



SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTP451: SPECIAL TOPIC: RACE AND RACISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

TRIMESTER 1 and TRIMESTER 2 2011

28 February to 12 November 2011

Trimester 1 dates

Teaching dates: 28 February to 3 June 2011

Mid-trimester break: 18 April to 1 May 2011

Study week: 6–10 June 2011

Examination/Assessment period: 10 June to 2 July 2011

Trimester 2 dates

Teaching dates: 11 July to 14 October 2011

Mid-trimester break: 22 August to 4 September 2011

Study week: 17–21 October 2011

Examination/Assessment period: 21st October to 12th November 2011

Note: This course is partly assessed by an examination which will take place in the examination period in Trimester Two. Attendance at the examination is compulsory and students who are not available for the whole of the examination period (21st October–12th November) should not enrol for this course.

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

Lecturer: Dr Robbie Shilliam

Room: MY509

Phone: 5612

Email: robbie.shilliam@vuw.ac.nz

Office Hours: will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door and Blackboard. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

Seminar: Tuesdays 9.00 – 10.50, Murphy 404
*Seminars start the **second week** of the first trimester.*

Course delivery

There will be a weekly two hour meeting. Each seminar will begin with a 15 minute student presentation. All students should come prepared and ready to participate in guided discussion and group work.

Communication of additional information

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in seminars and posted on Blackboard.

Course content

This course will investigate ways of understanding the historical and contemporary relationships between racial structures of rule in Aotearoa New Zealand and those that have constituted colonial/imperial rule globally.

Learning objectives

By the end of the course, students passing the course should be able to:

- a) Identify and explain the key processes by which race and racism have contributed to the constitution of the modern global order.
- b) Identify and understand key concepts and theories used to explain the relationship between race, colonial order and post-colonial order.
- c) Identify and explain some ways in which – and the extents to which - structures of rule in Aotearoa New Zealand can be related to global structures of racial and colonial rule, and vice versa.

Graduate attributes

As with all Political Science and International Relations courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of logical and critical thinking, conceptual analysis and rational and ethical decision-making.

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, the overall workload for this course is 300 hours in total of reading, writing, and researching material. This includes 2 hours of seminar per week.

Group work

You will work in small groups to undertake the presentation component of the course assignments. Details can be found below.

Essential texts

All essential texts for this course are provided in the student notes book. All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 7 February to 11 March 2011, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from Vicbooks on Level 3 of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

Further resources

You will receive a CD that contains an electronic archive of material, much of which is pertinent to the issues of this course, especially in their relation to Aotearoa New Zealand society. This archive contains primary material sourced from a variety of sources; you might find it useful when it comes to writing your research essay.

Assessment requirements

The course will be assessed on the following basis. Detailed assessment instructions follow this section.

- **Joint presentation** (worth **10%** of your total course mark).
- **Short Essay** of 2,000-2,500 words (worth **20%** of your total course mark) due by 5pm, **6th May**.
- **Research essay** of 6,000-7,000 words (worth **40%** of your total course mark) due by 5pm, **14th October**.
- **Final exam**, two hours long, (worth **30%** of your total course mark).

The purpose of the joint presentation and essays is to appraise the ability of students to conduct research individually and in partnership, and to formulate and present an argument on a specific topic at varied lengths. The purpose of the examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course and their ability to structure ideas in accessible, comprehensive, and coherent essays.

Assessment Instructions

Instructions for joint presentation:

Students will jointly prepare and deliver one presentation on a weekly topic. Presentations will be strictly no longer than 15 minutes. Powerpoints are optional. Handouts are required. Partners (i.e. two students) and topics will be allocated in the first seminar. Marks for presentations will be divided between 70% for content and 30% for delivery/presentation.

The same mark will be given to both partners. It is up to the students to organize the work of the partnership on an equitable basis. ***Get in touch with me if you are concerned that your partner is not making an appropriate effort or is unreachable.***

Instructions for short essay:

Students must write a short essay of 2,000-2,500 words due by 5pm, 6th May. Focusing selectively on issues presented in weeks 2 – 6, students will answer the following question:

“What, in your opinion, is the most important way in which white supremacism has informed the making of the modern world-order?”

- 1) You must use substantially (not just references in passing) at least four readings sourced from weeks 2 – 6. These can be taken from the required readings or from other sources. Failure to use at least four readings will be penalised by a deduction of 10% off your final mark. You may consult more - or other - readings, but this is not a requirement.
- 2) If you do not use a correct citation style with consistency you will be deducted 10% of your final mark.
- 3) If you do not adequately and correctly reference your work, your essay will fail.
- 4) If you do not provide a bibliography your essay will fail.

Instructions for ELECTRONIC submission are to be found on Blackboard, in the “announcements” section. Follow these instructions exactly. **I will NOT accept printed submissions.**

Instructions for research essay

Students must write a research essay of 6,000-7,000 words due by 5pm, 14th October. The word length includes footnotes, but does not include the bibliography.

Please note that students are not permitted to interview politicians or any other persons without first obtaining permission from the Victoria University Ethics Committee. This means that if you plan to conduct interviews you should see me as soon as possible.

The stages taken to write this essay are:

- 1) By the end of week 1, trimester 2 (week ending 15th July), students will have submitted to me a research proposal detailing:
 - a) A central question or hypothesis
 - b) A paragraph explaining the importance of this question/hypothesis especially with regards to how it will help illuminate particular aspects encountered during the course.
 - c) A paragraph describing both the theoretical and substantive issues to be engaged with in the course of the argument.
 - d) An indicative bibliography of at least 12 books/articles.

All students must submit this proposal on time; however, it will not be marked.

- 2) During the second week of the second trimester we will agree upon the timetable for research presentations during weeks 4 to 9.
 - a) Each presentation will last strictly for 10 minutes. There will follow 15 minutes discussion on the presentation.
 - b) The purpose of the presentation is for *critical* but *constructive* and *collegial* critique.
 - c) I shall distribute more detailed instructions for the presentations nearer the time.

- 3) **Unlike the short essay, I will not be taking electronic submissions of the research essay.** The essay must be printed out, including title, content, appropriate and adequate referencing, bibliography and any appropriate appendices, and submitted to the PSIR office no later than 5pm, 14th October

Instructions for Exam

There will be a **two hour**, closed-book examination at the end of trimester two. Students will be required to write answers to **two** essay questions, with each question carrying **equal marks**. You **are** allowed to answer questions that pertain to topics you have already written about. Note: The date, time and venue of the final exam will be determined when the University completes its timetable during the second half of the second trimester. The examination period runs from 21st October to 12th November.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's aegrotat regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Jon Johansson) in advance of the deadline. In 2011 the deadline will be 4.30 p.m. on **Friday 14th October**. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- Successfully complete a joint presentation.
- Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- Sit the final exam at the end of the course.

Class Representative

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most

statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic.

Course outline and reading list

Trimester One	
INTRODUCTION	
Week 2	White Supremacy
THE GLOBAL COLONIAL PROJECT	
Week 3	"Savage" and "Barbaric" Lands
Week 4	Enslaved Peoples
Week 5	Colonialism as Genocide
Week 6	Development as Destruction
GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY	
Week 7	Black Power
Week 8	Black Women
	<i>Short essay due by 5pm, 6th May</i>
Week 9	Rastafari: Africa in Aotearoa
Week 10	Springboks: Aotearoa Against Apartheid
NEW ARTICULATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACISM?	
Week 11	Migration, Multiculturalism and the Racial Division of Labour
Week 12	The New Imperialism
Trimester Two	
Week 1	<i>Reading Week / Proposal Finishing</i>
	<i>Research proposals due in by 5pm, 15th Jul</i>
Week 2	Orientalism Redux, or, "Muslim Culture is Dangerous"
Week 3	The Global Criminalization of Brown and Black Men
RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS	
Week 4 -	<i>Four presentations each week</i>
Week 9	

Note: Further readings are given as an aid to your research essays, although you in no way need to confine yourself to the lists below.

