

Lecture 1 - Introduction

September 8, 2016 11:46 AM

The World in 2016 (Introduction)

- Decline of Ebola, guinea worm, polio, malaria, cancer, war deaths, poverty
- Terrorism (Paris, San Bernadino, Afghanistan, Tampa)
- Continuing challenges: climate change, global poverty, war, refugees

How is the world changing?

The Refugee Crisis

What is a refugee?

- Someone who is facing violence or persecution usually on the basis of things that threaten their lives

Who are the refugees?

- There are 21 million who are refugees
 - Turkey houses the most amount of refugees
 - 2.5 million

Why now?

- Death of Allan Kurdi (3 year old Syrian boy refugee who was involved in a fatal boating accident)

Syria and Denmark

- Syria: civil war, over 400 000 killed
- Denmark: well-governed, peaceful, happy, excellent health and education
- Why are they so different?

Politics Makes the Difference

- It is not intelligence, propensity to violence, or even geography that explains the differences between Denmark and Syria
- It is the state, the rule of law, and accountable government
- Politics is about **collective choices** we make to reduce conflict and promote cooperation

Three Types of Questions

- Descriptive: How things are
 - *Ex: What is a refugee?*
- Explanatory: Why things are this way
 - *Ex: How do the political rulers obtain power?*
- Normative: How things **should** be
 - *Ex: Should we build a wall?*
 - *Ex: Why should the Canadian Medical Association recommend the legal age for marijuana at 21?*

Two Central Questions of Politics

1. Who gets what?
2. Says who?

TWO MAIN THEMES

1. Political Ideas
2. Political Ideologies

Lecture 2 - Politics, Power, and Authority

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KEY POINTS TO COVER:

- What is politics?
- Government and the state
- What is power?
- What is authority

What is Politics?

The Decline of Violence:

- Steven Pinker's thesis
 - *Violence is on the decline, and we are moving towards peace*
- Evidence: Is it true?
 - War is declining, compared to the Cold War,
 - Since 1960, annual war deaths decreased from 500 000 to 300 000
 - Democracies don't fight each other
 - Prehistoric humans had 15% of chance by violence by the hands of another human being
 - 1945 to now - genocide, terrorism have existed
- Explanation: Why?
 - Consequences of war are much more serious
 - People are becoming more intelligent, and understand the benefits
 - Increasing economic interactions
 - Development of states - modern nation preserves order from war and violence

Politics: Some Examples

- Elections
 - Decision making power changes hand
- Demonstrations
 - G8 Protests
 - Protests for the Iraq in 2004
 - Brexit Protest
- Policy Decisions
 - Health Care Policy
 - Environmental Policy
- Law Making
 - Rules on taxes
 - National, Federal, provincial power

Politics Matters

- Decisions that affect you
- Laws assign rights and duties
- Decisions are enforced

Example of How/Why it Matters:

- Island of Hispaniola
 - Haiti in the Dominican Republic
 - Different environmental conditions
 - 28% of Dominican Republic is forested, 1% of Haiti is forested
 - DR is 7 times richer than Haiti
 - DR has 74 nature reserves
 - Consequences of Political Decisions
 - Politics matters... But what is it?

Some meanings of "Politics"

- Formal government activity (What the government does)
- Dishonestly seeking personal gain
- Noble pursuit of the public good
- "Who gets what, when, and how?"
 - Book called "Chimpanzee Politics" - Frans De Waal

What is Government?

- The activity of governing or ruling
- Exercising authority over others
- Institutions responsible for coordinating collective decisions

Aristotle:

Aristotle's Two Questions

1. Who Rules?
 - a. One, Few, Many
2. In whose interests?
 - a. In the rulers interests
 - b. In the interest of the government
3. Aristotle's Forms of Government
 - a. Tyranny/Monarchy
 - i. 1 Person ruling (Cruel/oppressive)
 - ii. monarchy: (king/queen) in everyone's interest
 - b. Oligarchy/Aristocracy
 - i. Ruled - ruled by the few (small group of people)
 - ii. By the rich in their own interest
 - c. Democracy/Polity
 - i. Rules by the many in their own interests
 - ii. Many ruling in the interest of the government
 - iii. Selfish/selfless

What is the State?

Territorial Community:

- Human community that monopolizes (with force)

Central Governing authority

- Sovereignty, including monopoly of legitimate violence
 - Sovereignty: Final decision making authority

What is power?

- Power is the currency of politics
- The ability to produce results
- Influencing others' behaviour
 - Let someone give you the apple
- Power can take several forms

Forms of Power:

1. Coercion
 - a. Engage in force/threaten force
 - b. Suicide terrorism
2. Influence
 - a. Making people do what they otherwise wouldn't have done without the threat of violence
3. Manipulation:

Hard power:

- The Stick
 - Force and coercion
 - Military and police
- The Carrot
 - Economic inducement (give something to do something)
 - Bribes and sanctions

Soft Power:

- Noble pursuit of the public good
- "Who gets what, when, and how?"
 - Book called "Chimpanzee Politics" - Frans De Waal
 - Competition, power, conflict
 - Dominance strategies and alliances
 - Winners and losers
 - Bonobo Politics
 - Peaceful
 - Gentle and Loving
 - Erotic and egalitarian (Playful, conciliatory)
 - Recent study from the "Current Biology 2008"
 - Not so nice
 - They hunt and eat monkeys

Politics is Everywhere - Primates

- A biological order that includes humans, apes, and monkeys...
- Who is the cruelest primate?
 - Humans
- Apes are political too

What is Politics?

- The Elements of Politics
 - Social
 - Process
 - Conflict/Potential for conflict
 - Interests
 - Binding decisions
 - Enforced

Between Love and War

- Pure conflict = war
- Pure cooperation = true love
- Politics = conflict and cooperation (combination of both)

Where is Politics?

- Family, economy, state
- International
- Everywhere?

Aspects of Politics

- Collective action
- Conflict and cooperation
- Authoritative decisions
 - Binding decisions
 - The law says this, the alpha male says this
- Enforced against the disobedient
 - If you cheat/disobey, you are going to pay

- Bribes and sanctions

Soft Power:

- Attraction
- Agenda setting
- Getting others to want what you want
- Institutions, Values, and Policies

The World as a Three-Level Chess Match

- Military
- Economic
- Key Transnational issues

What is Authority?

- The right to command
- The right to punish those who disobey
- Is state authority justified?

Lecture 3 - The State of Nature: Hobbes

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KEY POINTS TO COVER:

- The State of Nature
- Human Nature
- The Road to War
- The Laws to Nature

Sample Question:

Q: According to the preferred definition of politics from the last lecture, politics....

A: Is a way of dealing with conflict

Politics does not equal sex

- Politics requires at least 2 people
- Sex, can be done alone

State of Nature (Thomas Hobbes):

- Why do we need a state?
 - States are human communities
- He had a thought experiment
 - What would happen to our lives without the states?
 - Imagine the life without the state and political power

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

- Wrote famous book "Leviathan" (1651)
- "The state is made up of people" (all of us)

Hobbesian Themes:

- Fear
 - "Fear and I were born twins"
- War
 - Civil war in 1640
 - Left England during this time to France
- Peace

Behemoth (1679)

What Hobbes Claims:

- Worst scenario: No state protection
- Powerful state is needed to avoid disastrous interpersonal conflict
- Main premises: human nature

Human Nature:

Hobbes on Human Nature: 1

- Introspection
 - Know thy self
 - Look for what you hope/fear (we're all the same)
- Materialism
 - We are bodies in constant motion
 - Reassuring is calculation
- Felicity
 - Human beings seek happiness
 - Continual success in getting what you want
- Power
 - Ones present means to obtain some future opponent good
 - There is no contentment, only endless desire for power

Hobbes on Human Nature: 2

- Predominantly self-regarding
- Seek to enhance reputation
 - We care about what others think
- Averse to our own death
 - Seek to stay alive
- Equally vulnerable, equally able
 - No one is superman
 - Means that everyone can do anything

The Road to War:

- Equality
 - Equally vulnerable, even the strongest
- Scarcity
 - Goods would be scarce because no one has any incentive to do anything. (in the state of nature)
- Uncertainty
 - Everyone is a potential threat
 - We look ahead, forward looking people

Three Reasons to Attack

- Competition: Gain
- Lack of Trust: Safety
- Glory: Reputation

Not Fun:

- "continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty brutish, and short." (Hobbes, Leviathan, Chapter 13)

Is Hobbes too Pessimistic?

- War is like foul weather - you never know when a storm is going to hit
- "Read thyself" - introspect - what do you desire
- What do we think of others?
- Actions speak louder than words
- Evidence: Locking doors and chests

The Laws of Nature:

- Morality in the state of nature
- Natural right of liberty - right of nature - the freedom to do whatever we feel is necessary to protect ourselves, including the right to someone else's body
- No injustice
- Laws of Nature - practically rational rules - tells us what we should do if we want to protect ourselves

Laws of Nature

1. **Fundamental Law:** Seek peace, if you can get it
2. **Second Law:** Lay down your natural right, if others do too
3. **Third Law:** Perform your covenants (agreement, contract) - a time bound contract

- Individual and collective Rationality
- It is rational for individuals to attack others
- Smart for one, dumb for all
- It is rational for the collective to seek peace
- Lets Break Dear!
- Collectively rational outcome is unstable - everyone has an interest in defecting the agreement
- Individuals have an incentive to defect
- The state provides assurance that the laws of nature will be followed

Lecture 4 - The State of Nature: Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau,

September 19, 2016 7:54 PM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Hobbes: Recap**
- **Locke**
- **Rousseau**

"The Beautiful Mind" - Video

- John Nash vs. Adam Smith

Smith: Individual ambition serves the common good

- Everyone looks out for themselves, everyone becomes better

Nash: The best result comes from everyone doing what's best for himself...& the group

- Best strategy depends on group decision
- Collective rationality

Question: Which of the following is NOT a feature of Hobbes human being?

Answer: Are fundamentally unequal

Hobbes: Recap

- Need the state to avoid a war of all against all
- Road to war: equality (meaning everyone is equally vulnerable), scarcity, uncertainty --> If there was no state
- Attack for gain, safety, and reputation
- Natural right of liberty
- Laws of Nature: (The big 3)
 - Seek Peace
 - Self Defence
 - Keep your covenants
- Individual and collective rationality
 - Do what's positive
- Create a state to enforce the rules

LOCKE (1632-1704)

- Intuitive ideas, most influential in political science
- State of peace, not a state of war
- Equality
 - Different from Hobbes
 - No one is naturally inferior/superior to everyone else
- People used to believe that people had natural authority
- Law of Nature in the State of Nature
 - Don't harm others
 - Mankind should be preserved and help each other to stay alive
- Natural Liberty
 - Liberty is not license
 - Only free to do what we have a right to do

Locke vs. Hobbes:

Equality:

- (H) - We're equally vulnerable
- (L) - Equal status (moral rights) - No one is naturally superior/inferior to everyone else

Law of Nature:

- (H) - Rules for self-preservation (seek peace, keep promises, self defence)
- (L) preserve mankind (stay alive)

Natural Liberty:

- (H) - Absolute freedom to do whatever we want

- (L) Naturally free to do what we have a RIGHT to do

Enforcing the Law of Nature:

- Law of nature is not in vain, so we need enforcer
 - Executive power of the law of nature
We all possess it equally
 - Executive Power of the Law of Nature includes the right to punish

Scarcity or Abundance?

- Hobbes: Natural Scarcity and Conflict
- Locke: Natural Abundance of land
- Locke: right to cultivate your own land
 - Encourages people to be productive

Why do we Need a State? "Inconveniences"

Problem: Administration of justice

- Interpreting the law of nature

Conflict about the law of nature

- People will disagree with the law of nature

Some lack power to enforce the law of nature

- (PEACE -> WAR, without the state/authority)

Jean-Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778)

- Humans have: desire for self-preservation
- Humans have: pity or compassion for the suffering of others

"Social Man and Natural Savage"

- Hobbes and Locke describe civilized man
- Civilization has corrupted us
- Natural Savage is unaware of morality

Self Preservation vs. Compassion

- Scarcity creates a problem
- Self-preservation trumps pity
 - We only help others when we ourselves, are satisfied
- So, war seems to be inevitable

The Natural Savage:

- Solitary, no language, fears only pain and hunger
- Desires only food, sex, sleep

How change Happens in the State of Nature:

- (1) free will and (2) the capacity for self-improvement
- Scarcity leads to innovation and tool making
- Cooperation
 - Increasing what we want/need
 - Leisure, luxury goods, corrupted needs

Further Development in the State of Nature

- Language and comparison of talents
- Agriculture, metallurgy, property, rules of justice and inequality
- Leads to state of war
- The rich devise a brilliant plan, to benefit themselves
 - Develop the state
 - Benefit the rich disproportionately
 - Keeps an unduly amount of wealth and land to themselves

Anatole France (1844-1974):

- "The law, in its majestic equality forbids both rich and poor alike from sleeping under bridges, begging in the streets and stealing bread!"

Lecture 5 - Justifying the State

September 22, 2016 8:44 PM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Anarchism**
- **State and Political Obligation**
- **The Social Contract**

Question: In Locke's State of Nature, the executive power of the law of nature is possessed by:

Answer: EACH PERSON

Anarchism:

- "An" + "Archos" = without rulers
- We would be better off without the government
- Cooperation is beneficial, so it tends to evolve

Hobbes Reply to Anarchism:

- Fear, suspicion, and competition will overwhelm cooperation
- Few bad apples can ruin everything
- One "Bogart" can ruin the party (*antisocial person*)

Two More Anarchist Responses:

1. Humans are naturally good
2. Social cooperation without coercion is possible

Options: either conflict or the state

The State and Political Obligation:

Negative and Positive Justifications of the State:

- Negative argument: The state is the only alternative to the state of nature
- Is there a positive argument for a moral duty to obey the state?

Why Political Authority is Morally Problematic

- People are naturally free, equal, and independent
- Legitimate power is created by us
- Authority requires my consent

Key Features of the State:

- It claims a monopoly of legitimate violence
- In return, it is responsible for protecting us

Universal Political Obligations:

- Justifying the state = showing that there are universal political obligations
- Should we obey the law because it's the law?
- "Universal" means "applies to everyone"

Three Ways to Justify Political Obligations:

1. Associative Duties:
 - a. Special requirements attached to the unchosen role or status of citizen
2. Transactions:
 - a. Examples include receiving benefits from state or making a promise to obey
3. Natural Duties:
 - a. General moral requirement to promote happiness to justice

The Parent Analogy:

- State/citizen relation is like the parent/child relation

The Social Contract:

Voluntarism and Social Contract:

- Voluntarism: The state's political authority depends on my consent
- Social Contract: A political obligation is based on contract or agreement
- Does everyone agree to obey?

Was there an Original Contract?

- Original contract = actual, historical deal to consent to the state
- No evidence for it
- Highly Probable

Main Problem with Original Contract

- A contract among them, back then, couldn't obligate us now

Express Consent:

- Has every individual actually consented to the state?
- Only a minority explicitly consent
- What counts as consent

Does Voting Constitute Consent?

- First objection = "I didn't vote for them"
- Second Objection = Abstainers can't be counted as consenters

Tacit Consent (Implicit) or Understood:

- Tacit = implicit or understood
- Do we tacitly or implicitly consent to states authority over us?
- Is there something that is morally equivalent to consenting?

