

## POLITICS and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Part II, 2023-24

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

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#### Course Organiser

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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 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2024**. The second essay is started in Lent term, and has to be submitted by **noon on Monday 29<sup>th</sup> April 2024**.

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 Giovanni Mantilla will discuss how the paper is going to work this year and offer advice. This will be on Thursday **5<sup>th</sup> October 2023 at 4pm** in the Sidgwick Site Lecture Block, Room 2. 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 *at the latest* by **noon** on Friday **6<sup>th</sup> October 2023** for the Michaelmas Term essay and **noon** on **Friday 19<sup>th</sup> January 2024** for the Lent Term essay. 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 as soon as you receive it – the sooner we all students' choices, the better**. 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 (and it is possible, though unlikely, that you may be asked for an additional choice, in case that neither of your preferences can be met). 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, and if you are a third-year student taking POL19, you should avoid choosing essay titles that substantially overlap with any essays you wrote for POL5 in your second year.

The deadline for the submission of your first essay is **noon on Monday, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2024**. The deadline for your second essay is **noon on Monday, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2024**. The deadline is firm, and work that is submitted after these deadlines (without an extension request made in advance of the deadline), will receive penalties. If you have good reason to require an extension (such as a serious health problem, or a major family emergency), you should contact your College as soon as 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 term or Lent term due to availability of supervisors. Below each question are some initial ideas on where you might start your reading for each essay.

### GENERAL - POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

#### 1. What lessons should we learn from history about the political effects of high inflation?

Charles S. Maier, 'The politics of inflation in the twentieth century', in Fred Hirsch and John H. Goldthorpe, eds., *The Political Economy of Inflation* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Niall Ferguson and Brigitte Granville, "'Weimar on the Volga': causes and consequences of inflation in 1990s Russia compared with 1920s Germany", *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 60, no. 4 (2000), pp. 1061-87.

Kenneth Rogoff, 'The age of inflation: easy money, hard choices', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 101 (2022).

Stephen D. King, *We Need to Talk About Inflation: 14 urgent lessons from the last 2,000 Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023).

Zachary Carter, 'What if we're thinking about inflation all wrong?', *The New Yorker*, 6 June 2023, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/persons-of-interest/what-if-were-thinking-about-inflation-all-wrong>.

#### 2. To what extent are political crises manufactured?

Saundra K. Schneider and Marty P. Jordan, 'Political science research on crises and crisis communications', in A. Schwarz *et al.* eds., *The Handbook of International Crisis Communication Research* (Oxford: Wiley, 2016), pp. 48-58.

Phillip Y. Lipscy, 'COVID-19 and the politics of crisis', *International Organization*, vol. 74, s1 (2020), E98-E127.

Colin Hay, 'Good in a crisis: the ontological institutionalism of social constructivism', *New Political Economy*, vol. 21, no. 6 (2016), pp. 520-35.

**3. Have the shocks and disruptions to global supply chains firmly put the world economy on a track of de-globalization?**

Pol Antràs, 'De-globalisation? Global value chains in the post-COVID-19 Age', *NBER Working Paper*, no. 28115 (2020).

Rana Foroohar, *Homecoming: the path to prosperity in a post-global world* (London, New York: Penguin Random House, 2022).

UNCTAD, *The Impact of COVID-19 on Trade and Development: transitioning to a new normal* (Geneva: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2020).

**4. What is the relationship between writing and state formation?**

James C. Scott, *Against the Grain: a deep history of the earliest states* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), introduction, ch. 4.

Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). introduction.

Max Weber, 'Bureaucracy, Essay VIII', in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: essays in sociology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 212-6.

Langdon Winner, 'Do artifacts have politics?', *Daedalus*, vol. 109, no. 1 (1980), pp. 121-36.

**5. To what extent has the market driven the rise of the knowledge economy?**

Peter A. Hall, 'The electoral politics of growth regimes', *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2020), pp. 185-99.

