

Recognition, Redistribution, and Liberty

Jamus Jerome Lim*

*Human Development Network
The World Bank

MPSA National Conference, April 2008



Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Redistribution and Recognition

- Preoccupation of two schools of political theory and philosophy
 - Social justice (Dworkin 1986; Nozick 1974; Rawls 1999) and the politics of class
 - Mutual recognition (Hegel 1807; Kojève 1980) and the politics of identity
- Relationship between redistribution and recognition remains poorly understood
 - Theoretical value: Distinguish *ex ante* observation from *ex post* ideal
 - Practical relevance: Interest-versus-identity-based social movements

Redistribution and Recognition

- Preoccupation of two schools of political theory and philosophy
 - Social justice (Dworkin 1986; Nozick 1974; Rawls 1999) and the politics of class
 - Mutual recognition (Hegel 1807; Kojève 1980) and the politics of identity
- Relationship between redistribution and recognition remains poorly understood
 - Theoretical value: Distinguish *ex ante* observation from *ex post* ideal
 - Practical relevance: Interest-versus-identity-based social movements

Recognition, Redistribution, and Liberty

- Linkages between redistribution and recognition
 - Fraser (1995, 2003): “Conception of justice that encompasses both. . . without reducing either type to the other”
 - Honneth (1996, 2003): “Normative monism of recognition. . . that seeks to subsume the problematic of redistribution”
 - Reject “economistic view that would reduce recognition to a mere epiphenomenon of distribution”
- Inject notion of (Hayekian) individual liberty
 - Operationalize with notion of minimal liberalism
 - Liberty allows decoupling of link between redistribution and recognition

Recognition, Redistribution, and Liberty

- Linkages between redistribution and recognition
 - Fraser (1995, 2003): “Conception of justice that encompasses both. . . without reducing either type to the other”
 - Honneth (1996, 2003): “Normative monism of recognition. . . that seeks to subsume the problematic of redistribution”
 - Reject “economistic view that would reduce recognition to a mere epiphenomenon of distribution”
- Inject notion of (Hayekian) individual liberty
 - Operationalize with notion of minimal liberalism
 - Liberty allows decoupling of link between redistribution and recognition

Why Can't Philosophers Get Along?

- Critical theory in tradition of the Frankfurt School
- ① Status model (Fraser 1995, 2000, 2003; Tully 2000; Young 2002)
 - Two-dimensional conception of justice with recognition and redistribution
 - No redistribution without recognition and *vice versa*
- ② Monism model (Honneth 1996, 2003; Yar 2001)
 - Mutual recognition in intimacy ♡, equality =, and achievement ♣
 - Redistribution is subordinate to recognition and subsumed by it

Why Can't Philosophers Get Along?

- Critical theory in tradition of the Frankfurt School
- ① Status model (Fraser 1995, 2000, 2003; Tully 2000; Young 2002)
 - Two-dimensional conception of justice with recognition and redistribution
 - No redistribution without recognition and *vice versa*
- ② Monism model (Honneth 1996, 2003; Yar 2001)
 - Mutual recognition in intimacy ♡, equality =, and achievement ♣
 - Redistribution is subordinate to recognition and subsumed by it

What I Claim I'll Do

- Dispute claim that rational decisionmaking reduces recognition to secondary outcome
- Contribute to understanding of redistribution, recognition, and liberty
- Clarify relationships using social-choice and game-theoretic approach

What I Claim I'll Do

- Dispute claim that rational decisionmaking reduces recognition to secondary outcome
- Contribute to understanding of redistribution, recognition, and liberty
- Clarify relationships using social-choice and game-theoretic approach

What I Claim I'll Do

- Dispute claim that rational decisionmaking reduces recognition to secondary outcome
- Contribute to understanding of redistribution, recognition, and liberty
- Clarify relationships using social-choice and game-theoretic approach

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Recognition

- Recognition of the (Hegelian) Other

Definition (Recognition)

Let the recognition of a specific group j by another i be a purposive event represented by $\rho_{ij} = \rho_{ji} \neq \{\emptyset\}$. Then, a group j is said to be *recognized* by i (and *vice versa*) when $j \in \rho^i \subset \mathfrak{R}$, where \mathfrak{R} is the set of all possible recognitions for groups in society.



Recognition

- Recognition of the (Hegelian) Other

Definition (Recognition)

Let the recognition of a specific group j by another i be a purposive event represented by $\rho_{ij} = \rho_{ji} \neq \{\emptyset\}$. Then, a group j is said to be *recognized* by i (and *vice versa*) when $j \in \rho^i \subset \mathfrak{R}$, where \mathfrak{R} is the set of all possible recognitions for groups in society.



