# Introduction to Political Science (POLS 1002)

#### Module Convenor

Dr Tim Hicks
Department of Political Science,
University College London
t.hicks@ucl.ac.uk
http://tim.hicks.me.uk/teaching/

#### **Additional Lectures**

Dr Nick Martin
Department of Political Science,
University College London
nick.martin@ucl.ac.uk

http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/people/teaching/nick-martin

#### **Contact Hours**

Term One Classes:

TBD

Term Two Classes:

TBD

Office Hours (for Tim Hicks):

TBD

Document produced: September 25, 2016

# Course Description

This module covers concepts that are foundational for the scholarly study of political phenomena. Basic conceptual terms such as 'power', 'democracy', 'identity', and 'equality' are presented from a range of different perspectives. The module is intended to enable students to begin to develop general social scientific expertise. It should also give students a sense of those more specific areas of political science that they would like to pursue in greater depth, later on in their degree programme.

On successful completion of this module students should have an understanding of:

• core concepts for the study of politics;

- the distinction between positive theories, normative theories, and empirical evidence relating to the study of politics;
- how to critically evaluate theoretical arguments in the social sciences;
- how to critically evaluate empirical evidence in the social sciences.

#### Lectures and Seminars

Each week there will be a lecture followed by a seminar on the same topic. Both will last about one hour. The lectures will be used to examine some parts of the material for the topic that week — either from the required material or beyond. Lectures are *not* a substitute for you completing the readings. They are a complement.

The seminars will provide a forum for more focussed discussion. In each seminar, you should expect to be ready to discuss all of the required readings. You are also very welcome to raise issues from the further readings. If you have not read the required material, you will not be prepared for the seminars.

There is good evidence that using laptops to take notes in lectures is likely to reduce the amount of knowledge/understanding that you glean from them. Consequently, I strongly suggest that you reconsider any plans you may have to take notes other than using pen-and-paper. For evidence in support of this advice, see:

• Mueller, Pam A. and Daniel M. Oppenheimer (2014). "The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking". *Psychological Science* 25(6), pp. 1159–1168.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797614524581

- Sovern, Jeff (2012). "Law Student Laptop Use During Class for Nonclass PPurpose: Temptation v. Incentives". *University of Louiseville Law Review* 51(3), pp. 483-534. URL: http://www.louisvillelawreview.org/sites/louisvillelawreview.org/files/pdfs/printcontent/51/3/Sovern.pdf
- Spitzer, Manfred (2014). "Information technology in education: Risks and side effects". Trends in Neuroscience and Education 3(3-4), pp. 81-85.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tine.2014.09.002
- Kuznekoff, Jeffrey H. and Scott Titsworth (2013). "The Impact of Mobile Phone Usage on Student Learning". Communication Education 62(3), pp. 233-252.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03634523.2013.767917

There is also evidence that these negative effects of computer use in lectures/classes are not only felt by the computer user, but also by those around them. Thus, **you are likely to harm the educational experience of your friends and peers by using computers in teaching environments**. Given this, I reserve the right to ban laptop use from all of my classes. For evidence, see:

• Sana, Faria, Tina Weston, and Nicholas J. Cepeda (2013). "Laptop multitasking hinders classroom learning for both users and nearby peers". Computers & Education 62, pp. 24–31. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2012.10.003

#### **Assessment Information**

In term 1, you must write two response papers, and an essay. You will receive feedback on the written work both from myself and each other. Completion of all of the term 1 assignments is required. Failure to satisfactorily complete any of them will lead to you being barred from the end of year exam. However, any grades that are given for them will not count towards the final module grade. That is, they are formative assessments; intended to help you to develop your written and analytical skills, and to ensure an appropriate level of engagement with the module material.

In term 2, you will write a third formative response paper. You will also write a second essay that will be assessed, and the grade for which will form 25% of your final module grade. Finally, at the end of the year, you will sit a 3 hour unseen written exam. This will be used to assess all parts of the module — i.e. material from both terms 1 and 2 — and will be worth 75% of your final module grade.

Assignment	When?	Length	Weighting
Term 1			
Reading response paper 1	1st half	<500 words	0%
Reading response paper 2	2nd half	<500 words	0%
Essay 1	2nd half	<1,500 words	0%
Online quiz	End of term	N/A	0%
Term 2			
Reading response paper 3	Either half term	<500 words	0%
Essay 2	2nd half 2	<1,500 words	25%
Term 3			
Exam	UCL Exam Period	3 hours	75%

Table 1: An overview of assessments for the module.

You will find useful guidance for writing and presenting essays on the Department's student website. These guidelines are designed to help you, and you should read them carefully and do your best to follow them. Good essays give clear and focused answers to the question asked, they have clear structures, and they will be adequately and appropriately referenced. They do not provide a vague and unstructured discussion of the topic. Plagiarism is taken extremely seriously and can disqualify you from the course (for details of what constitutes plagiarism see http://www.ucl.ac.uk/current-students/guidelines/plagiarism). If you are in doubt about any of this, ask the tutor.

# Reading for the Module

The list that follows is organised by lecture topic. You are not expected to read everything on the list, but you must read all of the readings in the 'Shorter/Popular Readings' and 'Required Readings' lists. Each week you should come to your seminar class prepared to discuss what you have read with others. Seminars are dedicated times when you and your peers discuss module material in a structured way. If you have not completed the required readings, neither you nor your seminar peers will get much value from the class.

