

Central European University  
Department of Political Science

## INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY: JUSTICE AND EQUALITY

Core Course, 4 Credits  
Fall 2019

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FT805

Office Hours:

**Please make an appointment by e-mail 24 hrs before!**

The study of politics includes not only how the political world operates, but also how it *ought* to operate. The course focuses on John Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* and some of the most important objections it has been presented with in the last thirty years. The course addresses some of these questions: what is a fair redistribution? How can taxation be justified? Is justice about giving people what they deserve? Is equality an important political value? Should people who are reluctant to take up employment be subsidised? How can political institutions be justified? Should politics promote community values? The goal of the course is to provide students with theoretical musculature to think further about politics.

Aims:

- To trigger an understanding of central arguments of contemporary political philosophy.
- To foster the ability to analyse and discuss arguments in political philosophy.
- To develop the ability to link and apply arguments of political philosophy to social and political issues.
- To foster the ability to communicate both orally and in writing arguments in political philosophy.
- To develop the capacity to learn new ideas and approaches, and to apply them in research.

Learning outcomes:

At the end of the course the student shall be able to:

- Understand the main arguments for and against the basic principles of liberal egalitarian thought.
- Understand the key positions within contemporary political philosophy.
- Produce critical and well-structured arguments in political philosophy.
- Balance and contrast the weakness and strengths of different positions in contemporary debates in liberal egalitarian thought.
- Summarise arguments clearly and succinctly.

### Requirements:

- All students must read the core reading before the lectures and seminars.
- Attendance is compulsory. You need at least 90% of attendance to get a grade.
- There will be a mid-term exam, and a final 3,500 words paper. The paper's title must be pre-approved, so consult me once you have an idea what you want to write about. You can use some of the seminar questions to formulate the title or any other related topic you are interested in

### Grades will be awarded as follows:

- Exam: 30%, participation 10%, presentation 20%, final paper 40%. Essays are due on the date they are due! Extensions will be granted only in special circumstances. Late submissions will get a **-20% initial penalty**, and a **-10% daily penalty afterwards**. *Organise your time!*
- Academic dishonesty will be severely penalised. **Don't plagiarise!!**

The essays must represent a significant piece of independent research; it can be a positive argument of your own, or a critical argument. They should provide succinct, clear statements of your positions and of arguments pro and con. Don't make claims without arguing strongly for them! Also, when you criticise and argument, use the best counter-argument you find, don't waste your time with straw men!

Finally, literary or emotive or heavily jargon-laden style is often unhelpful. *Do not write a one-sided essay: be sure to evaluate the strongest arguments on both sides!*

For more on how to write a philosophy paper check Doug's Portmore's 'Tip on writing a philosophy paper' at <http://www.public.asu.edu/~dportmor/tips.pdf> (also available at the e-learning site). See also James Pryor's guide at

<http://www.jimpryor.net/teaching/guidelines/writing.html>, and Jimmy Lenman's [https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly\\_fs/1.316711!/file/Crap-Essay.doc](https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.316711!/file/Crap-Essay.doc)

### Grades mean the following:

**F= Fail.** Poor

**C+ Minimum Pass.** Significant confusions; unawareness of some crucial arguments; poor written style

**B- Satisfactory.** Struggles to organize main ideas of the paper. Some confusions, but a general sense of the main arguments.

**B Good.** Cover material covered in class, good reconstruction of main arguments, written expression is clear and succinct

**B+ Very good.** Cover material covered in class, good reconstruction of main arguments, written expression is clear and succinct, plus understanding of subsidiary arguments, familiarity with secondary literature. Some display of analytical skills.

**A- Excellent.** Cover material covered in class, good reconstruction of main arguments, written expression is clear and succinct, plus understanding of subsidiary arguments, familiarity with secondary literature; independent reconstruction of arguments; display of good analytical skills; some critical engagement with the material.

**A outstanding.** Cover material covered in class, good reconstruction of main arguments, written expression is clear and succinct, plus understanding of subsidiary arguments,

familiarity with secondary literature; independent reconstruction of arguments; display of good analytical skills, signals of independent thought, critical engagement with the arguments.

### **Weekly Program:**

Week 1: 'What is Political Philosophy?'

Week 2: 'John Rawls: Justice as Fairness'

Week 3: 'Libertarian Justice'

Week 4: 'Equality of What? Dworkin on Resources and Responsibility'

Week 5: 'Equality or What?'

Week 6: 'Meritocracy and Schooling'

Week 7: 'Cohen on Incentives and the Site of Justice'

Week 8: 'Gender and Justice'

Week 9: 'Unconditional Grants'

Week 10: 'Neutrality and Perfectionism'

Week 11: 'Religious and Cultural Justice'

Week 12 'Revision and Conclusions'

### **General books and introductions (strongly recommended in bold):**

- **Brighouse, H. *Justice* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005)**
- Hampton, J. *Political Philosophy* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001)
- **Kymlicka, W. *Introduction to Political Philosophy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). The best survey. If you only read one, read this one.**
- Sandel, M., *Justice* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2009)
- Swift, A. *Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006)
- White, S. *Equality* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007)
- Wolff, J. *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996/2006).

