

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Department of Politics and International Relations
Honour School of Philosophy, Politics, and Economics
Honour School of History and Politics
Theory of Politics
(Politics paper 203, Philosophy paper 114)
Academic Year 2022-23

ORLO: A digital version of this reading list, with information regarding library availability and links to online versions is available here:
<https://rl.talis.com/3/oxford/lists/430F2E5A-B3A0-54D6-13C5-48F925857BC3.html>

Course Provider: [Dr Gideon Elford](mailto:gideon.elford@new.ox.ac.uk), gideon.elford@new.ox.ac.uk, tel: [2]79546 with suggested additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

Other Teachers:

Professor Teresa Bejan (Oriel)
Professor Paul Billingham (Magdalen)
Professor Daniel Butt (Balliol)
Dr Gideon Elford
Dr Lior Erez (Worcester)
Professor Cécile Laborde (Nuffield)
Professor David Leopold (Mansfield)
Professor Daniel McDermott (Keble)
Professor Lois McNay (Somerville)
Professor Jeanne Morefield (New)
Professor Sophie Smith (University)
Professor Zofia Stemplowska (Worcester)
Professor Patricia Thornton (Merton)
Professor Stuart White (Jesus)

Subject to departmental approval, certain graduate students and others may teach the course. The names and colleges of such tutors are printed in the *Tutorial Register*, a copy of which is available in electronic form on the Politics Department's [intranet](#).

Syllabus

The formal syllabus in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations* states:

The critical study of political values and of the concepts used in political analysis and methods and approaches in political theory. Topics may include: ideal theory and realism; power, authority, and related concepts; liberty; rights; justice; equality; democracy and representation; political obligation and civil disobedience; neutrality and perfectionism; libertarianism; multiculturalism; socialism; and conservatism.

Examination Regulations 2017

Content and Structure

The course is designed to acquaint students with the political concepts central to the theoretical, normative and interpretative analysis of politics. As a core paper, it is emphasised that a study of concepts such as liberty, justice, authority or power provides the foundation for understanding the nature of political thought, and that they underpin the study of politics in general and are therefore crucial to enhancing the awareness of the relation between political thought and action. Students are also directed towards discursive ideologies displaying complex conceptual arrangements such as liberalism or socialism.

Course Objectives

The course is devised so as to develop a manifold range of skills necessary for constructing critical arguments in political theory, for working with problems of consistency and justification, for analysing the complexities of the usage of political language, for understanding the principal forms through which political thought presents itself, both as theory and as ideology, and for appreciating the main current and recent debates that command attention in the field.

To those ends philosophical, ideological and historical analyses are all appropriate, and the merits of each type may be assessed and contrasted. Students are therefore encouraged to explore different ways of approaching these issues, though they are also enabled, if they so wish, to choose a specific strategy from among these approaches. Students are also invited, in consultation with their tutors, to balance a broad appreciation of the field with a development of their own interests within the wide choice of available concepts and ideologies. The literature to which they are directed is therefore diverse, encompassing classical texts, seminal philosophers and theorists, significant journal articles, and typical examples of ideological debate. Both substantive arguments and methodological issues are consequently aired.

By extending the initial understanding of political thought gained by students in the first year introduction to politics, or by building on other related introductory lectures and papers, the course provides the basis for specialisation in political theory, as well as tools that other specialisations may draw upon. It will enable students to reflect on the principles

underlying politics, to make reasoned assessments of political discourse, and to develop their own arguments at a requisite degree of sophistication.

Teaching Arrangements

The course is taught through core lectures and tutorials. Tutorial teaching for the course is arranged by each undergraduate's college tutor and will be delivered in tutorials or small classes. The normal arrangement is eight tutorials during one of the three terms of the second year of the course, for which students write six essays, though the precise arrangements are the responsibility of the tutor concerned.

Students are also expected to attend the series of 16 core lectures for Theory of Politics, which are listed each term in the Department of Politics' [Lecture List](#). College tutors will give guidance on the relevance to this course of other lecture series and seminars, organised by the Department of Politics or the Faculty of Philosophy.

Course Assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions established in the *Examination Regulations 2017*, published on the University's website. Further details are available in the [PPE Handbook](#), and the [University Student Handbook](#), copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate.

About This Reading List

It is not expected that students will study all of the topics listed, nor that they will read all the items listed under those topics that they do study. Individual tutors will decide, in consultation with students, which topics will be covered, and will recommend particular readings on those topics. The main concepts and theories to be examined are those listed in the Rubric specified in the Course Structure and Objectives, but examination questions will not usually be strictly confined to those topics. Students should look to past papers for guidance.

All of the items listed as core reading are available online (on SOLO or via ORLO if not otherwise noted). Please consult with your tutor if you are struggling to find sufficient further reading.

Volumes which appear in Sections I and II (**General Works** and **Methods and Approaches**) (e.g. William Connolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse*, 1974), are thereafter referred to by author and date only (thus: Connolly 1974).

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I GENERAL WORKS AND JOURNALS

i. Books

- Eccleshall, Robert et al., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 3rd edn (2003)
- Fabre, Cécile, *Justice in a Changing World* (2007)
- Feinberg, Joel, *Social Philosophy* (1973)
- Freeden, Michael, *A Very Short Introduction to Ideology* (2003)
- Gaus, Gerald F., *Political Concepts and Political Theories* (2000)
- Hampton, Jean, *Political Philosophy* (1997)
- Heywood, Andrew, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 6th edn (2017)
- Knowles, Dudley, *Political Philosophy* (2001)
- Kymlicka, Will, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 2nd edn (2002)
- Miller, David, *A Very Short Introduction to Political Philosophy* (2003)
- Swift, Adam, *Political Philosophy: A beginners' guide for students and politicians*, 3rd edn (2014)
- Wolff, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, 3rd edn (2016)

ii. Collections of articles

- Ball, Terence, Farr, James, and Hanson, Russell L., (eds.), *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* (1989)
- Ball, Terence and Bellamy, Richard (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought* (2003)
- Disch, Lisa and Hawkesworth, Mary (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (2016)
- Dryzek, John et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (2006)
- Freeden, Michael, Sargent, Lyman Tower, and Stears, Marc (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (2013)
- Freeden, Michael and Vincent, Andrew (eds.), *Comparative Political Thought: Theorizing Practices* (2013)
- Goodin, Robert E., Pettit, Philip, and Pogge, Thomas (eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 2nd edn (2007), Vol. 1 & 2
- Goodin, Robert E., and Pettit, Philip, (eds.), *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2nd edn (2006)
- Hamlin, Alan P., and Pettit, Philip (eds.), *The Good Polity: Normative Analysis of the State* (1989)
- Laslett, Peter, et al. (eds.), *Philosophy, Politics, and Society*, 1st through 6th series (1975 – 1992)
- Leopold, David and Stears, Marc (eds.), *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches* (2008)
- Miller, David (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (1987)
- Quinton, A. (ed.), *Political Philosophy* (1967)
- Sandel, Michael (ed.), *Justice: A Reader* (2007)

iii. Journals and periodicals

Hyperlinks will take you to each publication's [OU e-Journals](#) page, available via SOLO Bodleian.

