

Introduction to the Theory of Politics

Reading List 2026

NB: Two topics have changed this academic year, and there has been some reorganisation of other topics. See the 'Record of syllabus changes' table below.

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- Organising department: Politics
- A list of tutors eligible to teach this course is on [Politics UG Canvas](#)

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Record of syllabus changes

Academic Year	Changes to syllabus
2025-26	Removal of topics on Civil Society (previous 3.1 and 3.2). Introduction of Wollstonecraft as a basic text (3.1). Introduction of Disobedience, Revolt, and Self-Determination (4.2) under the new heading 'Power and Resistance' Reorganisation of other topics: - Locke (1.1) under 'Contract, Property, and Empire' heading and paired with Race, Empire and Political Theory (1.2, previously 4.2) - Marx (4.1) under 'Power and Resistance' heading - NB: This reorganisation does not change the substantive content of these topics; tutors can continue to teach them in the way they already do
2024-25	No changes
2023-24	No changes
2022-23	Changes to section 4.2 (now Power: Race, Empire and Political Theory)

Important information for PPE and HP students

- This course is compulsory for first year PPE students and optional for first year HP students.
- For PPE students, the course is examined alongside 'Introduction to the Practice of Politics' in one combined exam, 'Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Politics'.
- For HP students the course is examined in a standalone exam, 'Introduction to the Theory of Politics'.

- Past exam papers [can be found on SOLO](#).
- The [Examination Regulations](#) provide further information about the structure of the exams.

Aims and objectives

'Introduction to the Theory of Politics' aims to familiarise students with major approaches to and issues in understanding political theory. Specifically, students will be encouraged:

1. to acquire knowledge and understanding of the basic concepts which inform theoretical and empirical discussion of politics, such as 'rights', 'democracy', 'power' and 'liberty';
2. to acquire knowledge and understanding of at least some of the core normative issues which concern democratic politics, such as the legitimate scope of state authority, the desirability of democracy, and the role of political resistance;
3. to acquire knowledge and understanding of, and to critically assess, the work of selected major political thinkers who have addressed major theoretical issues concerning democratic government.

Through a combination of lectures, classes and tutorials, students will acquire a basic grounding in all these topics, though there will be considerable flexibility as to which topics students, in consultation with their tutors, elect to concentrate on in preparation for the Prelim exam.

Structure

The syllabus for 'Introduction to the Theory of Politics' is organized into seven major topics. Questions will be asked on each of these topics in the Prelims exam. In addition, questions will be asked on certain texts (Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*; Rousseau, *Social Contract*; Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*; Mill, *On Liberty*; and Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*): these are referred to as basic texts. In two cases (Rousseau and Wollstonecraft), certain portions of the basic texts are especially recommended on the reading list below. Exam questions will not be asked that primarily focus on the other parts of those texts, but students nonetheless might well wish to read those parts, in order to have a better understanding of the texts as whole.

The basic texts have a clear relationship to the major topics, and students are encouraged to study texts and topics in conjunction, e.g., a student might spend 1 or 2 tutorials on *The Social Contract* and 1 or 2 tutorials on the nature and grounds of democracy. But the texts may also be studied in their own right, and questions on the texts in the exam may invite students to discuss any significant question raised by the texts, including questions unrelated to the associated topic.

Thorough exploration of a given topic or basic text may reasonably take up more than one class or tutorial. It is necessary, therefore, for tutors to exercise a degree of selectivity in the topics and texts they teach. They can do so, however, assured that no topic or basic text will go uncovered in the Prelim exam.

Preliminary Reading

These preliminary readings are divided into two sections. Section A provides some general textbook introductions to the field. Section B readings raise questions about the

nature of political theory and the “canon” in the history of political thought. Both should be useful both prior to and alongside the course as a whole.

Section A

Catriona McKinnon, Robert Jubb, and Patrick Tomlin (eds.), *Issues in Political Theory* (4th edition, 2019).

Adam Swift, *Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians* (4th edition, 2019).

Jonathan Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (4th edition, 2023).

Section B

Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract*, Introduction (1997).

Linda Zerilli, 'Feminist Theory and the Canon of Political Thought', in Dryzek, Honig, and Phillips, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (2008).