### **Edited collections (strongly recommended in bold):**

- **Christiano, T. and J. Christman *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009).**
- Clayton, M., and A. Williams, (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- Clayton, M., and A. Williams, (eds.) *Social Justice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004)
- Dryzek, J., B. Honig and A. Phillips (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Goodin, R. and P. Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- ————— (eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1993).
- LaFollette H. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- McKinnon, C. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Mason, A. *Ideals of Equality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

[www.philpapers.org](http://www.philpapers.org) is a wonderful resource to look for references. Do use it.

Week 1.

### **‘Introduction: What is Political Philosophy’**

This week introduces some broad notion of what political philosophy is. It is distinguished, on the one hand, from moral philosophy and on the other from political science. The difference between conceptual analysis and substantive theory is also drawn. Some practical applications of political philosophy are discussed. Key concepts such as legitimacy, coercion, power, justice and liberty will be introduced. The idea of utilitarianism is also introduced.

Seminar questions:

- What is political philosophy? What is the difference between political philosophy and moral philosophy and political science?
- Is there any point in knowing what ought to be done even if one lacks political power?
- Is hopeless realism worthless? Is utopianism best avoided?

Core reading:

(Read Brighouse and Estlund for the first session, and Hampton and Anderson for the second)

- Brighouse, H. *Justice* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004) 1-30.
- Estlund, D. *Democratic Authority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 263-71.
- Hampton, J. *Political Philosophy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996) pp 123-133.
- Anderson, E. ‘What Game Would You Rather Play’  
[http://left2right.typepad.com/main/elizabeth\\_anderson/index.html](http://left2right.typepad.com/main/elizabeth_anderson/index.html)

Supplementary reading:

- Gaus, G. *Political Concepts and Political Theories* (Boulder: Westview, 2000) Ch. 1-2.
- McKinnon, C. ‘Introduction’, in her edited book *Issues on Political Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Nagel, T. ‘Ruthlessness in Public Life’ in his *Mortal Questions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp.75-90.
- ——— ‘Concealment and Exposure’ in his *Concealment and Exposure*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Rawls, J. ‘Remarks on Political Philosophy’ in his *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007).
- Waldron, J. *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) Ch. 2.

Week 2.

### **‘John Rawls: Justice as Fairness’**

In this session we will introduce ‘justice as fairness’. We will discuss the intuitive appeal of Rawls’s theory, and some of its practical applications. We will assess whether the selection model of the principles of justice as a rational decision model is successful. Most of the discussion, though, will address the question of how egalitarian is Rawls’s theory, the structure of the two principles of justice and plausibility of the ‘difference principle’.

Seminar questions:

- What are Rawls’ two principles of justice? Are they appealing?
- What is the Original Position? What role does it play in Rawls’ argument? Is it plausible?
- Would the parties choose the two principles?

Core reading:

- Rawls, J. *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) Secs. 2-4, 9, 11-14, 20, 24-26.

Supplementary reading:

There are thousands of papers on Rawls. Look at the vast bibliographies of Freeman’s, Audard’s and Pogge’s books. Here is a short selection:

- Audard, C. *John Rawls* (London: Acumen, 2007).
- Barry, B. *Justice as Impartiality* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), Ch. 1, 3.
- Daniels, N. (ed.) *Reading Rawls* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989)
- Freeman, S. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Read whichever chapters call your attention. Also, look at the vast bibliography cited there.
- ———— *Rawls* (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Kukathas, C., (ed.), 2003, *John Rawls: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*, 4 vol., London: Routledge
- Lehning, P., 2009, *John Rawls: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovett, F., 2011, *Rawls's A Theory of Justice: A Reader's Guide*, London: Continuum.
- Maffettone, S., 2011, *Rawls: An Introduction*, London: Polity.
- Mandle, J., 2009, *Rawls's A Theory of Justice: An Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Mandle and Reidy (eds) *A Companion to Rawls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2013).
- Mandle and Reidy (eds) *The Cambridge Rawls Lexicon*, (Cambridge, CUP: 2015)
- Martin, R. ‘Economic Justice: Contractarianism and Rawls’s Difference Principle, in D. Boucher, and P. Kelly (eds.) *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Nagel, T. ‘Equality’ in his *Mortal Questions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- Pogge, T., 1989, *Realizing Rawls*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Pogge, T. *John Rawls: His Life and Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Rawls, J. *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2001) Part 2.
- Richardson, H., 'Interpreting Rawls' *Journal of Ethics*, 15 (2011) 227-51.
- Scanlon, T. 'The Diversity of Objections to Inequality, in his *The Difficulty of Tolerance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Scheffler, S. *Boundaries and Allegiances* (Oxford: OUP, 2001)
- Sen, A. 'Justice: Freedom versus Means', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 19 (1990), 111-21.
- Waldron, J. 'John Rawls and the Social Minimum', in his *Liberal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Wenar, Leif, "John Rawls", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2013/entries/rawls/>.
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Week 3.