Recognition II

- Example: The Dry Salvages

We appreciate this better

In the agony of others, nearly experienced,

Involving ourselves, than in our own.

For our own past is covered by the currents of action,

But the torment of others remains an experience

Unqualified, unworn by subsequent attrition.

Redistribution

- Redistribution according to diachronic or subjunctive baselines

Definition (Redistribution)

Let a real transfer from a specific group i to another j be an action represented by $\tau_{ij} > 0$. Then, a group j is said to be the recipient of a *redistribution* from i when $j \in \tau^i \subset \mathfrak{T}$, where \mathfrak{T} is the set of all possible redistributive schemes in the universe of this society.



Redistribution

- Redistribution according to diachronic or subjunctive baselines

Definition (Redistribution)

Let a real transfer from a specific group i to another j be an action represented by $\tau_{ij} > 0$. Then, a group j is said to be the recipient of a *redistribution* from i when $j \in \tau^i \subset \mathfrak{T}$, where \mathfrak{T} is the set of all possible redistributive schemes in the universe of this society.



Liberty

- Minimal form of individual liberty

Definition (Minimal liberalism)

Minimal liberalism is said to hold when, in a society with at least two individuals, there is at least one pair of alternatives over which an individual i is decisive. That is, for any pair of alternatives $\{\tau', \tau''\}$ or $\{\rho', \rho''\}$, if $\tau' \succ_i \tau''$, then $\tau' \succ \tau''$ (and, respectively, if $\rho' \succ_i \rho''$, then $\rho' \succ \rho''$), where \succ_i and \succ are preference relations for the individual and society, respectively. A society σ that exhibits this property exists in the set \mathcal{L} .



Liberty

- Minimal form of individual liberty

Definition (Minimal liberalism)

Minimal liberalism is said to hold when, in a society with at least two individuals, there is at least one pair of alternatives over which an individual i is decisive. That is, for any pair of alternatives $\{\tau', \tau''\}$ or $\{\rho', \rho''\}$, if $\tau' \succ_i \tau''$, then $\tau' \succ \tau''$ (and, respectively, if $\rho' \succ_i \rho''$, then $\rho' \succ \rho''$), where \succ_i and \succ are preference relations for the individual and society, respectively. A society σ that exhibits this property exists in the set \mathcal{L} .



Liberty II

- Example: Sen's Milwaukee's Best



Minimal Liberty Allows Recognition and Redistribution

Proposition

Minimal individual liberty is required for recognition.

▶ Proof

- Recognition can be construed independent of socialist ideal that links the two
- Minimal liberty as prerequisite for recognition

Minimal Liberty Allows Recognition and Redistribution

Proposition

Minimal individual liberty is required for recognition.

▶ Proof

- Recognition can be construed independent of socialist ideal that links the two
- Minimal liberty as prerequisite for recognition

Minimal Liberty Allows Recognition and Redistribution

Proposition

Minimal individual liberty is required for recognition.

▶ Proof

- Recognition can be construed independent of socialist ideal that links the two
- Minimal liberty as prerequisite for recognition

Recognition Necessary but not Sufficient for Redistribution

Proposition

Given (minimal) individual liberty, recognition of a group is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for redistribution to that group.

▶ Proof

- Condition is necessary, not sufficient
- Minimal liberty is fairly weak condition
- Intellectually analogous to Sen's impossible Paretian liberal

Recognition Necessary but not Sufficient for Redistribution

Proposition

Given (minimal) individual liberty, recognition of a group is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for redistribution to that group.

▶ Proof

- Condition is necessary, not sufficient
- Minimal liberty is fairly weak condition
- Intellectually analogous to Sen's impossible Paretian liberal

Recognition Necessary but not Sufficient for Redistribution

Proposition

Given (minimal) individual liberty, recognition of a group is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for redistribution to that group.

▶ Proof

- Condition is necessary, not sufficient
- Minimal liberty is fairly weak condition
- Intellectually analogous to Sen's impossible Paretian liberal

Recognition Necessary but not Sufficient for Redistribution

Proposition

Given (minimal) individual liberty, recognition of a group is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for redistribution to that group.

▶ Proof

- Condition is necessary, not sufficient
- Minimal liberty is fairly weak condition
- Intellectually analogous to Sen's impossible Paretian liberal

Redistribution Indeterminate in Liberal Society

Corollary

In a liberal society, recognition is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for redistribution.

