

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 2011-2012

**Course Provider:** Dr Daniel McDermott (Keble College), tel: [2]72781 with suggested additions to, or corrections of, items on this list or with any enquiries about teaching for the paper.

**Other Teachers:**

Professor Simon Caney (Magdalen)  
 Dr. Cecile Fabre (Lincoln)  
 Dr E. Frazer (New)  
 Dr. D. Leopold (Mansfield)  
 Dr L. McNay (Somerville)  
 Professor D. Miller (Nuffield)  
 Dr. M. Philp (Oriel)  
 Dr. M. Stears (University)  
 Dr. A. Swift (Balliol)  
 Dr Patricia Thornton (Merton)  
 Professor Jeremy Waldron (All Souls)  
 Dr. S. 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 at the Politics Department's web site.

**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: the concept of the political; power, authority, and related concepts; the state; law; liberty and rights; justice and equality; public interest and common good; democracy and representation; political obligation and civil disobedience; ideology; liberalism, socialism, and conservatism.

*Examination Decrees 2008*

**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 emphasized 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 specialization in political theory, as well as tools that other specializations 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. These will be held in 2011-2012 in Michaelmas and Hilary terms in the Examination Schools, and will be given by Dr Daniel McDermott, Dr. Marc Stears, and Dr. Stuart White. Students taking this paper are expected to attend these lectures. College tutors will give guidance on the relevance to this course of other lecture series and seminars, organized by the Department of Politics or the sub-Faculty of Philosophy. These are listed for each term in the termly *Lecture List*, available from the Politics Department's web-site.

### Course Assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions established in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations 2001*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate student in the Politics Department. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the Politics Department's web-site.

### 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.

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

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>I GENERAL WORKS AND JOURNALS</b>	p5
<b>i Books</b>	
<b>ii Collections of articles</b>	
<b>iii Journals and periodicals</b>	
<b>iv Internet sites</b>	
<b>II THE NATURE OF POLITICAL THEORY</b>	p6
<b>III MAJOR TOPICS</b>	
1. Power and Authority	p6
a. Authority	
b. Power	
2. Political Obligation	p7
3. Democracy	p7
a. Democracy, in general	
b. Citizenship	
c. Deliberative democracy	
d. Economic models of democracy	
4. Liberty	p9

5. Rights	p9
a. Rights in general	
b. Human rights	
c. Minority rights	
d. Rights to freedom of speech, association	
e. Property Rights	
6. Justice and equality	p11
a. Theories of justice	
b. The relationship between justice and equality	
c. International justice	
d. Justice and gender	
7. The Public Interest and the Common Good	p12
a. Theoretical works	
b. The new republicanism	
8. Ideology	p13
<b>IV POLITICAL THEORIES AND IDEOLOGIES</b>	
9. Liberalism	p14
a. Classical texts	
b. Contemporary liberalism	
10. Critics of Liberalism	
a. Communitarianism	p14
b. Conservatism	p15
a. Classic texts	
b. Theoretical works	
c. The New Right	
c. Feminism	p15
a. Classic texts	
b. General works	
c. Feminism and liberalism	
d. Feminism and Marxism	
e. Radical feminisms	
f. Feminism and race/ethnicity	
11. Nationalism	p17
a. General works	
b. Liberal nationalism	
12. Socialism	p17
a. Classic Texts	
b. Historical Studies	
c. Theoretical works	

## I GENERAL WORKS AND JOURNALS

### **ii Books**

- Feinberg, Joel, *Social Philosophy* (1973)  
 Freedman, M., *A Very Short Introduction to Ideology* (2003)  
 Gaus, Gerald F, *Political Concepts and Political Theories* (2000)  
 Hampton, Jean, *Political Philosophy* (1996)  
 Heywood, Andrew, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, (2003)  
 Knowles, Dudley, *Political Philosophy* (2001)  
 Kymlicka, Will, *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1990)  
 Miller, D., *A Very Short Introduction to Political Philosophy* (2003)  
 Swift, Adam, *Political Philosophy* (2001)  
 Eccleshall, R. et al., *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, (2003)  
 Wolff, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (1996)

