

Race, Class and Gender



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Office Hour: By arrangement via zoom or in person.

1. Teaching and Learning Profile

a) Teaching Arrangements

This module is taught by a combination of lectures and seminars.

There will be ONE lecture and ONE seminar per week that you must attend. You will be told which of the seminars to attend.

Lectures and seminars are organically linked. Often we will explore a particular aspect of the topic in the lecture and explore a different aspect of it in the seminar. You **MUST** (virtually or IRL) attend both lectures and seminars.

Additionally, you **MUST** do the required readings. There are only two or three each week. But you must examine them thoroughly. The readings for each week are fundamental to our seminar discussions. If you have not managed to read them it will be very hard for you to participate in seminars. You certainly will not get much out of the seminars if you haven't done the readings.

b) Learning Outcomes and Assessment Criteria

(i) Knowledge and understanding of:

- Context: Knowledge of the historical and political context in which race, gender and class operates

- Theories of change: An understanding of how class, racial and gendered inequalities change over time
- Practical application: Ability to analyse how Civil Society groups interact with other actors (individuals, other civil society groups, the state and private sector).

(ii) Skills – able to:

- Apply key theories of race, gender and class to different civil society campaigns and organisations
- Account for the ways different racial, gendered and class identities shape how civil society groups operate
- Analyse how civil society bolsters and/or challenges the power of states and private (profit-making) organisations.

c) Attendance

- Attendance at all lectures and seminars is compulsory. Persistent non-attendance can lead to de-registration, which can affect your overall classification or prevent your studying further
- If you are absent due to ill health you should contact the module tutor and the office. If you are absent for more than 5 days you must supply a doctor's note.
- If you are having serious problems with your health or anything else which is preventing you participating in seminars and/or producing coursework, please contact your tutor, your advisor, the senior tutor or the student support manager in the School Office. We will always want to assist anyone who is in genuine need of assistance, but you must help us to help you by keeping us informed.

d) Participation/Preparation

Lectures, seminars and readings form an integrated whole. They do not duplicate each other; rather, they relate to each other. So if you only participate in one or two of these three then you won't be able to follow the module.

2. Assessment Profile and Timetable for Feedback

a) Assessment

Presentation	20 minutes	Deadline: 17 October	30%
Long Exam	2,500 words	Deadline: 30 October	40%
Short Exam	2,000 words	Deadline 12 December	30%

Theory of Change Presentation 30%

20 minutes

Deadline: 17 October (in class)

You have engaged closely with how race, class and gender shapes civil society, utilising key concepts to analyse these case studies. Now is your chance to pick a civil society group and analyse how your chosen organisation conceptualises social change.

You will deliver a presentation about your chosen organisation and political issue.

The organisation and political issue you choose is completely up to you.

The organisation must be based in the UK and currently active.

Examples include:

- a trade union and class inequalities
- an environmental protest group and climate change
- a mutual aid group and the Covid 19 pandemic
- a renters union and the housing crisis
- a community organisation challenging homophobic/transphobic violence
- a campaign group resisting gender-based violence
- an NGO supporting refugees and the migrant crisis.

You should consider the different theories of change we have covered in the module. For example:

- **Liberal individualism**, in which individuals come together to form a civil society group in order to solve a specific problem rather than making demands on the state, or seeking to change the socio-political system. For this set of theories, it would be useful to consider Tocqueville's theorisation of democracy in America, the Third Sector and INGOs.
- **Rights and Freedoms**, in which civil society groups make collective demands on the state for access to services and resources (e.g. housing, education), or freedom from violence (e.g. domestic violence, racial violence) and harm (e.g. poverty, exploitation). For this set of theories, it would be useful to consider Harvey's Right to the City, housing, trade unions, Citizens UK and/or some elements of the climate justice movement.

- **Radicalism/Revolution**, in which civil society groups organise as part of an international movement erode the power of the physical arm of the state (police, prisons, borders, military) and capital (private economic power). They seek to empower community-led forms of public safety, work and democratic decision-making, with a longer-term revolutionary vision. For this set of theories, you should consider Gilmore's theories of abolitionist revolution, Marxism, self-determination and/or radical feminism.

To get a good mark you should:

- 1) Provide a clear outline of the political context in which a specific civil society organisation or campaign is operating.
- 2) Analyse how race, gender and class shape the work of your chosen organisation
- 3) Make use of PowerPoint slides with data, images and quotes to illustrate your argument.
- 4) Communicate the logic of your argument to the viewer.
- 5) Your presentation should have an argument!

Exams

30% (short exam) and 40% (long exam)

2,500 words (long exam), 2,000 words (short exam)

Deadline: 30 October (long exam), 12 December (short exam)

This module provides a broad overview of a wide range of civil society campaigns and organisations, engaging in race, gender and class. Exploring case studies which include UK-based neighbourhood campaigns, national organisations and global networks has illustrated the different scales in which civil society operates. It is now time for you to consider which specific political issue(s) and organisations you are interested in, writing a well-researched essay on the topics covered in the module.

Essay Exam Instructions

The assignment is structured like an essay (intro, body, conclusion) with the body of the essay defending your argument, but also showing the opposing argument.

- You can use ANY material from the module reading list (remember that there are useful theoretical texts in the additional readings).
- You have to use at least six academic readings (journal articles, books).
- You can use as many journalistic articles/primary sources as you need (or as few).

- Your bibliography should separate academic sources from your primary sources.
- Exams will be held in class, so please bring your laptop. You are welcome to refer to any readings and use the internet during the exam.
- Use of ChatGPT and any other AI technology is strictly prohibited for all assessments.

You will be assessed according to the following criteria: whether you respond to the question; the quality of your argument and evidence; empirical detail/accuracy; how coherent your structure is; how accurately you summarise and cite your sources; and the presentation style.

