Government of the Russian Federation

Federal State Autonomous Educational Institution of Higher Education
National Research University "Higher School of Economics"

Faculty of social sciences

Course syllabus

Philosophy of New Social Movements and Social Conflicts

For the Master's Degree Program "Polotics. Economics. Philosophy"

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Part: Philosophy of New Social Movements

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1. Course Description

a. Title of a Course

Philosophy of New Social Movements and Social Conflicts

b. Pre-requisites

Basics of both contemporary normative and continental political philosophy, basics of the Modern history, basics of the history of political thought.

c. Course Type (compulsory, elective, optional)

Compulsory

d. Abstract

The course focuses on the social dynamics and the philosophical meaning of the phenomena of social movements and political conflicts. The logical framework includes key concepts, methods and ideas of both contemporary normative and continental philosophy. The rise of a social movement is interpreted as emergence of a logical anomaly, of a 'private' language, breaking apart the normative order and making violence inevitable. The end of a social movement is explained as gradual normalization of the logical anomaly. In order to make sense of a social movement one has to pose and answer two series of questions: 1) What is good for 'us' (as the members of the movement)? 2) Can we make our good compatible with what is good for the 'other' (= not 'us')?

2. Learning Objectives

Students will learn the philosophical methods of interpreting the phenomena of social movements. Development of the independent moral and political judgement, as well as engagement with visual and textual sources will be emphasized.

3. Learning Outcomes

At the end of the course, students will master the key ideas, concepts and methods of the contemporary political philosophy of social movements. They will also have developed logical skills that will allow them to build arguments to discuss and eventually analyze actual political issues. They will also be able to use the introduced concepts and methods to present a solution in a written essay.

4. Course Plan

1 session = 1 lecture + 1 seminar (4 academic hours total)

SESSION #	TOPICS
1	Introduction. Philosophical approach to study social movements. Key concepts and ideas. The languages of political reality. Norm and anomaly. Political dynamics vs. philosophical meaning of a social movement. Conservative disposition and normative framework as the ultimate neutral reference point.
2	Marxism. Communism. Socialism. The “spectre” metaphor and the “private” language of proletariat. The proletarian movement, “permanent revolution”, and the socialist normalization. Revolution and evolution.
3	Anarchism. Abolition of normative framework; the concept of “general strike”. The necessity and morality of violence. The mythical dimension of a social movement.
4	Fascist movement in Italy and National-Socialist movement in Germany. Issues of legality and legitimacy. Relations between the state and the movement. Organization and political reality of totalitarianism.
5	Independence and anti-colonial movements. Cultural conundrums of decolonization. Post-colonialism. Key concepts: “cargo cult”, “subaltern”, “orientalism”.
6	Student movements of 1960s. New Left politics. Generation gaps and generational politics. Millennials and Bernie Sanders’s “Political revolution”.
7	Political theology and the “political spirituality” of a movement. Religious fundamentalist movements: from the Iranian Revolution to the “Arab Spring” to ISIS.
8	Women’s emancipation movement. Gender politics. Feminism. LGBTQ social movements and the normative political process.
9	(Re)-emerging social movements of the 21st century. Anti-globalization movements. New wave of right nationalist movements. Trump Phenomenon. The current refugee crisis: A prequel to the new “Migration Period”? Normative framework and the borders of the Western Civilization.

5. Reading List

General literature

Goodin R. E. and Pettit Ph. A Companion to contemporary political philosophy. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2007.

Kymlicka, W. 1990. Contemporary political philosophy: an introduction. Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press.

Cutrofello, A. (2005). Continental Philosophy: A Contemporary Introduction. Routledge

Maoilearca J.Ó and Beth Lord. 2009. The Continuum companion to continental philosophy. London: Continuum.

Session 1. Introduction. Normative framework and conservative disposition.

Required:

M. Oakeshott. On being Conservative.

Optional:

E. Burke. Reflections on the Revolution in France.

A. Quinton. Conservatism, in: [Goodin, Pettit]

Session 2. Marxism. Communism.

Required:

K. Marx, Fr. Engels. The Communist Manifesto.

G. Lukács. Legality and Illegality.

Optional:

B. Hindess. Marxism, in: [Goodin, Pettit]

P. Self. Socialism, in: [Goodin, Pettit]

V. Lenin. The State and Revolution.

J. Schumpeter. Capitalism, socialism and democracy

Session 3. Anarchism.

Required:

G. Sorel. Reflections on Violence, chs. 3-6

Optional:

R. Sylvan. Anarchism, in: [Goodin, Pettit]

W. Benjamin. Critique of Violence

G. Deleuze, F. Guattari. Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia

Session 4. Fascism. National-Socialism. Totalitarianism.