[Contemporary Political Theory](#)
[Ethics](#)
[European Journal of Political Theory](#)
[History of Political Thought](#)
[Journal of Political Ideologies](#)
[Journal of Political Philosophy](#)
[Philosophy and Public Affairs](#)
[Politics, Philosophy and Economics](#)
[Political Theory](#)
[Social Philosophy and Policy](#)

iv. Internet sites

The following internet sites provide very useful research tools:

<https://www.jstor.org/> A very good site, where one can access and browse past issues of many periodicals, do searches by authors' names, keywords, etc. To date, of interest to political theorists, the following are available from the site: *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, *The Philosophical Quarterly*, *The Philosophical Review*, *Ethics*, *Political Theory*.

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com> This site contains electronic versions of all recent issues of journals published by Blackwell, including *Journal of Applied Philosophy* and *The Journal of Political Philosophy*.

II METHODS AND APPROACHES IN POLITICAL THEORY

Daniels, Norman, 'Reflective Equilibrium', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
[\[https://plato.stanford.edu/search/searcher.py\]](https://plato.stanford.edu/search/searcher.py)

Dworkin, Ronald, *Justice for Hedgehogs* (2011), chs. 7 and 8 on interpretation

Flikschuh, Katrin, 'The Idea of Philosophical Fieldwork: Global Justice, Moral Ignorance, and Intellectual Attitudes', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 22(1) (2014), pp. 1-26

Gallie, W. B., 'Essentially contested concepts', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 56 (1956), pp.167-198

Hampton, Jean, 'Should Political Philosophy be Done without Metaphysics?', *Ethics* 99(4) (1989), pp.791-814

Haslanger, Sally, 'A Reflection on Jane Addams' "Women and Public Housekeeping"', in Eric Schliesser (ed.), *Ten Neglected Classics of Philosophy* (2016). Also available as 'Epistemic Housekeeping and the Philosophical Canon: A Reflection on Jane Addams' "Women and Public Housekeeping"' at

[\[http://sallyhaslanger.weebly.com/uploads/1/8/2/7/18272031/haslangerehpc-addams.pdf\]](http://sallyhaslanger.weebly.com/uploads/1/8/2/7/18272031/haslangerehpc-addams.pdf)

Leopold, David and Stears, Marc (eds.), *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches* (2008).

Martineau, Wendy and Squires, Judith, 'Addressing the "Dismal Disconnection": Normative Theory, Empirical Inquiry and Dialogic Research', *Political Studies* 60(3) (2012), pp.523-38.

Narayan, Uma and Harding, Sandra (eds.), *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World* (2000).

Srinivasan, Amia, 'Does feminist philosophy rest on a mistake?' (2015)

[https://users.ox.ac.uk/~corp1468/Research_files/Does%20Feminist%20Philosophy
_KCL%20talk.pdf](https://users.ox.ac.uk/~corp1468/Research_files/Does%20Feminist%20Philosophy%20KCL%20talk.pdf)

Vincent, Andrew, *The Nature of Political Theory* (2004).

III TOPICS

1. Ideal Theory and Realism

Sample Questions:

- What is ideal theory?
- What is realism in political theory?
- Must the recommendations of political theories be feasible?

Core Reading:

Cohen, G. A., *Rescuing Justice and Equality* (2008), part II, esp. ch 6. [Previously appeared as 'Facts and Principles', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31(3) (2003), pp. 211–245.]

Estlund, David M., *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework* (2008), ch. 14, 'Utopophobia'.

Honig, Bonnie and Stears, Marc, 'The New Realism', in Jonathan Floyd and Marc Stears (eds.), *Political Philosophy versus History: Contextualism and Real Politics in Contemporary Political Thought* (2011).

Miller, David, 'Political Philosophy for Earthlings' in his book *Justice for Earthlings: Essays in Political Philosophy* (2013), as well as in David Leopold and Marc Stears (eds.), *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches* (2008), pp. 29-48.

Sen, Amartya, 'What do we Want from a Theory of Justice?', *Journal of Philosophy* 103(5) (2006), pp. 215-238, or his *The Idea of Justice* (2009), esp. the Introduction.

Stemplowska, Zofia, 'What's Ideal about Ideal Theory?', *Social Theory and Practice* 34(3) (2008), pp. 319–340.

Further Reading:

Baderin, Alice, 'Two Forms of Realism in Political Theory', *European Journal of Political Theory* 13(2) (2014), pp.132-153.

Geuss, Raymond, *Philosophy and Real Politics* (2008), or his *Politics and the Imagination* (2010), chapter 2 and chapter 3.

Gheaus, Anca, 'The Feasibility Constraint on The Concept of Justice', *The Philosophical Quarterly* 63(252) (2013), pp. 445-464.

- Honig, Bonnie, *Political Theory and the Displacement of Politics* (1993).
- Mills, Charles W., 'Decolonizing Western Political Philosophy', *New Political Science* 37(1) (2015), pp. 1-24.
- Simmons, A.J., 'Ideal and Nonideal Theory', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 38(1) (2010), pp. 5-36.
- Southwood, Nicholas, 'Does "Ought" Imply "Feasible"?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 44(1) (2016), pp.7-45.
- Swift, Adam, 'The Value of Philosophy in Nonideal Circumstances', *Social Theory and Practice* 34(3) (2008), pp.363-387.
- Weber, Max, 'Politics as a Vocation' in Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (eds.), *Political Writings* (1994).
- Williams, Bernard, *In the Beginning was the Deed: Realism and Moralism in Political Argument* (2005), ch. 1 and 5 (but see also 2 and 6).

