

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS POLS 401: Some Aspects of Modern Social and Political Thought: Power, Freedom and Justice

TRIMESTERS 1 and 2 2012 5 March to 17 November 2012

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: 5 March to 8 June 2012 and 16 July to 19 October

Mid-trimester breaks: 6–22 April 2012, 5-15 July, and 27 August-4 September

Study week: 22-26 October 2012

Examination/Assessment Period: 26 October to 17 November 2012

Note: You must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the

scheduled examination period.

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawlsrefunds.aspx

Names and contact details

LECTURER: Dr Xavier Márquez

ROOM: Murphy 541

OFFICE HOURS: Wednesdays 9am-11am or by appointment. You can always knock on my

door as well if you want to chat.

PHONE: 463-5889

EMAIL: xavier.marquez@vuw.ac.nz
COURSE WEBSITE: On Blackboard

You can also contact me via twitter <a>@marquezxavier

I often write on topics related to this course at http://abandonedfootnotes.blogspot.com

Class times and locations

Seminar time[s]: Fridays 10:00 AM-11:50 AM, Murphy 301

Course delivery

This course is taught by means of a weekly seminar and an online component (on the course website on Blackboard).

The weekly seminar meetings provide opportunities to discuss the assigned readings in a critical and constructive manner. The lecturer will also use the seminar meetings to give some background information and to explain difficult points. Occasionally, the seminar meetings will be used for workshops on research skills.

The online component of the course consists of weekly participation in the discussion board. Participation in the discussion board ensures that the student will be generally engaged with the material covered in class, able to participate in class discussions, and prepared for the research paper due at the end of Trimester 2.

This course is externally assessed. There is a final three hour exam.

Communication of additional information

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in seminar, posted on Blackboard, and/or e-mailed to the entire class.

Course Prescription

This course explores contemporary attempts to deal with the interrelated questions of power, freedom, and justice in modern society. Topics include the nature of power in general and the forms power takes in modern states; the nature of freedom and its forms, as well as their relation to the forms of power; and the possibility of a just social order under modern conditions. We will approach these themes through careful readings of theoretical and philosophical works by Weber, Berlin, Arendt, Foucault, Habermas, Rawls, and others.

Course content

The course is divided into three main sections, roughly concerned with the topics of Power, Freedom, and Justice. The exact mixture of readings can change during the year in response to student demand.

Learning objectives

Students passing the course should be able to:

- Articulate and critically evaluate various theories of power, freedom, and justice in contemporary political thought
- Trace the connections between these theories
- Recognize the basic controversies within the contemporary literature on these topics
- Apply some of these theories to the understanding of concrete cases and situations in contemporary politics

Graduate attributes

For more details regarding attributes gained by students who successfully complete a major in Political Science and/or International Relations please consult our website http://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/about/psir-overview.aspx

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote approximately 300 hours to reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes a weekly 2 hour seminar.

Readings

Essential texts:

The exact mixture of readings will be determined in consultation with the students at the beginning of the trimester. The following books will nevertheless be available for purchase in Vicbooks, since it is likely that we will read two or more of them:

- Foucault, Michel. 1995 [1975]. Discipline and Punish. Translated by A. Sheridan. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Books.
- Lukes, Steven. 2005. Power: A Radical View: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rawls, John. 1971 (Revised edition 1990). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Walzer, Michael. 1983. *Spheres of Justice: a Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nozick, Robert. 1974. Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books.

All of these books will also be available on closed (3 day) reserve in the library

The following readings will be available through e-reserves and as a **Book of Readings** (student notes). The books from which they are drawn will also be available on closed reserve.

- Weber, Max. 1994. "The Profession and Vocation of Politics." In *Political Writings*.
 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Weber, Max. 1978. Economy and Society. Translated by G. Roth and K. Wittich. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press. Sections of chapter 1 available on ereserve and in book of readings.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1970. *On Violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World. Chapter 2 available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Foucault, Michel. 2000 [1982]. "The Subject and Power." In *Power*, edited by J. D. Faubion. New York: The New Press. Available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Foucault, Michel. 2000 [1979]. "'Omnes et Singulatim'": Toward a Critique of Political Reason." In *Power*, edited by J. D. Faubion. New York: The New Press. Available online free via Blackboard, on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1996. Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 4 available on ereserve and in book of readings.
- Berlin, Isaiah. 1969 [1958]. "Two Concepts of Liberty." In *Liberty*, edited by Henry Hardy. London: Oxford U.P. Available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Arendt, Hannah. 2006. *On Revolution*. New York: Penguin Books. Chapter 6 available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Swift, Adam. 2006. *Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 2 available on e-reserve and in book of readings.
- Pettit, Philip. 1996. "Freedom as Antipower." *Ethics* 106(3):576-604. Available on ereserve, through a link from blackboard, and in book of readings.

