

POLITICS and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Part II, 2021-22

POL5 and POL19: Themes and Issues in Politics and International Relations

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Introduction

This paper consists of two Long Essays on topics chosen to pursue your particular interests in politics and international relations. The first essay is started in Michaelmas Term, and should be submitted by **noon on Monday 24th January 2022**. The second essay is started in Lent term, and has to be submitted by **noon on Tuesday 3rd May 2022**.

The aim of this paper is to enable you to develop further your skills in diverse areas of research in the fields of politics and international relations, in critical engagement with key texts, and in the presentation of arguments and writing on varied topics related to debates in these fields.

As the list below shows, your approach to these topics may be primarily theoretical or empirical. Many of the questions are generally phrased in order to allow you to decide, in discussion with your supervisor, whether to answer them in a general way or to concentrate on particular aspects or examples of the issue at hand. In doing so, you should consider conceptual issues, although not to the exclusion of relevant facts or specific arguments. Some of the questions relate to and cover similar issues as material covered in your other papers this year. You may use this paper to extend your work for another paper or prepare the ground for further studies.

In choosing a topic and preparing the essays, a balance should be struck between extending work done for other papers, and taking care that there is not too much overlap between your essay and an exam answer in your other papers. This may be avoided by

referring to different examples and readings than in other papers or exams; if in doubt, your supervisors or Directors of Studies will be able to advise further.

Lecture, selection dates, deadlines

There is an introductory session at the start of Michaelmas Term where Dr Christopher Brooke will discuss how the paper is going to work this year and offer advice. This will be on Wednesday **6th October 2021 at 10am** (at a venue to be confirmed). This presentation will outline approaches to research, reading, and writing for the Long Essay, and offer opportunities to ask questions about the paper.

At the start of both Michaelmas and Lent Terms, you will be asked for your essay choices: a first choice, and a reserve choice. These choices will need to be received by **noon** on Friday **8th October 2021** for the Michaelmas Term choice and **noon** on Wednesday **26th January 2022** for the Lent Term choice. In advance of those dates, you will receive a link by email asking you to make your choices, and please select your first and second choice via that link. We will then be in touch with you directly to notify you of your supervisor. While we try to give you supervision on your first choice questions, you may be asked to write on your reserve choice if there is high demand for certain questions. (In 2020-21 we were able to meet almost 90% of first preferences.) If you didn't receive your first choice in Michaelmas, you will be given priority in Lent; conversely, choices submitted late will be given lowest priority. You can't choose the same question number for your second essay that you took for your first essay.

The deadline for the submission of your first essay is **noon on Monday, 24th January 2022**. The deadline for your second essay is **noon on Tuesday, 3rd May 2022**. (The deadline falls on a Tuesday in Lent Term in order to avoid the May Day Bank Holiday.) The deadline is firm, and work that is submitted after these deadlines will receive penalties. If you have good reason to request an extension (such as a serious health problem, or a major family difficulty), you should contact your College as soon as possible; all requests must be sent from your Director of Studies or your Tutor to Dr Christopher Bickerton (cb799@cam.ac.uk), the Senior Examiner of Politics and International Relations Part II. All requests must be accompanied by appropriate evidence, and should be submitted at least 48 hours before the deadline if at all possible. Each essay should be submitted as a **pdf document**, along with a cover sheet that will be circulated to you by email. The essay and the cover sheet should be uploaded on Moodle. You will be enrolled in a Moodle course ('POL5 and POL19 essay submissions') and you upload it to that course by the deadline.

The questions

You make your selection from the list below. The subheadings that group questions together are purely to help you navigate the list, and are not intended to restrict your essays thematically. Note that some questions can only be taken in Michaelmas (MT) or Lent (LT) due to availability of supervisors. Below each question are some initial ideas on where you might start your reading for each essay.

GENERAL POLITICAL SCIENCE

1. Is it fair to say that political science is a waste of time?

- Max Weber, 'Science as a vocation', in *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 129-57.
- Jon Elster, 'Hard and soft obscurantism in the humanities and social sciences', *Diogenes*, vol. 58, nos. 1-2 (2011), pp. 159-70.
- Gerry Stoker, B. G. Peters, and Jon Pierre, eds., *The Relevance of Political Science* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Akwugo Emejulu, 'Can political science decolonise? A response to Neema Begum and Rima Saini', *Political Studies Review*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2019), pp. 202-206.

2. How much of a problem is it that our knowledge of comparative politics is disproportionately based on the analysis of postwar data from western industrialised democracies?

- Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, 'Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 65, no. 1 (2000), pp. 19-51.
- Doh Chull Shin and Hannah June Kim, 'Liberal democracy as the end of history: Western theories versus Eastern Asian realities', *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2017), pp. 133-53.
- Dani Rodrik, 'Goodbye Washington consensus, hello Washington confusion? A review of the World Bank's *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform*', *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 44 (December 2006), pp. 973-87.
- Joseph Henrich, Steven J. Heine, and Ara Norenzayan. 'The weirdest people in the world?', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, vol. 33, nos. 2-3 (2010), pp. 61-83.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster), Introduction and ch. 1.

3. (a) Have we entered an era of 'post-populism'?

- Alistair Fraser, 'Post-populism in Zambia: Michael Sata's rise, demise and legacy', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2017), pp. 456-472.
- Cas Mudde, 'Populism in Europe: an illiberal democratic response to undemocratic liberalism', *Government and Opposition*, published online (June 2021), pp. 1-21, <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2021.15>.
- Jan-Werner Müller, *Democracy Rules* (London: Allen Lane, 2021).

(b) To what extent does global populism capture contemporary political dynamics?