Does Residence Count as Consent?

- Staying is morally equivalent to consenting, because dissatisfied people can leave
- But there are obstacles to leaving, poverty, culture, language, and other states
- Therefore, staying is morally equivalent to consenting

Hypothetical Consent: 1

- Rational individuals would consent if they were in a state of nature
- Non-voluntarism - worthy of consent

Hypothetical Consent: 2

- Voluntarism: Hypothetical consent gets us to realize what we already consent to
- First Objection = not really consent
- Second Objection = Some still might refuse to consent

Anarchism Revisited:

- I didn't and wouldn't consent, so the state is illegitimate
- Correct to reject blind obedience
- But, people disagree about the justice of laws

to justice

The Parent Analogy:

- State citizen relation is like the parent-child relation (Plato's (rito))
- Life and benefits, generate gratitude and the duty to obey
- Problem: Unreasonable orders and laws

- If a man would not consent, so the state is illegitimate
- Correct to reject blind obedience
- But, people disagree about the justice of laws

John Locke's Point:

Two Options Available:

Either:

1. A publicly agreed, shared act of laws
2. Defer to private judgements about the content of laws

John Locke's Conclusion:

- Its better to have shared laws than continued disagreement
- The "inconvenience" of the state of nature defeat anarchism

Lecture 6 - Justifying the State: Continued

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TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Utilitarianism**
- **The Principle of Fairness**

Q: Wolff says that Political Obligation is:

A: The obligation to obey the law because it is the law

Utilitarianism:

- **Definition is known to be:** Right action that maximizes happiness for the number of people
- The Good and the Right
 - Good - State of Affair
 - Right - Morally right and wrong
- The Right action is the one that maximizes utility
 - Greatest happiness
- Utility = happiness, well-being, pleasure, preference, satisfaction

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)

- Radical Social Reform
 - Reform the law constitution to maximize happiness

Utilitarianism and Political Obligation:

- Obey the law if and only if doing so will produce greater happiness than disobeying

Utilitarianism: 3 Parts

- Theory of the good (utility, happiness)
- Commitment to equal concern
- Requirement of maximization: duty to produce as much good as possible

Why Utilitarianism?:

- We all value happiness
- We value impartial concern, especially as a public value
- Consequentialism
 - Consequences are the **ONLY** things that matter

Is Happiness the Only Thing that Matters?:

- The pleasure machine
 - Constant pleasure as a "plugin" for the rest of your life
- Would you plugin?
- The experience machine

Other Accounts of Welfare:

- Desire satisfaction
 - Only 2 tragedies, not getting, getting it
- Informed desire satisfaction

Utilitarianism and Political Obligation:

- Obey the law if and only if doing so will produce greater happiness than disobeying (otherwise disobey the law)

Indirect Utilitarianism:

- Don't justify particular actions by appeal to utility-promotion
- Decision rule (individual) vs. criterion of rightness
- Well being is maximized by each of us obeying the laws

Objections to Utilitarianism:

- Too demanding: asks too much
- Too permissive: allows too much

Is Utilitarianism too Demanding?

- Direct Utilitarianism: Yes (world poverty: keep giving till it hurts)
- Indirect Utilitarianism
 - Not necessarily (secure property rights can contribute to greatest happiness)

Is Utilitarianism too Permissive?

- Can require injustice (torture, slavery, conviction of the innocent)
- Reply #1: Hard-headed utilitarian
- Reply #2: Appeasement Utilitarian

A general Objection to Utilitarianism:

- It fair to explain why actions are morally right or wrong
- It can get the right answer but not for the right reason

The Principle of Fairness:

- When I receive benefits from the state, fairness requires that I take on my share of the burden
- This burden includes restrictions on my freedom, including obeying the law.

Benefits and Burdens:

- Benefits: peace, order, and security provided by a functioning legal system
- Burden: obeying the law
- It would be unfair to disregard the burdens, so don't "free ride"

Long Term Benefits:

- Enforced laws benefit everyone
- I sacrifice in the short term, but this pays off in the long term.
- David Hume: make short term and long term interests coincide

Receiving and Accepting Benefits:

- Nozick's Question: If others force benefits on me, am I obligated to reciprocate?
- I have a duty of fairness to do my part ONLY if I accept the benefits

Problem:

- How can we not accept the benefits the state provides?
- So the principle of fairness is flawed

Lecture 7 - Democracy: Part One

October 11, 2016 11:34 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **What Democracy is?**
- **Plato-Against Democracy**

The Story of the Course so Far:

- What are the politics, power, and authority
- What would life be like without government?
- Do we have a moral duty to obey the law and support the state

Political Power:

- The power to issue and enforce binding commands
- How should this power be distributed?

Who Should Rule?

- What sort of government is best? (oligarchy, democracy, dictatorship, tyranny)

Rule by Whom?

- Everyone
- Political power should be distributed equally
- If everyone should have the right to an equal say

What is Democracy?

- Rule (Kratos) by the many (Demos)
- Power of the people and to the people
- Collective self rule
- Government of, by and for the people
- Historically unpopular view

Degrees of Democracy: (Many Degrees)

- Directness of decisions
- Accountability of representatives
- Equality of opportunity for influence
- Scope of authority of democratic will

Directness of Indirectness of Decisions:

- Direct: everyone votes on each issue
- Indirect: voters choose representatives who then make the decisions
- More direct is more democratic but not necessarily better

Accountability of Representatives:

- Extreme accountability; immediate recall
- Extreme lack of accountability: representatives elected for life
- Our system: "Retrospective recall"
- Division of labour

Equality of Opportunity for Influence:

- Democracy aims for equal capacity of citizens to process information relevant to decision making
- Watch for the impact of economic inequality on citizens opportunity to participate in politics

Scope of Authority of Democratic Will

- Which decision should be made democratically?
- What is the proper scope of politics?

- Two ways to limit the scope of democracy:
 - By appeal to the democratic ideal
 - By assigning the issue to private sphere
 - Each person decides themselves

Origins of Democracy:

- Ancient Athens 508-322 BC
- Decisions made by majority vote in an assembly of all citizens
- Open debate, subsidized participation and public spirited citizens (polites)

Features of Athenian Democracy:

- Direct
- Exclusionary
- Intolerant
- Culturally Homogenous

How Democratic was Athenian Democracy?

- More democratic than ours and less democratic than ours

Plato Against Democracy:

- Democracy is rule by the many
- The many are selfish, ignorant, and unpredictable
- The many are unqualified to rule
- Prefer polity over democracy

The Craft Analogy:

- Consider jobs requiring lots of skill
- Pilots, architects, medical doctors
- Health of the body and the state

Philosophers Should Rule:

- Philosophy = love of wisdom
- Political Decision - makers should have judgement, skill, and knowledge
- Ruling is a skill attainable only by the few

Philosopher Rulers:

- Philosophical Training: acquiring knowledge of the human good
- Philosophers don't want power
- But they realize that the alternative is unacceptable

Are there Political Experts?

- Is there expert knowledge applicable to ruling?
- Even so, how does a ruler know what is in the people's interests?
- Ask the people what they want

Benevolent Dictatorship

- Should any group be given absolute power?
- Problem of Trust

Plato Against Corruption:

- Educated rulers to be concerned for the common good
- Rulers possess private property
- Rulers are denied family ties
- Are there likely to be many volunteers?

Lecture 8 - Democracy: Part Two

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TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Intrinsic Reasons**
- **Instrumental Reasons**

Q: *The Principle of Fairness:*

A: *Condemns freeriding*

Key Features of Modern Representative Democracy

- Universal rights to vote and stand for office
- Elected representatives to make decisions
- Elections are free, frequent and fair
- Freedom of speech; independent media
- Freedom of association
- Independent judges

Two types of Reason for Valuing Democracy:

- Intrinsic Reasons
- Instrumental Reasons

Intrinsic Reason #1: (Freedom of Autonomy)

- Auto=Self, Nomos = law or rule
- Autonomy = giving laws to oneself (making laws)
- Democracies embodies a commitment to freedom of self-rule
- Democracy - individuals ruling themselves

Jean - Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) - Rousseau on Self-Rule:

- Freedom is not the capacity to do what we want. Instead, Freedom is obedience to laws we give ourselves. Freedom is self government
- Rousseau: "*the impulse of appetite is slavery, while obedience to a law which we prescribe to ourselves is liberty*"

We Can be Coerced and Free:

- Coercion: We are forced to comply with laws
- Freedom: In a democracy, laws are self-imposed
- So, coercion is compatible with freedom: we can be "forced to be free" (Rousseau)

Government Distinguished From Legislation:

- Rousseau opposes democratic government because he believes executive power should be held by the few
- Rousseau supports democratic legislation because he thinks the people should make their own laws

Objection: Democracy is not a Form of Freedom:

- Those on the losing side are subject to laws they do not give themselves
- "Majority rule" - Means the minority are not self-ruling
- Therefore those in the minority are not free

Reply to Objection:

- Democracy provides more autonomy than any other decision procedure
- Democracy gives every citizen the opportunity to participate in law-making

Intrinsic Reason #2 - Self Realization:

- Democratic participation is an essential element in a flourishing life

- Aristotle claimed that human beings are political animals
- What makes us human is our capacity to reflect, discuss, and create the laws under which we live

Intrinsic Reason #3 - Equality:

- Democracy embodies a commitment to treating as moral equals
- Democracy = equal entitlement to participate
- Politics for a society of equals

Instrumental Reason #1: - "Better Decisions"

- Democracy produces better results than its alternatives
- No famine in a democracy with a free press the democratic peace hypothesis

Accountability and Interest Protection:

- Dictators need not take the peoples interest into account
- Accountability to citizens constrains democratic leaders
- Problem: necessary but unpopular policies wont be adapted

Two Models of Democratic Input:

- What goes into the process shapes what comes out
- Market mode: giving people what they want
- Forum model: deliberation, discussion, cooperative debate

Market Model of Democracy = 1:

- Parties offer a menu of options
- Citizens choose what they prefer: they vote for decision makers
- Equal influence = equal voting power

Market Model of Democracy = 2

- Elections are competitions in which parties market themselves to citizens
- Result: impoverished debate and citizens incompetence
- Schumpeter: Citizens choose experts

Forum Model of Democracy:

- Emphasizes deliberation
- Equal influence = equal opportunity to participate in discussion
- Voting reflects wants after they have been changed by reasoning

Our Democracy is Not a Forum:

- Powerful private interests dominate our discussions
- Political market in which generates unequal influence
- Formal political equality combines with large economic inequalities

Instrumental Reason #2: Better Citizens

- Active citizen engagement (forum model only)
- Develop citizen's skills in making judgments
- Focus is not the decisions that get made but type of person they democracy is likely to produce

Instrumental Reason #3: Perceived Legitimacy

- Democratic decisions tend to be perceived as legitimate by the people
- This makes political decisions more stable and less costly to enforce

Lecture 9 - Liberty: Part One

October 17, 2016 1:00 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **The Liberty Principle**
- **Paternalism**
- **Harm**

The Liberty Principle:

What on Liberty is About:

- The nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual "*Mill, On Liberty, Chapter 1, Paragraph 1*"
- The need to restrict both state and society (public opinion) in their ability to shape conduct

History of the Idea of Liberty:

- Four stages in the history of relations between individuals and authority
- Throughout this history, the meanings of liberty and tyranny have changed
- First Stage
 - Contest between subjects and the government
 - Liberty means protection of society against the tyranny of political rulers
 - The protections are political rights and constitutional checks
 - No tyranny
- Second Stage
 - Development of democratic government
 - Liberty means unpopular self-rule
 - Rulers are the ruled, so (it was thought) there is no need to limit government power
 - Start of democracy
- Third Stage
 - Recognition that the political majority can be tyrannical over the minority
 - Liberty is democratic government with protection for minorities
 - Minority can still be taken advantage of by the majority
- Fourth Stage
 - Threat of social tyranny; the tyranny of prevailing opinion and feeling
 - Oppressive, soul-enslaving customs and prejudices
 - Liberty is individual spontaneity

Mill's Question:

- When is it legitimate to interfere with other people's lives?
- Mill rejects appeal to custom, tradition, or popular morality
- Seeks a principled answer

The Liberty Principle:

- "*The only purpose for which can be rightfully exercised over any member or a civilized community against his will, is to prevent harm to others*"
 - Mill, On Liberty, Chapter 1, Paragraph 9
 - This is sometimes called the harm principle
 - People can offend? - harmful?

Mills Radical Principle:

- A person's freedom to act may be limited only if he or she threatens to harm another person
- But liberty is valuable only for civilized societies capable of moral progress

Pierre Elliott Trudeau on Homosexuality:

- "*The view we take here that there is no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nations*"

- *Pierre Trudeau- Justice Minister of Canada*

Paternalism

Mill Versus Paternalism:

- Paternalism: coercing people to change their behaviour for their own good
- Paternalists want to protect individuals from themselves
- Example: Seat belt legislation

Sarah Conly's Argument for Paternalism (2013):

- Mill allows coercive interference to prevent someone from harming themselves out of ignorance (e.g. crossing a broke bridge)
- But Conly argues that we are not always the best judges of what we want for ourselves
- We tend to suffer from a range of cognitive biases that prevent us from acting rationally (i.e., achieving our goals).

Cognitive Bias (Kahnemear and Trevsky)

- Optimism bias: irrational optimism about the chance of something bad happening to us, as opposed to others in our situation
- Optimism bias means we tend not to take appropriate steps to benefit ourselves
- Status quo bias: valuing what we already have more than the alternatives
- Status quo bias: can lead us to resist new laws that would improve our lives

Conly's Argument for Paternalism:

- Conly argues that cost benefit analysis can justify some paternalistic laws when benefits are big and costs are small
- The role of government is to help us to achieve our goals
- In a democratic society, laws apply equally to everyone, so giving up some liberty can be worth it to benefit the majority

Harm

"What does Mill mean by Harm?"

- Distinction between offensive actions and actions that cause harm
- To harm someone is to damage their interests
- According to Mill, harming interests in sufficiency to justify constraint
- Answer: False

Harming Other's Interests isn't sufficient to Justify Constraint:

- It is sometimes legitimate to allow people to harm other's interests
- Examples: competitive exam, job competition
- Why is this okay? Utilitarian benefits outweigh the costs

Lecture 10 - Liberty Part Two

October 11, 2016 11:34 AM

Topics to Cover:

- Justifying the Liberty Principle
- Problems with Liberalism

125 M/C

1. Lectures (Up to October 25th)
2. Required Readings for Lectures and Tutorials (Including tutorial 6 and gambling)

Why Limit Individual Liberty?

- The action in question harms interests that ought to be considered as rights
- Not all interests should be considered as rights
- Which rights do we have?

Why do We Have Rights?

- Some prominent answers
 1. Self-evident (Declaration of Independence) - *Thomas Jefferson*
 2. Custom and convention - *Handed down to us from previous generation*
 3. Rights protect interests that are sufficiently important to put others under a duty

Mill on Why We Have Rights:

- Recognizing rights maximizes utility - *Mill*
- Choose the system of rights that maximizes utility or happiness
- This approach can justify a set of rights to liberty, security, and property

Does the Liberty Principle Really Maximize Utility?

