

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2008 TRIMESTER 1

**POLS 353 – 2008
CRN 1316**

**GROWING PAINS:
NEW ZEALAND POLITICS 1975-2004**

LECTURER:	Dr. Jon Johansson
ROOM:	507 Murphy Building
PHONE:	463 6424
EMAIL:	jon.johansson@vuw.ac.nz
LECTURE TIMES:	Tuesday, 3.10pm-5.00 pm
VENUE:	HM LT 105
TUTORIALS:	None
OFFICE HOURS:	Thursday, 11.00am-12.00 pm, but students are free to drop by whenever they wish.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

When necessary, additional information about POLS 353 will be posted on the School of Political Science and International Relations undergraduate noticeboard, which is located by reception on the 5th floor of the Murphy Building.

COURSE CONTENT AND OBJECTIVES:

This course will focus on fundamental questions associated with New Zealand politics, both before and after the introduction of MMP. The initial focus will be on understanding the politics that led to the advent of the new electoral system. A major aspect of this will be to look at the political and policy stasis under Sir Robert Muldoon, the Fourth Labour Government's 'revolution,' led by David Lange and Sir Roger Douglas, before analyzing the Bolger Government, Ruthanasia, and the lead up to electoral reform. The attention will then focus on domestic politics post-MMP. This will also incorporate an in-depth look at the 2002 and 2005 elections and the evolving political landscape since our last election. A particular focus of the course will be to look at New Zealand's political culture and to examine what changes have occurred since the electoral system change. Prime Ministerial leadership will also be canvassed during the course and unresolved issues and policy dilemmas in New Zealand politics will be a highlight of the latter part of this course.

EXPECTED WORKLOAD

Including class contact hours, the standard University guideline for an appropriate amount of work to maintain satisfactory progress in this course is 18 hours per week.

COURSE READING

Essential Text(s):

Jon Johansson. 2005. *Two Titans: Muldoon, Lange & Leadership*. Wellington: Dunmore (available from Vicbooks located in the Student Union Building on Kelburn Campus, price: \$34.99).

Nicky Hagar. 2006. *The Hollow Men: A Study in the Politics of Deception*. Nelson: Craig Potton. (available from Vicbooks located in the Student Union Building on Kelburn Campus, price: approx \$40.00). This book is optional but is a useful source for when we discuss our contemporary politics.

Students can order textbooks online at www.vickbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz.

Recommended Reading:

Suggested readings include:

J.C. Beaglehole. 1936. *New Zealand: A Short History*. London: Allen & Unwin.

J.C. Beaglehole. 'The New Zealand Scholar,' in Peter Munz. (Ed.). 1969. *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*. Wellington: Reed.

James David Barber. 1992. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, (4th ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Michael Bassett. 1998. *The State in New Zealand 1840-1984: socialism without doctrines?* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Michael Bassett. 1999. 'The Essentials Of Successful Leadership In Twentieth- Century New Zealand Politics,' *Political Science*, vol.50., no. 2., 108-119.

Jim Bolger. 1998. *Bolger: A View From The Top - My seven years as Prime Minister*. Auckland: Penguin.

Jonathan Boston, John Martin, June Pallot & Pat Walsh. (eds.). 1996. *Public Management: The New Zealand Model*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Jonathan Boston and Martin Holland. (Eds.). 1990. *The Fourth Labour Government: Politics And Policy in New Zealand*. (2nd ed.). Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel S. Roberts. (eds.). 1996. *New Zealand Under MMP: A New Politics?* Auckland: AUP.

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Church, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel S. Roberts. (eds.). 2000. *Left Turn*. Wellington: VUP

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Church, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel S. Roberts. (eds.). 2003. *New Zealand Votes: The 2002 General Election*. Wellington: VUP.

Francis Castles, Rolf Gerritsen and Jack Vowles. (eds.). 1996. *The Great Experiment: Labour Parties And Public Policy Transformation In Australia And New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Helena Catt, with Paul Harris, & Nigel S. Roberts. 1992. *Voter's Choice: Electoral Change in New Zealand?* Palmerston North: Dunmore.

