

Modules: PW-BA-PT; PW-BA-T;  
SOZ10-BA-ST; SOZ10-BA-SP;  
SOZ-BA-ST; GS-BA-3

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt  
Sommersemester 2018  
(Updated 1 July 2018)

## **Modern Theories of Freedom**

Mondays 16:00-18:00, Hörsaal HZ 10

instructor: Brian Milstein, Ph.D.  
email: brian.m.milstein@gmail.com  
office: Clustergebäude "Normative Orders"  
Max-Horkheimer-Straße 2, Raum 3.15  
60323 Frankfurt am Main  
office hours: Thursdays 15:00-16:00 or by appointment

### **The Main Idea**

What is freedom? And why is it important to us? In this proseminar, we will explore the meaning and value of freedom in modern political philosophy. Freedom has long been considered a central value in modern political society, and yet there is large disagreement on why this is so or even what exactly freedom is. Does "being free" simply mean we are permitted to act as we please without restraints, or does it require something more? Is freedom valuable only because it helps us achieve other things, such as prosperity or happiness, or is freedom valuable for its own sake? How do we weigh freedom with other values important to society, such as security or equality? Might there be certain kinds of freedom in society that turn out to be masks for certain forms of oppression (for example, gender oppression)? These are a few of the questions we will consider as we examine and debate major theories of freedom from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the present day. Readings for this proseminar may be taken from Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Benjamin Constant, John Stuart Mill, Isaiah Berlin, Carole Pateman, Nancy Hirschmann, Cécile Laborde, and others.

### **Progress and Assessment**

**Attendance:** Everyone is responsible for attending all classes, keeping up with the weekly readings, and participating actively in our discussions. It is expected that you will not miss more than 2 sessions during the semester.

**Short papers:** Three times over the course of the semester, you will be given a list of essay questions to choose from and asked to write a 900 to 1200-word response to one of them. The questions will be distributed at least two weeks before the paper is due.

- For students pursuing a *Leistungsschein*, these papers will collectively count toward 50% of your final grade. For students who complete and receive a score of at least 30 ( $\approx 3,0$ ) on all three papers, their lowest grade of the three will be dropped from the final calculation. Students who fail to score least 30 on each of the three papers will not be eligible to have their lowest grade dropped; missed papers will be averaged into their grade as 0 points.
- Students pursuing a *Teilnahmeschein* will be required to complete and receive a score of at least 30 ( $\approx 3,0$ ) on any two of the three assigned papers.

The short papers will be scored on a 50-point scale, and they will be evaluated on the following criteria:

- *Comprehension of material.* Up to 15 points will be awarded on the basis of how well you make use of the material provided for reading, display an understanding of the major ideas and arguments of the authors we have read in class, and are able to explain and apply them in one's own words.
- *Formulation and defense of argument.* Up to 15 points will be awarded on the basis of how well you put forward a clear thesis in response to your chosen question and are able to defend that thesis in an organized way, using solid reasoning and evidence.
- *Clear writing.* Up to 12 points will be awarded for clear, concise, and well-organized writing. You should strive to organize your paper into well-structured paragraphs, write in clear sentences, use clear phrasing, avoid errors in spelling and grammar, and use proper and sufficient citation.\*
- *Critical thinking.* Up to 8 points will be awarded on the basis of your ability to identify the strengths, weaknesses, usefulness, and limits of the ideas and arguments presented by the authors covered in class, and to think creatively and offer original perspectives on the issues and problems we discuss.
- *Timeliness:* Papers submitted after the due date shall be subject to a deduction of 1 point per day, though no more than 10 points will be deducted and total points will not be allowed to sink lower than 30 for lateness. It is your responsibility to plan ahead for contingencies that might prevent you from turning in an assignment by the required due date. On the other hand, if you believe you can improve your paper substantially by taking extra time (i.e., by more points than days late), you are free to do so.

**Final research paper:** At the conclusion of the semester, students pursuing a *Leistungsschein* will write a research paper of 3000-4500 words (about 10-15 pages), which will be due **no later than 21 September, 2017** and will count as 50% of your final grade. Those pursuing a *Teilnahmeschein* are not required to submit a final paper.

