

POLITICS and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Part II, 2024-25

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

Course Organiser

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Contents

<u>Lecture, selection dates, deadlines</u>	2
<u>The questions</u>	3
<u>Supervisions</u>	24
<u>Writing and researching the essay</u>	24
<u>Presentation, length, layout, references and bibliographies</u>	25
<u>References and bibliographies</u>	26
<u>Plagiarism and unfair practice</u>	29
<u>Marking criteria</u>	33

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 27th January 2025**. The second essay is started in Lent term and has to be submitted by **noon on Tuesday 6th May 2025**.

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

Updated: November 26, 2024

paper to extend your work for another paper or prepare the ground for further studies (while avoiding the re-use of materials in a way that constitutes self-plagiarism).

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 **10th October 2024 at 4pm** in rooms SG1/SG2 of the Alison Richard Building. This presentation will outline approaches to research, reading, and writing for the Long Essay, and offer opportunities to ask questions about the paper.

You will be asked for your essay choices: a first choice, and a second (reserve) choice. These choices will need to be received *at the latest* by **noon on Friday 11th October 2024** for the Michaelmas Term essay and on **Friday 6th December 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 by the deadline**. We will then in touch with you directly to notify you of your supervisor at the start of Michaelmas and Lent. 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 27th January 2025**. The deadline for your second essay is **noon on Tuesday 6th May 2025**. 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

Updated: November 26, 2024

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

1. What are the consequences of national decline?

Barnhart, Joslyn. *The Consequences of Humiliation: Anger and Status in World Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Ballard Rosa, Cameron, Amalie Jensen, and Kenneth Scheve. "Economic Decline, Social Identity, and Authoritarian Values in the United States," *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2022).

MacDonald, Paul and Joseph Parent. *Twilight of the Titans: Great Power Decline and Retrenchment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018.

Ward, Steven. "Decline and Disintegration: National Status Loss and Domestic Conflict in Post-Disaster Spain," *International Security* 46, no. 4 (2022): 91-129.

2. Is poetry a fundamental part of politics?

Plato, *Republic*, translated by C.D.C. Reeve (Hackett Publishing, 2004), pp. 66-102. Anahid Nersessian, *The Calamity Form: On Poetry and Social Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

Alain Badiou, *The Age of the Poets: And Other Writings on Twentieth-Century Poetry and Prose* (London, Verso, 2014).

Audrey Lorde, "Poetry is not a Luxury":

<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/first/en122/lecturelist2019-20/lorde-poetry-is-not-a-luxury.pdf>

3. How are dead bodies political?

Updated: November 26, 2024

Denyer Willis, G. (2018). The Potter's Field. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 60(3), 539-568.

Stepputat, F, ed. (2014). *Governing the Dead: Sovereignty and the Politics of Dead Bodies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Verdery, K. (1999). *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and postsocialist change*. New York: Columbia University Press.

4. Why colonise the Muslim family?

Leila Ahmed. 1992. *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Also: read 2021 'Foreword' by Kecia Ali.

Surkis, Judith. *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty in French Algeria, 1830-1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2013.

Shehabuddin, Elora. *Sisters in the Mirror: a History of Muslim Women and the Global Politics of Feminism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021.

5. How does memory shape political identity?

Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Paul Connerton, *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

G. Feindt, F.Krawatzek, D. Mehler, F. Pestel, R.Trimçev, 'Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies, *History and Theory*, 53 (2014), 24-44.

Jeffrey Olick, *The Politics of Regret* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

6. How might meditation effect political change?

Braun, Erik. *The Birth of Insight: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Jordt, Ingrid. *Burma's Mass Lay Meditation Movement: Buddhism and the Cultural Construction of Power*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007.

Bristow, Jamie. "Mindfulness in Politics and Public Policy." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 28 (2019): 87-91

7. What are the political consequences of the fact that people rarely speak truth to power?

Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

Kuran, Timur. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Hirschman, Albert O. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

8. What does conspiratorial thinking uniquely explain about contemporary democratic life?

Fassin, Didier. "Of Plots and Men: The Heuristics of Conspiracy Theories." *Current Anthropology* 62, no. 2 (2021): 128-137.