There will be six exam questions in total, two for each of the subtopics covered in the module (race, class and gender).

In **the first exam**, which will last the entirety of the class, you should pick TWO of the six essay questions.

In **the second exam**, which will only last an hour, you should pick ONE of the four essay questions.

Be prepared to make good use of theory, to critically assess a political issue and analyse how civil society has responded to that issue.

To get a good mark you should:

- 1) Make sure your text is more argumentation than description.
- 2) Structure your text in a way that clearly addresses the essay question.
- 3) Communicate the logic of your argument to the reader.
- 4) Use theories of social change discussed in the readings to substantiate your argument.
- 5) Substantively reference at least SIX academic sources and also other news/primary sources.

b) Submission of assessments

You must submit one electronic copy of all assignments.

Your electronic copy will be retained and screened by anti-plagiarism software.

- Save your assignment with a bibliography as a single document (preferably as a PDF) before sending it to a.elliott-cooper@qmul.ac.uk
- Your assignments must be submitted by the end of class on the deadline date.
- Save back-up copies of all your work in case of computer failure.
- It is your responsibility to submit your assignments correctly.

(Full details of submission policies can be found in the School's Student Handbook.)

Class Schedule of Reading and Course Assignments

The Professor and AES reserve the right to modify some class content, course readings, assignments and deadlines as the class works through the course material together and to respond to the ongoing impact of COVID.

Week 1: 5 Sept – Introduction I: Race, Class and Gender

This week will provide an introduction to the module – we will meet each other, and define the key terms covered in the module.

We will then visit the British Museum's Room 41 Sutton Hoo and Europe AD 300–1100.

Here, you will have two tasks.

Task 1: Find three pieces (one military, one intellectual, one cultural) which challenge our conceptions of Britain as a coherent history distinct from the rest of Europe.

Find three pieces (one military, one intellectual, one cultural) which challenge our conceptions of Europe as a coherent history distinct from Africa and Asian.

Task 2:

Find three pieces which are shaped by gendered stereotypes

Find three pieces which symbolise class/economic hierarchies

Find three pieces which are a product of imperial invasion/conquest

Week 2: 12 Sept – Introduction II: Social Inequality - Prejudice or Structure?

Reading:

Hooks, B (2000) Chapters 1, 2 and 3, of 'Feminism is for everybody' pages 1-18

This week, we will explore the ways race, gender and class intersect, and how these interconnected forms of social stratification inform personal prejudices and wider power structures.

We will then visit Tate Britain's 'An Alternative Terrain', a new exhibition of sculptures by Rhea Dillon that consider the formation of British and Caribbean identities. We will be joined by the curator of the exhibition, Daniella Rose King.

Week 3: 19 Sept – Introduction III: Social Change - Reform or Revolution?

Reading:

Virusami, J (2021) Chapters 2 and 3: 'Know the World' and 'Know history', in How to change it. London: Penguin/Merky Books. Pages 30-50

This week, we will consider the major theories which try to make sense of how social change happens. First, we will consider liberal individualism, which argues that social change is down to individual people working hard in the free market. Second, we will consider liberal collectivism, and the basis for the modern welfare state and trade union formation. Finally, we will look at revolutionary theories, which argue for fundamental changes to how political, the economy and society is organised.

Activities: Visit to the Hackney Museum

Task 1: Find the Hackney Museum's permanent exhibition

- 1) Find three examples of Hackney's refugee communities. What has led to them migrating to Hackney and what has their experience been?
- 2) Find examples of how three different migrant communities have made an impact on Hackney culturally, politically and economically.

Task 2: Find 'At Home in Hackney: A community photographed 1970s-today'

- 1) Describe three photographs which depict political activism and change in Hackney. What kinds of issues are they addressing and what kind of activism is portrayed?
- 2) Describe three photographs that depict cultural and artistic life in Hackney. What kinds of cultures from outside of Britain do these artistic/cultural formations draw on?
- 3) Describe three photographs that depict everyday life in Hackney. What do these portrayals of ordinary people tell us about class, gender and migration in Hackney?

WEEK 4: WC 25 Sept - What is civil society, democracy and activism?

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this session you should

- Understand the range of definitions of civil society, and how they seek to bring about social change
- Be able to give some current examples of civil society and the issues they face in relation to gender, race and class.
- Have an understanding of the three theoretical areas covered in the module:
1) Liberal individualism, 2) Collective rights and freedoms, 3) Global revolutionary change.

In this lecture, you will be introduced to some of the key theories used to analyse the role of civil society and how social change occurs. We will run through the topics that will be covered over the course of the term, together with assessments and other key components of the module.

Activities: Visit to the Museum of London, Docklands.

Task 1: Find the Sugar and Slavery Exhibition, and make notes on the following questions:

- 1) Why is this exhibition located in London's docklands?
- 2) What role did slavery play in the economic, social and political changes that took place in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries?
- 3) Find some examples of how the exhibition portrays resistance to slavery, both in London and outside of London.

Task 2: Find the 'Indo + Caribbean: The creation of a culture' exhibition

- 1) How did Indian people end up in the Caribbean in the 19th and 20th centuries, how did their journeys differ to Africans that came before?
- 2) How does indenture differ to chattel slavery?
- 3) How does Indo-Caribbean culture influence Caribbean culture generally?
- 4) What kind of challenges did Indo-Caribbean people face when migrating to Britain in the 20th century?