Fred Dallmayr, 'Beyond Monologue: For a Comparative Political Theory', *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (2004): 249-257.

bell hooks, 'Theory as Liberatory Practice', *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 1 (1991).

Penny A. Weiss, *Canon Fodder: Historical Women Political Thinkers*, Ch 1: 'The Politics of the Canon: Gatekeepers or Gatecrashers' (2009).

TUTORIAL TOPICS

*** indicates a basic text.

* indicates a reading that is particularly recommended.

1. CONTRACT, PROPERTY, AND EMPIRE

1.1. ASSOCIATED BASIC TEXT: LOCKE'S SECOND TREATISE ON GOVERNMENT

Core Reading:

*** Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government*.

Further Primary Reading:

Locke, *First Treatise of Government*.

Locke, John, 'The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina' in *Locke: Political Essays*, ed. M. Goldie (1997). Also available at https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc05.asp.

Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* [1689], ed. J.H. Tully, trans. W. Popple (Indianapolis, 1983), or ed. R. Klibansky, trans. J.W. Gough (Oxford, 1968).

Secondary Reading:

* Goldie, Mark, 'Introduction' to *John Locke, Two Treatises of Government* (London: Dent, 1993).

* Armitage, David, 'John Locke, Carolina and the 'Two Treatises of Government'', *Political Theory* 32(5) (2004): 602-627.

Bernasconi, Robert, and Anika Maaza Mann. 'The Contradictions of Racism: Locke, Slavery, and the Two Treatises', In Andrew Valls (ed.), *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy*. Cornell University Press (2005).

* Dunn, John, *Locke: A Very Short Introduction* (2003 [1984]).

Dunn, John, *The Political Thought of John Locke* (1969).

Ashcraft, Richard, *Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (1987), esp. chs. 5-8.

Farr, James, 'Locke, natural law, and new world slavery', *Political Theory* 36(4) (2008): 495-522.

Grant, Ruth, *John Locke's Liberalism: A Study of Political Thought in its Intellectual Setting*, (1987).

* Hirschmann, Nancy J., and Kirstie M. McClure (eds.), *Feminist Interpretations of John Locke* (2010).

* Simmons, A. J, *The Lockean Theory of Rights* (1992).

* Tully, James, *A Discourse on Property: John Locke and His Adversaries* (1980).

Tully, James, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (1993).

Laslett, Peter (ed.), *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government* (1988), Introduction.

Waldron, Jeremy, *God, Locke, and Equality: Christian Foundations of John Locke's Political Thought* (2002).

Broad, Jacqueline. 'Mary Astell on Marriage and Lockean Slavery', *History of Political Thought* 35(4) (2014): 717–738.

Essays

- Why, according to Locke, is consent necessary for state legitimacy?
- Can individuals gain exclusive property rights by mixing labour with unowned goods?

1.2. RACE, EMPIRE, AND POLITICAL THEORY

Core Reading:

* Mills, Charles, *The Racial Contract*, Introduction (1997).

* Mehta, Uday, 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', *Politics and Society* (1990).

* Lebovics, Herman, 'John Locke, Imperialism, and the First Stage of Capitalism', in *Imperialism and the Corruption of Democracy* (2004).

* Pitts, Jennifer, 'James and John Stuart Mill: The Development of Imperial Liberalism in Britain', in her *A Turn to Empire* (2005)

Further Reading:

Locke, John, 'The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina' in *Locke: Political Essays*, ed. M. Goldie (1997). Also available at https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc05.asp.

Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty* (esp. Introduction).

Armitage, David, 'John Locke: Theorist of Empire?' In Sankar Muthu (ed.), *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (2012).

Tully, James, 'Aboriginal Property and Western Theory: Recovering a Middle Ground', *Social Philosophy & Policy* 11(2) (1994): 153-180.

Arneil, Barbara, *John Locke and America : The Defence of English Colonialism* (1996).

Kotef, Hagar, 'Locke's Consuming Individual: A Theory of the Mixing Body', *Theory & Event* 25(2) (2022): 419-443.

Deloria, Vine, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969).

Ulas Ince, Onur, *Colonial Capitalism and the Dilemmas of Liberalism* (2019).

Pitts, Jennifer, 'Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism', *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (2010): 211-235.

Rogin, Michael, 'Liberal Society and the Indian Question', *Politics & Society* 1(3) (1971): 269-312.

