### Extraordinary Responsibility

Careful attention to contemporary political debates, including those around global warming, the federal debt, and the use of drone strikes on suspected terrorists, reveals that we often view our responsibility as something that can be quantified and discharged. Shalini Satkunanandan shows how Plato, Kant, Nietzsche, Weber, and Heidegger each suggest that this calculative or bookkeeping mindset both belongs to "morality," understood as part of our ordinary approach to responsibility, and effaces the incalculable, undischargeable, and more onerous dimensions of our responsibility. These thinkers also reveal how the view of responsibility as calculable is at the heart of "moralism" - the pettifogging, mindless, legalistic, excessively judgmental, or punitive policing of our own or others' compliance with moral duties. By elaborating their narratives of a difficult "conversion" to the open-ended and relentless character of responsibility, Satkunanandan explores how we might be less moralistic and more responsible in politics. She ultimately argues for a political ethos attentive to how calculative thinking can limit our responsibility, but that still accepts a circumscribed place for calculation (and morality) in responsible politics.

Shalini Satkunanandan is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Davis. She is a past Harper-Schmidt Fellow in the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago. Her work on responsibility in politics and on the role of secular "faith" in law has appeared in *Political Theory*, the *American Political Science Review*, and *Law*, *Culture and the Humanities*. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-08272-4 - Extraordinary Responsibility: Politics Beyond the Moral Calculus Shalini Satkunanandan Frontmatter More information

For Thanaluxmi and Veluppillai Satkunanandan

# Extraordinary Responsibility

Politics Beyond the Moral Calculus

SHALINI SATKUNANANDAN

University of California, Davis



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107443136

© Shalini Satkunanandan 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Satkunanandan, Shalini, 1974– Extraordinary responsibility : politics beyond the moral calculus / Shalini Satkunanandan, University of California, Davis. pages cm Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-1-107-08272-4 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-107-44313-6 (paperback) I. Responsibility – Philosophy. I. Title. BJ1451.528 2015 170-dc23 2015003112 ISBN 978-1-107-08272-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-44313-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> vii
Introduction: Distracted by Calculation	I
PART ONE CALCULATION AND INDIRECTNESS	
1 Nietzsche: Morality's Debt Perspective	27
2 Heidegger: The Calls of Conscience and Calculation	51
3 (In)Calculable Conversion	73
PART TWO THE MORALIZERS' CRITIQUE OF	
CALCULABLE RESPONSIBILITY	
4 Plato: The Philosopher's Turn from Debt Justice	93
5 Kant: The Extraordinary Categorical Imperative	125
PART THREE TURNING FROM MORALITY IN POLITICS	
6 Weber: The Ethos of Politics Beyond Calculation	149
7 Darkness at Noon: Mis-turn from Morality	171
Conclusion: Attention to Calculation	185
Notes	197
Bibliography	235
Index	247

v

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-08272-4 - Extraordinary Responsibility: Politics Beyond the Moral Calculus Shalini Satkunanandan Frontmatter More information

### Acknowledgments

This study originated in my doctoral work at the University of California, Berkeley, where I had the grace of an exceptionally helpful dissertation committee. Philippe Nonet was astonishing in his care, attention, and insight. I thank him for opening a world of thought and wonder, for being a teacher. Christopher Kutz was a provocative and demanding interlocutor, and remains a thoughtful mentor. Wendy Brown was a terrifyingly incisive devil's advocate, while also providing staunch support at crucial moments. Samuel Scheffler, with his clarifying skepticism and his calm guidance, was masterful in mapping out my confusions.

At Berkeley, the Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program was an incredible home for my graduate studies. I thank David Lieberman, in particular, for looking out for me, both intellectually and otherwise, and for all his sage advice. I cherish my time as a research assistant to the late Philip Selznick. He gave me my first experience of seeing a thinker at work, and offered many important life tips, such as how to read *The New York Times* standing up in a crowded subway. Working for him was a most fitting way to begin graduate school. I also thank Rod Watanabe and Margo Rodriguez for their patience and warmth and for saving me from many administrative pitfalls. I am very grateful for the fellowship support I received from the Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program; the Kadish Center for Morality, Law, and Public Affairs; the U.C. Berkeley Graduate Division; and the Australian Fulbright Commission.

