LIBERTY AS NON-DOMINATION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF PHILIP PETTIT AND THE DEBATE WITH HIS CRITICS

LIBERDADE COMO NÃO-DOMINAÇÃO: A CONTRIBUIÇÃO DE PHILIP PETTIT E O DEBATE COM SEUS CRÍTICOS

LIBERTAD COMO NO-DOMINACIÓN: LA CONTRIBUCIÓN DE PHILIP PETTIT Y EL DEBATE CON SUS CRÍTICOS

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ABSTRACT
This paper explores Philip Pettit’s concept of liberty as non-domination, a significant contribution to contemporary political theory emphasizing freedom from arbitrary power rather than merely the absence of interference. In an increasingly plural and complex world, there is a pressing need for a broader understanding of liberty that addresses the political adversities faced by diverse societies. Pettit’s theory provides a robust framework for assessing political freedom by proposing that true liberty entails the absence of domination, supported by democratic mechanisms that disperse and make power accountable. The primary objective of this text is to analyze Pettit’s complete works alongside contributions from ten prominent commentators and debaters, examining the strengths and potential shortcomings of his theory. The analysis aims to demonstrate how Pettit’s concept of non-domination can be superior to other notions of liberty or how integrating different perspectives might reinforce his ideas. Methodologically, the paper conducts a thorough examination of Pettit’s seminal works. It includes critical analysis from scholars like Quentin Skinner, Richard Dagger, and Cécile Laborde. Each author’s agreement or disagreement with Pettit is analyzed in detail, providing a comprehensive view of the ongoing discourse. In conclusion, Pettit’s concept of liberty as non-domination proves to be a compelling framework for understanding and advancing political freedom. This approach necessitates transparency, accountability, and participation within democratic institutions, ensuring liberty is safeguarded against both existing and potential forms of arbitrary power. Through this detailed examination, the paper

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underscores the relevance and applicability of Pettit's ideas in addressing contemporary political challenges.

**Keywords:** Non-domination. Political Freedom. Democratic Mechanisms. Arbitrary Power.

**RESUMO**
Este artigo examina o conceito de liberdade como não-dominação de Philip Pettit, uma significativa contribuição para a teoria política contemporânea. Em vez de apenas a ausência de interferência, Pettit destaca a necessidade de liberdade do poder arbitrário. Diante de um mundo cada vez mais plural e complexo, surge a necessidade urgente de uma compreensão mais ampla da liberdade, que aborde as adversidades políticas enfrentadas por sociedades diversas. A teoria de Pettit fornece um sólido arcabouço para avaliar a liberdade política, propondo que a verdadeira liberdade reside na ausência de dominação, sustentada por mecanismos democráticos que dispersam e tornam o poder responsável. O principal objetivo deste texto é analisar a obra completa de Pettit em conjunto com as contribuições de dez comentaristas e debatedores de destaque, examinando as forças e possíveis fraquezas de sua teoria. A análise visa mostrar como o conceito de não-dominação de Pettit pode superar outras noções de liberdade ou como a integração de diferentes perspectivas pode fortalecer suas ideias. Metodologicamente, o artigo realiza uma análise detalhada das obras principais de Pettit, incluindo críticas de estudiosos como Quentin Skinner, Richard Dagger e Cécile Laborde. A concordância ou discordância de cada autor com Pettit é explorada minuciosamente, oferecendo uma visão abrangente do debate em curso. Conclui-se que o conceito de liberdade como não-dominação de Pettit é um quadro convincente para entender e promover a liberdade política. Essa abordagem exige transparência, responsabilidade e participação nas instituições democráticas, protegendo a liberdade contra formas existentes e potenciais de poder arbitrário.


**RESUMEN**
Este artículo examina el concepto de libertad como no-dominación de Philip Pettit, una significativa contribución a la teoría política contemporánea. En lugar de solo la ausencia de interferencia, Pettit resalta la necesidad de libertad frente al poder arbitrario. Ante un mundo cada vez más plural y complejo, surge la necesidad urgente de una comprensión más amplia de la libertad que aborde las adversidades políticas enfrentadas por diversas sociedades. La teoría de Pettit proporciona un sólido marco para evaluar la libertad política, proponiendo que la verdadera libertad reside en la ausencia de dominación, sostenida por mecanismos democráticos que dispersan y hacen responsable al poder. El objetivo principal de este texto es analizar la obra completa de Pettit junto con las contribuciones de diez destacados comentaristas y debatidores, examinando las fortalezas y posibles debilidades de su teoría. El análisis busca demostrar cómo el concepto de no-dominación puede superar otras nociones de libertad o
cómo la integración de diferentes perspectivas puede fortalecer sus ideas. Metodológicamente, el artículo realiza un análisis detallado de las principales obras de Pettit, incluyendo críticas de estudiosos como Quentin Skinner, Richard Dagger y Cécile Laborde. La concordancia o discrepancia de cada autor con Pettit se explora minuciosamente, ofreciendo una visión exhaustiva del debate en curso. Se concluye que el concepto de libertad como no-dominación de Pettit es un marco convincente para comprender y promover la libertad política. Este enfoque exige transparencia, responsabilidad y participación en las instituciones democráticas, protegiendo la libertad contra formas existentes y potenciales de poder arbitrario.