Robert Chapman. 1999. *New Zealand Politics and Social Patterns: Selected Works by Robert Chapman*, edited and introduced by Elizabeth McLeay. Wellington: VUW Press.

Margaret Clark. (ed.). 1992. *The Labour Party after 75 Years*, Occasional Publication, No.4, Department of Politics. Victoria University of Wellington.

Margaret Clark. 1999. (ed.), *The Roberts Report: writings about and by John Roberts*. Wellington: VUP.

Margaret Clark. 2005. (ed.). *For The Record: Lange and the Fourth Labour Government*. Wellington: Dunmore.

Simon Collins. 1987. *Rogernomics: Is There A Better Way?* Wellington: Pitman.

Paul Dalziel and Ralph Lattimore. 1991. *A Briefing on the New Zealand Macroeconomy 1960-90*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Roger Douglas, with Louise Callan. 1993. *Unfinished Business*. Auckland: Random House.

Brian Edwards. 2001. *Helen: Portrait of a Prime Minister*. Auckland: Exisle.

Keith Eunson. 2001. *Mirrors On The Hill: Reflections on New Zealand's Political Leaders*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.

Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson. 1984. *The Gamble*. Auckland: ANZ Book Company.

Barry Gustafson. 1986. *The First 50 Years: A History of the New Zealand National Party*. Auckland: Reed Methuen.

Barry Gustafson. 2000. *His Way: a Biography of Robert Muldoon*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

John Henderson. 1980. "Muldoon and Rowling: A Preliminary Analysis of Contrasting Personalities." *Political Science* 32:26-46.

John Henderson. 1992. "Labour's Modern Prime Ministers and the Party: A Study of Contrasting Political Styles." Pp. 98-117 *The Labour Party after 75 Years*, edited by Margaret Clark. Occasional Publication, No.4, Department of Politics, Victoria University of Wellington.

John Henderson. 1997. "The Prime Minister." Pp. 72-80 in *New Zealand Politics in Transition*, edited by Raymond Miller. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Colin James. 1986. *The Quiet Revolution: Turbulence and Transition in Contemporary New Zealand*. Wellington: Port Nicholson Press.

Colin James. 1992. *New Territory: The Transformation of New Zealand 1984-92*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Colin James. 1998. "Star Power." *Management-Auckland* 45(7):26-32.

Colin James, and Alan McRobie. 1990. *Changes? The 1990 Election*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin.

Colin James, and Alan McRobie. 1993. *Turning Point: 1993 Election and Beyond*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Bruce Jesson. 1987. *Behind The Mirror Glass*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

- Bruce Jesson. 1990. *Fragments of Labour*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Jon Johansson. 2004. (Editor). *Special Edition of Political Science Journal on Political Leadership*. Vol. 56. No 2. Wellington: VU.
- Jon Johansson. 'Leadership and the Campaign,' in Jonathan Boston, Stephen Church, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel Roberts. (Eds.). 2003. *New Zealand Votes: The 2002 Election*. Wellington: VUP.
- Jon Johansson. 'Muldoon Explanations: The Crucible of Character,' in Margaret Clark. (Ed.). 2004. *Muldoon: Post-His Way*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Jon Johansson. 'The Falstaffian Wit of David R. Lange.' 2005, in Margaret Clark. (Ed.). 2005. *For The Record: Lange and The Fourth Labour Government*. Wellington: Dunmore Press.
- Jon Johansson. 'Orewa & The Rhetoric of Illusion,' in *Special Edition of Political Science Journal on Political Leadership*. 2005. Vol. 56. No 2. Wellington: VU.
- Bob Jones. 1997. *Memories of Muldoon*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.
- Michael Laws. 1998. *The Demon Profession*. Auckland: Harper Collins.
- Stephen Levine. (ed.). 1978. *Politics in New Zealand: A Reader*. Auckland: George Allen & Unwin.
- Stephen Levine. 1979. *The New Zealand Political System: Politics in a Small Society*. Auckland: Allen & Unwin.
- Leslie Lipson. 1948. *The Politics of Equality: New Zealand's Adventures in Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Elizabeth McLeay. 1995. *The Cabinet and Political Power in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Neale McMillan. 1993. *Top Of The Greasy Pole: New Zealand Prime Ministers of Recent Times*. Dunedin: McIndoe.
- Harvey McQueen. 1991. *The Ninth Floor: Inside the Prime Minister's Office - A Political Experience*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Raymond Miller. (ed.). 1997. *New Zealand Politics in Transition*. (4th ed.). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Geoffrey Palmer. 1987. *Unbridled Power: An Interpretation of New Zealand's Constitution & Government*. (2nd ed.). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Ruth Richardson. 1995. *Making a Difference*. Christchurch: Shoal Bay Press.