Torben Iversen and David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: reinventing capitalism through a turbulent century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), Introduction and ch. 4.

Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: debunking public vs. private sector myths* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), Introduction, ch. 2, and ch. 4.

**6. Has neoliberalism died since the 2008 Financial Crisis, and what has killed it or kept it alive since then? [Lent Term ONLY]**

Jean Grugel and Pia Riggirozzi, 'Neoliberal disruption and neoliberalism's afterlife in Latin America: what is left of post-neoliberalism?', *Critical Social Policy*, vol. 38, n. 3 (2018), pp. 547-66.

Jamie Peck, Nick Theodore, and Neil Brenner, 'Postneoliberalism and its malcontents', *Antipode*, vol. 41, s. 1 (2010), pp. 94-116.

Adam Tooze, *Shutdown: how COVID shook the world's economy* (London: Allen Lane, 2021), introduction and ch. 7, 'The economy on life support'. (Other chs. are also relevant.)

## **7. What does energy explain about the geopolitics of the present?**

Helen Thompson, *Disorder: Hard Times in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), ch. 3 and conclusion.

Jason Bordoff and Meghan L. O'Sullivan, 'The age of energy insecurity: how the fight for resources is upending geopolitics', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2023. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/world/energy-insecurity-climate-change-geopolitics-resources>.

Indra Overland, 'The geopolitics of renewable energy: debunking four emerging myths', *Energy Research & Social Science*, vol. 49 (2019), pp. 36–40.

## **8. Is global finance racist? [Lent Term only]**

Peter James Hudson, *Bankers and Empire: how Wall Street colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

Paul Robert Gilbert, Clea Bourne, Max Haiven, and Johnna Montgomerie, *The Entangled Legacies of Empire: race, finance and inequality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023).

Ilias Alami and Vincent Guermond, 'The color of money at the financial frontier', *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 3 (2023), pp. 1073-97.

Nick Bernards, *A Critical History of Poverty Finance: colonial roots and neoliberal failures* (London: Pluto Press, 2022).

## **9. What is political about running away?**

Grégoire Chamayou, *Manhunts: a philosophical history* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Peter T. Leeson, 'An-arrgh-chy: the law and economics of pirate organization', *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 115, no. 6 (2007), pp. 1049-94.

Yuko Miki, 'Fleeing into slavery: the insurgent geographies of Brazilian quilombolas (Maroons), 1880–1881', *The Americas*, vol. 68, no. 4 (2012), pp. 495-528.

## **10. 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).

Hans Joas, *The Power of the Sacred* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021).

## **11. How do migrants' journeys and economies shape one another? [Lent Term ONLY]**

Marthe Achtnich, 'Accumulation by immobilization: migration, mobility and money in Libya', *Economy and Society*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2022), pp. 95-115.

Lucia Pradella and Rossana Cillo, 'Bordering the surplus population across the Mediterranean: imperialism and unfree labour in Libya and the Italian countryside', *Geoforum*, vol. 126 (2021), pp. 483-94.

Wendy Vogt, 'Crossing Mexico: structural violence and the commodification of undocumented Central American migrants', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2013), pp. 764-80.

## **12. What makes a good constitution? [POL19 ONLY]**

Aalt Willem Heringa, *Constitutions Compared*, 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).

'Eighteen years of the world's best constitution' (2014)

<https://brandsouthafrica.com/94800/eighteen-years-of-the-world-s-best-constitution>.

Rankings, from the Comparative Constitutions Project

<https://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/ccp-rankings/>.

**13. Are peace negotiations best understood as an exercise in bargaining between belligerents? [Michaelmas Term ONLY]**

David Cunningham, 'Who should be at the table? Veto players and peace processes in civil war', *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2013, pp. 38-47.

Alex de Waal, 'Inclusion in peacemaking: from moral claim to political fact', in Pamela All and Chester Crocker, eds., *The Fabric of Peace in Africa: looking beyond the state* (Waterloo, ON: CIGI, 2017).

