

## POLITICS and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, Part II, 2022-23

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

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#### Introduction

This paper consists of two Long Essays on topics chosen to pursue your particular interests in politics and international relations. The first essay is started in Michaelmas Term, and should be submitted by **noon** on **Monday 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2023**. The second essay is started in Lent term, and has to be submitted by **noon** on **Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2023**.

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

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

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

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

### Lecture, selection dates, deadlines

There is an introductory session at the start of Michaelmas Term where Dr Christopher Brooke will discuss how the paper is going to work this year and offer advice. This will be on Wednesday **5<sup>th</sup> October 2022 at 10am** in the Cockcroft Lecture Theatre on the New Museums Site. This presentation will outline approaches to research, reading, and writing for the Long Essay, and offer opportunities to ask questions about the paper.

At the start of both Michaelmas and Lent Terms, you will be asked for your essay choices: a first choice, and a reserve choice. These choices will need to be received by **noon** on Friday **7<sup>th</sup> October 2021** for the Michaelmas Term essay and **noon** on Wednesday **25<sup>th</sup> January 2022** 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. 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, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2023**. The deadline for your second essay is **noon** on **Tuesday, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2023**. (The deadline falls on a Tuesday in Lent Term in order to avoid the May Day Bank Holiday.) The deadline is firm, and work that is submitted after these deadlines will receive penalties. If you have good reason to require an extension (such as a serious health problem, or a major family emergency), you should contact your College as soon as possible; all applications go through the University's Examination Access and Mitigation Committee, which will require supporting evidence. There is more information about this here: <https://www.student-registry.admin.cam.ac.uk/about-us/EAMC>. Each essay should be submitted as a **pdf document**, along with a cover sheet that will be circulated to you by email. The essay and the cover sheet should be uploaded on Moodle. You will be enrolled in a Moodle course ('POL5 and POL19 essay submissions') and you upload it to that course by the deadline.

### The questions

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

## GENERAL POLITICAL SCIENCE

### 1. Is it fair to say that the realm of political studies is replete with bullshit?

G. A. Cohen, 'Complete bullshit' in *Finding Oneself in the Other* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 94-114.

Harry Frankfurt, *On Bullshit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Jon Elster, 'Hard and soft obscurantism in the humanities and social sciences', *Diogenes*, vol. 58, no. 1-2 (2011): pp. 159-70.

Dagobert D. Mantel, 'Owls and larks, knotters and simplifiers: the origins of modern political science', *European Political Science*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2002): pp. 36-42.

### 2. Is 'centrism' a meaningful political concept?

Brian Harrison, 'The centrist theme in modern British politics', in Brian Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

Peter Ribbins and Brian Sherratt, 'Centrism and the mandarin class: Understanding the meta-politics of Whitehall bureaucratic neutrality', *Public Policy and Administration*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2015), pp. 5-30.

Reuven Hazan, *Centre Parties: Polarization and Competition in European Parliamentary Democracies* (London: Pinter, 1997).

Robert Elgie, 'The election of Emmanuel Macron and the new French party system: a return to the *éternel marais*?', *Modern & Contemporary France*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2018), pp. 15-29.

### 3. What explains why citizens of Western societies are or are not more politically polarised than ever before?

Shanto Iyengar, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra, and Sean J. Westwood, 'The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 22, pp. 129-46. <https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.dartmouth.edu/dist/d/2314/files/2021/03/IyengarLelkesLevenduskyMalhotraWestwood2019.pdf>

Levi Boxell, Matthew Gentzkow, and Jesse M. Shapiro, 'Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 2022, pp. 1-60. <https://www.web.stanford.edu/~gentzkow/research/cross-polar.pdf>

Pew Research Centre, 'The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider' <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2017/10/05/the-partisan-divide-on-political-values-grows-even-wider/>

#### **4. Why has the rise in economic inequality since the 1980s not pushed voters to the left in the way we might have expected?**

Thomas Piketty, 'Brahmin left versus merchant right: Rising inequality and the changing structure of political conflict in France, the United States, and the United Kingdom, 1948-2020', in Amory Gethin *et al.* eds., *Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), pp. 85-135.