Masco, Joseph and Wedeen, Lisa. "Introduction: Conspiracy/Theory." In *Conspiracy/Theory*, edited by Masco and Wedeen, 1-36. Durham: Duke University Press, 2024.

Anonymous, *Conspiracist Manifesto*. Translated by Robert Hurley. South Pasadena: semiotext(e), 2022.

9. 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/>

10. Why is food security a political question?

Tomlinson, Isobel. "Doubling food production to feed the 9 billion: a critical perspective on a key discourse of food security in the UK." *Journal of rural studies* 29 (2013): 81-90.

McMichael, Philip, and Mindi Schneider. "Food security politics and the Millennium Development Goals." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2011): 119-139.

Lang, Tim, and David Barling. "Food security and food sustainability: reformulating the debate." *The geographical journal* 178, no. 4 (2012): 313-326.

11. Can AI address democracy's shortcomings?

Runciman, David. *The Handover: How We Gave Control of Our Lives to Corporations, States and AIs*. Profile Books, 2023.

Suleyman, Mustafa. *The Coming Wave*. Bodley Head Press, 2023.

Innerarity, Daniel. *Artificial Intelligence and Democracy*. UNESCO, 2024.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000389736>

12. Is polarisation undermining democracy?

Arbatli, Ekim and Dina Rosenberg. 2021. "United we Stand, Divided we Rule: How Political Polarization Erodes Democracy." *Democratization* 28 (2): 285-307.

Boxell, Levi, Matthew Gentzkow, and Jesse M. Shapiro. 2024. "Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 106 (2): 1–60.

Kingzette, Jon, James N. Druckman, Yanna Krupnikov, Samara Klar, Matthew Levendusky, and John B. Ryan. 2021. "How Affective Polarization Undermines Support for Democratic Norms." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 85 (2): 663–677.

Clayton, Katherine, Nicholas T. Davis, Brendan Nyhan, Ethan Porter, Timothy J. Ryan, and Thomas J. Wood. 2021. "Elite Rhetoric Can Undermine Democratic Norms." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118 (23): e2024125118.

13. Do differences of meaning and contextual understanding undermine the possibility of quantitative comparative political research?

Kirsch, Helen, and Christian Welzel. "Democracy Misunderstood: Authoritarian Notions of Democracy Around the Globe." *Social Forces*, 98.1 (2019) 59-92.

Bauer, Paul C., Pablo Barberá, Kathrin Ackermann, and Aaron Venetz. "Is the Left-right

Updated: November 26, 2024

Scale a Valid Measure of Ideology? Individual-level Variation in Associations With “Left” and “Right” and Left-right Self-placement." *Political Behavior* 39 (2017): 553-583.

King, Gary, Christopher J. L. Murray, Joshua A. Salomon, and Ajay Tandon. “Enhancing the Validity and Cross-cultural Comparability of Measurement in Survey Research.” *American Political Science Review* 98.1 (2004): 191–205. <http://gking.harvard.edu/files/abs/vign-abs.shtml>.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

14. How has resource extraction shaped modern politics?

Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. London: Verso Books, 2011.

Klinger, Julia. *Rare Earth Frontiers: From Terrestrial Soils to Lunar Landscapes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Charbonnier, Pierre. *Affluence and Freedom: An Environmental History of Political Ideas*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2021.

15. What does homeownership explain about modern politics?

Ansell, Ben W. ‘The Politics of Housing.’ *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 165-185.

Beckmann, Paul. ‘An asymmetric partisanship effect: House price fluctuations and party positions.’ *European Journal of Political Research* 59 (2020): 424-443.

Schwartz, Herman. "Housing, Global Finance, and American Hegemony: Building Conservative Politics One Brick at a Time." *Comparative European Politics* 6 (2008): 262-284.

