Glossary

abolition of private property: In the Marxist socialist state, there would be no private ownership of the means of production (such as factories, banks, and land), since this would continue to create inequalities in power. Only personal property (food, clothing, shelter, leisure goods) would remain privately owned, and not in excessive amounts.

absolutism: the belief that certain principles, goals, or values cannot be limited or compromised, even when their pursuit involves neglecting other principles, goals, and values held by oneself or others. See also governmental absolutism.

abstract rights: broad liberties (e.g., the right to life) and privileges (e.g., the right to property) that classical liberals claimed for all, because they are said to be "natural" or known to everyone by reason. Traditional conservatives criticized abstract rights and defended "real" rights that are specific in their content and in the types of people to whom they apply.

abstraction: a generalized concept, proposition, or theory that can be applied to describe, explain, and evaluate concrete cases and events. Political theorists engage in the process of abstraction by developing broad concepts, explanations, predictions, evaluations, and prescriptions that are then used to understand and judge everyday political life.

accountability: the principle of allowing other people to review the actions of those empowered to act in certain areas and to remove those whose actions are deemed ineffective, unfair, or otherwise undesirable

affirmative action: policies that attempt to help individuals who belong to groups that are disadvantaged due to past and present discrimination or are members of numerically underrepresented groups -- such as minorities, women, and handicapped persons -- to attain desired positions in society. See preferential treatment.

alienation: an estrangement of our potential condition from our actual condition. According to Marx, the division of labor in all historical societies leads to four kinds of alienation: from ourselves, from each other, from our laboring activity, and from the products of our labor.

American exceptionalism: In general, this term conveys the belief that America has a distinct and special role among nations and in world history. In a more particular usage, social theorists use this term to refer to the idea that socialist parties and the principles of democratic socialism are prominent in all advanced industrial societies *except* the United States. In this usage, theories of American exceptionalism attempt to explain the unusual absence of socialism in America.

anarchism: the belief that all governments are coercive and unnecessary. This ideology holds that if all oppressive institutions are destroyed, more natural and voluntary social arrangements can come into existence.

androcentric bias: Feminists argue that males have so dominated social, political, and economic arenas of life that male-centered ideas and interests pervade our thoughts and actions. See post-modern feminism.

anomie: the feeling that individuals can have of being alone in the world, having no connections to the larger world and having no higher purposes in life beyond petty self-interests.

anti-foundationalism: the idea, prominent in poststructural and postmodern thought, that the philosophical assumptions, values, and concepts used in political philosophies and theories are contestable. Asserted assumptions may be false; asserted values may be dubious; concepts may have other meanings other than those provided. Consequently, universal political truths are elusive, and the pursuit of such truth is misguided.

antitrust agencies: governmental bodies that investigate "corrupt" business practices and scrutinize proposed business mergers to ensure that they do not significantly reduce competition in a sector of the economy

apartheid: the former South African racial policy of keeping its various races completely separated. Some members of the extreme left claim that similar forms of racial and class separation are extensively practiced today even in the absence of laws demanding separation, as witnessed by the physical proximity of ghettos and exclusive gated communities in many urban centers.

Aryan supremacy: the Nazi doctrine that the Aryan race (to which most Germans belonged) is the culturally, intellectually, and technologically most developed race and the naturally strongest, so that it should subjugate or destroy all the others

ascribed social status: a stratification system in medieval Europe and in some traditional societies in which a person's rank depends on birth rather than achievement. In societies having ascribed social status, people have little or no capacity to advance their social standing.

ascriptive principles of justice: the idea held by traditional conservatives that power, status, and other goods should be distributed on the basis of such inborn and hereditary traits as class, race, ethnicity, and gender

assumptions: abstract ideas about ultimate reality, human nature, society, and knowledge which cannot be verified as true or false, usually because they describe only a part of the larger phenomena that they depict. Political principles can be based on specified or unspecified assumptions. Understanding the underlying assumptions behind political principles is a major concern for political theory.

authoritarianism: the belief that the leaders of communities should exercise predominant and even unlimited power over their followers and that these subjects should accept the claims and obey the commands of their leaders

authority: the capacity of political officials to make and enforce rules that others must obey because these powers are regarded as justified. Justifications for political authority include having been elected to a position, having been appropriately appointed, having attained expertise, and so forth.

autonarchy: Contemporary conservatives have coined this term to describe a situation in which government programs and laws are designed solely by and for those who are part of the government.

bicameral legislatures: law-making institutions that have two chambers or two legislative bodies representing different constituencies and that require that laws be approved by both bodies

biopower: the idea that power agents control not only the external actions of others but their inner thoughts, emotions, and identities

bourgeoisie: a term that originally referred to "those who dwell in the city" (and were middle-class). Karl Marx used it to refer to that socio-economic class in capitalist society that owns the means of production (land, banks, factories, natural resources, etc.).

budget deficits: the increasing debt that governments incur when their expenditures are greater than their revenues

capitalism: an economic system in which productive property such as land and factories is privately owned. In this system individuals have extensive liberties to accumulate wealth, invest, trade, work, and consume as they like, constrained only by their natural capacities and economic resources.

Cartesian method: the belief that the first step in acquiring sure knowledge is to doubt all propositions except clear and distinct ideas. Such self-evident ideas then form the basis for deducing more complex ideas.

categorical imperative: a moral principle expressed by Immanuel Kant that no one is justified in burdening or sacrificing other humans as a means to enhance one's own happiness or well-being

centralism: having a central governmental hub that controls other governmental institutions and sub-communities, in order to eliminate resistance to achieving the goals of the top leadership and to reduce their need to accommodate factional interests

centralized proletarian state: In Marx's conception, after an uprising against capitalism, the proletariat would temporarily have to centralize all instruments of political and economic power in the state in order to destroy its remnants. However, as capitalism became a fading memory and socialism matured, central control would be unnecessary, and the state would "wither away."

charismatic leadership: a broad term that refers generally to the ability of some leaders to sway private and public opinion by the power of their personality

Chartist movement: those who sought further democratic reforms in English politics during the nineteenth century. Among the reformers goals were less restrictive voting rights (approaching universal suffrage), equal electoral districts, and the abolition of property qualifications for holding office.

Christian evangelism. religious beliefs based on personal experience or conversion, often emphasizing the need for evangelicals to actively promote community-wide acceptance of certain social and moral practices

Christian fundamentalism. Christian evangelicals who proclaim the inerrancy of the Bible, the immanent return of Christ, and need for people to adopt traditional beliefs and practices

civic communitarianism: a public philosophy that generally positions itself to the left of contemporary liberalism, proclaiming the need for a reduced emphasis on individual rights and an increased emphasis on the community good. Such communitarians seek a society where citizens understand that their individual fates are greatly affected by the fates of the political

communities in which they live, that they should display more political virtue, and that they need to enhance their commitment to treat one another as equals.

civil liberties: the freedoms that individuals are granted by the constitutions, laws, and judicial rulings of liberal democratic governments. The right to privacy is one such liberty.

civil rights: laws proclaiming that minorities, women, or other groups that have been subjected to historical and social prejudices may not be discriminated against by governments, businesses or others in civil society. Civil rights provisions typically ensure the relatively powerless equal access to the ballot box, the use of public accommodations like restaurants and hotels, and equal job opportunities.

civil society: that realm of social life that is relatively autonomous of government. It is composed of many voluntary groups (such as churches, social organizations, labor unions, and the like) and many exchanges among individuals. In most conceptions of civil society, business organizations and market activity are part of civil society. In some conceptions of civil society, families are part of civil society.

citizen (or welfare) rights: the provision of such goods as food, shelter, and medical care to needy members of liberal societies or to all members of socialist societies. While markets provide such goods on the basis of capacity to pay, such societies provide such goods as entitlements. In contrast to natural rights, the contents of these citizen rights are politically determined.

citizen mobilization: In general, this involves getting individuals activated on behalf of some political purpose. While groups, parties, and leaders in democracies often seek greater participation, more authoritarian regimes can seek to rally citizens behind their goals without providing them influence over the goals being pursued. The Nazis stressed that the people must also be activated and directed en masse toward the realization of goals established by the Fuehrer and other elites; rather than providing opportunities for influence, such activation demands loyalty and obedience.

civil disobedience: the public disregard or violation of a law in order to point out its injustice and to promote social change. Such acts are premeditated, done for a limited purpose, carried out non-violently, and known to be illegal. Those who engage in such acts are prepared to accept penalties for violating the unjust law, but believe their defiance can educate the public about its injustice.

civilization: a stage in history when humans in particular territories formed permanent settlements, created a division of labor, designated rulers, established rules, and established systems for collective memory. Various civilizations have evolved such as that of the Western Europeans and North Americans, that of Slavic peoples, that of Arabic and Islamic peoples, that of China, and so forth. Samuel Huntington has suggested that such civilizational identities are basic to political life in the post-cold war era.

classical liberalism: Often called "nineteenth-century liberalism" to distinguish it from contemporary liberalism, this worldview emphasizes individual liberty, free-market or capitalist economies, limited government, and representative democracy.

classes: hierarchical divisions of society based on the possession of social status, wealth, or other such social goods. See social (socio-economic) classes.

classless society: Marx's vision of the post-historical society in which there are no distinguishable socio-economic classes, because the division of labor that establishes such classes will no longer exist. Every person will be free to labor in the creative, non-alienated manner that Marx envisions as the natural, desirable state for human beings.

collective action: when individuals organize to pursue some public good that, if achieved, will benefit all members of the group. Mancur Olson developed an important theory proclaiming a "collective action problem:" because achievement of the public good benefits all group members regardless of their involvement in its achievement, it is rational for them to minimize their involvement hoping others will be "suckers" who absorb the costs of participation.

collectivist Soviet state: the state Joseph Stalin established in 1929 in the Soviet Union in which all industrial property was nationalized, all agricultural activities broad under state ownership and control, and a powerful, centralized bureaucracy controlled the national economy.

colorblind: treating others solely on the basis of what they contribute, without regard to such characteristics as their ethnicity, gender, and so forth. Contemporary conservatives believe that without government intervention or intense social pressure, businesses in their quest for profits will not discriminate against buyers or employees. Accordingly, there is no systematic discrimination with regard to race and ethnicity in a free market economy.

commensurate rights and obligations: a traditional conservative justification for the unequal distribution of rights in a hierarchical society. Those who receive the greatest rights must bear the greatest social and political obligations. Those at the bottom of hierarchy have few rights, but they also have few responsibilities.

common (or communal) good: the most general objective of several public philosophies. Utilitarian liberals conceive this ideal as "the greatest good of the greater number" of individuals in a community. Fascists conceive this ideal in collectivist terms, as that which strengthens the community-as-a-whole. Pluralists conceive this ideal as a relatively small number of interests and ideas shared by diverse groups within a society (who otherwise have divergent interests and ideas).

communal harmony: In contrast to liberals who believe that social stability is achieved when individuals tolerate each other and don't trample each other's rights, socialists believe that social harmony requires a much deeper sense of belonging, concern, and mutuality among the citizens in a community. Fascists seek even deeper communal solidarity where individuals put aside their own interests and abide by the requirements of the larger community.

communism: an ideology emerging in the twentieth century that fomented revolutions in underdeveloped societies such as Russia and China. It justifies state ownership and control of the economy, authoritarian rule by the communist party, and extensive citizen sacrifices as necessary but temporary requirements for creating utopian societies in the future.

communist menace: the danger posed to the western world by communist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Under this slogan, communist expansion and "wars of liberation" were the external threats to the west, but a lack of internal vigilance against communism and communist sympathizers was equally dangerous.

communitarianism: Recent public philosophies that emphasized the community good and citizen responsibilities over individual rights. Much political philosophy during the 1980s and

1990s involved a debate between communitarians and libertarians. This text emphasizes two branches within communitarianism: civil and traditional.

compassionate conservatism: a termed coined by Marvin Olasky and embraced by President George W. Bush as an alternative to the liberal welfare state as a means of helping the poor. It stresses that the affluent have a responsibility to help the poor, not by paying taxes to fund governmental welfare but by helping particular needy people, often by mentoring them so that they can be responsible for themselves and escape their dependence on the welfare system.

