



School of History, Philosophy

Political Science and International Relations

POLS 112

Introduction to Political Ideas

2008 Trimester 1

Aim: This course is an introduction to the language and concepts used in the study of politics. It examines historical ideas associated with the project of modernity that have had a formative influence upon contemporary political culture. Students will become familiar with the modern ideologies of nationalism, colonization, and liberalism, systems of ideas reacting critically to modernity—socialism, anarchism, conservatism, religious fundamentalism and postmodernism as well as those developed by social movements organised around sexuality and gender. By the end of the course students will be expected to have a good comprehension of different ideological frameworks, to be able to apply them to local and global affairs, to be able to articulate their own political viewpoints in a sophisticated manner, and to have attained a fluency in the language of political analysis sufficient for them to proceed to higher level politics and international relations courses.

Coordinator: Dr Pat Moloney (MY 501, telephone 463 5126). Office hours: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday 8 -12. (pat.moloney@vuw.ac.nz)

Blackboard: This course is available on the website <http://blackboard.vuw.ac.nz>. Any additional information and announcements will be made in lectures and on Blackboard. Students can access on Blackboard all the information contained in the course outline as well as the text of PowerPoint lecture presentations for the course, the programme's *Essay Writing Guide*, and links to relevant internet resources.

Timetable: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday 12 noon – 12.50 pm, plus a weekly tutorial. Lectures are held in Hugh Mackenzie LT 206. **Students must sign up for tutorials themselves** in the first week of the course by visiting the website: <https://signups.vuw.ac.nz>

Assessment:

- A library research skills report **2%**
- One ten-minute tutorial presentation worth **3%**
- Ten written answers to the weekly tutorial questions worth **5%**
- Two 1500 word essays each worth **20%**
- Final three hour examination worth **50%**

In the essays and examination students will be assessed on their ability to compose original arguments that demonstrate their grasp of the key concepts treated in the course.

Mandatory Course Requirements:

- submission of the two essays (in hardcopy and electronic form) by the due dates.
- attendance at a minimum of 9 tutorials throughout the semester.
- submission of written answers to at least 5 sets of tutorial questions.
- attaining at least 40% in the final examination.

Lectures:

Students are expected to attend the three lectures each week having done the required readings. The material covered in the lectures is supplemented by, but not identical with, the material covered in the readings and tutorials. Lecture material will be examined in the essays and the final examination. The majority of lectures will be given by Dr Moloney. On occasion guest lecturers will be invited to address the class.

Tutorials:

Tutorials are an essential component of the learning process in this course. They are an occasion for students to raise questions and debate issues. To this end, the course fosters a learning environment of mutual respect. The ideas presented in this course range across the entire political spectrum and touch upon virtually every aspect of our political, social and personal lives. Inevitably students will be challenged or unsettled by some of the material. Such discomfort is a normal phase of the learning process. Students are expected to reflect critically upon all the ideas addressed in the lectures, tutorials and readings. Criticism and argument should always be directed at the ideas, not at the person articulating them. Needless to say, students are encouraged to assess, develop and defend their own ideas rigorously.

Tutorial Presentation:

Each student is expected to give one ten-minute oral presentation in their tutorial on the weekly readings. The dates of, and the readings for, the presentations will be organised by the tutor. Tutors will assess each student on the comprehensiveness of their understanding and their ability to communicate the ideas at issue.

Written Tutorial Answers:

Each student will be expected to submit a total of 10 one-page written answers to the weekly tutorial questions based on the weekly readings. These are to be handed in and returned at each tutorial. **Their contents will not be assessed;** however the submission of at least 5 is mandatory. 1% will be earned for each weekly set of answers after 5 have been submitted. **Answers not submitted in the week they are due will not be counted.**

Library Research Skills Report:

Each student must do the 'Library Research Skills Self Paced Tutorial for POLS 112' which will be handed out in class. At their tutorials in week 3 of the course (the week beginning 10 March) students must hand in a Library Research Skills Report. This is a one page summary of the electronic search tools and search paths used to obtain three references (one internet based) relevant to their first essay. The Self Paced Tutorial will provide examples of and information about how to conduct such searches. The reports ought to detail for each of the three results which databases were selected, what phrases were searched for, how search results were narrowed or filtered, and a full citation of

the final reference. Tutors will grade and return the report in tutorials the following week. **No reports received after 14 March will be marked.**

