

# ERS 328: Environmental Politics and System Change: COVID 19 EDITION

Dr. Stephen Quilley  
School of Environment, Resources and Sustainability Fall 2018

**DRAFT: Please check latest version.**

## **Note:**

*On-line delivery will pose all sorts of challenges, teething problems. This is the first time most of us have done it. Please bear with us and we will try to make the experience as useful and enjoyable as possible*

The Covid-19 pandemic has already changed your life. Pubs, restaurants, dating, social life and universities – all the things that define your life – may have changed for ever. The world is different. There will be no going back...at least that is what many people say. So, what is the new normal? What might the post-pandemic economy and society look like? And how do these changes connect with green politics and sustainability? How might economic depression and the social crisis spill over into rapid/systemic political re-alignments.

In this course we will consider such questions by first taking the long view. Environmental problems have been seen variously as a resulting from human nature, agriculture and civilization, industrialism and capitalism. Competing environmental discourses – ‘sustainable development’, ‘limits to growth’, ‘survivalism’, ‘green capitalism’, ‘social-ecological resilience’ – foreground different technological, political and institutional dynamics whilst pushing others into the background. Incremental, transformative and revolutionary system change is seen to derive from a variety of (technological, ecological, institutional, political) drivers.

Exploring the history and sociology of environmental politics, the course reviews the drivers of disruptive system change focusing on the role of exogenous shocks, the cumulative impact of environmental science, radical ideas, disruptive technology, mainstream party politics and institutional adaptation, social innovation and traditional ‘revolutionary’ politics.

We will then focus on the continuing economic, geo-political and social-cultural fallout from the pandemic. Will economies and societies pull away only to resume a trajectory of ‘business as usual’? Or does has the current crisis engendered a turning point of some kind?

## **Course information**

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- Office: EV2 2009
- Office Hours: Virtual by appointment –please email in advance
- Reading: Readings will also be posted on LEARN. Where possible books will be available online through the library system. Others will be available as commercial ebooks through Amazon and myriad other online sources. Users can login to LEARN via: <http://learn.uwaterloo.ca/> (use your WatIAM/Quest username and password). Documentation is available at: [http://av.uwaterloo.ca/uwace/training\\_documentation/index.html](http://av.uwaterloo.ca/uwace/training_documentation/index.html)
- Communications: I will communicate using emails through LEARN. Emails will go to your UWaterloo account (see IT services on how to forward U.Waterloo emails to other accounts).
- Advice: Please enter the dates of the various assignments into your calendar now. Give yourself a long lead-time and start working on each assignment weeks in advance.

## Overview of course structure.

STRUCTURE: The course will center on a 2-hour lecture/seminar slot – which this year, will be recorded as a narrated Powerpoint and made available through LEARN on a weekly basis. Each session will usually be associated with guided individual or group work. Students will be divided into five groups (A-E). In your groups you will usually be presenting a book or an argument or a small piece of research each week; and commenting on others.

PARTICIPATION: Part of the assessment will relate to class participation which will be evaluated with a qualitative assessment of contributions to discussions on the group-based forums and topics.

READING: At first sight, there is a lot of reading here. Please bear in mind that, by now you should be used to skimming, using the index and processing material quickly and efficiently. You are not expected to read every book cover to cover. You ARE expected to use the Internet alongside the texts and find review articles and other resources to supplement your reading.

**PLEASE NOTE: You will have to buy a few books on Amazon. Having said that you can nearly always find either the exact book you need online, often for free – but failing that you can also make use of book reviews, articles by the same author, review essays about that author. There is always a ton of material that you can make use of. I am very much looking for students to show initiative and to ferret out the information that they need. This is always a skill worth acquiring. This year, whether we like it or not, we have no choice.**

If you are assiduous and do the work, you will get a great deal out of the course and the material will complement and provide a counterpoint to material and perspectives covered on other courses.

VIDEOS: Video links in the readings below will be made available through LEARN

PERSPECTIVE/ORIENTATION: There are no right answers with regard to the ethics or politics of the environment. This course is weighted to certain more radical perspectives, mainly because these are under or usually unrepresented elsewhere in the Faculty. The course will however provide a good over-view of how the landscape of environmental policy and politics has developed and the relation between mainstream and more radical perspectives.

ASSESSMENT AND ASSIGNMENTS: (I) Viewpoint diversity exercise; (II) History of ideas map (III) Essay – full details below. **Please make a note of the assignment due dates NOW**

WORK GROUPS: Please familiarise yourself with your work groups. Exchange emails/phone numbers/zoom accounts – whatever you need to work effectively together. Generally, after listening to each week's lecture, groups will work together, doing the readings, and discussing their topic and related questions on the relevant Forum. **You get to this by going to LEARN, 'CONNECT' and then 'DISCUSSIONS'.**

- Each weekly session will have an associated Forum (e.g. LECTURE 1) and within each Forum, there will be 5 topics – one for each group. All debates are visible to all members of the class. Students can't 'see' what has been posted until they make their first post.
- Following this group-discussion, each group should provide a one-page summary or digest of what they have learned, the key take-outs, remaining questions and any areas of illuminating disagreement amongst themselves.
- **IMPORTANT This final post should be labelled GROUP SUMMARY. You can decide among yourselves how the work should be divvied out. This should be posted in the group's Topic area but will be visible and a useful aid for students from other groups.**

## LECTURE SCHEDULE

### 1. Introduction

2 Poems

GROUP WORK

- What is the cause of environmental problems?
- What 'causes' and drivers are foregrounded by research and curricula in the faculty?
- What is left out? Why?

## **PART A: SOME CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL TOOLS**

### **2. Environmental politics: lightning tour**

GROUP WORK: Taking limits seriously, or not: Predicates, axioms and discourses

### **3. Identity, 'imagined community' and collective action**

GROUP WORK:

- How did/do national societies emerge from tribal societies?
- How is community 'imagined'?
- What is the significance of 'we-identity'?
- In what ways is identity 'relational' and 'co-evolving'?
- Where do individuals come from?

### **4. Is it capitalism or modernity per se that is the problem?**

## **ASSIGNMENT I DUE: Viewpoint diversity**

### **FALL BREAK:**

**This year there is nothing to break from – continue reading, and working in your groups to your own time table**

## **PART B: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS TIME LINE: LIMITS, SUSTAINABILITY, RESILIENCE, AND MORE LIMITS**

### **5. From Limits through Sustainable Development to Risk Society**

PART 1 –1970s: Limits to Growth versus Cornucopianism

PART 2 –1980s/90s: Sustainable Development and Ecological Modernization

PART 3 –Risk Society

### **6. Lecture 6: Radicalism**

PART 1 – Optimistic green radicalism: Small is Beautiful – Activist movements (Transition, degrowth, Buddhist economics, voluntary simplicity)

PART 2 – 2000s: Pessimistic green radicalism, collapse scenarios, survivalism

PART 3 – Limits Revisited: New Statements (Rockstrom); Pragmatic steady state economics

### **7. Conservatism, libertarianism and communitarianism: non-leftist approaches to taming the market (A)**

PART 1 – Burke; Scruton

PART 2 – Paradoxes of secularism and Christendom (Deneen, Goodhart, Goodwin, Goodhart)

### **8. Conservatism, libertarianism and communitarianism: non-leftist approaches to taming the market (B)**

PART 3 – Distributism ('Small is still beautiful')

PART 4 – The Benedict Option

PART 5 – [Front Porch Republic](#) and Conservative Localism

## **PART C: COVID PANDEMIC AND INTIMATIONS OF AN ALTERNATIVE MODERNITY**

9. **Political economy: state, market, livelihood, partial re-embedding**
10. **Non-rational drivers of behaviour: Examples from Covid-19 Pandemic (psychology, motivation, worldview, ritual, conscience formation)**
11. **Localism and Globalization:**
  - PART 1: Covid, populism and geo-politics
  - PART 2: Technology & technics
12. **The Pandemic and Problems of Connectivity**

## **LECTURES AND COURSE WORK – FULL SCHEDULE**

### **1. Introduction**

Reading: Dryzek Intro and Ch 1; Frank 2015; Diamond 1999

- (a) Listen to Lecture 1 on LEARN
- (b) Have a look at these two poems. When were they written? What do they mean?

