

## Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos

### Soc 12: Modern Britain 2017-2018

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### Aims and Objectives

To provide knowledge and understanding of the political, economic, and social forces underpinning the trajectory and framing the context of modern British society.

To develop an understanding of the relations and intersections among (1) class domination, (2) nationalisms, racism, and xenophobia, and (3) patriarchy in contemporary Britain.

### Modes of Teaching and Supervision Arrangements

The course is taught by means of lectures and supervisions. Students are advised to write at least four essays over the year. Students will be expected to produce a **minimum of 4 essays**. They will be supported with 6 supervisions. Each supervision session will typically be used to read and discuss an article, and students may be asked to present on a topic, or find other ways to address the topic in ways that are stimulating and provide a learning experience for students. Students are expected to prepare for a supervision in advance and to actively engage in discussion.

In general, lecturers will give supervisions on their course; but students should consult their College Director of Studies and the Course Organizer.

### Mode of Assessment

One three hour examination paper from which three questions must be answered.

### Michaelmas Term

## Class Domination and Social Exclusion

Dr Jeff Miley & Dr Matthew Sparkes

Michaelmas, Fridays 10-12. Weeks 1-6, beginning 6 October

These lectures explore class and inequality in modern Britain. To do so we trace the major changes since 1945 in the ideologies, strategies and institutions for governing Britain. This includes: post war reconstruction and the settlement with labour; the Keynesian Welfare State and consensus politics; the 'crises' of the 1970s; electoral dealignment; the rise of the New Right; the politics of Thatcherism and the reconstruction of capitalism in Britain, 1979 – 1997; New labour; and the emergence of populism. The six lectures will trace the evolution of the class structure and trajectories of inequalities in view of these political and economic developments. We will explore the theoretical and empirical developments in the sociology of class that has sought to make sense of these shifts. Attention is paid to the dynamics of intersectionality, social mobility, and social exclusion.

### Lecture One - From Engels and Orwell to Grenfell Tower: The Plight of the British Working Class (Miley)

#### Supervision essay Questions

- A) Why should those who want to understand Modern Britain care about social class?
- B) How have class politics been related to racism and/or patriarchy in Modern Britain?
- C) In what ways is the recent Grenfell Tower tragedy illustrative of the deeper history of class domination in Britain?

#### Readings:

- \*Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Chapter 2. "The Great Towns," Chapter 4. "Irish Immigration." Chapter 11. "The Attitude of the Bourgeoisie towards the Proletariat."
- \* George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*. New York: Penguin Books, 1980
- \* Satnam Virdee, *Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider*. Chapters 1, 2, 9.
- \* Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010* (selections).
- \* Martin McKee, "Grenfell Tower fire: why we cannot ignore the political determinants of health" *BMJ* 2017; 357 doi: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.j2966> (Published 20 June 2017)
- \* Richard Horton, "Offline: Racism – The Pathology We Choose to Ignore," *The Lancet* DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(17\)31746-4](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(17)31746-4)
- \* Joanna Whitehead, "Grenfell Tower Is About Race and Class," [https://www.thefword.org.uk/2017/06/grenfell\\_tower\\_race\\_and\\_class/](https://www.thefword.org.uk/2017/06/grenfell_tower_race_and_class/)
- \* Hajra Khan, "Why Was Grenfell Towers Allowed to Burn?," <http://www.lappthebrand.com/?p=3404>

E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*  
 Owen Jones, *Chavs*  
 Beverly Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture*  
 Sivanandan, "Race, Class, and the State: The Black Experience in Britain," *Race and Class*, XVII (4) (1976).  
 Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*  
 Stephen Brooke, "Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s," *Journal of Social History*, 34(4) (2001): 773-795  
 Stephen Brooke, "Bodies, Sexuality and the 'Modernization' of the British Working Classes, 1920s to 1960s"  
 Ali Rattansi, "On Being and Not Being Brown/Black British: Racism, Class, Sexuality, and Ethnicity in Post-Imperial Britain," *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 2 (2000): 118-134.  
 Paul Toynbee, *Hard Work: Life in Low-Pay Britain*. London: Bloomsbury, 2003.  
 Eric Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1987).  
 Rosemary Crompton. *Class and Stratification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).

## **Lecture Two – The Rise and Demise of Social Democracy in Britain (Miley)**

### **Supervision essay Questions**

- A) What were the causes of the rise of social democracy in Britain?
- B) How was the contradiction between capitalism and democracy managed in the Social Democratic period?
- C) Why did the Social-Democratic "Consensus" Collapse?

### **Readings:**

- \* Karl Polanyi *The Great Transformation*, Part Three
- \* Geoffrey Ingham, *Capitalism Divided* (Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 9, Concluding Remarks)
- \* Perry Anderson, "The Figures of Descent," in *English Questions*
- \* Ralph Miliband, *Capitalist Democracy in Britain*
- \* Stuart Hall, "The Great Moving Right Show,"  
[http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/79\\_01\\_hall.pdf](http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/79_01_hall.pdf)
- \* Tara Martin López, *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, and History*
- \* Colin Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*
- \* Fiona Williams, "'Race' and 'Nation' in the Welfare State,"  
[http://www.open.edu/openlearn/ocw/pluginfile.php/617746/mod\\_resource/content/1/ofprint36.pdf](http://www.open.edu/openlearn/ocw/pluginfile.php/617746/mod_resource/content/1/ofprint36.pdf)
- \* Sheila Robowtham, Lynne Seagal, and Hillary Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments: Feminism and the Making of Socialism* (Merlin Press, 2013).  
 Gail Lewis, "Welfare Settlements and Racialising Practices,"  
[http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/soundings/04\\_109.pdf](http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/soundings/04_109.pdf)
- Tess Lanning, "Feminism and Democratic Renewal,"  
[https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/sites/default/files/s52\\_02lanning.pdf](https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/sites/default/files/s52_02lanning.pdf)

- Sheila Blackburn, "How Useful Are Feminist Theories of the Welfare State," *Women's History Review*, Volume 4, Number 3, 1995
- Andrew Gamble. (2003), *Between Europe and America: The Future of British Politics*
- Marquand, D and A. Seldon (eds) (1996), *The Ideas that Shaped Post-War Britain*, London: Fontana.
- Michael Barrat Brown, "Away with All the Great Arches: Anderson's History of British Capitalism," *NLR* 167 (1988)
- Geoffrey Ingham, "Commercial Capital and British Development," *NLR* 172 (1988)
- Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*
- Marglin, S. and J.B. Schor (eds., 1990). *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpreting the Postwar Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1, 2).
- Kavanagh, D. and Morris, P. (1994), *Consensus Politics from Attlee to Thatcher*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Coates, D. (1994), *The Question of U.K. Decline*, Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf. (3, 4.)
- Hay, C. (1996), *Re-stating Political and Social Change*, Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Leys, C. (1989), "From the paralysis of social democracy to the crisis of the 1970s" in Anderson, J. and Cochrane, A. (eds) *A State of Crisis*, London: Sage. (4)

### **Lecture Three – The New Right, the Politics of Thatcherism, and the Class Structure (Sparkes)**

#### **Supervision essay Questions**

- A) Is it accurate to describe the 1970s as a decade of crisis? If so what were the causes?
- B) To what extent did ideology drive the Thatcher governments' policies and legislation?

