

	<p><i>School of Arts & Science</i> SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT</p> <p>PSC 210 – 01 Political Thought 2009F</p>
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COURSE OUTLINE

1. Instructor Information

(a)	Instructor:	Ross Lambertson		
(b)	Office Hours:	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 2:00-3:00; and by appointment		
(c)	Location:	Paul Building, room 226A		
(d)	Phone:	250-370-3373	Alternative Phone: (home) – 250-384-3390	
(e)	Email:	lamberts@camosun.bc.ca (note that I will not usually be accessing this from late Thursday afternoon until noon on Monday)		
(f)	Website:	camosun.ca/lambertson		

2. Intended Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course the student will be able to describe, explain, and critically assess:

1. The nature and functions of ideologies.
2. The history, concepts, and theorists of several ideologies: democracy, liberalism, conservatism, socialism (including social democracy, communism, and anarchism), nationalism, feminism, populism, ecologism, and fascism.
3. A range of short readings which reflect the ideas of a number of major political thinkers, including Machiavelli, Locke, Burke, Wollstonecraft, Marx, and Mill.

3. Required Materials

(a) Text: Terence Ball, et alia, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, 2nd Canadian edition (for sale in the College bookstore, and on reserve in the College library). Note that this is the first time that we have used this text.

(b) Reading: “Political Thought - Readings - 2009” (for sale in the College bookstore). Almost all are the same readings used last year, although often in a somewhat different order.

4. Course Content and Schedule

Lectures: Tuesday and Thursday – 3:30-4:50 – Young 211.

5. Basis of Student Assessment (Weighting)

- (a) Assignments – one term paper, worth 40% of the final grade; this paper can be rewritten and resubmitted after your instructor has graded it. The higher of the two grades will be official.
- (b) Quizzes – three multiple choice tests, each worth 20%, for a total of 60%.
- (c) Exams – none during examination week.
- (d) Class participation – an optional 2%.

6. Grading System

Standard Grading System (GPA)

Percentage	Grade	Description	Grade Point Equivalency
90-100	A+		9
85-89	A		8
80-84	A-		7
77-79	B+		6
73-76	B		5
70-72	B-		4
65-69	C+		3
60-64	C		2
50-59	D	Minimum level of achievement for which credit is granted; a course with a "D" grade cannot be used as a prerequisite.	1
0-49	F	Minimum level has not been achieved.	0

Temporary Grades

Temporary grades are assigned for specific circumstances and will convert to a final grade according to the grading scheme being used in the course. See Grading Policy E-1.5 at camosun.ca for information on conversion to final grades, and for additional information on student record and transcript notations.

Temporary Grade	Description
I	<i>Incomplete: A temporary grade assigned when the requirements of a course have not yet been completed due to hardship or extenuating circumstances, such as illness or death in the family.</i>
IP	<i>In progress: A temporary grade assigned for courses that, due to design may require a further enrollment in the same course. No more than two IP grades will be assigned for the same course. (For these courses a final grade will be assigned to either the 3rd course attempt or at the point of course completion.)</i>
CW	Compulsory Withdrawal: <i>A temporary grade assigned by a Dean when an instructor, after documenting the prescriptive strategies applied and consulting with peers, deems that a student is unsafe to self or others and must be removed from the lab, practicum, worksite, or field placement.</i>

7. Recommended Materials or Services to Assist Students to Succeed Throughout the Course

LEARNING SUPPORT AND SERVICES FOR STUDENTS

There are a variety of services available for students to assist them throughout their learning. This information is available in the College calendar, at Student Services or the College web site at camosun.ca.

STUDENT CONDUCT POLICY

There is a Student Conduct Policy **which includes plagiarism**. It is the student's responsibility to become familiar with the content of this policy. The policy is available in each School Administration Office, at Student Services and on the College web site in the Policy Section.

TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE

Tuesday	Sept 8	Introduction to the course. Lecture 1: Chapter 1 of text – “Ideology and Ideologies”; and Reading (A): Miller, “Why do we need political philosophy?” (All readings are in the course pack.)
Thursday	Sept 10	
Tuesday	Sept 15	Lecture 2 – Chapter 2 – The Democratic Ideal. Seminar on Reading (B): selection from Locke, <i>The Second Treatise of Government</i> .
Thursday	Sept 17	
Tuesday	Sept 22	Lecture 3 - Chapter 3 – Liberalism. Seminar on Reading (C): selections from Mill, <i>On Liberty</i> .
Thursday	Sept 24	
Tuesday	Sept 29	Lecture 4 - Chapter 4 – Conservatism. Seminar on Reading (D): Burke, “Speech to the Electors of Bristol” and Reading (E): Kristol, “The Neoconservative Persuasion.”
Thursday	Oct 1	
Tuesday	Oct 6	Lecture 5 - Chapter 5 – Early Socialism and Communism. Seminar on Reading (F): Marx and Engels, <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> .
Thursday	Oct 8	
Tuesday	Oct 13	Review TEST #1 - Lectures 1-5; seminars A-F
Thursday	Oct 15	
Tuesday	Oct 20	Lecture 6 - Chapter 6 – Socialism and Communism. After Marx. Seminar on Reading (G): “The Regina Manifesto,” and Reading (H): “The Waffle Manifesto.”
Thursday	Oct 22	
Tuesday	Oct 27	Lecture 7 - Chapter 7 – Nationalism. seminar reading (I): Lévesque, “A Country That Must Be Made.”
Thursday	Oct 29	
Tuesday	Nov 3	Lecture 8 - Chapter 8 – Fascism seminar readings (J): “The Program” of the Nazi Party; (K): Hitler, “The Tasks of Women”; (L) Rosenberg, “Emancipation from the Emancipation Movement.”
Thursday	Nov 5	
Tuesday	Nov 10	Review TEST #2 - Lectures 6-8; readings G-L
Thursday	Nov 12	
Tuesday	Nov 17	Lecture 9 - Chapter 9 – Populism Lecture 10 - Chapter 10 – The Politics of Entitlement and Identity TERM PAPER DUE: 12:00 Noon
Thursday	Nov 19	

TENTATIVE TIME-TABLE (cont.)

Tuesday	Nov 24	Seminar on Reading (M): selections from Mary Wollstonecraft, <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Women</i> , and Reading (N): Goldman, "Marriage and Love."
Thursday	Nov 26	Lecture 11- Chapter 11 – Green Politics
Tuesday	Dec 1	- Seminar on Reading (O): Andrew McLaughlin, "The Heart of Deep Ecology."
Thursday	Dec 3	Lecture 12 - Chapter 12 – Radical Islam – (Chapter 9)
Tuesday	Dec 8	Review
Thursday	Dec 10	TEST #3 - Lectures 9-12; seminars M-N
Tuesday	Dec 15	TERM PAPER REWRITE DUE: 12:00 Noon

CLASSES

A: LECTURES

- The lectures are based primarily upon the textbook, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*.
- Lecture notes for each class will be handed out ahead of time, and also placed on the instructor's website (camosun.ca/lambertson).
- The lectures will follow the tentative time-table, and students are expected to read the material *before* the lectures so they will be ready to ask and answer questions.
- Not everything in the textbook or the Lecture Notes will necessarily be covered in class. To some degree, you are responsible for learning the material on your own.
- The purpose of the lectures will be
 - to discuss the political news of the day
 - to explain the more difficult concepts
 - to look at things from other perspectives
 - to bring things up to date
 - to express disagreement with the textbook
 - to give students a chance to ask questions
 - to give students a chance to disagree
- Sometimes a lecture will begin with a discussion of current political issues.
- Review classes, just before a test, will give students a chance to ask questions and give the instructor to focus on anything not yet covered in class. The instructor will also try to provide students with copies of *pretests* that will be discussed in the review classes. These pretests will consist of sample questions that might be on the exam; they will be based on the key terms, as well as current political issues discussed in class.