- Although positive statement, has normative implications

Corollary

A society that seeks to respect minimal liberalism can choose whether or not to redistribute to groups that it recognizes. In other words, the question of redistribution is indeterminate in a liberal society.

Redistribution Rule

- Mechanical rule effecting transfer if income falls below average

Definition (Redistribution rule)

Let $\tau^* \in \mathcal{T}$ be a rule where $y_i < \bar{y}_i \Rightarrow \tau_{ji,t} > 0$, where \bar{y} is average income.



Redistribution Rule

- Mechanical rule effecting transfer if income falls below average

Definition (Redistribution rule)

Let $\tau^* \in \mathcal{T}$ be a rule where $y_i < \bar{y}_i \Rightarrow \tau_{ji,t} > 0$, where \bar{y} is average income.



Sustainable liberal redistribution

Proposition

Voluntary redistribution is sustainable in a liberal society in the presence of uncertainty when following the redistribution rule τ^ , as long as transfers received are sufficiently large relative to transfers given.*

[▶ Proof](#)

- Potential resolution of indeterminacy in liberal society
- Partial basis for understanding philanthropic behavior
- Discrimination *after* occurrence of recognition
- Redistribution may not be appropriate response post recognition

Sustainable liberal redistribution

Proposition

Voluntary redistribution is sustainable in a liberal society in the presence of uncertainty when following the redistribution rule τ^ , as long as transfers received are sufficiently large relative to transfers given.*

▶ Proof

- Potential resolution of indeterminacy in liberal society
- Partial basis for understanding philanthropic behavior
- Discrimination *after* occurrence of recognition
- Redistribution may not be appropriate response post recognition

Sustainable liberal redistribution

Proposition

Voluntary redistribution is sustainable in a liberal society in the presence of uncertainty when following the redistribution rule τ^ , as long as transfers received are sufficiently large relative to transfers given.*

[▶ Proof](#)

- Potential resolution of indeterminacy in liberal society
- Partial basis for understanding philanthropic behavior
- Discrimination *after* occurrence of recognition
- Redistribution may not be appropriate response post recognition

Sustainable liberal redistribution

Proposition

Voluntary redistribution is sustainable in a liberal society in the presence of uncertainty when following the redistribution rule τ^ , as long as transfers received are sufficiently large relative to transfers given.*

[▶ Proof](#)

- Potential resolution of indeterminacy in liberal society
- Partial basis for understanding philanthropic behavior
- Discrimination *after* occurrence of recognition
- Redistribution may not be appropriate response post recognition

Sustainable liberal redistribution

Proposition

Voluntary redistribution is sustainable in a liberal society in the presence of uncertainty when following the redistribution rule τ^ , as long as transfers received are sufficiently large relative to transfers given.*

[▶ Proof](#)

- Potential resolution of indeterminacy in liberal society
- Partial basis for understanding philanthropic behavior
- Discrimination *after* occurrence of recognition
- Redistribution may not be appropriate response post recognition

Taxation Rule

- Mechanical rule effecting tax if income rises above average

Definition (Taxation rule)

Let $\tau^\dagger \in \mathfrak{T}$ be a rule where $y_i > \bar{y}_i \Rightarrow \tau_{ij,t} > 0$, where \bar{y} is average income.



Taxation Rule

- Mechanical rule effecting tax if income rises above average

Definition (Taxation rule)

Let $\tau^\dagger \in \mathfrak{T}$ be a rule where $y_i > \bar{y}_i \Rightarrow \tau_{ij,t} > 0$, where \bar{y} is average income.



Endogenous illiberal recognition

Proposition

Voluntary recognition is sustainable in an authoritarian society in the presence of uncertainty when following the taxation rule τ^\dagger .

[▶ Proof](#)

- Even in completely illiberal society, recognition can arise endogenously
- Recognition occurs as a result of inability to resist temptation to tax

Endogenous illiberal recognition

Proposition

Voluntary recognition is sustainable in an authoritarian society in the presence of uncertainty when following the taxation rule τ^\dagger .

[▶ Proof](#)

- Even in completely illiberal society, recognition can arise endogenously
- Recognition occurs as a result of inability to resist temptation to tax

Endogenous illiberal recognition

Proposition

Voluntary recognition is sustainable in an authoritarian society in the presence of uncertainty when following the taxation rule τ^\dagger .