Paul Salem, 'A critique of Western conflict resolution from a non-Western perspective', *Negotiation Journal*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 361-9.

**14. What is the political relationship between love and war?**

Roxani Krystalli and Philipp Schulz, 'Taking love and care seriously: an emergent research agenda for remaking worlds in the wake of violence', *International Studies Review*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-25.

Holly Porter, 'Moving toward "home": love and relationships through war and displacement', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4 (2020), pp. 813-31.

Veronique Pin-Fat, 'What's love got to do with it? Ethics, emotions, and encounter in international relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2019) pp. 181–200.

**DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM AROUND THE WORLD**

**15. Is there a uniquely "Asian" alternative to western liberal democracy?**

Daniel Bell and Chenyang Li, *The East Asian Challenge for Democracy: Political Meritocracy in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Larry Diamond, 'The Coming Wave', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2012), pp. 5-13.

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. 133-153.

Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, Andrew J. Nathan and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *How East Asians View Democracy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008).

**16. Are referendums good for democracy?**

Julie Smith, ed., *The Palgrave Handbook on European Referendums* (Cham: Palgrave, 2021), esp. introduction and Section 1.

Richard Rose, *How Referendums Challenge European Democracy* (Cham: Palgrave, 2020).

Francis Cheneval and Monica Ferrin, 'Referendums in the European Union: defective by birth?' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 56, no. 5 (2018) pp. 1178-94.

**17. Are the broad swings to the left and the right in Latin American electoral politics since the late 1990s a simple matter of anti-incumbency voting or are there deeper political economy reasons for them? [Lent Term ONLY]**

Manuel Larrabure *et al.*, 'Roundtable: the Latin American state, pink tide, and future challenges', *Globalizations*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2023), pp. 115-31.

Kenneth Roberts, 'The inclusionary turn and its political limitations', in Diana Kapiszewski, Steven Levitsky, and Deborah J. Yashar, eds., *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 518-38.

Federico Rossi and Eduardo Silva, 'Introduction: reshaping the political arena in Latin America', in Eduardo Silva and Federico 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.

**18. 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).

Geoffrey Hosking, *Rulers and Victims: the Russians in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), introduction, chs 9-11.

Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: a cultural history of Russia* (London: Penguin, 2002), esp. introduction and chs 5-7.

**19. Do the political writings of Frederick Douglass teach us how to achieve racial justice in the United States today?**



Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855)  
<https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/202>.

Sharon Krause, 'Frederick Douglass: non-sovereign freedom and the plurality of political resistance', in Melvin Rogers and Jack Turner, eds., *African American Political Thought: A Collected History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2021), pp. 116-41.

Neil Roberts, *Freedom as Marronage* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), ch. 2.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLICY-MAKING

### 20. Is policy success a question of fact or a question of political debate?

Mallory Compton and Paul 't Hart, eds., *Great Policy Successes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

Ching Leong and Michael Howlett, 'Policy learning, policy failure, and the mitigation of policy risks: re-thinking the lessons of policy success and failure', *Administration and Society*, vol. 54, no. 7 (2022), pp. 1379-401.

Alan McConnell, 'Policy success and failure', in William R. Thompson, ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

### 21. Can policymakers foster democratic support for an ecologically sustainable form of capitalism through the reform of social protection?

Nikhar Gaikwad, Federica Genovese, and Dustin Tingley 'Creating climate coalitions: mass preferences for compensating vulnerability in the world's two largest democracies', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 116, no. 4 (2022), pp. 1165-83.

Max Koch, 'Social policy without growth: moving towards sustainable welfare states', *Social Policy and Society*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2022), pp. 447-59.

Daniel. Y. Kono, 'Compensating for the climate: unemployment insurance and climate change votes', *Political Studies*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2020), pp. 167-86.