- Couldn't we sometimes produce more happiness for some people by intervening for a person's own good?
- Conly's argument for paternalism
 - Coercion of other people to promote their good
- J.F. Stephen: Liberty is like fire
 - Could be good and bad
- A utilitarian theory of rights need not be a liberal theory

The Permanent Interests of Man as a Progressive Being:

- The idea is crucial for understanding Mill's utilitarian liberal position
- Human beings are capable of progress:
 - They can benefit from experience

Why Liberty, on Balance, Promotes Happiness:

1. Individuals generally know best what will make them happy - (Conly questions this idea)
2. Making choices exercises our distinctively human capacities - *Mill*
3. Experiments in living are examples to be followed

The Epigraph to Mill, *On Liberty*

- "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity."

Human beings are like trees - we must grow out in all directions, we are all individuals, no two trees are exactly the same, - require support and nurturing/protection

Individuality:

- We should form our thought and character freely, and reflectively
- Make our plan of life our own: pursue our own good in our own way

Why is Liberty Valuable?

- Maybe liberty is intrinsically valuable: comparable to enjoyment
- But many people dead freedom
- For Mill, liberty is necessary for individual self-realization

Problems with Liberalism:

Mill on Public Indecency:

- Sex in public is offensive, but not necessarily harmful to others
- These acts may be restricted because they are offences against decency
- But why, then does Mill not restrict public pork eating that disgusts Muslims?

First Communitarian Objection:

- Liberals wrongly see individuals as isolated atoms
- Liberal reply we are not isolated atoms: our sense of ourselves comes from society
- But we should be free to choose from the options society provides

Second Communitarian Objection:

- Liberals wrongly think we can detach ourselves from our social practices
- Liberal reply: we can question received views and practices, even if we can't question all of them at the same time.

Mill on Liberty:

- Only harm to others and offences against decency limit liberty
- Basis: utility of progressive beings
- Individualism and independence, not atomism or egoism

Lecture 11 - Liberty, Inequality, Property

October 13, 2016 11:44 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- Marx on money and property
- Property, Utility, Rights, Liberty
- Inequality
- Locke on property

Q: According to John Stuart Mill, what exercises our distinctively human capacities?

A: Making Choices - we are individuals

Marx on Money and Property:

Karl Marx (1818-1883) - Money Changes Everything:

- Wrote the Paris Manuscript
- Money transforms human relations
- Money is the "universal whore"
- Money talk debases our language

The True Foundation of Private Property:

- "In actual history, it is a notorious fact that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force play the greatest part."

The Problem of Distributive Justice:

- Who should get what?
- What should be distributed?
- Money? Opportunities? Rights?

What are Property Rights?

- Owners of resources have limited rights to determine what to do with them
- Objects, Land, Buildings, Factories
- Cluster of rights, possess (exclude others), use, sell, give away, destroy

What Justifies a System of Property Rights? Some Answers:

- Promoting utility
- Protecting natural rights
- Securing Freedom

Utilitarianism:

- Choose the distribution that maximizes happiness, well-being, or utility
- Impartiality, equal concern
- Diminishing marginal utility suggests that goods should be distributed equally
- The incentive argument for inequality

Robert Nozick's Libertarianism:

- Basic rights include the right to private property
- Entails free market capitalism with a minimal state
- Forced redistribution is illegitimate

John Rawls's Liberal Egalitarianism:

- Unrestricted free markets generate unacceptable inequalities
- Commitment to freedom means equal freedoms for all

The Income Parade:

- How is income distributed?

- Income translated into height
- From negative height to 80km

Global Income Inequality:

- Richest 5% = 5% One third of global income
- Poorest 80% = 80% One third of global income
- 1.4 billion people live on less than \$1.25/day

Global Wealth Inequality:

- The world's 1% have more wealth than the other 99%
- The richest 62 people in the world have as much wealth as the poorest half of the world's population

Locke on Property:

Rousseau on Private Property:

- The true founder of civil society
 - Is the first person who claimed the ground to be his property
 - The fruits of the earth belong to us all
 - The earth itself belongs to nobody
- Right to Private Property
 - Nozick's three types of principles in a theory of property rights
 - Justice in initial acquisition: how does ownership originate
 - Justice in transfer: what makes an exchange just or legitimate
 - Rectification of injustice: what should be done to correct unjust acquisition

Where do Private Property Rights Come From?

- Originally everything that is now owned by someone was owned by no one
- What justifies excluding others?
- John Locke: How ownership originates

Locke's Argument from Survival:

- Fundamental Law of nature
 - We should all preserve the way of life
- Property in whatever we need to survive: fruit and nuts
- First proviso: non-wastage
- Second proviso: have enough and as good for others

Problems With the Survival Agreement:

1. Doesn't generate property rights in land, machinery, and capital
2. Doesn't explain how we come to own things
 - a. Doesn't explain the process that generate property rights

The Labour-Mixing Argument:

- Individuals own themselves and their labour
- Property arises through mixing one's labour with unowned nature

Problems with the Labour-Mixing Argument:

1. It seem unfair to those unable to work
2. Mixing doesn't automatically generate ownership: Nozick's can of tomato juice

The Value - Added Argument:

- Labour adds value to nature
- Adding value generates ownership rights
- Objection: Doesn't justify property in what was already there

The Argument From Desert:

- Those who work productively deserve to enjoy the fruits of their labour
- Problem: Again, this seems unfair to those who can't work, and (at best) justifies only the value added

The Upshot of Locke's Arguments:

- It is difficult to justify an account of initial acquisition of property
- So let's focus on the market system in which private property plays a crucial role

Lecture 12 - Distribution of Property

October 18, 2016 11:30 AM

THINGS COVERED THIS LECTURE:

- **The Market**
- **Rawls on Justice**

EXAM REVIEW SESSION: NOVEMBER 4TH FROM 4:30-6:30 @ NORTH CAMPUS 101

Q: For utilitarians, the idea of diminishing marginal utility suggests that income should be distributed?

A: Relatively Equally

The Market:

Four Questions:

- Who owns what?
- Why do people produce?
- How are goods distributed?
- What determines which goods get produced?

A Pure Capitalist Free Market:

- Private Property Rights
 - Right to sell, right to give away, etc
- Production for profit
- Distribution by voluntary exchange
- Free competition

A Planned Economy:

- State owns all major property (everything)
- Production for needs, not for profits
- Distribution by central allocation
- State controls what gets produced

A Modified Free Market: (e.g. Canada)

- Some state-owned enterprises (crowned corporations such as CBC)
- Some voluntary distribution (charity)
- Sale of some goods is prohibited
- Some state-enforced monopolies

Arguments against the Market:

- Market is claimed to be wasteful
- Alienating
- Exploitative
 - Extracts of surplus labour from worker
 - Generates unjust inequalities
- We will address these objections in detail when we discuss socialism in November

An Important Question:

Aren't Markets irrational?

Hayek on Market Efficiency:

- Markets convey information
- Prices signal shortage and surplus
- Profit provides incentives to produce
- Want-Satisfaction and Pareto improvement

From each according to their abilities to each according to their needs - Literal Communism

Market Failure:

- Markets, by themselves, don't always function efficiently
- Some goods have externalities
- The cost or benefit of producing these goods is externalized

Negative Externalities:

- Cost nothing to the consumer, who would rather not have them (e.g., pollution)
- Free markets oversupply them
- It is cheaper to make others pay the costs

Positive Externalities:

- Goods with positive externalities cost nothing to the consumer, who wants them
- Public Goods: If provided, they benefit everyone (for example, street lights)
- Free markets undersupply them
- Incentive to free ride

Improving on the Free Market:

- Internalize the externalities
- Make it illegal (or more costly) to produce some goods with negative externalities
 - Introduce fines for a certain industrial process
 - Make the polluter pay
- The state provides public goods and taxes citizens to pay for them

Rawls on Justice:

John Rawls (1921-2002) - Principles for What?

- The basic structure for society
 - Main social/political/economics of a society
- Why the basic structure?
 - Determine the life you are going to have

Hypothetical Social Contract:

- Initial hypothetical choice situation
- The original position (OP), with its Veil of Ignorance, models equality of concern
- What principles of distributive justice would be chosen there?
 1. Basic Liberties
 2. Fair Equality of Opportunity
 - i. Everyone has an equal opportunity to get the desired positions in society
 3. The Difference Principle
 - i. Social and economic - income and wealth should be distributed so that the worse off can be benefited the most

POPs Must be Impartial:

- **POP** - People in the original position
- Veil of Ignorance rules out bias
- I can't benefit myself at the expense of others
- I don't know my intelligence, economic class, talents, sex, sexual preference, race, social status

How to Model Impartiality:

- Self-interest plus ignorance = impartiality
- Wolff's first example: How to referee when you don't know which team you want to win
- Wolff's second example: You have amnesia and body bandages; now design a society

Lecture 13 - The Distribution of Property: Rawls and his Critics

October 23, 2016 2:06 PM

Rawls Key Ideas:

- Choosing principles of justice
- Basic structure of society
- Original position and veil of ignorance - central point in argument
- Impartiality: "Justice as Fairness"
 - If you don't know who you are, you don't know what's best for you
- How would persons in the original position choose? Which rule would they use?
 - Maximax: best things under best circumstances, only turn out if you were lucky
 - Utility Maximization: most useful society to set up most happiness
 - Maximin: Best outcome in the worst situation (Rawls suggestion for best decision)

What POPs (People in the Original Position) Know

- They are in the circumstances of justice
- They are moderately self-interested and have conflicting goals
- Between scarcity and abundance

What Else POPs Know:

- They have a sense of justice (recognizing everyone as moral equals)
- They have a conception of the good (idea of what gives meaning and value to life)
- This is a so-called 'thin theory of the good': they want primary goods (primary goods: things that any rational person wants, whatever else they want; liberties, opportunities, income in order to get what they want)

Constraints on Choosing:

- Physical constraints
- Logical Constraints
- Formal Constraints: Publicity (the terms of the contract must be known by everyone signing the contract); Finality (the deal you make is final)

How would POPs Choose?

- Which decision-rule would they use
- Maximax (society has one dictator, and they own all the wealth)? No
- Utility Maximization (to try and maximize happiness)? No (some people could be used in order to benefit others)
- Maximin Yes: focus on the worst-off (and try to give them the best possible view)

Which Principles Would be Chosen by POPs?

1. Principle of Greatest Equal Liberties
 - i. Veil of ignorance makes it irrational to discriminate against anyone
 - ii. Maximize share of primary goals (things you'll always want ie wealth and respect)
 - iii. More Basic Freedoms the better
 2. Principle of Fair Equality of Opportunity - Everyone has equal opportunity with equal chance
 - i. Natural inequalities are a morally arbitrary as social inequalities (naturally better)
 - ii. Inequalities can be justified if they benefit the least advantage in society
 3. The Difference Principle - There will be difference, and therefore inequality
 - i. Maximin is the rational choice
 - ii. Finality and Risk Aversion (If they are going to make the decision, they are stuck with them; safest way)
 - iii. Issue: we want people to maximize their full potential
- Lexical Priority: We would want liberties, then opportunities, then difference

Why Choose Greatest Equal Liberties?

- Veil of ignorance makes it irrational to discriminate against anyone
- Maximize your share of primary goods, so...
- The more basic freedoms, the better

Why Choose the Difference Principle?

- Maximin is the rational choice
- Finality and risk aversion
- Objection: 'Maximization with Floor' seems more desirable than the Difference Principle

Intuitive Equality of Opportunity Agreement:

- Prevailing View: Equal opportunity (everyone should have an equal chance at life); people can still achieve higher goals as long as there's no bias to start
- Choice and circumstances (if you make good choices, you should benefit from those choices); we succeed and fail based on our performance, rather than race, sex, class, etc.
- Natural Inequalities (intelligence) are as morally arbitrary as social inequalities (environment)
- Allow inequalities only when they benefit the least advantage

Rawls in a Nutshell

- Morally arbitrary differences - social and natural - should benefit the socially and natural unlikely
- Injustice is in equal if it doesn't benefit everyone
- *Legit inequalities benefit worst off group*

Rawls and his Critics

Will Kymlicka - Two Objections

Believes Rawls is correct to accept choice-circumstance distinction

1. Compensate for Natural Inequalities
 - Focus on natural inequalities, some sort of role or "duty" to help
2. Don't Subsidize Choices

Robert Nozick - Primary Objector to Rawls View

Entitlement Theory

- Needs and abilities should be provided/available
- Deserving the property that you have
- Property and goods are historical and patterned

Wilt Chamberlain Argument:

- Distribution is just
- Voluntary system: if people want to give you more money this will produce unequal property
- This is justice because it is voluntary, therefore they are just
- *Liberty upsets patterns: if people want to pay him, why shouldn't they?
- Correctly emphasizes the value of making our own choices
- Fails to deal fairly with unequal circumstances and lacks absolute property rights

Nozick vs Rawls

- Difference Principle is a patterned principle
- Free exchanges will create a new distribution
- Require interference in people's lives
- For Rawls, taxes on the wealthy need not be invasive
 - Distributing can increase the freedom of the poor
- For Nozick, taxation is on par with forced labour
 - Forcing people to work for free for other people

Lecture 14 - Justice for Everyone, Everywhere?

October 25, 2016 11:45 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- Everyone? Race Disability, LGBT Liberation
- Everywhere? Global Justice

Q: According to Robert Nozick what is on a par with forced labour?

A: Taxation

The Wilt Chamberlain Argument:

- Distribution D1 is just
- All steps from D1 to D2 are voluntary
- Therefore, D2 is just
- D2 does not fit any pattern, It is also massively unequal
- Liberty upsets patterns

Nozick Versus Rawls:

- Rawl's Difference Principle is a patterned principle
- Free exchanges will create a new distribution
- Difference principle will require interference in people's lives

Taxation:

- Rawls: taxes on wealth need not be invasive
- Nozick: taxation is on a part with forced labour
- Rawls: redistribution can increase the freedom of the poor

Assessment of Nozick:

- Correctly emphasizes the value of making our own choices
- But fails to deal fairly with unequal circumstances
- So, Wilt Chamberlain (and we) lack absolute property rights because such rights would prevent us from compensating undeserved inequalities

Oversights of Justice:

- The history of political thought overlooks whole areas of social concern
- Example: John Stuart Mill rejected racism but accepted a role for colonialism
- Who has been overlooked? Women, racial and ethnic minorities, disabled, LGBT, foreigners, immigrants, and future generations

Du Bois on Justice and Race:

- "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line"
- Du Bois objects to skin color and hair texture as grounds for excluding people from sharing in "the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization" (Du Bois, 1900)

Racism and Justice:

- What racism is
 - The denial of rights, dignity, to a group of people
 - System of power that involves control in race over another
- Permanent difference as the rationale for using power to treat other races unjustly
 - Slavery, ethnic cleansing
- Anti-Racism: Challenging race as a category
 - Invalid difference between superficial features between humans
 - Say it's irrelevant - or- affirm your racial identity

Disability:

- Medical model of disability; disability should be treated medically
- Social model of disability: society disables people

- Stairs
- What counts as a disability is sometimes controversial; for example, deafness

LGBT Liberation 1:

- Ancient Greeks versus monotheism
- LGBT as a new identity group
- Sexual orientation
- Gender identity

LGBT Liberation 2:

- Overcoming legal discrimination and homophobia
- The problem of state-sponsored homophobia
- The global divide on homosexuality (pew poll)
- Canada: 80% acceptance rate (up 10% from 2007 to 2013)

Global Child Mortality and Inequality:

- Global child mortality: 6 million child deaths annually
- Global inequality of wealth: 85 richest people = 3.5 billion poorest
- Is this a matter of justice or charity?
 - Duties of justice are enforceable

Cosmopolitanism:

- (Universal state = citizens of the world)
- Human moral equality
- One perspective of justice for all of us
- National borders have no basic moral significance
- One proposal: extend principles of justice to the entire world (e.g., focus on the globally least advantaged)

Nationalism:

- Common sense view about duties to address global poverty
- Duties of justice apply *within* countries
- National borders do have basic moral significance

Three Defenses of Justice-Based Duties to the Near and Dear (Nation State):

- Societies are schemes of social cooperation: justice is about distributing the cooperative surplus
 - Society is a cooperative venture for mutual advantage
- Value of state membership: shared citizenship
- Value of shared nationality: identity based on shared history, language, and culture

Prep Session

November 3, 2016 7:05 PM

Elements of Politics: Social, Process, Conflict, Binding Decisions, Enforce

What is the State: Territorial Community, Central governing authority, Sovereignty, including monopoly of legitimate violence

Aristotle's Two Questions:

Who Rules

- One, Few, Many

In Whose Interests?

