POLS 8090 Baldwin 404

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Alexander Kaufman [akaufman@uga.edu](mailto:akaufman@uga.edu)

*Theories of Equality*

*What aspects of a person's condition should count in a fundamental way for egalitarians?* Since Amartya Sen problematized this question in his "Equality of What?" Tanner Lectures of the late 1970s, the question has been the subject of a continuous stream of articles, monographs and extended studies. Richard Arneson, G. A. Cohen, Ronald Dworkin, Jon Elster, Martha Nussbaum, Thomas Nagel, Derek Parfit, John Roemer, T. M. Scanlon, Larry Temkin and Philippe Van Parijs, among others, contributed seminal work during the 1980s and 1990s. Research interest in the area continues to accumulate momentum, with new books by Cohen, Dworkin, Nussbaum, Roemer, and Sen published in the last two years.

Recent work in the discipline has made significant progress in addressing central problems and fundamental issues. Dworkin and Sen, for example, have argued persuasively that many of the objections to equality of welfare can be resolved if the focus of egalitarian concern is shifted from the distribution of goods, per se, to the effect of that distribution on individuals. Nevertheless, many issues remain unresolved. While Sen argues persuasively that a focus on the capacity to act, rather than the bundle of goods consumed, best embodies egalitarian concerns, G. A. Cohen has argued that Sen's account of the fundamental concerns of capabilities equality is problematically heterogeneous. Similarly, while Dworkin argues that egalitarian justice must hold people responsible for their choices, Nussbaum argues persuasively that the preferences that ground choices are often so deeply affected by arbitrary and contingent hereditary or environmental influences that justification for assigning responsibility to the chooser is undermined.

This course will examine several of the central unresolved issues. We will focus, in particular, on the foundational question: what aspects of a person's condition should count in a fundamental way for egalitarians? We will examine responses to this question arguing for equality of resources, welfare, opportunity for welfare, access to advantage and capabilities. In addition, we will assess the implications for egalitarian justice of questions relating to pathologies of preference formation.

*Requirements*

The course will be conducted in a seminar format. It is imperative that students come to class well-prepared to discuss the readings. The grade will be based on class participation (20%) and a 15-25 page paper (80%), due the last class meeting, and addressing issues discussed in the course and readings.

*Texts*

Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

*Course Outline*

J11 *Introduction*

Williams, B. "The Idea of Equality", in *Philosophy, Politics*

*and Society.* 2nd Series. P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman (eds.)

(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962): 110-131.

Walzer, M. "In Defense of Equality", *Dissent*, Fall 1973, Pp. 399-408.

Gutmann, A. *Liberal Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1980), pp. 96-118.

J18 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice,* pp. 15-19, 30-47, 506-16.

Nozick, R. *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 149-183, 232-250.

Scanlon, T. M. “Rawls on Justification,” in S. Freeman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 139-167.

Freeman, S. “Reason and Agreement in Social Contract Views,” in S. Freeman, *Justice and the Social Contract* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

J25 Dworkin, R. "What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of

Resources" (1981b), *Philosophy and Public Affairs 10* (1981),

pp. 283-345 (reprinted in Dworkin, pp. 65-119).

F 1 Scanlon, T. "Preference and Urgency", *Journal of Philosophy* 72 (1975):

655-669.

Sen, A. "Equality of What", in *The Tanner Lectures on Human*

*Values*, vol. 1, S. M. McMurrin (ed.) (Salt Lake City: University

of Utah Press, 1980), Pp. 195-220.

Van Parijs, P. "Equal Endowments As Undominated Diversity",

*Recherches economiques de Louvain* 56 (1990): 327-55.

F 8 Sen, A. "Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures

1984", *Journal of Philosophy* 82 (1985), Pp. 169-220.

Dworkin, pp. 285-303.

F15 Arneson, R. "Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare", *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1989): 77-93.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Liberalism, Distributive Subjectivism, and Equal Opportunity for Welfare", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19 (1990): 158-94.

F22 Cohen, G. A. "On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice", *Ethics 99* (1989), 906-944.

Cohen, G. A. "Equality of What? On Welfare, Goods and

Capabilities" *Recherches economiques de Louvain 56* (1990): 358-381.

Sen, A. "Capability and Well-Being", in Nussbaum, M.C. and Sen, A.K. *The Quality of Life.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993): 30-53.

F29 Anderson, E. "What is the Point of Equality?” *Ethics* 109 (1999): 287-337.

Kaufman, A. ”Choice. Responsibility and Equality,” *Political Studies* 52 (2004): 819-36.

Scheffler, S. “What is Egalitarianism?” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31/1 (2003): 5-39.

M14 *Paper outline due.*

Roemer, J. "Equality of Talent", *Economics and Philosophy* 1 (1985): 151-186.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "The Mismarriage of Bargaining Theory and Distributive Justice", *Ethics* 97 (1986): 88-110.