B: SEMINARS:

- The seminars are based primarily upon the mandatory readings in "Political Thought - Readings - 2009" but students are also expected to read the pertinent chapters of the textbook. Note that there are also some optional readings for students who want to supplement their knowledge.
- The purpose of the seminars is the same as the lectures, but to give students even more chances for participation.
- Note that the "Lecture Notes" may contain "Seminar Questions." Students are expected to come prepared to answer these questions.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE TESTS

- VALUE - There are three multiple-choice tests, each worth 20%.
- DATE - See the time-table in this course outline.
- CONTENT - The tests will be based upon three things:
- the “Key Terms” in the “Lecture Notes” for the textbook;
 - the “Seminar Questions” for the readings;
 - any additional information included in a pretest (copies of which will be handed out ahead of time, and also placed on the instructor’s website (camosun.ca/lambertson)).
- FORMAT - The multiple-choice tests will be done on special answer sheets (supplied by your instructor), which are marked by a computer. Please bring a soft-lead pencil and an eraser.
- Each question will be worth one point.
- AFTER - After each test you will be given the answers so that you will know immediately how well you have done. After the computer has marked the tests the grade will be posted outside your instructor’s door. Since the system is not fool-proof, please check your grades to ensure that you have been given the grade you deserve.
- MISSED TESTS - You are expected to write your tests at the scheduled times and place. A student will not normally be permitted to write at another time unless he/she has a reasonable excuse, such as illness, a death in the family, etc.
- Should you miss a test, and have a reasonable excuse, come to your instructor’s office during his office hours to write a make-up test. This should normally be done within one week of missing your test. A make-up test will consist of a number of “Key Terms” that have to be defined and/or explained.
- REWRITE TESTS - If things go terribly wrong on either the first or second test, or if you are convinced that you can do better on a short-answer type test, come to your instructor’s office during his office hours to write a make-up test. A rewrite test will consist of a number of “Key Terms” that have to be defined and/or explained. The higher of the two grades will be the final grade.

TERM PAPER

- VALUE** - One term paper, worth 40% of your final grade.
- DUE** - See the time-table in this course outline. Either hand it in personally, or slip it under your instructor's office door.
- Any work handed in late without a *written* explanation of a reasonable excuse (i.e. illness, a death in the family, etc.) may be penalized.
- TOPIC** - "Human Nature and Politics" (This should demonstrate your grasp of ideologies and your ability to think critically about them.)
- SOURCES**
1. Selection from Lackoff, *Moral Politics* and Dixit, "The Ideological Animal." (Both in the course pack.)
 2. As many as possible of the chapters of the textbook that have been covered in class (at least five of the most pertinent).
 3. As many of the seminar readings as possible (at least five of the most pertinent).
 4. At least some of the most pertinent optional readings – if you are aiming for an A in the course.
- NOTE - This is *not* a research paper, so you do not have to do a lot of background reading. (Of course, if you do want to read widely and use other sources, you will not be penalized.) Remember, however, in writing this paper you should be demonstrating **how much you have learned about ideologies in this course**. References to *only* the text, or to *just* one or two seminar readings, will result in a poor or failing grade.
- FORMAT**
- from **three to six typewritten pages**, written in #12 font, Times New Roman, double-spaced, with normal margins. Your instructor may read more than six pages if he finds merit in what you have to say, but has the option of finishing after six pages.
- number your pages, and provide citations in the form of **footnotes** and a **bibliography**. Refer if necessary to "Camosun College Department of Humanities History Style Guide," which can be found at: http://camosun.ca/learn/programs/history/style_guide.pdf
- unless you have inadequate information, do **not** cite the works simply as coming from the Political Science 210 coursepack of readings.
- HELP** - you may consult with your instructor before writing (bring him questions, a summary, or a rough draft).
- REWRITE** - you may rewrite the paper if you are not satisfied with your mark. This version should be marked "REWRITE" and stapled to the original version. Note that you will not receive a better mark unless you pay attention to most or all of the critical comments on your first draft. However, you will certainly not lose points by attempting a rewrite; the higher of the two marks will be used.

