

Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos
Soc 12: Social Problems in Britain 2019-2020
Wednesdays, 2pm-4pm

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Aims and Objectives

To provide knowledge and understanding of a host of connected, pressing social problems in contemporary Britain.

To develop an understanding of the relations and intersections among (1) class domination and social exclusion, (2) nationalisms, racism, and xenophobia, and (3) gender and sexual inequalities 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. Students are expected to prepare essays from at least two of the three modules offered in the course.

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

Module One: Class Domination and Social Exclusion

Dr Jeff Miley & Dr Matthew Sparkes

These lectures explore the dynamics of class domination and social exclusion in contemporary 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; 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 five lectures will trace the evolution of the class structure and trajectories of inequalities in view of these political and economic developments. We 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 – October 16. From Engels and Orwell to Grenfell Tower: The Plight of the British Working Class (Dr. Miley).

Supervision essay Questions

- A) What is the relevance of Engels' concept of "social murder" in contemporary Britain?
- 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:

* Perry Anderson, "The Figures of Descent," *New Left Review*, Vol. 161, 1987.

*Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Penguin Classics, 2009). Chapter 2. "The Great Towns," Chapter 4. "Irish Immigration." Chapter 11. "The Attitude of the Bourgeoisie towards the Proletariat."

* Richard Horton, "Offline: Racism – The Pathology We Choose to Ignore," *The Lancet*, Vol. 390, July 1, 2017. DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(17\)31746-4](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(17)31746-4)

* Hajra Khan, "Why Was Grenfell Towers Allowed to Burn?," June 2017. Accessible at: <http://www.lappthebrand.com/?p=3404>

* 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).

* George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980).

*Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, [1944]2002). Part Three.

* Lisa McKenzie, *Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain* (Policy Press, 2015). Introduction.

* Satnam Virdee, *Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Chapters 1, 2, 9.

* Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010* (John Murray, 2015). Introduction and Conclusion.

* Joanna Whitehead, "Grenfell Tower Is About Race and Class," June 2017. Accessible at: https://www.thefword.org.uk/2017/06/grenfell_tower_race_and_class/

Stephen Brooke, "Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2001, pp.773-795.

Stephen Brooke, "Bodies, Sexuality and the 'Modernization' of the British Working Classes, 1920s to 1960s," *International Labour and Working-Class History*, Vol. 69, Spring 2006, pp.104-122.

Rosemary Crompton. *Class and Stratification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008).

Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (Routledge, Second Edition, 2002).

Owen Jones, *Chavs* (London: Verso, 2012).

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.

Sivanandan, A. "Race, Class, and the State: The Black Experience in Britain," *Race and Class*, XVII (4) (1976).

Mike Savage, *Social Class in the 21st Century* (Penguin, 2015).

Beverly Skeggs, *Class, Self, Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).

E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Open Roads Media, 2016).

Paul Toynbee, *Hard Work: Life in Low-Pay Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).

Eric Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1987).

Lecture Two – October 23. The Rise and Demise of Social Democracy in Britain (Dr. Miley)

Supervision essay Questions

- A) How was the contradiction between capitalism and democracy managed in the Social Democratic period?
- B) Why did the Social-Democratic "Consensus" Collapse?
- C) What Were the Causes and Content of Thatcherite Hegemony?

Readings:

* Gilroy, P. "The End of Anti-Racism," in W. Ball and J. Solomos, eds. *Race and Local Politics* (Springer, 1990) pp.191-209.

* Stuart Hall, "The Great Moving Right Show," *Marxism Today*, January 1979, pp.14-20. Accessible at: http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/79_01_hall.pdf

*Hall, S. "The Neoliberal Revolution," *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 6, 2011, pp.705-728.

*Hay, C. "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, 2001).

* Geoffrey Ingham, *Capitalism Divided* (Schocken Books, 1984) Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, 9, Concluding Remarks.

* Jessop, B. "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, 1992).

