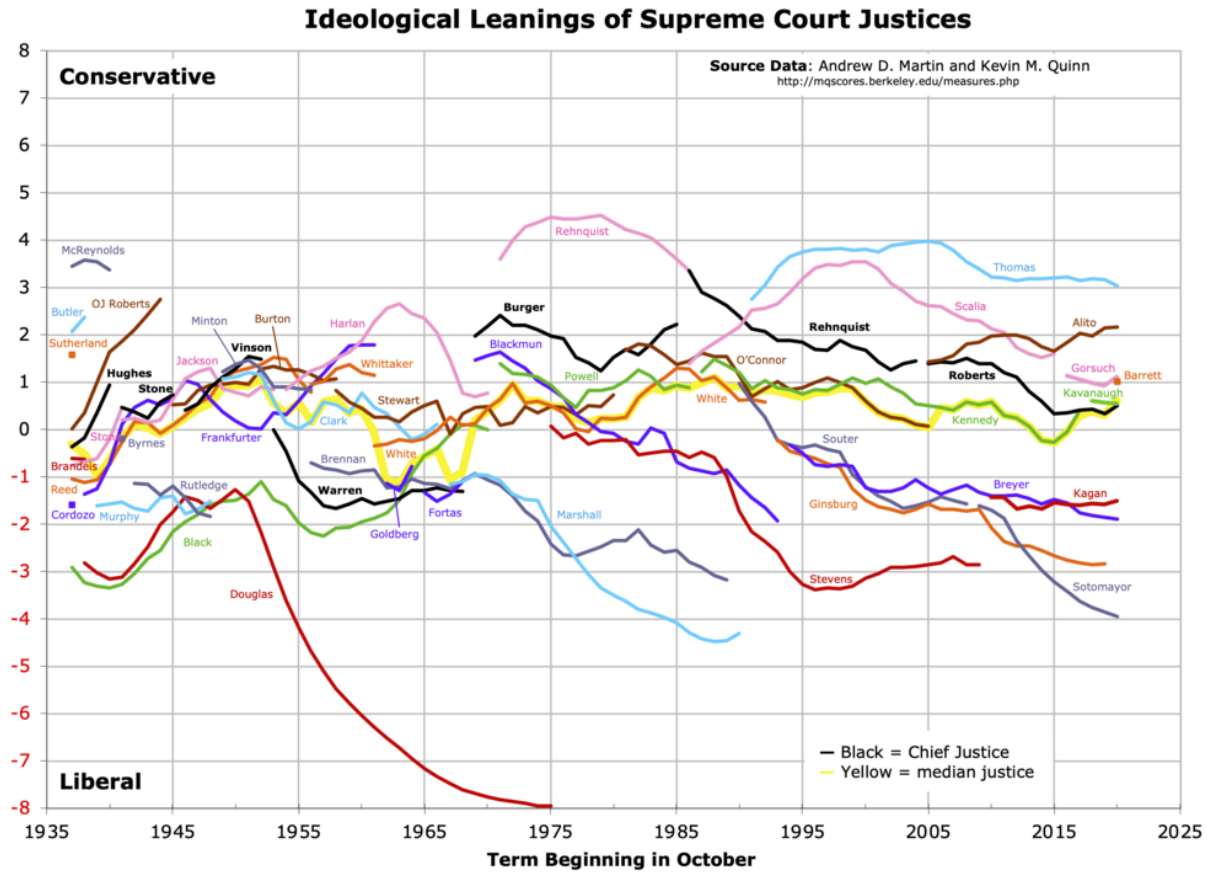
POLS 4730/5730 Seminar: Contemporary Political Ideologies

Fall 2022, Wednesday 4:15-7 pm

Dr. Wynne Moskop, wynne.moskop@slu.edu

Office hours: Tuesday 2-3:30 pm; Thursday 10:30 am-12 pm
& by appointment, McGannon 136



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Course Description

"The study of ideologies explores actually existing forms of political thought—whether present or past" (Michael Freeden). These forms include familiar "isms"--such as liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism, feminism--newer ideologies such as neoliberalism and globalism, and contemporary social movements whose status as ideology is still debated. Among these are religious fundamentalism, ecologism, and white nationalism in the U.S. and elsewhere

This course will acquaint students with major ideological trends of the last 150 years. Students examine selected ideologies through writings of influential political thinkers and representations in policy debates, law, and popular culture.

