



**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME**  
**POLS 353: GROWING PAINS: NEW ZEALAND POLITICS 1975 to Present**  
**20 POINTS**

**TRIMESTER 2 2013**

**Important dates**

**Trimester dates:** 15 July to 17 November 2013

**Teaching dates:** 15 July to 18 October 2013

**Mid-trimester break:** 26 August to 8 September 2013

**Study period:** 21–25 October 2013

**Examination/Assessment Period:** 25 October to 16 November 2013

Note: students who enrol in courses with examinations must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the scheduled examination period.

**Withdrawal dates:** Refer to

[www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds)

If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination (aegrotats), refer to

[www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat)

**Class times and locations**

Lectures: Tuesday, 3.10-5.00pm

Lecture Venue: New Kirk, LT 301

**Names and contact details**

Course Coordinator: Jon Johansson

Room No: Murphy 507

Phone: 4636424

Email: [jon.johansson@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:jon.johansson@vuw.ac.nz)

Office hours: Thursday, 11.00 am-noon.

## **Communication of additional information**

Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture programme will be announced in lectures.

## **Prescription**

This course will focus on fundamental questions associated with contemporary New Zealand politics, the country's political culture, its leadership, and changes that followed since the advent of MMP. This course also offers students opportunities for empirical research and exposure to the parliamentary setting. 60% internal assessment, 40% examination.

## **Course content**

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 analysing 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 recent 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, if any, 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 POLS 353. A detailed programme of intended lectures is set out at the end of the course outline.

## **Course learning objectives (CLOs)**

Students who pass this course should be able to:

- 1 Understand the patterns of politics that have flowed in NZ since 1975 to present
- 2 Gain an appreciation of the politics that led to the introduction of MMP
- 3 Write a detailed and quality research proposal and paper on an aspect of NZ politics

## **Teaching format**

This course is taught in one two-hour Lecture per week. The course is delivered over 12 weeks of lectures. There are no tutorials for POLS 353. The lectures are an essential aspect of the course and the primary means in which the course content is delivered. Lectures will combine visual material, lectures, and group discussion. Students are expected to attend classes regularly, take part in class discussion, and keep up with the readings.

## **Mandatory course requirements**

In addition to achieving an overall pass mark of 50% for the course, students must:

1. Submit a research proposal (worth 10% of overall grade);
2. Submit a research paper (worth 50% of overall grade), and;
3. Sit and achieve a minimum of 40% in the examination.

## **Workload**

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 200 hours to the course throughout the trimester. This includes weekly attendance at lectures, completion of all set weekly readings and research and writing for set assessment tasks.

## Assessment

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date
1	<i>Research Proposal</i>	10%	1, 2 & 3	13 Aug
2	<i>Research Paper - 3,500-5,000-words</i>	50%	1, 2 & 3	27 Sept
3	<i>Examination</i>	40%	1 & 2	TBA

## Submission and return of work

All written work must be submitted in hard copy in the course essay box outside the School office on the fifth floor of the Murphy building. All assignments must have a Programme cover sheet attached.

The Programme's policy requires that students also submit an **electronic copy** along with the hardcopy. For this course, please email to me an electronic copy of your work on the same due date as for your hardcopy submission. The subject line of your email submission should be "POLS 353". The email copy however does not constitute a formal submission and an email submission only will not be marked.

Essays and tests will be returned at times to be advised. If students fail to attend these times, they may collect their essay from the School Office, Murphy 518 between the hours of 2.00 and 3.00 pm from Monday to Friday.

## Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of assignments – **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 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but may not be marked. Penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

## Set text

Jon Johansson. 2009. *The Politics of Possibility: Leadership in Changing Times*. Wellington: Dunmore.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online.

## Recommended reading

A separate sheet detailing a comprehensive recommended reading list will be posted on Blackboard.

## Class representative

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected at the first lecture of the course

## Student feedback

Student evaluation of the course will be sought at the end of POLS 353. Student feedback on University courses may be found at [www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback\\_display.php](http://www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback_display.php)

## Other important information

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism)
- Aegrotats: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat)
- Academic Progress: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress) (including restrictions and non-engagement)
- Dates and deadlines: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/dates](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/dates)
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: [www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin)
- Grades: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/grades](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/grades)
- Graduate attributes: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/about/overview-of-the-school/psir-overview#grad-attributes>
- Resolving academic issues: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#grievances](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#grievances)
- Special passes: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#specialpass](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#specialpass)
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy)
- Student support: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/viclife/student-service](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/viclife/student-service)
- Students with disabilities: [www.victoria.ac.nz/st\\_services/disability](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability)
- Student Charter: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/viclife/student-charter](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/viclife/student-charter)
- Student Contract: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/enrol/studentcontract](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/enrol/studentcontract)
- Turnitin: [www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin](http://www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin)
- University structure: [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about)
- VUWSA: [www.vuwsa.org.nz](http://www.vuwsa.org.nz)

## LECTURE PROGRAMME: SECTION ONE – SETTING THE SCENE

### 1. INTRODUCTION (16 July)

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 (23 & 30 July, 6, 13 & 20 August)

#### Recommended Readings:

Jonathon Boston and Martin Holland. (Eds.). 1990. *The Fourth Labour Government: Politics And Policy in New Zealand*. (2<sup>nd</sup> 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. 2005. *Two Titans: Muldoon, Lange & Leadership*. Wellington: Dunmore.

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.

### **MID-TERM BREAK: 26 August – 8 September 2013**

### **3. WHERE NEW ZEALAND IS NOW: ELECTIONS IN THE 2000s – A VISION OF ILLUSION? CONSOLIDATION VS CHANGE (10 September)**

#### Recommended Readings:

Jonathan Boston, Stephen Church, Stephen Levine, Elizabeth McLeay and Nigel S. Roberts. (Eds). 2000. *Left Turn: The New Zealand General Election of 1999*. Wellington: VUP.

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

Stephen Levine and Nigel Roberts. (Eds). 2007. *The Baubles of Office: The New Zealand General Election of 2005*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Stephen Levine and Nigel Roberts. (Eds). 2010. *Key to Victory: The New Zealand General Election of 2008*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Jon Johansson and Stephen Levine. (Eds). *Kicking the Tyres: The New Zealand General Election and Electoral Referendum of 2011* (Victoria University Press, 2012).

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 since the change of government after the 2008 election, including discussion of the 2011 election and electoral referendum.

#### **4. PRIME MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP (17 September)**

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 (24 September)**

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 (1 October)**

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 (8 October)**

This penultimate lecture will focus on several perennial policy areas – Economic policy, Treaty and race policy, superannuation 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 (15 October)**

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.