



**SCHOOL OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Academic Year 2021-2022, Semester 1**

**POL263 Modern Political Thought 1**

Dr Joe Hoover (Convenor)

**Office:** Arts One 2.30A

**Email:** [j.hoover@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:j.hoover@qmul.ac.uk)

**Lectures:** Wednesday 12.00-13.00

**Seminars:** Thursdays & Fridays

**Advice and Feedback Hours:**

See QMPlus for details

***UPDATED 7 September 2022***

## **Module Description**

This module builds on the analysis of concepts and ideologies begun in POL119 “Thinking Politically” by tracing the development of modern political thought through the work of several influential thinkers. The module moves in a broadly-historical fashion, exploring concepts and debates centered on three key themes: (i) the relationship between freedom and authority, (ii) the evolving relationship between individuality and freedom; and (iii) the value and prospect of democratic politics. The module covers a range of thinkers, including exemplars of the influential theories of Liberalism and Marxism that dominated Western political thought from the early-19<sup>th</sup> to the early-20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as radical, anarchist, anti-racist, and feminist critics. This year, the module engages with the thought of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, G.W.F. Hegel, Karl Marx, Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Friedrich Nietzsche, and John Dewey. Additionally, we will read contemporary thinkers responding to historical thinkers and debates.

## **Module Aims**

- To give students a broad overview of modern political thinking as it developed from the early-19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- To encourage a capacity in analytical thinking and an ability to deal with abstract concepts and normative or speculative ideas.
- To introduce a critical perspective which encourages rigorous and creative thinking and to teach skills which are derived from a text-based module.
- To introduce intensive and continuous writing assignments in order to develop students’ writing abilities and powers of written analysis.

## **Learning Outcomes**

Upon completion of the module, students should be able to:

- Demonstrate a detailed knowledge of selected texts in the history of political thought.
- Demonstrate a familiarity with the central concepts of modern political thought, such as freedom, equality, and democracy.
- Demonstrate an appreciation of how political theory understands and responds to both historical and contemporary political problems.
- Explain and critically evaluate complex arguments.
- Demonstrate an ability to formulate and defend an argument.
- Express and present ideas clearly and concisely, orally and in writing.

## **Skills**

The module aims to teach the following skills:

- Close analytical readings of texts.
- Critical evaluation of theoretical arguments.
- Presenting and summarising complex theoretical arguments orally and in writing.

## **Course requirements**

This course requires you to:

- Attend weekly lectures.
- Undertake guided preparatory reading before each lecture and seminar.
- Prepare discussion notes for your seminars and actively contribute to discussions.
- Complete and submit two formative writing assignments during the semester.
- Prepare and revise for final examination, this include completing relevant seminar tasks and attending the revision lecture.
- Complete the final online exam, to be held during the Winter Exam Period.

## **Teaching Arrangements**

Each week we'll address:

- What is the contemporary issue / question that political theory can help us think about?
- How have political thinkers addressed these issues / questions?
- What conversations have emerged about these issues / questions in political theory?
- Can we apply the thinkers studied to help us make sense of our own experiences and problems?

Lectures focus on (i) the specific question / issue addressed and (ii) influential ways of thinking about these problems, giving consideration to the (iii) the context in which thinkers were working and (iv) how they have influenced and shaped political thought.

Seminars focus on (i) relating the topic to contemporary politics, (ii) addressing questions arising from lectures and readings, (iii) critically discussing the seminar readings, and (iv) applying ideas from readings, lectures, and discussions to think about politics.

Formative coursework focuses on (i) formulating clear and logical arguments in response to set questions, which (ii) accurately and lucidly explain ideas covered in the module, based on (iii) engagement with essential and further readings, and demonstrating (iv) critical analysis and independent evaluation. Your final exam is designed to assess your abilities in relation to these four skills.

You should expect to do 50-60 pages of reading each week in preparation for lecture and seminar, and you will be expected to read more on the topics you choose for your practice exam essay and the final exam. The lectures introduce and put the thinkers in context. In your seminars we explore the ideas and thinkers more fully. You are expected to come prepared to your seminar, which means having completed the readings, reflected on the material for each week, and prepared questions or points for discussion in seminar.

## **Teaching Team**

- Dr Joseph Hoover (Convenor, Lecturer, and Seminar Teacher), [j.hoover@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:j.hoover@qmul.ac.uk)
- Prof Kimberly Hutchings (Lecturer and Seminar Teacher), [k.hutchings@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:k.hutchings@qmul.ac.uk)
- Dr Nicholas Hostettler (Seminar Teacher), [n.hostettler@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:n.hostettler@qmul.ac.uk)
- TBC (Seminar Teacher), TBC
- TBC (Seminar Teacher), TBC
- Dr Diego de Merich (Lecturer), [d.demerich@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:d.demerich@qmul.ac.uk)

*Details on the teaching team's advice and feedback hours is available on the QMPlus page.*

## **Module Assessment**

This module is assessed by two pieces of formative coursework during the term and a final summative take-home exam in the Winter Exam Period, worth 100% of your mark on POL263.

### *1. Formative Assessment One: Exam Essay Introduction*

You will choose a question from the list provided covering topics in Weeks 2-6 and write an introductory paragraph, due at the end of week 7 (reading week). You will receive feedback by the end of Week 10. Exact arrangements will be given by your seminar teacher.

Your introduction should have the following parts:

- A. Set out why the topic is important / interesting [The “hook”]
- B. Set up the debate about the question [“They say...”]
- C. State your thesis in relation to that debate [“I say...”]
- D. Outline the steps of your argument [Key points to elaborate and defend your thesis]

Questions will be made available in week 6.

### *2. Formative Assessment Two: Practice Exam Essay*

You will choose a question from a list provided covering topics in Weeks 8-11 and write a practice exam essay answering the question, which will be due in week 12. You will receive

feedback from your seminar teacher by the end of the Semester One Study Week [19-23 December]. Exact arrangements will be given by your seminar teacher.

Semester One Examination Period:

- Study period: 3-4 January
- Examinations: 5-20 January

Questions will be provided in week 12.

### *3. Final Summative Assessment: Take-Home Exam*

You will have 24-hours to answer three questions from a list of twelve [1000 words each, 3000 words maximum].

Each exam answer should directly answer the question with a clear and logical argument, which accurately and lucidly explains the ideas and authors discussed, engaging with essential and further readings, and demonstrating critical analysis and independent evaluation.

During the exam you can make use of your notes from the module and you should not spend more than six hours of the twenty-four hour period writing the exam.

For each question you are expected to use at least 2 additional sources from the further reading list provided, which can include the essential seminar reading. There is no expectation that you will seek out readings beyond those provided in the reading list. If you draw on outside sources from other modules or independent research these should not only be of good academic quality and relevant to POL263, but also add something distinctive to your exam answer.. Under no circumstances should you quote, paraphrase, or reference readings that you have not actually read—this includes using search engines, essay mills, or AI writing applications to search for quotes and references. Doing so will result in a loss of marks and possible academic misconduct.