### **iii Collections of articles**

- Ball, Terence, Farr, James, and Hanson, Russell, (eds), *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change* (1989)  
 Ball, Terence and Richard Bellamy (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (2003)  
 Craig, E. J., (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, relevant articles (1998)  
 Eatwell, Roger, and Wright, Anthony, (eds), *Contemporary Political Ideologies*, 2nd edn., (1999)  
 Freedman, Michael (ed.), *Reassessing Political Ideologies: The Durability of Dissent* 2001  
 Goodin, R. E., and Pettit, Philip, (eds), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1993)  
 Goodin, R. E., and Pettit, Philip, (eds), *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1997)  
 Hamlin, Alan, and Pettit, Philip (eds), *The Good Polity: Normative Analysis of the State* (1989)  
 Held, David, (ed.), *Political Theory Today* (1991)  
 Laslett, Peter, et al (eds.), *Philosophy, Politics, and Society*, 1st through 6th series  
 Miller, David, (ed.), *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (1987)  
 Quinton, A., (ed.) *Political Philosophy* (1967)

### **iiii Journals and periodicals**

- Contemporary Political Theory  
 Ethics  
 European Journal of Political Theory  
 History of Political Thought  
 Nomos  
 Journal of Political Ideologies  
 Journal of Political Philosophy  
 Philosophy and Public Affairs

PPE  
 Political Theory  
 Social Philosophy and Policy

#### **liv Internet sites**

The following internet sites provide very useful research tools:

<http://www.jstor.ac.uk> 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.bodley.ox.ac.uk/oxlip/index.html> This site contains the Philosopher's Index as well as the Index to Theses.

<http://www.ingenta.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 THE NATURE OF POLITICAL THEORY: THE CONCEPT OF 'THE POLITICAL'**

Terence Ball, *Re-appraising Political Theory* (1995)

William Connolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse 3rd edn.* (1993)

Gallie, W. B. "Essentially Contested Concepts" *Proc Aristotelian Soc* (1955-6)

Miller, David, and Siedentop, Larry, (eds), *The Nature of Political Theory* (1983)

## **III MAJOR TOPICS**

### **1. Power and Authority**

#### **1a. Power**

Barry, Brian, *Democracy, Power and Justice* (1991); chs 8, 9, 10, 11

Beetham, David, *The Legitimation of Power* (1991)

Benton, Ted, "Realism Power and Objective Interests" in Keith Graham (ed.), *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1982)

Connolly, William, *The Terms of Political Discourse* (1983); ch 3

Dahl, Robert, *Modern Political Analysis* (1984); chs 5, 6

Dowding, Keith, *Power* (1996)

Foucault, Michel, *Foucault Essential Works vol 3: Power*, ed James Faubion 2000, and *Society Must Be Defended*, lectures 1, 2, 3

Gray, John, "Political Power, Social Theory and Essential Contestability" in Miller and Siedentop (eds), (1983)

Lukes, Steven, *Power: a radical view* (1974)

(ed.), *Power* (1986)

Morriss, Peter, *Power: a Philosophical Analysis* (1987)

### 1b. Authority

Arendt, Hannah, "What is Authority?" in her *Between Past and Future* (1968)

Dworkin, Ronald, *Law's Empire* (1986); ch 6

Green, Leslie, *The Authority of the State* (1988)

Nomos 29 *Authority Revisited* (1987)

Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986) Chs 3, 4  
(ed.), *Authority* (1990)

### 2. Political obligation

#### Sample questions:

Q. In what circumstances, if any, can one be justified in breaking the law?

Q. Do we have duties to our fellow citizens that we do not have to other human beings?

Bedau, Hugo Adam, *Civil Disobedience in Focus* (1991)

Dworkin, Ronald, "Civil Disobedience" in *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977)

Flathman, Richard, *Political Obligation* (1972)

