The Scholars Programme

Freedom, Equality, and Order: Theoretical Approaches to Political Origins

Dr Reilly

Pupil Name _____

The Scholars Programme – Pupil Feedback Report

Grade	Marks	What this means
1st	70+	Performing to an excellent standard at first year undergraduate level
2:1	60-69	Performing to a good standard at first year undergraduate level
2:2	50-59	Performing to an excellent standard at GCSE level
3rd	40-49	Performing to a good standard at GCSE level
Workings towards a pass	0-39	Workings towards a pass
Did not submit	DNS	No assignment received by The Brilliant Club

Lateness	
Any lateness	10 marks deducted
Plagiarism	
Some plagiarism	10 marks deducted
Moderate plagiarism	20 marks deducted
Extreme plagiarism	Automatic fail

Name of Tutor	Dr Reilly		
Title of Assignment	*Student's are invited to write their own titles*		
Name of Pupil			
Name of School	Parliament Hill		
ORIGINAL MARK / 100		**FINAL MARK / 100**	
DEDUCTED MARKS		**FINAL GRADE**	

If marks have been deducted (e.g. late submission, plagiarism) the tutor should give an explanation in this section:

Discussion and debate	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority	**How you could improve in the future**
Theoretical enquiry	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority	**How you could improve in the future**
Creative and divergent thinking	
What you did in relation to this Key Learning Priority	**How you could improve in the future**
Resilience Comment	
How you showed learning resilience during the course	**How you could build learning resilience in the future**

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Course Rationale

The course will provide an introduction to some of the key ideas in political theory by studying short extracts from three classic texts. The three texts to be used are: Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, John Locke's *Two Treaties of Government*, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract*. These texts will provide a springboard for discussions and activities focused on concepts such as equality, freedom, order, consent, and authority. Although the meanings of these terms are often taken for granted, for political theorists, there are important unresolved questions that arise when one tries to imagine what, for example, 'freedom' means in practice. Each extract will be closely examined in order to see how particular concepts are used. Together we will assess whether Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau offer convincing solutions to political problems.

The course will encourage pupils to critically engage with the works of important political thinkers, to weigh up different arguments, and to reflect on their own political beliefs. These will prove to be vital skills in any degree in a humanities subject. The ability to distil and critique the key arguments from a text are highly valued by universities and, with this in mind, this course serves to prepare pupils for university life by exposing them to the kind of learning that takes place in seminars. In addition, the course seeks to encourage pupils to draw links between the texts and concepts under consideration and contemporary political issues such as the welfare state, law, surveillance, and taxation. By the end of the course, pupils will feel more confident in their ability to analyse difficult texts and will have a clearer idea of their own values.

Resources and Reading Materials

All required readings are provided in this course handbook.

Final Assignment

Title: *Student's create their own titles with the guidance of the tutor.*

- 1000 word reflective essay
- Bibliography
- Properly referenced in accordance with the MHRA Style (guidance provided on p. 7).

Mark Scheme

Key Skill	1st	2.2
Engagement	☐ Pupils demonstrate a high level of focus on texts, discussion, debates, and activities from the classes.	☐ Pupils demonstrate a partial focus on texts, discussion, debates and activities from the classes.
Critical Analysis	☐ Pupils demonstrate their ability to spot gaps, weaknesses, or contradictions in a particular argument or position.	☐ Pupils are only partially able to spot gaps, weaknesses, or contradictions in a particular argument or position.
Coherence	☐ Pupils set out their own position in a logically coherent way. Or, where contradictions emerge, pupils show an awareness of these contradictions.	☐ Pupils are not fully aware of logical contradictions in their arguments.
Knowledge	☐ Pupils demonstrate good familiarity with the texts studied during the course. They use these texts to support their arguments effectively.	☐ Pupils demonstrate a moderate familiarity with the texts used during the course.
Clarity of Expression	☐ Pupils use a wide vocabulary with precision and accuracy. There are very few grammatical or spelling errors.	☐ Pupils use a narrow vocabulary. There are some grammatical errors and spelling mistakes.

Glossary of Keywords

"The State of Nature" – An imagined period of time in which humans lived without law. The state of nature allows us to speculate about how humans would behave toward one another if there were no government, no law, no police, or any other authority to punish them or restrict their behaviour.