Required readings:

de Tocqueville, A (1835–1840). Chapter 12: Political Associations in the United States, in *Democracy in America*. Available at http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/DETOC/1_ch12.htm

Smith, A (2007) 'Introduction' in *INCITE: Women of Color Organise* (Eds.) *The Revolution Will Not be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. New York: South End Press. pp1-20

WEEK 5: WC 2 Oct Philanthropy, Volunteerism and the Third Sector

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

This week I will introduce the key theoretical foundations informing conservative and neoliberal approaches to civil society. By the end of the lecture and seminar you will:

- 1) Be familiar with the ideas of Tocqueville and how he has influenced policy making in relation to civil society in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.
- 2) Understand how Tocqueville's ideas of self-reliance and personal responsibility have shaped the Conservative Party's vision for a 'Big Society'
- 3) Critically analyse the role of the third sector in providing public services in Britain, with reference to the NGO industrial complex.

Activities: This week, we will visit the Imperial War Museum, to examine conservative approaches to class, gender and race.

Tasks:

- 1) Locate two objects, one material (a tool, piece of clothing or equipment) and one ideological (a poster, photograph or film footage) which represent:
 - a) The role of class in warfare
 - b) The role of gender in warfare
 - c) The role of imperialism/colonialism in warfare
 - d) The role of nationalism in warfare
 - e) The role of industrial capitalism in warfare

Required readings:

The Conservative Party (2010). *Big Society, Not Big Government: Building a Big Society*

Jones de Almeida A F (2007) 'Radical Social Change: Searching for a New Foundation' in INCITE: Women of Color Organise (Eds.) *The Revolution Will Not be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. New York: South End Press. pp185-196

Additional readings:

Alexander, J and Fernandez, K (2021). "The Impact of Neoliberalism on Civil Society and Nonprofit Advocacy", *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 12, 2, pp. 367–394

Ambikaipaker, M (2015). "Liberal exceptions: violent racism and routine anti-racist failure in Britain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(12)

Bishop, M and Green, M (2008). *Philanthro-capitalism*. New York: Bloomsbury Press

Blair, H (1997). *Donors, Democratisation and Civil Society: Relating Theory to Practice*, in Hulme, D and Edwards, M (1997). *NGOs, states and donors*. New York: St. Martin's Press in association with Save the Children

Cabinet Office (2007). *The future role of the third sector in social and economic regeneration: final report*

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/228900/7189.pdf

Conservative Party (2010). *Giving: Green Paper*. Available at

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/78906/Giving-Green-Paper.pdf

Coresky, N (2017). *Overthrowing the Big Society: The Third Sector's Neoliberal Embrace*
<https://newsocialist.org.uk/overthrowing-the-big-society-the-third-sectors-neoliberal-embrace/>

Dean J (2015). Volunteering, the market, and neoliberalism. *People, Place and Policy*: 9/2, pp. 139–148 <https://extra.shu.ac.uk/ppp-online/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/volunteering-market-neoliberalism.pdf>

Evans, B, Richmond, T and Shields, J (2005). Structuring Neoliberal Governance: The Nonprofit Sector, Emerging New Modes of Control and the Marketisation of Service Delivery, *Policy and Society*, 24:1, 73–97 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1016/S1449-4035%2805%2970050-3>

Fong, B (2021). NGOism: The Politics of the Third Sector. *Catalyst Journal* Vol. 5 No. 1
<https://catalyst-journal.com/2021/05/ngoism-the-politics-of-the-third-sector>

Fyfe N R (2005). Making Space for “Neo-communitarianism”? The Third Sector, State and Civil Society in the UK. *Antipode*, 37:3 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00510.x>

Gough, D (2012). ‘Revolution’: Marketisation, the penal system and the voluntary sector, in *Critical Reflections: Social and Criminal Justice in the First Year of the Coalition*, ed. Silvestri, A, Centre for Crime and Justice Studies

Giddens, A (2008). *Chapter 3: The State and Civil Society*, in *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press <https://bibliotecaia.ism.edu.ec/Repo-book/t/TheThirdWay.pdf>

Gyngell, K and Lewis, R (2006). “From Latchkey to Leadership: A practical blueprint for channelling the talents of inner city youth”, London: Centre for Young Policy Studies
<https://cps.org.uk/research/from-latchkey-to-leadership-a-practical-blueprint-for-channelling-the-talents-of-inner-city-youth/>

Hope, P (2008) Vital role for third sector. *The Guardian*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2008/mar/19/voluntarysector.publicservices>

Jordan, B (2010). *Why the Third Way Failed: Economics, Morality and the Origins of the "Big Society"*. Polity Press

Kamat, S (2004). The privatization of public interest: theorizing NGO discourse in a neoliberal era. *Review of International Political Economy*, 11(1), pp. 155–176

NatCen Social Research, The Office for Public Management, and New Philanthropy Capital (2011). *Evaluation of National Citizen Service Pilots: Interim Report*. The Cabinet Office
<https://natcen.ac.uk/media/24899/ncs-evaluation-interim-report.pdf>

Norman, J (2010). *The big society: The anatomy of the new politics*. Buckingham: The University of Buckingham Press

Norman, J and Ganesh, J (2006). Introduction, in *Compassionate Conservatism: What it is, Why we need it*. Policy Exchange

Toynbee, P (2010). The 'big society' is a big fat lie – just follow the money, *The Guardian*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/aug/06/big-society-is-big-fat-lie>

Tyler, I, Gill N, Conlon, D and Oeppen, C (2014). The business of child detention: charitable co-option, migrant advocacy and activist outrage. *Race & Class*, 56(1), pp. 3–21

Webber, F (2011). Does Barnardo's legitimise child detention? Institute of Race Relations, UK
<http://www.irr.org.uk/news/does-barnardos-legitimise-child-detention/>

WEEK 6 10 October: Housing and the Right to the City

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

This week, we will be joined by Dr Shabna Begum, Head of Research at the Runnymede Trust. Dr Begum recently completed her PhD here at Queen Mary's – her thesis investigated Bengali squatter movements in East London, and this will be the topic of her lecture. Dr Begum will provide an overview of how people from South Asia (Bangladesh in particular) migrated to Britain in significant numbers after WWII, establishing themselves in the working-class districts of the East End of London. The lecture will elaborate on the ways squatting became a political tactic used by activists from this community, in order to secure improved housing conditions in a context of racial violence and institutional discrimination.