As we read, discuss, and write, we consider these questions:

- What are ideologies, and how do they operate in everyday life?
- How does ideology influence politics and public policy debates?
- Why is the study of ideologies important for us as participants in democratic politics and policy debates and as citizens who work for justice in our communities and around the world?

Objectives. By the end of the course you should be able to

1. **Describe the values, practices, and institutions that selected ideologies promote**.

   We make these explicit by examining each ideology as a political theory, that is, as a system of linked values, concepts, and practices that combine to provide a lens through which persons view the world in order to digest information and direct action. Our initial goal in studying each ideology is to understand how the world looks through, and is shaped by, a particular ideological lens—for example, a liberal, fascist, Marxist, feminist, neoliberal, or white nationalist lens.

2. **Explain who is served, or what interests are served, how, and why, by particular ideologies.**

   For every ideology, we ask: Given X kinds of practices and institutions, who wins? Who loses?

3. **Explain how definitions of ideology and particular approaches to studying ideology are themselves ideological**, meaning that they have ramifications for who has power and who does not, who wins or loses.

At the end of the semester, students demonstrate how well they have met these goals by designing their own research projects that investigate some aspect of ideology and by offering helpful critiques of their classmates' projects.

Thus, in addition to the substantive goals above, the course aims to enhance particular research, writing, and presentation skills. You will be able to:

1. **Develop your own research project**
2. **Present coherent, well-supported arguments—in oral and written form**
3. **Evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of different scholarly arguments and evidence**.

This course is helpful in achieving all Learning Outcomes for the Political Science MA degree:

1. Students will be able to explain how political systems operate within the context of their chosen MA concentrations.
2. Students will be able to evaluate, critique, and synthesize competing theoretical explanations and produce a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature in their chosen field of study.
3. Students will be able to design original research and seminar projects that investigate political processes with appropriate methodologies and contribute to ongoing scholarly debates.
4. Students will be able to present the results of their research in public forums and justify their methodological choices.
5. Students will be able to analyze the values that inform political institutions, behavior, and policies.
6. Students will be able to demonstrate honest and ethical research practices.

In this course, how well students achieve learning outcomes 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 will be assessed via their final projects for the course. Outcomes 1 and 5 will be assessed through performance in class discussions.

Readings

These texts are available in the campus bookstore.

Nancy Love, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams: A Text*, Second Edition (CQ Press, 2006).

Nancy Love, ed, *Dogmas and Dreams: A Reader in Modern Political Ideologies*, Fourth Edition, (CQ Press, 2011).

Other reading assignments, listed on the schedule below, are available online, on electronic reserve in Pius Library (ERes), or from the instructor. *The password for electronic reserve for this course is Ideologies.*

Format and Assignments

Because the goal of this course to provide you with tools to analyze problems and issues related to political ideologies, as well as to gain in-depth knowledge of some specific ideologies, the class format emphasizes opportunities for you to do your own analyses through class discussions and presentations, short essays, and a final project. There are no exams, though there may be pop quizzes on the readings if that seems to be needed. The class format is a structured discussion, supplemented by individual and group presentations.

The first two weeks are devoted to defining ideology and illustrating how scholars study ideologies. In the next six weeks, we take an in-depth look at selected ideologies. Readings about specific ideologies include primary sources that explicate the core ideas of that ideology, problem-oriented investigations pertaining to that ideology, and assignments from Nancy Love's text *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, which provide historical context and analysis. Each week, individuals and groups will be asked to present selected assigned or recommended readings to the class. Students are expected to take notes on readings and to come to class prepared to discuss them.

Each of you will turn in *three* 1-2-page reflection essays on assigned readings before fall break. Tentatively, these essays are due 9/1, 9/15, and 9/29 on Canvas. Ideally you will be able to use these reflection essays to develop your own interests and began to focus on a topic for your semester project. It will be helpful to you to think of these as entries in a journal that you can use to develop your ideas. These reflections are not graded, but they will be marked "Complete" or "Incomplete," according to criteria posted on Canvas. A mark of "incomplete" will be explained, and you will have the opportunity to supplement it.