"The Social Contract" – An agreement humans enter into in order to create a government.

"Natural right" and "natural liberty" – A capacity to act in the state of nature.

"Autonomy" – The ability to act in accordance with agreements or resolutions you have made.

"Property" – Something one has the right to use or consume

"The legislator" – A figure described by Rousseau as capable of changing human nature in order to prepare humans for political life.

"Sovereignty" – The ultimate form of political power. The highest authority.

"Government" – A form of power that has been delegated to a specific group by the sovereign.

"Consent" – To give permission for something to happen or be done

"Tacit consent" – To give consent by not objecting to something happening or being done.

Referencing

When you quote or discuss and idea from a philosopher's work, or another academic source, you must always make a reference. It is essential that you reference all sources (books, articles, websites) used.

We use the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) referencing style on this course. When you want to make a reference, please do **two** thing:

First, insert a **footnote** at the end of the sentence. Write the full text details in this section, which appears at the bottom of the page, including the page number(s) where the material came from.
Second, write '**Bibliography**' at the end of your assignment, and under that title, write down the details of that book, and all other books you use, without page numbers.

If you need to refer to a work more than once, use a shortened, recognisable version of the reference.

Example:

Footnote reference: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 100.

Shortened footnote reference: Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 100

Bibliography: Hobbes, Thomas., *Leviathan*, ed. by Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Tutorial 1 - Introduction to Social Contract Theory

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 1?

- To state the aims of the course and provide an outline of the course's content.
- To introduce the historical context of the thinkers and texts under discussion.
- To introduce the key concepts we will be looking at on the course.

Questions for discussion

Why do we have laws?

Who should make the laws? Why is it important to think about who makes the laws?

Why do we obey the law?

What would society be like if there were no laws?

Tutorial 2 - Hobbes's *Leviathan*

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 2?

- Hobbes argues that in the state of nature life is 'Nasty, Brutish, and Short'. In this tutorial we will find out what the state of nature is and what it means for our understanding of human nature.
- We will also consider the solution Hobbes proposes—an agreement between humans that Hobbes calls the Social Contract.

Quotations

"Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man. For Warre consisteth not in Battell onely, or the act of fighting; but in the tract of time, wherein the Will to contend by Battell is sufficiently known […] So the nature of War consisteth not in actual fighting; but in

the known disposition therein, during all the time there is no assurance to the contrary. All other time is Peace." p. 89

"Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of Warre, where everyman is Enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition, there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation, nor the use of commodities that may be imported by Sea; no commodious building; no Instruments of moving, and removing such things as require much force; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short." p. 90

"To this warre of every man against every man, this also is consequent; that nothing can be Unjust. The notions of Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice have there no place. Where there is no common Power, there is no Law: where no Law, no Injustice." p. 90

"Right is layd aside, either by simply Renouncing it; or by Transferring it to another. By *Simply* Renouncing; when he cares not to whom the benefit thereof redoundeth. By Transferring; when he intendeth the benefit thereof to some certain person, or persons. And when a man hath in either manner abandoned, or granted away his Right; then he is said to be Obliged, or Bound, not to hinder those, to whom such Right is granted, or abandoned, from the benefit of it: and that he *Ought*, and it is his Duty, not to make voyd that voluntary act of his own: and that such hindrance is Injustice, and Injury." p. 93

"The only way to set up such a Common Power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of Forraigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their owne industrie, and by the fruites of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to conferre