I am indebted to my inspired teachers at the University of New South Wales for showing me this path, encouraging me to take it, and for their help along the way. Martin Krygier somehow knew that Selznick's JSP was the place for me and for that, and the lovely way he writes, I am forever thankful. The wise Helen Pringle has always understood, and so often gently guided me with a single prophetic word. Robert Shelly is a truly gifted teacher of philosophy under the cover of black letter law. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-08272-4 - Extraordinary Responsibility: Politics Beyond the Moral Calculus Shalini Satkunanandan Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

viii

Acknowledgments

At the University of California, Davis, John Scott and Robert Taylor have created a great community for political theory. I thank them for making me part of that community, for their sharp intellectual engagement, and for tolerating my "earnestness." They are just superb colleagues. I also thank Amber Boydstun, Heather McKibben, and Cheryl Boudreau for their camaraderie and mentorship; Cosmo Houck and Robert Lee McNish for their top-notch research assistance; and Cynthia Simmons and Tuyet Hoang for their administrative flair. I will always be grateful to Nathan Tarcov for his kind support during my stint as a Harper Schmidt Fellow at the University of Chicago. During my time at Chicago and ever since Jennifer Pitts has been a generous mentor. I thank her first for her intellectual example, but also for her practical help.

The three reviewers of this book offered careful and erudite responses and, though I have tried to do justice to their comments, I know there was more to be done. I now know who two of the reviewers were: I would like to thank Patchen Markell for showing me, in his characteristically generous and brilliant manner, key undeveloped tensions in my argument; and Doug Thompson for an awe-inspiring set of hugely clarifying and intricately constructive comments. I am very much indebted to my editor at Cambridge, Robert Dreesen, for his thoughtful engagement, promptness, and patience as he shepherded this manuscript to publication. I also thank Elizabeth Janetschek and Brianda Reyes for their extremely responsive editorial assistance, Terry Kornak for her thoughtful copyediting, Gerald Van Ravenswaay for his important help with the index, and Vincent Rajan for carefully overseeing part of the production process.

This book greatly benefited from the generosity of many people who gave me opportunities to present my work to new audiences and who offered critical commentary, whether informally, at talks, or in the process of journal review. I would like to thank specifically Elisabeth Anker, Mark Antaki, Ivan Ascher, Tim Beaumont, Eric Beerbohm, Roger Berkowitz, Ian Blaustein, Bradley Bryan, Chris Buck, Jimmy Casas Klausen, Craig Carson, Anita Chari, Charles Comey, Marianne Constable, Deborah Curran, Meir Dan-Cohen, Mary Dietz, Andrew Dilts, Brian Duff, Doris Fine, Steven Forde, Michael Frazer, Loren Goldman, Robert Gooding-Williams, Kinch Hoekstra, Cosmo Houck, Khalid Kadir, Sara Kendall, Jennett Kirkpatrick, Steven Klein, Karuna Mantena, Mara Marin, Mark Massoud, Dean Mathiowetz, Christopher McClure, Benjamin McKean, Christopher Meckstroth, Robert Meister, Sankar Muthu, Tanner McFadden, James Read, Matthew Scherer, Michelle Schwarze, John Scott, Vanita Seth, Darien Shanske, Sarah Song, Sharon Stanley, Ian Storey, Tracy Strong, Jason Swadley, Robert Taylor, Megan Wachspress, John Warner, Susanne Wengle, Nancy Weston, Yves Winter, and Carla Yumatle. I would also like to thank engaged audiences at the Political Theory Workshop, University of Chicago; the Politics Department Colloquium, University of California, Santa Cruz; the Political Theory Workshop, University of California, Davis; the Department

#### Acknowledgments

of Rhetoric and the GALA Seminar at Boalt Law, University of California, Berkeley; the Political Theory Colloquium, Harvard University; the Association for Political Theory; the Western Political Science Association and the American Political Science Association.

