

Philosophy Faculty Reading List 2009-2010

PART IB PAPER 07: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Material marked with an asterisk* is important and/or a good place to start.

SYLLABUS

Political obligation: social contract theory; alternatives to social contract theory; authority and philosophical anarchism.

Democracy: justification of democracy; deliberative democracy; paradox of democracy.

Equality: Rawls and Nozick; equality of what?; the value of equality; equality and efficiency; equality of opportunity and positive discrimination.

Liberty: positive and negative liberty; the value of freedom; autonomy and paternalism.

I. POLITICAL OBLIGATION

A. Social Contract Theory

i) Background Reading

*HUME, D., 'Of the Original Contract', in *Political Essays*, edited by K. Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) Also in E. F. Miller (ed.), *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1985), pp. 465-487. [Available from <http://econlib.org/library/LFBooks/Hume/hmMPL35.html>]

ALTHAM, J.E.J., 'Reflections on the State of Nature', in *Rational Action: Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, edited by R. Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 133-45.

BENTHAM, J., *Fragment on Government*. Edited by J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

KANT, I., 'On the Relation of Theory to Practice in Political Right', in *Kant's Political Writings*, edited by H. Reiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 73-87. [Also available on [Camtools](#)]

PATEMAN, C., *The Problem of Political Obligation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985) [Introduction and ch. 1]

PITKIN, H.A., 'Obligation and Consent.' *American Political Science Review* 60 (1966): 39-52. Also in R. M. Stewart (ed.), *Readings in Social and Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 40-49.

SIMMONS, A.J., *Moral Principles and Political Obligations* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979)

ii) Hobbes

*HOBBS, T., *Leviathan*. [chs. 13-22.]

HAMPTON, J., *Hobbes and the Social Contract Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

KAVKA, G., *Hobbesian Moral and Political Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986)

iii) John Locke

*LOCKE, J., 'Second Treatise of Government', in *Two Treatises of Government* edited by P. Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960; 2nd edition, 1967; student edition, 1988, or Everyman edition). [chs. 1-4, 7-11; 18, 19]

*HARRISON, R., *Hobbes, Locke, and Confusion's Masterpiece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) [chs. 6, 7. An [e-book](#) is also available]

DUNN, J., *The Political Thought of John Locke: An Historical Account of the Argument of The "Two Treatises of Government"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)

GRANT, R., *John Locke's Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987) [esp. chs. 2, 3]

SIMMONS, A.J., *On the Edge of Anarchy: Locke, Consent, and the Limits of Society* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993) [chs 1, 3, 4, 7, 8]

WALDRON, J., *God, Locke and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

B. Alternatives to Social Contract Theory

i) Robert Nozick's Justification of the Minimal State

*NOZICK, R., *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1974) [Part I. *Set text. This is required reading for this section]

HOLMES, R., 'Nozick on Anarchism', in *Reading Nozick*, edited by J. Paul (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 57-67. [Also available on [Camtools](#)]

MILLER, D., 'The Justification of Political Authority', in *Robert Nozick*, edited by D. Schmitz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10-33.

PAUL, J., 'The Withering of Nozick', in *Reading Nozick*, edited by J. Paul (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 68-76.

WOLFF, J., *Robert Nozick* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991) [chs. 1-3]

ii) Fair Play

- ARNESON, R., 'The Principle of Fairness and the Free-Rider Problem.' *Ethics* 92 (1981-82): 616-33.
- HART, H.L.A., 'Are There Any Natural Rights?' *Philosophical Review* 64 (1955): 175-91. Also in J. Waldron (ed.), *Theories of Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 77-90.
- KLOSKO, G., *The Principle of Fairness and Political Obligation* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1992)
- RAWLS, J., *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971) [Section 18]
- SIMMONS, J., 'The Principle of Fair Play.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 8 (1979): 307-37.

iii) Associative Obligations, Gratitude, and Natural Duties

- DWORKIN, R., *Law's Empire* (London: Fontana, 1986) [ch. 6]
- HORTON, J., *Political Obligation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992)
- KLOSKO, G., 'Political Obligation and Gratitude.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 18 (1988/89): 352-58.
- KLOSKO, G., 'Political Obligation and the Natural Duties of Justice.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 23, no. 3 (1994): 251-70.
- SIMMONS, A.J., *Justification and Legitimacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- WALDRON, J., 'Special Ties and Natural Duties.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22 (1993): 3-30.
- WALKER, A.D., 'Obligations of Gratitude and Political Obligation.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 18 (1988/89): 359-64.
- WELLMAN, C.H., 'Toward a Liberal Theory of Political Obligation.' *Ethics* 111 (2000): 735-59.
- WELLMAN, C.H., and A.J. SIMMONS, *Is There a Duty to Obey the Law?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

