

PH214/416 Lent Term 2022: Political Philosophy

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Course Introduction (Relevant Sections Only)

In **weeks 1-5 of Lent Term**, Eilidh Beaton will discuss topics in political philosophy concerning the legitimacy and justice of state-level political institutions. Questions covered will include some of the following. (1) What justifies the state? (2) What justifies democratic political institutions, and is representative democracy the best kind of political system we could hope for? (3) Why is liberty important, and what kind of liberty should political institutions aim to preserve? (4) Does justice require redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor? (5) What is the point of equality?

In **weeks 7-11 of Lent Term**, Eilidh Beaton will discuss topics in global justice. Questions covered will include some of the following. (1) What is a human right? (2) Does justice require greater economic equality between rich and poor countries? (3) Can states permissibly prioritise the needs of their citizens over the needs of those in other countries? (4) Who should be entitled to refugee status? (5) Why was colonialism wrong, and what should we do about it now?

Part 1: Political Philosophy Within the State

Week 1: Justifying the State

Required readings:

- Jonathan Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Chapters 1 and 2, 'The State of Nature' and 'Justifying the State'.
- (PH416 only) David Hume, 'Of the Original Contract' and 'Of the Origin of Government', in Steven Cahn (ed) *Classics of Modern Political Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Recommended Readings (original texts):

- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*. Part 1: chapters 1, 6, 10, 11, 13-15. Part 2: chapters 17-18, 19, 21, 29.
- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*. Chapters 1-5, 8-12, and 19.
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Discourse on the Origin of Inequality', trs. G. D. H. Cole, in S. Cahn (ed.) *Classics of Political and Moral Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2nd ed]).

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*. Book 1: chapters 1-2, 4-9. Book 2: chapters 1-4. Book 3: chapters 1-3. Book 4: chapters 1-2.
- David Hume, *An Enquiry into the Sources of Morals*. Sections 3-5.
- Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Chapters 1, 3, 4.

Recommended Readings (critical and wider reading):

- Richard Dagger and David Lefkowitz, 'Political Obligation', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2021 edition) ed. by Edward N. Zalta.
- Ursula K. Le Guin, 'The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas', *New Dimensions* 3 (1973).
- Robert Paul Wolff, 'The Conflict Between Authority and Autonomy', in his *In Defense of Anarchism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970).
- A. John Simmons, 'The Consent Tradition', in his *Moral Principles and Political Obligation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- Michael Otsuka, 'Political Society as a Voluntary Association', in his *Libertarianism Without Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- David Estlund, 'Political Authority and the Tyranny of Non-Consent' *Philosophical Issues* 15 (2005).

Week 2: Democracy

Required readings:

- Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), chapters 4, 5 (PH416 only), 6, and 7.
- Alex Guerrero, 'Against Elections', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 42:2 (2014), 135-178.

Recommended readings:

- Tom Christiano and Sameer Bajaj, 'Democracy', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2022 edition).
- Elizabeth Anderson, 'Democracy: Instrumental vs Non-Instrumental Value', in Thomas Christiano and John Christman eds *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 213-227.
- Richard Arneson, 'Debate: Defending the Purely Instrumental Account of Democratic Legitimacy', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 11:1 (2003), pp. 112-132.
- Adam Lovett, 'Democratic Autonomy and the Shortcomings of Citizens', in *Journal of Moral Philosophy* (2020), pp. 1-24.
- Hélène Landemore, *Democratic Reason: Politics, Collective Intelligence, and the Rule of Many* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
- Jason Brennan, *Against Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Recommended media readings:

- Alex Guerrero, 'The Lottocracy', *Aeon* (2014). Available [here](#).
- Caleb Crain, 'The Case Against Democracy', *The New Yorker* (2016).
- Dylan Matthews, 'Can randomly selected citizens govern better than elected officials?', *Vox* (2022). Available [here](#).
- Sean Illing, 'Epistocracy: a political theorist's case for letting only the informed vote', *Vox* (2018). Available [here](#).

Week 3: Liberty

Required readings:

- Isaiah Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in his *Liberty* ed. by Henry Hardy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Sections 1-2 (PH214); Sections 1-5 (PH416).
- Jennifer Einspahr, 'Structural Domination and Structural Freedom: A Feminist Perspective', *Feminist Review* 94 (2010), pp. 1-19.

Recommended readings:

- Ian Carter, 'Positive and Negative Liberty', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2022 edition).
- Chandran Kukathas, 'Liberty', in *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1993), pp. 685-698.
- Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapters 1 and 2.
- Philip Pettit, 'The Instability of Freedom as Noninterference: The Case of Isaiah Berlin', *Ethics* 121:4 (2011), pp. 693-716.
- Nancy Hirschmann, *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), Introduction.
- Christian List and Laura Valentini, 'Freedom as Independence', *Ethics* 126 (2016), pp. 1043-1074.