### **'Libertarian Justice'**

Nozick is one the best critics of Rawls, so in this week his criticisms are discussed. The main claims of libertarianism will be introduced and analysed. Particular attention will be paid to Nozick's claim that patterns upset liberty, that taxation is a form of slavery, and what values motivate libertarian justice.

Seminar questions:

- Do patterns upset liberty?
- What is the point of Will Chamberlain's example? Is it convincing?
- Does Nozick succeed in devising a pure entitlement theory?
- Is liberty or self-ownership at the centre of Nozick's theory?
- Is Nozick unfair to the poor?

Core reading:

- Nozick, R., *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) Ch. 7 (esp. pp149-64, 167-204, 213-31).

Supplementary reading:

- Also check <http://bleedingheartlibertarians.com/>
- Arneson, R. 'Lockean Self-ownership: Toward a Demolition' *Political Studies*, 39 (1991), 36-54.
- Bader, R. and J Meadowcroft (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Nozick's Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011)
- Cohen, G. A. *Self-ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) Ch, 1-4, 9, 10.
- Freeman, S. 'Illiberal Libertarians: Why Libertarianism is Not a Liberal View' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 30 (2001), 105-51.

- Nagel, T. 'Libertarianism without Foundations' in Paul, J. (ed.) *Reading Nozick* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982). See also essays by Williams, Scheffler, Scanlon, O'Neill.
- Olsaretti, S. *Liberty, Desert and the Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chs. 4, 5.
- Otsuka, M. 'Self-ownership and Equality' in his *Libertarianism without Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Perry, S. 'Libertarianism, Entitlement, and Responsibility', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 26 (1997) 351-96.
- Rawls J. *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) Sec. 12-14, 17, 20-26
- Wolff, J. *Robert Nozick* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
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Week 4.

### **'Equality of What? Resources and Responsibility'**

Discussions so far have made comparisons between the relative positions of different people. However, hardly anything has been said about the 'currency' of justice. The debate is introduced through a critical analysis of Dworkin's equality of resources.

Seminar questions:

- Assess the debate between 'primary goods', 'resources' and 'welfare'.
- What is the relation between equality and luck?
- How convincing is Dworkin's 'envy test' and the 'hypothetical insurance market' as a theory of distributive justice?
- Can we do without welfare?

Core reading:

- Dworkin, R. 'Equality of Resources' in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *Social Justice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 110-33.
- Cohen, G. A. 'Against Equality of Resources: Relocating Dworkin's Cut' in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *Social Justice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 134-53.

Supplementary reading:

- Anderson, E. 'What is the Point of Equality', *Ethics*, 109, 2 (1999), 287-337.
- Arneson, R. 'Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare', *Philosophical Studies*, 56 (1989), 77-93.
- Arneson, R., 'Egalitarian Justice versus the Right to Privacy', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 17 (2000), 91-119.
- Arneson, R. 'Luck Egalitarianism and Prioritarianism', *Ethics*, 110 (2000), 339-49.
- Arneson, R. 'Why Justice Requires Transfers to Offset Income and Wealth Inequalities', *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 19 (2002), 172-200.
- Bou-Habib, P., 'Compulsory Insurance without Paternalism' *Utilitas*, 18 (2006), 243-63.

- Burley, J. (ed.) *Dworkin and his Critics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), read chapters by Cohen, Otsuka, and Arneson.
- Clayton, M. and A. Williams, 'Egalitarian Justice and Interpersonal Comparisons', *European Journal of Political Research*, 35 (1999), 445-64.
- Cohen, G. A. *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice and Other Essays in Political Philosophy* (Oxford: OUP, 2011) Part 1 (esp. Chs. 1,2,4,5,6).
- Daniels, 'Equality of What: Welfare, Resources or Capabilities' in his *Justice and Justification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Dworkin, R., *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge:2002, HUP)
- Dworkin, R. et. al. 'Symposium on Ronald Dworkin's *Sovereign Virtue*', *Ethics*, 113 (2002) 5-143.
- Dworkin, R. 'Ronald Dworkin Replies' in Burley, J. *Dworkin and his Critics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
- Dworkin, R. 'Equality, Luck and Hierarchy', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 31 (2003), 190–8.
- Fleurbaey, M. 'Equal Opportunity or Equal Social Outcome?', *Economics and Philosophy*, 11 (1995), 25–55.
- Hinton, T. 'Must Egalitarians Choose Between Fairness and Respect?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 30 (2001), 72–87.
- Hurley, S., *Justice, Luck and Knowledge* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2003), chs. 5-7.
- Knight, C., and Stemplowska, Z. *Responsibility and Distributive Justice*, (Oxford: OUP, 2011).
- Lippert-Rasmussen, K., 'Egalitarianism, Option Luck, and Responsibility', *Ethics*, 111 (2001), 548–79.
- Matravers, M. 'Responsibility, Luck and the 'Equality of What' Debate' *Political Studies*, 50 (2002), 558-72.
- Nussbaum, M., *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), chs. 1-3.
- Rawls, J. 'Social Unity and Primary Goods', in his *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 359-87.
- Roemer, J. *Theories of Distributive Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) Ch. 7.
- Scanlon, T. 'Equality of Resources and Equality of Welfare: A forced Marriage?' *Ethics*, 97 (1986) 111-118.
- Scheffler, S. 'What is Egalitarianism?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 31 (2003), 5–39.
- Scheffler, S. 'Equality as a Virtue of Sovereigns: A Reply to Ronald Dworkin', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 31 (2003), 199–206.
- Sen, A., 'Equality of What?' in Darwall, S. *Equal Freedom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).
- Sen, A 'Justice: Freedom versus Means', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 19 (1990), 111-21.
- Sen, A. *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- Stemplowska, Z. 'Holding People Responsible for What They Do Not Control', *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 7, no. 4 (2008): 355-377.