INTRODUCTION

Week 2 / 8th Mar: White Supremacy

Is white supremacy exhausted by visceral racial discrimination or does it have deeper foundations? Is race just about skin colour? What can “white people” do to counter white supremacy? And how might we begin to think about white supremacy as an ordering principle of Aotearoa New Zealand society?

Required reading:

- Charles W. Mills, “White Supremacy”, in Tommy Lott and John Pittman (ed.), *A Companion to African-American Philosophy* (Blackwell, 2002)
- Robert Terry, “New Whites: Justice and Racism” Detroit Industrial Mission, 1971
- Rev Bob Scott, “Presentation at the State of the Nation Addresses at Te Tii Marae, Waitangi”, 6th February 2006
- NZ Stats: Household Labour Force Survey, sep 10:
<http://www.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/Browse%20for%20stats/HouseholdLabourForceSurvey/HOTPSep10qtr/HouseholdLabourForceSurveySep10qtrHOTP.ashx> Just look at “Ethnic group statistics – unadjusted”, p.7

Further readings:

On “whiteness”:

- Robert Young, (1990). *White mythologies: writing history and the West*. Taylor & Francis
- B. Hesse, “Racialized Modernity: An Analytics of White Mythologies”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (4), 2007
- Alastair Bonnett, “White Studies Revisited”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (1), 2008

On Critical race studies and various theorizations of race and racism:

- Howard Winant, “Race and Race Theory”, *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 2000, pp.169-185
- R. Gordon, “Critical Race Theory and International Law”, *Villanova Law Review* 45 2000
- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva “Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Jun., 1997), pp. 465-480.
- Ashley Doane, “What is Racism? Racial Discourse and Racial Politics”, *Critical Sociology* 32, 2006
- George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton University Press, 2002)
- David Theo Goldberg, “The social formation of racist discourse” in David Goldberg (ed), *Anatomy of Racism* (University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp.295-318
- Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the history of an idea in the West* (John Hopkins Press, 1996)
- Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race : race, history and culture in Western society* (NY University Press, 1996)
- Charles Mills, *The Racial contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)
- Stuart Hall, “Race: the Floating Signifier”, <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8471383580282907865>
- Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political culture Beyond the Color Line* (Harvard Uni Press, 2000)
- Simon Gikandi, “Race and Cosmopolitanism”, *American Literary History* 14 (3), 2002. *A reply to Gilroy*
- Robert Vitalis, “The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations”, *Millennium* 29 (2) 2000
- Robert Vitalis, “The Noble American Science of Imperial Relations and Its Laws of Race Development” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 52, Issue 04 2010, pp 909 -938
- Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, New Press, 2008

THE GLOBAL COLONIAL PROJECT

Week 3 / 15th Mar: “Savage” and “Barbaric” Lands

In what ways and through what strategies did European colonizers categorise peoples as either “savage” or “barbaric”? How were these tropes of savagery and barbarism applied to Māori and Pacific peoples in particular?

Required readings:

- Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin, 1978), Ch.1, Part 1: "Knowing the Oriental"
- Pat Moloney, "Savagery and Civilization: Early Victorian Notions", in *New Zealand Journal of History* 35 (2), 2001
- Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), ch.18: "Tahiti and New Zealand"
- J.S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (Capper, 1840), ch.4 pp.52-59

Further readings:

On the civilizing mission, orientalism etc in general:

- Michael Adas, "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology", *Journal of World History* 15 (1) 2004 *This article explains how European powers used the idea of civilizing savages as a way of justifying colonialism and how this justification fell apart because of the First World War.*
- Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as a Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem, 2003)
- T.D. Dubois, "Hegemony, Imperialism and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia", *History and Theory* 44 (4), 2005
- Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)
- Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage*. (CUP, 1976). *A classic work showing how thought on "stages of development" was influenced by imperial ideology*
- Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave 2002).
- John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), ch 8). *This book details the way in which Africans in the 19th century were given the label "primitive" and thus sub-human.*
- Anghie, Antony. *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Brickman, Celia. *Aboriginal Populations in the Mind: Race and Primitivity in Psychoanalysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness* (Various). *The classic short novel that deals with justifications of imperialism based on savagery/civility. For a critical and very interesting discussion on the celebrated nature of Conrad's book, see Caryl Phillip's interview with the famous African author, Chinua Achebe, "Out of Africa" (2003) http://books.guardian.co.uk/review/story/0,12084,900102,00.html#article_continue*

On the Pacific in particular:

- I.C. Campbell, *"Gone Native" in Polynesia – Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998)
- Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (eds), *Culture Contact in the Pacific* (Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Daniel Thorp, "Going native in New Zealand and America: Comparing Pakeha Maori and white Indians", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:3 2003
- Toon van Meijl, "The Māori as Warrior: Ideological Implications of a Historical Image", in Toon van Meijl and Paul van der Grijp (eds), *European Imagery and colonial History in the Pacific* (Saarbrücken, 1994)
- Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought: An Anthology* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006)
- Harriet Guest, "Curiously Marked: Tattooing, Masculinity, and Nationality in Eighteenth Century British Perceptions of the South Pacific:", in J. Barrell, *Painting and the Politics of Culture* (1992)
- N. Gunson. "British Missionaries and Sexuality: The Polynesian Legacy and its Aftermath", in H.Hiery and J.MacKenzie (eds), *European Impact and Pacific Influence. British and German Colonial Policies in the Pacific and the Indigenous Response*, (London 1997).
- K. Green, "Colonialism's Daughters: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Western Perceptions of Hawaiian Women", in Spickard, Rondilla and Wright, *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2002)
- S. Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1990)

- V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (Penguin 1972), ch. 7
- James Belich, "Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand", in H. Hiery & J. MacKenzie, *European Impact and Pacific Influence* (Taurus)
- Hokowhitu, B. (2004). 'Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport'. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 15(2), pp. 259-284.

Some famous European thinkers implicated in these categorizations of non-European peoples:

- John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (Various), chapters 4 and 18. *Here Mill, the quintessential English Liberal (writing at the time of the Indian "Mutiny"), justifies when it is appropriate for a liberal government to be imperial. Is this justification still used by liberal foreign policy makers in our present day?*
- F. Voltaire, "Of the different races of men", in R. Bernasconi and T.L. Lott, *The Idea of Race* (Hackett, 2000)
- Immanuel Kant, "Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime," in *Anthropology, History and Education*, ed. G. Zöllner and R.B. Loudon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20.
- Immanuel Kant, "Of the Different Races of Human Beings," in *Anthropology, History and Education*, ed. G. Zöllner and R.B. Loudon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Immanuel Kant, "Determination of the Concept of a Human Race," in *Anthropology, History and Education*, ed. G. Zöllner and R.B. Loudon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010),
- Robert Bernasconi, "Who Invented the Concept of Race? Kant's Role in the Enlightenment Construction of Race," in *Race*, ed. R. Bernasconi (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 11-36.
- Anthony Pagden, "The defence of civilization in eighteenth century social theory" , *History of the Human Sciences* 1 (1), 1988

Week 4 / 22nd Mar: Enslaved Peoples

In what ways might we conceive of Atlantic slavery as a founding episode in the making of the modern world? How were Pacific peoples caught up in slavery? What is significant about the ways in which the practices and effects of Atlantic slavery were imagined to apply to the Pacific?