Marwah, Inder, 'Complicating Barbarism and Civilization: Mill's Complex Sociology of Human Development', *History of Political Thought* 32(2) (2011): 345-366.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Introduction' to his *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000).

Said, Edward, 'Traveling Theory Revisited', in his *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (2000).

Essays:

- How does the context of empire change the way we think about the history of political thought?
- Does liberalism's traditional emphasis on freedom change if we consider it in the context of Mill and/or Locke's relationship to imperialism?

2. THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF DEMOCRACY

2.1. ASSOCIATED BASIC TEXT: ROUSSEAU'S THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Core Reading:

*** Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract* (1762) especially Book 1, chapters 6-8; Book 2; Book 3, chapters 10-18; Book 4 (for example, the Oxford Classics edition, edited by C. Betts, 1994, or the Penguin edition edited by M. Cranston, 1968).

Further Primary Reading:

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 'Discourse on the origins of inequality among men' [1755] (also known as 'The Second Discourse') in *Rousseau: The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings* (1997).

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 'Discourse on Political Economy' [1754] (for example in Betts (ed.) *The Social Contract*, 1994).

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Emile, or, On Education* (1762). [This is Rousseau's short novel, published in the months after *The Social Contract*. It gives insight into how he thought a young person should be raised in his ideal society. It will also give you critical purchase on the limitations of his case, and a perspective on who his texts were written for, and who they ignored.]

Further Secondary Reading:

* Bertram, Christopher, *Rousseau and the Social Contract* (2003).

Kluasen, Jimmy Casas, *Fugitive Rousseau: Slavery, Primitivism, and Political Freedom* (2014).

Cobban, Alfred, *Rousseau and the Modern State* (2nd ed.) (1970), especially chs. 1-3.

* Cohen, Joshua, *Rousseau: A Community of Equals* (2010).

Mills, Charles, 'Rousseau, the Master's Tools, and Anti-Contractarian Contractarianism', *The CLR James Journal* 15(1) (2009): 92-112.

* Okin, Susan, *Women in Western Political Thought* (2013), Part III, chs. 5-8.

Rawls, John, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (2007), 1st lecture on Rousseau.

Schwartzberg, Melissa, 'Voting the General Will: Rousseau on Decision Rules', *Political Theory* 36(3) (2008): 403-423.

Spector, Céline, *Rousseau* (2019).

Waldron, Jeremy, 'Rights and Majorities: Rousseau Revisited', in his *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers, 1981-1991* (1993).

Weiss, Penny A., 'Rousseau, Antifeminism, and Woman's Nature,' *Political Theory* 15(1) (1987): 81-98.

Wokler, Robert, *Rousseau and Liberty* (1995), chapters by Mason, Wokler, Cranston, Crocker, and Hampsher-Monk.

Wolff, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (2023), chapter 3.

Two useful podcasts are the BBC Radio 4 'In Our Time' episode on *The Social Contract* and Professor Lane's 'Philosophy Bites' podcast on Rousseau and Civilisation:
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b008w3xm>; <http://philosophybites.com/2008/07/melissa-lane-on.html>

Essays:

- What problem is Rousseau seeking to solve in *The Social Contract*? To what extent does his proposal succeed in addressing this problem?
- In what senses are individual citizens in Rousseau's state 'free'?

2.2. DEMOCRACY: WHAT IS IT? IS IT DESIRABLE?

Core Reading:

* Cohen, Joshua, 'Deliberative Democracy', in Alan P. Hamlin and Philip Pettit (eds.), *The Good Polity: Normative Analysis of the State* (1989).

* Estlund, David, *Democracy* (ed.) (2002), especially chapters by Waldron, Cohen, Estlund, Miller, and Young.

* Schumpeter, Joseph, 'Two Concepts of Democracy', in his *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1943/1996), chs. XXI and XXII, or in Anthony Quinton (ed.) *Political Philosophy* (1985)

* Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy* (2000), chapter 1.

Further Reading

* Barry, Brian, 'Is Democracy Special?', in his *Democracy and Power: Essays in Political Theory Vol 1* (1989).

Dahl, Robert, *On Democracy* (1998), Parts I-III.

* Fishkin, James S., *Democracy and Deliberation: New Directions for Democratic Reform* (1991), chapters 1-6, 8.