Jim Tomlinson, 'Distributional politics: The search for equality in Britain since the First World War', in Pat Hudson and Keith Tribe, eds., *The Contradictions of Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Agenda: 2016).

Lucy Barnes, 'The politics of domestic taxation', in *The Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Politics* (online, 2018 update) <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.613>.

Jane Green and Raluca L. Pahontu, 'Mind the gap: Why wealthy voters support Brexit', working paper (2021), available online at <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3764889>

#### **5. Why have western governments struggled to tackle regional inequalities in the last twenty years?**

Ed Glaeser, *Triumph of the City* (London: Pan, 2012).

Simona Iammarino, Andrés Rodríguez-Pose and Michael Storper, 'Regional inequality in Europe: evidence, theory and policy implications', *Journal of Economic Geography*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2019), pp. 273–298.

Ron Martin, Ben Gardiner, Andy Pike, Peter Sunley, and Peter Tyler, *Levelling Up Left-Behind Places: the scale and nature of the economic policy challenge* (London: Routledge, 2021).

Andres Rodriguez Pose, 'The revenge of the places that don't matter (and what to do about it)', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2017), pp. 189-209.

#### **6. Does education undermine the politics of redistribution?**

Amory Gethin, Clara Martínez-Toledano, and Thomas Piketty, 'Brahmin Left Versus Merchant Right: Changing Political Cleavages in 21 Western Democracies, 1948–2020', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 137, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1–48.

Margarita Gelepithis and Marco Giani, 'Inclusion without Solidarity: Education, Economic Security, and Attitudes toward Redistribution', *Political Studies*, vol. 70, no. 1, (2022) pp. 45-61.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

#### **7. Has the pandemic left the authoritarian nationalists firmly in charge?**

Florian Bieber, 'Global nationalism in times of the COVID-19 pandemic', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 50 (2022), pp. 13-25.

Yung-Yung Chang, 'The post-pandemic world: between constitutionalized and authoritarian orders', *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, vol. 26 (2021), pp. 27-65.

Steven Simon, 'Subtle connections: pandemic and the authoritarian impulse', *Survival*, vol. 62/3 (2020), pp.103-11.

### **8. Is migration an effective instrument of state coercion?**

Kelly Greenhill, 'When Migrants become Weapons: The Long History and Worrying Future of a Coercive Tactic', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 101, no. 2 (March-April 2022), pp. 155-64.

Gerasimos Tsourapas, 'Labour Migrants as Political Leverage: Migration Interdependence and Coercion in the Mediterranean', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 2 (June 2018), pp. 383-95.

Lev Marder, 'Refugees are not weapons', *International Studies Review*, vol. 20, no. 3 (December 2018), pp. 576-88.

### **9. 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).

Gregor Feindt, Félix Krawatzek, et al., 'Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, vol. 53, no. 1 (2014), pp. 24-44.

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

### **10. Does writing make states? [NB: MT ONLY]**

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

Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1951), pp. 33-60.

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

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

### **11. Are companies now more powerful than states?**

Azeem Azhar, *Exponential: How Accelerating Technology Is Leaving Us Behind and What to Do About It* (London: Random House, 2021).

Andrew Philips and Jason Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).

Adam Winkler, *We the Corporations: How American Businesses Won Their Rights* (New York, NY: Liveright, 2018).

Maha Rafi Atal, 'The Janus faces of Silicon Valley', *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 28 (2021), pp. 336-50.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLICYMAKING

### 12. Does the concept of collective responsibility in cabinet government encourage groupthink?

Juliet Kaarbo, 'Coalition cabinet decision-making: institutional and psychological factors', *International Studies Review*, vol. 10 (2008), pp. 57-86.

Sean Kippin and Robert Pyper, 'Collective ministerial responsibility in British Government: The testing of a convention 2010-2019', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 92, no. 3 (2021), pp. 522-30.