- Stemplowska, Z. 'Making Justice Sensitive to Responsibility', *Political Studies* 57, no. 2 (2009), 237-259.
- White, S., *Equality*, ch. 4.
- Williams, A. 'Equality for the Ambitious', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 52 (2002), 377-89.
- Williams, A. 'Equality, Ambition and Insurance' *Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume*, 78 (2004), 131-50.
- Williams, A. 'Liberty, Equality, and Property', in J. Dryzek et al (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*.
- Williams, A. 'How gifts and gambles preserve justice', *Economics and Philosophy*, 29 (2013), 65-85.
- Wolff, J., 'Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 27 (1998), 97-127

## Week 5

### 'Equality or what?'

Although at first sight 'equality' seems to be an attractive ideal, on a second thought is more problematic. In this week we will discuss the appeal of equality and some objections to it. The difference between prioritarianism and egalitarianism will be discussed at length and the 'levelling-down objection' will be subject to close scrutiny. Finally, the main claim posed by sufficientarians will be dealt with.

Seminar questions:

- Should we be egalitarians, sufficientarians or prioritarians? Or none of them?
- Is the levelling-down objection fatal to egalitarians?

Core reading:

- Parfit, D. 'Equality or Priority?' in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).

Supplementary reading:

- Brighouse, H. and A. Swift 'Equality, Priority and Positional Goods', *Ethics*, 116 (2006), 471-97.
- Casal, P. 'Why Sufficiency is not Enough', *Ethics*, 117 (2007), 296-326.
- Clayton, M and A. Williams, 'Some Questions for Egalitarians' in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- Crisp, R. 'Egalitarianism and Compassion', *Ethics*, 113, (2003), 119-26.
- ——— 'Equality, Priority, and Compassion', *Ethics*, 113 (2003), 745-63.
- Frankfurt, H. 'Equality as a Moral Idea', *Ethics*, 98 (1987), 21-43
- Holtug, N. and K. Lippert-Rasmussen (eds.), *Egalitarianism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Husebi, R. 'Sufficiency: Restated and Defended' *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 18 (2010), 178-197.
- Kekes, J. 'A Puzzle for Egalitarians', *Ethics*, 107, (1997) 658-70.

- Mason, A. 'Egalitarianism and the Levelling-Down Objection', *Analysis*, 61 (2001), 246-54.
- Mason, A. *Levelling the Playing Field* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) ch. 5.
- Moss, J. 'Egalitarianism and the Value of Equality', *Journal of Ethics and Social Philosophy*, September 2009, [www.jesp.org](http://www.jesp.org).
- O'Neill, M. 'What Should Egalitarians Believe?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 36, 2 (2008), 119-156.
- Otsuka, M. and A. Voorhoeve 'Why it Matters that Some are Worse Off than Others: An Argument against the Priority View', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 37, 2 (2009), 171-99.
- Persson, Ingmar (2008). Why levelling down could be worse for prioritarianism than for egalitarianism. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 11 (3):295 - 303.
- Persson, Ingmar (2011). Prioritarianism, Levelling Down and Welfare Diffusion. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 14 (3):307-311.
- Scanlon, T. 'The Diversity of Objections to Inequality', in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- Temkin, L. *Inequality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- ————'Equality, Priority and the Levelling-Down Objection' in Clayton, M. and A. Williams (eds.) *The Ideal of Equality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).
- ———— 'Egalitarianism Defended', *Ethics*, 114 (2003), 764-82.
- ———— 'Equality, Priority or What?' *Economics and Philosophy*, 19 (2003) 61-87.
- See the special issue on the priority view published in *Utilitas* (24, 2012)

## Week 6

### Meritocracy and Schooling

Does justice require that the most talented occupy advantaged positions? Is it unfair that social position plays a role in determining prospects in life? What is the ideal of equal opportunity? Is it attractive?

#### Core reading

- Rawls, J., *A Theory of Justice*, secs. 12-14.
- Swift, A., 'The Morality of School Choice', *Theory and Research in Education*, 2 (2004), 7-21. (This is a summary of his book, *How Not to Be A Hypocrite: School Choice for the Morally Perplexed Parent* (London: Routledge, 2003).