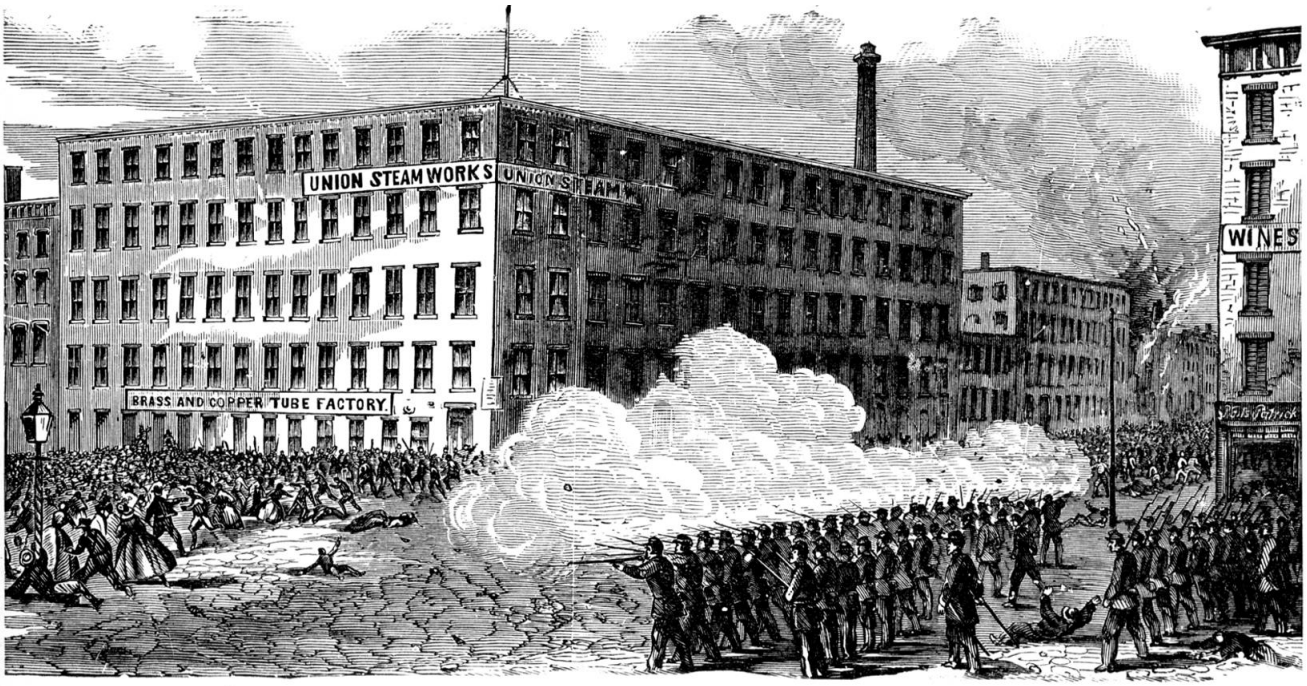
all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will: which is as much to say, to appoint one Man, or Assembly of men, to beare their Person; and every one to owne, and acknowledge himself to be Author of whatsoever he that so beareth their Person, shall Act, or cause to be Acted, in those things which concerne the Common Peace and Safetie; and therein to submit their Wills, everyone to his Will, and their Judgements, to his Judgement. This is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a reall Unitie of them all, in one and the same Person, made by Covenant of every man with every man, in such a manner, as if every man should say to every man, *I Authorise and give up my Right of Governing my Selfe, to this Man, or to this Assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy Right to him, and Authorise all his Actions in like manner.* This done the Multitude so united in one Person, is called a Common-Wealth, in latine Civitas." p. 120

"And Consequently they that have already Instituted a Common-wealth, being thereby bound by Covenant, to own the Actions, and Judgements of one, cannot lawfully make a new Covenant, amongst themselves, to be obedient to any other, in any thing whatsoever, without his permission. And therefore, they that are subjects to a Monarch cannot without his leave cast off Monarchy, and return to the confusion of a disunited Multitude." p. 122

Referencing information

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Tutorial 3 - Locke, Property, and the Right of Rebellion



What is the Purpose of Tutorial 3?

- To understand Locke's notion of property
- To understand Locke's formulation of the Social Contract
- To compare Hobbes and Locke on the issue of rebellion

Quotations

"God, who hath given the World to Men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best advantage of Life, and convenience. The Earth, and all that is therein, is given to Men for the Support and Comfort of their being. And though all the Fruits it naturally produces, and Beasts it feeds, belong to Mankind in common, as they are produced by the spontaneous hand of Nature; and no body has originally a private Dominion, exclusive of the rest of Mankind, in any of them, as they are in their natural state." p. 286