- You are free to write the paper on any topic you wish, so long as your topic is based on the central themes of the course. *You are strongly encouraged to meet with me at least once to discuss your paper.* When writing, you should approach your final paper as a serious piece of scholarly research, complete with citations and bibliography: you should develop a clear central thesis; you should demonstrate knowledge of your topic; you should engage the material in a critical and thoughtful manner; you should be able to back up

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\* See the weekly readings below for examples of a common style of bibliographic citation.

your arguments with reasons, evidence, and examples; and you should strive to show readers what conclusions they can draw from your efforts.

The final research paper will be scored on a 100-point scale, and it will be evaluated on criteria similar to the short papers (see above), though points will be weighted differently:

- *Comprehension of material*: up to 25 points.
- *Formulation and defense of argument*: up to 30 points.
- *Clear writing*: up to 20 points.
- *Critical thinking*: up to 25 points.
- *Timeliness*: a deduction of 1 point per day late, with a maximum of 20 points and total points will not be allowed to sink lower than 60 for lateness.

••• IMPORTANT •••

All papers must be double-spaced, in 12-point type, with one-inch margins, using a normal-sized font, and must be submitted to me via email as either a Microsoft Word (.doc or .docx) or Adobe PDF (.pdf) file at **brian.m.milstein@gmail.com**.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to accept papers not written in English.

For all papers, you will be expected to adhere to proper conventions of scholarly attribution. Any work quoted or otherwise referenced must be appropriately and fully cited. Any idea, argument, information, or quotation that you might employ from an external source must likewise be accompanied by full citation. You are free to use any standard bibliographic citation style you wish, but you should apply it consistently. **Plagiarism, cheating, and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will result in automatic failure of the course.**

**Class participation:** In addition to written assignments, *up to 10 additional points* may be awarded based on active and thoughtful class participation.


**Final grade calculation:** For students pursuing a *Leistungsschein*, the final grade for the course will be calculated as the total points of the two best papers,<sup>†</sup> the final research paper, and class participation. The grading scale will be as follows:

194 ≤ 1,0	140-153 = 2,3	87-99 = 3,7	34-46 = 5,0
180-193 = 1,3	127-139 = 2,7	74-86 = 4,0	20-33 = 5,3
167-179 = 1,7	114-126 = 3,0	60-73 = 4,3	7-19 = 5,7
154-166 = 2,0	100-113 = 3,3	47-59 = 4,7	6 ≥ 6,0

(Note that, when additional points for participation are included, the maximum possible score is 210.)

<sup>†</sup> Subject to conditions listed above. For students who do not score at least 30 points on each of the three short papers, the short-paper portion of the grade will be calculated as 2/3 of the total score of all three papers.

## Weekly Readings






All required readings for the course will be made available on OLAT, as well as at least some of the suggested supplementary readings (which will be indicated with an  icon).

### Week 1 (9 April) / Introduction







No required reading

### Week 2 (16 April) / Freedom as Absence of Restraint

Primary reading:

- Thomas Hobbes. 1998 [1651] *Leviathan*, ed. J.C.A. Gaskin. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 27–35, 39–40, 82–89, 95–6, 111–5, 139–48, 240 [Chs. V, VI (1–7, 49–55), XIII, XVI (1–11), XV (1–3), XVII, XXI, XXXI (12–3)]. 

Supplementary reading:

- Jonathan Bennett. 2018. “Hobbes.” *Some Texts from Early Modern Philosophy* (<http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/authors/hobbes>).
  - This site features “translations” of older philosophical works into contemporary English, and may be useful if you have difficulty following the original.
- Lucien Jaume. 2007. “Hobbes and the Philosophical Sources of Liberalism.” Pp. 199–216 in *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes’s Leviathan*, ed. Patricia Springborg. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 
- Murray Forsyth. 1994. “Hobbes’s Contractarianism: A Comparative Analysis.” Pp. 35–50 in *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls*, ed. David Boucher and Paul Kelly. London: Routledge. 
- John Rawls. 2007. “Lectures on Hobbes.” Pp. 23–99 in *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Samuel Freeman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 
- C.B. MacPherson. 1973. “Natural Rights in Hobbes and Locke.” Pp. 224–37 in *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 
- C.B. MacPherson. 1973. “Hobbes’s Bourgeois Man.” Pp. 238–50 in *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 
- Sheldon S. Wolin. 2004. “Hobbes: Political Society as a System of Rules.” Pp. 214–56 in *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, expanded ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 