[NB MT only]

- David Art, 'The myth of global populism', *Perspectives on Politics* published online (November 2020), pp. 1-13, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003552>.
- Carlos de la Torre, *The Routledge Handbook of Global Populism* (London: Routledge, 2019).
- Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Kaltwasser, 'Studying populism in comparative perspective: reflections on the contemporary and future research agenda' *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 51 (2018), pp. 1667-93.

- Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- 4. What, if anything, can the concept of political culture explain?**
- James Ceaser, 'Alexis de Tocqueville on political science, political culture, and the role of the intellectual', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 79, no. 3 (September 1985), pp. 656-72.
 - R. P. Formisano, 'The concept of political culture', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2001), pp. 393-426.
 - Jeffrey C. Goldfarb, *Reinventing Political Culture: The Power of Culture versus the Culture of Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).
 - Joseph Patrick Henrich, *The Weirdest People in the World: How the West became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous* (London: Allen Lane, 2020).
- 5. How was the process of state formation in non-Europe different from that in Europe?**
- Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).
 - Jeffrey Ira Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
 - Ja Ian Chong, *External Intervention and the Politics of State Formation: China, Indonesia, and Thailand, 1893-1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 6. Why has religion remained a powerful force in a secular world?**
- Jose Casanova, *Public Religion in the Modern World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
 - Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).
 - Erin Wilson, *After Secularism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).
 - Harald Wydra, *Politics and the Sacred* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- 7. Is the ranking of political constitutions defensible?**
- Aalt Willem Heringa, *Constitutions Compared: An Introduction to Comparative Constitutional Law*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2019).
 - Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg, and James Melton, *The Endurance of National Constitutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
 - Tom Ginsburg and Alberto Simpser, *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2013).
 - Tom Ginsburg *Comparative Constitutional Design* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
 - Comparative Constitutions Project: <https://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/ccp-rankings/>
- 8. Does state sovereignty enhance freedom?**
- Joan Cocks, *On Sovereignty and Other Political Delusions* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

- Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2010), chs I and II.
- Siba N. Grovogui, *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), esp. ch. 6.

9. Can regime adaptation kill a revolution?

- Jason Brownlee, *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Steven Heydemann, *Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World*, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy Analysis Paper 13 (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2007) <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/10arabworld.pdf>.
- Joshua Stacher, *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2012).
- Joshua Stacher, *Watermelon Democracy: Egypt's Turbulent Transition* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2020).
- Milan W. Svobik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

10. What is national decline, and what are its consequences?

- Dale Copeland, *The Origins of Major War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- Paul MacDonald and Joseph Parent, *Twilight of the Titans: Great Power Decline and Retrenchment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).
- Joslyn Barnhart, *The Consequences of Humiliation: Anger and Status in World Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).
- Srdjan Vucetic, *Greatness and Decline: National Identity and British Foreign Policy* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021).
- Cameron Ballard Rosa, Amalie Jensen, and Kenneth Scheve, 'Economic decline, social identity, and authoritarian values in the United States', *International Studies Quarterly*, published online (April 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab027>.

11. Can there be such a thing as too much information?

- Jonas Nordström, Linda Thunström, Klaas van't Veld, Jason F. Shogren, and Mariah Ehmke, 'Strategic ignorance of health risk: Its causes and policy consequences. *Behavioural Public Policy*, published online (January 2020), pp. 1–32, <https://doi.org/10.1017/bpp.2019.52>.
- Lucia A. Reisch, Micha Kaiser, and Cass R. Sunstein, 'What do people want to know? Information avoidance and food policy implications'. *Food Policy*, vol. 102 (July 2021).
- Cass R. Sunstein, *Too Much Information: Understanding What You Don't Want to Know* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020).

12. What is regulatory capture, and why is it politically important?

- Jonathan Wolff, 'Fighting risk with risk: solar radiation management, regulatory drift, and minimal justice', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, vol. 23, no. 5 (2020), pp. 564-83.
- Daniel Carpenter and David Moss, eds, *Preventing Regulatory Capture: Special Interest Influence and How to Limit It* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 152–72.

- David Levi-Faur, 'Regulation and regulatory governance', in David Levi-Faur, ed. *Handbook on the Politics of Regulation* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2011), pp. 3–24.

13. How does the education cleavage shape 21st century politics?

- Charlotte Cavaille and John Marshall, 'Education and anti-immigration attitudes: evidence from compulsory schooling reforms across Western Europe', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no. 1 (2019), pp. 254–63.
- Marta Gelepithis and Marco Giani, 'Inclusion without solidarity: education, economic security, and attitudes toward redistribution', *Political Studies*, published online (July 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720933082>.
- Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Rune Stubager, 'Education-based group identity and consciousness in the authoritarian-libertarian value conflict', *European Journal of Political Research* vol. 48, no. 2 (2009), pp. 204–33.

14. How can Behavioural Insights improve public health policies?

- Jan Bauer and Lucia A. Reisch, 'Behavioural insights and (un)healthy dietary choices: a review of current evidence', *Journal of Consumer Policy*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2019), pp. 3-45, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10603-018-9387-y>.
- Loni Ledderer, Marianne Kjær, Emilie K. Madsen, Jacob Busch, and Antoinette Fage-Butler, 'Nudging in public health lifestyle interventions: a systematic literature review and metasynthesis', *Health Education and Behavior*, vol. 47, no. 5 (2020), pp. 749-64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1090198120931788>.
- World Health Organization, *Behavioural considerations for acceptance and uptake of COVID-19 vaccines: WHO technical advisory group on behavioural insights and sciences for health, meeting report* (15 October 2020) <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/337335>.

15. Why do some countries redistribute more than others?

- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, 'Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: why some democracies redistribute more than others', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 100, no. 2 (2006), pp. 165-81.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, 2nd ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2012), chs. 1 and 16.
- Nolan McCarty and Jonas Pontusson, 'The political economy of inequality and redistribution', in *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 666-88.