For several of the topics, we have indicated relevant reading from two textbooks that you may find it convenient to buy:

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press
- Wolff, Jonathan (2006). An Introduction to Political Philosophy. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

There are also other general textbook treatments that provide an introduction to the study of politics, and political science more specifically. Some that you may find useful to browse are:

- Heywood, Andrew (2000). Key Concepts in Politics. Palgrave MacMillan
- Heywood, Andrew (2013). Politics. 4th ed. Palgrave MacMillan

The reading list that follows is designed to be as easy to use as possible — in the sense of it being clear what you should read and clear how you can obtain it. Here are some general tips about the presentation of the reading list:

- The reading list (below) includes full bibliographic references to each article, chapter, book, or other reading. As such, you should be able to use the library services to find them yourself.
- Most of the reading is available in the UCL library, although you may find only limited copies. The Senate House and LSE libraries may also be of use to you.
- Where available, I have also included the URL based on the DOI (standing for Digital Object Identifier) of the reading. This will link you to *one* place where the reading is published online.
- The DOI links will only provide you with access when you are connected to the UCL network. If you are off-campus, you should use the Library's off-campus facility by visiting http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/electronic-resources.
- Note, however, that the DOI link may *not* be the place through which the UCL subscription provides access. (This is not in my control.) If this occurs, you will often find that http://www.jstor.org/will work for you, subject to you being on-campus or having explicitly signed-in to the Library's off-campus service.
- Again, where available, I have also tried to provide URLs for readings that are not constrained by off-campus and/or login restrictions. This is often via the web sites of the authors of the readings and will tend to be the easiest way of retrieving items.
- Some readings may be available as e-books via the UCL library. These are marked with the
   ★ symbol in the reading list.
- Some readings may only be available in hard copy. In these cases, I will endeavour to make them available as scanned PDFs via the module's Moodle site found via http://moodle.ucl.ac.uk/. These are marked with the symbol in the reading list.
- Some of the readings listed below are a little more challenging. I have marked these with the \* symbol. They may be helpful to you for increasing your understanding of the intuition of arguments, but do not worry about difficulties that you may have understanding mathematical or statistical material in these papers.
- Some of the 'readings' may actually be podcasts or other types of audio or video. I have marked these with the \*\*\* symbol.

One potential downside to electronic journals is that they do not foster the browsing around issues and volumes that comes with the hard copies of journals. We very much encourage you to do this kind of browsing — via web sites or hard copies, as you prefer. This is likely to be particularly helpful when preparing for essays.

# Acknowledgements

We are extremely grateful to the following for their help in preparing this module: Cécile Laborde, Lucas Leemann, Neil Mitchell, Avia Pasternak, Christine Reh, and Sherrill Stroschein.

# Contents

		Page
Ι	Introductions	
	1 Defining 'Politics', 'Science', and 'Normative Political Theory'	
II	The State	
	2 The Concept of the State	
	3 Normative Justifications of the State	. 9
	4 Empirical Explanations of the State	. 11
III	Power, Coercion, and Violence	. 12
	5 The Concept of Power	. 12
	6 Political Violence	. 13
	7 International Order and War	. 14
	8 Coercion, Punishment, and Morality	. 15
IV	Social Cooperation and Political Groups	. 17
	9 The Logic of Collective Action	. 17
	10 Cooperation and the Commons	. 18
	11 Nationalism and Immigration	. 19
	12 The Moral Significance of Nationalism	. 20
V	Democracy	. 21
	13 Conceptual Features of Democracy	. 21
	14 Democracy, the Majority, and the Individual	. 22
	15 Societal Prerequisites of Democracy	. 23
	16 Explaining Democratic Transitions	. 24
VI	Economic Equality and Justice	
	17 Empirical Patterns of (In)Equality	
	18 Theories of Distributive Justice	
	19 Welfare Regimes	
	20 Inequality and Democracy	

# I Introductions

# 1 Defining 'Politics', 'Science', and 'Normative Political Theory'

What is 'politics'? What is 'science'? What is 'political science'? What is the difference between empirical and normative questions? What can and should you expect from a lecturer in politics?

## Textbook Reading

• Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 2

#### Required Readings

- Lasswell, Harold D. (1958). *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How.* New York: Meridian Books.
  - URL: http://www.policysciences.org/classics/politics.pdf (Retrieved 09/01/2015), Chapter 1
- Wolff, Jonathan (1996). An Introduction to Political Philosophy. 1st ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Introduction, pp.1–5
- Weber, Max (1917). Science as a Vocation. Originally delivered as a speech at Munich University.
  - URL: http://www.wisdom.weizmann.ac.il/~oded/X/WeberScienceVocation.pdf (Retrieved 03/29/2015)
- Stears, Marc (2005). "The Vocation of Political Theory: Principles, Empirical Inquiry and the Politics of Opportunity". European Journal of Political Theory 4(4), pp. 325–350. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1474885105055981

# II The State

# 2 The Concept of the State

'The state' is one of the defining and most consequential political institutions in the modern world. In this week, we explore what exactly a state is at the conceptual level.

## **Textbook Reading**

• Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 4

#### Required Readings

- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1932). The German Ideology.
   URL: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx\_The\_German\_Ideology.pdf (Retrieved 09/25/2015), "The Real Basis of Ideology"
- Weber, Max (1919). *Politics as a Vocation*. Originally delivered as a speech at Munich University.