Scanlon, T. M. "Equality of Resources and Equality of Welfare: Forced Marriage", *Ethics* 97 (1986): 111-118.

M21 Roemer, J. *Egalitarian Perspectives: Essays in philosophical economics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 179-196.

Temkin, L. "Inequality", *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 15 (1986): 99-121.

Dworkin, pp. 11-64.

M28 Raz, J. “Equality” (*The Morality of Freedom*, ch. 0)

Frankfurt, H. "Equality as a moral idea", *Ethics* 98 (1997): 21-43

Nagel. T. “Equality” (*Mortal Questions*, ch. 8)

Parfit, D. "Equality or Priority", in Clayton and Williams (2002).

A 4 Nussbaum, M. C. Creating Capabilities (Harvard, 2011), pp. 69-112.

Robeyns, I. Wellbeing, Freedom, and Social Justice (ORP 2017), pp.21-88.

Alkire, S. Valuing Freedoms (Oxford 2002), pp. 154-198.

A 11 *First Draft of research paper due.*

A 11, 18, 25 Presentations

M 8 Final Paper Due

*Potential Presentation Subjects*

Anderson, E. “The Fundamental Disagreement Between Luck Egalitarians and

Relational Egalitarians,” in Kaufman (2015).

Carens, J. H. “The Egalitarian Ethos as a Social Mechanism,” in Kaufman

(2015).

Carter, I. “Respect and the Basis of Equality,” *Ethics* 121/3 (2011): 538-

71.

Casal, P., “Why Sufficiency is Not Enough,” *Ethics* (2007): 296-236.

Dowding, K. “Can Capabilities Reconcile Freedom and Equality?” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14 (2006): 323-36.

Feldman, F., “Return to Twin Peaks: On the Intrinsic Moral Significance of Equality,” in S. Olsaretti (ed.), *Desert and Justice* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 145-68.

Miller, D. “The Incoherence of Luck Egalitarianism,” in Kaufman

(2015).

Olsaretti, S. “Rescuing Justice and Equality from Libertarianism,”

in Kaufman (2015).

Olsen, K. “The Endowments Tax Puzzle,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 38/3

(2010): 240-71.

Phillips, A. “Defending Equality of Outcome,” *Journal of Political*

*Philosophy* 12 (2004): 1-19.

Scanlon, T. ”The Diversity of Objections to Inequality,” in Clayton and

Williams (2002).

Scanlon, T. M., “Justice, responsibility, and the Demands of Equality,“ in C. Sypnowich (ed.) *The Egalitarian Conscience: Essays in Honour of G. A. Cohen,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 70-

87.

Scheffler, S., “Is the Basic Structure Basic?” in *The Egalitarian Conscience*, pp. 102-129.

Tomlin, P. “What is the point of egalitarian social relationships?”

in Kaufman (2015).

Wollner, G. “Basic Equality and the Currency of Egalitarian Justice,” in

Kaufman (2015).

Ypi, L. “First Principles and the Third Man,” in Kaufman (2015).

*Selective Bibliography*

Alkire, S. *Valuing Freedoms: Sen’s Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Anderson, E. “What is the Point of Equality?” *Ethics* 99/2 (1999).

Anderson, E. “Fair Opportunity in Education: A Democratic

Perspective,” *Ethics* (2007): 595-62.

Anderson, S, “The Fundamental Disagreement between Luck Egalitarians and

Relational Egalitarians” in Kaufman (2015).

Arneson, R. "Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare," *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1989): 77-93.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Against Complex Equality," *Public Affairs Quarterly* 4 (1990a): 429-

54.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Liberalism, Distributive Subjectivism, and Equal Opportunity for

Welfare," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19 (1990b): 158-94.

Arrow, K. J. "Extended Sympathy and the Possibility of Social Choice," *American*

*Economic Review* 67 (1977).

Brighouse, H. and A. Swift. “Equality, Priority, and Positional Goods,” *Ethics*

116 (2006): 471-497.

Buchanan, A. “The Egalitarianism of Human Rights,“ *Ethics* 120/4

(July 2010): 679-710.

Carens, J. “The Egalitarian Ethos as a Social Mechanism,” in

Kaufman (2015).

Carter, I. “Respect and the Basis of Equality,” *Ethics* 121/3 (April 2011): 538-

71.

Casal, P., “Why Sufficiency is Not Enough,” *Ethics* (2007): 296-236.