Week 4: Distributive Justice

Required readings:

- John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice: Revised Edition* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1999). Chapter 1, sections 1-4. Chapter 2, section 11.
- Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), Chapter 7, section 1 (skip Sen's argument, PH214 can skip Locke's theory of acquisition and the Proviso).
- (PH416 only) John Rawls, 'The Basic Structure as Subject', in *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), sections 3-5.

Recommended readings:

- Julian Lamont and Christi Favor, 'Distributive Justice', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2017 edition).
- Samuel Freeman, 'Rawls on Distributive Justice and the Difference Principle', in his *Liberalism and Distributive Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- G. A. Cohen, 'Incentives, Inequality, and Community', *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values* (Stanford University, 1991).
- Lawrence Crocker, 'Solidarity, and Rawls' Maximin', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 6:3 (1977), pp. 262-266.
- G. A. Cohen, 'Robert Nozick and Wilt Chamberlain: how patterns preserve liberty', in his *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Michael Otsuka, 'Self-Ownership and Equality', in his *Libertarianism Without Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- Hillel Steiner, 'Liberty and Equality', *Political Studies* 24:4 (1981), pp. 555-567.

Week 5: Equality (cancelled due to UCU strike)

Required readings:

- Elizabeth Anderson, 'What is the Point of Equality?', *Ethics* 109:2 (1999), pp. 287-337.
- (PH416 only) Kok-Chor Tan, 'A Defense of Luck Egalitarianism', *The Journal of Philosophy* 105:11 (2008), pp. 665-690.

Recommended readings:

- Stefan Gosepath, 'Equality', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2012 edition).
- Richard Arneson, 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare', *Philosophical Studies* 56:1 (1989), pp. 77-93.
- Amartya Sen, 'Equality of What?', *The Tanner Lecture on Human Values* (Stanford University, 1979).
- Shlomi Segall, 'If you're a luck egalitarian, how come you read bedtime stories to your children?', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 14:1 (2011), pp. 23-40.
- Jonathan Wolff, 'Equality, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27:2 (1998), pp. 97-122.
- Samuel Scheffer, 'What is Egalitarianism?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31:1 (2003), pp. 5-39.
- Sagar Sanyal, 'A Defense of Democratic Egalitarianism', *The Journal of Philosophy* 109:7 (2012), pp. 413-434.
- Christian Schemmel, 'Luck Egalitarianism as Democratic Reciprocity? A Response to Tan', *The Journal of Philosophy* 109:7 (2012), pp. 435-448.
- Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen, 'Luck Egalitarians Versus Relational Egalitarians: on the prospects of a pluralist account of egalitarian justice', *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 45:2 (2015), pp. 220-241.

Part 2: Global Justice

Week 7: Human Rights

Required readings:

- Martha Nussbaum, 'Capabilities and Human Rights', *Fordham Law Review* 66:2 (1997), pp. 273-300.
- Charles Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), chapters 3 and 5.

Recommended readings:

- James Nickel, 'Human Rights', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2021 edition).
- Amartya Sen, 'Elements of a Theory of Human Rights', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 32:4 (2004), pp. 315-356.
- Laura Valentini, 'Human Rights, Freedom, and Political Authority', *Political Theory* 40:5 (2012), pp. 573-601.
- Massimo Renzo, 'Human Rights and the Priority of the Moral', *Social Philosophy and Policy* 32:1 (2015), pp. 127-148.

- David Álvarez and João Cardoso Rosas eds. 'Charles Beitz's The Idea of Human Rights Ten Years On', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 25:1 (2022).
- Rowan Cruft, Matthew Liao, and Massimo Renzo eds, *Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Week 8: Global Egalitarianism

Required readings:

- Michael Blake, 'Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30:3 (2002), pp. 257-296.
- Arash Abizadeh, 'Cooperation, Pervasive Impact, and Coercion: On the Scope (not Site) of Distributive Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 35:4 (2007), section IV pp. 345-357.

Recommended readings:

- Michael Blake, 'International Distributive Justice', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2021 edition).
- Thomas Nagel, 'The Problem of Global Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33:2 (2005), pp. 113-147.
- Simon Caney, 'Global Distributive Justice and the State', *Political Studies* 56 (2008), pp. 487-518.
- Kok-Chor Tan, 'Global Institutions and Justice', in his *Justice, Institutions, and Luck: The Site, Ground, and Scope of Equality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Laura Valentini, 'Coercion and (Global) Justice', *The American Political Science Review* 105:1 (2011), pp. 205-220).
- Christian Barry and Laura Valentini, 'Egalitarian Challenges to Global Egalitarianism: a critique', *Review of International Studies* 35 (2009), pp. 485-512.
- Ryan Pevnick, 'Political Coercion and the Scope of Distributive Justice', *Political Studies* 56 (2008), pp. 399-413.