URL: http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/foundation/documents/03Weber1918.pdf (Retrieved 10/08/2015)

- Maclennan, Gregor, Stuart Hall, and David Held, eds. (1984). The Idea of the Modern State. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press
- Carnoy, Martin (1984). The State and Political Theory. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Elster, Jon (1985). *Making Sense of Marx*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 7
- Vincent, Andrew (1987). Theories of the State. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell
- Harding, A. (1994). "The origins of the concept of the state". *History of Political Thought* 15(1), pp. 57–72.
  - URL: http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/imp/hpt/1994/00000015/00000001/
    203
- Keating, Michael (1999). "Politics and the State in Western Europe: Conceptions of the State". In: *The Politics of Modern Europe*. Ed. by Michael Keating. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Skinner, Quentin (2005). "The State". In: Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 1
- Hay, Colin, Michael Lister, and David Marsh, eds. (2005). The State: Theories and Issues. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan
- Dunleavy, Patrick (2012). "The State". In: A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 49

#### 3 Normative Justifications of the State

What, if any, are the moral underpinnings of a state? Why should obey the state and it's laws? This week, we explore how political theorists have argued for and against the justification of the state as a coercive authority and why we ought to obey it.

#### **Textbook Reading**

• Simmons, A. John (2012). "Authority". In: *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy*. Ed. by David Estlund. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

## Required Readings

- Wolff, Robert Paul (1970). In Defense of Anarchism. New York, NY: Harper & Row
- Klosko, George (1987). "The Principle of Fairness and Political Obligation". *Ethics* 97(2), pp. 353–362.

URL: http://www.people.virginia.edu/~gk/publications.html/principle%20of%
20fairness.pdf

• Simmons, A. John (1976). "Tacit Consent and Political Obligation". *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 5(3), pp. 274–291.

URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2264884

- Hobbes, Thomas (1651). Leviathan. EPRINT: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/3207, Chapter XVII, "Of the causes, generation of, and definition of a commonwealth"
- Locke, John (1689). Second Treatise on Government.

  EPRINT: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/7370, Chapter VIII, "Of the Beginning of Political Societies"
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1762). The Social Contract & Discourses. EPRINT: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/46333
- Nozick, Robert (1974). Anarchy, State and Utopia. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, Especially chapter 2
- Macpherson, C. B. (1977). "Do We Need a Theory of the State?" European Journal of Sociology 18 (2), pp. 222-244.
   DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600003210
- Simmons, A. John (1981). *Moral Principles and Political Obligations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Dworkin, Ronald (1986). Law's Empire. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Raz, Joseph (1988). *The Morality of Freedom*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0198248075.001.0001, Especially part 1
- Rawls, John (1993). *Political Liberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Especially lecture 1

- Simmons, A. John (2001). Justification and Legitimacy: Essays on Rights and Obligations. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Levine, Andrew and John Levine (2001). Engaging Political Philosophy: From Hobbes to Rawls. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers
- Buchanan, Allen (2002). "Political Legitimacy and Democracy". Ethics 112(4), pp. 689–719. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/340313
- Ripstein, Arthur (2004). "Authority and Coercion". *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 32(1), pp. 2-35.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2004.00003.x
- Wolff, Jonathan (2006). An Introduction to Political Philosophy. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapter 2
- Boucher, David and Paul Kelly, eds. (2009). *Political Thinkers: From Socrates to the Present*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapters 4, 10, 11, 12, 14
- Beetham, David (2013). The Legitimation of Power. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan

# 4 Empirical Explanations of the State

Political theorists may have justifications for why states exist, but it does not follow that they also lead to *empirical* explanations for that existence. In this week, we explore positive, rather than normative, theories of how states came to exist and evolve.

## Shorter/Popular Readings

• Farrell, Henry (2015a). Dark Leviathan. Aeon Magazine.

URL: http://aeon.co/magazine/technology/on-the-high-seas-of-the-hidden-internet/ (Retrieved 03/27/2015)

#### Required Readings

- ➡ Tilly, Charles (1992). Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1992. Blackwell, Chapter 1
- Spruyt, Hendrik (2002). "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State". Annual Review of Political Science 5(1), pp. 127-149.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.101501.145837
- North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast (1989). "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England". *Journal of Economic History* 49 (04), pp. 803–832.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700009451.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/lky76kr

#### **Further Readings**

- Strayer, Joseph R. (1970). On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State. Princeton University Press
- Ertman, Thomas (1997). Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- → Tilly, Charles (1992). Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1992. Blackwell, Chapter 3
- \* Stasavage, David (2002). "Credible Commitment in Early Modern Europe: North and Weingast Revisited". Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 18(1), pp. 155–186. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jleo/18.1.155.
  URL: http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/5395/JLE02002.pdf
- \* Stasavage, David (2010). "When Distance Mattered: Geographic Scale and the Development of European Representative Assemblies". American Political Science Review 104(4), pp. 625–643.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000444.
URL: http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/5395/when\_distanced\_mattered.pdf

• Boix, Carles (2015). Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and Their Consequences for Human Welfare. Cambridge University Press

# III Power, Coercion, and Violence

# 5 The Concept of Power

What is power? How can we define it? What are the sources of power? How can we know who is powerful? This week, we explore what power is at the conceptual level, and then study different types of power that can exist.

#### **Textbook Readings**

• ► Lovett, Frank (2012). "Power". In: A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 41

#### Shorter/Popular Readings

• \*\* Lukes, Steven (2015). Steven Lukes on Power. Ed. by David Edmonds and Nigel Warburton. Philosophy Bites.

URL: http://philosophybites.com/2015/06/steven-lukes-on-power.html (Retrieved 09/01/2015)

#### Required Readings

- Dahl, Robert A. (1957). "The concept of power". Behavioral Science 2(3), pp. 201-215. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/bs.3830020303. URL: http://tinyurl.com/qbrmjja
- Bachrach, Peter and Morten S. Baratz (1962). "Two Faces of Power". American Political Science Review 56(4), pp. 947–952.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1952796.