2. Power

Sample Questions:

- Is power always measured by the extent to which one agent can exert her will over another?
- Is the use of violence for political ends ever justified?
- Is power essentially a negative force?
- What is the relationship between power and violence?

Core Reading:

- Arendt, Hannah, *On Violence* (1970), ch. 2.
- Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1965), "Concerning Violence," "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness," and "Colonial Wards and Mental Disorders."
- Foucault, Michel, 'The Subject and Power' (which is the afterword in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd edn (1983)).
- Hayward, Clarissa & Steven Lukes, "Nobody to shoot? Power, Structure, and Agency, A Dialogue," *Journal of Power* (2008)
- hooks, bell, 'Talking Back' and 'Overcoming White Supremacy: a Comment', in her *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (1989).
- Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (1978), Introduction.

Further Reading:

- Arendt, Hannah, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951)
- Césaire, Aimé, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1950)
- Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952)
- Foucault, Michel, 'Two Lectures on Power' in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, ed. Colin Gordon (1980).

- Frazer, Elizabeth, and Kimberly Hutchings, *Violence and Political Theory* (2020).
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1971), especially Part II, "Notes on Politics."
- Habermas, Jürgen, 'Hannah Arendt's Communications Concept of Power', *Social Research* 44(1) (1977), pp. 3-24.
- Haugaard, Mark (ed.), *Power: A Reader* (2002). Essays on Dahl, Lukes, Arendt, Foucault.
- Haugaard, Mark, *The Four Dimensions of Power: Understanding Domination, Empowerment and Democracy* (2020).
- Hayward, Clarissa Rile, *De-facing Power* (2000).
- Heldke, Lisa M. and O'Connor, Peg (eds.), *Oppression, Privilege, and Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism* (2004).
- Lovett, Frank, *A General Theory of Domination and Justice* (2010).
- Lukes, Steven (ed.), *Power*, 2nd edn (2005), esp. the introduction.
- McNay, Lois, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction* (1994).
- Miller, David, 'The Use and Abuse of Political Violence', *Political Studies* 32(3) (1984), pp.401-19.
- Mills, Charles and Pateman, Carole, *Contract and Domination* (2007).
- Morriss, Peter, *Power: A Philosophical Analysis*, 2nd ed. (2002).
- Saar, Martin, 'Power and Critique', *Journal of Power* 3(1) (2010), pp. 7-20.
- Shapiro, Ian, *Politics Against Domination* (2016).
- Young, Iris Marion, 'Five Faces of Oppression', in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (2011 – new edition with preface by Danielle Allen).

3. Liberty

Sample Questions:

- Is freedom best understood as the absence of constraints?
- If an individual is poorer than others, does this entail that they are, in that respect, less free than others?
- Does freedom in society require democratic rule?
- Assess the claim that many theories of freedom fail to appreciate the sense in which the self is socially constructed.

Core Reading:

- Berlin, Isaiah, *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969).
- Cohen, G. A., 'Freedom and Money', in his *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other Essays in Political Philosophy* (2011).
- Hirschmann, Nancy J., *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom* (2003), esp. ch. 1.
- Miller, David (ed.), *The Liberty Reader* (2006), esp. chapters by MacCallum Jr, Taylor, Cohen, Miller and Skinner.

Pettit, Philip, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (1997).
 Skinner, Quentin, 'The Idea of Negative liberty: Philosophical and Historical Perspectives', in Rorty, Schneewind, and Skinner (eds.), *Philosophy in History: Essays in the Historiography of Philosophy* (1984)

Further Reading:

Carter, Ian, *A Measure of Freedom* (1999).
 Carter, Ian, Kramer, Matthew H., and Steiner, Hillel (eds.), *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology* (2007).
 Hesse, Barnor, 'Escaping Liberty: Western Hegemony, Black Fugitivity', *Political Theory* 42(3) (2014), pp.288-313.
 Kramer, Matthew, *The Quality of Freedom* (2003).
 Kristjánsson, Kristján, *Social Freedom: The Responsibility View* (1996).
 Laborde, Cécile and Maynor, John W. (eds.), *Republicanism and Political Theory* (2008), esp. pt I.
 List, Christian and Valentini, Laura, 'Freedom as Independence', *Ethics* 126(4) (2016), pp.1043-1074.
 Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986), chs. 1, 14, 15.
 Simpson, Thomas W. 'The Impossibility of Republican Freedom', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 45(1), pp. 27 – 53.
 Waldron, Jeremy, 'Homelessness and the Issue of Freedom', *U.C.L.A. Law Review* 39(2) (1991), pp.295-324. Also in his *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers 1981-1991* (1993), and in R.E. Goodin and P. Pettit (eds.), *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2nd edn (2006).
 Williams, Bernard, 'From Freedom to Liberty: The Construction of a Political Value', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30(1) (2001), pp.3-26.

4. Rights

Sample Questions:

- Are there any natural rights and, if so, are there any which are absolute?
- Can rights conflict with one another?
- Should we understand human rights primarily through the lens of human rights practice?

Core Reading:

Hart, H. L. A., 'Are There Any Natural Rights?', *The Philosophical Review* 64(2) (1955), pp.175-191. Reprinted in Jeremy Waldron, *Theories of Rights* (1984).
 Kamm, Frances, 'Rights', in Jules L. Coleman, Kenneth Einar Himma, and Scott J. Shapiro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law* (2002).
 Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986), ch. 7.
 Steiner, Hillel, *An Essay on Rights* (1994), ch. 3, especially pp.55-73.

Wenar, Leif, 'The Nature of Rights', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33(3) (2005), pp.223-252.

Further Reading:

Beitz, Charles, *The Idea of Human Rights* (2009).

Dworkin, Ronald, 'Is There a Right to Pornography?', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 1(2) (1981), pp.177-212.

Feinberg, Joel, 'The Nature and Value of Rights', *The Journal of Value Inquiry* 4(4) (1970), pp. 243-260. Reprinted in his *Rights, Justice and the Bounds of Liberty* (1980).

Finnis, John, *Natural Law and Natural Rights*, 2nd edn (2011).

Gilligan, Carol, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982).

Griffin, James, *On Human Rights* (2008).