INTRODUCTION

Philip Pettit (2001, p. 34) argumenta que la no-dominación proporciona un marco más robusto para evaluar la libertad política. En "A Theory of Freedom" (2001), explora cómo los mecanismos democráticos pueden prevenir la dominación al asegurar que el poder se distribuye y se hace responsable, ampliando más allá de proteger los derechos individuales contra la interferencia (Pettit, 2012, p. 48). Pettit's focus on non-domination resalta cómo las estructuras sociales y políticas pueden facilitar o limitar la agencia individual (Pettit, 2014, p. 70).

Para entender plenamente la concepción de libertad de Pettit y sus implicaciones, este texto examina su totalidad de obras junto con contribuciones de diez destacados comentaristas y debatidores. Estos autores ofrecen perspectivas críticas que se alinean con o desafían las ideas de Pettit, brindando una visión integral de la discusión en curso. Quentin Skinner (1998, p. 112) apoya el revival de la libertad republicana de Pettit, argumentando que se alinea con interpretaciones históricas del libre albedrío. En contraste, Philip Schofield (2006, p. 89) critica a Pettit por no abordar adecuadamente las desigualdades económicas que pueden conducir a la dominación. Esta discusión se adentra en estos subtleties, ilustrando cómo la teoría de Pettit puede ser superior o reforzada mediante la integración de otros conceptos (Pettit, 2014, p. 120).

El texto también explora las aplicaciones prácticas de la teoría de Pettit en instituciones democráticas contemporáneas. Pettit (2013, p. 99) argumenta que para que la no-dominación se logre, las instituciones deben garantizar transparencia, responsabilidad y participación. Esto requiere no solo reformas legales y políticas sino también...
fostering a culture vigilant against domination (Pettit, 2015, p. 130). The role of the judiciary, the importance of civil society, and maintaining a balance of power are crucial (Pettit, 2017, p. 150). This exploration shows how Pettit's theory can be operationalized in practical governance.

Pettit's concept of liberty as non-domination provides a compelling framework for understanding and advancing political freedom. By emphasizing freedom from arbitrary power and the importance of democratic institutions, Pettit offers a robust alternative to traditional notions of negative liberty. Through in-depth analysis of Pettit's works and his commentators, this text underscores the ongoing relevance and applicability of his ideas in contemporary political theory.

**DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERTY AS NON-DOMINATION BY PHILIP PETTIT**

Philip Pettit's theory of liberty as non-domination offers a comprehensive framework for assessing and promoting political freedom. Diverging from traditional notions of negative liberty, Pettit emphasizes freedom from arbitrary power. His work argues that liberty entails more than the absence of interference; it requires societal structures that prevent domination and ensure accountability.

In "The Common Mind" (1996), Pettit introduces the idea of collective rationality formed through public deliberation. He posits that democratic governance must involve inclusive dialogue, where decisions reflect the common good rather than individual preferences. This collective rationality surpasses mere individual rationalities by fostering social cohesion and preventing domination (Pettit, 1996, p. 33). Pettit's work underscores that without a vibrant and participatory public sphere, non-domination cannot be achieved. Public deliberation must be inclusive and egalitarian, ensuring that all voices are heard and considered in the decision-making process.

Pettit's "Republicanism" (1997) further develops this idea by defining liberty as the absence of domination—power to interfere arbitrarily in others' choices. He argues that republican institutions must distribute power equitably and maintain active civic participation to prevent any group from dominating others. Pettit highlights the need for structures that ensure accountability and prevent the concentration of power (Pettit, 1997, pp. 32, 49). He emphasizes that
domination occurs when individuals or groups have the power to interfere in others' choices without needing to justify themselves, undermining autonomy and human dignity. Republican institutions, therefore, should be designed to prevent the accumulation of such power.

