

Albert O. Hirschman



# THE RHETORIC OF REACTION

PERVERSITY

FUTILITY

JEOPARDY

# The Rhetoric Of Reaction Perversity Futility Jeopardy

**Cass R. Sunstein**



## **The Rhetoric Of Reaction Perversity Futility Jeopardy:**

**The Rhetoric of Reaction** Albert O. Hirschman, 1991-03 Hirschman maps the diffuse and treacherous world of reactionary rhetoric in which conservative public figures, thinkers and polemicists have been arguing against progressive agendas and reforms for 200 years. Ultimately he shows that progressives are apt to employ related rhetorical postures which are as biased as their reactionary counterparts.

*The Rhetoric of Reaction* Albert O. Hirschman, 1991 With engaging wit and subtle irony Albert Hirschman maps the diffuse and treacherous world of reactionary rhetoric in which conservative public figures, thinkers and polemicists have been arguing against progressive agendas and reforms for the past two hundred years. Hirschman draws his examples from three successive waves of reactive thought that arose in response to the liberal ideas of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man to democratization and the drive toward universal suffrage in the nineteenth century and to the welfare state in our own century. In each case he identifies three principal arguments invariably used:

- 1 the perversity thesis whereby any action to improve some feature of the political, social or economic order is alleged to result in the exact opposite of what was intended;
- 2 the futility thesis which predicts that attempts at social transformation will produce no effects whatever; and
- 3 the jeopardy thesis holding that the cost of the proposed reform is unacceptable because it will endanger previous hard won accomplishments.

He illustrates these propositions by citing writers across the centuries from Alexis de Tocqueville to George Stigler, Herbert Spencer to Jay Forrester, Edmund Burke to Charles Murray. Finally in a lightning turnabout he shows that progressives are frequently apt to employ closely related rhetorical postures which are as biased as their reactionary counterparts. For those who aspire to the genuine dialogue that characterizes a truly democratic society, Hirschman points out that both types of rhetoric function in effect as contraptions designed to make debate impossible. In the process, his book makes an original contribution to democratic thought. *The Rhetoric of Reaction* is a delightful handbook for all discussions of public affairs, the welfare state and the history of social, economic and political thought whether conducted by ordinary citizens or academics.

**The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy** Albert O. Hirschman, 2003

*The Rhetoric of Reaction Redux* Cass R. Sunstein, 2022 In *The Rhetoric of Reaction* published in 1991, Albert Hirschman identified three standard objections to reform proposals: perversity, futility and jeopardy. In Hirschman's account, these objections define reactionary rhetoric. As Hirschman had it, a proposal would be perverse if it would aggravate the very problem it is meant to solve; it would be futile if it would achieve nothing; and it would produce jeopardy if it would endanger some other goal, value or hard won achievement such as liberty or economic growth. The rhetoric of reaction comes from both left and right, though in Hirschman's account it is a special favorite of the right. Hirschman urged that in light of the rote and even mechanical character of the rhetoric of reaction, some apparently original and brilliant insights end up looking rather less impressive and sometimes even comical. In many ways, ours is an Era of Reactionary Rhetoric. The

perversity futility and jeopardy theses have often been invoked to challenge reforms including nudges in such areas as environmental protection gun control road safety COVID 19 food safety climate change occupational safety and civil rights While the three theses are sometimes supported by the evidence they are often a form of motivated reasoning evidence free speculations thus confirming Hirschman's suggestion that the rhetoric of reaction has a certain elementary sophistication and paradoxical quality that carry conviction for those who are in search of instant insights and utter certainties The long term challenge is to avoid perversity futility and jeopardy both by meeting the rhetoric of reaction and more fundamentally by devising reform proposals that cannot plausibly be subject to reactionary objections