Michael Freedon, 'Languages of Political Support: Engaging with the Public Realm', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, vol. 12 (2009), 183-202'

Hardin, Russell, "Political Obligation" Hamlin and Pettit (eds), (1989)

Klosko, George, "Presumptive Benefit, Fairness, and Political Obligation"  
*Philosophy and Public Affairs* 16 (1987)

Nomos, vol XII *Political and Legal Obligation* (1970)

Pateman, Carole, *The Problem of Political Obligation* (1985)

Pitkin, Hannah, "Obligation and Consent" in Laslett *et al* (eds), (1972)

Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice* (1971); ch 6

Raz, Joseph, *The Authority of Law* (1979) Chs.12-15

Schmidtz, David, "Justifying the State" *Ethics* 101 (1990)

Simmons, John, *Moral Principles and Political Obligation* (1979)

Simmons, John, "Justification and Legitimacy" *Ethics* 109 (1999)

Singer, Peter, *Democracy and Disobedience* (1974)

Smith, M. B. E., "Is There a Prima Facie Obligation to Obey the Law?" *Yale Law Journal* 82 (1973)

Waldron, Jeremy, "Special Ties and Natural Duties", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22 (1993)

### 3. Democracy

#### Sample questions:

Q. 'It is because it is the only form of government that gives citizens an equal say in the making of political decision-making that democracy is the only legitimate form of government'. Do you agree?

Q. 'The great challenge to democratic theory lies in how it comes to terms with minorities'. Discuss.

Q. How can one best assess the extent to which government is representative?

### 3a. Democracy, in general

Barry, Brian, *Democracy and Power* (1991); chs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6

Birch, Anthony, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy* (1993)

Christiano, Thomas, *The Rule of the Many* (1996)

Dahl, Robert, *Democracy and its Critics* (1989)

Estlund, David, "Democracy without Preference" *Philosophical Review* (1990)

"The Persistent Puzzle of the Minority Democrat" *American Philosophical Quarterly* (1989)

*Democracy* (2000)

Held, David, *Models of Democracy* 2nd edn (1996)

May, Kenneth, "A Set of Independent Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Simple Majority Decision" *Econometrica* 20 (1952)

Mouffe, Chantal, (ed.), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy* (1992)

Nelson, William, *On Justifying Democracy* (1980)

Nomos, vol XXV *Liberal Democracy* (1983)

Vol. XXXV *Democratic Community* (1991)

Pateman, Carole, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970)

Sartori, G., *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (1987).

Schumpeter, Joseph, *Capitalism Socialism and Democracy* (1947)

esp. "Two Concepts of Democracy" (also in Quinton (ed.), (1967)

Wollheim, Richard, "Democracy" *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1958)

"A Paradox in the Theory of Democracy" in Laslett *et al* (eds), (1962)

Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000)

### 3b. Citizenship

Andrews, Geoffrey, (ed.), *Citizenship London* (1991)

Barbalet, J. M., *Citizenship* (1988)

Dietz, Mary., "Citizenship with a Feminist Face" *Political Theory* (1985)

van Gunsteren, Herman R., *A Theory of Citizenship*, (1998)

Walzer, Michael, "Citizenship" in Ball, Farr and Hanson (eds), (1989)

Young, I. M., *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990)

### 3c. Deliberative democracy

Bohman, James and Rehg, Williams (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy* (1997)



Cohen, Joshua, "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy" in Hamlin, Alan, and Pettit, Philip, (eds), also in Estlund, David (ed.) 2002  
 Dryzek, John, *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy and Political Science* (1990)  
 Elster, Jon, (ed.), *Deliberative Democracy* (1998)  
 Fishkin, James, *Democracy and Deliberation* (1991)  
 Gutmann, Amy, and Thompson, Dennis, *Democracy and Disagreement* (1996)  
 Miller, David, "Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice" in Estlund, David (ed.) 2002

