

**Introduction to Political Theory**  
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**Lecture – 08**

**Equality – III: Luck Egalitarianism and its critique; Equality and Liberty**

Hello and welcome friends. This is the concluding lecture on the topic equality. Today, we will be focusing on luck egalitarianism and its critique. In the second part of lecture, we will make a comparison between political value of equality and liberty. We will try to assist whether it is complementary or contradictory to each other and finally, will conclude today's lecture by reassessing some of the key ideals or issues which we have already discussed over these three lectures. We will also, revise some of those issues which we have already covered.

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**Intro**

- Luck egalitarianism is considered to be rooted in the Rawlsian theory of justice as fairness which is further developed by Ronald Dworkin. It is intimately connected with the principles of equality. It considers that it is bad if, through no fault of theirs, some people are worse off than others. The view takes its name from the fact that, in its purest form, it makes distributions insensitive to luck, or equalizes the distributive effects of luck. *chance/opportunity*
- Luck egalitarianism is also called 'responsibility-sensitive egalitarianism'. It supports the idea that an individual cannot be at fault for something which is, for them, a matter of luck. In 'Justice as fairness', Rawls argued that even fair equality of opportunity, which says that 'those with similar abilities and skills should have similar life chances', allows distributions to be settled by the outcome of the natural circumstances, and this outcome is arbitrary from a moral perspective.
- His solution to this problem was to combine fair equality of opportunity principle with the difference principle, which expresses that unequal treatments are justified so long as they further the interests of the worst off. Rawls emphasized on the moral arbitrariness of persons' circumstances, such as natural talents. Therefore, it is argued that a better solution would be to minimize the influence of circumstance on distributions of goods while allowing choice to play a role in determining outcomes.

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We will begin with the idea of luck egalitarianism. It is considered as to be rooted or embedded in the Rawlsian conception of justice. We have one specific topic about Rawls and his conception of 'justice as fairness', where we will discuss in details about his theory of justice and what it entails. The idea of equality or egalitarianism has one of its forms known as luck egalitarianism. Now, what is the role of luck and how, state and public institutions should respond to the disparities or inequalities, it is the result of luck which has a dramatic or transformative affect on individual life prospects.

Thus, what is the role of public institutions or the state? This idea of luck egalitarianism is seen as rooted in the Rawlsian conception of 'justice as fairness'. However, this idea is not fully explored or explained in his theory. But, it is developed from there by Ronald Dworkin. So, Ronald Dworkin, is someone who is regarded as a theorist who developed this idea of luck egalitarianism, by differentiating between optional luck or what is also, called the brute luck.

It is intimately, connected with the principles of equality which we have been discussing over the two lectures and it is considered as bad, if though no fault of theirs, but some people are worse off than others. If individuals have moral choices or decisions, or make personal efforts and are not involved in it, yet they are worse off than others. It is regarded as something morally or essentially bad which needs to be rectified. The luck egalitarianism tries to address some of these issues, disparities or inequalities which are the results of certain structures or incidents over which individuals have no control. It regards inequalities or disparities among individuals as bad, if it is not because of their personal choices, decisions or efforts.

The view takes its name from the fact that in the purest form, it makes distribution insensitive to luck. We can also understand luck as a chance or opportunity, in the sense, whether opportunity in the same proportion is available to everyone or not. Thus, it refers to chance or luck. It makes distribution insensitive to luck, disparities or inequalities that emerged out of purely, luck or chance over which individuals have no control. Luck egalitarianism, argues to re-distribute resources or opportunities which makes it insensitive to the mere coincidence of luck or chance.

It equalized the distributive effect of luck. For example, two people competing for the same good, and if that competition is based on talent, skill or capabilities of that individual and after the fair competition, one of them is selected, then it is perfectly, acceptable. However, if those competition is somewhat, affected by certain coincidence or chances or merely, the factor of luck which deprive the one of them from competing for the same position, at the same level or same playing field, then that kind of disparities or inequalities needs to be addressed.

The luck egalitarianism talks about to make distribution insensitive to the effect of luck or to equalize the distributive effect of luck. So, it is also, called responsibility sensitive

egalitarianism. It supports the idea that an individual cannot be at fault for something, which is for them a matter of luck or chance over which they have no control. Thus, for something, over which the individual has no control, he or she cannot be held responsible for that.

