institutions of Parliament

- Crewe, E. 2015 *The House of Commons: An Anthropology of MPs at Work*, London Bloomsbury
- Judge, D. (2008) 'Institutional Theory and Legislatures' in Pierre et al (eds) *Debating Institutionalism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Kelso, A. (2011) 'Changing Parliamentary Landscapes', in Heffernan, P et al (eds) *Developments in British Politics* 9, Basingstoke, Palgrave.
- Lowndes, V. and Roberts, M. (2013) *Why Institutions Matter*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

2. The parliamentary state, the British Political Tradition and the Parliamentary Decline Thesis

This class offers an overview of the major conceptual debates that seek to address the role and relevance of Parliament in 21st century Britain. We will examine the literature on the British Political Tradition [BPT] and the theoretical and conceptual approach it provides to understanding the nature of the British Parliamentary state, alongside the contours of a debate on what is referred to as the Parliamentary Decline Thesis.

First, we explore what can be regarded as the 'classical' wave of the BPT. These orthodox accounts of the British Parliamentary State tended to celebrate the virtues of the British political system which was predominantly established in the nineteenth century and praising it for its on-going stability, continuity and ingenuity. Their depiction of an essentially uniform, elitist and top-down system that delivered strong, seamless but democratically accountable government was presented as normatively good and to be emulated elsewhere.

We then move on to a more recent critical wave which invokes the concept of a dominant political tradition that identifies how the British Parliamentary state derives its character from a specific historical processes which reflect elitist notions of responsible and representative government. It argues that the importance of Parliament does not only relate to its actual powers to initiate legislation and ensure the executive is held accountable, but to its role in legitimising the government of the day.

Finally – we locate this wider discussion on how it relates to what is referred to as the Parliamentary Decline Thesis [PDT]. We will look at the work of Lord Bryce. Although it looks (and reads!) very outdated, this thesis was for a long time the foundation of all academic work on the UK parliament. For some it continues to be the point of departure. Here we seek to understand what the PDT is and whether or not it is relevant to the academic study of parliament today.

Seminar Questions

- Does Parliament matter and if so why?
- If we wish to explore and understand Parliament, what would you identify as key issues that are important to our study?
- Do you agree with the Parliamentary Decline Thesis?
- What is the British Political Tradition and what can it tell us about the nature and role of Parliament?

Key Reading:

- Bryce, Lord. (1901) 'The Decline of Legislatures' in Norton, P (ed) *Legislatures*, Oxford: OUP. (Chapter 3).
- P. Norton (2013) *Parliament in British Politics* [2nd edn] Basingstoke: Palgrave Ch. 1 'Parliament in Perspective'
- Hall, M. (2011) *Political Traditions and UK Politics*, Palgrave, Ch.1
- Marsh, D. (2008) 'Understanding British Government: Analysing Competing Models', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 8 (2), pp.251-68.
- Richards, D, Smith, M.J. and Hay, C. (2014) *Institutional Crisis in 21st Century Britain* Palgrave [Introductory and Concluding Chapter]
- Richards, D., Blunkett, D and Mathers, H. (2008) 'Old and New Labour Narratives of Whitehall: Radicals, Reactionaries and Defenders of the

Westminster Model' *Political Quarterly* Vol. 79 (4), October-December 2008 pp.488-98.

- Flinders, M. and Kelso, A. (2011) 'Mind the Gap: Political Analysis, Public Expectations and the Parliamentary Decline Thesis', *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, Vol. 13 (2), pp. 249–268.
- Judge, D. (2014) 'A crisis of Parliament' in Richards, D, Smith, M.J. and Hay, C. (Eds) *Institutional Crisis in 21st Century Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

BPT - The Classical Wave:

- Beer, S. (1965) *Modern British Politics*, London: Faber and Faber.
- Birch, A. (1964) *Representative and Responsible Government*, London: Allen and Unwin.
- Greenleaf, W. (1983a) *The British Political Tradition: The Rise of Collectivism*, Vol. 1. London: Meuthen.
- Greenleaf, W. (1983b) *The British Political Tradition: The Ideological Heritage*, Vol. 2. London: Meuthen.
- Greenleaf, W. (1987) *The British Political Tradition: A much Governed Nation*, Vol. 3 London: Meuthen
- Norton, P. *The British Polity*, London, Longman (1984)
- Oakeshott, M. (1962) *Rationalism in Politics and other Essays*, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis (1962)
- Punnett, R.M. *British Government and Politics*, Dartmouth Publishing

BPT- The Critical Wave:

- Bevir, M. And Rhodes, R.A.W. (2003) *Interpreting British Governance* London: Routledge Chs. 3 and 6.
- Blunkett, D. and Richards, D. (2011) 'Labour in and Out of Government: Political Ideas, Political Practice and the British Political Tradition' *Political Studies Review* Vol9/2 May 2011,
- Diamond, P. (2013) *Governing Britain: Power, Politics and the Prime Minister*, London: IB Tauris
- Diamond, P. and Richards, D. (2012) 'The Case for Theoretical and Methodological Pluralism in British Political Studies: Reviewing New Labour's Political Memoirs and the British Political Tradition', *Political Studies Review*, Vol.10/2, May 2012.
- Evans, M. (2003) *Constitution Making and the Labour Party*, Palgrave 2003. Chaps. 1-4, 12.
- Judge, D. (2014) *Democratic Incongruities: Representative Democracy in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan) Ch. 5
- Kerr, P. (2001) *Postwar British Politics: From Conflict to Consensus* Routledge
- Marquand, D. (2008) 'The Strange Career of British Democracy: John Milton to Gordon Brown' *The Political Quarterly*, Vol 79/4,
- Marquand, D. (2008) *Britain since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2008.
- Marsh, D. and Hall, M. (2007) 'The British Political Tradition: Explaining the Fate of New Labour's Constitutional Reform Programme', *British Politics*, 2, 215-238.
- Rhodes, R.A.W. (2011) *Everyday Life in British Government* Oxford: OUP.
- Richards, D. (2011) 'Changing Patterns of Executive Governance' in Heffernan, R, Cowley, P. and Hay, C. (eds) (2011) *Developments in British Politics* 9, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.pp.29-50.

Parliamentary Decline Thesis

- Beetham, D. (2011) 'Do Parliaments Have a Future?', in S. Alonso, J. Keane, and W. Merkel (eds.), *The Future of Representative Democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 124-43.
- Butt, R. (1969) *The Power of Parliament*, London: Constable.
- Cowley, P and Stuart, M, (2011) 'Ignored, Irresponsible and Irrelevant? Opposition MPs in the House of Commons'. In: Fletcher, N., ed., *How to be in Opposition*, London: Biteback. Pp.173-185
- Cowley, P. (2002) *Revolts and Rebellions* (London: Politico's).
- Cowley, P. and Stuart, M. (2005) 'Parliament', in A. Seldon and D. Kavanagh (eds), *The Blair Effect, 2001–2005* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 20–42.
- Cowley, P. (2005) *The Rebels: how Blair mislaid his majority*, London: Politico's.
- Cowley, P. (2009) 'Parliament: It's being so cheerful as keeps me going', *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 80(4), pp. 577-579.
- Crick, B. (1964) *The Reform of Parliament*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Flinders, M. (2012) *Defending Politics: Why Democracy Matters in the Twenty-First Century* Oxford: OUP.
- Foster, C. (2005) *British Government in Crisis*, Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Hill, A. and Whichelow, A. (1964) *What's Wrong with Parliament?* London: Penguin.
- Hollis, C. (1949) *Can Parliament Survive?* (London: Hollis & Carter).
- Jenkins, S. (1995) *Accountable to None* (London: Penguin).
- Jennings, I. (1957) *Parliament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Judge, D. (1983) (ed.), *The Politics of Parliamentary Reform* (London: Heineman)
- Keeton, G. W. (1952) *The Passing of Parliament* (London: Benn).
- Lenman, B. P. (1992) *The Eclipse of Parliament* (London: Edward Arnold).
- Loewenberg, G. (1971) 'The Role of Parliaments in Modern Political Systems', in G. Loewenberg (ed.), *Modern Parliaments: Change or Decline*, New York, Aldine.
- Low, S. (1906) *The Governance of England*, London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Marshall, G. (1965) 'Parliament and the constitution', *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 36 (2), pp. 255–266.
- Parliament First (2003) *Parliament's Last Chance* (London: Parliament First).
- Power Commission (2006) *Power to the People* (London: The Power Inquiry).
- Redlich, J. (1908) *The Procedure of the House of Commons: Volume 1: A Study of its History and Present Form* (London).
- Richards, D. (2014) 'A Crisis of Expectations?' in Richards, D, Smith, M.J. and Hay, C. (2014) *Institutional Crisis in 21st Century Britain* Palgrave
- Riddell, P. (2011) *In Defence of Politicians: In Spite of Themselves* London: Biteback
- Riddell, P. (2010) 'In defence of politicians: In spite of themselves', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 63 (3), pp. 545–557.
- Robson, W. (1964) 'The reform of government', *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 35 (2), pp.193–211.
- Ross, J. F. S. (1943) *Parliamentary Representation*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Russell, M. and Sciara, M. (2007) 'Why does the government get defeated in the House of Lords?', *British Politics*, Vol. 2 (3), pp.299–322.
- Smith, M.J. (1999) *The Core Executive*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Smith, M. J. (2008) 'Re-centring British Government: Beliefs, Traditions and Dilemmas in Political Science', *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 6 (2), pp. 143-54.
- Ward, I. (2004) *The British Constitution*, London: Hart.

3. Holding Government to Account: PMQs and PQs

Guest Speaker: Tom Hamilton - Author of *Punch and Judy Politics* (with A Hazariki)

This session will focus on one of the key functions of the UK Parliament – Holding Government to Account. We will focus mainly on Prime Minister's Questions. As the most visible aspect of the UK Parliament and the scrutiny tool which the general public is most familiar with, PMQs offers a vital window into the work of the House of Commons. Public perceptions of Parliament usually stem from watching short snippets of weekly PMQs on news reports and other current affairs programmes. We will consider the purpose of PMQs, how it works and how effective it is. Is it about accountability, or does it perform other roles too? How should we judge the effectiveness of PMQs? Some observers feel that it is too rehearsed and too partisan, but is this necessarily a bad thing? Our guest speaker will provide us with the 'other' side of PMQs – the experience of helping the PM/Leader of the Opposition to prepare and the more political or partisan aspects of the session. We can compare the academic literature with this real life account of how PMQs works.

*****Please make sure that you have watched at least one session of PMQs before coming to class. I may ask you to watch a specific session in advance, in discussion with the guest speaker*****

Seminar questions:

- What is the purpose of PMQs?
- How does PMQs work?
- Is PMQs effective in holding government to account? How should we judge and measure effectiveness?
- Does the academic literature match the account of our guest speaker?
- Would you reform PMQs? How and why?

Key Reading

- Bates, S., Kerr, P., and Serban, R. (2018) 'Questioning the Government' in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, pp. 187-195 (see also the accompanying case study)
- Bates et al (2014) Questions to the Prime Minister: A Comparative Study of PMQs from Thatcher to Cameron, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 67 (2), pp. 253 – 280.
- Rogers, R and Walters, R. (2015) *How Parliament Works*, Chapter 9 (Calling to Account: questions)
- Bertram, T. (2017) The Power and Purpose of PMQs, Online at <https://medium.com/@theobertram/the-power-and-purpose-of-pmqs-861c95d4e0f5> (this is a great blog written by a former adviser to Tony Blair and Gordon Brown).
- Hazariki, A and Hamilton, T. (2018) *Punch and Judy Politics: An Insider's Guide to Prime Minister's Questions*, London: Biteback.
- Jones, G.W. (1973) 'The Prime Minister and Parliamentary Questions', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 26 (1), pp. 260 – 273.
- Kelso, A, Bennister, M and Larkin, P. (2016) The Shifting Landscape of Prime Ministerial Accountability to Parliament: An analysis of Liaison Committee scrutiny sessions, *BJPIR*, Vol. 18 (3), pp. 740-754.
- Hansard Society (2014) *Tuned in or turned off? Public Attitudes to PMQs*. Available online at:

https://assets.ctfassets.net/u1rlvvbs33ri/v5KOp60C6Os0y2MYiMYyg/da0ce4465c346bb592fde93de3550b3c/Publication_Tuned-in-or-Turned-off-Public-attitudes-to-PMQs.pdf

Other reading:

- Wells, P and Bull, P. (2011) 'Adversarial Discourse in PMQs', *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Vol. 31 (1), pp. 30 - 48.
- Martin, S. (2011) Parliamentary Questions, the Behaviour of Legislators, and the Function of Legislatures: An Introduction, *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 17 (3), pp. 259 – 270.
- Rozenberg, O and Martin, S. (2011) 'Questioning Parliamentary Questions', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 17 (3), pp. 394 – 404.
- Lovenduski, J. (2014) 'Prime Minister's Questions as Political Ritual', *British Politics*, Vol. 7 (4), pp. 314 – 340.
- Brown, C. (2017) Being a Hansard Reporter: 10 Things You Thought You Knew, *Parliamentary Digital Service Blog*, 24 July. Online at: <https://commonshansard.blog.parliament.uk/2017/07/24/being-a-hansard-reporter-10-things-you-thought-you-knew/> *** this is REALLY interesting!! ***

4. Holding Government to Account: Select Committees

Guest Speaker: Adam Mellows-Facer (Director of Research Services and Former Committee Clerk)

This session focuses on how select committees contribute to the work of Parliament, particularly in terms of accountability/ scrutiny of the executive. Committees have long been a feature of the work of Parliament, but they were often ad hoc and considered to be very weak. This changed in 1979 with the introduction of departmental select committees and again more recently with the “Wright” reforms (with elected Committee Chairs and Members). There is now growing evidence that committees are playing an increasingly important role. Of course, select committees cannot compel the government to undertake particular policy initiatives, but they have the potential to influence ministers and officials, as well as raising the profile and salience of key issues and debates. This session will assess the composition, role and powers of Select Committees. It will also tackle the thorny question of what select committee impact looks like and how we can measure it. Alongside our consideration of departmental and other select committees, we may wish to discuss the role of the Liaison Committee – which holds the Prime Minister to account. Our speaker, Adam Mellows-Facer, is a former committee clerk. He clerked the Work and Pensions select committee during its BHS inquiry

Seminar questions:

- What are the key characteristics of select committees? What different types of committee are there?
- What role(s) do select committees play and how effectively do they carry out these roles?
- Can we measure select committee impact? Should we measure it?
- Do select committees need reforming?
- How powerful is the Liaison Committee?

Key Reading

- Kelso, A. ‘Select Committees’, in C Leston-Bandeira and L Thompson (Eds) *Exploring Parliament* – Chap. 16 (plus case study)
- Rogers, R & Walters, R, (2015) *How Parliament Works*, [7th edn] London: Routledge Ch.10 ‘Calling to Account: Select Committees’
- Hindmoor, A, Larkin, P and Kennon, A. (2009) ‘Assessing the influence of select committees in the UK: The education and skills committee 1997 – 2005’, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 15 (1), pp. 71-89.
- Barclay, S. (2013) Are Parliament’s Select Committees Working? I say no, *Spectator Coffee House Blog*, 5 November. Online at: <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2013/11/are-parliaments-select-committees-working-i-say-no/>
- Bates, S et al. (2017) Do UK MPs engage more with Select Committees since the Wright Reforms? An Interrupted Time Series Analysis, 1979–2016’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 4 (1), pp. 780 – 800
- Russell, M and M. Benton (2011) *Selective Influence: The Policy Impact of House of Commons Select Committees* (The Constitution Unit, UCL)

Other reading

- Kelso, A. (2016) 'Political Leadership in Parliament: The Role of Select Committee Chairs in the UK House of Commons', *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 4, (2), pp. 115 – 126.
- Russell, M and Benton, M. (2013) 'Assessing the Impact of Parliamentary Oversight Committees: The Select Committees in the British House of Commons', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 66 (4), pp. 772 – 797.
- Pederson, H. H et al. (2015) 'Who Gives Evidence to Parliamentary Committees? A Comparative Investigation of Parliamentary Committees and their Constituencies', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 21 (3), pp. 408-427.
- Norton, P. (20017) 'Nascent institutionalisation: Committees in the British parliament', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 4 (1), pp. 143 – 162.
- Giddings, P. (1994) 'Select Committees and Parliamentary Scrutiny: Plus Ça Change', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 47 (4), pp. 669 – 686.
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- Energy and Climate Change Committee. (2015) Fuelling the debate - Committee successes and future challenges, *Tenth Report of Session 2014 – 15*, HC 830, Online at:
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmenergy/830/830.pdf>
- Institute for Government. (2015) *Select Committees under scrutiny*, Available online at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/select-committees-under-scrutiny>
- McFall, J. (2009) The Treasury Select Committee: Its reach hand its role in the financial crisis, *Economic Affairs*, Vol. 29 (3).
- Liaison Committee. (2012) *Select committee effectiveness, resources and powers*, *Second Report of Session 2012 – 13*, HC 697, Online at:
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmliaisn/697/697.pdf>
- Liaison Committee. (2000) *Shifting the Balance: Select Committees and the Executive*, *First Report of Session 1999-2000*, Online at:
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm199900/cmselect/cmliaisn/300/30002.htm>

5. Making the Law: Scrutinising Legislation

One of the core functions of Parliament is the provision of assent (or not) to pieces of public policy put forward by the government. In this session we look at the role of the Commons and the Lords in scrutinising government legislation. Please familiarise yourself with the stages of the legislative process. We will use a case study of a bill to consider what parliament does, who is involved and how effective it is. In doing so we will consider the longstanding debate about the balance of power between parliament and the executive. How has parliament's legislative work and power changed over time and does the legislative process need to be reformed? We may also consider the opportunities available for outside groups and individuals to influence the consideration of legislation. Which points of the legislative process are most susceptible to outsider influence? Who seeks to influence? And do we know how influential such groups/individuals actually are?

Seminar Questions

- What role does parliament play in legislative scrutiny? What value does it have?
- Does the executive really dominate? Can Parliament say no to Government?
- What challenges does the House of Commons face when debating/amending government bills?
- How can we measure parliament's influence on legislation?
- Who seeks to influence legislation and does it matter?

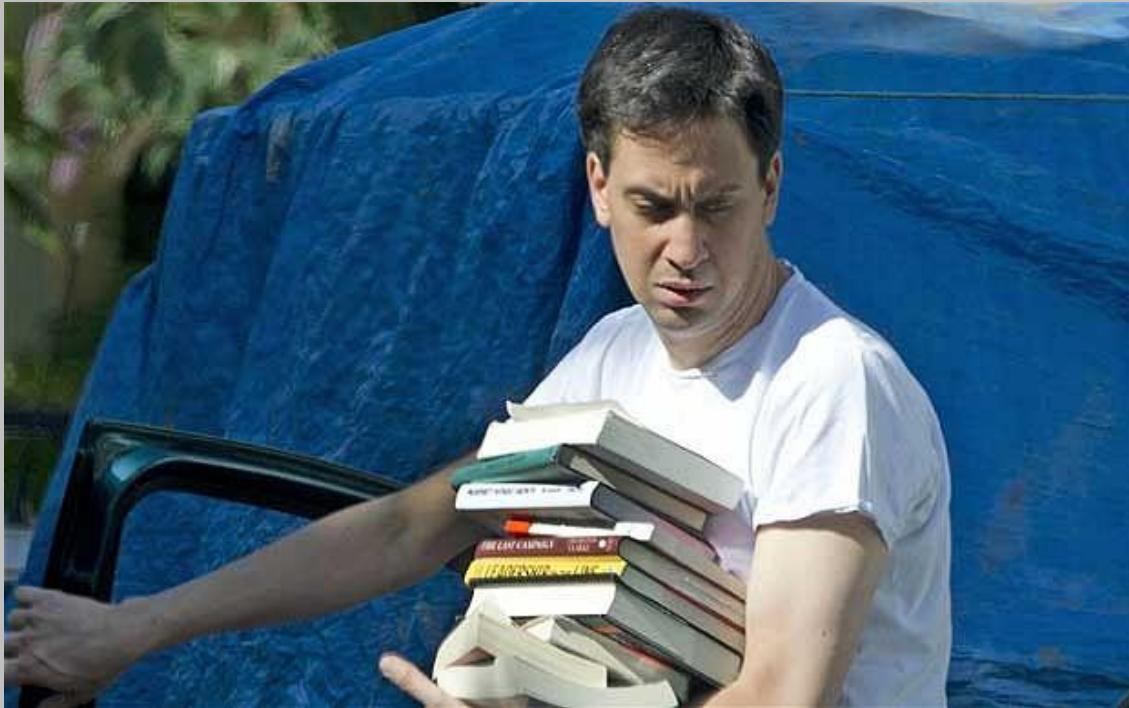
Key Reading

- Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament* (Chapters 7, 8, 9)
- Rogers, R and Walters, R. (2015) *How Parliament Works* (chapter 6 Making the Law)
- Russell, M., Gover, D and Wolter, K (2016) 'Does the Executive Dominate the Westminster Legislative Process?: Six Reasons for Doubt', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 69 (2), pp. 286 – 308.
- Thompson, L. (2016) 'Debunking the Myths of Bill Committees in the British House of Commons', *Politics*, Vol. 36 (1), pp. 36 – 48.
- Kalitowski, S. (2008) Rubber Stamp or Cockpit? The Impact of Parliament on Government Legislation, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 61 (4), pp. 694 – 708

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- Thompson, L. (2015) *Making British Law*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Russell, M and Gover, D. (2017) *Legislation at Westminster: Parliamentary Actors and Influencers in the Making of British Law*, Oxford: OUP.
- Thompson, L (2013) 'More of the same or a period of change? Bill committees in the twenty first century House of Commons', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 66 (3), pp. 459 – 479.
- Norton, P. (2013) *Parliament in British Politics*, 2nd Edn, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (Chap 5 – Legislation).
- Kelso, A. (2013) *Parliamentary Reform at Westminster*, Manchester: MUP.

*****2nd NOVEMBER: READING WEEK. THERE WILL BE NO CLASS THIS WEEK *****



6. Making the Law: Private Members' Bills

Guest Speaker: Fergus Reid, Clerk of Private Members' Bills

In the previous session we examined the work of Parliament in scrutinising legislation introduced by the Government. Here we move away from government and consider the role of individuals not as scrutinisers of legislation but as law makers. This is in some respects what many people believe an MP's role to be. We will familiarise ourselves with the different types of private members' bills and look at the mechanisms for putting forward a bill and for having a bill scrutinised in the Commons and/or Lords chambers. We will see the huge imbalance in resources between individual MPs and the government and the way in which executive legislation is privileged in Parliament in terms of the time reserved for debate and the ease in which government can command the Commons. This session will also be a useful one to step back and consider the role of individual MPs in British parliamentary democracy. Does the PMB system need reforming in order to enhance the role of an individual member? We will be joined by Fergus Reid, Clerk of Private Members' Bills, who will be able to explain the intricacies of PMB procedures as well as the different strategies used by MPs as they try to ease or block the passage of PMBs.

Seminar Questions

- What are the routes available to MPs or peers wishing to introduce a PMB?
- Are MPs actually law makers?
- What is the resource imbalance between MPs and government? Does it matter?

- Is the House of Commons democratic or does the PMB procedure show how one MP can thwart the will of others?
- Is the PMB system in need of reform?

Key Reading

- Hazell, R and Reid, F. (2018) 'Private Members' Bills', in Leston-Bandeira C and Thompson, L (eds) *Exploring Parliament* (chap. 12, p. 122-130).
- Rogers, R and Walters, R. (2015) *How Parliament Works*, pp. 199-206
- Brazier, R and Fox, R. (2010) Enhancing the Backbench MP's Role as a Legislator: The Case for Urgent Reform of Private Members' Bills, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 63 (1), pp. 201-211.
- Sarah Wollaston's note about Early Day Motions on her personal website: <http://www.drSarah.org.uk/campaigns/edms>

Other Reading

- Kelly, R. (2016) *Private Members' Bills*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper 7554. Online at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7554>
- Marsh, H and Marsh, D. (2002) 'Tories in the Killing Fields: The Fate of Private Members' Bills in the 1997 Parliament', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 8 (1), pp. 91 – 112.
- Scott, E. (2016) *Private Member's Bills in the House of Lords*, House of Lords Library Note 28, 24 May. Online at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/LLN-2017-0058>
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- Procedure Committee. (2013) *Private Members' Bills: Second Report of Session 2013-14*, London: The Stationary Office, HC 188-I. Online at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmproced/188/188.pdf>
- Procedure Committee. (2014) *Private Members' Bills: Government Response and Revised Proposals: Fifth Report of Session 2013 – 14*, HC 1171. Online at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmproced/1171/1171.pdf>
- Procedure Committee. (2016) *Private Members' Bills: Third Report of Session 2015 – 16*, London: The Stationary Office, HC 684. Online at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmselect/cmproced/684/684.pdf>
- Procedure Committee. (2016) *Private Members' Bills: Observations on the Government's Response to the Committee's Third Report of Session 2015 – 16 HC 684: Second Report of Session 2016-17*, HC 701. Online at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmproced/701/701.pdf>

7. Representation: MPs and their constituents

All MPs, regardless of party affiliation, policy interests, age or experience, share one thing. They must all work for, and be responsive to, their constituents. Constituency representation underpins parliamentary democracy and performing this role effectively is fundamental for an MP's future re-election. The significance of the constituency role can be seen in the House of Commons chamber, where Members refer to each other not by name, but by the constituency they represent. But how do MPs perform this constituency role? Are there different types of constituency MP? Donald Searing's famous work on parliamentary roles suggested that not all MPs will afford their constituency role the same weight in their parliamentary careers. Constituency work inevitably comes up against the institutional/parliamentary and party demands on an MP's time. So how effectively do MPs perform this role? In this session we will consider how the constituency role has changed over the last 50 years and consider the increasing pressures facing MPs as they seek to fulfil it. We will discuss what actually goes on in an MP's constituency office and the means by which MPs can campaign for their constituencies in parliament, using formal scrutiny and campaigning tools such as PQs, EDMS and PMBs. You will be asked to consider the work of your own local MP in preparation for the session. Do they campaign on a few key issues? How do they represent and campaign for their constituency in the House of Commons?

Seminar Questions

- What is constituency work? How have the demands placed on our MPs changed over time? Are these demands realistic?
- Why do some MPs prioritise their constituency role more heavily than others?
- How do MPs campaign for their constituency in parliament? Is the institution geared towards this form of activity?
- How effective would you say your own local MP is at representing their constituents?

Key Reading

Judge, D and Partos, R. (2018) 'MPs and their Constituencies', in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP, Chap. 25 (pp. 264 – 273)

Gay, O. (2018) 'MPs Campaigning for their Constituencies', in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP, Chap. 26 (pp. 274 – 284)

Loewenberg, G. (2010) *On Legislatures: The Puzzle of Representation*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers (Chap 2 – Representation).

Norton, P. (1994) 'The Growth of the Constituency Role of the MP', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 47 (4), pp. 705 – 720.

Burstow, P. (2016) 'As any MP knows, constituency surgeries are such a vital part of democracy', *The Conversation*, 17 June. Online at: <https://theconversation.com/paul-burstow-as-any-mp-knows-constituency-surgeries-are-such-a-vital-part-of-democracy-61240>

Other Reading

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Williamson, A. (2009) 'The Effect of Digital Media on MPs' Communication with Constituents', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 62 (3), pp. 514 – 527.

Searing, D.D. (1995) 'Backbench and Leadership Roles in the House of Commons', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 48 (3), pp. 418 – 437.

Norris, P. (1997) 'The Puzzle of Constituency Service', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 3 (2), pp. 29 – 49.

Campbell, R., and Lovenduski, J. (2015) 'What Should MPs Do? Public and Parliamentarians' Views Compared', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 68 (4), pp. 690 – 708.

Cain, B.E et al. (1979) 'The House Is Not a Home: British MPs in Their Constituencies', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 4 (4), pp. 501 – 523.

8. Representation: The House of Lords

Guest Speaker: Nick Besly (House of Lords Clerk)

When we discuss the work of Parliament there is a tendency for us to focus on the House of Commons. Whether it's the media, academics or the general public, the work of the House of Lords tends to fall beneath the radar of Westminster politics. But the Lords is crucial to the functioning of our parliamentary democracy. Whether it is the scrutiny of legislation, holding government to account or representing the public, the Lords often holds its own, forcing the government into making concessions which may otherwise not have been made. Yet the composition of the Lords – its unelected nature and the continued presence of hereditary peers – makes it look undemocratic and unnecessary in the eyes of the general public. In this session we consider what the Lords does and how it contributes to UK parliamentary democracy. Our guest speaker – House of Lords clerk and Manchester graduate Nick Besly – is well placed to offer a first hand account of the work of the upper chamber.

Seminar Questions

- What does the Lords do? What value does it add to the work of the House of Commons?
- Do you favour House of Lords reform? Or is a unicameral legislature better for democracy?
- How can the Lords perform a representative role?

Key Reading

- Dorey, P and Purvis, M. (2018) 'Representation in the Lords', in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP, Chap. 23 (pp. 244 – 254).
- Bochel, H. and Defty, A. (2012) 'A More Representative Chamber': Representation and the House of Lords', *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 18 (1), pp. 82 – 97.
- Russell, D., and Gover, D. (2017) *Legislation at Westminster: Parliamentary Actors and Influence in the Making of British Law*, Oxford: OUP.
- Crewe, E. (2005) *Lords of Parliament: manners, rituals and politics*, Manchester: MUP. (**This book is now a bit dated, but it's so well written and is a WONDERFUL introduction to the quirks of the Lords. If you have time I'd highly recommend you read this. I have a copy if you need to borrow it**).

Other Reading

- Rogers, R and Walters, R.H. (2015) *How Parliament Works*, 7th Edn. London: Routledge. (useful for background/overview of the Lords and how it works).
- Russell, M. (2013) *The contemporary House of Lords: Westminster bicameralism revived*, Oxford: OUP.
- Shell, D. (1992) *The House of Lords*, 2nd edn., London: New York.
- Purvis, M. (2013) *House of Lords: Profile of Membership*, House of Lords Library Note LLN-2013-030, 30 October. Online at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/LLN-2013-030>
- House of Lords Appointments Commission. (2012) *Note on the updated data on the breadth of expertise and experience in the House of Lords*, June. Online at: <http://lordsappointments.independent.gov.uk/media/25803/membership%20research%20june%202012.pdf>

- Dorey, P., and Kelso, A. (2011) *House of Lords Reform Since 1911: Must the Lords Go?*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Norton, P. (2017) *Reform of the House of Lords*, Manchester: MUP.
- Information Committee. (2009) *Are the Lords listening? Creating connections between people and Parliament, First Report of Session 2008-09*, HL 138. Online at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200809/ldselect/ldinformation/138/13802.htm>

9. Representation: Parliament and Political Parties

It is an axiom of the Westminster model that backbench parliamentarians have leverage in the legislative process, since ministers depend on their votes in order to pass legislation. Recent academic studies have sought to challenge the 'myth' of increasingly compliant and docile backbenchers, insisting that the scale of parliamentary rebellion in recent decades has been relatively high by historical standards. This session will consider the nature and organisation of political parties in Parliament and the way in which the behaviour of party members can affect parliament's work. We will consider for instance, the way in which parliamentary rebellions occur; the processes of negotiation that are intended to thwart rebellions; the role of key actors such as the Whips' Office and Number Ten in dealing with rebellious MPs; and, finally, how parliamentarians seek to negotiate 'divided loyalties' between their party's interests and their constituent's views. We will also consider the differences between political parties and, in particular, the imbalance between the Official Opposition and other "lower case o" opposition parties who also seek to perform the opposition role in the House of Commons chamber. In conclusion we may seek to consider whether political parties are fairly treated in Parliament. Are its rules and procedures conducive to opposition politics?

Seminar questions

- How are political parties organised in Parliament? How does this differ in the Commons and the Lords?
- Have MPs become less compliant with the party machine, and what factors might be driving this process? Is it a good thing?
- How do parliamentarians seek to negotiate 'divided loyalties' between the party whips, their constituents, and their own conscience?
- Did Coalition government in the UK lead to a further erosion of parliamentary discipline?
- Is the Official Opposition privileged in the Commons? And does it matter? How do other opposition parties seek to make their mark in the chamber?
-

Key Reading

- Norton, P. (2018) 'The Political Organisation of Parliament', in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP, Chap. 25 (pp. 15 - 23)
- Stuart, M. (2018) 'Whips and Rebels', in Leston-Bandeira, C and Thompson, L. (eds) *Exploring Parliament*, Oxford: OUP, Chap. 25 (pp. 255 - 263)
- P. Norton (2013) *Parliament in British Politics* [2nd edn] Basingstoke: Palgrave Ch.5 'Legislation', Ch 6. 'The Administration of Government'
- Rogers, R & Walters, R, (2015) *How Parliament Works*, [7th edn] London: Routledge Ch.4 'Influences on Government'
- Benedetto, G., & Hix, S. (2007). The rejected, the ejected, and the dejected: explaining government rebels in the 2001-2005 British House of Commons. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(7), 755-781.
- Cowley, P. (2003) 'Revolts and Rebellions: Parliamentary voting under Blair', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol.56(2), pp.374-385.
- Plumb, A., & Marsh, D. (2013). Beyond party discipline: UK Parliamentary voting on fox hunting. *British Politics*. Vol. 8, 313–332.
- Thompson, L. (2017) 'Understanding Third Parties at Westminster: The SNP in the 2015 Parliament', *Politics*, Early view: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395717740585>
- Sandford, M. (2013) *Opposition parties in the House of Commons*, House of Commons Library Standard Note SN/PC/06057, 2 August. Online at: <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06057>

Other Reading

- Kam, C J (2009) *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*, Cambridge University Press. Especially Chapter 1.
- Renton, T (2004) *Chief Whip*, Politico's.
- Moran, M (2011) *Politics and Governance in the UK*, Palgrave – especially Chapter 14.
- Brandreath, Gyles (1999) *Breaking the Code: Westminster Diaries*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Faith Armitage, (2012) From elite control to democratic competition: Procedural reform and cultural change in UK House of Commons Speakership elections 2012 *British Politics* Vol. 7, (2), pp. 135–162.
- <http://revolts.co.uk> Philip Cowley and Mark Stuart's website about parliamentary revolts.
- Pattie, C., Fieldhouse, E., & Johnston, R. J. (1994). The price of conscience: The electoral correlates and consequences of free votes and rebellions in the British House of Commons, 1987–92. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 24 (3), pp. 359-380.
- Philip Cowley (2002) *Revolts and rebellions : parliamentary voting under Blair*. London : Politico's.
- Philip Cowley and Philip Norton (1999), 'Rebels and Rebellions: Conservative MPs in the 1992 Parliament', *British J. of Politics and International relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1 April 1999 pp 84-105.
- Plumb, A. (2013). 'Research note: a comparison of free vote patterns in Westminster-style parliaments', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 51(2), pp. 254-266.
- Renton, T. (2004) *Chief Whip: People, Power and Patronage in Westminster* London: Methuen
- Vivyan, N., & Wagner, M. (2012). Do voters reward rebellion? The electoral accountability of MPs in Britain. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(2), 235-264.

10. The Future of the UK Parliament: Sovereignty and Brexit

Guest Speaker: Elin Jones (former WAC clerk and now Brexit Liaison Officer)

The UK Parliament has undergone enormous change over the last 100 years. Reforms initially concentrated on parliament's core or traditional functions of scrutiny and accountability, but they have more recently encompassed other areas, most notably those of public engagement and participation. Despite this, one of the most pressing issues facing Parliament today what we can consider a 'legitimation crisis'. This is by no means a problem exclusive to the UK, but has been a growing concern since the MP's expenses crisis. Russell Brand's exchange with Jeremy Paxman in 2013 about public opinion of parliament and voting is a good example of how the nineteenth century traditions and practices of Parliament, underpinned by the ideas associated with the British Political Tradition can appear increasingly out of date and irrelevant. The EU Referendum of 2016 and its aftermath further concentrated the public's attention on the role and legitimacy of the UK Parliament. The process of EU withdrawal has seen Parliament's role strengthened in some respects, with the court asserting the House of Commons' right to debate and vote on the triggering of Article 50. Brexit threatens to fundamentally change the nature of contemporary parliamentary affairs. It has already led to the creation of new scrutiny processes for delegated legislation and hundreds of hours of parliamentary activity in both the committee rooms and the two parliamentary chambers.

This session will examine the issues underpinning the perceived legitimation crisis by exploring two broadly contrasting responses. The first is predicated on the need to change the way in which the contemporary parliamentary state operates, stressing the need for reform in terms of the nature and practice of the institutions, processes and actors involved in the way politics is supplied. This may mean raising parliament's capacity to deal with issues of scrutiny and accountability. The second seeks to map and diagnose the contemporary condition of disaffection and disengagement as resting not with changes in the supply of political goods through the institutions associated with Parliament, but instead with changes in the responsiveness to, and desire for such goods by their potential consumers. In terms of the latter demand-side approach, blame is mainly apportioned in the direction of what is characterised as an increasingly sectional and selfish electorate who hold 'unreal-ideals' and expectations of what both politics and with it the British Parliamentary state can offer. Here the answer lies perhaps in changing people's expectations of what parliament should be doing, or making those expectations more realistic. Our guest speaker will provide expertise on the impact of Brexit on Parliament. We can conclude the session by holding an informal discussion of whether the British Parliamentary State and with it the BPT needs re-imagining.

Seminar questions:

- What impact has Brexit had on the UK Parliament? What impact will it have in the future?
- Does Parliament's perceived crisis of legitimacy stems from a failure on the part of the public to understand what Parliament can realistically deliver?
- Does Parliament's perceived crisis of legitimacy stems from an outdated, elitist model of representative democracy?
- Is there a need for a new British Political Tradition?

Key Reading:

- D Judge, C Leston-Bandeira and L Thompson, 'The Future of Parliamentary Politics', in *Exploring Parliament* (pp.347 – 355).
- Flinders, M and Kelso, A. (2011) 'Mind the Gap: Political Analysis, Public Expectations and the Parliamentary Decline Thesis', BJPIR, Vol. 13 (2), pp. 249 – 268.
- Richards, D. (2014) 'A Crisis of Expectations' in Richards, D., Smith, M. and Hay, C. *Institutional Crisis in Twenty-First century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave Chapter
- Richards, D. and Smith, M.J. (2015) 'In Defence of British Politics against the British Political Tradition' *Political Quarterly* Vol. 86/1 February 2015.
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- Smith, M. (2014) 'A Crisis of Political Parties' in Richards, D., Smith, M. and Hay, C. *Institutional Crisis in Twenty-First century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave Ch. 5
- Cairney, P. (2104) 'A Crisis of the Union' in Richards, D., Smith, M. and Hay, C. *Institutional Crisis in Twenty-First century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave Ch. 7.
- Judge, D. (2014) 'A Crisis of Parliament' in Richards, D., Smith, M. and Hay, C. *Institutional Crisis in Twenty-First century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave Ch.4
- Richards, D. Smith, M. and Hay, C. (2014) *Après le Deluge – Crisis, Continuity and Change in UK Institutions* in Richards, D., Smith, M. and Hay, C. *Institutional Crisis in Twenty-First century Britain* Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Flinders, M. (2010) 'In Defence of Politics' *The Political Quarterly*, Volume 81/3, pp.309–326, July–September 2010
- Flinders, M. (2012) 'The Demonisation of Politicians: Moral Panics, Folk Devils and MPs' Expenses' *Contemporary Politics* Vol.18/1. pp.1-17.
- Norton, P. (2012) 'Speaking for the People: a Conservative Narrative of Democracy' *Policy Studies* Vol. 33, No. 2, March 2012, pp.121-132.
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- Hay, C. (2007). *Why We Hate Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Healey, J., Gill, M. and McHugh, D. (2005) *MPs and Politics in Our Time* London: Dod's Parliamentary Communications
- Norris, P. (1999) (ed) *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Norris, P. (2011) *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Riddell, (2010) 'In Defence of Politicians: In Spite of Themselves' *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol 63/3 pp. 545-557.
- Riddell, P. (2011) *In Defence of Politicians: In Spite of Themselves* London: Biteback

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICS
COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI32051 Politics of Obscenity
Semester: 1
Credits: 20



(Richard Mosse, *The Enclave*)



(Danny Lyon, *The Seventh Dog*)

Be aware that this course contains images some might find disturbing.

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 UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

Lectures:	Mondays,

Reading Week: October 29 – November 4 2018

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

TU01		Friday	10.00-11.00
TU02		Friday	11.00-12.00
TU03		Friday	12.00-13.00

Mode of assessment: Active seminar contribution (10%)
 Groups seminar project with presentation (20%)
 1250 words review (20%)
 3250 word essay (50%)

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

Review BB hand in date: Monday, **November 12, 2018** (Blackboard/TurnItIn) by 2pm
Essay BB hand in date: Monday, **January 14, 2019** (Blackboard/TurnItIn) by 2pm

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

POLI32051

Politics of Obscenity

COURSE OVERVIEW

The course will provide advanced theoretical, empirical and methodological engagement with topics that due to their traumatic, disturbing or in any other way 'ab-normal' appearance remain unrepresented or under-theorised in political and international arena. It will be divided into three sections. The first section will discuss theoretical approaches helpful in studying 'obscene', 'excluded' or 'invisible' in political and international sphere. The second section will discuss the various material manifestations of 'obscurity'; and the final section will re-introduce the obscene moment to international political sphere.

COURSE AIMS

The course unit aims to:

- Introduce students to the side of politics that commonly remains unrepresented.
- Examine a variety of political, social and religious imagery to identify that which commonly remains unrepresented in international political domain.
- Engage and consider theoretical and conceptual challenges when dealing with issue that political scholarship know nothing or very little about or are for other reasons (obscurity, profanity, trauma) difficult to access.
- Present students with critical methodologies and methods for the study of international politics.
- Introduce new spaces of political analysis – such as the body, materiality, imagery – and broaden the study to disciplines such as sociology, law, philosophy and anthropology.
- Develop students' oral skills (through general discussion), team-work skills (through a seminar group work), written skills (through the assessed essay and poster), research skills (from the use and assessment of material from an array of sources), and critical and analytical skills.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

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

- The ability to question predominant representations of political and historical events and identify and assess the importance of that which is excluded from political representations and identify reasons for their exclusion;
- The ability to understand and critically assess processes of commemoration and remembering the past;
- The ability to evaluate and critically assess the normative arguments surrounding the obscene in politics.
- The ability to apply the arguments and approaches studied to real and hypothetical cases.
- Oral, teamwork, written, and research skills.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1: Introduction - what is and what is NOT politics of obscenity?

Week 2: Perverted curiosity - theoretical remarks 1

Week 3: Transgression and Taboo – theoretical remarks 2

Week 4: Seductions of voyeurism? Spaces of the abject

Week 5: The display of violence: genocide, torture, rape

Week 6: Who is human (enough)? Law, exception and the excess

Week 7: Race: governing techniques and the struggle for rights and equality

Week 8: Resistance, revolution, riot – a path to a political change?

Week 9: From Civil Rights Movement to Black Lives Matter

Week 10: Conclusion or time to revise

COURSE ORGANISATION

Lectures

The course will start with an introductory lecture in week one which will be followed up by eight two-hour interactive lectures and a wrap up session at the end. Lecture attendance is not compulsory, but failure to attend will mean that you get less benefit out of your tutorials and ultimately that you perform less well on the course.

PowerPoint slides will be available to download from the course unit Blackboard site. Remember however that merely consulting the slides will not prepare you adequately for the successful completion of this course.

Tutorials

Tutorials will be split in two sections. The first 4 tutorials will begin with a 10min review of the lecture pertaining to the topic discussed followed by a seminar discussion of the readings assigned to a particular week and your own research on the topic. You must familiarize yourself with the assigned/relevant readings material and prepare for the discussion. Each student is expected to come to the seminar with at least 3 questions relevant to the topic/readings. You are also very welcomed to bring in any material relevant to the discussed topic and that you think might of interest to the group/seminar discussion in questions. Your seminar participation will be assessed based on your contribution to the discussions and not merely on your presence in the room.

The remaining tutorials will be devoted to the presentations and discussions of group seminar projects. The topics of the presentations will correspond with the issues and problems covered in lectures. However, it is expected that the group does independent research on the topic. The seminar will begin with a 20min presentation, which will be followed by a 15-20min class discussion on the presentation and the topic. Thus all students must come prepared for the seminar discussion. Presentations will need to be accompanied by visual support – posters or any other ‘innovative’ form will be preferred to PowerPoint presentation. The presentation and a discussion will be followed by a 5min feedback and an indication of the received mark. Further instructions on the format of the presentation, guidance on what is expected from you and the selection of topics will be given in Week One. Students will assign themselves to a group by Week 2 and further instruction as to what is expected will be given to them in lectures, week one tutorial as well as in tutorials

leading up to presentations. The size of the group will depend on the size of the module, but students should expect to work in groups of 4 – 5. The purpose of this task is to invite students to start thinking about their essay early and to fully comprehend what it means to take ‘obscurity’, ‘curiosity’ or ‘taboo’ as a methodological tool, or methodology for the study of political phenomena.

Each student is expected to come to the tutorial fully prepared; you should be familiar with the lecture material that corresponds to the relevant seminar and read at least three readings from the allocated reading list. If you encounter problems or have questions on readings verbalise those problems into questions and ask them at the beginning of each seminar. Seminars are there to help you understand the discussed material. Adequate preparation is always the best way of getting a good mark.

Attendance of tutorials is compulsory. If you know in advance that you will not be able to attend a particular tutorial make sure you email your tutor as soon as possible to explain your absence.

Reading lists: each topic has an extensive reading list addressing the weekly topic from a variety of perspectives. You are expected to choose at least three readings in preparation for the seminar. As indicated, reading lists also overlap. Also, readings vary - those more theoretical and historical will help you understand those that are more empirical (in other words, they will help you ‘identify’ the obscene elements of the examples discussed). In the first four weeks the students will be directed to read 2 compulsory texts in preparation for the seminar and an additional text from the reading list. The compulsory readings will be indicated and given out a week in advance. It will be easily accessible and/or provided to them in an electronic form.

Reading

There is no text that covers the range of issues addressed in this course. However, there are a number of books which explore many of them, although they either lack the engagement with empirical detail of the course or the concern with the ethical.

Bosteels, Bruno *Marx and Freud in Latin America* (London: Verso, 2012)

Douglas, Mary *Purity and Danger: an analysis of pollution and taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Douglas, Mary *Natural Symbols: Exploration in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Foucault, Michel *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison* (London, Penguin: 1991).

Klossowski, Pierre *Sade My Neighbour* (Quartet Books, 1992).

Kristeva, Julia *Powers of Horrors: An essay on abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

Minkinen, Panu *Sovereignty, Knowledge, Law* (Abington: Glasshouse Press, 2009).

Santner, Eric, *The Royal Remains: the people’s two bodies and the endgames of sovereignty* (University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Scarry, Elaine, *The body in pain: the making and the unmaking of the world* (Oxford Paperbacks, 1988).

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

Shapiro, Michael J. *War Crimes, Atrocity and Justice* (London, Polity, 2015)

Sontag, Susan *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (Penguin Classics, 2009).

Tomsic, Samo and Zevnik, Andreja *Jacques Lacan between psychoanalysis and politics* (London: Routledge, 2015). Selected chapters.

Many of these books are also listed in the weekly reading lists.

ASSESSMENT

The course will be assessed in four ways:

1. 3250 word final essay (50%).
2. 1250 word reflection assignment (20%)
3. Group seminar project (20%)
4. Active seminar contribution (10%).

Essay

Assessed essay of 3250 words (50%) due on **Monday, January 14, 2019.**

Your answers to the selected essay question will be expected to show an understanding of the wider literature and background material as well as content from the seminars **but you are expected to rely predominantly on research material of your own.** Evidence of originality, independent and critical thinking will be awarded. Marks will be awarded for intellectual insight and development, evidence of reading and research, questioning of the literature and case study material, and self-reflection.