The Ideology of Political Reactionaries Richard Shorten, 2021-12-30 The Ideology of Political Reactionaries offers a new perspective on the beliefs reactionaries share presenting a theory of reactionary ideology in the process Rather than taking self contradictions in the reactionary imagination as a reason for diminishment complexity is taken as a challenge The book argues that the features that unite reactionaries lie in rhetoric Reactionaries make three persuasive appeals to decadence conspiracy and indignation They also display some recurrent styles The book's rhetorical approach entails a critique of the alternative approaches to reactionary politics dubbed as dispositional sociological and conceptual At the heart of the book is the textual analysis of the writings of a range of figures who are chosen in deliberate diversity and who have interacted with political audiences in different eras and settings Edmund Burke Joseph de Maistre Sarah Palin Donald Trump Adolf Hitler Eric Zemmour Joe McCarthy Anders Breivik and Nigel Farage Analysis of their writings helps the book to reckon with some particular puzzles of ideologies and rhetoric These puzzles include the proximity of reactionaries to conservatism the ambiguity of their nostalgia the myth of their essential charisma and the apparent fetishisation of facts The Ideology of Political Reactionaries ought to interest anyone concerned about current ideological trends and in particular students and scholars of politics and history

**Citizenship and Collective Identity in Europe** Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski, 2009-12-04 This book is the first monograph to systematically explore the relationship between citizenship and collective identity in the European Union integrating two fields of research citizenship and collective identity Karolewski argues that various types of citizenship correlate with differing collective identities and demonstrates the link between citizenship and collective identity He constructs three generic models of citizenship including the republican the liberal and the caesarean citizenship to which he ascribes types of collective identity Using a multidisciplinary approach the book integrates concepts theories and empirical findings from sociology in the field of citizenship research social psychology in the field of collective identity legal studies in the chapter on the European Charter of Fundamental Rights security studies in the chapter on the politics of insecurity and philosophy in the chapter on pathologies of deliberation to examine the current trends of European citizenship and European identity politics This book will be of interest to students and scholars of European politics political theory political philosophy sociology and social psychology

*Institutional Bypasses* Mariana Mota Prado, Michael J. Trebilcock, 2018-11-22 Analyzes

institutional bypasses a strategy to promote change and implement reforms in developing countries **Joseph de Maistre and his European Readers**, 2011-05-23 Following the publication of Isaiah Berlin's essay on Joseph de Maistre 1753-1821 the Savoyard philosopher has been known primarily in the English speaking world as a precursor of fascism The essays in this volume challenge this view Disclosing the inaccuracies and limitations of Berlin's account they illustrate Maistre's colossally diverse European posterity Far from an inflexible ideologist Maistre was a versatile and deeply modern thinker who attracted interpreters across the political spectrum Through the centuries Maistre's passionate Europeanism has contributed to his popularity from Madrid to Moscow And in our times when religion is reasserting itself as a source of public reason his theorization of the encounter between tradition and modernity is lending his work ever more urgent relevance Cover illustration by Matthieu Manche **A Treatise on Northern Ireland** Brendan O'Leary, 2019 The third

volume of the definitive political history of Northern Ireland Common Pierre Dardot, Christian Laval, 2019-01-24 Around the globe contemporary protest movements are contesting the oligarchic appropriation of natural resources public services and shared networks of knowledge and communication These struggles raise the same fundamental demand and rest on the same irreducible principle the common In this exhaustive account Pierre Dardot and Christian Laval show how the common has become the defining principle of alternative political movements in the 21st century In societies deeply shaped by neoliberal rationality the common is increasingly invoked as the operative concept of practical struggles creating new forms of democratic governance In a feat of analytic clarity Dardot and Laval dissect and synthesize a vast repository on the concept of the commons from the fields of philosophy political theory economics legal theory history theology and sociology Instead of conceptualizing the common as an essence of man or as inherent in nature the thread developed by Dardot and Laval traces the active lives of human beings only a practical activity of commoning can decide what will be shared in common and what rules will govern the common's citizen subjects This rearticulation of the common calls for nothing less than the institutional transformation of society by society it calls for a revolution **The Ethics of Public Health**