Essays:

Essay topics are given at the end of this handout. Students are advised to consult the Programme's *Essay Writing Guide* for advice on composing and referencing their essay. Essays **MUST** be submitted in **TWO** forms. A hard copy print out of their essay must be placed in the marked box outside the School office MY 518 by the due date (with the Programme Cover Sheet attached). In addition an electronic version of their essay must also be placed in the 'Essays' folder on the course's Blackboard website by the due dates: **Monday 31 March & Monday 12 May.**

Extensions can be given **only** by Dr Moloney who will normally expect to be furnished with a medical certificate. **Late essays will be penalised** with a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Essays submitted more than eight days late will be accepted as fulfilling the mandatory course requirement, but will not be graded.

Final 3 hour examination:

The exam will assess the student's grasp of all the material covered in lectures, readings and tutorials. It will consist of short essay questions. The final examination will be scheduled between 6 - 28 June 2008. The date, time and location of the final examination will be available closer to the examination period

Required Texts:

The two required texts for the course are Andrew Heywood's, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction* 4th Ed. (London: Palgrave, 2007) \$69.95, available from the Victoria Book Centre, and the *POLS 112 Coursebook 2008* available from Student Notes at a cost of approximately \$16.

Lecture and Tutorial Preparation:

The recommended workload for a course at this level is 12 hours per week, including class contact hours. All the 'Additional Reading' is on Closed Reserve or 3-Day Loan at the library. You can search on the library catalogue under 'Course Reserve' and 'POLS112' to find these items.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Statement on the use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <<http://www.turnitin.com>>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

General University policies and statutes

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

Lecture Programme

Week 1. What is Modernity? (26, 27, 29 February)

This first week is an introduction to the grand themes and topics of the course. Firstly the salient economic, social and political features of 'modernity' will be sketched. Then the significance of ideologies in the modern period will be indicated and definitions of the concept of ideology provided. A brief look at how the different ideologies to be studied each relate to modernity will conclude the week's lectures.

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 1; Schwarzmantel in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, pp. 10-34.
 Stuart Hall & Bram Gieben, *Formations of Modernity*, pp. 22-47
 Robert Hollinger, *Postmodernism and Social Sciences*, pp. 1-16.

Week 2. Nationalism (4, 5, 7 March)

In modernity, individuals, collected into nations, inhabit sovereign states. After the key concepts of the 'nation', 'state', and 'sovereignty' have been defined, distinguished and connected, the ideology of nationalism will be examined. Competing primordialist and social constructionist accounts of nations will be discussed.

Required Readings: Heywood, Ch. 5; Calhoun in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Peter Alter, *Nationalism*, pp. 4-23.
 Joseph Camilleri & J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, pp. 11-39.
 Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*, pp. 5-13.
 David Held (ed.), *States and Societies*, pp. 181-206.
 James Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, pp. 34-50.

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| <p>Library Research Skills Report to be handed in at tutorials this week</p> |
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Week 3. Colonization (11, 12, 14 March)

Theories about colonization promoted, justified and shaped European expansion into the Pacific in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These were the frameworks within which Europeans understood and misunderstood indigenous peoples, their political regimes and their systems of property. These lectures investigate British ideas about the advance of civilisation around the globe and their role in it, in particular those of Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

Required Readings: Normanby; Treaty of Waitangi; Patterson; Walker in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity*, pp. 134-171.
 James Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 180-203.

Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, pp. 32-59.
 Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience*, pp. 223-39.
 Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, pp. 24-40.

Weeks 4 & 5. Liberalism (18, 19, 26, 28 March)

Liberalism is *the* ideology of modernity, championing the freedom of the individual against arbitrary and despotic power, whether social, economic or political. This ideology is examined in its classical and modern forms, and their different views on human nature, the state and the economy compared.

Required Readings: Heywood, ch. 2; Thomas Hobbes, John Morrow and J. S. Mill in
POLS 112 Coursebook

Additional: Rodney Barker, *Politics, People & Government*, pp. 43-65.
 John Gray, *Liberalism*, pp. 26-36.
 George Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, pp. 422-440.
 Simhony and D. Weinstein, *The New Liberalism*, pp. 115-36.