Paul 't Hart, 'Preventing groupthink revisited: evaluating and reforming groups in government', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, vol. 73, nos. 2/3 (1998), pp. 306-26.

Michelangelo Vercesi, 'Cabinets and decision-making processes: re-assessing the literature', *Journal of Comparative Politics*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2021), pp. 4-27.

### 13. Are 'blame games' an inevitable part of the politics of policymaking?

Markus Hinterleitner, *Policy Controversies and Political Blame Games* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Christopher Hood, *The Blame Game: Spin, Bureaucracy, and Self-Preservation in Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Minou de Ruiter and Sanneke Kuipers, 'Avoiding blame in policy crises in different institutional settings', *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, published online (2022)  
<https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1592>.

R. Kent Weaver, 'The politics of blame avoidance', *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1986), pp. 371-398.

### 14. Are interest groups detrimental to public policymaking?

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), esp. ch. 20.

Susanne Lohmann, 'Representative Government and Special Interest Politics (We Have Met the Enemy and He Is Us)', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2003) pp. 299-319.

Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), chs. 2 and 3.

### 15. Why do government officials release secret information to the public?

Rob Dover and Michael S. Goodman, eds., *Spinning Intelligence: Why Intelligence Needs the Media, Why the Media Needs Intelligence* (London: Hurst, 2009).

Huw Dylan and Thomas J. Maguire, 'Secret Intelligence and Public Diplomacy in the Ukraine War', *Survival*, vol. 64, no. 4 (2022), pp. 33-74.

David Pozen, 'The Leaky Leviathan: Why the Government Condemns and Condone Unlawful Disclosures of Information', *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 127, no. 2 (2013), pp. 512-635.

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

### **16. Are violent protests more effective than peaceful ones?**

Maria J. Stephan, M. and Erica Chenoweth, 'Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict', *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2008), pp. 7-44.

Ryan D. Enos *et al.* 'Can Violent Protest Change Local Policy Support? Evidence from the Aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles Riot', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 113, no. 4 (2019), pp. 1012-28.

Brent Simpson *et al.*, 'Does Violent Protest Backfire? Testing a Theory of Public Reactions to Activist Violence', *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, vol. 4 (2018)

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2378023118803189>.

### **17. Why do armed groups engage in violence against civilians?**

Stathis N. Kalyvas, 'Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria', *Rationality and Society*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1999), pp. 243-85.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Dara Kay Cohen, "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 107, no. 3 (2013), pp. 461-77.

### **18. Can there be politics without violence?**

Arendt, Hannah, *On Violence* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace, 1970).

John Keane, *Reflections on Violence* (London: Verso, 1996).

Bruce B. Lawrence and Aisha Karim, eds. *Violence. A Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 62-100, 110-42, 199-214, 334-50, 377-90, 416-71.

Heinrich Popitz, *Phenomena of Power: Authority, Domination, and Violence* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017).

### **19. Can everyday resistance bring about significant political change?**

James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), ch. 1.

Anna Johansson and Stellan Vinthagen, 'Dimensions of Everyday Resistance: An Analytical Framework', *Critical Sociology*, vol. 42, no. 3 (2016), pp. 417-35.

Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), chs. 1-2.

## 20. Can regime adaptation kill a revolution?

Jason Brownlee, *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Stephen Heydemann, *Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World, Analysis Paper, no. 13* (Washington, DC: The Saban Center for Middle East Policy and the Brookings Institution, 2007). Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/10arabworld.pdf>

Joshua Stacher, *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012).

Joshua Stacher, *Watermelon Democracy: Egypt's Turbulent Transition*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2020).

Milan W. Svobik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

## 21. How do international forces explain the widespread violence across the Middle East since the early 2000s?

Shadi Hamid, 'Syria, Egypt, and the Arab Spring: How U.S. Policy Failed the Middle East', *The Atlantic* (2015). Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/middle-east-egypt-us-policy/409537/>.