### **3d. Economic models of democracy**

Arrow, Kenneth, *Social Choice and Individual Values* 2nd edn (1963)  
 Barry, Brian, *Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy* (1970)  
 Barry, Brian, and Russell Hardin (eds), *Rational Man and Irrational Society* (1982) part II  
 Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957)  
 McLean, Iain, *Public Choice* (1987)  
 Miller, David, "Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice" in Estlund, David (ed.) 2002  
 Riker, William, *Liberalism against Populism* (1982)

## **4. Liberty**

### **Sample question:**

**Q.** 'There are important differences between conceptions of liberty, but the distinction between "freedom from" and "freedom to" does not capture any of them'. Do you agree?

Berlin, Isaiah, *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969)  
 Carter, Ian, *A Measure of Freedom* (1999)  
 Cohen, Gerald A., *History Labour and Freedom* (1988); chs 12, 13  
 Connolly, William, *The Terms of Political Discourse* (1983) ch 4  
 Dworkin, Gerald, *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy* (1988)  
 Gray, Tim, *Freedom* (1991)  
 Hayek, Friedrich A., *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960)  
 Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty* (1859)  
 Miller, David, (ed.), *Liberty* (1991)  
 Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986) chs 14, 15

## **5. Rights**

### **Sample questions:**

**Q.** Do theories of rights neglect the importance of duties and responsibilities?  
**Q.** Are human rights natural?

### **5a. Rights in General**

Dworkin, Ronald, *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977)

Feinberg, Joel, *Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty* (1980)  
 Finnis, John, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (1980)  
 Freedman, Michael, *Rights* (1991)  
 Jones, Peter, *Rights* (1994)  
 Lyons, David, "Utility and Rights" in Waldron (ed.), (1984)  
 Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986); chapter 7  
 Steiner, Hillel, *An Essay on Rights* (1994)  
 Sumner, Leonard, W., *The Moral Foundations of Rights* (1989)  
 Thomson, Judith, *Rights Restitution and Risk* (1986)  
*The Realm of Rights* (1990)  
 Jeremy Waldron (ed.), *Liberal Rights* (1993)

### **5b. Human rights**

Beetham, David, (ed.), *Political Studies Special Issue: Politics and Human Rights* 43 (1995)  
 Donnelly, Jack, *Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (1989)  
 Gewirth, Alan, *Human Rights* (1982)  
 Milne, Alan, *Human Rights and Human Diversity* (1986)  
 Nomos, vol XXIII *Human Rights* (1982)  
 Shue, Henry, *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1980)

### **5c. Minority and cultural rights**

Barry, Brian, *Culture and Equality* (2001)  
 Kelly, Paul (ed.), *Multiculturalism Reconsidered* (1992)  
 Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995)  
 Kymlicka, Will, *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (1995) and *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995)  
 Mulgan, Geoff, *Politics in an Antipolitical Age* (1994)  
 Okin, Susan, "Gender Inequality and Cultural Differences" *Political Theory* 22 (1994)  
 Parekh, Bhiku, *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (2000)  
 Yeatman, A., *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political* (1994)  
 Young, I. M., "Polity and Group Difference: a critique of the ideal of universal citizenship" *Ethics* 1989

### **5d. Rights to freedom of speech, association**

Cohen, Joshua, "Freedom of Expression", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22 (1993)  
 Devlin, Patrick, *The Enforcement of Morals* (1968)  
 Hart, Herbert L. A., *Law Liberty and Morality* (1963)  
 Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty* (1859); Ch 2  
 Scanlon, Thomas, "A Theory of Freedom of Expression" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2 (1971)  
 Schauer, Frederick, *Free Speech* (1982)  
 White, Stuart, "Freedom of Association and the Right to Exclude"  
*Journal of Political Philosophy* 5 (1997)

### 5e. Property rights

Cohen, Gerald A., *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (1995) Chs. 3, 4, 9, 10

Nozick, Robert, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974)

Paul, J. (ed.), *Reading Nozick* (1981)