#### Supplementary readings:

- A newspaper piece: [https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/aug/24/the-only-way-to-end-the-class-divide-the-case-for-abolishing-private-schools?CMP=fb\\_gu](https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/aug/24/the-only-way-to-end-the-class-divide-the-case-for-abolishing-private-schools?CMP=fb_gu)
- Another one: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2018/10/09/its-better-be-born-rich-than-talented/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.7a8f056f1149](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2018/10/09/its-better-be-born-rich-than-talented/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.7a8f056f1149)

- Anderson, E., 'Rethinking Equality of Opportunity: Comment on Adam Swift's How Not to be a Hypocrite', *Theory and Research in Education*, 2 (2004), 99-110
- ——— 'Fair Equality in Education: A Democratic Equality Perspective', *Ethics*, 117 (2007), 595-622.
- ——— *The Imperative of Integration* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Arneson, R., 'Against Rawlsian Equality of Opportunity', *Philosophical Studies*, 93 (1999), 77-112.
- Barry, B., *Theories of Justice* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), 217-34.
- ——— *The Liberal Theory of Justice*, ch. 8
- Bowles, S. et al (eds.) *Unequal Chances: Family Background and Economic Success* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Brighouse, H., *School Choice and Social Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Brighouse, H., *A Level Playing Field: The Reform of Private Schools* (London: Fabian Society, 2000).
- Brighouse, H., *On Education* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Brighouse, H 'Educational Equality and Justice', in R. Curren (ed.), *A Companion to the Philosophy of Education* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).
- Brighouse, H. & Swift, A., 'Equality, Priority, and Positional Goods', *Ethics*, 116 (2006), 471-97.
- Brighouse, H. & Swift, A 'Parents Rights and the Value of the Family', *Ethics*, 117 (2006), 80-108.
- ——— 'Educational Equality versus Educational Adequacy: A Critique of Anderson and Satz', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 26 (2009), 117-128.
- ——— 'Legitimate Parental Partiality', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 37 (2009), 43-80.
- Cavanagh, M., *Against Equality of Opportunity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).
- Clayton, M., & D. Stevens, 'School Choice and the Burdens of Justice', *Theory and Research in Education*, 2 (2004), 111-26.  
([http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/clayton/research/school\\_choice\\_/](http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/clayton/research/school_choice_/))
- Clayton, M., 'Rawls and Natural Aristocracy' *Croatian Journal of Philosophy*, 1 (2001), 239-59.  
([http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/clayton/research/rawls\\_and\\_natural\\_/](http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/staff/clayton/research/rawls_and_natural_/))
- Clayton, M., 'On Widening Participation in Higher Education Through Positive Discrimination', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 46 (2012):414-431
- Clayton, M., 'Equality, Justice and Legitimacy in Selection', *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 9 (2012), 8-30.
- Daniels, N., 'Merit and Meritocracy', *PPA*, 7 (1978), 206-23.
- Flew, A., *The Politics of Procrustes: Contradictions of Enforced Equality* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Press, 1981).
- Jacobs, L., *Pursuing Equal Opportunities: The Theory and Practice of Egalitarian Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chs. 1-5.
- Jencks, C., 'Whom Must We Treat Equally for Educational Opportunity to be Equal?' *Ethics*, 98 (1988), 518-533.
- Macleod, C., 'The Puzzle of Parental Partiality: Reflections on How Not to Be a Hypocrite: School Choice for the Morally Perplexed Parent', *Theory and Research in Education*, 2 (2004), 309-21.

- Mason, A., *Levelling the Playing Field: the Idea of Equal Opportunity and its Place in Egalitarian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Marshall, G., A. Swift & S. Roberts, *Against the Odds: Social Class and Social Justice in Industrial Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).
- Marshall, G. & A. Swift, 'Meritocratic Equality of Opportunity: Economic Efficiency, Social Justice, or Both?', *Policy Studies*, 18 (1997).
- Miller, D. *Principles of Social Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), chs. 7-9.
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- Taylor, P. 'Self-Realization and the Priority of Fair Equality of Opportunity', *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, 1 (2004), 333-347.
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- White, J., 'The Dishwasher's Child: Education and the End of Egalitarianism', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 28 (1995), 173-81
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## Week 7

### 'Cohen on Incentives and the Site of Justice'

This week discusses an important criticism to Rawls's 'difference principle'. The main question today is captured in Cohen's title: 'If You're and Egalitarian How Come You're So

Rich?' We will discuss the incentive argument for inequality, and Cohen's 'egalitarian ethos' argument.

Seminar questions:

- Is Cohen's appeal for an 'egalitarian ethos' convincing? How can the Rawlsians reply?
- Is the difference principle egalitarian enough?
- Can incentive inequality be justified?
- Is there a meaningful difference between the first and third person perspectives regarding distributive justice?