In "A Theory of Freedom" (2001), Pettit links personal liberty to the absence of fear of arbitrary interference, suggesting that free agency is deeply connected to security and autonomy. He argues that societal structures must protect individuals from all forms of domination to guarantee true freedom (Pettit, 2001, p. 14). Pettit's focus connects the personal and political spheres of liberty, advocating that individual freedom is intrinsically linked to the security of not being arbitrarily interfered with. This requires a social and political structure that prevents domination in all its forms.

Pettit also explores the role of language in shaping societal structures in "Made with Words: Hobbes on Language, Mind, and Politics" (2008). He discusses how language can either promote liberty or perpetuate domination, emphasizing the importance of inclusive public communication to prevent unjust power dynamics (Pettit, 2008, p. 14). Through Hobbes' ideas, Pettit shows how language is a crucial tool for public deliberation and the construction of a just society. Communication and public discourse can reinforce or challenge power structures, making language a vital instrument for emancipation and social justice.

Expanding his theory to include collective agents, Pettit, in "Group Agency: The Possibility, Design, and Status of Corporate Agents" (2011), co-authored with Christian List, argues that corporations and other collective entities should be structured to avoid domination both within the group and in interactions with other agents. Pettit and List suggest that collective responsibility and transparency are essential to ensure that these collective agents act in ways that do not dominate their members or other entities (Pettit & List, 2011, p. 30). They argue for designing institutions and collective entities that promote liberty as non-domination by being responsible and transparent, preventing the concentration of power that leads to domination.
In "On the People’s Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy" (2012), Pettit outlines how democratic institutions should be designed to promote liberty as non-domination. He argues that true democracy requires equal power among citizens to influence decisions, ensuring no group dominates politically. Pettit emphasizes the need for democratic systems that are transparent, accountable, and participatory (Pettit, 2012, p. 66). He addresses how democratic institutions can prevent political domination through accountability, transparency, and inclusive participation mechanisms, advocating that all citizens have equal rights and opportunities to participate in the political process.

Applying his theory in a global context, Pettit discusses policies that promote justice and equity internationally in "Just Freedom: A Moral Compass for a Complex World" (2014). He argues that liberty as non-domination should guide international relations, suggesting that global policies must prevent countries or corporations from exercising arbitrary power over others. Advocating for global governance that promotes cooperation and mutual respect, Pettit ensures that all nations have an equal voice in decisions affecting them (Pettit, 2014, pp. 21, 44). Pettit expands the theory of liberty as non-domination beyond national borders, proposing a global governance structure that avoids domination between states and multinational corporations.

Pettit also addresses social justice in "The Economy of Esteem: An Essay on Civil and Political Society" (2004), co-authored with Geoffrey Brennan, emphasizing the need for public policies that prevent domination and promote equity. They argue that ensuring appropriate recognition and esteem is crucial for a society that promotes liberty as non-domination (Pettit & Brennan, 2004, p. 40). Pettit explores how social recognition and esteem are fundamental to liberty, suggesting that policies should protect the autonomy and dignity of individuals by preventing social domination.

Throughout his works, Pettit emphasizes the importance of responsibility and accountability. In "Republicanism" (1997), he argues that institutions must be transparent and rulers must be held accountable to prevent domination. Further exploring this theme in "On the People’s Terms" (2012), Pettit suggests
mechanisms to ensure democratic institutions are responsive to citizens’ needs. Pettit contends that accountability is not just a matter of efficient governance but a moral necessity to ensure power is not exercised arbitrarily (Pettit, 2012, pp. 78, 90).

In his recent writings, Pettit has explored how the theory of liberty as non-domination can be applied to contemporary issues such as the digital economy and artificial intelligence. Arguing that new forms of power emerge with technological advancements, Pettit suggests these too need to be regulated to prevent domination. Addressing how non-domination principles should be applied to new ethical and social challenges, Pettit in articles like "The Robust Demands of the Good: Ethics with Attachment, Virtue and Respect" (2015) proposes that technological innovation be accompanied by regulation to ensure individuals’ freedom is not compromised by new forms of control and surveillance (Pettit, 2015, p. 12).

Philip Pettit's contribution to the theory of liberty as non-domination encompasses philosophical foundations and practical applications in contemporary contexts. Emphasizing that true liberty is not merely the absence of interference but the absence of arbitrary domination, Pettit argues this condition must be guaranteed through just institutions, active citizen participation, and inclusive public deliberation. Offering a robust framework for building freer and more just societies, Pettit's theory highlights the importance of responsibility, accountability, and equity at both national and global levels.