16. To what extent does homeownership influence politics? [NB: MT only]

- Lisa Adkins, Melinda Cooper, and Martijn Konings, *The Asset Economy* (Chichester: Wiley, 2020).
- David Adler and Ben Ansell, 'Housing and populism', *West European Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2020), 344-65.

- Ben Ansell, 'The politics of housing', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 22 (2019), pp. 165-85.
- Johnna Montgomerie and Mirjam Büdenbender, 'Round the houses: homeownership and failures of asset-based welfare in the United Kingdom', *New Political Economy*, vol. 20 (2015), pp. 386-405.

17. Are the political barriers to universal basic income insuperable?

- Jurgen de Wispelaere, 'The struggle for strategy: on the politics of the basic income proposal', *Politics*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2016), pp. 131-41.
- Luke Martinelli and Nick Pearce, 'Basic income in the UK: assessing prospects for reform in an age of austerity', *Social Policy and Society*, vol. 18, no. 2 (April 2019), 265-75.
- Peter Sloman, *Transfer State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), chs. 9-10.

BRITISH POLITICS

18. Why has the Anglo-Scottish union been a disruptive force in British politics since the 1970s?

- Jim Bulpitt, *Territory and Power in the United Kingdom* (London: ECPR Press, 2008).
- Malcolm Petrie and Colin Kidd, 'The independence referendum in historical and political context', in Aileen McHarg, Tom Mullen, Alan Page, and Neil Walker, eds. *The Scottish Independence Referendum: Constitutional and Political Implications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 29-49.
- Colin Kidd, 'The union and the constitution', *History and Policy* (2012).
<https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/the-union-and-the-constitution>.
- Gerry Hassan and Eric Shaw, *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
- Michael Kenny, *The Politics of English Nationhood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

19. Is English devolution politically feasible?

- Michael Kenny, Philip Rycroft, and Jack Sheldon, *Union at the Crossroads* (Cambridge: Bennett Institute 2021), <https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/publications/union-crossroads/>.
- Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Michael Kenny, Iain McLean, and Akash Paun, *Governing England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Meg Russell et al., *Devolution in England*, Constitution Unit (ongoing)
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/research-archive/nations-regions-archive/devolution-england>.

20. To what extent has the British prime ministership become 'presidentialized'?

- Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb, *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Richard Heffernan, 'Why the Prime Minister cannot be a President: comparing institutional imperatives in Britain and America'. *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 1 (2005): pp. 53-70.

- Keith Dowding, 'The Prime Ministerialisation of the British Prime Minister', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 3 (2013), pp. 617-35.

21. Has the United Kingdom Civil Service become politicized?

- B. Guy Peters, 'Politicisation: what is it and why should we care?', in Christine Neuhold, Sophie Vanhoonacker, and Luc Verhey, eds. *Civil Servants and Politics: A Delicate Balance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) pp. 12–24.
- Peter Aucoin, 'New political governance in Westminster systems: impartial public administration and management performance at risk', *Governance*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2012), pp. 177-99.
- Patrick Diamond, 'The Westminster system under the Cameron coalition: promiscuous partisanship or institutional resilience?', *Public Policy and Administration*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2019), pp. 241-61.

22. To what extent did Black Power movements in Britain and America share common aims?

- Ashley D. Farmer, *Remaking Black Power: How Black Women Transformed an Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 1-19.
- Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie, Suzanne Scafe, and Lola Okolosie, *Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (London: Verso, 2018), pp. 140-81.
- Robin Bunce and Paul Field, 'Obi B. Egbuna, C. L. R. James and the birth of Black Power in Britain: Black radicalism in Britain, 1967-72', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2010), pp. 391-414.
- Peniel E. Joseph, *Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013) pp. 1-25.

POLITICS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

23. (a) Is the form of competitive or electoral authoritarianism found in many Middle Eastern countries a durable political arrangement?

- 'From Arab Spring to Arab Winter: explaining the limits of post-uprising democratisation', *Democratization*, special issue, vol.22, no. 2 (2015).
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Eva Bellin, 'Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics*, vol.44, no. 2 (2012), pp.127-49.

(b) Why did the 2010-11 Arab uprisings fail?

- Eva Bellin, 'Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics*, vol.44, no. 2 (2012), pp.127-49.
- Perry Cammack et al., *Arab Fractures: Citizens, States, and Social Contracts* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017).
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Arab_World_Horizons_Final.pdf
- J. N. C. Hill, 'Authoritarian resilience and regime cohesion in Morocco after the Arab Spring', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 55, no. 2 (2019), pp. 276-88.
- Christopher Phillips, *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (London: Yale University Press, 2016).

24. Are strong social movements a solution to the failures and inequalities of interest representation in Latin America?

- Sonia E. Alvarez, 'Beyond the civil society agenda? Participation and practices of governance, governability, and governmentality in Latin America', in Sonia E Alvarez et al., eds. *Beyond Civil Society: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 316-30.
- Kenneth M. Roberts, 'Democratic divergence and party systems in Latin America's Third Wave', in Nancy Bermeo and Deborah J. Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 93-121.
- Eduardo Silva and Federico M. Rossi, 'Introduction', in Silva and Rossi, eds. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), pp. 3-20. [See also other chapters in the same volume, especially introductions to the book's three parts.]

25. Is Latin America part of the 'West'?

- Andrew Hurrell, 'Latin America and the West', in Robert O'Neill and R. J. Vincent, eds. *The West and the Third World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 1990), pp. 153-69.
- Jacinta O'Hagan, *Conceptualizing the West in International Relations: From Spengler to Said* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

26. What does the Covid crisis tell us about the strengths and weaknesses of the European Union?

- Barry Colfer, 'Public policy responses to Covid-19 in Europe', *European Policy Analysis*, vol. 6, no. 2 (December 2020), pp. 126-37 (and any articles of interest from the special issue), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/epa2.1097>.
- J. H. H. Weiler, 'Covid, Europe and the self-asphyxiation of democracy', in Miguel Poiars Maduro and Paul W. Kahn, eds. *Democracy in Times of Pandemic: Different Futures Imagined* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- Scott Greer et al. 'The COVID-19 pandemic: failing forward in public health', in Marianne Riddervold et al. *The Palgrave Handbook of EU Crises* (Cham: Palgrave, 2021), pp. 747-64.
- EU Vaccines Strategy, as proposed by the European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/coronavirus-response/public-health/eu-vaccines-strategy_en.