Wukki Kim and Todd Sandler, 'Middle East and North Africa: Terrorism and Conflicts', *Global Policy*, vol. 11 (2020), pp. 424-38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.12829>

Christopher Phillips, *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (London: Yale University Press, 2016).

## BRITISH POLITICS

### 22. Is Britain a great power today?

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 (2011), pp. 326-47.

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

### 23. Why has the UK government found it so difficult to 'get Brexit done'?

Michael Keating, 'Taking back control? Brexit and the territorial constitution of the United Kingdom', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 29, no. 4 (2022), pp. 491-509.

Leonard August Schuette, 'Forging Unity: European Commission Leadership in the Brexit Negotiations', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 59, no. 5 (2021), pp. 1142-59.

Benjamin Martell and Uta Staiger, 'Negotiating Brexit: The Cultural Sources of British Hard Bargaining', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 59, No. 2 (2021), pp. 261-77.



Filipa Figueira and Benjamin Martill, 'Bounded rationality and the Brexit negotiations: why Britain failed to understand the EU', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 28, no. 12 (2021), pp. 1871-89.

**24. Does British politics since 2016 illustrate the strengths or weaknesses of the UK's 'political constitution'?**

Mark Elliott, 'The UK constitution under pressure: A lost age of civility?', *Public Law for Everyone* (2020). <https://publiclawforeveryone.com/2020/11/23/the-uk-constitution-under-pressure-a-lost-age-of-civility/>.

Michael Gordon, 'Parliamentary Sovereignty and the Political Constitution(s): From Griffith to Brexit', *King's Law Journal*, vol 30, no. 1 (2019), pp. 125-47.

David Howarth, 'Westminster versus Whitehall: Two Incompatible Views of the Constitution', UKCLA blog, 2019, <https://ukconstitutionallaw.org/2019/04/10/david-howarth-westminster-versus-whitehall-two-incompatible-views-of-the-constitution/>.

Daniel Skeffington, *The Political Constitution: An Idea Worth Protecting?*, The Constitution Society (2022), <https://consoc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Daniel-Skeffington-The-Political-Constitution.pdf>.

**25. EITHER (a) How far is the politics of Englishness a source of instability for the territorial politics of the UK state? [NB: MT 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*, published online (May 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2021.1921613>.

**OR (b) Will the UK union make it to 2030?**

Kenneth A. Armstrong, *Brexit Time. Leaving the EU: why, how and when?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Gavin Esler, *How Britain Ends: English Nationalism and the Re-birth of Four Nations* (London: Head of Zeus, 2021).

Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain. Crisis and neo-nationalism*, new ed. (London: Verso, 2021).

**26. To what extent did Black Power groups in Britain share a common approach to politics?**

Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie, Suzanne Scafe, and Lola Okolosie, *Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain* (London: Verso, 2018), pp. 140-81.

Robin Bunce and Paul Field, 'Obi B. Egbuna, C. L. R. James and the birth of Black Power in Britain: Black radicalism in Britain, 1967-72', *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2010), pp. 391-414.

Natalie Thomlinson, *Race, Ethnicity and the Women's Movement in England, 1968-1993* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 64-98.

Anne-Marie Angelo, “‘Black oppressed people all over the world are one’”: the British Black Panthers’ grassroots internationalism, 1969-1973’, *Journal of Civil and Human Rights*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2018), pp. 64-97.

## **POLITICS IN EUROPE**

### **27. Is the European Union a neoliberal conspiracy?**

Friedrich A. Hayek, ‘The economic conditions of interstate federalism’, *New Commonwealth Quarterly*, V, no. 2 (September 1939), pp. 131-49 <https://fee.org/articles/the-economic-conditions-of-interstate-federalism/>.

Otmar Issing, ‘Hayek, Currency Competition and European Monetary Union’ (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2000)  
<http://www.iea.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/files/upldbook19pdf.pdf>.