General guidelines:

- The essay must be typed and 1.5 spaced.
- Essays must conform to departmental guidelines on footnotes and bibliography.
- Regulations state that “There will be a penalty of 10 points for the first day and 10 points per day (including weekends) for any assessed essay submitted after the specified submission date, unless the course convenor grants the student an extension.”
- Extensions (see Politics Course Unit Guide Part II Page 29)
- Plagiarism is a serious offence. Students should consult the University’s statement on plagiarism which can either be found in your programme handbooks or obtained from the Undergraduate Office (G0.001 Arthur Lewis).

Essay questions will be announced, uploaded on the Blackboard and presented in Week 2 of the seminars.

Mitigating Circumstances:

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.

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

Reflection Piece

You must write a 1250 word work, which will count for 20% of your mark. You have to choose one of the below listed 'political pieces' and write a 1250 words review of it. Your assignments are due on: **November 12, 2018** (via a link on BB9 link). You will have to decide on a piece you wish to review by week 3 and stick to your choice.

The below listed material is of a diverse nature; thus you will have to devote time to thinking about how to approach this assignment in the optimal way. Michael J. Shapiro's book, *Studies in Trans-disciplinary Method: after the aesthetic turn* (London: Routledge, 2012) or Elizabeth Dauphinee's *Politics of Exile* (London: Routledge: 2013) will be of great use to you.

The purpose of this exercise is to make you aware of political implication of art broadly conceived; of ways in which politics informs and impacts art, artistic performance as well as other social media and internet resources; and to introduce you to other methodological approaches through which

'politics' is or can be studied. Politics, as we will try to show, is omnipresent and a part of our every day much more than normally conceived.

We will devote time to this assignment during the tutorials, which should make everyone aware of the requirements and expectations. I will also be available for individual consultations about the assignment.

Students should keep in mind that this is not a traditional 'book review' but more of an exploratory or reflection piece, where you are allowed or in fact should express your own thoughts, opinions and can also divert from the traditional academic writing style.

Pieces for review:

Art: Kara Walker (<http://www.victoria-miro.com/artists/42-kara-walker/>) artists contesting 'race' and the history of slavery through installation art and paintings. You are advised to choose one piece of art/installation or an exhibit and focus your discussion on that.

Short story: Franz Kafka, 'In the Penal Colony', in *The Complete Short Stories* (London: Vintage Classics, 2005): 140 – 167. [there are a number of editions and collections in which the story appears, and they are all ok].

Novel: James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (Vintage International, 1963)
 Nanni Balestrini, *We want everything: a novel* (London: Verso, 2016).
 Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the worlds and me* (Text Publishing Company, 2015)
 Joseph Conrad, *The Outpost of Progress* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2016)
 Richard Wright, *Black Boy* (Vintage Classic, 2000) or *Native Son* (Vintage Classic, 2000)

**Please note there are numerous editions of these books and you can pick whichever you like.*

Painting: MTO, The Mediterranean Door (2014), Qui Si Sana, Downtown Sliema, Malta. See: Nahrain Al-Mousawi, 'Aesthetics of Migration' (first image), Ibraaz, January 22 2015; <http://www.ibraaz.org/essays/116>

Marlene Dumas, *Wall Weeping* (2009) and *Wall Wailing* (2009)

Movie: Joshua Oppenheimer, *The Act of Killing* (2012) or *The Look of Silence* (2015).

Performance: Actionist Art: Voina, protest actionist art collective, performance *A Dick Captured by the FSB*, Liteiny Bridge, St Petersburg, 2010.

Photo: Danny Lyon, *The Seventh Dog, Conversations with the dead: photographs of prison life OR Memories of the Southern Civil Rights Movement* (Lyon's coverage of civil rights movement in the US) Choose a photo or a collection of photos and focus your discussion in that. Helpful source: <http://www.bjp-online.com/2016/06/danny-lyon-soul-of-a-radical/>

Richard Mosse, *The Enclave* (any image from the series); there is also a short movie done on the project *The Impossible Image* see: <https://vimeo.com/67115692>

Ana Mendieta, *Untitled - Self-portrait with blood*, 1973 (currently exhibited in Tate Modern, London – see: <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/mendieta-untitled-self-portrait-with-blood-t13354>)

Landscape: Landscapes of myths and conspiracy: 'Area 51', US military site in Nevada

Cultural and historical landscapes: Native American Reservations in the US, see a map: <http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/DOCUMENTS/RESERV.PDF> [choose a reservation site or a tribe and consider its cultural landscape and history of Native Americans].

'Angola Prison', Louisiana State Penitentiary, US. [a piece should reflect on an aspect of the Facility's history, current events held at the place, or its historical roots, legacy of slavery]

Selma to Montgomery march in 1965 - 'Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights Trial', from Bloody Sunday of Feb 26, 1965 to March 21 march to Montgomery [a piece can reflect on any political, cultural, religious, ethnic aspect of the march, but it should point to/highlight controversies in interpretations, or out-of-line actions; controversies within the movement, the significance of the march, KKK actions, domestic US politics, civil rights and struggles for racial equality]

If you have difficulties obtaining any of the listed material or need further guidance please get in touch as soon as possible.

As all chosen review pieces are of a very different type the reviews will have different structures and focus; however, consider the following points as your guidance:

- Explain the reasons for choosing this particular piece
- Introduce the historical, political, cinematic etc. (as appropriate) background of the piece
- Identify and discuss ideological, historical, political etc. implications of it
- Highlight what larger political or social issues arise in thinking through the chosen piece.
- Is your piece a response to any political or social situation? If so, what does it represent and what does it aim to achieve?
- If your piece is the embodiment of a particular policy or a reflection of it, explain what the policy is and how is your review piece situated in relation to it (is it critical of it or does it support its line of thinking)?

Be aware that you will need to read more widely about the piece in order to be able to write a comprehensive review and thus complete this exercise successfully. If there are any problems or something is unclear about the review you are very welcome to discuss it with either of us. It remains necessary to reference your review in the way in which you would do in an essay.

Group Seminar Project

20% of your overall mark comes from group seminar project. The students will be working in groups of 4 – 5. Each group will cover a theme that corresponds with one of the issues or problems raised during the course. The students should however note that their topic will not be a direct replication of lecture topics. A group presentation should last no more than 20min and will be followed by a 15-20min class discussion. It will be crucial that students keep their presentation to time and do not overrun. Any presentation that will exceed 25min will face a deduction of 5 marks. Initial feedback on the presentation and an indicative mark will be given to students at the end of each class (in the final 5min). The groups will decide on their topic in discussion with me in Weeks 1 and 2. The presentations will start in Week 6. The task of the group will be to address the selected topic (commonly a historical event or a process) through a prism of a particular theoretical approach, or a pertinent socio-political problem. More details on the available topics and the exact structure of the group seminar project and presentation will follow in Week 1.

General expectations for the project presentation: while students are expected to work as a group they will be responsible for the division of work in the group. Should there be any problems I need to be made aware of them as soon as possible (and not only just before or even after the presentation). While students are expected to work together on the research, not all members of the group are expected to speak during the presentation. However, all members need to be present at the presentation and all members of the group should be engaged in seminar discussion that will follow the presentation.

The group is expected to prepare visual material to support their presentation and present the work/research they have done. However, students should do not use PowerPoint or Prezi. Posters or any other 'creative' form of presentation is preferred. Exceptions, however, can be made but I encourage students to think more creatively about presenting the work they have done.

The presentation material (presentation text, visual material, photos of posters or presentation) **must be submitted** following the allocated link on BB by one member of the group and clearly identifying all group members. **Failure to submit the material on-line will result in a deduction of marks.**

Tutorials

10% per cent of your course mark is based on your contribution to the tutorials. Your tutorial assessment mark will derive from your contribution to seminar discussions throughout the module. 'Active participation' means good preparation for the tutorial, familiarity with the reading material, active participation in the discussions, taking initiative and asking pertinent and important questions. High marks are also awarded for the quality not the quantity of your interventions. Some of the issues discussed will no doubt be of contentious nature, thus all seminar discussion should be conducted in a respectful way. Considering that open discussion is critical to learning, it matters that you learn to participate constructively in a group setting.

Please keep in mind that this is not a mark for attendance – attendance is compulsory! Nor are high marks only awarded to those who talk the most.

Tutorial participation will be assessed throughout the module.

Tutorial topics – the topics listed below are vary in scope, some are very broad others more specific and specialized. In your group project you are invited to 'experiment' with the topic and introduce different angles, interpretations and understandings. There is no one right answer to the topic; they

are all invitations for a critical engagement, reflection and scholarly thought. Weekly readings should guide your preparations for the presentation.

Tutorial topics:

- Week 1: How to think obscenity in politically? And group project preparation
- Week 2: Curiosity, taboo and transgression
- Week 3: Looking at violence
- Week 4: Fascination/obsession/aesthetics of violence
- Week 5: no seminar (research trip to International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, Tuesday Oct 23)
- Week 6: Who is human enough?
- Week 7: Seminar presentation
- Week 8: Seminar presentation
- Week 9: Seminar presentation
- Week 10: During the final lecture: Essay revision and module overview

As part of the module we will also visit International Slavery Museum in Liverpool. The exact date will be determined later in the semester and in discussion with the museum. (<http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/>)

More information to follow during the course of the semester.

Marking Criteria

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.

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 <i>responsive</i>: only when a student has done a certain amount of work and approaches us with it at the appropriate form is it possible for us to feed <i>back</i> on the <i>student's work</i>. The main forms of feedback on this course are in response to the portfolio and essay. 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: meeting the lecturer/tutor during their office hours; e-mailing questions to the lecturer/tutor; asking questions from the lecturer (before and after lecture); presenting a question on the discussion board on Blackboard; and obtaining feedback from your peers during tutorials.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the theft or expropriation of someone else's work without proper acknowledgement, presenting the material as if it were one's own. Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and the consequences are severe. Students should read the *Guidelines for Students* reproduced in the *Politics Part 2 Guide* and the University's policy on plagiarism

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

ALL MARKS REMAIN PROVISIONAL UNTIL THE JANUARY 2019 EXAMINATION BOARDS.

TIMETABLE

Week	Lecture Monday	Seminars Tuesday	Lecture topic	Seminar Topic
1	Sep 27	Oct 5	Introduction: What is and what is NOT politics of obscenity.	No seminar
2	Oct 4	Oct 5	Perverted curiosity - theoretical remarks 1	How to think obscenity in politically? Group project preparation
3	Oct 11	Oct 12	Transgression and taboo – theoretical remarks 2	Curiosity, taboo and transgression
4	Oct 18	Oct 19	Seductions of voyeurism? Spaces of the abject	Looking at violence
5	Oct 25	Oct 26	The display of violence: genocide, torture, rape Visit to Slavery Museum in Liverpool (no lecture) (Tuesday, Oct 23)	Fascination/obsession/aesthetics of violence (no seminar)
			READING WEEK (no lectures or seminars)	
6	Nov 8	Nov 9	Who is human (enough)? Law, exception, excess	Project Presentation
7	Nov 15	Nov 16	Race: governing techniques and the struggle for rights and equality	Project Presentation
8	Nov 22	Nov 23	Resistance, Revolution, Riot – a path to a political change?	Project Presentation
9	Nov 29	Nov 30	From Civil Rights Movement to Black Lives Matter – who and how one resists today?	From the experience of inequality to taking political action
10	Dec 6	/	Conclusion and your time to revise	No seminar

Week One: Introduction: What is and what is NOT politics of obscenity

Readings

Michel Foucault, *Ethics: subjectivity and truth* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

Essays on 'On the government of the living' and 'Preface to History of Sexuality, Volume II'.
--- 'A Preface to Transgression' in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard ed., 1977.

Can be found on-line or as part of other collections of Foucault's work.

Lynee Hunt, *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1996).

Linda Williams, 'Film Bodies: Gender, Genre and Excess', *Film Quarterly*, vol. 44 (4), 1991: 2 – 13.

Knowing some Ancient Greek mythology and Antigone (Sophocles' play) will also be of general use on this module.

Week Two: Perverted curiosity - theoretical remarks 1
Readings

Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysmans, 'Critical methods in International Relations: The politics of techniques, acts and devices', *European Journal of International Relations*, 20:3 (2014): 596 – 619.

Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992).

Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An analysis of concept of pollution and taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Cynthia Enloe, *The Curious Feminist: searching for women in a new age of empire*, University of California Press, 2004.

John Fetzer, 'Curiosity and wonder', *Anal Bioanal Chem* (2003): 376: 555-556. [available on BB9]

Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990).

Julia Kristeva, *The Power of Horror: An Essay in Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

Stephanie Lavau, 'Curious Indeed, or Curios in Deed? Some peculiarities of post=settlement relations with an antipodean river', *Australian Geographer*, 42:3 (2001): 241 – 256.

Daniel Matthews and Dimitrios Tzanakopoulos, 'Theort negaged: perspectives of discontent', *Law and Critique*, 23:3 (2012): 183 – 4.

Francois Rigolot, 'Curiosity, Contingency and cultural diversity: Montaigne's readings at the Vatican Library', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64:3 (2011): 847 -874.

Corey Robin, *Fear – The History of a Political Idea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Frederick F. Schmitt, 'The Epistemic Value of Curiosity', *Educational Theory*, 58:2 (2008): 125 – 149.

Amy Elizabeth Smith, 'Experimentation and horrid curiosity in Maturin's Melmot the wanderer', *English Studies*, 74:6 (1993): 524-535.

Cynthia Weber, 'Queer Intellectual Curiosity as International relations Method: Developing Queer International Relations Theoretical and Methodological Framework', *International Studies Quarterly*, (2015): 1 – 13.

Mark Zuss, 'Theoretical Curiosity in Postwar Marxism', in : *A Blinking Sphinx*. Text available on BB9.

Also consider readings listed under Week 3.

Week Three: Transgression and taboo – theoretical remarks 2
Readings

Georges Bataille, *Eroticism: Death and Sensuality* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986). Part one: 'Taboo and Transgression'.

Douglas, Mary *Purity and Danger: an analysis of pollution and taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002). [this is one of the key books, relevant for a number of lectures and tutorials thus consider reading it in full].

Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, Autonomedia, 2004.

Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo and Other Works, The Complete Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XIII* (London: Vintage, The Hogarth Press, 2001). 'Totem and Taboo'; essay can be found in many different collections.

---- *Beyond Pleasure principle and Other Writings* (London: Penguin Books, 2003). Essay 'Beyond the Pleasure principle'.

---- *The Interpretation of Dreams* (New York: Avon Books). See essay: 'Chapter V, The Material and Sources of Dreams'.

Michel Foucault, *Ethics: subjectivity and truth* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

Essays on 'Sexual Choice, Sexual Act', 'The Social Triumph of the Sexual Will', 'Sex, Power and the Politics of Identity' and 'Sexuality of Solitude'. Can be found on-line or as part of other collections of Foucault's work.

---- *The Will to Knowledge: the history of sexuality: 1* (London: Penguin, 1998).

'Part Four: The Deployment of Sexuality' with essays on 'Objective', 'Method', 'Domain', and 'Periodization'.

Pierre Legendre, 'The Masters of Law: A study of dogmatic function', in *A Legendre Reader*, Peter Goodrich, ed (Basingstoke, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997): 98–133.

Claude Levi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex and Regression in Savage Society* (1927). Look at Part 2: 'The mirror of tradition' and Part 4: 'Instinct and culture'.

Available: <http://archive.org/details/sexrepressionins00mali>

David Wall, 'Transgression, Excess and the Violence of Looking in the Art of Kara Walker', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol 33 (2), (2010): 279 - 299.

For further sociology/anthropology focused readings see also:

Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (Martino Fine Books, 2012). There are many different editions and publications of the same work.

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontent* (London: Penguin, 2004). There are many different editions and publications of the same work.

Also consider readings listed under Week 2.

Week Four: Seductions of voyeurism? Spaces of the object
Readings

Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: the witness and the archive* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2008).

Jean Baudrillard, *The Conspiracy of Art* (New York: Semiotext(e), (2005): 25 – 35; 43 – 87; 181 – 211.

----- Simulacra and Simulation. Accessible:

https://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/theory/ baudrillard-simulacra_and_simulation.pdf

This contribution has a number of essay relevant to different topics, thus consult the reading for topic you see appropriate.

Chiara Bottici, *Imaginal Politics: images beyond imagination and the imaginary*, Columbia University Press, 2014.

Dorina Maria Buda and Alison Jane McIntosh, 'Dark tourism and voyeurism: tourist arrest for "spying" in Iran', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* vol 7 (3) 2013: 214 – 226.

Erik H. Cohen. 'Educational dark tourism at an in populo site: the Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem', *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol 38 (1): 193 – 209.

Stanley Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001)

Elizabeth Dauphinee, *Politics of Exile* (London: Routledge: 2013)

Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* in – (London: University of California Press, 2000). Essay on: 'The Prostitute, the Colonel and the Nationalist'.

Allan Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Jeff Ferrell, 'Culture, Crime and Cultural Criminology', *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 3 (1995): 25–42

Henrique Furtado, 'Against state terror: lessons on memory, counterterrorism and resistance from the Global South', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8:1 (2015): 73 – 89.

Dave Grossman, *On Killing. The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (Back Bay Books, 1995).

Wu Hung, 'Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments', *Representations* 35 (2001): 84–117.

J. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, 'Interpretation of the Unimaginable: the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C. and "Dark Tourism"', *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 38 (1), 1999: 46 – 50.

Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: photography and political violence*, Chicago University Press, 2010.

Debbie Lislie, 'Gazing at Ground Zero: tourism, voyeurism and spectacle', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 8:1 (2006): 3 – 21.

Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Essay on: 'Sex and War: Fighting Men, Comfort Women and the Military-Sexual Complex'.

Tom Phillips, 'Weary of war but ready for action: American soldiers set their sight on delights if Rio', *The Guardian*, January 18 2007.

Accessible: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jan/18/usa.brazil>

Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (New York: Verso, 2009). Essays on: 'The intolerable Image' and 'The Pensive Image'.

Michael J. Shapiro, *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

----*Cinematic Geopolitics* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Philip Stone and Richard Sharpley, 'Consuming dark tourism: a thanatological perspective', vol. 35 (2), 2008: 574 – 595.

Carolyn Strange and Michael Kempa, 'Shades of dark tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol 30 (2), 2003: 386 – 405.

Theodore Nadelson, *Trained to Kill: Soldiers at War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

Carolyn Nordstrom, *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-First Century*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004).

Mike Presdee, *Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime* (London: Routledge, 2000)

Elsbeth Van Veeren, 'Captured by the camera's eye: Guantánamo and the shifting frame of the Global War on Terror', *Review of International Studies*, vol 37 (4), 2011: 1721 – 1749.

Tony Walter, 'Dark Tourism: mediating between the dead and the living'. In: R. Sharpley and P. Stone, eds. *The Darker Side of Travel: the theory and practice of dark tourism*, (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2009).

Available: http://opus.bath.ac.uk/18504/1/Walter_2009_Dark_Tourism.pdf

Paul Williams, *Memorial museums: the global rush to commemorate atrocities* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008).

Nicholas A. Wise, 'Post-war tourism and the imaginative geographies of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia', *European Journal of Tourism Research* Vol. 4 (1), 2011: 5 – 24.

Walker, M. U., 'The Cycle of Violence', *Journal of Human Rights*, 5(1), 2006: 81-105.

Eviatar Zerubavel, *Social Mindscales: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Also consider readings listed under Week 5.

Week Five: The display of violence: genocide, torture, rape
Readings

Jean Baudrillard, *The Conspiracy of Art*, New York: Semiotext(e), 2005: 133 – 177.

Kevin Blackburn, 'Reminiscence and war trauma: recalling the Japanese occupation of Singapore, 1942 – 1945', *Oral History*, 33:2 (2005): 91 – 98.

David Campbell, 'Beyond Image and reality: critique and resistance in the age of spectacle', *Public culture*, 20:3 (2008): 539 – 549.

Simone M. Caron, 'Birth Control and the Black Communities in the 190s: genocide or power politics?', *Journal of Social History*, Vol 31:3 (1998): 545 – 569.

Elizabeth, Dauphinee, *Politics of Exile*, London: Routledge: 2013.

Jodi Dean, James Martel, Davide Panagia, *Theory and Event*, 14:4 (2011). Supplement issue on the Occupy. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/toc/tae.14.4S.html

Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an analysis of pollution and taboo*, London: Routledge, 2002.

Jonathan Gottschall, 'Exploring Wartime Rape', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 41:2 (2004):129-36.

Stefano Harney and Randy Martin, 'Mode of excess: Bataille, Criminality and the War on Terror', *Theory and Event*, 10:2 (2007).

Available: https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/v010/10.2harney.html

Alexander Laban Hinton, 'Why do you kill: The Cambodian genocide and the dark side of face and honor', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 57:1 (1998): 93 – 122.

Alison Howell, 'Victims or Madmen? The Diagnostic Competition over "Terrorist" Detainees in Guantánamo Bay', *International Political Sociology*, 1.1 (2007): 29–47.

Liam Kennedy, 'Seeing and believing: on photography and the war on terror', *Public Culture* 24:2 (2012): 261 – 281.

Mark A. Largent, 'The Greatest Curse of the Race: eugenic sterilization in Oregon, 1909 – 1983', *Oregon History Quarterly*, 103:2 (2002): 188 – 209.

Joane Nagel, 'Ethnicity and Sexuality', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26 (2000): 107 – 133.

Michael L. Phillips, 'The Lobotomy Files: forgotten soldiers'. *A WSJ special project*, 2014.
[<http://projects.wsj.com/lobotomyfiles/>]

Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, New York: Verso, 2009. Essays: 'The intolerable Image' and 'The Pensive Image'.

Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, London: Penguin, 2003.

Suzanne Tessler, 'Compulsory Sterilization Practices', *Frontiers: a journal of women studies*, 1:2 (1976): 52 – 66.

Mary Ann Tétreault, 'The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, spectacle and the global war on terror', *NWSA Journal*, 18:3 (2006): 33 – 50.

Bonnie Thomas, 'Identity at the crossroads: an exploration of French Caribbean gender identity', in *Caribbean Studies*, 32:2: 45 – 62.

Cornelie Usborne, 'Social body, Racial Body, Women's Body. Discourses, Policies, Practices from Wilhelmine to Nazi Germany 1912 – 1945', *Historical Research*, 36:2 (2011): 140 – 161.

Elisabeth Weber, 'Literary Justice? Poems from Guantanamo Bay Prison Camp', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 48:3 (2011): 417 – 434.

Also see the work of Stanley Greene and consider literature listed under week 4.

Week Six: Who is human (enough)? Law, exception and the excess

Readings

Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Claudia Aradau, 'Law Transformed: Guantánamo and the 'other' exception', *Third World Quarterly*, **28** no. 3 (2007): 489–501.

Jean Baudrillard, The Spirit of Terrorism. *Le Monde*, September 2001, Accessible:
<http://www.egs.edu/faculty/jean-baudrillard/articles/the-spirit-of-terrorism/>

Anthony Burke, 'Ontologies of War: Violence, Existence and Reason, Theory and Event, Vol 10 (2), 2007. Available: https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/toc/tae10.2.html

Claire Colebrook, 'Pragmatic Rights', *Law and Critique* 26 (2015): 1555 – 171.

Mark Falkoff, *Poems from Guantánamo: A Detainee Speak* (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 2007).

Michel Foucault, I, *Pierre Riviere, having slaughtered my mother, my sister and my brother... A case of parricide in the 19th Century* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982). Especially 'The Dossier', 'The Animal, the Madman, and Death' and 'Tales of Murder'. --- *Ethics: subjectivity and truth* (New York: The New Press, 1997). Essays on 'Psychiatric Power' and 'The Abnormal'. They can be accessed on line or find as part of other collections of Foucault's work.

Major David J.R. Frakt, 'Closing Argument at Guantánamo: The Torture of Mohammed Jawad', *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, **21**, no.1 : 1–23.

Derek Gregory, 'The Black Flag: Guantánamo Bay and the Space of Exception', *Geografiska Annaler B* **88**, no.4 (2006): 405–27.

Claudio Minca, 'The Return of the Camp', *Progress in Human Geography* **29**, no.4 (2005): 405–12.

Stewart Motha, 'Guantánamo Bay, Abandoned Being and the Constitution of Jurisdiction', in *Jurisprudence of Jurisdiction*, Shaun McVeigh ed. (London: UCL Press, 2006): 63–83.

Jason Ralph, 'The laws of war and the state of American exception', *Review of International Studies* **35** no. 3 (2009): 631–49.

Juliet Rogers, 'The Pure Subject of Torture: or, Lynndie England does not exist', *Australian Feminist Journal* 35(2011): 75 – 87.

Philippe Sands, *Torture Team: Rumsfeld's Memo and the Betrayal of American Values* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Eric L. Santner, 'What's left after rights', *Law and Critique*, 26 (2015): 105 – 115.

Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: the making and unmaking of the world* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). 'Chapter 1: The Structure of Torture' and 'Chapter 2: The Structure of War'.

Mary Ann Tetreault, 'The Sexual Politics of Abu Ghraib: Hegemony, Spectacle and the Global War on Terror', *NWSA Journal*, 18:3 (2006): 33 – 50.

Nick Vaughan –Williams, 'We are not animals! Humanitarian border security and zoopolitical spaces in Europe', *Political Geography*, 45(2015): 1 – 10.

For further theoretical and historical studies in the concepts of psychiatric power and the abnormal see:

Michel Foucault, *Abnormal - Lecture at the Collège de France, 1974 – 1975* (New York: Picador, 1999).

----- *Psychiatric Power - Lecture at the Collège de France, 1973 – 1974* (New York: Picador, 2003).

This material can also be useful for discussions in week 8.

Week Seven: Resistance, Revolution, Riot – a path to political change?

Please also check in later in the semester as additional readings will be added.

Reading:

Bethania Assy and Basak Ertur, 'Supplements: Law and resistance – Turkey and Brazil', *Law and Critique*, 25:1 (2014): 1 – 13.

Etienne Balibar, *Violence and Civility*, Columbia University Press 2015.

Sergio Bologna, *The Tribe of Moles* [various editions and on-line versions available].

Howard Caygill, *On resistance: a philosophy of defiance*, Bloomsbury, 2013.

Howard Caygill, 'Philosophy and the Black Panthers', *Radical Philosophy* 179 (2013): 7 – 13.

Noam Chomsky, *Occupy*, Penguin Books, 2012.

Lucy Finchett – Maddox, 'Seeing red: entropy, property, and resistance in the summer Riots 2011', *Law and Critique* 23:3 (2012): 199 – 217.

Oscar Guardiola_Rivera, 'A Jurisprudence of Indignation', *Law and Critique*, 23:3 (2012): 253 – 270.

Willem Halffman and Hans Radder, 'The Academic Manifesto: from an occupied to a public university', *Minerva* [DOI 10.1007/s11024-015-9270-9] Available on BB9.

Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Korinna Patelis, 'The Comrade is Violent: liberal discourse of violence in anti-austerity Greece', *Theory & Event* 16:1 (2013). Online.

Ahmed Kadry, 'Gender and Tahrir Square: contesting the state and imagining a new nation', *Journal for Cultural Research* (2014). Online first.

Juta Kawalerowicz and Michael Biggs, 'Economic deprivation, social disorganization and political grievances in London Riot of 2011', *Sociology Working Paper 2014-06*, University of Oxford. [<http://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/materials/papers/paper-english.pdf>]

Paul Mason, *Why is it kicking off everywhere*, Verso 2012.

Angus McDonald, 'Nocturnal Games in the Streets', *Law and Critique*, 23:3 (2012): 185 – 197.

Tara Mulqueen and Anastasia Tatryn, 'Don't Occupy This Movement: thinking law in social movements', *Law and Critique*, 23:3 (2012): 283 – 298.

Thomas Nail, 'Deleuze, Occupy, and the Actuality of Revolution', *Theory & Event*, 16:1 (2013). Online.

Mark Neocleous, 'Protest and Fail to survive: Le Pena and the Great Moving rights show', *Politics* 23:3 (2003): 145 – 155.

Louiza Odysseos and Anna Salmeczi, *Third World Quarterly* 36:6 (2015), See special issue on resistance and performativity of rights.

Chris Rosedale, Special issue: occupying subjectivity – being and becoming radical in the 21st century, *Globalizations*, 12:1 (2015).

Anna Salmeczi, '...we are being left to burn because we do not count: biopolitics, abandonment, and resistance', *Global Society* 23:4 (2009): 519 – 538.

Sanford F. Schram, 'Occupy Precarity', *Theory & Event* 16:1 (2013). Online.

Jason Smith, 'Are We Really in the Age of Riots: An Interview with Alain Badiou', *Historical Materialism* 23:2 (2015): 239 – 256.

Martina Tanga, 'Artists refusing to work: aesthetic practices in 1970s Italy', *Palinsesti* 4 (2014): 35 – 51.

Illan Rua Wall, 'The Law of Crowds'. Available on BB9.

Illan Rua Wall, 'Tunisia and the Critical Legal Theory of Dissensus', *Law and Critique*, 23:3 (2012): 219 – 236.

Slavoj Zizek, *Violence: six sideways decisions*, Profile Books, 2009.

Andreja Zevnik, 'Maze of resistance: crowd, space and the politics of resisting subjectivity', *Globalizations*, 12:1 (2015): 101 – 115.

The Black Radical Tradition, compendium. Available on BB9.

Also consider readings listed for Week 8 and 9.

Week Eight: Race – governing techniques and the struggle for rights and equality
Readings:

Please also check in later in the semester as additional readings will be added.

Joanna Bourke, *What it means to be human?*, Counterpoint, 2011.

W.E. Du Bois, *The Soul of Black People* (various editions)

Cathy Cohen, *Democracy Remixed: black youth and the future of American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Nadine El-Nanny, 'Ferguson and the Politics of Policing Radical protest', *Law and Critique*, 26 (2015): 3 – 6.

Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask* (various editions)

Sekou M. Franklin, *After the Rebellion: black youth, social movement activism, and the post-civil rights generation*, NYU Press, 2014.

Chad Kautzer, 'Good Guys with Guns: from popular sovereignty to self-defensive subjectivity', *Law and Critique* 26 (2015): 173 – 87.

Mark A. Largent, 'The Greatest Curse of the Race: eugenic sterilization in Oregon, 1909 – 1983', *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 103:2 (2002): 188 – 209.

Robert W.T. Martin, *Government by Dissent: protest, resistance, and radical democratic thought in the early American Republic*, NYU Press, 2013.

Mark Neocleous, 'Security, liberty and the myth of balance: towards a critique of security politics', *Contemporary Political Theory* 6 (2007): 131 – 149.

Shayla C. Nunnally, *Trust in Black America: race, discrimination, and politics*, NYU Press, 2012.

Mervin L. Rogers, *Theory & Event*, 17(3): 2014; Supplement on Disposable Lives (articles on Ferguson, race and the shooting of Michael Brown).
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theory_and_event/toc/tae.17.3S.html]

Andrew Schaap, 'Enacting the right to have rights: Jacques Ranciere's critique of Hannah Arendt', *European Journal of Political Theory* 10:1 (2011): 22 – 45.

Cathy Lisa Schneider, 'Police Power and Race Riots in Paris', *Politics & Society*, 36:1 (2008): 133-159.

Bal Sokhi-Bulley, 'Performing Struggle: Parrhesia in Ferguson', *Law and Critique*, 26 (2015): 7 – 10.

Suzanne Tessler, 'Compulsory Sterilization Practices', *A Journal of Women Studies*, 1:2 (1976): 52 – 66.

Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department – Report, March 4, 2015. [available online]

Also on the issue of Black Lives Matter, justice for Black Lives and the history of the Black Panthers movement.

The Black Radical Tradition, compendium. Available on BB9. [also look out for Black Panthers: vanguards to revolution documentary that has just been released].

Charleston Syllabus – African American Intellectual History Society; a list of resources on Black American history, slavery in the South, race and religion, white American supremacy and an archive of civil rights movement [<http://aaihs.org/resources/charlestonsyllabus/>]

Chris Hedges, 'Rise of the New Black radicals', *Truth Dig*, April 26 2015.
[http://www.truthdig.com/report/page2/rise_of_the_new_black_radicals_20150426]
Civil Rights Resource Guide – on line depository of key human right and civil resistance texts
[<http://loc.gov/rr/program/bib/civilrights/external.html>]

Corey Robin, 'Baltimore's new plantations: race, police and how little things have changed since Frederick Douglass', *Salon*, May 3 2015
[http://www.salon.com/2015/05/03/baltimores_new_plantations_race_police_and_how_little_things_have_changed_since_frederick_douglass/]

Richard Rothstein, 'Why did Ferguson and Baltimore Erupt? Looking to the government-backed history of housing segregations', *In These Times*, April 30 2015
[<http://inthesetimes.com/article/17897/why-did-ferguson-and-baltimore-erupt-look-to-the-government-backed-history>]

Ed Vulliamy, 'The rebellion in Baltimore is an uprising against austerity, claims top US academic', *The Guardian*, May 2 2015. [http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/may/02/baltimore-rebellion-is-uprising-against-austerity-freddie-gray?CMP=share_btn_fb]

Also consider readings listed for Week 7 and 9.

Week Nine: From Civil Rights Movement to Black Lives Matter – the frame of racial struggle today

Please also check in later in the semester as additional readings will be added.

Michael C Dawson, *Not in Our Lifetime: the future of Black Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 2011)

Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department – Report, March 4, 2015. [available online]

The Black Radical Tradition, compendium. Available on BB9. [also look out for Black Panthers: vanguards to revolution documentary that has just been released].

Charleston Syllabus – African American Intellectual History Society; a list of resources on Black American history, slavery in the South, race and religion, white American supremacy and an archive of civil rights movement [<http://aaihs.org/resources/charlestonsyllabus/>]

Chris Hedges, 'Rise of the New Black radicals', *Truth Dig*, April 26 2015.

[http://www.truthdig.com/report/page2/rise_of_the_new_black_radicals_20150426]

Civil Rights Resource Guide – on line depository of key human right and civil resistance texts

[<http://loc.gov/rr/program/bib/civilrights/external.html>]

Corey Robin, 'Baltimore's new plantations: race, police and how little things have changed since Frederick Douglass', *Salon*, May 3 2015

[http://www.salon.com/2015/05/03/baltimores_new_plantations_race_police_and_how_little_things_have_changed_since_frederick_douglass/]

Richard Rothstein, 'Why did Ferguson and Baltimore Erupt? Looking to the government-backed history of housing segregations', *In These Times*, April 30 2015

[<http://inthesetimes.com/article/17897/why-did-ferguson-and-baltimore-erupt-look-to-the-government-backed-history>]

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From Black Lives Matter to Black Liberation* (Haymarket Books, 2016)

Ed Vulliamy, 'The rebellion in Baltimore is an uprising against austerity, claims top US academic', *The Guardian*, May 2 2015. [http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/may/02/baltimore-rebellion-is-uprising-against-austerity-freddie-gray?CMP=share_btn_fb]

Further on-line resources:

Frank Roberts, Black Lives Matter Syllabus – great resource on BLM and black lives struggle.

<http://www.blacklivesmattersyllabus.com>

The Movement for Black Lives – policy demands by a coalition of black lives initiatives

<https://policy.m4bl.org>

Black Youth Project and Black Youth Project 100 – a community organising organization with a list of policy demands to better the lives of Black Americans; and an academic platform for research in political participation of Black Americans

<http://blackyouthproject.com>

<http://byp100.org>

Also consider readings listed for Week 7 and 8.

Readings for further study and help in essay writings

Georges Bataille, *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927 – 1939* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985). See the following essays: 'Sacrifices' and 'The Sorcerer's Apprentice'. [also accessible on line in different collections]

Jean Baudrillard, *The Conspiracy of Art* (New York: Semiotext(e), (2005): 89 – 129.

Pierre Legendre, 'Introduction to the Theory of the Image: Narcissus and the Other in the Mirror', *Law and Critique*, Vol, VIII, no. 1 (1997): 3 – 35.

Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality I, II and III* (London: Penguin, 1998). [this is one of the key studies in the history of sexuality, consisting of three volumes: Vol I: The Will to Knowledge; Vol II: The Use of Pleasure; Vol III: The Care of the Self].

Elisabeth Ladenson, *Dirt for Art's Sake: books on trial from Madame Bovary to Lolita* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (New York: Verso, 2009).

Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (Penguin Classics, 2009).

Mathieu Trachman, *Le travail pornographique: Enquête sur la production de fantasmes* (Paris : Le Découverte, 2013).

Slavoj Zizek, *Violence: six sideways reflections* (London: Profile Books, 2009).

For political significance of Marquis de Sade's work see for example:

Maurice Blanchot, 'Sade'. This essay can be found in a number of different collections and on-line
 Pierre Klossowski, *Sade My Neighbour* (Quartet Books, 1992).



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI32061 Postcolonial Politics**
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

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 Book via SOHOL at:
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Workshops: Wednesday 9-12pm

Assessment		
Mode of Assessment	Assessment Weighting	Deadline
Portfolios x2	15%	17 th October and by 28 th of November
Group Poster Presentation	25%	5 th December 2018
Essay (3,000 words)	60%	14 January 2019, 2pm

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 14 January 2019, before 2pm, on Blackboard

This module is run as a three-hour workshop (a combined lecture and tutorial) each week on a Wednesday morning. The course will be taught on the basis of ten of these three-hour workshops. These will comprise a mix of traditional lecture material, interactive question-and-answer sessions, small tasks in break-out groups, and the use of videos, podcasts and films. Group work will be linked to activities such as role-play, debate and simulation scenarios. All students will be expected to have completed the required reading and to have made preparatory notes *in advance* of the workshop each week.

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. This has almost all the information you need on referencing and essay formatting expectations.
- **I really enjoy getting emails from students! Please contact me should you have any questions, concerns, or want to chat over something.** I will respond within three working days (unless you receive an out-of-office informing you otherwise). Just a few guidelines: (1) Please introduce yourself in the email and give the module code, (2) I work a condensed week Monday to Thursday so I will not be responding to emails on a Friday.

Examination period: 14.01.2019 – 25.01.2019 Re-sit Examination period: 19.08.2019 – 30.08.2019

Course Overview

Focusing on the fascinating and intriguing study of postcolonial politics this module will explore both classics in the field and a range of cutting edge postcolonial scholarship in international politics, development studies, race and gender studies. This course introduces students to an approach to politics which emphasizes a global perspective. Postcolonial studies moves beyond both 'International Relations', which tends to discuss relations between states or great powers, and 'Third World Studies', which isolates certain parts of the world and discusses them separately. In contrast to a view of the world as split into the industrialised, developed West and the underdeveloped or developing South, what this module will explore is the relationships between these two areas, seeing them as mutually constitutive. It examines how they have come to be produced as distinct in so many ways, and how these differences are perpetuated as well as resisted through practices of development, race, gender and neocolonialism. It embraces critical development, explorations of continuing and often invisible neocolonial attitudes and practices, and possibilities for resistance; *and it explores these topics by looking at real people in real places through literature, film, art and music as well as the written word.*

Learning outcomes

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

- An understanding of the place of Postcolonial Politics in international politics – its aims and objectives – in particular its take on the three key concepts: power, identity and truth as well as understanding of other important concepts such as 'discourse', 'discipline', 'subjectivity', 'orientalism', and 'resistance'.
- Critically reflect on the prevailing political context of globalisation as trans-historic and be able to discuss the importance of the legacy of imperialism/ colonialism.
- An ability to discuss the work of key postcolonial thinkers including but not limited to Gloria Anzaldúa, Homi Bhabha, Franz Fanon, Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall, bell hooks, Walter Mignolo, Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

- An ability to apply the arguments and approaches studied to real and hypothetical cases.
- Oral, teamwork, written, and research skills.

Course Organization

The module is organized into two parts and is held together through a focus on the concepts of power, identity and truth as well as through a focus on the work of key postcolonial thinker Franz Fanon.

The first part (entitled 'Postcolonialism: Key concepts') looks in detail at three key concepts in postcolonial studies: power, identity and truth, which we reflect upon through the book *Black Skin, White Masks* by Franz Fanon. The second part of the module focuses on several key sites interrogated by postcolonial studies (drawing on the key concept from part 1) – these sites are racial privilege, gender, development, decolonization, and voice.

Empirical cases / examples are focused on throughout the module to unpack the theoretical ideas put forward. Students are also encouraged to bring their own interests about particular countries, issues, groups and events into discussions in the workshops. Although it is impossible in any module to cover everything we will cover events/ cases/ issues in this module from the UK, Europe, the Americas, Africa and the Middle East including settler colonialism in North America; Turkey-EU relations; environmental conservation in Indonesia; the South African Rhodes Must Fall movement; the UK Decolonize my curriculum movement; and contemporary debates about the veil in France.

Module OVERVIEW:

Each week there is a three-hour workshop which will be a combination of lecture material, as well as small group work, simulations, debates, group discussion and other activities.

<u>Pt I: Key concepts:</u>	
Workshop 1 Wednesday 26 th September 2018	Introduction session: What is Postcolonialism?
Workshop 2 Wednesday 3 rd October 2018	Power
Workshop 3 Wednesday 10 th October	Identity
Workshop 4 Wednesday 17 th October	Truth
<u>Part II Sites of interrogation</u>	
Workshop 5 Wednesday 24 th October	How does Racial Privilege (continue to) function?
READING WEEK	READING WEEK
Workshop 6 Wednesday 7 th November	What is 'Development' and should we be resisting it?

Workshop 7 Wednesday 14 th November	Why is there so much Fear of the Other?
Workshop 8 Wednesday 21 st November	How does Decolonization work?
Workshop 9 Wednesday 28 th November	How do Postcolonial people challenge their silencing?
Workshop 10 Wednesday 5 th December	Presentations + essay workshop

These three-hour workshops each week 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.

All workshops are compulsory, and students are expected to come prepared and to engage fully with the activities and to discuss the assigned reading in a collegial and constructive environment. This means that you must read before you arrive in class and be prepared to participate in the workshops actively. Participation means substantive engagement with the material (in other words quality, not quantity). Keep in mind that you and your fellow students are all in the same boat so to speak; so when you have reservations about speaking up in class other students are also experiencing the same apprehension. Critical to your learning is the opportunity to engage in open discussion and learning to participate constructively throughout your time at university. These workshops are where you can discuss your questions about what you have read, test out ideas for the essay, and learn from your colleagues. Transferable skills such as debating, synthesis and critique, group work, oral presentations, communication and reflexive learning are developed through tutorials. You can use tutorials to prepare for your assignments and these should be the main place to get answers to your questions.

If students have particular learning requirements, difficulties, or prior commitments that cause problems for attendance then please come and speak to me or email me as soon as possible.

PowerPoint slides and other learning materials will be available on the course BB site after the workshop each Wednesday. These are no substitute for attendance – the slides are only part of the material that will be discussed.

Study Groups

In the first workshop you will be assigned to a study group. These study groups are an essential dimension of the learning experience on this module and should meet on a weekly basis outside of class. In these meetings you should take the opportunity to reflect on the readings for the module and prepare responses to the specific workshop questions in advance of the session. It is crucial that you arrange a time and place to meet and that you attend these sessions. You will remain in these study groups for both the first learning log (learning log 1 – due Wednesday 17th October) and the group poster project (due Wednesday 5th December). Further instructions for these assessments are provided below in the course handbook.

ASSESSMENT

The course will be assessed in three ways:

1. Two Learning Logs (15%)
2. A group poster presentation (25%),
3. A 3000 word essay (60%).

1. Learning Logs (15% of final mark)

- A. **First Learning Log. (Concept Overview: 700 words)** This will be produced as a group (in your study group) and will focus on the readings in week 4. In your 'study groups' (see above, these will be set in week 1), you will produce one reading reflection summary together based on the readings in week 4 which look at the topic of 'Truth'. **Please note that the finalized version of this critical reading summary must be submitted by 9am via Turnitin on Blackboard at the very latest on Wednesday 17th October 2018. The mark for this learning log is a group (not individual mark).**

This group learning log should include the following:

- (1) A list of several of the key insights about 'truth' pointed to in the required readings. This should include a short explanation (a sentence or two) on each of these so you will need to be selective. 2-3 key insights is sufficient to allow for enough space to discuss them.
- (2) A list of reasons why these insights are relevant to world politics? You will want to focus here on either education or nationalism to discuss their relevance. Put another way, how do the insights outlined by you above (point (1)) make us think about education or nationalism differently in a way that is significant from/for an international perspective (rather than just for one particular country)?
- A bibliography on the reverse of the learning log. The bibliography is *not* included in the 700 word limit.

- B. **Second Learning Log (Critical Reading Summary: 700 words).** The second learning log is an individual critical reading summary. Students must choose a single reading to focus upon for their critical reading summary from the required readings in weeks 6-9. **Please note that you must submit the critical reading summary by 9am via Turnitin on Blackboard at the very latest prior to the seminar where it is covered in the course.** (e.g. If your reading summary is of a reading covered in week 7 Wednesday 14th of November then you must submit this via Turnitin at the very latest by 9am on the morning of Wednesday 14th of November). **All critical reading summaries need to be submitted no later than Wednesday 28th November, 2018.**

Your second portfolio critical reading summary must cover the following questions:

- (1) What is the problem or central question identified in the article you have chosen?
- (2) What is the central argument of the article?
- (3) What are the supporting arguments? (list 2-4 and provide some detail)
- (4) What is the author's position on power, truth or identity? (Choose one of these to focus upon – do not focus on them all).
- (5) Do you find the argument persuasive? Why? If not, why not? (This is not a matter of opinion, i.e. 'liking' the argument but rather of analysis – what is it in particular about the argument that you think is persuasive or not and why?)

Learning how to read critically and think about the significance of key concepts is crucial for developing analytical and critical skills and a deeper understanding of the material covered in the course. This assessment is aimed at developing students' ability to identify central arguments, supporting arguments, and critical analytical skills required for thinking through what you might find significant or not about particular concepts and find persuasive or not about particular readings. This will help develop your essay writing skills.

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 towards the texts and read with care, while being critical at the same time. This is obviously not an easy task. It is important to remember that any critique, just like the arguments developed in the text you are reading, expresses a position. It is not an objective response and in that way superior to the text's position.

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.

Learning Outcomes:

- Demonstrate an ability to identify key arguments, supporting analyses, and empirical and theoretical evidence;
- Assess sources in terms of their relevance and quality in support of fulfilling specific analytical tasks;
- Preparation for independent essay research by facilitating and developing key critical reading skills.

2. Group Poster Presentation (25% of final mark)

Wednesday 5th of December 2018 – in workshop

As a group you will research and produce a 'visual' representation of decolonizing Higher Education. This entails the production of a 'poster' and a 15-minute oral presentation. The poster is intended to prompt students to engage creatively with the complex understanding of the entangled nature of power, identity, truth and resistance developed throughout the course. Asking students to engage in this way is prompted by the ethos developed in Postcolonial scholarship which asks us to think about how knowledge is based on more than the written word, with the purpose of further supporting and developing a firm grasp of the key concepts covered in the course.

Because there is no singular, therefore 'right', understanding of how to decolonize Higher Education the focus and content of this presentation will have to be negotiated amongst the group. As a group it will be helpful to ask yourselves 'do we want to look at decolonization more specifically in the concept of the classroom, curricula or campus?'

Examples of ways you could approach this task include focusing on one of the following. And I strongly advise you to do so:

1. Look at what is involved in decolonizing 'how' information is presented/ authorized/learned in Higher Education
2. Look at what is involved in decolonizing 'what' information is presented/authorized/learned in Higher Education
3. Look at what is involved in decolonizing 'by whom' information is presented/authorized/learned in Higher Education
4. Look at what is involved in decolonizing 'where' information is presented/authorized/learned in Higher Education
5. Look at what is involved in decolonising the structures (e.g. statues/ buildings/ leadership roles) through which information is presented/ authorized/ learned (choose one of these) in Higher Education.

The group should work together to collect images, text, news articles for producing 'a visual story' of decolonizing Higher Education based around an area of their choosing. Groups are encouraged to 'theme' their poster presentations as they are not meant to be exhaustive. Groups also need to put together a narrative for the poster that will be presented in class, where all the members of the group are expected to participate in the presentation of the poster.