In 'justice as fairness,' Rawls argued, even fair equality of opportunity which says that those with similar abilities and skills should have similar life chances, allows distribution to be settled by the outcome of the natural circumstances and this outcome is arbitrary, from a moral perspective. In other words, the Rawlsian conception of addressing some of the inequalities or disparities in society is to do with those conditions which create inequalities or disparities between and among the people. Although, it may be morally arbitrary, yet it required to make the society, more equal or to make the re-distribution, more fair or just.

His solution, to the problem of why, we should deviate from equality principle or equality of opportunity principle should be free and equal for everyone. Why we should accept or justify the differences or differential treatment? His solution to the problem was to combine fair equality of opportunity with the difference principle. We will discuss these principles again, when we will discuss Rawls theory of justice. So, his solution to this problem was to combine the fair equality of opportunity that should be made available to everyone with difference principle which expresses that unequal treatments are justified, so long, it further the interests of the worst off.

The only justification from any deviation or fair equality principle or equality of opportunity principle is justified only; when it further the interest of the worst off in the society. So, Rawls, emphasized on the moral arbitrariness of persons and circumstances such as, natural talents. Therefore, it argues, a better solution would be to minimize the influence of circumstances on the distribution of goods, while allowing choices or personal decisions or innovations to play a role in determining the outcomes.

The Rawlsian theory of justice, create a kind of fairness or just outcome by minimizing the circumstances and its role in determining the outcomes on the one hand, and including or acknowledging, the role of individual choices or innovations in determining the outcome, on the other hand. So, it is a combination of individual choices, deserts or capabilities or responsibilities, on the one hand and minimizing the biasness that

emerged out of such circumstantial or differences in the conditions of life among different individuals and communities. He tried to make a balance between these two.

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- Luck egalitarianism is not concerned with equalizing the distributive effects of all kinds of luck. The central distinction that needs to be made is between 'option luck' and 'brute luck', which are defined by Dworkin as follows:
- *Option luck* is a matter of how deliberate and calculated gambles turn out to be—whether someone gains or loses through accepting an isolated risk he or she should have anticipated and might have declined. *Brute luck* is a matter of how risks fall out that are not, in that sense, deliberate gambles.
- In Dworkin's view, the brute luck and option luck distinction marks the divide between luck that calls for redistributions of resources, and the luck which requires no such corrective measures.
- Similarly, Cohen writes that 'brute luck' is an enemy of just equality, and because the effects of genuine choice contrast with brute luck, genuine choice excuses otherwise unacceptable inequalities.

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Luck egalitarianism, however, is not concerned with equalizing the distributive effect of all kinds of luck. The luck has not stood as chance or opportunities or coincidence, the luck egalitarianism is not concerned with equalizing the distributive effects of all kinds of luck. The central distinction that needs to be made is between option luck and brute luck which are defined by Ronald Dworkin as follows.

'The option luck is a matter of how deliberate and calculated gambles turn out to be'. So, the individual while making certain decisions, take certain risks and by taking that decision or taking certain risk is duly, deliberate or calculated. Now, whether someone gain or loses through accepting an isolated risks, he or she should have anticipated and might have declined. So, this is considered as the individual has control over that kind of outcome, where he or she can deliberately, assess the risk or the outcome and then take a decision.

The brute luck, on the other hand is a matter of how, risks fall out which are not in that sense, deliberate gambles, where the individual has no power or opportunity to calculate the risk. Thus, it is merely, a coincidence of certain events or accidents in individuals lives which determines the outcome for him. In that sense, there is a role of state or public institutions, to rectify, those disparities or inequalities which are results of brute

luck over which individual has no control. The optional luck, where it is deliberate, the loss and gain is for the individual to bear. But for the brute luck, there is the role of state or public institutions.

In Dworkin's view, the distinction between brute luck and option luck marks the divide between the luck which calls for re-distribution of resources and the luck which requires no such corrective measures. So, if certain accents are duly, deliberated by individual, the outcome of such actions or decisions must be bought by that individual, but if certain outcome is the result of mere coincidence or brute luck, there is a need to re-distribute the resources among individuals.

Similarly, Cohen, writes that brute luck is an enemy of just equality and because the effects of genuine choices contrasts with the brute luck, genuine choices excuses otherwise, unacceptable inequalities.