**Paternalism** T M Wilkinson, 2024-12-30 This is an open access title available under the terms of a CC BY NC ND 4.0 International licence It is free to read on the Oxford Academic platform and offered as a free PDF download from OUP and selected open access locations The Ethics of Public Health Paternalism is about policies that try to stop people damaging their own health From the point of view of public health advocates if people did not smoke or drink less alcohol or kept off junk food and sugary liquids they would tend to be healthier Hence such tactics as taxing tobacco restricting the sale of alcohol and limiting the density of fast food outlets Because these tactics appear to limit freedom of choice they are often pejoratively described as the actions of a nanny state that overvalues health and wrongly infringes on the autonomy of adults But many of us want to be healthy rather than ill and alive rather than dead Does a state really nanny us when it uses its power to make us healthier If it does should it stop Some public health policies might reduce inequities of health or save

costs in medical treatment or correct market failures But as this book shows lots would not The best case for many public health interventions is paternalistic aiming to steer people away from making unhealthy choices against their own interests But even though it is the best case it often fails It overvalues health and undervalues autonomy It exaggerates the influence of addiction and the marketing of unhealthy products Except for smoking we do not have the evidence needed to show that unhealthy choices are so mistaken as to justify the interventions Much of what modern public health does when it tries to stop adults damaging their health has not been justified The Ethics of Public Health Paternalism applies political and moral philosophy to the ideas of both supporters and critics of public health interventions It uses philosophical analysis of the values of health and well being to explain what sort of evidence is needed to support public health interventions thus exposing a major gap in the arguments of public health advocates and it engages in detail with empirical evidence for instance about smokers regrets

**Creating Conservatism** Michael J. Lee, 2014-08-01 Creating Conservatism charts the vital role of canonical post World War II 1945 1964 books in generating guiding and sustaining conservatism as a political force in the United States Dedicated conservatives have argued for decades that the conservative movement was a product of print rather than a march a protest or a pivotal moment of persecution The Road to Serfdom Ideas Have Consequences Witness The Conservative Mind God and Man at Yale The Conscience of a Conservative and other mid century texts became influential not only among conservative office holders office seekers and well heeled donors but also at dinner tables school board meetings and neighborhood reading groups These books are remarkable both because they enumerated conservative political positions and because their memorable language demonstrated how to take those positions functioning in essence as debate handbooks Taking an expansive approach the author documents the wide influence of the conservative canon on traditionalist and libertarian conservatives By exploring the varied uses to which each founding text has been put from the Cold War to the culture wars Creating Conservatism generates original insights about the struggle over what it means to think and speak conservatively in America

*A Treatise on Northern Ireland, Volume III* Brendan O'Leary, 2019-04-17 The Good Friday Agreement deserved the attention the world gave it even if it was not always accurately understood After its ratification in two referendums for the first time in history political institutions throughout the island of Ireland rested upon the freely given assent of majorities of all the peoples on the island It marked it was hoped the full political decolonization of Ireland Whether Ireland would reunify or whether Northern Ireland remain in union with Great Britain now rested on the will of the people of Ireland North and South respectively a complex mode of power sharing addressed the self determination dispute The concluding volume of Brendan O Leary s *A Treatise on Northern Ireland* explains the making of this settlement and the many failed initiatives that preceded it under British direct rule Long term structural and institutional changes and short term political maneuvers are given their due in this lively but comprehensive assessment The Anglo Irish Agreement is identified as the political tipping point itself partially the outcome of the hunger strikes of 1980 81 that had prevented the