While you can choose to address this question in any way you like, and visually represent your material as you wish, each group must draw on at least one example AND make use of theoretical literature in your presentation. You are not expected to present a consensus in your poster and/or presentation. While points of division may be included in your presentation it is imperative that this remains coherent nonetheless. **Do not forget to include a bibliography on the back of your poster.**

3. Research Essay (3000 words) (60% of Final mark)

Due Monday 14th January 2019 by 2pm via blackboard

Choose one of the following questions:

1. How does Postcolonialism as an approach reshape and/or fail to reshape the ways we understand international politics?
2. What is the significance of the 'post' in Postcolonialism and how does this help us reflect upon the legacy of colonialism and/or fail to do so?
3. *'All around me the white man. Above the sky tears at its navel. The earth rasps under my feet. And there is a white song, a white song. All around me a whiteness that burns.'* (Franz Fanon). What ways does Postcolonialism help us reflect upon the relevance of whiteness for/in contemporary society?
4. Taking one of the novels listed below, discuss how this specific novel helps us think through and develop further a postcolonial understanding of (choosing one of the following) identity, truth or power.¹

All answers should address the question with reference to specific empirical examples or case studies, and focus on particular countries and/or issues. Any of the issues studied on this course – racial privilege, development, gender, Orientalism, decolonization etc. – can be selected as ways to narrow down your answer.

Essays are an opportunity for students to take up key issues in postcolonial politics and more deeply pursue a topic either covered in the course or closely related. 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. Essay should have a clear argument, be critical, analytically substantiated, and, of course, well researched. **Do not be afraid to critique and challenge the question and the concepts in the questions and/or quotes above.**

You are expected to make use of the set readings in answering whichever question you choose. And the minimum required number of sources for the essay is 10 sources outside of course material (including journal articles, book chapters, government or NGO documents, and books – this excludes websites, news articles, blogs and Wikipedia). I strongly encourage you to vary your sources – and we will discuss this throughout the module – rather than exclusively using traditional sources; however you need to use these alternative (non-traditional) sources *together* with traditional sources (e.g. journal articles, book chapters, government or NGO documents, and books) rather than instead of them. 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!

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 class 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.

¹ 'The Life of a Banana' by PP Wong; 'On Black Sisters Street' by Chika Unigwe; 'Refugee Boy' by Benjamin Zephaniah; 'Americanah' by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie; 'So long a letter' by Miriama Bâ; 'Sweetness in the Belly' by Camilla Gibb; 'Kindrid' by Octavia E. Butler.

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.

To ensure that pages do not go missing, students should ensure that pages are numbered and their registration numbers and the course code, POLI30861, appear on each page. We mark assessed work anonymously. **Please do not write your name on the report or essay.**

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.

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.

Feedback and grade criteria:

You will be provided with feedback on all your assignments and there will be opportunities in class to discuss how to improve your work. Students should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations board in June.

These criteria are adapted from the Politics Part II guide and should be read alongside this.

High First Class (80+)

Such assignments are *outstanding* in how they not only *fully* address the required task in a coherent manner but can be expected to *show excellence* in a number of respects:

Essays: fully answer the question and demonstrate some original primary research as well as showing insight and depth of understanding of the material; the exercise of advanced critical judgement along with exceptional fluent clarity of analysis and of expression; extensive and detailed knowledge of the literature; and a degree of originality not usually characteristic of work submitted by students at this level.

Poster Presentation: exceptional preparation and clear and confident communication; excellent teamwork skills – this includes an excellent delivery with minimal reliance on notes; key arguments are articulated with high sophistication and indicate creative understanding of the the material covered in the module interwoven with outstanding critical thinking and highly innovative reflection. Examples used/evidence given is detailed and thoughtfully creative with some highly original sources. A highly sophisticated narrative which demonstrates excellent critical reflection; and a degree of originality not usually characteristic of work submitted by students at this level.

Critical Reading Summary: exceptionally insightful engagement with the key arguments made by the author, demonstrating an outstanding ability to link these to the central concepts and core problems of the course as a whole. Exceptional clarity of thought and expression throughout.

First Class (70-79)

Assignments are *highly competent* and address the task in a *near-full* and well-structured manner.

Essays: answer the question and demonstrate insight and depth of understanding of the material; demonstrate the exercise of critical judgement along with clarity of analysis and of expression; and very good knowledge of the relevant literature.

Poster Presentations: demonstrate very good preparation and clear and confident communication – this includes a very good delivery with minimal reliance on notes; key arguments articulated clearly and to a very good level of understanding of the material covered in the module with demonstration of strong critical thinking; examples used/evidence given is detailed and shows some creativity in the selection of sources. A sophisticated narrative which demonstrates excellent critical reflection.

Critical Reading Summaries: insightful engagement with the key arguments made by the author; demonstrating very good ability to link these to the central concepts and core problems of the course as a whole. A very high level of clarity of thought and expression.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Such assignments are *overall competent* 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 good (at the lower end of the scale) to very good (at the upper end) understanding of the material; show some critical judgement along with clarity of analyses and of expression and knowledge of the relevant literature.

Poster Presentations: demonstrate sound preparation as well as research and mostly clear and confident communication - this includes a good delivery with only some reliance on notes; key arguments articulated clearly (although sometimes with errors in understanding) and a good level of understanding of the material covered in the module; demonstration of critical thinking; examples used/ evidence given in an appropriate manner although there is room for more detail and analysis.

Critical Reading Summaries: engagement with key arguments made by the author, sometimes insightful; an ability to link these to the central concepts and core problems of the course as a whole; demonstrate research and understanding with some gaps.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Such assignments 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 basic understanding of the material; some analysis and argument; although limited in extent; and some awareness of relevant data and issues.

Poster Presentations: demonstrate some preparation and research and mainly clear communication, analysis and expression - this includes some interruptions in delivery with reliance on notes throughout; some teamwork evident; and some awareness of the material covered in the module with use of some appropriate examples.

Critical Reading Summaries: some engagement with arguments made by the author but lacking clarity of expression with some errors; highlight some relevant issues and demonstrate some understanding of their significance.

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 indicate only a *rudimentary* understanding of the issues and address the required tasks in a partial manner. They can be expected to show the following features:

Essays: answer the question in a limited and partial manner, demonstrate sparse understanding of the material – this includes over-reliance on notes; with unsupported assertions and little clear analysis or argument; and important errors and inaccuracies.

Poster Presentations: demonstrate limited and partial preparation and poor communication, analysis and expression; little or no teamwork ; limited awareness of the material covered in the module, issues or appropriate examples.

Critical reading summaries: are often inaccurate and contain important errors; sparse understanding of the reading focused on; and are often unclear and poorly presented.

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 exhibit sparse and fragmented as well as extremely shallow awareness of the area. There are errors throughout, little coherence and structure.

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.

Preliminary Reading

A detailed weekly reading schedule is provided below. However, if you need a primary textbook, especially as a starting point or if you are struggling with core concepts and issues, I recommend:

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. (1989) *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge) [A volume often credited with beginning postcolonialism as a branch of literary studies]

Edkins, Jenny. (1999) *Poststructuralism and International Relations* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner) [gives an overview of poststructural, psychoanalytic approaches, genealogy and deconstruction for those who haven't encountered these areas before.]

Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. Routledge. [Though based in literary studies, this is a useful introduction to the scope of the field and the debates within it. Very introductory.]

Ní Mhurchú, A and Shindo, S. (eds) (2016) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge) [Provides an overview of what it means to critically engage with a variety of key concepts including borders, subjectivity, power, resistance and globalization]

Persaud R. B. and Sajed, A. (2018) *Race, Gender and Culture in International Relations* (Routledge)

Persram, Nalini (ed.) (2007) *Postcolonialism and Political Theory*, (Lexington Books) [Examines how postcolonialism can speak back to political theory.]

Riley, Robin L and Inayatullah, Naeem (eds.) (2006) *Interrogating Imperialism: Conversations on Gender, race and War*. (Palgrave) [Focuses on US imperialism in the 'war on terror', particularly feminist scholarship]

Rutazibwa, O and Shilliam, R. (2018) *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Studies* (Routledge)

Seth, Sanjay (ed.) (2012) *Postcolonial Theory & International Relations: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Routledge)

Williams, Patrick, and Laura Chrisman. *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993

Young, Robert. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Wiley)

Key Journals

African Human Migration Review; Alternatives: Local, Global, Political; Citizenship Studies; Cooperation & Conflict; European Journal of International Relations; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Policy; Global Society; Global Governance; Journal of Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Law; International Feminist Journal of Politics; International Political Sociology; International Relations; International Security; International Studies Perspectives; International Studies Review; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Postcolonial Studies; Journal of Refugee Studies; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; Review of International Studies; Security Dialogue; Subjectivity; Survival; Theory & Event; Third World Quarterly.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week ONE (26/09/18)– Introduction to the Module

This week we will go through the core expectations of the course, and the key themes will be introduced. There will also be an activity to allow us to get to know each other. **So come along ready to think and discuss!**

A lecture outlining the postcolonial studies as a field will be provided.

After a short break, we will watch a documentary - 'Franz Fanon: Black Skins White Mask' (directed by Isaac Julien) as part of the preparation for week two where we focus on the concept of 'violence'. **Please note:** This film has a number of disturbing scenes of violence.²

Required preparation in advance of Workshop

- Read this module outline throughout in case you have any questions.
- Foreword to the 2008 edition of *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Classics) by Ziauddin Sardar: vi-xxi (**eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue**)

It would also be good to have a sense of debates about where and when the postcolonial begins and ends by reading one of the following:

- Gregory, Derek. 'Introduction' in *The Colonial Present*. (Blackwell, 2004): 1-16
- Rita Abrahamsen (2003) 'African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge', *African Affairs*, 102(407): 189-21

²

The film introduces a number of themes that will be pursued later, for example, resistance, racism, gender and sexuality, hybridity.

PART ONE: KEY CONCEPTS IN POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

Week TWO (3/10/18) Power: Through and Beyond Violence

What is postcolonialism and what does it have to say about power? Who are seen as being subject to power, in what ways and who are seen as subjecting others to power? What is the relationship between power, violence and culture according to key postcolonial thinkers Franz Fanon and Edward Said? What does their work say about when and how resistance to colonial power/colonialism is possible?

The first part of the workshop will be student-led groupwork and presentations based on the questions above. You will need the image you have been asked to bring in! Following this there will be a lecture reflecting on the role of power as a concept in postcolonial studies.

Required preparation for Workshop

During week one we watched the documentary 'Black Skin White Masks'. As a starting point, you could make a note/brainstorm the various ways in which power was discussed or pointed to in this documentary. (Also if you did not read Foreword to the 2008 edition of *Black Skin White Masks* by Ziauddin Sardar for last week please read it now).

Where better to start than with Fanon's own work and that of Edward Said – who are credited both with having produced founding texts for postcolonial studies:

1. Fanon, Franz (2008) 'Ch1: The Negro and Language', *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Classics): 8-27 **(eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue)**
2. Edward Said (1978) 'Introduction' (and if possible also) 'knowing the oriental' in *Orientalism* (Pantheon) **(ebook available in UoM library catalogue)**
3. Rita Abrahamsen (2016) 'Power' in A. Ní Mhurchú and R. Shindo (eds) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge): 153-165 [gives a very useful overview of the different ways of thinking about power and how these are relevant to postcolonial inquiry]. **(ebook available in UoM library)**

And this short piece:

- Michael Foucault (1978) 'Chapter 2: Method', in *The History of Sexuality* (Penguin): pp.92-102 **(digitalized version of chapter available on bb)**

Having done all this, consider what you think postcolonialism has to say about power, in particular noting answers to the questions above and **come to the seminar with at least one image that represents postcolonial power to you (printed out!) and be ready to discuss this.**

Further Reading

- Enloe, C. (1996) 'Margins, silences and bottom rungs: How to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of international relations', in S. Smith, K. Booth and M. Zalewski (eds), *International theory: positivism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 186-202.
- Hall, S. (1996) 'The After-life of Franz Fanon: Why Fanon? Why Now? Why Black Skin, White Masks?' in Reed, A. (ed) *The Fact of Blackness: Franz Fanon and Visual Representation*, (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts and International Visual Arts)

- Muppidi, H. (2009) 'Franz Fanon' in J Edkins and N. Vaughan-Williams (eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (Routledge):150-160 [a short but very useful overview of Fanon's work / key ideas – particular useful for those of you who have not come across him before]
- Neal, A. (2009) 'Michel Foucault' in J Edkins and N. Vaughan-Williams (eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (Routledge):161-170 [a short but very useful overview of Foucault's work / key ideas – particular useful for those of you who have not come across him before]
- Shindo, R. (2016) 'Resistance' in A. Ní Mhurchú and R. Shindo (eds) *Critical Imaginations in IR* (Routledge): 166- 182

Week THREE (10/10/18) Identity and Colonialism: Masks and Mestiza

Last week we looked at how postcolonial challenges the unified notion of universal man by pointing to the way this relies on (the cultural power of) dehumanizing the other. How should we then understand identity? What identities matter? What is the relationship between identity, power and resistance? What we will look at in particular in the readings for this week is how a postcolonial approach understands identity as produced (rather than repressed) by power and produced in particular *through* difference (rather than similarity); it reflects on the significance of this for understanding how identities are *mutually constitutive*.

The workshop will begin with a lecture from Aoileann considering the concept of identity in postcolonial studies and the questions that it prompts – in particular a turn to ideas of subjectivity and mestiza. This will be followed by student groupwork and whole class discussion in relation to the required readings below to tease out the key arguments. In the third hour we will turn to two key questions: What implications does ‘mestiza consciousness’ as discussed by Anzaldúa have for how we understand subjectivity (the self)? If we emphasize difference as integral to identity does this mean that identity is impossible?

Required preparation for Workshop

1. Franz Fanon (2008 edition) ‘Chapter 5: The Fact of Blackness’, in *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Classics): 82- 108 (**eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue**)
2. Stuart Hall (2009 second edition) ‘Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities’, in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds) *The Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (Routledge), pp.144-153. (**digitalized version available on bb**)
3. Gloria Anzaldúa (2007) ‘Chapter 7: *La Conciencia de la Mestiza*/ Towards a New Consciousness’ in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 4th edition): p.99-120 (**digitalized version available on bb**)

Further Reading

- Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (Routledge)
- Hall, S. (1996) ‘Who needs Identity?’ in S. Hall and P. Du Gay (eds) *Questions of Cultural Identity* (SAGE) (eversion of book in library)
- hooks, b. (1987) *Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Pluto Press)
- Nandy, A. (1983) *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford University Press)
- Ní Mhurchú, A. (2019 forthcoming) ‘Subjectivity’ in (eds) Pérez-González, L., Blaagaard, B. and Baker, M., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Citizen Media* [looks at how postcolonial thought has been central to decentering the fixed Cartesian subject]. (**prepublication version available on bb**)
- Sajed, A. (2010) "Postcolonial Strangers in a Cosmopolitan World: Hybridity and Citizenship in the Franco-Maghrebian Borderland." *Citizenship Studies*, 14:4, 363-380
- Sojourner, T. (1851) ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’, Speech given at Women’s Convention in Akron, Ohio May 29 1851.

Week FOUR (17/10/18) Truth: Beyond Enlightenment certainties

This session looks at a key claim by postcolonial thought – that colonial structures (and thus possibilities for resistance) are not just centralized in the state and (a unified) people but are dispersed throughout society in ideational structures such as nationalism, and education. What we look at this week is the idea that truth and power are not separate (and opposed) but that power works *through* particular ‘truths’. We will consider specifically how colonial power works to prioritize certain types of truths around education and nationalism linked to ideas of rationality, science and democracy.

What is true? Where does knowledge come from? What is the relationship between rationality and truth? What is and how can we know the truth about the non-West? Is truth shaped or resisted in / through education? x

The workshop will be shaped primarily via large and small group discussion, an interactive lecture and student presentations.

Required preparation for Workshop

1. Franz Fanon (2008 Edition) Chapter 6 ‘The Negro and Psychopathology’ in *Black Skin White Masks* (Pluto Classics): **(eversion of book available in UoM library)** 109-162 AND Binyavanga Wainaina (2006) ‘How to Write about Africa’, *Granta* 92
2. Walter D. Mignolo, (2003) ‘Globalization and the Geopolitics of Knowledge: The Role of the Humanities in the Corporate University’, *Nepantla: Views from South*, 4:1
3. Partha Chatterjee (1993) ‘Chapter 1: Nationalism as a Problem in the History of Political Ideas’ in *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (University of Minnesota Press), pp.1-35 **(available as ebook in UoM library catalogue)**.

Further Reading:

Barrett, M. (1991) *The Politics of Truth: from Marx to Foucault* (Polity)

Bhabra, G. (2014) *Connected Sociologies* (Bloomsbury)

Derbyshire, J. (2012) ‘Hall Stuart: We Need to Talk about Englishness’, *NewStatesman* August 23, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk-politics/2012/08/stuart-hall-we-need-talk-about-englishness>

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (edited by C. Gordon), (Harvester Press). [In particular ‘Truth and Power’ 109-133 and ‘Two Lectures’ 78-108]

Foucault, M. ‘An ethics of the concern of the self as a practice of freedom’ in Paul Rabinow, (ed.) *Michel Foucault, Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth* (The New Press, 1994), 281-301.

Mignolo, W. (2007) ‘Coloniality and Modernity/ Rationality’, *Cultural Studies*, Vol.21 , nos 2-3: pp155-67 ; also available as ‘Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity’: pp.39-49 https://www.macba.cat/PDFs/walter_mignolo_modernologies_eng.pdf

Mignolo, W. (2009) ‘Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and de-colonial freedom’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 26 (7-8): 1-23

Sheridan, A. (1980) *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth* (Tavistock)

PART TWO: SITES OF INTERROGATION

To consider the significance of power, identity and truth in a deeper and more reflective manner, part two of the module looks at how these concepts are employed around specific sites and linked to real life issues. This is what we call inductive learning and reasoning, which means that you develop understanding through dealing with real life practical problems/debates/ life worlds.

WEEK FIVE (24/10/18) How does Racial Privilege (continue to) function? Orientalism and Whiteness

Why is the study of racial privilege still so important when in so many societies legal racial equality has been established? How is colonialism relevant for understanding contemporary privilege? What is white privilege? How is racial supremacy still relevant? We will think about these questions in relation to discussions about Britain's relationship with race and claims of settler colonialism in the USA/Canada.

This workshop will consist of student small and large groupwork based around the key readings and a podcast which looks at 'afrofuturism'. Everyone is requested prior to this workshop to make some notes of examples of racial privilege which they observe in the world around them (so students should try not to think too abstractly about this but to think about how there are instances of racial privilege which are relevant to their daily lives) in advance of the workshop and come to the workshop ready to discuss these.

Required preparation for Workshop

1. **Vuetic, S. and Persaud, R. B** (2018) 'Race in International Relations' in Persaud and Sajed, *Race, Culture and Gender in International Relations* (Routledge) [this mentions immigration]: 35-57 (**eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue**)
2. **Eddo-Lodge, R.** (2017) *Why I'm no Longer Talking to White People About Race* (Bloomsbury Publishing) (**eversion of book in UoM library catalogue**): 1-85 at least [If possible people should read the rest of this book given its very significant contemporary analysis which goes on to speak to issues such as fear, gender, representation and justice which we will discuss in subsequent weeks.]
3. **Bonds, A, Innawood, J** (2016) 'Beyond White privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler colonialism', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6): pp.715-733

Further Reading

Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre/ Education Trust -
<http://www.racearchive.manchester.ac.uk>

Black Cultural Archives, 'Black Brexit Conference 2018: What Does Brexit Mean for Britain's Black Community?', Conference Report, August 16 -
<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a01baa7d7bdcee985c80c15/t/5b74473370a6ad3cb40f236/1534347063114/BCA+Black+Brexit+Conference+Report+2018.pdf>

Black Studies Association – 'Blackness in Britain: Beyond the Black Atlantic' -
<https://www.blackstudies.org.uk/research-network/>

Brace, L. (2016) 'Community' in A Ní Mhurchú and R. Shindo (eds) *Critical Imaginations in IR* (Routledge)

Hall, S. 'Race the Floating Signifier' – Available on You tube in seven parts here -
http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=race+the+floating+signifier&og=race+the+floating+signifier&gs_l=youtube.3..0.207.3224.0.3371.27.9.0.15.15.0.354.1212.5j3i0j1.9.0.cytns%2Cpt%3D-30%2Cn%3D2..0.0...1ac.1.11.youtube.uQ21mKMeWzo

hooks, b (2003) *Rock my Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem* (Atria Books)

- Leonardo (2004) The Colour of Supremacy: Beyond the Discourse of 'White Privilege' *Educational Philosophy and Theory* , Vol36. No.2 : pp137-152
- Lee Mun Wah (1994) (Director) *The Colour of Fear* (ed. Richard Bock), Documentary
- Membe, A. (2017) Critique of black reason (Duke University Press)
- Podcast, This American Life (2018) On unconscious bias training in Starbucks entitled 'Unteachable Moment: All the Caffeine in the World Doesn't Make you Woke' – <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/648/unteachable-moment>; Script available here <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/648/transcript>
- Shilliam, R. (2018) From Race and the Undeserving Poor : From Abolition to Brexit (Columbia University Press)

*****READING WEEK NO CLASS 31/10/18*****

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Week SIX (07/11/18) What is 'Development' and should we be resisting it?

What is development? Is it exploiting or is it benefiting those it seeks to 'help'? This workshop looks at development as tied up in colonial power in two ways: as part of the neoliberal development model (an ideology) which is exploitative; *and* also as that which produces benefits *through* the changes they implement. We will also reflect on the role of 'resistance' in relation to development practices. We will consider the need to think about resistance not only on a grand scale but also as part of everyday life as small acts of refusal, challenge and provocation undertaken by peoples whose lives are shaped by international development practices.

This workshop will involve lots of student led group work with an interactive lecture.

Required preparation for Workshop

In preparation for the workshop students should read the required readings below and

(1) make a list of some of the different types of outcomes of development and/or specific development projects noted each by Krishna and Murray Li. Put another way, what are some of the things that these authors are saying that development/ development projects *do* and *produce*? (NB These authors are focusing on slightly different things so make sure you have a list of outcomes noted by both authors).

(2) make a note of different types of resistances that are discussed by Murray Li and Krishna – some of these are grand gestures and strategies of resistance (e.g. major protests such as the 1998 Seattle protests against WTO), and others are smaller ones (what Tanja Murray Li refers to as 'strategies of struggle' linked to provocations, refusals, reversal, and contesting truths). Try to find examples of 5

of each type of resistance (grand scale and smaller scale resistances).

- **Sankaran Krishna** (2009) 'Chapter 1: Intellectual and Historical Background: The Story of Unequal Development from 1500 to 1900' and 'Chapter 2: Independence or Neocolonialism? Third World Development in the Twentieth Century', *Globalization & Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-first Century*. Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 1-30 and 31-62. (**Chapter 1 available on bb; digitalized version of chapter 2 available on bb**)
- **Tanja Murray Li** (2007) 'Introduction: The Will to Improve' and 'Provocation and Reversal' in *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics* (Duke University Press), pp.1-30 and 193-229 (**online version of book available in UoM library catalogue**)

Further Reading:

- Escobar, A. (2011, second edition) Chapter 5 'Power and visibility: Tales of Peasants, Women and the Environment' in *Encountering Development: The Making and the Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton University Press): pp. 154-211
- Ferguson, J and Lowmann, L. (1994) 'The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", and Bureaucratic Power in Lesoto', *The Ecologist*, Vol.25. No.5: pp.176-181
- Ferguson, J (2006) *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Duke University Press).
- Fernández-Kelly, P (2007) 'NAFTA and Beyond: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Global Trade and Development', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.610, March, pp.6-19
- Goankar, D P (Ed.) 2001, *Alternative Modernities* (Duke University Press: Durham and London)
- Harvey, D. (2007) 'Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction'. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.610, pp.22-44
- Narayana Rao, V. (2011), "The Indigenous Modernity of Gurajada Apparao and Fakir Mohan Senapati" in *Colonialism, Modernity and Literature: A View from India* Ed. S P Mohanty (Palgrave Macmillan: New York), pp.135-152
- Salem, S. (2018) 'Reading Egypt's Postcolonial State Through Frantz Fanon: Hegemony, Dependency and Development". *Interventions: Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, online first: 428-445

Week SEVEN (14/11/18) Why is there so much fear of the Other? Gender, Foreign Policy and the Veil

How does fear (as well as fascination) about the Other get perpetuated and how does fear *sustain* processes of Othering? Why for example is there so much fear surrounding people who display different religious beliefs, customs and ways of living/ forms of movement – for example against migrants, those of Islamic faith or certain cultures? To consider this issue we will explore the role of gender in orientalism. We will consider in particular how masculinities and femininities have underpinned international negotiations and discussions about dangerous and less dangerous forms of difference. We will think about these questions in relation Turkey-EU relations as well as discussions about the veil – recent and not so recent ones.

This workshop will consist of a short lecture, some video material for students to consider which talks about the security versus secular arguments surrounding the French burkini ban, as well as a debate about the veil/headscarf which students will research for in advance – see details below.

Required preparation for Workshop

All students should first read the following three required readings.

1. Akbari- Dibavar, A. (2018) 'Gender Race and IR' in Persaud and Sajed (eds) *Race, Culture and Gender in IR* (Routledge) **(eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue)**
2. Ali Bilgic (2015) 'We are not barbarians': Gender politics and Turkey's quest for the West', *International Relations*, Vol.29, No.2, pp.198-218
3. Meyda Yegenoglu (1998) 'Chapter 3: Veiled Fantasies: cultural and Sexual difference in the discourse of orientalism', in *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge University Press): 39- 67**(digitalized version of this chapter available on bb)**

In this workshop we will have a debate about whether the headscarf is emancipatory or oppressive. All students will therefore need to also familiarize themselves with legislative changes and debates around the veil in the EU in the last decade. Some good places to start include the following but students should each also do approximately 1 hours research on this issue and come prepared to debate this question of whether the headscarf is emancipatory or oppressive?

- 'Burqa bans, Headscarves and Veils: A Timeline of Legislation in the West', *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/14/headscarves-and-muslim-veil-ban-debate-timeline>
- Belgium Moves Towards Public Ban on Burka and Niqab', *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/31/belgium-public-ban-burqa-niqab>
- Collective of Muslim Women (2018) 'Muslim Women's rights are Also Collective Rights', *Open Democracy*, July
- S. Bracke and Nadia Fadil (2012) 'Is the Headscarf Oppressive or Emancipatory?' Fieldnotes on the Gendrifcation of the 'Multicultural Debate' in S. Boehmer and S. De Mul (eds) *The postcolonial Low Countries: Culture, Postcolonialism, Multiculturalism* (Lexington Books): 73-96 **(eversion of thisbook available in UoM library)**

Further reading:

Ahmed, L. (1993) *Women, Gender, Islam* (Yale University Press)

Collective of Muslim Women (2018) 'Muslim Women's rights are Also Collective Rights', *Open Democracy*, July 11

Crenshaw, K. (1991) 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Colour', *Stanford Law Review* 43(6) : 1241- 1299

- el-Malik, S. (2016) 'Subjectivity' in A. Ní Mhurchú and R. Shindo (eds) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge)
- Dunn, K (2008) 'Interrogating White Male Privilege', in JL Parpart and M. Zalewski (eds) *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations* (Zed books)
- Franklin, M.I. (2013) Veil Dressing and the Gender Geopolitics of 'What not to Wear', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol.14, Issue.4, pp.1528-3577
- Hill Collins, P. (2000, Second edition) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (Routledge)
- Lorde, Audre. (1984) 'Sister Outsider', *Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde*. (CA: The Crossing Press)
- McClintoch, A. (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (Routledge)
- O'Brien, P (2006) *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and The colonial Pacific* (Uni of Washington Press)

Week EIGHT (21/11/18) How does Decolonisation Work? Turning the World Upside down and Moving the Centre

Postcolonial studies is understood to have emerged in response to the failure of liberation projects to decolonize; in other words, it emerged out of the realization that decolonization does not rest with simple liberation from formal colonial rule. What then is involved in decolonization? We will consider how authors such as Mignolo, Thiong'o and Chakrabarty, and bell hooks associate it with a truly expansive project which involves rethinking and challenging – how/what/who/ where/ and the purpose of – dominant institutions and ideas. We will consider what they mean when they argue that it involves 'another tongue (Thiong'o), refusing victimhood (hooks) and 'provincializing Europe' (Chakrabarty).

This workshop will begin with a interactive lecture, before moving on to small and larger group work to think through processes of decolonization. In this workshop students will have a chance to start to engage in some group work to consider what is involved in decolonizing higher education – using the UoM campus as an example. Time will also be put aside to specifically discuss the presentations due in two weeks time during this workshop.

Required preparation for Workshop

All students should read the following three essential readings and while doing so they should begin to make a list of some of the different ways (actual actions) in which these readings point to how we might engage in decolonization by way of 'provincializing Europe', 'rethinking our language' and 'refusing victimhood'.

1. **Chakrabarty, D.** (2000) 'Introduction: The Idea of Provincializing Europe' in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press): 3-26 (**everson of book available in UoM library catalogue**)
2. **Thiong'o, wa N** (1986) 'The Language of African Literature' in 'Decolonising the mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature' (Zimbabwe Publishing House) (**digitalized version of this chapter available on bb**)
3. **hooks, bell** (2003) 'Chapter 5: Refusing to be a Victim', *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self Esteem* (Atria Books): pp.69- 82) (**Due to copyright issues with this book I am unable to provide a digitalized version of this chapter. Instead there are several copies of this book available in the High Demand section of the main UoM library; students will need to photocopy this chapter from one of these books available in HD**)

Students should also read at least one of these pieces on decolonizing Higher Education:

- UCL, (2014) 'Why is My Curriculum White?' Original University College London video – 20 minutes long - <http://www.dtmh.ucl.ac.uk/videos/curriculum-white/>
- 'Decolonizing The Curriculum: What's all the fuss about', *Decolonising SOAS BLOG* <https://www.soas.ac.uk/blogs/study/decolonising-curriculum-whats-the-fuss/>
- Michael A Peters (2015) 'Why is My Curriculum White?' *Education, Philosophy and Theory*, 47(7): 641-646
- Eve Fairbanks (2015) 'Why South African students have Turned on their Parents' Generation', *The Guardian*, 18 November <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/nov/18/why-south-african-students-have-turned-on-their-parents-generation>
- Rhodes Must Fall Oxford (2018) *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonize The Racist Heart of Empire* (Zed Books) (**everson of book in UoM library**) – any chapter

- Gurminder K Brambra, Dalia Gebrial, Kerem Nisancioglu (eds) (2018) *Decolonising the University: Understanding and Transforming the Universities' Colonial Foundations* (Pluto Press) **(eversion of this book available in UoM library catalogue)** – any chapter
- De Jong, S., Icaza, R., Rutazibwa, O.U (eds) 92018) *Decolonization and Feminisms in Global Teaching and Learning (Teaching with Gender)* (Routledge) **(eversion of this book ordered for UoM library)**

Further Reading:

Global Social Theory <https://globalsocialtheory.org> This site is intended as a free resource for students, teachers, academics, and others interested in social theory and wishing to understand it in global perspective. It emerges from a long-standing concern with the parochiality of standard perspectives on social theory and seeks to provide an introduction to a variety of theorists and theories from around the world. The particular impetus for the setting up of the site was the recent campaign organised by students in the UK asking '[Why is my curriculum white?](#)' This site is one attempt to build resources that will hopefully complement and broaden our shared conversations in this area.

Gruffydd Jones, B. (ed) (2006) *Decolonising International Relations* (Rowman and Littlefield)

Isasi-Díaz, M. and Mendieta, E. (2011) *Decolonizing Epistemologies: Latina/o Theology and Philosophy* (Fordham University Press) **(Eversion of book in UoM library catalogue)**

Mignolo, W (2012) Delinking, Decoloniality & Dewesternization: Interview with Walter Mignolo (Part II) - <http://criticallegalthinking.com/2012/05/02/delinking-decoloniality-dewesternization-interview-with-walter-mignolo-part-ii/>

Mignolo, W. (2000) 'Afterword: Another Tongue, Another Thinking, Another Logic' in *Local Histories/Global Designs*. (Chichester: Princeton University Press) (eversion of book available in UoM library catalogue)

Mignolo, Walter (2007) 'DELINKING: The Rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the Grammar of de-coloniality,' *Cultural Studies*, 21:2, March: 449-514.

Mngxitama, A. (2018) 'Is a Decolonised university possible in a colonial society?' in O. U. Rutazibwa and R. Shilliam (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge), chapter 27, pp. 335-349.

Week NINE (28/11/18) How do postcolonial people challenge their silencing? Sensory Methods

Last week we looked at the expansive nature of 'decolonization' as that which involves many different moves to 'turn the world upside down'. This week we will look at one specific decolonizing move which is to challenge the silencing of postcolonial people's voices; this silencing (as we have looked at earlier in the course) takes place by way of dominant truths which work to fix colonial people(s) into disempowering stereotypes and to objectify them. This week we consider how they work to break the(ir) silenc(ing) through the use of sensory methods. In particular, we will consider how they develop 'voice' through the use of emotion, creativity and performance (linked to hearing, movement and visuality) in order to make sense of the world and effect change. We will consider these questions by reflecting on the development of 'voice' through film, music poetry and storytelling.

This workshop will consist of student small and large group work discussion around sensory processes so come ready to listen, watch, feel and be engaged!

Required preparation for Workshop

1. Gloria Anzaldúa (2006) 'Speaking in tongues: A letter to Third World Women Writers' in AnaLouise Keating (ed) *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader* (Duke University): 26-36 (**digital version available on bb**)
2. Claudia Magallanes-Blanco (2015) 'Talking about our Mother: Indigenous Videos on Nature and the Environment', *Communication, Culture and Critique*, Vol.8, Issue 2: 199-218
3. **Katrin Lock**, (2006) 'Who is Listening? Hip Hop in Serra Leone, Liberia and Senegal', in M.I. Franklin (ed) *Resounding International Relations: on Music, Culture and Politics* (Palgrave) (**digitalized version available on bb**)

Students should also read at least one of the following:

- Ní Mhurchú, A. (2019, forthcoming) 'Subjectivity' in The Routledge Encyclopedia of Citizen Media Studies (**available on bb**)
- Sylvester, C. (2016) 'Creativity' in Ní Mhurchú, A and Shindo, S. (2016) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge): 56-69 (**available as ebook in the library**)
- Moulin, C. (2016) 'Narrative' in Ní Mhurchú, A and Shindo, S. (2016) *Critical Imaginations in International Relations* (Routledge): 136-153 (**available as ebook in the library**)

Further Readings

- Podcast – 'Hip Hop Saved My Life' by Romesh Ranganathan
- Franklin M.I. (2006) *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture and Politics* (Palgrave McMillan)
- Parameswaran, R. (2006) 'Local Culture in Global Media: Excavating Colonial and Material Discourses in National Geographic', *Communication Theory*, (12)3_: 287-315
- Rizk, P. (2018) 'Solidarity, Translation and the Politics of the Margin: Interview with Philip Rizk', *Translating Dissent: Voices with the Egyptian Revolution* (Routledge) -
- Weber, C. (2013) *I am an American: Filming the Fear of Difference* (Intellect Bristol)
- Shabib, B. (2016) 'Translating Emotions: Graffiti as a Tool for Change' in M Baker (ed) *Translating Dissent: Voices From and Within the Egyptian Revolution* (Routledge): 163-177
- Hartman, Sophie. (2018) 'Making the Invisible Visible in IR: Film, Coproduced Research and Transnational Feminism', *European Journal of International Relations*, Online First: 1-23

- Samy Alim, H. (2009) 'Straight Outta Compton, Straight *aus München*: Global Linguistic Flows, Identities, and the Politics of Language in a Global Hip Hop Nation' in H Samy Alim, A. Ibrahim and A. Pennycook (eds) *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (New York: Routledge): pp. 1-25 **(digitalized version available on bb)**
- Franklin, M. I. (2001) 'Inside Out: Postcolonial Subjectivities and Everyday Life Online' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (IFJP), 3(3): 387-422
- Lorde, A. (2017) *Your Silence will Not Protect You: Essays and Poems* (Silver Press)

Workshop 10_ Presentations and Essay Workshop

In this workshop you will present the group poster as part of your study group.

In final hour of the workshop I will discuss the essays with you and we will reflect upon best techniques for preparing these as well as how to ensure you can tailor these to ensure they draw on what you've learned from the course *as a whole*.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI32082 The International Political Economy of Trade
Semester: 2
Credits: 20

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<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>

Lectures: Wednesdays 10-12, Roscoe 1.010

Tutorials: TU01 Thursday 10-11, Sam Alex A102
 TU02 Thursday 11-12, Sam Alex A102
 TU03 Thursday 13-14, Mansfield Cooper 4.05

Mode of Assessment	Assessment Weighting	Deadline
1,500 word book review	25%	Monday, 11 March 2019, 14h00.
3 Discussion groups	25%	Continuous.
3,500 word policy report	50%	Monday, 8 May 2019, 14h00.

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

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

Course Guide Overview

- 1) Rationale and aims of the course
- 2) Course organisation
- 3) Assessments
- 4) Sources for your own research
- 5) Detailed weekly guide including seminar preparation and required and recommended readings
- 6) Trade Policy Briefing – Grading Criteria and Where to Start?

1) Rationale and aims of the course

1.1) Course aims

The course unit aims to:

- introduce students to a range of approaches theorising international trade within International Political Economy;
- familiarise students with the historical origins and development of the contemporary international trading system;
- introduce students to the principal actors in the global trading system;
- familiarise students with some of principal issues in the contemporary politics of international trade.

1.2) Learning outcomes

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

- an ability to identify and critically reflect on the distinctive contribution made by at least three approaches within International Political Economy to the study of global trade politics;
- an understanding of the historical origins of the contemporary global trading system;
- an ability to describe the role of key actors within the global trading system;
- an ability to critically reflect on a number of key issues in the contemporary politics of international trade and situate these within contemporary theoretical debates;
- independent research, critical, evaluative and communicative skills through in-class presentations, participation in class activities and discussions and through the production of a policy briefing.

1.3) 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

1.4 Workload

The University's Academic Standards Code of Practice specifies that a 20 credit course is expected to require about 200 hours of work by students. At 3rd year level it is essential that you read for your degree as, in conjunction with discussion, it forms the basis of the learning experience. Failure to read the required amount will negatively affect your marks and your understanding of the field. You can supplement required readings with further reading that will enable you to expand and build upon your knowledge and understanding of the field as well as assist in your assignments. You are encouraged to complement your reading with other sources you have identified through your own research (particularly relating to recent, current and unfolding events). As a courtesy to your fellow students, please return your books and other materials as quickly as possible to the appropriate library so that others may use them.

2) Course organisation

The course runs over 10 two-hour lectures and 10 seminars.

Lecture schedule	Seminar schedule	Discussion band
30 Jan 19: Free trade	31 Jan 19: Free trade	-
6 Feb 19: Protectionism	7 Feb 19: Protectionism	-
13 Feb 19: Trade in the 21 st century	14 Feb 19: Trade in the 21 st century	-
20 Feb 19: International Trade Law	21 Feb 19: Book review debates	-
27 Feb 19: The World Trade Organisation	28 Feb 19: The WTO	A
6 Mar 19: Preferential Trade Agreements	7 Mar 19: Preferential Trade Agreements	A
11 Mar 19: BOOK REVIEW DEADLINE		
13 Mar 19: Trade policy formation	14 Mar 19: Trade policy formation	B
20 Mar 19: Trade and inequality	21 Apr 19: Trade and inequality	C
3 April 19: Trade and the environment	4 April 19: Trade and the environment	C
1 May 19: Britain's Trade after Brexit	2 May 19: Trade Policy Briefings	B
8 May 19: TRADE POLICY BRIEFING DEADLINE		

Seminars

The seminar is absolutely central to the learning experience and attendance is **compulsory**. *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.*

3) Assessments

Assignments must be **uploaded to Turnitin** via the course Blackboard site by 2pm on the specified dates. **Assignments must not be faxed or e-mailed** to the Undergraduate Office or to a member of staff. No assignment sent in this way will be marked. Any assignments uploaded after the specified date and time will be treated as late and receive the standard School sanction for late submission of assignments. **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.

Late Submission of assignments 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 work that is submitted after the relevant exam, will be marked as 0.

Students should ensure that pages are **numbered** and their **registration numbers** and the **relevant course code** (POLI32082) appear on **each page**. We mark assignments anonymously, so you write your name and degree programme only under the fold down flap of the submission sheet. Also, because of anonymous marking, the student must not write her/his name on the assignment comment sheet (feedback form). The student should only write her/his registration number and assignment title on the comment sheet.

Bibliography and referencing The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate references will be penalised by the deduction of marks - **to a maximum of 10 marks** if the scholarly apparatus is entirely inadequate. **Consult the Politics Part II Guide if you have doubts about correct referencing.** References and Bibliography do **not** count towards the word limit.

3.1) Book review

The first form of assessment for the course is an 1,500-word book review that counts for 25% of the overall mark. The review should contain a balance between description and critical evaluation. A sample book review (Douglas Irwin reviewing Ha-Joon Chang's *Kicking away the Ladder*) can be accessed [here](#). You can complete the book review individually or in a group of 2-3 students, but you need to have decided by 07 February 2019 in which way you would like to complete the task. The lecturer can provide assistance in finding a group.

If you are completing your book review individually

Start with a paragraph (2-3 sentences) giving an overall assessment of the merits and limitations of the book. You will likely write this after you have written the two substantial sections, but it has to come at the start of your book review. Make sure the points made in the substantial sections confirm and support the overall assessment.

Use the first section of the review to tell readers what the book is about. Use the following questions for guidance on how to structure the first section of your book review (approx. 500 words)

- what is the central argument of the book?
- What theoretical and/or empirical approach does the author use?

Use the second section of the review to give an assessment of the book. Use the following questions for guidance on how to structure the first section of your book review (approx. 1000 words)

- Does the author succeed in convincing the reader of his/her arguments?
- Is the book innovative or noteworthy in theory, method or empirical work?
- Are there gaps or anomalies in its coverage?
- How plausible are the author's arguments?

All references to sections of the book should be followed by a page numbers. All other works should be cited as per ordinary referencing rules (see Politics Part II Guide).

If you are completing your book review in a group of 2 or 3 students

Divide the book into at least 3 sections and meet at least 3 times, discussing each section individually. Take brief minutes of your meetings and annex them to your book review submission (the notes **do not** count towards the word count, can be written as bullet points, and need not be extensive).

To write up your book review, start with a paragraph (2-3 sentences) giving an overall assessments of the merits and limitations of the book. You will likely write this after you have written the two substantial sections, but it has to come at the start of your book review. Make sure the points made in the substantial sections confirm and support the overall assessment.

Use the first section of the review to tell readers what the book is about. Use the following questions for guidance on how to structure the first section of your book review (approx. 500 words)

- what is the central argument of the book?
- What theoretical and/or empirical approach does the author use?

Use the second section of the review to give an assessment of the book. Use the following questions for guidance on how to structure the first section of your book review (approx. 1000 words)

- Does the author succeed in convincing the reader of his/her arguments?
- Is the book innovative or noteworthy in theory, method or empirical work?
- Are there gaps or anomalies in its coverage?
- How plausible are the author's arguments?

All references to sections of the book should be followed by a page numbers. All other works should be cited as per ordinary referencing rules (see Politics Part II Guide).

You should select one book from the following list:

- Rodrik, Dani (2017), *Straight Talk on Trade: Ideas for a Sane World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). - unlimited e-book access through library
- Hannah, Erin (2016), *NGOs and Global Trade: Non-State Voices in EU Trade Policymaking* (Abingdon: Routledge). - unlimited e-book access through library

- Hopewell, Kristen (2016) *Breaking the WTO: How Emerging Powers Disrupted the Neoliberal Project* (Stanford: Stanford University Press). - unlimited e-book access through library
- Wilkinson, Rorden (2014), *What is Wrong with the WTO and How to Fix It* (Cambridge: Polity Press). - multiple e-books in the library
- Young, Alasdair (2017), *The New Politics of Trade: Lessons From TTIP* (Newcastle: Agenda Publishing). - single user e-book access and five hard copies in library

Feedback on Book reviews: Students will discuss the books discussed during the first four tutorials, including their take on the central arguments and theoretical and empirical approaches of the book. Feedback will be provided during these sessions.

3.2) Discussion groups

The second dimension of assessment counting for 25% of the overall mark for this course comes from student participation in **THREE DISCUSSION GROUPS**. You must partake in one discussion from Band A (topic 5 or 6), one from Band B (topic 7 or 10), and one from Band C (topic 8 or 9). For further clarity, a breakdown is provided below:

Band A	Band B	Band C
Topic 5: The WTO	Topic 7: Trade Policy Formation	Topic 8: Trade and inequality
Topic 6: Preferential Trade Agreements	Topic 10: Britain's Trade after Brexit	Topic 9: Trade and environment

Guidance on discussion groups

You will be assigned to a discussion group on Blackboard. All participation in discussion group activity takes place **before** the seminar in question. Any participation after the deadlines indicated below will not be counted towards your grade.

Each student is expected to participate in three discussion groups and to make one statement about the question set for the chosen discussion group, based on the readings, **by Monday 6pm before the week's lecture**, and to engage with another student's statement, referencing the readings, **by Wednesday 6pm after the week's lecture**. Any contributions made after these times will not be taken into consideration.

Each discussion group will be marked as follows:

- 1) 3-5 sentences in original statement – 2p (directly engaging the assigned readings + 2p)
- 2) 1-3 sentences engaging with another student's original statement – 4p
- 3) Engaging additional academic sources not assigned as seminar preparation – 2p

Students can reach a maximum of 10 points per discussion group. The final grade will be made up of the scores for individual discussion groups. If students complete the absolute minimum (one original statement in one discussion group for each Band), for example, they will receive a pass grade (40%). Conversely, it is possible to achieve a discussion group grade of 100%, if students receive a score of 10 or above for all three discussion groups. This is possible because there is no limit on how many times

students can respond to others in the group, and how many additional academic sources they cite to make their arguments. If your group is inactive, you can join the discussion in a different group to gain additional points.

Feedback on Discussion groups: Marks are published on Blackboard (anonymised by last four digits of your student number) each week that the discussion group exercise runs. If students are unclear why they received a certain mark, they contact the course convener for feedback.

3.3) Trade Policy Briefing

The final form of assessment for the course is a 3,500 word **trade policy briefing** accounting for 50% of the grade. The topic of your briefing should be taken from the list:

1. Legal Brief – EC-Hormones
2. Political Brief – Trade and Gender
3. Political Brief – Trade and Health

You will complete the trade policy briefing as a group of 3 students. The premise of the trade policy briefing is as follows:

In the context of the United Kingdom (UK)'s withdrawal from the European Union (EU) (herein: 'Brexit'), the Department for International Trade has commissioned a trade policy briefing from your team of researchers. The purpose of the briefing is to provide UK trade policy makers with up to date knowledge and best practice on one of the five identified topics. Your report will serve as the basis for evidence-based policy making in the formulation and implementation of post-Brexit UK trade policy, including in the negotiation of UK-US FTA, UK-Canada FTA, UK-Australia FTA and UK-New Zealand FTA.

The structure of your briefing will depend on whether you are completing a legal brief or a political brief.

The Legal Brief consists of the following sections:

- 1) Background to the dispute and relevance to UK post-Brexit trade policy
- 2) Findings of the dispute, including main legal reasoning
- 3) Knowledge Synthesis of the academic literature on the dispute
- 4) Policy Recommendations for UK post-Brexit trade policy

The Political Brief consists of the following sections:

- 1) Background of the issue and relevance to UK post-Brexit trade policy
- 2) Knowledge Synthesis of the academic literature on the issue
- 3) Best Practices adopted by other countries, international organisations or non-governmental actors on the issue
- 4) Policy Recommendations for UK post-Brexit trade policy

For further guidance consult the **Trade Policy Briefing reading lists** at the end of the course guide.