Required readings:

- J. Chaplin, "Race", in D. Armitage and M.J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave, 2002)
- Merze Tate and Fidele Foy, "Slavery and Racism in South Pacific Annexations" *The Journal of Negro History* 50 (1), 1965
- Thomas Forrest, "Extracts from Pamphlet on Circumnavigation" (Alexander Turnbull Archives, 1779)
- Lachlan Paterson, *Ngā Reo o ngā Niupepa: Māori Language Newspapers 1855-1863* (Otago: PhD Thesis, 2004), "Haitian Independence as a Propaganda Issue" pp.129-140

Further readings:

On Atlantic slavery in general:

- Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Various editions, (1944)), ch.1, *The classic and extremely influential argument that racism was a consequence and not a cause of New World slavery*
- James Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1), 1997 *An important challenge to Williams arguing that the roots of racism existed in Europe prior to New World slavery*
- Drescher, S. 1997. *Capitalism and Slavery After Fifty Years. Slavery and Abolition* 18 (3): 212-227. *A report on the "Williams debate".*
- Special issue of *Theory and Society* 20 (3), 1991, especially McMichael and Tomich. *Good articles on relationship between capitalism and slavery*
- David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford University Press)
- David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000)
- Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (London: Verso, 1997), *especially, Introduction*

- Beckles, H. 1997. Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity. *Callaloo* 20 (4)
- Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History* (Penguin, 1986)
- Santiago-Valles, K. 2005. Racially Subordinate Labour Within Global Contexts *Race and Class* 47 (2): 54-70
- Jeremy Smith, *Europe and the Americas: State Formation, Capitalism and Civilizations in Atlantic Modernity* (Brill 2006)
- Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993)
- Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Harvard, 2005). Good overview of the idea of "Atlantic history".
- Eltis, David, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: a Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- R. Shilliam, "The Atlantic as a Vector of Uneven and Combined Development", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22 (1), 2009 pp.69-88
- Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (Womens Press, 1981). *The first two chapters of this book draw out the extremely important way in which abolitionism and anti-slavery were organically linked to the women's rights movement in North America*
- Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a woman?" (1851), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/sojtruth-woman.html> See if you can figure out how this famous speech combines issues of race and gender in order to secure women's rights.
- Deborah White, *Ar'n't I a woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York, 1999)
- Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Wiener, 1999)
- Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (1987). A VERY influential novel
On the resistance of slaves to slavery:
- Linebaugh, P. and Rediker, M. 2000. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Marcus Rediker, "Sunday Forum: No more slaves" *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, April 29, 2007
<http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07119/781649-109.stm> This very short commentary criticises the focus of the recent film, *Amazing Graze*, upon (white) British politicians!
- R. Price (ed), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (New York: Anchor Press, 1973)
- R. Kent, "Palmares: An African State in Brazil", *The Journal of African History* 6 (2), 1965
- R. Anderson, "The Quilombo of Palmares: A New Overview of a Maroon State in Seventeenth-Century Brazil", *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (3), 1996
- Clinton Hutton, "The Creative Ethos of the African Diaspora: Performance Aesthetics and the Fight for Freedom and Identity", *Caribbean Quarterly* 53 (1/2), 2007
- Bagues, A. 2004. "The Haitian Revolution and the Making of Freedom in Modernity"
<http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/programs/theory/bagues.pdf>
- Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* October 2006
- C. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (University of Tennessee Press, 1990)
- James, C.L.R. 2001. *The Black Jacobins*. London: Penguin. (especially Appendix). *The classic attempt to put slaves at the centre of modern world history*
- R. Shilliam, "What the Haitian Revolution Might Tell Us About Development, Security and the Politics of Race", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50 (3), 2008 pp.778-808
- Rex Nettleford, "The Haitian Revolution and the Struggle Against Slavery: Challenges to Knowledge, Ignorance, and Silence", *International Social Science Journal* 58 (188), 2006
- William Wordsworth, "To Toussaint L'Ouverture"
http://thelouvertureproject.org/index.php?title=To_Toussaint_Louverture_-_poem_by_Wordsworth
On contemporary forms of "slavery":
- Joel Quirk, "The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical and Contemporary", *Human Rights Quarterly* 28 (2006)
- Manzo, K. 2005. Modern Slavery, Global Capitalism and Deproletarianisation in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 32 (106): 521-534
- Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Pattern* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003)
- Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (University of California Press, 1999)

Week 5 / 29th Mar: Colonialism as Genocide

How might colonialism be considered a genocidal project? Even if unintended, is colonialism unavoidably genocidal in its effect? What is the difference, if any, between physical and cultural genocide? And finally, what might be the links between genocide visited by Europeans on other Europeans as well as on peoples in the colonies?

Required readings:

- A. Dirk Moses, "An antipodean genocide? The origins of the genocidal moment in the colonization of Australia", *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2 (1), 2000
- Speech by the Hon. Tariana Turia, to the NZ Psychological Society Conference 2000 at Waikato University on Tuesday 29 August 2000, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=149643
- Merata Mita, Leon Narbey and Gerd Pohlmann (Dirs.), *He Raranga Korero: Bastion Point, Day 507* (Māori Television, 2006)
- Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (Monthly Review Press, [1944] 2000), pp.31-46, 65-73

Further readings:

- Donna Awatere, Maori Sovereignty (Broadsheet, 1984), pp.8-54
- Leonard Peltier, *Prison Writings: My Life is my Sun Dance* (NY: St Martin's Griffith, 1992), parts 3 & 4
- Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (South End Press, 1988)
- American Indian Movement (AIM) <http://www.aimovement.org/index.html> Much info on this website about the crucial 1960s/70s radical movement in the US
- Patrick Brantlinger, "Dying Races: Rationalizing Genocide in the Nineteenth Century", in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, *The Decolonization of the Imagination* (London: Zed Books, 1995)
- Dirk Moses, A. and Stone, D. 2007. *Colonialism and Genocide*. London: Routledge
- Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland : New Zealand literature 1872-1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), ch.4
- E. Weitz, *A century of genocide : utopias of race and nation* (Princeton University Press, 2003)
- Bashford, *Imperial hygiene : a critical history of colonialism, nationalism, and public health* (Palgrave, 2003)
- John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), ch 8). *This book details the way in which Africans in the 19th century were given the label "primitive" and thus sub-human.*
- D. Marie Ralstin-Lewis, *The Continuing Struggle against Genocide: Indigenous Women's Reproductive Rights Wicazo Sa Review* 20.1 (2005) 71-95
- Anant Phadke *A thorough critique of Depo-Provera*, 2005 <http://www.issuesinmedicalethics.org/131br031.html>
- E. Gretchen, *From racism to genocide : anthropology in the Third Reich* (Urbana, 2004)
- "Genocide and the Second Reich" (6 parts), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jg4MKIUj34w> BBC documentary on the German genocide of the Herero in South West Africa in early 20th century. Makes links between this and Nazism.

On social Darwinism and scientific racism:

- R. Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler : evolutionary ethics, eugenics, and racism in Germany* (Palgrave, 2004)
- Raymond Williams, "Social Darwinism", in J. Benthall, *The Limits of Human Nature* (Butler and Tanner, 1973)
- Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in modern South Africa* (CUP, 1995)
- Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American thought, 1860-1945* (CUP, 1997)
- RJ Halliday, "Social Darwinism. A Definition", *Victorian Studies*, 1971
- E. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- E. Black, *War against the weak : eugenics and America's campaign to create a master race* (NY 2003)

- Bashford, *Imperial hygiene : a critical history of colonialism, nationalism, and public health* (Palgrave, 2003)
- Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation - An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257-337. A very challenging, but fantastically rewarding read which takes a vast sweep of world history from the Spanish encounter with Amerindians through to the development of 19th Century Scientific Racism.
- H.L. Kaye, *The social meaning of modern biology: from social Darwinism to socio-biology* (Yale, 1986)

Week 6 / 5th Apr: Development as Destruction

What is the relationship between poverty, colonialism and development? In what ways might development be understood as a destructive force upon the lives of the post-colonial poor? And to what extent is the development project – and neo-liberal development in particular – a practice of white supremacy?