#### **William Butler Yeats (1865-1939)**

##### THE SECOND COMING

Turning and turning in the widening gyre  
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;  
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand;  
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.  
The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out

When a vast image out of Spiritus Mundi

Troubles my sight: a waste of desert sand;  
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,  
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,  
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it  
Wind shadows of the indignant desert birds.

The darkness drops again but now I know  
That twenty centuries of stony sleep  
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,  
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,  
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

**Robinson Jeffers, 1935**

**REARMAMENT**

These grand and fatal movements toward death: the grandeur of the mass  
Makes pity a fool, the tearing pity  
For the atoms of the mass, the persons, the victims, makes it seem monstrous  
To admire the tragic beauty they build.  
It is beautiful as a river flowing or a slowly gathering  
Glacier on a high mountain rock-face,  
Bound to plow down a forest, or as frost in November,  
The gold and flaming death-dance for leaves,  
Or a girl in the night of her spent maidenhood, bleeding and kissing.  
I would burn my right hand in a slow fire  
To change the future ... I should do foolishly.  
The beauty of modern  
Man is not in the persons but in the  
Disastrous rhythm, the heavy and mobile masses, the dance of the  
Dream-led masses down the dark mountain.

As individuals, contribute a short reflection on LEARN to the group discussion entitled 'Poems'. Do you like the poems? How do they change or mediate your understanding of the challenges facing humanity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Have you heard of the poets in question? How do you think the sensibility of each poem plays into or resonates with certain kinds of environmental politics? You might like to do a little research on the Internet – find out about the poets and the poems (for Jeffers' poem look up Richard Kingsnorth's 'Dark Mountain Manifesto').

(c) GROUP WORK

Please familiarise yourself with your work groups. Exchange emails/phone numbers/zoom accounts – whatever you need to work effectively together. Working in groups:

- (i.) Provide brief answers to the following questions:
  - What is the cause of environmental problems?

- How do different modes of explanation to this question change the perception and structure of environmental politics, or what we understand by taken for granted concepts such as 'sustainability' or 'resilience'?
- Are these often implicit/ sometimes explicit frameworks mutually incompatible?
- Do they resonate with other political or ideological frameworks (left versus right; feminism; religion etc.?)

Referring to the overarching causal frameworks listed below:

- What 'causes' and drivers are foregrounded by research and curricula in the faculty? Look at the faculty research profiles. Which kinds of arguments are most prominent at UW? Why?
- What is left out? Why?
- What is the implied 'solution' in each case?

- (ii.) Sketch an argument for the one of the following possible over-arching 'causes' of the global ecological crisis (see below). With regard to the position in question:
- Who makes each kind of argument?
  - What kind of politics is associated with each position or orientation?

### Overarching 'causes'

Group A: Language and the human capacity for culture (Frank 2015) – hint: think about what cultural evolution is as opposed to biological evolution; the social and cumulative nature of human knowledge; and the ecological consequences of such knowledge processes. (also Norbert Elias 1989 – *the Symbol Theory* – or any introductions to Elias; Quilley 2011 on the Anthroposphere). What is it about language per se that makes a collision between humanity and the non-natural world likely if not inevitable?

Group B: Agriculture and the Neolithic revolution (see short essay by Jared Diamond 1999; also look up work by Colin Tudge; *Ishmael* by Daniel Quinn). IN what ways is agriculture 'expansive' and growth oriented in way that hunter-gathering is not? What ratchets are involved? Is this inevitable? Is this why we see an acceleration in human development from 10k years ago? Think about those hockey stick curves

Group C: Capitalism per se (how is capitalism different to previous forms of economy; and from modern/industrial society per se) – Giddens 1971 chapter on Marx; Polanyi 1944 *The Great Transformation*; Dale on Polanyi; Rius *Capitalism for Beginners*. What is it about 'capitalism'? Is there a difference between capitalism and say just 'markets'? What does Polanyi mean by the disembedding of markets? What good things come from this disembedding? (think about technology and innovation but also individual mobility, human rights etc)? Can markets be re-embedded to a degree and still be 'capitalist'? What would be the downside of this trajectory?

Group D: Modernity/industrialism per se or 'bad technology' (Morris Berman *All that's Solid Melts to Air*; McCully 1990; Cudworth 2003; Catton 1980; Kumar 1978). What is it? What are examples of non-capitalist modernization? Did they work? If not, why not? Think about the Soviet Union and its satellites? Or the recent transformation of China? Is it possible to sustain a modernity that was not capitalist? Rather than just asserting that it is ('the answer is socialism' etc), think about the trade-offs in terms of liberalism, individualism, consumerism, technical change etc. These all have a positive and negative valance. If consumer individualism is bad, it is also essential for any conception of human rights or social justice...

Group E: Neo-liberalism (a particular kind of 'bad' capitalism/governance) – see Harvey 2005; BRAEDLEY, S., & LUXTON, M. (Eds.). (2010); Steger 2010 + videos  
Everyone knows neo-liberalism is 'bad'. Go back to basics. What is liberalism in the nineteenth century (think JS Mill) – in economy and with regard to society? Many people thought of these changes as good and liberating. And in many ways, they were. Could we have developed the welfare state and social democracy without 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism? So, what is 'neo'-liberalism? Has the process of globalization brought no benefits? What about the hundreds of millions of people lifted out of absolute poverty or the massive reduction in child mortality, or the reduction in the number and severity of famines? (see Pinker's *Enlightenment Now* for a summary). These arguments don't necessarily get neo-liberalism (or modernity more generally) off the hook – but they can't be just brushed away.

## 2. Environmental politics: lightning tour

- Taking limits seriously, or not.
- Predicates, axioms and discourses

Reading: Dryzek *The Politics of the Earth* (Intro. ch.1 -4) Quilley 2017

(a) Listen to Lecture 2 on LEARN

(b) GROUP WORK: Taking limits seriously, or not: Predicates, axioms and discourses

Working in groups, create a time-line of developments in environmental politics and environmentalism since the 1776– linking socio-economic transformation, geo-politics (e.g. World Wars, Cold War, Vietnam), cultural change, conflicts in civil society, technology and economy.