Required:

H. Arendt. The Origins of Totalitarianism, chs. 11-12

C. Schmitt. State, Movement, People

Optional:

C. Schmitt. The Concept of the Political.

Gentile, Giovanni. "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 6, No. 2 (January, 1928)

Heidegger M. Nature, State, History. London, 2013.

Heidegger M. On Hegel's Philosophy of Right. London, 2014.

Session 5. Independence and anti-colonial movements

Required:

Edward W. Said. Orientalism (introduction)

Fr. Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth (selection).

Optional:

G. Spivak. Can the subaltern speak?

Session 6. Student movements. The “New Left”.

Required:

H. Marcuse. On the New Left

A. Badiou. May '68 Revisited. 40 Years On, in: The Communist Hypothesis.

Optional:

Plato. The Republic, bk. 8

I. Turgenev. Fathers and Sons.

J.-P. Sartre. Existentialism Is a Humanism

Session 7. Religious and fundamentalist movements.

Required:

M. Foucault. What Are the Iranians Dreaming About?

C. Schmitt. Political theology, chs. 1,3

Optional:

R. S. Appleby. Fundamentalisms, in: [Goodin, Pettit]

J. Afary, K. Anderson. Foucault and the Iranian Revolution. Gender and the Seductions of Islamism (2005)

Session 8. Feminism. LGBTQ movements.

Required:

S. de Beauvoir. The Second Sex.

Butler, J.: Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990) (London: Routledge, 1999).

Optional:

Kristeva, J: ‘Woman can never be defined’ (1974), New French Feminisms, trans. M. A. Au-gust, ed. E. Marks and I. de Courtiveron (New York: Schoken, 1981a).

Alison Jaggar and Iris Marion Young (eds.), A Companion to Feminist Philosophy (Blackwell, 1998);

Judith Butler and J. W. Scott (eds.), Feminists Theorize the Political (Routledge, 1992);

Session 9. (Re)-emerging social movements of the 21st century

Required:

J. Shantz, J. Tomblin. Cyber Disobedience. Re-Presenting Online Anarchy (selection)

S. Žižek · The Non-Existence of Norway · LRB 9 September 2015

Optional:

A. Bloom. The Closing of the American Mind

H. Arendt. We refugees

Notes from Nowhere (eds.) We Are Everywhere. The Irresistible Rise of Global Anti-Capitalism.

P. Singer. To end the migrant crisis, give more support to refugees

S. Zizek. Migrants, racists and the left

The Invisible Committee. The Coming Insurrection

S. Huntington. The Clash of Civilizations?, in "Foreign Affairs", vol. 72, no. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 22–49

6. Grading System

a. Participation (25%, incl. attendance, seminar activity, home assignments)
b. Essay (25%)
c. Final Test (50%)

7. Guidelines for Knowledge Assessment

a. Essay

The essay is to be written in English or Russian and presented in doc, docx or pdf format; it must contain no more than 15 pages. The problem to resolve must to be related to the course program.

b. Final Exam

The students are to answer 2 questions from the list (which is open to change).

1. Case study: interpretation of the current migrant crisis.
2. Deference of the New Left strategy from the classical Marxism.
3. Idealism, paradox of freedom and authority in the philosophy of the Italian fascism.
4. Organization of the totalitarian state (Arendt).
5. Subordinate position of woman and the category of the "other" (de Beauvoir).
6. The 'private' language of proletarian movement (Marx).
7. The coming-out of the communist movement in the "Manifesto". The "spectre" metaphor, the unknown power and the new values.
8. The concept of 'the political' (Schmitt).
9. The concept of "movement"; its relations to the state and to the people (Schmitt).
10. The concept of "Orientalism" (Said).
11. The concept of general strike (Sorel).
12. The concept of political spirituality (Foucault).
13. The concept of political theology (Schmitt).
14. The concept of the conservative "disposition" (Oakeshott).
15. The difference between parts played by an educated person and a peasant in the struggle for independence (Fanon).
16. The issue of illegality of the communist movement (Lukács)
17. The meaning of hacktivism as a social movement.

7. Methods of Instruction

Each weekly session consists of a lecture and a follow-up seminar discussion of home reading materials.

8. Special Equipment and Software Support (if required)

Projector needed for PowerPoint presentations.