Simon Sheppard. 1998. "Ranking New Zealand's Prime Ministers." *Political Science* 50:72-89.

Simon Sheppard. 1999. *Broken Circle: The Decline And Fall Of The Fourth Labour Government*. Wellington: PSL Press.

Keith Sinclair. 1991. *A History of New Zealand*. (4thed.). Auckland: Penguin Books.

Andrè Siegfried. 1982. *Democracy in New Zealand*. Introduced by David Hamer. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Jack Vowles, and Peter Aimer. 1993. *Voter's Vengeance: The 1990 Election in New Zealand and the Fate of the Fourth Labour Government*. Auckland: AUP.

Jack Vowles, and Peter Aimer. (eds.). 1994. *Double Decision: The 1993 Election and Referendum in New Zealand*. Occasional Publication No.6. Department of Politics, Victoria University. Wellington: VUW.

Jack Vowles, Peter Aimer, Susan Banducci & Jeffrey Karp. (eds.). 1998. *Voter's Victory: New Zealand's First Election Under Proportional Representation*. Auckland: AUP.

Patrick Weller. 1985. *First Among Equals: Prime Ministers in Westminster Systems*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

Peter Hennessy. 2000. *The Prime Minister: The Office And Its Holders Since 1945*. London: Allen Lane.

ASSESSMENT: One research proposal (10%)
One research paper (50%);
One 3-hour examination (40%)

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: To be submitted on **1 April 2008**.

RESEARCH PROJECT: Between 3,500-5,000 words; should be submitted no later than 5.00pm on: **13 May 2008**.

ASSESSMENT (Cont'd)

Assessment aims – This course aims to tests the ability of students to think critically about issues associated with any aspect of New Zealand politics of the student's choice and to construct a structured, coherent and logical, well-written research paper. The end-of-year examination will assess students' overall grasp of the course content. The research paper challenges the capacity of students to design and complete independent research on a topic

of their choosing within the field of New Zealand politics and to present a significant piece of written work.

Research Proposal – The research proposal will allow students the opportunity of introducing their preferred research topic, along with the methods of analysis, purpose of study, etc. A template of a model research proposal will be provided to guide students.

Research Paper – Given the reasonably specific nature of the course material, the research paper affords students the opportunity to carry out some original research of their own on topics associated with New Zealand politics. Naturally, the topic must involve some aspect of NZ politics, and is subject to approval by the course coordinator. Students are welcome to include elements of comparison with the experience of other countries, as well as within New Zealand. Those having difficulty selecting a topic should make an appointment to discuss the research project with the lecturer as soon as possible.

A written research proposal outlining the research topic should be submitted to the lecturer by **1 April 2008**. The proposal (no more than two pages) should state the topic to be studied, and seek to frame it in the form of a research question(s) or hypotheses. The proposal should also indicate the significance of the research topic, the intended methodology, and include a preliminary bibliography.

The research paper itself should be between 3,500-5,000 words in length. Papers are to be submitted no later than 5.00pm on **13 May 2008**. Assessment of research papers reflects the extent to which they are carefully presented, well written, well-researched, well-argued, original, creative, and insightful.