At mid-semester, you will turn in a 2000 word essay that compares two ideologies. Criteria will be posted on Canvas.

In the final segment of the course, students focus on developing their individual research projects. For POLS 4730 students, the final project may be either a research design or a research paper. For POLS 5730 students, the final project is a research paper. Each of you will present your project to the class, respond to classmates' questions and critiques, and also provide your own critique of your classmates' projects. The goals of the critiques are to help other students improve their projects and to sharpen your own critical facility.

Other requirements and assignments

- **Attendance**. Because class meets only once a week and classes are cumulative, you are expected to attend every class and to take responsibility for acquiring the knowledge and analytical skills needed to complete the final project. Taking responsibility for digesting each week's assignments is key to success in this class. *If you are ill or must miss class for some other very good reason, you are expected to demonstrate understanding of the readings for the session you missed by submitting an outline of every assigned reading. These make-up assignments are due before the next class meeting unless you make other arrangements with me. Because every class is a step toward what you need to know for your final project, and because the value of the whole seminar depends on conscientious participation by all members of the seminar, students who do not submit the make-up assignment for a missed class cannot expect to get credit for class participation for that date.* University attendance policy.
- **How to contact me**. I am always available to talk with you about any assignment, concerns, or questions. Email is the best way to reach me, wynne.moskop@slu.edu. I'm glad to meet outside of my designated office hours. If these times do not work for you, I hope you will not hesitate to email to arrange a specific time that works better for you.

  Detailed assignments for each week will be posted on Canvas. Students are responsible for checking email and Canvas for class assignments and for individual reports. For most class assignments, I will provide study questions.

  You are expected to take notes on reading assignments. Notes should contain the main points of the reading, including 1) the author's purpose, 2) what the author does to achieve that purpose, 3) an illustration that helps you understand and apply the reading in concrete terms. Reading assignments each week are 90-100 pages.

  If you have difficulty locating a reading or understanding an assignment, it is your responsibility to *let me know well before the class in which the assignment is due*. It is not acceptable to arrive in class and announce at the last minute that you didn't complete the assignment because you had difficulty accessing assigned readings.
- **Class participation**. Everyone in the seminar is expected to contribute regularly to class discussion, with questions/comments/insights that are informed by assigned readings.
- Our discussions will center on primary source readings and on contemporary scholarship related to ideologies. However, our discussions will assume your complete familiarity with the relevant reading assignment from Nancy Love's textbook, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, which introduces the origin/context/evolution of each of the ideologies we study. You will be expected to integrate this material into the discussion where appropriate.
- At the end of the course, you will be asked to complete a self-evaluation on each component of the course, e.g. class discussion, reports, project, etc.

Grading

Grades are determined as follows:

- Class participation (including attendance, discussion, occasional written responses to study questions, presentation of assigned readings or extra articles, reflections on Canvas, and assigned critique of classmate's final project) - 30%
- Mid-semester essay comparing two ideologies – 20%

- Research project – 50%. Developmental stages/components of final research project count for 10% of this grade, and the final project counts for 40%. Projects are developed in stages so that folks do not get behind (abstract/first 5 pages/rough draft/oral powerpoint presentation). If your work at a particular stage or on a particular component does not meet posted criteria, you probably will not need me to tell you; but I will 😊.

Every component of the course must be completed to earn credit for the course. One may not choose not to do one of them. Earning a failing grade on any component is the equivalent of not doing it. However, there is no reason for a student who has prepared adequately to fail.

Grading Scale:

Midterm and final grades will be reported in terms of the College of Arts and Sciences grading scale: A=4.0, A-=3.7, B+=3.3, B=3.0, B-=2.7, C+=2.3, C=2.0, C-=1.7, D=1.0, F=0.0. However, grades given on assignments are up to individual professors.

Library services

I encourage you to take advantage of the expertise of Ms. Rebecca Hyde, who is the reference librarian at Pius Library who helps political science students and faculty. She invites your questions and requests for assistance at any time. You can reach her at rhyde1@slu.edu or 314-977-3106. Ms Hyde's research guide for political science can be found at http://libguides.slu.edu/polisci.