We will then visit The Whitechapel Gallery for the *Life is more important than Art* exhibition, which explores dynamic histories of migration and difference, with a focus on London and the East End. More information can be found here <https://www.whitechapelgallery.org/life-is-more-important-than-art/>

By the end of this session you will be able to:

- 1) Understand the role that migration, racism and class play in shaping housing inequalities in British cities like London
- 2) Critically assess the role of anti-racism in housing campaigns in East London in the 1970s
- 3) Consider the legacies of anti-racist campaigns for decent housing in London
- 4) Assess the role of gentrification in shaping the issues being challenged by civil society groups in 21st-century London.

Activities:

This week, we will visit the Whitechapel Gallery, to explore in greater depth the history of East London.

Task 1: Find the 'Somali Museum: Any-Space-Whatever' exhibition.

How do the artists illustrate stories of migration through the objects and displays in the exhibit?

How does the exhibition provide a commentary on artifacts and histories of marginalised people?

How does the exhibition challenge our preconceptions of what a museum is?

Task 2: Find the 'Life Is More Important Than Art' exhibition.

What did James Baldwin mean when he said 'life is more important than art'?

What is the role of art in the context of the cost of living crisis?

What is the role of art in the aftermath of the covid-19 pandemic?

Required readings:

Race Today (2019). Chapter 4: II: Tiger Strikes: BHAG and the Struggle for Housing, in Field, P, Bunce, R, Hassan, L, Peacock, M (eds). Here to Stay, Here to Fight: A Race Today Anthology. London: Pluto Press p. 115–119

Begum, S (2022) 'Chapter 2: Claiming Home: 'I just said, "where else can I go?"', in From Sylhet To Spitalfields: Bangali Squatters in 1970s East London. London: Pluto Press pp 56-71

A safe place to be [Film] <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-a-safe-place-to-be-1980-online>

Additional Readings

Attoh K A (2011). What kind of right is the right to the city? Progress in Human Geography. 35(5) 669–685

Bond, P (1995). "Urban Social Movements, the Housing Question and Development Discourse in South Africa", in David Moore and Gerald Schmitz eds., Debating Development Discourse, London: Macmillan

Burdick, J. (1992) "Rethinking the Study of Social Movements: The Case of Christian Base Communities in Urban Brazil," in Escobar and Alvarez (eds), The Making of Social Movements in Latin America

- Goldfrank, B (2004). "Libertador: La Causa R meets Caracas the Horrible", in Daniel Chavez and Benjamin Goldfrank (eds), The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America, London: Latin America Bureau
- Harrison, M and Reeve, K (2002). Social Welfare Movements and Collective Action: Lessons from Two UK Housing Cases. *Housing Studies*, 17, 5, pp. 755–771
- Harvey, D (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*, London: Verso Books
- Hischer, P C (1996). "Democratization and the Decline of Urban Social Movements." Comparative Politics, April 1996. Available from [JSTOR](#)
- Jaffe, S (2013). Anti-Foreclosure Activists Put BlackRock in a Hard Place. In *These Times*. <https://inthesetimes.com/article/anti-foreclosure-activists-put-blackrock-in-a-hard-place>
- Korten, D (1996). "Civic Engagement in Creating Future Cities." Environment and Urbanisation, vol. 8 no. 1. Available from [Sage Premier](#)
- Maseko, S S (1997). "Civil Movement and Non-Violent Action: The Case of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee." African Affairs, vol. 96 no. 384. Available from [JSTOR](#)
- McCann, E J (1999). Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City. *Antipode*, 31: 163–184
- Nicholls, W J (2008). The Urban Question Revisited: The Importance of Cities for Social Movements. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32: 841–859
- ONE DC (2014). The People’s Platform: A Roadmap to Achieving Racial and Economic Equity in the District [https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/onedctrac/pages/142/attachments/original/1440101052/People's Platform Info Sheet \(6.08.15\).pdf?1440101052](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/onedctrac/pages/142/attachments/original/1440101052/People's Platform Info Sheet (6.08.15).pdf?1440101052)
- Patel, R (2007). "Electing Land Questions: A Methodological Discussion with Reference to AbahlaliBaseMjondolo, The Durban Shack Dwellers’ Movement." CODESRIA. Available from [Abahlali](#)
- Purcell, M (2003). Citizenship and the right to the global city: reimagining the capitalist world order. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27: 564-590 <https://faculty.washington.edu/mpurcell/ijurr.pdf>
- Slater, T (2021). From displacements to rent control and housing justice, *Urban Geography*, 42:5, 701–712
- Springer, S (2011). Public Space as Emancipation: Meditations on Anarchism, Radical Democracy, Neoliberalism and Violence. *Antipode*, 43: 525–562

WEEK 7, 17 Oct: Law and Order

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

This week we will consider how policy organisations and grass roots campaigns campaign to improve public safety and harm reduction through avenues that erode the power of the police, prison and border forces. We will also engage with campaigns challenging police and prison power have gained prominence since the BLM protests of 2020.

By the end of this session you will be able to:

- 1) Understand how civil society groups in the USA and UK mobilise to challenge police and prison power.
- 2) Analyse the role of race/racism and class/capitalism in the production of police and prison power.
- 3) Appreciate the different political tactics and goals of activist groups challenging policing.
- 4) Understand key concepts of civil society activists challenging policing, including prison abolitionism.

Activities: Presentation Week!