#### **Readings:**

- \*Payne C (2013) *The Consumer, Credit and Neoliberalism*. London: Routledge.
- \*Backhouse, R. (2009). Economists and the rise of neo-liberalism. *Renewal*, 17(4), 17-25. [Online]. Available from: <http://renewal.org.uk/articles/economists-and-the-rise-of-neo-liberalism/>
- \*Cockett, R. (1995). *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution 1931-1983*. London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- \*Hay, C. (1996), *Re-stating Political and Social Change*, Milton Keynes: Open University
- \*Hall, S. (2011). The neoliberal revolution. *Cultural Studies*, 25(6), 705-728.
- \*Hall, S., Massey, D., and Rustin, M. (2013). After neoliberalism - Kilburn manifesto. *Soundings*. [Online]. Available from: <http://lwbooks.co.uk/journals/soundings/manifesto.html>
- \*Massey, D. (2013). On vocabularies of the economy – Kilburn Manifesto. *Open Democracy*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/doreen-massey/on-vocabularies-of-neoliberal-economy-kilburn-manifesto>

- \* Hoskyns, J. and Strauss, N. (1977). *Stepping Stones Report*. Margaret Thatcher Archive. [Online]. Available from:  
<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111771>
- \* Joseph, K., Howe, G., Prior, J., and Howell, D. (1977). *The Right Approach to the Economy*. Margaret Thatcher Archive. [Online]. Available from:  
<http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/112551>
- \* Harris, R. and Seldon, A. (Eds). *The Emerging Consensus: Essays on the Interplay between Ideas, Interests and Circumstances in the First 25 years of the IEA*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- \* Sparkes, M., Gummy, J. and Burchell, B. (In press). *Debt: Beyond Homo Economicus*. In A. Lewis (Ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Psychology and Economic Behaviour, Second Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \* Bulpitt, J. (1986), *The discipline of the New Democracy: Mrs Thatcher's domestic statecraft*, *Political Studies*, 34.
- \* Hay, C. (1999). *Crisis and Political Development in Britain*. In D. Marsh et al., *Postwar British Politics in Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- \* Hay, C. (2001). *The "Crisis" of Keynesianism and the Rise of Neoliberalism* in Britain. In J.L. Campbell and O.K. Pedersen (eds.), *The Rise of Neoliberalism and Institutional Analysis*. Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \* Marsh, D. et al (1999) *Post War British Politics in Perspective*, Cambridge: Polity.
- \* Grant, W. (2002). *Economic Policy-Making in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Leach, R. (2002). *Political Ideology in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- King, D. (1987) *The New Right*, London: Macmillan
- Coates, D. (1994), *The Question of U.K. Decline*, Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Sarlvick, B. and Crewe, I. (1983), *Decade of Dealignment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Leys, C. (1990), *Politics in Britain*, Revised Edition, London: Verso
- Leys, C. (1989), *From the paralysis of social democracy to the crisis of the 1970s*, in Anderson, J. and Cochrane, A. (eds) *A State of Crisis*, London: Sage.
- Helleiner, E. (1994), *States and the Emergence of Global Finance*, Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Smithin, J. (1996) *Macroeconomic Policy and the Future of Capitalism*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar. Chapters: 1; 2; 3; 9.
- Dearlove, J. and Saunders, P. (2000), *British Politics*, Third Edition, Cambridge: Polity.
- Gamble, A. (1988). *Free Economy and Strong State*, London: Macmillan,
- Kavanagh, D. (1988), *Thatcherism and British Politics*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- King, D. (1987) *The New Right*, London: Macmillan
- Leys, C. (1990), *Politics in Britain*, Revised Edition, London: Verso
- Jessop, B. (1992). *From Social Democracy to Thatcherism: Twenty-Five Years of British Politics*. In N. Abercrombie and A. Warde (eds.), *Social Change in Contemporary Britain*. Cambridge: Polity
- Sam Aaronovitch (1961). *The Ruling Class: A Study of British Financial Capital*. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

## Lecture Four – Transformations of the Class Structure, Meritocracy and Social Mobility (Sparkes)

### Supervision Essay Questions

- A) How does culture add to our understanding of social class in contemporary Britain?
  - B) Is British society meritocratic? Is it fair?
- OR
- What are the factors that contribute to the class pay gap?

### Readings (A):

- \*Bennett T, Savage M, Silva E, Warde A, Gayo-Cal M, and Wright D (2009) *Culture, Class, Distinction*. Oxon: Routledge.
- \*Bottero W (2004) Class identities and the identity of class. *Sociology* 38(5): 985–1003.
- \*Bourdieu P (1984) *Distinction*. London: Routledge.
- \*Devine, F., Savage, M., Scott, J. and Crompton, R. (eds.) *Rethinking Class Analysis: Culture, Identities and Lifestyle*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- \*Pakulski and Waters (1996). *Death of Class*. London: Sage.
- \*Savage, M. (2000) *Sociology and Social Change: Class Analysis and Social Transformation*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- \*Savage, M. et al. (2013) A new model of social class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey experiment. *Sociology* 47(2): 219–250.
- \*Savage, M. et al. (2015) *Social Class in the 21st Century*. United Kingdom: Pelican Books.
- \*Savage M, Warde A, and Devine F (2005) Capitals, assets, and resources: Some critical issues. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 56(1): 31–47.
- \*Skeggs B (2004) *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Roberts, K. (2011) *Class in Contemporary Britain*. Second Edition. Palgrave MacMillan, London.
- Bourdieu P (1986) The Forms of Capital. *Marxist Internet Archive*. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm>.
- Meadowcroft J (2008) Fight poverty, support inequality. *Economic Affairs* 25(2): 58.
- Lawler S (2005) Introduction: Class, culture and identity. *Sociology* 39(5): 797–806.
- Lawler S (2008) *Identity: Sociological Perspectives*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Marshall G. (1997). *Repositioning Class: Social Inequality in Industrial Societies*. London: Sage.
- Savage, M. (1997) 'Social Mobility and the Survey Method': A Critical Review', in Bertaux, D. and P. Thompson (eds.) *Pathways to Social Class*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Devine, F. (1997). *Social Class in America and Britain*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Cannadine, D. *Class in Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Scott, J. (1982). *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain*. MacMillan, London.