confederation: a group of communities or states that forms a larger political unit but which delegates few powers to the larger unit and retains extensive authority at more decentralized levels. In the extreme case, any state that agrees to a compact with other states to form a confederation can veto or nullify an action of the larger unit, thus ensuring that the central (often national) government does not pursue policies adverse to the interests or principles of any sub-unit.

conflict between authority and autonomy: Political authority imposes a duty on citizens to obey governmental commands. Individual autonomy is the right of all persons to use their capacities to reach their own moral judgments. According to anarchists like Robert Paul Wolff, whenever governments command individuals to do something that conflicts with their own moral judgment, their moral capacities require that they disobey government. Anarchists conclude that governmental authority is thus unjustified.

conservationism: an approach to environmental protection that emphasizes the rational management and use of natural resources for human benefit. Wilderness, for example, is to be protected, because it provides enjoyment, employment, and resources for humans.

constitutional democracies: Political systems in which leaders are constrained by constitutional provisions that supersede statutory laws. Such constraints include the requirement that top leaders stand for re (election).

constitutions: the "bylaws" of political communities. They contain general principles specifying the legitimate powers or authority of governments, the institutions that are empowered to make and implement specific laws and policies, and the processes for selecting policy makers and enacting legislation.

constructivism: the idea that political knowledge is socially constructed and disseminated. This epistemological approach emphasizes how ideas are received rather than how they are produced. It suggests that an individual, even creative genius, cannot acquire many ideas that are of political use through one's own reasoning abilities or keen perceptions. It suggests that there must be widespread agreement on an idea for it to have much currency, be useful, or thought to be valid.

contemporary conservatism: a prominent ideology at the end of the twentieth century defined in large part by opposition to communism, democratic socialism, and contemporary liberalism. It believes that strong liberal and socialist governments fail to solve the problems they address and instead create new economic and social problems -- such as economic stagnation, bureaucratic red tape, a loss of individual initiative, and moral decay.

contemporary liberalism: a political outlook that both retains yet modifies the ideals of classical liberalism. It celebrates certain older liberal values such as individual freedom, an expanding economy based largely on private initiatives, and a democratic political system.

However, it departs from the classical liberal principle of limited government by believing that an active, problem-solving government can stimulate economic well-being for all citizens and enhance individual liberty. It also asserts that democratic institutions should represent the diversity of group interests that prevail in modern pluralist societies.

continuous revolution: the revolutionary doctrine that Mao Zedong applied to communist China; it maintained that prolonged political activities of violence, reformation, and social transformation are required to keep people in a continual state of dislocation so that their natures may be reshaped in accordance with the requirements of the post-revolutionary society.

contribution principle: in general, the idea that people should be rewarded in proportion to their contribution to social production. As a particular example, Marx believed that, during the transition from a capitalist to a full communist society, people would have to be rewarded unequally for their unequal labor. But he thought this principle should be maintained only *temporarily*, until material scarcity had been eliminated. At that point, people could attain social goods on the basis of their needs, rather than on the basis of their contributions.

cooperatives: economic organizations that are owned and operated by workers and consumers

corporate liberalism: the idea that, in general, strong liberal governments during the 20th century used their resources to aid and subsidize large economic enterprises and to benefit investors in these enterprises, rather than control such actors in ways that serve the public interest and social justice

corporatism: the Italian fascist unification of broad sectors of the economy into large corporations by means of which the rulers could control and coordinate workers and managers (and the economy as a whole), directing them toward predetermined national goals

cosmopolitanism: In contrast to parochialism, which emphasizes local attachments to people much like oneself, this perspective emphasizes global attachments to diverse people. As a theory of justice, this perspective emphasizes human rights and the obligations of people in affluent societies to assist those in less developed societies.

countervailing powers: the idea that the power of various organizations and institutions in a community are held in check by the power of competing organizations and institutions. If one group becomes overly ambitious and begins to dominate a community, other groups will rise up against it.

creationism: the belief that the version of the creation of the world as presented in the sacred texts of Christian, Jewish, or Moslem believers is accurate literally. It usually rejects contemporary natural-scientific theories of the origins and development of life, such as spontaneous generation and evolution through natural selection.

creative laborers: According to Marx, every human being has the potential to transform and improve nature by working in an imaginative and innovative manner, but current material and economic conditions (capitalism) prevent most people from realizing this potential. Under most prior economic conditions, the vast majority of people have been alienated workers, but according to Marxists, they will become creative workers under socialist arrangements.

Cuban Model: a paradigm for exporting communist revolutionary activity that was first developed by Fidel Castro and Che Guevarra. In contrast to Lenin, it de-emphasizes the role of a

centralist Communist Party and advocates popular insurrection and the use of many small revolutionary cells.

cultural conservatism: a strand within contemporary conservatism that stresses the moral depravity of liberal societies that proclaim their neutrality among competing moral beliefs held by different individuals and among the divergent value systems of various cultural groups within a society; they particularly decry multiculturalism. They stress that a particular moral doctrine proclaimed by the dominant religious group or by traditional cultural values should guide governments and citizens. See social conservatism.

culture of permissiveness: a critical appraisal of western culture in general, and universities in particular, during and after the 1960's by social conservatives. They claim that contemporary liberals (who dominate university life) have destroyed morality and authority by failing to assert an unambiguous standard of the good life and good society.

decentralized: when institutions are organized from the bottom-up rather than from the top-down

deconstruction: a mode of analysis, associated with Jacque Derrida, that criticizes conventional usages of political concepts, such as democracy. Stipulated meanings of concepts, and the operational indicators of these concepts to assess their presence or absence in concrete cases, fail to provide the many broader meanings of these concepts. Such analysts insist that explicit stimulations of meanings exclude important features of how concepts are used in practice. They argue that the meanings of concepts thus vary significantly within texts and across contexts, making stable interpretations of meanings elusive. Deconstructionists would doubt the value of this glossary.

deep greens (or deep ecologists): Positioned to the left of radical greens who believe the environmental problems should be addressed by having pluralist societies privilege ecological values and needs, deep greens doubt that a sustainable environment can be maintained without great, perhaps revolutionary, changes in the capitalist global economy, in governing practices, and in citizen values. They seek public acceptance of a duty to sustain our ecological system and more decentralized living arrangements.

deism: the belief -- common among classical liberals -- that God exists, that He created the universe and the laws governing the universe, and that He no longer interferes with the operation of these natural laws

deliberative democracy: Advocates of deliberative democracy criticize "vote-centric" decision making processes, which imply that outcomes are democratic if the (pre-existing) preferences of participants are tabulated and the most popular position is adopted. Instead, they seek "talk-centric" processes in which minority and marginalized voices are giving opportunities to articulate their concerns, where there are extensive discussions where participants listen sympathetically to others, and where prior preferences are frequently changed to reflect evolving understandings of the common good and justice.

democracy: Democracy is the principle procedural value of pluralist societies, used to characterize open and egalitarian arrangements for selecting political leaders and resolving political issues. It refers to the processes by which leaders of political communities are selected by competitive and fair elections. It refers to processes for resolving political disagreements in which all members of a community are treated as political equals. When democratic processes

exist, all citizens have equal basic political rights and their diverse interests and ideas are given impartial consideration.

democratic capitalism: A term that is synonymous with classical liberalism, it emphasizes the individual freedom that occurs when the economy is structured by the principles of free enterprise and when governments are based on political rights, including the right to vote and to oppose existing policies and regimes.

democratic centralism: This term refers to a set of principles according to which Lenin thought the Communist Party should be organized. The principles called for open debate -- democracy -- but also emphasized the need for subordination to duly constituted authorities within the Party once a decision had been made -- hence centralism.

democratic distemper: a term used by conservatives like Samuel Huntington who have been critical of attempts to expand citizen participation. They argue that such attempts will not succeed at improving political outcomes, will instead produce outcomes responding to the special interests of those who participate, and will thus produce frustration and cynicism among the broader public.

democratic socialism: a prominent twentieth-century ideology that believes that a more egalitarian society can be achieved, not by revolution as Marx specified, but by evolutionary means. Socialists call for citizens to acquire "deeper" understandings than liberalism provides of individuality, equality, democracy, and communal harmony, to elect politicians committed to these values, and for popularly elected socialist governments to then tame the worst aspects of capitalism. See revisionist Marxism.

deontology: the general idea that it is fruitless to try to define the true natures of the universe, societies, or humans. More particularly, many liberals believe that there is no objective knowledge of "the good" or "the good life" other than the subjective understandings of individuals. A deontological approach to political theory attempts to define what people's rights are independently of any conception of what constitutes the good.

dependency theory: a theory of international relations that accounts for many phenomena in the international system by means of Marxists concepts. It suggests that the majority of states suffer underdevelopment as the result of the economic and technological dominance of a few powerful states in the international system. These are controlled by powerful economic elites who use the state apparatuses to their own ends to the detriment of the majority of the world's people.

deregulation: the lessening of governmental control over economic activity. Contemporary conservatives have sought to reduce governmental regulations of business in the belief that such controls strangle economic activity and distort the efficient workings of free markets.

dialectical processes: when competing forces produce a synthesis: an outcome that is an improvement on the prevailing force (the thesis) or its opposite (the antithesis). Historically, such processes involve some original condition or cultural idea being challenged by a completely different alternative, with the contradiction of (or struggle among) these forces resulting in some better conditions and cultural norms. Philosophically, such processes involve an original viewpoint being challenged by an opposing view, with the debate being resolved by attaining better understandings.

dialectical materialism: Marx's term for the historical changes in economic or material conditions of life that lead to class conflicts that, in turn, lead to new social, political, and ideological conditions

dialectical method: a procedure employed by philosophers to examine ideas about how political communities ought to be governed. Such a procedure involves submitting one's ideas to the critical inspection of others.

dictatorship of the proletariat: in Marxist doctrine, a brief period of time after the revolution against capitalism in which the proletariat (the working class) would have to suppress the desire of the bourgeoisie to re-establish capitalism before everyone acceded to universal socialism. Most Marxists stressed that this period would involve democracy within the proletariat, but dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

difference principle: the claim by John Rawls that, in a liberal society, social goods should be distributed equally unless unequal distributions normally advantage the poor and unless all members of society have equal prospects for acquiring greater shares of such goods

differentiated world-system: Communists argue against Marx that capitalism is not a universally uniform economic system throughout the world, but that there are structural variations between capitalist societies that distinguish them from one another and that determine their behavior in the international system in important ways.

direct democracy: arrangements allowing citizens, rather than their representatives, to resolve controversial policy issues, often through public referenda

disciplinary power: According to Michel Foucault and other poststructuralists, a wide array of actors in the professions (like teachers and psychotherapists) and governmental bureaucracies (like social workers and prison wardens) exercise enormous control over populations to redirect unusual behavior toward conventional norms. See poststructuralism.

disciplined Bolshevik Party: According to Lenin, a successful transition to communism required a small, trained group of (middle-class) intellectuals (the highly structured and authoritative Bolshevik Party) who would lead the proletariat through appropriate strategies. This notion implies a degree of human voluntarism in historical affairs not foreseen by Marx.

distributions according to one's deeds or needs: When goods are distributed according to deeds, those who have made the greatest contribution deserve larger shares. When goods are distributed according to needs, one's contributions to the community are overlooked, and goods are distributed to those who most need them. Anarchists maintain that the members of local associations should agree among themselves which of these principles of justice should be adopted. Marxists maintain that distribution according to one's deeds should prevail during the transition to an ideal communist society while distributions according to one's need can occur only when an affluent and classless society has been achieved.

diversity: the presence within a political community of people having a wide variety of differences in interests, ideas, and demographic and social characteristics (e.g., race, ethnicity, religion, social class). Some political perspectives see at least some of these differences as liabilities and problems, while other perspectives see such differences as assets.

dogmatism: an unwillingness to subject one's beliefs to empirical testing or rational criticisms

dominant protective agencies: Libertarians maintain that without governments, individuals would hire agents to protect their rights; indeed, to ensure that they would win any dispute over rights, everyone would hire the strongest agent. Consequently, one protective agency would become dominant in society and its powers should approach that of a government. Libertarians use such reasoning to argue that minimal "night-watchmen" governments -- but only minimal governments -- are necessary.

economic and social indicators: periodic measurements of various aspects of the state of the economy (such as the levels of unemployment and inflation) and of such social and environmental problems as the crime rate and levels of air pollution.