* Held, David, *Models of Democracy* (2nd edn) (1996), chapters 1-6.

Landemore, Hélène, 'Deliberative democracy as open, not (just) representative democracy', *Daedalus* 146(3) (2017): 51-63.

Mill, John Stuart, *On Representative Government* (for example, in the Everyman edition of John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*, edited by H. Acton, 1972).

* Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract*, 1762, especially Book 1, chapters 6-8; Book 2; Book 3, chapters 10-18; Book 4 (for example, the Oxford Classics edition, edited by C. Betts, 1994, or the Penguin edition edited by M. Cranston, 1968).

* Sanders, Lynn M., 'Against Deliberation', *Political Theory* 25(3) (1997): 347-376.

Swift, Adam, *Political Philosophy: A Beginners' Guide for Students and Politicians* (4th edition, 2013), chapter 2.

Essays:

- Does a commitment to democracy require accepting the decisions of the majority regardless of the content of that decision?
- Is democracy necessary for liberty?
- How defensible is deliberative democracy?

3. THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF RIGHTS

3.1. ASSOCIATED BASIC TEXT: WOLLSTONECRAFT'S VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Core Reading:

*** Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* [1792], especially chapters 1-4.

There are lots of reliable editions available. Two are recommended here: Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, edited and introduced by Eileen Hunt Botting (Yale University

Press, 2014); and Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men And A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, edited by Sylvana Tomaselli (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Further Primary Reading:

Wollstonecraft, Mary, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* [1790], in Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men And A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, edited by Sylvana Tomaselli (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Secondary Reading:

* Abbey, Ruth, 'Are Women Human? Wollstonecraft's Defence of Rights for Women', in Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, edited and introduced by Eileen Hunt Botting (2014), pp. 230-245.

Bergès, Sandrine, *The Routledge Guidebook to Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (2013).

Botting, Eileen Hunt, *Wollstonecraft, Mill, and Women's Human Rights* (2016).

Frazer, Elizabeth, 'Mary Wollstonecraft's Political Theory', *The Review of Politics* 82(1) (2020): 25-48.

* Halldenius, Lena, 'The Primacy of Right. On the Triad of Liberty, Equality and Virtue in Wollstonecraft's Political Thought', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 15(1) (2007): 75-99.

Halldenius, Lena, *Mary Wollstonecraft and Feminist Republicanism: Independence, Rights and the Experience of Unfreedom* (2015).

* James, Susan, 'Mary Wollstonecraft's Conception of Rights', in S. Berges and A Coffee (eds.), *The Social and Political Philosophy of Mary Wollstonecraft* (2016), pp. 148-165.

* Sapiro, Virginia, *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft* (1992), especially chs. 5 and 7.

Taylor, Barbara, *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination* (2003).

Tomaselli, Sylvana, *Wollstonecraft: Philosophy, Passion, and Politics* (2021)

Essays

- On what foundations does Wollstonecraft build her theory of rights, and what does it encompass?
- What are the political implications of Wollstonecraft's claim that "liberty is the mother of virtue"?

3.2. RIGHTS: WHAT ARE THEY? WHY DO THEY MATTER?

Core Reading:

* Dworkin, Ronald, 'Taking Rights Seriously', in his *Taking Rights Seriously* (1978) and 'Rights as Trumps', in J. Waldron (ed.), *Theories of Rights* (1984).

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

* Kamm, Frances, 'Rights', in Jules L. Coleman, Kenneth Einar Himma, and Scott J. Shapiro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law* (2002).

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

Further Reading:

Finnis, John, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (1980), ch 8.

Freedden, Michael, *Rights* (1991).

* Jones, Peter, *Rights* (1994).

Moyn, Samuel, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (2010).

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

* Raz, Joseph, *The Morality of Freedom* (1986), ch. 7.

Shue, Henry, *Basic Rights* (1980).

* Waldron, Jeremy, 'Rights in Conflict', *Ethics* 99(3) (1989): 503-519.

Waldron, Jeremy, 'Rights' in R. Goodin and P. Pettit (eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1995).

Wenar, Leif, 'The Nature of Rights', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33(3): 223-253.

Essays

- Can rights conflict?
- Can states legitimately violate the rights of their citizens?