**Further readings must be from the POL263 reading list. You can use additional readings not on the module reading list but they will not count towards the requirement to include 2 further readings. All sources should be properly referenced.**

**Please be aware, the timetabling of exams is done centrally by the College, not by SPIR. Students are expected to be available during the published exam periods during the academic year. NOTE: if there are religious holidays that you observe during the exam period you must submit a form notifying the college of this, consult the QM Assessment Handbook for details or contact the Exams Team at [exams@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:exams@qmul.ac.uk).**

**YOU SHOULD NOT BOOK TRAVEL OR TAKE ON COMMITMENTS THAT  
WOULD PREVENT YOU COMPLETING YOUR EXAM DURING THE  
EXAMINATION PERIOD.**

#### *4. Alternative Assessment for Associate Students:*

You will write a comparative essay in response to a list of questions. You will use your critical reading and writing skills to craft an answer that makes a clear argument and offers a nuanced analysis in response to the question. While your essay will be longer than the exam essays we practice in the module, you can apply the same general advice to write a standard academic essay. You should address at least two thinkers from the course and at least two further readings for each thinker. **Further readings must be from the POL263 reading list. You can use additional readings not on the module reading list but they will not count towards the requirement to include two further readings per thinker.**

## Lecture and Seminar Schedule

Date	Lecture Topic	Seminar Topic
Week 1 26/09 – 02/10	Introduction to Modern Political Thought [Dr Hoover]	Module and Seminar Introduction
Week 2 03/10 – 09/10	Revisiting the Social Contract: Thomas Hobbes and John Locke [Dr Hoover]	Revisiting the Social Contract: Thomas Hobbes and John Locke
Week 3 10/10 – 16/10	Critics of the Social Contract: Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills [Prof Hutchings]	Critics of the Social Contract: Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills
Week 4 17/10 – 23/10	Recognition and Equality: G.W.F. Hegel [Prof Hutchings]	Recognition and Equality: G.W.F. Hegel and Charles Taylor
Week 5 24/10 – 30/10	Alienation, Exploitation, and the Limits of Recognition: Karl Marx [Dr Joe Hoover]	Alienation, Exploitation, and the Limits of Recognition: Karl Marx and Nancy Fraser
Week 6 31/10 – 06/11	Oppression, Voice, and Silence: Anna Julia Cooper [Dr Diego de Merich]	Oppression, Voice, and Silence: Anna Julia Cooper and Sadiya Hartman
<b>Week 7 READING WEEK</b> 07/11 – 13/11	<b>NO LECTURE</b>	<b>NO SEMINARS</b>
Week 8 14/11 – 20/11	Double Consciousness and the (Im)Possibility of Recognition: W.E.B. DuBois [Dr Diego de Merich]	Double Consciousness and the (Im)Possibility of Recognition: W.E.B. DuBois and Ella Myers
Week 9 21/11 – 27/11	Democratic <i>Ressentiment</i> and the Politics of Inequality: Friedrich Nietzsche [Dr Joe Hoover]	Democratic <i>Ressentiment</i> and the Politics of Inequality: Friedrich Nietzsche and Ronald Beiner
Week 10 28/11 – 04/12	Radical Freedom and Anarchist Revolution: Emma Goldman [Prof Kim Hutchings]	Radical Freedom and Anarchist Revolution: Emma Goldman and David Graeber
Week 11 05/12 – 11/12	Democratic Reconstruction and Social Justice: John Dewey [Dr Joe Hoover]	Democratic Reconstruction and Social Justice: John Dewey and V. Denise James
Week 12 12/12 – 18/12	Revision Lecture [Dr Joe Hoover]	Exam preparation

## **Readings**

There is no single core textbook for this course. The focus of the module is on a careful reading of primary texts—these are your essential readings for each week.

When reading the primary texts, you will find secondary literature useful in helping you to understand those texts and in filling in their broader intellectual and historical context. The reading list for each week has sources that will help you understand the text—and if in doubt, ask your seminar teacher.

You are not expected to read everything on the further reading list, and it is far from exhaustive, but it is designed to ensure that you will always have something to read for the current week, and to give you a choice of sources for assignments and background reading.

All essential readings are available online or provided in a PDF on QMPlus. Additionally, further reading suggestions should be available through the QMUL Library. Please let the module convenor know if you have difficulties locating something on the reading list.

You may, in addition, find useful literature through the databases provided by the Library, as well as bibliographies and suggestions for further reading at the end of many of the texts listed below. You can also search the internet using online archives or search engines, such as Google Scholar, but remember material you find online has not necessarily undergone the same process of peer review and quality control as the further readings provided or those found in academic libraries.

You are strongly encouraged to consult the further reading list in the first instance, and to use the resources of the QM Library, rather than relying on a basic internet search.

**On no account should work be downloaded from the internet and passed off as your own: this is plagiarism and is both easily detected and liable to stiff penalties (see the Student Handbook).**



## **Week 1: Introduction to Modern Political Thought**

### **Topic**

This week we reflect on what political theory is, what its enduring questions and themes are, and introduce the idea of the social contract as a central concept of modern political theory.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand the broad subject matter of political theory
- Identify key questions and themes in political theory

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

- John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips, editors, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, Chapter 1 'Introduction'

### **Seminar**

In our first seminar, we will get to know each other and go over the module, including the structure, expectations, and assessments. We will discuss your existing and intuitive understandings of political theory, such as your underlying presumptions regarding human nature.

### **Week 1 Reading List**

#### *Essential reading:*

Dryzek, J. S., Honig, B., and Phillips, A., eds. (2006/2008). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [Print and Ebook]

#### *Further reading:*

Ashcroft, R. (1975). On the Problem of Methodology and the Nature of Political Theory. *Political Theory*, 3 (1): 5-25.

Ashcraft, R. (1980). Political theory and the problem of ideology. *Journal of Politics*, 42(3): 687–705.

Berlin, I. (1999). The Purpose of Philosophy. In Berlin, I. *Concepts and Categories: Philosophical Essays*. Edited by Hardy, H. London: Pimlico. 1-11. [QMPlus]

Brooks, T. (2014). Why Political Theory Matters. In Peters, G., Pierre, J. and Stoke, G., eds. *The Relevance of Political Science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 136-147. [QMPlus]

Muthu, S. ed. (2012). *Empire and Modern Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Runciman, D. (2001). History of political thought: the state of the discipline. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3(1): 84-104.

Squires, J. (2000). *Gender in Political Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [Print]

Strauss, L. (1945). On Classical Political Philosophy. *Social Research*, 12(1): 98-117.

Strauss, L. (1957). What is Political Philosophy? *The Journal of Politics*, 19(3): 343-368.

White, S. and Moon, J. (2004). *What is Political Theory?* London: Sage. [Print and Ebook]

Wolin, S. (1969). Political Theory as a Vocation. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(4): 1062-1082.

## **Week 2 - Revisiting the Social Contract: Thomas Hobbes and John Locke**

### **Topic**

A central question of political life is what, if anything, can make the coercive powers of governments legitimate. Modern political thought is defined, in part, by the emergence of new demands on political institutions as conventional justifications of authority were challenged. The social contract tradition is among the most well-known ways of addressing this question and this week's lecture looks at the work of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, who provided contrasting but influential justifications for the modern state as it emerged in Europe in the 17th century.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and analyse how Hobbes and Locke use the state of nature to pose the question of political legitimacy.
- Analyse and evaluate the differing accounts of state sovereignty given by Hobbes and Locke.
- Identify and evaluate the influence and limitations of the social contract tradition.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*.

Chapters 13, 14, 17, and 18

John Lock, *Two Treatises of Government*.

Second Treatise, Chapters 1, 2, 5, 8 and 9

### **Seminar**

In this seminar we'll consider the tension between the desire for freedom and the need for constraints, focusing on its contemporary significance before reviewing how social contract thinking addresses this issue. In evaluating the social contract tradition you'll think about its limitation and how it might be revised.