16. What does comparing individual states tell us about American Political Economy?

Hacker, Jacob S., Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Paul Pierson, and Kathleen Ann Thelen. "The American Political Economy: A Framework and Agenda for Research." In *The American Political Economy: Politics, Markets, and Power*, edited by Jacob S. Hacker, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Paul Pierson and Kathleen Ann Thelen, 1-49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Updated: November 26, 2024

Fosler, R. Scott. "Conclusion." In *The New Economic Role of American States : Strategies in a Competitive World Economy*, edited by R. Scott Fosler, 311-29. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Jenkins, J. Craig, Kevin T Leicht, and Heather Wendt. 2006. "Class Forces, Political Institutions, and State Intervention: Subnational Economic Development Policy in the United States, 1971–1990." *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (2006):1122-1180.

[CHOOSE EITHER THIS ONE...]

17. Is neoliberalism relevant to understand the 21st century world economy?

Blakeley, Grace. *Vulture Capitalism: Corporate Crimes, Backdoor Bailouts and the Death of Freedom*. London: Bloomsbury, 2024.

Fine, Ben. and Saad-Filho, Alfredo. "Thirteen things you need to know about neoliberalism." *Critical Sociology* 43, no 4-5 (2017): 685-706.

Slobodian, Quinn. *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.

[OR THIS ONE...]

18. To what extent are shifting patterns of global inequality since the 1980s a product of neoliberalism?

Chancel, Lucas, and Thomas Piketty. "Global Income Inequality, 1820–2020: The Persistence and Mutation of Extreme Inequality." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19, no. 6 (2021): 3025-62.

Milanovic, Branko. *Capitalism, Alone: The Future of the System That Rules the World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. Chapters 4 and 5.

Robinson, William I. "Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century: Global Inequality, Piketty, and the Transnational Capitalist Class." In *Twenty-First Century Inequality & Capitalism: Piketty, Marx and Beyond*, edited by Lauren Langman and David A. Smith, 238-54. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

19. What role do centre-periphery dynamics play in the polycrisis, if there is one?

Helleiner, Eric. "Economic Globalization's Polycrisis." *International Studies Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2024): 1-9.

Updated: November 26, 2024

Lawrence, Michael, Thomas Homer-Dixon, Scott Janzwood, Johan Rockström, Ortwin Renn, and Jonathan F. Donges. "Global Polycrisis: The Causal Mechanisms of Crisis Entanglement." *Global Sustainability* 7, no. e6 (2024): 1-16.

Tooze, Adam. *Shutdown: How Covid Shook the World's Economy*. London: Allen Lane, 2021. Introduction and chapter 14.

20. To what extent is “economic credibility” manufactured?

Best, Jacqueline. “The Inflation Game: Targets, Practices and the Social Production of Monetary Credibility.” *New Political Economy* 24, no. 5 (2019): 623–40.

Clift, Ben. *The Office for Budget Responsibility and the Politics of Technocratic Economic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023.

Fourcade, Marion. “State Metrology: The Rating of Sovereigns and the Judgment of Nations.” In *The Many Hands of the State*, edited by K Morgan and A Orloff, 103–28. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Sinclair, Timothy. “Deficit Discourse: The Social Construction of Fiscal Rectitude.” In *Globalization and Its Critics*, edited by Randall Germain, 185–203. London: Palgrave, 2000.

Zayim, Ayca. “Inside the Black Box: Credibility and the Situational Power of Central Banks.” *Socio-Economic Review* 20, no. 2 (2022): 759–89.

21. What role do material infrastructures play in the making of and resistance to state power?

Simón Uribe. ‘Illegible infrastructures: Road building and the making of state-spaces in the Colombian Amazon’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 37, no. 5 (2019), pp. 886-904.

Jessica Barnes. ‘States of maintenance: power, politics, and Egypt’s irrigation infrastructure’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 35, no.1 (2017), pp. 146-164.

Silvia Otero-Bahamon, Simón Uribe, and Isabel Peñaranda-Currie. ‘Seeing like a Guerrilla: the logic of infrastructure in the building of insurgent orders’, *Geoforum*, vol. 133 (2022), pp. 198-207.

Muna Dajani and Michael Mason. ‘Counter-infrastructure as resistance in the hydrosocial territory of the occupied Golan Heights’, In *Water, Technology and the Nation-state*, [Filippo Menga](#) and [Erik Swyngedouw](#), eds. (London, New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 131-146.