C. Authority, legitimacy and philosophical anarchism

- *RAZ, J., *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) [chs. 2-4. Available at www.oxfordscholarship.com]
- *WOLFF, R.P., *In Defense of Anarchism* (California: University of California Press, 1998)
- EDMUNDSON, W.A., 'Legitimate Authority without Political Obligation.' *Law and Philosophy* 17 (1998): 43-60.
- HORTON, J., *Political Obligation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992) [ch. 5]
- MILLER, D., *Anarchism* (London: Dent & Sons, 1984) [chs. 1, 2]

- RAZ, J., 'The Obligation to Obey the Law', in his *The Authority of Law*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 233-49. [Also on Camtools]
- SIMMONS, A.J., 'Justification and Legitimacy.' *Ethics* 109 (1999): 739-71. Also in his *Justification and Legitimacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 122-157.
- SIMMONS, A.J., 'Philosophical Anarchism', in *For and against the State*. edited by J.T. Sanders and J. Narveson: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996) Also in his *Justification and Legitimacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 102-121.

II. DEMOCRACY

A. Justification of democracy

- ARNESON, R.J., 'Defending the Purely Instrumental Account of Democratic Legitimacy.' *Journal of Political Philosophy* 11 (2003): 122-32.
- BRIGHOUSE, H., 'Equality and Political Equality.' *Journal of Political Philosophy* 4 (1996): 118-41.
- CHRISTIANO, T., *The Constitution of Equality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) [esp. chs. 1-3. Also available from www.oxfordscholarship.com]
- COHEN, J., 'An Epistemic Conception of Democracy.' *Ethics* 97 (1986): 26-38.
- COPP, D., J. HAMPTON, and J.E. ROEMER, eds., *The Idea of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) [especially chs. by Arneson, Christiano, and Estlund]
- DWORKIN, R., 'Political Equality', in *Sovereign Virtue*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 184-210.
- ESTLUND, D., *Democratic Authority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008) [esp. chs. 1-3 & 6]
- HARRISON, R., *Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1993) [Also available as an [e-book](#)]
- WALDRON, J., 'Rights and Majorities: Rousseau Revisited', in *Nomos XXXII: Majorities and Minorities*, edited by J. Chapman and A. Wertheimer (New York: New York University Press, 1990) Also in his *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 392-421.

B. Deliberative democracy

- *COHEN, J., 'Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy', in *The Good Polity*, edited by A. Hamlin and P. Pettit (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 17-34. Also in J. Bohman and W. Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 67-91. [Also available on Camtools]
- CHRISTIANO, T., 'The Significance of Public Deliberation', in *Deliberative*

- Democracy*, edited by J. Bohman and W. Rehg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997), 243-77.
- ELSTER, J., *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- ELSTER, J., 'The Market and the Forum', in *Foundations of Social Choice Theory*, edited by A. Hylland and J. Elster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 103-32. Also in J. Bohman and W. Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press 1997), pp. 3-33.
- FISHKIN, J., *Democracy and Deliberation* (New Haven, New Jersey: Yale University Press, 1991)
- GUTMANN, A., and D.F. THOMPSON. *Democracy and Disagreement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996) [chs. 1-4 and 6]
- MILLER, D., 'Deliberative Democracy and Social Choice.' *Political Studies* 40 (Special Issue, 1992). Also in his *Citizenship and National Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 8-23. [Also in the Faculty Library offprint collection]
- RAWLS, J., 'The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus', in *Collected Papers*, edited by S. Freeman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 473-96.
- RAWLS, J., 'The Idea of Public Reason', in *Political Liberalism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 93-141. Also in J. Bohman and W. Rehg (eds.), *Deliberative Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997) pp. 93-141.

C. Paradox of democracy

- *HONDERICH, T., 'A Difficulty with Democracy.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 3 (1974): 221-26.
- *WOLLHEIM, R., 'A Paradox in the Theory of Democracy', in *Philosophy, Politics and Society: Second Series*, edited by P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 71-87.
- BARRY, B., *Political Argument* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965)
- ESTLUND, D., 'The Persistent Puzzle of the Minority Democrat.' *American Philosophical Quarterly* 26 (1989): 143-51.