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| 1st Essay Due: Monday 31 March |
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Week 6. Socialism (1, 2, 4 April)

The underside of industrial modernity is the systematic exploitation of the labouring masses. Socialism is the ideology that critiques capitalism and anticipates the culmination of modernity in the transformation of bourgeois institutions and values into socialist ones. Different strands of socialism and their currency in New Zealand are considered.

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 4; Marx & Engels in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Robert Berki, *Socialism*, pp. 9-38.
 David McLellan, *Marx*, pp. 60-70.
 R. Miliband, *Socialism for A Sceptical Age*, pp. 7-42.
 Peter Worsley, *Marx and Marxism*, pp. 69-83.

Week 7. Anarchism (8, 9, 11 April)

Another important strand of political thought and practice in revolt against some aspects of modernity is anarchism. It rejects the claims of the modern state to exercise moral and legal authority over individuals. These lectures tease out the differences among socialists, liberals and anarchists, examines the various kinds of anarchism, and discusses the place of anarchist ideas in the contemporary anti-globalization movement.

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 6; Epstein & Kropotkin in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism*, pp. 170-96
 Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*, pp.309-38.
 David Miller, *Anarchism*, pp. 45-59.
 Alan Ritter, *Anarchism: A Theoretical Analysis*, pp. 61-88.

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| Mid-semester Break 14-27 April |
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Week 8. Conservatism (29, 30 April, 2 May)

Conservatism is a rear-guard resistance against and a piecemeal concession to a rapidly changing modern world. It is an ideology that abhors the modern situation in which political ideas can entice people to mass action; it denies that it itself is an ideology. Conservatism is considered as both a set of substantive doctrines and as an anti-ideological disposition.

Required Readings: Heywood, pp. 65-88; Burke in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Arthur Aughey, *Conservatives and Conservatism*, pp. 15-52.
 Ted Honderich, *Conservatism*, pp. 148-168.
 Noel O'Sullivan, *Conservatism*, pp. 9-31.
 Roger Scruton, *The Meaning of Conservatism*, pp. 27-45.

Week 9. Feminism (6, 7, 9 May)

How and why are the private and public realms gendered? What social and political significance is attached to the gendering of human beings? Why, historically, in many societies, have women been subordinate to men? Should men and women be treated the same? Various feminist responses to these questions will be explored this week.

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 8; Bryson in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Sandra Coney, *Into the Fire*, pp. 73-96.
 Alison Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, pp. 83-122.
 Anne Phillips, *Feminism and Equality*, pp. 103-23.
 Imelda Whelehan, *Modern Feminist Thought*, pp. 1-21.

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| 2nd Essay Due: Monday 12 May |
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Week 10. Sexuality and Modernity (13, 14, 16 May)

Is sexuality a natural drive that has been repressed in order that modern civilization could be built, or is sexuality a social construct, a way of understanding our bodies, desires and identities that is a crucial means by which we are regulated and disciplined in the modern world? By looking at the ideas of Sigmund Freud and Michel Foucault these questions will be answered and the politics of sexuality unravelled.

Required Readings: D'Emilio and Weeks in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Gail Hawkes, *A Sociology of Sex and Sexuality*, pp. 17-49.
 R. Horrocks, *An Introduction to the Study of Sexuality*, pp. 86-111.
 Carole Vance (ed.), *Pleasure and Danger*, pp. 267-312.

Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, pp. 232-268.

Week 11. Religious Fundamentalism (20, 21, 23 May)

The pluralist, secular and scientific outlook of modernity has been corrosive of traditional religious authorities and world-views. Consequently, modernity has elicited a strong religious reaction. What do Christian, Islamic, and other fundamentalists believe in? What sort of political order are they endeavouring to create or return to? What are their methods? What are their prospects for success?

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 10; Barber in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Steve Bruce, *Fundamentalism* pp. 16-39.

Lawrence Kaplan (ed.) *Fundamentalism in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 15-23.

Martin Marty (ed.) *Fundamentalisms and the State*, pp. 13-27.

Malise Ruthven, *Fundamentalism: The Search for Meaning*.