### Week 3 (23 April) / Freedom as a Right

Primary reading:

- John Locke. 2003 [1690]. *Second Treatise of Government*. Pp. 100–209 in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro. Pp.

101–10, 141–3, 154–7, 171–8, 188–98, 208–9 [Chs. II–IV, VI–VII, VIII (§§95–9), IX, VIII, XIX (§§211–22, 239–43)]. [OLAT](#)

Supplementary reading:

- Two important chapters we skipped in the primary reading, but which may be of interest:
  - John Locke. 2003 [1690]. *Second Treatise of Government*. Pp. 100–209 in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro. Pp. 111–21 [Ch. V, “Of Property”]. [OLAT](#)
  - John Locke. 2003 [1690]. *Second Treatise of Government*. Pp. 100–209 in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro. Pp. 122–33 [Ch. VI, “Of Paternal Power”]. [OLAT](#)
  - John Locke. 2003 [1690]. *Second Treatise of Government*. Pp. 100–209 in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro. Pp. 141–54 [Ch. VIII, “Of the Beginning of Political Societies” (see especially §§119–22 on “tacit consent”)]. [OLAT](#)
- Jonathan Bennett. 2018. “Locke.” *Some Texts from Early Modern Philosophy* (<http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/authors/locke>).
  - This site features “translations” of older philosophical works into contemporary English, and may be useful if you have difficulty following the original.
- For those interested in Locke or libertarianism, Robert Nozick’s “neo-Lockean” theory of the state is considered the most important work of contemporary libertarian philosophy in the past century:
  - Robert Nozick. *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 3–53 [Chapters 1–3] [OLAT](#)
- Additional commentaries:
  - Ruth W. Grant. 2003. “John Locke on Women and the Family.” Pp. 286–308 *Second Treatise of Government*. Pp. 100–209 in *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. Ian Shapiro. [OLAT](#)
  - Richard Ashcraft. 1994. “Locke’s Political Philosophy.” Pp. 226–51 in *The Cambridge Companion to Locke*, ed. Vere Chappell. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. [OLAT](#)
  - C.B. MacPherson. 1973. “Natural Rights in Hobbes and Locke.” Pp. Pp. 224–37 in *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [OLAT](#)

## Week 4 (30 April) / Freedom in Community

Primary reading:

- Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 1987 [1762]. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Pp. 25–109 in *Basic Political Writings*, trans. and ed. Donald A. Cress. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company. Pp. 60–81 [Part Two] [OLAT](#)
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 1987 [1762]. *On the Social Contract*. Pp. 139–227 in *Basic Political Writings*, trans. and ed. Donald A. Cress. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company. Pp. 141–62 [Bk. I, entire; Bk. II, Chs. I–VI]. [OLAT](#)

Supplementary reading:

- The *Discourse on Inequality* in its entirety:
  - Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 1987 [1762]. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. Pp. 25–109 in *Basic Political Writings*, trans. and ed. Donald A. Cress. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company. OLAT
- Patrick Riley. 2006. “Rousseau’s General Will.” Pp. 124–153 in *The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau*, ed. Patrick Riley. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. OLAT
- Steven G. Affeldt. 1999. “The Force of Freedom: Rousseau on Forcing to Be Free.” *Political Theory*, 27, 299–333. OLAT

### **Week 5 (7 May) / Liberal Freedom I**

Primary reading:

- John Stuart Mill. 1989 [1859, 1869]. *On Liberty*, ed. Stefan Collini. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 5–55. OLAT

Supplementary reading:

- John Rawls. “Lectures on Mill.” Pp. 251–316 in *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Samuel Freeman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. OLAT