Required readings:

- Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, 1995), chs 1 & 2
- Sarah White, "Thinking race, thinking development", *Third World Quarterly* 23 (3), 2002
- Maria Bargh, "Maori Development and Neoliberalism" in M. Bargh, *Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism* (Huia, 2007)

Further readings:

- K. Marx, 1853 "The British Rule in India" and "The Future Results of British Rule in India"
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/06/25.htm>
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/07/22.htm> Some say these reports (for a newspaper) are in fact an articulation of the development project, along with its attendant racism? What do you think?
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Neocolonialism – The Last Stage of Imperialism* (Various, 1965)
<http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nkrumah/neo-colonialism/>
- Bhagwati, Jagdish N. *The New International Economic Order: the North-South Debate*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977
- Special issue on Race and Development in *Progress in Development Studies* 2006 (6)
- April Biccum, "Development and the "new" imperialism" A reinvention of colonial discourse in DFID promotional literature", *Third World Quarterly* 26 (6), 2005
- Kothari, Uma. "An Agenda for Thinking About 'Race' in Development." *Progress in Development Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006): 9-23.
- Goudge, Paulette. *The Whiteness of Power: Racism in Third World Development and Aid*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2003.
- John Hobson, "Civilizing the global economy: Racism and the continuity of anglo-saxon imperialism" in B. Bowden and L. Seabrooke (eds), *Global Standards of Market Civilization* (Routledge ,2006)
- Latouche, S., 1993. *In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-Development*, London: Zed Books.
- Ashis Nandy, "The Beautiful, Expanding Future of Poverty: Popular Economics as a Psychological Defense", *International Studies Review* Vol. 4, No. 2, (Summer, 2002)

Readings on modernity and modernization theory:

- Rostow, W.W., 1991. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published in late 50s – the classic post-war modernization statement.
- Lerner, Huntington and Pye are key examples of the classic "modernization" thesis, which, note, usually involved the military in a formative and possibly violent role; the proximate roots of present day "humanitarian intervention"?
 - Huntington, S.P., 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
 - S.P. Huntington, "The Bases of Accommodation", *Foreign Affairs* 1968. He argues that the US bombing campaign in Vietnam had the effect of modernizing its society (!).

- Lerner, D., 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press
- Pye, L.W., 1962. The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries. In J. Johnson, ed. *Armies in the Process of Political Modernization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 69-89.
- Amadiume, Boserup and Rogers are critiques of the gender oppression created by modernization processes.
 - Ifi Amadiume, *Re-inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion, and Culture* (Zed Books, 1997) ch.6
 - Boserup, E., 1970. *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
 - Rogers, B., 1980. *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*, New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.
- Simon Bromley, *American Power and the Prospects for International Order* (Polity, 2008), ch.1. *An excellent overview of the crucial importance of modernization theory for US foreign policy.*
- D. Blaney and N. Inayatullah, "Neo-Modernization? IR and the Inner Life of Modernization Theory," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8(1): 103-137, 2002
- D. Blaney and N. Inayatullah, *Savage Economics* (Routledge, 2010)
- Robbie Shilliam, "Modernity and Modernization", in Robert A. Denemark (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia Vol. VIII* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 5214-5232
- Walter Mignolo, "Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity", in *Modernologies. Contemporary Artists Researching Modernity and Modernism Catalog of the Exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, Barcelona, Spain*, edited by curator Sabine Breitwischer (Fall, 2009), pp. 39-49
http://m1.antville.org/files/walter_mignolo_modernologies_eng/
- Rolando Vázquez, "Modernity, Coloniality and Visibility: The Politics of Time", Unpublished Manuscript, 2009
- Fabian, J., 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, New York: Columbia University Press
- Bhabra, G.K., 2007. *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Gilroy, P., 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY

Week 7 / 12th Apr: Black Power

What is the politics of Black Power? How does it confront white supremacy? What has been its global impact? How relevant have the propositions and strategies of Black Power been for struggles in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Required readings:

- Malcolm X, "I'm a Field Negro", in *By Any Means Necessary* (NYC: Pathfinder, 1970), pp.183-184
- Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power*, (Various) ch.2
- Young Māori Leaders Conference "Maori Mana" (University of Auckland, 1970), pp.15-16
- Taura Eruera, "Common Problems for New Zealanders", (Māori Organization on Human Rights Newsletter, 1973), pp.1-4
- Nevak Ilolahia Rogers, *The Polynesian Panthers* (Māori Television, 2010)
- TVNZ, 2008, "Black Power Lodges Treaty Claim", <http://tvnz.co.nz/content/2080577/423466.html>

Further readings (see CD for many related documents):

- Gary Foley, *Black Power in Redfern, 1968-1972* (Koori History Website, 2001)
http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html
- Teresia Teaiwa, black in the blue pacific, <http://www.othervoicespoetry.org/vol3/teaiwa/black.html>
- Paul Gilroy, "After the Great White Error... The Great Black Mirage", in Donald Moore et al (eds), *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference* (Duke University Press, 2003). *A critique of Black Power interpreted as identity politics*

- James Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (1971), *Extremely influential treatise on the theological determinants of Black Power. Think of Martin Luther King, etc etc.*
 - Dean Robinson, *Black Nationalism in American Politics and Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.
 - Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (Various)
 - Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary* (Various)
 - *Is Massa Day dead? Black moods in the Caribbean*, edited, and with an introd., by Orde Coombs. *Some documents on Black Power in the Caribbean.*
 - Mike Marqusee, *Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties* (Verso 2005)
 - Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (South End Press, 1988)
 - Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time* (Various) *Thoughts on the movement by one of the leaders of the Black Panthers*
 - Huey Newton, "Interview from Jail" <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WuU7bEqKcLk>
 - Newton, Huey P. (1980). *War Against The Panthers: A Study Of Repression In America*. University of California, Santa Cruz. <http://www.mindfully.org/Reform/War-Against-Panthers-Newton1jun80.htm>
 - Emory Douglass, http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Emory_Art/Emory_Art_index.html *Emory is Minister of Culture for BP, the "artist of the revolution" and has recently kindled links with the Polynesian Panthers and supporters in NZ. See http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/Emory_Art/pdf/Emory_ODT.pdf*
 - Black Panther Party "10 Point Program", http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/Panther_platform.html *Crucial document on what the Panthers want and believe.*
 - Reginald Major, *A Panther is a Black Cat: An Account of the Early Years of The Black Panther Party - Its Origins, Its Goals, and Its Struggle for Survival*, (Various, 1971)
- On the links between US Civil Rights/Black Power, anti-colonial struggles and Apartheid:
- Michael L. Clemons; Charles E. Jones, "Global solidarity: The Black Panther party in the international arena" *New Political Science*, Volume 21, Issue 2 June 1999 , pages 177 – 203
 - B. Rodriguez, "'De la Esclavitud Yanqui a la Libertad Cubana': US black radicals, the Cuban revolution, and the formation of a tricontinental ideology", *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring), 2005).
 - Subcommittee to Investigate the Admin of the Internal Security Act (1966), *The Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples. A US Govt assessment of the Tricontinental Conference (Cuban links).*
 - Thomas Borstelman, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Harvard University Press, 2001)
 - Carol Anderson, "From Hope to Disillusion: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1947," *Diplomatic History* 20, 4 (1996): 531-563
 - Brenda Gayle Plummer (ed), *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs 1945-1988* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
 - Mary L. Dudziak, Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative, *Stanford Law Review* 41 (1), 1988
 - James A. Tyner and Robert J. Kruse, II, "The Geopolitics of Malcolm X", *Antipode* 36 (1), 2004.
 - Malcolm X, "A Problem of Human Rights", <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VdCsoQPu5bg>
 - Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain* (New York, 1956) *A seminal report by a famous African American writer on the Bandung Conference*
 - M. Jones, "A 'Segregated' Asia? Race, the Bandung Conference, and Pan-Asianist Fears in American Thought and Policy, 1954-1955", *Diplomatic History* 29 (5) 2005
 - Martin Luther King, Jr. 1959. "Radio Address to India." All India Radio. Retrieve from: <http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2009/April/20090403123614ptellivremos0.9931757.html>
- On Black Power and the Māori Renaissance – (see also many of the documents on the CD):
- Rangī Walker "Genesis of Maori Activism" (and the response by the Waitangi Action Committee). On CD
 - Te Ahu, *The Evolution of Contemporary Māori Protest* [http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/tumoana/index.htm#\(ii\)](http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/tumoana/index.htm#(ii))
 - Patete, A., 2007. *Maori Political Activism and the Quest for Rangatiratanga in the 1970s and 1980s: A Maori Perspective*, Wellington: Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit.
 - McDowell, T., 2007. 'Riria te riri, mahia te mahi': *The Politics and Development of Modern Maori Activism, 1968-78*. Master of Arts in History Thesis. University of Auckland

- Upper Hutt Posse <http://www.tekupu.com/PROFILE2.html> A legendary hip hop group inspired in part by the Black Power movement.
- Dean Hapeta, *Ngatahi: Know the Links* (DVD in library, 2003)

Week 8 / 3rd May: Black Women

How do race and gender intersect as forms of oppression? What, precisely, is this identity - "Black": who might be considered Black, and why? What are the resonances and dissonances between the projects of liberating Black men and liberating Black women? What might be the resonances and dissonances between Black Power and Mana Wahine?