Core reading:

- Cohen, G. A. *If You're an Egalitarian How Come You're So Rich?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), Chapters 8-9, **or** *Rescuing Justice and Equality* chapter 3

Supplementary reading:

- Brighouse, H. *Justice* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), ch. 8.
- Casal, P. 'Mill, Rawls, Cohen and the Egalitarian Trilemma', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (forthcoming).
- Casal, P. 'Occupational Choice and the Egalitarian Ethos', *Economics and Philosophy*, 29 (2013), 3-20.
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- Estlund, David (2011). Human Nature and the Limits (If Any) of Political Philosophy. *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 39 (3):207-237.
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- Hurley, S. *Justice, Luck, and Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) Chs. 8, 9.
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- Olsaretti, S. 'Rescuing Justice and Equality from Libertarianism', *Economics and Philosophy*, 29 (2013), 46-63.

- Penny, R. 'Incentives, Inequalities and Self-Respect', *Res Publica*, 2013, DOI 10.1007/s11158-013-9225-7
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- Tan, Kok-Chor 'Justice and Personal Pursuits' *Journal of Philosophy*, 101 (2004), 331-62.
- Titelbaum, 'What Would a Rawlsian Ethos Look Like?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 36, 3 (2008), 289-322.
- Williams, A. 'Incentives, Inequality, and Publicity', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 27 (1998), 225-47.
- See also the 2008 *Ratio* issue on Cohen

Week 8

### **'Gender and Justice'**

An important deal of criticism has come from the feminist front. It seems that some liberal theories neglect the importance that gender has in our society. The seminar will discuss the extent to which the feminist critique succeeds as well whether liberalism has the resources in order to address it.

Seminar questions:

- How convincing is Okin's conception of justice and gender?
- Is liberalism male-biased?
- Is Okin too radical, or not radical enough?
- Is Rawls' response attractive?

Core reading:

- Okin, S. M. 'The Family: Gender and Justice' Clayton, M., and A. Williams, (eds.) *Social Justice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
- Kymlicka, W. 'Rethinking the Family', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 20 (1991), 77-97.
- Rawls, J., *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2001), §50

Supplementary reading:

- Anderson, E. 'Is Women's Labor a Commodity?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 19 (1990), 71-92.
- Baier, A. 'The Need for More than Justice', *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 13 (1987), 41-56.
- Bargh, J. and P. Raymond, 'The Naïve Misuse of Power: Non Conscious Sources of Sexual Harassment', *Journal of Social Issues*, 51, 1 (1995), 85-96.

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- Gilligan, C. *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Held, V. (ed.) *Justice and Care: Essentials Readings in Feminist Ethics* (Oxford: Westview, 1995).
- Hrdy, S. *The Woman who Never Evolved* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- ————*Mother Nature* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999)
- Hurley, S. 'Sex and the Social Construction of Gender: Can Feminism and Evolutionary Psychology be reconciled?' in Browne, J. (ed.) *The Future of Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Nussbaum, M. *Sex and Social Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Ch. 1-2.
- Nussbaum, M. and A. Sen (eds.) *The Quality of Life*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Esp. Part III.
- Nussbaum, M. 'On Hearing Women's Voices: A Reply to Susan Okin', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 32, 2 (2004), 193-205.
- Okin, S., 'Justice and Gender', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 16 (1987), 42-72.
- ———, 'Reason and Feeling in Thinking About Justice' *Ethics*, 99, (1989), 229-49.
- ———, 'Political Liberalism, Justice and Gender', *Ethics*, 105, 1, (1994) 23-43.
- ———, 'Politics and the Complex Inequality of Gender' in D. Miller and M. Walzer (eds.) *Pluralism, Justice and Equality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 120-43.
- ———, 'Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions', *Ethics*, 108, 4 (1998), 661-84.
- ———, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- ———, "'Mistresses of Their Own Destiny': Group Rights, Gender and Realistic Rights of Exit", *Ethics*, 112, 2 (2002), 205-230.
- ———, 'Poverty, Well-Being, and Gender: What Counts, Who's Heard', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 31, 3 (2003), 280-316.
- ———, "'Forty Acres and a Mule': Rawls and Feminism' Politics, *Philosophy, and Economics*, 4, 2 (2005), 233-48.
- Pateman, C. *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988).
- Phillips, A. (ed.) *Feminism and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

- Ridley, M. *The Red Queen* (London: Penguin, 1994).
- Satz, D., Reich, R., (eds.) *Toward a Humanist Justice: The Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Sen, A. 1992. *Development as Freedom*. Ch. 8
- Smith, A. 'Closer but Still No Cigar: On the Inadequacy of Rawls's Reply to Okin's "Political Liberalism, Justice and Gender"', *Social Theory and Practice*, 30, 1 (2004), 59-71.
- Wright, R. *The Moral Animal* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994).
- Young, I. *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Week 9.

### **'Unconditional Grants'**

Most entitlements are conditional upon people willing to cooperate. There is a proposal which suggests that the state should distribute some basic unconditional grants that are independent of people willing to work. An argument for this scheme holds that it maximises people's real freedom. We look at some advantages and problems of this suggestion.

Seminar questions:

- Is Unconditional Basic Income appealing?
- What is the difference between principled and pragmatic arguments for UBI? Which supports it better?
- Is UBI exploitative?

