POLITICS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD FALL 2020

Instructor: Dr. Nibaldo Galleguillos Email: gallegui@mcmaster.ca Lecture: Mondays 9:30-11:20 pm. Room: Virtual Class via Zoom

Office Hours: Mon: 1:00-3:00 pm. Tue: 12:00-14:00 pm. via Zoom appointment

Contents

Course Description	2
Course Objectives	3
Required Materials and Texts	3
Class Format	3
Course Evaluation – Overview	3
Course Evaluation – Details	3
1. Mid-term take-home examination (30%), Monday, October 26, 2020	3
2. Research paper (30%) due Monday, November 9, 2020	4
3. End-of-term take-home examination (30%), Monday, November 30, 2020.	4
4. Tutorial participation (10%)	4
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings	4
Week 1 (September 14)	4
Week 2 (September 21)	5
Week 3 (September 28)	5
Week 4 (October 5)	5
Week 5 (October 12)	5
Week 6 (October 19)	5
Week 7 (October 26)	6
Week 8 (November 2)	6
Week 9 (November 9)	6
Week 10 (November 16)	7
Week 11 (November 23)	7
Week 12 (November 30)	7
Week 13 (December 7)	8
Course Policies	8

Submission of Assignments	8
Grades	10
Late Assignments	11
Absences, Missed Work, Illness	11
Courses With An On-Line Element	12
Online Proctoring	12
Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection	12
Copyright and Recording	12
Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual	` ,
Academic Integrity Statement	13
Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities	14
Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy	14
Course Modification	14

Course Description

Today's Developing World challenges a popular approach known as 'path dependency', which claims that authoritarianism, instability, violence, poverty, hegemonic crises, resignation, and fatalism are to be expected as the 'normal' state of political, economic, and social affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Arab World. Contrary to this view, developing societies are steadily progressing, even if their domestic politics remain dependent on unavoidable external pressures. This second-year, lecture course, introduces students to a critical understanding of the complex ways in which peoples do politics in countries previously known as 'The Third World'. It addresses the questions of Why, What, and How to study politics in developing countries. From a Comparative Politics perspective, and through the use of a political sociology approach, the course examines the historical, economic, social, and cultural factors that have shaped politics in (mainly) Africa and Latin America. It aims to make students cognizant of theoretical frameworks, such as Modernization theories, the Dependency School, Globalization, and the post-Development approach, which have attempted to explain the 'failure' of these societies to develop viable economies and democratic politics while at the same time prescribing solutions to these 'failures'. The course discusses whether and how the colonial experience continues to negatively impact the development of these societies. Structural limitations on state-building and nation-building processes and persistent hegemonic crises, with their sequel of frequent military interventions, are discussed in depth. Gender and politics, social movements, democratic transitions, and the resurgence of civil society in a globalized context, are examined as well in order to

illustrate the changing nature of politics in developing countries in recent years.

Course Objectives

Students are expected to learn about what passes as an 'understanding' of Third World politics and society by differentiating between perception and reality, rhetorical discourses from evidentiary facts, and scientific rationality from conventional wisdom. In other words, the course aims to develop students' scientific rationality, as opposed to an entrenched "common sense' and pseudo conventional wisdom views.

Required Materials and Texts

The following textbook is available at the McMaster University Bookstore:

Burnell, Haslam, Currie-Alder: McMaster University Custom Edition (2018) *Politics of the Developing World.* Pol SCI 2XX3. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Additional readings will be posted in Avenue to Learn.

Class Format

This one-hour-and-fifty minutes weekly lecture course will be delivered via Zoom. Students must connect to the virtual lecture through their own computers. Each lecture's main points (notes and/or power-point slides) will be uploaded to Avenue to Learn before every virtual lecture to guide the instructor's presentation. Although this is a lecture course, students are encouraged to actively participate in class and tutorial discussions through the Zoom devices. Tutorial meetings, via Zoom, will start the second week of classes.