### 22. What is the role of health in migration governance? **[Lent Term ONLY]**

Nicholas De Genova, 'Viral borders: migration, deceleration, and the re-bordering of mobility during the COVID-19 pandemic', *Communication, Culture and Critique*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2022), pp. 139-56.

Polly Pallister-Wilkins, 'Médecins Avec Frontières and the making of a humanitarian borderscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2018), pp. 114-38.

Maurice Stierl and Deanna Dadusc, 'The "Covid Excuse": EUropean border violence in the Mediterranean Sea', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 45, no. 8 (2022), pp. 1453-74.

## **VIOLENCE, PROTEST, RESISTANCE, AND REVOLUTION**

### **23. Is terrorism an effective way of trying to bring about change?**

Robert Pape, 'The strategic logic of suicide terrorism', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 3 (2003), pp. 343-61.

Max Abrahms, 'What terrorists really want: terrorist motives and counterterrorism strategies', *International Security*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2008), pp. 78-105.

Mia M. Bloom, 'Palestinian suicide bombing: public support, market share, and outbidding', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 119, no. 1 (2004), pp. 61-88.

### **24. Does performative activism do more harm than good?**

A Freya Thimson, 'What is performative activism?', *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, vol. 55, no. 1 (2022), pp. 83-9.

Tamara Shefer, 'Activist performance and performative activism towards intersectional gender and sexual justice in contemporary South Africa', *International Sociology*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2019), pp. 418-34.

Thomas R. Rochon, 'The acceptance of new cultural values', in Rochon, *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

### **25. What is a revolution?**

John Dunn, *Modern Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolutions: a very short introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: a comparative analysis of France, Russia and China*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

### **26. Are ordinary people to be blamed for the resilience of authoritarian rule in their countries?**

Barbara Geddes and John Zaller, 'Sources of popular support for authoritarian regimes', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1989), pp. 319-47.

Sebastian Hellmeier and Nils B. Weidmann, 'Pulling the strings? the strategic use of pro-government mobilization in authoritarian regimes', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1 (2020), pp. 71-108.

Anne Price, Lindsey Person, and Katharine Meyer, 'Change in willingness to participate in political action in the Middle East', *The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology*, vol 11, no. 1 (2019).

## **27. What is the relationship between policing, race, and political order?**

Samira Bueno and Graham Denyer Willis, 'The exceptional prison', *Public Culture*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2019), pp. 645-63.

Didier Fassin, *Enforcing Order: an ethnography of urban policing* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013).

Jonny Steinberg, 'Policing, state power, and the transition from apartheid to democracy: a new perspective', *African Affairs*, vol. 133, no. 451 (2014), pp. 173-91.

## **28. Why did the 2010-2011 Arab uprisings fail?**

Jamie Allinson, *The Age of Counter-Revolution: states and revolutions in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

Perry Cammack *et al.*, *Arab Fractures: citizens, states, and social contracts* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017).

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.

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.

## **29. Do crises challenge or strengthen the Chinese Communist Party's legitimation?**

Patricia M. Thornton, 'Crisis and governance: SARS and the resilience of the Chinese body politics', *The China Journal*, no. 61 (January 2009), pp. 23-48.

Dylan M.H. Loh and Beverley Loke, 'COVID-19 and the international politics of blame: assessing China's crisis (mis)management practices', *The China Quarterly* (2023), pp. 1-17.

Christian Sorace, *Shaken Authority: China's Communist Party and the 2008 Sichuan earthquake* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

## BRITISH POLITICS

### 30. Is the Westminster system of government broken in the UK?

[CHOOSE EITHER THIS QUESTION...]

Gianfranco Baldini, Edoardo Bressanelli, and Emanuele Massetti, 'Back to the Westminster model? the Brexit process and the UK political system', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2022), pp. 329-44.

Dennis Grube and Cosmo Howard, 'Is the Westminster system broken beyond repair?', *Governance*, vol. 29, no. 4 (2016), pp. 467-81.