* Jessop, B. *Thatcherism: A Tale of Two Nations* (London: Blackwell, 1989).

* Tara Martin López, *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, and History* (Liverpool University Press, 2014). Introduction, Chapters 1, 8, Conclusion.

* Ralph Miliband, *Capitalist Democracy in Britain* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

* Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1986). Especially Chapter 1.

* Sheila Robowtham, Lynne Seagal, and Hillary Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments: Feminism and the Making of Socialism* (Merlin Press, 2013).

* Fiona Williams, "'Race' and 'Nation' in the Welfare State," in *Social Policy: A Critical Introduction* (Polity, 1997), pp.89-91, 179-180. Accessible at:
http://www.open.edu/openlearn/ocw/pluginfile.php/617746/mod_resource/content/1/offprint36.pdf

Aaronovitch, S. *The Ruling Class: A Study of British Financial Capital* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1961).

Backhouse, R. "Economists and the Rise of Neo-liberalism," *Renewal*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2009, pp.17-25. [Online]. Accessible at: <http://renewal.org.uk/articles/economists-and-the-rise-of-neo-liberalism/>

Bashkevin, S. "Confronting Neo-Conservatism: Anglo-American Women's Movements under Thatcher, Reagan and Mulroney," *International Political Science Review*, Vol 15, No. 3, 1994.

Michael Barrat Brown, "Away with All the Great Arches: Anderson's History of British Capitalism," *New Left Review*, 167, 1988.

Sheila Blackburn, "How Useful Are Feminist Theories of the Welfare State," *Women's History Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1995, pp.369-394.

Bulpitt, J. "The Discipline of the New Democracy: Mrs. Thatcher's Domestic Statecraft," *Political Studies*, 34, 1986.

Cockett, R. *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution 1931-1983* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995).

Coates, D. *The Question of U.K. Decline* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994).

Colin Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (Polity, 2011).

Andrew Gamble, *Between Europe and America: The Future of British Politics* (Palgrave, 2003).

Gallas, A. 2015. *The Thatcherite Offensive: A Neo-Poulantzian Analysis* (London: Brill, 2015). Especially Chapter 1, "The Hall-Jessop Debate."

Gordon, P. "A Dirty War: The New Right and Local Authority Anti-Racism," in W. Ball and J. Solomos, eds. *Race and Local Politics*. Springer, 1990, pp.175-190.

Hall, S., Massey, D., and Rustin, M. (2013). "After Neoliberalism," *Kilburn Manifesto*. (Soundings, 2013). [Online]. Accessible at: <http://lwbooks.co.uk/journals/soundings/manifesto.html>

Hall, S. *The Politics of Thatcherism* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1983).

Hay, C. *Re-stating Political and Social Change* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1996).

Geoffrey Ingham, "Commercial Capital and British Development," *New Left Review*, 172, 1988.

Kavanagh, D. and P. Morris, *Consensus Politics from Attlee to Thatcher* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

Tess Lanning, "Feminism and Democratic Renewal." Accessible at: https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/sites/default/files/s52_02lanning.pdf

Lenormand, M. "Interpreting Thatcherism: The British Labour Movement and the Political Legacy of the Period of Conservative Rule," *Observatoire de la Société Britannique*, 17, 2015, pp.163-179.

Gail Lewis, "Welfare Settlements and Racialising Practices." Accessible at: http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/soundings/04_109.pdf

Gamble, A. *Free Economy and Strong State* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

Gilroy, P. 1987. "Race, Class and Agency," in *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (Routledge, Second Edition, 2002).

Hay, C. "Crisis and Political Development in Britain," in D. Marsh, et. al., eds., *Postwar British Politics in Perspective* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

Hay, C. *Re-stating Political and Social Change* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1996).

Helleiner, E. *States and the Emergence of Global Finance* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Kavanagh, D. *Thatcherism and British Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

King, D. *The New Right* (London: Macmillan, 1987).

Leys, C. "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, 1989).