Clayton, M. and A. Willams (eds.), *The Ideal of Equality*

(Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Cohen, G. A., "On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice," *Ethics 99* (1989), 906-

944.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, "Equality of What? On Welfare, Goods and

Capabilities" *Recherches economiques de Louvain 56* (1990).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Equality of What? On Welfare, Resources and Capabilities," in Nussbaum and Sen (1993).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Incentives, Inequality and Community," in Darwall (1995a), pp. 331-

98.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1995b).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *If You’re an Egalitarian, How Come You’re So Rich?*

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Rescuing Justice and Equality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 2008).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice, and Other*

*Essays in Political Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Crocker, D.A. "Functioning and Capability: The Foundations of Sen's and

Nussbaum's Development Ethic, Part 2," in Nussbaum and Glover

(1995), pp. 153-98.

Daniels, N. "Equality of What? Welfare, Resources or Capabilities," *Philosophy and Phenomonological Research* 50, supp. (1990): 273-96.

Darwall, S., ed, *Equal Freedom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,

1995).

Dowding, K. “Can Capabilities Reconcile Freedom and Equality?”

*Journal of Political Philosophy* 14 (2006): 323-36.

Dworkin, R., "What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare,"

*Philosophy and Public Affairs 10* (1981a): 185-246.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, "What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources,"

*Philosophy and Public Affairs 10* (1981b*):* 283-345.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "What is Equality? III: The Place of Liberty," *Iowa Law*

*Review 73* (1987), pp. 1-54.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "What is Equality? IV: Political Equality," *University*

*of San Francisco Law Review* 22 (1987): 1-30.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Foundations of Liberal Equality," in Darwall (1995), pp. 190-306.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Autonomy and Politics," manuscript (1998)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality*

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "*Sovereign Virtue* Revisited," *Ethics* 113 (October

2002): 106-143.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Equality, Luck and Hierarchy," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 31/2 (Spring 2003): 190-198.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Justice for Hedgehogs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 2010).

Estlund, D, “Liberalism, Equality and Fraternity in Cohen’s Critique of Rawls,“

*Journal of Political Philosophy* 6/1 (1998): 99-112.

Feltham, B. (ed.) *Justice, Equality and Constructivism: Essays on*

*G. A. Cohen’s Rescuing Justice and Equality* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Fleurbaey, M. "Equal Opportunity and Social Outcomes," *Economics and*

*Philosophy* 11 (1995): 25-56.

Frankfurt, H. "Equality as a moral ideal," *Ethics* 98 (1997): 21-43.

Furniss, N. and Tilton, T. *The Case for the Welfare State.*

(Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1979).

Goodin, R. E. *Reasons for Welfare.* (Princeton: Princeton

University Press, 1988).

Gutmann, A. *Liberal Equality.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (ed.) *Democracy and the Welfare State.* (Princeton:

Princeton University Press, 1988).

Hinton, T. “Must Egalitarians Choose Between Fairness and Respect?” *Philosophy &*

*Public Affairs* 30 (2001).

Kamm, F. M. “Sen on Justice and Rights: A Review Essay,” *Philosophy & Public*

*Affairs* 39/1 (Winter 2011): 82-104.

Kaufman, A. “Choice, Responsibility, and Equality,” *Political Studies* 52 (2004):

819-36.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ “Capabilities and Freedom,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14/3

(2006): 289-300.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Rawls’s Egalitarianism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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Kaufman, A. (ed.) *Distributive Justice and Access to Advantage: G. A. Cohen’s*

*Egalitarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Kukathas, C. “The Labour Theory of Justice,” in Kaufman (2015).

Kymlicka, W. *Contemporary Political Philosophy.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1990).

Lazenby, H. “One Kiss Too Many? Giving, Luck Egalitarianism, and

Other-affecting Choice,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18/3 (September 2010): 271-86.

Matravers, M. "Responsibility, Luck, and the 'Equality of What' Debate,"  *Political Studies* 50 (2002): 558-572.

Miller, D. “The Incoherence of Luck Egalitarianism,” in Kaufman (2015).

Murphy, L. “Institutions and the Demands of Justice,” *Philosophy*

*and Public Affairs* 27 (1999).

Nagel, T. *Equality and Partiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1991).

Nussbaum, M. C. "Nature, Function and Capability: Aristotle on Political

Distribution," *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 1988), suppl. vol.:

145-184.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Aristotelian Social Democracy," in R.B. Douglass, G.R. Mara and H.S. Richardson (eds.), *Liberalism and the Good.* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_"Human Functioning and Social Justice: In Defense of Aristotelian Essentialism," *Political Theory* 20 (1992): 202-246.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Human Capabilities, Female Human Beings," in M.C. Nussbaum and J.

Glover (eds.), *Women, Culture and Development.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "The Good As Discipline, The Good As Freedom,"in D. Crocker (ed.),

*The Ethics of Consumption and Global Stewardship* (New York: Rowman and

Littlefield, 1998).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities*

*Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Creating Capabilities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 2011).