economic determinism: Also called "historical materialism," orthodox Marxists attribute this doctrine to Marx. It claims that the ultimate realities in human life, and the basic causes of change and conflict, are not intellectual or spiritual, but economic and material, and that they are essentially beyond intentional human control.

egalitarian ethic: the belief held by adherents to many liberal and left-wing perspectives that while justice does not require a strict equality of social goods, it does entail recognition that all people deserve many goods that are only available to the few and that the needs of everyone are equally important

egalitarian liberalism: a strand within contemporary liberalism, especially associated with John Rawls, that regards a more equal distribution of social goods as an essential component of a well-ordered society

egalitarian society: a community whose citizens are committed to the idea of intrinsic equality among themselves, who question the legitimacy of existing inequalities, and who seek to redress unjustified inequalities

Electoral College system: the method of choosing the American President. Rather than simply basing results on the winner of the popular vote, this complex method currently involves voters actually casting ballots for "electors" who are pledged to candidates, a "winner-take-all" system in most states (in which the candidate receiving the most popular votes within a state gets all the electors provided to the state), and the candidate receiving a majority of electors in the College winning the election. If no candidate gathers a majority of electoral votes, the selection of the President passes to the House of Representatives.

elite theorists: a prominent school of Italian social scientists at the beginning of the twentieth century who were very critical of democratic rule and advocated the rule of political or economic elites. Contemporary elite theorists usually believe that democratic procedures mask elite domination in contemporary societies, but they do not advocate such elite rule.

elitism: the belief that political power is, or should be, concentrated in the hands of a few most-qualified leaders and that ordinary citizens are, or should be, without significant political power. Some ideologies -- like democratic socialism -- make the empirical claim that power is concentrated among a few elites while stressing the normative claim that such concentration of power should be eliminated. Other ideologies -- like fascism -- make the empirical claims that concentration of power is widespread and perhaps an inevitable feature of all social groups while also making the normative claim that the resulting leadership is good for society and human progress.

eminent domain: the capacity of governments to take private property under certain conditions such as to provide necessary public facilities or to serve some important public good, as long as the property-owner is adequately compensated

empirical theory: generalized descriptions and explanations of politics as it in fact occurs. Empirical theory focuses on actual political behavior and events rather than making claims about more ideal conditions.

end-of-history thesis: the Hegelian claim –recently made by Francis Fukuyama -- that ideological conflict is ending, because democratic capitalism is everywhere emerging triumphant at the end of the twentieth century. According to this thesis, the big questions about politics have been settled and there can be no further significant historical evolution in political thinking.

end-of-ideology thesis: the claim that ideological conflict is ending. The claim was first made at the end of the 1950's to suggest that both right-wing and left-wing ideologies were moving toward the center, and that a broad consensus on big political issues could be reached.

enlightened self-interest: the idea that individuals should not simply maximize immediate personal and sensual pleasure but rather should maximize their higher (intellectual and spiritual) pleasures over the course of a lifetime in a society where other individuals are likewise satisfied

Enlightenment: an intellectual movement during the eighteenth century in Europe that sought to free humans from ignorance and superstition and to develop understandings of the universe, society, and humans based on science and reason

Enlightenment rationality: While the ancients thought people capable of "right reason" when they could know the objective contents of a good life, the modern view that emerged in the Enlightenment was that there was no objective conception of the good life. Each individual could only have a subjective conception of the good life for himself or herself, and that reason consisted in knowing effective means to attaining one's own ends.

entitlement theory: the libertarian idea that unequal distributions of wealth are fair if they arise from processes of production and exchange that violate no one's rights. Libertarians acknowledge that freedom to produce and exchange goods often results in unequal distributions that reflect neither desert nor need, but that such unpatterned distributions are not thereby unjust, because they are the result of freedom.

entitlements: the provisions in liberal and socialist societies of certain essential goods and services to all members of society, regardless of their ability to pay. When governments make laws calling for such provisions, citizens who qualify for these benefits have citizen or welfare rights to them.

environmentalism: a strand within contemporary liberalism claiming that humans must stop treating the natural environment, including other animals, as resources whose value depends solely on their use to humans. It calls for a deeper appreciation of ecological systems and diversity, and for restraining the pursuit of economic growth in order to attain a healthier environment. Environmentalists share with conservationists the desire to conserve natural resources, but they uncomfortable with the utilitarian view of conservationists who want to protect and manage nature only for further human use. Nevertheless, liberal environmentalists are more willing to compromise ecological values than are radical and deep greens.

epistemology: the branch of philosophy dealing with the nature and origins of knowledge

equal liberty principle: the claim (especially by John Rawls) that all members of liberal society are guaranteed equal political liberties, liberties of conscience, property rights, and legal rights

equal opportunity: an important principle of liberal societies in which access to prized positions and greater resources is equally open to all. See formal and fair equal opportunity for alternative interpretations of this principle.

equality of being: the belief, perhaps most stressed by socialists, that beyond the many differences in individual capacities and interests, all humans are fundamentally equal in the sense that everyone's life, liberty and happiness are equally important. See also intrinsic equality.

equality of condition: In the public imagination, this concept refers to a situation in which everyone has equal amounts of education, wealth, power, and other social goods; in some fantasies, efforts would be made to eradicate even natural inequalities. When socialists speak of equality of conditions, they usually envision something much less equal than this, but something more equal than what presently exists.

established religion: a religion that is endorsed and supported by the state. Traditional conservatives supported the establishment of particular churches, because they provided moral authority for society. Most classical liberals have attacked established religions as enemies of the freedom of conscience and of religious toleration. See also theocracies.

ethic of care: In most contemporary liberal discussions of justice, it is assumed that the most sophisticated and mature understandings of justice are built on abstract rules. Some feminists have questioned the idea that abstract justice is superior to concrete and particular thinking about justice, which they call "an ethic of care." They argue that many women have learned to respond to concrete, particularistic cases of need, rather than on abstract rules, and that caring dispositions and actions should complement or replace more abstract notions of justice.

ethical pluralists: moral philosophers who believe people should strive to live a good life and treat others fairly, but who believe there are many reasonable moral systems. They stress that there are many values to be sought by moral actors, but that these values often conflict with one another and that there is no objective ranking of values that can produce a single conception of the good life.

ethnographic studies: a research strategy that involves field work and qualitative descriptions and interpretations of human activity; such strategies are usually contrasted with more positivist and quantitative approaches. Historically, ethnography focused on the study of ethnically distinct groups. During the nineteenth century, such studies attempted to explain certain behaviors of such groups on the basis of their physiological characteristics or the environments in which they live, often employing questionable biological assumptions about racial characteristics.

evolution: when historically significant change comes about slowly through many small steps. Darwinian theory argues that the present characteristics of humans are the result of such a process. Democratic socialists argue that the achievement of a socialist society cannot occur by means of a quick and violent revolution, but must be the result of a long march involving many small evolutionary changes.

executive-centered and bureaucratic government: the idea that strong governmental executives and expanded governmental administrative agencies are necessary to solve social problems

exploitation: not receiving the full value of one's labor. See surplus value for a Marxist conception.

externalities: the effects on third parties or the public as a whole that sometimes arise from the transactions between two parties in a free market. Because such effects are often harmful, liberals emphasize that governments should regulate such actions as cutting costs by polluting the environment.

extremism: any political perspective that rejects the basic principles and processes of pluralist public philosophy and thus seeks massive changes in how pluralist societies are currently structured and operate

Fabians: British intellectuals who organized in 1884 to educate the public about the desirability of moving slowly away from capitalism and toward democratic socialism.

fair equal opportunity: a condition that would exist if governments compensated those having undeserved social disadvantages (like being raised in poverty) or deficiencies in natural talents (such as being less intelligent) so that they could compete for desired positions on a more equal basis with those having undeserved social and natural advantages

fascism: an ideology most clearly articulated by the Fascist Party in Italy under Mussolini between 1920 and 1945. It emphasized an extreme form of nationalism, calling for a totalitarian state to control all aspects of social and individual life in order to achieve state goals and demanding the complete obedience of citizens to the dictates of an authoritative central leader.

fascist conception of liberty: In contrast to liberalism, fascism holds that the freedom of the individual is found in compliance with the will of state authority, giving freedom to the state to act on behalf of the whole.

federalism: a method of dividing and limiting governmental authority by granting certain governmental powers to national governments, other governmental powers to state or provincial governments, and still other governmental powers to local governments

felicific calculus: the utilitarian method calling for governments to estimate the net happiness (pleasure minus pain) that accrues to each individual because of existing laws and that would accrue to each individual under proposed changes, to aggregate these utilities, and thus to determine whether proposed reforms would increase or reduce "the greatest good for the greatest number."

feminism: an outlook deploring the dominance of men and under-representation of women in public life. While all feminists call for women to have "equal rights" with men, more radical feminists call for eliminating many social and economic practices that they believe contribute to male domination in both the public and private aspects of life.

feminist epistemology: Some feminist scholars argue that existing theories of knowledge and ways of knowing – epistemologies -- are too rigid in category construction and too narrow in defining what is authentic. They argue that other ways of understanding the world are

necessary in order to include the insights and voices of those marginalized by previous social thought developed largely by men.

feudal society: a social order that involved the legal domination of peasants by nobles who owned and controlled large manors. During the middle ages, Western Europe contained feudal arrangements that gave way to more capitalist structures in the modern period. Eastern Europe, Japan, and other countries are often regarded as having feudal arrangements until fairly recently.

Final Solution: a term for the Nazi policy of killing all the Jews, Gypsies, and other "undesirable" races of the world, beginning in Europe, as a way of resolving the mortal conflict between these races on the one hand and the Aryan race on the other

finance capitalism: According to Lenin, this stage of capitalism historically followed the industrial capitalism that Karl Marx had analyzed. Under this new form of capitalism, large banks and other financial institutions lent capital to corporations. They make capitalists increasingly dependent on such loans, until these lending institutions actually come to control the corporations to which they have been lending. This concentration of power and wealth eventual leads the financiers and banks to look for new venues in which to invest their capital. One such location is the industrially underdeveloped colonies of imperialist nations.

fiscal policies: an approach developed by contemporary liberals such as John Maynard Keyes to address the problems associated with business cycles. To reduce unemployment, governments should increase spending and cut taxes. To reduce inflation, governments should cut spending and increase taxes.

forces of production: in Marxist theory, the way in which activities of production are socially organized and the materials and technologies that are used in such activities

formal equal opportunity: a condition that exists when laws prohibit discrimination against people on the basis of their race, gender, or other social characteristics

French Revolution: an upheaval that began in France in 1789 that set out to abolish aristocratic and clerical privileges and limit the power of the monarchy. For the most part, it was based on liberal and democratic principles, although some radical ideas were pursued. Few lasting reforms were achieved, as the revolution was marked by terror and bloodshed, and led to Napoleonic domination in 1799. In large part, the principles of traditional conservative were given clear expression by Edmund Burke in opposition to it.

friends of pluralism: contemporary liberals, contemporary conservatives, and those radical perspectives (both to the left and right of mainstream liberals and conservatives) who are allegiant to the basic ideals of pluralist democracy. The areas of agreement among these "friends" define pluralist public philosophy. The friends of pluralism seek to resolve their substantial differences using the processes and institutions that pluralists accept.

Fuehrerprinzip: the Nazi doctrines that the national leader (Fuehrer) should have unlimited authority and that his immediate subordinates speak for him and command the obedience that the Fuehrer himself requires

fundamentalism: any outlook by devout believers in a religious doctrine that proclaims that the will of God or Allah or Yahweh is plainly revealed in sacred texts. It rejects those secular

ideologies that ignore divine truth and calls on humans to submit to God's will. See Christian fundamentalism and Islamic fundamentalism.

futility thesis: Contemporary conservatives believe that many liberal reforms are attempts to modify outcomes that cannot be changed. They view many liberal attempts to reduce income inequality, for example, as futile, because inequality is natural and unavoidable.

Gaia: the ancient Greek term for the goddess "Mother Earth" that greens use to remind us that the earth is a living planet. James Lovelock has tried to illustrate how the earth has self-regulating capacities that promote the conditions for life, which makes it a quasi-living being.

German romanticism: Romanticism was a nineteenth-century European philosophical movement that emphasized the emotional, intuitive, and irrational forces of human life in reaction to what it saw as the excessive rationalism, positivism, scientism, and utilitarianism of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. Its Germanic form often took on nationalist or even racist connotations.