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➤ Luck egalitarians do accept that outcome equalities alone should matters. For them, there is no problem if luck specifies egalitarianism. It is only those inequalities which are result of brute luck that egalitarians object.

➤ Dworkin maintains that egalitarianism requires equality of resources at the starting point. However, Dworkin's view of resources is rather broader, encompassing 'personal' resources, which are the qualities of physical and mental health, skills and capabilities. Equality of resources requires that impersonal resources be adjusted to compensate for differences in personal resources.

➤ Equality of resources is advanced by Dworkin as an alternative to equality of welfare. Dworkin argues that there are many difficulties with equality of welfare as a doctrine. Foremost among them is 'the problem of expensive tastes'. Equality of welfare seems to have the implication that society should distribute resources according to the expensive tastes of people, which Dworkin argue is morally untenable.

Luck egalitarianism does accept the outcome and equalities alone should matter. For them, there is no problem, if luck, specifies egalitarianism. It is only, those inequalities which are the results of brute luck which egalitarians object to and therefore, wanted the state to intervene and re-distribute the resources.

Dworkin, maintains that egalitarianism requires equality of resources, at the starting point. However, Dworkin's, view of resources is rather broader, encompassing personal

resources which were the qualities of physical and mental health, skills and capabilities. So, Dworkin's, view of resources should be similar and equal to everyone, at the starting point is much more broader than mere conception of primary goods, that is, external to individual. He also, includes certain personal resources such as, physical or mental health, skills and capabilities which require certain kind of services provided by the state or public institutions and the access and opportunities for those services should be made available to everyone.

Equality of resources requires that impersonal resources be adjusted to compensate for differences in the personal resources. Some individuals because of his or her physical requirements may need more amount of resources, than someone who is in the perfect health. So, that kind of proportional re-distribution of resources must be adjusted to the needs of differences in the personal resources.

Thus, equality of resources is advanced by Dworkin as an alternative to equality of welfare, where Dworkin argues that there are many difficulties with equality of welfare as a doctrine. The foremost among them is the problem of expansive taste. So, equality of welfare seems to have the implication that society should distribute resources according to, the expansive taste of the people. Thus, individuals may have different tastes according to, the doctrine of equality of welfare and society distributes the wealth as per the requirements or the tastes of particular individuals.

So, the implication of this kind of argumentation is that institution or redistributive agency should not make a distinction between an individual having a choice for a bicycle or an individual having a choice for a car, or for an aeroplane. This choice of individual is quite dissimilar or disproportionate in terms of resources that it requires.

However, in the equality of welfare doctrine, it seems that no such distinction is made between individuals who have the choice of a bicycle or of a car. Therefore, Dworkin argues, it is morally, untenable because the resources, that it requires is unproportionate, and how, it is justified state or public institutions would provide resources for individuals expansive tastes. Therefore, the principle of equality of resources is justified by Ronald Dworkin over the principle of equality of welfare.

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**Democratic Egalitarian Objections to Luck Egalitarianism**

- Critics of luck egalitarianism argue that it fails the most fundamental test any egalitarian theory must meet: that is its principle of equal respect and concern for every citizens. First, and most importantly, 'it excludes some citizens from enjoying the social conditions of freedom on the spurious ground that it's their fault for losing them'.
- Second, luck egalitarianism 'makes the basis for citizens' claims on one another on the fact that some are inferior to others in the worth of their lives, talents, and personal qualities. Luck egalitarianism's reasons for compensating people with disabilities, the untalented, and ugly makes them appropriate subjects of pity. Pity according to the critics is incompatible with respecting the dignity of others.
- Finally, to find out how far advantages and disadvantages are matters of option luck, critics viewed that luck egalitarians have engaged in close scrutiny of individual behaviors. It is disrespectful for the state to pass judgment on how much people are responsible for their expensive tastes or imprudent choices.
- The second and third objections come together most crudely for the individuals who are already from the disadvantaged groups, such as the unemployed. They are forced to shamefully reveal, to avoid losing the support of welfare state, that they tried but could not succeed. To avoid such situations, 'democratic egalitarians' propose to replace luck egalitarianism's apparently exclusive concern with distributive equality with a focus on relational or status equality, and recasting egalitarianism's primary concern to combat social hierarchies and inequalities.