Each group will be responsible for two sections – (i) a designated 'historical period' AND (ii) for everyone - the period 1970-2020. Groups will submit their sequences in a single file, on a series of Powerpoints – which will be shared on LEARN for all students to peruse.

Students will vote on the best submission (you can't vote for your own)

All Groups: 1970-2020

Group A: 1776 – 1830

Group B: 1830 – 1880

Group C: 1880—1918

Group D: 1918—1950



Group E: 1950—1970

**3. Identity, 'imagined community' and collective action**

Reading:

Gellner, E. 1983 *Nations and Nationalism* \*\*\*\*\*

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism : a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* . London ;: Routledge, 1998. Print. \*

Norbert Elias on the (\*\*\*\*) *Established and the Outsiders* and (1991) *The Society of Individuals*

Mennell, S. \*\*\*\* *Norbert Elias: An Introduction*

Fox, R. (2011). *The Tribal Imagination: Civilization and the savage mind*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Breuilly, J. (2016). *On Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities*: (see also Anderson's text)

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Revised ed.). London; Brooklyn, NY: Verso.

Weiner's *The Rule of the Clan*

Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation*

Dale, G. (2010). *Karl Polanyi: The limits of the mark*

Steger (2010)

Harvey (2005)

Salumets 2001

Hughs and Dunning 2012

Loyal and Quilley 2004

(a) Listen to Lecture 3 on LEARN

(b) GROUP WORK: After going through the readings, discuss among yourselves the following questions:

- How did/do national societies emerge from tribal societies?
- How is community 'imagined'?
- What is the significance of 'we-identity'?
- In what ways is identity 'relational' and 'co-evolving'?
- Where do individuals come from?

Groups work together to prepare a short narrated Powerpoint presentation on the following topics and questions. **In each case compare the book/thesis with Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism***. The book is really fantastic – but you can supplement by reading lots of different reviews....in different disciplinary journals. Compare also to Smith who argues for the significant existence of nations prior to, and as a basis for, the creation of nation-states (rather than as a construction of the process of nation-state formation)

Group A: Norbert Elias: What does he mean by the 'society of individuals'? How does this form of society emerge? What does he mean by the I/We balance? How and why do group

identities contribute to insider/outsider dynamics? How do these processes relate to the development of the state and the market in modern societies?

Group B: Explain what Benedict Anderson meant by 'Imagined Communities'. Why are larger, more complex societies more dependent on the 'imagination' of community? What does this mean for our understanding of nationalism or nation-states?

Group C: WEINER: Outline Weiner's thesis in the *Rule of the Clan*. What is the significance of this idea for environmental politics (think about the role of the state, the possibility of doing without the state or with a smaller stripped back state, the relation between state and market and the ecological costs of sustaining both the state and the market)

Group D: POLANYI: What was 'the Great Transformation'? What was the countervailing movement for societal protection? What was Polanyi's understanding of the relationship between the market and nature? What did Polanyi understand by the term 'disembedding'? Explain the relationship between the market, the state and the domain of livelihood / householding.

Group E: FOX: Summarize Robin Fox's *The Tribal Imagination*. According to Fox, what is biological and what is cultural or social about group identity? What are the implications of his perspective for environmental politics?

#### **4. Is it capitalism or modernity per se that is the problem?**

##### Reading:

Marx (1848) *The Communist Manifesto*; [EVERYONE]

Berman 1981 *All that is Solid Melts to Air*;

Polanyi 1944 *The Great Transformation*

Giddens 1971 *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory* (chapters on Marx and Weber)

Lekachman, R., & Van Loon, B. (1981). *Capitalism for Beginners* [EVERYONE]

Rius. (1979). *Marx for beginners* (1st Pantheon ed.). New York: Pantheon Books

Hall, S. (2000). *Modernity. An introduction to modern societies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Lauzon, Matthew J. (2011) "Modernity." *The Oxford Handbook of World History*. Oxford University Press, 2011. Web.

(a) Listen to Lecture 4 on LEARN

(b) Watch two class videos

Class video – David Harvey [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOP2V\\_np2c0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOP2V_np2c0)

Class video - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69VF7mT4nRU> (Weber and Modernity)

(c) GROUP WORK. Working in groups create a narrated Powerpoint presentation on the following topics

Group A: Marx's theory of capitalism. What is capitalism? When and why did it emerge from traditional agrarian society? [Use Giddens 1971 and Marx, 1848 – also Lekachman and Loon 1981; Rius 1979;]

Group B: How does Berman understand 'modernity'? (Berman 1981) What does he mean by the terms modernity, modernism, modernization? In what ways is our current age 'Faustian'? What is Berman's political prescription, if he has one?

Group C: [Building on Group D last week] How does Polanyi understand capitalism and modernity? (Polanyi 1944; Dale \*\*\*\*; Quilley 2012)

Group D: Weber's understanding of modernity and modernization. Include an account of 'disenchantment', 'individualization', 'bureaucratization' and 'rationalization' (Giddens 1971)

Group E: Why is central planning so catastrophic for the environment? Research some basic commentaries on the record of the Soviet Union and other state-socialist/communist states; and compare with the argument in Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* and also *The Constitution of Liberty*. Start with Feser 2006; and Boettke, 2018; For a [failed] attempt to answer Hayek's critique of central planning from the left see Hilary Wainwright (1995 – an article preceding her book *Arguments for a New Left*)

## **PART B: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS TIME LINE: LIMITS, SUSTAINABILITY, RESILIENCE, AND MORE LIMITS**

### **5. From Limits through Sustainable Development to Risk Society**

#### Reading:

Dryzek 2013 – EVERYONE.

Meadows et al 1972; Solow, 1974;

Hawken and Lovins 1999 Simon 1981

Borowy, 2014;

WCE (Brundtland)1987

Huber 1982; Ekins 2002

Beck 1992

Gendron 2012 Mol et al 2010; Smith 2015

(a) Listen to Lecture 5 on LEARN

PART 1 –1970s: Limits to Growth versus Cornucopianism

PART 2 –1980s/90s: Sustainable Development and Ecological Modernization

PART 3 –Risk Society

(a) GROUP WORK: Working in your groups, develop short narrated Powerpoint presentations on the following topics. As well as the texts below, use the internet and find short summary accounts of the key terms and ideas

Group A: LIMITS TO GROWTH: Explain the thesis of the original 1972 Meadows report on the limits to growth, it's methodology, reception and impact. (Meadows et al 1972;

Borowy 2014). Why was the report received so badly in the West and also in the global south?

Group B: CORNUCOPIANISM: Give a critical overview of the cornucopian economists who rejected the idea of limits out of hand. What did they mean by 'substitution'? (see Dryzek + Solow 1974; Simon 1981). How does this early work relate to more recent climate skepticism of people like Lomborg? (<http://www.lomborg.com>) - See also Pinker 2019 *Enlightenment Now*

Group C: Give a critical overview of the Brundtland commission's 1987 report and explain how it has influenced debate and policy ever since.

Group D: Provide a short overview of 'ecological modernization'. Why was it so strong a narrative in Europe especially? What were/are the key features? (Huber, Ekins, Mol et al; Hawken 1999). Is a 'green capitalism; possible?