### Reading (B)

- \*Bukodi, E., Goldthorpe, J., Waller, L. and Kuha, J. (2015). The mobility problem in Britain: New findings from the analysis of British Cohort data. *British Journal of Sociology*, 66(1), 93-117
- \*Friedman, S. (2016). Habitus clive and the emotional imprint of social mobility. *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), 129-147.
- \*Laurison, D. and Friedman, S. (2016). The class pay gap in Britain's higher professional and managerial occupations. *American Sociological Review*, 81 (4). pp. 668-695.
- \*Littler, J. (2013). Meritocracy as plutocracy: the marketising of 'equality' within neoliberalism. *New Formations: a journal of culture/theory/politics*, 80-81, pp. 52-72. <http://openaccess.city.ac.uk/4167/>
- \*Marshall, Swift, and Roberts (1997). *Against the Odds? Social Class and Social Justice in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \*Reay et al. (2016). 'Strangers in Paradise'? Working-class Students in Elite Universities. *Sociology*, 43(6), 1103-1121.
- \*Saunders (1996). *Unequal but Fair ? A Study of Class Barriers in Britain*. London: IEA.
- \*Savage, M. (2015). *Social Class in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. London: Penguin.
- \*Social Mobility Commission. (2016). *State of the Nation 2016: Social Mobility in Britain*. Available from: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/549994/Socio-economic\\_diversity\\_in\\_life\\_sciences\\_and\\_investment\\_banking.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/549994/Socio-economic_diversity_in_life_sciences_and_investment_banking.pdf)
- Blanden, J., Gregg, P. and Machin, S. (2005). *Social mobility in Britain: low and falling*. Centre Piece, Spring 2005.
- Goldthorpe, J. (1980). *Social Mobility and the Class Structure in Modern Britain*.
- Marshall et. al. (1993). *Social Class in Modern Britain*, Routledge, ch. 4-10.
- Friedman, S. (2014). The Price of the Ticket: Rethinking the Experience of Social Mobility, *Sociology*, 48 (2), 352-368
- Savage, M. (1997) 'Social Mobility and the Survey Method': A Critical Review', in Bertaux, D. and P. Thompson (eds.) *Pathways to Social Class*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beckett, A. (2017). PPE: the Oxford degree that runs Britain. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/feb/23/ppe-oxford-university-degree-that-rules-britain>
- Crawford, C., Macmillan, L. and Vignoles, A. (2016). Why and when do initially achieving poor children get left behind? *Oxford Review of Education*. <http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/4vp6AQ2DvwJXpbaSdHUr/full>
- Breen et. al. (2004). *Social Mobility in Europe*. Oxford University Press.
- Pakulski and Waters (1996). *Death of Class*. London: Sage.
- Adonis and Pollard (1997). *A Class Act*. London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd.

## Lecture Five – Classificatory Struggles and Classification Situations: the Underclass Debate and the Dynamics of Exclusion (Miley and Sparkes)

### Supervision Essay Questions

- A) In what ways does classification affect the lives of British citizens?
- B) What are the most important factors contributing to social exclusion and/or the existence of “an underclass” in Britain?

### Readings (A)

- \*Fourcade, M. and Healy, K. (2013). Classification Situations: Life Chances in the Neoliberal Era. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 38, 559–572.
- \*Fourcade, M. and Healy, K. (2017). Seeing like a market. *Socio-Economic Review*, 15(1), 9-29.
- \*Tyler I (2013) *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. London: Zed Books.
- \*Tyler, I. (2015). Classificatory struggles: class, culture and inequality in neoliberal times. *The Sociological Review*, 63(2), 493-511.
- \*Shildrick, T. and MacDonald, R. (2013). Poverty talk: how people experiencing poverty deny their poverty and why they blame ‘the poor’. *The Sociological Review*, 61(2), 285-303.
- \*Savage, M. (2015). *Social Class in the 21st Century*. London: Penguin.
- \*Sullivan T (2008) Debt and the Simulation of Social Class. In Brubaker R, Lawless R, and Tabb C (eds) *A Debtor World: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Debt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 36-59.
- \*Sparkes, M. (forthcoming). Borrowed Identities: The role of credit-debt in class making and struggle. *Sociology*.
- \*The Institute of Economic Affairs. (1996). *Charles Murray and the Underclass: The Developing Debate*.
- Tyler, I. (2011). “Chav Mum Chav Scum”: Class disgust in contemporary Britain. *Feminist Media Studies*, 8(1).
- Hill, ed. (2002). *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: OUP.
- Lister (2004). *Poverty*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Toscano A, Woodcock J (2015) Spectres of Marxism: A comment on Mike Savage’s market model of class difference. *The Sociological Review* 63(2): 512–523.
- Skeggs B (2015) Introduction: Stratification or exploitation, domination, dispossession and devaluation. *The Sociological Review* 63(2): 205–222.

### Readings (B)

- \*Bamfield L, Horton T (2009) *Understanding Attitudes to Tackling Economic Inequality*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Available at: <https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/understanding-attitudes-tackling-economic-inequality>.
- \*Tyler, I. (2013). The riots of the underclass?: stigmatisation, mediation and the government of poverty and disadvantage in neoliberal Britain. *Sociological*



*Research Online*, 18(4). [Online]. Available at:

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/18/4/6.html>

- \* Kawalerowicz, J., Biggs, M. Anarchy in the UK: Economic Deprivation, Social Organization, and Political Grievances in the London Riot of 2011. *Social Forces*, Volume 94, Issue 2, 1 December 2015, 673–698. [Online]. Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/sf/article-abstract/94/2/673/2583766/Anarchy-in-the-UK-Economic-Deprivation-Social?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
- \* Kelly, L. Gill, A. (2012) Riots Not Riots: A Feminist Dialogue on the Riots and their Aftermath. *Safer Communities*. 11(1): 62-72. Available at: <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/17578041211200137>
- \*Pantazis, ed. (2006). *Poverty and Social Exclusion: The Millennium Survey*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- \*The Institute of Economic Affairs. (1996). *Charles Murray and the Underclass: The Developing Debate*.
- \*Field. (1989). *Losing Out: Emergence of Underclass*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- \*The Guardian. (2011). *Reading the Riots*. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/series/reading-the-riots>
- Field. (2012). *After the riots: The final report of the Riots Communities and Victims Panel*.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Classes*. London: Bloomsbury
- Jin et al. (2011). *Poverty and Inequality in Britain*  
<http://www.ifs.org.uk/comms/comm118.pdf>
- Hill, ed. (2002). *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: OUP.
- Lister. (2004). *Poverty*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Morris. (1994). *Dangerous Classes*. Routledge.

## **Lecture Six – Austerity Politics, Class Dynamics, and the Rise of Jeremy Corbyn**

### **Supervision Essay Questions:**

A) Is neoliberalism dying in Britain?

OR

B) What was the role played by social class in the 2017 general election?