Course Evaluation – Overview

- 1. Mid-term take-home examination, worth 30 percent of course grade, due on Tuesday, October 27, 2020.
- 2. Research paper, worth 30 percent of course grade, due Monday, November 9, 2020, at the beginning of regular virtual class.
- 3. End-of-Term take-home examination, worth 30 percent of course grade, due on Tuesday, December 1, 2020.
- 4. Tutorial participation, worth 10 percent of course grade.

Course Evaluation – Details

1. Mid-term take-home examination (30%), Monday, October 26, 2020.

The examination will be delivered via Avenue to Learn on Monday, October 26 at 11:30 am. and answers are due back by noon time on Tuesday, October 27. An electronic copy (Word format) must be sent to gallegui@mcmaster.ca and the respective teaching assistant. It comprises three sections: Section I asks to identify, explain the meaning,

and discuss the significance of notions, definitions, and/or concepts discussed in class, tutorial, and readings (think of it as a brief essay). Section II is a compulsory essay question. Section III gives students a choice between two essay questions. Sections I and III are worth 30 percent each, while Section II is worth 40 percent of the examination. All required readings and class and tutorial discussions must be used in answering the corresponding questions. Statement on plagiarism must be included.

2. Research paper (30%) due Monday, November 9, 2020.

A research paper worth 30 percent of the course grade, due on Wednesday, November 9, 2020 at the beginning of the regular virtual class. Instructions for the paper appear on **Course Policies. Submission of Assignments** below (pp. 8-11). Statement on plagiarism must be included. Send paper to gallegui@mcmaster.ca

3. End-of-term take-home examination (30%), Monday, November 30, 2020.

This examination will be delivered via Avenue to Learn on Monday, November 30 at 11:30 am. And answers are due back on Tuesday, December 1. An electronic copy (Word format) must be sent to gallegui@mcmaster.ca and the respective teaching assistant. It comprises three sections: Section 1 asks to identify, explain the meaning, and discuss the significance of notions, definitions, and/or concepts discussed in class, tutorial, and readings (think of it as a brief essay). Section II is a compulsory essay question. Section III gives students a choice between two essay questions. Sections I and III are worth 30 percent each, while Section II is worth 40 percent of the examination. All required readings and class and tutorial discussions must be used in answering the corresponding questions. The examination is cumulative.

4. Tutorial participation (10%)

A student's participation involves regular attendance to virtual tutorials, and an active engagement in the discussion of required readings and instructor's lectures, or assignments given by teaching assistants. Grade for tutorial participation is given by the teaching assistant but final grade for tutorial is at the instructor's discretion.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (September 14)

Course Explanation.

Explanation of course's objectives, assignments, and students' responsibilities. Explanation of research paper: choosing a topic and a methodology. Use of online sources. Preparing a literature review. Advice on how not to incur in plagiarism.

Readings:

• Gasper, Des. Chapter 23: "Ethics of Development", pp. 326-346.

Week 2 (September 21)

Course Introduction: What is the 'developing world'? What is Politics? Why is it difficult to agree on a definition of the 'developing world'? Origins of Development Studies. The persistence of ethnocentric views about the developing world. How to study the politics of developing countries?

Readings:

 Randall, Vicky: Chapter 1: "Changing Analytical Approaches to the Study of Politics in the Developing World", pp. 5-20.

Week 3 (September 28)

Modernization Theories of Development and Underdevelopment.

The capitalism-democracy correlation. Successes, failures, and resilience of these theories.

Readings:

- Desai, Radhika. Chapter 18: "Theories of Development", pp. 231-252.
- Fridell, Gavin. Chapter 21: "Free Trade, Fair Trade, and South-South Trade", pp. 288-307.

Week 4 (October 5)

The Dependency Approach to Development and Underdevelopment.

The capitalism-democracy (negative) correlation. Successes, failures, and persistence of the dependency perspective.

Readings:

• Harris, John. Chapter 24: "Development Theories", pp. 351-366.

Assignment Note: Outline of research paper worth 5 percent is due in class today via electronic copy (Word format). Include statement on plagiarism.