Required readings:

- Toni Morrison, "What the Black Woman Thinks About Women's Lib", in *What Moves at the Margin* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, [1971] 2008)
- bell hooks, "Challenging Sexism in Black Life" in *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* (NY: Henry Holt and Co., 1995)
- Ripeka Evans, "Politics of Blackness" in *United Congress of Māori and Pacific Women* (Alexander Turnbull Library, Manuscripts, 90-387-07/1, approx. 1982)
- Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine", in S. Middleton and A. Jones (eds.), *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Press, 1990)
- Tariana Turia, "TRUST: A True Story of Women and Gangs", Jul 2009, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/trust-true-story-women-and-gangs>

Further readings:

- Bobbi Sykes, *Love poems and other revolutionary actions* (University of Queensland Press, 1988). A very famous member of the Black Power movement amongst Aborigines in Australia.
- Bobbi Sykes, *Incentive, achievement and community: an analysis of Black viewpoints on issues relating to Black Australian education* (Sydney University Press, 1986)
- Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (Womens Press, 1981). And *ANYTHING* by Angela Davis
- Eldridge Cleaver, "The Allegory of the Black Eunuchs", in *Soul on Ice* (Various, 1969). *Warning: this is a very explicit text. Try to think about the ways in which the text speaks to how race might be embodied sexually.*
- Lynn Weber, "A conceptual framework for understanding race, class, gender, and sexuality", *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 22 (1998), 13-32
- Margaret L. Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (eds.), *Race, Class and Gender: an Anthology* (Wadsworth, 1998)
- Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* 2nd ed (Routledge, 2000)
- Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Race, class and gender: prospects for an all-inclusive sisterhood", *Feminist Studies* 9 (1), 1983
- bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (South End Press, 1990)
- bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist: Thinking Black* (South End Press, 1989)
- Kimberle Williams Crenshaw "Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of color", www.wcsap.org/Events/Workshop07/mapping-margins.pdf
- Nira Yuval-Davis, "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics", *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 2006
- Jennifer C. Nash, "Re-thinking intersectionality", *Feminist Review* 89 (2008)
- A. Katherine Wing, *Global Critical Race Feminism: an International Reader* (New York University Press, 2000)
- Frantz Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled", in Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (Various). *Fanon turns his attention to the participation of women in the struggle against French colonialism in the 1950s. Does Fanon fall prey to the feminist critique of Black Power?*
- A.M. White, "All the men are fighting for freedom, all the women are mourning their men, but some of us carried guns: a race-gendered analysis of Fanon's psychological perspectives on war", *Signs* 32 (4), 2007. *A good, careful critique of Fanon with empirical evidence from some of Africa's wars of liberation.*

- Sabine Broeck, “Re-reading de Beauvoir “after race”: woman as slave revisited” *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 2011 – Ask me for a copy of this.

On Mana Wahine:

- Many articles by Donna Awatere and Ripeka Evans in *Broadsheet* (find on the CD)
- Te Awekeluku, N., 1992. Kia Mau, Kia Manawanui - We Will Never Go Away: Experiences of a Maori Lesbian Feminist. In R. Du Plessis, ed. *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 278-289.
- Kerensa Johnston, “Māori Women Confront Discrimination: Using International Human Rights Law to Challenge Discriminatory Practices”, *Indigenous Law Journal* Volume 4/Fall 2005
- Mikaere A (2003) *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Maori Women of the colonisation of tikanga Maori. Mana Wahine Thesis Series Vol One*. Auckland New Zealand
- Te Awekotuku N (1991) *Mana wahine Maori: selected writings on Maori womens art, culture and politics*. Auckland. New Zealand Womens Press
- Irwin K (1992) *Towards theories of Maori Feminism in Feminist voices: womens studies texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand* edited By Rosemary DuPlessis et al. Oxford University Press. Auckland NZ
- “Hauraki Hui reaffirms Maori Women Leadership” Posted: November 29, 2010
<http://news.tangatawhenua.com/archives/8265>

Week 9 / 10th May: Rastafari: Africa in Aotearoa

Why would – and how could - the struggles of enslaved Africans and their descendents resonate spiritually and politically with the peoples of the Pacific? Thinking back to topics 2 and 3, how might we address the particular influence of Rastafari from within a longer and deeper colonial framework?

Required readings:

- Merata Mita and Martyn Sanderson (Dirs.), *Keskidee Aroha* (Scratch Pictures, 1980)
- Kirsty Babington (Dir.), *Rasta in Aotearoa* (Front of the Box, 2004)
- Hitendra Patel (Dir.), *Children of Zion* (Auckland, 2002)

Further readings:

Rasta in Aotearoa and the Pacific (see also CD)

- Tigilau Ness, *From Street to Sky* (DVD in library, 2007)
- “Tigilau Ness –Unity Pacific”, *NZ Musician magazine* April/May 2003
<http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Study/9077/tiginess.html>
- Merata Mita, *Dread* (1989, you will find it in the NZ Film Archives) *An earlier documentary on the Ruatoria Dredd*
- Documentary: *He Koha mo Bob Marley* (DVD 2009) *Ruia Aperahama travels to Jamaica to present a gift to Marley's family for his positive influence upon Māori struggles. I have a copy if you can't find in library.*
- Ian Boxhill, “Atlantic Meets Pacific: Music as an Element of Struggle in Aotearoa/New Zealand”, 1994 – ASK ME FOR A COPY
- Frank Jan Van Dijk, “Chanting Down Babylon Outernational: The Rise of Rastafari in Europe, the Caribbean, and the Pacific”, in N.S. Murrell, W.D. Spencer and A.A. McFarlane, *Chanting Down Babylon* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)
- Harold Turner, “Rastafari and New Zealand Maori”, *South Pacific Journal for Mission Studies* 1991
- Gordon Campbell, “Rasta in Aotearoa”, *NZ Listener* 17 (January), 1981, pp.18-19
- Jodi Ihaka, “Why the Kids Wanna Be Black”, *Mana: Māori News Magazine* No.3 Aug/Sep, 1993
- Steve Maharey, “What is This Thing Called Rastafari?” *New Zealand Social Work Journal* 7 (2), 1982
- Luis Alvaraz, “Reggae Rhythms in Dignity's Diaspora: Globalization, Indigenous Identity, and the Circulation of Cultural Struggle”, *Popular Music and Society* 31 (5) 2008
- Tony Mitchell, “He Waiata Na Aotearoa” *Maori and Pacific Islander Music in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, in P. Hayward, *Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific* (London: Cassell)