- In the ruler's interests
- In the interests of the governed

What is Power:

- Ability to produce results
- Influencing other's behaviour
- Soft Power vs. Hard Power
 - Manipulation
 - Influence
 - Coercion

What is Authority:

- Right to command
- Right to punish those who disobey
- State authority justified?
 - Anarchist - no political form of authority

Thomas Hobbes:

- State of Nature
 - Why do we need a state?
 - Thought experiment - imagine how life would be like without a state/centralized political power/authority
- Worst scenario - No state protection (nothing good could happen)
- Powerful state is needed to avoid disastrous interpersonal conflict
- Main premises - human nature
 - Rational, self interested, capable of caring for others
- Believed in a state of war
- 3 Hobbesian Themes: Fear, war, peace,

TH: Three Reasons to Attack:

- For gain: competition
- For reputation: Glory
- For safety: Lack of trust

Laws of Nature:

- Fundamental Law: Seek Peace
- Lay down natural right : do whatever it takes to preserves others bodies
- Perform your covenants (promise)

John Locke:

- Why We Need a State: Inconveniences
- Problem: Administration of Justice - (no guarantee)
- Conflict about the law of nature
 - Rules of morality/ property rights, rights to physical security
- Some lack power to enforce the law of nature (you are stronger than me)

Locke's State of Nature:

- State of peace
- Everyone are moral equals
- Law of Nature: preserved life
- Natural Liberty: Freedom to do what you have a right to do

Jean Jacque Rousseau on Human Nature:

- Desire for self-preservation
- Pity or compassion for the suffering of others

How Change Happens in the State of Nature:

- Free will and the capacity for self improvement
- Responds to scarcity by innovation - making tools
- Cooperation
- When people are able to produce , they have free time for leisure
- Private property came with invention of the states

Anarchism:

- State where there are no rulers (better off without government)
- Cooperation is possible without coercion
- Humans are naturally good

Universal Political Obligations:

- Justifying the state = showing that there are universal political obligations
- Should we obey the law just because it's the law
- "Universal" = applies to everyone
- Types of Argument: Associative duties, transactions, and natural duties

Voluntarism and the Social Contract;

- Voluntarism: the state's political authority depends on my consent
- Social Contract: Political obligation based on contract or agreement
- Does everyone agree to obey?

Types of Consent:

- Express - Explicit - (I promise)
- Tacit (Implicit, Understood)
- Hypothetical
 - Not actual consent
 - Imagine a world without a state, if we agree to the creation to the state, then you agree to it

Utilitarianism (3 Parts)

- Theory of the good
- Commitment of equal concern
- Requirement of Maximization

Utilitarianism and Political Obligation:

- Obey the law if and only if obeying will produce greater happiness than disobeying
- Objection: this is a law-breaker's charter

Objections to Utilitarianism:

- Too demanding: asks too much
 - Some things you must do
 - Some things are optional
- Too permissive: allows too much

The Principle of Fairness:

- Where I receive benefits from the state, fairness requires that I take on my share of the burden
- This burden includes restrictions on my freedom, including obeying the law

Receiving and Accepting Benefits:

- I have a duty of fairness to do my part ONLY IF I accept those benefits
- Problem: how can we not accept the benefits the state provides?
- So, the fairness principle is flawed

What is Democracy:

- Rule by the many (Kratos by the Demos)
- Collective self rule
- Government of, for, and by the people
- Historically unpopular view

Degrees of Democracy:

- Directness of decisions
- Accountability of Representatives
- Equality of opportunity for influence
- Scope of Authority of democratic will

Plato Against Democracy:

- Democracy is rule by the many
- The many are selfish, ignorant, and unpredictable
- The many are unqualified to rule

Philosopher Rulers:

- Philosophical training acquiring knowledge of the human good
- Are there political experts?
- Benevolent Dictatorship

Two Types of Reason for Valuing Democracy:

- Intrinsic Reasons: Freedom of Autonomy, Equality, Self Realization
- Instrumental Reasons: Better decisions, better citizens, perceived legitimacy

What on Liberty is About:

- John Stuart Mill - "The nature and limits of the power that can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual."
- The need to restrict both state and society (public opinion) in their ability to shape conduct
 - It's okay as long as we aren't harming anyone else

Mill's Radical Principle:

- A person's freedom to act may be limited ONLY IF they threaten to harm another person
- Liberty is valuable but only for civilized societies, capable of moral progress

Against Censorship:

- Mill defends complete freedom of thought and discussion
- It is never justifiable to censor an opinion, whether it is true or false

Why do We Have Rights?

- Three prominent answers:
 1. No further argument required
 2. Custom and convention
 3. They maximizes utility

Why Liberty on Balance, Promotes Happiness:

1. Individuals generally know best what will make them happy (Sarah Conly agrees: she defends

coercive paternalism)

- a. She claims that people don't know what's best for themselves
 - b. Two types of Cognitive Bias
 - i. Optimism Bias - irrational optimism about the chance of something bad happening to us, as opposed to others in our situation
 - ii. Status Quo Bias - Not going for an alternative that is going to make them better off
2. Making Choices exercises our distinctively human capacities
 3. Experiments in living' as examples to be followed

The Problem of Distributive Justice:

- Who should get what?
- What should be distributed?
 - Rights opportunity, money, self respect
- Money? Opportunities? Rights?

What Justifies a System of Property Rights?

- Utility?
- Equality?
- Rights?
- Freedom?

Locke on Private Property:

- Survival
 - We start of with the law of nature, and that we should be preserved
- Labour-Mixing
 - We own ourselves, my labour, and my work
 - When I mix my labour with land - ex: I grow bananas - therefore I own the bananas
- Value Added
- Desert:
 - People who chosen to work - deserve the benefits of their work (agricultural examples)
 - If you don't work, you don't get the benefits from the land
- Two Provisoes

A Pure Capitalist Free Market:

- Private Property Rights
 - Who own what?
- Production for profit
- Distribution by market exchange
- Competition
 - Motivation is competition

Friedrich Hayek:

- Hayek on Market Efficiency
 - Markets exchange information
 - Prices signal shortage and surplus
 - Profit provides incentives to produce
 - So, markets satisfy people's wants
 - Markets are efficient
- **Market Failure:**
 - Markets by themselves, don't always function efficiently
 - Some goods have externalities
 - The cost of producing these goods are externalized
 - Two Externalities:
 - Positive
 - ◆ People want the good
 - Negative

- ◆ People don't want the good

Hypothetical Social Contract: John Rawls:

- Initial hypothetical choice situation
- The Original Position (OP) models equality of concern
- What principles of justice would be chosen there?

What Principles would POP Choose?

1. Principle of Greatest Equal Liberties
2. Principle of Equality of opportunity
 - a. Have the opportunity to do what they want in life
3. Difference Principle
 - a. Distribution of income and wealth to those who are less fortunate

An Intuitive Argument:

- Prevailing view equal opportunity
- Choice and circumstance
- Natural Inequalities are as morally arbitrary as social inequalities
 - Only when you make the worse off better off

Robert Nozick:

- Will Chamberlain Argument:
 - D1 is Just
 - All steps from D1 to D2 are voluntary
 - So D2 is just
 - Voluntary system: if people want to give you more money this will produce unequal property
 - This is justice because it is voluntary, therefore they are just
 - *Liberty upsets patterns: if people want to pay him, why shouldn't they?
 - Correctly emphasizes the value of making our own choices
 - Fails to deal fairly with unequal circumstances and lacks absolute property rights

Racism and Justice:

- What racism is
- Permanent difference as the rationale for using power to treat other races unjustly
- Anti-racism: challenging race as a category
 - Rejecting race as a category ^

Disability:

- Medical model of disability:
 - Disability should be treated medically to meet society norms
- Society Model of Disability:
 - Society disables people
- What counts as a disability is sometimes controversial; for example, deafness

LGBT Liberation:

- LGBT as a new identity group
- Sexual orientation and gender identity
- Overcoming legal discrimination
- Overcoming homophobia

Global Justice:

- Vast disparities in life prospects and wealth worldwide
- Cosmopolitanism
 - The whole world is a global community
- Nationalism:
 - **Someone who says the relevant community when thinking about justice is ONLY**

within the borders

- Defending the nation state as the sphere of justice; cooperation, citizenship, nationality.

Lecture 15 - Ideology

November 1, 2016 11:44 AM

Thinking Determines Action:

- "It is what men think that determines how they act" - John Stuart Mill, 1861
- "The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else." - John Maynard Keynes, 1936

Ideas and Ideologies in Politics:

- Ideas and Ideologies structure political understanding, set goals, shape political systems, and act as a form of social cement
- Ideologies aim to understand, interpret, explain, and evaluate the social world
- They unify groups or classes around a set of beliefs and values
- Ideologies are systems of ideas with their own histories

Ideology: Origin and Development:

- For Destutt de Tracy (1795), ideology is the science of ideas: the study of the origin of our ideas and their laws of operation
- The aim is to improve the rationality of public discourse in the name of progress and truth
- Destutt de Tracy (1795): science of ideas
- Early 1800s: Napoleon supports a return to an alliance with the Catholic Church and tradition
- Ideology becomes a dirty word

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel's Critical Perspective on Ideology (1846)

- The ruling ideas of every age are the ideas of the ruling class
- Ruling illusions that conceal exploitative social relations and provide a rationale for class oppression
- False consciousness: makes the status quo seem natural

Ideology: A Value Neutral Definition:

- A set of ideas that provides the basis for organized political action, whether aimed at preserving, modifying, or overthrowing the existing system of power
- Any ideology has three parts (1) *a worldview of the existing order*, (2) *a vision of the future good society*, and (3) *an explanation of how political change can and should happen*
- Ideologies describe what is, explain why it is, propose what should be, and provide a program of action

Ideologies: Classical and New

- Classical ideologies include liberalism, conservatism, socialism, and fascism
- New ideologies include feminism, ecologism, religious fundamentalism, and multiculturalism
- Classical ideologies: emphasize economics, interests, and social class, new ideologies, stress culture, identity, and individual self-definition

Ideologies: Left and Right

- Ideologies are often placed on a scale going from left to right, referring to three types of disagreement
- Right = status quo
- Left = Radical change
- Values:
 - Left (Liberty, Equality, Community)
 - Right (Order, Authority, Hierarchy)
- Human Nature:
 - Left (Optimism, Social Progress)
 - Right (Pessimism, Skepticism about Change)
- State Intervention:

- Left (Economic Regulation)
- Right (Deregulated Markets)

Multiple Dimensions:

- Economic: Left and Right
- Social: Progressive and conservative
- Constitutional (a third dimension in Canada): reformist and status quo

Lecture 16 - Liberalism Part 1

November 7, 2016 8:14 PM

Liberalism 1

Multiple Dimensions

Economic: left and right

Social: progressive and conservative

Constitutional (a third dimension in Canada): reformist and status quo

How Do You Fit in the Ideological Landscape?

- Economic
- Social
- Government institutions
- Environmental

What is Liberalism?

- All liberals aim to promote individuality liberty
- Liberals value liberty
- But liberals disagree about the nature of liberty

Brian Barry on Liberal States

- Religious toleration
- Freedom of the press
- Abolition of servile social status (everyone should have the same status, and instead focus on equality)

Brian Barry on Liberal Ideas

No religious dogma can reasonably be held with certainty (dogma = a set of principles)

Every doctrine should be open to critical scrutiny (freedom of expression and speech) (doctrine = set of beliefs)

Fundamental equality of all human beings: inequality is an artifact

Origins and Development

Origins and Development of liberalism

Medieval Europe

Revolutions in England, France, and America

Classical Liberalism

Modern Liberalism

Medieval Europe

- Religious conformity (church and state are conjoined) (conformity = compliance to set of laws)
- Feudalism (economic and social order of medieval Europe, dealing with hierarchy at birth)
- (Serf, a slave, cannot leave the land, in exchange the lord protects the serf)
- Ascribed status (means your social status is given to you at birth)
- Political absolutism (kings wanted more political power and attempted to take all power for themselves; absolute power)

Challenging the Medieval Order

- Questioning religious conformity
- Rejecting ascribed status in favour of achieved status and equal opportunity (your status should be determined on how hard you work; you can move up and down the social ladder)
- Overthrowing absolute monarchy

Protestant Reformation

- Martin Luther against Church corruption and priestly authority (questions the church and priests, saying: it's corrupt, people are buying their way into heaven, he resists the idea that these priests are speaking a language that no one understands)
- Unintentionally paves the way for religious pluralism and, eventually, toleration
- Luther and John Calvin: non-resistance to political authority
- Later Calvinists: right to overthrow rulers who do not tolerate free exercise of their religion

Revolutions

- England 1688: constitutional monarchy, freedom of worship for dissenters, religious toleration
- America 1776: no taxation without representation; all men are created equal; legitimate government protects our natural rights (government taxes citizens, but they still don't have a say in voting)
- France 1789: the rights of man and the citizen; equal opportunity; constitutional government; religious toleration

Central Themes

- Individualism
- Freedom
- Reason
- Justice
- Toleration

Individualism

- The primacy of the individual
- Immanuel Kant (1724-1804): Enlightenment, morality, freedom (autonomy), dignity, respect
- Kant: treat human beings never merely as means but always at the same time as ends in themselves

Freedom (Liberty)

- John Stuart Mill's harm principle (free to do whatever you want, as long as you don't threaten to or hurt someone)
- Negative and positive freedom (negative freedom: freedom from; freedom from interference, positive freedom: freedom to; freedom to do something worth doing)
- The three-part concept of freedom: A (individual) is free from B (constraint or obstacle) to do or become C (your goal)

Reason

- The Enlightenment and Progress (have courage, think for yourself)
- Against paternalism
- Promoting discussion and argument

Justice:

- What justice is - Who gets what
- Distributive Justice
 - That there is a legitimate way of distribution of goods and income
- Moral Equality
- Equal citizenship
 - Equal political status
- Equal opportunity