### **Readings**

- \*Judis, J. (2016). *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*.
- \*Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolt Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. New York: Zed Books.
- \*N. Sotirakopoulos and C. Rootes. (2014). “Occupying London in International and Local Context,” in D. Della Porta et. al., eds. *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis* (ECPR), pp.171-192.
- \*E. Dowling et. al. (2012). Occupy London. *South Atlantic Quarterly*. 111(3): 608-615. Available at: <http://saq.dukejournals.org/content/111/3/608.short>

- \*T. Miley. (2017). "Challenges for the Struggle Against Austerity in Britain and Europe," in Cohen and Bock, *Austerity, Community Action, and the Future of Citizenship in Europe*.
- \*C. Haylett. (2001) *Illegitimate Subjects? Abject Whites, Neoliberal Modernization, and Middle Class Multiculturalism*. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1068/d237t>
- \*R. Seymour. (2016). *Corbyn: The Strange Rebirth of Radical Politics* (Verso).
- \*P. Dorey. (2017). "Jeremy Corbyn Confounds his Critics: Explaining the Labour Party's Remarkable Resurgence in the 2017 Election," *British Politics* 12(3): 308-334.
- John Gray, "Labour's Populism for the Middle Classes," <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/06/labours-populism-middle-classes>
- Williams, A. et. al. 2012. Co-Constituting Neoliberalism: Faith-based Organizations, Co-Optation, and Resistance in the U.K. *Environment and Planning A*. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1068/a44507>
- N.Lindisfarne and J. Neale, "Class, Gender, and Neoliberalism," <https://www.scribd.com/document/195924600/Class-Gender-and-Neoliberalism>
- "How Britain Voted in the 2017 General Election," <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/06/13/how-britain-voted-2017-general-election/>
- "Young Voters, Class, and Turn-Out: How Britain Voted in 2017," <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/datablog/ng-interactive/2017/jun/20/young-voters-class-and-turnout-how-britain-voted-in-2017>
- All that is Solid, "Jeremy Corbyn and the Working Class," <http://averypublicsociologist.blogspot.co.uk/2017/07/jeremy-corbyn-and-working-class.html>
- Craig Berry, "The Proletariat Problem: General Election 2017 and the Class Politics of Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn," <http://speri.dept.shef.ac.uk/2017/07/05/the-proletariat-problem-general-election-2017-and-the-class-politics-of-theresa-may-and-jeremy-corbyn/>
- Kyle Geraghty, "Corbyn's Emerging Class Coalition," <https://newsocialist.org.uk/corbys-emerging-class-coalition/>
- Labour Party, *Race and Faith Manifesto* <http://www.labour.org.uk/page/-/party-documents/Race%20%26%20Faith%20Manifesto%202017.pdf>
- Alex Hunt, "Does Jeremy Corbyn Have a Woman Problem?" <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-34258171>
- Dawn Foster, "Jeremy Corbyn and Women: A Matter of Policy, Not Appointment," <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/dawn-foster/jeremy-corbyn-and-women-matter-of-policy-not-appointment>
- Rosanna Hutchinson, "A Victory for Labour's Left-Wing Women," <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/83189/1/Engenderings%20%26%20E2%80%93%20A%20victory%20for%20Labour%20%26%20E2%80%93%20left-wing%20women.pdf>
- Shaun Daniel Carl Flores Blog, "Gender and/or Sexuality and Political Engagement," <http://eportfolios.roehampton.ac.uk/floress/blog-3-gender-andor-sexuality-and-political-engagement/>

## **Nationalism and Ethnicity**

Dr. Mark Ramsden & Dr Jeff Miley

Michaelmas: Fridays 10-12, Weeks 7-8, beginning 17 November

Lent: Fridays 12-2, Weeks 1-4, beginning 19 January

## **Nationalisms, Racism and Xenophobia in Britain**

The aim of these lectures is to study nationalisms, racism and xenophobia in Modern Britain. We begin with an exploration of the relations among Empire, nation and state in the British context. We then examine the “troubles” in Northern Ireland, with a special focus on the attempt to forge a “consociational” solution to the violence there, before turning to analyze the causes and consequences of the process of devolution in Scotland (and Wales), with special attention paid to the 2014 referendum. After which, we turn to focus on patterns of racialized, religious and xenophobic exclusions at work in Britain, as they play themselves in the politics of the ongoing “war on terror,” as well as the politics of migration. We finish by analyzing contending interpretations of the social forces and political significance of Brexit. Throughout, we will pay attention to intersections with gender and class hierarchies.

### **Lecture One: The United Kingdom, Great Britain, Greater Britain. Empire, State and Nation in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Beyond. (Dr. Ramsden)**

\*Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

\*Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

\*Anne McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven’: Gender, Race, and Nationalism,” in McClintock, et. al., eds. *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp.89-112.

\*Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (CUP, 1990).

Paul Gilroy, “Nationalism, History and Ethnic Absolutism,” *History Workshop Journal* 30 (1), 1990: 114-120.

Richard Gott, *Britain’s Empire. Resistance, Repression and Revolt* (Verso, 2011).

David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (CUP, 2000).

Margaret Stroble, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Indiana University Press, 1991).

Richard Rose, "The United Kingdom as a Multinational Regime," in *Governing without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (London; Faber and Faber Limited, 1971), pp. 42-73.

David McCrone, "Unmasking Britannia: the Rise and Fall of British National Identity," *Nations and Nationalism* 3 (4), 1997, 579-596.

John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series, Vol. 8* (1998), pp. 215-231.

J. McKenzie. (1993). "Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire," *The International History Review* 15(4): 714-739.

Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 15-42.

Prys Morgan, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, pp.43-100.

David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance, and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition," in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Traditions*, pp.101-164.

Supervision Question: What is the relation among Empire, nation and state in the British context? In what ways do Imperial prejudices and exclusions continue to condition dominant national imaginaries in contemporary Britain?

## **Lecture Two: Accommodation and Conflict in Northern Ireland (Dr. Gardner)**

\*Whyte, J. (1991) *Interpreting Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Ch6 (The Traditional Nationalist Interpretation; Ch7 (The Traditional Unionist Interpretation); and Ch8 (Marxist Interpretations).

\*McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. (1995) *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Oxford: Blackwell.

\*Dixon, P. (1997) 'Paths to peace in Northern Ireland (I): Civil society and consociational approaches', *Democratization*, 4(2), pp. 1-27.

\*Finlay, A. (2010) *Governing Ethnic Conflict: Consociation, Identity and the Price of Peace*. London and New York: Routledge.

\*McGarry, J. and O’Leary, B. (2006a) ‘Consociational theory, Northern Ireland’s conflict, and its agreement: Part 1: What consociationalists can learn from Northern Ireland’, *Government and Opposition*, 41(1), pp. 43–63.

\*McGarry, J. and O’Leary, B. (2006b) ‘Consociational theory, Northern Ireland’s conflict, and its agreement: Part 2. What critics of consociation can learn from Northern Ireland’, *Government and Opposition*, 41(2), pp. 249–277.

\*Nagle, J. (2009) ‘Potemkin Village: Neo-liberalism and Peace-building in Northern Ireland?’, *Ethnopolitics*, 8(2), pp. 173–190.

Supervision Questions: Does the current “consociational” arrangement in Northern Ireland constitute a fair and stable solution? In what is the “traditional Marxist interpretation” of the conflict in Northern Ireland plausible?

### **Lecture Three: Self-Determination for Scotland? (And what about Wales?) (Dr. Ramsden and Dr. Miley).**

\*Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain* (Verso, 1977).