- “The Religion of Reggae”, *The Evening Post* Nov 29, 1980
<http://www.reggae.artist.maori.nz/Religion%20of%20Reggae/target0.html>
 - Robbie Shilliam, “Keskidee Aroha: Translation on the Colonial Stage”, *Journal of Historical Sociology* (forthcoming, 2011)
 - Robbie Shilliam, “Black Aotearoa: Sketches of a Global Decolonial Imagination”, Unpublished manuscript, 2010 – *ask me for a copy*
 - Robbie Shilliam, “The ancestors are meeting because we have met”: The conditions for Rasta and Māori interconnectedness”, Unpublished manuscript, 2010 – *ask me for a copy*
 - *Waiata Whawhai, Songs of Protest* 2010 <http://www.facebook.com/waiatawhawhai>
- Further readings on Rastafari in general (and see weeks above for Black Power):
- C. Price, D. Nonini, E. Tree, “Grounded utopian movements: subjects of neglect”, *Anthropology Quarterly* Winter 2008. *On rastafari and the native American ghost dance of the great plains*
 - M. Stephens, “Babylon’s ‘natural mystic’: the North American music industry, the legend of Bob Marley, and the incorporation of transnationalism”, *Cultural Studies* 12 (2), 1998. *An indictment of the commodification of Rastafari through the global music industry.*
 - Murrell, Spencer and Mcfarlane, *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader* (Temple University Press, 1998), *an excellent resource!*
 - Nettleford et al, *Report on the Rastafari Movement in Kingston* (UWI, 1960). *The first academic report on Rastafari, a very important document.*
 - Clinton Hutton, “The Creative Ethos of the African Diaspora: Performance Aesthetics and the Fight for Freedom and Identity”, *Caribbean Quarterly* 53 (1/2), 2007
 - Fred Hickley, “Reflections on the Rastafari Case Study” (Rastafari Studies Conference, Jamaica, 2010)
ONLINE VIDEO: <http://tv.mona.uwi.edu/#id=612> (starts 1 hour 45 minutes into video). *Excellent argument on Rastafari as a Black Liberation Movement.*
 - Yasus Afari, *Overstanding Rastafari: Jamaica’s Gift to the World* (Jamaica: Senya-Cum, 2007), *very accessible and deeply thought out introduction to Rastafari by a Rasta.*
 - Mutabaruka, a pre-eminent Rasta dub poet on *Religious Hardtalk*
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ldAXGmYRSIY>
 - E. Edmonds, *Rastafari: from outcasts to culture bearers* (Oxford, 2003)
 - Special Issue on Rastafari in *Caribbean Quarterly* 26 (4) 1980
 - Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance* (Hansib, 1985)
 - Mortimo Planno, “The Earth’s Most Strangest Man: The Rastafarian”,
<http://www.tc.columbia.edu/centers/cifas/caribbean/resources/planno/> *Planno was one of the most influential Rasta, and in-part introduced Bob Marley to the faith.*
 - Barry Chevannes (ed), *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews* (Rutgers Uni Press, 1998)
 - Rex Nettleford, *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race, and Protest in Jamaica* (Kingston, 1970)
 - Peter Clarke, *Black Paradise: The Rastafarian Movement* (Aquarian Press, 1986)
 - Ken Post, *Arise ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and its Aftermath* (Nijhoff, 1978)
 - *The first Rasta : Leonard Howell and the rise of Rastafarianism* / by Hélène Lee Lawrence Hill Books, 2003.
 - *The Rastafarians : sounds of cultural dissonance* / Leonard E. Barrett, Sr Beacon Press, c1988
 - *Dread : the Rastafarians of Jamaica* / Joseph Owens Heinemann Educational Books, 1982

Week 10 / 17th May: Springboks: Aotearoa Against Apartheid

The anti-apartheid movement was global in its extent. How did the movement interface with and intensify the particular struggles over white supremacy in Aotearoa New Zealand? What, do you think, was the fundamental fault line in New Zealand society that the Springbok protests of 1981 revealed? Has that fault line been fixed?

Required readings:

- Paul Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Westview, 1996), ch. 6
- Hone Harawira, “Māori and Polynesian Groups Against the Tour” *Māori Peoples Liberation Movement of Aotearoa*, (Alexander Turnbull Library 93-042-Hart-Box9, 1981)

- Merata Mita, *Patu!* 1983 <http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/patu-1983> (all 9 clips and read the brief background note: http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/patu-1983/background#critique_0)
- Jacob Pollock, "We Don't Want Your Racist Tour": The 1981 Springbok Tour and the Anxiety of Settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand", *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 2 (1), 2004

Further readings:

- Steve Biko, *I write what I like* (Various), esp ch.14. *The leader of the black consciousness movement during Apartheid South Africa.*
- *Biko lives! : contesting the legacies of Steve Biko* / edited by Andile Mngxitama, Amanda Alexander, and Nigel C. Gibson (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
- *Long walk to freedom : the autobiography of Nelson Mandela*, (London: Little, Brown, 1994)
- *Winnie Mandela : mother of a nation* / by Nancy Harrison (London: V. Gollancz, 1985)
- D Mermelstein, *The Anti-apartheid reader: the struggle against white racist rule in South Africa* (Grove Press, 1987)
- Newell M. Stultz, "Evolution of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Regime", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 13 (1), 1991
- UN, *The United Nations and Apartheid 1948-1994* (1994). *Some great original documents in here!*
- UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1963
www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/9.htm
- Audie Klotz, "Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences", *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (1), 2002
- Penny Enslin^{and} Kai Horsthemke, "Can ubuntu provide a model for citizenship education in African democracies?", *Comparative Education* 40 (4), 2004
- Mahmood Mamdani, "Amnesty or Impunity? A Preliminary Critique of the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa", *Diacritics* Fall-Winter, 2002. *Claims that political compromise turned into moral compromise and robbed Black South Africans of justice.*
- Fiona Ross, "Speech and silence: Women's testimony in the first five weeks of public hearings of the TRC", in Das et al. (eds), *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery* (University of California Press, 2001). *On the gendered nature of the truth hearings.*
- Richard Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)
On the "new" apartheid struggle: Israel/Palestine
- Uri Davis, *Apartheid Israel: Possibilities for the Struggle Within* (2004). *See also his website (search on google)*
- Mark Marshall, "Rethinking the Palestine Question: The Apartheid Paradigm" *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 15-22
- Oren Yiftachel, "Neither Two States Nor One: The Disengagement and "Creeping Apartheid" in Israel/Palestine" <http://arabworldgeographer.socsci.uva.nl/forum2005/AWG83Yiftachel.pdf>
On Aotearoa NZ and Apartheid (you will find numerous documents on the CD too)
- *Dancing on our bones : New Zealand, South Africa, rugby and racism* / Trevor Richards. (Bridget Williams Books, 1999)
- *56 days* / editors, Geoff Walker, Peter Beach (COST, 1982)
- *Storm out of Africa : the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand* / Richard Shears, Isobelle Gidley (Macmillan, 1981)

NEW ARTICULATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACISM?

Week 11 / 24th May: Migration, Multiculturalism and the Racial Division of Labour

The "racial division of labour" refers to the segmentation of jobs, careers, earnings, opportunities and security along the lines of race/ethnicity. How has economic globalization intensified or transformed this division? Is multiculturalism the answer to this "intrusion" of "others" into the West, or is it part of the problem? Is "culture" the new category of "race"? And to what extent and in what ways do these issues impact upon the particular recent history of Aotearoa NZ?