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

Quinn Slobodian and Dieter Plehwe, ‘Neoliberals against Europe’, in *Mutant Neoliberalism: Market Rule and Political Rupture* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2019), pp. 89-111.

### **28. Does the Ukraine crisis mean that the EU’s long-standing reluctance to enlarge is over?**

European Commission, ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and the Council’, Brussels, 17<sup>th</sup> June 2022, COM (2022) 407 final. Available at: [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/opinion-ukraines-application-membership-european-union\\_en](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/opinion-ukraines-application-membership-european-union_en).

Jiffer Bourguignon, Maria Demertzis and Ekaterina Sprenger, ‘EU Enlargement: Expanding the Union and its Potential’, *Intereconomics: Review of European Economic Policy*, 2022, Vol. 57, No. 4, Available at : <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s10272-022-1063-4.pdf>

André Sapir, ‘Ukraine and the EU: Enlargement at a New Crossroads’, *Intereconomics: Review of European Economic Policy*, vol. 57, no. 4 (2022). Available at: <https://www.intereconomics.eu/contents/year/2022/number/4/article/ukraine-and-the-eu-enlargement-at-a-new-crossroads.html>.

Veronica Anghel and Erik Jones, ‘Failing forward in Eastern Enlargement: problem solving through problem making’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 29, no. 7 (2022), pp. 1092-111.

### **29. What impact did Angela Merkel’s time as Chancellor of Germany have on EITHER domestic German politics OR international affairs?**

Interview with Angela Merkel, ‘I don’t blame myself’, *Politico*, 7 June 2022

<https://www.politico.eu/article/merkel-defends-legacy-russia-ukraine-interview/>.

Petra Ahrens *et al.*, ‘Leading from Behind? Gender Equality in Germany during the Merkel Era’, *German Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-19.

## **UKRAINE, etc.**

**30. What does Russia's war against Ukraine reveal about the nature of the post-Cold War international order? [NB: MT ONLY]**

G. John Ikenberry, *A World Safe for Democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018).

Adam Tooze, 'War at the End of History,' *New Statesman*, 6<sup>th</sup> April 2022  
<https://www.newstatesman.com/ideas/2022/04/war-at-the-end-of-history>.

**31. Does the Russian Federation Invasion of Ukraine spell the end of the international legal rules on the use of force? Compare and contrast with the US-led invasion of Iraq of 2003.**

Ian Hurd, *How to Do Things with International Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).

Marc Weller, ed., *The Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Marc Weller, *Iraq and the Use of Force in International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

**32. Was the enlargement of NATO after the Cold War a mistake?**

John J. Mearsheimer, 'Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 93, no. 5 (September/October 2014).

Kimberly Marten, 'Reconsidering NATO Expansion: A Counterfactual Analysis of Russia and the West in the 1990s', *European Journal of International Security*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2018), pp. 135-61.

Sergey Radchenko, "'Nothing but Humiliation for Russia": Moscow and NATO's Eastern Enlargement, 1993-1995," *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 43, No. 6-7 (2020), pp. 769-815.

Alexander Lanoszka, 'Thank Goodness for NATO Enlargement', *International Politics*, vol. 57, no. 3 (2020), pp. 451-70.

**33. Is the war in Ukraine the start of an energy revolution?**

Bjarne Steffen and Anthony Pratt, 'A historical turning point? Early evidence on how the Russia-Ukraine war changes public support for clean energy policies', *Energy Research and Social Science*, vol. 91 (September 2022).

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2214629622002614>.

Josep Borrell and Werner Hoyer, 'Decarbonization Is Now a Strategic Imperative', *Project Syndicate*, 27<sup>th</sup> April 2022. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/eu-russia-war-ukraine-makes-renewables-strategic-imperative-by-josep-borrell-and-werner-hoyer-2022-04>.

Jason Bordoff and Meghan L. O'Sullivan, 'Green Upheaval. The New Geopolitics of Energy', *Foreign Affairs* (January / February 2022).