The final examination will be scheduled in the examination period 6–28 June 2008. The 3-hour examination will be essay-based; that is, students will have to write three essays, drawn from a wide choice of essays questions that are related to the course content – i.e., the various theoretical frameworks and specific cases discussed during the lecture programme.

STATEMENT ON PENALTIES:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

COURSE OUTLINE & READING LIST

SECTION ONE – SETTING THE SCENE

1. INTRODUCTION (25 February)

This session will introduce students to New Zealand Politics Under MMP. The course outline will be discussed, along with the requirements for the research paper.

No required readings.

2. WHERE NEW ZEALAND HAS COME FROM: FORTUNA & THE FLOOD (4, 11, 18 March & 1 April)

Recommended Readings:

Jonathon Boston and Martin Holland. (Eds.). 1990. *The Fourth Labour Government: Politics And Policy in New Zealand*. (2nd ed.). Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 198-213, pp. 263-271.

Robert Chapman. 1999. *New Zealand Politics and Social Patterns: Selected Works by Robert Chapman* – edited and introduced by Elizabeth McLeay. Wellington: VUW Press, pp. 337-365.

Margaret Clark. (ed). 1999. *The Roberts Report*. Wellington: VUW Press, pp. 71-76.

Simon Collins. 1987. *Rogernomics: Is There A Better Way?* Wellington: Pitman, pp. 2-36.

Colin James. 1986. *The Quiet Revolution: Turbulence and Transition in Contemporary New Zealand*. Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, pp. 79-110, pp. 133-162.

Colin James. 1992. *New Territory: The Transformation of New Zealand 1984-92*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, pp. 141-171.

Colin James, and Alan McRobie. 1993. *Turning Point: 1993 Election and Beyond*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, pp. 32-63.

Bruce Jesson. 1987. *Behind The Mirror Glass: The growth of wealth and power in New Zealand in the eighties*. Auckland: Penguin Books, pp. 116-134.

Jon Johansson. 'Muldoon Explanations: The Crucible of Character,' in Margaret Clark. (Ed.). 2004. *Muldoon: Post-His Way*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Margaret Wilson. 1989. *Labour in Government: 1984-87*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin, pp. 55-67.

This block of lectures will look at New Zealand politics from 1975, when Rob Muldoon and National won power, up until the first MMP election in 1996. The politics and major policies of the Muldoon era will be traversed, leading up to the dramatic snap election of 1984 and the resulting election of David Lange and the Fourth Labour Government. We will then examine the transformation of the New Zealand economy and politics under the direction of Roger Douglas. The flood of neo-liberal reforms between 1984 and 1992 will be the main focus of this section, incorporating the massive National election victory in 1990 and the further reforms undertaken by Ruth Richardson. Finally, the 1993 referendum and resulting first MMP election in 1996 and Labour's victory in 1999 will complete this phase of the course.

3. WHERE NEW ZEALAND IS NOW: THE 2002 & 2005 ELECTIONS – A VISION OF ILLUSION? (8 April)

Recommended Readings:

Colin James (in NZ Herald)
Jon Johansson (in NZ Herald)

Both of these writings will be provided to students.

Beginning briefly with an overview of National's third term in office and Helen Clark's victory in 1999, this lecture will focus on the Labour-led government's first term before examining in depth the 2002 and 2005 election campaigns and the overall results, including the splintering of the right in 2002, The Orewa speech delivered in 2004 and National's strong comeback in 2005 as well as the prospects for Clark's third term and the landscape leading towards the 2008 election.

MID-TERM BREAK (14 April to 27 April)

4. PRIME MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP (29 April)

Recommended Readings:

John Henderson. 'The Prime Minister,' in Raymond Miller. (ed.). 1997. *New Zealand Politics in Transition*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 72-80.

Jon Johansson. 2004. (Editor). *Special Edition of Political Science Journal on Political Leadership*. Vol. 56. No 2. Wellington: VU.

Elizabeth McLeay. 1995. *The Cabinet & Political Power*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 7-33.