Week 12. Postmodernism (27, 28, 30 May)

The course has been concerned with the various systems of ideas justifying, promoting, and criticising modernity. Some thinkers argue that modernity is over. Others wish to hasten its demise through their radical critiques of modernist assumptions. As a finale we examine the claims of postmodernists.

Required Readings: Heywood, Chap. 12; Thompson; Foucault in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: R. Appignanesi, *Postmodernism for Beginners*.

David Lyon, *Postmodernity*, pp. 4-18.

Alec McHoul & Wendy Grace, *A Foucault Primer*, pp. 57-90.

Barry Smart, *Foucault*, pp. 121-141.

Tutorial Topics and Questions

(N.B. Tutorial topics and questions cover the lecture material and readings of the preceding week)

Week beginning 3 March: **Modernity**

What is the Enlightenment? What is modernity? How do pre-modern identities, values and socio-political organisations differ from modern ones?

Week beginning 10 March: **Nationalism**

Which comes first, the nation or the state? What is the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism? Are nation-states redundant in a world of multinational corporations, globalization and supra-national entities like the EU and the UN?

Week beginning 17 March: **Colonization**

What were the British motives for annexing the islands lying 1200 miles SE of New South Wales? Were those goals mutually compatible? What was 'new' about this 'experiment' in colonization? Was it a success?

Weeks beginning 24 & 31 March: **Liberalism**

What sort of individual does J.S. Mill champion in *On Liberty*? What is the tyranny of the majority? Does individualism, and the absence of social ties it presumes, lead to a mass society that paradoxically invites conformity? Is neo-liberalism the same as classical liberalism?

Week beginning 7 April: **Socialism**

Are workers exploited under capitalism? Is socialism still relevant today? How would you describe the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class in New Zealand?

Week beginning 28 April: **Anarchism**

Are anarchist concerns about the authority claimed by the modern state legitimate? What, exactly, is the anti-globalization movement? In what ways is it anarchist?

Week beginning 5 May: **Conservatism**

What are the conservative responses to modernity? What is the conservative view of human nature? What consequences for political and social organisation flow from these assumptions?

Week beginning 12 May: **Feminism**

What is 'radical' about radical feminism? As an ideology and a social movement, has second-wave feminism been a success? Why? Why not?

Week beginning 19 May: **Sexuality and Modernity**

What is the connection between sexuality and modernity? How do different political ideologies view sexuality?

Week beginning 26 May: **Religious Fundamentalism**

What is fundamental to fundamentalists? What is the difference between a fundamentalist and a conservative?

Essay Topics

Essay One: Write on one of the following:

- 1) In the early nineteenth-century some non-European societies were defined by European theorists as exercising sovereignty and owning property, while others were not. On what grounds was this distinction made? Was it a valid distinction to make?
- 2) Explain the similarities and differences between ethnic and national identity.
- 3) Give an account of Hobbes' state of nature. What, if anything, is 'liberal' about his argument?
- 4) 'Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion'. Critically discuss this qualification which J. S. Mill imposed on his concept of liberty.

Your 1500 word essay, bearing your name and that of your tutor on the Programme Cover Sheet, must be placed in the box located outside MY 518 no later than 5 pm on Monday 31 March.

(An electronic version of your essay must, in addition, be attached to the 'Essays' folder on the course's Blackboard website).

Essay Two: Write on one of the following:

- 1) Imagine that you are Karl Marx and that by means of a time machine you have been transported into the present day. Write a new introduction to your *Communist Manifesto* in which you explain which parts of your argument you would revise, and which parts you still consider to be valid in 2008.
- 2) 'Anarchists, like Kropotkin, are the only true defenders of individual liberty.' Critically discuss.
- 3) On what grounds do conservatives, like Burke, attack political ideologies?
- 4) Only women too young to have experienced discrimination in their lives and men not honest enough to admit that their mothers, sisters and wives do not enjoy the same freedoms that they do, reject the label "feminist" .' Critically discuss.

Your 1500 word essay, bearing your name and that of your tutor on the Programme Cover Sheet, must be placed in the box located outside MY 518 no later than 5 pm on Monday 12 May.

(An electronic version of your essay must, in addition, be attached to the 'Essays' folder on the course's Blackboard website).