

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



# White Rose Annual Colloquium

Department of Politics

June 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015



The University of York's Department of Politics is proud to host this year's White Rose Annual Colloquium. The event brings together PhD Candidates from across the universities of Leeds, Sheffield, and York, and provides an opportunity for inter-institutional collaboration and networking. Colloquium proceedings will generate a snapshot of the 'state of the art' across the discipline of Politics and International Relations within the White Rose network.

All events take place in Derwent College, Room D/056.

The 2015 White Rose Annual Colloquium has been organised by Jay Coombs, Sheray Warmington, and Tianruo Gao.



# White Rose Politics and International Relations Annual Colloquium

Friday 12<sup>th</sup> June, University of York

## Schedule

9.30 – 10.00:	Registration / tea and coffee
10.00 – 11.30:	Panel I: The Politics of Institutional Change
11.30 – 11.45:	Break / tea and coffee
11:45 – 13:15	Panel II: Reconceptualising Politics
13.15 – 14.00:	Lunch
14.00 – 15.30:	Panel III: Security and the State
15.30 – 15.45:	Break / tea and coffee
15.45 – 17.15:	Panel IV: Contemporary International Politics
17.15 – 17.30:	Closing Remarks
17.30-18.30:	Wine reception

## Panel I

### The Politics of Institutional Change

#### Paper 1: 'Exploring the Rebirth of Industrial Policy in Mexico'

Since the 1980s when Mexico's Miracle or Golden Years came to an end, the federal government has moved to erase any trace of industrial policy as a way to comply with the market reforms and policies it had just embraced. This approach stood in stark contrast to the government's previous interventionism. Thirty years later, the recent return to power of the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) has seen an increasing use of industrial policy as a way of promoting growth and attaining political legitimacy. This paper explores these dynamics of transformation, through which a clear tensions exist across multiple levels of government in Mexico.

Walid Tijerina Sepulveda,

*University of York*

#### Paper 2: 'Diminishing Returns and Agricultural Involution in Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Sector'

Reports indicate that Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa economy is suffering from continuously increasing pest levels, a low yield, a low output and an increased labor need (responsible for the recent emergence of child labor). Together, these developments have impoverished many of Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa farmers. Unsurprisingly, political economists have used typical market arguments to explain the crisis in cocoa farming in Côte d'Ivoire. For the International Monetary Fund it is an unfailing sign of excessive government intervention. An IMF adjustment scheme compelled Côte d'Ivoire to privatize its cocoa marketing board in 1999. However, the problem persisted. At the same time, a handful of scholars have attributed the cocoa problem in Côte d'Ivoire to private involvement and the liberalization of marketing boards in 1999. As shown in this paper, however, neither explanation is adequate. We employ Clifford Greetz's theory of "agricultural involution" to show that the Ivorian cocoa sector has reached the point of diminishing returns due to the exhaustion of the production factor of forestland, and it will be helpful for the government to diversify its production efforts away from cocoa.

Michael Odijie

*University of Sheffield*

#### Paper 3: 'State, Crisis, and Class: The Readjustment of the Turkish State in the post-2001 Crisis Era'

The Turkish state faced a major economic crisis in 2001, which led to significant political and economic restructuring. The formerly Islamist and conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the 2002 elections, which was a reaction to the legitimacy crisis of the state. These developments have been conceived by conventional accounts as a rupture both in state-market relations and state-society relations for paving way to a progressive change in the 'state tradition of Turkey'. Drawing upon the 'Open Marxist' theoretical approach, however, this study of the period in question emphasizes fundamental continuities in state/economy and/or state/society restructuring since the 1980 military coup. It argues that the Turkish state readjusted to the path of the policy orientation of the 1980s and crisis of 2001 legitimized this reorientation. The AKP has resolved the contradictions of the crisis-ridden 1990s, and under a 'strong' government it pushed for further competitiveness, privatisation, labour market flexibility, and credibility. A possible 'rupture', however, this paper argues, could only be observed in post-2007 period, when the party consolidated its power in the face of global crisis and domestic political crises, while it maintained the authoritarian management of state-class relations.

Mehmet Erman Erol

*University of York*

#### Paper 4: 'Exploring the US-China Relationship: The Four Pillars of Hegemonic Transition'

Through the development of international political economy as an independent discipline, several attempts have been made to conceptualise hegemony. Realist and liberal theories focus on material foundations, whereas Gramscian scholarship integrate additional tangible and intangible factors. While some literature exists on the contemporary hegemonic transition between China and the US, it largely fails to link in to clearly articulated and comprehensive understandings of the concept. Through this project, I address this weakness by systematically explore four pillars of contemporary hegemonic transition: global finance, trade, resource diplomacy, and international institutionalisation.