Group E: Give a short overview of the main themes of Ulrich Beck's Risk Society. Read the text itself and find some critical reviews to draw upon.

## 6. Radicalism

PART 1 – Optimistic green radicalism: Small is Beautiful – Activist movements (Transition, degrowth, Buddhist economics, voluntary simplicity)

PART 2 – 2000s: Pessimistic green radicalism, collapse scenarios, survivalism

PART 3 – Limits Revisited: New Statements (Rockstrom); Pragmatic steady state economics (Victor, Jackson, Daly)

### Reading:

#### *Optimistic*

Hopkins – *The Transition Handbook* (2009)  
Schneider et al 2010;  
Kallis 2011; versus Quilley 2013;  
Foster 2011  
Schumacher 1989 (orig 1975) (see also Pearce)  
Grigsby 2004

#### *Pessimistic*

Rawles (2010)  
Kingsnorth and Hines (2012)  
Greer (2009)  
Heinberg (200\*)  
Kunstler (20050)

#### *Limits revisited*

Rockstrom et al (2009)  
Jackson (2009)  
Daly  
Victor (2008)

Ecological Economics Journal  
[add websites]  
Turner (2014;2012);  
Historical review (Higgs 2016)

- (a) Listen to Lecture 6 on LEARN
- (b) Working in Groups prepare and submit the following narrated Powerpoint presentations – each covering (i.) an example of an optimistic movement, (ii.) an example of a pessimistic movement and (iii.) a very brief comment on the relevance of these examples to the re-emergence of limits thinking in the work of Rockstrom and the pragmatic ecological economics positions associated with people such as Tim Jackson and Peter Victor

Group A: *Optimistic*: Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* – give an overview of the context when the book was written, main themes, subsequent influence – other similar contributions from that period (1970s) *Pessimistic*: American survivalists: Are they 'radical Greens?' Is there an overlap? (see RAWLES 2010 and use the internet)

Group B: *Optimistic*: Voluntary simplicity movement (start with Grigsby and look at other books in library). What is it? Who is involved? Motivations? Impact? Limitations? *Pessimistic*: Dark Mountain project. Start with Kingsnorth and Hines and use the Internet. Give a short overview of the project. Meaning? Significance? Wider cultural resonance? Who is/was Kingsnorth?

Group C: *Optimistic*: The Transition Towns movement – start with Hopkins (2009) and Quilley 2014 (available online), look at the website and various TED talks....and look at numerous academic papers on the sociology and politics of the movement Give an account of the movement, main aims, methods, successes, failures, sociology. *Pessimistic*: John Michael Greer (2009). Find out who Greer is! Use the Internet. Give a short overview of his book – main themes. Provide some critical commentary.

Group D: *Optimistic*: The case for degrowth (use Schneider et al 2010; Kallis 2011; Weiss and Cattaneo 2017 Martinez-Alier et al 2010); *Pessimistic* Peak oil – Start with Heinberg and Kunstler and give a review of the peak oil/climate change movement of the early 21st century. Again, use the Internet to do some research.

Group E: *Pessimistic*: The case against (or at least caveats about) degrowth (Foster 2011; Quilley 2013); *Pessimistic*: Use the Internet and provide a summary of ecologically-themed apocalyptic science fiction books and films of the last 20 years. How much do they reflect a zeitgeist or wider feeling? Is there a deep-seated anxiety in Western culture that the 'centre can't hold'?

## **7. Conservatism, libertarianism and communitarianism: non-leftist approaches to taming the market (A)**

PART 1 – Burke; Scruton

## PART 2 – Paradoxes of secularism and Christendom (Deneen, Goodhart, Goodwin)

### Reading:

- (a) Listen to the Lecture 7 on LEARN
- (b) GROUP WORK: In groups prepare short narrated Powerpoint presentation of the following topics
  - (i.) Key perspectives

Group A: Edmund Burke and modern conservatism

Group B: Roger Scruton's Green Philosophy

Group C: Patrick Deneen on the failures of liberalism

Group D: Goodhart on populism and the tension between the 'somewheres' and the 'nowheres'

Group E: Reno's on the 'The Return of Strong Gods'

(ii.)

## 8. Conservatism, libertarianism and communitarianism: non-leftist approaches to taming the market (B)

PART 3 – Feminism, sex, family and the permissive society

PART 4 – Distributism ('Small is still beautiful')

PART 5 – The Benedict Option

PART 6 – [Front Porch Republic](#) and Conservative Localism

PART 7 – National conservatism

### Reading:

On Dreher's *The Benedict Option*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VbltNogEOx4>

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3MRceZX\\_NA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3MRceZX_NA)

- (a) Listen to the Lecture 8 on LEARN
- (b) GROUP WORK: In groups prepare short narrated Powerpoint presentation of the following topics

(i.) Key perspectives

Group A: Individualism, feminism and family – Tucker's defence of family (see below under Conservative feminism, household and family)

Group B: Distributism (including Pearce: 'Small is still beautiful'): Look at Pearce's book and others relating to distributism on the reading list. Google 'Distributism' and the work of Hillaire Belloc, GK Chesterton .... Think about the fact that Pearce wrote the follow up to Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (if you're not familiar with that - use wikipedia. It was teh single biggest environmental

book of the 70s and 80s). Check out also Pearce's backstory on YouTube. He started out as a far-right skinhead head banger in the UK before converting to Catholicism. Also Mathews 2010

Group C: Dreher's *The Benedict Option*: Read the book. Check out the author's writing in journals such as the *Imaginative Conservative*. Look up Alasdair MacIntyre on Facebook and other forums and see if communitarian philosophers think that Dreher has MacIntyre right? And / Roger Scruton's *How to be a Conservative*

Group D: [Front Porch Republic](#) and Conservative Localism: Explore the website and magazine Frontporch Republic - scan their regular authors; Mitchell and Peters 2019 on reading list). Make Venn diagrams for what they share with greens and other left-localists (anarchists, syndicalists) and where they differ (family, religion?) Look for shared points of reference (Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* for instance [and Joseph Pearce's sequel *Small is Still Beautiful*] or the work of Wendell Berry. If you don't know them, google them and look up in Wikipedia

Group E: National Conservatism – Tucker Carlson's *Ship of Fools*; Hazony on *Virtues of Nationalism*; Steve Bannon's post-covid political economy (see if you can find out what he is saying about healthcare and basic income). Explore the split in the American right between neo-liberals/market liberals and social conservatives. This has always been there. How was it bridged at other points? Why is it coming to a head now? What is the relevance of the formula 'left on economy right on culture'? (Think about European populism in places such as Poland and Hungary). What is the relation to globalism and globalization? Might it be the case the American left, by virtue of cosmopolitan and open-borders commitments, are closer to real neo-liberals (the Koch foundation) than these new breed national-conservatives. What might their appeal be to working class people? There is plenty on youtube you can explore as well as the books. Have a look at T J Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy*; Goodhart's book exploring the somewheres versus nowhere. Think about the tension between the social and economic dimensions of liberalism – historically and functionally. Do they need each other?