Marquand, D and A. Seldon (eds) (1996), *The Ideas that Shaped Post-War Britain*, London: Fontana.

Marglin, S. and J.B. Schor, eds. *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpreting the Postwar Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). Especially Chapters 1, 2.

Massey, D. "On Vocabularies of the Economy – Kilburn Manifesto. Open Democracy (2013). [Online]. Accessible at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/doreen-massey/on-vocabularies-of-neoliberal-economy-kilburn-manifesto>

Miliband, R. "The Capitalist State: Reply to Nicos Poulantzas," *New Left Review*, 59, 1970, pp.53-60.

Payne, C. *The Consumer, Credit and Neoliberalism* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Pilcher, J. "The Gender Significance of Women in Power: British Women Talking about Thatcher," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1995.

Poulantzas, N. 1969. "The Problem of the Capitalist State," *New Left Review*, 58, pp.67-78.

Ribberink, A. 2010. "Gender Politics with Margaret Thatcher: Vulnerability and Toughness," *Gender Forum*, 30, pp.1-11.

Smith, A. *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968-1990*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Sparkes, M., J. Gummy, and B. Burchell, "Debt: Beyond *Homo Economicus*," in A. Lewis, ed., *The Cambridge Handbook of Psychology and Economic Behaviour, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Suttcliffe-Braithwaite, F. *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England, 1968-2000* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018).

Lecture Three – Oct. 30. Austerity Politics, Class Dynamics, and the Rise of Jeremy Corbyn (Dr. Miley)

Supervision Essay Questions:

- A) Is neoliberalism dying in Britain? OR
- B) What effect has austerity had on class inequalities and class subjectivities in Britain?

Readings

*P. Dorey. (2017). "Jeremy Corbyn Confounds his Critics: Explaining the Labour Party's Remarkable Resurgence in the 2017 Election," *British Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 2017, pp. 308-334.

*E. Dowling et. al. "Occupy London," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 111, No. 3, 2012: 608-615.

*C. Haylett. (2001) "Illegitimate Subjects? Abject Whites, Neoliberal Modernization, and Middle Class Multiculturalism," *Environment and Planning D*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2001.

*J. Judis, *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics* (Columbia Global Reports, 2016).

*T. Miley. "Challenges for the Struggle against Austerity in Britain and Europe," in Shana Cohen, Christina Fuhr and Jan-Jonathan Bock, eds., *Austerity, Community Action, and the Future of Citizenship in Europe* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017), pp.217-236.

*R. Seymour, *Corbyn: The Strange Rebirth of Radical Politics* (London: Verso, 2016).

*I. Tyler, I. *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain* (New York: Zed Books, 2013).

*N. Sotirakopoulos and C. Rootes, "Occupying London in International and Local Context," in D. Della Porta, et. al., eds. *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis* (ECPR, 2014), pp.171-192.

"All that is Solid, "Jeremy Corbyn and the Working Class." Accessible at: <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." Accessible at: <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/>

Dawn Foster, "Jeremy Corbyn and Women: A Matter of Policy, Not Appointment." Accessible at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/dawn-foster/jeremy-corbyn-and-women-matter-of-policy-not-appointment>

Kyle Geraghty, "Corbyn's Emerging Class Coalition." Accessible at: <https://newsocialist.org.uk/corbys-emerging-class-coalition/>

John Gray, "Labour's Populism for the Middle Classes," *New Statesman*, June 2017. Accessible at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/06/labours-populism-middle-classes>

"How Britain Voted in the 2017 General Election." Accessible at: <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/06/13/how-britain-voted-2017-general-election/>

Alex Hunt, "Does Jeremy Corbyn Have a Woman Problem?" Accessible at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-34258171>

Rosanna Hutchinson, "A Victory for Labour's Left-Wing Women." Accessible at: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/83189/1/Engenderings%20%E2%80%93%20A%20victory%20for%20Labour%E2%80%93%20left-wing%20women.pdf>

