



School of History, Philosophy

Political Science and International Relations

POLS 112

Introduction to Political Ideas

2009 Trimester 2

(13 July – 15 November)

Content: 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, imperialism, and liberalism, systems of ideas reacting critically to modernity—socialism, anarchism, conservatism, the New Right, religious fundamentalism and postmodernism as well as those developed by social movements organised around sexuality and gender.

Coordinator: Dr Pat Moloney (MY 501, telephone 463 5126). Office hours: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 12-1 pm. (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: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 1.10-2.00 pm, plus a weekly tutorial. Lectures are held in MC LT103. **Students must sign up for tutorials themselves** in the first week of the course by visiting the website: <https://signups.victoria.ac.nz/login.aspx>

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.

Learning Objectives:

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.

Course Delivery:**(1) 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.

(2) Tutorials

Tutorials are an essential component of the learning experience 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.** Submission of at least 5 is mandatory. Credit will only be earned after 5 have been submitted, i.e. the sixth submission earns 1 %, etc. **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 4 of the course (the week beginning 3 August) 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 7 August 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. 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 17 August & Monday 28 September.**

Penalties:

Extensions can be given **only** by Dr Moloney. **Late essays will be penalised** by having 5% deducted 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.

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 date, time and location of the final examination will be available closer to the examination period which is from 27 October to 14 November.

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 2009* 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 means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

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

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

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 compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not 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* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcademic/Publications.aspx>

Lecture Programme

Week 1. What is Modernity? (13, 15, 17 July)

The first week is an brief introduction to the grand themes of the course. 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.

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. Imperialism (20, 22, 24 July)

The majority of human beings ever born have lived their lives within a political structure called an empire. Modernity is the product of imperial expansion, imperial rivalry, imperial decline, revolts against and accommodations with imperial structures and the rise of a new imperialism. We examine different conceptions of and justifications for imperialism.

Required Readings: Normanby; Patterson, Walker in *POLS 112 Coursebook*
 Additional: James Belich, *Making Peoples*, pp. 180-203.
 Michael Doyle, *Empires*, pp. 19-33.
 Dominic Lieven, *Empire*, pp. 89-127.
 Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires*, pp. 160-176.

Week 3. Nationalism (27, 29, 31 July)

In modernity, individuals, now collected into nations, come to 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.

<p>Library Research Skills Report to be handed in at tutorials next week</p>

Week 4. Liberalism (3, 5, 7 August)

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 different liberal views on human nature, the state and the economy compared.

Required Readings: Heywood, ch. 2; J. S. Mill & Hobbes 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.
 A. Simhony and D. Weinstein, *The New Liberalism*, pp. 115-36.

Week 5. Socialism (10, 12, 14 August)

The underside of modern 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.

1st Essay Due: Monday 17 August
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Week 6. Anarchism (17, 19, 21 August)

Another important strand of political thought and practice in revolt against 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, and examine the various kinds of anarchism.

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.

Mid-semester Break 24 August – 6 September

Week 7. Conservatism (7, 9, 11 September)

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 8. The New Right (14, 16, 18 September)

In the last quarter of the twentieth century a novel combination of neo-liberal economic thought and neo-conservative social criticism has been labeled the New Right. The theory and practice of this apparently contradictory blend of ideas in the United States, Britain and New Zealand is discussed this week.

Required Readings: Heywood, pp. 88 -97; Morrow; Friedman in *POLS 112 Coursebook*

Additional: Friedrich Hayek, *Social Justice, Socialism and Democracy*.
 Jesson, Bruce, et al., *Revival of the Right*, pp. 5-29.
 Ruth Levitas, ed., *The Ideology of the New Right*, pp. 25-54.
 Adam Wolfson in Irwin Stelzer ed., *Neoconservatism*, pp.215-31.

Week 9. Feminism (21, 23, 25 September)

What social and political significance is attached to be gendering 'male' and 'female' amongst 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.

<p>2nd Essay Due: Monday 28 September</p>
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Week 10. Sexuality and Modernity (28, 30 September, 1 October)

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 unraveled.

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 (5, 7, 9 October)

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 (12, 14, 16 October)

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 20 July: **Modernity**

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

Week beginning 27 July: **Imperialism**

What were the British motives for annexing the islands lying 1200 miles SE of New South Wales? What was 'new', if anything, about this 'experiment' in imperial expansion? Was it a success?

Week beginning 3 August: **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 10 August: **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?

Week beginning 17 August: **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 7 September: **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 14 September: **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 21 September: **The New Right**

What is 'new' about the New Right? Are its two strands—neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism—mutually compatible? Has New Zealand a New Right?

Week beginning 28 September: **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 5 October: **Sexuality and Modernity**

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

Week beginning 12 October: **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. Explain the ideas used to justify the expansion and maintenance of the British Empire. Why was British imperialism embraced by some subject peoples and rejected by others?
2. 'The ideology of nationalism was necessary for unifying and homogenising the populations that fell within the borders of modern, bureaucratic states.' Explain this statement and why you agree or disagree with it.
3. Explain the freedoms John Stuart Mill defended in *On Liberty*. What freedoms did he not defend and why?
4. Imagine that you are Karl Marx and that by means of a time machine you have been transported into the present day. Having discovered wikipedia, you have decided to rewrite the entry for 'historical materialism' to make your ideas more accessible and better understood. Write that entry.

Your 1500 word essay, bearing your name and that of your tutor, must be placed in the box located outside MY 518 no later than 5 pm on Monday 17 August.

(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. Kropotkin combined the study of natural science with that of political theory. Give a critical account of this combination which resulted in his theory of mutual aid.
2. Burke famously said that the individual was foolish. Critically discuss Burke's attack on Enlightenment views that upheld the power of individual reason.
3. Critically explain Hayek's neo-liberalism.
4. Explain the points of agreement and disagreement between radical and liberal feminists.

Your 1500 word essay, bearing your name and that of your tutor, must be placed in the box located outside MY 518 no later than 5 pm on Monday 28 September.

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