***glasnost*:** a period of political openness and transparency introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s, prior to the fall Soviet Communism

Gleichschaltung: the Nazi policy of using the state to synchronize all private, social, and political institutions or activities for the purpose of fulfilling Nazi goals most effectively and efficiently

global neoliberalism: Sometimes called "globalism," this is a perspective that applauds the present emphasis on globalization and pursues policies to spread up or at least sustain globalization. This perspective generally applauds reducing controls on global economic markets and restrictions on the movement of goods, capital, and labor across national boundaries. It applauds policies by national governments that make national economies more open to global forces and make national environments more alluring to mobile global capital.

globalization: processes of increasing economic, cultural, and political interaction and interdependence among peoples throughout the world

grassroots democracy: extensive citizen participation and influence in "institutions of daily life" such as schools, civic groups, religious organizations, neighborhoods, and families

Great Chain of Being: a conception of a hierarchical universe in which all things are linked ultimately to God. The hierarchy descends from God to angels, to humans, to beasts, to flora, to microcosms, etc. This conception was widely held during the Middle Ages through the early nineteenth century. Traditional conservatives pointed to this hierarchy as evidence that society should also be arranged hierarchically.

"great conversation": a metaphor for the kinds of analyses that take place in political philosophy. In this metaphor each viewpoint on an a big issue is presented, and these viewpoints are then criticized, defended, debated and modified at great length and in great depth. The object of such analyses is to come to agreement – or as much agreement as possible - about major and enduring philosophical or political questions. In the metaphor, these exchanges are conversational; in philosophical practice they occur largely through books and articles.

Great Society: the programs of President Lyndon Johnson during the 1965-1968 period that emphasized the reduction of poverty and the transformation of distressed environments, especially in American cities

greens: radical environmentalists who give ecological concerns (e.g., protecting endangered species and addressing global warming) priority over such other political concerns as economic development. They seek such objectives by working within pluralist arrangements, including by forming Green political parties to educate voters about the importance of their concerns and to elect officials holding their views.

group rights: special rights granted to particular groups. One kind of group right that is often sought enables small and endangered cultural groups (such as Native American tribes and traditional religious sects) to have the capacity to control their members who might otherwise be tempted to leave the group and become part of the dominant culture. Another kind of group right provides marginalized and oppressed groups special benefits (such as preferential treatment in job opportunities or privileged representation on the policymaking making bodies of the larger society) to ensure their more equal treatment.

guardianship: the claim that communities are best ruled by the most capable and virtuous persons in the community and that such leaders should be selected by those who are already members of the most qualified guardian class. When guardianship principles persist, political leaders are not accountable to ordinary citizens, who are deemed unqualified to judge their performance.

guerrilla warfare: a type of rural, populace-based military strategy whose basic doctrines were first developed by Mao Zedong during the Chinese Civil War between 1929-1949. Such a strategy stressed surprise attacks on the enemy at its weakest point and attaining the sympathies of civilian populations where guerrilla operations were conducted. It has subsequently been emulated by revolutionaries elsewhere.

guest worker programs: policies that permit employers to sponsor non-citizens (aliens) as laborers for a limited period of time, with the provision that they will be deported afterwards if they have not yet obtained landed immigrant, permanent resident, or citizenship status from the government

hegemony: when some group rules not by force, but through a widely proliferated ideology that legitimizes its rule through processes of education, socialization, and mass communication in a variety of institutions, thereby undermining resistance to the ruling group. In communist theory, Antonio Gramsci emphasized that the bourgeoisie ruled over the proletariat by this process, bringing into question Marx's notion that a revolution against capitalism was inevitable.

historicism: in Marxist theory, the claim that history is comprised of major events that mark the beginnings and endings of successive historical stages. These events are strongly influenced by material conditions and processes that are beyond intentional human control.

holistic approach: Greens favor this way of understanding the environment, which emphasizes the interconnections in ecosystems and appreciates how the whole of the ecological picture must be understood. This approach is contrasted by greens with what they see as the limited linear approach of modern science.

Holocaust: This term generally refers to an extensive destruction of life, especially by fire. Capitalized, it refers specifically to the Nazi "Final Solution" to the race struggle between Jews and Aryans, namely the murder of several million European Jews between 1938 and 1945.

holy war: Religious fundamentalists sometimes assert that they must engage in wars and use violence to cleanse the world of evil and to return communities to the correct moral path. Religious leaders can sanction and give legitimacy to such conflicts – called *jihad* by Islamic fundamentalists. The faithful who are killed are considered martyrs.

***homo civicus and homo politicus*:** According to Robert Dahl, this is the most basic stratification system within democratic societies. *Homo civicus* refers to those ordinary people who take little interest in politics, have little information about it, have no broad intellectual framework (such as an ideology) for comprehending political life, and choose to participate only when their primary interests are at stake in political issues. In contrast, *homo politicus* refers to those few people who are deeply engaged in politics, develop sophisticated political perspectives, seek extensive knowledge about political issues, and often choose careers in politics and government. Dahl claims that while *homo politicus* has disproportionate direct influence on political outcomes, *homo civicus* is not without some indirect influence.

homocentric perspective: a view of nature as something that is valuable only in its use for humans. This perspective is held by mere "conservationists" and is criticized by environmentalists who argue that it is the dominant outlook in industrialized nations.

human imperfection: Contemporary conservatives often point to human vices and shortcomings as a source of many of the problems that liberals try to solve with "socially engineered" changes. Recognition of such human imperfection should lead one to be more skeptical and careful about the possibilities of reforms.

human malleability: the belief that fundamental human characteristics and motivations are not fixed by some biological or natural human essence but, rather, change as environmental conditions change. According to this doctrine, which is prominent among most left-wing ideologies including anarchism and Marxism, such frailties as selfishness and laziness are a result of living under repressive conditions rather than being enduring human traits.

human rights: a conception of rights that has developed after World War II stressing that some specifiable basic liberties and entitlements should be equally available to all humans. Human reason and conscience are said to be the bases of such rights. While often considered synonymous with natural rights, human rights can be seen as less evident in nature and more the result of human agreement. While natural rights are mostly freedoms from governments, human rights often require governmental action to ensure their provision. While some human rights are sustained by international treaties, other declarations of humans rights proclaim what ought to exist, rather than that which is currently provided.

identity: an enduring aspect of an individual's personality, sometimes unique and sometimes connected with being part of a broader (identity) group, such as people having a certain ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. Failure to recognize such features of people and/or depriving people of status and opportunities due to such features can both be regarded as political injustices.

identity politics: the demand and mobilization of people having similar identities to be recognized and according equal respect. Such movements are normally organized around race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, rather than around class. Thus identity politics is sometimes called "the politics of recognition" and is distinguished from class politics, which involves the struggle for a more favorable distribution of social goods like wealth, education, and power.

ideology: an interrelated set of political ideas comprising a comprehensive political worldview or perspective. The logically connected ideas within such worldviews provide descriptions and explanations about political life and prescriptions for how political communities should be structured and perform in the near future. The ideas within these worldviews often have deep philosophical foundations and are expressed as abstract generalizations, but these ideas nevertheless provide a basis for understanding and evaluating concrete political events and conditions and for acting in the everyday world of politics. Because the ideas of ideologies usually serve the purposes of certain interests within society, their validity is problematic.

ideologue: This term has at least three important distinct meanings: (a) A group of French philosophers who were most active between 1795 and 1815, who sought to develop a "science of ideas," and who coined the term "ideology." The Ideologues sought to reveal the biases and inadequacies of traditional ideas and replace these ideas with the new, "more rational" ideas that became known as classical liberalism. (b) Philip Converse and other students of citizen belief-systems use this term for those few people who have the most sophisticated intellectual understanding of politics, because they understand and effectively apply abstract concepts drawn from ideologies. (c) Contemporary political theorists use this term for those who bring unshakable political beliefs to debates and the resolution of issues and who resist more sophisticated and accurate understandings.

immanent critiques: a type of political evaluation in which the actual practices of a community are investigated to see if they live up to he ideals that people claim to hold and seek

immiseration of the proletariat: Marx's prediction that capitalist competition and economic cycles would cause extensive downward economic mobility as unsuccessful capitalists would fall into lower classes and workers would become unemployed and impoverished. This process would lead people to question the desirability of capitalism, and this questioning would eventually lead them to revolt and transform the system into a socialist society.

imperial presidency: Scholars of the executive branch have developed this term to describe twentieth-century U.S. presidents who have sought and attained substantial power while limiting the power of those in other branches of government.

imperialism: the nineteenth-century practice of various European powers of colonizing less technologically and politically developed territories in Africa and Asia for purposes of economic exploitation. Lenin saw this practice as a means of extending the life of capitalism, which, he thought, would otherwise have already been doomed by its internal contradictions.

incommensurable values: when competing political goals like economical growth and economic equality have no common standard enabling an objective decision as to which to pursue

incremental changes: making many small adjustments in programs and policies over time. Liberals believe that such changes can eventually result in extensive and desirable progress.

independent judiciaries: court systems that adjudicate conflicts without interference from the legislature or executive

individualist image of society: the classical liberal view that societies are simply associations of individuals -- they have no emergent properties beyond those of the individuals that comprise them. Liberals proposed this "weak" conception of society to deflate traditional conservative claims that social requirements are more important than individual rights.

industrial capitalism: According to Lenin, this was the form of capitalism that Karl Marx studied, in which market competition led increasingly to monopolies, as corporations were either destroyed or merged with their competitors.

inerrancy: theologically, the doctrine that the sacred text of a religion is divinely inspired and is without error

infrastructure: In general, this term refers to large-scale public investments in physical resources - such as streets, sewage removal and treatment, and the provision of clean water- that are needed for community life and economic development. Some also use this term to refer to public investments in human resources, like public schools and health systems. Marx used the term to refer to the various material, economic conditions of a particular historical era (the means and modes of production).

instructed delegation: the principle that representatives to legislative assemblies should vote according to the predominant preferences of their constituents

instrumental reason: While ancient political theorists emphasized the capacity of humans to know "the good," classical liberals claim that "the good" is a matter of subjective preference, and that human reason consists not in knowledge of the good itself, but in the means by which subjective understandings of the good can be attained.

interest-group liberalism: a term usually applied pejoratively to contemporary liberalism, to emphasize that its large governments tend to respond positively to the demands of most groups – ranging from corporations to minority groups and welfare-rights groups – at the expense of the common good and justice. Early orthodox pluralist theory was also sometimes seen as closely linked to interest-group liberalism, but such pluralists did not regard negatively the accommodation of various groups through negotiation and compromise.

international free markets: a global economy to be achieved by the removal of trade and tariff barriers among all nations. Classical liberals, global neoliberals, and many contemporary conservatives argue that such an arrangement will promote economic growth throughout the world and reduce hostilities among countries.

International Monetary Fund: The IMF is an international organization that oversees the global financial system by tending to exchange rates and balance of payments, as well as offering financial and technical assistance.

intrinsic equality: the idea, perhaps most stressed by liberals, that despite obvious differences in human values and capacities, the life of each person is equally valuable and should be treated with equal respect. See also equality of being.

intuitionism: A philosophical doctrine opposing scientism and positivism, it claims that we can know more about reality than the mere surface phenomena with which science is concerned. To grasp the "real" world behind the appearances that science studies, we must employ intuition -- the emotional and spiritual dimensions of human experience.

invisible hand: This term is invoked when the pursuit of self-interest results in the common good, due to certain non-obvious natural or social laws. Adam Smith famously claimed that when people pursue their own interests in a free market, the community as a whole benefits, because the laws of the market encourage investors and workers to produce the goods that consumers want in order to profit.

Islamic fundamentalism: an extremist strand within the broader Muslim community that emphasizes the need for a theocracy (a state governed by religious leaders who implement Allah's will and Islamic laws – the *sharia*) and that regards non-secular rulers and influences on their community as corrupt. Its adherents believe that Allah has authorized them to engage in *jihad*, or holy war, against such corrupt forces in order to return righteousness to the community. See political Islam.

jeopardy thesis: Contemporary conservatives believe that too often liberal reformers try to expand on the limited success of previous reforms and that these expanded programs and policies undermine the gains that had been achieved.