\*Eric Hobsbawm, “Some Reflections on the Break-Up of Britain,” *New Left Review* I/ 105, Sept-Oct 1977, pp.3-23.

\*Michael Keating, “The United Kingdom: Political Institutions and Territorial Cleavages,” in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo, eds., *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 155-180.

\*R. Johns, et. al. 2012. “Gendered Nationalism: The Gender Gap in Support for the Scottish National Party,” *Party Politics* 18(4): 581-601.

\*R. Miles. (1987). “Recent Marxist Theories of Nationalism and the Issue of Racism,” *BJS* 38(1): 24-43.

\*McHarg et. al., *The Scottish Independence Referendum: Constitutional and Political Implications* (Oxford University Press, 2016)

\*Lord Ashcroft, “How Scotland Voted and Why,”  
<http://lordashcrofthpolls.com/2014/09/scotland-voted/>

Henderson and Mitchell, “The Scottish Question, Six Months On,”  
<http://centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Scottish%20Referendum%20Study%2027%20March%202015.pdf>

Mooney, Gerry and Scott, Gill (2016). Welfare, equality and social justice: Scottish independence and the dominant imaginings of the 'New' Scotland. *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 10(3) pp. 239–251.

Mooney, Gerry and Scott, Gill (2015). The 2014 Scottish independence debate: questions of social welfare and social justice,” *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 23(1) pp. 5–16.

McHarg and Mitchell, “Brexit and Scotland,” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* Vol. 19(3) (2017): 512–526.

C. Aitchison, “Gender, Heritage, and Nationalism,” in D. Crouch, ed., *Leisure/tourism Geographies: Practical and Geographical Knowledge* (Psychology Press, 1999), pp.59-73.

C. Kyriakides, et. al. (2009). “Racism, Muslims, and the National Imagination,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(2): 289-308.

Alexander Law. (2001). “Near and Far: Banal National Identity and the Press in Scotland,” *Media, Culture, and Society* 23(3): 299-317.

Richard Rose, “Is the United Kingdom a State?,” in Peter Madgwick and Richard Rose, eds., *The Territorial Dimension in United Kingdom Politics*

Michael Keating, *Nations against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland* (MacMillan Press, 1996).

Tom Nairn, *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (Granta, 2001)

Tom Nairn, *Old Nations, Auld Enemies, New Times* (Luath Press Limited, 2017).

Andrew Gamble, “The Constitutional Revolution in the UK,” *Publius* 36:1, 2007: 19-35.

Archie Brown, “Asymmetrical Devolution: The Scottish Case,” *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (July-Sept. 1998), pp. 215-223

Vernon Bogdanor, “Devolution: Britain’s New Constitution,” in *Developments in British Politics*, vol. 7.

Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Oxford University Press, 1999)

C. Jeffrie, “Devolution and the Lopsided State,” in Patrick Dunleavy, et al., *Developments in British Politics*, no.8 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Supervision Questions: What are the most important causes and consequences of devolution in Great Britain? What were the most important social factors at work in the referendum in Scotland?

**Lecture Four: Racism, Xenophobia, and the Politics of the War on Terror in Britain. (Dr. Miley).**

\*Svinandan. (2001). "Poverty is the New Black," *Race and Class*, 43(2): 1-5.

\*Jenny Bourne. (2001). "The Life and Times of Institutional Racism," *Race and Class*, 43(2): 7-22.

\*Liz Fekete. (2001). "The Emergence of Xeno-Racism," *Race and Class* 42(2): 23-40.

\*Arun Kundnani. (2001). "In a Foreign Land: The New Popular Racism," *Race and Class* 42(2): 41-60.

\*Liz Fekete. (2004). "Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security State," *Race and Class* 46(1): 3-29.

\*V. Brittain. (2009). "Besieged in Britain," *Race and Class* 50(3): 1-29.

\*Paul Gilroy. (2005). "Multiculture, Double Consciousness, and the 'War on Terror'," *Patterns of Prejudice* 39(4): 431-443.

\*Sarah Ahmed. (2004). *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Routledge), especially chapters 2, 3.

Arun Kundnani, *The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terrorism* (Verso, 2014).

Arun Kundnani, *The End of Tolerance: Racism in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Britain* (Pluto Press, 2007).

Paul Gilroy, *"There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack": The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London, 1987).

Parekh, B. *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (Macmillan and Harvard University Press: London, 2000).

G. Peele, "The Politics of Multicultural Britain," in Patrick Dunleavy, et al., *Developments in British Politics*, no.8 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

Phillips, T. 'After 7/7: Sleepwalking to Segregation' Speech to Manchester

Council for Community Relations, 22 September 2005. <http://www.cre.gov.uk>

Abbas, T. (2004). 'After 9/11: British South Asian Muslims, Islamophobia, multiculturalism and the state', *American Journal of Islamic Social Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 26-38.

Burnett, J. (2008) 'Community cohesion in Bradford: neoliberal integrationism'. Chapter 2 in Flint, J. and Robinson, D. (2008) *Community Cohesion in Crisis? New dimensions of diversity and difference*. Policy Press.

Finney, N. and Simpson, L. (2009) '*Sleepwalking to segregation*'? *Challenging myths about race and migration*. Policy Press

Lentin, A. and Titley, G. (2011) *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age*. London: Zed Books.

Meer, N. & Modood, T. 'The Multicultural State We Are In: Muslims, 'Multiculture' and the 'Civic re-balancing' of British Multiculturalism', *Political Studies*, **57 (3)**, (pp. 473-497), 2009.

Question: In what ways do racism and xenophobia influence the politics of the "War on Terror"? In what ways do racism and xenophobia intersect with class and/or gender hierarchies in contemporary Britain?

### **Lecture Five: Migration Politics in Britain (Dr. Walsh)**

\*Goodhart, D. (2013). *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-war Immigration*. London: Atlantic Books.

\*Spencer, I. R. G. (2007). Immigration. In Seldon, A. (Ed.), *Blair's Britain, 1997– 2007* (341-360). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\*Wray, H. (2006). The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma. *Journal of Law and Society*, 33(2): 302-323.

\*Portes, J. (2013). An exercise in scapegoating; a review of *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Postwar Immigration* by David Goodhart. *London Review of Books*, 35(12): 7-9.

\*Walsh, P. W. (2017). The UK's Post-War Immigration Law-Making. In *The Legislature in Immigration Policy-Making: A Liberal Constraint?* (Chapter 6). University of Cambridge: PhD Thesis.



\*Winder, R. (2010). *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*. London: Hachette UK.

Morris, L. (2017). "British Citizenship, Gender and Migration: The Containment of Cultural Difference and the Stratification of Belonging," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 38(5): 597-609.

McDowell, L. *Working Lives: Gender, Migration, and Employment in Britain* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

Castles, S. and Davidson, A. *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000).

Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998).