Toleration:

- What toleration is
 - Willingness to accept in views that he disagrees
- Pluralism: allow individuals to pursue their own conception of the good life
- Toleration and autonomy: two types of liberalism

The Liberal State:

- The state and the rule of the law
 - No one is above the law, rules of social conduct in public should guide political decision making
- The social contract argument for the state
- John Locke on political authority and the state

Constitutionalism:

- Constitution, bills of rights, rule of law, prevention of majority tyranny
- Separation of powers: executive, legislative, and judicial
- Other ways to check power: cabinet, parliament, federalism, bicameralism
 - Bicameralism - check power of each legislative power in the senate

Lecture 17 - Liberalism Part 2

November 8, 2016 11:37 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- Classical Liberalism (common themes)
- Sources of Classical Liberalism
- Modern Liberalism: Key Ideas

Note:

Negative Freedom - freedom to do whatever you want

Positive Freedom - Freedom to do something that makes you better

Classical Liberalism:

Common Themes:

- Predominantly self-interested individuals
- Sometimes greed, but not necessarily
- Negative freedom - freedom from interference of others
- The state as a necessary evil
- Positive view of civil society as a realm of freedom

Sources of Classical Liberalism:

First Source of Classical Liberalism: Natural Rights:

- Natural rights are basic moral entitlements that give rise to universal duties
- John Locke and Thomas Jefferson
 - (L) - Natural rights to life, liberty, property
 - (J) - Natural rights to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness
- Three minimal functions of the state:
 - Property and public order, defence, and contract enforcement

Second Source of Classical Liberalism: Utilitarianism

- Utility
 - Pleasure in the absence of pain
- What utilitarianism is (Bentham)
- Utilitarianism and classical liberalism

Third Source of Classical Liberalism: Economic Liberalism

- Against mercantilism
 - Nationalist economic policies that were aimed at strengthening producers at home (Britain) and promoting exports and limiting imports
 - Benefit home producers to promote exports to benefit themselves
 - Promoting economic wealth at the expense of others
- Seeking Economic Liberty
 - Equalize opportunities to profit from trade
- The ideas of Adam Smith
 - Smith on Capitalism: 1
 - 1776: Smith's *Wealth of Nations*
 - He called it commercial society rather than capitalism
 - Fighting the mercantile protectionist tradition
 - A Nations wealth does not depend on gold or silver, but rather it's production, work, and level of skill
 - Competition is fair and efficient
 - Invisible Hand from self-interest to the public good
 - Free trade benefits everyone
 - Smith on Capitalism: 2
 - Benefits the worst off
 - Division of labour and growth of commercial society enables society to be lifted off poverty
 - Free trading nations will be peaceful (Promotes international peace)
 - Bond, Union, and Friendship
 - Conducive to order, good government, liberty, and security
 - Fosters self-reliance

Smith on Government's Role:

- Defend the country against attack
- Protect property rights and maintain order

- Provide public education and the infrastructure needed to do business

Smith on Distributive Justice:

- Smith opposes trade barriers, but supports taxation to benefit the poor
- Rejects prevailing views of the poor
- He thinks the poor are dignified, industrious, equally capable, and entitled to their fair share of goods

Fourth Source of Classical Liberalism : Herbert Spencer (Survival of the Fittest)

Spencer's World View:

- Social evolution
- Absolute property rights
- Ineffectiveness and corruption of welfare programs
- Survival of the fittest, - strong, smart, and industrious
 - They deserve to survive and the weak do not
 - Political programs should not interfere with this economic struggle (it's a competition)

Spencer on Distributive Justice:

- Why no state aid to the poor
 1. The poor is unfit to survive (should be eliminated)
 2. Society is too complex to be controlled in the way governments want
 3. Shouldn't override property rights

Lecture 18 - Conservatism

November 14, 2016 1:29 PM

Adam Smith argues that capitalism: benefits the worst-off

Modern Liberalism: Key Ideas

- Individuality (John Stuart Mill) -> in a liberal society, humans are free to choose what they want
- Positive Freedom -> ability to do something worth doing
- Social Liberalism: concerned with social policies for us to be equally free
- Economic Management: in order to achieve liberal values, the state needs to manage the economy

T.H. Green's Welfare Liberalism:

- Good is not merely a necessary evil
- The state can advance individual liberty by promoting equal opportunities for all

T.H. Green on Freedom:

- Two concepts of freedom: negative and positive freedom
 - Or is three parts of freedom better?
- Negative Freedom: absence of restraint, I'm negatively free b/c there is no restraint
- Positive freedom: actual ability to do something worth doing (This is Green's view, he thinks negative freedom isn't sufficient)
- Main obstacles to freedom: poverty, ignorance, prejudice, sickness
- Government can promote freedom through poor relief (welfare), public schools, hospitals, a regulation of working conditions
- State legislation and regulation can overcome these obstacles

Social Liberalism and Economic Management:

- The welfare state -> state takes it as its duty to lift them out of poverty, provide health care, education, etc.
- Rights: civil, political (right to vote, run for election, social and economic)
- John Rawls on liberal justice -> difference principle, benefit worst off
- John Maynard Keynes -> in opposition to classical liberalism, he believed markets need to be regulated and manipulated demand through government spending

The Desire to Conserve:

- Response to social, political, and economic change
- Edward Burke against the French Revolution of 1789
- 1800s: Conservatives react to industrialization, liberalism, and socialism

Tradition:

- Support for existing institutions and practices in the name of tradition
- Suspicion of radical change -> we should be careful about change, should only be minor
- Skepticism about political knowledge -> Why would humans know better than centuries of historical practices
 - "Never tear down a fence until you know why it is built"

Human Imperfection:

- We are imperfect and not changeable by social engineering
- Psychologically dependent -> we prefer order
- Morally imperfect crime is a sign of immorality
- Intellectually limited -> government should not be in the business of social engineering, humans are much more unpredictable and there is more to society

Organic Society:

- Society is a living organism
- Society is prior to, and more than, the individual
- Do not tamper with the social fabric -> politics should not be about radical change - if you pull a thread in the social fabric, you can destroy all of it
- Radical change is pulling plants out by the roots, but the plants should be tended
- Society as a sacred intergenerational covenant (agreement)

Joseph De Masitre's Authoritarian Conservatism:

- Reaction against the French Revolution
- "Throne and Altar": Monarchy and Church
- Against Enlightenment Rationality
- Authority as absolute (unrestricted), mysterious, and terrifying
- Preferred symbol of social order is hangman

The Rhetoric Reaction: (Albert Hirschman)

- Three types of objection to revolutionary change
1. Perversity: Attempt at radical will achieve the opposite effect, will make us worse
 2. Futility: Attempt at radical change will often be superficial , cosmetic, nothing will be produced
 3. Jeopardy: Attempting at radical change will jeopardize society, there will be unacceptable costs

Libertarian Conservatism:

- Reject traditional conservative emphasis on tradition, authority and organic society
- Defend private property rights and laissez-faire free market economy (laissez faire = Without interfering)
- Strong state to maintain public order

New Right:

- Combines two contrasting ideologies traditions = neoliberalism (free market economy) and neo-conservatism (social conservatism)
- Liberal New Right: Private is good, public is bad (lower taxes)
- Conservative New Right: social order, family values, military strength
 - Cultural conservatism
- In foreign policy, neoconservative aim is to achieve strength beyond contest

Lecture 19 - Socialism 1

November 15, 2016 1:06 AM

THINGS TO COVER:

- Core Socialist Themes
- Early Socialism
- Karl Marx

Core Socialist Themes:

- Community: Social creatures engaging in collective effort for the common good
- Cooperation: against competition
- Social equality as a demand of justice
- Significance of socioeconomic class
 - Class is defined by how you get the means to survive
 - What you own, who you know
- Common ownership: against private property and capitalism

Early Socialism: - Thomas More (1478-1535)

- Lord chancellor of Britain
- Murdered for treason and became a catholic saint and martyr
- His favorite books include Utopia
 - *Imagined world that does not exist but is ideal*
- He sees the beginnings of private property
- Against poverty and inequality
- Abolish money and private property
- And believed that every family should be able to get from the common stock (resources)
- No more pride, greed, or envy
- Conflict and inequality are unnatural

Early Socialism: - Saint Simon (1760-1825)

- Class-based historical stages
- Influenced Karl Marx
- Belief-based economic systems
- Feudalism based on natural hierarchy, liberty, obedience
- Replace capitalism inefficiency with expert planning and organizational hierarchy

Early Socialism: - Fourier (1772-1887)

- Talks about the evils of commercial society
 - Selfishness, greed, false beliefs about inequality
 - Attempt to achieve social harmony would be frustrating
 - Upset with poverty,
 - Material, spiritual, emotional
- Utopian socialist ideal: stateless, free cooperation for the common good
- Socialism can change human nature

Early Socialism: - Robert Owen (1771-1858)

- Human nature is malleable (ability to shape)
 - *Infinitely malleable.*
- Capitalism rewards greed and selfishness
- Produce cooperatively for the public
 - Started utopian communities in Britain, Scotland, and United States
 - Reduce working days to under 10 hours in factories

Karl Marx (1818-1883):

Marx's Life:

- Drinking, duelling, law, philosophy
- Was a socialist, but wrote about capitalism
- Radical Journalism: Brussels, Paris
- 1849-1883: "Temporary" exile in London
 - Political agitation - getting in fights
 - Family and poverty
 - Scholarly research
- Got jobs, train conductor, spent most time in library
- Karl Marx's Book - Capital

Themes in Marx:

- Religion
 - Hegel - A 19th Century German Philosopher
 - Marx followed Hegel's ideas which was:
 - History as the development of Spirit
 - Described history as the march of freedom of the world
 - God comes to self-awareness in history
 - Feuerbach -
 - Criticized religion, as we created God in our own image
 - We alienate our human capacities for knowledge, power, and goodness
 - We value knowledge, power, and goodness
 - Marx on Religion:
 - Religion is created in response to poverty and suffering
 - "Religion is the opium of the people"
 - Produce a euphoria (A "buzz")
 - Painkiller
 - Can render you incapable of flourishing
- Alienation
 - Human essence detached from human existence
 - Creative producers whose work is punishing, degraded, commodified
 - Workers' lives are subject to alien forces
 - **4 Types of Alienation:**
 - Alienation from the product (what we produce)
 - Alienation in productive activity
 - Alienation from our species-being
 - Alienation from other human beings
 - Marx's Grave:
 - Two things he should be known for according to (Engel):
 1. Marx discovered the law of development of human history (king of social science)
 2. Marx's theory of surplus value (explanation of capitalism)
- History
 - Marx's Theory of History:1
 - 1859 - Preface
 - "In the social production of their life, men enter"
 - Friedrich Engels and Marx - "*History is the history of class struggle*"
 - All of history up to now is the history of class struggle
 - History is the growth of human productive power (The "productive forces" tend to develop"
 - Our production methods develop within economic structures: slavery, feudalism, capitalism
 - Feudalism
 - People control the land (nobility) the serfs had to work on the land for nothing
 - Marx's Theory of History: 2
 - Economic structures have characteristic "relations of production"

- Society is like a three story building
 - Legal and political superstructure
 - Relations of Production
 - Forces of production
 - Marx's Theory of History: 3
 - Level of development of productive forces explains the nature of the economic structure
 - Economic structure determines the legal and political superstructure
 - Capitalism will be replaced by communism and common ownership
 - Objection: Why can't capitalism adapt?
 - *Technological Determinist*
- Exploitation
 - Exploitation is the extraction of surplus labour (taking the surplus labour away)
 - Distinction between labour and labour-power
 - Workers are sacrificed to the demands of capital
 - Capitalist profit is the surplus value created by the workers
- Class Struggle
 - History is the history of class struggle: under capitalism, it is the bourgeoisie (capitalists) vs proletarians (workers)
 - Conflicts of interest are linked to our relations to the means of production: the future communist society will be classless
 - Class is defined to the relationship of means of production (what you own, what you produce)
 - Proletarians are the workers
 - The state exists to deal with conflicts of interest generated by coercive surplus extraction, under communism, the state will wither away
 - Ask where the resources we need are created/how do we produce/how did they acquire the resources
- State and Revolution
 - Marx's Two Accounts of the State
 1. The state as a committee for managing the common interests of the bourgeoisie (based on 19th century British politics)
 2. The state as an independent actor (based on 19th-century French and German politics) - described the working conditions/ and politics - state takes on a life of its own
 - Marx on Revolution:
 - Revolution is likely in states that fail to integrate their excluded classes
 - Bismarck's strategy buy off the working class and maintain a loyal army
 - Universal suffrage could lead to the election of a socialist government
- Human Nature

Marxism: An explanation of history and historical change - what it means, and where it is going

Lecture 20 - Socialism 2

November 17, 2016 11:34 AM

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Karl Marx on History Exploitation, Class Struggle, the State, and Revolution (last lecture)**
- **Friedrich Engels' Objections to Capitalism**
- **Social Democracy**

Friedrich Engels' Objections to Capitalism:

- *Rich, German, factory owner, socialist agitator, Marxist's partner in crime*
- The destructive trade cycle (boom and bust)
- Large number of unproductive people
- The capitalist market generates unjust inequalities
- Does not agree with entrepreneurship

Social Democracy:

- Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932)
 - Evolutionary socialist: no need for revolution
 - Revisionist: update and revise Marx's claims
 - Morality, freedom, respect, and a peaceful movement for change
 - Moral - They weren't sufficiently concerned with morality:
 - Freedom - Individuals are free and should treat others with respect
 - Peaceful Movement for Change - No violence in revolution
 - Politics: socialist parties can achieve social reforms
 - Economics: Working class standard of living improved

Fabian Socialism in Britain (1884):

- G.B, Shaw, H.G , Wells, S&B Webb
- Parliamentary path to socialism
- National efficiency and social justice
- Nationalization and social welfare

Lecture 21 - Fascism

November 22, 2016 11:36 AM

Q: Capitalism produces a "boom and bust trade cycle, a wastefully inefficient distribution of work, and unjust inequalities" If you agree with these claims you are most likely a:

- A: Socialist

Fascism: Why Should We Care?

