



Realistic Justice

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Overview

1. Politics or work?
2. Principles of distributive justice
3. Defence of the difference principle
4. Psychological explanation

1. Politics or work?

Against libertarianism and
luck egalitarianism –
against moral
individualism



But what does it mean
concretely?

1. Politics or work?

Model 1



1. Politics or work?

Model 2



1. Politics or work?

Ethical model of cooperation

Practice of cooperation which is representative for a whole society:

- (1) practice necessary for a society
- (2) involves all members potentially
- (3) central in the individual lives of normal members of society
- (4) potentially the basis of mutual moral recognition
- (5) potentially the basis of distribution of commonly produced goods.

1. Politics or work?

Practice	Politics	Work
necessary for society	yes	yes
Involves all members potentially	with strong gradual differences	with mild gradual differences
Is central to individual lives of nearly all members	no	yes (modern societies)
Is potentially the basis of mutual recognition	???	yes (cooperative societies)
Is potentially the basis of distribution of produced goods	???	yes

1. Politics or work?

Conclusion

- Cooperative **work** is the better model for the cooperative part in society
- Principles of justice should relate to the involvement of all members in **work**
- Potential for a just society can be studied in the extent of justice in the **work-sphere**.
- Discursive/democratic cooperation something to follow later.

2.Principles of justice

Fair equality of opportunity (FEO)

Differences in socially caused deficits due to upbringing and unequal wealth must be corrected.

Why: because if differences are socially caused, social responsibility has to be taken for them.

Contrast: natural differences are naturally caused – no social responsibility.

Problem 1: Genetically disabled?

Problem 2: FEO highly idealistic: (i) distinction natural/social in talents vague, (ii) actual societies not fair.

2.Principles of justice

Repair principle = (justification of) difference principle (Rawls)

Inequalities in wealth and income are justified, if the increase in both – relative to a baseline of equality – for the more well-off does also improve the wealth/income of the less-well off.

Example:

1. A and B are each working 5 hours and each produces 3 shoes – income splits **equally** into 3 units for each.
2. A wants to produce 5 shoes (working heavier/longer), B does not.
3. A and B together are producing 8 shoes -- income splits **unequally**. A receives 4,5 units, B receives 3,5 units.

3. Defence of the difference principle

Difference principle generalized

(1)

If there is a social or economic inequality (jobs, positions, income) it is justified only, if it is to the **greatest expected benefit** of the least advantaged.

(2)

If there is a social or economic inequality (jobs, positions, income), it is justified only, if the more well-off **can convince** the less well-off of their increased benefits.

Conclusion: Among people with unequal talents strict equality must be unjust – but inequality also has to be justified.

3. Defence of the difference principle

Bargaining objection to difference principle

More talented: Listen, less talented, I accept to work harder or longer, but only if I receive 99% of the surplus. What do you think?

Less talented: Hm, well yes, but that is brute force.

Does the principle justify a form of blackmail?

- Managers against workers?
- Banks against depositors?
- Capitalists against non-capitalists?

3. Defence of the difference principle

Remind of: (2)

If there is a social or economic inequality (jobs, positions, income), it is justified only, if the more well-off **can convince** the less well-off of their increased benefits.

This means:

- There is the condition of mutual **justification and consent** – different to bargaining and blackmail.
- There are local criteria of **desert**: working longer, taking special risks, being specially capable (sports stars, artists), etc.
- There is a **mutual dependency** within cooperation: no one can work efficiently without the other.

4. Psychological explanation

Reciprocity in Rawls' principles of justice?

Fair equality of opportunity: Correction of **socially** caused unequal starting positions, but not in natural ones.

Reciprocity? Social restrictions to the unequal are being made good. Reciprocity between social causes and social compensation.

Difference principle: Differences in wealth and income are just if they help the worse-off in the unequal relation.

Reciprocity? Worse-off accept the better-off to earn more, and the better off subsidize the worse-off.

In both cases reciprocity between classes, not individual persons!

4. Psychological explanation

The work ahead: hypothetical history

Justice in the **economic sphere**

leads to

Recognition of individual workers in the **economic sphere**

leads to

Recognition of individual citizens in the **political sphere**.

Programme: cooperation in work enables cooperation in politics.