••• Short paper n° 1 due Friday, 11 May, at 12 noon •••

### **Week 6 (14 May) / Liberal Freedom II**

Primary reading:

- John Stuart Mill. 1989 [1859, 1869]. *On Liberty*, ed. Stefan Collini. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 56–92. OLAT

**21 May / PUBLIC HOLIDAY**

### **Week 7 (28 May) / CLASS CANCELLED**

### **Week 8 (4 June) / Negative and Positive Freedom I**

Primary reading:

- Isaiah Berlin. 2006 [1959]. “Two Concepts of Liberty.” Pp. 33–57 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers. OLAT

Supplementary reading:

- Benjamin Constant. 1816. *The Liberty of Ancients Compared with That of Moderns*.

- Katrin Flikschuh. 2007. *Freedom: Contemporary Liberal Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 12–36.
- Charles Taylor. 2006 [1979]. “What’s Wrong with Negative Liberty.” Pp. 141–62 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers.
- Considered by analytic philosophers to be the premier alternative account to Berlin’s:
  - Gerald C. MacCallum, Jr. 2006 [1967]. “Negative and Positive Freedom.” Pp. 100–22 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers.

### **Week 9 (11 June) / Negative and Positive Freedom II**

Primary reading:

- C.B. MacPherson. 1973. “Berlin’s Division of Liberty.” Pp. 95–119 in *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. OLAT

Supplementary reading:

- John Gray. 1980. “On Negative and Positive Liberty.” *Political Studies*, 28, 507–26.
- G.A. Cohen. 2006 [1979]. “Capitalism, Freedom, and the Proletariat.” Pp. 163–82 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers.

### **Week 10 (18 June) / Negative and Positive Freedom III**

Primary reading:

- Philip Pettit. 2006. “The Republican Ideal of Freedom.” Pp. 223–42 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers. OLAT

Secondary Reading:

- Jürgen Habermas. 1998. “On the Internal Relation between Law and Democracy.” Pp. 253–64 in *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, trans. Ciaran Cronin and Pablo De Greiff. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. OLAT

**••• Short paper n° 2 due Friday, 22 June, at 12 noon •••**

### **Week 11 (25 June) / Freedom and Feminism I**

Primary reading:

- Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. pp. 39–76 [Chapter 3] OLAT

Secondary Reading:

- Additional excerpts from the book:

- Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. pp. 39–76 [Chapter 1, “Contracting In”]
- Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. pp. 39–76 [Chapter 4, “”]
- A different project, built on a related idea:
  - Charles W. Mills. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

## Week 12 (2 July) / Freedom and Feminism II

### Primary reading:

- Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Pp. 154–88 [Chapter 6] OLAT

### Secondary Reading:

- Additional excerpts from the book:
  - Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. pp. 39–76 [Chapter 7, “What Is Wrong with Prostitution?”]
- Criticism:
  - Nancy Fraser. 1993. “Beyond the Master/Subject Model: Reflections on Carole Pateman’s *Sexual Contract*.” *Social Text*, 37, 173–81.

## Week 13 (9 July) / Freedom and Feminism III

### Primary reading:

- Nancy J. Hirschman. 2006. “Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom.” Pp. 200–222 in *The Liberty Reader*, ed. David Miller. Edinburgh: Paradigm Publishers. OLAT

### Secondary Reading:

- Nancy J. Hirschman. 2003. *The Subject of Liberty: Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## Week 14 (TBD) / Freedom and Feminism IV

### Primary reading:

- Cécile Laborde. 2006. “Female Autonomy, Education, and the *Hijab*.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 9, 351–77. OLAT

### Secondary Reading:

- Seyla Benhabib. 2006. “Democratic Iterations: The Local, the National, and the Global.” Pp. 45–80 in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Robert Post. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Susan Moller Okin et al. 1999. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*, ed. Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard, and Martha C. Nussbaum. Princeton: Princeton University Press.



**••• Short paper n° 3 due Friday, 20 July, at 12 noon •••**

**••• Final paper due Friday, 21 September, at 12 noon •••**