"Though the Earth, and all inferior Creatures be common to all Men, yet every Man has a *Property* in his own *Person*. This no Body has any Right to but himself. The *Labour* of his Body, and the work of his Hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath provided, and

left it in, he hath mixed his *Labour* with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his *Property*. It being by him removed from the common state Nature placed it in, it hath by this *labour* something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other Men. For this *Labour* being the unquestionable Property of the Labourer, no Man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others." p. 288

"*God has given us all things richly* […] But how far has he given it us? *To enjoy*. As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils; so much he may by his labour fix a Property in. Whatever is beyond this is more than his share, and belongs to others. Nothing was made by God for Man to spoil or destroy." p. 290

"he that so employed his Pains about any of the spontaneous Products of Nature, as any way to alter them, from the state which Nature put them in, *by* placing any of his *Labour* on them, did thereby *acquire a Propriety in them*". p. 295

"Men being, as has been said, by Nature, all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this Estate, and subjected to the Political Power of another, without his own *Consent*. The only way whereby any one devests himself of his Natural Liberty, and *puts on the bonds of Civil Society* is by agreeing with other Men to joyn and unite into a Community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another, in a secure Enjoyment of their Properties, and a greater Security against any that are not of it." p. 331

"And thus every Man, by consenting with others to make one Body Politick under one Government, puts himself under an Obligation to every one of that Society, to submit to the determination of the *majority*, and to be concluded by it." p. 332

“There is a common distinction of an express and a tacit consent, which will concern our present Case. No body doubts but an *express Consent,* of any Man, entering into any society, makes him a perfect Member of that Society, a Subject of that Government. The difficulty is, what ought to be look’d upon as a *tacit Consent*, and how far it binds, *i.e.* how far any one shall be looked on to have consented, and thereby submitted to any Government, where he has made no Expressions of it at all. And to this I say, that every Man, that hath any Possession, or Enjoyment, of any part of the Dominions of any Government, doth thereby give his *tacit consent,* and is as far forth obliged to Obedience to the Laws of that Government, during such Enjoyment, as any one under it.” p. 348

“The Reason why Men enter into Society, is the preservation of their Property; and the end why they chuse and authorize a Legislative, is, that there may be Laws made, and Rules set as Guards and Fences to the Properties of all the Members of the Society, to limit the Power, and moderate the Dominion of every Part and Member of the Society. For since it can never be supposed to be the Will of the Society, that the Legislative should have a Power to destroy that, which everyone designs to secure, by entering into Society, and for which the People submitted themselves to the Legislators of their own making; whenever the *Legislators endeavour to take away, and destroy the Property of the People*, or to reduce them to Slavery under Arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a state of War with the People, who are left to the common Refuge, which God hath provided for all Men, against Force and Violence. Whensoever therefore the *Legislative* shall transgress this fundamental Rule of Society; and either by Ambition, Fear, Folly or Corruption, *endeavour to grasp* themselves, *or put into the hands of any other an Absolute Power* over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the People; By this breach of Trust they *forfeit the Power*, the People had put into their hands, for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the People, who have a Right to resume their original Liberty”. p. 412

Referencing information

John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Tutorial 4 - Rousseau and the Inalienable Sovereign Power

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 4?

- To understand some of the key aspects of Rousseau's classic text *The Social Contract*
- To consider the similarities and differences between Rousseau's idea of the Social Contract compared to that of Hobbes and Locke

Quotations

"Since no man has a natural authority over his fellow-man, and since force produces no right, conventions remain as the basis of all legitimate authority among men." p. 44

"This difficulty, in relation to my subject, can be stated in the following terms. 'To find a form of association that will defend and protect the person and goods of each associate with the full common force, and by

means of which each, uniting with all, nevertheless obey only himself and remain free as before.' This is the fundamental problem to which the social contract provides the solution." p. 49-50

"If, then, one sets aside everything that is not of the essence of the social compact, once finds it can be reduced to the following terms: *Each of us puts his person and his full power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and in a body we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.*" p. 50

"This formula shows that the act of association involves a reciprocal engagement between the public and private individuals, and that each individual, by contracting, so to speak, with himself, finds himself engaged in a two-fold relation: namely, as member of the Sovereign towards private individuals, and as a member of the State toward the Sovereign." p. 51