### **Week 2 Reading List**

*Essential reading:*

**Many different print and electronics versions of *Leviathan* and *Two Treatises of Government* are available. Recommended versions available through QM's library are listed below.**

Hobbes, T. (2008). *Leviathan*. New Oxford World Classics edn. Edited with an introduction and notes by Gaskin, J. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [Ebook]

Hobbes, T. (1996). *Leviathan*. Revised student edn. Edited by Tuck, R. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. [Print]

Locke, J. (2003). *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*. Edited by Shapiro, I. Contributions from Dunn, J., Grant, R., and Shapiro, I. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Ebook]

Locke, J. (1988). *Two Treatises of Government*. Student edn. Edited with an introduction and notes by Laslett, P. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. [Print]

*Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Hobbes and Locke, and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Boucher, D. and Kelly, P. eds. (1994). *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Hampsher-Monk, I. (1992). *A History of Modern Political Thought: Major Thinkers from Hobbes to Marx*. Oxford: Blackwell. [Print]

Ryan, A. (2013). *On Politics: A History of Political Thought from Herodotus to the Present*. London: Penguin. [Print and Ebook]

Strauss, L and Cropsey, J. (1987). *History of Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Print]

Wolin, S. (2004). *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Print and Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Hobbes, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Ahrens Dorf, P. (2000). The Fear of Death and the Longing for Immortality: Hobbes and Thucydides on Human Nature and the Problem of Anarchy. *The American Political Science Review*, 94(3): 579-593.

Ashcraft, R. (1971). Hobbes's Natural Man: A Study in Ideology Formation. *The Journal of Politics*, 33(4): 1076-1117.

Boyd, R. (2001). Thomas Hobbes and the Perils of Pluralism. *The Journal of Politics*, 63(2): 392-413.

Field, S. (2014). Hobbes and the Question of Power. *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 52(1): 61-85.

Green, M. (2015). Authorization and Political Authority in Hobbes. *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 53(1): 25-47.

Hampton, J. (1986). *Hobbes and the Social Contract Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Lloyd, S. ed. (2012). *Hobbes Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Lloyd, S. and Sreedhar, S. (2020). Hobbes's Moral and Political Philosophy. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/hobbes-moral/>

Owen, J. (2005). The Tolerant Leviathan: Hobbes and the Paradox of Liberalism. *Polity*, 37(1): 130- 148.

Springborg, P. ed. (2007). *The Cambridge companion to Hobbes's Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print]

Sreedhar, S. (2008). Defending the Hobbesian Right of Self-Defense. *Political Theory*, 36(6): 781-802.

Tralau, J. (2011). Hobbes contra Liberty of Conscience. *Political Theory*, 39(1): 58-84.

Tuck, R. (2002). *Hobbes. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Print and Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Locke, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

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

Arneil, B. (1994). Trade, Plantations, and Property: John Locke and the Economic Defense of Colonialism. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 55(4): 591- 609.

Ashcroft, R. (1987). *Locke's Two Treatises of Government*. London: Allen & Unwin. [Print]

Brewer, H. (2017). Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery. *American Historical Review*, 122(4): 1038–1078.

Butler, M. (1978). Early Liberal Roots of Feminism: John Locke and the Attack on Patriarchy. *The American Political Science Review*, 72(1): 135-150.

Dunn, J. (1969). *The Political Thought of John Locke: An Historical Account of the Argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Dunn, J. (2003). *Locke: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Lloyd Thomas, D. (1995). *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Locke on Government*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Marshall, J. (1994). *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Simmons, A. (1989). Locke's State of Nature. *Political Theory*, 17(3): 449-470.

Tuckness, A. (2020). Locke's Political Philosophy. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/locke-political/>

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Hobbes and Locke, and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

In Our Times. Hobbes. December 1, 2005.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p003k9l1>

Philosophize This! Episode #026 - The Social Contract, Thomas Hobbes Part 1.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/thomas-hobbes-social-contract-mttgr?rq=hobbes>

Philosophize This! Episode #027 - Thomas Hobbes, part 2.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/thomas-hobbes-ck7zj?rq=hobbes>

Philosophize This! Episode #035 - John Locke pt. 1.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/from-sea-to-shining-sea-ysm5m?rq=locke>

Philosophize This! Episode #036 - John Locke pt. 2 - The Blank Slate.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/john-locke-rsxn?rq=locke>

Political Philosophy. Thomas Hobbes: Introduction to Leviathan. July 9, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O4i7XdXuZqU>

Political Philosophy. Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan. July 1, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHLoHXeSzQY>

Political Philosophy. Thomas Hobbes: Interpretations of Leviathan. July 9, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q2wMn4l5qeo>

Political Philosophy. John Locke - Introduction to the Second Treatise. July 17, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPh2YjSdE2o>

Political Philosophy. John Locke - Second Treatise. August 5, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9TwYu3hK1cY>

Political Theory 101. John Locke & Piracy.

**Online:** <https://soundcloud.com/benjamin-studebaker/john-locke-piracy>

Talking Politics: History of Ideas. Hobbes on the State. April 27, 2020.

**Online:** <https://play.acast.com/s/history-of-ideas/hobbesonthestate>

## **Week 3 - Critics of the Social Contract Tradition: Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we examine important contemporary criticisms of the social contract tradition from contemporary thinkers, Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills. Pateman's influential work, *The Sexual Contract*, examines how the social contract depends upon the domination of women and institutionalises patriarchy. Mills draws inspiration from Pateman in his work, *The Racial Contract*, which examines the links between the social contract tradition and racial domination and European colonialism.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and analyse the criticisms of the social contract tradition from both Pateman and Mills.
- Evaluate the contemporary significance of social contract thinking for addressing political questions and problems today.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*.  
Chapter 1 'Contracting In'

Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract*  
Chapter 1 'Overview'

### **Seminar**

In this seminar we'll consider how patriarchy, racism, and imperialism remain pressing political issues today, and then reflect on how Pateman and Mills connect this to the social contract tradition. Further, we'll evaluate the legacy of social contract thinking and whether it can be revised to respond to criticisms.

### **Week 3 Reading List**

*Essential reading:*

Mills, C. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Pateman, C. (1988). *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [Print and Ebook]



*Further reading:*

**These books and articles are specific to Pateman and Mills, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Boucher, J. (2003). Male Power and Contract Theory: Hobbes and Locke in Carole Pateman's *The Sexual Contract*. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 36(1): 23-38.

Fraser, N. (1993). Beyond the Master/Subject Model: Reflections on Carole Pateman's *Sexual Contract*. *Social Text*, 37 (Winter): 173-181.

Kymlicka, W. (2018). Connecting domination contracts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41(3): 532-540.

Lindsay, K. (2015). The Racial Contract: a feminist analysis. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3): 524-540.

Mills, C. (2017). *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Okin, S. (1990). Feminism, the Individual, and Contract Theory. *Ethics*, 100(3): 658-669.

Pateman, C. (2002). Self-Ownership and Property in the Person: Democratization and a Tale of Two Concepts. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 10(1): 20-53.

Pateman, C. and Mills, C. (2007). *Contract and Domination*. Cambridge: Polity. [Print and Ebook]

Sullivan, S. (2017). Smadditizin' Across the Years: Race and Class in the Work of Charles Mills. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 5(1): 1-18.

Turner, J. (2015). Reconstructing liberalism: Charles Mills' unfinished project. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3): 471-487.

Useful online resources:

**These resources cover Pateman and Mills, and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

Always Already: A Critical Theory Podcast. Interview: Charles Mills on Racial Liberalism. August 1, 2017.