 ${\tt URL: http://ftp.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/american\_bachrach.pdf}$ 

- Lukes, Steven (2004). Power: A Radical View. 2nd ed. Palgrave MacMillan, Introduction
- Dowding, Keith (2006). "Three-Dimensional Power: A Discussion of Steven Lukes' Power: A Radical View". *Political Studies Review* 4(2), pp. 136–145.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9299.2006.000100.x

#### **Further Readings**

- Lukes, Steven (2004). Power: A Radical View. 2nd ed. Palgrave MacMillan, Chapter 1
- Wright Mills, C. (1956). The Power Elite. Oxford University Press
- Wright Mills, C. (1958). "The Structure of Power in American Society". British Journal of Sociology 9(1), pp. 29–41.

URL: http://www.csub.edu/~akebede/SOC502Mills2.pdf

- Dahl, Robert A. (1961). Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. Yale University Press
- Dowding, Keith M. (1991). Rational Choice and Political Power. Edward Elgar

#### 6 Political Violence

Weber argued that the state has a monopoly of the legitimate use of force. If that is the case, even in stable states, violence and its threat underpins political life. However, in less stable contexts, violence is an even more present phenomenon as rival groups fight for control of resources and/or the polity — and even stable states engage in political violence against each other.

This is a huge topic of research, making it impossible to do justice to it all in only one introductory week. Instead, we will focus on 'protection' and 'violence' and study whether and why it might be possible to draw a comparison between the state and organized crime. In doing so, we will highlight how (the threat of) violence can be used to structure social interactions.

#### Shorter/Popular Readings

- Farrell, Henry (2015b). Ferguson's government was run like a racket. The Monkey Cage.

  URL: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/04/
  fergusons-government-was-run-like-a-racket/(Retrieved 03/27/2015)
- 699 Skarbek, David (2015). How Gangs Keep You Safe. TEDx Warwick.

  URL: http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/How-Gangs-Keep-You-Safe-David-S (Retrieved 09/02/2015)

#### Required Readings

- Tilly, Charles (1985). "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime". In: *Bringing the State Back In*. Ed. by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press. Chap. 5, pp. 169–191.
  - $\label{eq:url:local} \begin{tabular}{ll} $\tt URL: http://www.homeworkmarket.com/sites/default/files/q3/28/02/reading\_response\_4\_2.pdf (Retrieved $12/23/2014)$ \\ \end{tabular}$
- Gambetta, Diego (1996). The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1
- Skarbek, David (2011). "Governance and Prison Gangs". American Political Science Review 105 (4), pp. 702–716.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000335

- Skaperdas, Stergios (2001). "The political economy of organized crime: providing protection when the state does not". *Economics of Governance* 2(3), pp. 173–202.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/PL00011026
- Tilly, Charles (2003). The Politics of Collective Violence. Cambridge University Press
- Leeson, Peter T. (2007). "An-arrgh-chy: The Law and Economics of Pirate Organization". Journal of Political Economy 115(6), pp. 1049-1094. URL: http://www.peterleeson.com/an-arrgh-chy.pdf (Retrieved 11/14/2015)
- Skarbek, David (2014). The Social Order of the Underworld: How Prison Gangs Govern the American Penal System. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

#### 7 International Order and War

When considering interactions between states, war is the ultimate manifestation of the projection of power, coercion, and violence. Which states go to war with each other, and why? These questions have been at the core of the study of international relations for centuries. This week, we consider one particular aspect of the scholarly debate relating to the so-called 'Democratic Peace'. Do democracies go to war less than non-democracies? If so, why?

#### Required Readings

• Doyle, Michael W. (1986). "Liberalism and World Politics". American Political Science Review 80 (4), pp. 1151–1169.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055400185041.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/p7zkddm

• Russett, Bruce M. (1993). Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

URL: http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic248058.files/March%2017% 20readings/Russett.pdf, Chapters 1 and 2

• Rosato, Sebastian (2003). "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory". American Political Science Review 97 (4), pp. 585–602.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000893.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/ocjdol5

## Further Readings

• \* Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett (1993). "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986." American Political Science Review 87 (3), pp. 624–638.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2938740.

URL: http://www.uky.edu/~clthyn2/PS671/MaozRussett\_1993APSR.pdf

• Layne, Christopher (1994). "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace". *International Security* 19(2), pp. 5–49.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539195.

URL: http://web.stanford.edu/class/polisci243b/readings/v0002542.pdf

• Owen, John M. (1994). "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace". *International Secu*rity 19(2), pp. 87–125.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539197.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/pk5nfjb

• Doyle, Michael W. (2005). "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace". American Political Science Review 99 (3), pp. 463–466.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055405051798

• \* Gartzke, Erik (2007). "The Capitalist Peace". American Journal of Political Science 51(1), pp. 166–191.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00244.x

# 8 Coercion, Punishment, and Morality

In the previous week, we studied how power, violence, and coercion is intertwined with political life in various ways. This week, we explore whether power should be used to achieve political or moral goals. Our focus is on the use of punishment by the state.

#### Required Readings

- ➡ Hart, H.L.A. (1963). Law, Liberty, and Morality. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, selected passages on Moodle
- Feinberg, Joel (1965). "The Expressive Function of Punishment". The Monist 49(3), pp. 397–423.

URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/27901603

• Devlin, Patrick (1968). The Enforcement of Morals. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, selected passages on Moodle

#### **Further Readings**

- Mill, John Stuart (1859). On Liberty. EPRINT: http://www.feedbooks.com/book/4202/on-liberty, Chapter 4
- Dworkin, Ronald (1966). "Lord Devlin and the Enforcement of Morals". Yale Law Journal 75(6), pp. 986–1005.

URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/794893

- Bedau, Hugo Adam (1978). "Retribution and the Theory of Punishment". *Journal of Philosophy* 75(11), pp. 601–620.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2025477
- Hampton, Jean (1984). "The Moral Education Theory of Punishment". Philosophy & Public Affairs 13(3), pp. 208–238.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2265412
- Duff, R.A. (1986). Trials and Punishments. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Feinberg, Joel (1988a). The Moral Limits of the Criminal Law: Volume 2: Offense to Others. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Feinberg, Joel (1988b). The Moral Limits of the Criminal Law: Volume 4: Harmless Wrong-doing. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Primoratz, Igor (1989). Justifying Legal Punishment. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press
- Dworkin, Gerald (1999). "Devlin Was Right: Law and the Enforcement of Morality".
   William and Mary Law Review 40, pp. 927-946.
   URL: http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/wmlr40&g\_sent=1&id=939 (Retrieved 09/25/2015)
- Ellis, Anthony (2003). "A Deterrence Theory of Punishment". *The Philosophical Quarterly* 53(212), pp. 337–351.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9213.00316

- Boonin, David (2008). The Problem of Punishment. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Hart, H.L.A. (2008). Punishment and Responsibility: Essays in the Philosophy of Law. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Lacey, Nicola (2012). "Criminal Justice". In: A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 24, pp. 511–520
- Arneson, Richard J. (2013). "The Enforcement of Morals Revisited". Criminal Law and Philosophy 7(3), pp. 435–454.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11572-013-9240-y

# IV Social Cooperation and Political Groups

# 9 The Logic of Collective Action

Much or even most political activity occurs via the 'collective actions' of groups. What is it that leads people to choose to join or not join groups that have political goals? Do all people that support the goals of an organization join it? Is it irrational not to do so? Do groups of individuals necessarily make decisions that are in their collective best interests?

Our theoretical focus this week will be on Olson (1971). Many applications of this theory are possible — including a sweeping treatment of 'The Rise and Decline of Nations' by Olson (1982), himself. Our applied focus will be on the problems and possibilities of slowing climate change through cross-national collective action.

#### Required Readings

- Solson, Mancur (1971). The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Chapter 1
   N.B. Section E of this chapter provides a non-technical/non-mathematical summary of Section D, the latter of which you are free to skip.
- McLean, Iain (2000). "Review Article: The Divided Legacy of Mancur Olson". British Journal of Political Science 30 (4), pp. 651–668.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/194289 (Retrieved 09/03/2015)
- Harris, Paul G. (2007). "Collective Action on Climate Change: The Logic of Regime Failure".
   Natural Resources Journal 47(1), pp. 195-224.
   URL: http://lawschool.unm.edu/nrj/volumes/47/1/06\_harris\_collective.pdf
- Esty, Daniel C. and Anthony L. I. Moffa (2012). "Why Climate Change Collective Action has Failed and What Needs to be Done Within and Without the Trade Regime". *Journal of International Economic Law* 15(3), pp. 777–791.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgs033

- Olson, Mancur (1982). The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Hardin, Russell (1982). Collective Action. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Oliver, Pamela (1980). "Rewards and Punishments as Selective Incentives for Collective Action: Theoretical Investigations". American Journal of Sociology 85(6), pp. 1356-1375.
   URL: http://www.uvm.edu/~pdodds/files/papers/others/1980/oliver1980.pdf (Retrieved 09/07/2015)
- Tarrow, Sidney G. (1994). Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

# 10 Cooperation and the Commons

The Olsonian logic is but one way of thinking about how groups arise. Cooperation amongst people (and groups) may emerge for reasons that are not well captured by his logic — and that are not so clearly grounded in considerations of power and violence that we discussed in the previous part of the module. Indeed, 'cooperation' between individuals and groups is a basic feature of our socio-political experiences and institutions. How can it actually arise, though? Will it always be possible, simply because it is desirable?

#### Shorter/Popular Readings

• 699 Planet Money (2015). The Bottom Of The Well. National Public Radio.

URL: http://www.npr.org/sections/money/2015/07/22/425392169/episode-640-the-bottom-of-the-well (Retrieved 09/07/2015)

#### Required Readings

- Hardin, Garrett (1968). "The Tragedy of the Commons". Science 162(3859), pp. 1243–1248. URL: http://tinyurl.com/nla6q9z (Retrieved 09/04/2015)
- Axelrod, Robert (1980). "More Effective Choice in the Prisoner's Dilemma". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24(3), pp. 379–403.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002200278002400301. URL: http://tinyurl.com/p6at95t (Retrieved 09/04/2015)

- Strom, Elinor (1990). Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Carter, John R. and Michael D. Irons (1991). "Are Economists Different, and If So, Why?" Journal of Economic Perspectives 5(2), pp. 171–177

#### Further Readings

- Axelrod, Robert (1984). The Evolution of Cooperation. New York, NY: Basic Books
- \* Ostrom, Elinor, James Walker, and Roy Gardner (1992). "Covenants with and without a Sword: Self-Governance Is Possible." *American Political Science Review* 86 (02), pp. 404–417.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1964229. URL: http://tinyurl.com/ncyo6d2

- Ostrom, Elinor (1998). "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action". American Political Science Review 92(1), pp. 1–22
- Dietz, Thomas, Elinor Ostrom, and Paul C. Stern (2003). "The Struggle to Govern the Commons". *Science* 302(5652), pp. 1907–1912.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.1091015.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/c7huyo5

• Ostrom, Elinor (2010). "Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems". *American Economic Review* 100(3), pp. 641–72.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/aer.100.3.641.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/n9q63jr

# 11 Nationalism and Immigration

Nations are 'groups' that are of undeniable salience in modern politics. What is a 'nation'? What is 'nationalism'? What are the origins of these concepts? This week, we explore a particular set of answers to these questions, and then seek to apply what we have learned to the issue of immigration — a process through which a 'national group' can admit outsiders to it.