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

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

### 6. Justice and Equality

#### Sample questions:

Q. What should be the role of desert in a theory of justice?

Q. Should justice be the supreme virtue of societies?

Q. Are there grounds for objecting to inequalities that benefit the worse-off members of society?

Q. 'Equality of opportunity is a valid social goal. Equality of outcome is not.' Discuss.

#### 6a. Theories of justice

Barry, Brian, *A Treatise on Social Justice* (1989) (vol 1 and 2)

--- *Justice as Impartiality* (1994)

--- *The Liberal Theory of Justice* (1973)

Daniels, Norman, (ed.), *Reading Rawls* (1975)

Miller, David, *Principles of Social Justice* (1999)

Miller, David, and Michael Walzer (eds.) *Pluralism, Justice and Equality* (1994)

Nozick, Robert, *Anarchy State and Utopia* (1974)

Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice* (1971)

--- *Political Liberalism* (1993)

--- *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (2000)

Scanlon, Thomas, *What We Owe to Each Other* (1999)

Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice* (1983)

Young, Iris M., *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990)

#### 6b. Justice and equality

Arneson, Richard, "Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare", *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1989)

Baker, John, *Arguing for Equality* (1987)

Barry, Brian, *Theories of Justice* (1989)

Carens, Joseph, *Equality, Moral Incentives and the Market* (1981)

Clayton, Matthew and Williams, Andrew (eds.), *The Ideal of Equality* (2000)

Clayton, Matthew and Williams, Andrew (eds.), *Social Justice* (2004)

Cohen, Gerald A., "On the currency of egalitarian justice" *Ethics* 1989

- "Incentives, Inequality and Community" in The Tanner Lectures vol XIII 1992, and in Stephen Darwall (ed.) *Equal Freedom* (1995)
- Cohen, G.A., *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* (2000)
- Dworkin, Ronald, "What is Equality?" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1981)
- "Why Liberals Should Care about Equality" in *A Matter of Principle* (1985)
- Lucas, John, "Justice and Equality" in *On Justice* (1980)
- McKerlie, Denis, "Equality", *Dialogue* 23 (1984)
- Nagel, Thomas, "Equality" and "The Fragmentation of Value" in *Mortal Questions* (1979)
- Equality and Partiality* (1991)
- Nomos, vol IX Equality (1967)
- Parfit, Derek, *Equality or Priority?* (1995)
- Rae, Douglas, *Equalities* (1981)
- Sen, Amartya, "Equality of What?" in *Choice Welfare and Measurement* (1982)
- Walzer, Michael, *Spheres of Justice* (1983)
- Williams, Bernard, "The Idea of Equality" in *Problems of the Self* (1973), in Laslett and Runciman (eds), (1962) and in Feinberg (ed.), *Moral Concepts*

#### **6c. International Justice**

- Caney, Simon, George, David, and Jones, Peter, (eds), *National Rights, International Obligations* (1996)
- Jones, C., *Global Justice: Defending Cosmopolitanism* (1999)

#### **6d. Justice and gender**

- Gilligan, Carole, *In a Different Voice* (1982)
- Kymlicka, Will, "Rethinking the Family", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (1991)
- Larrabee, M., (ed.), *An Ethic of Care* (1993)
- Okin, Susan Moller, *Justice Gender and the Family* 1989
- Pateman, Carole, "The Disorder of Women; Women Love and the Sense of Justice" in *The Disorder of Women* (1989)
- Pitkin, Hannah Fenichel, "Justice: On relating private and public" *Political Theory* vol. 9 (1981), 327-52.

### **7. The Public Interest and the Common Good**

#### **Sample questions:**

- Q.** Is the public interest merely a mask for private interests?
- Q.** Is civic virtue a necessary feature of a liberal state?