Nussbaum, M.C. and Sen, A.K. *The Quality of Life.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

Olsaretti, S. “Rescuing Justice and Equality from Libertarianism,”

in Kaufman (2015).

Olsen, K. “The Endowment Tax Puzzle,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs*

38/3 (Summer 2010): 240-71.

Parfit, D. "On Giving Priority to the Worse Off," manuscript, 1990.

Parfit, D. “Equality or Priority,” in Clayton and Williams (2002).

Pettit, P. "Capability and Freedom: A Defense of Sen," *Economics and Philosophy* 17 (2001): 1-20.

Phillips, A. “Defending Equality of Outcome,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12 (2004): 1-19.

Pogge, T. “On the Site of Distributive Justice: Reflections on

Cohen and Murphy,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 29/2 (2000).

Rawls, J. *A Theory of Justice.* (Cambridge: Harvard

University Press, [1971], 1999).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_, "Social Unity and Primary Goods," in *Utilitarianism and Beyond*, A. K.

Sen and B. Williams (eds.) (New York: Cambridge Univ., 1982).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Political Liberalism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, [1993], 1996).

Raz, J. "Equality," in *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 1986), pp. 217-44.

Robeyns, I. “The Capabilities Approach in Practice,” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 14 (2006): 351-76.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Wellbeing, Freedom, and Social* Justice (OpenBook 2017).

Roemer, J. "Equality of Talent," *Economics and Philosophy* 1 (1985).

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*Quarterly Journal of Economics* 101 (1986a).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "The Mismarriage of Bargaining Theory and Distributive

Justice," *Ethics* 97 (1986b): 88-110.

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Theories of Distributive Justice*. (Cambridge: Harvard University

Press, 1996).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Equality of Opportunity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Rosenberg, A. “Equality, Sufficiency, and Opportunity in the Just

Society,” *Social Philosophy and Policy* 12/2 (1995): 54-71.

Scanlon, T. "Preference and Urgency," *Journal of Philosophy 72 (1975): 665-69.*

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Contractualism and Utilitarianism," in Sen and Williams (1982).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Equality of Resources and Equality of Welfare: A Forced Marriage,"

*Ethics* 97 (1986): 111-118.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "The significance of choice," *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, vol. 8, ed. S. McMurrin (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988): 149-216.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *What We Owe to Each Other* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ ”The Diversity of Objections to Inequality,” in Clayton and Williams (2002).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ “Justice, Responsibility, and the Demands of Equality,” in Sypnowich (2006), pp. 70-87.

Scheffler, S. “What is Egalitarianism?” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31/1 (2003): 5-39.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Equality as the Virtue of Sovereigns: A Reply to Dworkin,"

*Philosophy & Public Affairs* 31/2 (Spring 2003): 199- 206.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ “Is the Basic Structure Basic?” in Sypnowich (2006), pp. 102-129.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Equality & Tradition: Questions of Value in Moral and*

*Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Sen, A., *On Economic Inequality*. (New York: Norton, 1973).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ "Equality of What?" in *The Tanner Lectures on Human*

*Values*, vol. 1, S.M.McMurrin (ed.) (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980), Pp. 195-220.

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Holland, 1985b).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *The Standard of Living.* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1987a).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *On Ethics and Economics*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987b).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *Inequality Reexamined*. (Cambridge: Harvard University

Press, 1992).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_"Capability and Well-Being," in Nussbaum and Sen (1993).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ *The Idea of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 2009).

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Shiffrin, S. “”Incentives, Motives, and Talents,” *Philosophy &*

*Public Affairs* 38/2 (Spring 2010): 111-42.

Stemplowska, Z. “Making Justice Sensitive to Responsibility,”

*Political Studies* 2008: 1-23.

Sypnowich, C. (ed.) *The Egalitarian Conscience: Essays in Honor of*

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Temkin, L. "Inequality," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 15 (1986): 99-121.

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Tomlin, P. “What is the Point of Egalitarian Social Relationships?”

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Vallentyne, P. “Justice, Interpersonal Morality, and Luck

Egalitarianism,” in Kaufman (2015).

Van Parijs, P. "Equal Endowments As Undominated Diversity,"

*Recherches economiques de Louvain* 56 (1990): 327-55.

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*& Public Affairs* 27/3 (1998): 226-48.

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23-29.

Williams, B. "The Idea of Equality," in *Philosophy, Politics*

*and Society.* 2nd Series. P. Laslett and W.G. Runciman (eds.)

(Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962): 110-131.

Wolff, J. “Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos,”

*Philosophy and Public Affairs* 27/2 (1998): 97-127.

Wollner, G. “Basic Equality and the Currency of Egalitarian

Justice,” in Kaufman (2015).

Ypi, L. “First Principles and the Third Man,” in Kaufman (2015).