#### Shorter/Popular Readings

• Collier, Paul (2015). Good And Bad Nationalism. Social Europe. URL: http://www.socialeurope.eu/2015/03/nationalism/ (Retrieved 03/27/2015)

#### Required Readings

- Gellner, Ernest (1983). Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Chapters 1 and 3
- Freeman, Gary P. (1995). "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States". International Migration Review 29(4), pp. 881–902. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2547729
- Joppke, Christian (1998). "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration". World Politics 50 (2), pp. 266–293.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S004388710000811X.

URL: http://web.pdx.edu/~mev/pdf/Joppke.pdf

#### **Further Readings**

- Anderson, Benedict (1983). Imagined Communities. Verso Books
- Breuilly, John (1994). *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd ed. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press
- Freeman, Gary P. (1994). "Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 534, pp. 17–30
- Cornelius, Wayne A. and Marc R. Rosenblum (2005). "Immigration and Politics". *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1), pp. 99–119.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104854. URL: http://escholarship.org/uc/item/24t4f706.pdf (Retrieved 09/03/2015)

• \* Sides, John and Jack Citrin (2007). "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information". *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (03), pp. 477–504.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123407000257.

URL: http://home.gwu.edu/~jsides/immig.pdf

• Ellermann, Antje (2014). "The Rule of Law and the Right to Stay: The Moral Claims of Undocumented Migrants". *Politics & Society* 42(3), pp. 293–308.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329214543255.

URL: http://tinyurl.com/o83qn4u

# 12 The Moral Significance of Nationalism

In the previous week, we explored what nationalism is, and what implications it has for immigration. This week, we investigate whether and how nationalism, itself, can be justified.

#### Required Readings

- Beitz, Charles R. (1983). "Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment". *Journal of Philosophy* 80(10), pp. 591-600.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2026155
- Miller, David (1988). "The Ethical Significance of Nationality". Ethics 98(4), pp. 647–662
- Yack, Bernard (1996). "The myth of the civic nation". Critical Review 10(2), pp. 193-211. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08913819608443417

- Goodin, Robert E. (1988). "What is So Special about Our Fellow Countrymen?" *Ethics* 98(4), pp. 663–686
- Tamir, Yael (1993). Liberal Nationalism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Miller, David (1995). On Nationality. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Kymlicka, Will (1995). Multicultural Citizenship. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Moore, Margaret (2001). "Normative Justifications for Liberal Nationalism: Justice, Democracy and National Identity". *Nations and Nationalism* 7(1), pp. 1–20. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1469-8219.00001
- Nussbaum, Martha and Joshua Cohen (2002). For Love of Country? Boston, MA: Beacon Press
- Abizadeh, Arash (2002). "Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation? Four Arguments". American Political Science Review 96(3), pp. 495–509.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S000305540200028X
- Abizadeh, Arash (2004). "Historical Truth, National Myths and Liberal Democracy: On the Coherence of Liberal Nationalism\*". *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12(3), pp. 291–313. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2004.00201.x
- Hearn, Jonathan et al. (2014). "Debate on Bernard Yack's book Nationalism and the Moral Psychology of Community". Nations and Nationalism 20(3), pp. 395-414.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/nana.12074

# V Democracy

# 13 Conceptual Features of Democracy

Democracy is one of the most prominent concepts in the study of politics, but what exactly is it? Is it simply the practice of popular voting, or something more complex and variegated than that?

#### **Textbook Reading**

• Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 5

#### Required Readings

- Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. Harper and Brothers, Chapters 21 and 22
  - N.b. There are copies in the library, but also very cheap ebooks available for purchase from a number of online sellers.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl (1991). "What Democracy Is...and Is Not". Journal of Democracy 2(3), pp. 75–88.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jod.1991.0033. URL: http://tinyurl.com/o58rlm6

• Collier, David and Steven Levitsky (1997). "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research". World Politics 49 (3), pp. 430–451.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.1997.0009

- Dahl, Robert A. (1956). A Preface to Democratic Theory. University of Chicago Press
- Bobbio, Norberto (1987). The Future of Democracy: A Defence of the Rules of the Game. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Lijphart, Arend (1999). Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Held, David (2006). Models of Democracy. Polity Press
- Dunn, John (2005). Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy. London, UK: Atlantic Books
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000). Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Munck, Gerardo L. and Jay Verkuilen (2002). "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices". Comparative Political Studies 35(1), pp. 5–34. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/001041400203500101 XXX
- Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland (2010). "Democracy and dictatorship revisited". *Public Choice* 143(1), pp. 67–101.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11127-009-9491-2

# 14 Democracy, the Majority, and the Individual

Democracy is very prominent in political thought and has spread around the world in recent centuries. However, whatever its merits, there are interesting normative issues that have exercised democratic theorists. One such issue arises out of the potential for conflict between the desires of majorities and the rights of minorities and individuals.