Part: Modern Social Conflict

Author:
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1. Course Description

a. Title of a Course

Modern Social Conflict

b. Pre-requisites

Basics of philosophy, basics of sociology, basics of the history of political thought.

c. Course Type (compulsory, elective, optional)

Compulsory

d. Abstract

A fundamental premise of this theory-oriented research field is that social conflicts are inherent in social life. Thus conflict is considered to be one of the main, basic, categories of social sciences. It is used both by the theorists, analysts in various fields of social sciences and by the applied researchers to address specific conflict situations. This course focuses on the examination of the conflict as a social action/agency and as interaction, in relation to the categories of consensus and violence. The course introduces both the classical sociological theories of conflict and modern ones, their analytical capabilities and limitations are to be discussed. In this regard, particular attention is paid to the ratio of "structural" and "direct" violence and related conflicts.

2. Learning Objectives

The course focuses on a particular conflict component -- conflict behaviour -- as treated and discussed in both classical writings and contemporary research. It aims in depth familiarity with and knowledge of central approaches and theories in the study of conflict dynamics, in general, and conflict behaviour, in particular.

3. Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:
1. master the basic concepts and methods of theory-oriented research in the field; 2. to use approaches and theories for the analysis of conflict behaviour instances; 3. to evaluate critically the strengths and weaknesses of theories in the field; 4. to discriminate between different approaches and theories in the peace and conflict studies.

4. Course Plan

1 session = 1 lecture + 1 seminar (4 academic hours total)

SESSION #	TOPICS
1	**Introduction. The problem of definition**. Conflict as action. Conflict, Peace/Consensus and Violence as the key categories for the ontology of Conflict. Tentative classification of social conflict.
2	**Introduction II**. Cultural violence and legitimation of conflict. Human needs and conflict classification. Cultures of Violence. Inequality and Conflict.
3	**Classical Sociology on Conflict I**. Hobbesian problem and counterfinality. Conflict as sociation in the formal sociology of Simmel. The rationalization of modern society and the conflict: M.Weber. Types of authority and charisma, conditions for the conflict groups' formation.
4	**Classical Sociology on Conflict II**. Social Order and Conflict in R.Park's Human ecology. Cultural conflict and Marginal Man. Conflict and Freedom. Functionalist version of Conflict – anomie, disfunction.
5	**Modern Social Conflict I. Neo-functionalism**: The new liberal program by R.Dahrendorf. imperatively coordinated associations. The power and authority as the main sources of conflict and social change. The legitimation and conflict: from quasi-groups to the conflict-groups. Modern social conflict: the dialectic of entitlements and provisions. Functions of conflict by L. Coser
6	**Modern Social Conflict II. Neo-marxism**. From the theory of class struggle and bipolar conflict to the idea of praxis. "Reification" reflection and "negative dialectics". Subjectivity and intersubjectivity. J. Habermas: structural transformation of the public sphere, the criticism of positivism, "the system" and the "life-world", the types of contemporary crises and conflicts.
7	**Postmodern prospective on social conflict**: Knowledge, power and violence; "Micropolitics" vs "subjectification", "counter-discourse" and "bio-resistance." Simulation, implosion and hyperreality; multiple forms of social control, power and conflict. Social entropy and death of conflict. Coda.

5. Reading List

Session 1. Introduction. The problem of definition

Required:

Coser L. (1993) Conflict/In: The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-century Social Thought – Ed. By W.Outhwaite a. T.Bottomore: Blackwell, pp.103-105

Galtung, J (1969) Violence, Peace and Peace Research// Journal of Peace Research, v.6, N3, pp. 167-191.

Optional:

Collins, R (1975) Conflict Sociology: Toward an Explanatory Science.

Session 2. Cultural violence

Required:

Galtung, J (1990) Cultural Violence // Journal of Peace Research, v.27, N3, pp.291-305

Optional:

Giddens A. The Third Way. The Renewal of Social Democracy.: Polity Press, 1998

Rule, James (1988) Theories of Civil Violence, Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press

Session 3. Classical Sociology on Conflict I

Required:

Marx K, "Theses on Feuerbach," contained in the *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 5*, p. 8.

Simmel, Georg, 1922 [1955], *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations*, translated and edited by Kurt Wolff, Glencoe, IL: Free Press

Simmel G. Conflict as Sociation// Sociological theory : a book of readings/ Ed. by L. Coser. New York: Macmillan, 1957

Weber Max, Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), vol. I, section 8

Optional:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "German Ideology" contained in the *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 5* (International Publishers: New York, 1976) pp. 19–539.

Karl Marx; Friedrich Engels (2009). *The Communist Manifesto*. Echo Library. p. 5.ISBN 978-1-4068-5174-8.