EVALUATION

Your term paper will be graded as follows:

“A” level work (90-100% = A+ / 85-89% = A / 80-84% = A-)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 8 to 10
 - the work is long enough (close to the maximum) and
 - it deals with all the prescribed reading materials (and additional research, if called for).
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 8 to 10
 - the work is free or nearly free of elementary errors in spelling, punctuation, etc.,
 - the work is well organized.
3. UNDERSTANDING (BASED ON WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 8 to 10
 - the student has demonstrated a superior understanding of all the prescribed materials.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 8 to 10
 - the student has developed superior ideas.

“B” level work (77-79% = B+ / 73-76% = B / 70-72% = B-)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 7 to 7.9
 - the work is not quite maximum length, or
 - the work does not deal with quite enough of the prescribed reading materials.
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 7 to 7.9
 - the work is at a high level, but there are still some errors in spelling, punctuation, etc., or
 - the work is well organized, but could be better.
3. UNDERSTANDING (BASED ON WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 7 to 7.9
 - the student has demonstrated a high level of understanding of all the prescribed materials, but it could be better.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 7 to 7.9
 - the student has developed some ideas that, although not yet superior, are at a high level.

EVALUATION (cont.)

“C” level work (65-69% = C+ / 60-64% = C)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 6 to 6.9 out of 10.
 - the work is satisfactory, but fairly short, or
 - the work does not really cover enough of the required readings.

2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 6 to 6.9 out of 10.
 - the work is satisfactory, but has too many elementary errors in spelling, punctuation, etc., (especially abusing the apostrophe), or
 - the work is not well organized, or
 - there need to be more endnote citations.

3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 6 to 6.9 out of 10.
 - this work shows a basic understanding of the material, but not much more than this; it is sometimes not clear or just plain wrong, or leaves out some important points.

4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 6 to 6.9 out of 10.
 - the student has tried to develop some ideas, but they are not well-reasoned and/or they are not based on correct information.

“D” level work (50-59%)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
 - the work is unsatisfactory, it is below minimum length, or
 - the work shows inadequate use of the mandatory readings.

2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
 - the work is unsatisfactory; it is full of elementary errors, or
 - it is very poorly organized, or
 - there are no adequate FOOTNOTES and/or no bibliography.

3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
 - the work is unsatisfactory; the student has misunderstood several major points,
or
 - has omitted several major points.

4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - 5 to 5.5 out of 10.
 - the student has made almost no attempt to develop ideas, or
 - the ideas are inadequate.

EVALUATION (cont.)

“F” level work (below 50%)

1. AMOUNT OF WORK/RESEARCH - less than 5 out of 10.
 - the paper is below minimum length, or
 - the paper deals with less than half of the mandatory material.
2. PRESENTATION (ORGANIZATION, GRAMMAR, SPELLING, PUNCTUATION, SYNTAX, FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY - less than 5 out of 10.
 - there are so many elementary errors and/or omissions that this is unacceptable, or
 - the student has committed an act of plagiarism or quasi-plagiarism.
3. UNDERSTANDING (WHAT YOU SHOW ME) - less than 5 out of 10.
 - this shows no real understanding of the main points.
4. IDEAS (INCLUDING CRITICAL ANALYSIS) - less than 5 out of 10.
 - there is no real attempt to develop any ideas.

All grades

5. FINAL GRADE: _____ out of 30.

- The FINAL GRADE is *not* an average of the four grades. It primarily based on the lowest grade of the first three criteria, multiplied by 3. (Your grade for “Ideas” will also be taken into consideration, although primarily for papers which are B+ or A level.)