Student Success Center

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit the Student Success Center to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

University Writing Services

I encourage you to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit the Student Success Center or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

University Counseling Center

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers free, short-term, solution-focused counseling to Saint Louis University undergraduate and graduate students. UCC counselors are highly trained clinicians who can assist with a variety of issues, such as adjustment to college life, troubling changes in mood, and chronic psychological conditions. To make an appointment, call 314-977-8255 (TALK), or visit the clinic on the second floor of Wuller Hall.

Basic Needs Security

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their

performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

University policy statements are provided at the end of this syllabus.

Tentative Schedule

While ideologies we study during for the first half of the course have been selected, the particular ideologies we study after that will depend on needs and interests of students in the class. For now, they are "TBD." After the first 2-3 classes, we will decide the topics of TBD sessions, and I will select and post reading assignments and study questions.

Consider the schedule and readings below tentative. For f*inal, detailed reading assignments, study questions, etc, be sure to check the assignment on Canvas for that week. Normally assignments will be posted two weeks in advance of the session when they are to be discussed. You are responsible for checking Canvas well in advance of each class session and notifying the me of any difficulty locating readings or understanding the assignment. It is not acceptable to arrive in class unprepared with the belated excuse that reading assignments were hard to locate or unclear. The success of the seminar depends on everyone coming to class fully prepared. So please do let me know if some reading assignment is unavailable or unclear.*

8/24 **Introduction, Part 1: Defining and studying Ideology**. Illustration: race and ideology (puzzles of racial liberalism, structural racism, and white nationalism).
This will be a full class session, so that we take advantage of every week of the seminar. See detailed assignment and study questions posted on Canvas.

1. Nancy Love, Ch 1 "The End of Ideology—Again?" in *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, 1-18
2. Racial liberalism
   - Charles Mills, "Racial Liberalism," *PMLA*, October 2008, 1380-1397, Pius Library electronic journals, https://www-jstor-org.ezp.slu.edu/stable/25501942#metadata_info_tab_contents
   - Sonia Sotomayor dissent, *Utah v Strieff*, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/579/14-1373/#tab-opinion-3587716, June 20, 2016 (10 pp)
3. Structural racism
   - Ibram X. Kendi, video, "How to be an anti-racist," https://www.aspenideas.org/sessions/how-to-be-an-antiracist?utm_source=google&utm_medium=adgrant&utm_campaign=Speakers&utm_term=ibram%20x.%20kendi&gclid=Cj0KCQjwxb2XBhDBARIsAOjDZ37O_DyJ5urX2GQ2F6xwA68ywwsx3qpD2jQFS8JzkgTso39Vs5uy2F0aAmKCEALw_wcB**,** 2019 (Watch first 34 minutes, Kendi interview/talk. If you have time, you may be interested in the Q and A, another 20 min).
4. White nationalism

- Schofield, Sutton, and Geary, "Toward a Global History of White Supremacy," *Boston Review*, October 16, 2020, https://bostonreview.net/articles/daniel-geary-camilla-schofield-jennifer-sutton-toward-global-history-white-supremacy/ (14pp)
- PBS Frontline, "A Timeline of Domestic Extremism in the U.S., from Charlottesville to January 6," https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/timeline-us-domestic-extremism-charlottesville-january-6/
- 60 minutes, "Uncovering the Greenwood Massacre, nearly a century later," 12-minute video about 1921 Tulsa race massacre, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yA8t8PW-OkA&feature=emb_rel_end

8/31 **Introduction, Part 2: Defining and studying ideologies.** Useful concepts for analyzing ideologies