Jeffries, Alison (ed.), *Womens' Voices, Womens' Rights: Oxford Amnesty Lectures, 1996* (1999), especially chapters by Martha Nussbaum ('The Feminist Critique of Liberalism') and Onora O'Neill ('Womens' Rights: Whose Obligations?')

Jones, Peter, *Rights* (1994), chapters 5, 6, 7 & 8.

Kamm, Frances M., *Intricate Ethics: Rights, Responsibilities, and Permissible Harm* (2007), part II 'Rights'.

Langton, Rae, *Sexual Solipsism: Philosophical Essays on Pornography and Objectification* (2009), especially chapter 6 'Whose Right? Ronald Dworkin, Women, and Pornographers' (originally published in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19(4) (1990), pp.311-359).

O'Neill, Onora, 'The Dark Side of Human Rights', *International Affairs* 81(2) (2005), pp.427-439.

Sen, Amartya, 'Rights and Agency', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 11(1) (1982), pp.3-39.

Thomson, Judith Jarvis, *Rights, Restitution and Risk: Essays in Moral Theory* (1986), esp. essays 1, 3, 5.

Waldron, Jeremy, *Nonsense Upon Stilts: Bentham, Burke and Marx on the Rights of Man* (1987 – reprinted as a Routledge Revival) (excerpts from Bentham, Burke and Marx)

Waldron, Jeremy (ed.), *Theories of Rights* (1984), esp. essays by Margaret Macdonald, Alan Gewirth, and Gregory Vlastos.

5. Justice and Injustice

5a. Justice

Sample Questions:

- 'Theories of justice concern the public rules of political institutions rather than personal choices of individuals.' Discuss.
- Is justice best understood as reciprocal fairness?
- Do we have good reason for thinking that free market outcomes will be just?

Core Reading:

Cohen, G. A., *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're so Rich?* (2000), esp. chs 8 and 9.

Nussbaum, Martha, *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (2006).

Rawls, John, *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, ed. Erin Kelly (2001).
 Williams, Andrew, 'Incentives, Inequality and Publicity', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27(3) (1998), pp. 225-247.

Further Reading:

Buchanan, Allen, 'Justice as Reciprocity versus Subject-Centered Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19(3) (1990), pp. 227-252.
 Clayton, Matthew and Williams, Andrew (eds.), *Social Justice* (2004).
 Cohen, G. A. *Rescuing Justice and Equality* (2008).
 Freeman, Samuel Richard (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (2003).
 Hayek, Friedrich A. von, *Law, Legislation and Liberty, vol. II: The Mirage of Social Justice* (1976).
 Knight, Carl and Stemplowska, Zofia (eds.), *Responsibility and Distributive Justice* (2011).
 MacIntyre, Alasdair, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (1988).
 Miller, David, *Principles of Social Justice* (1999).
 Okin, Susan Moller, *Justice, Gender and the Family* (1989).
 Olsaretti, Serena (ed.), *Desert and Justice* (2003).
 Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. edn (1999).
 Sandel, Michael, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, 2nd edn (1998).
 Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (1983).

5b. Injustice

Sample Questions:

- 'Taking racial injustice seriously requires the radical reconstruction of liberal theories of justice.' Discuss.
- How should moral agents think about their responsibilities in relation to structural injustice?
- Is recognition or redistribution a better response to real world injustice?

Core Reading

Crenshaw, Kimberlé, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review* 43(6) (1991), pp. 1241-1299.
 Fraser, Nancy, 'From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age', *New Left Review* 212(1), pp. 68-93.
 Fricker, Miranda, *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* (2007).
 Pateman, Carole and Mills, Charles W., *Contract and Domination* (2007).
 Shelby, Tommie, 'Race and Social Justice: Rawlsian Considerations', *Fordham Law Review* 72(5) (2004), pp. 1697-1714.
 Young, Iris Marion, *Responsibility for Justice* (2011).

Further Reading

Allen, Amy, 'Power and the Politics of Difference: Oppression, Empowerment, and

- Transnational Justice', *Hypatia* 23(3) (2008), pp. 156-172.
- Boxill, Bernard R. (ed.), *Race and Racism* (2001).
- Butt, Daniel, 'The Ethical Implications of Benefiting from Injustice', in Hugh LaFollette (ed.), *Ethics in Practice: An Anthology* (5th Edition) (2020).
- Darby, Derrick, 'Charles Mills's Liberal Redemption Song' *Ethics* 129(2) (2019).
- Fraser, Nancy, 'Abnormal Justice', *Critical Inquiry* 34(3) (2008), pp. 393-422.
- Fraser, Nancy and Honneth, Axel, *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange* (2003).
- Heldke, Lisa and O'Connor, Peg (eds.), *Oppression, Privilege, and Resistance: Theoretical Perspectives on Racism, Sexism, and Heterosexism* (2004).
- Kohn, Margaret, 'Postcolonialism and Global Justice', *Journal of Global Ethics* 9(2) (2013), pp. 187-200.
- Lebron, Christopher, *The Color of Our Shame: Race and Justice in our Time* (2013).
- Lu, Catherine, 'Colonialism as Structural Injustice: Historical Responsibility and Contemporary Redress', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 19(3) (2011), pp. 261-281.
- Miller, David, 'Distributing Responsibilities', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9(4) (2001), pp. 453-471.
- Mills, Charles, 'Rawls on Race/Race in Rawls', *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 47(1) (2009), pp. 161-184.
- Mills, Charles, 'Retrieving Rawls for Racial Justice? A Critique of Tommie Shelby', *Critical Philosophy of Race* 1(1) (2013), pp. 1-27. (See below for Shelby's reply to Mills.)
- Mills, Charles, *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism* (2017).
- Perry, Stephen R., 'On the Relationship Between Corrective and Distributive Justice', in Jeremy Horder (ed.), *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence: Fourth Series* (2000).
- Robeyns, Ingrid, 'Is Nancy Fraser's Critique of Theories of Distributive Justice Justified?', *Constellations* 10(4) (2003), pp. 538-554.
- Shelby, Tommie, 'Racial Realities and Corrective Justice: A Reply to Charles Mills', *Critical Philosophy of Race* 1(2) (2013), pp. 145-162.
- Shelby, Tommie, *Dark Ghettos: Injustice, Dissent, and Reform* (2016)
- Winant, Howard, 'Charles Mills for and against Liberalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41(3) (2018), pp. 551-556.
- Young, Iris Marion, 'Structural Injustice and the Politics of Difference', in Gary Craig, Tania Burchardt, and David Gordon, *Social Justice and Public Policy: Seeking Fairness in Diverse Societies* (2008).
- Ypi, Lea, 'What's Wrong with Colonialism', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41(2) (2013), pp. 158-191.