Philip Norton, 'Is the Westminster system of government alive and well?', *Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-24.

Meg Russell and Ruxandra Serban, 'The muddle of the "Westminster model": a concept stretched beyond repair', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 56 (2021), pp. 744-64.

[OR THIS ONE]

### 31. How would the introduction of proportional representation for Westminster elections change British politics?

Giovanni Sartori, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering* (London: Macmillan, 1994), Part I.

Fiona Barker and Elizabeth McLeay, 'How much change? An analysis of the initial impact of PR on the New Zealand parliamentary party system', *Party Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2000), pp. 131-54.

Patrick Dunleavy, 'Facing up to multi-party politics: How partisan dealignment and PR voting have fundamentally changed Britain's party systems', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 3 (2005), pp. 503-32.

Alan Renwick, 'How likely is proportional representation in the House of Commons? Lessons from international experience', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 44, no. 4 (2009), pp. 366-84.

Holger Döring and Philip Manow, 'Is proportional representation more favourable to the Left? Electoral rules and their impact on elections, parliaments and the formation of Cabinets', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2017), pp. 149-64.

### 32. Which of the three devolved areas will leave the UK first? [Michaelmas Term ONLY]

Jim Bulpitt, *Territory and Power in the United Kingdom* (London: ECPR Press, 2008).

Michael Kenny, *The Politics of English Nationhood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Daniel Wincott, C. Murray, and Gregory Davies, 'The Anglo-British Imaginary and the rebuilding of the territorial constitution after Brexit - unitary state or union state?' *Territory, Politics, Governance* (May 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2021.1921613>.

### **33. Does the British state have a coherent strategy for restoring stable governance in Northern Ireland?**

Katy Hayward and Milena Komarova, 'The Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland: past, present, and future precariousness', *Global Policy* (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13079>

Christopher McCrudden, ed., *The Law and Practice of the Ireland-Northern Ireland Protocol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

Lisa Claire Whitten, 'Constitutional Change in Northern Ireland', Institute for Government-Bennett Institute for Public Policy Review of the Constitution Guest Paper, <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/review-constitution-northern-ireland>.

### **34. Why has House of Lords reform proved to be such an intractable issue in British politics?**

[EITHER]

Meg Russell, *Reforming the House of Lords; lessons from overseas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Philip Norton, *Reform of the House of Lords* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

Meg Russell, *House of Lords Reform; navigating the obstacles* (2022) <https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/House-of-Lords-reform-navigating-the-obstacles.pdf>.

[OR]

### **35. Has the time come to abolish the House of Lords?**

Meg Russell, *House of Lords Reform; navigating the obstacles* (2022) <https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/House-of-Lords-reform-navigating-the-obstacles.pdf>.

Robert Saunders, 'Should the House of Lords be reformed or abolished?' (London: Mile End Institute, QMUL, 2020), <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/mei/news-and-opinion/items/should-the-house-of-lords-be-reformed-or-abolished-dr-robert-saunders.html>.

*A New Britain: Renewing our Democracy and Rebuilding our Economy: Report of the Commission on the UK's Future*, 2022, <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Commission-on-the-UKs-Future.pdf>, esp. chs 10 and 11.

**36. Did Brexit mean the end of Britain's great power aspirations? [Michaelmas Term ONLY]**

Peter Foster, *Facing Facts. Is British power diminishing? Project for the study of the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (CreateSpace, 2015).

Justin Morris, 'How great is Britain? Power responsibility and Britain's future global role', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2011), pp. 326-47.

Penny Mordaunt and Chris Lewis, *Greater. Britain after the storm* (London: Biteback, 2021).

**POLITICS IN EUROPE**

**37. What were the contingencies of the UK's exit from the European Union?**

Helen Thompson, 'Inevitability and contingency: the political economy of Brexit,' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2017): pp. 434-49.