III. EQUALITY

A. Rawls and Nozick

- *NOZICK, R., *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) [chs. 7, 8]
- *RAWLS, J., *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 1999) [chs. 1-3, 5]

- COHEN, G.A., *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) [chs. 1-4, 9, 10]
- DANIELS, N., ed. *Reading Rawls* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989, originally published in 1975) [chs. by Nagel, Scanlon, Hart, and Daniels]
- FREEMAN, S., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) [especially chs. by Daniels, Scanlon, and Van Parijs. Also available as an [e-book](#)]
- KUKATHAS, C., and P. PETTIT, *Rawls: A Theory of Justice and its Critics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990) [chs. 1-3]
- PAUL, J., ed., *Reading Nozick* (Oxford: Oxford: Blackwell, 1982) [especially chs. by Scanlon and Ryan, Singer]
- POGGE, T., *Realizing Rawls* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989)
- RAWLS, J., *Justice as Fairness: a Restatement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001)
- RAWLS, J., *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) [especially lectures IV and VI]
- WALDRON, J., *The Right to Private Property* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) [ch. 7]
- WOLFF, J., *Robert Nozick: Property Justice and the Minimal State* (Oxford: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, 1991) [chs. 1, 2, 4]
- WOLFF, J., 'Equality: The Recent History of an Idea.' *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 4.1 (2007): 125-36.

B. Equality of what?

- *ARNESON, R., 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare.' *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1989): 77-93. Also in L.P. Pojman and R. Westmoreland, *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 229-241.
- *DWORKIN, R., 'What Is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare and What Is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10 (1981): 185-246 & 83-345. Also in his *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 11-119.
- *SEN, A., 'Equality of What?' in *Tanner Lectures on Human Values Vol. I*, edited by S. McMurrin. Also in S. Darwall (ed.), *Equal Freedom* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1995), pp. 307-330.
- ARNESON, R., 'Debate: Equality of Opportunity for Welfare Defended and Recanted.' *Journal of Political Philosophy* 7 (1999): 488-97.
- BURLEY, J., ed. *Dworkin and his Critics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) [chs. by G.A. Cohen and by M. Otuska]
- CLAYTON, M., and A. WILLIAMS, 'Egalitarian Justice and Interpersonal Comparison.' *European Journal of Political Research* 35 (1999): 445-64. 'Some Questions for Egalitarians', in M. Clayton and A. Williams (eds.), *The*

Ideal of Equality (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 1-19. [Also in the Faculty Library offprint collection]

- CLAYTON, M., and A. WILLIAMS, 'Some Questions for Egalitarians', in *The Ideal of Equality*, edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 1-19.
- COHEN, G.A., 'On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice.' *Ethics* 99 (1989): 906-44.
- DANIELS, N., 'Equality of What: Welfare, Resources or Capabilities?' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research Supplement* (1990). Also in his *Justice and Justification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 208-231.
- RAWLS, J., 'Social Unity and Primary Goods', in *Utilitarianism and Beyond*, edited by A. Sen and B. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 159-85. Also in his *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 359-387.
- SEN, A., *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) [especially chs. 1 and 3]

C. The value of equality

- *ANDERSON, E.S., 'What Is the Point of Equality?' *Ethics* 109 (1999): 287-337.
- *FRANKFURT, H., 'Equality as a Moral Ideal.' *Ethics* 98 (1987): 21-43. Also in his *The Importance of What We Care About* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 134-158. Also reprinted in L.P. Pojman and R. Westmoreland (eds.), *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 261-273.
- DWORKIN, R., 'Equality, Luck and Hierarchy.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31 (2003): 190-98.
- NAGEL, T., 'Equality', in *Mortal Questions*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 106-27.
- PARFIT, D., 'Equality or Priority?' in *The Ideal of Equality* edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 81-125. [*The Lindley Lecture, University of Kansas* (1991)]
- RAZ, J., 'Equality', in *The Morality of Freedom* (Cambridge: Clarendon Press, 1986) [Available from www.oxfordscholarship.com]
- SCANLON, T.M., 'The Diversity of Objections to Inequality', in *The Ideal of Equality*, edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 41-59. [*The Lindley Lecture, University of Kansas* (1996)]
- SCHEFFLER, S., 'What Is Egalitarianism?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31 (2003): 5-39.
- TEMKIN, L., 'Equality, Priority, and the Levelling Down Objection', in *The Ideal of Equality*, edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 126-61.

D. Equality, Incentives and Efficiency

- *COHEN, G.A., 'Incentives, Inequality and Community', in *Equal Freedom*. edited by S. Darwall (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1995), 331-97.
- *RAWLS, J., *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972 or rev. edn. 1999) [chs. 2, 5]
- CARENS, J., 'Rights and Duties in an Egalitarian Society.' *Political Theory* 14 (1986): 31-49. [Also in the Faculty Library offprint collection]
- COHEN, G.A., 'Where the Action Is: On the Site of Distributive Justice.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 26 (1997): 3-30.
- SHAW, P., 'The Pareto Argument and Inequality.' *The Philosophical Quarterly* 49 (1999): 353-68.
- WILLIAMS, A., 'Incentives, Inequality, and Publicity.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27 (1998): 225-47.