4. POWER AND RESISTANCE

4.1. ASSOCIATED BASIC TEXT: THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

*** Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* [1848].

Secondary Reading:

* Leopold, David, 'Karl Marx', in G. Gaus and F. D'Agostino (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy* (2012).

Brown, Heather A., *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study* (2013).

* Stedman Jones, Gareth, 'Introduction' to *Marx and Engels: Communist Manifesto* (2002).

Wolff, Jonathan, *Why Read Marx Today?* (2002).

Carver, Terrell and James Farr (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Communist Manifesto* (2015), especially the editors' intro and essays by Leopold, Martin, Farr & Ball, and Panitch.

* Cohen, Gerald A., 'Forces and Relations of Production', in his *History, Labour and Freedom: Themes from Marx* (1988).

* Cohen, Gerald A. 'Marx's Dialectic of Labour', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 3(3) (1974): 235-261.

Berman, Marshall, *Adventures in Marxism* (1999), ch. 6.

Draper, Hal, *The Adventures of the Communist Manifesto* (2004).

* Elster, Jon, *An Introduction to Karl Marx* (1986).

Isaac, Jeffrey C. (ed.), *The Communist Manifesto: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (2012).

Levine, Andrew, *Engaging Political Philosophy: From Hobbes to Rawls* (2002) chapter on Marx.

Panitch, Leo and Colin Leys (eds.), *Socialist Register 1998: Communist Manifesto Now* (1998).

Plamenatz, John Petrov, *Man and Society: A Critical Examination of Some Important Social and Political Theories from Machiavelli to Marx* (1966), chapter on Marx.

Robinson, Cedric J., *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (2000).

* Wood, Allen, *Karl Marx* (1981).

'Colonialism' in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 'Section 4: Marxism and Leninism':
<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/#MarLen>

Essays:

- Assess Marx's claim that the capitalist state is 'but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'.
- Explain Marx's account of the relationship between technological and political change.
- Why should the capitalist state give way to communist society, according to Marx?
- Is Marx right to think that the state could wither away?
- Explain and evaluate Marx's theory of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

4.2. DISOBEDIENCE, REVOLT, AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Core Reading:

* Gandhi, Mohandas K., *Indian Home Rule (Hind Swaraj)* (1909), Chapter IV. What is Swaraj?; Chapter V. The Condition of England; Chapter XIII. What is True Civilisation?; Chapter XIV. How can India become free?; Chapter XVI. Brute-Force; Chapter XVII; Passive Resistance; Chapter XX. Conclusion. Scan of original text here:
<https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/mahatma-gandhi-books/indian-home-rule#page/1/mode/2up>

* King, Martin Luther [1963] 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail', in Bedau (ed.), *Civil Disobedience in Focus* (1991). Typed original version here:

https://okra.stanford.edu/transcription/document_images/undecided/630416-019.pdf

* Davis, Angela, 'Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation' [1971], in her *If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance* (Verso, 2016). Original text here:

<https://archive.org/details/political-prisoners-prisons-black-liberation-angela-davis-1971/page/n1/mode/2up>

Further Reading:

Cabral, Amilcar, *Resistance and Decolonization* (1969/2016).

Devji, Faisal, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence* (2012), 'Introduction' and Chapter 4: 'Brothers in Arms'.

Mantena, Karuna, 'Another Realism: The Politics of Gandhian Nonviolence', *The American Political Science Review* 106(2) (2012): 455-470.

Davis, Angela Y., Gina Dent, Erica Meiners and Beth Richie, *Abolition. Feminism. Now.* (2022).

Livingston, Alexander, 'Martin Luther King Jr's Late Theory of Civil Disobedience', *The Journal of Politics* 82(2) (2020): 700-713.

Brownlee, Kimberly, 'Features of a Paradigm Case of Civil Disobedience', *Res Publica* 10 (2004): 337-351.

Pineda, Erin *Seeing Like an Activist: Civil Disobedience and the Civil Rights Movement* (2021), Introduction and chs. 1 & 2.

Celikates, Robin, 'Remaking the Demos 'from Below'?: Critical Theory, Migrant Struggles, and Epistemic Resistance', in Didier Fassin and Axel Honeth (eds.) *Crisis Under Critique* (2022).