Menz, G. (2011) *The Political Economy of Managed Migration: Non state Actors, Europeanization, and the Politics of Designing Migration Policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spencer, S., (2011) *The Migration Debate*. Bristol: The Policy Press

Vertovec, S. (2007) 'Superdiversity and its implications'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Volume 30 (6).

Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds., *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Berne: European Academic Publishers, 1997),

Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): Chapter Four, "The Zero Immigration Country," and Chapter Seven, "Between Citizenship and Race: Great Britain."

Salt, J. and Clarke, J. 'Special report: migration matters', *Prospect*, May 2005, pp. 46-51.

Wendy Webster, "Immigration and Racism," in Paul Addison and Harriet Jones, eds., *A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005).

Laytin, H. (1992). *The Politics of Immigration: Immigration, 'Race' and 'Race Relations' in Post-War Britain* (Blackwell)

Question: What are the main characteristics of attitudes and policy towards immigration in contemporary Great Britain, and what are their main determinants?

## Lecture 6: The Politics and Sociology of Brexit (Dr. Miley and Dr. Ramsden)

### Brexit: The Secession of Britain from Europe

\*Harold D. Clarke. (2017). *Brexit. Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union* (CUP).

\*William Outhwaite, ed. (2017). *Brexit: Sociological Responses* (Anthem Press).

\*Nadine El-Adny. (2016). "Brexit as Nostalgia for Empire"  
<http://criticallegalthinking.com/2016/06/19/brexit-nostalgia-empire/>

\*Nadine El-Adny, "Brexit Is Not Only an Expression of Nostalgia for Empire, It Is Also the Fruit of Empire," <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/05/11/brexit-is-not-only-an-expression-of-nostalgia-for-empire-it-is-also-the-fruit-of-empire/>

\*Satnam Virdee (2017). "Racism, Crisis, Brexit," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1-18.

\*Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. (2016). "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash,"  
[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2818659](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2818659)

\*Hozic and True. (2017). "Brexit as a Scandal: Gender and Global Trumpism," *Review of International Political Economy* 24(2): 270-287.

Eric Kaufman. (2016). "It's Not the Economy, Stupid. Brexit as a Story of Personal Values" <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/71585/>

Sarah B. Hobolt. (2016). "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(9): 1259-1277.

D. Sayer. (2017). "White Riot: Brexit, Trump, and Post-Factual Politics," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 30(1): 92-106.

Henderson, et. al. (2016). "England, Englishness and Brexit," *The Political Quarterly* 87(2): 187-199.

Gusterton. (2017). "From Brexit to Trump: Anthropology and the Rise of Nationalist Populism," *American Ethnologist* 44(2): 209-214.

L. Khalili. (2017). "After Brexit: Reckoning with Britain's Racism and Xenophobia," *Poem. International English language Quarterly* 5(2-3): 253-265.

Haastrup et. al. (2016). "Women in the Brexit Debate: Still Largely Confined to 'Low' Politics," <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/73100/>

Ruth Cain. (2016). "Post-Truth and the 'Metropolitan Elite' Feminist: Lessons from Brexit" *feminists@law* 6(1):1-8.

Supervision questions: How did class, racial, and gender dynamics intersect in and affect the outcome of the Brexit referendum?

## **Patriarchy in Modern Britain**

Dr Tiffany Page, Thursdays 2 pm, weeks 5-8, beginning 2 November

### **Lecture one: What is patriarchy, and what does it do?**

Supervision Essay Questions:

- A) In considering the arguments set out by bell hooks, how does patriarchy impact both women and men?
- B) How might an analysis of patriarchy, as a "system of social structures and practices" (Walby 1989) help in understanding systems of oppression?

Readings:

\*Walby, S. Theorising Patriarchy. *Sociology*, 23 (1989): 213-234

\*hooks, b. Men: Comrades in Struggle. In *Feminist Theory From Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press, 1984.

\*hooks, b. Understanding Patriarchy. Louisville Anarchist Federation Federation, 2004.

\*Skeggs, B. The dirty history of feminism and sociology: or the war of conceptual attrition. *The Sociological Review*, 56(4) (2008): 670-690.

Ahmed, S. Living a Feminist Life. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017. Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

Amos, V. and Parmar, P. Challenging Imperial Feminism. *Feminist Review*, 17 (1984): 3-19.

Bates, L. Everyday Sexism. London: Simon and Shuster, 2014.

hooks, b. *Ain't I A Woman? Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press, 1982.

Lugones, M. Heterosexualism and the Colonial / Modern Gender System. *Hypatia* 22(1) (2007): 186-209.

## **Lecture two: The challenge of intersectional understandings of oppression**

Supervision Essay Questions:

- A) Consider what an intersectional analysis of patriarchy might entail.
- B) How might 'embodied intersectionality' as a conceptual framework help to expand ways of understanding particular lived experiences.

Readings:

\*Brah, A. and Phoenix, A. (2012). Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 5 (3): 75-86.

\*Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140: 139-167.

\*Mirza, H. 'A second skin': Embodied intersectionality, transnationalism and narratives of identity and belonging among Muslim women in Britain.

\*Patil, V. From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come. *Signs*, 38 (2013): 847-867.

Adewunmi, A. Kimberlé Crenshaw on intersectionality: "I wanted to come up with an everyday metaphor that anyone could use". *The New Statesman*, 2 April 2014. Available at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/lifestyle/2014/04/kimberl-crenshaw-intersectionality-i-wanted-come-everyday-metaphor-anyone-could>

Ahmed, S. *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Collins, P. and Bilge, S. *Intersectionality*. Cambridge: Polity, 2016.

Evans, E. Intersectionality as feminist praxis in the UK. *Women's Studies International Forum* 59 (2016): 67-75.

Eddo-Lodge, R. *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.

## **Lecture three: Responses to patriarchal structures**

Supervision Essay Questions:

- A) How can the impact of austerity be analysed through a frame of patriarchy?

- B) Take the example of Sisters Uncut and apply an intersectional analysis to the issues of domestic violence.

Readings:

\*Emejulu, A. and Bassel, L. *Minority Women and Austerity: Survival and Resistance in France and Britain*. Bristol, 2017. Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

\* Emejulu, A. 2015. "From #BlackLivesMatter to Anti-Austerity: Women of Colour and the Politics of Solidarity." Verso Books Blog. Available: <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/2303-from-blacklivesmatter-to-anti-austerity-women-of-colour-and-the-politics-of-solidarity>

\* Emejulu, A. and Bassel, L. 2017. *They cut, we bleed: Women of Colour's Anti-Austerity Activism*. The Pluto Press Blog. Available at: <https://plutopress.wordpress.com/2017/06/01/they-cut-we-bleed-women-of-colours-anti-austerity-activism-by-akwugo-emejulu-and-leah-bassel/>

Ishkanian, A. Neoliberalism and violence: the Big Society and the changing politics of domestic violence in England. *Critical Social Policy* (2014): 1-22.