CRITICAL COMPARISONS: PETTIT’S THEORY OF LIBERTY IN THE FACE OF AGREEMENT AND DIVERGENCE

Philip Pettit’s theory of liberty as non-domination offers a nuanced framework that redefines political freedom. Unlike traditional views that focus on the absence of interference, Pettit emphasizes freedom from arbitrary power. This approach highlights the necessity for societal structures that prevent such domination and ensure accountability, creating a robust and inclusive concept of liberty.
In "The Common Mind" (1996), Pettit argues that collective rationality, formed through public deliberation, is crucial for democratic governance. He suggests that decisions must reflect the common good rather than individual preferences, advocating for a dialogic approach where inclusive and egalitarian deliberation shapes societal norms. This collective rationality surpasses individual rationalities by promoting social cohesion and preventing the concentration of power that leads to domination (Pettit, 1996, p. 33).

Shifting focus to institutional frameworks, Pettit in "Republicanism" (1997) defines liberty as the absence of domination, where no person or group can arbitrarily interfere in others' choices. He asserts that true liberty requires republican institutions that distribute power equitably and foster active civic participation. Pettit highlights the need for continuous vigilance and robust mechanisms to ensure no entity accumulates excessive power, which could undermine individual autonomy and dignity (Pettit, 1997, pp. 32, 49).

In "A Theory of Freedom" (2001), Pettit connects personal liberty to the absence of fear from arbitrary interference. He contends that true freedom involves security and autonomy, safeguarded by societal structures that protect individuals from all forms of domination. This perspective links personal freedom with political systems that prevent any potential for arbitrary power, emphasizing the importance of a secure environment for exercising freedom (Pettit, 2001, p. 14).

"Made with Words" (2008) explores the role of language in shaping societal structures. Pettit examines how language can either foster liberty or perpetuate domination. He argues that effective and inclusive communication is vital for public deliberation and constructing a just society. By enabling clear and open dialogue, language can challenge unjust power dynamics and promote a culture of non-domination (Pettit, 2008, p. 14).

Expanding his theory to collective entities, Pettit, in collaboration with Christian List in "Group Agency" (2011), discusses how organizations like corporations should be structured to avoid internal and external domination. They propose that such entities must operate transparently and responsibly to ensure they do not exert arbitrary power over their members or other groups. Pettit and
List argue for applying non-domination principles to organizational governance, advocating for accountability and ethical management (Pettit & List, 2011, p. 30).

"On the People’s Terms" (2012) provides a detailed model for democratic institutions that uphold liberty as non-domination. Pettit asserts that a true democracy must grant all citizens equal power to influence decisions, preventing any group from dominating others politically. This requires systems that are transparent, accountable, and promote broad participation. Pettit’s vision of democracy is one where all voices are equally heard and respected in the political process (Pettit, 2012, p. 66).

Applying his principles globally, Pettit in "Just Freedom" (2014) argues that liberty as non-domination should guide international relations. He suggests that global policies must prevent countries or corporations from exercising arbitrary power over others. Pettit advocates for cooperative and respectful global governance, ensuring that all nations have an equal say in decisions that affect them, thus avoiding domination and fostering mutual respect (Pettit, 2014, pp. 21, 44).

In "The Economy of Esteem" (2004), co-authored with Geoffrey Brennan, Pettit delves into social justice and the need for policies that promote equity. They argue that social recognition and esteem are essential for maintaining liberty as non-domination. Ensuring that individuals receive appropriate recognition and respect is crucial to a society that upholds justice and prevents social domination (Pettit & Brennan, 2004, p. 40).

Throughout his works, Pettit emphasizes the critical role of accountability. In "Republicanism" (1997), he argues for transparent institutions and accountable rulers to prevent domination. This theme continues in "On the People’s Terms" (2012), where Pettit outlines mechanisms to ensure democratic institutions are responsive to citizens’ needs. Accountability, according to Pettit, is not only crucial for efficient governance but also a moral imperative to ensure power is exercised justly and not arbitrarily (Pettit, 2012, pp. 78, 90).

Pettit’s comprehensive theory of liberty as non-domination integrates philosophical foundations with practical applications, making it relevant in contemporary contexts. He insists that true liberty is the absence of arbitrary
domination, safeguarded by just institutions, active civic participation, and inclusive public deliberation. Pettit’s framework offers a robust blueprint for societies that aim to protect individuals from arbitrary power, ensuring they can participate fully and freely in civic life. His vision calls for continuous vigilance and engagement in democratic processes to maintain and promote freedom in its fullest sense.