Labour Party, *Race and Faith Manifesto*. Accessible at: <http://www.labour.org.uk/page/-/party-documents/Race%20%26%20Faith%20Manifesto%202017.pdf>

N. Lindisfarne and J. Neale, "Class, Gender, and Neoliberalism," *Rs21*, Jan. 2014. Accessible at: <https://www.rs21.org.uk/2014/01/04/class-gender-and-neoliberalism/>

Shaun Daniel Carl Flores Blog, "Gender and/or Sexuality and Political Engagement." Accessible at: <http://eportfolios.roehampton.ac.uk/floress/blog-3-gender-andor-sexuality-and-political-engagement/>

Williams, A. et. al., "Co-Constituting Neoliberalism: Faith-based Organizations, Co-Optation, and Resistance in the U.K.," *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 44, No. 6, 2012.

"Young Voters, Class, and Turn-Out: How Britain Voted in 2017." Accessible at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/datablog/ng-interactive/2017/jun/20/young-voters-class-and-turnout-how-britain-voted-in-2017>

Lecture Four: – Nov. 27. Transformations of the Class Structure, Meritocracy and Social Mobility (Dr. Sparkes)

Supervision Essay Questions

- A) Does cultural analysis add to our understanding of social class in contemporary Britain?
- B) Is British society meritocratic?

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.
- *Friedman, S. & Laurison, D. (2019). *The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged*. London: Policy Press.
- *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.
- Pakulski and Waters (1996). *Death of Class*. 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)

- *Atkinson, W. (2019). Joint book review. *Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038519867222>
- *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.
- *Friedman, S. & Laurison, D. (2019). *The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged*. London: Policy Press.

- *Lawler, S. & Payne, P. (2018). *Social Mobility for the 21st Century: Everyone a Winner?* Routledge.
- *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.
- *Reay, D. (2017). *Miseducation: Inequality, Education, and the Working Classes*. Policy Press.
- *Saunders (1996). *Unequal but Fair? A Study of Class Barriers in Britain*. London: IEA.
- *Savage, M. (2015). *Social Class in the 21st 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
- 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.
- Adonis and Pollard (1997). *A Class Act*. London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd.

Lecture Five (Dec. 4)– Classificatory Struggles and Classification Situations: the Underclass Debate and the Dynamics of Exclusion (Dr. Sparkes)

Supervision Essay Questions

- A) In what ways does classification affect the lives of British citizens?
- B) What is the "underclass" and is the concept useful for understanding contemporary class politics 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.
- *Sparkes, M. (2019). Borrowed identities: Class(ification), inequality, and the role of credit-debt in class making and struggle. *The Sociological Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038026119831563>
- *Tyler I (2013) *Revoltng 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.
- *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)

- *Beverly, C. C. & Stanback, H. (1986). The Black Underclass: Theory and Reality. *The Black Scholar*, 17, (5), 24-32. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41068154>
- *Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- *Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- *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>.
- *The Institute of Economic Affairs. (1996). *Charles Murray and the Underclass: The Developing Debate*.
- *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>
- *Tyler, I. & Slater, T. (2018). Rethinking the sociology of stigma. *The Sociological Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777425>

- * Kawalerowicz, J., Biggs, M. (2015). Anarchy in the UK: Economic Deprivation, Social Organization, and Political Grievances in the London Riot of 2011. *Social Forces*, 94, 2, 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>
- *The Guardian. (2011). *Reading the Riots*. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/series/reading-the-riots>
- *McArthur, D. & Reeves, A. (2019). The Rhetoric of Recessions: How British Newspapers Talk about the Poor When Unemployment Rises, 1896–2000. *Sociology*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038519838752>
- Field. (1989). *Losing Out: Emergence of Underclass*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Pantazis, ed. (2006). *Poverty and Social Exclusion: The Millennium Survey*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Wacquant, Loïc (2008). *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- 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 Hill, ed. (2002). *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: OUP.