22. What does the United States' Inflation Reduction Act reveal about the state's role in the political economy of energy transition?

Gabor, D., & Braun, B. (2023). Green macrofinancial regimes. Retrieved from osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/4pkv8.

Block, F. (2008). Swimming against the current: The rise of a hidden developmental state in the United States. *Politics & society*, 36(2), 169-206.

Paterson, M. (2016). Political Economy of the Greening of the State. *The Oxford handbook of environmental political theory*, 475-490.

Bistline, J. E., Mehrotra, N. R., & Wolfram, C. (2023). Economic implications of the climate provisions of the inflation reduction act. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2023(1), 77-182.

Bistline, J., Blanford, G., Brown, M., Burtraw, D., Domeshek, M., Farbes, J., ... & Zhao, A. (2023). Emissions and energy impacts of the Inflation Reduction Act. *Science*, 380(6652), 1324-1327.

Bigger, P., Bozuwa, J., Cha, M., Cohen, D. A., Fleming, B., Freemark, Y., ... & Riofrancos, T. (2022). Inflation Reduction Act: The Good, The Bad, The Ugly. *The Climate and Community Project*. <https://www.climateandcommunity.org/inflation-reduction-act>

23. What is the current role of China in the global food regime?

McMichael, Philip. "A food regime genealogy." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 139-169.

McMichael, Philip. "Does China's 'going out' strategy prefigure a new food regime?." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 47, no. 1 (2020): 116-154.

Wesz Jr, Valdemar João, Fabiano Escher, and Tomaz Mefano Fares. "Why and how is China reordering the food regime? The Brazil-China soy-meat complex and COFCO's global strategy in the Southern Cone." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 50, no. 4 (2023): 1376-1404.

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

24. Is American politics oligarchic rather than democratic?

Winters, Jeffrey. *Oligarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Thompson, Helen. *Disorder: Hard Times in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023, ch.9.

Updated: November 26, 2024

Neill, Jeremy. "Aristotle and American Oligarchy: A Study in Political Influence". In *On Oligarchy: Ancient Lessons for Global Politics*, edited by David Tabachnick and Toivo Koivukosi, 24-46. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

25. How important is the role of prime ministerial rhetoric in countries with the Westminster system of government?

Toye, Richard. "The Rhetorical Premiership: A New Perspective on Prime Ministerial Power Since 1945." *Parliamentary History* 30, no. 2 (2011): 175-192.

Masters, Adam and 't Hart, Paul. "Prime Ministerial Rhetoric and Recession Politics: Meaning Making in Economic Crisis Management." *Public Administration* 90, no. 3 (2012): 759-780.

Grube, Dennis C. *Prime Ministers and Rhetorical Governance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Ch 1.

Strangio, Paul, 't Hart, Paul, and Walter, James. "Prime Ministers and the Performance of Public Leadership." In *Understanding Prime-Ministerial Performance: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Paul Strangio, Paul 't Hart, P. and James Walter, 1-31. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

26. Does the United Kingdom still matter in Europe?

Jermalavičius, Tomas, and Alice Billon-Galland, *British Power in Baltic Weather. The UK's Role in Nordic-Baltic Security and UK-Estonia Defence Cooperation*. London, Chatham House, 2023.

Oliver, Tim. "Never mind the Brexit? Britain, Europe, the world and Brexit". *International Politics*, 54, no. 4 (2017): 1-14.

Oppermann, Kai, Ryan Beasley and Juliet Kaarbo. "British foreign policy after Brexit. Losing Europe and finding a role". *International Relations*, 34, no. 2 (2019): 133-156.

27. What makes an effective leader of the opposition?

Helms, Ludger. "Five ways of institutionalizing political opposition: Lessons from the advanced democracies." *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 1 (2004): 22-54.

Bale, Tim. "If opposition is an art, is Ed Miliband an artist? A framework for evaluating leaders of the opposition." *Parliamentary Affairs* 68, no. 1 (2015): 58-76.