1. Karl Marx, The German Ideology, excerpt on "Ruling Class and Ruling Ideas," http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm#b3.
2. Karl Marx, short excerpt from Preface of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,* http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface-abs.htm
3. For an overview of Antonio Gramsci's political and academic importance, read "From Vision to Agency: Lessons from Gramsci on political mobilization," by Alan Shea (2011), http://www.compassonline.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Thinkpiece-69-Vision-to-Agency.pdf
4. Antonio Gramsci, "Hegemony, Intellectuals, and the State," http://www.erikclabaugh.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Hegemony-Intellectuals-State-Gramsci.pdf
5. Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm. Read these sections:
   "The State Ideological Apparatuses"
   "On the Reproduction of the Relations of Production"
   "On Ideology"
   "Ideology has no history"
   "Ideology is a representation of the Imaginary representation of individuals to their real conditions of existence"
   "Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects"
6. Elements of a Research Design, posted on Canvas

9/1 First reflection due on Canvas

9/7 **Liberalism (classical, contemporary, and neo)**

1. Love, *Understanding Dogmas & Dreams*, Ch. 2 "Liberalism," 21-51
2. In *Dogma and Dreams* reader:
   - Locke, *Treatise of Civil Government*
   - Madison, Hamilton, Jay, *The Federalist Papers*, #'s 10 & 51
   - Mill, *On Liberty*
   - Thomas Hill Green, "Lecture on Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract"

- Isaac Kramnick, "Equal Opportunity and the 'Race of Life'"
- Benjamin Barber, "Jihad vs McWorld," in *Dogmas and Dreams* reader, 772-784.

3. Stephen Metcalf, "Neoliberalism: The Idea that Swallowed the World," *The Guardian*, August 18, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/18/neoliberalism-the-idea-that-changed-the-world
4. *Citizens United vs Federal Election Commission* (2010), Stevens concurrence and dissent in part (joined by Ginsburg, Breyer, Sotomayor), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/558/310/#tab-opinion-1963051
5. Trevor Noah Explains How Society has broken its Social Contract on Black America, June 3, 2020

9/14 **Marxism and Socialism**

1. Love, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, Ch 4, "Socialism"
2. In *Dogma and Dreams* reader:
   - Marx, "Estranged Labor," from *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1844)
   - Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto, 291-309, 314-318*
   - V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 319-333
   - Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks, "The Port Huron Statement at 40," 339-352
   - Heidi Hartman, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Toward a More Progressive Union," 526-545
3. Michael Shuman, "Marx's Revenge: How Class Struggle is shaping the world," http://business.time.com/2013/03/25/marxs-revenge-how-class-struggle-is-shaping-the-world/

9/15 Second Reflection due on Canvas

9/21 **Feminism**

1. Love, *Understanding Dogmas and Dreams*, Ch 7
2. In *Dogmas and Dreams* reader:
   - Mary Wollstonecraft, "Vindication of the Rights of Woman"
   - Betty Friedan, "Our Revolution is Unique"
   - Audre Lorde, "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference.'
   - Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes Revisited"
3. Patricia Hill Collins, "Black Feminist Epistemology," Ch. 11 in *Black Feminist Thought,* https://negrasoulblog.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/patricia-hill-collins-black-feminist-thought.pdf
4. Kimberly Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* Vol. 43, No. 6 (Jul., 1991), pp. 1241-1299. Pius Library electronic data bases, JSTOR

9/28 No University Classes. Assigned reading: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, https://vt.instructure.com/courses/23718/files/886914. See study questions on Canvas.

9/29 Third reflection due on Canvas

10/5 **Fascism and white nationalism**

Research and Instruction Librarian Rebecca Hyde will join the class to identify library resources that will be helpful for your research projects.

1. Love, *Understanding Dogmas and* Dreams, Ch 6 Fascism
2. Listen to Diane Rehm show, "The history of fascism and its relevance to U.S. politics today" (December 2016), https://dianerehm.org/shows/2016-12-13/the-history-of-fascism-and-its-relevance-to-u-s-politics-today . This is a 50-minute segment. You can read the transcript of this interview instead. That takes less time, but it may not be as interesting to you.
3. In *Dogmas and Dreams Reader*:
   - Benito Mussolini, "Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions," first section, (419-423)
   - Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, sections on "representative government" (429-442) and "nation and race" (452-455)
4. Graeme Wood, "His Kampf," *The Atlantic*, June 2017. Watch the 11-minute documentary about Richard Spencer and the Alt Right embedded in the online version of this article. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/06/his-kampf/524505/. If you have time, read the article too.
5. Adam Sewer, "White Nationalism's Deep American Roots," *The Atlantic*, April 2019, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/04/adam-serwer-madison-grant-white-nationalism/583258/?fbclid=IwAR30YTlbSAJZQ7SdYM4EcooBWI_NPGvsKyyuahectPDxsygKfiZbsacngrc
6. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "What White Supremacists Know," *Boston Review*, http://bostonreview.net/race/roxanne-dunbar-ortiz-what-white-supremacists-know