- Your instructor sees the term papers as involving a set of hurdles, each of which is equally important. To receive a passing grade you must pass each one of these hurdles. For example, to receive an “A” you must do first-rate work at each level, to get a “B” you must do at least second-rate work at each level, and so forth. This is not the usual way of marking papers, but it can be defended on the basis that each student can rewrite his/her paper for a higher grade, and in doing so can concentrate upon improvements where they are most needed.

- Your paper should be a very carefully written draft, representing your best effort without detailed help from the instructor. When you get it back, you will receive comments about how to improve it, and you can decide whether or not you want to put in the extra work required to raise your grade. The process of writing a paper for this course should, therefore, be seen as involving an extended conversation between you and your instructor.

POL. SCI. 210 - LECTURE NOTES #1 - IDEOLOGIES

LECTURE READING: “Ideology and Ideologies” (Chapter One of the textbook, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*).

SEMINAR READING: “Reading A: Miller, “Why do we need political philosophy?” in the course pack: “Political Thought - Readings - 2009.”

- Note that terms marked with an asterisk (*) are not clearly explained in the textbook. Your instructor will discuss them in class and/or will explain them in the “Additional Information” section at the end of the lesson
- Note also the textbook has a glossary at the end with definitions and/or explanations of all the terms in bold type in each chapter. This includes all of the ideologies, as well as a number of other terms that are mentioned but not defined in the first chapter.

KEY TERMS:

Ideology / ideologue / political philosophy

Functions of ideologies

- Explanatory function
- Evaluative function – legitimization or delegitimization*
- Orientative function
- Programmatic function

Elements of ideologies

- Empirical – what is*
- Normative – what ought to be* - ethical relativism*

Ideologies as maps* – selective perception*

Conceptions of human potential

- Human nature
- Freedom – “an essentially contested concept” – agent, barrier, goal

Revolution

Left, right, and centre

Enlightenment (17th and 18th centuries)

SEMINAR QUESTIONS:

1. What is political philosophy?
2. What are the three ideas at the heart of political philosophy?
3. Explain Plato’s allegory of the cave.
4. How is modern political philosophy similar to, and how does it differ from, earlier political philosophy? (Note: there are several differences.)
5. “Miller argues that the answer to the question ‘what is the best form of government?’ can only be answered by looking at the political context.” - Explain
6. Why does political philosophy not have much of a direct impact on political events?

Additional Information

LEGITIMATION / DELEGITIMATION – A legitimate government or economic/social system is one that has a legal and/or moral right to exist. Ideologies are primarily concerned with moral (i.e. normative) legitimacy, not legal legitimacy (which is usually left to judges to decide). But while one ideology (such as liberal-democracy) will try to persuade you that a government such as Canada’s is legitimate, another ideology (such as communism) will try to persuade you that it is not. In other words, one legitimizes the status quo, while the other delegitimizes it.

EMPIRICAL - The term “empirical” refers to the world that is known to us through our senses (touch, sight, smell, hearing, and taste). Sometimes this is direct, and at other times it is indirect, through scientific instruments such as a microscope. An empirical statement or belief, therefore, can be tested; the evidence of our senses will tell us whether or not it is true. For example, one of the empirical elements of the ideology known as fascism was the belief that certain races were inherently more intelligent than others. Modern social science, however, has found evidence which refutes this. Such ideological beliefs about racial superiority exist as empirical facts, but they are scientifically invalid. (Conversely, one tenet of modern liberalism is that people of all races or ethnic groups are, on average, of equal intelligence – this is an empirical observation which modern science has demonstrated to be valid.)

Another way of defining “empirical” is to call it the realm of facts or fact statements. Or, to put it yet another way, it is concerned with explaining “what is.” While all of us are concerned with knowing facts, the experts in this field are scientists, who have developed very accurate methods of testing empirical statements and sifting out truth from error.

NORMATIVE - The term “normative” refers to the world of values, ideas about right and wrong, including conceptions of justice. This is a world not known to us through our senses. It is true that one can “feel” injustice in the sense that one has a “gut reaction,” but this is usually considered to be intuition, which may be valuable but is not the same thing as proof. For example, many people who consider themselves to be liberals have an intuitive feeling that laws restricting abortion are wrong, but many other people (who are often called conservatives) have just as strong an intuitive feeling that laws restricting abortion are not wrong.