Required readings:

- NZ Stats, *New Zealand's International Migration Statistics 1922-2009*
<http://www.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/Publications/population/itm-articles/nz-inter-migration-stats-1922-2009.ashx>
- Damon Fepulea'i (dir), *Dawn Raids* (DVD, 2005)
- Randolph Persaud, "Power, Production and Racialization in Global Labor Recruitment and Supply", in Gill and Bakkar (eds), *Power, Production and Social Reproduction* (Routledge, 2003)
- Hage, Ghassan 1998. *White nation. Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*. Annandale: Pluto, chs 3 & 9
- Margaret Mutu, "The Māori Roots of a Multicultural New Zealand", 2007,
http://www.goingbananas.org.nz/2007Papers/Going_Bananas_August_07_Maori_Roots_Multicultural_NZ.ppt

Further readings (see also readings in next two topics):

On migration, globalization etc:

- Folker Fröbel; Jürgen Heinrichs; Otto Kreye *The new international division of labour : structural unemployment in industrialised countries and industrialisation in developing countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Marie Mies, *Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale : women in the international division of labour* (London: Zed Books, 1986)
- Chua, Amy. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- Duffield, MR. 'Racism, migration and development: the foundations of planetary order', *Progress in Development Studies*, 6 (1) 2006
- Ibrahim, M. 2005. The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse. *International Migration* 43 (5): 163-187
- R. Thomas, "Biometrics, International Migrants and Human Rights", *European Journal of Migration and Law* 7 (4), 2005
- Gwynne Dyer, "A world of walls", *NZ Herald*, 12th feb 2007
http://www.nzherald.co.nz/category/story.cfm?c_id=32&objectid=10423425
- UN World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia, 2001: http://www.un.org/WCAR/aconf189_12.pdf and <http://www.un.org/durbanreview2009/background.shtml>

On multiculturalism, assimilation etc:

- Don Brash, "Orewa Speech: On Nationhood", 2004 <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0401/S00220.htm>
- Jon Johansson, "Orewa and the rhetoric of illusion", Special Edition of *Political Science* on Political Leadership in New Zealand. Vol. 56. No. 2. (December 2004). *On Don Brash's controversial Orewa speech*.
- Susan Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Azizah Y. Al-Hibri, "Is Western Patriarchal Feminism Good for Third World/Minority Women?" in *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women? (Reply to Okin)*
- Conklin, William 1997. 'The assimilation of the other within a master discourse' in Stephen Harold Riggins (ed.) *The language and politics of exclusion. Others in discourse*. London: Sage Publications, pp226-48
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Subject of Law and the Subject of Narratives", in *Habitations of Modernity* (Chicago, 2002)
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa 1999. 'Towards a multicultural conception of human rights' in Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (eds.) *Space of culture. City, nation, world*. London: Sage, pp214-29
- Bhikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (NY: Palgrave, 2006).
- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- Lentin, A. 2005. Replacing "Race", Historicizing "Culture" in Multiculturalism. *Patterns of Prejudice* 39 (4)

On the "new racism" – race/culture:

- Barker, Martin. *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe*. Frederick: Aletheia Books, 1982
- Paul Gordon & Francesca Klug, *New Right, New Racism* (Searchlight, 1986), ch.2

- Ansell, Amy Elizabeth. *New Right, New Racism: Race and Reaction in the United States and Britain*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 1997.
- Balibar, Étienne. "Is There a "Neo-Racism"?" In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, edited by E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, 17-28. London: Verso, 1991.
- Richards, P. 1996. *Fighting For the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: James Curry, Introduction
- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006)
- Eric Wolf, "Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People", *Current Anthropology* 35 (1), 1994
- Lentin, A. 2005. Replacing "Race", Historicizing "Culture" in Multiculturalism. *Patterns of Prejudice* 39 (4) *To what extent is multiculturalism informed by the "new racism"?*
- K. Durrheim and J. Dixon, "Theories of culture in racist discourse", *Race and Society* 3 (2), 2000 *Considers the ways in which White South African holidaymakers justify racial segregation and criticize social transformation by explaining segregation as the natural and hence inevitable outcome of the 'fact' that humans are cultural beings.*
- Charles A. Gallagher, *Rethinking the color line : readings in race and ethnicity* (McGraw-Hill, 2007)
- Raymond d'Angelo, Herbert Douglas, *Taking sides. Clashing views in race and ethnicity* (McGraw-Hill, 2008) *Some good articles on recent events in the USA, including Hurricane Katrina*
- D. Kertzer and Dominique Aré, *The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Census* (CUP, 2001)

Week 12 / 31st May: The New Imperialism

What new racial discourses might underpin post cold war arguments for humanitarian intervention? In what ways, if at all, is the "new imperialism" different to its 19th century predecessors? After these readings, consider the extent to which New Zealand involvement in Afghanistan is intentionally or unintentionally contributing to the "new imperialism".

Required readings:

- Duffield, M. 1996. The Symphony of the Damned: Racial Discourse, Complex Political Emergencies and Humanitarian Aid. *Disasters* 20 (3): 173-193
- Robert Cooper, "The New Liberal Imperialism", 2003
<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,680095,00.html>
- Mark Driscoll, "White dude's burden", *Cultural Studies* 23 (1), 2009
- Gordon Campbell, "On our first combat death in Afghanistan", Aug 4th 2010,
<http://gordoncampbell.scoop.co.nz/2010/08/04/gordon-campbell-on-our-first-combat-death-in-afgha/>

Further readings (you will find some crossovers in last week and next week's further readings):

On the "failed state" and intervention:

- Fund for Peace. Failed States Index. <http://www.fundforpeace.org/>
- Helman, G.B. & Ratner, S.R. 1993. Saving Failed States. *Foreign Policy* 89: 3-21
- Rotberg, R. 2002. Failed States in a World of Terror. *Foreign Affairs* 81 (4): 127-140
- Krasner, S.D. & Pascual, C. 2005. Addressing State Failure. *Foreign Affairs* 84 (4): 153-163
- Fearon, J.D. and Laitin, D.D. 2004. Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States. *International Security* 28 (4): 5-43
- Barkawi, T. & Laffey, M. 2006. The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of International Studies* 32 (2): 329-352
- Bilgin, P. & Morton, A.D. (2002). Historicising Representations of "Failed States": Beyond the Cold-War Annexation of the Social Sciences? *Third World Quarterly* 23 (1): 55-80
- Branwen Gruffydd Jones, 'The global political economy of social crisis: towards a critique of the 'Failed State' ideology' *Review of International Political Economy* 15 (2) 2008
- Roland Paris, "International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'," *Review of International Studies* 28:4 (October 2002)

- William Bain, "The idea of trusteeship in international society", *The Round Table* 92 (368), 2003
 - Siba Grovogui, "Regimes of Sovereignty: Rethinking International Morality and the African Condition," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8, no.3 (September 2002)
 - Beate Jahn, "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs", *International Organization* 59 (1), 2005
 - Mintz, S.W. 1995. Can Haiti Change? *Foreign Affairs* 74 (1): 73-86. *An excellent article to read if we relate it to our week on the Haitian revolution*
 - G. Evans, M. Sahnoun, "The Responsibility to Protect", *Foreign Affairs* 81 (6) 2002
 - R. Thakur, "Global norms and international humanitarian law: an Asian perspective", *International Review of the Red Cross* 841 (2001)
 - Thakur, Ramesh (2004): "Developing Countries and the Intervention-Sovereignty Debate" In Price Richard M.; Zacher Mark W. (Hg.) *The United Nations and Global Security*. Houndmills New York: Macmillan
- On the new imperialism
- David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford, 2003)
 - April Biccum, "Development and the "new" imperialism" A reinvention of colonial discourse in DFID promotional literature", *Third World Quarterly* 26 (6), 2005
 - M. Wolf, "The New Imperialism", *Financial Times*, October 2001
 - Tony Blair, "Doctrine of the International Community", 1999
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/politics/blair.htm>
 - Kofi Annan, "The Legitimacy to Intervene," *Financial Times*, December 31, 1999
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/secgen/interven.htm>
 - Ellen Wood, "Kosovo and the New Imperialism", *Monthly Review* 1999
<https://www.monthlyreview.org/699wood.htm>
 - Various articles in the Socialist Register 2004, *The New Imperial Challenge*
 - Various articles in the Socialist Register 2005, *The Empire Reloaded*

TRIMESTER 2

Week 1 / 12th Jul: No seminar: READING WEEK

Week 2 / 19th Jul: Orientalism Redux, or, "Muslim Culture is Dangerous"

Again, the question arises: what is the relationship between culture and race? To what extent are old racial hierarchies now smuggled into assumptions about intractable cultural differences? How does this relate to the "global war on terror" and to the rise of Islamophobia in particular? Do Muslim women need saving by white men and women? And to what extent is New Zealand society affected by these issues?