Core reading:

- Ackerman, B and A. Alstott 'Why Stakeholding?' in E. O. Wright (ed) *Redesigning Distribution* (London: Verso, 2006)
- Van Parijs, P. 'Basic Income: A Simple and Powerful Idea for the Twenty-First Century', in Ackerman, B. and Wright, E.O. (eds.) *Redesigning Distribution* (London: Verso, 2006).
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- Ackerman, B. and Wright, E.O. (eds.) *Redesigning Distribution: Basic Income and Stakeholder Grants as Alternative Cornerstones for a more Egalitarian Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2006).
- Anderson, E., 'Welfare, Work Requirements and Dependant-Care', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 21 (2004), 243-56
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- Birnbaum, S. (2010): Radical liberalism, Rawls and the welfare state: justifying the politics of basic income, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 13:4, 495-516.
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- Cunliffe, J, & G. Erreygers, "'Basic Income? Basic Capital!' Origins and Issues of a Debate', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11 (2003), 89-110.
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- Dowding, K. et al (eds.), *The Ethics of Stakeholding* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).
- Mason, P. 'Paying everyone a basic income would kill off low-paid menial jobs', *The Guardian*, 2015/02/02, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/01/paying-everyone-a-basic-income-would-kill-off-low-paid-menial-jobs>
- McKinnon, C., 'A Scandalous Proposal: Ethical Attractions of Basic Income' *Basic Income Studies*, 1 (2006), article 10.
- Otsuka, M. 'Self-Ownership and Equality: A Lockean Reconciliation', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27 (1998), 65-92. Also reprinted in his *Libertarianism without Inequality* (OUP, 2003)
- Reeve, A., 'Introduction' to A. Reeve & A. Williams (eds.), *Real Libertarianism Assessed: Political Theory after Van Parijs* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- Standing, G. *Basic Income: And How We Can Make it Happen*, London: Pelican 2017.
- Van der Veen, R., 'Real Freedom versus Reciprocity: Competing Views on the Justice of Unconditional Basic Income', *Political Studies*, 46 (1998), 140-163.
- Van der Veen, R., and P. Van Parijs 'A Capitalist Road to Global Justice: Reply to Another Six Critics' *Basic Income Studies*, 1 (2006), article 13.
- Van Parijs, P. 'Why Surfers should be Fed?', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 20 (1991), 101-31.
- Van Parijs, P. (ed) *Arguing for Basic Income*, (London: Verso, 1992) chs by Steiner, Carling, Baker, Barry, van Parijs
- Van Parijs, P. 'Basic Income Capitalism', *Ethics* 102 (1992), 465-84.
- Van Parijs, P., *Real Freedom for All: What (if Anything) Can Justify Capitalism?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). Chs 1,2,5.
- Van Parijs, P., et al, Symposium on 'Delivering a Basic Income', *Boston Review*, October/November 2000. Includes a defence by van Parijs and comments by others. Available at: <http://bostonreview.net/ndf.html#Income>
- Van Parijs, P. and Y. Vanderborght, *Basic Income: A Radical Proposal for a Free Society and a Sane Economy*, Cambridge: HUP, 2017.
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- White, S., 'Assessing the Unconditional Stake', in K. Dowding et al (eds.), *The Ethics of Stakeholding*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003)
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- Wolff, J., 'Training, Perfectionism and Fairness', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 21 (2004), 285-95.
- Wright, E. O., 'Reducing Income and Wealth Inequalities: Real Utopian Proposals', *Contemporary Sociology*, 29 (2000), 143-56.
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Week 10.

### **'Neutrality and Perfectionism'**

This week's discussion follows from last week. Some liberals argue that a liberal state must be neutral towards different conceptions of the good. The seminar will address that concept of neutrality and different ways to understand it. The plausibility of 'public reason' will also be discussed.

Seminar questions:

- What sort of neutrality do liberals seek?
- Should the State be neutral?
- Is the idea of public reason feasible? Is it attractive?
- Is political liberalism just another comprehensive doctrine?

Core reading:

- Rawls, J. *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) Introduction to the paperback edition.
- Rawls, J. *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) sections 9, 11, 26, 43, 47.

Supplementary reading:

- Arneson, R. 'Perfectionism and Politics', *Ethics*, 111 (2000), 37-63.
- Arneson, R. 'Liberal Neutrality on the Good: An Autopsy' in Wall, S. and G. Klosko, *Perfectionism and Neutrality* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 191-218.