▶ Proof

- Even in completely illiberal society, recognition can arise endogenously
- Recognition occurs as a result of inability to resist temptation to tax

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 **Case Studies**
 - **A Series of Unfortunate Events**
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

French Riots, 2005

- Sparked off by accidental death of two teenagers in a working-class *banlieue* in eastern Paris
- Unrest eventually spread to most urban areas and some rural areas in France
- Nearly 2,900 rioters, mostly urban youth of North African origin, were arrested
- *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* remain elusive for the unrecognized
- Failure of recognition: Redistribution was secondary

Rwandan Genocide, 1994

- Catalyzed by assassination of (Hutu) President Juvénal Habyarimana
- Mass extermination of Tutsis and moderate Hutus in a 100-day period
- Belgian colonizers granted Tutsi minority preferential status, reversed in 1959
- Recognition with *selective* redistribution: Possible in an unfree society

Maluku Conflict, 1999–2002

- First sign of violence between rival Muslim gang members, but escalated into religious conflict
- Christian-Muslim clashes from January 1999 through February 2002
- Exacerbated by economic conditions of the Asian financial crisis
- Recognition without redistribution: Insufficiency in action

Outline

- 1 Introduction
 - Motivation
 - Existing Literature
- 2 Theory
 - A Bunch of Definitions
 - Propositions, Claims, Other Yadda Yadda
- 3 Case Studies
 - A Series of Unfortunate Events
- 4 Conclusion
 - Summary

Summary of Main Findings

- Clarified linkages between recognition, redistribution, and liberty
- Liberty is required for realization of recognition and redistribution
- Recognition is necessary but insufficient for redistribution






Summary of Main Findings

- Clarified linkages between recognition, redistribution, and liberty
- Liberty is required for realization of recognition and redistribution
- Recognition is necessary but insufficient for redistribution

Summary of Main Findings

- Clarified linkages between recognition, redistribution, and liberty
- Liberty is required for realization of recognition and redistribution
- Recognition is necessary but insufficient for redistribution

Selected References

-  Dworkin, Ronald (1986). *Law's Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
-  Fraser, Nancy & Axel Honneth (2003). *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. New York, NY: Verso
-  Nozick, Robert (1974). *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York, NY: Basic Books
-  Taylor, Charles M. (1992), "The Politics of Recognition". In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by Amy Guttmann. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
-  Sen, Amartya K. (1970). "The Impossibility of a Paretian Liberal". *Journal of Political Economy* 78(1) (Jan–Feb): 152–157
-  Tully, James (2000). "Struggles over Recognition and Distribution". *Constellations* 7(4) (December): 469–482
-  Krusell, Per, Vincenzo Quadrini & José-Víctor Ríos-Rull (1997). "Politico-Economic Equilibrium and Economic Growth". *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control* 21(1) (January): 243–272

Proof of Proposition 1 (Sketch)

- Demonstrate the statement $\rho \subset \mathfrak{R} \Rightarrow \sigma \in \mathfrak{L}$
- Proof by contraction: Assume dictator who recognizes only one group
- Allow a group in society to recognize another by minimal liberalism

[◀ Return](#)

Proof of Proposition 2 (Sketch)

- **Necessity:** $\forall \tau_{ij} \in \mathfrak{T}, i \neq j : \{\tau_{ij} \Rightarrow \rho_j \mid \exists j \in \rho\}$
- **Sufficiency:** Failure by contradiction with minimal liberty assumption

[◀ Return](#)

Proof of Proposition 3 (Sketch)

- Proof for the case of a heterogeneous society (homogeneous case trivial)
- Lifetime welfare: $W(\tau) = E_t \sum_{s=t}^{\infty} \delta_i^{s-t} W_{i,s}(\tau_{ij,s})$
- Voluntary redistribution
 $\Leftrightarrow W(\tau_{ij,t} > 0, \tau_{ji,T} > 0; \pi) \geq W(\tau = 0)$
- Given sufficiently high δ_i and π , condition simplifies to
 $W_{i,t}(\tau_{ij,t} > 0) \ll W_{i,t}(\tau_{ji,t} > 0)$

◀ Return

Proof of Proposition 4 (Sketch)

- Proof for the case of a heterogeneous society (homogeneous case trivial)
- Dictator lifetime welfare: $W(\tau) = E_t \sum_{s=t}^{\infty} \delta_d^{s-t} W_{d,s}(\tau_{dj,s})$
- Taxation (and recognition) $\Leftrightarrow W(\tau_{jd,T} > 0; \mu) \geq W(\tau = 0)$
- Condition simplifies to $\mu \geq 0$

[◀ Return](#)