Feedback on Trade Policy Briefings: Students present their trade policy briefings in the last two tutorials of the course. The presentations will **not** be graded, however feedback will be provided on the basis of the presentations.

Students should be aware that all marks are provisional until confirmed by the external examiner and the final examinations boards in June.

4) Sources for your own research

For each seminar, you are expected to have accustomed yourself with one journal article/book chapter and one source, as indicated in the seminar guide. The further reading lists are by no means exhaustive and as advanced 3rd year students your reading should be self-directed and wide. Roam the library shelves and browse databases for further books and articles. Be aware, in addition, that the study of international trade owes much to the endeavour of other academic fields other than IPE, and consequently that useful sources may be found in a range of other disciplines such as international relations, sociology, economic history, economics, geography, political economy, politics and international law.

At the time of preparation all books listed are in the John Rylands University Library, or are on order. Material is drawn from a range of online journal articles available via JRULM electronic journals. Most of the newest literature on IPE is to be found in academic journals. Please, ensure that you take the time to regularly look through the journals to see whether newly published articles will help you develop your understanding of current processes of change in the global political economy.

To ease access to materials, I have included links to core readings on Blackboard. As a result, **all core readings should always be accessible to students on the course.**

Dictionary of Trade Policy Terms International trade is a technical policy area. Hence, the trade literature contains many technical terms and economic and legal concepts. A good place for quickly checking terminology that you do not comprehend is the ***Dictionary of Trade Policy Terms*** available [here](#).

Journals provide a useful source of information, particularly concerning contemporary events and theoretical issues. Some of the most relevant journals are listed below. It is worthwhile keeping an eye of the latest issues of these journals as they often have good articles surveying pertinent subjects. Many journals are accessible electronically, and can be accessed through the Library electronic resources page. Articles are also available using a number of specialist databases, which again can be accessed from the library's electronic resources page. A useful full text on-line service is Ingenta, where you can browse a quite vast array of journals and download or print out the full text of articles from current and past issues. Ingenta is located at <http://www.ingenta.com>. Click then on 'social sciences', and then on 'politics and international relations'. You might also like to browse journals in the economics section.

Key journals

Journal of World Trade, World Trade Review, The World Economy, Economic Journal, Global Governance, International Organization, International Labour Review, New Political Economy, Review of International

Political Economy, Third World Quarterly, Third World Studies, Political Science Quarterly, Journal of Asia-Pacific Economy, World Development, Development and Change.

Related Journals

Global Society, International Journal, World Politics, Alternatives, Environmental Politics, International Political Science Review, Journal of Common Market Studies, Pacific Review, Foreign Affairs, Millennium: Journal of International Studies, European Journal of International Relations, Review of International Studies, International Affairs, International Security, Security Dialogue.

Websites

There are many websites of interest to students of global trade. These include:

World Trade Organisation (WTO)	www.wto.org
International Monetary Fund (IMF)	www.imf.org
World Bank	www.worldbank.org
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)	www.oecd.org
European Union (EU)	www.europa.eu
United Nations (UN)	www.un.org
International Labour Organisation (ILO)	www.ilo.org
Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)	www.apec.org
Association of South East Asian Nations	www.asean.or.id
Group of 77 (G77)	www.g77.org
Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)	www.nonaligned.org
Organisation of American States (OAS)	www.oas.org
UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)	www.unctad.org
UN Comtrade (International trade statistics)	comtrade.un.org
UN Environment Programme (UNEP)	www.unep.org
UN Development Programme (UNDP)	www.undp.org
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions	www.icftu.org
South Centre	www.southcentre.org
One World Action	www.oneworld.net
World Economic Forum	www.weforum.org
World Social Forum	www.wsfindia.org
World Development Movement	www.wdm.org.uk
International Chamber of Commerce	www.icc.org
World Resources Institute (WRI)	www.wri.org
Third World Network	www.twinside.org.sg
Oxfam	www.oxfam.co.uk
Focus on the Global South	www.focusweb.org
Public Citizen Global Trade Watch	www.citizen.org/trade
Friends of the Earth	www.foe.org
UK Department of Trade and Industry	www.dti.gov.uk
UN Commission on International Trade Law	www.uncitral.org
US International Trade Commission	www.usitc.gov
US Trade Representative	www.ustr.gov
EU Trade Directorate-General	ec.europa.eu/trade/
NAFTA Secretariat	www.nafta-sec-alena.org
Ministry of Commerce, People's Republic of China	english.mofcom.gov.cn
International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development	www.ictsd.org

Electronic sources are extremely valuable for research purposes, and you should feel free to make use of relevant websites and databases. *Remember that information taken from web-based sources must be acknowledged and referenced as systematically as information taken from books and journals, and that the rules on plagiarism apply in exactly the same way.*

Newspapers and official publications

All good quality newspapers carry stories of relevance to students of IPE. In particular, I would recommend the *Financial Times*, *The Economist* and any of the broadsheets. In addition, the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD), based in Geneva, has an extremely useful *Weekly Trade News Digest* called *Bridges*. See <http://ictsd.org/news/bridgesweekly/>.

Official publications can also be very useful, and you are encouraged to use primary sources in your written work and independent research for the essay.

Textbooks

This course is designed as an **advanced level exploration** of key topics in the study of global trade politics. As such, it is not taught from a single textbook as you are encouraged to take ownership of your own learning in this course. If you think some background reading might be helpful, I have asked Blackwells to stock the following:

- Hoekman, B.M. and Kostecki, M. (2009), *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: The WTO and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press),
Grant, W. and Kelly, D. (eds) (2005), *The Politics of International Trade in the 21st Century: Actors, Issues and Regional Dynamics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
McGuire, S. and Hocking, B. (eds) (2004), *Trade Politics*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge).
Trebilcock, M.J., Howse, R. and Eliason, A. (2013), *The Regulation of International Trade*, 4th edn (London: Routledge).

Similarly, although this is a political economy rather than an economics course, a good understanding of economics is very helpful, even if coming from a broadly 'critical' perspective (on this, see Blyth [2009], 'Torn Between Two Lovers: Caught in the Middle of British and American IPE', *New Political Economy*, 14 [3]). The following is a good basic International Economics textbook (and is not too heavy on equations):

- Krugman, P.R. and Obstfeld, M. and Melitz, M. (2011) *International Economics: Theory and Policy*, 9th edn, Boston, MA: Pearson. Feel free to also consult earlier editions.

5) Detailed Weekly Guide

Topic 1: Free trade

Seminar preparation:

Read the course guide and the assignment instructions thoroughly and prepare any questions you have.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Balassa, B. and Bauwens, L. (1987), 'Intra-Industry Specialisation in a Multi-Country and Multi-Industry Framework', *The Economic Journal*, 97 (388), pp. 923-39.
- Davis, D.R. (1995), 'Intra-Industry Trade: A Heckscher-Ohlin-Ricardo Approach', *Journal of International Economics*, 39 (3-4), pp. 201-26.
- Deraniyagala, S. and Fine, B. (2001), 'New Trade Theory versus Old Trade Policy: A Continuing Enigma', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 25 (6), pp. 809-25.
- *Eaton, J. and Kortu, S. (2012), 'Putting Ricardo to Work', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 26 (2), pp. 65-90.
- Egger, H., Egger, P. and Greenaway, P. (2007), 'Intra-Industry Trade with Multinational Firms', *European Economic Review*, 51 (8), pp. 1959-84.
- Ethier, W.J. (2009), 'The Greater the Differences, the Greater the Gains?', *Trade and Development Review*, 2 (2), pp. 70-8.
- Falvey, R.E. and Kierzkowski, H. (1987), 'Product Quality, Intra-Industry Trade and (Im)perfect Competition', in H. Kierzkowski (ed.), *Protection and Competition in International Trade* (Oxford: Basil-Blackwell), pp. 143-61.
- Fisher, E.O'N. (2011), 'Heckscher-Ohlin Theory When Countries Have Different Technologies', *International Review of Economics and Finance*, 20 (2), pp. 202-10.
- Flam, H. and Helpman, E. (1987), 'Vertical Product Differentiation and North-South Trade', *American Economic Review*, 77 (5), pp. 810-22.
- George, C. (2010), *The Truth about Trade: The Real Impact of Liberalization* (London: Zed Books).
- Gruber, H.G. and Lloyd, P.J. (1975), *Intra-Industry Trade* (London: Macmillan).
- *Hoekman, B.M. and Kostecki, M. (2009), *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: The WTO and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Annex 2 on 'The Economics of Trade Policy: Basic Concepts'.
- Heckscher, E. and Ohlin, B. (1991), *Heckscher-Ohlin Trade Theory*, H. Flam and M.J. Flanders (eds), with a foreword by P.A. Samuelson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Irwin, D. (1996), *Against the Tide: An Intellectual History of Free Trade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), Chs. 5, 6, and 12.
- Krueger, A. (1997), 'Trade Policy and Economic Development: How We Learn', *American Economic Review*, 87 (1), pp. 1-22.
- Krugman, P. (1981), 'Intraindustry Specialization and the Gains from Trade', *Journal of Political Economy*, 89 (5), pp. 959-73.
- Maggi, G. and A. Rodríguez-Clare (1998) 'The Value of Trade Agreements in the Presence of Political Pressures' *Journal of Political Economy* 106(3), pp. 574-601.
- Milner, H.V. (1988), *Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Ricardo, D. (1996 [1871]), 'On Foreign Trade' and 'Bounties on Exportation, and Prohibitions on Importation', in Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books) (chapters 7 and 22).

- Rodrik, D. (2011) *The Globalization Paradox* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Ch. 3: 'Why Doesn't Everyone Get the Case for Free Trade'.
- Smith, A. (1999 [1776]) *The Wealth of Nations*, (London: Penguin, various editions), book IV, chapter 2.
- *Soo, K.T. (2011), 'The Gains from Trade Revisited', *International Review of Economics and Finance*, 20 (2), pp. 193-201.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

- What is the difference between 'absolute' and 'comparative' advantage?
- How have neoclassical economists developed the thought of Smith and Ricardo?

Topic 2: Protectionism

Seminar preparation:

Read and be ready to discuss the following sections of the book you are reviewing:

- Hannah – Introduction & chapter 1 "Contesting cosmopolitan Europe"
- Hopewell – Introduction, chapter 2 "Liberalism and the Contradictions of American Hegemony" and chapter 3 "Power, Multilateralism and Neoliberalism at the WTO"
- Rodrik – Chapter 1 "A Better Balance", chapter 2 "How Nations Work", chapter 3 "Europe's Struggles" and chapter 4 "Work, Industrialization and Democracy"
- Wilkinson – Introduction, Chapter 1 "Why we govern trade in the way that we do" and chapter 2 "Bargaining among unequals"
- Young – Chapter 1 "Misplaced Optimism", chapter 2 "The transatlantic economy: Interpenetrated not integrated" and chapter 3 "TTIP's ambition in context"

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- *Chang, H-J. (2003), 'Kicking Away the Ladder: Infant Industry Promotion in Historical Perspective', *Oxford Development Studies*, 31 (1), pp. 21-32. See also Chang, H.J. (2002), *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem Press).
- Eichengreen, Barry (1988) 'Did International Economic Forces Cause the Great Depression?' *Contemporary Economic Policy* 6 (2): 90–114.
- Fairbrother, M. (2010), 'Trade Policymaking in the Real World: Elites' Conflicting Worldviews and North American Integration', *Review of International Political Economy*, 17 (2), pp. 319-47.
- Ficker, S.K. (2005), 'From Structuralism to the New Institutional Economics: The Impact of Theory on the Study of Foreign Trade in Latin America', *Latin American Research Review*, 40 (3), pp. 145-62.
- Findlay, R. and O'Rourke, K.H. (2007), *Power and Plenty: Trade, War and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), Chs. 5 and 6.
- Fine, B., Saraswati, J. and Tavasci, D. (2013), *Beyond the Developmental State: Industrial Policy into the Twenty-First Century* (London: Pluto Press), see esp. Ch. 1.
- George, C. (2010), *The Truth about Trade: The Real Impact of Liberalization* (London: Zed Books).
- Gunder-Frank, A. (1978), *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan).
- Irwin, D. (1996), *Against the Tide: An Intellectual History of Free Trade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), Chs. 2 and 8.
- Jameson, K.P. (1986), 'Latin American Structuralism: A Methodological Perspective', *World Development*, 14 (2), pp. 223-32.
- Krueger, A.O. (1997), 'Trade Policy and Economic Development: How We Learn', *American Economic Review*, 87 (1), pp. 1-22.
- Krugman, P. (1994), 'Competitiveness: A Dangerous Obsession', *Foreign Affairs*, 73 (2), pp. 28-44.

List, F. (1817) *The National System of Political Economy*, (various editions), Book 2.

*Prebisch, R. (1959), 'Commercial Policy in Underdeveloped Countries', *American Economic Review*, 49 (2), pp. 251-73. Available from: http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic925740.files/Week%203/Prebisch_International.pdf

Saad-Filho, A. (2005), 'The Rise and Decline of Latin American Structuralism and Dependency Theory', in J.K.S. and E.S. Reinert (eds), *The Origins of Development Economics: How Schools of Economic Thought Have Addressed Development* (London: Zed Books), pp. 128-45.

Singer, H.W. (1950), 'The Distribution of Gains Between Investing and Borrowing Countries', *American Economic Review*, 40 (2), pp. 473-85.

Stolper, W. and P. Samuelson (1941) 'Protection and Real Wages', *The Review of Economic Studies*, 9(1), pp. 58-73.

Strange, S. (1985) 'Protectionism and World Politics', *International Organization* 39(2), pp. 233-259.

Viner, J. (1948), 'Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *World Politics*, 1 (1), pp. 1-29.

Wade, R.H. (2009), 'Rethinking Industrial Policy for Low Income Countries', *African Development Review*, 21 (2), pp. 352-66.

*Wade, R.H. (2012), 'Return of Industrial Policy', *International Review of Applied Economics*, 26 (2), pp. 223-39.

Weiss, L. (1997), 'Globalization and the Myth of the Powerless State', *New Left Review*, 225, pp. 3-27.

Weiss, L. (1999), *The Myth of the Powerless State: Governing the Economy in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity).

Wylde, C. (2012), *Latin America after Neoliberalism: Developmental Regimes in Post-Crisis States* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), Chs. 1-3.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

What is the difference between 'infant industry' and 'industrial policy'?

What explains the pervasiveness of 'mercantilism' as an economic paradigm?

Topic 3: Trade in the 21st century

Seminar preparation:

Read and be ready to discuss the following sections of the book you are reviewing:

- Hannah – Chapter 2 "The evolution of EU trade politics: Agency, competency and decision-making processes" and chapter 3 "Prescription for influence? NGOs and the EU's TRIPS, and access to medicines negotiations"
- Hopewell – Chapter 4 "Power Shift", chapter 5 "Brazil: New Drivers of Liberalization", and chapter 6 "China: A delicate dance"
- Rodrik – Chapter 5 "Economists and their Models", chapter 6 "The Perils of Economics Consensus", chapter 7 "Economists, Politics and Ideas" and chapter 8 "Economics as Policy Innovation"
- Wilkinson – Chapter 3 "Talking Trade", chapter 4 "Thinking differently?" and chapter 5 "Trade for all"
- Young – Chapter 4 "Cooperation: Transatlantic Business Alliances" and chapter 5 "Contestation: The Politicisation of Trade Policy"

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- *Baldwin, R. (2014), 'WTO 2.0: Governance of 21st century trade', *The Review of International Organizations*, 9(2), pp. 261-283.
- Cattaneo, O., Gereffi, G. and Staritz, C. (2010), 'Global Value Chains in a Postcrisis World: Resilience, Consolidation, and Shifting End Markets' in O. Cattaneo, G. Gereffi and C. Staritz (eds), *Global Value Chains in a Postcrisis World: A Development Perspective*, (Washington DC: The World Bank), pp. 3-20.
- Drahos, P. (2002), 'Developing Countries and Intellectual Property Standard-Setting', *Journal of World Intellectual Property*, 5 (5), pp. 765-89.
- Feenstra, R. (1998) 'Integration of Trade and Disintegration of Production in the Global Economy', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 12(4), pp. 31-50.
- *Gereffi, G. (2013) 'Global Value Chains in a post-Washington Consensus World', *Review of International Political Economy*, 21(1), pp. 9-37.
- Holmes, P. (2006) 'Trade and "Domestic" Policies: The European Mix', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(6), pp. 815-831.
- Hoekman, B. (2006), 'Liberalizing Trade in Services: A Survey', World Bank Policy Research Policy Paper No. 4030, Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Hoekman, B. and Saggi, K. (2000), 'Assessing the Case for Extending WTO Disciplines on Investment-Related Policies', *Journal of Economic Integration*, 15 (4), pp. 629-53.
- Hummels, D, J Ishii and KM Yi (2001) 'The Nature and Growth of Vertical Specialization in World Trade', *Journal of International Economics*, 54(1), pp. 75-96.
- Kaplinsky, R. (2000) 'Globalisation and Unequalisation: What Can Be Learned from Value Chain Analysis?', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 37(2), pp. 117-146.
- Matthews, D. (2002), *Globalising Intellectual Property Rights: The TRIPS Agreement* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Madeira, M.A. (2016) "The New Politics of The New Trade: The Political Economy of Intra-Industry Trade" in Deese, D. (ed.) *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Trade*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- May, C. (2000), *The Global Political Economy of Intellectual Property Rights: The New Enclosures?* (Abingdon: Routledge). Also a new edition from 2013.
- May, C. (2007), 'The Hypocrisy of Forgetfulness: The Contemporary Significance of Early Innovations in Intellectual Property', *Review of International Political Economy*, 14 (1), pp. 1-25.
- Milner, H.V. (2014), 'Introduction: The Global Economy, FDI and the Regime for Investment', *World Politics*, 66 (1), pp. 1-11. See also other articles in this Symposium by B.A. Simmons, T. Allee and C. Peinhardt, and T. Büthe and H.V. Milner.
- Nadvi, K (2008) 'Global Standards, Global Governance and the Organization of Global Value Chains', *Journal of Economic Geography*, 8(3), pp. 323-343.
- Pauwelyn, J. (2008) 'New Trade Politics for the 21st Century', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 11(3), pp. 559-573.
- Pollack, M.A. and Shaffer, G.C. (2009), *When Cooperation Fails: The International Law and Politics of Genetically Modified Foods* (Oxford: Oxford UP), esp. pp. 182-99.
- Scott, J. (2007), *The WTO Agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures: A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Sell, S.K. (2003), *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Taylor, M. (2009), *International Competition Law: A New Dimension for the WTO?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Van Staveren I., D. Elson, C. Grown and N. Cagatay (2007) *The Feminist Economics of Trade* (London, New York: Routledge).

- Weiss, L. and Thurbon, E. (2006), 'The Business of Buying American: Public Procurement as Trade Strategy in the USA', *Review of International Political Economy*, 13 (5), pp. 701-24.
- Young, A.R. and Peterson, J. (2014), *Parochial Global Europe: 21st Century Trade Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- *Young, A. and J. Peterson (2006) 'The EU and the New Trade Politics', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(6), pp. 795-814.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

- What are 'behind-the-border' measures and how do they differ from tariffs?
- How does service liberalisation work and why is it prominent in international trade?

Topic 4: International Trade Law

Seminar preparation:

Read and be ready to discuss the following sections of the book you are reviewing:

- Hannah – Chapter 4 "Too thirsty to keep fighting? NGOs and the EU's quest for water services liberalisation" and chapter 5 "Where to from here?"
- Hopewell – Chapter 7 "India: Balancing Complex Trade Interests" and conclusion
- Rodrik – Chapter 9 "What will not work", chapter 10 "New Rules for the Global Economy", chapter 11 "Growth Policies for the Future" and chapter 12 "It's the Politics, Stupid!"
- Wilkinson – Chapter 6 "Getting from here to there" and conclusion
- Young – Chapter 6 "Herding Cats: Intra- and Intergovernmental coordination", chapter 7 "Brexit and Trump: Body blows to TTIP" and chapter 8 "Lessons from TTIP"

There is no required reading for the lecture on International Trade Law. However, if the introductory lecture sparked your interest, below are some suggestions for learning more about WTO law and the politics of its interpretation and application.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Bown, C. and J. Pauwelyn (2010) *The Law, Economics and Politics of Retaliation in WTO Dispute Settlement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- *Chaisse, J. and D. Chakraborty (2014) 'Implementing WTO Rules through Negotiations and Sanctions: The Role of Trade Policy Review Mechanism and Dispute Settlement System' *Journal of International Law* 28(1), pp. 153-185.
- Elsig, M. and P. Stucki (2012) 'Low-income Developing Countries and WTO Litigation: Why Wake Up a Sleeping Dog?' *Review of International Political Economy* 19(2), pp. 292-316.
- Froese, M. (2016) 'Mapping the Scope of Dispute Settlement in Regional Trade Agreements: Implications for the Multilateral Governance of Trade' *World Trade Review* 15(4), pp. 563-585.
- Jackson, J. (2004) 'International Law Status of WTO Dispute Settlement Reports: Obligation to Comply or Option to "Buy Out"?' *The American Journal of International Law* 98(1), pp. 109-125.
- Kim, M. (2008) 'Costly Procedures: Divergent Effects of Legalization in the GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures' *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3), pp. 657-686.
- Lang, A. (2011) *World Trade Law After Neoliberalism: Reimagining the Global Economic Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- *Lang, A. (2005) 'Beyond Formal Obligation: The Trade Regime and the Making of Political Priorities', *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18(3), pp. 403-424.

- Marceau, G. (2015) 'The Primacy of the World Trade Organization Dispute Settlement System', *Questions of International Law* 23: 3-13.
- Matsushita, M. (2012) 'The Dispute Settlement Mechanism at the WTO: The Appellate Body – Assessment and Problems' in *The Oxford Handbook on the World Trade Organization*, edited by Amrita Narlikar, Martin Daunton, and Robert Stern, 507-534. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Matsushita, M., T. Schoenbaum, P. Mavroidis, and M. Hahn (2015) *The World Trade Organization: Law, Practice, and Policy* 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Trommer, S. (2014) 'Legal Opportunity in Trade Negotiations: International Law, Opportunity Structure, and the Political Economy of Trade Agreements', *New Political Economy*, 19 (1), pp. 1-20.
- Van den Bossche, P. and D. Prevost (2016) *Essentials of WTO Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Topic 5: The World Trade Organisation (Discussion group Band A)

Discussion group question:

Does the world need a multilateral trade organization?

Seminar preparation:

- Trebilcock, M., R. Howse, and A. Eliason (2013) *The Regulation of International Trade*, 4th edition, Chapter 1 "The Evolution of International Trade Theory, Policy and Institutions", pp. 1-53, particularly focusing on 'An Institutional History of International Trade Policy', pp. 20-41.
- Lester, S. (2016) 'Is the Doha Round Over? The WTO's Negotiating Agenda for 2016 and Beyond', <https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/ftb64.pdf>.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Abbas, M. (2016) "Uneven and Combined Development in the Doha Stalemate", in Desai, R. (ed.) *Analytical Gains of Geopolitical Economy* (Emerald Group Publishing) pp. 127-160.
- Ford, J. (2003), *A Social Theory of the WTO* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Blanchard, E. (2015) "A Shifting Mandate: International Ownership, Global Fragmentation, and a Case for Deeper Integration under the WTO" *World Trade Review* 14 (1), pp. 87-99.
- Cottier, T. (2007) 'Preparing for Structural Reform in the WTO', *Journal for International Economic Law* 10 (3), pp. 497-508.
- *Drahos, P. (2003) "When the Weak Bargain With the Strong: Negotiations in the World Trade Organization", *International Negotiation* 8(1), pp. 79-109.
- Eagleton-Pierce, M. (2012), *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). [ebook available]
- Egger, P. and M. Olarreaga (2014) 'Introduction to the Special Issue on the Political Economy of Multilateral Trade Negotiations', *Review of International Organizations* 9(2), pp. 135-142.
- Evenett, S. (2014) 'The Doha Round Impasse: A Graphical View' *Review of International Organizations* 9(2), pp. 143-162.
- Ford, J. (2003), *A Social Theory of the WTO* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- *Hoekman, B. (2014) 'Sustaining Multilateral Trade Cooperation in a Multipolar World Economy' *Review of International Organizations* 9(2), pp. 241-260.
- Hoekman, B.M. and Kostecki, M. (2009), *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: The WTO and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), esp. Ch. 2.
- Hopewell, Kristen (2015) "Different Paths to Power: The Rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization", *Review of International Political Economy*, 22(2), pp. 311-338.

- Jawara, F. and A. Kwa (2004) *Behind the Scenes at the WTO: The Real World of International Trade Negotiations*, London: Zed Books.
- Kapoor, I. (2004) 'Deliberative Democracy and the WTO', *Review of International Political Economy* 11(3), pp. 522-541.
- Mercurio, B. (2009) 'Reflections on the WTO and the Prospects for its Future', *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 10(1), pp. 49-57.
- Milner, H. and B. Rosendorff (1997) 'Democratic Politics and International Trade Negotiations: Elections and Divided Governments As Constraints on Trade Liberalization', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 41(1), pp. 117-146.
- Moon, M. (2004) 'From Seattle and Doha to Cancun: The Trade Agenda in the New Millennium', in Brian Hocking and Steven McGuire (eds), *Trade Politics*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge).
- Muzaka, V. and M. Bishop (2015) 'Doha Stalemate: The End of Trade Multilateralism?' *Review of International Studies* 41(2), pp. 383-406.
- Narlikar, A. (2005), *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Narlikar, A. (2006) 'Fairness in International Trade Negotiations: Developing Countries in the GATT and WTO', *The World Economy*, 29(8), pp. 1005-1029.
- Narlikar, A. (2010), 'Know the Enemy: Uncertainty and Deadlock in the WTO', in Amrita Narlikar (ed.) *Deadlocks in Multilateral Negotiations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). [ebook available]
- Wilkinson, R. (2006) *The WTO: Crisis and the Governance of Global Trade* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Wilkinson, R. (2007) 'Building Asymmetry: Concluding the Doha Development Agenda', in Donna Lee and Rorden Wilkinson (eds), *The WTO after Hong Kong: Progress In and Prospects For the Doha Development Agenda* (Abingdon: Routledge). [ebook available]
- Wilkinson, R. (2009) 'Language, Power, and Multilateral Trade Negotiations', *Review of International Political Economy*, 16(4), pp. 597-619.
- Williams M. (2003) *Gender Mainstreaming in the Multilateral Trading System: A Handbook for Policy-makers and Other Stakeholders* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).
- Woods, N. and Narlikar, A. (2002), 'Governance and the Limits of Accountability: The WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank', *International Social Science Journal*, 53 (170), pp. 569-83.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

- What is the difference between GATT and WTO?
- Why did the Doha Round fail?

Topic 6: Preferential Trade Agreements (Discussion group Band A)

Discussion group question:

Are preferential trade agreements a contradiction to trade multilateralism?

Seminar preparation:

- Trommer, S. (2017) 'The WTO in an Era of Preferential Trade Agreements: Thick and Thin Institutions in Global Trade Governance', *World Trade Review*, 16(3) pp. 501-526.
- Baldwin, R. (2014) 'Multilateralising 21st Century Regionalism', <http://voxeu.org/article/multilateralising-21st-century-regionalism>.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Abbott, F. (2007) "A New Dominant Trade Species Emerges: Is Bilateralism a Threat?", *Journal of International Economic Law* 10(3), pp. 571-83.
- Baldwin, R.E. (1993), 'A Domino Theory of Regionalism', NBER Working Paper No. 4465, Cambridge, MA: NBER.
- Baldwin, R. and E. Seghezza (2010) 'Are Trade Blocs Building or Stumbling Blocs?' *Journal of Economic Integration* 25(2), pp. 276-297.
- *Bhagwati, J. (2007), 'Regionalism versus Multilateralism', *The World Economy*, 15 (5), pp. 535-56.
- Bhagwati, J. (2008) *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Chase, K.A. (2003), 'Economic Interests and Regional Trading Arrangements: The Case of NAFTA', *International Organization*, 57 (1), pp. 137–174.
- Chase, K. (2004) 'Multilateralism Compromised: The Mysterious Origins of GATT Article XXIV' *World Trade Review* 5(1), pp. 1-30.
- Dür, A. (2010), *Protection for Exporters: Power and Discrimination in Transatlantic Trade Relations, 1930-2010* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Hoekman, B.M. and Kostecki, M. (2009), *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: The WTO and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Ch. 10.
- Labonté, R., Schram, A. and Ruckert, A. (2016), 'The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and Health: Few Gains, Some Losses, Many Risks', *Globalization and Health*, 12 (25), pp. 1–7.
- Majluf, L. A. (2004) *Swimming in the Spaghetti Bowl: Challenges for Developing Countries under the "New Regionalism"*, Policy Issues in International Trade and Commodities Studies Series N.27, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.
- Manger, M. (2012) 'Vertical Trade Specialization and the Formation of Northsouth PTAs', *World Politics*, 64 (4), pp. 622-658.
- Manger, M. (2009), *Investing in Protection: The Politics of Preferential Trade Agreements between North and South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mansfield, E.D. and Milner, H.V. (eds) (1997), *The Political Economy of Regionalism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press).
- Matsushita, Mitsuo, Schoenbaum, Thomas & Mavroidis, Petros (2006) *The World Trade Organization Law, Practice, and Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 14: Regional Trade Agreements.
- Quintero-Ramírez, C. (2002) 'The North American Free Trade Agreement and Women', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 4 (2), pp. 240-259.
- Ravenhill, J. (2003), 'The New Bilateralism in the Asia Pacific', *Third World Quarterly*, 24 (2), pp. 299-317.
- Ravenhill, J. (2016), 'The Political Economy of an "Asian" Mega-FTA: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership', *Asian Survey*, 56 (6), pp. 1077-1100.
- *Ravenhill, J. (2016) 'The Political Economy of the Trans-Pacific Partnership: A "21st Century" Trade Agreement?', *New Political Economy*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2017.1270925>.
- Siles-Brügge, G. (201), *Constructing European Union Trade Policy: A Global Idea of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), see Chs. 2, 3 and 5.
- True J. (2008) 'Gender Mainstreaming and Regional Trade Governance in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)', in S. M. Rai et al, *Global Governance Feminist Perspectives*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 129-159.

- de Ville, F. and Siles-Brügge, G. (2016) 'Why TTIP Is A Game Changer and Its Critics Have A Point', *Journal of European Public Policy*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2016.1254273>.
- de Ville, F. and Siles-Brügge, G. (2016), *TTIP: The Truth about the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Viner, J. (1950) *The Customs Union Issue* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).
- Young, A. (2016) 'Not Your Parents' Trade Politics: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership Negotiations', *Review of International Political Economy* 23(3), pp. 345-378.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

- What is trade diversion?
- Why have preferential trade agreements become increasingly popular since the 1990s?

Topic 7: Trade Policy Formation (Discussion Group Band B)

Discussion group question:

How democratic should trade policy formation be?

Seminar preparation:

- Dunoff, J.D. (1998) 'The Misguided Debate over NGO Participation at the WTO' *Journal of International Environmental Law*, 1(3), pp. 433–456.
- Hannah, E. (2016) Giving Voice to the Voiceless?, <http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/04/02/2016/expert-knowledge-global-trade-giving-voice-voiceless>

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Adler, Emanuel & Bernstein, Steven (2005): Knowledge in Power: The Epistemic Construction of Global Governance. In: Barnett, Michael & Duvall, Raymond (eds.): Power and Global Governance. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bellman, C. & Gerster, R. (1996): Accountability in the World Trade Organization. *Journal of World Trade Law*, 30(6), pp. 31–74.
- Capling, A. and P. (2010) *Negotiating Preferentially or Multilaterally? Governments, Non-State Actors and Trade Policy-Making* (Cambridge and Geneva: Cambridge University Press and WTO).
- Charnovitz, S (1996): Participation of Nongovernmental Organizations in the World Trade Organization. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law*, 17(1), pp. 331–357.
- Charnovitz, S (2000): Opening the WTO to Nongovernmental Interests. *Fordham International Law Journal*, Vol. 24, pp. 173–216.
- Del Felice, C. (2014) "Power in discursive practices: The case of the STOP EPAs campaign", *European Journal of International Relations* 20(1), pp. 145–167.
- Dunoff, J.D (1998) "The Misguided Debate over NGO Participation at the WTO" *Journal of International Environmental Law*, vol. 1, pp. 433–456.
- Dür, A. (2010), *Protection for Exporters: Power and Discrimination in Transatlantic Trade Relations, 1930-2010* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Dür, A. and D. de Bièvre (2007) "Inclusion without Influence? NGOs in European Trade Policy", *Journal of Public Policy*, 27(1), pp. 79-101.
- Esty, D. (1998): Non-Governmental Organizations at the World Trade Organization: Cooperation, Competition, or Exclusion. *Journal of International Economic Law*, vol. 1, pp. 123-147

- Gerlach, Carina (2006) 'Does Business Really Run EU Trade Policy? Observations about EU Trade Policy Lobbying' *Politics* 26(3), pp. 176-183.
- Goldstein, J. (1993), *Ideas, Interests and American Trade Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- Hannah, E. (2011): NGOs and the European Union: Examining the Power of Epistemes in the EC's TRIPS and Access to Medicines Negotiations. *Journal of Civil Society*, 7(2), pp. 179-206
- Hannah, E. (2014): The Quest for Accountable Governance: Embedded NGOs and Demand Driven Advocacy in the International Trade Regime. 48 *Journal of World Trade*, Issue 3, pp. 457-479
- He, B. and H. Murphy (2007): Global Social Justice at the WTO? The Role of NGOs in Constructing Global Social Contracts. *International Affairs* 83(4), pp. 707-727
- Hocking, B. (2004) "Beyond Seattle: Adapting the Trade Policy Process", in Hocking, B. and S. McGuire (eds.) *Trade Politics* (Routledge, London & New York). Second Edition
- *Hocking, B. (2004) 'Changing the Terms of Trade Policy-Making: From the 'Club' to the 'Multistakeholder' Model', *World Trade Review* 3(1) pp. 3-26.
- Loy, F. (2001): Public Participation in the World Trade Organization. In: Sampson, G.P: *The Role of the World Trade Organization in Global Governance*. United National University Press, New York, pp. 113-35
- Madeira, M.A. (2016) 'New Trade, New Politics: Intra-Industry Trade and Domestic Political Coalitions', *Review of International Political Economy*, 23 (4), pp. 677-711.
- Marceau, Gabrielle & Pedersen, Peter N. (1999): Is the WTO Open and Transparent? *Journal of World Trade*, 33(1).
- Milner, Helen (1999) 'The Political Economy of International Trade', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2(1), pp. 91-114.
- Morin, Jean-Frédéric & Gold, E Richard (2010): Consensus-Seeking, Distrust and Rhetorical Entrapment: The WTO Decision on Access to Medicines. *European Journal of International Relations* XX(X), pp. 1-25
- Murphy, Hannah (2010): *The Making of international trade policy: NGOs, agenda-setting and the WTO*. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, Cheltenham
- O'Brien, Robert; Goetz, Anne Marie; Scholte, Jan Aart & Williams, Marc (2000): *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, reprinted 2002
- Sapra, Seema (2009): The WTO System of Trade Governance: The Stale NGO Debate and the Appropriate Role for Non-State Actors. *Oregon Review of International Law*, vol. 11, pp. 71-108
- Scholte, J.A; O'Brien, R., and Williams, Marc (1999): The World Trade Organization and Civil Society. *Journal of World Trade*, 33(1), pp. 107-124
- Scholte, Jan Aart (2004): The WTO and Civil Society. In: Hocking, Brian & McGuire, Steven (eds.): *Trade Politics*. Second Edition. Routledge, London
- *Sell, Susan & Prakash, Aseem (2004): Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 48, pp. 143-175
- Trommer, Silke (2014): *Transformations in Trade Politics: West African Civil Society Participation in Economic Partnership Negotiations with the European Union* (London: Routledge).
- Trommer, Silke (2011) 'Activists beyond Brussels: Transnational NGO Strategies on EU-West African Trade Negotiations', *Globalizations*, 8(1), pp. 113-126.
- Von Bülow, Marisa (2010): *Building transnational networks: Civil Society and the Politics of Trade in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Wilkinson, Rorden (2005): Managing Global Civil Society: the WTO's engagement with NGOs. In: Germain, Randall D. & Kenny, Michael (ed.): *The Idea of Global Civil Society: Ethics and Politics in a Globalizing Era*. Routledge, London

- Williams, Marc (2004): *Contesting Global Trade Rules: Social Movements and the World Trade Organization*. In: Benería, Lourdes and Savitri Bisnath (eds.): *Global Tensions: Challenges and Opportunities in the World Economy*. Routledge, London
- Williams, Marc (2011): *Civil Society and the WTO: Contesting Accountability*. In: Scholte, Jan Aart (ed.): *Building Global Democracy? Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Woll, C. (2008), *Firm Interests: How Governments Shape Business Lobbying on Global Trade* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

- What is special interest politics and why has it come to be challenged in trade policy formation?
- What impact do non-state actors have on trade policy formation?

Topic 8: Trade and inequality (Discussion group Band B)

Discussion group question:

(How) can we use the potential of trade to achieve global social justice?

Seminar preparation:

- Wade, R.H. (2003), 'What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of "Development Space"', *Review of International Political Economy*, 10 (4), pp. 621-44.
- Krugman, P. (2007), 'Trade and Inequality, Revisited', 15 June. Available from: <http://www.voxeu.org/article/trade-and-inequality-revisited>.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

- Aggarwal, A. (2006), 'Special Economic Zones: Revisiting the Policy Debate', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (43/44), pp. 4533-6.
- Amin, S. (1977), *Imperialism and Unequal Development* (Brighton: Harvester Press).
- Arrighi, G. (2002), 'Global Inequalities and the Legacy of Dependency Theory', *Radical Philosophy Review*, 5 (1/2), pp. 75-85.
- Barrientos, S. and Smith, S. (2007), 'Do Workers Benefit from Ethical Trade? Assessing Codes of Labour Practice in Global Production Systems', *Third World Quarterly*, 28 (4), pp. 713-29.
- Breda dos Santos, N., R. Farias and R. Cunha (2005) 'Generalized System of Preferences in General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organization: History and Current Issues', *Journal of World Trade* 39(4), pp. 637-70.
- Brewer, A. (1990) *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge), Ch. 8.
- Cattaneo, O., Gereffi, G. and Staritz, C. (eds) (2010), *Global Value Chains in a Postcrisis World: A Development Perspective* (Washington, DC: The World Bank).
- Chang, H.J. (2006), 'Policy Space in Historical Perspective with Special Reference to Trade and Industrial Policies', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (7), pp. 627-33.
- *Darity, W. and Davis, L.S. (2005), 'Growth, Trade and Uneven Development', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 29 (1), pp. 141-70.
- dos Santos, T. (1970), 'The Structure of Dependence', *American Economic Review*, 60 (1), pp. 231-6.
- Dunning, J.H. and Lundan, S.M. (2008), *Multinational Enterprises and the Global Economy*, 2nd edn (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar), Chs. 3, 4, 6.

- Engman, M., Onodera, O. and Pinali, E. (2007), 'Export Processing Zones: Past and Future Role in Trade and Development', OECD Trade Policy Papers No. 53, Paris: OECD.
- Feenstra, R. and Hanson, G. (2001), 'Global Production Sharing and Rising Inequality: A Survey of Trade and Wages', NBER Working Paper No. 8372, Cambridge, MA: National Bureau for Economic Research.
- Fröbel, F., Heinrichs, J. and Kreye, O. (1981), *The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Ch. 1, pp. 1-23.
- *Gallagher, K.P. (2007), 'Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15 (1), pp. 62-85.
- Gallagher, K.P. (2008), 'Trading Away the Ladder? Trade Politics and Economic Development in the Americas', *New Political Economy*, 13 (1), pp. 37-59.
- Galtung, J. (1971), 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism', *Journal of Peace Research*, 8 (2), pp. 81-117.
- Gereffi, G., Humphrey, J. and Sturgeon, T. (2005), 'The Governance of Global Value Chains', *Review of International Political Economy*, 12 (1), pp. 78-104.
- Gereffi, G., Korzeniewicz (eds) (2002), *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism* (Westport, CT: Praeger), Ch. 1 and Parts II-IV.
- Gunder-Frank, A. (1978), *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan).
- Heron, T. (2012), *The Global Political Economy of Trade Protectionism and Liberalisation: Trade Reform and Economic Adjustment in Textiles and Clothing* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Heron, T. (2011), 'Asymmetric Bargaining and Development Tradeoffs in the CARIFORUM-European Union Economic Partnership Agreement', *Review of International Political Economy*, 18 (3), pp. 328-57.
- Hoekman, B. (2005), 'Operationalizing the Concept of Policy Space in the WTO: Beyond Special and Differential Treatment', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 8 (2), pp. 405-24.
- Krugman, P. (1995), 'Growing World Trade: Causes and Consequences', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, pp. 327-37, 361-2.
- Kumar, N. and Gallagher, K.P. (2007), 'Relevance of "Policy Space" for Development: Implications for Multilateral Trade Negotiations', RIS Discussion Papers, No. 120, March, New Delhi: Research and Information System for Developing Countries.
- Messerlin, P.A. (2006), 'Enlarging the Vision for Trade Policy Space: Special and Differentiated Treatment and Infant Industry Issues', *The World Economy*, 29 (10), pp. 1395-1407.
- Milberg, W. and Amengual, M. (2008), 'Economic Development and Working Conditions in Export Processing Zones: A Survey of Trends', International Labour Office, Geneva: ILO.
- Mosley, L. and Uno, S. (2007), 'Racing to the Bottom or Climbing to the Top? Economic Globalization and Collective Labour Rights', *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (8), pp. 923-48.
- Muzaka, V. (2011), *The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights and Access to Medicines* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Narlikar, A. (2003), *International Trade and Developing Countries: Bargaining Together in the GATT and WTO* (London: Routledge).
- Palpacuer, F. (2009), 'Bringing the Social Context Back In: Governance and Wealth Distribution in Global Commodity Chains', *Economy and Society*, 37 (3), pp. 393-419.
- Raffer, K. and Singer, H.W. (2002), *The North-South Divide: Six Decades of Unequal Development* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Richardson, B. (2009), *Sugar: Refined Power in a Global Regime* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Rodrik, D. (2011) *The Globalization Paradox* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Roxborough, I. (1979), *Theories of Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan), pp. 55-69.

- Shadlen, K. (2005), 'Exchanging Development for Market Access? Deep Integration and Industrial Policy under Multilateral and Regional-Bilateral Trade Agreements', *Review of International Political Economy*, 12 (5), pp. 750-75.
- Tausch, A. (2010), 'Globalisation and Development: The Relevance of Classical "Dependence" Theory for the World Today', *International Social Science Journal*, 61 (202), pp. 467-88.
- Taylor, M. (ed.) (2008), *Global Economy Contested: Power and Conflict Across the International Division of Labour* (Abingdon: Routledge), esp. Chs. 1, 3, 5.
- Wilkinson, R. and J. Scott (2009) 'Developing Country Participation in the GATT: A Reassessment', *World Trade Review* 7(3), pp. 473-510.
- Young, A.R. (2005), 'Picking the Wrong Fight: Why Attacks on the World Trade Organization Pose the Real Threat to National Environmental and Public Health Protections', *Global Environmental Politics*, 5 (4), pp. 47-72.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

What is the 'international division of labour'?

Why are the effects of trade liberalisation uneven?

Topic 9: Trade and environment (Discussion group Band C)

Discussion group question:

Does trade liberalisation help or hinder environmental sustainability?

Seminar preparation:

Green, A. (2005), 'Climate Change, Regulatory Policy and the WTO: How Constraining Are Trade Rules?', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 1 (1), pp. 143-189.

WTO (2017) The Impact of Trade Opening on Climate Change, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/envir_e/climate_impact_e.htm.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

Bebbington, A.J. and Batterbury, S.P.J. (2001), 'Transnational Livelihoods and Landscapes: Political Ecologies of Globalization', *Cultural Geographies*, 8 (4), pp. 369-80.

Benton, L.M. (1996), 'The greening of free trade? The debate about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the environment', *Environment and Planning A*, 28 (12), pp. 2155-77.

Brack, D. (2004), 'Trade and the Environment', in Brian Hocking and Steven McGuire (eds), *Trade Politics*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge).

*Charnovitz, S. (2007), 'The WTO's Environmental Progress', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 10 (3), pp. 685-706.

Charnovitz, S. Hufbauer, G.C. and Kim, J. (2009), *Global Warming and the World Trading System* (Washington, DC: Peterson Institute).

Clapp, J. and Dauvergne, P. (2011), *Paths to a Green World: The Political Economy of the Global Environment*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), Ch. 5.

Conca, K. (2000), 'The WTO and the Undermining of Global Environmental Governance', *Review of International Political Economy*, 7 (3), pp. 484-94.

- Esty, D.C. and Moffa, A.I. (2012), 'Why Climate Change Collective Action Has Failed and What Needs To Be Done Within and Without the Trade Regime', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 15 (3), pp. 777-91.
- Ford, L. (2003), 'Challenging Global Environmental Governance: Social Movement Agency and Global Civil Society', *Global Environmental Politics*, 3 (2), pp. 120-34.
- Frankel, J. (2009), 'Global Environment and Trade Policy', in Joseph Aldy and Robert Stavins (eds) *Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy: Implementing Architectures for Agreement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 493-529.
- Gallagher, K.P. (2004), *Free Trade and the Environment: Mexico, NAFTA and Beyond* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- George, C. and Kirkpatrick, C. (2004), 'Trade and Development: Assessing the Impact of Trade Liberalisation on Sustainable Development', *Journal of World Trade*, 38 (3), pp. 441-69.
- Gonzalez, C.G. (2001), 'Beyond Eco-Imperialism: An Environmental Justice Critique of Free Trade', *Denver University Law Review*, 78 (4), pp. 979-1016.
- Green, A. and Epps, T. (2007), 'The WTO, Consistency and the Environment', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 10 (2), pp. 285-316.
- Jahiel, A.R. (2006), 'China, the WTO and Implications for the Environment', *Environmental Politics*, 15 (2), pp. 310-29.
- Lang, T. and Hines, C. (1993), *The New Protectionism: Protecting the Future Against Free Trade*, (London: Earthscan), pp. 6-29, see also 125-140.
- McCarthy, K. (2004), 'Privatizing Conditions of Production: Trade Agreements as Neoliberal Environmental Governance', *Geoforum*, 35 (3), pp. 327-41.
- Merchant, C. (2005), *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge), esp. Introduction, Chs. 2-4 and 9.
- Neumayer, E. (2004), 'The WTO and the Environment: Its Past Record is Better than Critics Believe, but the Future Outlook is Bleak', *Global Environmental Politics* 4 (3), pp. 1-8.
- Newell, P. (2005), 'The Political Economy of International Trade and the Environment', in Dominic Kelly and Wyn Grant (eds), *The Politics of International Trade in the Twenty-First Century: actors, issues and regional dynamics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Newell, P. (2012), *Globalization and the Environment: Capitalism, Ecology and Power* (Cambridge: Polity), Ch. 4.
- Peet, R. and Watts, M.J. (eds) (2004), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development and Social Movements* (London: Routledge).
- Peet, R., Robbins, P. and Watts, M.J. (eds) (2011), *Global Political Ecology*, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Shiva, V. (1997), 'Economic Globalization, Ecological Feminism and Sustainable Development', *Canadian Woman Studies* 17(2), pp. 22-27.
- *Taylor, A. (1999), 'The Trade and Environment Debate' in Annie Taylor and Caroline Thomas (eds), *Global Trade and Global Social Issues* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 72-90. [digitized reading]
- Trommer, S. and T. Di Muzio (2016), 'The Political Economy of Trade in the Age of Carbon Energy', in T. Di Muzio and J. Ovadia (eds.) *Energy, Capitalism and World Order: Towards a New Agenda in International Political Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 57-78.
- Watson, J.K.R. (2013), *The WTO and the Environment: Development of Competence Beyond Trade* (Abingdon: Routledge).