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If we look at some of the criticisms to this idea of luck egalitarianism, especially, the democratic egalitarians who objected that luck egalitarianism failed the most fundamental test. They argued, any egalitarian theory must meet the fundamental test and what is that fundamental test is equal respect and concern for every citizen. In luck egalitarianism, we have discussed that certain decisions and some individuals are excluded from the re-distribution of resources or inequalities in the outcome.

Thus, the critiques of luck egalitarian, argues that it fails the most fundamental test any egalitarian theory must meet and that is, the principle of equal respect and concern for every citizen. It means no one should be excluded. That is the very fundamental premise or test of any egalitarian theory which does not exclude many, few or even a single individual or member of that society or community.

Again, first, it criticizes luck egalitarianism. Because it excludes some of the citizens from enjoying social conditions of freedom under spurious grounds that it is their fault for losing them. Some individuals are not capable of enjoying certain freedoms or opportunities, and responsibility lies not with the social structure or the society, but with the individual themselves. So, luck egalitarianism is perfectly, okay with that kind of exclusion. However, the critiques of such egalitarianism, argued, it fails the fundamental test which treats everyone with equal respect or concerns. It excludes certain individuals and by exclusion, it considers the excluded themselves as responsible for such exclusion.

The second, luck egalitarianism makes the basis for citizen's claim on one other as some are inferior to others in the worth of their lives, talents and personal qualities. Luck egalitarianism reasons for compensating people with disabilities, the untalented and ugly, and thereby, makes them appropriate subject of pity. And pity, according to the critiques, is incompatible with respecting the dignity of each or every individual.

In that sense, luck egalitarianism, by creating a distinction between those who are capable or less capable or incapable of, those who are able or those who are not so able, those who are talented and those who are not. In these all kinds of distinctions or differentiations, luck egalitarianism make these individuals or groups of individuals subject to pity, and this subjection of individuals or groups of individuals to pity is contrary to the very idea of equality which believes in treating everyone equally, with respect on everyone having the same moral worth. Therefore, they criticize this approach of luck egalitarianism which not just excludes, but also, make certain individuals subject to self-pity or collective pity.

Finally, to find out, how far advantages and disadvantages are matters of option luck. Critics viewed that luck egalitarians are engaged in close scrutiny of individual behaviour. So, whether certain conditions of individuals are the result of their option luck or brute luck, to decide or to differentiate between these option luck or brute luck, luck egalitarianism tends to interfere or scrutinize individual actions, or choices, more intimately.

Further, critics argued that they engaged in the close scrutiny of individual behaviour and it is disrespectful for the state to pass judgments on how much people are responsible for the expansive taste or imprudent choices. These second and third objections came together most rudely, for individuals who are already from the disadvantageous groups, such as the unemployed. These groups of individuals who are unemployed are forced to shamefully, reveal in order, to avoid losing the support of welfare state that they tried or they are qualified, and yet they could not succeed. This creates a sense of worthiness or less worthiness, or creates a distinction between and among the individuals even, if they are equally, qualified or equally capable of.

Now, to avoid this kind of situation, democratic egalitarians proposed to replace luck egalitarianisms, apparently, exclusive concern with distributive equality with a focus on



relational or status equality, and recasting egalitarianism as primary concern, to combat social hierarchies and inequalities. The focus for the democratic egalitarians is to replace the apparent, exclusionary, proposition of luck egalitarianism with the primary focus of egalitarianism. That is, to combat social hierarchies and inequalities, and to address both the relational and status inequality, exists in society.

They criticized the focus of luck egalitarianism which tends to make distinction between and among individuals that creates or contradicts the fundamental premise of equality which believes in the equal moral worth of all individuals. In luck egalitarianism, we have seen, how they have differentiated between those who are capable of, those who take calculated risks and the outcome of that risk should be borne by that individual only, in the brute sense.

There is a kind of exclusion for those who should be the beneficiary of the redistributed practices of the state or not. And in making such distinctions, luck egalitarians tend to subject certain individuals or groups of individuals to something, which is contradictory to the basic premise of equality, that is, of equal moral worth.