#### Textbook Reading

• Gutmann, Amy (2012). "Democracy". In: A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 19

#### Required Readings

- Weale, Albert (2007). Democracy. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, Chapter 8
- de Tocqueville, Alexis (1835). *Democracy in America*. Vol. 1. EPRINT: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/815, Chapters 15 and 16
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay, eds. (1788). *The Federalist Papers*. EPRINT: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1404, Federalist Paper No. 10

- Mill, John Stuart (1859). On Liberty. EPRINT: http://www.feedbooks.com/book/4202/on-liberty, Chapter 4
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1942). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. Harper and Brothers
- Riker, William H. (1982). Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice. San Francisco, CA: W.H.Freeman & Co Ltd
- Dahl, Robert A. (1989). Democracy and Its Critics. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Beitz, Charles R. (1989). *Political Equality: An Essay on Democratic Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Cristiano, Thomas (1996). The Rule Of The Many: Fundamental Issues In Democratic Theory. Westview Press
- Dworkin, Ronald (2003). "The Majoritarian Premise and Constitutionalism". In: *Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology*. Ed. by Thomas Christiano. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Shapiro, Ian (2005). The State of Democratic Theory. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University
- Wolff, Jonathan (2006). An Introduction to Political Philosophy. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapter 3
- Bellamy, Richard (2007). Political Constitutionalism. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University
- Saunders, Ben (2010). "Democracy, Political Equality, and Majority Rule". Ethics 121(1), pp. 148–177

# 15 Societal Prerequisites of Democracy

Can democracy exist anywhere? To create it, do we simply need to create the appropriate institutions, or are there prerequisites that are more rooted in the society in which we are seeking to embed it?

#### **Textbook Reading**

• Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 7

## Required Readings

- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy". American Political Science Review 53(1), 69–105. URL: http://homepages.wmich.edu/~plambert/comp/lipset.pdf
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi (1997). "Modernization: Theories and Facts". World Politics 49 (2), pp. 155–183.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.1997.0004.
URL: http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/files/przeworski\_limogni.pdf

• → Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba (1963). The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton University Press, Chapter 13

- Moore Jr., Barrington (1966). Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World. Cambridge, MA: Beacon Press
- Luebbert, Gregory M. (1987). "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe". World Politics 39 (4), pp. 449-478.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2010288
- Luebbert, Gregory M. (1991). Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Weigle, Marcia and Jim Butterfield (1992). "Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes: The Logic of Emergence". Comparative Politics 25(1), pp. 1–24
- Pye, Lucian (1991). "Political Culture Revisited". *Political Psychology* 12, pp. 487–508. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791758 (Retrieved 09/04/2015)
- Putnam, Robert D. (1993). Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton University Press

# 16 Explaining Democratic Transitions

While we have studied the features that are necessary for democracy to exist, conceptually and empirically, we have yet to consider how states may transition from authoritarian to more democratic systems. When and how do democratic institutions get created? Who are the important actors?

#### Textbook Reading

• Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 8

#### Required Readings

- Przeworski, Adam (1991). Democracy and the Market. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp.37–40 and 51–66
- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson (2006). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2
- Ansell, Ben and David Samuels (2010). "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach". Comparative Political Studies 43(12), pp. 1543–1574.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414010376915.

URL: http://recursos.march.es/web/ceacs/actividades/pdf/Ansell.pdf

#### Further Readings

- Huntingdon, Samuel (1993). "Democracy's Third Wave". In: *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Ed. by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- W O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter (1993). Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 6–11 and Chapters 3–4
- Olson, Mancur (1993). "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3), pp. 567–576.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2938736.

URL: http://www.svt.ntnu.no/iss/Indra.de.Soysa/POL3503H05/olson.pdf (Retrieved 09/07/2015)

- Kaldor, Mary and Ivan Vejvoda (1997). "Democratization in East and Central European Countries". *International Affairs* 73(1), pp. 59–83
- Ansell, Ben W. and David J. Samuels (2014). *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge University Press
- Boix, Carles (2015). Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and Their Consequences for Human Welfare. Cambridge University Press

# VI Economic Equality and Justice

Lasswell's definition of politics was the study of who gets what, when, and how. In that light, the distribution of economic resources across people and groups is of direct importance for political analysts. In this section, we explore empirical and normative features of this terrain.

# 17 Empirical Patterns of (In)Equality

What is the distribution of income within the typical state? What is the distribution of income across states, or taking the human population as a whole? How have these varied through time?

#### Shorter/Popular Readings

- Cox, W. Michael and Richard Alm (2008). "You Are What You Spend". New York Times. February 10th.
  - URL: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/10/opinion/10cox.html
- Kenworthy, Lane (2008). *Income Inequality, Spending Inequality, Wealth Inequality*. URL: http://tinyurl.com/cbwm3c9
- Kenworthy, Lane (2010b). The best inequality graph, updated. Consider the Evidence. URL: http://lanekenworthy.net/2010/07/20/the-best-inequality-graph-updated/

#### Required Readings

- Smeeding, Timothy M. (2006). "Poor People in Rich Nations: The United States in Comparative Perspective". *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20(1), pp. 69–90. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/089533006776526094
- Sala-i-Martin, Xavier (2006). "The World Distribution of Income: Falling Poverty and... Convergence, Period". Quarterly Journal of Economics 71(2), pp. 351-397.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/qjec.2006.121.2.351.

  URL: http://www.columbia.edu/~xs23/papers/pdfs/qjec.2006.121.2.pdf
- Atkinson, Anthony B., Thomas Piketty, and Emmanuel Saez (2011). "Top Incomes in the Long Run of History". *Journal of Economic Literature* 49(1), pp. 3-71. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/jel.49.1.3

- Huber, Evelyne and John D. Stephens (2014). "Income inequality and redistribution in post-industrial democracies: demographic, economic and political determinants". Socio-Economic Review 12(2), pp. 245–267.
  - DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwu001
- McCall, Leslie and Christine Percheski (2010). "Income Inequality: New Trends and Research Directions". Annual Review of Sociology 36(1), pp. 329–347.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102541
- Alvarez, Facundo et al. (2012). World Top Incomes Database.