## **PART C: COVID PANDEMIC AND INTIMATIONS OF AN ALTERNATIVE MODERNITY**

### **9. Political economy: state, market, livelihood, partial re-embedding**

Reading: Quilley et al 2017 (On LEARN) Quilley 2012 [Nb THESE PAPERS ARE AVAILABLE IN THE RESOURCE FOLDERS FOR EARLIER WEEKS]

Quilley and Zywert papers and book

Video: Jordan Peterson on globalism <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lpXVoSZyHXM>

(a) Listen to Lecture 9 narrated Powerpoint

(b) GROUP WORK: Explore following topics and produce short narrated Powerpoints

Group A: Find out about the continuing German 'Gessellen' – journeyman – tradition and also the tradition of Basque cooking clubs or Txoko. In what way do these relate to the gift economy/livelihood?

Group B: Find out about the Geel (in Belgium) approach to psychiatric care in the community

Group C: Find out about radically different approaches to elder care in places such as the Netherlands (come with one or two social innovations that you can present)

Group D: Present a short overview of the history, concept and current experiments and proposals with 'basic income' or 'Citizens Income' (look at the Citizens Income Research Group website, and papers by Phillippe van Parijs, Guy Standing and others). Why might this have a bearing on the relationship between the state, the market and 'livelihood'/gift economy?

Group E: Investigate the political-economic vision of distributism associated with Hillaire Belloc and GK Chesterton. What was it? Why has it suddenly become relevant once again? Is the Pope a distributist? What does 'third way' mean in this context? (Peace, Mathews 2010 and others on the reading list)

## **10. Non-rational drivers of behaviour: Examples from Covid-19 Pandemic (psychology, motivation, worldview, ritual, conscience formation)**

PART 1: Modernity as disenchantment; science and rationalization and the problem of rational individualism;

PART 2: Non-rational drivers – Terror Management Theory

PART 3: Ritual – Barb Davy, Seligman

PART 4: Aristotle, MacIntyre and Virtue in Politics

### Reading:

#### *Terror Management Theory*

Dickinson (2009)

Sheldon Solomon (video): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQb93wBF97c> and

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBLLHZcA6j4>

Flight from Death Documentary: <https://vimeo.com/104959002>

#### *Disenchantment, (ir)rationality and Re-enchantment*

Morris Berman (1981)

Owen Barfield – Saving the Appearances + OTHERS

#### *Ritual*

Adam Seligman (2011)

Victor and Elaine Turner (Communitas)

#### *Virtue ethics and virtue politics*



Ophuls 2011

Virtue Ethics: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PHVuzec6s0c>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6nuOduoARyI>

Millbank and Pabst (2016)

- (a) Listen the the narrated Powerpoint lecture 10 on LEARN
- (b) GROUP WORK: Submit short narrated Powerpoint presentations on the following topics

Group A: Janice Dickinson (2009) – terror management theory and the work of Ernest Becker; the possible role of ‘hero/immortality projects’ in ecological conscience formation (see also video on Ernest Becker and TMT on LEARN), Look for videos and books by Sheldon (some listed here [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terror\\_management\\_theory0](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terror_management_theory0))

Group B: Ritual and conscience formation: Adam Seligman chapter: How does ritual work? What rituals are you involved with - secular/religious? How do they work? What challenge does this present to the dominant left/liberal idea of the rational individual? How about the idea that 'education' is always the most important vehicle for change? What are the potential political /moral problems for a liberal democratic society if ritual and affective-emotional arousal become key conduits for social-ecological transformation? (hint: it doesn't necessarily square well with the presuppositions of a liberal-democratic society which are...??? You tell me)

Group C: Turner and Turner on ‘communitas’. The anthropology of collective joy. How might this be used by a green movement. Look up the work or Victor Turner and particularly the book with his wife Elaine Turner called 'Communitas' - but also other texts such as *The Ritual Process*. How do his ideas challenge the dominant individualist rationalist frame of modern politics? What is the problem with embracing such ideas in a democratic and liberal context

Group D: DO THE SAME AS GROUP A

Group E: Ophuls – Plato’s revenge. What does Ophuls understand by ‘virtue politics’ and how does he apply it? Group E: Ophuls – Plato’s revenge. What does Ophuls understand by ‘virtue politics’ and how does he apply it? What challenges does this book present to other more optimistic 'limits to growth perspectives' ? Why does OPhuls think they have it wrong? (see essay by Quilley on degrowth) It is more pessimistic certainly. What is the role of Aristotle in his thinking? Is this reversion to an ontology that dominated the medieval pre-modern period significant? Why? Look also at the work of Charles Taylor (Canadian philosopher) and Alasdair Macintyre (also an Aristotelian and Thomist [Thomas Aquinas])

## 11. Localism and Globalization:

The Covid pandemic comes in the wake of populist insurgencies across the western world (Brexit, Trump, Northern League and 5 Star Movement in Italy, Syriza in Greece etc.) and geo-political tensions between America and the ascending China. The tension between *localism* on the one hand (i.e. the commitment to particular places, communities, regions, nations) and *globalism/globalization* on the other (i.e. cosmopolitan universalism, spatial mobility for individuals and capital, free trade, integration, movement) can be understood as a tension between the particularity of *place* and the flows and movement associated with abstract economic *space* on the other.

Lecture 11 will explore these tensions and the ways in which they cut across the traditional left/right wing political spectrum. Thus, in the UK there were left and right-wing movements supporting Brexit (e.g. 'Lexit' or 'left exit'); Trump's right-wing populism is, at least at the level of rhetoric, economically left wing and appeals to traditionally Democrat voting working class communities to the extent that he is willing to compromise free trade, repatriate manufacturing industry from China and defend American jobs from the corrosive impact of abstract global markets.

- (a) Listen to the Lecture 11 on LEARN
- (b) GROUP WORK: In groups prepare short narrated Powerpoint presentations on the topics below. You will need to research online to find documents and evidence.
  - Group A: Explore and compare right wing/libertarian arguments for free movement of labour with left wing arguments for open borders and free flowing migration;
  - Group B: Elaborate left versus right wing visions /arguments for Brexit
  - Group C: the split in the American right between National Conservative and anti-modern Paleo-conservative and religious currents on the one hand, and libertarian/neo-liberal/neo-conservative currents on the other.
  - Group D: place-centric localism versus cosmopolitan globalism in the green movement. How and why have Green parties moved away from neo-Malthusian positions in the 1970s (which called for zero immigration on the basis of notions of ecological carrying capacity) and the mainly liberal/cosmopolitan commitments to open borders and welfare commitments today (e.g. think about UK Green Party's pro-EU/Remain policy in the Brexit debate; Canadian Green Party's policy on immigration and welfare). How coherent is this position? What are the tensions involved? Are there green movements/parties/ideologies that are more fundamentalist with regard to limits to growth?
  - Group E: Read anything you can by and about Wendell Berry and or EF Schumacher. Are they 'left' or 'right' wing? Compare commentaries about them on the sustainability-left milieu (e.g. The Transition Network; degrowth circles) with those on the cultural right (start with [Front Porch Republic](#), Imaginative Conservative; Mitchell and Peters 2019 *Localism in a Mass Age*)

## 12. The Pandemic and Problems of Connectivity

Greens have long warned of the dangers of over-connectedness associated with globalization (look at any work by Thomas Homer-Dixon). Integration brings enormous efficiency and all the benefits of comparative advantage. However, such gains are achieved by stripping out duplication and what systems analysts call 'redundancy'. Such systems tend to become more brittle, less adaptable and more vulnerable to sudden unanticipated crises.