Pasternak, Avia, 'Political Riots – A Moral Assessment', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 46(4) (2019): 384-418.

Essays:

- What are the political and moral limitations of non-violence?
- Is there a politically relevant distinction between violence against people and violence against property?
- Are we morally obligated to obey the laws of a democratic state when it does not act democratically?
- Under what conditions does the right to self determination trump the rule of law?

5. THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF LIBERTY

5.1. ASSOCIATED BASIC TEXT: MILL'S ON LIBERTY

Core Reading:

*** Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty* [1859] (for example, the Penguin edition edited by G. Himmelfarb, 1985).

Further Primary Reading:

Mill, J.S., and H.T. Mill, *The Subjection of Women*.

Secondary Reading:

Skorupski, John (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mill* (1998), essays by Donner, Riley, Robson, Ten, and Shanley.

Mantena, Karuna, 'Mill and the Imperial Predicament', in N. Urbinati (ed.), *J. S. Mill's Political Thought* (2010).

Okin, Susan, *Women in Western Political Thought* (1979), ch. 9.

Annas, Julia, 'Mill and the Subjection of Women', *Philosophy* 52(200) (1977): 179-194.

Mehta, Uday S., 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', *Politics and Society* 18(4) (1990): 427-454.

Berlin, Isaiah, 'John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life', in Alan Ryan (ed.) *Mill* (1997); also in Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969).

* Gray, John, *Mill on Liberty: A Defence* (2nd edition, 1996).

Gray, John, and G.W. Smith, *On Liberty in Focus* (1991).

Gray, John, and Zbigniew Pelczynski (eds.), *Conceptions of Liberty in Political Philosophy* (1984), chapter on Mill.

Levine, Andrew, *Engaging Political Philosophy: From Hobbes to Rawls* (2002), chapter on Mill.

* Rees, John C., 'The Principle of Liberty', in Ryan (ed.) *Mill* (1997); also published as 'A Re-Reading of Mill on Liberty', *Political Studies* 8 (1960): 113-129.

Ryan, Alan, *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill* (2nd edition, 1998), ch. 12.

Ryan, Alan, *J.S. Mill* (1974).

Ten, C., *Mill on Liberty* (1980).

Waldron, Jeremy, 'Mill and the Value of Moral Distress', in Ryan (ed.), *Mill* (1997). Also in *Political Studies*, 35 (1987): 310-323, and in Waldron, Jeremy, *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers, 1981-1991* (1993).

Essays:

- Is Mill's harm principle a clear and plausible basis for evaluating the community's efforts to restrict individual freedom?
- How persuasive is Mill's defence of freedom of expression?
- What place does 'rationality' have in Mill's theory of liberty?

- Does Mill make a compelling case against state paternalism?
- Does Mill's celebration of individuality subvert the needs of citizenship?

5.2. THE CONCEPT OF LIBERTY

Arendt, Hannah, 'Freedom and Politics', in David Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader* (2006/2016).

* Berlin, Isaiah, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in his *Four Essays on Liberty* (1969).

Costa, Victoria, 'Is Neo-Republicanism Bad for Women?' *Hypatia* 28(4) (2013): 921–36.

Gray, Tim, *Freedom* (1990).

Green, T.H., 'Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader*.

* Hirschmann, Nancy J., 'Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader*.

hooks, bell, 'Theory as Liberatory Practice', *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 4(1) (1991): 1–12.

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, ch. 21 [1651] (for example, the Penguin edition edited by C.B. MacPherson, 1968).

* MacCallum, Gerald, 'Negative and Positive Freedom', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader*; also in *The Philosophical Review* 76(3) (1967): 312–334.

* Miller, David, 'Introduction', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader* (2006/2016).

Pettit, Philip, 'Republican Freedom and Contestatory Democracy', in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker Cordón (eds.), *Democracy's Value* (1999).

Roberts, Neil, *Freedom as Marronage* (2015).

Rogers, Melvin L., 'Race, Domination, and Republicanism', in Danielle Allen and Rohini Somanathan (eds.), *Difference without Domination* (2020).

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract* [1762], Book 1, chapters 6–8 (for example, in the Penguin edition edited by M. Cranston, 1968).

Skinner, Quentin, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (1998), especially chapter 2.

Steiner, Hillel, 'Individual Liberty', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader*.