#### **7a. Theoretical works**

- Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition* (1958) ch 2
- Barry, Brian, "The Public Interest" and "Justice and the Common Good" in Quinton (ed.), (1967)
- Douglas, Bruce, "The Common Good and the Public Interest" *Political Theory* 8 (1980)

Flathman, Richard, *The Public Interest* (1966)  
 Jordan, Bill, *The Common Good: Citizenship, Morality and Self-interest* (1989)  
 Nomos, Vol V *The Public Interest* (1962)  
 Rawls, John, *Political Liberalism* (1993); Lecture 5

### **7b. The new republicanism**

Dagger, Richard, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship and Republican Liberalism* (1997)  
 Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922)  
     *The Public and its Problems* (1946)  
     *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935)  
 Michelman, Frank, "Law's Republic" *Yale Law Journal* 1988  
 Pettit, Philip, *Republicanism* (1997)  
 Sandel, Michael, "The Procedural Republic and the Unencumbered Self" *Political Theory*  
     12 (1981)  
 Skinner, Quentin, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (1998)  
 Sunstein, Cass, "Beyond the Republican Revival" *Yale Law Journal* 97 (1988)  
 Viroli, Maurice, *From Politics to Reasons of State* (1992); Intro and Epilogue

## **8. Ideology**

### **Sample questions:**

- Q. 'Political theories present themselves as philosophies but they are best understood as ideologies'. Discuss.
- Q. The power of ideologies lies not in the exploitative illusions they foster but in their legitimate attempts to control the meanings contained in political language'. Discuss.

Althusser, Louis, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays* (1971)  
 Apter, David, E., (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, (1964); esp. chapter by C. Geertz.  
 Bell, David, *The End of Ideology* (1988)  
 Boudon, Raymond, *The Analysis of Ideology* (1989)  
 van Dijk, Teun A., *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1998)  
 Freeden, Michael, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* (1996)  
 Freeden, Michael (ed.), *Reassessing Political Ideologies: The Durability of Dissent* 2001  
 Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (1971); Bk I, ch. 1; Bk. II, ch. 1; Bk. III, Ch.1  
 Hamilton, M. B., "The Elements of the Concept of Ideology", *Political Studies*, vol. 35 (1987), 18-38.  
 Laclau, E., "The Death and Resurrection of the Theory of Ideology", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 1 (1996), 201-220  
 Larrain, Jorge, *The Concept of Ideology* (1983)  
 Lichtheim, George, *The Concept of Ideology* (1967)  
 Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia* (1936)

- Mullins, W. A., "On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science", *American Political Science Review* vol 66 (1972) 498-510
- Norval, A. J., 'The Things We Do with Words – Contemporary Approaches to the Analysis of Ideology', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 30 (2000), 313-346.
- Ricoeur, Paul, *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (1986)
- Thompson, John B., *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (1984)
- Zizek, Slavoj, *Mapping Ideology* (1994)

## IV POLITICAL THEORIES AND IDEOLOGIES

### 9. Liberalism

#### Sample questions:

- Q. 'Because it gives priority to the autonomy of the individual, liberalism cannot acknowledge the significance of multiculturalism'. Do you agree?
- Q. 'Liberalism holds to particular conceptions of the good like any other political theory or ideology'. Do you agree?

#### 9a. Classic texts

- Green, T. H., *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (1924)
- Hobhouse, L. T., *Liberalism* (1911)
- Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government*
- Mill J. S., *On Liberty* 1859
- Paine, Thomas, *The Rights of Man* (1972)

#### 9b. Contemporary liberalism

- Berlin, Isaiah, *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969)
- Dworkin, Ronald, "Liberalism" in *A Matter of Principle* (1986)
- *Sovereign Virtue* (2000)
- Evans, M. (ed.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Liberalism* (2001)
- Galston, William, *Liberal Purposes* (1991)
- Goodin, Robert E., and Reeve, Andrew, (eds), *Liberal Neutrality* (1989)
- Gray, John, "Agnostic Liberalism" in *Social and Political Philosophy* 12 (1995)
- Kymlicka, Will, 1990 Ch. 3 Contemporary political philosophy: an introduction
- Meadowcroft, James. (ed.), *The Liberal Political Tradition: Contemporary Reappraisals* (1996)
- Nagel, Thomas, *Equality and Partiality* (1991)
- Quong, Jonathan, *Liberalism Without Perfection* (2011)
- Rawls, John, *Political Liberalism* (1993)
- Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986)
- Sandel, Michael, (ed.), *Liberalism and its Critics* (1984)

### 10. Challenges to Liberalism

#### 10a Communitarianism

**Sample questions:**

- Q. 'The differences among communitarian theories do not allow for a common theory of communitarianism'. Discuss.
- Q. Can one be a communitarian and a liberal? Can one be a communitarian and a libertarian?