The first weeks of the Covid crisis revealed the real dangers of globally integrated supply chains as western countries scrambled to gain access to masks and other PPE equipment now no longer manufactured domestically. In a crisis, countries tend to sacrifice a notional commitment to free trade and monopolize resources by fiat. This happened even within the European Union.

Although green political economy has always championed the idea that small is beautiful, in practice localism and autarchy have always seemed to come with a high cost in terms of innovation and technical sophistication. One response to the global ecological crisis that could be characterised as 'ecological modernism' has been to focus on smart planning, global governance and rapid multilateral technical change. Such ideas underpin the much vaunted 'green new deal'. The emphasis here is green growth. Rather than overturning the consumer society or the nascent global society of mobile individuals, this vision seeks to ameliorate the ecological costs of such change.

Right now, given the prospect of global depression, mass unemployment and a pattern of recurring economic lock-downs, a collapse in global trade, earlier more localist visions of a small and beautiful sufficiency seem even more politically untenable. But at the same time, it is also possible that they speak more directly to the situation in which many communities are beginning to find themselves i.e. the need to rely on family and community more and less on the state. In a Canadian context there is also a potentially fertile cross-over between such ideas and the prospect of more autonomous development for First Nations.

At the same time, technical change – the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, 3D Printing, micro-fabrication, micro-fabrication – is bringing down the cost of small-scale innovation and production. These technologies are likely to radically reduce the tension between economies of scale and economies of scope. The central question I will address in this lecture is whether new technology (and 'technics' – the social organization of that technology) can reduce the unit energy/material costs of complex modern society? Might it become possible to imagine regionally, nationally and globally-networked small-scale communities to operate a distributed/crowd-sourced model of innovation, to manufacture and sustain a high-tech form of localism and to separate the dynamics of individual consumerism from modern production. We will concentrate on a close reading of Kevin Carson's [Homebrew Industrial Revolution](#)

### Readings

Carson, K. A. (2010), *The Homebrew Industrial Revolution: A Low-Overhead Manifesto*, BookSurge. PDF also available at <https://homebrewindustrialrevolution.wordpress.com>

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GROUP WORK

Working in groups, read Carson and explore the relevance of his ideas to the following books

Group A: Polanyi and the problem of ‘re-embedding’ economic activity (use Polanyi readings from previous weeks and Dale’s book; articles by Quilley, Zywert, Kish)

Group B: The maker movement (start with Anderson (2012) *Makers*; Quilley Kish and Hawreliak 2016; Michael Bauwens and the P2P movement)

Group C: Conservative/localist ideas [see previous weeks and resources in the reading list]

Group D: Green political economy /radical visions of sustainability [Use any of the references in the reading list; look up the Transition Network; histories of green ideas]

Group E: post-liberalism [use any of the resources on the reading list]

LIMITS TO GROWTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

(From Quilley, 2017)

	REJECTING LIMITS	FUDGING/IGNORING LIMITS	ACCEPTING LIMITS
	Reformist		Radical
Prosaic	Cornucopian/ No limits  [Big is beautiful]  (E.g. Solow, 1974; Simon 1981)	Problem solving [[Ignoring] (E.g. EPA)  [Big just is]	Top down (authoritarian) state mitigation/state-survivalism [Big lifeboats]  [Biggish and ugly is better than small] (E.g. Meadows et al 1972; Ophuls 1977) Frank realism (without politics) [We understand the problem, but you are not going to like the diagnosis]
			(e.g. Rockstrom et al 2009 – planetary boundaries as code for limits to growth]
		Ecological	

Imaginative	<p>The Singularity [Fudging]</p> <p>[Big is a cosmic destiny]</p> <p>(E.g. Kurzweil, Ekins 2002)</p>	<p>Modernization [Fudging]</p> <p>[Big is designable]</p> <p>(E.g. Huber 1982; Ekins 2002)</p> <p>Risk society [Fudging]</p> <p>[Big is uncertain but has unavoidable momentum]</p> <p>(E.g. Beck 1992)</p> <p>Sustainability [Fudging]</p> <p>[Big is redeemable]</p> <p>(E.g. Brundtland 1987; EVERYONE)</p>	<p>Radicalism: (a) social / community resilience.</p> <p>(Small is movements)</p> <p>(E.g. Schumacher 1973; Transition Towns; Degrowth; Ecofeminism; Occupy?)</p> <p>(b) Low/no growth economics/Steady state</p> <p>(Small is possible: academic modelling and analysis)</p> <p>(E.g. Daly 1990; Victor 2008; Jackson 2009)</p> <p>(c) Eco-socialism</p> <p>(Green is fair and rational)</p> <p>(E.g. Löwy, 2005)</p>	<p>REARVIEW MIRROR</p> <p>(c) Pessimistic Green Radicalism</p> <p>[Small life rafts]</p> <p>(Small is maverick prognosis/survivalism)</p> <p>[c-1] Family survivalism</p> <p>(Prepping - e.g. Rawles 2010)</p> <p>[c-2] Collapse as inexorable de-modernization</p> <p>(E.g. Greer 2009; Kunstler, 2012; Ophuls, 2011; Dark Mountain 2014)</p>
Barely-imagined			<p>ALTERNATIVE MODERNITY VIA DISRUPTIVE TECH. + DISRUPTIVE MEANING FRAMEWORKS</p> <p>d) Open source distributive economy/reMaker society (E.g. Open</p>	

## READING LIST

\*= These were available through library online Feb 2020. Most of the others have been ordered since. If you can't find something and alternatives are not indicated, use your initiative and find alternatives yourself (book reviews, similar books etc)

### PLEASE NOTE

- Most books are available on line through the library
- Search also for book reviews – a good way also to get to grips with the historiography/intellectual landscape
- Situate everything you read on a timeline so you get an idea of how debates change over time
- A few things are not available online through the library – you can find cheap copies on Amazon/Abebooks. I don't know yet when/whether the offline collection will be available. **There are also online archives like Z Library** which you can google. You can get more or less anything for pennies. It is the Internet wild west and I have no idea about their copyright status ☺ I am working very hard with the library to get more materials in electronic format. There are ALWAYS alternatives.

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Schumacher, E. (1989 [1975]). *Small is beautiful: Economics as if people mattered*. San Bernardino, Calif.: Borgo Press.

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Simon, Julian Lincoln. *The Ultimate Resource 2*. [2nd ed.]. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996. Print.

**Julian Simon:**

Look up the Julian Simon's famous bet with neo-Malthusian Paul Ehrlich – and the many commentaries on Simon's work

Simon, Julian, and Herman E. Daley. "In Defense: The Ultimate Resource. (letter)." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 39 (1983): n. pag. Print.

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Richard (2015). *Green Capitalism: the god that failed*. World Economics Association.