Weber, M. (2001), 'Competing Political Visions: WTO Governance and Green Politics', *Global Environmental Politics*, 1 (3), pp. 92-113.

Questions you need to be able to answer to proceed successfully with the course material:

What is the relationship between global trade and environmental regulation?
What different views exist on the impact of trade opening on climate change?

Topic 10: Britain's Trade after Brexit (Discussion group Band C)

Discussion group question:

What should be the focus of British trade policy after Brexit and why?

Seminar preparation:

Hestermeyer, H. and F. Ortino (2016) 'Towards a UK Trade Policy Post-Brexit: The Beginning of a Complex Journey', *King's Law Journal*, 27(3), pp. 452-462.

Trommer, S. (2017) 'Fragmentation and Decline? The UK and the Global Trading System post-Brexit', <https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/renewal/25-3-4/UK-and-trade-post-Brexit>.

Further reading (* indicates recommended readings):

*Albin, C. (2008), 'Using Negotiation to Promote Legitimacy: An Assessment of Proposals For Reforming the WTO', *International Affairs*, 84 (4), pp. 757-77.

Bartels, L. (2016) 'The UK's Status in the WTO after Brexit', https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2841747

Capling, A. and Higgott, R. (2009), 'Introduction: The Future of the Multilateral Trade System – What Role for the World Trade Organization', *Global Governance*, 15 (3), pp. 313-25. *See also* other articles in this Special Issue in *Global Governance*.

Chin, G. (2009), 'Reforming the WTO: China, the Doha Round and Beyond', in Amrita Narlikar and Brendan Vickers (eds), *Leadership and Change in the Multilateral Trading System* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff).

Evenett, S. (ed.) (2009a), 'Broken Promises: A G-20 Summit Report by Global Trade Alert', London: Global Trade Alert/Centre for Economic Policy Research. *See also* other Global Trade Alert (GTA) reports and the GTA website: <http://www.globaltradealert.org/>

Gawande, K., Hoekman, B. and Cui, Y. (2011), 'Determinants of Trade Policy Responses to the 2008 Financial Crisis', World Bank Policy Research Paper No. 5862, Washington, DC: World Bank.

George, C. (2010), *The Truth About Trade: The Real Impact of Liberalization* (London: Zed), esp. Chs. 10-12 [Ch. 11 digitised].

Herman, D. and Cooper, A.F. (2013), 'Between Collective Action and a Fragmented Political Economy: The G20 and the Return of Protectionist Impulses', *Contemporary Politics*, 19 (4), pp. 399-410.

Jones, K. (2010), *The Doha Blues: Institutional Crisis and Reform in the WTO* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Ch. 7.

Petersmann, E.-U. (2005), *Reforming the World Trading System: Legitimacy, Efficiency and Democratic Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Sampson, T. (2016) Four Principles for the UK's Brexit Trade Negotiations, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/four-principles-for-the-uks-brexit-trade-negotiations/>

Siles-Brügge, G. (2014), 'Explaining the Resilience of Free Trade: The Smoot-Hawley Myth and the Crisis', *Review of International Political Economy*, 21 (3), pp. 535-74.

Steger, D.P. (2009), 'The Future of the WTO: The Case for Institutional Reform', *Journal of International Economic Law*, 12 (4), pp. 803-33.

Stiglitz, J.E. and Charlton, A. (2007), *Fair Trade for All? How Trade Can Promote Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

*Wilkinson, R. (2012), 'Of Butchery and Bicycles: The WTO and the "Death" of the Doha Development Agenda', *The Political Quarterly*, 83 (2), pp. 1-7.

6) Trade Policy Briefing – Grading Criteria and Where to Start?

Trade Policy Briefings assess your ability to conduct independent research and critically review the information provided.

The following grading criteria will be used to assess the trade policy briefings:

- 1) Length – the trade policy briefing hits the 3,500 word count – 10p
- 2) Form – the trade policy briefing respects the section structure set out in the course guide and is neatly edited – 10p
- 3) Language – the trade policy briefing is free from spelling and grammatical errors, including typos, and reads well – 10p
- 4) Theoretical underpinnings – the trade policy briefing relies on a wide range of scholarly articles – 20p (at least 6 additional articles to obtain a pass grade)
- 5) Empirical underpinnings – the trade policy briefing relies on compelling empirical material – 20p (a thorough engagement with the case/with additional policy material on the issue to obtain a pass grade)
- 6) Originality – the policy recommendations relate to the analysis provided and are based on the theoretical and empirical research; they are insightful and compelling – 30p

Each brief contains a complex range of issues. Your briefing may deal with all issues raised by the topic or may focus on one or two issues. Below is a list of sources to help start you off on your research work!

1) Legal Brief: EC-Hormones

- *EC - Measures Concerning Meat and Meat Products (Hormones)*, Appellate Body Report, WT/DS26/AB/R
- Charnovitz, Steve (2000) "The Supervision of Health and Biosafety Regulation by World Trade Rules", *Tulane Environmental Law Journal* 13(2), p.271-302.
- Winickoff, David and Douglas Bushey (2010) "Science and Power in Global Food Regulation: The Rise of the Codex Alimentarius", *Science, Technology & Human Values* 35(3), p.356-381.

2) Political Brief: Trade and Gender

- Hannah, Erin, Adrienne Roberts and Silke Trommer (2018) "Gender-sensitive Trade": Buzzword or Basic Principle of post-Brexit Trade Policy?, *speri.comment the political economy blog*, <http://speri.dept.shef.ac.uk/2018/10/25/gender-sensitive-trade-buzzword-or-basic-principle-of-post-brexit-trade-policy/>
- Melanson, Karen (2005) "An Examination of the Gendered Effects of Trade Liberalisation", *Policy Perspectives* 12, p. 10-17.
- Williams, Mariama (2004) "Gender, the Doha Development Agenda, and the post-Cancun trade negotiations", *Gender & Development* 12(2), p. 73-81.

- Said-Allsopp, Muhaimina, Anne Tallontire (2015) "Pathways to Empowerment?: Dynamics of Women's Participation in Global Value Chains", *Journal of Cleaner Production* 107 (November), p. 114-121.

3) Political Brief: Trade and Health

- Baker, Brook (2016) "Transpacific Partnership Provisions on Intellectual Property, Transparency and Investment Chapters Threaten Access to Medicines in the US and elsewhere", PLOS Medicine, <https://journals.plos.org/plosmedicine/article?id=10.1371/journal.pmed.1001970>.
- Friel, Sharon, Libby Hattersley and Ruth Townsend (2014) "Trade Policy and Public Health", *Annual Review of Public Health* 36: pp. 325-344.
- McNeill, Desmond et al. (2017) "Trade and Investment Agreements: Implications for Health Protection" *Journal of World Trade* 51(1): pp.159-182.

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI32092

**Sex, Bodies and Money
Gendering International Political Economy**

**Semester: 2
Credits: 20**

Lecturer: Dr. Adrienne Roberts

Office location: 4.008 Arthur Lewis Building

Telephone: 0161-2754937 (Ext. 54995)

Email: adrienne.roberts@manchester.ac.uk

Feedback/Assessment Hrs: Please book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol>

Lecture time/location: Thursday 10-12, University Place 5.212

Tutorial time/location: (TU1) Weds 10.00-11.00, Zochonis B22
(TU2) Weds 11.00-12.00, Zochonis B22

****Please allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System**

Mode of assessment: Essay (4,200 words), 60%
Seminar Portfolio (1,950 words), 30%
Seminar Participation, 10%

Reading Week: NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER 2
Easter Break: 8-26 April 2019

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 due date: 14.00 on **Monday 13 May 2019**

*Essays are to be submitted via Turnitin (which you can access through BB9)

Seminar Portfolio due dates: Each of the three entries must be submitted via Tii **before 10am on the date that they are due** (i.e. 13 February, 13 March, 3 April).

Communication: Students must read their University e-mails regularly, as important information will be communicated 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)

Mitigating Circumstances: Different schools have different procedures for submitting mitigating circumstances requests. You **MUST** submit applications through your home schools' procedures regardless of whether or not 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 that 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:

Mainstream approaches to analyzing the international (or global) political economy tend to be based on rational choice theorizing and view markets as objective and utility-maximizing structures, which, when left to expand relatively unobstructed by governments, are capable of improving the well-being of much of the global population and raising standards of living overall. Critical approaches to IPE have done much to challenge mainstream accounts by arguing that the deepening of global markets has heightened inequalities in wealth and power between the rich and the poor as well as between countries in the Global North and the Global South. However, both schools of thought fail to take account of the inherently gendered nature of global markets, the gender biases that are created and reproduced through the operation of global markets, the gendered nature of money and finance, and the new spaces that have emerged for the negotiation of gender identities in the contemporary era of neoliberal globalization. The purpose of this course is to investigate and critically analyze these and other trends by using a feminist lens to understand the international political economy. A central objective of this course is for students to be comprehend what it means to apply a 'feminist lens' to a range of international issues, while also being aware of the differences between several different feminist approaches to IPE, including liberal, Marxist/socialist, intersectional, post-colonial and post-structuralist feminisms.

The course unit aims to:

- introduce students to a range of feminist approaches to theorizing the International Political Economy (IPE)
- familiarize students with the intellectual origins of feminist IPE and some of the main issues that concern feminist IPE scholars
- introduce students to feminist epistemologies and methods for studying IPE
- provide an overview of some of the different trends and topics that are of interest to feminist IPE scholars

Learning Outcomes:

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

- an ability to describe how a feminist lens might be used to critique mainstream and critical approaches to IPE
- an ability to identify the distinctive characteristics of several different feminist approaches to IPE
- an ability to critically reflect on the gendered nature of global markets, the gender biases that are created and reproduced through the operation of global markets and the new spaces that have emerged for the negotiation of gender identities in the contemporary era
- an ability to think critically about some of the ways in which gender has intersected with class, race, citizenship and sexuality, historically and up to the present
- an ability to identify an appropriate research question on a topic related to feminist IPE
- an ability to develop and defend an original argument
- an ability to present research findings in written form at a 3rd year undergraduate level

Employment Outcomes:

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>

This specific module can be useful for students wishing to develop and demonstrate skills that can be applied in a wide range of different jobs, voluntary roles and work placements. For instance, previous students have gone on to take up jobs in think tanks, not-for-profit organizations, and the civil service. They have also taken up jobs in teaching, banking/finance and many, many others.

Content:

Week 1: Introduction to the course (31 January)

Week 2: Gendering macroeconomic ideas and practices (7 February)

Week 3: Marxist and socialist feminisms and the importance of social reproduction (14 February)

Week 4: The changing nature of social reproduction under neoliberalism (21 February)

Week 5: Black feminism and intersectionality (28 February)

Week 6: Post-colonialism and the critique of 'development' (7 March)

Week 7: The problem with microcredit (14 March)

Week 8: Post-structuralism, performativity and finance (21 March)

There is no lecture on March 28th

Week 9: Theorizing Masculinity and 'Queering' IPE (4 April)

Easter Break

Week 10: 'Another World is Possible': Feminist alliances, alternatives and agendas for action (2 May)

Teaching and learning methods:

This undergraduate class is divided into 10 2-hour lectures and 9 1-hour seminars. The lectures are designed to give background information to help students understand the readings and to place them in relation to each other and to the broader themes of the course. The seminars are designed to help students understand the specific issues raised in the articles and to give students an opportunity to develop and exchange their own views on the theories and topics. Students should come to the seminars having completed all of the required reading in advance and having prepared some comments and/or critiques of the readings.

Assessment for the course is based on an essay of 4,200 words to be submitted at the end of the term (60%), a seminar portfolio consisting of three entries that will come to approximately 1,950 words in total (30%) and seminar participation (10%).

Feedback:

Written formative feedback will be provided on the portfolio entries. Summative feedback will be provided on the final assessed essay and class participation.

Assessment:

1. Essay (60%)

Assessment is by means of a **compulsory 4,200** word assessed essay. You must submit **an electronic copy of the essay** by 14.00 on **Monday 13 May 2019**.

The assessed essay is an original piece of research on a topic related to one or more of the themes of the course. This is a major piece of work, and should command an appropriate share of your time and energy. Essay questions will be formulated by me and will be distributed via Blackboard during Week 6. You may also choose to write on a question of your own choosing, provided that it is approved by me beforehand. While this handbook includes a comprehensive reading list on a number of topics and theoretical approaches, your essay will be expected to show an understanding of the wider literature and background materials so you should also look beyond the reading list to include some independent research material.

The essay must be typed in **12 point font** and **double spaced**. **Essays not submitted in this format will not be marked**. Essays should be appropriately referenced. 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. **PLEASE CONSULT THE POLITICS COURSE UNIT GUIDE PART 2 FOR ASSESSMENT CRITERIA AND REFERENCING INFO.**

*Please note the extensions, mitigating circumstances and late submissions policies outlined above.

**Please also note that your essay and seminar portfolios will be submitted to an originality check using Turnitin software. Plagiarism is a serious offence and students should consult the University's statement on plagiarism, which can be found in your programme handbooks.

2. Seminar Portfolio (30%)

In order to best facilitate your learning throughout the semester, 30% of the assessment for this module will be by means of seminar portfolio consisting of three entries in total. These will be returned to you with comments within 2 weeks of submission, constituting an important form of formative feedback in the lead up to the essay. The content of the portfolio entries will vary, with the instructions for the three entries outlined below, under the week that the entry is due. The individual portfolio entries should be **650 words** long (+ or – 10%), with the word total indicated at the top of each log. **References are not included in the word count and should be included for those articles not listed on the course syllabus** (you should still indicate when you are using course materials but you do not have to provide a full reference at the end of the entry). They are **due at 10am on the following Wednesdays** (i.e. before tutorials on that subject take place):

Entry #1 is due at 10am on Wednesday 13 February

Entry #2 is due at 10am on Wednesday 13 March

Entry #3 is due at 10am on Wednesday 3 April

The purpose of the portfolio entries is to show that you have read the readings and that you are able to draw on them to answer the particular set of questions posed to you. You should be articulating *your own ideas*, though these should be ideas *informed* by the required readings. You may reference class discussions and other appropriate

materials that you have come across but this is not required. Part of the intention of the portfolio is to train you to be able to convey ideas in a concise manner so you should spend a considerable amount of time thinking about how to organize your answers around a couple of key points (in other words, *this is not stream of consciousness writing* but a thought out reflection on a set of questions or ideas). It is also important to write in a way that is clear and concise. Poor spelling, grammar and sentence structure will be penalized. Please do not use bullet points and try to express your ideas in prose.

3. Participation (10%)

****This is not a mark for attendance – attendance is compulsory.**

Students are expected to **attend all lectures and tutorials**, to **complete all of the required readings before each lecture** and to **come to tutorials prepared to discuss the readings**. Tutorials are an opportunity for students to engage critically with the material covered in the course. The expectation is that students arrive in class prepared to discuss the assigned reading in a collegial and constructive environment. This means that you must read *before* you arrive in class. Participation means substantive engagement with the material (in other words, quality not quantity), this not only requires that you show up to classes every week but importantly that you participate in the class including group activities, show evidence of preparation and reading, provide insightful comments and engage in collegial behaviour. Keep in mind that you and your colleagues all have the same apprehension about speaking up in class. Considering that open discussion is critical to learning, it matters that you learn to participate constructively in the early stages of your academic career. Remember, these are your classes so they can only be as good as you make them!

Participation	
70-100%	Consistent quality participation based on thorough preparation. Always displays analytical skills and a clear understanding of the issues. Able to cross relate issues and develop intelligent/reflective answers. Consistent quality contribution to discussions.
60-69%	Quality participation based on good preparation. Usually displays analytical skills and understanding of the issues. Evidence of capacity to cross relate issues and develop sound answers. Contributes positively to discussions
50-59%	Good preparation demonstrated. Either a lot of participation of variable quality, or less participation but of good quality. Demonstrates reasonable comprehension of the issues. Able to clarify responses and contribute to discussions.
40-49%	Little evidence of participation when present. Misses obvious issues; answers are unclear and disjointed. Contributes very little or nothing to discussions.
0-39%	Participation and contribution virtually non-existent or unhelpful. No preparation apparent. Unable to answer questions or to clarify vague

	and ambiguous answers. Apparent lack of commitment to study in the course.

In this module, **students are also asked to participate by sending me and/or bringing additional materials related to the course content to tutorials or lectures.** Specifically, each **student is expected to submit at least two items** (such as news articles, podcasts, documentaries, art pieces or exhibitions, songs, etc.) **that are related to the course themes in some way** – say perhaps a new article about the economic impact of Brexit on women, a song that speaks to the issue of black women's poverty or a clip from a satirical news show that discusses the so-called 'crisis of masculinity', etc. The aim of this aspect of participation is twofold. First, it is to encourage students to link the issues we are discussing in the course to things that are happening in our everyday lives. Second, it gives those students who may be less comfortable with speaking in a group the chance to participate in a different way (and I would encourage anyone in this position to come speak to me about this).

The evaluation of participation is a two-step process. First, I will ask all students to do **a self-evaluation of their participation** that will be due at **14.00 due on April 8th** (to be uploaded onto Tii). This will be approximately 250 words in length and should refer to the participation criteria pasted above and answer some (but not all) of the following questions: Have you attended all lectures and tutorials? Have you come to tutorials prepared to discuss the readings? In tutorials, are you someone who sometimes has something to say when I ask what people thought about the readings? Do you raise issues in class that were covered by the readings? Are you able to think critically about what your fellow students are saying, and perhaps to challenge or disagree with things that others have said or even with comments that I have made? If you are more of a shy student who does not like participating in the larger group discussions, are you more actively involved when discussing things in smaller groups? Do you think that you contribute substantively to small group discussions? Can you offer an example of when this occurred? Does your presence in the tutorial group help the conversation in any way? You can also reflect on whether or not you participate in the discussions that we have in lectures, and tell me if you made the effort to come to any extra talks or events related to the course. These sorts of things show extra effort, so anything that you want to add that shows the extra effort that you have put into the course is okay to include. Finally, you may include a brief summary of the media/cultural items that you submitted.

While **you do not have to answer all of these questions**, these are the sorts of things that I ask myself when assessing student participation, so you are now being asked to think about them for yourself. The rationale behind this is that it will help you to understand the basis for participation marks. In the second step of this assessment, I will cross-reference your self-assessments against my own notes, your media/cultural submission, and any written or other materials that I have available. I will then respond to your self-assessment with feedback and a final mark.

Reading Guide:

Week 1 – Introduction (31 January – THERE ARE NO TUTORIALS THIS WEEK)

There are *no required readings*, but if you wish to familiarize yourself with feminist international (or global) political economy, you may consider reviewing some of the following texts:

- Bakker, Isabella, ed. *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. Ottawa: Zed Books, 1994.
- Bedford, Kate, and Shirin M. Rai. "Feminists Theorize International Political Economy." Special issue of *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36 (1) (2010).
- Bezanson, Kate, and Meg Luxton, eds. *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True (2013), 'Methods and Methodologies' in Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola and S. Laurel Weldon (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 135-59.
- Cohen, Marjorie Griffin, and Janine Brodie, eds. *Remapping Gender in the New Global Order*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Elias, Juanita and Adrienne Roberts, eds. *A Feminist Global Political Economy of the Everyday*, Special Issue of *Globalizations*, Available Online, 2016.
- Elias, Juanita and Adrienne Roberts, eds. *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2018.
- Ferber, Marianne A., and Julie A. Nelson, eds. *Feminist Economics Today: Beyond Economic Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Gutierrez, Martha (ed) (2003), *Macro-Economics: making gender matter*, London: Zed Books.
- Hozic, Aida, and Jacqui True, eds. *Scandalous Economics: Gender and the Politics of Financial Crises*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Marchand, Marianne, and Anne Sisson Runyan, eds. *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Mies, Maria. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour*. New York; London: Zed Books, 1998.
- Nelson, Julie A. *Feminism, Objectivity, and Economics*. Routledge, 1996.
- Peterson, V. Spike. *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy: Integrating Reproductive, Productive, and Virtual Economies*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Rai, Shirin M. and Georgina Waylen (eds) (2014), *New Frontiers in Feminist Political Economy*, London: Routledge.
- Steans, Jill. *Gender and International Relations: Issues, Debates, Future Directions*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2006.
- Young, Brigitte, Isabella Bakker, and Diane Elson, eds. *Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective*. London, New York: Routledge, 2011.

Week 2 – Gendering macroeconomic ideas and practices (7 February)

Objectives: The objective for this week is to introduce some of the basic tenets of feminist economics and feminist approaches to IPE that focus on the macro-economy. In so doing, we will begin to discuss what it means to see gender as both an empirical and an analytical category. We will also start to identify some of the ways in which macroeconomic policies reproduce gender, and what this means for thinking about gender (in)equality.

Seminar Portfolio Assignment #1 (due at 10am on Wednesday 13 February):

Drawing on the readings from this week, explain some of the ways that macroeconomic policies (re)produce gender hierarchies. You may focus on one specific type of policy (such as trade liberalization or the privatization of social services) or you may discuss several different policies. You might consider answering some of the following questions: Is economic policymaking gender neutral? How might neoliberal fiscal and/or monetary policies affect men and women differently? In what ways does state policymaking (i.e. regarding social services) affect domestic labour? What are some feminist propositions for challenging the current neoliberal global political economy?

Required Readings:

- Peterson, S. (2015) 'International/Global Political Economy', in L. Shepherd (ed) *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations* (2nd ed), London: Routledge, 173-85
- Elson, Diane, and Nilüfer Cagatay. "The Social Content of Macroeconomic Policies." *World Development* 28 (7) (2000): 1347-64.
- Hannah, E., Roberts, A. and Trommer, S. (2018) "'Gender-sensitive trade': Buzzword or basic principle of post-Brexit trade policy?" (<http://speri.dept.shef.ac.uk/2018/10/25/gender-sensitive-trade-buzzword-or-basic-principle-of-post-brexit-trade-policy/>).

Additional Readings:

- Braunstein, Elissa, and James Heintz. "Central Banks, Employment and Gender in Developing Countries." *Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective*. Eds. Young, Brigitte, Isabella Bakker and Diane Elson. London and New York: Routledge, 2011. 90-109.
- Brodie, Janine, and Isabella Bakker. *Where Are the Women? Gender Equity, Budgets and Canadian Public Policy*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2008.
- Cagatay, Nilfuer. "Gender Budgets and Beyond: Feminist Fiscal Policy in the Context of Globalization." *Gender and Development* 11 (1) (2003): 15-24.
- Cooper, Jennifer, and Rhonda Sharp. "Engendering Accountability in Government Budgets in Mexico." *Remapping Gender in the New Global Order*. Eds. Cohen, Marjorie Griffin and Janine Brodie. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. 205-22.
- Danby, Colin. "Political Economy and the Closet: Heteronormativity in Feminist Economics." *Feminist Economics* 13 (2) (2007): 29-53.
- Elson, Diane. "The Economic, the Political and the Domestic: Business, States and Households in the Organisation of Production." *New Political Economy* 3 (2) (1998): 189-209.

- . *Macroeconomics and Macroeconomic Policy from a Gender Perspective*. Public Hearing of Study Commission 'Globalisation of the World Economy - Challenges and Responses'. February 18 2002.
- . "Engendering Government Budgets in the Context of Globalization(S)." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6 (4) (2004): 623-42.
- Fraser, Nancy. "After the Family Wage: Gender Equity and the Welfare State." *Political Theory* 22 (4) (1994): 591-618.
- Hoskyns, Catherine and Rai, Shirin M. (2007), 'Recasting the Global Political Economy: Counting Women's Unpaid Work', *New Political Economy*, 12(3): 297 – 317.
- Kantola, Johanna. *Feminists Theorize the State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Orloff, Ann. "Gender and the Welfare State." *Annual Review of Sociology* 22 (1996): 51-78.
- Pearson, Ruth, and Diane Elson. "Transcending the Impact of the Financial Crisis in the United Kingdom: Towards Plan F—a Feminist Economic Strategy." *feminist review* 109 (1) (2015): 8-30.
- Peterson, V. Spike "How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Economy", *New Political Economy* 10 (4) (2005): 499-521.
- Sparr, Pamela (ed) (1994), *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, London: United Nations, Zed Books.
- van Staveren, Irene. "Gender Biases in Finance." *Gender and Development* 9 (1) (2001): 9-17.
- Waring, Marilyn. "Counting for Something! Recognising Women's Contribution." *Gender and Development* 11 (1) (2003): 35-43.
- Wayeln, Georgina "You Still Don't Understand: Why Troubled Engagements Continue between Feminists and (Critical) IPE." *Review of International Studies* 32 (01) (2006): 145-64.
- Women's Budget Group (2018), "Exploring the Economic Impact of Brexit on Women" (18 pages), available online at <https://wbg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Economic-Impact-of-Brexit-on-women-briefing-FINAL-1.pdf>
- Young, Brigitte, Isabella Bakker, and Diane Elson, eds. *Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective*. London, New York: Routledge, 2011.

Week 3 – Marxist and socialist feminisms and the importance of social reproduction (14 February)

Objectives: The objectives for this week are (1) to familiarize students with the intellectual origins of feminist political economy (which are rooted in Marxism and socialist feminism) and (2) introduce the concept of social reproduction. Some questions that arise from the readings include: What, if anything, is the relationship between capitalism and gender inequality? What is 'social reproduction' and in what ways does it differ from 'production'? In what ways might the concept of 'social reproduction' help us to think about the social relations that constitute the global

political economy? Why might it be important to look at the household? Do you think that this introduces anything new to the study of IPE?

Required Readings:

- Ehrenreich, Barbara (1976), "What is Socialist Feminism?", re-printed in the Jacobin, July 2018 (available online at <https://jacobinmag.com/2018/07/socialist-feminism-barbara-ehrenreich>).
- Luxton, Med. "The Production of Life Itself: Gender, Social Reproduction and IPE" in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 2.
- Ferguson, Sue (2018), "Socialist Feminism in the Era of Trump and Weinstein", New Socialist (available online at <http://newsocialist.org/socialist-feminism-in-the-era-of-trump-and-weinstein/?fbclid=IwAR0kX7tVEig2JWZFYz5KB9pLEvQsvpNbXzOJk3b2anHwb67Shif-cyArzQ>).

Additonal Readings:

- Bhattacharya, Tithi. "What is Social Reproduction Theory?", Socialistworker.org (available online at <http://socialistworker.org/2013/09/10/what-is-social-reproduction-theory>)
- Bezanson, Kate (2006), *Gender, the State, and Social Reproduction: Household Insecurity in Neo-Liberal Times*. University of Toronto Press.
- Brenner, Joanna (2014) '21st Century Socialist Feminism.' *Socialist Studies* **10** (1): 31-49.
- Brown, Heather (2013), *Marx on Gender and the Family A Critical Study*, Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Cock, Jacklyn and Meg Luxton (2013), 'Marxism and feminism: "Unhappy marriage" or creative partnership?' in Michelle Williams and Vishwas Satgar (eds) *Marxisms in the 21st Century Crisis, Critique and Struggle* Wits University Press, Johannesburg, pp.116-142.
- Coontz, Stephanie and Peta Henderson (eds) (1986), *Women's Work, Men's Property The Origins of Gender and Class*, London: Verso.
- Edholm, Felicity, Olivia Harris and Kate Young (1977), 'Conceptualising Women,' *Critique of Anthropology* **3** (9 & 10): 101-130.
- Eisenstein, Zillah. "Constructing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism." *Critical Sociology* **25** (2-3) (1999): 196-217.
- Federici, Sylvia. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland: PM Press, 2012.
- (2004), "The Accumulation of Labor and the Degradation of Women" in *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*, New York: Autonomedia: 61-115.
- Ferguson, Sue. "Building on the Strengths of the Socialist Feminist Tradition." *Critical Sociology* **25** (1) (1999): 1-15.
- . "Canadian Contributions to Social Reproduction Feminism, Race and Embodied Labor." *Race, Gender & Class* **15** (1-2) (2008): 42-57.
- Fortunati, Leopoldina. (1995, 1981). *The Arcane of Reproduction. Housework, Prostitution, Labor and Capital*. Brooklyn (NY) : Autonomedia (Translated from Italian, First edition 1981).
- Fraser, Nancy. "Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History." *New Left Review* **56** (2009): 97-117.

- . "Contradictions of Capital and Care", *New Left Review* 100, 2016.
- Giménez, Martha. 1990. "The Dialectics of Waged and Unwaged Work: Waged Work, Domestic Labor and Household Survival in the United States." in *Work without Wages: Domestic Labor and Self-Employment within Capitalism*, ed. Jane L. Collins and M. Giménez. Albany, New York: SUNY Press: 25-45.
- Hansen, Karen V, and Ilene J Philipson, eds. *Women, Class, and the Feminist Imagination a Socialist-Feminist Reader*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Hartsock, Nancy. "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism." *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, and Philosophy of Science*. Eds. Harding, Sanda and Merrill B. Hintikka. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Reidel, 1983. 283-310.
- Hennessy, Rosemary. "Returning to Reproduction Queerly: Sex, Labor, Need." *Rethinking Marxism* 18 (3) (2006): 387-95.
- Luxton, Meg. "Reclaiming Marxist Feminism: A Response." *Studies in Political Economy* 95 (1) (2015): 161-72.
- Molyneux, Maxine. "Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate." *New Left Review* (116) (1979): 3.
- Quick, Paddy. "The Class Nature of Women's Oppression." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 9 (3) (1977): 42-53.
- Picchio, Antonella. *Social Reproduction: The Political Economy of the Labour Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Power, Marilyn. "From Home Production to Wage Labor: Women as a Reserve Army of Labor." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 15 (1) (1983): 71-91.
- Sargent, Lydia, ed. *Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*. Black Rose Books Ltd., 1981.
- Secombe, Wally. "The Housewife and Her Labour under Capitalism." *New Left Review* 83 (1974).
- Vogel, Lise. *Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory*. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013 [1983].
- . "Domestic Labor Revisited," *Science and Society*, Vol. 64, no. 2, Summer 2000: 151-70.
- . "Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism: 'Domestic Labour Debate'." *Historical Materialism* 16 (2008): 237-43.
- Von Werlhof, Claudia. "'Globalization' And The 'Permanent' Process Of 'Primitive Accumulation': The Example of the MAI, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment." *Journal of World Systems Research* 6 (3) (2000): 728-47.

Week 4 – The changing nature of social reproduction under neoliberalism (21 February)

Objectives: *This week's readings build on last week's theoretical discussion of the importance of social reproduction. We focus here on some different empirical studies of how social reproduction has changed in different parts of the world, and on the role that capitalist states play in helping to support these transformations. It further substantiates the idea introduced in Week 2 that macroeconomic policymaking is not*

an apolitical activity, but is rather imbued with gendered assumptions and reproduces particular gendered hierarchies.

Required Readings:

- LeBaron, Genevieve. "The Political Economy of the Household: Neoliberal Restructuring, Enclosures, and Daily Life." *Review of International Political Economy* 17 (5) (2010): 889-912.
- Kofman, Elenore and Parvati Raghuram. "Gender, Migration and Social Reproduction" in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 30.
- Inman, Phillip, "Household debt in UK 'worse than at any time on record'", *The Guardian*, 26 July 2018 (available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2018/jul/26/household-debt-in-uk-worse-than-at-any-time-on-record>).

Additional Readings:

- Adkins, Lisa, and Maryanne Dever. "The Financialisation of Social Reproduction: Domestic Labour and Promissory Value." *The Post-Fordist Sexual Contract: Working and Living in Contingency*. Eds. Adkins, Lisa and Maryanne Dever. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 129-46.
- Arat-Koç, Sedef, "Migrant and Domestic and Care Workers: Unfree Labour, Crises of Social Reproduction, and the Unsustainability of Life under 'Vagabond Capitalism'", in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 29.
- Bakker, Isabella. "Neoliberal Governance and the Reprivatization of Social Reproduction." *Power, Production, and Social Reproduction*. Eds. Bakker, Isabella and Stephen Gill. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 66-82.
- . "Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy." *New Political Economy* 12 (4) (2007): 541-56.
- Bezanson, Kate, and Meg Luxton, eds. *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Bhattacharya, Tithi. "Explaining Gender Violence in the Neoliberal Era", *International Socialist Review*, Issue 91, Winter 2013-14.
- Braunstein, Elissa. *Economic Growth and Social Reproduction: Gender Inequality as Cause and Consequence*. New York: UN Women, 2015.
- Broohill, Ray, and Rhonda Sharpe. "The Problem of Social Reproduction under Neoliberalism." *Remapping Gender in the New Global Order*. Eds. Cohen, Marjorie Griffin and Janine Brodie. London and New York: Routledge, 2007. 85-108.
- Elias, Juanita, and Jonathon Louth. "Producing Migrant Domestic Work: Exploring the Everyday Political Economy of Malaysia's 'Maid Shortage'." *Globalizations* 13 (6) (2016): 830-45.
- Feldman, Shelley (2011), "Surveillance and Securitization: The New Politics of Social Reproduction" in Shelley Feldman, C. Charles, Gayatri Geisler, A. Menon *Accumulating Insecurity: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life*, Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, pp.185-214.
- Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19 (2) (1994): 309-36.

- Jimenez, Martha E. "The Mode of Reproduction in Transition: A Marxist-Feminist Analysis of the Effects of Reproductive Technologies." *Gender & Society* 5 (3) (1991): 334-50.
- Hardy, Kate. "Uneven Divestment of the State: Social Reproduction and Sex Work in Neo-Developmentalist Argentina." *Globalizations* 13 (6) (2016): 876-89.
- Katz, Cindi. "Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction." *Antipode* 33 (4) (2001): 709-28.
- Kofman, Eleonore and Parvati Raghuram (2015), *Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Kunz, Rahel. "The Crisis of Social Reproduction in Rural Mexico: Challenging the Reprivatization of Social Reproduction Thesis." *Review of International Political Economy* 17 (5) (2010): 913-45.
- Leonard, Sarah and Nancy Fraser, "Capitalism's Crisis of Care", *Dissent Magazine*, 2016 (available at <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/nancy-fraser-interview-capitalism-crisis-of-care>)
- Luxton, Meg. "Feminist Political Economy in Canada and the Politics of Social Reproduction." *Social Reproduction: Feminist Political Economy Challenges Neo-Liberalism*. Eds. Bezanson, Kate and Meg Luxton. Montreal; Kingston: Queens University Press, 2006. 11-44.
- Madziva, Roda and Elisabetta Zontini (2012), 'Transnational mothering and forced migration: Understanding the experiences of Zimbabwean mothers in the UK,' *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19 (4): 428-443.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar (2005), *Children of Global Migration Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Roberts, Adrienne. "Privatizing Social Reproduction: The Primitive Accumulation of Water in an Era of Neoliberalism." *Antipode* 40 (4) (2008): 535-60.
- Roberts, Adrienne. "Household Debt and the Financialization of Social Reproduction: Theorizing the UK Housing and Hunger Crises", *Research in Political Economy* 31: 135-64 (2016).
- Steans, Jill, and Daniela Tepe. "Introduction - Social Reproduction in International Political Economy: Theoretical Insights and International, Transnational and Local Sitings." *Review of International Political Economy* 15 (5) (2010): 807-15.

Week 5 – Black feminism and intersectionality (28 February)

Objectives: This week complicates the narratives offered in the previous two weeks by drawing attention to the ways in which race further shapes the relations of exploitation and oppression under capitalism. The relationship between these social relations of power is contested, and this week's readings offer an overview of – and critique of – how this has been done in feminist scholarship. Black feminism emerged in the US and this is where much of the research is currently focused, though we will see next week that many of the insights developed here have links with post-colonial scholarship, which is much more global in its focus. When reading, think about why the black feminist critique is important, and to what extent it challenges the social reproduction perspectives we have been discussing thus far.

Required Readings:

- Smith, Sharon. "Black Feminism and Intersectionality." *International Socialist Review* (91) (2013).
- Collins, Patricia Hill (2000), 'Gender, Black Feminism and Black Political Economy,' *Annals of the American Academy of political and Social Science* **568**: 41-53.

Additional Readings:

- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1992. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class in the Anti-Racist Struggle*. New York: Routledge.
- Berberoglu, Berch. "Class, Race and Gender: The Triangle of Oppression." *Race, Sex & Class* 2 (1) (1994): 69-77.
- Brenner, J. (2000). 'Intersections, locations, and capitalist class relations: Intersectionality from a Marxist perspective'. In J. Brenner (Ed.), *Women and the politics of class*, pp. 293-324. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. "Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection." *Race, Sex & Class* 1 (1) (1993): 25-45.
- . *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . *Towards an Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- . "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought." *Signs* 14 (4) (1989): 745-73.
- Coontz, Stephanie. *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* Basic Books, 2011.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989), "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics", *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139-167.
- . "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color", *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (Jul., 1991), pp. 1241-1299.
- Davis, Angela (1983), *Women, Race & Class*, New York: First Vintage Books.
- Ferguson, Sue. 2008. Canadian Contributions to Social Reproduction Feminism, Race and Embodied Labor. *Race, Gender and Class*, pp.42-57.
- Gimenez, Martha E. "Marxism, and Class, Gender, and Race: Rethinking the Trilogy." *Race, Gender & Class* (2001): 23-33.
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano (1992) "From Servitude to Service Work: historical continuity in the racial division of paid reproductive labor." *Signs* 18(1): 1-43.
- "The Social Construction and Institutionalization of Gender and Race: An Integrative Framework", in Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, eds., *Revisioning Gender* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1999)
- Guy-Sheftall, Beverly ed. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* New York: The New Press, 1995.
- hooks, bell (1981), *Ain't I a Woman?: Black Women and Feminism*, London, Pluto Press.
- (1984), *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*, London, Pluto Press.
- James, Stanlie M. and Abena P. A. Busia, eds., *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Lorde, Audre, *Sister Outsider*, Berkely: The Crossing Press, 1984.

- Maffly-Kipp, Laurie and Kathryn Lofton (eds) (2010), *Women's Work: An Anthology of African-American Women's Historical Writings from Antebellum America to the Harlem Renaissance* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mohanty, Chandra. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Moraga, Cherrie, and Gloria Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. SUNY Press, 2015.
- Morrison, Toni, ed., *Race-ing Justice, En gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas and the Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).
- Mullings, Leith, *On Our Own Terms: Race, Class, and Gender in the Lives of African American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Sudbury, Julia, ed. *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.

Week 6 – Post-colonialism and the critique of ‘development’ (7 March)

Objectives: *This week’s readings explore post-colonial (and other feminist) approaches to ‘development’. Along with other schools of thought, post-colonial feminism seeks to disturb the universalization of the category ‘women’ and to emphasize the distinct experiences of women in different parts of the world. It also seeks to do so without constructing women as victims in need of saving by the Global North, the International Financial Institutions, and/or Western feminists. How would you describe a post-colonial feminist approach and how do you think this differs from other feminist approaches? What are the overlaps? What are some of the problems that post-colonial feminists identify with neoliberal forms of development?*

Seminar Portfolio Assignment #2 (due at 10am on Wednesday 13 March): *After doing this week’s readings, use the internet to look into the ‘Girl Effect’ campaign that is being led by Nike to encourage investment into girls in the developing world and watch this promotional video (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C44BOxKhwsQ>). Putting on your post-colonial hat, can you see any problems with the framing of this campaign? If you are having a hard time, try looking into some of the feminist criticisms that are also available online (but if you do this, be sure to cite them at the end of your portfolio).*

Required Readings:

- Nair, Sheila, “Postcolonial Feminism” in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 3.
- Charusheela, S., and Eiman Zein-Elabdin. "Feminism, Postcolonial Thought, and Economics." *Feminist Economics Today: Beyond Economic Man*. Eds. Ferber, Marianne A. and Julie A. Nelson. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003. 175-92.
- Ebru Kongar, Jennifer C. Olmsted & Elora Shehabuddin (2014) “Gender and Economics in Muslim Communities: A Critical Feminist and Postcolonial Analysis”, *Feminist Economics*, 20:4, 1-32

Additonal Readings:

- Agathangelou, Anna M. "Fanon on Decolonization and Revolution: Bodies and Dialectics." *Globalizations* 13 (1) (2016): 110-28.
- . *The Global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence, Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States*. New York; England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Agathangelou, Anna M, and Lily HM Ling. "The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poisies of Worldism." *International Studies Review* 6 (4) (2004): 21-49.
- Bedford, Kate. "Doing Business with the Ladies: Gender, Legal Reform, and Entrepreneurship in the International Finance Corporation." *LABOUR, Capital and Society* 42 (1&2) (2009): 168-94.
- Benería, Lourdes. "Globalization, Gender and the Davos Man." *Feminist Economics* 5 (3) (1999): 61-83.
- Bergeron, Suzanne. *Fragments of Development: Nation, Gender, and the Space of Modernity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Chant, Sylvia, and Katherine Brickell, "Domesticating (and de-patriarchalizing) the development agenda: a need for greater household (and family) engagment in gender-related policy interventions?", in Rai, S.M., and G. Waylen (eds), *New Frontiers in Feminist Political Economy*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 85-113.
- Charusheela, S., and Eiman Zein-Elabdin, eds. *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*. New York: Routledge, 2003b.
- Chowdhry, Geeta. "Engendering Development? Women in Development (WID) in International Development Regimes." *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. Eds. Marchand, Marianne and Jane Parpart. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. 26-41.
- Chowdhry, Geeta, and Sheila Nair, eds. *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*. London; New York: Routledge, 2002b.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L Comaroff. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. Routledge, 2012.
- Connell, Raewyn. "Margin Becoming Centre: For a World-Centred Rethinking of Masculinities." *NORMA* 9 (4) (2014): 217-31.
- Hayhurst, Lyndsay MC. "Corporatising Sport, Gender and Development: Postcolonial IR Feminism, Transnational Private Governance and Global Social Engagement." *Third World Quarterly* 32 (3) (2011): 531-49.
- Lind, Amy. "Querying Globalization: Sexual subjectivities, development, and the governance of intimacy" in Marchand, Marianne and Anne Sisson Runyan (eds), *Gender and Global Restructuring*, 2nd ed, (2011), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 48-65.
- Marchand, Marianne. "The Future of Gender and Development after 9/11: Insights from Postcolonial Feminism and Transnationalism." *Third World Quarterly* 30 (5) (2009): 921-35.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Mohanty, Chandra. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse". *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Eds. Mohanty, Chandra, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991. 51-80.

- Molyneux, Maxine. "The 'Neoliberal Turn' and the New Social Policy in Latin America: How Neoliberal, How New?" *Development and Change*, 39 (2008): 775–797.
- Kuokkanen, Rauna (2011), 'From Indigenous Economics to Market-Based Self-Governance: A Feminist Political Economy Analysis,' *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 275-297
- Razavi, Shahra. *WDR 2012: Gender Equality and Development...an Opportunity Both Welcome and Missed*. UNRSID, 2011.
- Roberts, Adrienne, and Susanne Soederberg. "Gender Equality as 'Smart Economics'? A Critique of the 2012 World Development Report." *Third World Quarterly* 33 (5) (2012): 949-68.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Nelson, Cary and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. 271-313.
- . "History." *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Harvard University Press, 1999.
- World Bank. *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2012.
- Zuckerman, Elaine. *Critique: Gender Equality as Smart Economics*. Washington, DC: Gender Action (available on-line) 2007.

Week 7 – The problem with microcredit (14 March)

Objectives: *This week's readings explore one aspect of the post-colonial critique in greater depth: the issue of microcredit (n.b. not all of the authors of this week's required readings deploy a post-colonial perspective, and you should have a think about which perspectives they are coming from). Why are the authors critical of microcredit as a development strategy? Do you agree? Why or why not?*

Required Readings:

- Isserles, Robin. 2003. "Microcredit: The Rhetoric of Empowerment, the Reality of 'Development as Usual'." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 31(3/4): 38–57.
- Rankin, Katharine. "Governing Development: Neoliberalism, Microcredit, and Rational Economic Woman." *Economy and Society* 30 (1) (2001): 18-37.
- Federici, Silvia. "From Commoning to Debt: Financialization, Microcredit, and the Changing Architecture of Capital Accumulation." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 113 (2) (2014): 231-44.

Additonal Readings:

- Ahmen, Fauzia Efran. "Microcredit, Men, and Masculinity." *NWSA Journal* 20 (2) (2008): 122-55.
- Aitken, Rob. "The Financialization of Micro-Credit." *Development and Change* 44 (3) (2013): 473-99.
- Bergeron, Suzanne. "The Post-Washington Consensus and Economic Representations of Women in Development at the World Bank." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 (3) (2003): 397-419.
- Faraizi, Aminul, et al. *Microcredit and Women's Empowerment: A Case Study of Bangladesh*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.

- Isserles, Robin G. "Microcredit: The Rhetoric of Empowerment, the Reality of Development as Usual." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 31 (3/4) (2003): 38-57.
- Karim, Lamia. *Microfinance and Its Discontents: Women in Debt in Bangladesh*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- . "Demystifying Micro-Credit the Grameen Bank, Ngos, and Neoliberalism in Bangladesh." *Cultural Dynamics* 20 (1) (2008): 5-29.
- Keating, Christine, et al. "The Rationality of Empowerment: Microcredit, Accumulation by Dispossession, and the Gendered Economy." *Signs* 36 (1) (2010): 153-76.
- Pyle, Jean L., and Kathryn B. Ward. "Recasting Our Understanding of Gender and Work During Global Restructuring." *International Sociology* 18 (3) (2003): 461-89.
- Rankin, Katharine. "A Critical Geography of Poverty Finance." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (4) (2013): 547-68.
- Rankin, Katharine. 2002. "Social Capital, Microfinance, and the Politics of Development." *Feminist Economics* 8(1): 1-24.
- Roy, Ananya. *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Sioh, Maureen (2010), "The Hollow Within: Anxiety and Performing Postcolonial Financial Policies", *Third World Quarterly*, 31(4): 581-97.
- Soederberg, Susanne. "The Mexican Debtfare State: Dispossession, Micro-Lending and the Surplus Population." *Globalizations* 9 (4) (2012): 561-75.
- Taylor, Marcus. "'Freedom from Poverty Is Not for Free': Rural Development and the Microfinance Crisis in Andhra Pradesh, India." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 11 (4) (2011): 484-504.
- . "The Antinomies of 'Financial Inclusion': Debt, Distress and the Workings of Indian Microfinance." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 12 (4) (2012): 601-10.
- Wada, Kenji. "Microfinance: Empowering Women and/or Depoliticizing Poverty?", in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 18.
- Weber, Heloise. "The Imposition of a Global Development Architecture: The Example of Microcredit." *Review of International Studies* 28 (3) (2002): 537-55.
- Worthen, Holly. "Women and Microcredit: Alternative Readings of Subjectivity, Agency, and Gender Change in Rural Mexico." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (3) (2012): 364-81.
- Zulfiqar, Ghazal Mir. "Does Microfinance Enhance Gender Equity in Access to Finance? Evidence from Pakistan." *Feminist Economics* 23(1) (2017): 160-85.

Week 8 – Post-structuralism, performativity and finance (21 March)

Objectives: This week moves beyond some of the more structuralist arguments presented in the previous week and begins to explore in more depth the contributions of post-structuralist thought to feminist IPE. In what ways do post-structuralist approaches to gender differ from the approaches discussed last week? This week's readings further explore some of the ways in which certain masculinities are constructed, privileged and reproduced in the contemporary global political economy – a theme that will be further investigated in week 9.

Seminar Portfolio Assignment #3 (due at 10am on Wednesday 3 April): Read the following article: Kay, Katty, and Claire Shipman. "Fixing the Economy? It's Women's Work." *The Washington Post*, 12 July, 2009 (available online). Drawing on one or more of the required readings for this week, write a 400 word critical analysis of the article. In your response, think about how women/femininity and men/masculinity are being portrayed here. What are the problems with this from a post-structuralist perspective?