Module Two: Gender and Sexual Inequalities in Britain

Dr. Robert Pralat and Dr Charlotte Proudman

Sessions 1 and 2 – Jan. 22 and Jan. 29: Sexual Inequalities and the Lived Experience of LGBT People in Britain (Dr. Pralat)

Lecture 1. Sexual Minorities and Legal Inequalities (2 hours)

Lecture Outline

This lecture will discuss social inequalities in Britain in relation to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people, paying particular attention to legal reform. With a specific focus on the past half a century, we will examine what political priorities have shaped LGBT social movements. Drawing on historical sociology and socio-legal studies, we will ask about motivations for, and consequences of, different legislative changes, and various ways of achieving them. We will also ask who is most likely to benefit from particular reforms, which groups remain disadvantaged and what is ‘progress’ in LGBT politics.

Supervision Essay Questions

Why have people disagreed about the focus of lesbian/gay politics?

To what extent have sexual minorities in Britain achieved equality?

Background Reading

- Barker, Nicola, & Monk, Daniel, eds. 2015. *From Civil Partnership to Same-Sex Marriage: Interdisciplinary Reflections*. Routledge.
- Johnson, Paul. 2016. *Going to Strasbourg: An Oral History of Sexual Orientation Discrimination and the European Convention on Human Rights*. OUP.
- Richardson, Diane, & Monro, Surya. 2012. *Sexuality, Equality and Diversity*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waites, Matthew. 2005. *The Age of Consent: Young People, Sexuality and Citizenship*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. 2018 [1981]. *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800*. Routledge.

Key readings and an extended reading list, including journal articles and book chapters, will be provided in Michaelmas 2019.

Lecture 2. Health Inequalities and LGBT Identities (2 hours)

Lecture Outline

This lecture will focus on how the experience of health and illness is mediated by sexuality or gender that is not normative, and on the relationship between LGBT people and medicine. Drawing on medical sociology and critical public health, we will examine how, historically, LGBT people have been pathologised and how, at the same time, their experiences have been marginalised, with particular effects on the provision of healthcare. We will also explore how medicine has shaped contemporary understandings of LGBT identities, paying particular attention to recent challenges facing both LGBT people and healthcare providers.

Supervision Essay Questions

How are LGBT people's experiences of health and illness marked by inequalities?
In what areas of medicine are LGBT people disproportionately affected and why?

Background Reading

- Davy, Zowie. 2011. *Recognizing Transsexuals: Personal, Political and Medicolegal Embodiment*. Ashgate/Routledge.
- Hines, Sally, & Sanger, Tam, eds. 2010. *Transgender Identities: Towards a Social Analysis of Gender Diversity*. Routledge.
- Pearce, Ruth. 2018. *Understanding Trans Health: Discourse, Power and Possibility*. Policy Press.
- Race, Kane. 2017. *The Gay Science: Intimate Experiments with the Problem of HIV*. Routledge.

Weeks, Jeffrey. 2016 [1979]. *Coming Out: The Emergence of LGBT Identities in Britain from the 19th Century to the Present*. Quartet Books.

Key readings and an extended reading list, including journal articles and book chapters, will be provided in Michaelmas 2019.

Sessions Three and Four – Feminist thinking in society and in the law, Dr Charlotte Proudman

Session 3 – MONDAY Feb 3, 4pm-6pm: The law is male, pale and stale

This session will explore how the law can be used as a tool to further women's equality in society and how it can be used to reinforce gender inequality. From the design and implementation of the law, to the institutional biases within the legal profession, we will examine the different intersecting layers and patterns of inequality and oppression that disenfranchised groups experience. Second wave feminist, Professor Catherine MacKinnon's exposition of the state and the law being primarily from the perspective of a white, privileged, heterosexual male provides a lens for analysing the discrete biases that play out in the construction and implementation of the law. We shall take various issues of gender and sexuality that relate to 'the body' and consider how the law conceptualises them and attempts to regulate them. The issues under consideration include: rape, abortion, pornography and female genital mutilation.