- Caney, S. 'Anti-Perfectionism and Rawlsian Liberalism', *Political Studies*, 43 (1995), 284-64.
- Chan, J., 'Legitimacy, Unanimity, and Perfectionism', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 29 (2000), 5-42.
- Christman, J. 'Procedural Autonomy and Liberal Legitimacy', in Taylor, J. (ed.) *Personal Autonomy: New Essays on Personal Autonomy and Its Roles in Contemporary Moral Philosophy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 277-98.
- Clayton, M., 'White on Autonomy, Neutrality and Well-Being', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 27 (1993), 101-12
- ———. 'Liberal Equality and Ethics', *Ethics* (2002), 113, 8-22.
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- Cohen, J. 'Moral Pluralism and Political Consensus' in D. Copp et. al. (eds.) *The Idea of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Cohen, J. 'Truth and Public Reason' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 37 (2009) 2-42.
- Dreben, B., 'On Rawls and Political Liberalism', in Freeman, S. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 316-46.
- Dworkin, R. *Sovereign Virtue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) Chs. 5-6.
- Freeman, S. *Justice and the Social Contract* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
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- Gaus, G., 'The Place of Autonomy within Liberalism', in Christman, J. and J. Anderson, (eds.) *Autonomy and the Challenges to Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 272-306.
- Hurka, T., 'Indirect Perfectionism: Kymlicka on Neutrality', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 3 (1995), 36-57
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- Larmore, C. 'Political Liberalism', *Political Theory*, 18, (1990) 339-60.
- Lecce, S. *Against Perfectionism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
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- Quong, J., *Liberalism without Perfection* (Oxford: OUP: 2010)
- Rawls, J. 'The Domain of the Political and Overlapping Consensus' in his *Collected Papers*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 473-96.
- Raz, J. *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford, Blackwell 1986)
- Raz, J. 'The Scope of Public Reason', *Political Studies*, 52 (2004), 233-50.
- ———. 'Facing Up: A Reply', *Southern California Law Review*, 62 (1989), 1153-235.
- ———. *Practical Reasons and Norms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
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- Wall, S., 'Perfectionism, Public Reasons, and Religious Accommodation', *Social Theory and Practice*, 31 (2005), 281-304.
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- Williams, A. 'The Alleged Incompleteness of Public Reason', *Res Publica*, 6 (2000), 199-211.

Week 11

### **'Religious and Cultural Justice'**

In this seminar we will discuss whether religious practices should be treated differently from other practices. Through the case of religion, we will raise questions of diversity and multiculturalism in contemporary societies.

Seminar questions:

- Under which circumstances, if any, should religious accommodation be granted? It is legitimate doing so?
- Is religion in any sense special?
- What is the most attractive conception of multiculturalism?

Core reading:

- Barry, B. *Culture and Equality* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2001) Ch. 2.
- Bou-Habib, P., 'A Theory of Religious Accommodation', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 23 (2006), 109-26.

Supplementary reading:

(See also bibliography from last week!)

- Andar, R., and Leigh, I., *Religious Freedom in the Liberal State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Avineri, S., & A. de Shalit (eds.), *Communitarianism and Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). See especially editors' introduction and articles by Sandel, Taylor, Miller, and Dworkin.
- Avishai, M., & H. Moshe, 'Liberalism and the Right to Culture', *Social Research*, 61 (1994), 491-510.
- Bedi, S. 'Debate: What is so Special About Religion? The Dilemma of the Religious Exemption' *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15 (2007), 235-49.
- Benhabib, S., *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Benhabib, S. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171-212.

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- Calder, G and E. Ceva (eds.) *Diversity in Europe*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2011)
- Casal, P., 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Animals?' *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11 (2003), 1-22.
- Dimova-Cookson, M., and P. Stirk, (eds.) *Multiculturalism and Moral Conflict*, (New York: Routledge, 2010)
- Green, L. 'Internal Minorities and their Rights,' in Kymlicka, W. *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 256-72.
- Gutmann, A., 'The Challenge of Multiculturalism in Political Ethics', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 22 (1993), 171-206.
- Hampton, J., *Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Westview, 1988), 169-216.
- Horton, J. (ed.), *Liberalism, Multiculturalism and Toleration* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993).
- Jones, P., 'Equality, Recognition, Difference', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 9, (2006) 23-46.
- Jones, P., 'Toleration, Recognition and Identity', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 14, (2006) 123-43.
- Jones, P., 'Bearing the Consequences of Belief', in Goodin, R. and P. Pettit (eds.) *Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).
- Joppke, C. 'The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 55 (2004), 237-257
- Koppelman, A., 'Conscience, Volitional Necessity, and Religious Exemptions' *Legal Theory* 15 (2009), 215-44.
- Kelly, P., *Multiculturalism Reconsidered: Culture and Equality and Its Critics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002). A collection of essays responding to Barry's 2001 book.
- Kukathas, C., 'Liberalism and Multiculturalism: the Politics of Indifference', *Political Theory*, 26 (1998), 686-699.
- Kukathas, C., 'Are There any Cultural Rights?' in Kymlicka, W. *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 228-55.
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- Laborde, C., 'Secular Philosophy and Muslim Headscarves in School', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 13 (2005), 305-329.
- Lægaard, S., 'Moderate Secularism and Multicultural Equality', *Politics*, 28 (2008), 160-8.
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- MacIntyre, A. *After Virtue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, Duckworth, 1985).
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- Quong, J. 'Disputed Practices and Reasonable Pluralism', *Res Publica*, 10 (2004), 43-67.
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- Raz, J., 'Multiculturalism: A Liberal Perspective', in his *Ethics in the Public Domain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).
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Week 12.  
**'Revision and Conclusions'**