Week 5 (October 12)

Mid-term recess. No class held this week

Week 6 (October 19)

The colonial experience and its lingering impact on development.

Readings:

• Chiriyankandath, James. Chapter 2: "Colonialism and Post-Colonial Development", pp. 21-35.

 Allina, Eric. Chapter 17: "Imperialism and the Colonial Experience", pp. 213-230.

Week 7 (October 26)

Explaining military intervention in the politics of developing countries.

Types of coup. Hegemonic crises. Foreign intervention. Assessing military regimes' development performance.

Readings:

- Taylor, David. Chapter 10: "Pakistan: Regime Change and Military Power", pp. 143-151.
- Sindre, Gyda Maras. Chapter 11: "Indonesia: Dynamics of Regime Change", pp. 152-161.
- Ferdinand, Peter. Chapter 13: "South Korea: Strong State, Successful Development", pp. 173-182.
- Wright, Stephen. Chapter 14: "Nigeria: Consolidating Democracy and Human Rights", pp. 183-191.

NOTE: Mid-Term take-home examination (30 % of course grade) delivered today via Avenue to Learn. Due tomorrow at noon.

Week 8 (November 2)

Military regimes' legacy of violence and human rights abuses.

Readings:

- Suhrke, Astri; Torunn Wimpelmann, and Ingrid Samset. Chapter 6: Violent Conflict and Intervention", pp. 82-95.
- Freeman, Michael. Chapter 9: "Human Rights", pp. 128-142.
- Tonnenssen, Liv. Chapter 16: "Sudan: Human Rights, Development, and Democracy", pp. 202-210.

Week 9 (November 9)

Building democratic politics in the Third World.

Democratic Transitions. Bringing back Modernization Theories? Capitalism and Democracy. Pluralist Theories of Democracy. Democracy with Adjectives.

Readings:

- Persson, Anna. Chapter 5: "The Modern State: Characteristics, Capabilities, and Consequences", pp. 68-81.
- Rakner, Lise. Chapter 8: "Governance", pp. 111-127.
- Jourde, Cedric. Chapter 22. "Democracy", pp. 308-325.

Assignment note: Final version of research paper (worth 30 %) is due today, in virtual class. An electronic copy (in Word format) must be sent to gallegui@mcmaster.ca and to the respective teaching assistant. A signed statement on plagiarism must be included, along with all preliminary work. Penalties for late submissions apply.

Week 10 (November 16)

The Democratic transition in developing countries. Democratic Consolidation. Progression and Regression.

Readings:

- Rakner, Lise. Chapter 7: "Democratization and Regime Change", pp. 96-110.
- Schedler, Andrea. Chapter 12: Mexico: Transition to Civil War Democracy", pp. 162-171.
- Hira, Anil. Chapter 20. "State of the State: Does the State Have a Role in Development?", pp. 271-287.

Week 11 (November 23)

Women and Politics in Developing Countries:

From Exclusion to Participation to Leadership. Assessing women-led regimes' performance.

Readings:

- Randall, Vicky. Chapter 4: "Women and Gender", pp. 51-67.
- Tiessen, Rebecca, Jane Parpart, and Marianne H. Marchand. Chapter 19: "Gender and Development: Theoretical Contributions, International Commitments, and Global Campaigns", pp. 253-270.

Week 12 (November 30)

Persistent Instability in the Developing World and Threats to Democracy.

Readings:

- Scarritt, James & Johanna K. Birnir. Chapter 3: "Ethnopolitics and Nationalism", pp. 36-51.
- Sieder, Rachel. Chapter 15: "Guatemala: Enduring Underdevelopment and Insecurity", pp. 192-201.

Assignment Note: End-of-Term, take-home examination worth 30 % of course grade delivered today via Avenue to Learn. Due tomorrow at noon.

7

Week 13 (December 7)

Course wrap-up: The State of the Art in Comparative Politics of Developing Countries. Lecture by the Instructor.