Updated: November 26, 2024

Heppell, Timothy. *Leaders of the Opposition from Churchill to Cameron*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Dingler, Sarah C., et al. "Women opposition leaders: Conceptual issues and empirical agendas." *Politics and Governance* 11, no. 1 (2023): 80-84.

28. Why do the electoral consequences of austerity seem to vary so widely?

Hübscher, Evelyne, Sattler, Thomas, and Wagner, Markus. "Voter responses to fiscal austerity." *British Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (2021): 1751-1760.

Haffert, Lukas. "Permanent budget surpluses as a fiscal regime." *Socio-Economic Review* 17, no. 4 (2019): 1043-1063.

Bartels, Larry, and Bermeo, Nancy, eds. *Mass Politics in Tough Times: Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hood, Christopher, and Rozana Himaz. *A Century of Fiscal Squeeze Politics. 100 Years of Austerity, Politics, and Bureaucracy in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

29. Is the internet more a tool for liberation or control in Muslim states?

Barendregt B.A. & Schneider F.A. (2020), "Digital Activism in Asia: Good, Bad, and Banal Politics Online," *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 7(1-2): 5-19.

Noble, Safiya, *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*. New York University Press. 2018.

Shires, James. *The Politics of Cybersecurity in the Middle East*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

VIOLENCE, WAR, PROTEST

30. Can there be politics without violence?

Lawrence, B. and Karim, A., *Violence. A Reader*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, 62-100; 110-142; 199-214; 334-50; 377-90; 416-471.

Hannah Arendt, *On violence*. Harvest Books, 1962.

John Keane, *Reflections on Violence*. Verso. 1996.

31. Why has the war in Ukraine lasted so long?

Updated: November 26, 2024

Atkinson, Douglas. "The Issues are the Issue: Intangible Salience and War Duration," *International Interactions*. 47, no. 6 (2021): 1016-1039.

Goemans, Hein. *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination & the First World War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Ramsay, Kristopher. "Settling It on the Field: Battlefield Events and War Termination," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 6 (2008): 850-879.

32. What kind(s) of expertise are helpful in peace negotiations?

Sapiano, Jenna et al. "I Wouldn't Want to be a Gender Expert: Gender Experts in Peace Mediation" *International Negotiation* 28 (2023): 201-228.

Bilgin, Pinar. "Worlding Conflict Resolution and Mediation Expertise in the Global South", In Anna Leander and Ole Waever (eds), *Assembling Exclusive Expertise: Knowledge, Ignorance and Conflict Resolution in the Global South*. Routledge 2018.

Williams, Paul R. 'Lawyering Peace: Infusing Accountability into the Peace Negotiations Process' *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 52, 491 (2020).

33. Are assassinations defensible? (POL19 ONLY)

Jones, Benjamin F., and Benjamin A. Olken. 2009. "Hit or Miss? The Effect of Assassinations on Institutions and War." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 1 (2): 55-87.

Schilling, Warner R., and Jonathan L. Schilling. "Decision Making in Using Assassinations in International Relations." *Political Science Quarterly* 131, no. 3 (2016): 503-39.

Yammarino, Francis J., et al. « Assassination and leadership: Traditional approaches and historiometric methods" *The Leadership Quarterly* 24, no. 6 (2013): 822-841.

BRITISH POLITICS

34. Is it credible to think that forms of citizen engagement, such as citizen assemblies, are an effective way of addressing the challenge of low political trust in the UK?

Mair, Peter. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso, 2013, Introduction and Chapter One

Updated: November 26, 2024

Boulianne, Shelley. "Building Faith in Democracy: Deliberative Events, Political Trust and Efficacy." *Political Studies* 67, no. 1 (2019): 4-30
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321718761466>

Lafont, Cristina. "Deliberation, Participation, and Democratic Legitimacy: Should Deliberative Mini-Publics Shape Public Policy?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 23, no. 1, (2015): 40-63 <https://doi.org/10.1111/jopp.12031>.

Beauvais, Edana, and Mark E. Warren. "What Can Deliberative Mini-Publics Contribute to Democratic Systems?" *European Journal of Political Research* 58, no. 3 (2019): 893-914
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12303>.