Week 9: National Partiality

Required readings:

- Martha Nussbaum, 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism', and Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Cosmopolitan Patriots', in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* ed. by Joshua C. Cohen (Boston MA: Beacon Press, 1996).
- David Miller, 'Reasonable Partiality towards Compatriots', *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 8:1/2 (2005), pp. 63-81.
- Kok-Chor Tan, 'The Limits of Patriotism', in his *Justice Without Borders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Recommended readings:

- Nenad Miscevic, 'Nationalism', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 edition).
- Mitja Sardoc (ed) *Handbook of Patriotism* (Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2020).
- Alasdair MacIntyre, 'Is Patriotism a Virtue?', *The Lindley Lecture* (University of Kansas, 1984).

- Robert Goodin, 'What's So Special About Our Fellow Countrymen?', *Ethics* 98:4 (1988), pp. 663-686.
- Samuel Scheffler, 'Conceptions of Cosmopolitanism', in his *Boundaries and Allegiances: Problems of Justice and Responsibility in Liberal Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Gillian Brock, 'Liberal Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism: Locating the Disputes', *Public Affairs Quarterly* 16:4 (2002), pp. 307-327.
- Diane Jeske, 'Friends and Fellow Citizens', in Mitja Sardoc (ed) *Handbook of Patriotism* (Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2020).
- Martha Nussbaum, 'Toward a Globally Sensitive Patriotism', *Daedalus* (2008), pp. 78-93.
- Jonathan Seglow, 'Associative Duties and Global Justice', *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 7 (2010), pp. 54-73.

Week 10: Who is a Refugee?

Required readings:

- (PH416 only) UNHCR, 'Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees', (1951 and 1967), selected passages.
- Andrew Shacknove, 'Who is a Refugee?', *Ethics* 95:2 (1985), pp. 274-284.
- Matthew Lister, 'Who Are Refugees?', *Law and Philosophy* 32:5 (2013), pp. 645-671.
- Jane McAdam, 'Swimming Against the Tide: Why a Climate Change Displacement Treaty is Not *the Answer*', *International Journal of Refugee Law* 23:1 (2011), pp. 2-27.

Recommended readings:

- Christopher Heath Wellman, 'Immigration', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2020 edition), section 3.1.
- Serena Parekh, 'Who is a Refugee?', in her *No Refuge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, 'The Time Warp', in their *Refuge: Rethinking Refugee Policy in a Changing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Christopher D Boom, 'Beyond Persecution: A Moral Defence of Expanding Refugee Status', *International Journal of Refugee Law* 30:3 (2018), pp. 512-531.
- Joseph Carens, 'Refugees', in his *The Ethics of Immigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- James C. Hathaway, 'Reconceiving Refugee Law as Human Rights Protection', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4:2 (1991), pp. 113-131.
- Max Cherem, 'Refugee Rights: Against Expanding the Definition of a "Refugee" and Unilateral Protection Elsewhere', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 24:2 (2016), pp. 183-205.
- Matthew Price, 'Promoting Political Values Through Asylum', in his *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose, and Limits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Luara Ferracioli, 'The Appeal and Danger of a New Refugee Convention', *Social Theory and Practice* 40:1 (2014), pp. 123-144.

Week 11: Colonialism

Required readings:

- Margaret Moore, 'Justice and Colonialism', *Philosophy Compass* 11:8 (2016), pp. 447-461.
- Kok-Chor Tan, 'Colonialism, Reparations, and Global Justice', in Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar (eds) *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Catherine Lu, 'Colonialism as Structural Injustice', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 19:3 (2011), pp. 261-281.

Recommended readings:

- Margaret Kohn and Kavita Reddy, 'Colonialism', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 edition).
- Desiree Lim, 'Colonial Injustice and Racial Exploitation', *Journal of Social Philosophy* (2021), pp. 1-17.
- Rajeev Bhargava, 'How Should We Respond to the Cultural Injustices of Colonialism?', in Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar (eds) *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Brandon Hamber, 'Reparations as Symbol: Narratives of Resistance, Reticence, and Possibility in South Africa', in Jon Miller and Rahul Kumar (eds) *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Lea Ypi, 'What's Wrong With Colonialism?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 41:2 (2013), pp. 158-191.
- Laura Valentini, 'On the Distinctive Procedural Wrong of Colonialism', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 43:3 (2015), pp. 312-331.
- Anna Stiliz, 'Decolonization and Self-Determination', *Social Philosophy and Policy* 32:1 (2015), pp. 1-24.
- Margaret Moore, 'The Taking of Territory and the Wrongs of Colonialism', *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 27:1 (2019), pp. 87-106.

Suggested Media

- 'The British Museum is Full of Stolen Artefacts', *Vox* (2020). Available [here](#).
- 'Life as a "Comfort Woman": Story of Kim Bok-Dong', *Asian Boss* (2018). Available [here](#).
- 'The End of the British Empire: What is the Legacy of Colonialism?', *Imperial War Museums* (2020). Available [here](#).