Background reading

Abortion Act 1967: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/contents>

Female Genital Mutilation Act 2003: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/31/contents>

Obscene Publications, CPS Guidance (2019): <https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/obscene-publications>

Sexual Offences Act 2003: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/42/contents>

Ahmadu, F. Rites and Wrongs: An Insider/Outsider Reflects on Power and Excision. In B. Shell-Duncan & Y. Hernlund (Eds.), *Female 'circumcision' in Africa: Dimensions of the practice and debates*: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 2000.

Banyard, K. *Pimp State: Sex, Money and the Future of Equality*, Faber & Faber, 2016.

Bilge, S. Beyond subordination vs. resistance: An intersectional approach to the agency of veiled Muslim women. *Journal of intercultural studies*, 31(1), 9-28, 2010.

Bindel, J. *The Pimping of Prostitution: Abolishing the Sex Work Myth*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Chambers, C. *Sex, Culture, and Justice: The Limits of Choice*: Penn State Press. 2008.

Dustin, M. Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting in the UK: Challenging the Inconsistencies. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 17(1), 7-23. 2010.

Dworkin, A, *Right Wing Women The Politics of Domesticated Females*, First Perigee printing, 1983 (Chapter 3 abortion).

Jeffreys, S. *Beauty and misogyny*: London and New York: Routledge. 2005.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. Rape redefined. *Harvard Law & Policy Review*. 10 (2016): p431.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. Not a Moral Issue. *Yale Law & Policy Review* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 321-345 (25 pages)

MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Harvard University Press, 1989. Chapters eight to 12.

Mackinnon, C. *Women's Lives, Men's Laws*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

Nussbaum, Martha C. Whether from reason or prejudice: taking money for bodily services. *The Journal of Legal Studies* 27.S2 (1998): 693-723.

Pedwell, C. Theorizing 'African' female genital cutting and 'Western' body modifications: A critique of the continuum and analogue approaches. *Feminist Review*, 2007, 86(1), 45-66.

Proudman, C. *Only quotas can challenge male privilege*, The Guardian, 24.09.2015
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/sep/24/sumption-law-sexism-quotas-male-privilege-women-judiciary>

Rogers, J. *The Law's Cut on the Body of Human Rights: Female Circumcision, Torture and the Sacred Flesh*, Routledge, 2014

Smart, C. *Feminism and the Power of Law*: Routledge, 1989

Weil Davis, S. Loose lips sink ships. *Feminist Studies*, 7-35. 2002.

Supervision Questions

1. How much weight can be placed on a woman's *consent* in an inherently unequal context and how could free choice be defined better?
2. How does the institutional structure of the law perpetuate gender inequality in the law and society?
3. What changes would you make to one law, to advance equality, and why?
4. Why does the law seek to regulate women's sexuality and bodies, when the same cannot be said for me, and what is the impact upon this for women?

Session 4 – MONDAY Feb. 17, 4pm-6pm: A feminist revolution or reform?

This session will explore the different approaches taken to reform the law to advance gender equality. A constant theme is the collaborations and conflicts between feminist and social movements for the liberation of disenfranchised groups in society. The central goal is to distinguish between different strands of feminist thought and apply them to contemporary issues in modern day society. These inequalities might be difficult to see, explain and resist because of the normalisation of unequal power relations. However, we will explore examples of the manifestation of patriarchal power in the public and the private sphere.

We shall consider the two, often opposing, feminist positions in supporting legal reform or the re-structuring of society. Reform often means transforming the current structure from within whereas revolutionary action calls for the breakdown and re-ordering of society. The recent MeToo movement was revolutionary in its breadth and the exposure to intersectional inequalities. However, what structural changes have resulted? And are there examples of regression as a backlash to the MeToo movement? We will then move onto consider the structural changes in policy and law that have been adopted to further gender equality, such as: quotas for women in the workplace, mandatory parental leave, universal childcare, the publishing of pay to reduce the gender pay gap and so on. But we still live in a society where over 80,000 women are raped each year, institutional gender segregation remains a norm in the echelons of society, women occupy the majority of care roles which are low paid and women are a minority on the boards of FTSE 500 companies – how do we achieve equality across all sectors?