**Online:** <https://alwaysalreadypodcast.wordpress.com/2017/08/01/mills-interview/>

## **Week 4 - Recognition and Equality: G.W.F. Hegel and Charles Taylor**

### **Topic**

This week we will look at the work of the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel, and his works *The Phenomenology of Spirit* and *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*. Hegel's work is challenging but hugely influential in shaping the course of modern political thought, especially his claim that freedom requires equality of recognition, and that recognition is only fully realised in and through the state, which is not simply a provider of security or the guarantor of individual rights, but also provides the conditions for the social relationships that make individuality and freedom possible.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Analyse Hegel's argument that individual freedom requires mutual recognition.
- Understand Hegel's account of the State, and its relationship to the Family and Civil Society in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*.
- Evaluate Hegel's understanding of historical progress and the significance of his own time and philosophy.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

G. W. F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*.

Part B: Self-Consciousness, Section A. Self-Sufficiency and Non-Self-Sufficiency of Self-Consciousness: Mastery and Servitude, paragraphs 178-196

G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*.

Part Three: The Ethical Life, Section 3: The State, paragraphs 257-259, and Part C: World History, paragraphs 341-360

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

Charles Taylor, 'The Politics of Recognition'

Sections I, II, and V

### **Seminar**

In the seminar we will discuss the contemporary demands for recognition. We will then review Hegel's claims about the importance of the modern state for the realisation of our freedom, and link this to Charles Taylor's arguments about the centrality of recognition to contemporary politics, especially the importance of identity and culture.

## Week 4 Reading List

### *Essential reading:*

**For Hegel's text you can use other editions than those listed below, but those listed below are available through QM's library and recommended.**

Hegel, G. (2018). *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. Edited and translated by Pinkard, T. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Hegel, G. (1991). *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*. Edited by Wood, A. Translated by Nisbet, H. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print]

**Online:** <https://hscif.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Hegel-Phil-of-Right.pdf>

Taylor, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Edited with an introduction by Gutman, A.. Contributions by Appiah, K., Habermas, J., Rockefeller, S., Walzer, M., and Wolf, S.. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Print and Ebook]

### *Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Hegel, and may help you understand him if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Boucher, D. and Kelly, P. eds. (1994). *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Hampsher-Monk, I. (1992). *A History of Modern Political Thought: Major Thinkers from Hobbes to Marx*. Oxford: Blackwell. [Print]

Ryan, A. (2013). *On Politics: A History of Political Thought from Herodotus to the Present*. London: Penguin. [Print and Ebook]

Strauss, L and Cropsey, J. (1987). *History of Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Print]

**These books and articles are specific to Hegel, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Anderson, S. (2011). *Hegel's Theory of Recognition: from oppression to ethical liberal modernity*. London: Continuum. [Ebook]

Brooks, T. (2021). Hegel's Social and Political Philosophy. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/hegel-social-political/>

- Buck-Morss, S. (2000). Hegel and Haiti. *Critical Inquiry*, 26(4): 821- 865.
- Buck-Morss, S. (2009). *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. [Print and Ebook]
- Dale, E. (2014). *Hegel the End of History and the Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ebook]
- James, D., ed. (2017). *Hegel's Elements of the Philosophy of Right: A Critical Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]
- Gordon, R. (2000). Modernity, Freedom, and the State: Hegel's Concept of Patriotism. *The Review of Politics*, 62(2): 295-32.
- Hutchings, K. (2003). *Hegel and Feminist Philosophy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hutchings, K. (2014). G. W. F. Hegel. In Gibbons, M., ed. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. Wiley-Blackwell. [Print and QMPlus]
- Knowles, D. (2002). *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hegel and the Philosophy of Right*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]
- Maletz, D. (1983). History in Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'. *The Review of Politics*, 45(2): 209-233.
- Maltarrese, C. (2007). Hegel's Theory of Freedom. *Philosophical Compass*, 2(2): 170-186.
- McCarney, J. (2000). *Hegel on History*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]
- Moyer, D. and Quante, M., eds. (2009). *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit: a critical guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ebook]
- Pertschert, P. (2010). On the Limit of Spirit: Hegel's Racism Revisited. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*. 36(9): 1039-1051.
- Taylor, C. (1979). *Hegel and Modern Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]
- Taylor, C. (1975). *Hegel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Hegel and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

Free Thinking. Episode Hegel's Philosophy of Right. December 15, 2020.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m000q85h>

In Our Time. Hegel's Philosophy of History. May 26, 2022.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m0017k8w>

Philosophize This! Episode #66 - Hegel pt 1 - Introduction.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/episode-066-hegel-pt-1-introduction>

Philosophize This! Episode #67 - What Hegel was Saying!

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/episode-067-what-hegel-was-saying>

Philosophize This! Episode #74 - Hegel Returns!

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/hegel-returns>

Philosophize This! Episode #76 - Hegel's God.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/hegels-god>

Political Philosophy. Introduction to the Philosophy of Right. August 29, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8zTC05ZB6w>

Political Philosophy. Philosophy of Right. September 5, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qYCOVP49rbM>

Political Theory 101. Hegel and the German Conception of Freedom.

**Online:** <https://soundcloud.com/benjamin-studebaker/hegel-and-the-german-conception-of-freedom>

## **Week 5 - Alienation, Exploitation, and the Limits of Recognition: Karl Marx and Nancy Fraser**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we examine Marx's account of alienated labour and its relation to his idea of humanity nature, what he calls species-being. We will then turn to his theory of historical materialism, paying special attention to the way in which it challenges Hegel's idealism and informs Marx's revolutionary political views.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand the significance of Marx's idea of alienation
- Contrast his historical materialism with Hegel's absolute idealism
- Evaluate Marx's argument for the necessity of revolution.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Karl Marx, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*  
'Preface' and section on 'Alienated Labour'

Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*  
'Preface' and sections on 'The Premises of the Materialist Method' and 'Private Property and Communism'

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

Nancy Fraser, 'From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age'

### **Seminar**

In the seminar we will reflect on the persistence of deprivation and alienation under contemporary capitalism, linking this to Marx's ideas and reviewing how this shapes his political thought. We will then consider Nancy Fraser's examination of the tensions between calls for redistribution and recognition.

## Week 5 Reading List

### *Essential reading:*

**There are many versions of Karl Marx's writings available in the QM library and online. The volume listed below is recommended.**

Fraser, N. (1995). From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age. *New Left Review*, 212 July-August: 68-93.

Marx, K. (2000). *Selected Writings*. 2nd ed. Edited by McLellan, D. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [Print]

**Online:** [http://fdjpkc.fudan.edu.cn/\\_upload/article/files/4f/da/5fe26f6e4fea8bd54a16b27d5e32/39915539-2410-4cd2-8835-4d3b6a5f4a57.pdf](http://fdjpkc.fudan.edu.cn/_upload/article/files/4f/da/5fe26f6e4fea8bd54a16b27d5e32/39915539-2410-4cd2-8835-4d3b6a5f4a57.pdf)

### *Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Marx, and may help you understand him if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Boucher, D. and Kelly, P. eds. (1994). *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Hampsher-Monk, I. (1992). *A History of Modern Political Thought: Major Thinkers from Hobbes to Marx*. Oxford: Blackwell. [Print]

Ryan, A. (2013). *On Politics: A History of Political Thought from Herodotus to the Present*. London: Penguin. [Print and Ebook]

Strauss, L and Cropsey, J. (1987). *History of Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Print]

Wolin, S. (2004). *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Print and Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Marx, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Arneson, R. (1981). What's wrong with Exploitation? *Ethics*, 91(2): 202-227.