27. Assess the legacy of Angela Merkel as Chancellor of Germany.

- Stefan Kornelius, *Angela Merkel: The Chancellor and her World* (London: Alma, 2013).
- Joyce Marie Mushaben. *Becoming Madam Chancellor: Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Judy Dempsey, 'Will Angela Merkel's ambiguous legacy last?', Carnegie Europe (19 January 2021), <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/01/19/will-angela-merkel-s-ambiguous-legacy-last-pub-83681>.

- Constanze Stelzenmüller, 'The singular chancellor: the Merkel model and its limits', *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2021), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2021-04-20/angela-merkel-singular-chancellor>.

28. What is the legacy of authoritarianism in Russian politics?

- Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1995).
- David Joravsky, 'Communism in historical perspective', *American Historical Review*, vol. 99, no. 3 (1994), pp. 837-57.
- Nicolai Petro, *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy: An Interpretation of Political Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 3rd or 4th eds (London: Routledge, 2002, 2007), parts I and IV.
- Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London: Penguin, 2002), esp. Introduction and chs. 5-7.

29. What effect does local state experimentation have on Chinese politics and governance overall?

- Christopher Heurlin, *Responsive Authoritarianism in China: Land, Protests, and Policy Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- William Hurst et al. 'Reassessing collective petitioning in rural China: civic engagement, extra-state violence, and regional variation', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 46, no. 4 (July 2014), pp. 459-82.
- Christian P. Sorace, *Shaken Authority: China's Communist Party and the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).
- Jessica C. Teets and William Hurst, eds. *Local Governance Innovation in China: Experimentation, Diffusion and Defiance* (London: Routledge 2015).

30. Whither the Chinese working class?

- Eli Friedman *Insurgency Trap: Labor Politics in Postsocialist China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- William Hurst, *The Chinese Worker after Socialism* (Cambridge 2009).
- Ching Kwan Lee, *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).
- Jennifer Pan, *Welfare for Autocrats: How Social Assistance in China Cares for its Rulers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

31. Does the Liberal Party still dominate Canadian politics, and if so, why?

- Stephen Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics* (2005)
- Brooke Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada, 1984-2008* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- Harold D. Clarke et al. *Absent Mandate: Strategies and Choices in Canadian Elections*, 4th ed. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2019).
- Paul Wells, 'The making of a prime minister: inside Trudeau's epic victory', *Maclean's* (22 October 2015), <https://site.macleans.ca/longform/trudeau/index.html>.

- John Geddes et al. 'How Justin Trudeau held on: the story of a gruelling, messy campaign', *Macleans's* (22 October 2019), <https://www.macleans.ca/politics/how-justin-trudeau-held-on-the-story-of-a-gruelling-messy-campaign/>.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ORGANISATION

32. Did the Liberal International Order ever exist?

- Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, 'The liberal order is rigged: fix it now or watch it wither', *Foreign Affairs* vol. 96, no. 3 (May/June 2017), pp. 36-44.
- Orfeo Fiertos, 'The syncopated history of the liberal international order', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2018), pp. 20-28.
- John G. Ikenberry, *World Safe for Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).
- Patrick Porter, *The False Promise of Liberal Order: Nostalgia, Delusion and the Rise of Trump* (Cambridge: Polity, 2020).

33. How have 19th century international politics conditioned 21st century international order?

- Barry Buzan and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
- Daniel Green, *The Two Worlds of Nineteenth Century International Relations: The Bifurcated Century* (London: Routledge, 2018).

34. Has Britain historically always been one of the ordering powers in Europe, or has it been one of the ordered?

- Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714-1783* (London: Penguin, 2007).
- Jeremy Black, *Britain and Europe: A Short History* (London: Hurst, 2019).
- Beatrice Heuser, *Brexit in history: Sovereignty or a European Union?* (London: Hurst, 2019).

35. How do great powers fall?

- Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin, *Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York, NY: Random House, 1987).
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, 'The rise and fall of the great powers in the twenty-first century: China's rise and the fate of America's global position', *International Security*, vol. 40, no. 3 (2016), pp. 7-53.

36. Why do international actors seek status?

- Steven Ward, *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
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- Russell J. Dalton, *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

76. (a) Should children be entitled to vote?

- John Wall, *Give Children the Vote: On Democratizing Democracy* (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming [January 2022]).
- Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Jason Brennan, 'The right to a competent electorate', *Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 245 (2011), pp. 700-724.
- Philip Cowley and David Denver, 'Votes at 16? The Case Against', *Representation*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2004), pp. 57-62.

(b) Should non-human animals be enfranchised?

- Janneke Vink, *The Open Society and Its Animals* (Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) (see in particular 'Enfranchising animals in political institutions').
- Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka, *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Sharon R. Krause, 'Politics beyond persons: political theory and the non-human', *Political Theory* (2016), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591716651516>.
- Jean-Paul Gagnon, 'Non-human democracy', *The Conversation*, (2015), <https://theconversation.com/non-human-democracy-our-political-vocabulary-has-no-room-for-animals-51401> (part one of a series of three short essays).