Solow, R. M. (1974) 'The Economics of Resources or the Resources of Economics' *The American Economic Review*, 64(2) 1-14. \*

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Routledge, 1998. Print. \*

Steger, Manfred B., and Ravi K. Roy. *Neoliberalism a Very Short Introduction*. Oxford ;: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print. \*

Turner, G. (2014) 'Is Global Collapse Imminent?', MSSI Research Paper No. 4, Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, The University of Melbourne. ONLINE \*

Turner, G. M. (2012). On the cusp of global collapse? Updated comparison of The Limits to Growth with historical data. *GAIA-Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society*, 21(2), 116-124. ONLINE \*

Victor, P. (2008) *Managing Without Growth: Slower by design not disaster*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. \*

Weiner, M. (2013). *The rule of the clan: What an ancient form of social organization reveals about the future of individual freedom* (First ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

If book not available look at this (although book worth buying) Weiner, Mark. "The Paradox of Individualism." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2013): n/a. Web.

Weiss, M. and Cattaneo, C., 2017. Degrowth–Taking Stock and Reviewing an Emerging Academic Paradigm. *Ecological Economics*.

World Commission on Environment Development. WCED (1987). *Our common future* (Oxford paperbacks). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Zywert, K & Quilley, S (2017) Health systems in an era of biophysical limits: the wicked dilemmas of modernity. *Social Theory & Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41285-017-0051-4>

### Resources for Particular Topics

#### 1. Conservative feminism, household and family

Tucker, William. *Marriage and Civilization: How Monogamy Made Us Human*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2014.

Good comprehensive statement of the conservative perspective – in this case rooted in evolutionary biology, history and anthropology

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Family and Civilization*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2008. Print.

Classic historical study

Willey, A. 2016. *Undoing Monogamy. The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology* (Duke)

[Radical extension of feminist/queer agenda of Harroway, Butler etc. to destroy 'natural family' as a matter of policy] – counterpose to Tucker and Zimmerman.

Mary Harrington writes great post-liberal feminist articles in Unherd – very short, very useful, like this: [Why Liberal Feminists Don't Care](#)

Sax, L. (2017) *Why Gender Matters* (Harmony) – critique of feminism/child development

Sommers, Christina Hoff. *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Policies Are Harming Our Young Men*. New and Revised Edition. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013. Print.

Schreiber, Ronnee. *Righting Feminism: Conservative Women and American Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

Beattie, Tina. *New Catholic Feminism: Theology and Theory*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Dillard, Angela. "Adventures in Conservative Feminism." *Society* 42.3 (2005): 25–27. Web.

Santorum, Rick. *It Takes a Family: Conservatism and the Common Good*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2005. Print.

Schreiber, Ronnee. "Is There a Conservative Feminism? An Empirical Account." 14.1 (2018): 56–79. Web.

Arlie Hochschild (2018) [Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right](#) (New Press)

To get a feel for conservative thinking and innovation in relation to family, feminism, capitalism – look at *The Imaginative Conservative* magazine website and also [Front Porch Republic](#), and use the search function. Here is a selection: Search also for homeschooling, agrarianism, and monogamy

- Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (2012) 'Severing the Ties That Bind: Feminism, Women, the Family, and Social Institutions', in [The Imaginative Conservative](#).
- Rieth, Peter 2014 [Benedict XVI: Feminist The Imaginative Conservative](#), Sept 14<sup>th</sup>.
- Nisbet R 2014 Has the Modern Family Failed us. [The Imaginative Conservative](#)
- Devine, D. (2017) [Is Capitalism the Enemy of the Family?](#)
- Allan Carlson 1013 [Agrarianism Reborn: On the Curious Return of the Small Family Farm](#)

## 2. Post-liberalism

UNHERD magazine is a great resource- loads of short articles

Steiner, MT 2019, 'Post-liberal politics: left, right and centre' in [Quillette](#) July 2019

Giles Fraser – a [post-liberal reading list](#)

John Gray (2007) [Enlightenment's Wake](#) (Routledge)

Deneen, P. [Why liberalism failed](#)

Phillip Blond (2007) [Red Tory: How the left and the right have broken Britain and how we can fix it](#) (Polity)

Wendell Berry 1977. [The Unsettling of America. Culture and Agriculture](#). (Counterpoint)

Social Democratic Party, UK [A New Declaration](#)

Gray, John, and John Gray. *Post-Liberalism: Studies in Political Thought*. New York ;: Routledge, 1993. Print.

### Misc. Other Videos:

#### 1. P2P and Commons

- Michael Bauwens on [the commons and p2P economy](#)

#### 2. Family/feminism

- [TJ Vance on family instability](#)

#### 3. Post-liberalism

- John Gray on the pandemic as apocalypse in [UNHERD](#)
- David Goodhart on [post-liberalism](#)
- David Goodhart on [multiculturalism](#)
- Patrick Deneen on '[after liberalism](#)'
- New Statesman discussion – [post-liberalism](#)
- Two conservative responses to the [post-liberal left](#)

#### 4. Ecological economics

- Hermany Daly on [ecological economics](#)

#### 5. Populism



- Stephen K. Bannon [Interview with Red Scare](#). Gives a sense of how Bannon thinks 2020 election will go – and the centrality of a conflict with China. You can see if he’s right. However, listen to the discussion of basic income and healthcare. This is an example of political entrepreneurship – he’s ripping up the right wing ‘rule book’ to take advantage of what he sees as the changing landscape. From his perspective, Alexandria Ocasio Cortez and Bernie Sanders are trying to do the same thing from the left – but failing for various reasons. Are there any greens trying to effect the same kind of change? What would it take for them to break through in the way that populists did in 2016?

## 6. National conservatism; one nation conservatism

- Roger Scruton on [being a reluctant capitalist](#).
- Tucker Carlson (Fox News): [Big Business Hates Your Family](#)
- TJ Vance (Hill Billie Elegy) – Conservatism against [libertarianism](#) and becoming market-skeptical
- Vance on [Trump’s relation to rural America](#)
- Hazony – [Nationalism as a virtue](#).

## ASSESSMENT

- (a) **Class Participation – 15%** This will be assessed on the basis of participation in the online debates/forums for each session and the quality of the weekly group submissions.
- (b) **OPENMIND (Viewpoint Diversity) Exercise (OME) - 15%** Part (i.) is an exercise in certification. There is no right or wrong.
- (i.) Complete the exercise (instructions on LEARN under ‘Assessment’). Print off a completion certificate. Submit through LEARN dropbox.
- (ii.) OME COMMENTARY: Write 500-1000 words on how this might relate to one of either (i.) the current social and political polarization in North America and Europe, (ii.) the narrowness of your own social media feeds or (iii.) the narrowness or breadth of political and cultural perspectives to which you have been exposed in the faculty. Explore other resources on the Heterodox Academy to make your case.
- Submit both the completion certificate and OME commentary to the relevant drop boxes on LEARN  
Due end of WEEK 4 (16<sup>th</sup> October)
- (c) **History of Ideas map – 20%. Due end of Week 8 (13<sup>th</sup> November)**. Instructions on LEARN
- (d) **Essay – 50%** 2000 Word essay. Titles available on LEARN. Due Monday 7<sup>th</sup> December

## **COURSE POLICIES**

**REFERENCING:** All written work should use the standard APA/Harvard referencing system.

**SPELLING, STYLE, GRAMMAR, COMPOSITION:** I take this seriously and so should you.

**ELECTRONIC SUBMISSIONS:** When submitting files, please use user-friendly and descriptive file names (e.g. SMITH 328-ESSAY2.doc).