  URL: http://topincomes.g-mond.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/ (Retrieved 02/21/2013)

#### 18 Theories of Distributive Justice

Now that we know what economic inequality looks like in fact, can we find theories with which to justify these realities? If not, what do theories of distributive justice require instead? This week we focus on the moral justification of private property rights and the redistribution of wealth and income.

## **Textbook Reading**

• Wolff, Jonathan (2006). An Introduction to Political Philosophy. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapter 5

#### Required Readings

- ➡ Rawls, John (1971). A Theory of Justice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Chapter 1, sections 1–4, and chapter 2 sections 10–13
- ➤ Nozick, Robert (1974). Anarchy, State and Utopia. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, Chapter 7, section 1, pp.150–164

- Hayek, Friedrich A. (1960). The Constitution of Liberty. London, UK: Routledge
- Sen, Amartya (1980). The Tanner Lectures on Human Values. Vol. 1. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
   URL: http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\_documents/a-to-z/s/sen80.pdf (Retrieved 09/26/2015)
- Dworkin, Ronald (1981a). "What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare". *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10(3), pp. 185-246.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2264894
- Dworkin, Ronald (1981b). "What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources". *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10(4), pp. 283-345.

  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2265047
- Sen, Amartya and Bernard Williams, eds. (1982). *Utilitarianism and Beyond*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Barry, Brian (1989). Theories of Justice: A Treatise on Social Justice, Vol. 1. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- Lamont, Julian (1994). "The Concept of Desert in Distributive Justice". *Philosophical Quarterly* 44(174), pp. 45-64.
  URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2220146
- Kymlicka, Will (2001). Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapters 3 and 4
- Cohen, G.A. (2001). If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're so Rich? Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Otsuka, Michael (2003). Libertarianism without Inequality. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press

- Wolff, Jonathan and Avner de-Shalit (2007). *Disadvantage*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapter 7
- Cohen, G.A. (2008). Rescuing Justice and Equality. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Knight, Carl and Zofia Stemplowska, eds. (2011). Responsibility and Distributive Justice. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Vallentyne, Peter (2012). "Distributive Justice". In: A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 28
- Swift, Adam (2013). Political Philosophy: A Beginner's Guide for Students and Politicians. 3rd ed. Polity Press, Chapter 3

# 19 Welfare Regimes

Welfare states are comprised of many of the actions on the part of the state that are (potentially) the most consequential for influencing patterns of domestic economic inequality. This week, we spend time studying the nature and structure of welfare states across a range of advanced industrialized democracies. Various "welfare regimes" have been proposed or identified in the literature.

#### Required Readings

- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1989). The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Polity Press, Introduction and Chapter 1
- Pontusson, Jonas (2005). *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America*. Cornell University Press, Chapter 3
- Orloff, Ann Shola (1993). "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States". *American Sociological Review* 58(3), pp. 303–328.

URL: http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~iversen/PDFfiles/Orloff1993.pdf

#### Further Readings

• Lewis, Jane (1992). "Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes". *Journal of European Social Policy* 2(3), pp. 159–173.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/095892879200200301

- Castles, Francis G. and Deborah Mitchell (1992). "Identifying Welfare State Regimes: The Links Between Politics, Instruments and Outcomes". *Governance* 5(1), pp. 1–26. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.1992.tb00026.x. URL: http://www.lisproject.org/publications/liswps/63.pdf
- Arts, Wil and John Gelissen (2002). "Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report". Journal of European Social Policy 12(2), pp. 137–158.

  DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0952872002012002114.

  URL: http://tinyurl.com/d89p9cp
- Hicks, Alexander and Lane Kenworthy (2003). "Varieties of welfare capitalism". Socio-Economic Review 1(1), pp. 27–61.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/soceco/1.1.27.

URL: http://lanekenworthy.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/2003ser.pdf (Retrieved 03/13/2016)

# 20 Inequality and Democracy

In this final week, we study the relationship between inequality and democracy. Does the former have any impact on the latter? If so, how? If not, why not?

#### Required Readings

• Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson (2010b). "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States". *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 152–204.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365042

- Block, Fred and Frances Fox Piven (2010). *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 205–211. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365043
- Brandolini, Andrea (2010). "Political Economy and the Mechanics of Politics". *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 212–226.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365045

• Campbell, Andrea Louise (2010). "The Public's Role in Winner-Take-All Politics". *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 227–232.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365046

• Fligstein, Neil (2010). "Politics, the Reorganization of the Economy, and Income Inequality, 1980–2009". Politics & Society 38(2), pp. 233–242.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365047

• Jacobs, Lawrence R. (2010). "Democracy and Capitalism: Structure, Agency, and Organized Combat". *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 243–254.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365048

• Kenworthy, Lane (2010a). "Business Political Capacity and the Top-Heavy Rise in Income Inequality: How Large an Impact?" *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 255–265.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365049

• Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson (2010a). "Winner-Take-All Politics and Political Science: A Response". *Politics & Society* 38(2), pp. 266–282.

DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329210365050

- Bartels, Larry M. (2008). Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson (2011). Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class. Simon & Schuster
- Hopkin, Jonathan and Julia Lynch (2016). "Winner-Take-All Politics in Europe? European Inequality in Comparative Perspective". *Politics & Society* 44(3), pp. 335–343. DOI-URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329216656844