- " Fascism was the major political innovation of the 20th century, and the source of much of its pain." - Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*

The Origins of Fascism:

- Early twentieth century in Italy
- Milan, spring 1919, violence, murder
 - First meeting in Milan where Mussolini declared war on socialism because it opposed nationalism - on a social news paper printing press
 - Fascism is a political nationalistic ideology
- Attack on socialism and the rule of law: in the name of the nation

Fascism: Some Features

- "Fasces": symbol of social unity under political leadership
- Totalitarian
 - State takes total control of the society at all levels of authority
- Reactionary
 - It is against liberalism, (values individuals), secularism, universalism,
- Cult of leadership

Fascism: More Features

- Mass mobilization through a monopolistic political party
- Destruction of all intermediate organizations (such as trade unions)
- Abolition of privacy
- Rule of law replaced by arbitrary violence

Fascism: Background Ideas

- Counter-Enlightenment
- Fascism is anti-intellectualist
- Nationalism
 - Nation to develop an empire that will dominate the world
 - Xenophobia = fear of outsiders
- Elitism
 - "Rule by a small minority is inevitable" - Nichols
 - Power is inevitably distributed unequally
- Irrationalism
 - Appeal to their emotions, not their rational side

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945)

- Was dictator from 1942-1943
- National unity
 - Everyone should be on the same page in the name of glorifying the nation and controlling the state
 - "War is the health of the state"
- Liberalism "No", Obedience: Yes
 - The leader must be blindly followed
- Celebration of war and Violence
- Emphasis on individual sacrifice and state worship
 - Need to be willing to die for your state, and your leader

Adolph Hitler (1889-1945)

Hitler's Nazism:1

- The novelist Thomas Mann's evaluation of the rise of Hitler
- Two explanations for Hitler's rise to power
 1. Economic
 - i. Desperation, poverty, mass unemployment, and Hitler says that he is the saviour
 2. Charismatic
 - i. Hitler was charismatic
 - ii. He said "vote for me, and vote for dictatorship - we are intolerant and wipe out the other political parties"

Hitler's Nazism: 2

- Resentment about the end of World War One
- German people (Volk) must defeat Jews,
 - Communists, and Liberals who promote ideas of universal brotherhood
- Need a strong, dominant leader (Führerprinzip)
 - National leader would prove his worth through personal charisma and all citizens should be absolutely obedient

Hitler's Nazism: 3

- Nationalism
 - Racist, exclusivist, and suspicious of individuals who are not fully committed to the nation
- Lebensraum (living space)
 - German sought to occupy and use the resources of the Ukraine, and other countries
 - Invasion of Czechoslovakia
 - Need to remove the people within the space
- Social Darwinism:
 - It's a struggle between people (races)
 - The races that are weak deserve to die
 - Race are not equal and struggle for existence
 - Hitler believes the Arian race is superior and should survive
- Racism and anti-semitism
 - Should be a single race to dominate
 - Arianism is the idea that Germans constitute a master race and destined to dominate the entire world
 - *Nazism = Fascism + Racism*

Fascism: Key Themes 1 (Robert Paxton)

- Sense of crisis needing radical solution
- Subordination of individuals to the group
 - The group matters (Group > Individual)
- One's group is a victim whose enemies must be attacked

Fascism: Key Themes 2 (Robert Paxton)

- Fear of liberalism, class conflict, and other alien forces
- Promote community integration by violence if necessary
- Need for authority by natural (male) leaders embodying group's destiny

Fascism: Key Themes 3 (Robert Paxton)

- Superiority of leader's instincts over abstract and universal reason
- Celebration of violence and will, when devoted to the group's success
- Right of the chosen people to dominate others without restraint

Lecture 22 - Feminism

November 26, 2016 2:07 PM

Feminism:

- Eliminating subordination of women
 - Are what ways women are subordinate to men
 - Trying to get rid of it
 - Sexual domination systematic domination
- Against patriarchy or ruled by men
 - An idea of male supremacy
- Sex and gender: Biological distinguished from culture
 - Biological differences

Redefining the Political: Feminism

- A currency of power
- Traditional view is that politics is public; the family and personal relationships are private
 - Like the family and personal relationship in this view is not political
- "Public Man" dominates the state, education and the economic, "private woman restricted to home and family."
 - Not by choice but how society sets it up
- Feminists claim that politics exists wherever there is power: state, economy, family.

Sexual Inequality in History:

- Aristophanes' Lysistrata (311 B.C.): Asserting women's power
 - Woman not participating in politics
 - They withhold sex until war ends
- Women's rights convention, Seneca Falls, New York, 1848: Household Tyranny; Denial of Civil, political and economic rights (to university education, to vote, to earn a living); destruction of self-respect.

Continuing Injustice (Amartya Sen):

- It's mostly political
- 100 million women are missing in the world
 - If women were treated as equals there would be more women
 - There is a higher age specific mortality rates
- Denial of necessary nutrition and health care
 - Especially during childhood
- In Europe and NA there should be more woman than men

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797):

- Her version of Feminism 1:
 - A vindication of the rights of women (1792)
 - She wrote a right of women to help out the women feel fair
 - Enlightenment commitment to reason and quality
 - The source of dignity makes us human
 - She also believes that women and men are equal in their capacity to reason
 - Against their dignity to deny them the same rights and such we all have the same reason
- Her version of Feminism 2:
 - Women are oppressed by social institutions, including education
 - Women are oppressed by the state
 - Needs to be education reforms
- Differences between men and women are artificial, not natural
 - Women and men are not fundamentally sexual beings, but as a human being

- Changing institutions (e.g., marriage, education) will end inequality

Liberal Feminism:

- They want to say that women are the same with men
- Their aim is to overcome overt discrimination
 - It's unjust.
- Change laws and institutions
 - Need to make social changes, marriage laws, voting laws, education laws, access to employment
- Goal: equalize opportunities for women and men
 - Equal pay for equal work

Women Get the Vote:

- Women didn't have the right to vote

Radical Feminism 1:

- Overcome sexist attitudes and beliefs
 - Problems with the mind how people think
- Women are subjected to their own internalized harmful attitudes and false beliefs
 - Emphasize women's difference from men, unlike liberal feminism where they want to show how we are the same
- Emphasize women's difference between women and men

Radical Feminism: 2

- Male bias in setting the terms of the debate
- The air we breathe: "the structure and values of American society" (Catherine MacKinnon)
- Women had no role in crafting the rules of the game
 - Because they weren't a part in the choices

The Justice - Care Debate:

- Is justice a gendered concept
- Women value connectedness
 - The connection of people, and relationships
 - Women seek connectedness, men seek independence

Carol Gilligan's In a Difference Voice:

- Justice (male type of moral thinking about ethics)
 - Seeking abstract rules, what to do.
 - Moral mathematics
- Care (Female type of moral thinking)
 - Consider particularities
 - Case-by-case moral reasoning
 - Narrative of relationships

Justice and Care: Some Issues

- Different voices don't systematically match men and women
- Need justice as a background virtue
- You only appeal rights when things go wrong
- Need universal moral principles

Lecture 23 - Ecologism

November 29, 2016 11:46 AM

*December Test: December 12th, (2:00 - 4:00 pm)
Review Session - Next Thursday
Chapter 3-7 Ethics and Public Policy
Andrew Heywood (assigned chapters)*

TOPICS TO COVER:

- **Thomas Midgley**
- **Serious Environmental Problems**
- **Ecology as Ideology**
- **Deep Ecology and Shallow Ecology**

Thomas Midgley (1889-1944):

- Worked for GM
- Leaded gasoline ("ethyl")
- Invented Freon (CFC)
 - Freon is used in refrigerators
 - Its an inert gas used in refrigerators that is destructive of the ozone layer
- Midgley's death as a metaphor

Serious Environmental Problems:

- Loss of natural resources
 - Natural Habitats (forests, wetlands, coral reefs, ocean bottoms)
 - Is caused by agriculture
 - Wild food sources (fish, etc.)
 - Biological diversity (earthworms, bacteria) - species are disappearing at a fast rate
- Ceilings on needed resources
 - It is more difficult/costly to now obtain
 - Energy sources: oil, natural gas, coal
 - Freshwater
- Harmful things we generate
 - Toxic chemicals (insecticides, pesticides, etc)
 - Linked to birth defects
 - Alien species (Lampres, species that we bring in)
 - Atmospheric gases
- Population growth and per capita impact
 - Human population continues to grow

Climate Change:

- Climate change skeptics appeal to the inexactness of climate science
- Climate projections are uncertain, so temperature increases could be smaller... Or much larger
- The uncertainty provides a strong reason for action: a tax on carbon dioxide emissions could prevent the current 10 percent chance of the end of life by 2095

Human Population:

- Population should stabilize at 9 to 12 billion
- More people require more resources
- Per capita environmental impact
- Developed countries contributes about 32 times more that developing countries to the impact of the environment

Ecology as Ideology:

- Beyond left and right (the sides)
- Greens versus the mainstream
- Greens reject anthropocentrism, the idea that human interests are of overriding moral importance and we can use nature for our own ends

An Ecological Ethic:

- We are part of an interconnected natural system
- Respect for all life
- Humans have enormous power to do good or harm to the planet, so we have a great responsibility
- Stewardship for future generations: protect, preserve, and sustain nature

The Gaia Hypothesis:

- The idea of British scientist James Lovelock (1969)
- The earth and its creatures constitute a single self-regulating system that is one organism: a single, huge, living being (Gaia)
 - (*Gaia is the goddess of the earth - mother earth*)
- Encourages us to think about the interconnectedness and interdependence of all parts of the earth's ecology

Deep Ecology and Shallow Ecology

Deep Ecology:

- Introduced by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in 1972
- All forms of life have intrinsic value: no living thing's value depends on their usefulness to humans
- Humans are no more important than any other species
- Distinguished from shallow ecology, the view that aims to promote environmental goals as a means to serving human needs

Time, Sacrifice, and Posterity

- Time horizons: how far ahead we think when making decisions
- We sacrifice now, others benefit later
- The impossibility of reciprocity: we can benefit or harm future generations, but they cannot affect us

Deep Ecology versus Shallow Ecology:

- Deep ecology calls for a radical change in consciousness
- Shallow ecology (or environmentalism) calls for institutional change in states and markets
- Do we need to change our minds (deep) or change the world (shallow)

Collective Action Problems:

- Private and public goods: clean air is a public good that cannot be divided and distributed
- Environmental collective action requires cooperation: everyone has an incentive to free ride
- Tragedy of the commons: we need to enforce collective solutions to avoid destroying common resources
- Markets will under produce goods if there are positive externalities
- Markets will overproduce goods if there are negative externalities
- Political engagement: enforce solutions to collective action problems (e.g. regulations)

Lecture 24 - Religious Fundamentalism

December 1, 2016 11:53 AM

December 8th 11:30 - 1:00 pm NCB 101 - TEST REVIEW SESSION

TOPICS TO COVER:

- Religious Fundamentalism
- F
- F

Religious Fundamentalism:

- Religion as politics
- The fundamentalist impulse
- Anti-modernism
- Militancy (passionate commitment)

Stephen Colbert on Islam:

- "Islam is a great and true religion revealed in the Holy Qur'an which was dictated by the angel Gabriel to the final Prophet Mohammed, Blessing and Peace Be Upon Him."

Islam and Radical Islamism:

- Islam is one of the three great Abrahamic religions, along with Judaism and Christianity
- Radical Islamism is a fundamentalist political ideology
- The two are related, but be careful not to confuse the religion with the ideology

Islam, Mohammed, and the Qur'an:

- Islam - It's an Arabic word that means submission/surrender to Allah (god) (root of the word comes from peace too)
- Mohammed (570-632 AD)
 - He was a prophet and bring the word of god to humans
 - Most respected man in the Muslim tradition
 - Responsible for the Qur'an (restitution)
- Qur'an is the holy book of that is dictated by the angel Gabriel to Mohammed
- Hadith - The words/actions of Mohammed himself

Islam and Politics:

- The spread of Islam
- The five pillars of Islam: Shahadah, Salat, Zakat, Sawm, Hajj
 - Shahadah - The profession of faith - the act of testimony to your faith
 - Salat - Pray
 - Zakat - Charity donations
 - Sawm - Annual fasting during Ramadan
 - Hajj - is an annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, the most holy city of the Muslims, and a mandatory religious duty for Muslims that must be carried out at least once in their lifetime by all adult Muslims who are physically and financially capable of undertaking the journey
- Jihad (lesser and greater) - means effort, strain, struggle means endeavor, striving
 - Struggle against evil
 - Struggle internally (temptation to be selfish, treat others badly)
- Sha'ria - Islamic law derived from the **kuron (check the term)**

Four External Threats to Islam:

- Crusades (1095-1300 AD)
- European Imperialism
- The State of Israel
 - Jewish state where first class citizenship is only given to Jews

- Western ideas of "modernity"
 - Religion and politics should be closely tied together

A Fifth Threat to Islam:

- United States covert intervention
- United States military attack
 - Since 1980, United States has invaded/occupied/bombed at least 14 countries on numerous occasions
- U.S. Support for corrupt regimes
- Occupying Muslim Holy lands
 - After the Gulf War, US occupied parts of Saudi Arabia

Costs of U.S. War: 2001-2016:

- Direct war deaths in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq - 370 000 people
- Additional deaths caused indirectly by war: 800 000
- Economic cost of these wars: \$4.79 trillion

Radical Islam:

- Muslim Counter - Enlightenment
 - Reactionary set of ideas where a pure Islamic state holds ideas and development
- Sayyid Qutb (1906 - 1966)
 - Egyptian

Qutb in America and Egypt:

- Appalled by America
 - He was studying in America and was disgusted by America's racism
 - Economic and social inequality
 - Sexual promiscuity
- Joins Muslim Brotherhood
- Executed in Egypt
 - Arrested for plotting to overthrow the Egyptian government
 - And becomes a martyr

The Problem and Solution:

- The Problem: Western decadence
- Solution 1: Resist Western Influence
- Solution 2: Set up an Islamic State where religion and politics are combined

Qutb's Influence:

- Jahiliyya (darkness or ignorance)
 - Refers to the age before Mohammad
- False consciousness
 - Muslims do not overthrow their leaders because of they're suffering from false consciousness (brainwashed)
- Offensive Holy War:

Against the Corrupt West:

- Attacking corrupt Muslims (the president, etc)
- Attacking U.S. power
 - Terrorism - use force to instill fear in people
- Educating boys (especially, indoctrination - learning the religions (kuron))
- Bearing witness (Shahadah)
 - "I bear witness that Mohammed is a prophet"
 - "I bear witness that God is Allah"
 - First of 5 pillars of Islam

Islam Versus the West?

- Is there a clash of civilizations? Islamic versus Western?
- What is the evidence?
- U.S. allies: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, India, Indonesia
 - Indonesia banned support for the Islamic State even though they have massive Muslim populations
- Muslim support for democracy (Pew Global Poll 2012)

Lecture 25 - Multiculturalism

December 6, 2016 11:36 AM

Q: Which ideology rejects what it views as the central commitments of all other ideologies?

A: Ecologism

Citizenship:

- Common set of rights and duties for all citizens
 - If you are living in monarchy, you are not a citizen, you are a subject to the crown
 - If you are living in a democracy, you are a citizen, and everyone is equal
 - Everyone has the same set of rights and duties
- Civil, political, and socioeconomic rights
 - Socio rights = right to education, healthcare, unemployment rights
 - Civil rights = freedom to speech
 - Political rights = right to vote,
- Gradual expansion of the class of citizens: from:
 - White, property-owning Protestant men to working class men, Catholics, Jews, women, blacks, and others

Multiculturalism: 1

- Cultural diversity of modern societies
 - Racial, national, cultural differences
- Challenging the idea of the "normal" citizen
- Rejecting exclusion, assimilation, marginalization, silencing. (people who are different)

Multiculturalism: 2

- Exclusion: keeping non-White minorities out
- Assimilation: forcing compliance with majority norms and practices
- Marginalization: forcing indigenous peoples onto reserves or to give up their traditional way of life
- Silencing: institutionalizing the disabled; criminalizing homosexuals

Multiculturalism: 3

- Demanding a more inclusive understanding of citizenship: from coercion and paternalism to consent and autonomy
- Recognizing a plurality of identities:
 - Integration rather than assimilation
- Accommodating differences

From Equal Rights to the Politics of Recognition:

- Three approaches to social advancement
 - Republicanism: equal legal and political rights
 - Redistribution: social rights and equal opportunity
 - Recognition: endorsing cultural difference

Three Types of Minority Rights:

- Self-government rights for national minorities (e.g. Quebecois) and indigenous peoples (e.g. First Nations) as a response to majority nation-building
- Polyethnic rights for ethnic groups and religious minorities exemptions and public funding
- Special representation rights in public positions

Against Multiculturalism:

- Ghettoization: potential for retreat into ethnic enclaves
- Emphasizes: our difference rather than what we share in common as citizens
- Danger of internal restrictions: potentially violating the rights of individual members of minority cultures

For Multiculturalism:

- Can create reliable commitment to the welfare state, therefore no ghettoization
- Integration on fair terms (inclusion of all (even minorities) as equals).
- Provides external protections from the dominant culture for ethnocultural minorities
- Freedom for individuals within groups, equality between groups
 - Equality between groups mean should overcome the history of past views on everyone else (minorities)

Tutorial 1 Prep - Due September 21st

September 15, 2016 2:30 PM

(Pages 1-41)

Questions for Chapter 1:

1. Warburton mentions the First Amendment to the United States Constitution and Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. How is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms relevant in this context?