"But the body politic or Sovereign, since it owes its being solely to the sanctity of the contract, can never obligate itself, even towards another, to anything that detracts from that original act, such as to alienate any part of itself or to subject itself to another Sovereign. To violate the act by which it exists would be to annihilate itself, and what is nothing produces nothing. As soon as this multitude is united in one body, one cannot injure one of the members without attacking the body, and still less can one injure the body without the members being affected. Thus duty and interest alike obligate the contracting parties to help one another, and the same men must strive to combine in this two-fold relation all the advantages attendant on it." p. 52

"Indeed each individual may, as a man, have a particular will contrary to or different from the general will he has as a Citizen. His particular interest may speak to him quite differently from the common interest; his absolute and naturally independent existence may lead him to look upon what he owes to the common cause as a gratuitous contribution, the loss of which will harm others less than its payment burdens him

and, by considering the moral person that constitutes the State as a being of reason because it is not a man, he would enjoy the rights of a citizen without being willing to fulfil the duties of a subject; an injustice, the progress of which would cause the ruin of the body politic." p. 52-53

"Hence for the social compact not to be an empty formula, it tacitly includes the following engagement which alone can give force to the rest, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the entire body: which means nothing other than that he shall be forced to be free; for this is the condition which, by giving each Citizen to the Fatherland, guarantees him against all personal dependence; the condition which is the device and makes for the operation of the political machine, and alone renders legitimate civil engagements which would otherwise be absurd, tyrannical, an liable to the most enormous abuses." p. 53

"This transition from the state of nature to the civil state produces a most remarkable change in man by substituting justice for instinct in his conduct, and endowing his actions with the morality they previously lacked. Only then, when the voice of duty succeeds physical impulsion and right succeeds appetite, does man, who until then had looked only to himself, see himself forced to act on other principles, and to consult his reason before listening to his inclinations. Although in this state he deprives himself of several advantages he has from nature, he gains such great advantages in return, his faculties are exercised and developed, his ideas enlarged, his sentiments ennobled, his entire soul is elevated." p. 53

"In view of this, one has to understand that what generalizes the will is not so much the number of voices, as it is the common interest which unites them: for in this institution, everyone necessarily submits to the conditions which he imposes on others." p. 62

Referencing information

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, ed. & trans. by Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Homework: Draft Assignment

Write a draft of your assignment. Hand in to your tutor for feedback.

Notes

Tutorial 5 - Discussion and Reflection

What is the Purpose of Tutorial 5?

- To discuss and reflect upon the concepts and themes we have discovered throughout the course.
- Tutorial 5 also provides students with an opportunity to ask questions and seek advice on how to go about completing the final assignment.

Homework: Final Assignment

Write a creative, reflective essay on a topic of your choice that relates to one or more of the issues we have discussed.

You will have the opportunity to discuss your essay with your tutor before submission. Speak to your tutor to arrange an individual meeting at a mutually convenient time.

(Acknowledgement: The structure and the activities in this feedback tutorial were first designed by Hannah Manktelow in January 2015. We have repeated them here as they demonstrate thoughtful and excellent planning, and can be used by all tutors to ensure a successful and productive feedback tutorial.)

University Applications Guidance

For course choices and careers information:	www.brightknowledge.org.uk
For information and statistics on universities and course:	www.unistats.direct.gov.uk
For comprehensive information on universities, including rankings:	www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk

PLEASE NOTE – The Scholars Programme is designed to support the university applications process at your school. The work you complete for the programme should add to your schoolwork rather than detract from it. Please be aware of deadlines and try to manage your workload appropriately. If you are worried about the Scholars Programme interfering with your schoolwork then please speak to your teacher.