Audre Lorde. 2009. *There Is No Hierarchy of Oppression*. In Rudolph P. Byrd, Johnnetta Betsche Cole, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, eds. *I Am Your Sister: Collected and Unpublished Writings of Audre Lorde*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Media Diversified is a social enterprise working to enrich, engage and improve the UK's media landscape and publishes work by writers of colour. <https://mediadiversified.org>

Sisters Uncut Manifesto: <http://www.sistersuncut.org/feministo/>

Wynter, L. Why I stormed the Tate Modern in protest against violent men. openDemocracy. 15 June 2016. Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/transformation/liv-wynter/why-i-stormed-tate-modern-in-protest-against-violent-men>

#### **Lecture four: Gender inequalities in UK higher education: Institutional sexism**

Supervision Essay Questions:

- A) What is the role of institutions in perpetuating sexism?
- B) What kinds of responses are required to address gender inequalities in higher education?

\*Whitley, L. and Page, L. Sexism at the centre: Locating the problem of sexual harassment. Special issue on sexism. *New Formations*, 86 (2015): 34-53.

\*Page, T. 2017. Why we need to address staff sexual misconduct in higher education. 7 March 2017. *Huffington Post*. Available at: [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-tiffany-page/sexual-misconduct-higher-education\\_b\\_15204012.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-tiffany-page/sexual-misconduct-higher-education_b_15204012.html)

\*Universities UK. Changing the culture: Report of the Universities UK Taskforce examining violence against women, harassment and hate crime affecting university students. 2016. Available at: <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Pages/changing-the-culture-final-report.aspx>

\*Ahmed, S. Introduction: Sexism - The Problem with a Name. Special issue on sexism. *New Formations*, 86 (2015): 5-13

\*Franklin, S. Sexism as a Means of Reproduction: Some Reflections on the Politics of Academic Practice. Special issue on sexism. *New Formations*, 86 (2015): 14-33

\*National Union Students. Hidden Marks; A study of women students' experiences of harassment, stalking, violence and sexual assault. 2010. Available at: [https://www.nus.org.uk/Global/NUS\\_hidden\\_marks\\_report\\_2nd\\_edition\\_web.pdf](https://www.nus.org.uk/Global/NUS_hidden_marks_report_2nd_edition_web.pdf)

Mirza, H. Decolonizing Higher Education: Black Feminism and the Intersectionality of Race and Gender. *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 7/8 (Fall 2014/Spring 2015): 1-12.

Phipps, A., Ringrose, J., Renold, E. and Jackson, C. Rape culture, lad culture and everyday sexism: researching, conceptualizing and politicizing new mediations of gender and sexual violence. *Journal of Gender Studies* (2017): 1-8.

Phipps, A. and Young, I. Neoliberalisation and 'Lad Cultures' in Higher Education. *Sociology* 49 (2) (2015): 305-322.

Jackson, C. and Sundaram, V. Is 'lad culture' a problem in higher education? Exploring the perspectives of staff working in UK universities. Society for Research into Higher Education. 2015. Available at: <https://www.srhe.ac.uk/downloads/JacksonSundaramLadCulture.pdf>

That's what she said: Women students' experiences of 'lad culture' in higher education. University of Sussex and National Union of Students. Available at: [http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/49011/1/That's\\_what\\_she\\_said\\_full\\_report\\_Final\\_web.pdf](http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/49011/1/That's_what_she_said_full_report_Final_web.pdf)

## **Lent Term**

### **Gender, the Family and Inequality in Britain**

Prof Jacqueline Scott, Fridays 12, Weeks 5-8, Beginning 16 February

## **Lecture 1. Women and Employment: Assessing Progress on Equality**

In this lecture we consider the progress and lack of progress in women's employment, in modern Britain. The knowledge economy poses particular challenges for gender equality, even among the educated elite. The 'caring' penalty still matters and if women (or men) take time out of the labour force to care for families, their career progression suffers. The challenge of gender equality in employment interlinks with ethnicity, with ethnic minority women particularly disadvantaged.

### Readings:

Castells Manuel. 'The End of Patriarchy' in The Power of Identity, Vol 2 of the Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Blackwell. 1997.

Crompton, R. 2006. Employment and the Family, Cambridge CUP

Dex, S. Work and Families, In Scott, J. et al (eds) Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Families, Blackwell, 2004.

Esping Andersen: The Incomplete Revolution, Polity, 2009

Gershuny, J. and M. Y. Kan. Half-way to gender equality in paid and unpaid work? Scott et al (eds) Gendered Lives, Edward Elgar, 2012.

McLaughlin and Deakin. Equality law and the business case for addressing gender inequalities in Scott et al (eds) Gendered Lives, Edward Elgar, 2012.

Scott et al (eds) 2008. Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges, Edward Elgar.

### Web Resources:

Gender Equality Network (GeNet) - last archived Dec 2012

<http://www.webarchive.org.uk/ukwa/target/14254080/source/search>

Women and Work Commission: Shaping a Fairer Future—a review of recommendations,

[http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100211010917/http://www.equalities.gov.uk/pdf/297158\\_WWC\\_Report\\_acc.pdf](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100211010917/http://www.equalities.gov.uk/pdf/297158_WWC_Report_acc.pdf)

Institute of Public Policy Research: Great Expectations: Exploring the promise of gender equality

[https://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2013/04/great-expectations-gender-equality\\_Mar2013\\_10562.pdf](https://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2013/04/great-expectations-gender-equality_Mar2013_10562.pdf)

## **Lecture 2. Work-family balance – the gender gap in paid and unpaid work**

We examine the gender gap in paid and unpaid work across the family life course. Is the gender pay gap a result of women doing more of the unpaid work and therefore losing out to men in terms of human capital development? Can policy do anything to address this gender gap? We examine the development of work-family balance policies in the UK and suggest that the UK is lagging behind Nordic countries in addressing such issues.

#### Readings:

Gershuny, J 2000 *Changing times: work and leisure in a postindustrial society*, Oxford OUP.

Lewis, J. *Work-Family 2009 Balance Gender and Policy*, Edward Elgar

Lewis, J. Gender equality and work-family balance in a cross national perspective, In Scott et al (eds) *Gendered Lives*, Edward Elgar, 2012.

Sigle-Ruston, W. Policy and Families, In Treas, J. et al, *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Families 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, 2014.

#### Web Resources:

British Social Attitudes: Gender-roles an incomplete revolution  
<http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-30/gender-roles/introduction.aspx>

### **Lecture 3 Family changes – changes in marriage and parenthood**

Marriage is being delayed as increasing proportions of couples cohabit. Cohabitation was initially more evident among the highly educated but now cohabitation is common across the social class spectrum. The evidence suggests that cohabiting unions are less stable than marriages, but the meaning of this link is contested. Increasing proportions of children are born outside of marriage. How do such changing family forms influence the life chances of individuals? How are families and inequality linked?

#### Readings:

Farthing, Rys. Family Poverty. In Treas et al (eds) *Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Families*, 2014.

Haskey, J., and Lewis, J. (2006). Living-apart together in Britain: Context and meaning. *International Journal of Law in Context*, 2, 37-48.