Avineri, Schlomo, and de-Shalit, Avner, (eds), *Communitarianism and Individualism* (1992)  
 Buchanan, Allen, "Assessing the Communitarian Critique of Liberalism" *Ethics* 99 (1989)  
 Etzioni, Amitai, *The Spirit of Community* (1993)  
 Frazer, Elizabeth, *The Problems of Communitarian Politics* (1999)  
 Guttman, Amy, "Communitarian Critics of Liberalism" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 14 (1985)  
 Kymlicka, Will, 1990 Ch 6  
 MacIntyre, Alasdair, *After Virtue* (1981) Chs. 14-17  
 Mulhall, Stephen, and Swift, Adam, *Liberals and Communitarians*, 2nd edn, (1996)  
 Sandel, Michael, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (1982)  
 Taylor, Charles, "Cross Purposes: the Liberal Communitarian Debate" in Rosenblum, Nancy, (ed.), *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (1989)

**10b. Conservatism****Sample questions:**

- Q. Are conservatives right to reject rationalism in politics?
- Q. Conservatives are so obsessed with obstructing the new that they cannot adapt to the pace of change in contemporary societies.' Discuss.

**10bi Classic texts**

Burke, Edmund, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)  
 Coleridge, Samuel, *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (first published 1830, new ed. 1976)  
 de Maistre, Joseph (Lively ed) *The Works of Joseph de Maistre* (1965)  
 Mill, John Stuart "Coleridge" in *Mill on Bentham and Coleridge* (1980)

**10bii Theoretical works**

Freeden, Michael, *Ideologies and Political Theory*. Chs.8-10.  
 Honderich, Ted, *Conservatism* (1990)  
 Huntingdon, S., "Conservatism as an Ideology" *American Political Science Review* vol 51 (1957) 454-473  
 King, Desmond, *The New Right* (1987)  
 Levitas, Ruth, (ed.), *The Ideology of the New Right* (1986)  
 Nisbet, Robert, *Conservatism* (1986)  
 Oakshott, Michael, *Rationalism in Politics and other essays* (1972)  
 O'Sullivan, Noel, *Conservatism* (1972)

Scruton, Roger, *The Meaning of Conservatism* (1980)

### 10c. Feminism

#### Sample questions:

Q. What difference does it make to feminist theory whether gender differences are natural or socially constructed?

Q. Is the distinction between the public and the private necessarily harmful for women?

### 10ci General works

Bryson, Valerie, *Feminist Political Theory* (1992)

Bethke, Jean, Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (1981)

Jaggard, Alison, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (1984)

Mitchell, Juliet, and Oakley, Ann, *What is Feminism?* (1986)

Phillips, Anne, *Divided Loyalties: Dilemmas of Sex and Class* (1987)

### 10cii Classic texts

de Beauvoir, Simone, *The Second Sex* (1949)

Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963)

Greer, Germaine, *The Female Eunuch* (1969)

Hamilton, Cicely, *Marriage as a Trade* (1909)

Mill, John Stuart, *The Subjection of Women* (1869)

Rossi, Alice, (ed.), *The Feminist Papers: from Adams to de Beauvoir* (1973)

Taylor, Harriet, *The Enfranchisement of Women* (1869)

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* 1792

Woolf, Virginia, *Three Guineas* 1938

*A Room of One's Own* 1929

### 10ciii Feminism and Liberalism

Eisenstein, Zillah, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism* 1979