Taylor, Charles, 'What's Wrong with Negative Liberty', in Miller (ed.), *The Liberty Reader*.

Waldron, Jeremy, 'Homelessness and the Issue of Freedom', in his *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers, 1981–1991* (1993).

Essays:

- Is there a single concept of liberty underpinning the many ways in which the term is used by political thinkers?
- Is liberty primarily about the absence of law or the authorship of law?

- How (if at all) do economic circumstances affect an individual's liberty?

6. STATE PATERNALISM

Core Reading:

Begon, Jessica, 'Paternalism', *Analysis* 76(3) (2016): 355-373.

Dworkin, Gerald, 'Paternalism', in Richard A. Wasserstrom (ed.), *Morality and the Law* (1971)

Devlin, Patrick, *The Enforcement of Morals* (1965).

Hart, H. L. A., *Law, Liberty, and Morality* (1963).

Further Reading:

Shiffrin, Seana Valentine, 'Paternalism, Unconscionability Doctrine, and Accommodation', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 29(3) (2000): 205-250.

Ten, C. L., 'Paternalism and Morality', *Ratio* 13 (1971): 55-66.

Feinberg, Joel, 'Legal Paternalism', *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 1(1) (1971): 105-124.

Arneson, Richard, 'Mill versus Paternalism', *Ethics* 90(4) (1980): 470-489.

Husak, Douglas, 'Paternalism and Autonomy', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10(1) (1981): 27-46.

Van De Veer, Donald, *Paternalistic Intervention: The Moral Bounds of Benevolence* (1986)

Birks, David, 'How Wrong if Paternalism', *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 15 (2018): 136-163.

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram, *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race* (2011).

Essays

- Should the state restrict people's freedom for their own good?
- Would it be wrong for citizens to disobey paternalistic laws?

7. FREE SPEECH

Core Reading:

Feinberg, Joel, 'Harmless Wrongdoing and Offensive Nuisances', in his *Rights, Justice, and the Bounds of Liberty: Essays in Social Philosophy* (1980).

MacKinnon, Catherine, *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (1987).

Matsuda, Mari, 'Public Response to Racist Speech: Considering the Victim's Story', *Michigan Law Review* 78(9) (1989): 2320-2381.

Further Reading:

* Srinivasan, Amia and Robert Simpson, 'No Platforming', in Jennifer Lackey (ed.) *Academic Freedom* (2018).

Altman, Andrew, 'Liberalism and Campus Hate Speech: A Philosophical Examination', *Ethics* 102(2) (1993): 302-317.

Feinberg, Joel, *The Moral Limits of the Criminal Law: Volume 2: Offense to Others* (1988).

Fiss, Owen M., *The Irony of Free Speech* (1996) ch. 1.

* Parekh, Bhikhu, 'The Rushdie Affair: Research Agenda for Political Philosophy', *Political Theory* 38: 695-709; also in Will Kymlicka (ed.), *The Rights of Minority Cultures*.

* Waldron, Jeremy, 'Rushdie and Religion', in his *Liberal Rights: Collected Papers, 1981-1991*, (1993).

* Wolff, Jonathan, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, ch. 4.

Waldron, Jeremy, *The Harm in Hate Speech* (2012).

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

Ten, C. L., *Mill on Liberty* (1980), ch. 8.

Baker, Edwin, *Human Liberty and Freedom of Speech* (1989).

Lewis, Anthony, *Freedom for the Thought That We Hate* (2007).

Hare, Ivan and James Weinstein (eds.), *Extreme Speech and Democracy* (2009).

Cohen, Joshua, 'Freedom of Expression', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22(3) (1993): 207-263.

Scanlon, Tim, 'A Theory of Freedom of Expression', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1(2) (1972): 204-226.

White, Stuart, 'Freedom of Association and the Right to Exclude', *Journal of Political Philosophy* 5(4) (1997): 373-391.

Fiss, Owen M., 'The Silencing Effect of Speech', in his *The Irony of Free Speech* (1998).

Langton, Rae, 'Speech Acts and Unspeakable Acts', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 22(4) (1993): 293-33.

Essays

- Can restrictions on the speech of some ever promote the value of speech overall?
- Do state restrictions on political speech undermine democratic legitimacy?
- Should hate speech be tolerated?