Tianruo Gao

*University of York*

## Panel II

### Reconceptualising Politics

Paper 1: ““You should remember that this isn’t our country””: Negotiating Everyday Multiculturalism in Contemporary British Muslim Fiction’

In considering literature as a form of aesthetic representation, it is clear that there are benefits to using it to help us understand everyday politics and social conflict. In this paper, I will be looking at Nadeem Aslam’s 2004 novel *Maps for Lost Lovers*, in which he explores how a relatively poor Pakistani community living in the north of England navigates the challenging realities of being a Muslim migrant in Britain. Aslam explores the migrant’s need to remap the concept of home and reconsider one’s own religious and cultural identity when faced with a sense of everyday non-belonging. I will therefore be exploring how Aslam’s novel narrates the everyday cross-cultural interactions between the Pakistani migrant community and “the Whites”, and what this can tell us about Muslim narratives of the landscape of everyday British multiculturalism.

Hannah Kershaw

*University of York*

Paper 2: ‘Hidden Servants: Parliamentary Staff in Select Committees of the UK House of Commons’

Papers, articles and books on select committees pervade parliamentary studies. The vast majority of these focus exclusively on the role of MPs and the effectiveness of committee reports, while select committee staff are omitted. This is curious for at least three reasons. First, parliamentary staff act as the most immediate port of call for MPs for advice on matters of procedure and practice. Second, staff are devoted to select committees full-time and thus provide a permanent foundation for administration and implementation of committee work. Third, the sheer number of staff – twice as many as there are MPs – indicates that there are a substantial number of tasks that MPs do not fulfil. All three reasons suggest that the role, function and potential influence of select committee staff working for the House of Commons is significant. And yet, we know remarkably little about them. This raises some questions about these hidden servants of scrutiny: How is the Committee Office structured? What is the function of staff in select committee work? What influence do they have? What is their relationship to elected politicians? This paper uses an interpretive framework of analysis, making use of semi-structured interviews and an ethnographic field study of the Committee Office, to offer some answers to these questions. It argues that committees are not staff-driven but rather that staff provide a foundation for the development of scrutiny and maintain coherence in the face of frequently changing membership and priorities of Members of Parliament serving on select committees.

Mark Geddes

*University of Sheffield*

Paper 3: ‘Tsunami Politics’ in Malaysia: A Complex Political Emergency Approach’

In recent years there has been an increase in academic interest in the social and political impact of major disasters and the consequences of how governments respond, or fail to respond, to these disasters. There is a widespread assumption in the literature that natural disasters can, if poorly responded to by political authorities, result in major, even transformative, political change. The research examines the impact of the 2004 tsunami on the 2008 election in the Penang State Legislative Assembly. The tsunami was an unprecedented event that challenged the government’s response and recovery mechanism and policy; it placed great stress on the government’s disaster management agencies to respond effectively and efficiently but these mechanisms not designed for a tsunami or

disaster on this scale. Failure meant the government risks public anger, frustration and dissatisfaction and, eventually, retribution at the polls. The primary objective is to explore the political change and electoral consequences following the 2004 tsunami using the Complex Political Emergency (CPE) framework.

Mohd Zakaria Bin Ibrahim

*University of Sheffield*

Paper 4: 'Contentious Politics, Or Permanent Contention? Bringing Class-Based Movement and Workplace Organisation Back in to Mobilisation Theory'

In recent decades, the study of labour and trade union movements has increasingly become seen as merely a subsidiary of social movement studies. Indeed, the dominant trend in labour studies is centred on an approach loosely termed Social Movement Unionism (SMU). This asserts that in a globalised world the only way for trade unions to remain relevant and to survive is to reconfigure themselves as social movements rather than class-based workplace-centred organisations. This paper argues for a re-conceptualisation of trade unions which places their dual nature as both organs of the state and the organic expression of workers material interests at the heart of mobilisation theory. In doing so it refutes the utility of the concept of 'contentious politics' put forward by Tilly, Tarrow and others and proposes instead a study of the 'permanent contention' which defines the existence of workers organisations. This re-evaluation of mobilisation theory, which reasserts the centrality of class, workplace organisation and the power of the mass strike, in turn provides us with a theoretical lens with which to study emerging contemporary examples of Radical Political Unionism (RPU), such as the rise of AMCU and the 'NUMSA Moment' in South Africa today.

Samuel J Morecroft

*University of Sheffield*

### Panel III

#### Security and the State

##### Paper 1: 'Giving or Sharing? Regulatory Responsibility and the UK Private Security Industry'

The politics of private security in the United Kingdom has been heavily influenced by two political norms which calibrate the relationship between the British liberal-democratic state and security. Whilst the dominance of state-centric norms warrant the necessity of the state in regulating the good of private security, the Hayekian notion of freedom as individual responsibility has constrained the extent to which the state is justified in intervening within the security market. Within the context of the UK Coalition government's package of public sector reforms, negotiations over reforming private security regulation have primarily focused on the private security industry taking greater responsibility for the regulatory regime. The main contention of this paper is that this view does not encapsulate the wider picture: what is not happening is a ceding of regulatory responsibility from the state to economy, but a wider sharing of responsibility between state agencies, security sellers and buyers.