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**Equality and liberty**

- Equality and liberty may be mutually complementary or contradictory in different contexts. R. H. Tawney, Harold J. Laski and C. B. Macpherson among others regarded liberty and equality as complementary. The principle of liberty stipulates 'equal' liberty or freedom for everyone. If freedom of one becomes unfreedom for another, it would be against the spirit of freedom itself. This view concedes the imposition of reasonable restraints on freedom so that freedom of one does not stand in the way of similar and equal freedom of another.
- Some thinkers have envisaged certain situations where the provision of equality may obstructs the enjoyment of liberty. French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* argued that the 'principle of equality' was the ruling principle where all distinctions of social status are gradually eroded. The principle of equality in this sense encouraged the individual's subservience to public opinion and the extension and centralization of state power.
- Supremacy of public opinion demanded conformity to generally held attitudes and standards; it led to believe that a dissenting position must be a wrong one. The net result was the curtailment of individual autonomy and the loss of liberty. The principle of liberty demands the encouragement of a variety of interests and opinions, whereas the principle of equality tends to promote conformity of opinions and attitudes. Therefore, it can be argued that liberty and equality are contradictory.

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If we discuss, equality and liberty, and the relationship between the two, we will find that equality and liberty may be mutually, complementary or contradictory in different contexts depending upon the biasness or the approaches of individuals about different conceptions of liberty and equality. For example, for R. H. Tawney, Harold J Laski and

Macpherson, among others regard liberty and equality as mutually, complementary to each other. The principle of liberty, stipulates equal liberty or freedom for everyone. So, in their understanding or interpretation of liberty or equality, these are mutually, complementary in a sense, that liberty makes sense only, when it is equally, available to everyone else.

Similarly, equality, must also, ensure or provide conditions for individuals to develop himself or herself, according to, their conception of good. So, the principle of liberty stipulates, equal liberty or freedom for everyone. If freedom of one becomes unfreedom for another, it would be against the spirit of freedom, itself. We have discussed, for instance, John Stuart Mill's conception of liberty, which explains that liberty should be given for individual to lead his or her life, the way he or she wants to live and there should be maximum liberty to do that. But, the inherent understanding of this conception is that similar liberty or maximum liberty must be equally, available to other members of that community.

If the liberty of one interferes with the liberty of others, then there should be some restrictions or limitations to the liberty of one individual. In that sense, liberty and equality is contradictory. So, if one's liberty interferes or is impediment for the liberty of another, then it goes against the very fundamental of the spirit of liberty. For example, one is free to listen to music and other individual is free to read a book. Now, if one individual is exercising his liberty to listen to the music of his/her choice and play it loudly, in a space, where other individuals are also present, then in that sense, the exercise of one's liberty is an interference or may lead to an impediment or a restriction for others freedom like while reading a good book or a novel, or a poetry etc.

In that sense, the exercise of liberty goes against the very fundamental spirit of freedom, itself. This view concedes the imposition of reasonable restrictions on freedom, so that the freedom of one does not stand in the way of similar and equal freedom of others. So, in that sense, freedom and equality is complementary, to each other.

Some thinkers have envisaged certain situations, where the provision of equality may obstruct the enjoyment of liberty. One such thinker is Alexis De Tocqueville whom we have discussed in our introductory video. There we discussed how, equality is within the reach of everyone and not just among the selected few, or privileged ones. However, the

excessive focus on equality may lead to some kind of peril or some kind of destruction, some kind of chaos, and to avoid that there is a need to maintain a balance between liberty and equality. We will discuss about why the excessive focus or stress on this principle of equality may be a problem for the collective growth of society.

French philosopher, Alexis De Tocqueville, in his work, *Democracy in America* argued that the principle of equality was the ruling principle, where all distinctions of social status are gradually, eroded. The principle of equality, thus, encouraged individual subservience to public opinions and extensions, and it leads to centralization of the state power.

Now, the supremacy of public opinions, demanded conformity to generally, held attitudes and standards. This conformity to public opinions or generally, held attitudes and standards which may lead to believe that a dissenting position must be a wrong one. So, nobody will dare to question, what is called public opinion or the common sense of the age or standards, or the attitudes of that age. Thus, any kind of dissenting opinions will be not just discouraged, but also, suppressed in a sense, where people will not be willing to express anything, which contradicts the publicly or commonly, held opinions about certain things in the belief that anything that goes against the common or public opinion must be the wrong one.

The net result of this conformity to public opinion or generally, held attitudes or standards are the curtailment of individual autonomy and the loss of liberty. So, the principle of liberty demands encouragement of a variety of interests and not similarly, held common or general public opinions. So, it encourages, liberty on the other hand, encourages variety of interests and opinions, whereas, the principle of equality tends to promote conformity of opinions and attitudes. Therefore, it can be argued that liberty and equality are contradictory to each other.