After this week's lecture, each student will give a 20-minute presentation on their chosen campaign group/civil society organisation.

Required readings:

Scott, D (2017) 'What is to be done? Thinking about abolitionist alternatives', *Prison Service Journal*, 231, 36–42.

Elliott-Cooper, A (2023) *Abolishing Institutional Racism. Race and Class*

Purnell, D (2020). How I Became a Police Abolitionist. *The Atlantic*

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/07/how-i-became-police-abolitionist/613540/>

Additional Readings:

Aufheben (2011). *Intakes: Communities, commodities and class in the August 2011 riots*

<https://files.libcom.org/files/Intakes%20-%20Communities,%20commodities%20and%20class%20-%20Aufheben.pdf>

Akbar, Amna (2020). "How Defund and Disband Became the Demands"
<https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2020/06/15/how-defund-and-disband-became-the-demands/>

Bunyan, T (1981). The police against the people. *Race & Class*, 23(2–3), pp. 153–170

Elliott-Cooper, A (2021). *Black Resistance to British Policing*. Manchester University Press

Oliver P E (2008). Repression And Crime Control: Why Social Movement Scholars Should Pay Attention To Mass Incarceration As A Form Of Repression. *Mobilization: The International Quarterly* 13(1): 1–24

Táíwò, O O (2020). "Power Over the Police" in *Dissent*
https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/power-over-the-police

Trew, W (2010). *Black for a Cause – Not Just Because: The Case of the "Oval 4" and the Story It Tells of Black Power in 1970s Britain*

Gilmore R W (2020). Ruth Wilson Gilmore makes the case for abolition: (podcast)
<https://theintercept.com/2020/06/10/ruth-wilson-gilmore-makes-the-case-for-abolition/>

Gilmore R W (2019). Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind
https://www.artwithross.com/uploads/2/9/0/8/29087093/ruth_wilson_gilmore_nytimes.pdf

Waddington D (2012). The law of moments: understanding the flashpoint that ignited the riots, *Criminal Justice Matters*, 87:1, 6–7

WEEK 8 WC 23 Oct: Mid Term Break

WEEK 9 WC 30 Oct: In-class exam

WEEK 10, 14 Nov – Social Reproduction and Reproductive Rights

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

This week, we will consider how feminist activists have challenged the gendered nature of work under capitalism. We will begin by thinking through theories relating to social reproduction, and how the domestic and care work generally carried out by women, is integral to the reproduction of modern capitalism. We will go on to look at how feminists have criticised the devaluing of this work, and the campaigns they have engaged in to challenge them. We will consider three key case studies: the wages for housework campaign of the 1960s, the anti-austerity campaigns of Sisters Uncut and the Feminist Internationale Movement

By the end of this session you will be able to:

- 1) Understand how the gendered nature of capitalism shapes how different kinds of work are valued
- 2) Have an understanding of how feminist campaigns have used these inequalities to challenge patriarchy and capitalism.

Activities: We will visit the British Library's Treasures of the British Library exhibition.

Tasks:

- 1) Find an item drawn by Florence Nightingale. Who was she, and how did her engagement with war both challenge and confirm to gendered stereotypes?
- 2) Find Emily Brontë's notebook. How did she use poetry to challenge patriarchy in 19th century Britain?
- 3) Find a handwritten manuscript by Virginia Woolf. What was her role in Britain's early feminist movement?
- 4) Find a letter written by Charles Ignatius Sancho. How did he seek to challenge racist stereotypes in 18th century Britain?
- 5) Find Andrea Levy's working drafts for *Small Island* and *The Long Song* – how did she use novels to reveal the hardships of postcolonial migration?

Required readings:

James, S (2012) 'The Family Allowance Campaign: Tactics and Strategy, 1973', in *Sex, Race and Class: The Perspectives on Winning, A Selection of Writings 1952-2011*. London: PM Press.

Gago, V (2020) 'Chapter 8: Eight Theses on the Feminist Revolution', in *Feminist International: How to Change Everything*. London: Verso

McBean & Day (2022) 'Thesis 2: Our Journey to Abolition in Sisters Uncut was Long and Bumpy: Abolition is a Road, Not a Destination!', in *Abolition Revolution*. London: Pluto Press.

Additional readings:

Ackhurst, Molly and Brazzell, M. and Day, Aviah and Tomlinson, Kamilah and Rodrigues Fowler, Y. (2022) Creative and transformative approaches to justice. In: Horvath, M.A.H. and Brown, J.M. (eds.) Rape: Challenging Contemporary Thinking – 10 Years On. London: Routledge. pp. 268-282.

Anim-Addo J (2014). Activist-mothers maybe, sisters surely? Black British feminism, absence, and transformation. *Feminist Review* 108: 44–60

Arruzza, C., Bhattacharya, T. and Fraser, N (2022) *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto*. London: Verso

Ishkanian, A., & Peña Saavedra, A. (2019). The politics and practices of intersectional prefiguration in social movements: The case of Sisters Uncut. *The Sociological Review*, 67(5), 985–1001.

James, S (2012) *Sex, Race and Class: The Perspectives on Winning, A Selection of Writings 1952-2011*. London: PM Press.

Jackson, N M (2011). A Black Woman's Choice: Depo-Provera and Reproductive Rights. *Journal of Research on Women and Gender*. Vol. 3

Levine, J and Meiners E (2020) *The Feminist and The Sex Offender: Confronting Sexual Harm, Ending State Violence*. London: Verso

Miller, M (Ed.) *Speak Out!: The Brixton Black Women's Group*. London: Verso

Marshall, A (2005). From sexual denigration to self-respect: resisting images of Black female sexuality, in Jarrett-Macauley, D, *Reconstructing Womanhood, Reconstructing Feminism: Writings on Black Women*, London: Routledge

Olufemi, L (2020). 'Chapter 3: The fight for reproductive justice', in *Feminism, Interrupted: Disrupting Power*.