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Research Paper Instructions:

This assignment is worth 30 percent of the course final grade. The essay should examine and discuss the chosen topic by using supplementary, primary and/or secondary, reading materials relevant to the argument. It must not be based solely on required readings. This assignment has two components, both of which will be reflected in the grade assigned to it: First, students must submit an Outline or Research Proposal that includes the problem statement, hypothesis, or argument; and a preliminary bibliography by Monday, September 28, 2020. Suggested length of research proposal: 3-4 typed, double-spaced pages. Students must submit an electronic copy of the research proposal (in Word format) at gallegui@mcmaster.ca. and to the respective teaching assistant. Teaching assistants will read, comment, make suggestions, and approve the chosen topic, and return the assignment to students with the corresponding feedback within one week. No topics other than the ones listed below will be allowed. This research proposal is worth five (5) percent of the assignment. Second, students must submit the fully edited final version of their research paper, along with all TA's, or Instructor's commented preliminary work attached to it, by Monday November 9, 2020, at the beginning of the regular virtual class. Students must submit an electronic copy of the research paper (in Word format) at qallequi@mcmaster.ca, and to the respective teaching assistant. Essays may be submitted early.

Somewhere between 12 to 15 pages, not including title page and bibliographical references, would be an adequate length for this essay. Follow the APA or the Chicago Manual of Style guidelines for the writing of academic papers. Standard use of bibliographical references is a must. The paper must be <u>typed</u>; have a title page; all pages <u>numbered</u>; lines <u>double-spaced</u>; and <u>wide margins</u> (standard Word processor format) left for comments.

The research proposal outline and the final paper must include a statement signed by the student that the paper is original, and that no plagiarism has been committed in its development and production. Academic offences (i.e. plagiarism) will be penalized in accordance with the regulations set by the University Senate.

Research Paper Topics

These are broadly stated, open-ended suggested topics for research, and should be addressed in a critical manner (i.e. not to be taken at face value). In the Research Paper Outline due on Monday September 28, 2020 the following is expected: (1)

indicate which topic you have chosen for the research; (2) follow that by designing your own research question: state it first in the form of a question and then as a declaratory sentence in which you affirm the objectives of the research; (3) indicate some of the preliminary evidence you have gathered that supports the research question; (4) list some of the probable causes that might explain the problem you are addressing; (5) provide a preliminary list of recent (no older than five years) academic sources (books, articles, reports) that will be used in the research. Include, as well, the statement on plagiarism. Wait for the instructor and/or teaching assistant's approval/feedback before embarking on the research and writing of this assignment. No other topics are allowed. Choose one of the topics listed below:

- 1. Western-style democracy, especially in its Anglo-Saxon version, might be the most suitable political regime for societies undergoing a transition away from military, personalist, and/or one-party rule, or not.
- 2. Western-style democracy was and continues to be alien to most Third World countries, i.e. they would be better off if they developed their own theories of democracy as well as their own ways of practising it.
- Non-western rulers' opposition to Western-style democracy on the basis of claims of cultural relativism is in contradiction with their uncritical adoption of Western-style capitalist economics, consumerism, religion, and lifestyles.
- **4.** Pervasive political corruption is the main reason why democratic consolidation remains elusive in most developing countries.
- **5.** Democratic politics in the developing world is just wishful thinking as long as entrenched economic and social policies embedded in the new globalization paradigm increase the economic and social gap between the 'haves', the 'havenots', and the 'haves a lot'.
- **6.** Democratic politics is weakened by the strong support that Western countries provide to developing countries' military institutions under the guise of the so-called War on Terrorism and/or Counterdrug War.
- 7. Consolidation of democratic politics in Latin America is enhanced by the electoral victories of left-of-centre political parties committed to reducing economic and social inequality, while enhancing respect for human rights.
- **8.** Globalization processes taking place in developing countries have firmly confirmed peoples' beliefs that the economic, social, and political future is not in their hands, due to the surrender of national sovereignty to unelected transnational bureaucratic organizations.
- **9.** Religious beliefs and practices of a 'fundamentalist' nature might be in strong opposition to the development of a democratic culture in developing countries.