Background reading

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

Edmonds J, Tutchell E. Man-Made: The damaging consequences of having so few women in positions of power. *European Journal of Workplace Innovation*. 2016 Oct 30;2(2).

Firestone, S. *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*, Bantam Books, 1970, Chapter 4, Down with childhood.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work- Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Hooks, B. *Feminist Theory from margin to center*, South End Press, 1984 (chapter 12: revolution: Development through struggle).

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

Johansson T. Fatherhood in transition: Paternity leave and changing masculinities. *Journal of family communication*. 2011 Jul 1;11(3):165-80.

Lord Davies. (2011). *Women on Boards*. Government: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/31480/11-745-women-on-boards.pdf

MacKinnon, C. (1989) *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McKinsey & Company. (2012). *Women Matter*.

Okin, Susan Moller. *Is multiculturalism bad for women?*. Princeton University Press, 1999

Pang, J. and Ramesh, V. Strengthening the University of Cambridge's Policy for Cases of Sexual Harassment and Assault, *The Wilberforce Society*, 2015 url: http://thewilberforcesociety.co.uk.gridhosted.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/V1_Sexual-Assault-Harassment-Policy-1.pdf

Onwuachi-Willig A. What About# UsToo: The Invisibility of Race in the# MeToo Movement. *Yale LJF*. 2018;128:105.

Penny, L. Diversity quotas are meritocracy in action, *New Statesman*, 18 September 2015: <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/feminism/2015/09/diversity-quotas-are-meritocracy-action>

Purcell, K., & Elias, P. Achieving Equality in the Knowledge Economy. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2009.

Sandberg, S. Lean in-Women. *Alfred J. Knopf*. 2013.

Tutchell E, Edmonds J. *Man-made: Why so few women are in positions of power*. Routledge; 2016 Mar 9.

UK Women's Budget Group. *The Impact on Women of the Coalition Spending Review 2010*. London.

Warren, T. (2010). Penalties of Part-Time Work Across Europe. In J. Scott, R. Crompton, & C. Lyonette, *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century: New Barriers and Continuing Constraints*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Supervision Questions

1. Can feminist reforms truly revolutionise an inherently unequal society?
2. What were the gains and losses for the MeToo movement? Why has there been a backlash to the MeToo movement? Why was the MeToo movement successful in contrast to others movements (consider who is represented and marginalised)?
3. How does society ensure gender and race parity and is this important?
4. There is much debate about a woman's quotas in male dominated spheres, are there any advantages and disadvantages in introducing a quota for men in women dominated spheres?
5. Why is the gender pay gap a manifestation of gender equality and how can the gap be reduced?
6. What subtle forms of inequality along class, gender, race and sexuality axes still exist in the law?

Module Three: Nationalisms, Racism and Xenophobia in Britain

Dr. Mark Ramsden & Dr Jeff Miley

The aim of these lectures is to study nationalisms, racism and xenophobia in contemporary Britain. The lectures include an exploration of the relations among Empire, nation and state in the British context. We examine the “troubles” in Northern Ireland, with a special focus on the attempt to forge a “consociational” solution to the violence there. We analyse the causes and consequences of the process of devolution in Scotland (and Wales), with special attention paid to the 2014 referendum. We also include a 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 look at the politics of racism and racialisation through the lens of immigration and citizenship. And we analyse 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 – Nov.6: Racism, Xenophobia, and the Politics of the War on Terror in Britain. (Dr. Miley).

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

*V. Brittain. (2009). “Beseiged in Britain,” *Race and Class* 50(3): 1-29.

*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.