Skeggs B (1994). Refusing to be civilised: "Race", sexuality, and power. In Afshar H and Maynar M (eds), *The Dynamics of Race and Gender: Some Feminist Interventions* (pp. 106– 127). Basingstoke: Taylor and Francis

WEEK 11, 21 Nov: Sex and the Body

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

The body is a key space of contestation for civil society organisations campaigning for social change. When reproductive rights are under threat in countries such as Ireland and the USA, it is political struggle over bodily autonomy which defines the issues at stake. Rights and freedoms for trans people is also a key social battle, in which an oppressed minority is demanding greater safety and acceptance in an environment in which 'the transgender issue', as Shon Faye calls it, is used as a political football by populist politicians. The focus of this lecture will be civil society groups advocating for sex workers. Activists who are, or advocate in solidarity with, sex workers have long pushed for better access to contraception and sexual health resources. More recently, trans sex workers have risen to prominence in the movement, challenging discriminatory policing, violence, harassment and social exclusion.

By the end of this session you will be able to:

- 1) Appreciate why the term 'sex worker' is important, and the role it has played in the emergence of this area of activism
- 2) Analyse the role of patriarchy in regulating and criminalising sex workers
- 3) Consider the different arguments made by activist groups as to how to improve the lives of sex workers.

Activities: Visit to the V&A Museum

Find the The Zizi Show exhibition:

- 1) How does the artist use sexuality to explore the ethical problems of Artificial Intelligence (AI).
- 2) Why do you think AI is often presented as neutral and objective?
- 3) According to the exhibition, in what ways is AI technology considered biased?
- 4) What kind of norms and hierarchies are reproduced by AI technology?

Required readings:

Faye, S (2021). *Sex Sells, The Transgender Issue*. Penguin Books

P J Starr, Monica Jones, The Incredible Edible Akynos and Bambi Katsura (2022). *The whore gaze as the world burns: A conversation between P J Starr, Monica Jones, The Incredible Edible Akynos and Bambi Katsura*. Global Public Health

Olufemi, L (2020). 'Chapter 4: Transmisogyny: Who wins?' and 'Chapter 7: Complicating consent: How to support sex workers', in *Feminism, Interrupted: Disrupting Power*.

Additional readings:

A Conversation with Laverne Cox and Monica Jones

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HuhUdCKBx9k&ab_channel=ACLUofArizona

Bernstein, E (2010). Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Antitrafficking Campaigns. *Signs*, 36(1), pp. 45–71

Bernstein, E (2012). Carceral politics as gender justice? The “traffic in women” and neoliberal circuits of crime, sex, and rights. *Theory and Society*, 41(3), pp. 233–259

Bjønness, J, Nencel, L and Skilbrei, M-L (eds) (2021). *Reconfiguring Stigma in Studies of Sex for Sale* (1st ed.). Routledge

Bordoloi, A (2021). The Waves of Activism: An Ethnographic Study of Sex Work Activism in Dublin and London. *ASEAN Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, 8, 59–82. Retrieved from <https://paressu.org/online/index.php/aseanmrj/article/view/281>

Bryan, B, Dadzie, S and Scafe, S (1985). *The Heart of the Race: Black Women’s Lives in Britain*, London: Virago

Chateauvert, M (2014). *Sex Workers Unite: A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk*. London:

Beacon Press

Clare, S (2022). *The Ethical Stripper: Sex, Work and Labour Rights in the Night-Time Economy*. London: Unbound

Espejo B, Cuenca P A, Tarrés J P (2020). Articulations and controversies in sex-work trans-activism. *Critical Social Policy*. 40(2): 279–297

Mac, J and Smith, M (2020). *Revolting Prostitutes: The Fight for Sex Workers’ Rights*. London: Verso

Levine, J and Meiners, E (2020). “Part IV: Ten Ways to Confront Sexual Harm, End State Violence and Transform Our Communities”, in *The Feminist and the Sex Offender: Confronting Sexual Harm, Ending State Violence*. Verso Books, pp. 157–186

WEEK 12, 28 Nov: INGOs and Social Movements

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

Global Civil Society will build on some of the ideas explored last week, particularly the ways activists develop connections across national borders. In a globalised world, in which the ICT revolution, multinational corporations and international institutions shape planetary politics, civil society must be considered as a crucial actor. However, many scholars and activists question whether global civil society can truly exist, given the power of the other international actors it is competing with for political power and influence.

By the end of this session you will

- 1) Understand some of the major debates about the existence of ‘global civil society’
- 2) Be able to analyse some of the ways civil society organisations attempt to carry out global political actions and develop global civil society networks
- 3) Become familiar with some of the ways civil society groups conceptualise globalisation, and the problems/opportunities it poses.

Activities:

Visit to the Wellcome Collection’s museum of medicine and science.

Task: Find the Genetic Automata Exhibition.

- 1) What was the role of race and racial hierarchy in the way scientists sought to classify the natural world in the 19th and 20th centuries?
- 2) What is eugenics, and how is it connected to colonialism?
- 3) How does scientific racism shape education, health and politics today?
- 4) How does the exhibition illustrate the ways colonialism and scientific racism are challenged?