- First amendment prohibits the making of any law that impedes on the freedom of speech/press etc.
- CCRF- Section 2 (Fundamental Freedoms) Freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression
- Regardless of where we are, we are all humans and are entitled to this right
- Democratic societies place/values the idea of free speech quite highly
 - Because our society functions under this type of government

2. What are the two main questions addressed in this book?

- What is the value of free speech?
- What limits should we set to free speech?

3. What is the link between free speech and democracy?

- Democracy voters have an interest in hearing and contesting a wide range of opinions and in having access to facts and interpretations, as well as contrasting views, even when they believe that the expressed views are politically, morally, offensive.
- People's opinions may not always be expressed through the media, but through songs, cartoons, films etc.
- Democracy is more than elections and universal suffrage
 - **Protection of free speech is a critical element of the idea of democracy b/c without it, government couldn't be truly be participatory**

4. What counts as speech?

- Not just the spoken word, but a wide range of expression, including the written word, plays, films, videos, photographs, cartoons, paintings, etc.
- *It's the act of expressing the idea in a particular place at a particular time*

5. Describe the distinction between negative freedom and positive freedom

- Negative freedom is the absence of constraint - you are free to do something in this negative sense if *no one is stopping you*
- Positive freedom, is the freedom actually to achieve what you to do

6. What does Herbert Marcuse mean by "repressive tolerance"

- Argued that lack of censorship doesn't guarantee that freedom will be exercised in any worthwhile way
- Free speech serve the interests of the powerful

7. When should speech be limited?

- When it is libellous or slanderous, where it would result in state secrets being revealed
- When it could jeopardize a fair trial
- Involves a major intrusion into someone's private life without good reason
- Results in copyright infringement
- And Sometimes misleading advertising
- Some countries restrict certain kinds of pornography

8. Give examples of Warburton's two types argument -- instrumental and moral -- for speech

- 1st Argument: Instrumental - rely on the claim that preserving free speech produces tangible benefits of some kind, whether in terms of increased personal happiness, a flourishing society, or economic benefits
- 2nd Argument: Moral - Move from a conception of what it is to be a person, to the idea that it infringes someone's autonomy or dignity (as speaker/listener) - (prevents someone from speaking their views)
 - Censorship - In 1988, the British government wanted to dilute the power of Sinn Fein leaders' message - they literally removed their voices by having actors speak their words during the news broadcasts
 - Intention was that the words themselves would be less powerful when spoken in a neutral tone by someone else
 - To some extent the leaders were denied freedom of speech

9. What are the main facts in the two examples Warburton discusses

- Instrumental:
 - Alexander Meiklejohn argued that the principal value of free speech is that it promotes the kind of discussion that is essential for democracy to function properly.
 - Citizens must be exposed to a range of ideas in order to make good judgements
 - Free speech allows citizens to be informed about a variety of views by people who strongly believe in them
- Moral:

Questions for Chapter 2:

1. What is the "harm principle" and on what grounds does Mill defend it?

- The harm principle is the idea that individual adults should be free to do whatever they wish up to the point where they harm another person in the process
- It is straight forward: only justification for interference with someone's freedom to live their life as they choose is if they risk harming other people
- Physical and Psychologically - two types of harm

2. Briefly summarize the Millian arguments identified by Warburton: the infallibility argument, the dead dogma argument, and the partly true argument.

- The Infallibility Argument:
 - Anyone who silences someone else because they believe the other person's opinion is false assumes infallibility
 - The acknowledgement of his/her own fallibility is part of what makes someone a serious thinker
- The Dead Dogman Argument
 - Allowing alleged truths to be challenged
 - Even if I believe my opinion to be true, and am highly confident about its truth, unless it is "fully frequently and fearlessly discussed, I will end up holding it as a dead dogma
 - Known as a formulaic and unthinking response
- The Partly True Argument:
 - There may be elements of truth within a largely false position
 - If the position isn't heard, then the elements of truth may be lost

3. How do Mill's arguments relate to the question of Holocaust denial?

-

4. Should speech be censored when it is disrespectful or offensive?

○

5. What is the "no platform argument?" Do you agree with it? What would Mill say about it?

- Expressed that we should actively strive to provide a platform for those with whom we strongly disagree.
- It is a public way of subjecting our views to the toughest test, collision with sincerely held error
- Those who take the stance of "no platform agreement" argues that it is morally wrong for anyone to give such people credibility by allowing them access to these channels of communication
 - Which come with implied stamp of respectability

Tutorial 2 Prep - Due September 28th

September 26, 2016 4:46 PM

(Pages 42-80)

Questions for Chapter 3: Giving and Taking Offence

- 1. Explain what blasphemy is, and describe the moral issues surrounding blasphemy laws.**
 - Blasphemy is known to be a common law offence by making defamatory statements (more specific than just protecting Christianity) towards the established Church, *The Church of England*
 - Consequence of this law was that a Muslim could have been prosecuted for making rude comments about objects/ideas to the Church
 - Members of the Church however, would have been free to make the same remarks about objects/ideas sacred to Islam
 - This restricted the freedom of speech to the Muslims/minority groups

- 2. What is hate speech? Should it be tolerated?**
 - Is Expression that aims to cause extreme offence and to vilify its target audience.
 - Forms of expression is so insulting that it is a form of harm
 - Presented as a special category which does not merit free speech protection in the way other speech does
 - It typically degrades people on the basis of their race, religion, or sexual orientation
 - Purpose is to achieve insult and humiliation of a group or individual
 - **Tolerations?**
 - There area justifiable limits to freedom of speech in relation to hate speech

Chapter 4: Censoring Pornography

- 1. What is pornography?**
 - A kind of image making destined to arouse the viewer sexually by representing explicit sexual action of some kind
 - In many forms - visual/audio

- 2. Is hard-core pornography speech?**
 - Yes - if it isn't, it would be categorized differently from the types of communication than merit special preservation
 - However, Frederick Schauer compares hard core films to a vibrator - It is a sex aid and potentially pornography has little to do with free speech

- 3. Why would a feminist defend pornography?**
 - Wendy Mc Elroy, (a feminist) argues for the toleration of pornography
 - Believes that men and women should not be denied access to pornography and should be free to make up their own minds about whether it is something they want to use
 - Believes that porn can benefit women in 3 ways
 - Porn gives a panoramic view of sexual possibilities
 - Porn allows viewers to experience and imaginatively explore sexual alternatives safely
 - Porn provides different sorts of information about sexual interaction

- 4. Is pornography harmful?**
 - Harm to actors producing the pornography
 - Actors are injured, raped, or coerced to perform acts against their will
 - Physical harm and exposure to sexually transmitted
 - Negatively influences those who watch to want to imitate or re-enact these situations.

5. What is legal moralism? What would a legal moralist say about pornography?

- Moral legalists believe that the role of the state is in part to ensure the survival of a culture
- Anything that is morally corrupting or might be seen to undermine the traditional family and their values should be forbidden by the law
- Individual freedom should not be valued more than family freedom
 - They say that it's existence and availability outrages and disgusts many
 - It's morally indecent and the world would be a better place if its production and consumption were illegal

6. Is it always wrong to censor art?

- Some claim for artists to be exempt from censorship because of their seriousness of their attempts to engage with the human condition and because of the literary or artistic qualities of events that complicate the experience of such works
- Some argue that all artistic censorship is wrong
 - Artists should be free to challenge whatever they wish to challenge
 - Express however they see fit
 - Even in the area of sexualized images of children
- **Sometimes** but in the case of **Mapplethorpe**:
 - His exhibition include explicit images of homosado-masochism, male on male oral sex, and also a photograph *Rosie (1976)*
 - A 4 year old girl sitting on a garden bench wearing a skirt that clearly revealed her exposed genitals with obscenity
 - He was charged with obscenity and the misuse of a minor in pornography
 - The photograph at the time could have severely traumatized her through the public display of the image, which could have amounted to psychological harm
 - Lack of possibility of consent makes it different when compared to an adult
 - Points to note:
 - A photograph like this could easily arouse a paedophile and its public display might indirectly communicate the idea of this is socially acceptable
 - Director of museum

Tutorial 3 Prep - Due October 5th

October 4, 2016 10:45 AM

Pages (81-104)

Questions for Chapter 5:

1. In what ways does the internet change the question of free speech?
 - It democratized comment
 - Massively expanded the reach of any message, and opened people up to new ideas/ways to interact with one another
 - Internet allowed anyone who had access to it could have the potential to reach a very large audience without anyone to control what they say
 - Internet allows people to remain anonymous
 - Holds a potential for people to create/consume false, illegal and dangerous material such as child pornography and hate speech
 - **Richard Posner Identified 4 dangers of the internet - provided a medium for people to take advantage of and use it for the wrong reasons**
 1. Anonymity
 2. Lack of Quality Control
 3. Huge Potential Audience
 4. Antisocial People Find their Soul Mates (Dangerous people can find each other easily)

Conclusion: The Future of Free Speech

1. How is the case of Socrates relevant to thinking about free speech?
 - Socrates was tried and executed for asking questions that the Athenian state objected to
 - He allegedly corrupted the youth of Athens with anti-democratic talk
 - Encouraged people to worship the wrong gods
 - He was perceived as a threat to god which in turn, became duly silenced by death (drinking hemlock)
 - He valued his freedom to debate ideas above his own life
 - Governments today want to control outcomes by controlling expression
 - Future of free speech is uncertain
2. Do you agree with Ronald Dworkin's view that free speech is a condition of democratic legitimacy
 - Ronald Dworkin claims that no democratic government can claim legitimacy unless it allows its citizens to freely debate
 - In order for a government to be legitimate, free speech must be present unless adopted through a democratic process
 - Voters in a democratic society need access to a wide range of perspectives to make informed choices
 - Toleration of free speech in the future may be the result of practical difficulty of silencing many voices with many ways around the media than the principled decision
 - *What people don't realize is that sometimes having democratic legitimacy (being able to freely say whatever you want) does not equate to free speech*
 - Rules should be set to regulate speech to a certain extent if it deems to be "hate" speech
 - ◆ Undermines one's authority, demoralizes, inflict emotional pain upon a group or individual based on qualitative characteristics

1. Daily Me - Explain the concepts of daily me and what its impact on democracy
 - a. Cass Sunstein raised a concern about the impact of the Internet
 - b. Public has access to a wide ranges of speakers and opinions
 - c. Benefits to democracy access to a wide range of speakers and opinions
 - d. Claims that heterogeneous society will function well when exposed to materials that they are

- foreign to
- e. Adding to the point, having a highly selective approach to the information and news that we receive when looking at this from a broad scope, the conditions of a healthy democracy would not be met
2. Anonymity
 3. Quality Control
 - a. People are controlling what we see on the internet/how we see it
 - b. This is all from the perspective of the individuals
 4. Anti-Social individuals+soulates
 5. Internet vs. Question of Free Speech
 6. Socrates - Free Speech
 7. Free Speech - Democratic legitimacy
 8. Copyright laws vs free speech

---- Essay Preparations ----

October 12, 2016 11:34 AM

Tutorial 5 Prep - Due October 19th

October 18, 2016 12:25 PM

Ethics and Public Policy; Scientific Experiments on Animals Required Reading: Jonathan Wolff, Ethics and Public Policy, Pages: 1-36

Chapter 1: Scientific Experiments on Animals

- 1. How many scientific procedures involving animals were performed in the United Kingdom in 2008?**
 - 3.7 million procedures
- 2. Why are animals used in these experiments?**
 - They are used for drug discovery and testing
 - Animals are used to establish the effects of particular substances normally a chemical compound
- 3. Whom does Wolff identify as “among the strongest supporters of animal experiments”?**
 - Descartes 1985 [1637]
- 4. When thinking about the ethics of animal research, what two key questions does Wolff distinguish?**
 - Whether experimenting on animals is a useful way of finding out about human beings
 - Do the animal models “work?”
- 5. What does it mean to say that we should look for a ‘range property’ that qualifies a creature as a member of the moral community?**
 -
- 6. Identify the pros and cons of taking sentience as the property that makes a being morally special.**
- 7. Identify the pros and cons of taking autonomy as the property that makes a being morally special.**
- 8. What is the difference between the two approaches Wolff discusses: (1) Defining the moral community, and (2) Taking all morally relevant properties of a creature into account?**
- 9. Consider the appeals to consent, sentience, ‘having a good’, and ‘possession of a life’. What does each of these ideas suggest about the way we should treat animals?**
- 10. What does Wolff mean when he says “the one-sided consequentialism of the regulations” implies that humans exploit animals?**
 - Humans benefit a lot more from these experiments than the animals do
- 11. What are the ‘three Rs’ and how do they address worries about the ethics of animal experimentation?**
- 12. Identify some of the changes that have been made in recent years to govern the treatment of animals in scientific experiments**
 - Much more attention to animal welfare in farming and slaughtering
 - Banning of animal testing for cosmetics and household products
 - Banning of tests on great apes and seeking out alternatives to alternatives to animals through test tube and computer animals
 - Banning of hunting of wild dogs

Tutorial 6 Prep - Due October 26th

October 25, 2016 10:56 AM

Ethics and Public Policy; Scientific Experiments on Animals Required Reading: Jonathan Wolff, Ethics and Public Policy, Pages: 37-60

Chapter 2: Gambling

1. In the United Kingdom, in 2000, why was tax reform on gambling considered an important policy issue?

- It was recognized that the Internet was going to change the gambling scene significantly, but no regulations were put in place - the gap needed to be filled

2. How would you describe the view of gambling expressed by the UK's Royal Commission on Gambling (1978)?

- In a free society, it would be wrong to prevent them from betting (partaking in gambling) because others think that they would be better employed in digging the garden, or playing sports

3. What reasons does Wolff identify on the opposing sides of the debate about gambling by children?

- Allowing children to gamble for stakes and prizes under the supervision of their parents is like giving them watered-down wine during meals
- One risk factor for developing gambling problems is the exposure of gambling by your family
- Having a large win early in your gambling career, making it seem like you are good at gambling