6. Global Justice

Sample Questions:

- Does the case for global justice depend on whether economic globalisation exists or not?

- Is there a human right to subsistence?
- Are cosmopolitan ideals of justice incompatible with a recognition of the rights of political communities to be self-determining?

Core Reading:

- Beitz, Charles, *Political Theory and International Relations* (1979), Part III.
- Caney, Simon, *Justice Beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory* (2005), ch. 4.
- Miller, David, *National Responsibility and Global Justice* (2007).
- Rawls, John, 'The Law of Peoples', *Critical Inquiry* 20(1) (1993), pp. 36-68.
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- Sangiovanni, Andrea, 'Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35(1) (2007), pp.3-39.

Further Reading:

- Abizadeh, Arash and Gilibert, Pablo, 'Is there a genuine tension between cosmopolitan egalitarianism and special responsibilities?' *Philosophical Studies* 138 (3) (2008), pp. 349 – 365.
- Ashford, Elizabeth, 'The Duties Imposed by the Human Right to Basic Necessities', in Thomas Pogge (ed.), *Freedom from Poverty as a Human Right: Who Owes What to the Very Poor?* (2007), pp.183-218. Also:
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- Bell, Duncan (ed.), *Empire, Race and Global Justice* (2019), esp. chapters by Bell, Mills and Morefield.
- Blake, Michael, *Justice and Foreign Policy* (2013).
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- O'Neill, Onora, *Justice Across Boundaries: Whose Obligations?* (2016).
- Pogge, Thomas, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, 2nd edn (2008)
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- Shue, Henry, *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd edn (1996).
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- Stemplowska, Zofia, 'On the Real World Duties Imposed on Us by Human Rights', *Journal of Social Philosophy* 40(4) (2009), pp. 466–487.
- Valentini, Laura, *Justice in a Globalized World: A Normative Framework* (2011).
- Young, Iris Marion, 'Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model', *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23(1) (2006), pp. 102-130.

7. Equality

Sample Questions:

- What does being equal with others consist in?
- Is the harshness objection a decisive one against Luck Egalitarianism?
- Is there a real difference between distributive and relational equality?
- Is the levelling down objection a forceful one against egalitarianism?

Core Reading:

- Anderson, Elizabeth, 'What is the Point of Equality?', *Ethics* 109(2) (1999), pp. 287-337.
- Clayton, Matthew and Williams, Andrew (eds.), *The Ideal of Equality*, rev. edn (2002), esp. chapters by Nagel, Parfit and Temkin.
- Cohen, G. A., 'On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice', *Ethics* 99(4) (1989), pp. 906-944.
- Dworkin, Ronald, 'What is Equality?', Parts 1 and 2, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1981).
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 'Part 2: Equality of Resources' (*Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10 (4) (1981), pp. 283-345. Reprinted as chs. 1&2 of his *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (2000).
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- Williams, Bernard, 'The Idea of Equality', in Peter Laslett and W. G. Runciman (eds.), *Philosophy, Politics and Society – Second series: a collection* (1962). Reprinted in Goodin and Pettit (2006).

Further Reading:

- Aristotle, *Politics*, Book 3.12.
- Carter, Ian, 'Respect and the Basis of Equality', *Ethics* 121(3) (2011), pp. 538-571.
- Casal, Paula, 'Why Sufficiency is Not Enough', *Ethics* 117(2) (2007), pp. 296-326.
- Cohen, G. A., *Rescuing Justice and Equality* (2008).
- Elford, Gideon, 'Survey Article: Relational Equality and Distribution', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 25(4) (2017), pp. e80-e99.
- Fourie, Carina, Schuppert, Fabian and Wallimann-Helmer, Ivo (eds.), *Social Equality: On What it Means to be Equals* (2015).
- Frankfurt, Harry G., *On Inequality* (2015).
- Lippert-Rasmussen, Kasper, *Relational Egalitarianism: Living as Equals* (2018).
- Mason, Andrew, *Levelling the Playing Field: The Idea of Equal Opportunity and its Place in Egalitarian Thought* (2006).
- Miller, David, 'Equality and Justice' in Andrew Mason (ed.), *Ideals of Equality* (1998).
- Sen, Amartya, 'Equality of What?', in Sterling M. McMurrin (ed.), *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, (1980). Reprinted in John Rawls et al., *Liberty, Equality, and Law: Selected Tanner Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, ed. Sterling M. McMurrin (1987).

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- Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice: a Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (1983), esp. chs. 1, 11, 13.
- Waldron, Jeremy, 'Basic Equality,' SSRN (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1311816) (2008).
- White, Stuart Gordon, *Equality* (2007).
- Wolff, Jonathan, 'Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27(2) (1998), pp. 97-122.
- Young, Iris Marion, 'Equality of Whom? Social Groups and Judgments of Injustice', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9(1) (2001), pp. 1-18.

8. Feminism

Sample Questions:

- Does the claim that gender is socially constructed help feminism?
- What weight should feminists give to the value of individual liberty?
- Do feminists fail to appreciate the value of the private sphere when they claim that it is a site of women's oppression?
- To what extent are the differences amongst women a problem for feminism?

Core Reading:

- Chambers, Clare, 'Feminism', in Michael Freeden, Lyman Tower Sargent, and Marc Stears (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (2013).
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review* 43(6) (1991), pp. 1241-1299.
- hooks, bell, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, new edn (2015).
- Nussbaum, Martha C., *Sex and Social Justice* (1999), esp. chs. 2 'The Feminist Critique of Liberalism' and 9 'Rage and Reason' (1999).
- Okin, Susan Moller, *Justice, Gender and the Family* (1989).
- Pateman, Carole, *The Sexual Contract* (1988), chs. 1 and 4.
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- Chambers, Clare, *Sex, Culture and Social Justice: The Limits of Choice* (2008).
- The Combahee River Collective Statement (April 1977): <http://circuitous.org/scraps/combahee.html>
- Disch, Lisa and Hawkesworth, Mary (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (2016).
- Gilligan, Carol, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982).
- Hirschmann, Nancy, *The Subject of Liberty: Towards a Feminist Theory of Freedom* (2003).