I thank Hanna Pitkin for her remarkable generosity in reading the very early articulations of this project and for the wisdom of her responses. Much later in the project James Martel, fellow patron of Crixa Cakes, asked some crucial questions that really changed how I interpreted many of the thinkers I survey. Thank you to Marianne Constable for her illuminating conversations about this project, work, and life both in graduate school and beyond. Special thanks also to Jill Frank, who has been of great help to me in thinking through the Plato chapter of this book. I find talking to her about Plato exhilarating! In addition to her existential support, my friend Julie Cooper also gave me invaluable, meticulous comments on parts of this manuscript.

At graduate school in Berkeley I was lucky to make some wonderful friends. I thank the awesome Ivan Ascher and Anne Pycha for a certain last-minute dinner party, Geoff Mann for his wit and his friends, Bradley Bryan and Deborah Curran for being such immediately kindred spirits, Mark Antaki for being such a brilliant gadfly, Maya Jegen and Frédéric Mérand for their promise of communal retirement living, and Carla Yumatle for her invigorating conversation. Rashmi Sadana could not have been a better neighbor. Sara Kendall, thank you for all the walks and fascinating talks, and your incredible friendship. Thank you to Emily Beller for all the laughs and unimplemented skiing advice. Brian Duff is proof of the craziness of truth-tellers. In their work Jacqueline Gehring and Joshua Wilson each remind me of why I chose to study "Law and …" in the first place. Darien Shanske is a master of legal theory and philosophy and I am so glad that now he is also a part of my working life.

There are some folks from Sydney who have given me decades of friendship and I would like to say how much I appreciate them. Thank you to Bronwyn Isaac for being my best friend, for our conversations about politics and other unmentionables, and for being the reason I started taking political theory classes. Thank you to Shankari Nadanachandran for her writerly inspiration and to B. J. Kim for his artistic inspiration. Thank you to Lara Scott for her humor, her tremendous understanding, and for her work. Thank you to Sharath Srinivasan for making philosophy a way of life way back when we used to chat every Saturday morning. Thank you to Michael Ryan for being the Platonic Ideal of an Australian! An important, delayed thank you to Sudhir Sivarajah for the gift of Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* so long ago. And thank you to Sathya Tharmakumar, whom I now think of as family.

Thank you also to those friends who have helped make the Bay Area feel more like home. To Peter Kim for always looking out for me and my family, to Matt Tsang and Arlie Stern for teaching me the philosophy of sports, to Jake Kosek for being such a mad rush of love for life, to Anne Eschtruth

ix

х

Acknowledgments

and Charmin Roundtree-Baaqee for being such formidable friends, and to my favorite decadent Sai Sriskandarajah. Most importantly, I thank my dear sister, Karthiga Satkunanandan, and the terrific Luckshman Parameswaran for their many, many kindnesses, both now and during graduate school, and for my most excellent nephews, Jayshan and Arvin.

I thank my late grandmother Vadivalagu Ramanathan for her cheerful and accepting love, her grace, her own surreptitious feminism, and her beautifully proper relationship with my beloved grandfather Sinnathamby Ramanathan. My fraternal grandparents Murugesu Vellupillai and the doughty, abundantly-loving Rassammah Vellupillai were teachers and I like to imagine that in some way I have followed their footsteps. I also thank Malathi and Sankar Narayan for making me part of their family, for their supererogatory love, and their unstinting support for all my endeavors – academic, culinary, horticultural, and otherwise.

I dedicate this study to my parents, Thanam and Victor. My relationship with them is one of the great treasures of my life. I love to talk politics with my father and political theory with my mother. I am so proud of what they have overcome and accomplished in their lives, and of how they continue to be up for change. I am deeply grateful for their unconditional love – expressed in inexhaustible yet concrete acts – and all they have taught me, including how to laugh at almost *anything*.

I thank my daughter Akhila for her lively chatter, sly jokes, chirpy song, and exemplary approach to her own manuscripts. I cannot think of anyone more appropriate than E. B. White to capture a small part of my gratitude to and appreciation for Sanjay Narayan: "It is not often that someone comes along who is a true friend and a good writer." Sanjay, thanks for all the great conversations, for the endless disagreements about how to characterize particular political events, for keeping me connected to the wider world of books, for being a partner, and for our shared life.