Required Readings:

- Griffin, Penny. "Poststructuralism in/and IPE." *Critical International Political Economy: Dialogue, Debate and Dissensus*. Eds. Shields, Stuart, Ian Bruff and Huw Macartney. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 43-60.
- Griffin, Penny. "Gendering Global Finance: Crisis, Masculinity, and Responsibility." *Men and Masculinities* 16 (1) (2013): 9-34.
- Prügl, Elisabeth. "'If Lehman Brothers Had Been Lehman Sisters...': Gender and Myth in the Aftermath of the Financial Crisis." *International Political Sociology* 6 (1) (2012): 21-35.

Additional Readings:

- Bartky, Sandra Lee. "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power." *Feminism and Foucault*. Eds. Diamond, Irene and Lee Quinby. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988. 61-86.
- Butler, Judith, "Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory", in S Case (ed), *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- De Goede, Marieke. *Virtue, Fortune, and Faith*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- . "Mastering 'Lady Credit'." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2 (1) (2000): 58-81.
- Dymski, Gary A. "Racial Exclusion and the Political Economy of the Subprime Crisis." *Historical Materialism* 17 (2) (2009): 149-79.
- "Financial Globalization, Social Exclusion and Financial Crisis." *International Review of Applied Economics* 19 (4) (2005): 439-57.
- Elson, Diane. "Gender and the Global Economic Crisis in Developing Countries: A Framework for Analysis." *Gender and Development* 18 (2) (2010): 201-12.
- Fraser, Nancy. "From Discipline to Flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the Shadow of Globalization." *Constellations* 10 (2) (2003): 160-71.
- Griffin, Penny. "Gender, IPE and Poststructuralism: Problematizing the Material/Discursive Divide", in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 6.
- *Gendering the World Bank*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009.
- Langley, Paul. *The Everyday Life of Global Finance: Saving and Borrowing in Anglo-America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Lemke, Thomas. "'The Birth of Biopolitics': Michel Foucault's Lecture at the College de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality." *Economy and Society* 30 (2) (2001): 190-207.

- MacKenzie, Donald, Fabian Muniesa, and Lucia Siu. *Do Economists Make Markets?: On the Performativity of Economics*. Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Marchand, Marianne, and Jane Parpart, eds. *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McDowell, Linda. "Capital Culture Revisited: Sex, Testosterone and the City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34 (3) (2010): 652-8.
- Peterson, Spike. "Getting Real: The Necessity of Poststructuralism in Global Political Economy" in *International Political Economy and Poststructural Politics*, Marieke de Goede (ed), London: Palgrave (2006): 119-138.
- . "Rewriting (Global) Political Economy as Reproductive, Productive, and Virtual (Focauldian) Economies." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 4 (1) (2002): 1-30.
- . "Sex Matters: A Queer History of Hierarchies". *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 16 (3) (2014): 389-409.
- . "Global Householding amid Global Crises". *Politics and Gender* 6(2) (2010): 271-81.
- van Staveren, Irene. "From Gender as Exogenous to Gender as Endogenous in the New Economics." *New Economics as Mainstream Economics*. Eds. Arestis, Philip and Malcolm Sawyer. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 116-53.
- Walby, Sylvia. "Finance Versus Democracy? Theorizing Finance in Society." *Work, Employment, Society* 27 (2013): 489-510.
- Young, Brigitte. "Financial Crises and Social Reproduction: Asia, Argentina and Brazil." *Power, Production and Social Reproduction*. Eds. Bakker, Isabella and Stephen Gill. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 103-23.
- Young, Brigitte, Isabella Bakker, and Diane Elson, eds. *Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective*. London, New York: Routledge, 2011.

Week 9 – Theorizing Masculinity and ‘Queering’ IPE (4 April)

Objectives: Despite some popular misconceptions, feminist IPE is not simply about women or social constructions of femininity but also considers the ways in which masculinities are historically and socially constituted. Some of it also centralizes the importance of heteronormative ideas and power relations in constructing and maintaining the global economic order. Building on some discussions from week 8, the readings for this week offer theoretical and empirical engagements with hegemonic constructions of masculinity and with queer theory. They draw attention to some of the ways in which certain masculinities and sexual norms are constructed, privileged and reproduced in the contemporary global political economy.

Required Readings:

- Connell, R.W. "Masculinities and Globalization." *Men and Masculinities* 1 (1) (1998): 3-23.
- Clarke, Chris, and Adrienne Roberts. "Mark Carney and the Gendered Political Economy of British Central Banking." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 18 (1) (2016): 49-71.

Smith, Nicola. "Queery Theory and Feminist Political Economy" in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 7.

Additional Readings:

Acker, Joan. "Gender, Capitalism and Globalization." *Critical Sociology* 30 (1) (2004): 17-43.

Agathangelou, Anna (2013), 'Neoliberal Geopolitical Order and Value: Queerness as a Speculative Economy and Anti-Blackness as Terror.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15 (4): 453-76.

Bedford, Kate (2009), *Developing Partnerships: Gender, Sexuality and the Reformed World Bank*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Bergeron, Suzanne, and Jyoti Puri (2012), 'Sexuality between State and Class: An Introduction.' *Rethinking Marxism* 24 (4): 491-98.

Brassett, James, and Lena Rethel (2013), 'Sexy Money: The Hetero-Normative Politics of Global Finance', *Review of International Studies*, 41(3), pp. 429-449.

Christensen, Ann-Dorte, and Sune Qvotrup Jensen. "Combining Hegemonic Masculinity and Intersectionality." *NORMA* 9 (1) (2014): 60-75.

Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

---. "Margin Becoming Centre: For a World-Centred Rethinking of Masculinities." *NORMA* 9 (4) (2014): 217-31.

Connell, R.W., and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender Society* 19 (2005): 829-61.

Connell, R.W., and Julian Wood. "Globalization and Business Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 7 (4) (2005): 347-64.

Danby, Colin (2007), Political Economy and the Closet: Heteronormativity in Feminist Economics." *Feminist Economics* 13 (2): 29-53.

Drucker, Peter (2015), *Warped: Gay Normality and Queer Anti-Capitalism*. Leiden: Brill.

Elia, John, and Gust Yep (2012), 'Sexualities and Genders in an Age of Neoterrorism', *Journal of Homosexuality* 59 (7): 879-89.

Elias, Juanita, and Christine Beasley. "Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalization: 'Transnational Business Masculinities' and Beyond." *Globalizations* 6 (2) (2009): 281-96.

Elias, Juanita. "Hegemonic Masculinities, the Multinational Corporation, and the Developmental State: Constructing Gender in "progressive" Firms, *Men and Masculinities* 10 (4) (2008): 405-21.

Floyd, Kevin (2009), *The Reification of Desire: Toward a Queer Marxism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hearn, Jeff. "Men, Masculinities and the Material(-)Discursive." *NORMA* 9 (1) (2014): 5-17.

Hooper, Charlotte. "Disembodiment, Embodiment and the Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity." *Political Economy, Power and the Body: Global Perspectives*. Ed. Youngs, Gillian. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 31-51.

---. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Hooper, Charlotte. "Masculinities in Transition: The Case of Globalization." *Gender and Global Restructuring*. Eds. Marchand, Marianne and Anne Sisson Runyan. London: Routledge, 2000. 59-73.

- Ikeda, Satoshi. "Masculinity and Masculinism under Globalization." *Remapping Gender in the New Global Order*. Eds. Cohen, Marjorie Griffin and Janine Brodie. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Laing, Mary, Katy Pilcher, and Nicola Smith (eds) (2015), *Queer Sex Work*. London: Routledge.
- Moller, Michael. "Exploiting Patterns: A Critique of Hegemonic Masculinity." *Journal of Gender Studies* 16 (3) (2007): 263-76.
- Paechter, Carrie. "Masculine Femininities/Feminine Masculinities: Power, Identities and Gender." *Gender and Education* 18 (3) (2006): 253-63.
- Peterson, Spike. "Towards Queering the Globally Intimate". 2017. *Political Geography* 56 (Jan): 114-116.
- . Family Matters: How Queering the Intimate Queers the International. 2014. *International Studies Review*, in Forum: 'Queer International Relations,' 16, 4: 604-608.
- Rao, Rahul (2015), 'Global Homocapitalism', *Radical Philosophy* 194: 38-49.
- Sears, Alan (2005), 'Queer Anti-Capitalism: What's Left of Lesbian and Gay Liberation?' *Science & Society* 69 (1): 92-112.
- Smith, Nicola (2015), 'Towards a Queer Political Economy of Crisis', in Jacqui True and Aida Hozic (eds) *Scandalous Economics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wedgwood, Nikki. "Connell's Theory of Masculinity – Its Origins and Influences on the Study of Gender." *Journal of Gender Studies* 18 (4) (2009): 329-39.
- Whitehead, Stephen M. and Frank J. Barrett (eds) *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001.
- Whitworth, Sandra. "Theory and Exclusion: Gender, Masculinity and International Political Economy." *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*. Eds. Stubbs, Richard and Geoffrey Underhill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 88-99.

Week 10 – 'Another World is Possible': Feminist Alliances, Alternatives and Agendas for Action (2 May)

Objectives: *The objective for this week is to think about some of the ways in which we can imagine and work to bring about a more equitable and just world. What are some of the alternatives to the contemporary order posed by feminist scholars and activists? Do you think that these are feasible solutions? Which social forces (beyond feminist organizations and women's groups) might support these initiatives and which might be opposed? A portion of the lecture for this week will be dedicated to a roundtable discussion on activism.*

Required Readings:

- Pearson, Ruth, and Diane Elson. "Transcending the Impact of the Financial Crisis in the United Kingdom: Towards Plan F—a Feminist Economic Strategy." *feminist review* 109 (1) (2015): 8-30.
- McKinnon, Katharine, Dombroski, Kelly, and Oona Morrow. "The Diverse Economy: Feminism, Capitalocentrism and Postcapitalist Futures", in Elias and Roberts (eds), *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender*, 2018, Chapter 24.

Additional Readings:

- Barbagallo, Camille, and Nicholas Beuret. "Starting from the Social Wage." *The Commoner* (15) (2012): 158-83.
- Baxandall, Rosalyn and Linda Gordon eds. (2000). *Dear Sisters, Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika, Nicholas Faraclas and Claudia Werlhof eds. (2001). *There is an Alternative. Subsistence and Worldwide Resistance to Corporate Globalization*. London: Zed Books.
- Brodie, Janine, and Isabella Bakker. *Where Are the Women? Gender Equity, Budgets and Canadian Public Policy*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2008.
- Connell, R.W. "Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena." *Signs* 30 (3) (2005): 1801-25.
- Eisenstein, Hester. "A Dangerous Liaison? Feminism and Corporate Globalization." *Science & Society* 69 (3) (2005): 487-518.
- Elson, Diane. "Engendering Government Budgets in the Context of Globalization(S)." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6 (4) (2004): 623-42.
- Eschle, C. and Miguashca, B. (2010) *Making Feminist Sense of the Global Justice Movement*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fisher, Melissa S. "Building Alternative Feminist Economic Futures: Wheels." *Globalizations* 13 (6) (2016): 908-11.
- Federici, Sylvia. "The Unfinished Revolution." *The Commoner* (15) (2012b): 184-97.
- Frazer, Arvonne S., and Irene Tinker, eds. *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2004.
- Gregoratti, Catia. "Cracks in the Corporatisation of Feminism." *Globalizations* 13 (6) (2016): 922-24.
- Hawkesworth, Mary (2006), *Globalization and Feminist Activism* Lanham, Maryland, USA: Rowman and Littlefield.
- ILO. *Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work* Geneva: International Labour Organization, 2009.
- . *Women in Labour Markets: Measuring Progress and Identifying Challenges*. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 2010.
- Katz, Cindi. "On the Grounds of Globalization: A Topography for Feminist Political Engagement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26 (4) (2001): 1213-34.
- Marchand, Marianne, and Anne Sisson Runyan, eds. *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- McKay, Ailsa. "Rethinking Work and Income Maintenance Policy: Promoting Gender Equality through a Citizens' Basic Income." *Feminist Economics* 7 (1) (2001): 97-118.
- McNally, David. *Another World Is Possible: Globalization and Anti-Capitalism*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2002.
- Motta, Sara, et al. "Feminism, Women's Movements and Women in Movement." *Interface: A journal for and about social movements* 3 (2) (2011): 1-32.
- Stephenson, Mary-Ann. "Feminist Challenges to Austerity." *Globalizations* 13 (6) (2016): 915-18.

Further Notes on Reading:

Journals provide a useful source of information, particularly concerning contemporary events and theoretical issues. Some of the most relevant journals are listed below. It is worthwhile keeping an eye of the latest issues of these journals as they often have good articles surveying pertinent subjects. Many journals are accessible electronically, and can be accessed through the Library electronic resources page. Articles are also available using a number of specialist databases, which again can be accessed from the library's electronic resources page. Many journals carry articles of concern to students of gender and IPE and it is worth regularly keeping up to date with the following:

<i>Alternatives</i>	<i>International Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>Antipode</i>	<i>Men and Masculinities</i>
<i>Critical Sociology</i>	<i>New Left Review</i>
<i>Globalizations</i>	<i>New Political Economy</i>
<i>Global Governance</i>	<i>Politics & Gender</i>
<i>Gender and Development</i>	<i>Review of Radical Economics</i>
<i>Economy and Society</i>	<i>Review of International Political</i>
<i>Feminist Economics</i>	<i>Economy</i>
<i>International Feminist Journal of</i>	<i>Signs: Journal of Women in Culture</i>
<i>Politics</i>	<i>and Society</i>
<i>International Organization</i>	<i>Third World Quarterly</i>
<i>International Political Sociology</i>	<i>World Development</i>

Good quality newspapers, such as the *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, the *Wall Street Journal* and others, carry stories of relevance to students of gender and IPE. Official publications can also be very useful, and students are encouraged to use primary sources in written work and independent research where applicable. Electronic sources can also be extremely valuable for research purposes and students should feel free to make use of relevant websites and databases. Please consult a style guide for proper referencing formats and remember that plagiarism rules also apply to the web.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI 32122: Theories of Rights**
Semester: 2
Credits: 20**Lecturer(s):** Dr Stephen Hood & Dr Christian Schemmel

Dr Stephen Hood

Room: 4.037**Email:** Stephen.Hood@manchester.ac.uk**Office Hours:** Tuesday 12pm-1pm and Thursday 1pm-2pm

Dr Christian Schemmel

Room:**Email:** Christian.Schemmel@manchester.ac.uk**Office Hours:** Monday 2-3pm, Wednesday 2-3pm. Book on [SOHOL](#).**Lectures:** Wednesday 11am-1pm, Williamson G.47**Tutorials:** Mondays (10-11am, 11am-12pm, 12pm-1pm). The topic of each tutorial will be **the same as that week's lecture**. There are no tutorials in Week 1. Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System**Mode of assessment:** Two essays (40%, 50%), participation (10%).**Administrator:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

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

Assessment	Weighting	Deadline
Essay 1	40% 2,400 words	8 th March 2019
Essay 2	50% 3,000 words	13 th May 2019
Participation	10%	Ongoing

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: 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.

Organisation

In week 1, there will be an introductory lecture, but no tutorials. Subsequently, each week there will be a one-hour tutorial and a two-hour lecture. This is a tutorial-led course: the tutorials on each topic will be prior to the corresponding lecture. This means that your study and preparation for each week's topic will not be too dependent upon lecture material. The tutorials will therefore be closely focussed upon discussion of the content of the required reading, aiming at developing comprehension of key ideas and arguments. The lecture (which follows later in the week) will then seek to offer a broader perspective that locates these ideas within the broader context of contemporary debate as a whole. In addition to this, we will use the lecture for further collective discussion of questions that emerged from the tutorials.

For each tutorial, students will be expected to prepare answers to the questions that are given in the weekly topic outlines on pages 6–13 below. Answers will be the basis for discussion each week. Attendance at the tutorials is **compulsory**. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should email, **in advance**, as soon as possible to explain your absence.

Course content, aims, and outcomes

The concept of a right plays a central role in many contemporary political debates about matters of public and international concern – in debates about human rights, democracy, social justice, and the claims of minorities and vulnerable groups. Often, however, such debates consist in little more than the assertion and counter-assertion of competing rights-claims, with little attention being paid either to the underlying nature of rights-claims themselves or to the sorts of reasons needed to justify their acceptance. Indeed, journalists as well as academics now frequently speak of 'rights-explosions', 'rights-inflation', and even 'rights-fatigue', in referring to this indiscriminate proliferation of rights assertions.

The aim of this module is to examine recent attempts to provide a firm theoretical foundation for rights-discourse. Questions that will be considered include: What is a right? Which theory of rights offers the best account of rights? Who or what can have a right? Do children, groups, animals, or future generations have rights? How can rights be justified? Is there a fundamental difference between negative and positive rights? How do rights relate to other moral considerations, such as values or goals? What are human rights? What is the relationship between rights and democracy? Are there good reasons to abandon rights-discourse altogether?

You will be expected to develop a good understanding of a selection of recent articles on rights theory and thus to equip themselves to take an informed and critical position on current controversies about rights. In so doing, you will acquire experience in the analysis, construction and presentation of theoretical arguments.

At the end of the course, you should be able to describe, in a clear and coherent way, key positions in contemporary debates about the nature and role of rights, and you should be able to use the tools of normative political theory yourself to formulate and evaluate defences and criticisms of those positions. You should also be able to connect them

to positions and policy proposals in political debates, and to debates in constitutional and human rights jurisprudence. And you should have a clear idea of what it is that we are doing when we engage in “rights talk”, which many of us do not infrequently, and arguably all of us do at least sometimes.

Changes from the last edition of the course

In previous editions, this course ended with an unseen examination; quite a few of your predecessors stated that they would rather write a second, longer essay. We satisfied ourselves that this also makes good academic and pedagogical sense, so from this year on the main assessments consists of two essays.

Employability

POLI32122 equips students with the theoretical background necessary to expertly comprehend and engage with political debates about the nature and content of rights. Such debates arise consistently for those working in the government and third sectors, whether in the UK or abroad.

More generally, 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 oral 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>

Assessment

The assessment on this module has three parts. You must submit two assessed essays (worth 40% and 50% of your final mark, respectively), with the remaining 10% of the mark being awarded for lecture and tutorial participation.

- **40% - Essay 1 (due 2pm on Friday 8th March 2019)**

You should write a 2,400 word answer to ONE of the following questions:

- How problematic is the idea of inalienable rights for the will theory?
- Can children hold rights?
- Is there a fundamental distinction between positive and negative rights and, why, if at all, does it matter?

- **50% - Essay 2 (due 2pm on Monday 13th May 2019)**

The second essay should be 3,000 words. A list of questions for the second essay will be circulated during the course.

Essay submission

Your assessed essay must be submitted electronically via Turnitin/Blackboard. This is the only admissible way of submitting your essay – do not submit your essay in hard copy or by email to anyone.

Format of Essays

Essays must be typed on single-sided A4 and double-spaced throughout using a **12pt serif font** (such as Garamond or Times New Roman). There is a 10% leeway on the word count, but word counts outside this range will be penalised. You must indicate your word count on the essay. You must not put your name anywhere on your essays.

Bibliography

The lack of a proper bibliography and appropriate referencing will be penalised by the deduction of marks. You can find out about good bibliography and referencing practices on the course Blackboard site and in the Course Unit Guide Part 2.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious offence. You're plagiarising whenever (a) you re-use in a piece of work, either verbatim or with small changes, phrases or arguments that you found elsewhere (even in a piece of your own previously submitted work), including the internet, and (b) you don't clearly acknowledge that you're doing this. It's fairly easy to spot even sophisticated plagiarism, and tutors do not take kindly to it. Students should consult the university's statement on plagiarism which can be found in the Course Unit Guide Part 2.

• 10% - Participation

The participation mark will be based on active participation during weekly tutorials and lectures. Participation will be based not just on the quantity of contributions, but also upon the extent to which they demonstrate a strong engagement with set readings and with the issues covered. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, you should email one of the lecturers as soon as possible. Non-attendance at tutorials without providing a good reason will be considered when deciding upon participation marks.

In the guide to each week's reading on pages 11-22 below, preparatory reading is split into two categories: required tutorial reading and further reading. All students are required to do the reading in the first category as preparation for the tutorial. You should spend some time writing answers to the preparatory questions given in the guide each week. Preparing these answers is important because learning to think in the argumentative manner of normative political theory involves *articulating* your thought. You don't need to write more than a paragraph (no more than around 200 words) on each question, however. The point is to get you to crystallise your thoughts on the reading, not write an essay.

Assessment Criteria

Work will be assessed in reference to the following criteria:

High First Class (80+)

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 team-working skills.

First Class (70-79)

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 team-working skills.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

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 team-working skills.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

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 team-working 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)

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 team-working 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.

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 will be:

- Verbal comments provided during lectures and seminars, in response to students' contributions. (Note: in order to take advantage of this form of feedback, you have to contribute!)
- Comments on written work. These will help you improve for upcoming assignments. We have intentionally repeated this form of assessment to help you see improvement over the course of the semester. Comments here will help you with structure, content, and style of your subsequent essays -- as well as future written work within and beyond university.
- Discussion with lecturers about lectures, seminars, and readings during the lecturer's office hours, via email, and before or after lectures and seminars.

Course schedule

Topic		Tutorial/ lecture date	Lecturer
Intro	Introduction to the course and key concepts (no tutorials this week)	30 Jan	CS/SH
1	What are rights?	4/6 Feb	SH
2	Who can have rights?	11/13 Feb	SH
3	What rights are there?	18/20 Feb	SH
4	Justifying rights I: rights and dignity	25/27 Feb	CS
5	Justifying rights II: self-ownership vs. self-governance	4/6 Mar	CS
6	Human Rights	11/13 Mar	CS
7	Rights and democracy	18/20 Mar	SH
8	Group, Minority, and Multicultural Rights	25/27 Mar	SH
9	Scepticism about rights	1/3 Apr	CS
10	Overview	29 Apr/1 May	SH/CS

Acronyms of lecturers' initials:

CS = Dr Christian Schemmel

SH = Dr Stephen Hood

Lectures and Reading

Lectures

The introductory lecture for this course takes place on **30th January**, at **11am** in **Williamson G.47**. There are no tutorials in this week. A preview of the following week's reading will take place in the lecture.

How to read political theory

Above all, slowly! What's essential is to keep track of the argument at each stage. Once you've lost track, each extra sentence that you read is probably useless to you. Since you won't understand how it's supposed to advance the argument, you may as well not have read it. It can sometimes take up to half an hour to read a page, if you're reading it carefully. If you're struggling, remind yourself of what the author said in the introduction (to the article, to the relevant section, to the paragraph...), look up any words that you might have misunderstood, ask your peers, ask your tutor—but don't just plough on! At the end of a chapter or paper, you should be able to summarise the conclusion, the reasons that were offered for it, and the objections that were raised and dealt with.

General works on rights

Here are some books offering general coverage of the debates surrounding different theories of rights. Sometimes an extract from one of the books will form part of a week's required reading (**in which case, the full bibliographical details will not be repeated**). But it will, in any case, be worth consulting one or more of them regularly before, during, and after the semester, since each offers you additional sustained articulations and analyses of arguments that you'll need to know.

- J. Waldron (ed.), *Theories of Rights* (Oxford: OUP 1984)
- Peter Jones, *Rights* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1994)
- W. Edmundson, *An Introduction to Rights* (2nd ed., Cambridge: CUP 2012)
- Judith Jarvis Thomson, *Rights, Restitution, and Risk* (Cambridge (MA): HUP 1986)
- Judith Jarvis Thomson *The Realm of Rights* (Cambridge (MA): HUP 1990)
- David Lyons (ed.), *Rights* (Belmont: Wadsworth 1979)
- John, Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (2nd ed., Oxford: OUP 2011)
- L W Sumner, *The Moral Foundation of Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987)
- George Rainbolt, *The Concept of Rights* (Dordrecht: Springer 2006)
- Andrew Halpin, *Rights and Law - Analysis and Theory* (Oxford: Hart 1997)
- Attracta Ingram, *A Political Theory of Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994)
- Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom*, part III (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1986)
- Carl Wellman, *Real Rights* (Oxford: OUP 1995)
- Steiner, Hillel, *An Essay on Rights* (Oxford: Blackwell 1994)
- Samuel Stoljar, *An Analysis of Rights* (London: Macmillan 1984).

Topic I - What is a right?

This week we will focus on the fundamental features that rights exhibit, and that distinguish them from other moral and political concepts, such as needs or goals. Hohfeld's taxonomy of rights is almost universally taken as the starting point for the analysis of rights, and we shall spend some time on it during the lecture. The two dominant rival accounts of what it is to have a right are the will or choice theory and the interest theory. Will theorists think that a right makes the right-holder "a small scale sovereign" (Hart), in that the function of a right is to give its holder control over another's duty. You are the "sovereign" of your house, in that you allow others in or not at your discretion. Interest theorists think, instead, that the point of rights is to protect the right-holder's fundamental interests. Rights will accordingly, have different features and structures. In current debates, attempts have been made to transcend the interest versus choice dichotomy to offer hybrid accounts of rights.

Required reading and preparatory question

- Hillel Steiner, *An Essay on Rights*, pp. 55-73
- Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom*, Ch. 7

Q. What are the implications of regarding the main function of rights as that of protecting choices or that of protecting interests respectively? Do we need to decide between the two?

Further reading

Interest and choice theory

- H.L.A. Hart, "Are There any Natural Rights?" in: in J. Waldron, ed., *Theories of Rights*, and in *The Philosophical Review* 64 (1955).
- H.L.A. Hart, *Essays on Bentham*, ch. 7, esp. pp. 174-193; also published as 'Bentham on Legal Rights' in A W B Simpson (ed), *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence*, second series, and in Lyons (ed), *Rights*
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, ch. 2
- David Lyons, "Rights, Claimants and Beneficiaries", in his *Rights*; also in *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 6 (1969) [response to Hart]
- Rowan Cruft, "Why Aren't Duties Rights?" *Philosophical Quarterly*, 56 (2006).
- M Kramer, N. Simmonds, and H. Steiner *A Debate Over Rights: Philosophical Enquiries* (OUP 1998).
- Hillel Steiner, "Directed Duties and Inalienable Rights", *Ethics* 123 (2013), pp. 2302-44.

Hybrid theories

- Gopal Sreenivasan, 'A Hybrid Theory of Claim-Rights' in *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 25 (2005).
- Leif Wenar, 'The Nature of Rights' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33 (2005)

- Rowan Cruft, 'Rights: Beyond Interest Theory and Will Theory?', *Law and Philosophy* 23 (2004).

On Hohfeld's classification of rights

- Wesley Hohfeld, *Fundamental Legal Conceptions*, pp. 23-64
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, ch. 1
- Judith J Thomson, *The Realm of Rights*, ch. 1
- L W Sumner, *The Moral Foundation of Rights*, ch. 2
- R Perry, 'A Paradigm of Philosophy: Hohfeld on Legal Rights', *American Philosophical Quarterly* 14 (1977)
- Andrew Halpin, *Rights and Law - Analysis and Theory*, part 2

Topic 2 - Who can have rights?

The debate over the nature and function of rights has implications for both the subjects and content of rights. There are two questions here: 1) Who or what *can* have rights? 2) Who or what *has* rights to *what*? The first question relates to the analysis of rights and is, among other things, a test case for the viability of the competing theories. The second question relates to the problem of justifying particular substantive rights. Our focus for this week is on the first question; the second will occupy us in the remainder of the course. The question of who can have rights crucially depends on which understanding of rights one endorses. As we shall see this week, the will and interest theory respectively have very different implications for the question of which kind of agents can have rights. Can children have rights? Can future generations, groups, animals, or plants?

Required reading and preparatory question

- Michael Tooley, "Abortion and Infanticide," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 2 (1972), pp. 37-65
- Neil MacCormick, *Legal Right and Social Democracy*, ch. 8 "Children's Rights: A Test Case for Theories of Rights"

Q. What is Tooley's argument for the conclusion that children cannot have rights? Is it sound?

Further reading

- Judith Jarvis Thomson, "A Defense of Abortion," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1 (1971): 47-66
- Matthew Kramer, "Getting Rights Right" in *Rights, Wrongs, and Responsibilities* (2001);
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, pp. 67-71
- Christopher Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing? - Toward Legal Rights for Natural Objects", *Southern California Law Review*, 45 (1972)
- Hillel Steiner "The Rights of Future Generations", in D MacLean & P Brown (eds), *Energy and the Future* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield 1983)
- Joel Feinberg "The Rights of Animals and Unborn Generations", in P Werhane et al (eds), *Philosophical Issues in Human Rights* (New York: Random House 1986)
- Carl Wellman, *Real Rights*, chs. 4-5
- R G Frey, *Interests and Rights: The Case Against Animals* (Oxford: OUP 1980)
- Derrick Darby, "Two Conceptions of Rights Possession", *Social Theory and Practice*, 27 (2001)
- George Panichas, "The Rights-Ascription Problem", *Social Theory and Practice*, 23 (1997)
- Mary Anne Warren *Moral Status* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997)

Topic 3 - What rights are there?

Rights come in different categories: negative and positive; justiciable and non-justiciable; basic or non-basic; dependent on resources or not; civil, political or economic. Sometimes it is attempted to reduce these distinctions to one master-distinction (especially negative and positive); some theorists argue that some of these rights – such as positive, resource-dependent, and economic rights – cannot really be fundamental moral rights. This week we will look at some such arguments, and at how different rights, and different dimensions of the same rights, may be dependent on each other.

Required reading and preparatory question

- Onora O'Neill, *The Bounds of Justice* (Cambridge: CUP 2000), ch. 6, "Women's Rights, Whose Obligations?"
- Henry Shue, *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd Ed. With Afterword (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1980/96), Chapter I: "Three Basic Rights";
- Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights* (2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), ch. 2, "How Should Human Rights be Conceived?", section 2.4 (**these are 4 pages only**)

Q. How do O'Neill, Shue, and Pogge conceive of the difference, if any, between liberty rights and rights to goods and services?

Further reading

- Ashford, Elizabeth. 2006. "The Inadequacy of our Traditional Conception of the Duties Imposed by Human Rights," *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 19: 217-235
- James Nickel, "Is There a Human Right to Employment?", *Philosophical Forum* 10 (1978/79), reprinted in Werhane et. al, *Philosophical Issues in Human Rights*;
- James Nickel, "Poverty and Rights", *The Philosophical Quarterly* 55 (2005).
- Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights* (2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), ch. 2, "How Should Human Rights be Conceived?", rest of the chapter.

Topic 4 - Justifying rights I: rights and dignity

Many people think that there is a special connection between the possession of fundamental moral rights and human dignity. Often the latter is invoked to underscore the importance of the former. Is there a concept of dignity that can explain what rights we have and why we have rights, or is it the other way round: is dignity explained *in terms of rights*? What is dignity? Why do you think human beings are said to have dignity (why do all the declarations mention it)? Is there something all human beings possess, or are capable of possessing, in virtue of which they have dignity? How does this concept help us understand, say, the human rights of criminals?

Required reading and preparatory question

- Joel Feinberg, "The Nature and Value of Rights," Reprinted in his *Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 143-155.
- Alan Gewirth, "Human Dignity as the Basis of Rights", in Meyer and Parent, eds., *The Constitution of Rights* (Ithaca, New York, 1992), pp. 10-28.

Q. How does Gewirth derive rights from dignity?

Further reading

- *Michael Rosen, *Dignity – Its History and Meaning* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press 2012), especially ch. 1
- Jeremy Waldron, *Dignity, Rank, and Rights*, ed. Meir Dan-Cohen (Oxford: OUP 2012)
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, Chapters 4 and 5.
- A. I. Melden, 'Dignity, Worth and Rights', in Meyer and Parent (eds.), *The Constitution of Rights* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1992)
- M.J. Meyer, 1989, "Dignity, Rights, and Self-Control," *Ethics*, 99 (1989), pp. 520-534
- *Gregory Vlastos, "Justice and Equality", in Waldron (ed.), *Theories of Rights*
- John Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights*, Chapters IV and V
- Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, (2nd ed., Boulder Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2.
- Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, Part I (2nd ed., Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2003)
- Michael Freeman, "Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights", *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 16 (3), 1994, pp. 491-514
- Alan Gewirth, *Human Rights: An Essay on Justification and Application* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1982), Introduction and Chapter 2, on Justification.
- James Nickel, *Making Sense of Human Rights*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press 2006), chs. 1 and 4.
- Jerome J. Shestack, "The Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights", *Human Rights Quarterly* 20 (1998), pp. 201-234
- Charles Beitz, "Human Dignity in the Theory of Human Rights: Nothing but a Phrase?", *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41 (2013), pp. 259-290

Topic 5 - Justifying rights II: self-ownership vs. self-governance

Some liberal and most libertarian theorists interpret fundamental moral rights, and the right to liberty in particular, as a kind of property right: namely, the right of self-ownership. The self-ownership thesis is then used, for example by Nozick and Wheeler, to generate property rights in other objects, with strongly inegalitarian consequences. While Cohen criticises self-ownership on grounds of both equality and liberty, Gauthier, Steiner, Van Parijs and Otsuka offer differing assessments of the extent to which inegalitarian consequences are generated by self-ownership. Ingram, on the other hand, argues that a liberal political morality of rights should start not from self-ownership, but from autonomy. This line of thinking has some important affinities to well-known liberal egalitarian theories of justice, such as Rawls's. Can autonomy, or a richer notion of freedom than that adopted by libertarians, serve as a grounding for moral rights? What sorts of right would such a grounding justify? Can the value of autonomy be adequately protected by, or expressed in, a set of individual rights?

Required reading

- Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books 1974), pp. 28-35 & ch. 7, section I (you can skip pp. 164-166 on Sen).
- Attracta Ingram, *A Political Theory of Rights* (Oxford: OUP 1994), chapter 3, sections 3.1, 3.2., 3.4., 3.5.; chapter 5.

Q. Why does Ingram think that autonomy constitutes a better basis for figuring out which rights we have than self-ownership?

Further reading (* indicates particularly recommended items)

- *Attracta Ingram, *A Political Theory of Rights*, chs. 2-4, 8-10
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, ch. 6
- *Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom*, chs. 8, 10; ch. 8 also published as 'Right-Based Moralities', in Waldron (ed), *Theories of Rights* [argues that right-based moralities cannot fully capture the value of autonomy]
- Loren Lomasky, *Persons, Rights and the Moral Community* (Oxford: OUP 1987), chs. 1-4
- *G A Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: CUP 1995), esp. chs. 3, 4, 9, 10;
- Samuel Wheeler, 'Natural Property Rights as Body Rights', *Nous* 14 (1980), pp. 171-194
- Stephen Munzer, *A Theory of Property* (Cambridge: CUP 1990), chs. 2-4
- David Gauthier, *Morals by Agreement* (Oxford: OUP 1986), ch. 7
- Hillel Steiner, 'Capitalism, Justice and Equal Starts', *Social Philosophy & Policy* 5 (1987), pp. 49-71; see also 'The Natural Right to the Means of Production', *Philosophical Quarterly* 27 (1977), pp. 41-49, and **An Essay on Rights*, pp. 231-236.

- Philippe Van Parijs, *Real Freedom for All* (Oxford: OUP 1995) chs. 1-2
- Michael Otsuka, 'Self-Ownership and Equality: A Lockean Reconciliation', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27 (1998), pp. 65-92
- P. Vallentyne et al, *Left-Libertarianism and Its Critics: The Contemporary Debate* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001) [an anthology containing several of the above items, and others]

Topic 6 - Human rights

The term 'human rights' is often used as synonymous with 'fundamental moral rights', or 'natural rights'. In this sense, much of this course is about them. However, some theorists, such as Beitz, Raz, and Sangiovanni, argue that human rights are best defined by the specific role they play especially in international morality: rights directed *against* authorities, and *to* a specific kind of political order. These authorities could be states, international institutions, or a to-be-erected cosmopolitan order (this is a subject for further debate). This week, we discuss some of these 'political' conceptions of human rights, in contrast with 'naturalistic' conceptions, such as those put forward by Griffin and Tasioulas, which stick to the understanding of human rights as fundamental moral rights, and hold that it is misguided to seek to identify human rights with their political role at the conceptual level.

Required reading and preparatory question

- Charles Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights* (Oxford: OUP 2009), ch. 5, "A Fresh Start"
- James Griffin, *On Human Rights* (Oxford: OUP 2008), ch. 2, "First Steps in an Account of Human Rights"

Q. Which reasons might there be for endorsing a political conception of human rights?

Further reading

- * Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights*, ch. 3 [identifies problems with naturalistic theories]
- *Joseph Raz "Human Rights Without Foundations" in John Tasioulas and Samantha Besson (eds), *The Philosophy of International Law* (Oxford: OUP 2010), ch. 15 [identifies problems with naturalistic theories and argues for a political conception]
- *John Tasioulas, "The Moral Reality of Human Rights", in Thomas Pogge (ed.), *Freedom from Poverty as a Human Right* (Oxford: OUP 2007), ch. 3.
- Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights* (2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), ch. 2, "How Should Human Rights be Conceived?" [argues for an "institutional conception" of human rights that is in some respects similar to "political conceptions"]
- Carl Wellman, *The Moral Dimensions of Human Rights* (Oxford: OUP 2011), esp. ch. 1
- James Nickel, *Making Sense of Human Rights*, ch. 3
- James Griffin, *On Human Rights*, especially chs. 5, 7, and 11.
- Symposium on Griffin's 'On Human Rights', *Ethics* 120 (2010)
- Roger Crisp (ed.), *Griffin on Human Rights* (Oxford: OUP 2014)
- Rainer Forst, "The Basic Right to Justification: Toward a Constructivist Conception of Human Rights", *Constellations* 6 (1999), pp. 35-60.
- Andrea Sangiovanni, "Justice and the Priority of Politics to Morality", *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16 (2008), pp. 137-164, pp. 152-160.
- R. J. Vincent, "The Idea of Rights in International Ethics", in Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel (eds.), *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: CUP 1993)

Topic 7 - Rights and democracy

This week we will focus on the relationship, and possible tension, between two fundamental political concepts in contemporary liberal democracies: rights and democratic processes. On the one hand, protecting the fundamental, and arguably inalienable, rights of individual citizens is traditionally seen as being one of the main aims of the liberal state. On the other, it seems that one of the fundamental rights we should have, within a political system that genuinely treats us as equal, is the right to have an equal say in democratic decision-making. This is, indeed, sometimes even called “the right to have rights.” Democratic processes, however, can in principle decide to disenfranchise specific groups or ban specific practices (prostitution, pornography, same-sex practices, etc.). How is this compatible with considering rights inalienable? Is the constitutional entrenchment of fundamental rights a solution to this problem, or is it a downright restriction on democratic processes and our right to have rights?

Required reading and preparatory question

- Cécile Fabre, “A Philosophical Argument for a Bill of Rights,” *British Journal of Political Science*, 29 (2000), pp. 77-98
- Jeremy Waldron, “A Right-based Critique of Constitutional Rights,” *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 13 (1993), pp. 18-51

Q. What are the main points of disagreement between Fabre and Waldron?

Further reading

- *Ronald Dworkin, “Taking Rights Seriously”, in his *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press 1977)
- *Ronald Dworkin, “Do We Have a Right to Pornography?” in his *A Matter of Principle*. (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press 1985)
- Jeremy Waldron, “Part III: Rights and Judicial Review” (chapters 10-13), in his *Law and Disagreement* (Oxford: OUP 1999)
- Richard Bellamy, *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defence of the Constitutionality of Democracy* (Cambridge: CUP 2007)
- Christopher Zurn, *Deliberative Democracy and the Institutions of Judicial Review* (Cambridge: CUP 2007)

Topic 8 - Group, Minority, and Multicultural Rights

This week we will grapple with the problem of how best to protect the interests of vulnerable groups (in particular, cultural and national minorities). In so doing, we will engage both with a conceptual and with a substantive question. The first asks whether groups qualify as entities who can have rights to begin with (remember our discussion in session 2). The second asks whether they *should*. Are group differentiated rights a good way of dealing with vulnerable minorities, or do they threaten liberal equality in general, and the rights of their own individual members in particular?

Essential reading and preparatory question

- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995), chapter 3: section I (pp. 35-44); chapter 5: sections I-4 (pp.75-94);
- Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality* (Oxford: Polity 2001), chapter 4.

Q. What is Kymlicka's argument for group-differentiated rights?

Further reading

- *Barry, *Culture and Equality*, chapter 2.
- Peter Balint, "Identity Claims: Why Liberal Neutrality Is the Solution, Not the Problem", *Political Studies* 63 (2015): 495-509.
- *Paul Kelly (ed.), *Multiculturalism Reconsidered*. (Oxford: Polity 2002) (collection of essays on Barry's critique of multiculturalism). See in particular chapters by Bhiku Parekh, James Tully, and David Miller.
- Margalit, Avishai and Halbertal, Moshe. 1994. "Liberalism and the Right to Culture." *Social Research* 61: 491-510.
- Chandran Kukathas, "Are There Any Cultural Rights?" *Political Theory* 20 (1992), pp. 105-39
- Avishai Margalit and Moshe Halbertal, "Liberalism and the Right to Culture" *Social Research* 61 (1994), pp. 491-510.
- Susan M. Okin, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?", in Jean Cohen (ed.). *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1999) (also available online at <http://new.bostonreview.net/BR22.5/okin.html>).

Topic 9 - Scepticism about rights

This week, we will concentrate on two prominent attempts to challenge the prominence of rights in moral and political discourse. Bentham argues that moral or natural rights are “nonsense upon stilts,” and that only legal rights, established and enforced by positive law, can have “any determinate and intelligible meaning.” Marx objects to the capitalist ideology and the selfish, individualistic conception of the *person* that he sees as part of the inner logic of the concept of individual rights.

Required reading and preparatory question

- Jeremy Waldron, “Introduction” to Jeremy Bentham, “Anarchical Fallacies”, Jeremy Waldron (ed.), *Nonsense upon Stilts: Bentham, Burke, and Marx on the Rights of Man* (London: Methuen 1987, pp. 29-45 (1796)
- Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question” (1894), in Jeremy Waldron, *Nonsense upon Stilts*, pp. 137-150.

Q. What are the fundamental differences between Bentham’s and Marx’s criticisms of rights?

Further reading

- *Jeremy Bentham, ‘Anarchical Fallacies’, in Jeremy Waldron, *Nonsense upon Stilts*, pp. 46-76.
- Peter Jones, *Rights*, pp. 90-93 and ch.9
- *Jeremy Waldron, ‘Introduction’ to Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question”, *Nonsense upon Stilts*, pp. 119-136.
- *Jeremy Waldron, *Nonsense upon Stilts*, ch. 6
- Joel Feinberg, “In Defence of Moral Rights,” *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 12 (1992), pp. 149-169.
- Michael Sandel (ed.), *Liberalism and its Critics* (New York: New York University Press 1984), chapters by Sandel and Charles Taylor.
- Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press 1982).

Course review

The lecture and tutorial in the final week will give the opportunity for discussion of the themes of the course as a whole, while also providing a chance to address questions relating to essay topics.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

POLI 32132**United States Foreign Policy:
Dominance and Decline in a Complex World****Semester: 2**
Credits: 20**Course Convener: Dr Jonathan Gilmore****Room: Arthur Lewis Building 4.063****Telephone: 0161 275 0508****Email: Jonathan.Gilmore@manchester.ac.uk****Office Hours:**

Mondays 10-11

Tuesdays 4-5

Lectures:

Tuesdays 12:00-14:00, Kilburn TH 1.5

Tutorials:

Various times on Tuesdays and Wednesdays

Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System

Mode of assessment:

Reflective Learning Journal (2500 words – 40% of final grade)

Final Essay (3500 words – 60% of final grade)

Reading Week: NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO**Administrator:** Luke Smith, luke.smith-2@manchester.ac.uk 0161 306 6906
UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION: ASSESSMENT DEADLINES*****

Reflective Learning Journal: Monday 25th March 2019

Final Essay: Monday 13th May 2019

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

Examination period: 13th May – 7th June 2019

Re-sit Examination period: 19th – 30th August 2019

Course Summary:

Why does the United States behave as it does in international politics? How did it become so powerful? Who really makes the decisions in US foreign policy? Is it a stabilising influence in international politics, or an overly aggressive and unrestrained superpower?

US foreign policy has a profound impact on the actions of other states and the prospects for peace and stability in world politics, and this course will examine some of these important questions. Whether we like it or not, US foreign policy has an impact on many aspects of our day-to-day lives. This course will help students to develop a strong understanding of the concepts and real life events and processes that have come to define US foreign policy in the post-World War II era.

The course provides an exploration of some of the central concepts and processes that shape the formulation and direction of US foreign policy. The course examines the different ways in which these concepts and processes have influenced foreign policy decision making by recent US governments, the ways in which the US has responded to the challenges and crises in global politics in the post-World War II era. It explores the different ways in which successive presidents have handled issues of war and peace, terrorism, economic co-operation, and partnership and rivalry with the other states of the world.

The course examines the challenges, controversies and dilemmas of the America's self-assigned role of global leader, and the short and long-term impacts of this on its national interest, the emergence of resistance to US hegemony, and on the broader prospects for a peaceful, co-operative and stable international order.

The course helps students to master important intellectual tools in foreign policy analysis, which can also be applied to the analysis of foreign policy in other states. It also emphasizes personal reflection on the week-by-week development of student's thinking, and on personal research skills and the handling of primary documents

The unit aims to:

- Introduce students to some of the key intellectual tools in foreign policy analysis, used to interpret the foreign policy of the United States and other countries
- Allow students to develop a strong grasp of the process of foreign policy formulation in the US context and the contestation between divergent international priorities and conceptions of the national interest
- Help students to develop a critical understanding of the main traditions and influences on US foreign policy, alongside the sources of US power in the world
- Provide students with an insight into the connections between US foreign policy traditions, elite agency and real life policies adopted by successive US governments
- Support students in developing their research skills and in formulating their own perspectives and analyses of US foreign policy, articulating them in verbal and written form

Learning Outcomes:

On completing this course, students should be able to:

Knowledge and Understanding:

- Understand the key institutional processes that influence US foreign policy formulation, with specific reference to the Presidency, Congress and the wider US government bureaucracy
- Demonstrate a critical awareness of the ways in which concepts of American Exceptionalism, isolationism, realism, liberal internationalism and neo-conservatism, have influenced the formulation and practice of US foreign policy both historically and in the present day.
- Demonstrate a well-developed knowledge of the empirical events and processes that have characterised the role of the US in the international system since 1945, its response to key issues in world politics, and in its engagement with other states.

Intellectual skills:

- Make effective use of key thinking tools drawn from foreign policy analysis approaches, to explore and interpret US foreign policy
- Present well-developed and articulated arguments in written and verbal form
- Draw out connections between guiding traditions and concepts in US foreign policy and the eventual 'real life' US conduct in international affairs
- Research US foreign policy issue areas systematically and rigorously, using appropriate resources

Practical skills:

- Apply foreign policy research methods in exploring case studies in US foreign policy
- Demonstrate skills in the effective handling of primary foreign policy materials e.g. speeches, policy documents, Congressional records etc.
- Collaborate with others to solve problems in tutorial policy simulations and role plays

Transferable skills and personal qualities:

- Reflect on their own intellectual development and the progress of their learning
- Manage their own study time and preparatory work effectively
- Work effectively with others towards defined goals
- Present their views and ideas to others, clearly and succinctly in both written and verbal form

Teaching and Learning

Teaching and learning on this module is based on three key elements:

1) Lectures (2 hours per week):

Lectures will provide you with a basic introduction to the weekly topic, outlining key concepts, factual information and contexts.

2) Tutorials (1 hour per week):

Tutorials are designed to help consolidate your understanding of the theories and issues you are introduced to in the lectures and will have encountered in your reading. Tutorials will involve a variety of different exercises: debates, problem solving exercises, policy development tasks. Each is designed to strengthen your analytical and critical thinking skills and augment your understanding of each week's topic.

Do your best to contribute verbally to the class discussions. I want to hear your ideas, opinions and interpretations. The more you contribute, the more you'll gain from the tutorial exercises.

It is a minimum expectation that students attend *all* lectures and tutorials throughout the year

If you fail to attend lectures and tutorials on a regular basis, it is much more likely that you will fail or perform poorly in the course

3) Personal Study:

Personal study outside of lecture and tutorial times is *essential* for success in this course. You will be expected to consult a wide range of sources from both academic texts and journals. High levels of background reading and personal study will boost your research and analysis skills and greatly enrich your personal understanding of the course content.