- hooks, bell, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*, 3rd edn (2015), Preface and Chs. 1-2.
- MacKinnon, Catharine, *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (1987).
- Martineau, Wendy and Squires, Judith, 'Addressing the "Dismal Disconnection": Normative Theory, Empirical Inquiry and Dialogical Research', *Political Studies* 60(3) (2012), pp. 523-38.
- Narayan, Uma and Harding, Sandra (eds.), *Decentering the Center: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Postcolonial, and Feminist World* (2000), esp. essays by Jaggar, Okin, Narayan, Code, and Harding.
- Okin, Susan Moller, 'Justice and Gender: An Unfinished Debate', *Fordham Law Review* 72(5) (2004), pp. 1537-1567.
- O'Neill, Daniel, Shanley, Mary Lyndon, Young, Iris Marion (eds.), *Illusion of Consent: Engaging with Carole Pateman* (2008).
- Pateman Carole, and Grosz, Elizabeth, *Feminist Challenges: Social and Political Theory* (1986).
- Pateman, Carole, 'Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy' in Anne Phillips (ed.), *Feminism and Equality* (1987).
- Squires, Judith, *Gender in Political Theory* (2000).

9. Democracy

Sample Questions:

- Is fairness the best reason for democracy?
- In what sense, if any, should democracy be 'deliberative'?
- 'It would be more democratic to select political representatives by lot than by election.' Discuss.

Core Reading:

- Allen, Danielle, *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Education* (2004).
- Christiano, Thomas, *The Rule of the Many* (1996).
- Cohen, Joshua, 'Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy', in his *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays* (2009), or in James Bohman and William Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics* (1997).
- Dworkin, Ronald, *Justice for Hedgehogs* (2011), ch. 18.
- Mouffe, Chantal, *The Democratic Paradox* (2000).
- Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000).

Further Reading:

- Dahl, Robert, *Democracy and its Critics* (1989).
- Estlund, David M., *Democratic Authority: A Philosophical Framework* (2008).
- Fishkin, James, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* (1995).
- Fung, Archon, 'Deliberation Before the Revolution: Toward an Ethics of Deliberative

- Democracy in an Unjust World', *Political Theory* 33(3) (2005), pp. 397-419.
- Fung, Archon, 'Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and their Consequences', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11(3) (2003), pp. 338-367.
- Gutmann, Amy and Thompson, Dennis, *Democracy and Disagreement* (1996).
- Held, David, *Models of Democracy* (1987).
- Landemore, Hélène, *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of the Many* (2013).
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- Miller, David, 'Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice', in David Estlund (ed.), *Democracy* (2002).
- Sen, Amartya, *The Idea of Justice* (2009), chs. 15 & 16.
- Shapiro, Ian, *Politics Against Domination* (2016), chs. 2-4.
- Smith, Graham, *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation* (2009)
- Stears, Marc, *Demanding Democracy: American Radicals in Search of a New Politics* (2010)
- Viehoff, Daniel, 'Democratic Equality and Political Authority', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42(4) (2014), pp. 337-375.
- Waldron, Jeremy, *Law and Disagreement* (1999)

10. Political Obligation and Civil Disobedience

10a. Political Obligation

Sample Questions:

- Is there a general obligation to obey the law?
- Do we have political duties to our fellow citizens that we do not have to other human beings?
- How successful is fairness as a ground for political obligations?

Core Reading:

- Dworkin, Ronald, *Law's Empire* (1986), ch. 6.
- Gilbert, Margaret, *A Theory of Political Obligation: Membership, Commitment, and the Bonds of Society* (2006).
- Klosko, George, 'Presumptive Benefit, Fairness, and Political Obligation', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 16(3) (1987), pp. 241-259.
- Waldron, Jeremy, 'Special Ties and Natural Duties', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22(1) (1993), pp. 3-30.
- Wellman, Christopher H. and Simmons A. J., *Is There a Duty to Obey the Law?* (2005).
- Wolff, Robert Paul, *In Defense of Anarchism* (1970). Available at <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/robert-paul-wolff-in-defense-of-anarchism.pdf>.

Further reading:

- Knowles, Dudley, *Political Obligation: A Critical Introduction* (2010).
- McDermott, Daniel, 'Fair-play Obligations' *Political Studies* 52(2) (2004), pp. 216-232.
- Parekh, Bhikhu, 'A Misconceived Discourse on Political Obligation', *Political Studies* 41(2) (1993), pp. 236-251.
- Pateman, Carole, *The Problem of Political Obligation: A Critique of Liberal Theory* (1985)
- Pateman, Carole and Hirschmann, Nancy, 'Political Obligation, Freedom and Feminism', *The American Political Science Review* 86(1) (1992), pp. 179-188.
- Pitkin, Hanna, 'Obligation and Consent', in Laslett, Runciman, and Skinner (eds.), *Philosophy Politics and Society Fourth Series* (1972)
- Quong, Jonathan, *Liberalism Without Perfection* (2011), ch. 4
- Raz, Joseph, 'Authority and Justification', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 14(1) (1985), pp. 3-29.
An extended version of these arguments appears in Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986), chs. 2-4.
- Simmons, A. J., *Moral Principles and Political Obligation* (1979).
- Simmons, A. J., 'Justification and Legitimacy', *Ethics* 109(4) (1999), pp. 739-771.
- Wellman, Christopher H., 'Toward a Liberal Theory of Political Obligation', *Ethics* 111(4) (2001), pp. 735-759.

10b. Civil Disobedience**Sample Questions:**

- Is civil disobedience a right? Is it a duty?
- On what basis should we distinguish civil disobedience from other forms of law breaking?
- How far is violence consistent with justified civil disobedience?

Core Reading:

- Bedau, Hugo Adam, *Civil Disobedience in Focus* (1991).
- Brownlee, Kimberley, 'Features of a Paradigm Case of Civil Disobedience,' *Res Publica* 10(4) (2004), pp. 337-351.
- King, Martin Luther, 'Letter From Birmingham Jail' (1963).
http://okra.stanford.edu/transcription/document_images/undecided/630416-019.pdf, reprinted in *The Atlantic Monthly* 297(2) (2006), pp. 55-56
- Lyons, David, 'Moral Judgment, Historical Reality, and Civil Disobedience', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27(1) (1998), pp. 30-48.
- Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. edn (1999), ch. 6.