77. Does oil hinder democracy?

- Michael L. Ross, 'Does oil hinder democracy?', *World Politics*, vol. 53, no. 3 (2001), pp. 325-61.
- Stephen Haber and Victor Menaldo, 'Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 105, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1-26.
- Thad Dunning, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

FROM EMPIRE TO DECOLONISATION

78. Are theories of empire grounded in views about cultural autonomy?

- Anthony Pagden, *The Burdens of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 2005).
- Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

79. How far is the modern republican tradition an imperial ideology?

- Edward G. Andrew, *Imperial Republics: Revolution, War, and Territorial Expansion from the English Civil War to the French Revolution* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2011).
- J. G. A. Pocock, 'Machiavelli and Rome: the republic as ideal and as history', in John M. Najemy, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 144-56.
- J. Matthew Hoyer, 'Neo-republicanism, old imperialism, and migration ethics', *Constellations*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2017), pp. 154-66.

80. 'To colonise the state, first colonise the family.' Discuss.

- Judith Surkis, *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty in French Algeria, 1830-1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019).
- Wilson Chacko, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2011).
- Lila Abu-Lughod, ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
- Julia Stephens, *Governing Islam: Law, Empire, and Secularism in South Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

81. Will decolonisation ever be complete?

- Dane Kennedy, *Decolonization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
- Albert Memmi, *Decolonization and the Decolonized* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
- Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), Introduction, chs 1 and 3 (see also her opinion piece in the *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/opinion/sunday/decolonization-statues.html>).

CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND IDEOLOGIES

82. Is government inevitable?

- Randall Holcombe, 'Government: unnecessary but inevitable' *The Independent Review*, vol. 8, no. 3 (2004), pp. 325-42.
- Murray Rothbard, 'Society without the State' *Nomos*, vol. 19 (1978), pp. 191-207.
- James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

- Ken Menkhaus, 'Governance without government in Somalia: spoilers, state building, and the politics of coping', *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2007), pp. 74–106.
- Stef Jansen, 'Hope for/against the state: gridding in a besieged Sarajevo suburb', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 79, no. 2 (2014), pp. 238-60.

83. Does the idea of the 'avant-garde' retain any political force?

- Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Behind the Times: The Decline and Fall of the Twentieth-Century Avant-Garde* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998) [a short lecture].
- Rosalind Krauss, 'The originality of the avant-garde: A postmodernist repetition', October, vol. 18 (1981), pp. 47-66, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/778410> [also repr. in her collection, *The Originality of the Avant Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996)].
- Linda Nochlin, 'The invention of the avant-garde: France, 1830-80', <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/retrospective/archives-linda-nochlin-invention-19th-century-french-avant-garde-1968-9237/>.
- Susan Buck-Morss, 'Vanguard/avant-garde', available on her website: <http://susanbuckmorss.info/media/files/vanguard-avant-garde.pdf>.

84. Should the state regulate 'sex'?

- Toby Beauchamp, 'The substance of borders: transgender politics, mobility, and US state regulation of testosterone', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1 (January 2013), pp. 57–78.
- Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), ch. on 'Gender regulations'.
- Sally Hines, 'Sex wars and (trans) gender panics: identity and body politics in contemporary UK feminism', *Sociological Review*, vol. 68, no. 4 (July 2020), pp. 699–717.
- Alex Sharpe, 'Will gender self-declaration undermine women's rights and lead to an increase in harms?' *Modern Law Review*, vol. 83, no. 3 (May 2020), pp. 539–57.
- Dean Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics, and the Limits of Law* (Brooklyn, NY: South End Press, 2011).

85. Does dystopian fiction necessarily imply political pessimism?

- Gregory Claeys, 'News from somewhere: enhanced sociability and the composite definition of utopia and dystopia', *History*, vol. 98, no. 330 (April 2013), pp. 145-73.
- Lyman Tower Sargent, 'The three faces of utopia revisited', *Utopian Studies* vol. 5, no. 1 (1994), pp. 1-37.
- Fátima Vieira, 'The concept of utopia' in Gregory Claeys ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3-25.
- Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is there no Alternative?* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2009), pp. 1-11.

86. Are there 'good' and 'bad' nationalisms?

- Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Meghan Tinsley, 'Decolonizing the civic / ethnic binary', *Current Sociology*, vol. 67, no. 3 (2019), pp. 347-64.

- Anna Triandafyllidou, 'Nationalism in the 21st century: neo-tribal or plural?', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 26, no. 4 (2020), pp. 792-806.
- Bernard Yack, 'The myth of the civic nation', *Critical Review*, vol. 10, no. 2 (1996), pp. 193-211.

87. Does Third Wave Feminism challenge the notion of 'global sisterhood'?

- R.S. Herr, 'Reclaiming Third World feminism: or why transnational feminism needs Third World feminism', *Meridians*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2014), pp. 1-30.
- Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (London: Verso, 1994).
- Chandra Mohanty, 'Under Western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses', *Feminist Review*, vol. 30, no. 1 (1988), pp. 61-88.

88. Is the current attack on meritocracy a symptom of the privileged devouring themselves?

- Michael Sandel, *The Tyranny of Merit: What's Become of the Common Good?* (London: Allen Lane, 2020). Also: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qewckuxa9hw>.
- Daniel Markovits, *The Meritocracy Trap* (London: Allen Lane, 2019). Also: <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/29/10/2020/ban-book-review-daniel-markovitss-meritocracy-trap>
- Adrian Wooldridge, *The Aristocracy of Talent: How Meritocracy Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2021) <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2021/05/defence-meritocracy>.

89. What is politically at stake in the arguments about whether the decisive decade for human rights is the 1770s, the 1790s, the 1940s, the 1970s, or the 1990s?

- Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, 'Human rights and history', *Past & Present*, vol. 232 (August 2016), pp. 279–310, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw013>.
- Samuel Moyn, 'The end of human rights history', *Past & Present*, vol. 233 (November 2016), pp. 307–22, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw038>.
- Lynn Hunt, 'The long and the short of the history of human rights', *Past & Present*, vol. 233 (November 2016), pp. 323–31, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw044>.
- Matthew Hilton, Emily Baughan, Eleanor Davey, Bronwen Everill, Kevin O'Sullivan, and Tehila Sasson, 'History and humanitarianism: a conversation', *Past & Present*, vol. 241 (November 2018), pp. e1–e38, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty040>.