Subject Specific Top Tips for Strengthening your application

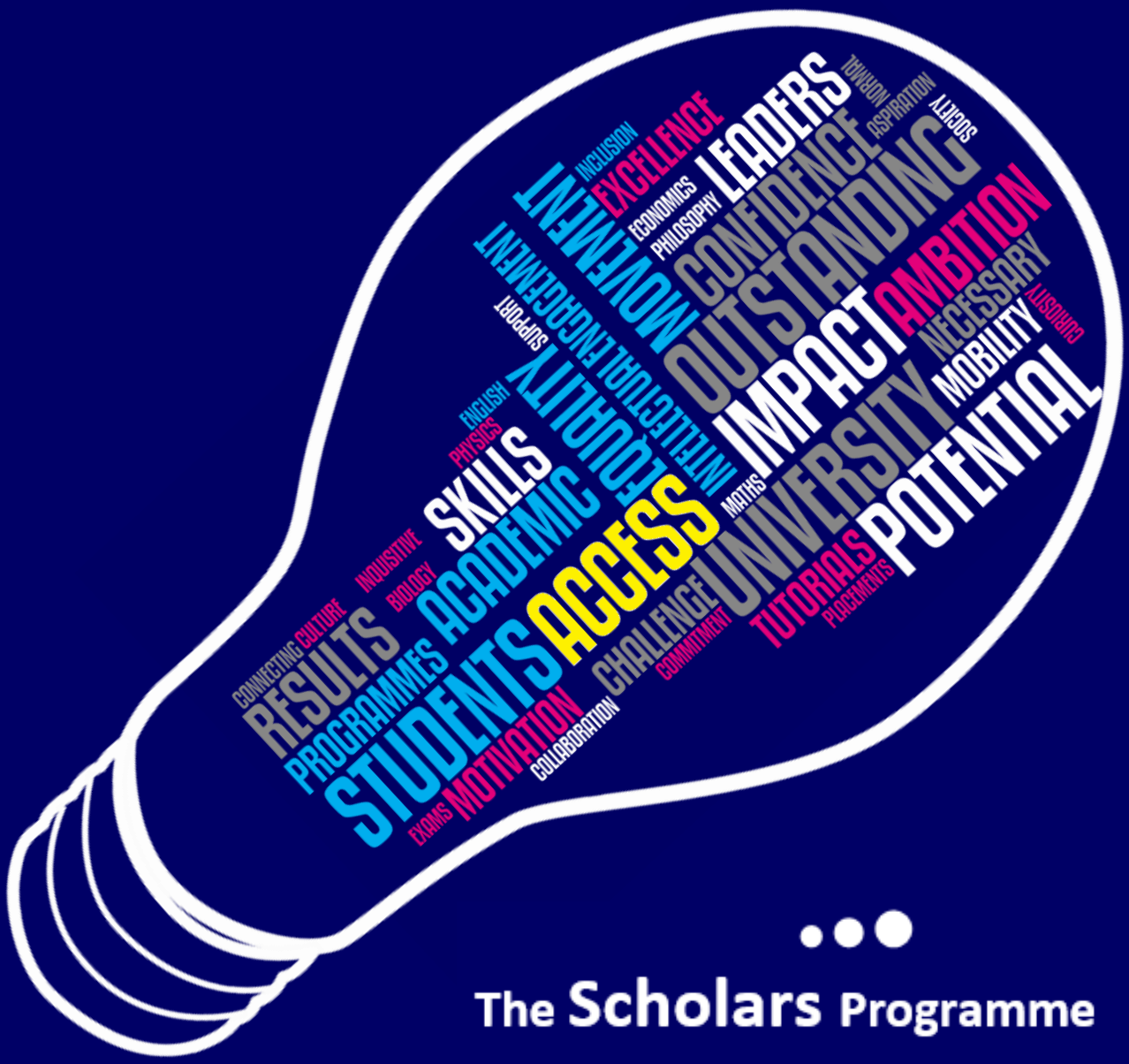
Consult online materials such as the following:

"In Our Time" – This is a BBC Radio 4 podcast dealing with the history of ideas. It is very wide ranging, dealing with topics from history, culture, science, philosophy, and religion. Each episode features a panel of academics discussing a particular topic.

"Very Short Introductions" – The Very Short Introductions books are, as you'd expect, brief introductions to a diverse range of subjects including quite broad topics such as philosophy, to more specific ones such as existentialism and postmodernism.

For entertaining, informative podcasts on important historical events and periods, try Dan Carlin's Hardcore History. The podcasts are very accessible but manage to provide a lot of detail too.

For more advanced students, I can recommend the European Graduate School online lectures (search for European Graduate School Video Lectures on Youtube). These lectures are delivered by internationally renowned contemporary theorists and deal with cutting edge topics in political theory and philosophy. They are very difficult but might be worth a look if you are particularly interested in politics and philosophy.



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