At a ***minimum*** you should look at **two** sources from the reading list each week to prepare for the tutorials. Wide background reading for both tutorials and for assessment will, in most cases, lead to a much better final mark. Reading and research beyond the reading list provided in this course guide is actively encouraged.

Course Texts:

The main suggested text for this course is:

Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

NB. The second edition of this book from 2012 is also fine, although the chapter numbers may be different

Other Useful Texts:

For a good account of the historical contexts see: **Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley (2012) *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9th Edition, London: Penguin**

For an introduction to the concepts and methods of foreign policy analysis see: **Christopher Hill (2016) *Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Basingtoke: Palgrave**

Assessment 1: The Reflective Learning Journal (2500 words)

The Task:

The Reflective Learning Journal is a weekly diary of **your reflections** on the discussions, arguments and viewpoints you encountered in the tutorials, and the ways in which they interacted with the themes and ideas found in the lecture and your background reading.

You need to write six entries in the journal, which reflect on the readings and tutorial discussions in weeks 3-8.

You may want to think about interesting ideas that were raised or debates that were covered in the reading and tutorial discussion and your own thoughts on them. I want to know about your opinions on some of the key issues discussed and how you expressed these in the tutorials and how your ideas interacted, or perhaps clashed, with those of others.

An entry should be made in the journal *after* each tutorial in weeks 3-8. Each entry should begin with the bibliographic references for at least *two* items of reading you did in preparation for the tutorial, followed by your reflections on the topic of the week.

You must write this journal as you go along. If you leave it right until the deadline, you will not be able to capture effectively your thoughts and reflections on the tutorial. **Consistent attendance and engagement** is therefore very important in achieving a good mark in this assessment task.

The overall word limit for all of the entries combined is **2500 words**.

Tips for writing a good Reflective Learning Journal:

Think about how it all fits together:

- Good learning is not simply about memorising facts. Learning in depth involves understanding how different facts, events, concepts and theories fit together.
- The learning journal is aimed at helping you better understand how your understanding of the course content is developing. This is done by reflecting on your learning activities (lectures, reading and tutorials) on a weekly basis.
- The journal is not simply intended to record descriptions of facts, concepts and events. You need to explore the underlying themes, reasons and connections between the ideas and concepts you encounter and the discussions that take place in the tutorial.
- When writing your entries think closely about the material you encountered in the lectures, the literature you have read from the reading list, newspaper articles, television news or documentaries and the discussions that took place during the tutorials.
- What do you think are the important themes or ideas present in the week's topic? How do they appear to fit together with what you have read or may already know? How did the tutorials activities help develop your thinking?

Engage with the Literature

- The Reflective Learning Journal is designed to chart the development of your thinking and you need to reflect how your preparatory reading relates to what you encounter in the lectures and tutorials.
- By engaging with the literature I do not mean simply re-iterating the content of the readings you have made. Engagement requires you to think critically about how the material you have read related to the activities and discussions in your tutorial.

- At the start of each weekly entry, write down full bibliographic entry for the sources you have read at in preparation for that week's tutorial topic. However, apart from listing the sources you've read at the start of each entry, you will not need to provide a separate bibliography at the end of the journal.
- You won't need to reference as much as in an essay. However, if you refer to a specific claim or quotation from one of the sources, just use an in-text (Harvard style) reference to denote the source and page number.
- I expect to see evidence of engagement with the more advanced texts and journal articles (not just the introductory textbook chapters).
- The more you read, the richer your reflections are likely to be.

Be Frank and Honest

- Learning is a collective but also intensely personal activity. Try and use the journal entries to accurately document how you are finding the material.
- Reflect on how you are finding the learning experience. If you are having difficulty understanding some of the material, try to reflect on why this might be and probe ways of improving your understanding.

Prepare, Attend and Participate

- Adequate preparation, by attending the lectures and doing the background reading, is essential in equipping you with the tools necessary to participate in tutorial activities at the required level.
- Attendance at all tutorials, besides being compulsory, is essential in providing you with the experience of the learning process upon which you are to reflect.
- Active participation in the activities will enrich your overall learning experience, improve your understanding of the subject area and help you to develop important communication, argumentation and interpersonal skills. The more you participate, the better the material you will have to structure your journal entries around.

Starting Your Reflective Learning Journal

Some questions to help you reflect – Think about your responses to these questions to help you get started, though you don't need to answer them all each week. They are only an opening, as there are likely to be many more questions you might want to reflect on.

Ensure that you reflect on the week's topic as a whole – the ideas and concepts encountered in the lecture, your reading and the tutorial.

Write in the first person – it's your personal account!

- What did I find most interesting or engaging about this week's topic? Why specifically did I find it interesting or engaging?
- What did I find complicated or difficult to understand about the week's topic? Why was this?
- How did the themes evident in the lecture/reading/tutorial relate to things that I've read about US foreign policy in newspapers or seen on TV?
- What themes or issues emerged from my background reading this week? What are my personal opinions and reflections on these themes? Why have I arrived at these opinions?
- What would I do in response to a specific political problem we discussed? How do I think it should be rectified?
- Did the tutorials miss anything out? Were there certain issues or themes I felt needed to be discussed in more detail?
- Did anyone contribute anything particularly interesting to the tutorial or did I disagree with anyone's viewpoint? Why did I find one point of view more convincing than another?
- How does this week's topic fit in with the themes and concepts we've looked at in previous weeks? How does it all fit together into a broader intellectual debate?

Obtaining Formative Feedback:

I am happy to look over and provide initial feedback on 1-2 of your initial journal entries prior to submission, either in my office hours or via email.

What if I'm ill or absent from class?

Although the journal entries do generally need to reflect on tutorial discussions, it is also possible to complete a small number of them (1 or 2), based solely on your personal reflections on the reading, should you miss a class.

If you are likely to be absent from class for an extended period, please let me know as soon as possible. You will most likely need to complete a mitigating circumstances application, so that I can set an alternative assessment or submission date.

Assessment 2: The Final Essay (3500 words)

Essay Questions:

The questions all relate to material from more than one week, so you will need to draw from reading across the teaching weeks.

When developing your answer, ensure that you draw on empirical examples to help illustrate the claims you are making.

1. How much individual agency does the President have in the American foreign policy process?
2. To what extent have ideas of American Exceptionalism shaped US foreign policy identities and practices?
3. Was American hard or soft power more influential in shaping the conduct and the outcome of the Cold War?
4. Has post-World War II US foreign policy constructed a 'uniquely benign' form of empire?
5. Was George HW Bush's 1990 declaration of a 'New World Order' premature? Discuss with reference to US foreign policy under Bush (Sr.) and Clinton during the 1990s.
6. To what extent did neoconservative thought shape the US foreign policy response to the September 11th 2001 attacks? Discuss with reference to the Bush Doctrine and the conduct of the War on Terror.
7. How effective was the Obama Administration's handling of the Arab Spring in 2011 and its aftermath? Discuss in relation to US national interest, international stability and the protection of human rights.
8. Has the expanding influence of the BRIC states (Brazil, Russia, India and China) in the early 21st Century, weakened the *Pax Americana*?
9. Is the foreign policy of the Trump Administration likely to undermine or expand American global power and influence? Discuss with reference to the impact on the liberal international order.
10. Could or should the United States ever return to an isolationist foreign policy?

How to Write a Good Essay

i) Take Pride in your Work

Good essays are a pleasure to read and show that the student is serious about their work, their learning and their future. Spend some time researching and developing your written piece. It is your key opportunity to articulate your views and your analysis on your chosen topic.

Skills in writing are very important transferable skills and are one of the hallmarks of a university education. Use these opportunities to develop your skills to the highest level possible. Ensure that you are happy with the work you hand in and that your essay is something you are proud to put your name to.

ii) Answer the Question!

You'd be surprised how many people don't do this...

Before writing you need to know lots of theoretical and empirical detail on the subject area but simply repeating this is not enough. You need to analyse the material and *develop an argument in response to the question*.

Your argument is based on *your analysis and opinion* using the literature you have surveyed to support and help explain your points. You will need to engage with the perspectives of others in helping to develop your argument but don't merely state the variety of positions, explore them and explain why you find some more convincing than others.

iii) Plan your essay structure

Always write a written plan of your essay before you start writing. Have it near you when you at your computer and it will help guide your thoughts when you begin to write your essay.

Use the introduction to explain to the reader what the essay is going to argue in response to the question and how it is going to do it. Make sure that all the analysis and discussion that follows in the main body of the essay supports and helps to develop your core argument.

Your conclusion should not introduce any new analysis. It should simply summarise and wrap up the main argument(s) made by your essay.

iv) Research Properly

Poor quality essays are invariably badly researched, often based on a very small range of material, overly-dependent on the lecture slides and sometimes appear to be written 'off the top of the head'.

Good research is vital in writing a good essay. In general, the more widely you read when preparing your essay, the better the outcome in terms of the mark you receive. Learn how to use the library properly and make the most of its resources. If in doubt ask one of the library staff, they will be pleased to help.

Do not try to write an essay based on internet-based research alone. For university-level work, you will need to draw on academic books and peer-reviewed journals.

Avoid using Wikipedia. Although it can be useful for obtaining some basic information, it is ultimately only an encyclopedia aimed at a general audience. The ability of anyone to edit the content means the analysis contained within is sometimes flawed and inaccurate.

v) Reference Properly

Poor referencing is an easy way to lose marks. Good referencing is essential in obtaining a high mark irrespective of what course you study at university.

Learn how to use the Harvard referencing system. It is quite straightforward although it can take a little practice to master.

Failing to reference properly can lead to accusations of plagiarism which leads to loss of marks and potential disciplinary procedures.

Obtaining Formative Feedback:

I am happy to look at your essay plans to give you feedback, advice and ideas on how to best develop them. *Please note that I will **not** look at or comment on any drafts of essays*

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

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:
- 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. Students who submit work at one second past a deadline or later will therefore be subject to a penalty for late submission.

Academic Misconduct (Plagiarism)

Plagiarism is defined as:

Presenting the work of somebody else as your own without proper acknowledgement

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and a form of cheating. It prevents the academic staff from properly assessing your progress and is disrespectful to your tutors and you fellow students on the module. Ultimately it severely limits your own academic development.

Plagiarism can take several forms:

- Copying the work of a friend or classmate
- Copying directly out of a textbook or journal without proper referencing
- Cutting and Pasting from an internet source without proper referencing
- Submitting the same work for more than one course even if it is your own (auto-plagiarism)

Whether there is a direct intent to cheat or not, ***it is the failure to properly acknowledge that constitutes plagiarism.***

The penalties for plagiarism are severe – at the very least you will automatically fail the assessment, but plagiarism can also lead to expulsion from university.

NB. There is nothing wrong with using other people's work so long as it is correctly referenced. Much of what we argue as students and academics is supported by, or derivative of other people's work.

However, take care that you do not use other people's analysis as a substitute for your own. Quotations and references to the work of others should be used to support your own answer to the question.

Student Feedback from 2017/18

As you are no doubt aware, students are invited to offer their feedback on the course in a student evaluation exercise. It's very useful to know the kinds of things you liked about the course and the ways in which you feel it might be improved. I look forward to receiving your comments at the end of this course. A link to the course evaluation will be opened on Blackboard once the course has concluded.

Student feedback on the 2017/18 iteration of this course was overwhelmingly positive.

Things Students Liked:

- Course organisation and management
- Knowledgeable and approachable lecturer
- Quality of tutorial discussions
- Breadth of content covered

Areas for Improvement:

- More detailed explanation of reflective learning journal task
- More use of primary sources and journal articles in seminar discussion

Changes Made:

Although the guidance for the reflective learning journal was very detailed in 2017/18 course, I do appreciate that the strike action that disrupted several weeks of the course led to some students not having enough opportunity to discuss this perhaps unfamiliar assessment task.

For this year, I'm happy to go into more detail in lectures and seminars about the task itself, answering any questions students might have. My office hours are also a great place to discuss the journal and any draft entries.

Obtaining Feedback on Your Work

As independent learners it is important for you to be able reflect on how you're performing at university and to consider ways in which to improve. To help you do this, the teaching staff will provide you with feedback to help you with this process of self-reflection and development.

What University Feedback is Not...

It's important to remember that a more advanced kind of learning and thinking is associated with university study. Feedback at university is *not* aimed at teaching you how to pass a specific test or how to learn facts by rote. This kind of coaching results in a superficial form of learning, which adds little to your personal analytical skills or your development as an independent learner. University-level academic skills involve much more than learning how to produce a generic model answer.

University feedback is aimed at helping you to assess the development of your ideas, thinking, writing and verbal reasoning on a specific issue and to subject them to critical scrutiny from experts in the field (your tutors). It is a process that takes place throughout the university year and you will encounter it in a variety of forms. Quality feedback will help you to develop your mastery of the subject in a way that will help you to perform well in assessments but, more importantly, it will help you to become an independent learner. It is designed to help you learn how to tackle intellectual puzzles creatively and innovatively, developing an independent line of analysis and making best use of the academic literature and appropriate evidence.

Importantly, university feedback is *a two part process*. The academic staff will provide regular guidance feedback, but it is also up to you to reflect on this advice and make adjustments to the way you work and the approach you take to study.

Where do I obtain feedback?

- **From tutorials:**

Your weekly tutorials are perhaps the most important place where feedback can be obtained. They are designed to help you work through the ideas and concepts that you encounter on a weekly basis in your modules. The tutorials involve structured exercises that allow you to discuss and work with the course material to help you gain understanding and ownership of it.

During tutorials the tutors will provide verbal feedback on the contributions you make and your responses to tutorial tasks. Feedback of a kind can also be obtained from discussions with your classmates.

To make the most of this kind of feedback it's really important that you prepare well for tutorials (by reading) and attend regularly. Students who attend consistently invariably obtain better degrees than those who don't.

- **From formative assessment:**

Course units will often provide opportunities for formative assessment. These might be short written pieces, discussion tasks or group exercises, which allow you to hone the skills that will be necessary for the final assessment.

You will be able to obtain feedback that will help you to assess your current performance and reflect on ways to improve in future. Importantly, these exercises do not contribute to your final mark, so you have the space to make mistakes and learn how to address them prior to submitting your final assessment.

It is important to appreciate that, as we wish you to develop broader intellectual skills and become an independent learner, these are not practice tests as such and there are no model answers. You should not necessarily expect to receive a specific mark for formative work, but rather qualitative written or verbal feedback on your progress.

- **From summative assessment:**

Summative assessments are those that count to your final grade for the course. You will typically receive a mark with detailed feedback explaining why you received the mark that was given, alongside suggestions for future improvement.

It is really important that you examine this feedback closely, whether you feel that you have done well or if you have underperformed. If you are having difficulty in understanding the feedback given, feel free to make an appointment with your tutor to discuss it.

- **From one-to-one discussions with your tutors:**

All of your lecturers and tutors will have weekly office hours. These are times when you can drop by your tutor's office to discuss the course content and talk over any problems you might be having. Office hours are an excellent time to speak one-to-one with your tutor about your progress and to obtain guidance on improving the quality of your work.

- **From your peers:**

Your course-mates can be a fantastic (and often under-used) source of feedback on your ideas, argument and writing style. Ultimately, you are all in the university learning process together and the discussions you have with other students can provide you with forms of feedback that can have a profound impact on developing your thinking and your ability to negotiate between differing viewpoints.

Academic Journals

Academic journals provide the latest and most up-to-date thinking and are excellent resources for your background reading and essay writing. *I expect to see some engagement with journal articles in your reflective learning journals and final essays.*

Analysis in academic journals goes beyond the introductory focus of the text books and presents the 'cutting edge' of thinking on the topic.

These journals are all available in electronic form (with full pdf articles) through the library catalogue. They are excellent resources for developing your understanding of US foreign policy, providing substance for tutorial discussion, reflective journal entries and for conducting research for your essays.

Ask library staff if you are unsure how to access these resources.

Diplomacy and Statecraft

Ethics and International Affairs

Foreign Affairs

Foreign Policy Analysis

Global Governance

International Affairs

International Organization

International Relations

International Security

International Studies Quarterly

Journal of Cold War Studies

Orbis

Presidential Studies Quarterly

Review of International Studies

Security Dialogue

Survival

US Foreign Policy Agenda

World Policy Journal

Internet Resources

There are a wide variety of resources on the internet that may help you keep up-to-date with developments in international relations and provide a rich array of empirical information and research to help build your understanding of how theory relates to practice.

Things to remember about using the internet as a study resource

- *Always* reference any material you use in your assessed work
- You cannot write a quality piece of academic work based on internet sources alone – you will need to use the academic books and journals from the reading list below
- For every good online source, there are many more of dubious quality – think carefully about the internet resources you use and the veracity of the information and arguments you encounter

Think tanks and research institutes:

Chatham House - <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/>

International Institute for Strategic Studies - <http://www.iiss.org/>

Centre for Strategic and International Studies - <http://csis.org/>

Carnegie Endowment for World Peace - <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/>

International Peace Institute - <http://www.ipacademy.org/>

The Brookings Institution - <http://www.brookings.edu/foreign-policy.aspx>

Council on Foreign Relations - <http://www.cfr.org/>

The CATO Institute - <https://www.cato.org/>

The Hoover Institution - <https://www.hoover.org/>

The RAND Corporation - <https://www.rand.org/>

Human Rights Watch - <https://www.hrw.org/>

Miller Center (on the Presidency) - <https://millercenter.org/>

The US Government

The Executive:

The White House – <https://www.whitehouse.gov/>

The State Department - <https://www.state.gov/>

United States Department of Defense - <https://www.defense.gov/>

USAID - <https://www.usaid.gov/>

Archived Presidential White House Websites - <https://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries/archived-websites>

Congress:

United States Senate – <https://www.senate.gov/>

Senate Committee on Armed Services - <https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/>

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations - <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/>

House of Representatives - <https://www.house.gov/>

House Foreign Affairs Committee - <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>

Other Agencies:

United States Mission to the United Nations - <https://usun.state.gov/>

The Central Intelligence Agency - <https://www.cia.gov/>

US National Archives - <https://www.archives.gov/>

News Sources

BBC World News - <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/default.stm>

CBS News - <https://www.cbsnews.com/>

CNN - <http://edition.cnn.com/>

National Public Radio - <https://www.npr.org/>

The New York Times - <https://www.nytimes.com/>

The Washington Post - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>

Reuters - <http://www.reuters.com/>

Associated Press - <https://www.apnews.com/>

United Nations News - <http://www.un.org/News/>

Al Jazeera - <http://www.aljazeera.com/>

Foreign Policy Magazine - <https://foreignpolicy.com/>

Politico Magazine - <https://www.politico.com/>

Weekly Schedule

(RLJ) = You should write a reflective learning journal entry after this tutorial

Week Number	Lecture	Tutorial
Week 1: w/c 28th January	Understanding Foreign Policy: National Interest and Global Responsibilities	No Tutorial
Week 2: w/c 4th February	Who Makes US Foreign Policy? The Presidency, Congress and the Public	Introduction: Thinking about foreign policy
Week 3: w/c 11th February	Identity and Interests in US Foreign Policy: Realism, Liberal Internationalism and US Exceptionalism	Examining the US foreign policy-making process (RLJ)
Week 4: w/c 18th February	What Makes America Powerful? Hard, Soft and 'Smart' Power	US self-identity and sense of role in world politics (RLJ)
Week 5: w/c 25th February	The Emergence of a Global Power: Isolationism, Internationalism and the foundations of liberal world order	How is US power expressed in world politics? (RLJ)
Week 6: w/c 4th March	Fighting the Cold War: 'Containment', 'Roll-Back' and Superpower Rivalry	The challenges of 'Wilsonian' internationalism (RLJ)
Week 7: w/c 11th March	Empire, Hegemony and Imperialism: US Foreign Policy and the Global South	Approaches to leadership of the 'free world', 1945-89 (RLJ)
Week 8: w/c 18th March	After the Cold War: 'The New World Order' and the Unipolar Moment	Malevolent empire or benign hegemon? How has the US influenced the Global South? (RLJ)
Week 9: w/c 25th March	The War on Terror: Neo-Conservatism, Unilateralism and the Bush Administration	Searching for a post-Cold War role: America as 'global policeman'?
Week 10: w/c 1st April	Navigating the post-War on Terror World: The 'Obama Doctrine', Trump's 'America First' and the Decay of Liberalism?	America in Decline? The War on Terror and its Aftermath
Easter Break	No Lectures	No Tutorials
Week 11: w/c 29th April	No Lecture	Essay Preparation

Weekly Reading Guide

Week 1: Understanding Foreign Policy: National Interest and Global Responsibilities

This week provides an introduction to the study of foreign policy. We'll examine the concept of foreign policy as the process through which states engage with other states in world politics. Despite its significance for peace, security and prosperity in the world, foreign policy is often the poor relation when compared to the concerns of domestic politics. The lecture will explore why states make foreign policy and what it should seek to achieve. Should foreign policy be focused entirely on the state's national interest, or should it be concerned with responsibilities to the wider international community? Moreover, who is represented in foreign policy and what role should the public play in its development? We'll also look at the important analytical tools and methods for researching the formulation, articulation and implementation of foreign policy.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 1 "Foreign Policy in International Relations" and Chapter 2 "The Politics of Foreign Policy" in Christopher Hill (2016) *Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Chapter 11: Brian Schmidt "The Primacy of National Security" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 13: Michael Barnett "Duties Beyond Borders" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

Burchill, Scott (2005) *The national interest in international relations theory*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alden, Chris & Amnon Aran (2013) *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches*, London: Routledge

Wolfers, Arnold (1962) *Discord and collaboration: Essays on international politics*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Smith, Karen and Margot Light (Eds.) (2001) *Ethics and Foreign Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolfers, Arnold (1949) "Statesmanship and moral choice", *World Politics*, 1(2) 175-19

Week 2: Who Makes US Foreign Policy? The Presidency, Congress and Public Opinion

This week we look at the structures and processes associated with the production of US foreign policy. The US political system was intended to distribute power between the different branches of government, to ensure that no one branch (or individual) became too powerful. This has led to the emergence of various centres of power in the foreign policy decision-making process. Whilst the President has significant powers in terms of agenda-setting and key decision making, Congress also has significant influence in the implementation and oversight of foreign policy. Moreover, government agencies, think tanks, lobby groups, business interests and public opinion have significant influences on how foreign policy is made. This week we'll also look at how the relationship between individual agency and established structures is approached by foreign policy analysis at a theoretical level.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 8: Michael Foley "The foreign policy process: executive, Congress, intelligence" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2016) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 3: "The Actors: Taking Responsibility" and Chapter 4: "Agents: Bureaucracy and the Proliferation of External Relations" in Christopher Hill (2016) *Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Chapter 10: "Politics, Society and Foreign Policy" in Christopher Hill (2016) *Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Chapter 10: "The role of media and public opinion" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

Chapters 11-22 of Steven Hook and Christopher Jones (Eds.) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*, London: Routledge

Dumbrell, John (1997) *The Making of US Foreign Policy*, 2nd edition, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Brands, Hal (2014) *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry Truman to George W Bush*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Saunders, Elizabeth (2011) *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Chapter 3: "The Power of the State and the Foreign Policy Process" in Bryan Mabee (2013) *Understanding American Power: The Changing World of US Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Carlsnaes, Walter (1992) "The Agency-Structure Problem in Foreign Policy Analysis", *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 245–270

Jervis, Robert (2013) "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies*, 22(2), 153-179

Amstutz, Mark (2013) *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Holsti, Ole (2004) *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy*, Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press

Milner, Helen and Dustin Tingley (2015) *Sailing the water's edge: The domestic politics of American foreign policy*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press

Dewind, Josh and Renata Segura (2014) *Diaspora Lobbies and the US Government*, New York: NYU Press.

Saunders, Elizabeth (2015) "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic elites and the politics of using force." *Security Studies* 24(3), 466-501

Martin, Lisa (2005) "The President and International Commitments: Treaties as signaling devices." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35(3), 440-465

Hermann, Margaret and Charles Hermann (1989) "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An empirical inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(4), 361-387

Porter, Patrick (2018) "Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit and the US Foreign Policy Establishment", *International Security*, 42(4), 9-46

Widmaier, Wesley (2007) "Constructing Foreign Policy Crises: Interpretive Leadership in the Cold War and War on Terrorism", *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(4), 779-794.

Heffington, Colton (2018) "Do Hawks and Doves Deliver? The Words and Deeds of Foreign Policy in Democracies", *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 14(1), 64-85

Cooper, David, Nikolas Gvosdev and Jessica Blankshain (2018) "Deconstructing the 'Deep State': Subordinate Bureaucratic Politics in US National Security", *Orbis*, 62(4), 505-517

Week 3: Identity and Interests in US Foreign Policy: Realism, Liberal Internationalism and US Exceptionalism

Foreign policy invariably is shaped by a state's self-identity and the role they see themselves as having in world politics. This week we'll look at the role of US identity in shaping the character and conduct of US foreign policy. We look at the concept of US exceptionalism – the idea that the United States is in some way different to other members of the international community and thus has the right to behave in divergent ways. The idea of US exceptionalism has an important influence on US foreign policy *identity* and its conception of national *interests*. We'll explore the ways this has interacted with different theorizations of foreign policy behaviour – realism, liberal internationalism and constructivism.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 3: Daniel Deudney and Jeffrey Meiser "American exceptionalism" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 11: Christina Rowley and Jutta Weldes "Identities and US foreign policy" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2012) *US Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

NB – this chapter is in the 2012 edition only

For the use of realism, liberalism and constructivism in foreign policy analysis, see Chapters 2,3 and 4 of Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

Holsti, K. (1970). National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 14(3), 233-309

Weldes, Jutta (1996) "Constructing National Interests", *European Journal of International Relations*, 2(3), 275-318.

Doty, Roxanne (1993) "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines", *International Studies Quarterly*, 37(3), 297-320

Campbell, David (1999) *Writing Security: US Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Kennan, George (1995) "On American Principles", *Foreign Affairs*, 74(2), 116-126

Greg Russell (1990), *Hans J Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press

- McElroy, Robert (1992) *Morality and American Foreign Policy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press
- Hemmer, Christopher (2015) *American Pendulum: Recurring Debates in US Grand Strategy*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Madsen, Deborah (1998) *American Exceptionalism*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hodgson, Godfrey (2009) *The Myth of American Exceptionalism*, New Haven: Yale University Press
- Ignatieff, Michael (2005) *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press
- McCracken, Trevor (2003) *American Exceptionalism and the Legacy of Vietnam: US Foreign Policy since 1974*, Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Ceaser, James (2012) "The Origins and Character of American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought*, 1(1), 3-28
- Onuf, Peter (2012) "American Exceptionalism and National Identity," *American Political Thought*, 1(1), 77-100
- Restad, Hilde Eliassen (2012) "Old Paradigms in History Die Hard in Political Science: US Foreign Policy and American Exceptionalism," *American Political Thought*, 1(1), 53-76
- Hunt, Michael (2009) *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, New Haven CN: Yale University Press
- Posen, Barry (2014) *Restraint: A New Foundation for US Grand Strategy*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Chapter 6: "The Power of American Values: Ideology and Identity in American Foreign Policy" in Bryan Mabee (2013) *Understanding American Power: The Changing World of US Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Dueck, Colin (2006) *Reluctant crusaders: Power, culture, and change in American grand strategy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Quinn, Adam (2009) *US Foreign Policy in Context: National Ideology from the Founders to the Bush Doctrine*, London: Routledge
- Morgenthau, Hans (1951) *In defense of the national interest: a critical examination of American foreign policy*, New York: Knopf.
- Dueck, Colin (2017) "Theodore Roosevelt and American Realism" *Orbis*, 61(4), 541-560
- Wolfers, Arnold & Laurence Martin (1956) *The Anglo-American tradition in foreign affairs: Readings from Thomas More to Woodrow Wilson*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Atwood, Paul (2010) *War and empire: the American way of life*, London: Pluto Press.
- Nau, Henry (2018) "Why 'Conservative' and Not Liberal Internationalism?", *Orbis*, 62(1) 22-29

On Realist Approaches to International Relations:

- Chapter 1 "A Realist Theory of International Politics" in Hans Morgenthau (1993) *Politics Among Nations*, London, McGraw-Hill
- Chapter 5 "The Realist Critique" in EH Carr (2001) *The Twenty Years Crisis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Chapter 3: Richard Lebow "Classical Realism" in Tim Dunne, Milja Kukri & Steve Smith (Eds) (2010) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Chapter 2 "A realist agenda for peace" in Oliver Richmond (2008) *Peace in International Relations*, London: Routledge

Morgenthau, Hans (1993) *Politics Among Nations*, London, McGraw-Hill

Carr, EH (2001) *The Twenty Years Crisis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Buzan, Barry (1996) "The timeless wisdom of realism?" in Steve Smith, Ken Booth & Marysia Zalewski (Eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Booth, Ken (Ed.) (2010) *Realism and World Politics*, London, Routledge

Williams, Michael (2005) *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Lewbow, Richard (2003) *The Tragic Vision of Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Scheuerman, William (2009) *Morgenthau*, Cambridge, Polity

Williams, Michael (2007) *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Donnelly, Jack (2000) *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Gilpin, Robert (1984) "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism", *International Organisation*, 38(2)

Cozette, Murielle (2008) "Reclaiming the critical dimension of Realism: Hans J. Morgenthau on the ethics of scholarship", *Review of International Studies*, 34(1)

Mearsheimer, John (1995) "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, 19(3)

Mearsheimer, John (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York, Norton

Jervis, Robert (1976) *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press

Waltz, Kenneth (1979) *Theory of International Politics*, Boston, McGraw-Hill

Waltz, Kenneth (1965) *Man, the State and War*, London, Columbia University Press

On Liberal Internationalist Approaches to International Relations:

Chapter 3: Scott Burchill "Liberalism" in Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater (Eds) *Theories of International Relations*, 5th Edition, Basingstoke, Palgrave

Chapter 1 "Peace and the idealist tradition" in Oliver Richmond (2008) *Peace in International Relations*, London: Routledge

- MacMillan, John (2004) "Liberalism and the Democratic Peace", *Review of International Studies*, 30(2)
- Jahn, Beate (2012) "Re-thinking Democracy Promotion", *Review of International Studies*, 38(4)
- Kupchan, Charles and Peter Trubowitz (2007) "Dead Center: The Demise of Liberal Internationalism in the United States", *International Security*, 32(2)
- Dueck, Colin (2003) "Hegemony on the Cheap: Liberal Internationalism from Wilson to Bush", *World Policy Journal*, 20(4)
- Russett, Bruce (1994) *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye (2011) *Power and Interdependence*, 4th Edition, London: Pearson
- Deudney, Daniel & John Ikenberry (1999) "The nature and sources of liberal international order", *Review of International Studies*, 25(2)
- Ikenberry, John (2011) "The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism After America", *Foreign Affairs*, 90(3)
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1997) "Taking Preferences Seriously: A liberal theory of international politics", *International Organisation*, 51(4)
- Jahn, Beate (2005) "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs", *International Organization*, 59(1)
- Chaudoin, Stephen, Helen Milner, and Dustin Tingley (2010) "The Center Still Holds: Liberal internationalism survives." *International Security* 35(1), 75-94

Week 4: What Makes America Powerful? Hard, Soft and 'Smart' Power

This week's lecture explore the ways in which American power is expressed internationally. The US has one of the largest and the best funded military in the world, with the capacity to project its power far beyond its borders. However, this is not the only source of US power. Cultural commodities, economic relationships and ideological connections also provide the US with an array of 'soft power' capabilities. This week we'll think about the relationship between 'hard' and 'soft' power, the ways they may conflict with or complement each other. We'll also look at US capabilities relative to other states in the international system, particularly the EU and the emerging power of the BRICS states.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 8: Joseph Nye "The 21st Century and Smart Power" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 9: Caitlin Byrne "Public diplomacy" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 6: "Implementation: Foreign Policy Practice and the Texture of Power" in Christopher Hill (2016) *Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Joseph Nye (1990) "Soft Power", *Foreign Policy*, 80, pp. 153-171

Further Reading

- Chapter 4: "The Evolution of Military Power: An American Way of War?" in Bryan Mabee (2013) *Understanding American Power: The Changing World of US Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- Chapters 23-25 of Steven Hook and Christopher Jones (Eds.) (2012) *The Routledge Handbook of American Foreign Policy*, London: Routledge
- Echevarria, Antulio (2014) *Reconsidering the American Way of War: US Military Practice from the Revolution to Afghanistan*, Washington: Georgetown University Press
- Calder, Kent (2007) *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Pettyjohn, Stacie (2012) *U.S. Global Defense Posture, 1783-2011*, Santa Monica CA: Rand Corporation
- Bacevich, Andrew (2006) *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Boggs, Carl (2003) *Masters of War: Militarism and Blowback in the Era of American Empire*, London: Routledge
- Shaw, Martin (2005) *The New Western Way of War: Risk-transfer War and Its Crisis in Iraq*, Cambridge: Polity
- Parmar, Inderjeet & Michael Cox (2010) (Eds.) (2010) *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, London: Routledge
- Parmar, Inderjeet (2012) *Foundations of the American Century The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations and the Rise of American Power*, New York: Columbia University Press
- Nye, Joseph (2002) *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Nye, Joseph (2004) "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, 119(2), 255-70.
- Nye, Joseph (2008) "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 94-109.
- Melissen, Jan (Ed.) (2005) *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Week 5: The Emergence of a Global Power: Isolationism, internationalism and the foundations of liberal world order

America has not always been the world's most powerful state and its rise to global prominence occurred in the context of the very turbulent 20th Century. This week we'll look at the expansion of US power in the inter-war period and the tension with isolationist tendencies within US domestic political culture. The US has been a central actor in helping to construct the liberal international order, a project closely associated with President Woodrow Wilson. In the aftermath of World War I, the US aimed to construct a more peaceful international order based on liberal democratic principles. Although these efforts stalled with the outbreak of World War II, the decisive victory of the US against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan allowed it to assume the role of a global hegemon, shaping the conduct of world politics through to the present day.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 4: Walter LaFeber "The US rise to world power, 1776-1945" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 1: "The Twisting Path to War" and Chapter 2: "The War in Europe" in Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley (2012) *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9th Edition, London: Penguin

Further Reading

Chapter 1: "The Rise of American Power" and Chapter 2: "American Power in International Relations" in Bryan Mabee (2013) *Understanding American Power: The Changing World of US Foreign Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Woodrow Wilson - "The Fourteen Points", 8th January 1918 **[Available on Blackboard]**

Chapter 3: "The Lost Alliance: Ideas and Alternatives in American Grand Strategy, 1918-1921" in Colin Dueck (2006) *Reluctant crusaders: Power, culture, and change in American grand strategy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chapter 24: "Foreign Policy Between the Wars, 1921-1941" in Maldwyn Jones (1995) *The Limits of Liberty: American History 1607-1980*, 2nd Edition, New York: Oxford University Press

Chapter 2: "The Hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson" and Chapter 9: "The New Face of Diplomacy: Wilson and the Treaty of Versailles" in Henry Kissinger (1994) *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon and Schuster

Cochran, Molly, and Cornelia Navari (Eds.) (2017) *Progressivism and US Foreign Policy between the World Wars*, Basingstoke: Palgrave

Dueck, Colin (2017) "Theodore Roosevelt and American Realism", *Orbis*, 61(4), 541-560

Braumoeller, Bear (2010) "The Myth of American Isolationism", *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 6(4), 349-71.

Go, Julian (2007) "The Provinciality of American Empire: 'Liberal Exceptionalism' and U.S. Colonial Rule, 1898-1912", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49(1), 74-108

Janis, Mark Weston (2010) *America and the Law of Nations 1776-1939*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dunn, David (2005) "Isolationism Revisited Seven Persistent Myths in the Contemporary American Foreign Policy Debate", *Review of International Studies*, 31(2), 237-61

Chapters 4-7 in Jerald Combs (2015) *History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 4th Edition, London: Routledge

LaFeber, Walter (1963) *The New Empire: an interpretation of American expansion, 1860-1898*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press

Chapter 5: Michael Cox "The Economic Rise of a Superpower – from Washington to Trump" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Week 6: Fighting the Cold War: 'Containment', 'Roll-Back' and Superpower Rivalry

America's rise as a superpower in the post-World War II period did not go unopposed. US foreign policy from 1945 until 1989, was defined by the relationship to the Soviet Union and efforts to balance or counteract Soviet power. The Cold War became associated with policies of 'containment' – US commitment to preventing the expansion of communism into the 'free world'. We'll look at the policies and practices associated with containment – alliance building, overseas power projection and the massive expansion of US military power. We'll explore the ways in which they shaped the US role in world and how they influenced the views held about America by other members of the international community.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 6: Richard Saul "American foreign policy during the Cold War" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 5: "The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan",
Chapter 6: "Containment Tested"
Chapter 11 "Nixon, Détente and the Debacle in Vietnam"
Chapter 15: "Reagan and the Evil Empire"

...all in Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley (2012) *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9th Edition, London: Penguin

Further Reading

Dobson, Alan & Steve Marsh (2006) *US Foreign Policy since 1945*, 2nd edition, London: Routledge

Harper, John Lamberton (2011) *The Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Gaddis, John Lewis (2007) *The Cold War*, London: Penguin

Young, John & John Kent (2013) *International Relations Since 1945*, 2nd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

LaFeber, Walter (2004) *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2002*, 9th Edition, London: McGraw-Hill

Farish, Matthew (2010) *The Contours of America's Cold War*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press

Hanhimaki, Jussi & Odd Arne Westad (Eds.) (2004) *The Cold War: A history in documents and eyewitness accounts*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Chapters 17-19 and 25-30 in Henry Kissinger (1994) *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon and Schuster

Chapter 4: "Conceiving Containment: Ideas and Alternatives in American Grand Strategy: 1945-1951" in Colin Dueck (2006) *Reluctant crusaders: Power, culture, and change in American grand strategy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Suri, Jeremy (2012) "The United States and the Cold War" In Geir Lundestad (Ed.) *International Relations Since the End of the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Logevall, Frederik & Andrew Preston (2008) *Nixon in the world: American foreign relations, 1969-1977*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Johns, Andrew (2015) *A Companion to Ronald Reagan*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell
- Acharya, Amitav (2014) *U.S. Military Strategy in the Gulf: Origins and Evolution Under the Carter and Reagan Administrations*, London: Routledge
- Bilsland, James (2015) *The President, the State and the Cold War: Comparing the foreign policies of Truman and Reagan*, London: Routledge
- Green, Brendan (2012) "Two Concepts of Liberty: U.S. Cold War Grand Strategies and the Liberal Tradition", *International Security*, 37(2), 9-43
- Frazier, Robert (2009) "Kennan, Universalism and the Truman Doctrine" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 11(2), 3-34.
- Spalding, Elizabeth (2017) "The Enduring Significance of the Truman Doctrine", *Orbis* 61(4) 561-74.
- Merrill, Dennis (2006) "The Truman Doctrine: Containing Communism and Modernity." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 27-37.
- Fraser, Donald (1979) "Human Rights and US Foreign Policy", *International Studies Quarterly*, 23(2), 174-185
- Pach, Chester (2006) "The Reagan Doctrine: Principle, Pragmatism, and Policy", *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(1), 75-88.
- Inboden, William (2018) "Ronald Reagan: Exemplar of Conservative Internationalism?", *Orbis*, 62(1), 43-55
- Tannenwald, Nina (1999) "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the normative basis of nuclear non-use." *International Organization* 53(3), 433-468
- Krebs, Ronald (2015) "How Dominant Narratives Rise and Fall: Military Conflict, Politics, and the Cold War Consensus", *International Organization*, 69(4), 809-845

Week 7: US Foreign Policy and the Global South: Empire, Hegemony and Imperialism

US foreign policy, both during the Cold War and after has been associated with practices of imperial rule. Although it has not been a colonial power in the same way as historic European empires, the US has orientated its foreign policy to project its power globally and to shape the political dynamics and internal affairs of states across the world. This lecture, we'll explore the ways in which the US has influenced or interfered with the internal politics of states in the global South. We'll explore the different techniques of intervention during the Cold War and the crossover with more contemporary forms of state building. In particular, we'll reflect on the balance between consent and coercion in the development and maintenance of US hegemony.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 5: "Imperialism, Post-Imperialism and Neo-Imperialism" in Michael Nicholson (2002) *International Relations: A Concise Introduction*, 2nd Edition, Basingstoke, Palgrave

Chapter 12: Toby Dodge "US foreign policy in the Middle East" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 16: James Dunkerley "US foreign policy in Latin America" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 17: Robert Patman "US foreign policy in Africa" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

Blum, William (2003) *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower*, London: Zed Books

Blum, William (2003) *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions since World War II*, London: Zed Books

Chomsky, Noam (2003) *Hegemony or survival: America's quest for global dominance*, London, Hamish Hamilton

Chapters 2 and 3 in Jerald Combs (2015) *History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 4th Edition, London: Routledge

Bacevich, Andrew (2016) *America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History*, New York: Random House

Bacevich, Andrew (2002) *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press

Harvey, David (2005) *The New Imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2000) *Empire*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press

Chomsky, Noam (1991) *Deterring Democracy*, London: Verso

Iber, Patrick (2015) *Neither Peace nor Freedom: the Cultural Cold War in Latin America*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press

Branch, Adam (2011) *Displacing Human Rights War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, New York: Oxford University Press

LaFeber, Walter (1963) *The New Empire: an interpretation of American expansion, 1860-1898*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press

LaFeber, Walter (1994) *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad, 1750 to the present*, 2nd edition, London: WW Norton

Simes, Dimitri (2003) "America's Imperial Dilemma", *Foreign Affairs*, 82(6), 91-98.

Schoultz, Lars (1981) "US Foreign Policy and Human Rights Violations in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of Foreign Aid Distributions", *Comparative Politics*, 13(2), 149-170

Evans, Tony (1996) *US Hegemony and the Project of Universal Human Rights*, Basingstoke: Macmillan

Robinson, William (1996) *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention and Hegemony*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Livingstone, Grace (2009) *America's Backyard: The United States and Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine to the War on Terror*, London: Zed Books

Acharya, Amitav (2014) *U.S. Military Strategy in the Gulf: Origins and Evolution Under the Carter and Reagan Administrations*, London: Routledge

Dunne, Michael (2000) "US Relations in the Twentieth Century: From World Power to Global Hegemony", *International Affairs*, 76(1), 25-40

Rosemary Foot, S Neil MacFarlane and Michael Mastanduno (Eds) (2003) *US Hegemony and International Organizations*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Rye Olsen, Gorm (2017) "The Ambiguity of US Foreign Policy towards Africa", *Third World Quarterly*, 38(9), 2097–2112

Davis, Carmel (2009) "AFRICOM's Relationship to Oil, Terrorism and China", *Orbis*, 53(1), 122–136

Cox, Michael (2004) 'Empire by Denial? Debating US power', *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 228-236

Mabee, Bryan (2004) "Discourses of empire: The US 'empire', globalisation and international relations", *Third World Quarterly*, 25(8), 1359-1378.

Parmar, Inderjeet (2018) "The US-led liberal order: imperialism by another name?", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 151–172

Week 8: After the Cold War: 'The New World Order' and the Unipolar Moment

The end of the Cold War heralded a significant re-alignment of international politics, with important implications for US foreign policy. In a very short period of time, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of a unipolar international system, which placed the US in a unique position of power with no obvious rival. At the same time, the relatively sudden end of the Cold War raised questions as to what role the US might play in the post-Cold War international order. This week's lecture examines this dilemma and the controversies of the post-Cold War expansion of US-led forms of liberal internationalism, associated with the promotion of international law, global governance systems, human rights and democratisation.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 7: John Dumbrell "America in the 1990s: searching for purpose" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 17: "Bush and the Gulf War", Chapter 18: "Clinton and Democratic Enlargement", Chapter 19: "Clinton and the New Post-Cold War Order" in Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley (2012) *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9th Edition, London: Penguin

Further Reading

Fukuyama, Francis (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, London, Hamish Hamilton

Mearsheimer, John (1990) "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War", *The Atlantic Monthly*, 266(2). Available online at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/foreign/mearsh.htm>

Cameron, Fraser (2005) *US Foreign Policy After the Cold War: Global Hegemon or Reluctant Sheriff?* 2nd Edition, London: Routledge

Chapter 5: "Hegemony on the Cheap: Ideas and Alternatives in American Grand Strategy: 1992-2000" in Colin Dueck (2006) *Reluctant crusaders: Power, culture, and change in American grand strategy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Elliott, Cathy (2016) *Democracy Promotion as Foreign Policy*, London: Routledge

Chomsky, Noam (1997) *World Orders Old and New*, London, Pluto Press

- Chomsky, Noam (1999) *The New Military Humanism*, London, Pluto Press
- Cairo, Michael (2012). *The Gulf: The Bush presidencies and the Middle East*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky
- Hanhimäki, Jussi M (2012) "Between Primacy and Decline: America's Role in the Post-Cold War World." In Geir Lundestad (Ed.) *International Relations Since the End of the Cold War, International Relations Since the End of the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Leffler, Melvyn & Jeffrey Legro (2011) *In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
- Cox, Michael, John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi (Eds.) (2000) *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Forsythe, David (1990) "Human Rights in US Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect", *Political Studies Quarterly*, 105(3), 435-454
- Orford, Ann (1999) "Muscular Humanitarianism: Reading the Narratives of the New Interventionism", *European Journal of International Law*, 10(4), 679-711
- Brands, Hal (2016) *Making the Unipolar Moment: US Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Kegley, Charles (1993) "The Neo-idealist Moment in International Studies? Realist myths and new international realities", *International Studies Quarterly*, 37(2)
- Various Authors (1991) "Reflections on the New World Order", *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, June Issue. Available from the archive at: <http://www.thebulletin.org/>

Week 9: The War on Terror: Neo-Conservatism, Unilateralism and the Bush Administration

The US response to the terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001 defined US foreign policy in the last decade and the legacy of the global War on Terror continues today. This week we'll examine the influences that shaped the US response to 9/11, exploring continuities and discontinuities with existing patterns of America foreign policy. In particular, we'll look at the influence of neo-conservative thinking on shaping the foreign policy of the Bush Administration, the emergence of a more muscular form of liberal internationalism, the limits of hard power in achieving foreign policy objectives and the long-term impact of the War on Terror.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 18: Paul Rogers "Global terrorism" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2018) *US Foreign Policy*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 20: "The Tragedy of September 11, 2001" and Chapter 21: "After the Attack and Into Iraq" in Stephen Ambrose and Douglas Brinkley (2012) *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*, 9th Edition, London: Penguin

Chapter 16: Yuen Foong Khong "Neo-conservatism and the domestic sources of American foreign policy: The role of ideas in Operation Iraqi Freedom" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.) (2016) *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

- Cox, Michael (Ed.) (2004) *America at War: US Foreign Policy After September 11th*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Booth, Ken & Tim Dunne (2002) *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the future of the global order*, Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Jackson, Richard (2005) *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Holland, Jack (2013) *Selling the War on Terror Foreign Policy Discourses after 9/11*, London: Routledge
- Little, Douglas (2016) *Us versus Them: The United States, Radical Islam, and the Rise of the Green Threat*, Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press
- Colás, Alejandro and Richard Saull (2006) *The War on Terror and the American 'empire' after the Cold War*, London: Routledge
- Geis, Anna Lothar Brock & Haralds Muller (2006) *Democratic Wars: Looking at the dark side of the democratic peace*, Basingstoke, Palgrave
- Ikenberry, John (2003) "American Grand Strategy in the Age of Terror", *Survival*, 43(4), 19-34
- Cox, Michael (2004) "Empire, Imperialism and the Bush Doctrine", *Review of International Studies*, 30(4), 585-608.
- Rice, Condoleezza (2000) "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, 79(1), 45-62
- Rhodes, Edward (2003) "The imperial Logic of Bush's Liberal Agenda", *Survival*, 45(1)
- Ikenberry, John (2002) "America's imperial ambition", *Foreign Affairs*, 81(5)
- Michael Cox (2003) "The Empire's Back in Town: or America's imperial temptation – again", *Millennium*, 32(1), 1-29.
- Mann, Michael (2004) "The First Failed Empire of the 21st Century", *Review of International Studies*, 30(4), 631-653.
- Hassan, Oz, and Andrew Hammond (2011) "The Rise and Fall of American's Freedom Agenda in Afghanistan: Counter-terrorism, Nation-building and Democracy", *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(4), 532-51
- Dueck, Colin (2004) "Ideas and Alternatives in American grand strategy, 2000-2004", *Review of International Studies*, 30(4)

On Neo-Conservatism and 'Muscular' Liberalism:

- Farer, Tom (2008) *Confronting Global Terrorism and American Neo-Conservatism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Halper, Stefan and Jonathan Clarke (2004) *America Alone: The Neo-conservatives and the Global Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Cooper, Danny (2011) *Neoconservatism and American foreign policy: a critical analysis*, London: Routledge

- Caverley, Jonathan (2010) "Power and Democratic Weakness: Neoconservatism and Neoclassical Realism", *Millennium*, 38(3)
- Miller, Benjamin (2010) "Democracy Promotion: Offensive Liberalism versus the Rest (of IR Theory)", *Millennium*, 38(3)
- Desch, Michael (2007) "America's Liberal Illiberalism: The ideological origins of over-reaction in US foreign policy", *International Security*, 32(3), 7-43
- Hancock, Jan (2010) "Woodrow Wilson revisited: Human rights discourse in the foreign policy of the George W. Bush Administration", *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(1)
- Kristol, William & Robert Kagan (1996) "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, 75(4)
- McClelland, Mark (2011) "Exporting virtue: Neoconservatism, democracy promotion and the end of history" *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(4), 520-531
- Kristol, William & Robert Kagan (Eds.) (2000) *Present Dangers: Crisis and opportunity in American foreign and defense policy*, San Francisco, Encounter Books
- Irwin Stelzer (Ed.) (2004) *The Neo-Con Reader*, New York, Grove Press
- Chandler, David (2006) "Back to the future? The limits of neo-Wilsonian ideals of exporting democracy", *Review of International Studies*, 32(3)

Week 10: Navigating the post-War on Terror World: The 'Obama Doctrine', Trump's 'America First' and the Declinist Debate

Our final session examines the most recent period of US foreign policy, in what might be understood as the post-War on Terror period. The period since 2008 has seen the US profoundly affected by a Global Economic Crisis and its power diminished by over-extension during the War on Terror, the return of isolationist sentiment in foreign policy discourse and the rise of rival states, notably China. We'll examine the question of whether the US remains a dominant global power, or whether it has begun a period of slow decline. We'll explore the notion of the 'Obama Doctrine' and the attempts to craft a more modest and prudent foreign policy approach. Although the Trump presidency is little more than a year old, we'll also consider whether the radical nativism of the Administration's rhetoric creates a new idea of US national interest, and how 'diplomacy via Twitter' might shape (or endanger) US foreign relations in the future.

