



School of History, Philosophy

Political Science and International Relations

POLS 112

Introduction to Political Ideas

2010 Trimester 2

(12 July – 13 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: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday 10-11.00 am. (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 11.00-11.50 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 search strategies report, worth **2%**
- One ten-minute tutorial presentation, worth **3%**
- Ten written summaries of the weekly readings, 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 summaries for at least 5 sets of weekly readings.
- attaining at least 40% in the final examination.

If you decide to withdraw from the course please find information about this at: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

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

(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.

Weekly Reading Summaries:

Each student will be expected to submit a total of 10 one-page summaries of 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. **Summaries not submitted in the week they are due will not be counted.**

Library Search Strategies Report:

Each student must do the library's *Search Strategies* self-paced tutorial 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 Search Strategy Report. This is a one page summary of the electronic search tools and search paths used to obtain three references (one internet based; one from the library's online resources; and one from the library catalogue) relevant to their first essay. The *Search Strategies* 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 what phrases were searched for, how search results were narrowed or filtered, and what database was selected. Each of the three brief search histories must end in the full citation of the final reference. Tutors will return the reports 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 16 August & Monday 27 September**. All essays will be returned to students in their tutorials.

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 22 October to 13 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 2010* available from Student Notes for \$17.90.

Lecture and Tutorial Preparation:

The workload for this course a total of 200 hours. This is roughly 13 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.

Class Representative

A class representative will be elected in the first week of the trimester. The name and contact details of the class representative will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the

class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

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_victoria/avcacademic/Publications.aspx

Lecture Programme

Week 1. What is Modernity? (13, 14, 16 July)

The first week is a 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, 21, 23 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. We examine different conceptions of and justifications for imperialism.

Required Readings: Normanby, Patterson and Howe 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, 28, 30 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 Search Strategy Report to be handed in at tutorials next week</p>

Week 4. Liberalism (3, 4, 6 August)

Liberalism is *the* ideology of modernity, championing the freedom of the individual against 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; Hobbes and 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.
 A. Simhony and D. Weinstein, *The New Liberalism*, pp. 115-36.

Week 5. Socialism (10, 11, 13 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 16 August
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Week 6. Anarchism (17, 18, 20 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; 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-trimester Break 23 August – 5 September
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Week 7. Conservatism (7, 8, 10 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. A comparison between British and American conservatism will be drawn.

Required Readings: Heywood, pp. 65-88; Burke and Micklethwait 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, 15, 17 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: David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, pp. 5-38.
 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, 22, 24 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 27 September</p>
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Week 10. Sexuality and Modernity (28, 29 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, 6, 8 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, 13, 15 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 Discussion Questions

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

Week beginning 19 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 26 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 2 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 9 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 16 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 6 September: **Anarchism**

Are anarchist concerns about the authority claimed by the modern state legitimate? How does an anarchist differ from a liberal? From a socialist?

Week beginning 13 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 20 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 27 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 4 October: **Sexuality and Modernity**

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

Week beginning 11 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. Give a critical account of the British imperial ideology underlying Lord Normanby's instructions to Hobson.
2. Explain the circumstances and processes under which an ethnic identity becomes transformed into a national identity.
3. 'Thomas Hobbes is a proto-liberal'. Critically discuss.
4. Explain why revolutionary socialists call for the abolition of private property.

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 16 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. 'Collectivist anarchism' is an oxymoron. Critically discuss.
2. Compare and contrast British conservatism with American conservatism.
3. Critically explain the connections Friedman draws between the free market and political freedom.
4. 'In western democracies in the 21st Century discrimination against women has largely disappeared'. Critically discuss.

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