Jihad: holy war or struggle against the unrighteous. This can refer to the struggle internal within each seeker of Allah to avoid temptation and submit completely to Allah's will. But it can also refer to the political and military struggle to cast out the infidels who rule or pollute the community; according to this more militant interpretation, righteous Muslims are justified in using violence against and killing infidels.

judicial activism: the contemporary liberal idea that judges should interpret vague and abstract constitutional language in ways that expand the rights of disadvantaged citizens and the powers of government to address social and economic problems

juridical democracy: policy-making processes that are more consistent with constitutional requirements. In particular, Theodore Lowi has called for legislatures to write clear and specific laws rather than passing value bills directing administrative agencies to solve particular problems.

justice: when governments treat citizens rightly and allocate (or oversee the allocation of) social goods fairly. Issues of political justice concern what constitutes right treatment and fair distribution.

kleptocracies: governments having prevalent corruption, such as where officials demand bribes for services

labor theory of value: John Locke's argument that the value of property comes largely from the labor that people put into it. Classical liberals and libertarians used this argument to claim that labor creates property rights.

***laissez-faire, laissez-passer*:** Translated as "let it alone, leave it be," this became a slogan by classical liberals calling for an unregulated economy.

land ethic: a term coined by Aldo Leopold and endorsed by deep greens that claims that humans have a responsibility to preserve all of nature – other species, water, air, and soil. Such a responsibility means that humans would not put human interests ahead of their duty to preserve nature.

laws of supply and demand: the most general principles upon which free markets operate. As the supply of a good or service increases, the price that must be paid to secure it decreases. As the demand for a good or service increases, the price that must be paid to secure it increases. The laws of supply and demand encourage people to move their resources into those areas where there are opportunities to earn profits, because there is greater demand for goods than there is supply of them.

legislative oversight: the practice of having legislators and their staffs evaluate the legality, effectiveness, and fairness of bureaucratic programs and activities

legitimacy: when the activities of a government are regarded as justified, because they are based on the consent of the governed, are consistent with constitutional provisions, and/or are widely regarded as morally necessary

liberal conception of liberty: the ideas that each person should choose and pursue their self-defined conception of a good life and that the state should constrain self-chosen acts only when required to prevent harm to others

liberal feminism: an outlook that accepts liberal values, practices, and institutions, but claims that women have been unfairly excluded from public life. Proponents seek reforms that will make women equal citizens in liberal societies.

liberal science of politics: the belief of early liberals like John Locke that deductions from indubitable assumptions about humans and societies could yield clear political principles giving individuals specific rights and liberties and limiting government authority to securing these rights. See the Cartesian method.

liberation theology: a movement among Roman Catholic theologians that emerged in Latin America during the 1950s and remains influential in many less developed countries. It expresses the traditional Christian concern for the poor and disenfranchised in recognizably Marxist terms, and advocates political (and sometimes revolutionary) action on their behalf.

libertarianism: a contemporary anti-statist viewpoint that draws heavily on classical liberalism. Libertarians seek extensive economic and social freedoms for individuals, an unregulated free market, and the de-criminalization of individual behaviors that offend dominant moral sensibilities but do not cause significant injuries to others.

limited government: the idea that governments should perform only a small number of functions, mostly to provide security for their citizens. When people call for limited government, they usually object to governmental regulations on economic activity and governmental redistribution of wealth.

macro-level planning: a contemporary liberal approach to addressing problems. Rather than micro-managing the economy or individual behavior, liberals create a broad framework of incentives and disincentives to induce organizations and individuals to act in ways that reduce problems and produce desired outcomes.

majority rule: Strictly speaking, this democratic criterion proclaims that to be selected, an alternative (among candidates for leadership positions or among policy choices) must receive 50% plus one of all votes cast. However, many people use the term loosely (and inappropriately) to claim that when there are more than two alternatives, the most popular outcome (a mere plurality) should be the outcome selected and pursued. Public choice theorists point out that political issues usually involve more than two alternatives, and thus simple majority rule is seldom a sufficient decisional rule for democracies.

man as a maximizer of utilities: the assumption of classical liberals that humans are self-interested, seeking to maximize personal pleasure and minimize personal pain

Manichean morality: the belief that some people (usually those of a particular race, ethnicity, or religion) are good, while others (not having the favored characteristic) are bad

marginalized groups: an identity group (like African-Americans, women, or gays) whose members are (1) disadvantaged in terms of social or natural resources, (2) exploited, (3) subject to negative stereotypes, (4) harassed physically and emotionally by others, and/or (5) provided unequal opportunities to participate or be represented in politics

market failures: various economic problems -- such as an inadequate supply of public goods and business cycles -- that can arise from an unregulated free market system. See, for example, externalilties.

market justice: the idea that the unimpeded workings of the free market reward people on the basis of their contribution to the supply of demanded goods and services, and that the earnings that people receive in a free market are therefore fair

market socialism: an economy containing a mix of publicly-owned and privately-owned businesses. It provides workers and the public exercise significant control over business decisions, while also allowing market forces to greatly influence such things as the goods that are produced, the prices of these goods, and the wages of employees.

market-like incentives: economic motivations that can be administratively developed to encourage individuals and businesses to engage in behavior that they normally would avoid. Contemporary conservatives have endorsed market-like incentives to replace the government rules and regulations that they see as too costly.

Marxism: the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and their followers that have been interpreted both as (1) a science predicting an inevitable downfall of capitalism and the subsequent emergence of a communist society and as (2) an ideology protesting capitalism and other liberal ideas, institutions, and practices

mass society: a community that is without a vibrant civil society in which people find meaning and purpose in their families and voluntary associations and have extensive trust for one another. In such a society, individuals are likely to identify almost completely with the broader political community or nation and be easily controlled by its political leaders. Nazi Germany is regarded as a prototypical mass society.

mass mobilization: the activation of citizens of a mass society by its leaders on behalf of their goals. See citizen mobilization.

means of production: in Marxist theory, the physical materials and technologies that human beings use to produce material things. Marx focused on changes in these factors, and the impact of these changes on social, cultural, and political factors.

mediating institutions: churches, schools, business and labor organizations, and other voluntary associations that form an intermediate realm of life between the privacy of the individual and authority of government

meritocracy: a community or organization that chooses leaders solely on the basis of some "objective" measures of ability, such as their score on a qualifying examination

metaphor of a delicate watch: Classical liberals developed this metaphor to describe society, and especially the workings of the economy. Contemporary conservatives now seem to assume that this metaphor characterizes a well-order society, because they emphasize that cultural norms should change slowly like an hour hand, that economic markets can produce rapid changes like a second hand, and that governments can introduce "minute" changes only when consistent with cultural values and when sensitive to the complex interactions of the marketplace.

metaphor of the ship of state: a classical liberal symbol regarding the governance of society. The term "ship" implies that government and society are made by man and not by God. It also implies that society could steadily progress toward some destination, that the "passengers" (the citizens) should decide this destination, and that "the captain" (qualified officials) should decide the best means of getting there.

mid-range theories: generalizations that focus on one (or, at most, a few) important political idea(s), but that are not part of a comprehensive political worldview

military-industrial complex. The MIC is the most famous of various "sub-governments" that emerge in pluralist societies that are governed largely by actors deeply involved in their particular missions (providing national security or conducting war, in the case of the MIC), with minimal oversight by the larger branches of government or the public. The MIC was first identified by President Eisenhower and is said to be governed by generals and other high-ranking officials in the armed forces, by industrialists who benefit from military contracts, and by congressmen from districts with military installations.

minimal state: a government whose powers are limited to providing inhabitants security from criminals and foreign invasion. Robert Nozick also calls this government a "nightwatchman state."

mixed economy: an economy that is largely privately-owned and operates according to free market forces, but where governments augment, stimulate, and regulate the activities of investors, workers, and consumers

modes of appropriation: In Marxist theory, a description of who owns what and the basis for ownership

modes of exchange: In Marxist theory, a term that refers to the social mechanisms that determine how goods are transferred among people and classes

modes of production: In Marxist theory, the ways in which the activities of producing material things are socially and politically organized. Such organizations may include households, factories, guilds, labor unions, business corporations, and the like. This term may also include more subtle forms of tacit organization and discipline within these social structures.

monism: a political philosophy that is the antithesis of pluralism. Such outlooks stress the unity of people's ideas and interests. Such outlooks also claim that, independent of and prior to any democratic process, there are some known truths about how to organize people to achieve such unity.

monkeywrenching: subversive actions by deep greens against ecological degradation. It targets machinery and other physical infrastructure for destruction, but seeks to avoid harming

humans. Opponents of monkeywrenching claim it is simply vandalism against developers, but deep greens consider it to be ethical action to protect nature from thoughtless exploitation.

moral autonomy: the right of individuals to make rational and ethical judgments about their conduct and their relations with others. Liberals stress moral autonomy in regards to the pursuit of one's own conception of the good life, as long as one does not harm others. Anarchists stress moral autonomy even in one's relationships with others, as individuals must decide for themselves what constitutes the moral treatment of others.

moral hazards: the danger that government programs can produce the very consequences they were supposed to prevent. For example, a generous welfare program may discourage work habits and encourage people to seek and to stay on welfare benefits, thus prolonging their poverty and dependence on others.

multiculturalism: an approach to social processes generally and to American education in particular that focuses on the diversity and richness of cultures. Contemporary liberals generally support this approach, because they believe it teaches respect and tolerance for cultural differences. Many contemporary conservatives reject this approach because they view it as undermining adherence to traditional social norms and unpatriotic.

multiple citizenships: the socialist understanding that people are simultaneously members of many "political" communities encompassing not only the nation state, but also business enterprises, labor unions, neighborhoods, and ethnic groups. In contrast to liberals, socialists regard such "non-state citizenships" as part of one's public life and these citizenships extend one's political obligations.

multiple identities: the pluralist understanding that people can and should simultaneously identify with political communities at many levels ranging from global society to their local neighborhoods while also having identities based on their being part of identity groups (defined by ethnicity, race, religion, gender, sexuality and so forth) and their belonging to voluntary associations

mutual aid: a biological urge present in all humans to help other humans in need or distress. Anarchists believe that all humans have both egoistic and social instincts, but that the social instinct involving the inclination to help each other can be suppressed by repressive institutions like governments and by competitive arrangements like capitalism.

mutualism: social relations based on voluntary, mutually agreeable, and mutually beneficial agreements among the parties involved. Anarchists believe that all coercive relationships are bad and that only those based on mutualism are good.

national protectionists: a radical right perspective that opposes many aspects of globalization, especially liberal immigration policies and free trade agreements that threaten industries and workers long shielded from global competition

national solidarity: the Nazi and fascist policy of ending all competition between classes and individuals within a state for the purpose of consolidating, preserving, and expanding state power against other states. See communal harmony, for a related but often distinct concept.

nationalism: (1) efforts to enhance a national identity among diverse peoples having other identifications;

(2) the fervent belief among a group of people having similar ethic, cultural, linguistic, and/or historical backgrounds that they are entitled to form an independent political community

nationalization of industry: the process by which communist and socialist governments acquire ownership and control of industries that have been previously owned by private persons. Forceful confiscation was central to this process under communism, but the limited nationalizations undertaken by socialists operating within pluralist norms have provided compensation to those whose property is brought under state ownership.

nationalized enterprises: state owned and controlled businesses

natural aristocracy: the views of traditional conservatives that society is inherently hierarchical, that some members of society are born with special talents to fulfill leadership roles, and that such roles come with much greater power, privileges, and responsibilities than others

natural communities: associations among individuals based on bilateral face-to-face agreements and understandings and on genuine mutual respect and support. Anarchists regard such communities as reconciling people's desire for freedom with their need for social order.

natural law: a moral precept that is claimed to be universal, whose contents are evident in nature or by reason

natural rights: the idea that nature bestows on each individual ownership of his own life and that each person is thus entitled to pursue his own understanding of happiness using the resources (mind and body) that nature has bestowed upon him. Classical liberals argue that the natural entitlements of life, liberty, and the fruits of one's own labor cannot be curtailed by government except to secure similar rights for other individuals.