Martin Nerlinger and Sebastian Utz, 'The impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict on the green energy transition: A capital market perspective', *Swiss Finance Institute Research Paper*, no. 22-49 (8<sup>th</sup> May 2022).

**34. What are the most important obstacles to ending the war in Ukraine?**

Dan Reiter, *How Wars End* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

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

Douglas Atkinson, 'The Issues are the Issue: Intangible Salience and War Duration', *International Interactions*, vol. 47, no. 6 (2021), pp. 1016-39.

Kristopher Ramsay, 'Settling it on the Field: Battlefield Events and War Termination', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 52, no. 6 (2008), pp. 850-79.

**CHINA**

**35. EITHER (a) Does China-led globalisation differ from established patterns of Western-led globalisation? [NB: LT ONLY]**

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J. Ann Tickner and Jacqui True, 'A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 2 (June 2018), pp. 221-33.

Catriona Standfield, 'Caught between art and science: the women, peace and security agenda in United Nations mediation narratives', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 22, no. 5 (2020), pp. 629-51.

### **71. Can the 'business case' for women's empowerment achieve a win-win scenario?**

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.

## **72. Do Muslim women need saving?**

Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993). (Also read: 2021 ed. 'Foreword' by Kecia Ali.)

Saba Mahmood, 'Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 16, no. 2 (May 2001), pp. 202-236.

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

Wilson Chacko, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

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

## **CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND IDEOLOGIES**

### **73. Should national citizenship be abolished? [NB: MT ONLY]**

Ayelet Shachar, *The Birthright Lottery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

A. Aneesh and D. J. Wolover, 'Citizenship and inequality in a global age', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 11, no. 5 (2017): <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12477>.

Michael Fix, 'Repealing Birthright Citizenship: The Unintended Consequences', *Migration Policy Institute*, 2015 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/repealing-birthright-citizenship-unintended-consequences>.

### **74. Is there a coherent distinction between patriotism and nationalism?**

Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

George Orwell, "Notes on nationalism" (1945) <https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/notes-on-nationalism/>

### **75. In what sense, if any, is the writing of history a mode of political thought?**

Leo Strauss, 'Political Philosophy and History', in *What is Political Philosophy? and other studies*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 56-77.

J. G. A. Pocock, *Political Thought and History: Essays on theory and method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Part II: 'History as Political Thought'.



Richard Bourke, 'Theory and practice: the revolution in political judgement', in Bourke and Raymond Geuss, eds., *Political Judgement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 73-109.

**76. Does anarchist anthropology have anything to teach anarchist political theory?**

Ruth Kinna, *The Government of No One: the theory and practice of Anarchism* (London: Penguin, 2019).

David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm, 2004).

James C. Scott, *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six easy pieces on autonomy, dignity and meaningful work and play* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

**77. In what ways are biomedical understandings of the immune system used as metaphors to conceptualize the body politic? [NB: LT ONLY]**

Mark Neocleous, *The Politics of Immunity: Security and the Policing of Bodies* (London: Verso, 2022).

Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), pp. 203-30.

Roberto Esposito, *Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life*, Zakiya Hanafi, trans. (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2011).

Joseph Osmundson, *Virology: Essays for the Living, the Dead, and the Small Things in Between*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2022).

Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York, NY: Picador, 2002).

**78. What can the study of Manet's art teach us about modern political ideals?**

Catherine M. Soussloff, *Foucault on Painting* (Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), esp. ch. 3 'Manet's Painting'.

Pierre Bourdieu, *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution* (Cambridge: Polity, 2017), esp. Lectures 1-2 (though a précis is here: <https://mondediplo.com/2013/11/16manet>).

Eunice Lipton, 'Manet: A Radicalised Female Imaginary; *Artforum* (1975): <https://www.artforum.com/print/197503/manet-a-radicalized-female-imagery-36081>.

T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), esp. ch. 2 'Olympia's Choice'.

## 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.

### ***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**

<b>Mark</b>	<b>Quality of Answer</b>
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.