Hirschmann, Nancy, *The Subject of Liberty* (2003)

Okin, S. M., *Justice, Gender and the Family* 1989

Pateman, Carol, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy" in Phillips, A. (ed), *Feminism and Equality* (1987)

Radcliffe, Janet, Richards *The Sceptical Feminist* 1980

### 10civ Feminism and Marxism

Barrett, Michele, *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*, 2nd edn, (1991)

Eisenstein, Zillah, (ed.), *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (1979)

Sargent, Lydia, (ed.), *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism (essays by Heidi Hartmann and others)* (1981)



**10cv Radical feminisms**

Daly, Mary, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (1983)

Firestone, Shulamith, *The Dialectic of Sex* (1971)

MacKinnon, Catharine A., *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses of Life and Law* (1987)

*Towards a Feminist Theory of the State* (1989)

**10cvi Feminism and race/ethnicity**

Hill, Patricia, *Collins Black Feminist Thought* (1991)

Davis, Angela, *Women Race and Class* (1982)

Hooks, Bell, *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (1982)

**11. Nationalism****Sample questions:**

Q. Is a belief in the value of nationality also an approval of nationalism?

Q. 'The problem with asserting a right to national self-determination is that of deciding what counts as a nation'. Discuss.

**11 a. General works**

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; 2nd edn 1990)

Buchanan, Allen, "What's So Special about Nations?" in Couture, Jocelyne. Nielsen, Kai, and Seymour, Michel, (eds), *Rethinking Nationalism* (1998)

Freeden, Michael, "Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?", *Political Studies*, vol. 46, 1998.

Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (1983)

Habermas, Jurgen, "Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future of Europe" in *Praxis International*, 1992 and in Beiner Ronald, (ed.), *Theorizing Citizenship*, 1995.

Kamenka Eugene (ed.), *Nationalism: the Nature and Evolution of an Idea* (1976)

Kedourie, Elie, *Nationalism*, 3rd edn (1966)

McKim, Robert, and Jeff McMahan (eds.) *The Morality of Nationalism* (1997)

**11 b. Liberal nationalism**

Kymlicka, Will, "Social Unity in a Liberal State" in *Social Philosophy and Policy* (1996).

Margalit, Avishai and Raz, Joseph, "National Self-Determination" in Raz (ed.) *Ethics in the Public Domain* (1994) also in Kymlicka, Will (ed.) (1996)

Miller, David, *On Nationality* (1995)

--- *Citizenship and National Identity* (2000)

Tamir, Yael, *Liberal Nationalism* (1993)

**12. Socialism****Sample Questions**

- Q. Is the core of socialism simply an assertion of the priority of the group over the individual?
- Q. Which understandings of liberty could a socialist endorse?

### **12 a. Classic Texts**

- Cole, George D. H. The Simple Case for Socialism (1935)
- Engels, Frederick, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" (1892)
- Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick, The Communist Manifesto (1848)
- Marx, Karl, Economic and Philosophic manuscripts of 1844
- Marx, Karl, Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875)
- Owen, Robert, "An Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark" in Owen, A New View of Society (1970)
- Tawney, R. H., Equality (1994)

### **12 b. Historical Studies**

- Lichtheim, George, A Short History of Socialism (1970)
- Lindemann, Albert S., A History of European Socialism (1983)
- Sassoon, Donald, A Hundred Years of Socialism (1997)
- Gamble, Andrew, and Wright, Anthony (eds), The New Social Democracy (1999)

### **12 c. Theoretical Works**

- Berki, Robert N., Socialism (1975)
- Callincos, Alex (ed.), Marxist Theory (1989)
- Dunn, John, The Politics of Socialism (1997)
- Elster, Jon, An Introduction to Karl Marx (1986)
- Kymlicka, Will, Chapter 5 (2001)
- McLellan, David and Sayers, Sean (eds), Socialism and Morality (1990)
- Parekh, Bikhu, The Concept of Socialism (1975)