Berman, M. (2001). *Adventures in Marxism*. London: Verso. [Print]

Buchanan, A. (1979). Exploitation, Alienation and Injustice. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 9(1): 121-139.

Carver, T., ed. (1991). *The Cambridge Companion to Marx*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Fromm, E. (2003). *Marx's Concept of Man*. London: Continuum. [Print and Ebook]

**Note:** Various editions available through the QMUL library.

Hobsbawm, E. (2009). *How to change the world: reflections on Marx and Marxism*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. [Ebook]

Leopold, D. (2007). *The Young Karl Marx: German Philosophy, Modern Politics, and Human Flourishing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Lukes, S. (1982). Marxism, Morality and Justice. *Royal Institute of Philosophy Supplements*, 14: 177-205.

McLellan, D. (1999). Then and Now: Marx and Marxism. *Political Studies*, 47(5): 955-966.

Ollman, B. (1976). *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Osborne, P. (2005). *How to Read Marx*. London: Granta. [Print and Ebook]

Rækstad, P. (2018). Human development and alienation in the thought of Karl Marx. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 17(3): 300-323.

Singer, P. (2000). *Marx: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Sowell, T. (1963). Karl Marx and the Freedom of the Individual. *Ethics*, 73(2): 119-125.

Wolff, J. and Leopold, D. (2021). Karl Marx. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2021/entries/marx/>

Wood, A. (2004). *Karl Marx*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Wood, A. (1972). The Marxian Critique of Justice. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 1(3): 244-282.

Young, G. (1978). Justice and Capitalist Production: Marx and Bourgeois Ideology. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 8(3): 421-455.



*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Marx and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

In Our Time. Marx. July 14, 2005.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p003k9jg>

Political Philosophy. Karl Marx - The Young Marx. August 14, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-XwanTZJBw>

Political Philosophy. Karl Marx - The Communist Manifesto. August 14, 2019.

**Online:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErA581LKZAM>

Political Theory 101. Marx and Materialism.

**Online:** <https://soundcloud.com/benjamin-studebaker/marx-and-materialism>

Talking Politics: History of Ideas. Marx and Engels on Revolution. May 1, 2020.

**Online:** <https://play.acast.com/s/history-of-ideas/marxandengelsonrevolution>

## **Week 6 - Oppression, Voice, and Silence: Anna Julia Cooper and Sadiya Hartman**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we will explore the political thought of Anna Julia Cooper. We will examine Cooper's most well-known work *A Voice from the South*, which has been described as an unparalleled work of black feminist thought. Cooper was a pioneer in examining race, gender and class with an intersectional approach and her work offers a unique and important point of view from which to address interlocking modes of oppression.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and evaluate Cooper's concepts of Voice and Freedom
- Analyse and evaluate how Cooper's argument relates to the contemporary concept of 'intersectionality'
- Identify and analyse the legacies of Cooper's thought for anti-racist and feminist politics

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South*

'Our Raison d'Être' (pp. 13-14), excerpt from 'Womanhood a Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race' (pp. 23-26), 'Woman Versus the Indian' (pp. 51-72), and 'Has America A Race Problem; If So, How Can It Best Be Solved?' (pp. 84-95).

\*The page numbers refer to the 2017 edition from University of North Carolina, this version is available online via QM's library.

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

Sadiya Hartman, 'Venus in Two Acts'

### **Seminar**

In the seminar, we will be looking at the contemporary relevance of ideas of "voice" in contemporary calls for representation, linking this to Cooper's work and how she has influenced feminist and anti-racist political thought, particularly in relation to the idea of "intersectionality". We will then consider Sadiya Hartman's exploration of the difficulties of giving voice to the experience of Black women who have been historically silenced and excluded.

## Week 6 Reading List

### *Essential reading:*

**There are many editions of *A Voice from the South* available in the QM library and online. The version listed below is recommended.**

Cooper, A. (2017) *A Voice from the South: By A Black Woman of the South*. DocSouth Books Edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. [Ebook]

\*If you use another edition you should read the sections listed above in their entirety, except for “Womanhood a Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of a Race”, for which you should read from the paragraph beginning ‘Now the fact of woman’s influence...’ up to and including the paragraph that starts ‘Only the BLACK WOMAN can say...’

Hartman, S. (2008). Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe*, 26 (June): 1-14.

### *Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Cooper, and may help you understand her if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Nelson, E., ed. (2000). *African American Authors, 1745-1945: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport and London: Greenwood Press. [Ebook]

Owens, P. and Rietzler, K., eds. (2021). *Women’s International Thought: A New History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Ebook]

Rogers, M and Turner, J., eds. (2021). *African American Political Thought: A Collected History*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. [Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Cooper, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Bailey, C. (2004). Anna Julia Cooper: “Dedicated in the Name of My Slave Mother to the Education of Colored Working People”. *Hypatia*, 19(2): 56-73.

Cedeño-Pacheco, K. (2021). Race and the ‘right to growth’: embodiment and education in the work of Anna Julia Cooper. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 29(2): 358-371.

Giles, M. (2006). Dr Anna Julia Cooper 1858-1964: teacher, scholar and timeless womanist. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 75(4): 621-634.

Gines, K. (2015). Anna Julia Cooper. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/anna-julia-cooper/>

Glass, K. (2005). Tending to the Roots: Anna Julia Cooper's Sociopolitical Thought and Activism. *Meridians*, 6(1): 23-55.

Guy-Sheftall, B. (2009). Black feminist studies: The case of Anna Julia Cooper. *African American Review*, 43(1): 11-15.

Greene, N. (2017). Anna Julia Cooper's Analysis of the Haitian Revolution. *The CLR James Journal*, 23(1/2): 83-104.

Hubbard, L. (2009). When and Where I Enter: Anna Julia Cooper, Afrocentric Theory, and Africana Studies. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40(2): 283-295.

Hubbard, L. (2010). Anna Julia Cooper and Africana Womanism: Some Early Conceptual Contributions. *Black Women, Gender, and Families*, 4(2): 31-53.

Jeffers, C. (2016). Anna Julia Cooper and the Black Gift Thesis. *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, 33(1): 79-97.

Johnson, K. (2009). "In Service for the Common Good": Anna Julia Cooper and Adult Education. *African American Review*, 43(1): 45-56.

Lemert, C. and Bhan, E. eds. (1998). *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including A Voice from the South and Other Important Essays, Papers, and Letters*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. [Ebook]

**Chapters 22-25 contain material from Cooper's PhD thesis on the French Revolution**

May, V. (2004). Thinking from the Margins, Acting at the Intersections: Anna Julia Cooper's A Voice from the South. *Hypatia*, 19(2): 74-91.

May, V. (2008). "By a Black woman of the south": Race, Place, and Gender in the Work of Anna Julia Cooper. *Southern Quarterly*, 45(3): 127-152.

May, V. (2008). "It Is Never a Question of the Slaves": Anna Julia Cooper's Challenge to History's Silences in Her 1925 Sorbonne Thesis. *Callaloo*, 31(3): 903-918.

May, V. (2009). Writing the Self into Being: Anna Julia Cooper's Textual Politics. *African American Review*, 43(1): 17-34.

May, V. (2017). Anna Julia Cooper's Black Feminist Love-Politics. *Hypatia*, 32(1): 35-53.

May, V. (2021). Anna Julia Cooper, Archival Absences, and Black Women's "muffled" Knowledge. *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 40(2): 241-272.