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- Lord Acton, a British historian similarly argued that in the modern times, liberty is endangered by the rival doctrine of equality with its tendency to erode independent centers of power and to promote the authority of the state. Thus, in Tocqueville and Acton arguments we clearly see a tension or conflict between the political ideals of liberty and equality.
- Similarly F. A. Hayek in his '*Constitution of Liberty*' argued that individual differences in skills and abilities under the conditions of equality before the law result in inequalities of income and wealth. If we try to remove these inequalities by forcing an authoritarian rule, it is bound to destroy individual's freedom. In his view, it is better that some should be free than none, and that many should have full freedom than all should have limited freedom.
- Liberty and equality conflict with each other when equality is understood as 'Equality of outcome' and liberty is understood merely as 'Freedom to choose'. Equality as equality of outcome tends to work as a leveling mechanism. This in turn reduces the freedom of choice by restricting the availability of outcome.
- However, we need to think that there may be tension between equality and liberty but as political value these two are not inimical to one another.

Similarly, Lord Acton, a British historian, argued that in modern times, liberty is endangered by the rival doctrine of equality with its tendency to erode independent centres of power, and to promote the authority of the state. We have been discussing about this ideal of distributional aspect of equality which gives the public institutions and state enough scope, to interfere in the matter, that is, related to personal or maybe the family matters, to ensure that everyone should be capable and that education must be provided. Now, to get a good and quality education, the role of public funded schools or the school that requires some fees or some kind of caution money.

The background of the individual family has a decisive implication on education of a child, to ensure that every child should get same level of education, and it thus, allows the state and institutions to excessively, interfere in matters that may be regarded as personal or family matters. It is seen as a scope which has centralized the power of state or it strengthens the authority of the state or reduces the autonomy of individuals.

Lord Acton, argues, equality is contradictory, or it is an impediment on the liberty of individuals. He sees it as a kind of rival political ideal. Thus, in Tocqueville and Acton's arguments, we clearly, see a tension or conflict between the political ideals of liberty and equality.

Similarly, Hayek in his constitution of liberty, argued that individual differences in his skills and abilities under the conditions of equality before the law, results in inequalities

of income and wealth. These differences or inequalities in wealth or income are the result of differences in individual skills and abilities, which are under the conditions of equality before law that is, perfectly, justified and accepted.

If we try, to remove these inequalities by forcing an authoritarian rule or state, it is born to destroy individual freedom, according to F. A. Hayek. In his views, it is better that some should be free than none and many should have full freedom, then all should have limited freedom. His conception of freedom is somewhat, different than the generally held opinions about freedom. So, what he argues, about freedom or liberty is that the freedom of few is more desirable than freedom for none. In the crude sense, equality will try to reduce everyone to the same level, whereas, liberty tends to reward those who are willing to take risks, and those who are innovative, entrepreneurs or enterprising.

Here, the conception of freedom believes that freedom of some is more desirable than freedom of none and freedom of many, or full freedom of many is more desirable than limited freedom of all, as egalitarian or some crude equality will tend to equalize that everyone should be reduced to the same level or some kind of equal status. This conception is thus, contradictory, to the ideal of liberty and freedom which is understood as the full freedom or maximum freedom and autonomy for individuals. Thus, we see a kind of a tension or conflict between these ideals of equality and liberty.

Both liberty and equality conflict with each other, and equality is understood as equality of outcome and not equality of opportunity which tries to equalize the society, to bring the society to the same level and liberty is understood merely, as a freedom of choice. We have discussed it especially, in the context of negative and positive conception of liberty, and difference between freedom and liberty. That positive liberty is something, more than merely, absence of embodiments. It requires active participation and the rule of law and public institutions create conditions for individuals, to exercise his or her freedom.