*Kiernan, K. (2004). Unmarried cohabitation and parenthood in Britain and Europe. Journal of Law and Policy*, 26(1), 33-55.

Miles, J. and R. Probert (ed) 2009 *Sharing Lives, Dividing Assets*, Hart.



Shaw, Alison, Ethnic Diversity in the United Kingdom: Family Forms and Conjugalities. In Treas, J. et al (eds) Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Families, 2014.

### Web Resources

Modern fatherhood in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century  
<http://www.modernfatherhood.org/>

## **Lecture 4 Growing up in modern Britain – class and gender inequalities**

There is a continuing debate in Britain about whether social mobility is increasing or decreasing over time. Education seeks to compensate for those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds but does it succeed? We examine the way childhood disadvantages persist into early adulthood. We also examine the way young people's aspirations and expectations of adult life are influenced by both gender and class.

### Readings:

Bynner (2001) British youth in a comparative perspective. *Journal of youth studies*, 4(1), 5-23

Furlong and Cartmel, *Young People and social change*. Open University Press, 1997.

Hills, J., Le Grand and Pichaud (eds) *Understanding social exclusion* (2002)  
Oxford University press

Irwin, S. (2009). Locating where the action is: Quantitative and qualitative lenses on families, schooling and structures of social inequality. *Sociology*, 43, 1123-1140.

Jones, G. *Youth*. Polity Press, 2009

Lewis J. (ed) *Children, changing families and welfare states*, Edward Elgar 2006.

Platt, L *Understanding inequalities, stratification and difference* , Polity, 2011

Reay, D , David and Ball (2005) *Degrees of choice, Social class , race and gender in higher education*, Trentham Books.

Saunders, P (2002) Reflections on the meritocracy debate in Britain, *British Journal of Sociology*, 53, 559-74.

Schoon, I (2010) *Becoming adult: the persisting importance of class and gender* in Scott et al (ed) *Gender inequalities in 21<sup>st</sup> century*

Scott, J. Conflicting family interests. In Mortelmans, et al (eds) *Changing Family Dynamics and Demographic Evolution*, Edward Elgar. 2016.

### Web resources

Hills, J. et.al. (2010) *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK*

<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28344/1/CASEREport60.pdf>

Supervision Topics (for all four lectures in module)

1. To what extent does family background influence children's life chances in modern Britain?
2. How do production and reproduction shape gender inequalities in modern Britain?
3. Is child poverty best addressed by policies encouraging maternal employment?
4. Why does a gender difference in paid and unpaid work matter if men and women do similar amounts of work overall?
5. Why is the gender pay gap so stubborn?

## **Sexuality in Modern Britain**

Dr Robert Pralat, Thursdays 10-12, weeks 7 & 8 (on 1 and 8 March)

### **Sexuality and Inequality in Modern Britain**

It has been 50 years since the passing of the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, popularly understood as the legislation that decriminalised homosexuality in Britain. In this part of the paper we will examine the critical moments of the British gay liberation movement and the ongoing struggle for equality between the heterosexual majority and sexual minorities. The lectures will explore specific landmarks that determined the trajectory of LGBT politics in Britain, with a particular focus on the debates about the age of consent, Section 28 and same-sex marriage.

### **Background Reading**

Browne, Kath. 2011. 'By Partner we Mean...': Alternative Geographies of 'Gay Marriage'. *Sexualities*. 14(1):100-122.

Burridge, Joseph. 2004. 'I Am Not Homophobic But...': Disclaiming in Discourse Resisting Repeal of Section 28. *Sexualities*. 7(3):327-344.

Carabine, Jean; Monro, Surya. 2004. Lesbian and Gay Politics and Participation in New Labour's Britain. *Social Politics*. 11(2):312-327.

Eekelaar, John. 2014. Perceptions of Equality: The Road to Same-Sex Marriage in England and Wales. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*. 28(1):1-25.

Epstein, Debbie; Johnson, Richard; Steinberg, Deborah Lynn. 2000. Twice Told Tales: Transformation, Recuperation and Emergence in the Age of Consent Debates 1998. *Sexualities*. 3(1):5-30.

Johnson, Paul. 2007. Ordinary Folk and Cottaging: Law, Morality, and Public Sex. *Journal of Law and Society*. 34(4):520-543.

- MacBride-Stewart, Sara; Johns, Nicholas; Green, Alison. 2016. Understanding Same-Sex Marriage as Equality, but with Exceptions. *Families, Relationships, Societies*. 5(2):229-245.
- McGhee, Derek. 2004. Beyond Toleration: Privacy, Citizenship and Sexual Minorities in England and Wales. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 55(3):357-375.
- Moran, Joe. 2001. Childhood Sexuality and Education: The Case of Section 28. *Sexualities*. 4(1):73-89.
- Rahman, Momin. 2004. The Shape of Equality: Discursive Deployments During the Section 28 Repeal in Scotland. *Sexualities*. 7(2):150-166.
- Reinhold, Susan. 1994. Through the Parliamentary Looking Glass: 'Real' and 'Pretend' Families in Contemporary British Politics. *Feminist Review*. 48:61-79.
- Richardson, Diane; Monro, Surya. 2013. Public Duty and Private Prejudice: Sexualities Equalities and Local Government. *The Sociological Review*. 61(1):131-152.
- Vanderbeck, Robert M; Johnson, Paul. 2016. The Promotion of British Values: Sexual Orientation Equality, Religion, and England's Schools. *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*. 30(3):292-321.
- Waites, Matthew. 2000. Homosexuality and the New Right: The Legacy of the 1980s for New Delineations of Homophobia. *Sociological Research Online*. 5(1).
- Waites, Matthew. 2003. Equality at Last? Homosexuality, Heterosexuality and the Age of Consent in the United Kingdom. *Sociology*. 37(4):637-655.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. 1979/2016. *Coming Out: The Emergence of LGBT Identities in Britain from the 19th Century to the Present*. Quartet Books.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. 1981/2017. *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulations of Sexuality since 1800*. Taylor & Francis.
- Wise, Sue. 2000. 'New Right' or 'Backlash'? Section 28, Moral Panic and 'Promoting Homosexuality'. *Sociological Research Online*. 5(1).

### **Supervision Questions**

- What does it mean that, in 1967, homosexuality in Britain was decriminalised only 'partially'?
- If Section 28 had never been used in a prosecution, why was its repeal significant?
- Why was equalising the age of consent contentious?
- Why do people disagree about whether same-sex marriage constitutes progressive politics?
- To what extent have sexual minorities in Britain achieved equality?

### **Student Feedback:**

Your chance to put forward your opinions on the papers you take!

For Sociology Papers, student feed-back is collected via hard-copy anonymous questionnaires distributed at various points in the academic year. It is crucial that you fill these out and give feedback on your papers. Getting good feedback from students makes the course better and shows the outside world how Cambridge degrees consider their students views.

Course organisers take students' concerns and suggestions into consideration each year when preparing their paper outlines and selecting supervisors for the year. So please remember to fill out a form either in hard-copy or on the undergraduate sociology website.