Moody-Turner, S. (2009). A Voice beyond the South: Resituating the Locus of Cultural Representation in the Later Writings of Anna Julia Cooper. *African American Review*, 43(1): 57-67.

Moody-Turner, S. and Stewart, J. (2009). Gendering Africana Studies: Insights from Anna Julia Cooper. *African American Review*, 43(1): 35-44.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Cooper and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

C-SPAN. C-SPAN Cities Tour - Raleigh: Anna Julia Cooper. June 13, 2013.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/o-DQSH2EkDU>.

Digital Howard. Anna Julia Cooper Collection. *Howard University*.

**Online:** <https://dh.howard.edu/ajcooper>.

History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps. When and Where I Enter: Anna Julia Cooper. October 17, 2020.

**Online:** <https://historyofphilosophy.net/anna-julia-cooper>

## **Week 8 - Double Consciousness and the (Im)Possibility of Recognition: W.E.B. DuBois and Ella Myers**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we examine Du Bois' influential ideas of "double consciousness" and "the veil." In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois explore what 'freedom' means to formerly enslaved peoples in the United States, and in *Darkwater* he reflects on how oppression undermines democratic government.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and evaluate Du Bois' ideas of "double consciousness" and "the veil", and their importance for the idea of recognition'.
- Critically analyse and evaluate Du Bois' argument that democratic politics requires addressing the way industrial capitalism and racial hierarchy are linked.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*  
Chapter 1: 'Of Our Spiritual Strivings'

W.E.B. Du Bois, *Darkwater*  
Chapter 6: 'Of The Ruling of Men'

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

Ella Myers, 'Beyond the Psychological Wage: Du Bois on White Dominion'

### **Seminar**

In the seminar, we will consider the contemporary challenges that racism presents to democracy, linking this to Du Bois' ideas to analyse and evaluate them. We will also consider Ella Myer's use of Du Bois to account for the structure and persistence of ideas of white dominion.

### **Week 8 Reading List**

*Essential reading:*

**There are many editions of *The Souls of Black Folk* available in the QM library and online. The versions listed below are recommended.**

Du Bois, W. (2008). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Edited with an introduction and notes by Edwards, B. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [Print]

Du Bois, W.E.B. (2018). *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. [Ebook]

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1920). *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. Available online through archive.org and gutenber.org.

**Online:** [https://ia800204.us.archive.org/3/items/darkwatervoicesf00duborich/darkwatervoicesf00duborich\\_bw.pdf](https://ia800204.us.archive.org/3/items/darkwatervoicesf00duborich/darkwatervoicesf00duborich_bw.pdf) and <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15210/15210-h/15210-h.htm>

Myers, E. (2019). Beyond the Psychological Wage: Du Bois on White Dominion. *Political Theory*, 47(1): 6-31.

*Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Du Bois, and may help you understand him if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Nelson, E., ed. (2000). *African American Authors, 1745-1945: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*. Westport and London: Greenwood Press. [Ebook]

Rogers, M and Turner, J., eds. (2021). *African American Political Thought: A Collected History*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. [Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Du Bois, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Appiah, K. (1985). The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race. *Critical Inquiry*, 12(1): 21-37.

Appiah, K. (2014). *Lines of Descent: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Emergence of Identity*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. [Ebook]

Balfour, L. (2010). *Darkwater's Democratic Vision*. *Political Theory*, 38(4 ): 537-563.

Balfour, L. (2011). *Democracy's Reconstruction: Thinking Politically with W.E.B. Du Bois*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Ebook]

Bell, B., Grosholz, E. and Stewart, J., eds. (1996). *W. E. B. Du Bois on Race and Culture: Philosophy, Politics, and Poetics*. New York: Routledge.

Bromell, N. (2011). W.E.B. Du Bois and the Enlargement of Democratic Theory. *Raritan*, 30(4): 140-164.

Bromell, N., ed. (2018). *A Political Companion to W.E.B. Du Bois*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. [Ebook]

Bruce, D. (1992). W.E.B. Du Bois and the Idea of Double Consciousness. *American Literature*, 64(2): 299-309.

Gooding-Williams, R. (2009). *In The Shadow of Du Bois: Afro-Modern Political Thought in America*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. [Ebook]

Gooding-Williams, R. (2020). W.E.B. Du Bois. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/dubois/>

Gray, D. (2013). Racial Norms: A Reinterpretation of Du Bois' "The Conservation of Races". *The Southern Journal of Philosophy*, 51(4): 465-487.

Jeffers, C. (2013). The Cultural Theory of Race: Yet Another Look at Du Bois's "The Conservation of Races". *Ethics*, 123(3): 403-426.

Mamet, E. (2022). "This Unfortunate Development": Incarceration and Democracy in W. E. B. Du Bois. *Political Theory*, OnlineFirst: 1-31.

Meer, N. (2018). W.E.B Du Bois, double consciousness and the 'spirit' of recognition. *The Sociological Review*, 67(1): 47-62.

Reed, A. (1985). W.E.B. Du Bois: A Perspective on the Bases of His Political Thought. *Political Theory*, 13(3): 431-456.

Rodman, E. (2021). 'Not Equals but Men': Du Bois on Social Equality and Self- Conscious Manhood. *American Political Thought*, 10(3): 450-480. [QMPlus]

Rogers, M. (2012). The People, Rhetoric, and Affect: On the Political Force of Du Bois's The Souls of Black Folk. *American Political Science Review*, 106(1): 188-203.

Taylor, P. (2004). What's the Use of Calling Du Bois a Pragmatist? *Metaphilosophy*, 35(1/2): 99-114.

Williams, R. (2014). Embracing Philosophy: On Du Bois' 'The Individual and Social Conscience'. *Phylon*, 51(1): 42-56.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Du Bois and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

Always Already: A Critical Theory Podcast. W.E.B. Du Bois, Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil. January 15, 2021.

**Online:** <https://alwaysalreadypodcast.wordpress.com/2021/01/15/du-bois/>



History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps. Lifting the Veil: Introducing W.E.B. Du Bois. December 27, 2020.

**Online:** <https://historyofphilosophy.net/introducing-du-bois>

History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps. Live Long and Protest: W.E.B. Du Bois, 1920-1963. October 3, 2021.

**Online:** <https://historyofphilosophy.net/later-du-bois>

Siegfield M. W.E.B. DuBois Speaks! 'What is Life? May 24, 2015.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/yfufWBXwyEI>

W.E.B. Du Bois Center. Archive. *UMass Amherst*.

**Online:** <http://duboiscenter.library.umass.edu/>

## **Week 9 - Democratic *Ressentiment* and the Politics of Inequality: Friedrich Nietzsche and Ronald Beiner**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we look at Friedrich Nietzsche's critique of conventional morality in his 1887 work, *On the Genealogy of Morality*. Nietzsche sets out to reveal how Enlightenment morality, which has its origin in Christian morality, expresses a fundamental resentment against life itself. We will consider whether Nietzsche's critique undermines the possibility of morality or presents an alternative understanding of morality celebrating struggle, creativity, and vitality—going “beyond good and evil.”

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and evaluate Nietzsche's critique of morality.
- Analyse Nietzsche's understanding of genealogy in relation to other the philosophical accounts of history.
- Understand Nietzsche's influence on contemporary ideas of subjectivity and individuality.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*  
‘Preface’ and ‘First Essay: ‘Good and Evil’, ‘Good and Bad’

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

Ronald Beiner, ‘Dangerous minds in dangerous times’

### **Seminar**

In the seminar, we will start by considering contemporary ideas of equality and universality, then reflect on the continuing significance of Nietzsche's arguments. We will then consider what morality might lie beyond Good and Evil for Nietzsche, before turning to Ronald Beiner's warning about the political implications of Nietzsche's critical philosophy.