CRITICAL COMPARISONS: PETTIT’S THEORY OF LIBERTY IN THE FACE OF AGREEMENT AND DIVERGENCE

When comparing Lovett's concept of liberty with Pettit's, both authors agree on the centrality of non-domination. However, Lovett expands the discussion by detailing the institutional mechanisms needed to prevent domination. He highlights the need for a robust system of checks and balances to ensure no entity can exercise arbitrary power, complementing and enriching Pettit's theory by suggesting that true liberty requires a complex institutional infrastructure.

Ian Shapiro, in "Politics Against Domination" (2016), proposes that combating domination should be a central principle of democratic politics. Shapiro criticizes models that ignore power dynamics, aligning with Pettit by emphasizing the need for constant vigilance and robust mechanisms to prevent power concentration (Shapiro, 2016, p. 13). In "Democratic Justice" (1999), Shapiro argues that democratic justice should be structured to prevent domination, complementing Pettit's need for checks and balances. Public deliberation and citizen participation are crucial for achieving democratic justice, as the absence of domination is necessary for true political freedom (Shapiro, 1999, p. 58).

Maurizio Viroli, in "Republicanism" (2002), offers a historical view of republicanism, exploring how Pettit's ideas relate to earlier traditions. Viroli argues that liberty as non-domination has deep roots in republican thought, reinforcing the contemporary relevance of Pettit's proposals (Viroli, 2002, p. 12). In "As If God Existed" (2012), Viroli explores the interaction between religion and liberty, highlighting the importance of protecting religious freedom within a
republican framework (Viroli, 2012, p. 22). Viroli’s historical perspective provides valuable context for understanding Pettit’s ideas, showing the continuity and evolution of republican principles.

Stuart White, in “Equality” (2007), discusses the relationship between equality and liberty. White argues that equality of opportunity is crucial for liberty as non-domination, highlighting the importance of policies promoting social justice and equitable distribution of resources (White, 2007, p. 20). In “The Civic Minimum” (2003), White discusses economic rights and citizenship, arguing that liberty as non-domination requires access to economic resources enabling full civic participation (White, 2003, p. 36). White’s emphasis on economic justice brings a critical material dimension to Pettit’s theory, linking economic rights to civic participation.


By analyzing criticisms and contributions, Philip Pettit demonstrates that his theory of liberty as non-domination is robust, adaptable, and expandable. His responses are grounded in a wide range of works that address liberty from multiple angles, from the need for just institutional structures to the importance of public deliberation and social inclusion. Pettit shows that true liberty requires not only the absence of interference but also the construction of a social, economic, and political environment that allows all individuals to participate fully in civic life, free from arbitrary domination. He reaffirms the need for constant vigilance, active participation, and inclusive democratic structures to ensure that liberty is protected from all forms of domination, demonstrating the continued relevance and practical applicability of his theory in varied and challenging contexts.
CONCLUSION

The conclusion on Philip Pettit's theory of liberty as non-domination highlights the depth and resilience of this concept in response to various criticisms. Unlike traditional negative liberty, which focuses on the absence of interference, Pettit constructs a conception of liberty that significantly differs by emphasizing the absence of arbitrary domination. According to Pettit, true liberty resides where no person is subject to the arbitrary control of another (Pettit, 1997, p. 35). This focus redefines liberty, providing a robust framework for just and equitable institutions (Pettit, 1997, p. 50).

Incorporating the importance of democratic institutions, active civic participation, and continuous vigilance is central to Pettit's theory. He contends in "Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government" (1997) that liberty can only be guaranteed by institutions that prevent power concentration and distribute power equitably (Pettit, 1997, p. 60). Essential to maintaining these structures and preventing domination are civic participation and constant vigilance (Pettit, 1997, p. 75).

Pettit emphasizes in "The Common Mind" (1996) the significance of collective rationality and public deliberation, arguing that just and thoughtful decisions emerge from inclusive interaction and dialogue among citizens (Pettit, 1996, p. 45). This deliberative process is fundamental for social cohesion and democratic governance, crucial aspects for preventing domination (Pettit, 1996, p. 60).


Addressing the intersection of liberty, social justice, and recognition, Pettit argues in "The Economy of Esteem" (2004), co-authored with Geoffrey Brennan, that liberty as non-domination must include social recognition and appropriate esteem to avoid social domination (Pettit & Brennan, 2004, p. 70).
In addressing criticisms, Pettit demonstrates that the robustness of his theory lies in integrating different dimensions of justice and liberty. True liberty is not merely the absence of interference but involves constructing a social, economic, and political environment that enables full civic participation without arbitrary domination (Pettit, 1997, p. 90). Enriched by critical contributions, Pettit's theory proves resilient, consolidating as a comprehensive approach applicable to contemporary challenges in democratic politics (Pettit, 2012, p. 85).

REFERENCES