Required readings:

Chatterjee, P (2002). "On civil and political society in post-colonial democracies" in Kaviraj, S and Khilnani, S (2002). *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*. Cambridge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Berry, C and Gabay, C (2009). 'Transnational political action and "global civil society" in practice: the case of Oxfam', *Global Networks*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 339–358

Additional readings:

Alvarez, S E (1998). "Latin American Feminisms Go Global: Trends of the 1990s and Challenges for the New Millennium", in Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (eds), *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*, Westview Press

Conway, J (2004). Place Matters: India's Challenge to Brazil at the World Social Forum. *Antipode* 36: 357–360

COSATU: "A Strategic Perspective On the International Trade Union Movement for the 21st Century" and Jeff Faux: "A Global Strategy for Labour" in William Fisher and Thomas Ponniah (eds): *Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalisation at the World Social Forum* (London: Zed 2003)

Harcourt, W (2000). "Globalization and Women's Movements." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2/3

Hutchison, J and Brown, A (2001). *Organising Labour in Globalising Asia*, Routledge

Johnson, C W (2014). 'Guerrilla Ganja Gun Girls: Policing Black Revolutionaries from Notting Hill to Laventille' *Gender & History*, 26(3), pp. 661–787

Khagram, S et al. (2002). "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics", in S Khagram, James Riker and Kathryn Sikkink (eds), *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press

Kumar, A and Mahoney, J (2014). *Stitching together: how workers are hemming down transnational capital in the hyper-global apparel industry*. *Working USA* 17 (2), pp. 187–210

McCallum, J K (2013). *Global Unions, Local Power: The New Spirit of Transnational Labor Organising*, New York: Cornell University Press

Mittelman, J H (1998). *Globalisation and Environmental Resistance Politics*. *Third World Quarterly*, 19(5) 847–872

O'Brien, R, Goetz, A M, Scholte, J A and Williams, M (2000). *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Institutions and Global Social Movements*, Cambridge University Press

Ray, L (1998). *Rethinking Critical Theory: Emancipation in the Age of Global Social Movements*, London: Sage

Routledge, P and Cumbers, A (2009). *Global justice networks: Geographies of transnational solidarity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Scholte J A (2002). *Civil Society and the Governance of Global Finance*, in Scholte J A and Schnabel, A (eds), *Civil Society and Global Finance*, Routledge

WEEK 13, 5 Dec: Environment and Land Rights

As the effects of climate change become felt with greater intensity, civil society organisations have adopted more direct and radical approaches in their activism. This week, we will look at two areas of environmental activism. The first, are indigenous movements in North America, connecting climate breakdown to the legacies of colonialism. The second is Extinction Rebellion, a social movement founded in Britain which has had a global influence on environmental campaigning, but has struggled to build links with the Global South. We will explore some of the similarities between these sets of civil society campaigns (e.g. making demands from government and utilising direct action), as well as some of their key differences.

By the end of the session you will

- 1) Be familiar with the kinds of tactics used by environmental activist groups
- 2) Understand the links between the expansion of capitalism through imperialism, and damage to the ecosystem
- 3) Critically assess the extent to which governments and international institutions are influenced by civil society groups demanding action on climate change.
- 4) Draw connections between environmental campaigns and civil society groups operating in different geographical and political context.

Activities:

We will then visit the Design Museum, to look at the different approaches to dealing with the climate crisis.

Task 1: Find the 'How to build a low-carbon home' exhibition.

How can an individual home have an impact on a large-scale problem like the climate crisis?

How do the architects and designers make use of ancient, rather than newer technologies? Why is this significant?

How do the designers combine ancient and modern technologies?

Task 2: Design Researchers in Residence: Islands

How do the designers use the concept of 'islands' to think about the climate crisis?

What is the difference between 'island mentality' and 'archipelagic thinking'?

How do the designers portray the importance of humans and non-human animals/plants co-existing?

Required readings:

Estes, N (2019). Indigenous People Are Already Working “Green Jobs” — But They’re Unrecognized and Unpaid. *The Intercept* <https://theintercept.com/2019/09/23/indigenous-climate-green-new-deal/>

Tom Smiles & Gareth A. S. Edwards (2021) How does Extinction Rebellion engage with climate justice? A case study of XR Norwich, *Local Environment*, 26:12, 1445-1460

Sealey-Huggins, L.A. (2016), "Depoliticised activism? Ambivalence and pragmatism at the COP16", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 36 No. 9/10, pp. 695-710

Additional readings:

Anderson, J. (2002), “Researching environmental resistance: working through Secondspace and Thirdspace approaches”, *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 2 No. 3, pp. 301-321.

Baer, H. and Reuter, T. (2011), “The global movement for a safe climate and environmental sustainability”, *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 22 No. 2, pp. 255-256.

Bishop, M.L. and Payne, A. (2012), “Climate change and the future of Caribbean development”, *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 48 No. 10, pp. 1536-1553.

Bond, P. (2012), *Politics of Climate Justice: Paralysis Above, Movement Below*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville.

Building Bridges Collective (2010), *Space for Movement? Reflections from Bolivia on Climate Justice, Social Movements and the State*, Footprint Workers Co-operative, Leeds.

Chatterton, P., Featherstone, D. and Routledge, P. (2013), "Articulating Climate Justice in Copenhagen: antagonism, the commons and solidarity", *Antipode*, Vol. 45 No. 3, pp. 602-620.

Curley, A 2019. "Beyond Environmentalism: #Nodapl as Assertion of Tribal Sovereignty" in Nick Estes and Jaskiron Dhillon (eds), *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*

Frenzel, F. (2014), "Exit the system? Anarchist organisation in the British climate camps", *Ephemera*, Vol. 14 No. 4, pp. 901-921.

Hayes, N (2021). *The Book of Trespass: Crossing the Lines that Divide Us*. London: Bloomsbury

Laville, S (2020). Edmonton incinerator expansion 'fundamentally unjust', say residents. *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jul/31/edmonton-incinerator-expansion-fundamentally-unjust-say-residents>

Mittelman, J (1998). "Globalisation and Environmental Resistance Politics". *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 19 no. 5. Available from EBSCO

Naguib Pellow, D and Sun-Hee Park, L (2002). *The Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers, and the High-Tech Global Economy*

North, P. (2010), "Eco-localisation as a progressive response to peak oil and climate change – a sympathetic critique", *Geoforum*, Vol. 41 No. 4, pp. 585-594.