E. Equality of Opportunity and Positive Discrimination

- *MASON, A., 'Equality of Opportunity, Old and New.' *Ethics* 111 (2001): 760-81.
- *WILLIAMS, B., 'The Idea of Equality', in *Philosophy, Politics and Society* edited by P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), 110-31. Also in L.P. Pojman and R. Westmoreland, eds., *Equality. Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 91-102.
- DWORKIN, R., *Taking Rights Seriously* (London: Duckworth, 1977) [ch. 9]
- EDWARDS, J.R., *Positive Discrimination, Social Justice and Social Policy* (London: Tavistock, 1987)
- EZORSKY, G., *Racism and Justice* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991) [chs. 1-4]
- GOLDMAN, H., *Justice and Reverse Discrimination* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979)
- NAGEL, T., 'Equal Treatment and Compensatory Discrimination.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2 (1973): 348-63. Also in his *Mortal Questions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) as 'The Policy of Preference'
- SCHAAR, J.J., 'Equality of Opportunity, and Beyond', in *Nomos IX: Equality*, edited by J. Chapman and R. Pennock (New York: Atherton, 1967) Also in L.P. Pojman and R. Westmoreland (eds.), *Equality: Selected Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- SHER, G., 'Diversity.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 28 (1999): 85-104.
- THOMSON, J.J., 'Preferential Hiring.' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2 (1973): 364-84. Also in S.M. Cahn (ed.), *The Affirmative Action Debate* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 45-69.

IV. LIBERTY

A. The Concept and the Value of Freedom

Excerpts of much of the listed material can be found in I. Carter, M. Kramer, H Steiner (eds.), *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), esp. parts I, VII and VIII.

- *BERLIN, I., 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in *Four Essays on Liberty*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 118-72. Reprinted in his *Liberty* (Oxford, Oxford University Press), and in D. Miller (ed.), *Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 33-57. [Available from www.oxfordreference.com]
- *MACCALLUM, G.C., 'Negative and Positive Freedom.' *Philosophical Review* 76 (1967): 312-34. Also in D. Miller (ed.), *Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 100-122.
- *TAYLOR, C., 'What's Wrong with Negative Liberty', in *The Idea of Freedom: Essays in Honour of Isaiah Berlin*, edited by A. Ryan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). Also in D. Miller, ed., *Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 141-162. [Available on Camtools]
- CARTER, I., *A Measure of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) [chs. 1 & 2. Available from www.oxfordreference.com]
- COHEN, G.A., 'Capitalism, Freedom and the Proletariat', in *Liberty*, edited by D. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 163-82.
- DWORKIN, G., 'Is More Freedom Better Than Less?' in *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 62-85.
- GARNETT, M., 'Ignorance, Incompetence and the Concept of Liberty.' *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 15 (2007): 428-46.
- PETTIT, P., *Republicanism. A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) [chs. 1-3]
- SKINNER, Q., 'The Idea of Negative Liberty', in *Philosophy in History: Essays on the Historiography of Philosophy*, edited by R. Rorty, J.B. Schneewind and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 193-221.
- STEINER, H., *An Essay on Rights* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) [ch. 2]
- WALDRON, J., 'Homelessness and the Issue of Freedom.' *University of California Law Review* 39 (1991). Also in his *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 309-338.

B. Autonomy and paternalism

- *DWORKIN, G., *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) [especially chs. 1, 2 and 5]
- *HURKA, T., 'Why Value Autonomy?' *Social Theory & Practice* 13 (1987): 361-82. [Also in the Faculty Library offprint collection]

- CHRISTMAN, J., 'Constructing the Inner Citadel.' *Ethics* 101 (1988): 505-20.
- CHRISTMAN, J., ed., *The Inner Citadel: Essays on Individual Autonomy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)
- CHRISTMAN, J., and J. ANDERSON, eds., *Autonomy and the Challenges of Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- FRIEDMAN, M.A., *Autonomy, Gender, Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) [chs. 1-3. Available from www.oxfordreference.com]
- HAWORTH, L., *Autonomy* (New Haven, New Jersey: Yale University Press, 1986)
- PAUL, E.F., F.D. MILLER, and J. PAUL, eds., *Autonomy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) [Essays by Oshana, Stacey Taylor and Wall.]
- RAZ, J., *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) [chs. 14 & 15]
- WALL, S., *Liberalism, Perfectionism and Restraint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) [chs. 6-8]