4. Should the state prohibit gambling if many people have moral objections to it?

- Though immoral, some claim that the state has no business in poking its nose into other people's business - especially when there is no harm done
- While, some religions have certain objections and opinions of gambling - the state should be neutral and is not their responsibility to prohibit one's choice of action unless it harms other people ty

5. Does gambling harm the gambler?

- Liberal response - is that gambling **does not** harm other people and the state does not have the right to ban it

6. What should the government do to prevent the harmful effects of gambling on other people?

- Make gambling difficult for people
 - Impose operating hours for gambling institutions
 - Engage in cautionary poster campaigns
 - Refuse the gambling industry the right to advertise
 - Subsidize activities it would prefer to see people to participate in

7. What makes slot machines addictive?

- Allow for rapid gambling and designed in a way that psychologists have found to be most addictive and enticing

8. Can the economic costs of problem gambling be calculated?

- This exercise was fraught with difficulties and is difficult to get a neutral or objective view
 - Figures from casinos provided low figures for the cost of a problem gambler
 - Figures from external organizations produced very high figures
- From external sources (outside of the UK) - Annual cost of problem gambling in Britain would lie between 100 million and 13 billion

9. What has been the effect of gambling liberalization on the UK's problem gambling?

- Wasn't very effective, people continued to gamble

10. Describe the three lessons Wolff draws from his discussion of gambling

1. Taking philosophical theory and applying it to a public policy area is likely to yield consequences that are simply not publicly acceptable
2. It may seem obvious that increasing gambling opportunities will increase problems
 - a. But it didn't.
 - b. The world sometimes behaves in unexpected ways
 - c. Claims need evidence, not common sense
3. Law on gambling was changed - it was proven to be ineffective
 - a. People gambled, and broke the laws prohibiting them from gambling

Tutorial 7 Prep - Due November 2nd

October 29, 2016 4:58 PM

Required Reading: Jonathan Wolff, Ethics and Public Policy, 61-82

Chapter 3 - Drugs:

1. What are recreational drugs?

- Drugs taken for their effects on altering consciousness but not prescribed for medical reasons

2. Why does Wolff claim the basis of drug regulation is “something of a mystery”?

- Because it appears that societies do not in fact regulate drugs on the basis of the harm they cause
- Stats are often flawed
 - 22 00 deaths from alcohol and not many for ecstasy
 - More people drink

3. Describe the specific harms caused by alcohol.

- Known to cause brain damage - among heavy users
- Causes a significant amount of traffic deaths, incidents of violence, cirrhosis, and heart damage
- Mental disorder

4. What is wrong with a policy of attempting to eradicate drug use completely?

- Not entirely clear how the idea of drug eradication should translate into policy
- Policy should be assessed in terms only of how effective it is in eradicating drug use
- The fewer people using fewer drugs, the better
- Budget constraints

5. If the goal is to minimize the harm caused by drugs, what specific strategies should be adopted?

- Allowing easier access to the least harmful drugs as a way to get users to stop taking more harmful drugs
- Educate the public so people would understand the negative effects of certain drugs
- Media/Movies often give the impression that doing drugs are okay and show only the negative side of society

6. Is preventing drug use “more like preventing murder or preventing pollution”?

- Murder is a direct crime - and easy to determine policies to prevent murder
- Pollution is the opposite - it is difficult to enforce and preventing pollution from occurring
- Drug use is a balance of both murder and pollution - we tolerate it, and cant always enforce it because it's costly but we have regulations to limit it

7. Identify the three reasons for reducing harm by legalizing drugs and the four problems with this idea.

- Eliminating the black market
- Individual and social costs of imprisoning those caught and persecuted
- Problems of overdose with unregulated supply
 - What would be the price of the newly legal drugs?
 - Drug addicts said if drugs were legalized and sold in pharmacies would be horrible because it would increase the risk of dangerous crime
 - Stock would be stolen from shop assistants
 - Addicts would aim to rob customers
 - We have become used to paternalistic governments supervising the marketplace for our own good, - if we were permitted to purchase drugs, we would assume that the government has decided to give them a clean bill of health (if government allows me to

buy them, then it isn't too bad after all)

8. What do you think of the claim that drug use “generates inauthentic experience”?

- People use drugs to affect and alter their consciousness
- Drug user feels pleasure but has done nothing to "earn" that pleasure - an escape from real life
- Some argue that it is hard to see why it should be a reason to prohibit them
- While some others say that it is common to many legal experiences such as watch movies and others

9. What is Douglas Husak’s main conclusion about drug prohibition?

- Argued that the sheer scale of incarceration of drug users make prohibition the worst injustice perpetrated by our system of criminal law in the twentieth century
- Believes that claims of third-party harms caused by drug use have been massively exaggerated and do not justify current policy
- Argues current US regulations violate individual rights

10. Outline Husak’s argument.

- Relatively straightforward.
 - Comes down to the claim that its morally indefensible to use the mechanism of the coercive law to attempt to prevent people from engaging in activity that gives them significant pleasure/significant harm and does not harm others any more than many legal activities
 - MAIN ARGUMENT: It's not possible to prevent people from doing things that give them pleasure and does not harm others any more than legal activities

11. Wolff describes an argument for punishing people for harming themselves by using drugs that “follows a classic justification for the criminal law in general.” What is that argument, and what do you think of it?

- As individuals, we are poor at following our long-term interest when short term gratification gets in the way

12. Why does Wolff question Husak’s way of framing the drug policy argument?

- **Feels that** it's based on theories that in many cases could be false

13. What reasons are there for assigning a privileged position to the current drug laws?

- Change is harder to justify

14. What two lessons does Wolff draw from his discussion of drug policy?

- We must start from where we are. With a fresh start where all possible outcomes are equally likely
- Philosopher's favourite weapon is rather blunted in public policy
 - Inconsistency

Tutorial 8 Prep - Due November 9th

November 9, 2016 11:33 AM

1. What are 'low-standard car parts'? Why is there a Chinese market for them, and why might someone argue that they should be illegal?

- Low-standard car parts are considered counterfeit parts, Chinese consumers buy them because many people need repairs but no-one wants to waste money in buying parts that may outlive the car. They're less safe, higher risk of death and other things. They may be passed off for high-standard (counterfeit)

2. Why does it matter that the seller of a good knows more about it than prospective buyers?

-

3. Why might someone buy an inferior product?

- People who cannot read the labelling on food, people who couldn't afford any better quality goods(85)

4. What is the paternalist argument for regulating product safety?

5. How does the 'negative externalities' argument apply to product regulation?

6. In the United Kingdom, how much safer is train travel than road travel?

7. Define utilitarianism and absolutism. Briefly outline their contrasting approaches to railway safety.

8. How does risk-cost-benefit analysis determine the cost of saving a life?

9. What is the 'human capital' approach to determining the VPF (value of preventing a fatality), and what is problematic about this approach?

10. Describe the 'revealed preference' and 'contingent valuation' methodologies for determining the VPF. What are the pros and cons of each approach?

- Revealed Preference: Looks at general market behaviour
- Contingent Valuation: What payments people would make, hypothetical
- PROS:
- CONS:

11. What is the difference between the train crashes at Hatfield and Great Heck?

- The train difference between the train crashes at Hatfield and Great Heck is that
 - Hatfield: train was derailed
 - Train company was at fault
 - Great Heck: Train Collision with another train

12. Describe the "vague principle" that Wolff thinks underlies the different judgments reached about how to respond to the two train crashes.

- Vague Principle : is a principle of moral responsibility: who to blame

- Wolff's opinion: More an accident can be seen as the industry's moral fault then the more absolutist it should be

13. What three lessons does Wolff take from his discussion of safety?

- Find a position that accommodates both the consequentialist and absolutist in us
- Need to look and understand examples to come to solutions
- Philosophers will have to get involved even if it looks like a bad situation either way

Tutorial 9 Prep - Due November 16th

November 15, 2016 1:06 AM

Required Reading: Jonathan Wolff, Ethics and Public Policy, 109-127

1. Describe the pros and cons of the happiness theory of well-being and the resource theory of well-being in explaining why crime is bad.

- Two views:
 - Good life is filled with happiness or satisfaction
 - Filled with income or wealth (buy happiness)
- Happiness theory of well-being: Crime is something that makes people unhappy and the memories and experiences that are left with people for the rest of their lives
 - There was a story where they talked about a convicted housekeeper who realized the effects crimes such as burglary can have on people
 - In fact, he didn't even know how big of an impact it could have on the victim even though the victims had hardly lost anything
 - This proves the point that money is not necessarily the key to happiness
- You have enough resources to maintain a happy lifestyle
- Resource theory says crime is bad because you lose resources

2. What is Jeremy Bentham claiming in the quotation on page 112?

- Crimes can be of different nature, knowing about these crimes ahead of time can change our mentality

3. How does evidence from the 1985 Chicago heatwave help to make Wolff's point about anxiety?

- It shows that people living in high crime areas and in low standard tend to make the wrong decisions despite knowing of the current situation.

4. Why does Wolff think people fear crime?

- Because they are afraid to become victims of crime/be violated
- People are afraid of having a criminal record than actually performing the crime

5. In the United Kingdom crime is falling but the prison population is rising. What explains this phenomenon?

- Sentences have become more punishing with longer terms, this means people have to stay in

6. Does punishment deter crime?

- People fear punishment of crime (criminal record)
- Some cases they don't

7. Why do people grow out of crime?

- The book mentioned something there were far more offenders among men in their teens and early twenties than in any other age group
 - The reason for this is because when they get older, they become more mature, and they understand the costs of breaking the law and having a criminal record are too high to risk
 - Develop a career
 - Severs Relationships and Networks with people - is not worth doing the crime

8. What is the retribution theory of punishment? Do you think it is plausible?

- Punishing a criminal because of what they've in the history; because they deserve it. Such as an eye for an eye. It balances the messages of status, that a criminal who has hurt another is not above the law above the criminal thus it can be plausible

9. Explain and assess Wolff's combination of the retribution and communication theories of punishment.

- Through a criminal act, the criminal has lowered the status of the victim, making him feel worse. Thus also communicating a message that he is of higher status. Thus in to rebalance , you need to punish the criminal as to lower his status to the victims

10. Describe the "boiled down" message with which Wolff ends the chapter.

- Relation between philosophy and theory of human behaviour and the danger of hidden assumptions: Must take in account of all fields: economic , psychological, philosophical and legal.
- "Applied political philosophy needs to understand human motivation but a bad theory of motivation can very easily lead to deeply misguided social policies.

Tutorial 10 Prep - Due November 23rd

November 19, 2016 10:01 PM

Required Reading: Jonathan Wolff, *Ethics and Public Policy*, 128-145

1. How is the US health system different from that of every other OECD country?

- It was and still is the only member without universal health care
- Millions of people lack health coverage and many more had inadequate insurance
- Even those with high quality insurance coverage found claims to be exceptionally difficult

2. What is the 'social determinants of health' thesis?

- Many progressives believe that the relationship between health and health care is problematic
- What makes people ill is not the absence of healthcare but
 - Poverty, poor nutrition, poor living and working conditions and unhealthy behaviours

3. What question does Wolff identify as "the key focus of this chapter"?

- Why should we put so much emphasis on the issue of universal health care if it is likely to make relatively little difference to health and life expectancy compared to other factors?

4. What is the point of the EQ-5D instrument?

- Determines the quality adjusted life year value of an intervention, and evaluates health quality
- Offers five dimensions of health: mobility, self-care usual activities, pain and discomfort and anxiety/depression
- It goes beyond absence of disease in its incorporation of mental and some social elements

5. How does Wolff define a health system?

- Elements of a society that can be influenced by the government and can have an impact on health
- May be a difference between a health and health care system
- It would be wrong to define a health system as a health care system because of the many determinants

6. What are the two messages of the Black report?

- Equal access to health care does not automatically produce equality in health - far from it
- On every indicator, there is a "social gradient" of health corresponding to the social class
 - In 1980, the higher the social class, the better one's health and longer they lived

7. What discovery was reported in the Whitehall studies and what might explain that discovery?

- Their hypothesis was that those at the top suffered the most damaging levels of stress - thereby meaning that they would be more likely to suffer from heart attacks etc.
 - Results were the opposite
 - People lower down had worse health because their level of importance goes down (no one cares as much compared to like a boss)

8. Describe the four dimensions of health security and explain how each dimension might be promoted.

- Vulnerability, control, resilience, anxiety

9. What does Wolff take to be the methodological lesson of this chapter?

- Always look at the hard evidence before making any judgments

Tutorial 11 Prep - Due November 30th

November 27, 2016 7:34 PM

Jonathan Wolff, Ethics and Public Policy, 146-169 Chapter 7: Disability

1. Why was disability not a central theme in John Rawls's famous book, A Theory of Justice?

- Rawl's theories contained the assumption that everyone is within a normal range of health

2. What is Ronald Dworkin's proposal for ensuring that disabled people and able bodied people have

equally valuable bundles of resources?

- By providing for external sources (financial, social) and internal sources (skill).
- Equality of Welfare and Equality of Resources

3. Describe the difference between the two models of disability, the medical model and the social model.

- Society is that we have made society the way it is "society disables people"
- Medical model = fix the issue (people with a disability should get fixed)
- Social model = disability is created by society

4. Explain why attempts to equalize welfare or resources are likely to ignore disability as a distinct concern?

- When focusing on resources, there are a lot of inequalities in society that have to be dealt with by design

5. What does it mean to say that a realistic approach to the problem of disability should aim for 'pragmatic equality'?

- Justice for people with disabilities requires that disability does not add to other injustices in the world
- Pragmatic equality: idea that in having a physical disability that shouldn't add to disadvantages in life
- Don't want to add insult to injury
- Page 154

6. Wolff discusses the attempt to ensure that disabled people have a similar package of opportunities as those who are not disabled. What is his "overall formula" for figuring out how a person's opportunities are determined?

- When the person has, and what they can do with what they have
- Overall formula: your opportunities are determined by what you can do with your internal and external resources, given the social and material structure of which you find yourself in

7. Describe the four possible strategies for overcoming a disabled person's disadvantage.

- Social Structure
- Financial Compensation
- Medical
- Target Resource Enhancement

8. Describe the pros and cons of the medical and social models of disability.

- Medical
 - P: Disability wherever possible should be cured by medical intervention
 - *Whenever someone has a disability, the best possible solution is to cure them with medical intervention*
 - C: This model suggest there is an ideal way that people should be and that disabled people are not ideal. It implies they are defective or abnormal and need to be fixed

- Social:
 - P: This model proposes we not modify the individual person, but technology or laws, the build environment or public understandings to attempt status enhancements. It seems more tolerant of people in their differences, therefore more humane and optimistic
 - C: Fiscally problematic. Enhancements can be made only to the level of undue hardship

9. What is capability theory and how would it deal with the problem of disability?

- Capability theory that focuses on the abilities of people as opposed to the disabilities
- It deals with the problem of disability:
 1. By focusing on the pragmatic approach that people should not suffer further on the basis of their disability
 2. By providing status enhancement and removing obstacles
 3. By focusing on the disabled persons abilities, what can they do, as opposed to what they can't do

10. What four lessons does Wolff derive from this chapter?

1. Focus on real cases
2. Real cases, come in many varieties
3. Policies seem more firmly based than any reason for them
4. The task of arguing for equality is a problematic one