Nazism: an ideology most clearly articulated by the German National Socialist Party under Adolf Hitler between 1920 and 1945. It proclaimed the racial superiority of "the Aryan race," sought to create a greater Germany composed of such people, and pursued this goal through policies of military domination and genocide -- particularly of the Jewish people.

negative liberty: the type of freedom that a person has when she is left alone and is unrestrained by government. Classical liberals emphasized the importance of this type of freedom.

neoconservatism: a strand within contemporary conservatism that stresses the domestic policy failures of liberal and socialist policies, supports global capitalism, and vigorously pursues overseas both American interests and the spread of democracy to nations having authoritarian regimes

neoliberalism: a strand within contemporary liberalism that emerged in the 1980s seeking to reorient liberalism and the Democratic Party away from stressing the interests of the poor and minorities and instead to focus on economic prosperity for all, including enhanced governmental investments in the infrastructure of societies, such as public schools, public health, and public transportation. After the cold war, neoliberals were prominent supporters of globalization, giving rise to global neoliberalism.

neo-anarchism: contemporary left-wing extremists who stress the injustices and oppressions of current arrangements. Compared to nineteenth century anarchists, they are less concerned

with attaining a utopian society without rulers than with rebelling against domination by multinational corporations and American military and economic power.

neo-Kantianism: a synthesis between Marxist materialism and Hegelian idealism. Social democrats acknowledge that economic conditions influence historical developments, but that ideas also matter. Drawing on neo-Kantianism, they thus argue that people can freely choose socialist values, even though their choices are likely to be influenced by economic circumstances.

neo-Marxism: the use and modification of a variety of Marx's concepts and theories for the purpose of providing a critique of contemporary societies and international affairs, but without necessarily accepting fully Marx's dialectical materialism or his prognosis of the coming revolution

neo-pluralism: theories of community power that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s that incorporated concepts from orthodox pluralism, but stressed the democratic deficiencies that occurred even when power was widely distributed among many groups within political communities

new class: a term by contemporary conservatives for a new elite of liberal professionals, journalists, bureaucrats, and cultural megastars who advocate abstract economic equality

New Deal: the policies adopted under President Franklin D. Roosevelt to address the Great Depression of the 1930s. These policies – which significantly increased the role of the national government in American life - included the establishment of Social Security, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and various public works programs.

new left: a political movement that was especially prominent on American campuses during the 1960s and that drew significantly on anarchist principles in questioning all authority and in criticizing many conventional arrangements. The new left was particularly critical of capitalism, militarism, and representative democracy.

new right: the self-proclaimed label for a coalition of economic libertarians, social conservatives, and Christian fundamentalists that became visible and influential during the 1970s

nihilism: the belief that existing institutions, including those central to pluralist society, are so oppressive and corrupt that they should be destroyed, even if no coherent and workable alternatives are yet available

***noblesse oblige*:** Translated as "nobility obligates," this term harkens back to medieval society when the nobility were granted special privileges, but these were balanced by special obligations. The nobility were expected to give generously to the poor, and to provide conditions for serfs and commoners that were better than mere subsistence levels. Traditional conservatives relied on this idea to help justify a hierarchical society.

nongovernmental organizations: NGOs are private organizations (lacking governmental representation) that are active internationally particularly concerning human rights, economic development, and environmental issues.

normative theory: generalized ideas about politics that criticize existing conditions and practices, that advocate a more ideal political world, or that justify particular political principles

oligarchy: a form of government where power resides almost exclusively with a small elite, usually the richest people within society

oligopoly: an economic condition in which there are few suppliers of particular goods; here market competition is imperfect, and the large businesses have the power to effect significantly the supply and costs of these goods

ontological materialism: the liberal doctrine that the world is composed only of "matter in motion"

ontology: the branch of philosophy dealing with being and the ultimate causes of historical events

original position: To arrive at a rational choice of principles to govern a well-ordered society, John Rawls invites us to engage in an intellectual experiment in which agents initially convene to select their principles. According to Rawls, this initial position is transformed into "the original position" when these agents agree to certain stipulations and assumptions – such as everyone agreeing to be under a veil of ignorance about their natural and social endowments - to guide their search for the best principles. The original position can be regarded as a device for explicitly specifying the underlying assumptions of Rawls' theory of justice.

organic conception of society: a view held by traditional conservatives that society is like a living body, not like an inanimate machine as implied by liberals. Society is a living, evolving entity; it has some parts that are more crucial than others; but all parts are important and the well-being of the whole can suffer if any part is neglected or severed from the body. Because the complexity of this living, highly interdependent entity is not easily grasped, even minor changes must be introduced cautiously, because they can have widespread, unanticipated, and disastrous consequences.

organic evolution: the view of traditional conservatives that societies should change slowly, in ways that allow for adjustments to the consequences of change

orthodox Marxists: those followers of Karl Marx who interpret his writings to indicate that historical events are determined by economic conditions. They insist that revolutions against capitalism can only occur when economic conditions are "ripe" -- when countries are highly industrialized but experience severe economic depressions resulting in widespread economic unemployment and deprivation, prompting workers to revolt.

orthodox pluralism: a theory of American politics held by many political scientists during the 1950s and 1960s that claimed that politics could best be understood as involving a wide variety of groups. In this theory, each group pursued its own political interests and had power roughly proportionate to such resources as its membership size, its organization and cohesion, and its control of material resources. The theory claimed that the breadth and diversity of the group system resulted in a wide dispersion of power, the lack of domination by any group, and negotiated outcomes that contained compromises that were generally fair and served the community well. This theory was extensively criticized, resulting in many subsequent neo-pluralist models.

overlapping consensus: John Rawls' concept that the multiple "comprehensive moral doctrines" proclaimed and adhered to by various groups contain some minimal common understandings that allow sufficient consensus for a society to be stable. See also, pluralism's underlying consensus.

pantheism: the belief, common among anarchists, that God is not a supernatural force that dominates humans, but rather, is a vital natural force within human beings connecting man to man and man to nature

paradigm: a widely accepted worldview within an intellectual and/or political community. It includes assumptions about the most important issues to be confronted and goals to be sought. It includes agreements about the main theories and modes of analysis to be used to describe, explain, and evaluate the key features of the existing political world and the basic processes of political change as they have occurred historically.

patriarchy: the dominance of men over their wives in the household. For many feminists such dominance has oppressive effects that extend to most other forms of public and social life.

peasantry: persons of low education and status who till the soil. According to Mao Zedong, this "pre-proletarian" class could play a significant role in the revolution to bring about communism. Such a role was not foreseen by Marx or orthodox Marxists.

perfectionism: a moral philosophy that claims that humans should live a good or ethical life, that defines the contents of such a good life, and that holds society and the state responsible for helping people achieve such a life. It is the antithesis of moral pluralism.

perestroika: A Russian term, that means literally "a turning around." It refers to a set of reforms instituted by the last Soviet Premier, Mikhail Gorbachev, that were intended to reduce the centralized power of the Soviet bureaucracy and to introduce privatization of the means of production.

performance democracy: a "realistic" conception of democracy, initially developed by Joseph Schumpeter, that stresses competition among leaders who are accountable to voters through regular and fair elections. Such leaders have incentives to perform in an effective and fair manner in order to get elected or reelected.

permanent revolution: in communist theory, this involves a continuous process of transforming a feudal or colonial society into a communist one, without establishing a distinct capitalist society for any prolonged period. See telescoping the revolution.

perversity thesis: the contemporary conservative belief that many liberal reforms produce the opposite consequences from those desired by liberal reformers

planned economies: when state officials, rather than free markets, influence or control economic matters. Such planning can be relatively minor, as when liberal governments create laws which change the incentives within which investors, producers, workers, and consumer make their decisions; it can be fairly extensive, for example controlling investment decisions, as in "market socialism;" and it can be comprehensive as it was by communist planners in the former Soviet Union. See state planning.

pluralism: According to *From ideologies to Public Philosophies*, this is the broadest and most widely accepted public philosophy of our time, especially among Americans and Western Europeans. It emphasizes both the diversity of interests and ideals among citizens within communities, and also the presence of an underlying consensus on some basic philosophical assumptions and political institutions which allows citizens to treat each other with respect and resolve their differences democratically and peacefully.

pluralism's underlying consensus: the areas of agreement among most people ("the friends of pluralism") that provide general and abstract – though only partial – answers to the perennial issues of politics. The conclusions in Chapters 5 through 15 of From *ideologies to Public Philosophies* provide tentative specifications of this consensus. These specifications seek to elaborate upon the "overlapping consensus" that John Rawls has stressed as the bases of stable and well-order communities composed of individuals having diverse interests and ideals.

political absolutism: political systems in which the power of a leader - usually a monarch or dictator - is uncontested, unshared, and unquestioned

political correctness: As a result of the civil rights, women's rights, gay rights and other such movements and the emergence of multiculturalism, expressions thought to be oppressive or insensitive to women, blacks, gays and other minorities were often rebuked by liberals; conservatives called these rebukes a demand for "politically correct" speech (that conformed to liberal values). Conservatives claim that liberal demands for "politically correct" speech betrays liberal commitments to free speech.

political culture: the beliefs and values regarding governance that predominate within particular communities

Political Islam: the strand within Islam that emphasizes the importance of political action in order to achieve a Muslim community governed by religious leaders who understand and implement Allah's laws. See Islamic fundamentalism.

political obligations: the responsibilities that members of a political community have to one another and to governmental authority. Such obligations may include the duty to obey just laws, to engage in public service, and to pay necessary taxes.

political philosophy: the scholarly discipline that proposes more ideal political arrangements than those that are prominent in the real world, and that seeks to provide political principles, evaluations, and prescriptions that have minimal biases by subjecting such ideas to the critical inspection of others

political reform: modifying the policies, laws, and programs of a government without altering in any fundamental way its constitutional and institutional arrangements

political rationality: While economic, instrumental, or Enlightenment rationality occurs when individuals acquire knowledge and use their reason to determine effective means for achieving their personal goals, political rationality occurs when the members of a community acquire knowledge and use deliberative democratic processes to (1) ascertain community problems to be solved or community goals to be achieved, and then to (2) select what appear to be effective and just means for solving these problems or achieving these goals.

political revolution: dissolving or overthrowing a system of government. For political revolutions to occur, the constitutional and institutional arrangements of governments must be significantly altered, as wholesale changes in governmental leaders or policies are not revolutions. Moreover, political revolutions may not be "social revolutions," since significant changes in governmental arrangements can occur without having great effects on the social order or the economic system.

political science: the scholarly discipline that seeks to provide impartial analyses of political ideas, institutions, and activities by providing methods that guard against ideological and other biases that can distort achieving valid descriptions and explanations of political life

political theory: generalized descriptions, explanations, evaluations, and prescriptions of how humans live in communities and govern these communities

politics: the process through which humans express, debate, and resolve their often conflicting ideas and interests as they consider how to govern their communities

polities: territorially-bounded political communities such as city-states and nation-states

polyarchy: a form of democracy for large and heterogeneous societies that makes elected officials responsible for the policies and activities of government, that allows all citizens to participate in choosing their elected officials and in holding them accountable to the electorate, and that gives citizens various rights to oppose governmental institutions, authorities, and policies

popular will: what the majority of people in a political community want their governments to do. Some democratic theorists claim that government is rightly based on some abstract version of the will of the people. Populists insist that meaningful "public opinion" exists on most political matters, and that this should be discovered and reflected in political outcomes.

positive liberty: the capacity to make real choices. Contemporary liberals believe that such things as poverty, racism, and disease restrict the choices of many people, and that governments can play a role in overcoming such restraints on human choices.

positivism: an epistemological approach that emerged in the mid-19th century under the influence of August Comte and that is reflected in the theories of Karl Marx and Charles Darwin. It claims that knowledge of social laws must be based solely on empirical observations that are rigorously compiled and analyzed using scientific methods.

post-historical: In sweeping theories of history, such as those provided by Hegel, Marx, and Fukuyama, it is asserted that various forms of conflict (whether among ideas, social classes, or economic forces) bring about change and progress. When such conflicts are resolved, there will no longer be a basis for fundamental change. This will constitute the beginnings of a "post-historical" condition that is assumed to be ideal or utopian: here there will be consensus on important ideas; there will be no class divisions; there will be economic affluence.

post-modern feminists: those feminists who most question the fundamental assumptions and categories of western thought. They believe that gender biases are pervasive in the epistemological foundations of political thought, making suspect the political theories and principles that are prominent today.