All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 13 February to 16 March 2012, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from vicbooks on Level 4 of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during teaching time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

Recommended Reading:

The literature on power, freedom, and justice has exploded in recent years. Though this course has been usually structured as a "classics of contemporary political thought" class, it may be more interesting to read more recent material than that indicated in the "readings" section. The following are some especially interesting books and articles that we may wish to substitute for some of those mentioned above:

- Anderson, Elizabeth S. "What Is the Point of Equality?" *Ethics* 109, no. 2 (1999): 287-337.
- Cohen, G. A. Rescuing Justice and Equality. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Scott, James C. *The Art of Not being Governed: An Anarchist History of Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Schmidtz, David. *Elements of Justice*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Sen, Amartya. The Idea of Justice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Gaus, Jerry. *The Order of Public Reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Geuss, Raymond. *Philosophy and Real Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The class will be jointly maintaining an online bibliography at CiteULike (http://www.citeulike.org/groupfunc/14612/home) of useful readings. Instructions for registering on CiteULike will be provided at the beginning of the class.

Assessment requirements

Assessment for this course has three major components:

- 1. One research essay (5000-6000 words), due in several stages, with a final draft due at the end of trimester 2 (45%).
- 2. Weekly contributions to the discussion board (25%).
- 3. A 3 hour final exam (30%).

This is an honours seminar. Participation in discussion is expected. Though there is no explicit grade for participation, your final grade may be ultimately adjusted upwards for valuable and constructive participation in seminar discussions. You are also expected to contribute occasionally to the course bibliography.

Research essay

The research essay is an in-depth exploration of some topic related to the course, of about 5000-6000 words. We take research seriously: the essay should not be simply a summary of an existing literature, but a reasonable attempt at answering an interesting question that others have not answered before. A truly excellent essay should be of sufficient quality to be presented at a professional conference or published in a peer-reviewed journal.

Since this is primarily a political theory course, your research essay should make a theoretical argument focused on one or more of the thinkers discussed in the course. A number of "patterns" are possible for such an essay:

- Apologetic essays. For example, your essay may first discuss the views of thinker A on some question (e.g., the nature of social justice), discuss some objections raised by B and C, and then defend A against B and C.
- Critical essays. Or your essay may discuss the views of A on some question and then raise some objections that you think are fatal to A's views, drawn from any number of sources: the writings of B and C, your own arguments, the evidence of some particular country or situation, etc. You will also need to consider possible responses or amendments by A of his/her views and reasons why those responses fail.
- Combination essays. You may discuss the views of A on some question, show that they are insufficient for some purpose, and argue that the views of B complement those of A.
- *Historical essays*. You may want to trace the ancestry of some view of A, or the connections between the views of A and those of B and C.
- Interpretive-reconstructive essays. Or you may offer an interpretation of some especially puzzling work of A, explaining how the views of A in that work cohere with his/her views on other works, and why your interpretation solves some outstanding puzzles about A's thought raised by B and C, or how it saves A from some important objection raised by D.
- Application essays, a.k.a. "What would A say?" essays. You may discuss what A might say about some institution or situation. E.g., would Nozick say that the Treaty of Waitangi represents a just settlement with the Maori? (How would he criticize it? What alternatives might he support as a just settlement?). This pattern is especially useful in bringing to bear A's views to critique some particular institution or situation, but you may also wish to support the institution or situation by appealing to the views of A.
- A variant of this is the *critical application* essay: you may first discuss what A might say about X (e.g., appropriate responses to the disadvantages experienced by Maori in New Zealand society) and then criticize the shortcomings of A's views. This is especially useful when the views of A seem to offer some support or justification for the institution or situation in question.

There are other patterns, but any essay you write will be centred on an exposition of the views of one or more of the thinkers of the course and will develop a theoretical *argument* about those views. You may wish to meet with me to discuss potential topics ahead of time.