Seb Booth

*University of York*

##### Paper 2: 'The Re-Integration of Former Child Soldiers into Civilian Society in Colombia'

After having spent significant part of one's childhood in the ranks of an armed group and having escaped from the illegal military force, child soldiers then have to face an even greater challenge; the bumpy road to reintegration. In Colombia, this process is hindered by the still ongoing conflict, social stigmatisation, the sometimes inadequate design of reintegration programme provided by the Colombian government and the psychological problems triggered by direct and indirect participation in the armed conflict, among other factors. At the beginning of last year I had the opportunity to visit the Latin American country and carry out interviews with former child soldiers; here, I present core findings.

Alexandra Kiss

*University of York*

##### Paper 3: 'Redefining The 'Combatant': Legitimate Targets In Asymmetrical Warfare'

With the growing importance of asymmetrical warfare, insurgencies, militia, and other forms of non-traditional combats, identifying *who* is a combatant in a conflict becomes a great challenge. Indeed, who can be considered a legitimate combatant in a 'War on Terror' for example? Traditionally, all soldiers are legitimate targets but what is that status of a group of insurgent fighters? Should they also be considered legitimate targets in war? If so, on what basis should this 'status' be attributed? All these questions are relevant seeing as they have a direct impact on targeting strategies and defense policies on a broader scale. This paper will review the attribution of combatant status in international humanitarian law as well as in the literature surrounding the Just War Theory. The line between legitimate and illegitimate targets in war will be examined. It will be argued that it is necessary to move beyond the classic soldier-civilian division for war to be just. The implications of this target identification problematic for defense policies will be examined. The case of unmanned aerial weapons (UAVs or 'drones') will be used to demonstrate the important ethical implications with the way 'combatant' is defined as well as its strategic repercussions.

Andy Melancon

*University of Sheffield*



## Panel IV

### Contemporary International Relations

#### Paper 1: 'Europeanisation and Change in Turkish Water Policy'

This research examines the impacts of Europeanisation on Turkish Water Policy. The roles of 'EU conditionality' and 'social learning model' are explored and applied as a framework to analyse the process of Turkish Water Policy. Limitations of EU conditionality in explaining the EU Accession Process lead researchers to use new methods to understand and analyse the process. It is proposed that the social learning model, over conditionality, might provide an improved analytical method to explain the EU Accession Process. The impacts and limitations of EU conditionality and the potential effects of the social learning model are discussed. Implications of Turkey's Accession to the EU and Turkey-EU relations with regards to Turkish Water Policy are investigated.

Burcin Demirbilek

*University of York*

#### Paper 2: 'Remedies or Revenues: Education Aid and National Interest'

There is a plethora of research on foreign aid and national interests. Over recent years, donors have started to focus increasingly role of education in fostering development. This paper explores the intersection of education-related aid and national interest. The paper presents the argument that education policies are discursively inconsistent due to the influence of state interest. The dissertation is a critical analysis of USAID and DFID's education aid policy discourse, aiming to assess the potential ethical ramifications and lack of discursive logic this inconsistent nature of education policies have on post-conflict countries. By examining how they select their partner countries, the amount they spend and how they formulate their aid delivery, such as policies, objectives, and role of institutions and non-state actors, the aspects influencing the education aid can be identified. The research further examines the influence the notion of education as a human right or an economic good have on education policies, and the effect this has on post-conflict nations.

May Elin Jonsson

*University of York*

#### Paper 3: 'Understanding the R2P debates through a neoclassical realist lens'

Ever since the concept of the responsibility to protect was first introduced at the UN General Assembly in 2004, solidarists have been stumped by the fact that it has not received the worldwide consensus it warrants. Countries of the developing world have been hesitant to fully embrace the concept, much less authorise the United Nations to undertake R2P activities. Using the R2P debates at the UN as a case study, this paper argues that states' have an inherently neoclassical realist approach to foreign policy decision-making, particularly on new concepts at the multilateral arena.

Shazelina Abidin

*University of Sheffield*

#### Paper 4: 'Some Structural and Temporal Bases of Out-Group Tolerance: Quantitative Evidence From Turkey'

The relationship between social class and tolerance is one of the foci of the modernization theory. Lipset's "working class authoritarianism" thesis is one of the earliest attempts to scrutinise this relationship. In his 1959 paper, Lipset argued that working class members of the society are less inclined to tolerate out-groups than their middle class counterparts. In effect, the present paper challenges this thesis and aims to provide a temporal insight into it by adding a generational dimension to the relationship. While doing that, it benefits from and tests the theory of generations of Mannheim. In his seminal 1923 paper, Mannheim argued that major politico-historical events leaves persistent imprints on future attitudes of those who come of age at the time of these events. In this paper he also put forward his "actual generation" thesis, which suggests that social classes could consist coherent subcategories of generation. Departing from this theoretical base, this paper hypothesises that being socialized under authoritarian governments and legislations standardizes the tolerance levels of the members of different social classes. A cross-sectional data obtained from the Turkish Values Survey are employed to test this hypothesis.

Murat Inan

*University of Sheffield*

### Guidance to Presenters and Chairs

The Colloquium venue has powerpoint facilities. Presenters will have 12-15 minutes each to provide an overview of their work; this limit will be strictly enforced by Chairs to ensure that sufficient time is available to all presenters and for post-presentation discussion.