- **10.** The manipulation of ethnic divisions by domestic and outside interests continues the long colonial "divide and rule" dictum that fosters conflict and violence in the developing world.
- **11.** Governments led by female politicians have not made a significant progress in advancing women's equality in the developing world. Indeed, women's access to political decision-making in developing countries has accomplished little in terms of improving women's economic, social, and political demands.
- **12.** Political parties in developing countries have lost the ability to be the linkage between peoples and governments; instead, social movements with well-defined, but narrow, political objectives have come to occupy their place.
- **13.** A re-ignited youth movement, coalescing behind demands for economic, social, educational, and political equality, can strengthen democracy in developing countries. Conversely, a politically indifferent youth reproduces the limitations of the democratic transition process.
- **14.** The development of a transgressive individualist culture has weakened the efforts to consolidate political and social democracy in developing countries.
- **15.** African governments' ongoing military arrangements with the USA military establishment risk repeating the Latin American experience of institutional modernization and professionalization with its sequel of expansive military intervention in political affairs.
- **16.** The failure of the so-called 'Arab Spring' can be attributed to (a) lack of experience by the democratically newly elected governments; (2) excessive popular demands that new governments could not meet; (3) resilience of old undemocratic institutions, (4) a divided social movement, (5) Western and Arab governments' geopolitical interests, and (6) all of the above.
- **17.** African countries' current democratic development is threatened by the consolidation of a new wealthy class which further entrenches economic and social inequality inimical to democracy.
- **18.** The rise of indigenous activism in Latin America, with their demands for cultural recognition and territorial sovereignty, continues to be met with opposition by vested economic interests, governments, and mainstream population at large.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK GRADE 90-100 A+

GRADE
Α
A-
B+
В
B-
C+
С
C-
D+
D
D-
F

Late Assignments

- Missed take-home examinations will be re-scheduled only in case of medical reasons or an exceptional emergency situation (at the Instructor's discretion). A Dr.'s note will be verified for authenticity. No make-up examinations will be held after two weeks from the missed test. Students who miss a make-up examination will be assigned a grade of Zero. All requests for a make-up examination must be made to the Instructor immediately after the missed examination by email addressed to gallegui@mcmaster.ca
- Late submission of the research proposal will be penalized with one point deducted for each day of delay, up to a maximum of 5 days.
- Papers submitted after the due date will be penalized with one sub-letter grade deduction for each day of delay, up to a maximum of one week. After one week, the instructor may refuse to accept the assignment unless proper medical certification stating a prolonged inability to fulfil academic responsibilities is provided. A Dr.'s note will be verified for authenticity. Grades for papers accepted by the instructor after one week of lateness will be lowered by one letter grade. Students must talk to the instructor with anticipation, if they believe they have a legitimate reason for an extension. Other courses' assignments, and a student's other responsibilities do not qualify as legitimate excuses. Teaching Assistants cannot grant an extension.
- No accommodation will be granted for students who failed to attend regular virtual tutorials. Tutorial grades are only recommended by teaching assistants; the final grade for tutorial participation is at the Instructor's discretion.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

<u>McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF)</u>: In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar "Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work".

Courses With An On-Line Element

Some courses may use on-line elements (e.g. e-mail, Avenue to Learn (A2L), LearnLink, web pages, capa, Moodle, ThinkingCap, etc.). Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors.

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor is this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the RISO policy. Students should submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, located at https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures- guidelines/

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.
- NOTE: Students must submit assignments (i.e. research proposal/outline and final version of paper, and mid-term and end-of-term examinations) electronically at gallegui@mcmaster.ca and the respective Teaching Assistant. Each written submission and assignments must also include a statement signed by the student that the work is original, and no plagiarism has been committed in its development and production.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning, and working communities. These expectations are described in the

<u>Code of Students Rights & Responsibilities</u> (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online**.

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom delivery), will be taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact <u>Student Accessibility Services (SAS)</u> at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or <u>sas@mcmaster.ca</u> to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities policy.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all email communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communications channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L, and/or McMaster email.