### **Week 9 Reading List**

*Essential reading:*

**There are many editions of *On the Geology of Morality* available in the QM library and online. The version listed below is recommended.**

Beiner, R. (2021). Dangerous minds in dangerous times. *Thesis Eleven*, 163(1): 29-42.

Nietzsche, F. (2007) *On the Genealogy of Morality*. Edited by Ansell-Pearson, K. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

*Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Nietzsche, and may help you understand him if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Strauss, L and Cropsey, J. (1987). *History of Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Print]

Wolin, S. (2004). *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Print and Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Nietzsche, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Acampora, C., ed. (2006). *Nietzsche's On the Genealogy of Morals: Critical Essays*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. [Print and Ebook]

Ansell-Pearson, K. (2005). *How to Read Nietzsche*. New York: Norton. [Print]

Ansell-Pearson, K., ed. (2009). *A Companion to Nietzsche*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. [Print and Ebook]

Appel, F. (1998). *Nietzsche Contra Democracy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [Print]

Brobjer, T. (2003). Nietzsche's Affirmative Morality: An Ethics of Virtue. *Journal of Nietzsche Studies*, 26(1): 64-78.

Conway, D. (1996). *Nietzsche and the Political*. London: Routledge. [Print and Ebook]

Coole, D. (1998). The Politics of Reading Nietzsche. *Political Studies*, 46(2): 348-63.

Drochon, H. (2016). *Nietzsche's Great Politics*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Ebook]

Drolet, J. (2021). *Beyond Tragedy and Eternal Peace: Politics and International Relations in the Thought of Friedrich Nietzsche*. London: McGill-Queen's University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Emden, C. (2008). *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print]

Guay, R. (2002). Nietzsche on Freedom. *European Journal of Philosophy* 10(3): 302–327.

Kirkland, P. (2020). Nietzsche, Agonistic Politics, and Spiritual Enmity. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(1): 3-14.

Knoll, M. and Stocker, B., eds. (2014). *Nietzsche as Political Philosopher*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. [Ebook]

Leiter, B. (2021). Nietzsche's Moral and Political Philosophy. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/nietzsche-moral-political/>

Leiter, B. and Sinhababu, N., eds. (2007). *Nietzsche and Morality*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [Ebook]

Magnus, B. and Higgins, K. (1996). *The Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Oliver, K.. and Pearsall, M., eds. (1998). *Feminist interpretations of Friedrich Nietzsche*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press. [Ebook]

Owen, D. (2007). *Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morality*. London: Acumen. [Print and Ebook]

Patton, P., ed. (1993). *Nietzsche, Feminism and Political Theory*. London: Routledge. [Ebook]

Schacht, R., ed. (1994). *Nietzsche, Genealogy, Morality: Essays on Nietzsche's On the Genealogy of Morals*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [Print and Ebook]

Shaw, T. (2007). *Nietzsche's Political Skepticism*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Ebook]

Siemens, H. and Roodt, V., eds. (2008). *Nietzsche, Power and Politics: Rethinking Nietzsche's Legacy for Political Thought*. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter. [Ebook]

Solomon, R. and Higgins, K., eds. (1991). *Reading Nietzsche*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Print]

Strong, T. (1999). *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of Transfiguration*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. [Print]

Warren, M. (1985). Nietzsche and Political Philosophy. *Political Theory*, 13(2): 183-212.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Nietzsche and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

In Our Time. Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morality. January 12, 2017.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b087rt4z>

Philosophize This! Episode #90 - Nietzsche pt. 1 - God is Dead And So Is Captain Morgan.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/god-is-dead-and-so-is>

Philosophize This! Episode #91 - Nietzsche pt. 2 - The Will to Power.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/the-will-to-power>

Philosophize This! Episode #92 - Nietzsche pt. 3 - Thus Spoke Zarathustra.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/thus-spoke-zarathustra>

Philosophize This! Episode #93 - Nietzsche part 4 - Love.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/on-love>

Philosophize This! Episode #158 - The Creation of Meaning - Nietzsche - The Ascetic Ideal.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/episode-158-the-creation-of-meaning-nietzsche-the-ascetic-ideal>

Philosophize This! Episode #159 - The Creation of Meaning - Nietzsche - Amor Fati.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/episode-158-the-creation-of-meaning-nietzsche-the-ascetic-ideal-f8k5h>

Political Philosophy. Nietzsche - Politics (Genealogy of Morals). October 28, 2019.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/YzyzBb32mF4>

Political Philosophy. Nietzsche and Breaking Bad. October 3, 2019.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/Wg-VudmLyNY>

Slate. How Pop Culture Mangled Nietzsche. June 19, 2018.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/F-5jTb-PpUM>.

## **Week 10 - Radical Freedom and Anarchist Revolution: Emma Goldman and David Graeber**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we focus on Emma Goldman's text "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For". We will discuss the role of the state, religion and property as challenges to social equality and explore what Goldman's idea of freedom and equality means for political institutions.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Understand and evaluate Goldman's account of anarchism in relation to what she calls the "three foes of social equality".
- Analyse the relationship between freedom and anarchism in Goldman's work.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*  
'Anarchism: What It Really Stands For'

Emma Goldman, 'Syndicalism: The Modern Menace to Capitalism'

Emma Goldman, 'The Individual, Society and the State'

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

David Graeber, 'The New Anarchists'

### **Seminar**

In the seminar, we start by reflecting on contemporary critiques of political, economic, and social institutions, reflecting on how they might be informed by Goldman's radical understanding of freedom and individuality, as well as her anarchist politics. We then consider David Graeber's contemporary anarchist politics.

## Week 10 Reading List

### *Essential reading:*

**There are many editions of *Anarchism and Other Essays* available online. The versions listed below are available through QM's library and recommended.**

Goldman, E. (1913). *Syndicalism: The Modern Menace to Capitalism*. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association.

**Online:** <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-syndicalism-the-modern-menace-to-capitalism>

Goldman, E. (1940). *The Individual, Society and the State*. Chicago: Free Society Forum.

**Online:** <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-the-individual-society-and-the-state>

Goldman, E. (1969). *Anarchism and Other Essays*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications. [Print]

Goldman, E. (2008). *Anarchism and Other Essays*. Auckland: The Floating Press. [Ebook]

Graeber, D. (2002). The New Anarchists. *New Left Review*, 13 (Jan/Feb): 61-73.

### *Further reading:*

**These books and articles are specific to Goldman, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Bennett, N. (2017). Emma Goldman and the Autobiography of the People. *American Political Thought*, 6(1): 54-77. [QMPlus]

Brettschneider, M. (2013). "Emma Said it in 1910; Now We're Going to Say it Again": Firebrand Emma Goldman Continues to Spark Our Imaginations, Activism, and Political Theorizing, *New Political Science*, 35(4): 648-652.

Ferguson, K. (2008). Discourses of Danger: Locating Emma Goldman. *Political Theory*, 36(5): 735-761.

Ferguson, K. (2011). *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. [Ebook]

Frankel, O. (1996). Whatever Happened to "Red Emma"? Emma Goldman, from Alien Rebel to American Icon. *The Journal of American History*, 83(3): 903-942.

Gornick, V. (2011). *Emma Goldman: Revolution as a Way of Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. [Ebook]

Hemmings, C. (2013). Considering Emma. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 20(4): 334-346.