Introductory Reading

Chapter 22: Anatol Lieven "The future of US foreign policy" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2012) *US Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chapter 23: Christopher Layne, William Wohlforth and Stephen Brooks "US decline or primacy: a debate" in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (Eds.) (2012) *US Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Further Reading

Bouchet, Nicholas (2013) "The democracy tradition in US foreign policy and the Obama presidency", *Foreign Affairs*, 89 (1), 2013 Pp: 31 –51

- Kitchen, Nicholas (2011) "The Obama Doctrine – Détente or Decline?", *European Political Science*, 10 (1), 27-35
- Obama, Barack (2007) "Renewing American Leadership", *Foreign Affairs*, 86 (4), 2-16
- Kaufman, Joyce (2017) "The US perspective on NATO under Trump", *International Affairs*, 93(2), 251-266
- Rice, Condoleezza (2008) "Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World." *Foreign Affairs*, 87(4), 2-26
- Hudson, Valerie, Patricia, Leidl & Swanee Hunt (2015). *The Hillary Doctrine: Sex and American Foreign Policy*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bentley, Michelle, Clara Eroukmanoff and Ursula Hackett (Eds.) (2017) "Interventions: Trump's 100 days: foreign policy and security implications", *Critical Studies on Security*, 5(2) 166-191
- Quinn, Adam (2011) "The Art of Declining Politely: Obama's Prudent Presidency and the Waning of American Power." *International Affairs*, 87(4), 803-24
- Chapter 6: "The Obama Doctrine: 'Contagement' and Counterterrorism in the Muslim world" in Douglas Little (2016) *Us versus Them: The United States, Radical Islam, and the Rise of the Green Threat*, Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press
- Bentley, Michelle, Jack Holland and Oliver Turner (Eds.) (2017) *The Obama Doctrine: A Legacy of Continuity in US Foreign Policy?* London: Routledge
- Ikenberry, John (2014) "Racing toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma", *International Security*, 39(2), 52-91.
- Ikenberry, John (2011) "The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism After America" *Foreign Affairs*, 90(3), 56-68.
- Brooks, Stephen G., Ikenberry, G. John, & Wohlforth, William C. (2013). Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment. *International Security*, 37(3), 7-51
- Desch, Michael (2010) "The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: The Liberal Tradition and Obama's Counterterrorism Policy", *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 43(3), 425-429.
- Hassan, Oz and Jason Ralph (Eds.) (2011) "Special Issue: Democracy Promotion and Human Rights in US Foreign Policy." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(4), 509-643
- Colin Dueck (2015) *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Murray, Donette (2013) "Military action but not as we know it: Libya, Syria and the making of an Obama Doctrine", *Contemporary Politics*, 19(2), 1-21.
- Cox, Michael (2012) "After the West? Toward a New International System?" In Geir Lundestad (Ed.) *International Relations Since the End of the Cold War, International Relations Since the End of the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ikenberry, John (2011) *Liberal Leviathan: The origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Porter, Patrick (2018) "Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit and the US Foreign Policy Establishment", *International Security*, 42(4), 9-46

- Dombrowski, Peter & Simon Reich (2017) "Does Donald Trump have a grand strategy?", *International Affairs*, 93(5), 1013–1037
- Duncombe, Constance (2017) "Twitter and transformative diplomacy: social media and Iran–US relations", *International Affairs*, 93(3), 545–562
- Ikenberry, John (2018) "The end of liberal international order?", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 7–23
- Norrlöf, Carla (2018) "Hegemony and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 63–88
- Layne, Christopher (2018) "The US–Chinese power shift and the end of the Pax Americana", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 89–111
- Simon, Steven and Jonathan Stevenson (2015) "The End of Pax Americana: Why Washington's Middle East Pullback Makes Sense", *Foreign Affairs*, 94(6), 2-10
- De Graaff, Naná & Bastiaan Van Apeldoorn (2018) "US–China relations and the liberal world order: contending elites, colliding visions?", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 113–131
- Stokes, Doug (2018) "Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order", *International Affairs*, 94(1), 133–150
- Popescu, Ionut (2018) "Conservative Internationalism and the Trump Administration?", *Orbis*, 62(1), 91-104

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS

COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19

****POLI32151** **The UN Security Council in Practice****
Semester: 1
Credits: 20

Lecturer: Dr Jess Gifkins
Room: Arthur Lewis #4.005
Telephone: 01612754250
Email: jess.gifkins@manchester.ac.uk
Office Hours: Thursdays 1pm-2pm
 Fridays 10:30am-11:30am
 Book via SOHOL at
<https://mats.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/mats/SOHOL/>

Tutors: Dr Jess Gifkins

Lectures: Thursdays 3pm-5pm Ellen Wilkinson A2.16

Tutorials: Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System
 Fridays 9am-10am Sam Alex A18
 Fridays 10am-11am Sam Alex A213A
 Fridays 2pm-3pm Sam Alex A115

Mode of assessment: Critical review – 1800 words – 30% - due 2pm 5th November 2018
 Essay – 3700 words – 70% - due 2pm 16th January 2019

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*****

Critical Review hand in date: 2pm 5th November 2018
 Essay hand in date: 2pm 16th January 2019

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.

1. Course Content

Week	Topic
1	Introduction to the module and background on the UN Security Council
2	Practice theory and why it matters
3	Early Warning & Agenda-setting
4	Women, Peace, and Security
5	Peacekeeping
	** reading week **
6	The UNSC and the International Criminal Court
7	Sanctions
8	The Protection of Civilians
9	The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
10	Overview and essay preparation

2. Assessments

Critical Review

This assessment is designed as an opportunity for you to practice and refine your skills in literature analysis. This assessment activity will help you to think about the 'literature review' component that you write in your dissertation module and assist you in analyzing literature in this module and your other modules.

For this assessment you choose one of the required readings from this module and analyze it.

Questions to consider:

- What is the key argument made in this article?
- How have they constructed/built their argument?
- What kind/s of evidence does the author provide to support their argument? Is the evidence compelling? Why or why not?
- How was this research conducted? Where did the data come from? (is the article analyzing pre-existing research to construct a new argument or is it based on interviews or participant observation or something else?).
- Where does this article sit in relation to existing literature? Do the authors offer a critique of a specific author or approach? Do the authors build on an existing framework?
- Read some of the key sources the article has cited. Has the article engaged with this literature fairly?
- Is the article effective? Why or why not?

Top Tips!

- The goal here is not to write a long summary of the chosen article but to critically evaluate the article looking at its strengths, weakness, structure, evidence, approach etc. To do all of this within the word limit you will need to be succinct in your summary.
- While understanding the article is a necessary first step, keep in mind that this is not a simple comprehension task ie. I am not asking you to simply summarise the article, but to

engage with it critically and analyse how it does what it does, where it comes from intellectually, and how effective it is.

- While you are focusing on a single article try not to think of it in isolation. Where has it come from and what other literature is it building on or critiquing? This means that there will necessarily be other sources cited in your review.

Support

- We will discuss this activity further in lectures and seminars.
- The week before Reading Week I will allow time in seminars to discuss your plans/progress for your Critical Review.
- You are welcome to attend a consultation session to discuss your Critical Review further (book via SOHOL). Please do this before Reading Week, as my usual consultation sessions will not run during Reading Week.

Feedback

- You will receive individual feedback (along with your grade) within 15 days of submission.
- From the Politics Part II guide, assessments of around 1,500 words will have commentaries from roughly in the region of 70-100 words
- I will also feedback give some overview feedback to the class during a lecture after marking is complete.

Critical Review Length: 1,800 words

Due date: 2pm 5th November 2018

Weighting: 30%

Essay

You will write an essay of 3,700 words in answer to the following question.

Question: Do practices used by the UN Security Council matter? Choose one topic that the Security Council addresses and evaluate the impact of practices on the Security Council's decision-making on this topic.

You can choose any topic that the Security Council addresses. For a list, see <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/> under 'country and regional issues' or 'thematic and general issues'. To access detailed information on practices and the decisions the Security Council has made the following resources will be useful, in addition to academic sources:

- <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>
- <https://www.whatsinblue.org/>
- <https://www.scprocedure.org/>
- <http://www.un.org/en/sc/>
- Sievers, L. and Daws, S. (2014) *The Procedure of the UN Security Council*. 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Top Tips!

- This task asks you to make an argument on practices and how significant they are AND to evidence/explore this argument via an empirical case study.
- You have the freedom to argue that practices are significant OR are not significant (or somewhere in between) as long as you can evidence and substantiate your argument.
- Accessing practices can be difficult! The above sources will be a big help however I encourage you to make sure you can find enough information on the practices for your chosen topic before you invest too much time into it.

Support

- In weeks 9 (an overview) and 10 (in detail) I will discuss the essay task and expectations.

- You will be asked to develop a plan for your essay and to bring it to your seminar in week 10 where you will be discussing it in pairs and with the class.
- You are welcome to attend a consultation session to discuss your essay further (book via SOHOL).

Feedback

- You will receive individual feedback (along with your grade) within 15 days of submission.
- From the Politics Part II Guide, essays of around 3,000 words will have commentaries from roughly in the region of 100-150 words
- I will also email the class with some general feedback on the essays.

Essay Length: 3,700 words

Due date: 2pm 16th January 2019

Weighting: 70%

3. Course Aims

The UN Security Council holds the main responsibility for international peace and security and is a critical part of the security governance infrastructure. This unit analyses the role, tools and practices of the United Nations Security Council. The unit begins with debates over how to understand the United Nations as forum or as an actor. It then introduces practice theory, including current debates, and how it can be used. We then consider the significance of language that is used in Security Council decisions, and diplomatic practices that are used in decision-making. The unit then moves into tools and themes within the Security Council, such as peacekeeping, the relationship with the International Criminal Court, and setting the agenda.

The unit aims to:

- Equip students to critically engage with literature and debates on the UN Security Council and literature
- Enable students to critically assess the role and efficacy of the UN Security Council across a range of issue areas
- Assist students to develop the knowledge and insight to understand the breadth of actions of the UN Security Council, as well as detailed understanding on specific tools and thematic areas

4. Learning Outcomes

Student should be able to:

- Critically describe the role and function of the UN Security Council
- Demonstrate awareness of the tools used by the UN Security Council and the limitations of these tools
- Demonstrate a working knowledge of practice theory and the practices of the UN Security Council

5. Intellectual & 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.

Intellectual skills:

- Assess the UN Security Council and its role in global governance
- Demonstrate understanding of the United Nations as both a forum and an actor
- Analyse the effectiveness of the UN Security Council across different issue areas

Practical skills:

- Critically engage with academic literature
- Discuss and debate the role of the United Nations with their peers
- Write sustained essays on aspects of global governance

Transferable skills and personal qualities:

- Greater awareness of global politics
- Enhanced analytical skills
- Increased ability to debate complex ideas with colleagues

Marking Criteria for Critical Reviews and Essays

High First Class (80+)

Essay: research essays are **outstanding** and *fully* answer the question, demonstrating some original primary research and showing 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 the 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.

Readings

Introduction

Schia, N. N. (2017) 'Horseshoe and Catwalk: Power, Complexity, and Consensus-Making in the United Nations Security Council', in Niezen, R. & Sapignoli, M. (eds.) *Palaces of Hope: The Anthropology of Global Organizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schia, N. N. (2013) 'Being Part of the Parade - "Going Native" in the United Nations Security Council', *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 36(1), pp. 138-156.

Early Warning and Agenda-Setting

Barnett, M. N. (1997) 'The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda', *Cultural Anthropology*, 12(4), pp. 551-578.

R2P

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

Ralph, J. and Gifkins, J. (2017) '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), pp. 630-653.

Gifkins, J. 2016. UN Security Council Resolutions and the Responsibility to Protect. *R2P Ideas in Brief*. Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect.

Adler-Nissen, R. and Pouliot, V. (2014) 'Power in practice: Negotiating the international intervention in Libya', *European Journal of International Relations*, 20(4), pp. 889-911.

Hehir, A. (2015) 'Assessing the influence of the Responsibility to Protect on the UN Security Council during the Arab Spring', *Cooperation and Conflict*.

Children and Armed Conflict

Bode, I. (2018) 'Reflective practices at the Security Council: Children and armed conflict and the three United Nations', *European Journal of International Relations*, 24(2).

Women, Peace and Security

Cook, S. A. M. (2016) 'The 'woman-in-conflict' at the UN Security Council: a subject of practice', *International Affairs*, 92(2), pp. 353-372.

Gibbins, S. L. (2011) 'No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(4), pp. 522-538.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICS**COURSE UNIT OUTLINE 2018/19****POLI32162- The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Migration**
Semester: 2
Credits: 20**Lecturer:** Dr. Nicole Martin**Room:** Arthur Lewis Building 4.042**Telephone:** x54908**Email:** nicole.martin@manchester.ac.uk**Office Hours:** Book via SOHOL at
<http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ug/sohol/>**Lectures:** Friday 9am-11am, Stopford Building Theatre 4.**Tutorials:** Allocate yourself to a tutorial group using the Student System.**Mode of assessment:** A 1750 word essay (25%), 2 hour exam (60%), and participation and preparation grade (15%).**Reading Week:** NO READING WEEK IN SEMESTER TWO**Administrator:** Luke Smith Luke.Smith-2@manchester.ac.uk  0161 306 6906Dagme Tesfaye dagme.tesfaye@manchester.ac.uk  0161 275 2499

UG Office G.001 Arthur Lewis Building

*****IMPORTANT INFORMATION – PLEASE READ*****Essay hand in date: 18th March 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**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.

Course Overview.

This course considers the role of ethnicity as a social and political cleavage. It examines the impact of immigration and ethnic diversity on party politics and political behaviour, using the experiences of countries in Europe and North America. Immigration and ethnicity are one of the major long-term social issues of today, and studying the effects of these phenomena on politics allows students to gain a deeper understanding of long-term political change - as well as current affairs. The approach taken is to consider both the political engagement and representation of immigrants and ethnic minority citizens, and the broader consequences and development of ethnicity and immigration as political issues in their own right. This includes a consideration of racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and Brexit. This course will have an empirical emphasis, aiming to equip students with the skills to evaluate empirical (including quantitative) research.

Aims

The unit aims to:

- Give students comparative and cross-national insights into immigration and ethnicity in the European and North American contexts.
- Understand how the phenomena of immigration and ethnic diversity affect the political behaviour of both voters and representatives.
- Equip students to interrogate and analyse empirical and quantitative evidence on this topic and others.

Knowledge and understanding

1. *Understanding of contemporary scholarship on political behaviour of ethnic and racial minorities.*
2. *Knowledge of different European countries experience of migration and ethnic diversity.*
3. *Conceptual understanding of substantive and descriptive representation, and knowledge of empirical applications of these concepts in the US and the UK.*
4. *Understanding of scholarship on the successes and failures of the extreme right family of parties in Europe.*

Intellectual skills

1. *Understand the use of empirical and quantitative evidence in research papers.*
2. *Interrogate controversial and contested concepts.*
3. *Construct arguments that use both empirical evidence and coherent conceptual frameworks.*

Practical skills

1. *Independent study.*
2. *Ability to engage with intellectually challenging material.*

Transferable skills and personal qualities

1. *Presentational skills.*
2. *Stronger written communication skills.*
3. *Greater reflectiveness and thoughtfulness when debating immigration, ethnicity and racism.*
4. *Independent working.*

TEACHING AND LEARNING

Lectures

There is one 110 minute lecture per week. It is held at 9am-11am on Fridays. **Lecture attendance is compulsory.** Lectures will include student participation. Lectures start in **week 1**.

Tutorials

A tutorial is a small group meeting where you discuss a topic from the course. **You are required to prepare for tutorials. Preparation means 1) completing the essential reading for the topic; and 2) submitting a short written reflection on the essential reading.** Successful tutorials depend upon informed student participation.

There are TEN tutorial meetings during the course. **Tutorial attendance is compulsory and participation (including preparation) accounts for 15% of your final mark.** You are expected to make every effort to attend all tutorials on this course: attendance at tutorials is recorded and non-attendance will be reported to your degree programme. If you know in advance that circumstances beyond your control will prevent you from attending a tutorial, please contact the course convenor.

You are responsible for allocating yourself to a tutorial group. Tutorials start from **week 2**. Your tutor will inform you of their feedback and guidance hour when you can discuss any aspects of the course with them. **Students are responsible for ensuring that their POLI32162 tutorial group does not clash with their classes for their other course units.**

ASSESSMENT

POLI32162 is assessed by:

1. Tutorial Preparation and Participation: **15%**
2. 1750 Word Essay: **25%**
3. A Two-Hour Exam in the Summer Examination Period: **60%**

Tutorial Preparation and Participation (15%)

The participation grade is assessed on the **quality and consistency of preparation and engagement in tutorials**.

Engagement in tutorials: Students are expected to be attentive in tutorials, to contribute to discussions, and to listen respectfully to their tutors and other students.

Preparation: There will be essential reading that should be completed before each tutorial. There is also a compulsory short written reading reflection to be submitted by 5pm the day before to your tutorial via Blackboard. This should be between 150 and 300 words. The preparation will form the basis of part of the tutorial discussion and is not about completing the exercise with the 'correct' answers, but instead to encourage a critical engagement with the material in the reading and enable a fruitful discussion in tutorials. One approach would be to provide an answer to the key question posed in each week (these are found just above the essential reading for each week). Alternatively, you could write about a different aspect of the reading – a question that you think it raises, what you found most interesting, or identifying a problem with one of the essential readings. Students will not receive grades on their preparation work, but it will be used to assess participation grades for students as part of the overall participation assessment. Failing to submit preparation work will negatively affect the participation mark. Good preparation work is the basis for good participation in the tutorial, and will be rewarded in the participation mark that way.

There will be a provision for students registered with DASS to upload audio recordings of their pre-tutorial exercises, where appropriate.

Essay

Choose one question from the following:

1. 'It's economics – not ethnicity – that best explains ethnic minority voting behaviour'. Discuss.
2. Why do some ethnic minority and immigrant groups have higher turnout than others?

Because this is a comparative course, you should make reference to at least 3 countries in your answer.

Word Limit: 1750 words, excluding the bibliography.

Submission Date: **2pm, Monday 18th March 2019.** It should be submitted **ONLINE ONLY via Blackboard**. You do not need to submit a paper copy. All essays will be checked for plagiarism via Turnitin.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is seen as a serious offence by the University. You should consult the Part II Guide for Politics and your Programme Handbook for the university's policy on plagiarism and advice on referencing and constructing a bibliography.

Here is the library's guidelines on referencing and citations: <http://subjects.library.manchester.ac.uk/referencing>. It doesn't matter what referencing style you pick, but pick **one** and use it consistently.

You may wish to complete the library's online course 'Citing it Right: Introducing Referencing' available here:

https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/learning-objects/mle/introducing-referencing/story_html5.html

Exam

The exam will be held in the summer exam period and is worth 60% of the overall grade. You will be required to answer **any two questions** from a choice of essay questions. The exam will cover material from topics 3-10 of the course, although students may refer to material from topics 1-3 if they wish. More detail will be provided about what to expect from the exam nearer the exam period.

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 sections details how these grade descriptors will be applied to the assessments used in POLI32162 to grade achievement of the course's learning outcomes:

Very High First Class (90-100)

Participation: **exceptional** engagement in class discussions and an exceptional commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating *full* analysis of the essential readings, awareness of other scholarly work, listening fully and attentively to other students, and giving full, exceptionally well-executed reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **exceptional** and *fully* answer all aspects of the question, demonstrating original primary research and a wide use of relevant examples, excellent insight and depth of understanding of the scholarly material and literature, and the exercise of advanced critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Exam: answers which are **exceptional** and *fully* answer the question demonstrating insight and depth of understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and analytical tools in the scholarly literature on comparative politics and the exercise of advanced critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

High First Class (80-89)

Participation: **outstanding** engagement in class discussions and an outstanding commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating *near-full* analysis of the essential readings, awareness of other scholarly work, attentively listening to other students, and *near-full*, well-executed reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **outstanding** and provide a *near-full* and well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating original primary research and a wide use of relevant examples, considerable insight and depth of understanding of the scholarly material and literature, and the exercise of critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Exam: answers which are **outstanding** and provide a *near-full* and well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating considerable insight and depth of understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and analytical tools in the scholarly literature and the exercise of critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

First Class (70-79)

Participation: **excellent** engagement in class discussions and an excellent commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating *largely-full* analysis of the essential readings, attentive listening to other students, and *largely-full*, well-executed reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **excellent** and provide a *largely-full* and well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating a wide use of relevant examples, insight and depth of understanding of the scholarly material and literature, and the exercise of critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Exam: answers which are **excellent** and provide a *largely-full* and well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating insight and depth of understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and/or

analytical tools in the scholarly literature and the exercise of critical judgement in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Upper-second Class (60-69)

Participation: **very good** engagement in class and a very good commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating good knowledge of the essential readings with some attempt at analysis, attentive listening to other students, and thoughtful reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **very good** and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating a good use of relevant examples, a demonstrable grasp of the relevant scholarly literature, and clarity of analysis, argument, and expression in analysing behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Exam: answers which are **very good** and provide a generally well-structured answer to the question, demonstrating a good understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and/or analytical tools in the scholarly literature, and clarity of analysis, argument, and expression in behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Lower-second Class (50-59)

Participation: **good** engagement in class and a good commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating a firm knowledge of the essential readings, the ability to listen to other students, and limited reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **good** and provide a clear answer to the question, demonstrating some use of relevant examples, a firm understanding of the relevant scholarly literature, and some limited analysis and argument relating to behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

Exam: answers which are **good** and provide a clear answer to the question, demonstrating a firm understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and/or analytical tools in the scholarly literature, and some limited analysis and argument relating to behaviour, attitudes, and institutions.

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)

Participation: **sufficient** engagement in class and a sufficient commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating sparse knowledge of the essential readings, and *partial* reading reflections with some errors and inaccuracies.

Essay: essays which are **sufficient** and provide a *partial* answer to the question, demonstrating sparse use of examples, a rudimentary understanding of the scholarly literature, and a lack of clear analysis with some errors and inaccuracies.

Exam: answers which are **sufficient** and provide a *partial* answer to the question, demonstrating a rudimentary understanding of the material, errors and inaccuracies in the understanding of theories, empirical evidence, and analytical tools in the scholarly literature, with a lack of clear analysis with unsupported assertions.

Fail (30-39)

Participation: **insufficient** engagement in class and insufficient commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating only a basic awareness of the essential readings.

Essay: essays which are **insufficient** and fail to answer the question, demonstrating a basic awareness of data sources or the scholarly literature, and a lack of coherence, structure, and independent thought.

Exam: answers which are **insufficient** and fail to answer the question, demonstrating a basic awareness of some aspects of the scholarly literature, and a lack of coherence, structure, and independent thought.

Bad Fail (20-29)

Participation: **inadequate** engagement in class and inadequate commitment to tutorial preparation, demonstrating the most basic awareness of the essential readings.

Essay: essays which are **inadequate** and fail to demonstrate the ability to engage with the question, demonstrating the most basic awareness of the scholarly literature, and completely lack coherence, structure, and independent thought.

Exam: answers which are **inadequate** and fail to demonstrate the ability to engage with the question, demonstrate the most basic awareness of some aspects of the scholarly literature, and completely lack coherence, structure, and independent thought.

Very Bad Fail (10-19)

Participation: **severely inadequate** engagement in class and severely inadequate commitment to tutorial preparation, with an almost complete lack of engagement with the essential readings and the reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **severely inadequate** and demonstrate an almost complete lack of engagement with the question, any examples, and scholarly material.

Exam: answers which are **severely inadequate** and demonstrate an almost complete lack of engagement with the question and scholarly material.

Extremely Bad Fail (0-9)

Participation: **profoundly inadequate** engagement in class and severely inadequate commitment to tutorial preparation, with a complete lack of engagement with the essential readings and the reading reflections.

Essay: essays which are **profoundly inadequate** and demonstrate a complete lack of engagement with the question, any examples, and scholarly material.

Exam: answers which are **profoundly inadequate** and demonstrate a complete lack of engagement with the question and scholarly material.

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, including through generic feedback to the whole lecture or tutorial group, individual feedback on specific pieces of work, and through regular discussions with the course convener. Students should note that whilst some feedback will be received automatically, it is up to them to make use of tutorials and office hours to discuss feedback further. I encourage you to do so.

Feedback will be provided in a variety of ways on this course:

1. Written individual feedback on your essay. Feedback on the essay will be provided within 15 working days of the submission deadline and will be available via Blackboard.
2. Generic feedback on the essay. I will spend some time covering what students generally did well and not so well during a lecture towards the end of the semester, with the intention of helping students understand how to improve for the exam.
3. Office hours. I will have office 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 office hours as they are your opportunity to have more individual discussions with tutors and lecturers.
4. Discussion with other students. 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.

READINGS

Topic 1: Ethnicity and immigration in comparative perspective

Lecture 8th February, tutorials week commencing 11th February.

Reading reflection question: What are the difficulties of studying race, ethnicity and migration in comparative perspective?

Essential Reading

Messina, Anthony A. (2007). *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapter 4.

Heath, Anthony F et al. 2013. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1 and 2.

McClain, Paula D. and Jessica D. Johnson Carew. 2018. *"Can We All Get Along?": Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado. Chapter 1.

Additional Reading

Avadit, Acharya and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2018. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Chapter 3.

Messina, Anthony A. (2007). *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapter 2.

Crouch Colin. 1999. *Social Change in Western Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. Chapter 10 – Nations, Cultures and Ethnicities, and Citizenship, and Party IV - Citizenship. pp.283-312

André, S., & Dronkers, J. (2017). Perceived in-group discrimination by first and second-generation immigrants from different countries of origin in 27 EU member-states. *International Sociology*, 32(1), 105–129.

Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2010. Evaluating Migrant Integration: Political Attitudes Across Generations in Europe. *International Migration Review*. 44(1) pp.25-52.

Auspurg, Katrin, Schneck Andres, and Hinz, Thomas. 2018. "Closed doors everywhere? A meta-analysis of field experiments on ethnic discrimination in rental housing markets". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Dustman, Christian and Nikolaos Theodoropoulos. 2010. "Ethnic minority immigrants and their children in Britain". *Oxford Economic Papers*. 62 pp.209-233.

Clark, Ken and Stephen Drinkwater. 2008. "The labour-market performance of recent migrants". 24(3) pp.495-516.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and conflict in Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Brubaker, Roger. 1998. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press.

The Colony, BBC documentary - <https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p055t73r/the-colony> This 1964 documentary tells the story of recent West Indian immigrants to the UK. NB. The language used in this documentary is very much of its time – the words "coloured" and "half-caste" are used in the first few minutes.

Topic 2: Voting rights, registration and turnout.

Lecture 15th February, tutorials week commencing 18th February.

Reading reflection question: What factors affect the electoral participation of ethnic minorities and immigrants?

Essential Reading

Koopmans, Ruud, Ines Michalowski, and Stine Waibel. 2012. "Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980–2008" *The American Journal of Sociology* 117(4): 1202–1245.

Barreto, Matt A., Gary M. Segura and Nathan D. Woods. 2007. "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts". *American Political Science Review*. 98(1) pp.65-75.

Heath, Anthony F et al. 2013. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. Chapter 7.

McClain, Paula D. and Jessica D. Johnson Carew. 2018. "*Can We All Get Along?*": *Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado. Chapter 2.

Additional Reading

Fieldhouse, Edward and David Cutts. 2008. "Diversity, density and turnout: The effect of neighbourhood ethno-religious composition on voter turnout in Britain". *Political Geography*. 27(5) pp.530-548.

Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes". *Journal of Politics*.

Anoll, Allison P. 2018. "What Makes a Good Neighbor? Race, Place, and Norms of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 25.

Messina, Anthony A. (2007). *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapter 7, especially pp.194-203.

Arrighi, Jean-Thomas and Bauböck, Rainer. 2017. "A multilevel puzzle: Migrants' voting rights in national and local elections". *European Journal of Political Research*. 56, pp.619-639

Heath, Anthony F et al. 2013. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 8, 9.

Fieldhouse E and Cutts D (2008b) Mobilisation or marginalisation? Neighbourhood effects on Muslim electoral registration in Britain in 2001. *Political Studies* 56(2): 333–354.

Ruedin, Didier. 2018. "Participation in Local Elections: 'Why Don't Immigrants Vote More?'" *Parliamentary Affairs*. 71 pp.243-262.

Voicu, Bogdan and Mircea Comsa. 2014. "Immigrants' Participation in Voting: Exposure, Resilience, and Transferability". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. "Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes". *Journal of Politics*.

Wass, Hanna, André Blais, Alexandre Morin-Chassé and Marjukka Weide. 2015. "Engaging Immigrants? Examining the Correlates of Electoral Participation among voters with Migration Background". *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. 25(4) pp.407-424.

Topic 3: Vote choice in the US: linked fate.

Lecture 22nd February, tutorials week commencing 25th February.

Reading reflection question: Does linked fate explain why minority Americans tend to support parties of the left?

Essential Reading

Wilson JM. 2012. How are we doing? Group-based economic assessments and African American political behavior. *Electoral Studies* 31(3): 550–561.

McClain, Paula D. and Jessica D. Johnson Carew. 2018. *"Can We All Get Along?": Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado. Chapter 3.
Tesler, Michael. 2016. *Post-Racial or Most-Racial? Race and Politics in the Obama Era*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. Chapter 8 pp.165-190.

Junn, Jane and Natalie Masuoka. 2008. "Asian American identity: Shared racial status and political context". *Perspectives on Politics*. 6(4) pp.729-740.

Additional Reading

Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton University Press: Princeton. Especially chapters 5 and 3.

Philpot, T. 2018. Race, Gender, and the 2016 Presidential Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 51(4), 755-761.

Barreto, Matt A., and José A. Muñoz. "Re-examining the "politics of in-between": Political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25.4 (2003): 427-447.

Leighley, J.E. & Vedlitz, A. (1999). Race, ethnicity, and political participation: Competing models and contrasting explanations. *Journal of politics*, 61(4): 1092-1114.

Segura, Gary M and Helena Alves Rodrigues. 2006. "Comparative Ethnic Politics in the United States: Beyond Black and White". *Annual Review of Political Science*. 9 pp.375-395.

Topic 4: Ethnic minority and immigrant voters in Europe.

Lecture 1st March, tutorials week commencing 4th March.

Reading reflection question: Has immigration created a new electorate in Europe?

Essential Reading

BBC Radio Four, Analysis. Operation Tory Black Vote. Available on online here - <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0000nn3>.

Heath, Anthony F et al. 2013. *The Political Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 4 and chapter 6.

Kassra A. R. Oskooii & Karam Dana (2018) Muslims in Great Britain: the impact of mosque attendance on political behaviour and civic engagement, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 44(9) pp.1479-1505.

Dancygier, Rafaela and Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2006. "A New Electorate? Comparing Preferences and Partisanship between Immigrants and Natives". *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(4) pp.962-981.

Just, Aida. 2018. "Political Regimes and Immigrant Party Preferences". *Comparative Political Studies*.

Additional Reading

Martin, Nicole S. 2018. "Ethnic minority voters in the UK 2015 general election: A breakthrough for the Conservative party?" *Electoral Studies*.

Eggert, N. & Giugni, M. (2011). The impact of religion on the political participation of migrants. In L. Morales & M. Giugni (eds), *Social capital, political participation and migration in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fennema, M. & Tillie, J. (1999). Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 25(4): 703–726.

Messina, Anthony M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapter 7, especially pp.203-224.

Goerres, Achim, Sabrina J. Mayer, and Dennis C. Spies. 2018. Alike at the Core, Different at the Margins: a Comparative Analysis of Party Preferences between Immigrant and Native Voters at the 2017 Bundestag Election. Working paper available at <http://achimgoerres.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Goerres-Mayer-Spies-Immigrant-Voting-Germany-2017-Bundestag-20181128.pdf>

Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bergh, Johannes, and Tor Bjorklund. 2011. "The Revival of Group Voting: Explaining the Voting Preferences of Immigrants in Norway." *Political Studies* 59(2): 308–327.

Solomos, John, and Les Back. 1995. *Race, Politics and Social Change*. Routledge: London. Chapter 6 pp.130-170.

Sanders, David et al. 2013. "The Calculus of Ethnic Minority Voting in Britain." *Political Studies*.

Topic 5: Minority candidates and representatives.

Lecture 8th March, tutorials week commencing 11th March.

Reading reflection question: Why are ethnic minorities under-represented in politics?

Essential Reading

Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2

Portmann, Lea, and Nenad Stojanović. 2018. "Electoral Discrimination Against Immigrant-Origin Candidates". *Political Behavior*.

Fisher, Stephen D et al. 2014. "Candidate Ethnicity and Vote Choice in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Kroeber, Corinna. 2017. "Growing numbers, growing influence? A comparative study of policy congruence between parliaments and citizens of immigrant origin". *European Journal of Political Research*.

Additional Reading

Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105(03): 604–620.

Jacobsmeier, Matthew L. 2014. "From Black and White to Left and Right: Race, Perceptions of Candidates' Ideologies, and Voting Behavior in U.S. House Elections." *Political Behavior* 37(3): 595–621.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2014. "Electoral rules or electoral leverage? Explaining Muslim Representation in England". *World Politics*. 66(2) pp.229-263.

Dancygier, Rafaela M., Karl-Oskar-Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson and Kåre Vernby. 2015. "Why Are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden". *American Political Science Review*. 109(4) pp.703-724.

Farrer, Benjamin David, and Joshua N Zingher. 2018. "Explaining the Nomination of Ethnic Minority Candidates: How Party-Level Factors and District-Level Factors Interact." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 29(2).

Tate, Katherine. 2003. *Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and Their Representatives in the U.S. Congress*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Jones, Philip Edward. 2016. "Constituents Responses to Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress". *Social Science Quarterly*. 97(3) 682-698.

Saalfeld, Thomas and Daniel Bischof. 2013. "Minority-Ethnic MPs and the Substantive Representation of Minority Interests in the House of Commons, 2005–2011". *Parliamentary Affairs*. 66 pp.305-328.

Topic 6: Minority and immigrant voters' responses to racism.

Lecture 15th March, tutorials week commencing 18th March.

Reading reflection question: 'Racism and xenophobia suppress minority and immigrant political participation'. Do you agree?

Essential Reading

Just, A. (2017). The far-right, immigrants, and the prospects of democracy satisfaction in Europe. *Party Politics*, 23(5), 507–525.

Oskooii, Kassra A. R. 2016. How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perspective. *Political Psychology*. 37(5) pp.613-640.

Biggers, Daniel R., and Smith, Daniel A. 2018. "Does threatening their franchise make registered voters more likely to participate? Evidence from an aborted voter purge". *British Journal of Political Science*.

Silber Mohamed, Heather. 2017. *The New Americans? Immigration, Protest and the Politics of Latino Identity*. University of Kansas Press: Kansas. Especially chapter 1.

Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2009. Caribbean and South Asian identification with British society: the importance of perceived discrimination. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 32(8) pp.1449-1469.

Additional Reading

Oskoori, Kassra A. R. 2018. "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behaviour, *British Journal of Political Science*

Pantoja, Adrian D., Ricardo Ramirez and Gary M. Segura. 2001. "Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos". *Political Research Quarterly* 54: 729

Hobbs, William and Lajevardi. 2018. "Effects of Divisive Political Campaigns on the Day-to-Day Segregation of Arab and Muslim Americans". *American Political Science Review*.

Pantoja, A.D. & Segura, G.M. 2003. "Fear and Loathing in California: Contextual Threat and Political Sophistication Among Latino Voters". *Political Behavior*. 25(3): 265-286.

Martin, Nicole S. 2017. "Are British Muslims alienated from mainstream parties by Islamophobia and British foreign policy?". *Ethnicities*. 17(3) pp.350-370.

Pérez, Efrén O. 2014. "Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 549–64.

Topic 7: Anti-immigrant attitudes in comparative perspective.

Lecture 22nd March, tutorials week commencing 25th March.

Reading reflection question: What do you think is the most important contributing factor to Europeans' attitudes towards immigration?

Essential Reading

Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J. and Hangartner (2016) 'How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers', *Science*, 534(6309).

Blinder, Scott, Robert Ford, and Elisabeth Ivarsson. 2013. "The Better Angels of Our Nature: How the Antiprejudice Norm Affects Policy and Party Preferences in Great Britain and Germany". *American Journal of Political Science*. 2013. 57(4) pp.841-857.

Jeannot, A.-M. (2018). Revisiting the labor market competition hypothesis in a comparative perspective: Does retirement affect opinion about immigration? *Research & Politics*.

Pehrson, S., Vignoles, V. L., & Brown, R. (2009). National Identification And Anti-Immigrant Prejudice: Individual And Contextual Effects Of National Definitions. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 72(1), 24–38.

Additional Reading

Storm, Ingrid, Maria Sobolewska, and Robert Ford. 2017. "Is Ethnic Prejudice Declining in Britain? Change in Social Distance Attitudes Among Ethnic Majority and Minority Britons." *The British Journal of Sociology* 68(3): 410–34.

Hellwig, Timothy and Abdulkader Sinno. 2017. "Different groups, different threats: public attitudes towards immigrants". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 43(4) pp.339-358.

Dancygier, Rafaela M, and David D Laitin. 2014. "Immigration Into Europe: Economic Discrimination, Violence, and Public Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 43–64.

Finseraas, H., Pedersen, A. W. and Bay, A.-H. (2016) 'When the Going Gets Tough: The Differential Impact of National Unemployment on the Perceived Threats of Immigration', *Political Studies*, 64(1), pp. 60–73.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225–49.

Blinder, Scott. 2013. "Imagined Immigration: The Impact of Different Meanings of 'Immigrants' in Public Opinion and Policy Debates in Britain". *Political Studies*. 63 pp.80-100.

Mustafa, Asma and Lindsay Richards. 2018 "Immigration attitudes amongst European Muslims: Social identity, economic threat and familiar experiences". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Just, Aida and Christopher Anderson. 2015. "Dual Allegiances? Immigrants' Attitudes Towards Immigration". *Journal of Politics*. 77(1) pp.188-201.

Hangartner, Dominik, Elias Dinas, Martiz Marbach, Konstantinos Matakos and Dimitrios Xefteris. 2018. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?". *American Political Science Review*.

McLaren, Lauren (2003). Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.

Paterson, Ian. 2018. "Any Room at the Inn? the Impact of Religious Elite Discourse on Immigration Attitudes in the United Kingdom." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 43(2)

Sides, J. and Citrin, J., 2007. European opinion about immigration: The role of identities, interests and information. *British journal of political science*, 37(3), pp.477-504.

Biggs, M, and S Knauss. 2011. "Explaining Membership in the British National Party: A Multilevel Analysis of Contact and Threat." *European Sociological Review*.

Hainmueller, Jens and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination". *American Political Science Review*. 107(1) pp.159-187.

Messina, Anthony A. (2007). *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapter 3.

Topic 8: Populist radical right parties.

Lecture 29th March, tutorials week commencing 1st April.

Reading reflection question: Who votes for populist radical right parties, and why do they?

Essential Reading

Golder, M. (2016) 'Far Right Parties in Europe', *Annual Review of Political Science*. Annual Reviews, 19(1), pp. 477–497.

Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. *Identity Crisis: The Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton University Press: Princeton. Chapters 2 and 5.

Ford, Robert, and Matthew J Goodwin. 2014. *Revolt on the Right*. London: Routledge. Available online.

Oesch, Daniel, and Line Rennwald. 2018. "Electoral Competition in Europe's New Tripolar Political Space: Class Voting for the Left, Centre-Right and Radical Right." *European Journal of Political Research* 7(2): 271.

Additional Reading

Mudde, Cas, and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. OUP.

Paterson, Ian. 2018. "Any Room at the Inn? the Impact of Religious Elite Discourse on Immigration Attitudes in the United Kingdom." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 43(2)

Williamson, V., Skocpol, T., & Coggin, J. (2011). The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(1), 25-43.

Golder, Matt (2003) Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Lajevardi, Nazita, and Marisa A. Abrajano. 2018. "How Negative Sentiment Towards Muslims Predicts Support for Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election." *The Journal of Politics* (Forthcoming).

Bohman, Andrea, and Mikael Hjerm. 2016. "In the Wake of Radical Right Electoral Success: A Cross-Country Comparative Study of Anti- Immigration Attitudes over Time." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(11):1-19.

Bakker, B. N., Rooduijn, M. and Schumacher, G. (2015) 'The psychological roots of populist voting: Evidence from the United States, the Netherlands and Germany', *European Journal of Political Research*,

Ivarsflaten, E. 2007. "What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe?: Re-Examining Grievance Mobilization Models in Seven Successful Cases." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(1): 3–23.

McLaren, L. (2012). Immigration and Trust in Politics in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(1), 163-185.

Lucassen, G. and Lubbers, M., 2012. Who fears what? Explaining far-right-wing preference in Europe by distinguishing perceived cultural and economic ethnic threats. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(5), pp.547- 574.

Meguid, Bonnie M. (2005). Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3): 347-359.

Mudde, C., 2007. *Populist radical right parties in Europe* (Vol. 22, No. 8). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pardos Prado, Sergi. 2015. "How Can Mainstream Parties Prevent Niche Party Success? Center-Right Parties and the Immigration Issue." *The Journal of Politics* 77(2): 352–67.

Pardos Prado, Sergi, Bram Lancee, and Inaki Sagarzazu. 2013. "Immigration and Electoral Change in Mainstream Political Space." *Political Behavior* 36(4): 847–75.

Lees, Charles. 2018. "The 'Alternative for Germany': The rise of right-wing populism at the heart of Europe". *Politics*.

Goodwin, Matthew. 2011. *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*. Routledge: Abingdon.

Hernández, Enrique and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. "The electoral consequences of the financial and economic crisis in Europe". *European Journal of Political Research*. 55 pp.203-224.

Topic 9: Brexit.

Lecture 5th April (Guest speaker Neema Begum), tutorials week commencing 29th April.

Reading reflection question: What caused Brexit?

Essential Reading

Hobolt, Sara and Catherine de Vries. 2016. "Turning against the Union? The impact of the crisis on the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections". *Electoral Studies*. 44 pp.504-514.

Jennings, Will and Gerry Stoker. 2016. "The Bifurcation of Politics: Two Englands". *The Political Quarterly*. 87(3) pp.372-382.

Evans, Geoffrey and Jonathan Mellon. 2019. "Immigration, Euroscepticism and the Rise and Fall of UKIP". *Party Politics*.

Evans, Geoffrey and Anand Menon. 2017. *Brexit and British Politics*. Polity Press: Cambridge. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are the most important.

Additional Reading

Hobolt, Sara. 2016. "The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent". *Journal of European Public Policy*. 23(9) pp.1259-1277.

Mustafa, Asma, and Lindsay Richards. 2018. "Immigration attitudes amongst European Muslims: Social identity, economic threat and familiar experiences". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

Glynn, Jack and Anand Menon. 2018. 'Brexit'. Chapter 2 (pp.21-40) in Philip Cowley and Dennis Kavanaugh. 2018. *The British General Election of 2017*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Blinder, Scott and Lindsay Richards. 2018. *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern*. The Migration Observatory: University of Oxford.

Bhambra, Gurinder K. 2017. "Brexit, Trump, and 'methodological whiteness': on the misrecognition of race and class". *British Journal of Sociology*. 68(S1) pp.S214-S232.

Sarrasin, Oriane, Eva G. T. Green, Claudio Bolzman, Emilio Paolo Visintin and Emanuele Politi. 2018. "Competition- and Identity-based Roots of Anti-immigration Prejudice among Individuals with and without an Immigrant Background". *International Review of Social Psychology*. 31(1) pp.1-12.

Brackman, Nils, Muhammad Waqas and John Wildman. 2017. "Are Immigrants in Favour of Immigration? Evidence from England and Wales". *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*

Topic 10: Welfare chauvinism.

Lecture 3rd May (Guest speaker Professor Rob Ford), and tutorials week commencing 6th May.

Reading reflection question: Does increasing ethnic diversity mean that welfare states will become less generous?

Essential Reading

Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans hate welfare: race, media and the politics of anti-poverty policy*. University of Chicago: Chicago. Chapter 1 and chapter 3.

Alesina, Alberto and Edward Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. Chapter 1.

Ford, Robert. 2016. "Who Should We Help? An Experimental Test of Discrimination in the British Welfare State". *Political Studies*. 64(3) pp.630-650.

Goldschmidt, Tina. 2015. "Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and Majority Support for Three Types of Welfare". *European Societies*. 17(5) pp.620-652.

Additional Reading

Gilens, M. (1996). "Race Coding" and White Opposition to Welfare. *American Political Science Review*, 90(3), 593-604.

Martinez i Coma, Ferran, and Alessandro Nai. 2017. "Ethnic Diversity Decreases Turnout. Comparative Evidence From Over 650 Elections Around the World." *Electoral Studies*.

Bobo, Lawrence. 1983. "Whites Opposition to Busing: Symbolic Racism or Realistic Group Conflict?". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 45(6) pp.1196-1210.

Muños, Jordi and Sergi Pardos-Prado. 2017. "Immigration and Support for Social Policy: An Experimental Comparison of Universal and Means-Tested Programs". *Political Science Research Methods*.