A research essay is a complex project that requires consistent work over an extended period of time. It is not possible to write a good research essay at the last minute. Therefore, you will submit the essay in several stages, as follows:

- A research proposal (1-2 pages), describing the question to be explored and the basic thesis to be argued. This will form the nucleus of the introduction to the paper. It is due on Friday 25 May via e-mail to me and posted to the Blackboard discussion board for comments from the class. Your research proposal may change after this date; you are not locked into it, and you are encouraged to discuss it with me before this date.
- 2. Along with a revised research proposal, turned into an introduction, you will next submit a section that contains an exposition of the views of A (or A, B, and C) that you plan to defend, criticize, and/or apply to some situation. (E.g., this section may contain a discussion of the views of Rawls and Walzer on the justification of economic inequality). This second draft (background plus revised research proposal turned into the introduction to the essay) will be due on **Friday 20 July via** e-mail before class.
- 3. The contents of the third draft will depend on the pattern of your paper (see above): it may contain, along with a revised introduction and the section containing the views of A (or B and C), also critiques of these views, or a description of the case to which they apply. This need not be very complete, but a draft of this will be due on **Friday 14 September (after the midtrimester break) via <u>e-mail</u> by 5 pm.**
- 4. A final draft of the entire essay, with your entire argument, revised and reorganized as needed, will be due on via <u>e-mail</u> by 5 pm Friday 19 October.

See the course website (on Blackboard) for a fuller description of the requirements for each stage.

The instructor will provide extensive written feedback at every stage of this process.

You are also encouraged to read each other's drafts at any stage, and provide constructive feedback, though of course all written work should in the final instance be yours alone. In particular, you are encouraged to use the Blackboard discussion board as a place to post responses to other people's proposals or to particular inquiries later in the course.

Though only the final draft will receive a grade, failure to turn in any of the intermediate stages on time (or to present the proposal to the class) will result in the deduction of at least 5% of the final grade. For example, if you fail to submit the research proposal on the due date, you may lose 5% of the 35% that the research essay is worth (2 points of your total grade) the first day, plus 2% of the 35% that the research essay is worth for every additional day up to 8 days; so that you may lose up to 19% of the 35% of the research essay for every missed section of the essay (or about 8 points of your total grade).

Every stage of the research essay should be submitted via e-mail only on the due date. I will

acknowledge receipt of your work within a reasonable time frame (usually less than a few hours); if you have not heard from me within a day or so, **you need to assume I have not received your work**.

Online assessment

Discussion Board contributions

Studies show that the best ways to learn are active, participatory and social, rather than passive and purely individual. Studies also show that the best way to learn course material and participate effectively in class discussions is to remain engaged with such material over the course of the trimester. In order to further these objectives, you will be required to contribute to the course discussion board (on Blackboard) each week before the seminar meeting.

Your contributions will be assessed on a weekly basis, according to the following scheme:

- 0 points. No contribution
- 1 point. Minimal contribution. A minimal contribution does not show evidence of having done the reading, has many grammatical or other problems that make it difficult to read, or fails to make a sufficiently meaningful point.
- 2 points. Regular contributions. A regular contribution shows some evidence of having done the reading (or at least engaging with parts of it), is clear enough to read, and makes a clear point or raises a clear question. A regular contribution need not always be an argument: you may also raise a question to which you do not know the answer, or respond to other people's ideas and arguments
- 3 points. Exceptional contributions. An exceptional contribution shows an exceptional grasp of the reading, significant research, or original and powerful arguments. Exceptional contributions may also occur in the comments to other people's ideas.

You need to accumulate 50 points over the course of the year to obtain your full 25% mark for this assessment component, starting in the second week of the trimester (**23 March**). On average, therefore, you need to be accumulating a bit more than 2 points per week (there are 23 weeks in the course, not counting breaks or study periods) if you want to obtain the full 50 points, though you may miss a week occasionally, and you are credited for all contributions you make (regardless of whether you achieve the full 50 points).

The last day for contributions to the discussion board is **Friday 19 October**.

Final exam

The final exam is cumulative, integrative, and closed book, and will last 3 hours. It will be scheduled during the examination period 26 October – 17 November. The students will answer 3 out of a number of essay questions. Potential questions will be circulated in advance and discussed in class.

Penalties

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 (for example, illness or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- b) Sit the final exam, and obtain a 40% or higher mark in it.

Class Representative

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator, tutors and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Statement on legibility

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply;
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply;
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

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.

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about-victoria/avcacademic.

Schedule of Seminar Meetings

This schedule of readings is necessarily tentative. We may move a little faster or a little slower, as interest and the difficulty of the readings dictate, and depending on student interest, we may substitute other readings for the ones suggested here. Any changes will be discussed in seminar meetings and announced through Blackboard. You are welcome to use the CiteULike bibliography to suggest potential readings.