Neale McMillan. 1993. *Top Of The Greasy Pole: New Zealand Prime Ministers of Recent Times*. Dunedin: McIndoe, pp. 31-52.

Stanley Renshon. 1996. *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 184-194.

Patrick Weller. 1985. *First Among Equals: Prime Ministers in Westminster Systems*. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

This lecture will focus on the quality of leadership that spanned the period under study. Theories of leadership will be canvassed and then each New Zealand Prime Minister will be discussed in terms of various leadership theories. Importantly, the contribution of individual Prime Ministers (and their Cabinets) will be contrasted against the wider forces of global changes that impacted on New Zealand politics during the period under study.

5. POLITICAL CULTURE: STRANDS OLD & NEW (6 May)

Recommended Readings:

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel S. Roberts. (eds.). 1996. *New Zealand Under MMP: A New Politics?* Auckland: AUP, pp.1-14.

Robert Chapman. 1999. *New Zealand Politics and Social Patterns: Selected Works by Robert Chapman* – edited and introduced by Elizabeth McLeay. Wellington: VUW Press, pp. 320-336.

Margaret Clark. (ed). 1999. *The Roberts Report*. Wellington: VUW Press, pp. 65-70.

Margaret Clark. 1997. *Future New Zealand: Our Country: Our Choices*. Edited by Malcolm Menzies, Heather Newell, and Roger Peren. Wellington: New Zealand Future Trust.

Leslie Lipson. 1948. *The Politics of Equality: New Zealand's Adventures in Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 481-503.

Paul Perry and Alan Webster. 1999. *New Zealand Politics At The Turn Of The Millennium: Attitudes and Values About Politics and Government*. Auckland: Alpha, pp. 15-48.

Andre Siegfried. 1982. *Democracy In New Zealand*. Introduction and Notes by David Hamer. Wellington: VUW Press, pp. 45-62, pp. 216-228, pp. 270-279.

This lecture will examine the dominant strands of New Zealand's political culture. Classical writers on political culture – such as Siegfried, Beaglehole & Leslie Lipson – will be contrasted against contemporary views on the nation's political culture. The focus of this lecture is to discuss those dominant and emerging strands of the political culture that mediate and influence the direction of politics of New Zealand.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI-PARTY POLITICS

(13 May)

Recommended Reading:

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay & Nigel S. Roberts. (eds.). 1996. *New Zealand Under MMP: A New Politics?* Auckland: AUP, pp.15-26, 43-66, 175-193.

In this session the evolution of the party system in New Zealand will be discussed, with a particular focus on the development of the multi-party system that has emerged since the MMP referendum. We will also look at possible future changes in the party-system, with a particular focus on the problems faced by parties of the centre-right after the fragmentation that occurred in 2002.

7. WHERE NEW ZEALAND IS HEADED: UNRESOLVED DILEMMAS & CHALLENGES – PARTISANSHIP vs. BIPARTISANSHIP *(20 May)*

This penultimate lecture will focus on several perennial policy areas – Treaty and race policy, defence & foreign policies, the environment, and republicanism – where political advantage to parties of the left or right (and points in between) have undermined a bi-partisan approach to resolving these dilemmas. The point of this lecture is to allow a discussion on whether a small nation like New Zealand can afford the luxury of such partisanship or whether this is a natural and necessary corollary of our party politics.

8. PROGRESS & PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE *(27 May)*

This final lecture will focus entirely on the future. What are the challenges facing New Zealand in the short and medium term future? Pervasive global trends will be discussed and the ability of New Zealand to move into the future will provide a major focus of this session.

I will also provide a recap on the major themes of this course and also offer some general comments about the exam and the areas that exam questions will broadly cover.

STUDY PERIOD COMMENCES - 2 JUNE 2008

MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The mandatory course requirements for POLS 353 are (i) completing and submitting the research proposal and research project for the course and, (ii) mandatory attendance and gaining at least 40% in the final registry examination.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY & 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. Plagiarism is **prohibited** at Victoria.

The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were ones 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 not worth the risk.

Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct (www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/studentconduct) and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

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

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

www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html.

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