10/12 Ideology TBD. Conservatism? Anarchism? Environmentalism and Ecology? Religious Fundamentalism? Think about ideologies you would like to study.

10/14 Friday, Midterm essay comparing two ideologies due

10/19 Ideology TBD. **Research project: Title, research question, and 1-page abstract due.**

10/26 We will not meet as a class. Instead students will meet with me in groups of three, mostly during class time, to discuss research projects. **3-5 page Introduction and Literature Review due.**

11/2 Ideology TBD.

11/4 Friday, First draft of research project due

11/9 Oral Presentations and Critiques

11/16 Oral Presentations and Critiques

11/23 Holiday

11/30 Oral Presentations and Critiques

12/7 Last day of class

12/12 Final research project due

University Policy Statements

Academic Integrity policy can be found here.

Title IX policy can be found here.

Disability Accommodations policy can be found here.

Mandatory Syllabus Statement on Face Masks (until further notice)

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, key safeguards like face masks have allowed SLU to safely maintain in-person learning. If public health conditions and local, state, and federal restrictions demand it, the University may require that all members of our campus community wear face masks indoors.

Therefore, any time a University-level face mask requirement is in effect, face masks will be required in this class. This expectation will apply to all students and instructors, unless a medical condition warrants an exemption from the face mask requirement (see below).

When a University-wide face mask requirement is in effect, the following will apply:

- Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to put on their masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.
- Students and instructors may remove their masks briefly to take a sip of water but should replace masks immediately. The consumption of food will not be permitted.
- Students who do not comply with the expectation that they wear a mask in accordance with the University-wide face mask requirement may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to those outlined in the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:
    - dismissal from the course(s)
    - removal from campus housing (if applicable)
    - dismissal from the University
- To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with a University-wide face mask requirement.

When a University-wide face mask requirement is not in effect, students and instructors may choose to wear a face mask or not, as they prefer for their own individual comfort level.

ADA Accommodations for Face Mask Requirements

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services (students) or Human Resources (instructors) to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's ADA Policy. Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity. Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).

Mandatory Syllabus Statement on In-Person Class Attendance and Participation (until further notice)

The health and well-being of SLU's students, staff, and faculty are critical concerns, as is the quality of our learning environments. Accordingly, the following University policy statements on in-person class attendance are designed to preserve and advance the collective health and well-being of our institutional constituencies and to create the conditions in which all students have the opportunity to learn and successfully complete their courses.

1. Students who exhibit any potential COVID-19 symptoms (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) shall absent themselves from any in-person class attendance or in-person participation in any class-related activity until they have been evaluated by a qualified medical official. Students should contact the University Student Health Center for immediate assistance.

2. Students (whether exhibiting any of potential COVID-19 symptoms or not, and regardless of how they feel) who are under either an isolation or quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official must absent themselves from all in-person course activities per the stipulations of the isolation or quarantine directive.

3. Students are responsible for notifying their instructor of an absence as far in advance as possible; when advance notification is not possible, students are responsible for notifying each instructor as soon after the absence as possible. Consistent with the University Attendance Policy, students also are responsible for all material covered in class and must work with the instructor to complete any required work. In situations where students must be absent for an extended period of time due to COVID-19 isolation or quarantine, they also must work with the instructor to determine the best way to maintain progress in the course as they are able based on their health situation.

4. Consistent with the University Attendance Policy, students may be asked to provide medical documentation when a medical condition impacts a student's ability to attend and/or participate in class for an extended period of time.

5. As a temporary amendment to the current University Attendance Policy, all absences due to illness or an isolation/quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official, or due to an adverse reaction to a COVID-19 vaccine, shall be considered "Authorized" absences