Nixon, R (2011). *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*

Pauli, B (2019). *Flint Fights Back: Environmental Justice and Democracy in the Flint Water Crisis*

Pellow, D N (2016). "Toward a Critical Environmental Studies: Black Lives Matter as an Environmental Justice Challenge" in *DuBois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 19

Russell, B. (2015), "Beyond activism/academia: militant research and the radical climate and climate justice movement(s)", *Area*, Vol. 47 No. 3, pp. 222-229.

Russell, B., Pusey, A. and Sealey-Huggins, L. (2012), "Movements and moments for climate justice: from Copenhagen to Cancún via Cochabamba", *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, Vol. 11 No. 1, pp. 15-32.

Saunders, C. (2012), "Reformism and radicalism in the Climate Camp in Britain: benign coexistence, tensions and prospects for bridging", *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 21 No. 5, pp. 829-846.

Schlembach, R. (2011), "How do radical climate movements negotiate their environmental and their social agendas? A study of debates within the Camp for Climate Action (UK)", *Critical Social Policy*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 194-215.

WEEK 14, 12 Dec: Self-Determination and Final Exam

Lecture Overview and Learning Outcomes:

This week's topic will follow on from last week's analysis of the legacies of colonialism. Oppressed minorities (and in some cases, majorities) across the world are campaigning for independence from a colonial power or structure. Two case studies will be investigated this week, both of which are described by civil society groups as settler colonies, from which indigenous peoples (broadly defined) are demanding freedom. The first is one of the oldest, Ireland, settled by England over 700 years ago. The second case study will focus on Palestine, which was also a part of the British Empire, and is today engaged in what activists consider to be one of the world's newest anti-colonial movements. Connections are often made between the Palestinian and Irish demands for self-determination. Our focus will be on how education is used by activists in Palestine, as a way of remembering and better understanding how to organise for Palestinian self-determination.

By the end of the session you will:

- 1) Have an understanding of how activists demanding self-determination link their grievances to colonialism and its legacies

- 2) Critically assess the arguments made by Irish and Palestinian activists demanding self-determination
- 3) Identify the ways art, culture and education are used to make geographical and historical connections to different campaigns for self-determination.

Activities:

Following the lecture, we will have our final exam – you will have one hour to complete one essay question.

Required readings:

BBC - The Troubles: A Secret History

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ALXNrguCV0&ab_channel=Monkiesocks56

Rolston, B. (2009). "The Brothers on the Walls": International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals. *Journal of Black Studies*, 39(3), 446–470.

Salhab, A (2018). Chapter 8: The legacy of the Palestinian revolution: reviving organising for the next generation, in Choudry, A and Vally, S, *Reflections on Knowledge, Learning and Social Movements: History's Schools*, pp. 134–148

Murphy, M (2014). Self-determination as a Collective Capability: The Case of Indigenous Peoples, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 15:4, 320–334

Additional readings:

Abu Rabia S (2009). Memory, belonging, and resistance: The struggle over place among the Bedouin Arabs of the Negev. *HAGAR Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities* 8(2):93–120

Abu-Saad I (2008). Spatial transformation and indigenous resistance: The urbanization of the Palestinian Bedouin in southern Israel. *American Behavioral Scientist* 51(12):1713–1754

Barakat R (2017). Writing/righting Palestine studies: Settler colonialism, indigenous sovereignty and resisting the ghost(s) of history. *Settler Colonial Studies*

Bowyer Bell, J (1989). "The secret army: The IRA 1916-1979". Dublin, Ireland: Poolbeg

Chieozona Eze, 2018. *Race, Decolonization, and Global Citizenship in South Africa*.

Darby, J (1997). *Scorpions in a Bottle: conflicting cultures in Northern Ireland*. London, Macmillan

Dooley, B (1998). *Black and green: The fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America*. London: Pluto

Featherstone, D J (2019). Maritime labour, transnational political trajectories and decolonisation from below: the opposition to the 1935 British Shipping Assistance Act. *Global Networks*, 19(4), pp. 539–562

Helou, J and Khoury, E (2012). Two Portraits in Resistance: Abu 'Umar and Mahjub 'Umar, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 41:4, 65–76

Jaffe, S (2022). Bloody Sunday at Fifty. *Dissent* <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/bloody-sunday-at-fifty>

Miller, R (2005). *Ireland and the Palestinian Question*. Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press

Moloney, E (2002). *A secret history of the IRA*. New York: Norton

O'Dowd, L, Rolston, B and Tomlinson, M (1980). *Northern Ireland: between civil rights and civil war*. London: CSE Books

Pallister-Wilkins P (2011). The separation wall: A symbol of power and a site of resistance? *Antipode* 43(5): 1851–1882

Payes S (2005). *Palestinian NGOs in Israel: The Politics of Civil Society*. London: I B Taurus

Plonski, S (2018a). *Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Power, Resistance and the Struggle for Space*. London: SOAS Palestine Studies Book Series

Plonski, S (2018b). Material Footprints: The Struggle for Borders by Bedouin-Palestinians in Israel. *Antipode*, 50: 1349–1375

Rolston B (2002). Assembling the Jigsaw: Truth, Justice and Transition in the North of Ireland. *Race and Class* 44(1): 87–105

Smyth, M and Fay, M T (eds) (2000). *Personal Accounts from Northern Ireland's Troubles: public conflict, private loss*. London: Pluto Press

Tatour, Lana (2019). "Citizenship as Domination: Settler Colonialism and the Making of Palestinian Citizenship in Israel" https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3533490