Ivan Rogers, 'Where did Brexit come from and where is it going to take the UK?' [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/sites/european-institute/files/sir\\_ivan\\_rogers\\_lecture\\_ucl\\_22012019.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/european-institute/sites/european-institute/files/sir_ivan_rogers_lecture_ucl_22012019.pdf)

Colin Hay 'Brexistential angst and the paradoxes of populism: on the contingency, predictability, and intelligibility of seismic shifts', *Political Studies*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2020): pp 187-206.

**38. Why does the European Union do so little about democratic backsliding in Poland and Hungary?**

R. Daniel Kelemen, 'The European Union's authoritarian equilibrium,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2020), pp. 481-99.

Carlos Closa, 'Institutional logics and the EU's limited sanctioning capacity under Article 7 TEU,' *International Political Science Review*, vol. 42, no. 4 (2021), pp. 501-15.

Cassandra Emmons and Tommaso Pavone, 'The rhetoric of inaction: failing to fail forward in the EU's rule of law crisis,' *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 28, no. 10 (2021), pp. 1611-1629.

**39. What role do Central and Eastern Europe play in international relations?**

Merje Kuus, 'Europe's eastern expansion and the reinscription of otherness in East-Central Europe,' *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 28, no. 4 (2004), pp. 472-489.

Alexandra Gheciu, 'Security institutions as agents of socialization? NATO and the "New Europe"', *International Organization*, vol. 59, no. 4 (2005), pp. 973–1012.

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#### **40. Is the European Union better understood as an imperial or post-imperial project?**

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Friedrich Hayek, 'Postscript: why I am not a conservative', in *The Constitution of Liberty*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006 [1960]), pp. 343-55.

Albert O. Hirschman, *The Rhetoric of Reaction: perversity, futility, jeopardy*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Michael Oakeshott, 'On being conservative', in *Rationalism in Politics and other essays*, 2nd ed., Tim Fuller, ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1991 [1962]), pp. 407-37.

### **86. How does 'Transnational Business Feminism' fit within Feminism's 'Second Wave'?**

Adrienne Roberts, 'The political economy of "transnational business feminism"', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2015), pp. 209-31.

Kathryn Moeller, *The Gender Effect: capitalism, feminism and the corporate politics of development* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018).

Hester Eisenstein, 'Hegemonic feminism, neoliberalism and Womenomics: "empowerment" instead of liberation?', *New Formations*, vol. 91 (2017), pp. 35-49.

Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: gender hierarchies in development thought* (London: Verso, 1995).

### **87. What challenges does Islam pose to the project of comparative political theory?**

**[Michaelmas Term ONLY]**

Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: a global intellectual history* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, March 2017).

Muad Idris, 'Political theory and the politics of comparison', *Political Theory* (2016), [t](https://doi.org/10.1177/009059171665)  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/009059171665>.

Leigh K. Jenco, Murad Idris, and Megan C. Thomas, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), introduction and one chapter.

## **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.

## 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](http://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. Diethe. 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](http://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](http://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.

### ***AI Generated Content***

In view of the emergence of AI tools such as chat GPT which are able to generate essay-like content, it is important to stress a number of points:

1) The use of AI-generated text in any assessed work including exams constitutes an instance of academic misconduct analogous to plagiarism, and would lead to same procedures and penalties outlined here

<https://www.plagiarism.admin.cam.ac.uk/>

2) Under current exam regulations, examiners are entitled to 'summon a particular candidate or particular candidates for interview on any aspect of the written work examined which in the opinion of the Examiners requires elucidation'. The examiners will use this power to interview any candidate whose work they have reason to suspect may have been generated in part or whole by using AI.

3) Last but not least, AI-generated text provides an extremely poor analogue for human-produced work, particularly in disciplines such as those represented on the HSPS Tripos, in which analytical skill, structural clarity, and originality are important qualities. Put simply, essays which use chat GPT will be extremely poor essays.

### ***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.