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

*Paul Gilroy. (2005). “Multiculture, Double Consciousness, and the ‘War on Terror’,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 39(4): 431-443.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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 Sept. 2005. Accessible at: <http://www.cre.gov.uk>

Supervision Questions:

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 Two – Nov. 13: Accommodation and Conflict in Northern Ireland (Dr. Miley)

*C. Gormley-Heenan and A. Aughey, "Northern Ireland and Brexit: Three Effects on the 'Border in the Mind'," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2017.

*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: Routledge.

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

*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.

*Soares, A. "Living within and Outside Unions: The Consequences of Brexit for Northern Ireland," *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 2016.

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

B. Aratzega, *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Aughey, A. *The Politics of Northern Ireland. Beyond the Belfast Agreement* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Coakley, J. and J. Todd, eds., *Breaking Patterns of Conflict. Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland Question* (London: Routledge, 2015).

English, R. *Armed Struggle. The History of the IRA* (Aufgabe, 2012).

R. MacGinty, O. Muldoon, and N. Ferguson, "No War, No Peace. Northern Ireland after the Agreement," *Political Psychology*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2007, pp.1-11.

McKittrick, D. *Making Sense of the Troubles* (Penguin, 2012).

Millar, A. *Socio-Ideological Fantasy and the Northern Ireland Conflict. The Other Side* (Manchester University Press, 2006).

Ni Aolain, F. *The Politics of Force. Conflict Management and State Violence in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000).

O'Rourke, C. *Gender Politics in Transitional Justice* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Rouane, J. and J. Todd, *The Dynamics of Conflict in Northern Ireland. Power, Conflict and Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Tonge, J. *Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change* (London: Routledge, Second Edition, 2002).

Supervision Questions:

Does the current “consociational” arrangement in Northern Ireland constitute a fair and stable solution?

In what ways is the “traditional Marxist interpretation” of the conflict in Northern Ireland plausible?

Lecture Three – Nov. 20: Self-Determination for Scotland? (And what about Wales?) (Dr. Miley).

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

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

*Eric Hobsbawm, “Some Reflections on the Break-Up of Britain,” *New Left Review* 1/105, Sept-Oct 1977, pp.3-23.

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

*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.

*Michael Keating, “Brexit and Scotland,” in P. Diamond, et. al., eds., *Routledge Handbook of the Politics of Brexit* (London: Routledge, 2018).

*A. McHarg and J. Mitchell, “Brexit and Scotland,” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2017.

*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)

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

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

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)

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

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

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

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

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.

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.

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).

Richard Rose, "Is the United Kingdom a State?," in Peter Madgwick and Richard Rose, eds., *The Territorial Dimension in United Kingdom Politics* (Palgrave, 1982).

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 – Feb. 19: The United Kingdom, Great Britain, Greater Britain. Empire, State and Nation in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Beyond. (Dr. Ramsden)

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

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

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

*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).

David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2000)

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.

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

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

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

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.

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.

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

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.

Supervision Questions:

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 Five – Feb. 26: Migration Politics in Britain (Dr. Ramsden)

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

*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.

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

*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

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

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).

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."

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

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

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

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

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.

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).

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Supervision Question:

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

Lecture 6 – March 4: Institutional racism: turning citizens into immigrants

This topic will look at the politics of racism and racialisation through the lens of immigration and citizenship. We will consider the three horses of Thatcherism, New Labour, and neoliberal imperialism to analyse how institutional racism shapes Britain's immigration policies and criteria for citizenship. We will consider a range of examples from virginity tests in the 20th century through to the recent Windrush scandal.

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Supervision Questions:

1. How does Britain distinguish between citizens and immigrants?
2. How does the 'Windrush scandal' relate to the politics of race, immigration, and citizenship?
3. Is the British immigration system institutionally racist?

Lecture 7 – March 11: The Politics and Sociology of Brexit (Dr. Meghji and Dr. Ramsden)

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Supervision question:

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