poststructuralism: a form of political theorizing associated with Michel Foucault and other continental political theorists that came into prominence during the 1960s and 1970s; in reaction to earlier structural Marxists who looked to large structures (like capitalism and state authority) to explain the suppression of revolutionary forces, poststructuralists looked to more micro-level forces (such as the role of professionals and street-level bureaucrats) to explain such suppression.

power: There are perhaps two dimensions of political power. First is the influence that some individuals or groups have over others in the community; three "faces" of such power are emphasized: (1) the ability to prevail when faced with explicit opposition on an issue; (2) the ability to suppress issues that could undermine one's interests; and (3) the ability to control the preferences of others so that they will not oppose you. Second is the ability of a community to achieve collective goals through social cooperation and collaboration.

pragmatism: the idea that neither science nor politics is engaged in a search for absolute truth, but that both are instead interested in making improvements on what we know and on what exists through experimentation. Pragmatists do not ask "is this true or is this best?" but rather ask "does this work better than what we already know or have?"

preferential treatment: Contemporary conservatives argue that affirmative action and the use of hiring quotas favor the traditionally disadvantaged groups they target in ways that amount to reverse discrimination. Such favoring is preferential (and unfair) treatment. See also affirmative action.

prejudice: the influence on thought produced by the particular circumstances surrounding people. In contrast to liberals who bemoan prejudice, traditional conservatives believe that one's history, society, social position, family, and so forth inform one's ideas in a positive manner.

principle: generally, an important assumption, belief, or standard within a broader political theory or ideology. *From Ideologies to Public Philosophies* differentiates principles from assumptions, focusing on political principles that are derived from philosophical assumptions. Such principles usually suggest what must be done to achieve a result implied by some normative standard.

private sphere: In liberal theory, this is the realm of life where an individuals thoughts and actions should be uncontrolled by community structures, such as cultural norms and governmental regulations.

privatization: Two major forms of privatization have been pursued in the past few decades. First is the removal of industries from public or semi-public ownership and control. By selling some nationalized industries to private individuals and corporations during the 1970s, European governments sought to increase efficiency and reduce government expenditures. In the 1990s, formerly Communist countries implemented such policies in their transition to market economies, giving their citizens shares of the now private companies. Second is the contracting out to private companies various services previously performed by governmental agencies. Contemporary conservatives believe public schools, sanitation departments, etc., are monopolies with insufficient incentives to provide quality services. They have thus sought to foster competition among private providers of these services. See the voucher system.

proletariat: the working class who, along with the bourgeoisie, constitute a significant socio-economic class in capitalist society, according to Marx. Members of the proletariat do not own any of the means of production in capitalist society (land, factories, banks, natural resources), and so they must sell their labor to the owners of these means (the bourgeoisie).

property-owning democracy: Some political theorists stress the limits of liberal or socialist welfare states that (moderately) redistribute the inequalities of income that are achieved in capitalist societies where ownership of the means of production is concentrated within an elite class. They argue that a more just society would redistribute wealth, giving all citizens access to

productive resources and reducing their dependence on the few who own and control productive property. Such a society is often called a property-owning democracy.

property rights: the idea that a person is entitled to own and control those material goods, including the means of production, that one has justly acquired, for example, through one's productive labor or through a fair exchange

proportional representation: when an electoral system results in different interests or political parties being represented in a legislative body to approximately the same degree that they received popular votes

protective democracy: an early classical liberal conception of democracy as a system of government that sought to protect individual rights (especially property rights) rather than a system having widespread citizen participation. In John Locke's democracy, for example, people could protect their rights by removing governments that violated them.

protest groups: ad hoc, organizations of citizens who mobilize on specific issues. Protesters are often underrepresented among elected officials or among permanent groups in the interest-group system, and so they turn to unconventional and disruptive activities to achieve their goals.

Protestant ethic: a term coined by Max Weber for a value system that encourages people to work hard for material gain, both for the happiness that such prosperity gives people on earth and because such work and prosperity reflects God's love for humanity and contributes to his glory. Weber claimed that the Protestant Revolution during the 16th century gave birth to such an ethic, which in turn provided the conditions for modernity.

public goods: a good like national defense whose benefits are indivisible. If a public good is provided to one member of the community, other members of the community benefit by its provision even if they do not pay for it. See collective action.

public philosophies: systems of political beliefs, values, and principles that are more open-ended than ideologies and more reflective of the concerns of ordinary citizens than are more scholarly political philosophies. *From Ideologies to Public Philosophies* proposes that the most basic public philosophy of our time – at least in most developed democratic societies – is pluralism, and that people should understand and have some primary allegiance to its consensual ideas. But it urges both individuals and communities to develop – in conversations with others - more specific public philosophies containing political beliefs, values, and principles that respond to the perennial issues of politics and that orient themselves in a public-regarding way to their particular circumstances.

public reason: political arguments made within deliberative democracy that use terms that are widely understood and speak to values that are widely endorsed. When participants in political debates employ public reason, they eschew arguments that are meaningful only to those who hold the same moral and political doctrines as themselves.

public sphere: in liberal theory, that realm of life where one's actions influence others and thus should be under come social and political control

quasi-ideologies: a variety of political perspectives that are not as comprehensive, logically organized, or fully developed as full-blown perspectives. They are most often new perspectives or more focused strands within more comprehensive ideologies.

racial struggle: the Nazi notion that all of history and especially the problems of Germany in the post-World War I era could be understood as the result of a struggle between races, especially the Jewish and the Aryan

radical democrats: a perspective within the radical left that rejects the adequacy of contemporary democratic practices. Such theorists call for deeper citizen participation (through advocacy and service activities beyond voting), broader participation that includes previously marginalized groups, and extending democratic practices beyond government to other associations such as families and workplaces.

radical feminists: those feminists who believe women will not be treated equally even if they are given formal equal opportunity to participate within the current arrangements of economic, social, and political life, because these arrangements have been developed by men to reflect male interests and understandings, and these understandings include the assumption that women have primary responsibility for raising children and managing households. They believe women must be empowered to alter these male-centric arrangements and norms.

radical greens: a perspective that criticizes the "managerial environmentalism" of contemporary liberals: the position that ecological problems can be adequately remedied by technological fixes and/or by modest regulations over corporate and individual behavior that degrades the environment. They believe environmental concerns should be given a much higher priority within pluralist societies, but they are not as extreme as deep greens who question the viability of a pluralism that retains its current economic and political institutions. See greens.

radical left: a variety of quasi-ideologies that accept the basic features of a pluralist society but believe that many of the inequalities within it are unjustified and must be alleviated by structural reforms

radical right: a variety of quasi-ideologies that accept the basis features of a pluralist society, including its various inequalities, but believe in the desirability of other sorts of structural changes that will return pluralism to conditions that existed before liberal and socialist egalitarian reforms were introduced, such as reducing governmental control over market activity, strengthening religious institutions, and reviving traditional cultural values

reactionary: a somewhat pejorative term for persons, ideas, or actions that resist new and emerging forces and defend previous conditions

realism: believing that liberals and socialists view the world through optimistic lens that distort accurate perceptions of it, contemporary conservatives claim that the world must be seen as it really is. Conservative "realists" claim to describe the world in a way that accepts its deficiencies as they are given, rather than as how liberals and radicals want it to be.

rebellion: the refusal to submit to the commands of authorities, especially governmental officials. Among some extremists, it is a desire to destroy institutions of domination without any provision for their replacement. While Marxists call for revolution -- in which the power relations among classes are inverted -- anarchists seek rebellion, because they believe that revolutions simply trade one oppressive arrangement for another.

redistribution: when governments create tax policies and provide welfare rights and public services that result in more equal allocations of economic resources among those who are most successful in the economic marketplace and those who are least successful

referenda: along with initiatives, these are instruments of direct democracy. In a referendum, legislatures place on issue on the ballot for citizens to resolve. Initiatives involve citizens gathering petitions that put issues directly on the ballot for citizens to decide. The constitutions of communities may or may not contain provisions for referenda and initiatives. See direct democracy.

reform liberalism: another name for contemporary liberalism with its emphasis on strong governments that pursue changes that can extend positive liberty more equally among citizens

religious right: groups within the radical right that pursue a politics of morality as found in religious teachings. Unlike religious fundamentalists, these groups recognize the diversity of religious outlooks in a pluralist society and thus do not seek to create a theocracy.

representative democracy: a system of selecting the most powerful political officeholders through popular elections. According to the principles of representative democracy, winning elections authorizes the elected to participate directly in policy making and it requires those who have made policy and who wish to remain in office to be accountable to voters at the next election.

reproductive freedom: Feminists insist that if women are to achieve freedom and equality with men, they must have control over their ability to bear children. Reproductive freedom includes the right of women to choose if they will have children, how many they will bear, and when they will bear them. For almost all feminists, reproductive freedom includes the right to contraceptives and the right to abortions.

republicanism: the view that governmental institutions should be designed to prevent any faction or self-interested group from controlling government as a whole. According to republican theory, the common good is most likely to emerge when citizens develop various public-regarding virtues, when policy is made by enlightened representatives who rise above narrow interests, and when no faction is able to dominate all governmental institutions.

Revisionist Marxists: These socialists accept the authority of Marx's writings, but they interpret them less literally and deterministically than orthodox Marxists. They believe that Marx did not foresee the political, economic, and social changes that enabled capitalists to resist the predicted overthrow of capitalism. They also believe that a socialist, egalitarian society could be approached through democratic, rather than revolutionary means. See democratic socialism.

revolution: turning around, reversing, or inverting such things as political and economic structures and intellectual understandings. See political revolution

rights: things to which a person (the rights-holder) is entitled by virtue of some status or standing that is independent of the ability to pay a fee to get the entitlement. See also citizen rights, human rights, and natural rights.

safety nets: social or governmental provision of basic needs, especially for those people displaced and thrown into unemployment by the rapid restructuring of economic activity that occurs as a result of globalization

scientific method: various procedures employed by researchers to guard against biases and distortions in the theories and ideas that describe and explain the operations of natural and human phenomena

scientific socialism: Engel's term for the objective study of the economic laws of history that show that a socialist, egalitarian society is historically inevitable (rather than morally good, which is merely a subjective judgment)

secular humanism: the this-worldly view that human rights, individual liberties, and shared concerns can be articulated and safeguarded without reference to the spiritual

self-managed workers' councils: Tito's method of transforming human consciousness, in which giving them control of factories at the local level ameliorates the alienation of workers

separation between church and state: a tenet of liberalism that calls for governments to focus on secular matters and not promote particular spiritual beliefs and for churches to focus on spiritual matters and leave worldly matters to the state

separation of powers: the ideas that legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government should be distinguished and relegated to different institutions, that positions within these different institutions should be held by different people representing different interests, and that officials in each institution should be given devices to resist usurpations of powers by officials in other institutions. In classical liberal theory, the separation of powers helps to limit and check governmental power.