Required readings:

- Steven Salaita, "Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia: 9/11, Anti-Arab Racism, and the Mythos of National Pride", *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6 (2) 2006
- Interview with S. Huntington, *New Perspectives Quarterly* 19 (1), 2002
http://www.digitalnpq.org/archive/2007_winter/14_huntington.html
- Ahmed Zaoui, "Clash Of Civilisations", Auckland University 2004
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0410/S00224.htm>
- Gordon Campbell, "Zaoui – Security, Paranoia, and Immigration", 2007
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0707/S00232.htm>

Further readings (see also the readings on multiculturalism and the new racism):

- Shampa Biswas, "The 'New Cold War': Secularism, Orientalism, and Postcoloniality", in G. Chowdhry and S. Nair (eds), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (Routledge, 2004)
- Tariq Ramadan, "Islam Today: The Need to Explore Its Complexities" 2007
http://www.tariqramadan.com/spip.php?page=imprimer&id_article=1167

- Tony Blair, "A Battle for Global Values", *Foreign Affairs* 86 (1), 2007
- Samuel Huntington "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (summer 1993)
- Samuel Huntington, "The West, Unique not Universal", *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1996
- *See in contradistinction, the UN sponsored "Dialogue Among Civilizations"*, <http://www.unu.edu/dialogue/>
- Said, Edward. "The Clash of Definitions" in Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002)
- E. Abrahamian, "The US Media, Huntington and September 11", *Third World Quarterly* 24 (3), 2003
- F. Halliday, "'Islamophobia' reconsidered", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (5), 1999
- P. Werbner, "Islamophobia: Incitement to religious hatred - legislating for a new fear?", *Anthropology Today* 21 (1), 2005
- H. Afshar, "Feminisms, Islamophobia and Identities", *Political Studies* 53 (2), 2005
- Euben, R.L. 2002. Contingent Borders, Syncretic Perspectives: Globalization, Political Theory and Islamizing Knowledge. *International Studies Review* 4 (1): 23-48
- Anthony D. Smith, "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism", *International Affairs* 72 (3) 1996
- Piscatori, J. 2003. Order, Justice and Global Islam. In *Order and Justice in International Relations*, edited by Foot, R., Gaddis, J. and Hurrell, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 262-286
- Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, "A (short) history of the clash of civilizations", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 21 (2), 2008
- Burak Erdenir, *The future of Europe: Islamophobia?* http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_34.pdf
- Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im, "Islamic Law, International Relations, and Human Rights: Challenge and Response", *Cornell International Law Journal* 317, 1987
- Jane Freedman, "Women, Islam and Rights in Europe: Beyond a Universal/Culturalist Dichotomy", *Review of International Studies* 33, 2007
- Heiner Bielefeldt, "'Western' versus 'Islamic' Human Rights Conceptions? A Critique of Cultural Essentialism in the Discussion on Human Rights", *Political Theory* 28 (1), 2000
- Soroush, A. 2000. Tolerance and Governance: A Discourse on Religion and Democracy. In *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of 'Abdolkarim Soroush*, edited by Sadri, M. and Sadri, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Kamran Matin, "Decoding political Islam: uneven and combined development and Ali Shariati's political thought", in R. Shilliam (ed.), *International Relations and Non-Western Thought* (Routledge, 2010). *Ali Shariati is known as the intellectual architect of the Iranian Revolution. A very important thinker.*

Week 3 / 26th Jul: The Global Criminalization of Brown and Black Men

Why are so many young brown and black men locked up? To what extent do the legacies of slavery and colonialism affect the life chances of young brown and black men as much as their individual circumstances and choices? To be provocative: do post-colonial societies still see these men in terms of uncivilized and dangerous "niggers and natives"?

Required readings:

- Angela Y. Davis, "Racialized Punishment and Prison Abolition", in Tommy Lott & John Pittman (eds.), *A Companion to African-American Philosophy* (Blackwell, 2002)
- Horace Campbell, "Gangsters, Politicians, Cocaine and Bankers", *Pambazuka News* 2010 <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/65437>
- Denis O'Reilly, "It's an Ill Wind" (Nga Kupa Aroha blog, 2010) <http://www.nzedge.com/features/ar-denis41.html>
- Moana Jackson "The Constancy of Terror " in D. Keenan (ed.), *Terror in our midst?: Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2008)

Further readings:

- M. "I'Nubia" Hall, "From Back-O-Wall to Tivoli: "The Garrisonization of Rastafarian Rootz" (Power-Polit(r)ics- Propaganda...)", Presented at *The Inaugural Rastafari Studies Conference*, Kingston, 2010. ASK ME FOR A COPY.
- Denis O'Reilly, *Nga Kupa Aroha Blog*, see online – various entries especially more recent ones.
- D'ANN R. PENNER Assault Rifles, Separated Families, and Murder in Their Eyes: Unmasked Questions after Hurricane Katrina, *Journal of American Studies*, 44 (2010), 3, 573–599
- NZ Herald, 2008, Gang women lodge Treaty claim, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c_id=350&objectid=10532978
- TVNZ, 2008, "Black Power Lodges Treaty Claim", <http://tvnz.co.nz/content/2080577/423466.html> and on the claim, see also <http://www.3news.co.nz/Come-one-come-all-Maori-Aue-Unless-youre-in-a-Gang/tabid/872/articleID/72031/Default.aspx> and <http://www.voxy.co.nz/politics/maori-party-government-actions-against-gangs-full-inconsistencies/5/2957>
- Indymedia, "Terror raids defendants denied jury trial", 12th Dec 2010 <http://www.indymedia.org.nz/article/79218/terror-raids-defendants-denied-jury-trial>
- *The Day the Raids Came* (Rebel Press, 2010), <http://www.rebelpress.org.nz/sites/default/files/TheDaytheRaidsCame.pdf>
- Nancy Murray, "Profiling in the age of total information awareness", *Race & Class*, 52 3-24
- Sudbury, Julia (ed) *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. New York: Routledge.
- Garland, D. (2001) *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gilmore, R. (2009) "Race, Prisons, and War: Scenes from the History of U.S. Violence." *Socialist Register* 45: 73-87.
- Goldberg, Eve and Linda Evans (2001) "The Prison-Industrial Complex and the Global Economy." *Globalresearch.ca*. Available on-line at <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/EVA110A.html> (accessed 7 January 2008).
- Ross, Luana (1998) *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Silverstein, Ken (2000) "US: America's Private Gulag." *Prison Legal News*. June 1st.
- Wacquant, L. (2001) "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh." *Punishment and Society* 3(1): 95-134.
- Kelsey, J. and W. Young. *The Gangs: Moral as Social Control*. Wellington: Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982.
- Desmond, P. *Trust*. Auckland: Random House, 2009.
- Hazlehurst, K. "Observing New Zealand 'Gangs' 1950-2000: Learning from a Small Country." In *Gangs in the Global City: Alternatives to Traditional Criminology*, edited by J. M. Hagedorn. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Jackson, M. "Maori and the Criminal Justice System: He Whaipaanga Hou, A New Perspective, (part 2)." *New Zealand Department of Justice*. Wellington, N.Z.:1988.
- Sharp, A. *Justice and the Māori*. Auckland: Oxford,1990.
- *Policing the colonial frontier : the theory and practice of coercive social and racial control in New Zealand, 1767-1867* / Richard S. Hill.
- *Hard lessons : reflections on governance and crime control in late modernity* / edited by Richard Hil and Gordon Tait. Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate, c2004.

Week 4 / 2nd Aug – Week 9 / 20th Sep: Research Presentations

The three weeks from Tuesday 20 September to Tuesday 11 October can be used for optional review meetings, additional meetings and individual consultations with the lecturer about the research essay; you should be writing and revising the bulk of your research essay during this period.