Supervisions

The paper is primarily taught by supervision, three for each essay. The first supervision will consider the nature and scope of the question, and your approach to it. The second will discuss progress normally on the basis of a written outline or plan. The third will review a first draft. Supervisors will not read more than one draft of the essay, and will not offer more than three supervisions. You are expected to work for the essay during term time and supervisors will expect to give you each of the three supervisions during term time. Other than in exceptional circumstances, where your Director of Studies has provided evidence that you have been unable to work for some period of the term, supervisors can—and often will—refuse to read drafts during the vacation.

Writing and researching the essay

Essays must answer the question, and they must make an argument in doing so. The Examiners expect an argument in answer to the question, evidence of having read the important literature, and independent thinking. They have no fixed expectations for the nature, direction, or conclusion of answers to any of the questions set; you should approach them in a way that particularly interests you. More is needed than a straightforward review of the literature. Assertion and rhetorical flourishes cannot substitute for argument. Polemical writing will be penalised by the Examiners. Many essays will deploy detailed examples from past or contemporary politics and international relations, or theoretical arguments or texts, and will build their argument through these. If you do use a particular example or theoretical argument (or set of examples or theoretical arguments) to answer a general question, you will need to explain at the beginning of the essay why these examples or arguments are pertinent to the question. When you make arguments, you will need to explain your judgements, and you will need to engage with counter-arguments to the arguments you are making. Argue against the strongest claims of counter-arguments, not their weakest points. You also should avoid grand generalisations. These almost always fail to stand up to empirical or theoretical scrutiny and do not advance arguments.

For this paper, you are expected to learn how to use bibliographical searches, if you have not done so already, and not to rely solely upon your supervisor to provide a full reading list. It will also be useful to familiarise yourself with the University Library, as it is likely that some of the sources for your essay will only be available there. Many of the most useful databases are listed in the library guide to research in Politics <https://libguides.cam.ac.uk/POLIS>. One of the most useful databases is JSTOR <http://www.jstor.org/>, and, to search across a broader range, Google Scholar <http://scholar.google.co.uk/>

It is important to be aware that work that is poorly written and presented cannot be marked above a 2.2. This includes work that contains a significant number of typographical errors, has many grammatical mistakes, or does not have a proper system of referencing and a bibliography. It is therefore crucial that you proofread your essay carefully before submitting it. It may also be useful to recruit a friend to do so as well.

Examiners' reports from previous Long Essay papers are available on Moodle, and are well worth consulting.

Presentation, length, layout, references and bibliographies

Developing your ability to write in an accurate, focussed, and compelling way is an important part of this paper. You are expected to write clearly, to punctuate carefully, and to proofread your essays before submitting them. Casualness in presentation of essays and syntactical and grammatical confusion will be penalised by the Examiners. As mentioned above, essays in which there are a significant number of typographical errors and syntactical and grammatical mistakes cannot receive a mark higher than a Lower Second.

Students and supervisors should note that the word limit is 5,000 words for Long Essays. **There is no leeway. Students exceeding the word limit will be penalised.** The word count must be included on the coversheet for your essay at submission and the Department

will carry out checks. At the final Examiners' meeting in June, the Examiners will discuss all cases of over-length work and impose penalties.

The word limit will include all text except the Bibliography. This means that the main text, essay title, all data in tables or figures, appendices, captions, the table of contents, footnotes, endnotes and all prefatory material at the start of the essay will be counted against the word limit. As a general rule, any content that the Examiners must read in order to assess your work should be included in the main body and not in an appendix. Overuse of appendices or footnotes may be penalised if it impairs the understanding of your work. **History and Politics students should note that the History Faculty has different rules about what counts against the word limit for submitted work, and should make sure that for these essays they follow these POLIS rules.**

Students are also expected to use the 5,000 words available to them. Essays that fall more than 200 words short may also be penalised.

Long essays must be word-processed, use double line-spacing, have a font size of 11 or 12, have right and left margins of at least 2.5 cm, include page numbers and a Bibliography, and provide references for all quotations.

You must use the formal title from the list of questions, and put this at the top of the first page. Do not create your own essay title.

For a Long Essay, it is often useful to use sub-sections marked by sub-titles. It is generally best not to use too many; any more than four or five would be unusual. It would also usually be excessive to go beyond two levels of subsections (so, sub-sub-headings may be justifiable, but not more). If you use a considerable number of specialist acronyms, abbreviations, or non-English terms, a list of these at the start may also be helpful. It's worth repeating that these items are all included in the word count, as is everything except the Bibliography.

You should **NOT** include your name or College anywhere on your Long Essay. The Department will supply a coversheet for completion that will include a declaration on plagiarism (see the section on this, below).

References and bibliographies

There are two common conventions for references: (1) full references in notes at the foot of the page or the end of the document, with a Bibliography at the end of the work; or (2) 'author-date' citations in the text, with a Bibliography at the end of the work. Follow just one of these, and, whichever one you use, make sure that your referencing is complete and consistent.

1. The full referencing convention. If using this approach, references are included in the notes, which should be numbered serially from 1 from the start of the essay. For references in notes, give full details at the first mention in the chapter; for subsequent mentions in the essay, a brief citation will do. Notwithstanding their widespread use, avoid *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and *ibid.*; these can confuse. The Bibliography should include the full references in alphabetical order.

Examples:

For books -

Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 36.

Thereafter: Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, pp. 12-13.

For journals -

Sidney Tarrow, 'Making social science work across space and time: a critical reflection on Putnam's "Making Democracy Work"', *American Political Science Review* 90 (1996), pp. 389-98.