Therefore, just as the empirical world is the world of facts, or “what is,” so the normative world is concerned with values, or “what should be.” But the normative realm is not open to scientific investigation; scientists are concerned only with the empirical world. This is why social scientists (including sociologists, anthropologists, etc.) can evaluate the empirical elements of different ideologies, and demonstrate that in some cases they are plainly wrong, but they have no business evaluating their normative aspects. Scientists leave the study of values, and statements about moral truth, to philosophers and religious leaders.

It is difficult, however, to determine normative (moral) truth. If an individual wants to argue that abortion is wrong, and maintains that we have a moral obligation to forbid it, how can a liberal demonstrate that this value is wrong? What constitutes proof? How can we distinguish between mere opinion and fact? These are philosophical questions that are not easily answered, although every ideology consists of a series of arguments and points which are intended to persuade others of certain normative “truths.”

The branch of philosophy which examines how we can know things, and distinguish between truth and error, or fact and opinion, is known as **EPISTEMOLOGY**. This course

is not an introduction to philosophy, but it does introduce students to the field of political philosophy, and it raises several important philosophical issues, including the epistemological question, “How can we know normative truth?”

Early philosophers (until fairly recently) firmly believed that normative truth could be attained as clearly and definitively as we obtain empirical truth. They were not always in agreement about the best means of achieving this knowledge, and often they disagreed about their conclusions, but they were almost universally in agreement that moral truth existed.

Modern philosophers, however, deny that normative truths can be proved in the same way as empirical truths, and some of them argue that this makes it impossible to know whether or not a normative statement is true. They therefore argue in favour of ETHICAL (or MORAL or VALUE) RELATIVISM – the idea that moral values are simply a matter of opinion, that they are equally true.

Obviously, moral relativism is the enemy of ideology. Each ideology attempts to persuade us of both its empirical and normative superiority. From the position of moral relativism, however, all ideologies are, normatively speaking, equally true (and equally false). Some of them may turn out to be more persuasive than others, but for a moral relativist the goal of “moral truth” is unattainable.

On the other hand, moral relativism is an uncomfortable position to maintain. One political philosopher has noted that “the seamy side of moral relativism” includes the conclusion that if all morals are equally true, then Hitler’s ideas about Jews were neither right nor wrong, but simply different. Most people intuitively disagree with such a position, but *proving* that it is wrong is a difficult – perhaps impossible – task.

SELECTIVE PERCEPTION – This is the psychological term given to the way humans are unable to perceive everything in their environment, and therefore have to perceive things selectively, according to what is important to them.

MAPS - Ideologies are “maps” (or to use another metaphor, “lenses”) that help us to focus on certain things and ignore others. They are therefore useful, but they can also mislead us.

LEFT VS. RIGHT – Your textbook’s discussion of left vs. right is not exactly wrong, but your instructor would prefer a somewhat different categorization of the three main elements of this dichotomy. In terms of ECONOMIC FREEDOMS, the question is the degree to which capitalism and privately-owned business is seen as valuable and the degree to which it should be free from government regulation. Here, right-wingers want more freedom and a weak state; left-wingers, of course, want less economic freedom and a strong state (although in the more extreme versions, it would be society that ensured the absence of capitalism. In terms of POLITICAL RIGHTS, the question is the degree to which individual rights such as freedom of speech or the rights of those arrested or tried for crimes should be subordinated to the interests of the state. Here, right-wingers usually want less freedom and a strong state. In terms of SOCIAL VALUES, the question is the degree to which minorities such as women, gays, or aboriginals, as well as those simply wanting more sexual or life-style freedom should be accommodated. Here, right-wingers usually want less freedom and a strong state; they support the traditional values of the family, organized religion, and sexual restraint, and are opposed to abortion and increased rights for gays and lesbians.