Further Reading:

- Arendt, Hannah, *Crises of the Republic: Lying in Politics, Civil Disobedience, On Violence, Thoughts on Politics and Revolution* (1972), ch. 2 'Civil disobedience'.
- Brownlee, Kimberley, *Conscience and Conviction: The Case for Civil Disobedience* (2012)
- Caraus, Tamara and Pârnu, Camil-Alexandru (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism and the Legacies of Dissent* (2014), especially Part II 'Cosmopolitanism and the Legacy of Civil

- Disobedience’.
- Delmas, Candice, *A Duty to Resist: When Disobedience Should Be Uncivil* (2018)
- Dworkin, Ronald, ‘Civil Disobedience’ in his *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977).
- Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1965), ch. 1.
- Frazer, Elizabeth, and Kimberly Hutchings, *Can Political Violence Ever be Justified?* (2019).
- Gandhi, M.K., *Hind Swaraj* (1909), chs. 16-17.
- Lefkowitz, David, ‘On a moral right to civil disobedience’, *Ethics* 117(2) (2007), pp. 202-233.
- Pasternak, Avia, ‘Political Rioting: A Moral Assessment’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 46 (4), pp. 384 – 418.
- Pineda, Erin, *Seeing Like an Activist* (2021)
- Sabl, Andrew, ‘Looking Forward to Justice: Rawlsian Civil Disobedience and its Non-Rawlsian Lessons’, *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 9(3) (2001), pp. 307-330.
- Scheuerman, William E., *Civil Disobedience* (2018)
- Scheuerman, William E., *The Cambridge Companion to Civil Disobedience* (2021)
- Shelby, Tommie, and Terry, Brandon M. (eds.), *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King* (2018).
- Walzer, Michael, ‘The Obligation to Disobey’, *Ethics* 77(3), pp. 163-175.
- X, Malcolm, ‘The Ballot or the Bullet’,
http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html

11. Neutrality and Perfectionism

Sample Questions:

- If the state should abstain from promoting ideals of the good because reasonable people disagree about them, should it not also abstain from promoting ideals of justice because reasonable people disagree about them as well?
- Is it possible for the state to be neutral between different conceptions of the good life?
- Given that people have an interest in leading fulfilling lives then does not the state have a reason to support valuable conceptions of the good through the use of education, subsidies and tax exemptions?

Core Reading:

- Chan, Joseph, ‘Legitimacy, Unanimity, and Perfectionism’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 29(1) (2000), pp. 5-42.
- Nussbaum, Martha, ‘Perfectionist Liberalism and Political Liberalism’, *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 39(1) (2011), pp. 3-45.
- Quong, Jonathan, *Liberalism without Perfection* (2011).
- Rawls, John, *Political Liberalism*, exp. edn (2005).
- Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986), chs. 14 and 15.

Further Reading:

- Brake, Elizabeth, 'Rawls and Feminism: What Should Feminists make of Liberal Neutrality?', *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 1(3) (2004), pp. 293-309.
- Dworkin, Ronald, *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (2000), esp. chs. 3, 5 and 6.
- Enoch, David, 'Against Public Reason', in David Sobel, Peter Vallentyne, and Steven Wall (eds.), *Oxford Studies in Political Philosophy* Vol. 1 (2015), pp. 112-142.
- Fowler, Timothy and Stemplowska, Zofia, 'The Asymmetry Objection Rides Again: On the Nature and Significance of Justificatory Disagreement', *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 32(2) (2015), pp. 133-146.
- Gaus, Gerald F., *The Order of Public Reason: A Theory of Freedom and Morality in a Diverse and Bounded World* (2011), especially chs. 1, 4, and 5.
- Hampton, Jean, 'Should Political Philosophy be Done without Metaphysics?', *Ethics* 99(4) (1989), pp. 791-814.
- Patten, Alan, 'Liberal Neutrality: A Reinterpretation and Defense', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 20(3) (2012), pp. 249-72.
- Pallikkathayil, Japa, 'Neither Perfectionism nor Political Liberalism', 44 (3) (2016), pp. 171-196.
- Rosenblum, Nancy (ed.), *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (1989), especially Judith N. Shklar, 'The Liberalism of Fear' and Susan Moller Okin, 'Humanist Liberalism'.
- Sher, George, *Beyond Neutrality: Perfectionism and Politics* (1997).
- Wall, Steven and Klosko, George, (eds.), *Perfectionism and Neutrality: Essays in liberal theory* (2003)
- Watson, Lori and Hartley, Christie, *Equal Citizenship and Public Reason: A Feminist Political Liberalism* (2018)
- Yuracko, Kimberly A., 'Towards Feminist Perfectionism: A Radical Critique of Rawlsian Liberalism', *UCLA Women's Law Journal*, 6(1) (1995), pp. 1-48.

12. Libertarianism**Sample Questions:**

- Is the libertarian principle of full self-ownership coherent and attractive?
- Why are libertarians so critical of states?
- Are libertarian accounts of individual rights over external objects, such as natural resources, plausible?
- Given evident historical injustice, what implications does a libertarian view have for present day distributions?

Core Reading:

- Cohen, G.A., *Self-Ownership Freedom and Equality* (1995).
- Nozick, Robert, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, rev. edn (2003).
- Okin, Susan Moller, 'Libertarianism: Matriarchy, Slavery, and Dystopia', in her *Justice, Gender, and the Family* (1989).

Vallentyne, Peter, 'Left-Libertarianism', in David M. Estlund (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy* (2012).

Wolff, Jonathan, *Robert Nozick: Property, Justice, and the Minimal State* (1991).

Further Reading:

Bader, Ralf M., and Meadowcroft, John (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Nozick's Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (2011).

Fabre, Cécile, *Whose Body is it Anyway? Justice and the Integrity of the Person* (2006), chs. 1 and 5.

Fried, Barbara, 'Left-Libertarianism: A Review Essay', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 32(1) (2004), pp. 66–92.

Fried, Barbara, 'Left-Libertarianism, Once More: A Rejoinder to Vallentyne, Steiner, and Otsuka', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 33(2) (2005), pp. 216–222.

Kymlicka, Will, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (2002), ch. 4 ('Libertarianism').

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Paul, Jeffrey (ed.), *Reading Nozick: Essays on Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1982).