**NOTES FOR PERSONS WITH RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND /OR DISABILITIES:** Please let me know of any accommodations etc – see below for more detail.

### **◆ Intellectual Property:**

Students should be aware that this course contains the intellectual property of their instructor, TA, and/or the University of Waterloo. Intellectual property includes items such as:

- Lecture content, spoken and written (and any audio/video recording thereof);
- Lecture handouts, presentations, and other materials prepared for the course (e.g., PowerPoint slides);
- Questions or solution sets from various types of assessments (e.g., assignments, quizzes, tests, final exams); and
- Work protected by copyright (e.g., any work authored by the instructor or TA or used by the instructor or TA with permission of the copyright owner).

Course materials and the intellectual property contained therein, are used to enhance a student's educational experience. However, sharing this intellectual property without the intellectual property owner's permission is a violation of intellectual property rights. For this reason, it is necessary to ask the instructor, TA and/or the University of Waterloo for permission before uploading and sharing the intellectual property of others online (e.g., to an online repository).

Permission from an instructor, TA or the University is also necessary before sharing the intellectual property of others from completed courses with students taking the same/similar courses in subsequent terms/years. In many cases, instructors might be happy to allow distribution of certain materials. However, doing so without expressed permission is considered a violation of intellectual property rights.

Please alert the instructor if you become aware of intellectual property belonging to others (past or present) circulating, either through the student body or online. The intellectual property rights owner deserves to know (and may have already given their consent).

See Guidelines for Faculty, Staff and Students Entering Relationships with External Organizations Offering Access to Course Materials, <https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/faculty-staff-and-students-entering-relationships-external>)

### **◆ Academic Integrity:**

In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo community are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility. The University's guiding principles on academic integrity can be found here:

<http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity>. ENV students are strongly encouraged to review the material provided by the university's Academic Integrity office specifically for students:

<http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/Students/index.html>

Students are also expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offenses, and to take responsibility for their actions. Students who are unsure whether an action constitutes an offense, or who need help in learning how to avoid offenses (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. Students may also complete the

following tutorial: <https://uwaterloo.ca/library/get-assignment-and-research-help/academic-integrity/academic-integrity-tutorial>

When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline: <https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat-general-counsel/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-71>. Students who believe that they have been wrongfully or unjustly penalized have the right to grieve; refer to Policy #70, Student Grievance: <https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat-general-counsel/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-70>

◆ **Note for students with disabilities:** [AccessAbility Services](#), located in Needles Hall, Room 1401, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with [AccessAbility Services](#) at the beginning of each academic term.

◆ **Mental Health:** The University of Waterloo, the Faculty of Environment and our Departments/Schools consider students' well-being to be extremely important. We recognize that throughout the term students may face health challenges - physical and / or emotional. **Please note that help is available.** Mental health is a serious issue for everyone and can affect your ability to do your best work. Counselling Services <http://www.uwaterloo.ca/counselling-services> is an inclusive, non-judgmental, and confidential space for anyone to seek support. They offer confidential counselling for a variety of areas including anxiety, stress management, depression, grief, substance use, sexuality, relationship issues, and much more.

◆ **Religious Observances:** Students need to inform the instructor at the beginning of term if special accommodation needs to be made for religious observances that are not otherwise accounted for in the scheduling of classes and assignments.

◆ **Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. See Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, [www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm](http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm). When in doubt please contact your Undergraduate Advisor for details.

◆ **Appeals:** A decision made or penalty imposed under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than a petition) or Policy 71 – (Student Discipline) may be appealed if there is a ground. A student who believes he/she has a ground for an appeal should refer to Policy 72 (Student Appeals) [www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm](http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm)

◆ **Unclaimed assignments:**

Unclaimed assignments will be retained until one month after term grades become official in quest. After that time, they will be destroyed in compliance with UW's [confidential shredding procedures](#).

◆ **Communications with Instructor and Teaching Assistants:**

All communication with students must be through either the student's University of Waterloo email account or via Learn. If a student emails the instructor or TA from a personal account they will be requested to resend the email using their personal University of Waterloo email account.

◆ **Research Ethics:**

The University of Waterloo requires all research conducted by its students, staff, and faculty that involves humans as participants to undergo prior ethics review and clearance through the Director, Office of Human Research and Animal Care (Office). The ethics review and clearance processes are

intended to ensure that projects comply with the Office's Guidelines for Research with Human Participants (Guidelines) as well as those of provincial and federal agencies, and that the safety, rights and welfare of participants are adequately protected. The Guidelines inform researchers about ethical issues and procedures that are of concern when conducting research with humans (e.g., confidentiality, risks and benefits, informed consent process, etc.). If the development of your research proposal consists of research that involves humans as participants, please contact the course instructor for guidance and see <https://uwaterloo.ca/research/office-research-ethics>. Information specific to ERS 317 ethics approval are included in the ERS 317 Learn site.

- **Categories other than plagiarism (defined as varieties of cheating):**

- Submission of work not written and prepared by you'
- Copying or stealing the work of another student;
- Paying for the creation of work by a commercial service or by an acquaintance to be submitted by you;
- Using an essay for submission by you, which was found, on one of the free internet essay sites;
- Writing a paper for course submission by another student;
- "Recycling" or submitting an essay, report, or assignment when a major portion has been previously submitted for another course without the expressed permission of all instructors involved.

- ◆ **Recording lectures:**

- Use of recording devices during lectures is only allowed with explicit permission of the instructor of the course.
- If allowed, video recordings may only include images of the instructor and not fellow classmates.

Posting of videos or links to the video to any website, including but not limited to social media sites such as: facebook, twitter, etc., is strictly pro

**YOU CANNOT TAKE ANY MATERIAL FROM THIS COURSE AND USE OR DISTRIBUTE IN ANY WAY OUTSIDE OF THE LEARN ENVIRONMENT OR THE UNIVERSITY**

Note for students with disabilities: The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

Religious Observances: Please inform the instructor at the beginning of term if special accommodation needs to be made for religious observances that are not otherwise accounted for in the scheduling of classes and assignments.

## PLAGIARISM, STUDENT CONDUCT AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo community are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility. [www.uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/](http://www.uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/). Students who are unsure what constitutes an academic offence are requested to visit the on-line tutorial at:

<http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/ait/>

Research Ethics: Please also note that the 'University of Waterloo requires all research conducted by its students, staff, and faculty which involves humans as participants to undergo prior ethics review and clearance through the Director, Office of Human Research and Animal Care (Office). The ethics review and clearance processes are intended to ensure that projects comply with the Office's Guidelines for Research with Human Participants (Guidelines) as well as those of provincial and federal agencies, and that the safety, rights and welfare of participants are adequately protected. The Guidelines inform researchers about ethical issues and procedures which are of concern when conducting research with humans (e.g. confidentiality, risks and benefits, informed consent process, etc.).

If the development of your research proposal consists of research that involves humans as participants, the please contact the co urse instructor for guidance and see:

[www.research.uwaterloo.ca/ethics/human/](http://www.research.uwaterloo.ca/ethics/human/)