35. What were the main consequences and legacies of the 2014 independence referendum for Scottish politics?

Kenny, Michael. *Fractured Union: Politics, Sovereignty and the Fight to Save the UK*. London: Hurst, 2024, Chapter Two

McHarg, Aileen, et al. *The Scottish Independence Referendum: Constitutional and Political Implications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, Introduction and Chapter Two

Fieldhouse, Edward, and Christopher Prosser. "The Limits of Partisan Loyalty: How the Scottish Independence Referendum Cost Labour." *Electoral Studies* 52 (2018): 11-25
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.01.002>.

Martin, Ciaran. "The Union and the State: Contested Visions of the UK's Future." Institute for Government and Bennett Institute for Public Policy, 2024.
<https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/publications/contested-visions-of-the-uks-future/>

36. Can the British prime minister still be described as 'first among equals'?

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

Heffernan, Richard and Webb, Paul. "The British Prime Minister: Much More Than First Among Equals." In *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*, edited by Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb, 26-62. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Weller, Patrick. *The Prime Ministers' Craft: Why Some Succeed and Others Fail in Westminster Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Ch 1.

37. What, if any, has been the role of fiscal policy rules in the UK since 1997?

Updated: November 26, 2024

Burnham, Peter. "New Labour and the Politics of Depoliticisation." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 3, no. 2 (2001): 127–49.

Clift, Ben. *The Office for Budget Responsibility and the Politics of Technocratic Economic Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023.

Tomlinson, Jim. *Managing the Economy, Managing the People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, ch 5.

Sloman, Peter. "'Where's the Money Coming From?' Manifesto Costings and the Politics of Fiscal Credibility in UK General Elections, 1955–2019." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2021): 355–73.

MIGRATION

38. How do different actors extract value from migrants' lives?

Achtnich, Marthe. *Mobility Economies in Europe's Borderlands: Migrants' Journeys through Libya and the Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Andersson, Ruben. "Profits and Predation in the Human Bioeconomy." *Public Culture* 30, no. 3 (2018): 413-439.

Martin, Lauren L. and Tazzioli, Martina 2023. "Value Extraction through Refugee Carcerality: Data, Labour and Financialised Accommodation." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 41, no. 2 (2023): 191-209.

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND HISTORY

40. When and how did an international order emerge?

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATION

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Updated: November 26, 2024

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[CHOOSE EITHER...]

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Updated: November 26, 2024

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CONCEPTS, THEORIES, THEORISTS

67. Is 'the state' a sufficient concept for understanding policing?

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Updated: November 26, 2024

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71. What can the archetype of Cassandra teach us about the failure of truth-telling to inspire political action?

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Patricia J. Williams, “The Brass Ring and the Deep Blue Sea” and “On Being the Object of Property.” In *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*, 3-14; 217-236. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Supervisions

The paper is 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.

Updated: November 26, 2024

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

Updated: November 26, 2024

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.

*Note: There are several standardised referencing systems (Chicago, Harvard, etc.) To look them up, simply quickly search for them online. You may use any one of them, as long as you use only **one system throughout the essay, consistently.***

You may use the following style as well:

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.

Updated: November 26, 2024

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)

Updated: November 26, 2024

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.

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, or reusing material of your own that you have previously submitted for assessment. 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, four different forms of plagiarism are explained. Most students will be aware that the first two are wrong. The third and fourth forms still generate confusion, and therefore it is important to read what follows, 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

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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.

4. Self-plagiarism

Reusing material (even partially) from work of your own that you have previously submitted for assessment counts as plagiarism and is taken as a serious infraction of the code of academic conduct. Turnitin (mentioned below) can easily detect self-plagiarism because all previously submitted and assessed student work forms part of the software's data corpus.

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 Senior Examiner, who will follow the University's guidance as to how to handle such cases: <https://www.studentcomplaints.admin.cam.ac.uk/student-discipline>

All cases of suspected plagiarism will be investigated thoroughly, and may result in consequences ranging from point deductions, referrals to a Discipline Committee, to expulsion. Plagiarism investigations may also prevent the student from being classed at the same time as their peers, and (for third-year students) from participating in the Easter Term graduation.

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.