Thereafter: Tarrow, 'Making social science work', pp. 389-98.

For chapters in edited volumes -

Maud Eduards, 'Sweden', in Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills (eds), *The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation*, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, pp. 208-27.

Thereafter: Eduards, 'Sweden', pp. 208-27.

For corporate authors (where there is no individual author) -

Economist, 'Between the Caudillo and the Democrat', 17 April 1999, pp. 39-40.

Thereafter: *Economist*, 'Between the Caudillo and the Democrat', pp. 39-40.

For edited and/or translated volumes -

Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the uses and disadvantages of history for life', in *Untimely Meditations*, Daniel Breazeale, ed., and R. J. Hollingdale, trans., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 [1874], pp. 57-123.

Thereafter: Nietzsche, 'On the uses and disadvantages', pp. 57-123.

For internet links -

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), 'Keynes, John Maynard', September 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310, accessed 26 July 2013.

Thereafter: ODNB, 'Keynes, John Maynard'.

2. The author-date system. Footnotes and endnotes, including the references in such notes, count towards the total number of words in Long Essays and dissertations in Politics & International Relations; references in a Bibliography at the end of the work do not. For this reason, you may prefer to adopt the second convention—the 'author-date' style, or the 'Harvard' style, as it is sometimes known. In this, references are included in the text or the notes. There should then be a complete Bibliography at the end of the Long Essay, in which all the items cited should be arranged alphabetically by author's surname (or where there is no author listed, by corporate author).

Examples:

For books -

In text: ...elite political culture in Italy changed dramatically over the course of the 1970s (Putnam 1993: 33) ... *or:* Putnam (1993: 33) argues that elite political culture in Italy changed dramatically over the course of the 1970s...

In Bibliography: Putnam, R. D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

For journals -

In text: ...although others have questioned his measurements of institutional performance (e.g., Tarrow 1996: 389-98) *or:* Tarrow (1996: 389-98) is critical of the measurements of institutional performance that are used...

In Bibliography: Tarrow, S. 1996. Making social science work across space and time: A critical reflection on Putnam's 'Making democracy work'. *American Political Science Review* 90: 389-98.

For chapters in edited volumes -

In text: ...whereas in Sweden, female parliamentarians had a significant role in raising the profile of distinctively women's issues in debates about legislation (Eduards 1981)...

In Bibliography: Eduards, M. 1981. Sweden. In Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills (eds) *The Politics of the Second Electorate: Women and Public Participation*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

For corporate authors -

In text: (*Economist* 1999: 39-40)

In Bibliography: *Economist*. 1999. Between the Caudillo and the Democrat. 17 April, 39-40.

For edited and/or translated volumes -

In text: (Nietzsche 1994: 176-86)

In Bibliography: Nietzsche, F. 1994. The Greek State. In *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. K. Ansell-Pearson, trans. C. Diethelme. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 176-86.

For internet links –

In text: (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004)

In Bibliography: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 2004. Keynes, John Maynard, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310.

With the full referencing system (1), it may be useful to have separate lists of primary (archival and unpublished texts, interviews) and secondary (including those on the web, which are counted as 'publications') sources in the Bibliography. With the author-date system (2), a single Bibliography is usually to be preferred. It is never advisable to divide Bibliographies between types of secondary sources (e.g. separate list of books, articles, items on the web, etc.).

Your Bibliography should only include works cited in the main text, and should not be a list of everything you've read that is relevant to the essay.

Plagiarism and unfair practice

Plagiarism is presenting, as your own, words and thoughts that are not your own. Plagiarism is a form of cheating and regarded as such by the University's Ordinances. At the beginning of each academic year you must sign a form saying that you have read the Faculty's document on the matter and fully understand what plagiarism is. If you are in any doubt at all on this subject, ask your Director of Studies to talk you through the issue.

Below, three different forms of plagiarism are explained. Most students will be aware that the first two are wrong. The third form, involving copying text that is otherwise referenced from a book or article, still generates confusion, and therefore it is important to read this section, even if you are confident that you know what plagiarism is.

What Constitutes Plagiarism

1. Copying text from unpublished sources.

Submitting essays that have been obtained in whole or in part from websites or from other students is plagiarism. There are no grey lines. This always constitutes a deliberate attempt to deceive and shows a wilful disregard for the point of a university education. Each piece of work is expected to be the original, independent work of the student, and so if this is not the case it must be declared in the essay.

Proofreading, reading drafts, and suggesting general improvements to other students' essays—and receiving such help from others—is not collusion, and is often helpful. If, however, another student were to carry out detailed redrafting of the entire conclusion of an essay, this would be considered collusion. If this is not acknowledged in the essay, it is considered a form of plagiarism.

Reproducing the thoughts of lecturers and the advice from a supervisor is not regarded as plagiarism. Merely reproducing lecture notes, however, is always obvious and takes away the purpose of writing essays.

2. Copying from published literature without acknowledgement.

This applies, without distinction, to material from the internet and from printed sources. Work that is drawn upon in your essays must be referenced appropriately. If you quote from a source, or draw from a particular section of a text, you should reference the relevant page numbers. Avoiding plagiarism means getting into the habit of careful referencing, and it is useful to start developing this habit, if you haven't already, throughout your supervisions as well as in the final submitted work.

3. Copying text without using quotation marks.

This is a form of plagiarism, even if you acknowledge the source of the text. That is, if you are including text that is not in quotation marks, you are asserting that you have written these words yourself; if this is not so, it is passing off someone else's words as your own.

This is the most common form of plagiarism found in this university, and so requires a few more words of explanation.