Simmel G. *Über sociale Differenzierung*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890 [*On Social Differentiation*

Weber, Max. *Political Writings*. Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. ix

Weber, Max *The Nature of Social Action*, in Runciman, W.G., *Weber: Selections in Translation*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Session 4. Classical Sociology on Conflict II.

Required:

Park, R. Human migration and the marginal man// Amer. J. of Sociology. 1928, vol. 33, No 6. pp. 881-893

Goffman E. The Interaction Order// American Sociological Review,Feb.,1983,pp.1-17.

Optional:

Goffman E. Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972. 460 p.

Goffman E. Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Halfpenny P. Positivism and Sociology: Explaining Social Life. London etc Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1982.

Park R. The Social Function of War// Robert E.Park on Social control and collective behavior/ Ed. by R.H.Turner. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1967. pp. 145-165.

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Session 5. Modern Social Conflict I. Neo-functionalism

Required:

Dahrendorf R. (1989). Modern social conflict. L

Coser L.The Fuctions of Social Conflict. L., 1956

Optional:

Coser, L. Continuities in the study of social conflict. N.Y., 1967

Dahrendorf R. Toward a theory of social conflict// Journal of conflictresolution. 1958, v.2, June, pp.170-83.

Dahrendorf R. Class and class conflict in industrial society. Stanford,

1959.

Session 6. Modern Social Conflict II. Neo-marxism

Required:

Habermas J. (1975) Legitimation Crisis

Habermas J 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, T. Burger and F. Lawrence (trans). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. [German, 1962]

Optional:

Giddens A. The Nation-State and Violence. Volume Two of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985. 399 P

Habermas J. Legitimationsprobleme im Spätkapitalismus. - Frankfurt, Surkamp, 1973.

Habermas J. Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. - 2 ed. Frankfurt, Surkamp, 1989

Habermas J. The Crisis of the European Union (2012)

Session 7. Postmodern prospective on social conflict

Required:

Baudrillard J. Symbolic Exchange and Death / Trasl. by Iain Hamilton Grant / With an Introduction by Mike Cane. London etc.: SAGE, 1993. <L'Âchange symbolique et la morte, P.: Gallimard, 1976

Jameson F. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logos of Late Capitalism. London: Verso, 1991. xxii, 438 p.

Foucault M., Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Paris: Gallimard, 1975

Optional:

Cilliers P. Complexity and Postmodernism : Understanding Complex Systems. Paperback - 176 pages. Routledge, 1998

Giddens A. Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991. VII, 256 p.

Giddens A. The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990. xi, 186 p.

Foucault M., The Birth of Biopolitics .2008/ Collège de France Course Lectures 1978-79.

Harvey D. The Condition of Post-Modernitv: an Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, Basil-Blackwell, London, 1989

Reading List (General)

Baudrillard J. Symbolic Exchange and Death / Trasl. by Iain Hamilton Grant / With an Introduction by Mike Cane. London etc.: SAGE, 1993. <L'Âchange symbolique et la morte, P.: Gallimard, 1976

Bosi, L. (2007) “Social Movement Participation and the “Timing” of Involvement: The Case of Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement,” Research in Social Movements, Conflict, and Change 27:37-61

Cilliers P. Complexity and Postmodernism : Understanding Complex Systems. Paperback - 176 pages. Routledge, 1998

Collins, R (1975) Conflict Sociology: Toward an Explanatory Science.

Coser L. (1993) Conflict/In: The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth-century Social Thought – Ed. By W.Outhwaite a. T.Bottomore: Blackwell, pp.103-105

Coser L.

Dahrendorf R. Modern social conflict. L., 1989.

Della Porta Donatella and Mario Diani (1999) Social Movements: An Introduction, Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, Ch.

Galtung, J (1969) Violence, Peace and Peace Research// Journal of Peace Research, v.6, N3, pp. 167-191.

Galtung, J (1990) Culteral Violence // Journal of Peace Research, v.27, N3, pp.291-305

Giddens A. Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991. VII, 256 p.

Giddens A. The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990. xi, 186 p.

Giddens A. The Nation-State and Violence. Volume Two of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985. 399 P.

Giddens A. The Third Way. The Renewal of Social Democracy.: Polity Press, 1998

Goffman E. Interaction Ritual. Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972. <First Published 1967

Goffman E. Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972. 460 p.

Goffman E. Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity. Halfpenny P. Positivism and Sociology: Explaining Social Life. London etc Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1982.

Goffman E. The Interaction Order// American Sociological Review,Feb.,1983,pp.1-17.