Sharia: Islamic religious law which is aimed at keeping Muslims on the path to salvation. It deals with many aspects of day-to-day life, including politics, economics, banking, business, contracts, family, sexuality, hygiene, and social issues.

singularities: While liberal theory treats individuals abstractly (as when all citizens are said to have equal rights), some more left-wing perspectives emphasize the particularity of individuals. Individuals are not simply abstract rights-bearers but "singular" in their unique identities.

skilled democracy: a three-tier arrangement of top-down policymaking and bottom-up accountability. Expert civil servants generate policy proposals for enactment (or rejection) by the legislature. Reelecting those legislators who approved of the expert recommendations indicates citizen approval. This form of "democracy" keeps citizens two-steps removed from active involvement in policy making.

social (or socioeconomic) classes: Stratified segments of society, based on their unequal control of some social good. See also classes. Marx emphasized that capitalist societies were divided into two classes: the bourgeoisie who owned the means of production and the proletariat who did not. Marx thought such ownership (or lack of ownership) defined the socioeconomic classes objectively; he sought to increase the awareness among the proletariat of their common subordination as a class; he sought to increase subjective class consciousness.

social conservatism: a strand within contemporary conservatism that stresses generating and resolving cultural and moral issues in a manner that reflects traditional values. See cultural conservatism.

social contract: generally, a term to indicate what the members of a community owe one another. Liberal theorists use this term to legitimate liberal democratic government. They regard the social contract as a hypothetical or implicit agreement among individuals in a state of nature, according to which each person agrees not to infringe on each other's rights and to obey governments that secure basic rights.

social goods: those things, like wealth, honor, and influence that most people value, that are scarce, and that can be had only by associating with others

social justice: provisions of rights and social goods on some non-market basis, such as equal governmental provisions, allocations based on needs, or distributions proportionate to some criterion like contribution that is regarded as fair and equitable

social movements: relatively unorganized collections of people seeking major extensions of rights to excluded groups (such as to blacks, women, and gays) or seeking major transformations of public beliefs and values (such as protesting American involvement in Vietnam or Iraq, insufficient protection of the natural environment, or inadequate concern for the unborn)

social pluralism: the belief that human social life is enriched by the presence of many economic, social, cultural, and religious groups. It is usually accompanied by the belief that such groups can form political associations that must be independent from government.

social welfare state: the welfare programs provided by social democratic governments. Such programs are typically more extensive than those provided by liberal governments and often provide universal welfare rights to all citizens rather than programs targeted exclusively at the most needy.

socialized distributions: the provision of social goods through charitable associations and voluntary actions. The radical left sometimes stress personal involvement in helping those in need, as a complement to state aid.

socialized (industry or) enterprises: public ownership and worker control of the means of production

sovereignty: (a) supreme or ultimate control by some element of society, such as by those having the most political and economic resources (elite rule), by citizens (popular sovereignty), by customers (consumer sovereignty), etc. (b) the ability of a collectivity to control its own destiny

soviets: local worker councils that were claimed to provide a vehicle for direct democracy in the Soviet Union, but the independence of these councils receded as the Communist Party adopted more top-down processes of governing

state of nature: a concept often employed by liberals and anarchists to depict a condition in which there are no political or social institutions or cultural practices that shape human behavior. This concept was invented to try to understand how people would behave naturally, if they were unconstrained by conventional institutions and practices.

state planning: supervision and management of economic life by governmental authorities. See planned economies.

state rights: the powers reserved for smaller governmental units like American states and Canadian provinces in nation-states having federal systems

steady-state economics: a conception of economic well-being in which production and consumption levels are regarded as satisfactory if they remain stable. Greens argue that a contrary emphasis on always achieving higher levels of production and consumption threatens natural resources and the earth's ecology. Solution includes emphasizing local production to satisfy local needs, rather than global systems geared toward technological improvements, increased production, and maximizing profits.

strong democracy: Believing that present democratic arrangements are inadequate or weak, some theorists like Benjamin Barber call for provisions for citizen involvement beyond voting for officials and holding representatives accountable. See radical democrats.

strong ontology: assumptions that ultimate reality can be reduced to a single being (e.g., God) or force (e.g., economic requirements) and that this reality determines the course of history

subgovernments: arenas of policy making and implementation that are dominated by those who specialize in the policy area and who have particular interests at stake in these areas. See the military-industrial complex.

subsistence wage: According to Marx, this is the wage the capitalist pays to the worker for his labor. It is just enough to permit the laborer to survive and perhaps to support a family (in order to generate new laborers), but it does not represent the value of the total contribution of the laborer to the production process.

superstructure: Marx's term for the ideas the members of a society have about religion, morality, law, and politics. Marx claimed that these ideas were determined by the infrastructure of a society (the means and modes of production).

supply-side economics: an economic theory that maintains that governmental policy should favor investors who finance innovations and increase the supply of goods because this would increase the overall prosperity of a society; even if such policies initially benefit the wealthy, the long-term benefits will, it is alleged, trickle-down to everyone in society, including those who are least well-off.

surplus value: a Marxist term for the difference between the actual value of what the laborer produces and what the capitalist owner of production pays the laborer for his labor. This difference, minus the costs of equipment and raw materials, is the profit the capitalist makes from the production process.

survival of the fittest: a term associated with Charles Darwin that the species having positive adaptations to their environments will survive in competition with other species. In the hands of social Darwinists, this concept justified doing nothing to preserve the weakest humans or interfere with the growing domination of the strongest humans. They claimed that through a process of competition among humans, more adaptive humans would evolve.

telescoping the revolution: the theory of communists like Trotsky and Lenin that, contrary to Marx's thinking, the proletarian revolution did not have to be the final result of a long-term historical development that eventuates in capitalism, but rather, that the revolution could perhaps be most easily accomplished at capitalism's "weakest link," namely in non-industrialized, non-capitalist countries. The transformation from a primitive society to a post-capitalist one could, therefore, be accomplished in one giant step--"telescoped"--rather than in an extended historical process.

Temporary Assistance for the Needy: TANF was a reform of American welfare policy enacted in 1996 giving states greater authority to experiment with their welfare programs in ways that might move people off welfare into the workforce.

theocracy: a community that denies religious freedom, establishes a state religion, and provides church leaders with prominent and perhaps controlling roles in government and over the moral life of the community. It is antithetical to a liberal community that practices the separation of church and state.

thesis, antithesis, synthesis: Marx borrowed these terms from Hegel's theory of the historical dialectic to describe the three basic elements of dialectical materialism. The thesis embodies the existing dominant material and social conditions of a society (such as capitalism and the bourgeois class). The antithesis includes those material forces and social classes that stand in opposition to the thesis (such as the proletariat). The conflict between these two eventually results in a revolution to some new social form, a synthesis, which is a kind of temporary resolution of the conflict. This resulting synthesis, in turn becomes its own thesis, opposed and complimented by a new contradicting antithesis. See also dialectical processes and dialectical materialism.

tolerance: the liberal ideas that different individual have different conceptions of the good life, that each individual is the best judge of her own good, and that other individuals and governments should accept individual choices and retrain from imposing other moral conceptions on individuals

total obedience: the Nazi and fascist notion that complete compliance with the will of state authority is the true freedom of every citizen

totalitarianism: the claim that governmental leaders should be given total control over all aspects of society - including the economy, religion, the arts, and even family life - in order to achieve great transformations in social and human life

trade unionism: the organization of workers in an industry into a collective force, whose leaders could more effectively bargain with owners and managers for better wages, working conditions, and so forth. Lenin and other communists thought that the development of such organizations undermines the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness, because unions are preoccupied with bargaining *within* the capitalist system, rather than encouraging workers to overthrow the system entirely.

trade-off between efficiency and equality: the idea that societies must choose between seeking a "larger pie" (more total goods) and a more equal "cutting of the pie." Efforts to achieve equality are said to reduce economic efficiency and growth.

traditional communitarianism: an academic perspective within the radical right that regards liberalism as a disastrous public philosophy that has resulted in humans becoming uprooted from communities, asserting individual rights while ignoring their social responsibilities, and leading empty lives preoccupied with shallow pleasures rather than living up to higher moral concerns stressed by more traditional cultures.

traditional conservatism: a political outlook that dominated Europe before the French Revolution and that strongly opposed the liberal and radical aspects of that upheaval. This outlook -- the greater emphasis on society as a whole than the individuals comprising it, the natural inequalities among people, the need to allow the most talented leaders to govern, and the importance of following traditional wisdom rather than "abstract reason" – achieved the comprehensiveness of an ideology under Edmund Burke, and was a major "reactionary" perspective in Europe especially in the 19th century.

traditions: long-standing beliefs, values, principles, and norms that embody the wisdom of the ages and that are – according to traditional conservatives and communitarians – better sources of political knowledge and moral guidance than are the scientific and rational formulations that have dominated modernity

trusteeship: the view expressed by Edmund Burke that representatives should be guided in their voting by their own understandings of the best outcomes for the entire country in the long run. According to traditional conservatives, representatives should act as trustees who do what is good for society as a whole, not merely do what their local constituents demand.

tyranny of the majority: a fear, first expressed by classical liberals, that unlimited majority rule could result in the passage of laws that violated the property rights of the wealthy or the social liberties of unpopular minorities

unanimous direct democracy: a process in which every member of a community participates directly in making community decisions and every member concurs in the decisions that are made

universal entitlements: goods and services such as education, health care, public transportation, and child care that are provided to all members of a (socialist) society at very low or no cost because of their common need and citizenship

utilitarianism: the liberal view that government should act to maximize public welfare or happiness. According to Jeremy Bentham, government should promote "the greatest good for the greatest number." See the felicific calculus.

utopian socialists: the term that Marx and Engels used to describe early nineteenth-century social reformers who sought to replace capitalism with more cooperative and decentralized communities having social control over private property and wealth

utopias: comprehensive depictions of idealized communities. The concept comes from the Greek word meaning "nowhere," suggesting that these portrayals may help envision political possibilities but are ultimately unattainable in their idealized form.

validity: a concern with ensuring that one's political ideas are well grounded. Because political theorists believe that many ideas are based on emotion, self-interest, and indoctrination, they seek methods for testing the truth of these ideas.

vanguard of the proletariat: In Lenin's doctrine, this is the small group of intellectuals that understands the "historical moment," namely the appropriate time and circumstances for the communist revolution to take place, and that directs the proletariat accordingly. It implies a significant degree of human voluntarism in historical events that Marx's own thought does not seem to have allowed.

veil of ignorance: a methodological device invented by John Rawls to aid people in generating political principles that would be embraced by everyone. Rawls instructs us to imagine that we are unaware of our natural endowments and social positions when we choose among alternative principles. Given our ignorance of our own situations, we would be wise to assume that once the veil of ignorance is lifted, we would find ourselves disadvantaged in terms of our endowments and circumstances. To protect our interests in such a situation, we would choose principles that stress equality and favorable treatment of the disadvantaged. In short, the veil is a device to get people to "step into the shoes" of others when choosing principles because others might turn out to be ourselves.

virtual representation: the traditional conservative idea that those who are not afforded the opportunity to participate in the election representatives to a legislature could nevertheless be (virtually) represented in the legislature if legislators acted as trustees for the entire country.

According to this doctrine, for example, American colonists could be represented in the British Parliament even if they were not given the power to elect representatives, as long as sitting legislators acted in the interests of the British empire, including America.

Volk: A German term and cognate of the English "folk," it means "people," but the Nazis gave it Romantic connotations of national unity and racial identity.

voluntary associations: organizations within civil society like churches, charitable groups, and sports clubs that are independent of government and that people join willingly in order to participate in its activities. Political parties and interest groups may seek to influence government, but in liberal societies they are regarded as autonomous from the state insofar as governmental officials must recognize the freedom of association that allows such groups to form and persist.

voucher system: giving eligible citizens government issued and payable certificates that they can redeem for specified public goods and services. Contemporary conservatives have advocated this approach to educational reform. Parents and students could purchase primary and secondary education from either a public or a private school with funds (vouchers) provided by government. Advocates believe this system will create a healthy competition among schools, producing better and safer schools.

Washington consensus: a term for global neoliberalism as the prevailing public philosophy among elites. The term suggests that political leaders throughout the world have fallen in line with American principles stressing free markets, reducing the welfare state, and practicing representative democracy.

weak ontology: assumptions about ultimate reality that provide a significant role for human ideas and activity in influencing human conditions and history

welfare rights: community provision of certain material goods and social services, based on law and judicial rulings. Such rights are provided regardless of a person's ability to pay market prices for them. See citizen rights

welfare-state liberalism: a term for contemporary liberalism, because – in contrast to classical liberalism - it provides welfare rights

worker-controlled enterprises: privately-owned businesses that are controlled directly or indirectly by the workers

working-class consciousness: Marx believed that a person's consciousness – her interpretation of the world, her awareness of problems and solutions, her very sense of self - was determined by her activities of production, which are a combination of the resources with which one produces and on which one labors and one's social location in the productive process. Such consciousness can be self-aware or not, depending on the historical situation. Marx stressed that the working class in capitalist societies must be aware of its place in the historical-dialectical process and of its oppressive conditions before a revolution can occur.

workplace democracy: the application of democratic principles to industrial enterprises, giving workers the right to participate in corporate decision making in ways that parallel the right of citizens to participate in state decision making

World Bank: An international bank organized following World War II to make loans to developing countries to stimulate their economic and social development, with the stated goal of reducing poverty

World Social Forum: An annual meeting of members of the anti-globalization movement

World Trade Organization: An international organization committed to liberalizing trade policies

young Marx: Karl Marx's early writings appear to contain philosophical and humanistic aspects that his later, more economically deterministic writings do not. Some interpreters prefer to emphasize the philosophical and idealist themes of these writings of the "young Marx," rather than the more "scientific" and materialistic strains of his later work.