Take the following passage from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB):

For two years from the autumn of 1941 Keynes was mainly occupied with proposals for the post-war international monetary system. In the immediate post-war years the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements would have to continue, but in the long term these arrangements should be superseded by a multilateral scheme with currencies freely convertible. Keynes prepared a plan for an international clearing union to supersede the gold standard and put forward a set of rules for balance of payments adjustment that required creditor countries to take the main initiative. His plan underwent many revisions before being submitted to the Americans, who had prepared a plan of their own—the White plan—for a stabilization fund and (in the initial version) an international bank for reconstruction and development.

If you quote from any part of this, you must put it in quotation marks and attribute it as: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34310. If you paraphrase any part, you must reference it in the same way.

To write something like what follows is plagiarism:

From 1941 to 1943 Keynes was mainly occupied with proposals for the post-war international monetary system (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004). Immediately after the Second World War, the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements by necessity had to endure, but ultimately these arrangements would be superseded by a multilateral scheme with currencies freely convertible. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) relates how Keynes' plan underwent many revisions before being given to Washington, where White had devised his own plan for a stabilization fund and in the initial version an international bank for reconstruction and development.

In this text, there are five phrases that are repeated word-for-word from the original source, or with only tiny amendments: 'Keynes was mainly occupied...', 'the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements', 'superseded by a multilateral scheme...', 'underwent many revisions before', and 'for a stabilization fund and in the initial version...'. Even though the *ODNB* is referred to twice in the text, these words are not in quotation marks, and therefore this would constitute plagiarism. One could put each of these phrases in quotation marks. Much better though would be to put the text in your own words, so that you are not just repeating someone else's words.

This form of plagiarism may sometimes occur due to poor note-taking. If you are reading a book or article and taking notes on paper, or on your computer, you may sometimes find yourself copying out apt sentences or paragraphs mechanically. When it comes to turning your reading into an essay, students in a hurry may string their notes together into an essay. The result is an unintentional—but still serious—form of plagiarism. It is important to guard against this, and to develop a way to distinguish in your own notes

the legitimate paraphrase from the quotation, for example by including quotation marks in your own notes or by highlighting such text.

This form of plagiarism is often from texts that have technical language, and students may take someone else's words because they are unsure of their precise meaning. In the hypothetical example above, students who are not quite sure what exactly is meant by 'the existing system of exchange controls and bilateral payments agreements' in the *ODNB* entry may be tempted just to copy the entire phrase. Again, this is something to guard yourself against. If you are reading a book or article with language in it that continues to mystify, it is worthwhile to read around the topic, to make an effort to put it into your own words, and to use part of a supervision to discuss the terms themselves until you are satisfied that your understanding is solid.

Use of originality checking software

All POL5/19 Long Essays will be run through 'Turnitin'. This is a service to which the University subscribes that provides an electronic means of checking student work against a very large database of material from the internet, published sources, and other student essays. 'Turnitin' also helps to protect the work submitted by students from future plagiarism and thereby to maintain the integrity of any qualifications you are awarded by the University. The copyright of the material remains entirely with the author, and no personal data will be uploaded with the work.

Consequences of plagiarism

Any Examiner who finds evidence of plagiarism in a Long Essay will contact the Chair of Examiners, who will follow the University's guidance as to how to handle such cases. There may be an investigative meeting, which will seek to establish how any plagiarised material was generated. Some cases can be investigated and dealt with by the Examiners themselves. Other cases will be reported to the University Proctors. In very serious cases of plagiarism, the Senior Proctor will inform the University Advocate, who can take the student before the University's Court of Discipline. The Court of Discipline has the power to deprive any student found guilty of plagiarism of membership of the University, and to strip them of any degrees awarded by it.

Marking criteria

Mark	Quality of Answer
80+	A wholly clear, powerful, sophisticated and persuasive argument focused on the question, supported throughout by relevant texts and/or evidence, dealing decisively with the most important counter-arguments, containing some original thought or insight, sustained over the length of the essay, displaying a very high degree of accuracy, and faultlessly written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display all of these qualities.

70-79	A wholly clear and persuasive argument, supported throughout, as the case may be, by relevant texts and/or evidence, which deals effectively with the more important counterarguments, shows clear independence of mind, is sustained over the length of the essay, displays a high degree of accuracy, and is well written and presented. To fall into this range, an essay has to display all of these qualities.
60-69	A generally clear and persuasive argument focused on the question, generally well supported by relevant texts and/or evidence, that pays due attention to the important counter-arguments, , sustained over the length of the answer/essay, displaying a good level of accuracy, and well written and presented. To fall into this range, an essay has to display all of these qualities, and should not decisively show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for 50-59. Essays where there is some evidence of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for 50-59 will receive a mark between 60 and 64.
50-59	A moderately clear argument, reasonably well supported by relevant texts and/or evidence, but that shows some mistakes or accuracy, or weakness in its reasoning or textual and/or evidential support, or is not focused on the question, or is not well sustained over the length of the answer/essay, or fails to address counter-arguments, or is in whole or in part not well written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display both positive qualities and should not show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for a 40-49. An essay that is in whole or in part not well written or presented will receive a mark in this range regardless of its positive qualities or the absence of other negative features.
40-49	A discernible argument that receives modest support from relevant texts and/or evidence, but which is seriously problematic in its reasoning or textual and/or evidential support, or disregards the question, or makes a significant number mistakes of fact, or is not sustained over anywhere near the length of the essay, or is in significant part poorly written and presented. To fall into this range, essays have to display both positive qualities and should not show any of the negative qualities listed under the criteria for a 21-39.
21-39	A barely discernible argument on the subject of the question, that is either thinly supported, ignoring the evidence and/or texts in its argument, or makes a large number of mistakes of fact, or is poorly structured throughout the essay, or is poorly written and presented throughout.
1-20	An essay that is irrelevant to the subject of the question, or shows a complete failure of understanding of the subject, or that is radically incomplete.
0	No essay submitted, or submitted more than ten days after the deadline.