Date	Subject	Reading	Assignments
Friday, 16 March	Seminar 1: Organizational	No reading. Organizational meeting.	
Friday, 23 March	Seminar 2: The traditional view of power	Weber, Max. Economy and Society (1978). Translated by Guenther Roth and Klaus Wittich. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press. Part I, chapter I, pp. 29-38, 53-56, Weber, Max (1994). "The Profession and Vocation of Politics." In Political Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 309-369.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.

			Contribution
Friday, 30 March	Seminar 3: The "third face" of power	Lukes, Steven. <u>Power: A Radical View</u> . Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Introduction, chapter 1 and chapter 3.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 27 April	Seminar 4: Power versus violence	Arendt, Hannah (1970). On Violence. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World. Chapter 2. Arendt, Hannah (1958). The Human Condition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1, sections 1-3, pp. 1-21, chapter 5, sections 24-34, pp. 175-247.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 4 May	Seminar 5: Disciplinary power	Foucault, Michel (2000 [1982]). "The Subject and Power." In Power, edited by James D. Faubion, 326-48. New York: The New Press. Foucault, Michel (1995 [1975]). Discipline and Punish. Translated by Alan Sheridan. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Books. Part 1.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 11 May	Seminar 6: Disciplinary power	Foucault, Michel (1995 [1975]). <u>Discipline and Punish</u> . Translated by Alan Sheridan. 2nd ed. New York: Vintage Books. Part 3.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 18 May	Workshop 1: Selecting a research topic and doing preliminary research	No reading. We will dedicate this class meeting to brainstorming for research topic ideas and developing a research proposal for your essay	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 25 May	Seminar 7: Biopower	Foucault, Michel (2000 [1979]). ""Omnes Et Singulatim": Toward a Critique of Political Reason." In Power, edited by James D. Faubion, 298-325. New York: The New Press. Lukes, Steven. Power: A Radical View. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Chapter 2.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar. Research proposal due via e-mail and posted on discussion board
Friday, 1 June	Seminar 8: Power and the State	Scott, James C. <u>The Art of Not Being</u> <u>Governed: An Anarchist History of</u> <u>Upland Southeast Asia</u> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 8 June	Seminar 9: Taming the State	Przeworski, Adam. <u>Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government</u> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.

Friday, 20 July	Seminar 10: Positive and Negative liberty	Berlin, Isaiah (1969 [1958]). " <u>Two</u> <u>Concepts of Liberty.</u> " In Liberty, edited by Henry Hardy. London: Oxford U.P.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar. First draft of research essay due via e-mail by 5pm
Friday, 27 July	Seminar 11: Defences of positive liberty	Swift, Adam (2006). Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 2. Arendt, Hannah. 2006. On Revolution. New York: Penguin Books. Pettit, Philip (1996). "Freedom as Antipower." Ethics 106(3): 576-604.On Revolution. New York: Penguin Books. Chapter 6.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 3 August	Workshop 2: Surveying a literature	No reading. We will devote this seminar session to a workshop on how to survey a literature and integrate the survey with a theoretical argument.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 10 August	Seminar 12: The liberal theory of justice	Rawls, John (1971; revised edition 1990). <u>A Theory of Justice</u> . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 17 August	Seminar 13: The liberal theory of justice	Rawls, John (1971; revised edition 1990). <u>A Theory of Justice</u> . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 24 August	Seminar 14: The liberal theory of justice	Rawls, John (1971; revised edition 1990). <u>A Theory of Justice</u> . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 14 September	Workshop 3: Finishing and presenting your work	No reading. We will devote this class period to a workshop focused on your essays. You should come prepared to do a short (10 minute) presentation of your research, as well as to discuss (5 minutes) someone else's essay. We will organize the details on 24 August	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar. Second draft of your research essay due.

Friday, 21 September	Seminar 15: A communitarian response to Rawls	Walzer, Michael (1983). Spheres of Justice: a Defense of Pluralism and Equality. New York: Basic Books.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 28 September	Seminar 16: A communitarian response to Rawls	Walzer, Michael (1983). Spheres of Justice: a Defense of Pluralism and Equality. New York: Basic Books.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 5 October	Seminar 17: A libertarian response to Rawls	Nozick, Robert (1974). <u>Anarchy, State, and Utopia</u> . New York: Basic Books.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 12 October	Seminar 18: A libertarian response to Rawls	Nozick, Robert (1974). Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic Books.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
Friday, 19 October	Individual meetings	Work on your essay.	Contribution to discussion board due before seminar.
	Research essay due	No class. Research essay due.	Final draft of research essay due via e-mail by 5pm