Jacob, F. (2020). *Emma Goldman and the Russian Revolution: From Admiration to Frustration*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

**Online:** <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110679403/html>

Jose, J. (2005). Nowhere at home', not even in theory: Emma Goldman, anarchism and political theory. *Anarchist Studies*, 13(1): 23-46.

**Online:** <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/26247>

Marso, L. (2003). A feminist search for love: Emma Goldman on the politics of marriage, love, sexuality and the feminine. *Feminist Theory*, 4(3): 305-320.

McBride, K. (2013). Pushing the Limits of Political Theory: Ferguson's Emma Goldman, and Graeber's Debt. *Theory & Event*, 16(1), .

Morgan, K. (2009). Herald of the future? Emma Goldman, Friedrich Nietzsche and the anarchist as superman. *Anarchist Studies*, 17(2), 55-80.

**Online:** [https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/135149239/Heralds\\_of\\_the\\_Future.pdf](https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/files/135149239/Heralds_of_the_Future.pdf)

Rossdale, C. (2015). Dancing Ourselves to Death: The Subject of Emma Goldman's Nietzschean Anarchism. *Globalizations*, 12(1): 116-133.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Goldman and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

Berkley Library. The Emma Goldman Papers.

**Online:** <https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/index.html>

Darganot. Emma Goldman. February 27, 2007.

**Online:** <https://youtu.be/hTCMcO4WTjE>.

This short video features an interview with Emma Goldman on her return to the United States, 15 years after her deportation in 1919.

Feminist Frequency. The Revolutionary Life of Emma Goldman. September 11, 2006.

**Online:** [https://youtu.be/\\_1iRssfp4U](https://youtu.be/_1iRssfp4U).



## **Week 11 - Democratic Reconstruction and Social Justice: John Dewey and V. Denise James**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we begin by briefly introducing John Dewey's pragmatist philosophy and its distinctive method of inquiry, and then consider his argument that democracy depends upon the creation of a culture that supports the development of democratic individuals and communities.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Become familiar with Dewey's Pragmatist approach and its relationship to other thinkers studied this term.
- Evaluate Dewey's arguments in favour of radical but melioristic reform focused on democracy as a wider cultural commitment.

### **Essential Reading for Lecture and Seminar:**

John Dewey, *Freedom and Culture*  
Chapter 5 'Democracy and Human Nature'

John Dewey, 'Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us'  
**Online:** [https://www.philosophie.uni-muenchen.de/studium/das\\_fach/warum\\_phil\\_ueberhaupt/dewey\\_creative\\_democracy.pdf](https://www.philosophie.uni-muenchen.de/studium/das_fach/warum_phil_ueberhaupt/dewey_creative_democracy.pdf)

### **Essential Reading for Seminar:**

V. Denise James, 'The Hostile Gospel and Democratic Faith: Black Feminist Reflections on Rap Music and John Dewey'

### **Seminar**

In the seminar, we begin by reflecting on the contemporary challenges to democracy and then consider the relevance of Dewey's argument that democracy is more than a form of government, calling it a culture or "a way of life". We will then consider V. Denise James' work to explore how such a culture might be developed in response to contemporary inequality and exclusion.

### **Week 11 Reading List**

*Essential reading:*

Dewey, J. (1939). Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us. In Dewey, J. *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925-1953, Volume 14: 1939-1941*, edited by Boydston, J. Carbondale, IL: Souther Illinois University. 224-230. [QMPlus]

Dewey, J. (1939). *Freedom and Culture*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

**Online:** [https://archive.org/details/dewey\\_freedomculture](https://archive.org/details/dewey_freedomculture)

James, V. (2012). The Hostile Gospel and Democratic Faith: Black Feminist Reflections on Rap Music and John Dewey. In Hamington, M. and Bardwell-Jones, C. *Contemporary Feminist Pragmatism*. New York and London: Routledge. 42-56. [Ebook]

*Further reading:*

**These books cover a number of thinkers, including Dewey, and may help you understand him if you are struggling with the primary texts.**

Ryan, A. (2013). *On Politics: A History of Political Thought from Herodotus to the Present*. London: Penguin. [Print and Ebook]

Strauss, L and Cropsey, J. (1987). *History of Political Philosophy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Print]

Wolin, S. (2004). *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. [Print and Ebook]

**These books and articles are specific to Dewey, and while they may help you understand the primary texts, they also analyse, critique, and expand on them.**

Chun, M. (2022). Beyond technocracy and political theology: John Dewey and the authority of truth. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, OnlineFirst: 1-27/

Collins, P. (2012). Social Inequality, Power, and Politics: Intersectionality and American Pragmatism in Dialogue. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 26(2): 442-457.

Festenstein, M. (2001). Inquiry as Critique: on the Legacy of Deweyan Pragmatism for Political Theory. *Political Studies*, 49(4): 730-748.

Festenstein, M. (2019). Dewey's Political Philosophy. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Zalta, E.

**Online:** <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2019/entries/dewey-political/>

Hamington, M. and Bardwell-Jones, C., eds. (2012). *Contemporary Feminist Pragmatism*. New York & London: Routledge. [Ebook]

Hickman, L. (2004). Pragmatism, Postmodernism, and Global Citizenship. *Metaphilosophy*, 35(1/2): 65-81.

Hildreth, R. (2009). Reconstructing Dewey on Power. *Political Theory*, 37(6): 780-807.

Honneth, A. (1998). Democracy as Reflexive Cooperation: John Dewey and the Theory of Democracy Today. *Political Theory*, 26(6): 763-783.

James, V. (2009). Black Feminist Pragmatism: Forethoughts on the Practice and Purpose of Philosophy as Envisioned by Black Feminists and John Dewey. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 23(2): 92-99.

Manicas, P. (1982). John Dewey: Anarchism and the Political State. *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, 18(2): 133-158.

Pappas, G. (2001). Dewey and Latina Lesbians on the Quest for Purity. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 15(2): 152-161.

Rogers, M. (2009). Democracy, elites and power: John Dewey reconsidered. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 8(1): 68-89.

Rogers, M. (2009). *The Undiscovered Dewey: Religion, Morality, and the Ethos of Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press. [Print and Ebook]

Rogers, M. (2010). Dewey and His Vision of Democracy. *Contemporary Pragmatism*, 7(1): 69-91.

Smiley, M. (1989). Pragmatic Inquiry and Social Conflict: A Critical Reconstruction of Dewey's Model of Democracy. *Praxis International*, 9(4): 365-380.

*Useful online resources:*

**These resources cover Dewey and may help you understand them if you are struggling with the primary texts. They are not a substitute for the essential reading!**

In Our Time. Pragmatism. November 17, 2005.

**Online:** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p003k9f5>

Philosophize This! Episode #130 - Dewey and Lippman on Democracy.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/dewey-lippman>

Philosophize This! Episode #154 - Pragmatism and Truth.

**Online:** <https://www.philosophizethis.org/podcast/episode-152-the-frankfurt-school-walter-benjamin-pt-1-agcpw>

## **Week 12 - Module Review and Exam Preparation**

### **Topic**

In this week's lecture we will review the themes and thinkers covered through the semester, and discuss how to approach exam preparation, as well as discuss exam writing tips.

### **By the end of this week you should be able to:**

- Begin to understand and analyse the connections between thinkers covered on the module.
- Understand expectations for the exam and how to start your revisions.

### **Seminar**

In the final seminar we'll discuss exam preparation and advice for writing your exam.