Habermas J. Legitimationsprobleme im Spätkapitalismus. - Frankfurt, Surkamp, 1973.

Habermas J. Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. - 2 ed. Frankfurt, Surkamp, 1989

Harvey D. The Condition of Post-Modernitv: an Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, Basil-Blackwell, London, 1989

Hirsch, Eric L. (2003) “Generating Commitment Among Students,” in The Social Movements Reader, Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (eds.), Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp.94-102

Jameson F. Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logoc of Late Capitalism. London: Verso, 1991. xxii, 438

Luhmann N. Trust and Power. Chichester: Wiley, 1979

McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. (1977). “Resource Mobilization and Social Movement: A Partial Theory”, American Journal of Sociology 82(12):12-41

Rule, James (1988) Theories of Civil Violence, Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, Ch. 1 (Hobbes, the Utilitarians, and Olson)

Rule, James (1988) Theories of Civil Violence, Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, Ch. 3 (Le-Bon, Park, and Kornhouser)

Rule, James (1988) Theories of Civil Violence. Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, Ch. 5 (Parson and Smelser)

Rule, James (1988) Theories of Civil Violence. Berkeley & L.A.: University of California Press, Ch. 6 (Tilly)

Tilly, Charles. (2004) Social Movements, 1768-2004, Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, Ch. 1

Zald, Mayer N. and Useem, B. (1994) "Movement and Countermovement Interaction: Mobilization, Tactics, and State Involvement," in Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, Social Movements in an Organizational Field, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

6. Grading System

Course grade consists of:

Final mark = 0,7 Cumulated + 0,3 Oral exam

Cumulated = 0,5 essay + 0,4 home task and presentation + 0,1classes

7. Guidelines for Knowledge Assessment

a. Essay

The essay is to be written in English or Russian and presented in doc, docx or pdf format. Essay is the main indicator of progress of the course and will be assessed in accordance with the following requirements:

- Formal requirements: the structure of the essay is 4 parts - *Introduction* (which formulates the problem / task, the main issues of this paper, the methods of theoretical consideration, theoretical foundations (key work, theorists, direction); the *Main part* setting out the alleged problems (structured at the discretion of the author) ; the *Conclusion* (which presents the main results, outcomes of the work) and *References* made in accordance with the requirements of bibliographic descriptions and relevant links in the text of the essay.

- Content requirements: the logic and value of presentation, relevant for the issue selection of literature, scientific style, and avoiding plagiarism.

The topic for essay can be taken from the list attached to the course program or student can formulate it in accordance with the course program and his/her own scientific interest.

The volume of essays - min - 6,000 characters including spaces; max - 10 000 characters with spaces.

Timing of delivery - an essay is to be handed over on completion of the course (date is to be determined) late for 2 days reduces the estimate of 0.5 (1.5) points, the delay of 4 days - 1 point (3 points), in the absence of the essay score is 0 points.

In case of detection of plagiarism in essays, it does not count (score of 0), the student is not allowed for the exam.

b. Home task/Presentation

Home task prepares for the work at seminars. It is referencing (and oral presentation of the abstract at a seminar) of the works studied in the course. The reviewed papers may be both taken from the attached to the program of the course reading list and to be proposed by the student.

Homework can be presented both orally and in writing. In writing, homework is a summary of the original source with student's "comments", made according to certain requirements (which are communicated to the students at the first seminar). Criteria for assessing the homework - the adequacy of the presentation, the ability to navigate the peer-text and answer the questions on the text (in the case of oral presentation), or - the structure of "comments" (if abstract).

c. Oral Exam

The students are to answer 2 questions from the list (which is open to change):

1. Conflict. Peace .Violence -- the relationship between the concepts
2. Foundations for the Conflict classifications
3. Structural Conflict and Social (in)justice
4. Cultural violence as legitimation of structural violence
5. Counterfinality and Suboptimality in conflict genesis
6. Conflict and Rationality (sociological analysis)
7. Positive functions of social conflict. "Crossing social circles".
8. Conflict, social order, and social change
9. Conflict and Estrangement
10. Reification, commodification and Conflict in modern society
11. Legitimation Crisis and the condition of Public sphere
12. Entitlements, Provisions and Life Chances in modern society
13. Dynamics of conflict in imperatively coordinated associations
14. Conflict and Freedom of movement.
15. Knowledge, power and violence
16. Simulation, implosion and hyperreality; multiple forms of social control, power and conflict
17. Social entropy and death of conflict

7. Methods of Instruction

Each weekly session consists of a lecture and then a discussion of course materials.

8. Special Equipment and Software Support (if required)

Projector needed for PowerPoint presentations.