Rothbard, Murray N., *The Ethics of Liberty* (1998).

Vallentyne, Peter, Steiner, Hillel, and Otsuka, Michael, 'Why Left-Libertarianism Is Not Incoherent, Indeterminate, or Irrelevant: A Reply to Fried,' *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 33(2) (2005), pp.201–15.

Waldron, Jeremy, *The Right to Private Property* (1988).

13. Multiculturalism and Secularism

Sample Questions:

- Does multiculturalism really present a challenge to liberalism? Why or why not?
- What is a culture and by virtue of what might it claim rights?
- Should the liberal state be secular?
- Is secularism anti-religious?

Core Reading:

Kukathas, Chandran, 'Are There Any Cultural Rights?', *Political Theory* 20(1) (1992), pp.105-139, and 'Cultural Rights Again: A Rejoinder to Kymlicka', *Political Theory* (1992) 20(4) (1992), p.674-680. See also Kymlicka, Will, 'The Rights of Minority Cultures: A Reply to Kukathas', *Political Theory* 20(1) (1992), pp.140-146).

Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1995).

Laborde, Cécile, *Liberalism's Religion* (2017).

Laborde, Cécile, and Bardon, Aurélia (eds.), *Religion in Liberal Political Philosophy* (2017).

Okin, Susan Moller, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (1999). (Or: 'Gender Inequality and Cultural Differences', *Political Theory* 22(1) (1994), pp.5-24, & 'Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions', *Ethics* 108(4) (1998), pp.661-684)

- Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann (1994). Includes replies by Habermas and others.
- Young, Iris Marion, 'Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship', *Ethics* 99(2) (1989), pp. 250-274.

Further Reading:

- Barry, Brian, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (2001), esp. ch. 4.
- Benhabib, Selya *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens* (2004).
- Bhargava, Rajeev (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics* (1998).
- Connolly, William E., *Pluralism* (2005), ch. 3.
- Dworkin, Ronald, *Religion without God* (2013).
- Fabre, Cécile, *Justice in a Changing World* (2007), ch. 3.
- Kelly, Paul J. (ed.), *Multiculturalism Reconsidered: Culture and Equality and its Critics* (2002), essays by Barry, Caney, Mendus, Miller, Parekh, Shapiro, and Tully.
- Kukathas, Chandran, *The Liberal Archipelago: A Theory of Diversity and Freedom* (2003).
- Laborde, Cécile, *Critical Republicanism: The Hijab Controversy and Political Philosophy* (2008).
- Leiter, Brian, *Why Tolerate Religion?* (2014).
- Nussbaum, Martha, *Liberty of Conscience: In Defense of America's Tradition of Religious Equality* (2008).
- Parekh, Bhikhu C., *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, 2nd edn (2006),
- Phillips, Anne, 'Exit and Voice,' in her *Multiculturalism Without Culture* (2007).
- Squires, Judith, 'Equality and Difference' in John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig and Anne Phillips (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (2006).

14. Socialism

Sample Questions:

- What, if anything, distinguishes socialism from left-leaning forms of liberalism?
- 'Desirable but not feasible.' Is that a fair verdict on the idea of a socialist society?
- Is market socialism a contradiction in terms?

Core Reading:

- Barry, Brian, *Does Society Exist? The Case for Socialism* (1989). Available online at <https://digital.library.lse.ac.uk/objects/lse:xef626meq>.
- Cohen, G. A., *Why Not Socialism?* (2009).
- Honneth, Axel, *The Idea of Socialism: Towards a Renewal* (2017).
- 'Special Issue: Symposium on G. A. Cohen and Socialism', *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, Vol. 13 Issue 2 (2014), pp. 117-185, esp. articles by David Miller and Hillel Steiner.
- Mitchell, Juliet, 'Women: The Longest Revolution', *New Left Review* 40 (1966)

Wright, Erik Olin, *Envisioning Real Utopias* (2010), esp. ch. 5 ('The Socialist Compass'). Available online at https://ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/ERU_files/ERU-full-manuscript.pdf.

Further Reading:

Arneson, Richard, 'Liberalism, Capitalism, and "Socialist" Principles', *Social Philosophy and Policy* 28(2) (2011), pp. 232-261.

Carens, Joseph H., 'An Interpretation and Defense of the Socialist Principle of Distribution', *Social Philosophy and Policy* 20(1) (2003), pp. 145-177.

Dunn, John, *The Politics of Socialism: An Essay in Political Theory* (1984).

Eley, Geoff, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (2002).

Elson, Diane, 'Market Socialism or Socialization of the Market?', *New Left Review* I/172 (1988), pp. 3-44.

Finlayson, Lorna, *The Political Is Political: Conformity and the Illusion of Dissent in Contemporary Political Theory* (2015), ch. 1 ('There Is No Alternative').

Gilbert, Pablo, 'The Socialist Principle: "From Each According to Their Abilities, To Each According to Their Needs"', *Journal of Social Philosophy* 46(2) (2015), pp. 197-225.

Gilbert, Pablo, and O'Neill, Martin, 'Socialism', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2019). <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/socialism/>>.

Hall, Stuart, 'The State – Socialism's Old Caretaker?', in his *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* (1988).

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Le Grand, Julian and Estrin, Saul, *Market Socialism* (1989), chs. by David Miller and Saul Estrin.

Miller, David, *Market, State, and Community: Theoretical Foundations of Market Socialism* (1989).

Ronzoni, Miriam, 'Life is Not a Camping Trip – On the Desirability of Cohenite Socialism', *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 11(2) (2012), pp. 171-185.

Sassoon, Donald, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*, new edn (2014).

van der Veen, Robert J., and Van Parijs, Philippe, 'A Capitalist Road to Communism', *Theory and Society* 15(5) (1986), pp. 635-655

Vrousalis, Nicholas, 'Jazz Bands, Camping Trips and Decommmodification: G.A. Cohen on Community', *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes* 8(1) (2012), pp. 141-163. [Special issue on Cohen.]

Wainwright, Hilary, *Arguments for a New Left: Answering the Free-Market Right* (1994), esp. chs. 3-7.

15. Conservatism

Sample Questions:

- What is conservatism, and what are its defining commitments?

- Is Oakeshott best described as a conservative or a liberal?
- Why is education necessarily conservative according to Arendt? Is she right?

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