criminalization of republicanism Until 2016 the prudent judgment seemed to be that the Good Friday Agreement had broadly worked eventually enabling Sinn Féin and the DUP to share power with intermittent attention from the sovereign governments Cultural Catholics appeared content if not in love with the Union with Great Britain But the decision to hold a referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union has collaterally damaged and destabilized the Good Friday Agreement That in turn has shaped the UK's tortured exit negotiations with the European Union In appraising these recent events and assessing possible futures readers will find O Leary's distinctive angle of vision clear sharp unsentimental and unsparing of reputations in keeping with the mastery of the historical panoramas displayed throughout this treatise *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath* Kieran Williams, 1997-09-08 The Prague Spring of 1968 was among the most important episodes in post war European politics In this book Kieran Williams analyses the attempt at reform socialism under Alexander Dubcek using materials and sources which have become available in the wake of the 1989 revolution Drawing on declassified documents from party archives the author readdresses important questions surrounding the Prague Spring Why did liberalization occur What was it intended to achieve Why did the Soviet Union intervene with force What was the political outcome of the invasion What part did the reformers play in ending the experiment in reform socialism What was the role of the security police under Dubcek The book will provide new information for specialists as well as introductory analysis and narrative for students of East European politics and history and Soviet foreign policy *Animal Ethics in the Wild* Catia Faria, 2022-12-22 Animals like humans suffer and die from natural causes This is particularly true of animals living in the wild given their high exposure to and low capacity to cope with harmful natural processes Most wild animals likely have short lives full of suffering usually ending in terrible deaths This book argues that on the assumption that we have reasons to assist others in need we should intervene in nature to prevent or reduce the harms wild animals suffer provided that it is feasible and that the expected result is positive overall It is of the utmost importance that academics from different disciplines as well as animal advocates begin to confront this issue The more people are concerned with wild animal suffering the more probable it is that safe and effective solutions to the plight of wild animals will be implemented in the future *Firepower* Matthew J. Lacombe, 2021-03-09 Introduction Explaining the NRA's power The political weaponization of gun owners the NRA and gun ownership as social identity America's first freedom the NRA's gun centric political ideology Gun policy during the NRA's quasi governmental phase The party group alignment of the NRA and the GOP Gun policy during the NRA's partisan phase Conclusion **The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies** Michael Freeden, Lyman Tower Sargent, Marc Stears, 2013-08-15 This is the first comprehensive volume to offer a state of the art investigation both of the nature of political ideologies and of their main manifestations The diversity of ideology studies is represented by a mixture of the range of theories that illuminate the field combined with an appreciation of the changing complexity of concrete ideologies and the emergence of new ones Ideologies however are always with us The Handbook is divided into three

sections The first is divided into three sections The first reflects some of the latest thinking about the development of ideology on an historical dimension from the standpoints of conceptual history Marx studies social science theory and history and leading schools of continental philosophy The second includes some of the most recent interpretations and theories of ideology all of which are sympathetic in their own ways to its exploration and close investigation even when judiciously critical of its social impact This section contains many of the more salient contemporary accounts of ideology The third focuses on the leading ideological families and traditions as well as on some of their cultural and geographical manifestations incorporating both historical and contemporary perspectives Each chapter is written by an expert in their field bringing the latest approaches and understandings to their task The Handbook will position the study of ideologies in the mainstream of political theory and political analysis and will attest to its indispensability both to courses on political theory and to scholars who wish to take their understanding of ideologies in new directions

### **Blame Welfare, Ignore Poverty and Inequality**

Joel F. Handler, Yeheskel Hasenfeld, 2006-11-27 With the passage of the 1996 welfare reform not only welfare but poverty and inequality have disappeared from the political discourse The decline in the welfare rolls has been hailed as a success This book challenges that assumption It argues that while many single mothers left welfare they have joined the working poor and fail to make a decent living The book examines the persistent demonization of poor single mother families the impact of the low wage market on perpetuating poverty and inequality and the role of the welfare bureaucracy in defining deserving and undeserving poor It argues that the emphasis on family values marriage promotion sex education and abstinence is misguided and diverts attention from the economic hardships low income families face The book proposes an alternative approach to reducing poverty and inequality that centers on a children's allowance as basic income support coupled with jobs and universal child care

### **Against Post-Liberal Courts and Justice**

Lesley A. Jacobs, Matthew McManus, 2023-12-27 This book covers how Liberal institutions constitutional democracy economic markets liberal courts free trade international human rights around the world are under assault by the political right and we are witnessing the emergence of post liberal institutions These post liberal institutions are founded on the core conviction that the actions of liberal institutions including the United States Supreme Court are patently unjust This volume makes the case against post liberal courts and justice by reconnecting to the principles of moral equality and dignified freedom for all The intention is to show how there is great untapped potential in the work of Ronald Dworkin's work to demonstrate that it can help progressive liberals think through the great issues of the day and respond to the contemporary criticisms of the political right The core themes are concretely illustrated by focusing on some of the most controversial recent post liberal decisions of the Supreme Court ranging from election funding to abortion to race sensitive affirmative action to economic inequality in an age of increasingly unequal opportunities

### **The Political Economy of Rule Evasion and Policy Reform**

Jim Leitzel, 2002-11-07 This book develops the logic underlying the connections between breaking the rules and making the rules Approaching policy issues from this



point of view provides a perspective that illuminates a wide variety of phenomena

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