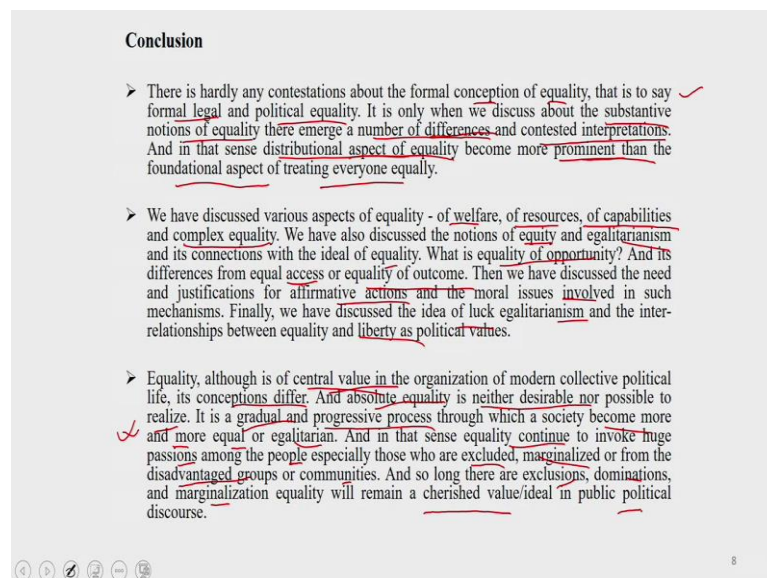
So, there is conflict between these two ideals. Again, when we reduce the understanding or interpretations of these ideals, we see equality as an outcome principle which contradicts the understanding of liberty. For example, if equality means merely, equality of outcome and not equality of opportunity, and other distributional aspects of equality as we have discussed, then we see this equality, as an outcome principle which

contradicts the understanding of liberty or reduces the understanding of freedom of liberty, merely, to freedom of choice or freedom to choose. In that sense, we see a kind of tension between these two terms. Thus, equality has equality of outcome which tends to work as a levelling mechanism. This in turn reduced their freedom of choice by restricting the availability of outcome.

However, we need to think that there may be tension between equality and liberty, but as a political value, these two are not inimical to one other. In fact, it complements each other. It strengthens their value of each other by complementing or ensuring that everyone in the society should have same moral worth and conditions of freedom, to develop himself or herself, according to, his or her wishes. So, both these concepts, in that sense, are inter-relational which requires the presence of more than one individual.

Again, in that inter-relational existence, there is the requirement for recognizing the existence of other and by recognition of other, their self worth, and requirements to have freedom or conditions of freedom for developing themselves or according to their wishes is the requirement for the conception of liberty and equality. Thus, we see a kind of mutual connection between these two political ideals.

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**Conclusion**

- There is hardly any contestations about the formal conception of equality, that is to say formal legal and political equality. It is only when we discuss about the substantive notions of equality there emerge a number of differences and contested interpretations. And in that sense distributional aspect of equality become more prominent than the foundational aspect of treating everyone equally.
- We have discussed various aspects of equality - of welfare, of resources, of capabilities and complex equality. We have also discussed the notions of equity and egalitarianism and its connections with the ideal of equality. What is equality of opportunity? And its differences from equal access or equality of outcome. Then we have discussed the need and justifications for affirmative actions and the moral issues involved in such mechanisms. Finally, we have discussed the idea of luck egalitarianism and the inter-relationships between equality and liberty as political values.
- Equality, although is of central value in the organization of modern collective political life, its conceptions differ. And absolute equality is neither desirable nor possible to realize. It is a gradual and progressive process through which a society become more and more equal or egalitarian. And in that sense equality continue to invoke huge passions among the people especially those who are excluded, marginalized or from the disadvantaged groups or communities. And so long there are exclusions, dominations, and marginalization equality will remain a cherished value/ideal in public political discourse.

To conclude, our lecture on equality, it can be said that there is one general consensus and there is hardly, any contestation over this ideal of formal conception of equality which is the formal, legal and political equality. In modern times, as I have been

discussing since, the introductory lecture, equality is the fundamental premise of modern organization and modern law. Law treats every member of the society in its abstract sense equally.

However, in the practice, we see all kinds of differences and our differential treatments. The ideal of modern society is formal political and legal equality of everyone, and there is hardly, any contestation to this ideal. One of the examples of this ideal, which we have discussed is modern democracy, is granting everyone and every single educated, uneducated, property owner or dependent sections, or privilege or less privilege sections, male or female, and everyone else, by giving one vote. So, it goes like one man one vote and one vote, one value. This principle thus, reflects perfect formal ideal of equality which is less contested.

It is only, when we discuss about the substantive notions of equality, there emerged a number of differences and contested interpretations which we have discussed in terms of various conceptions of equality. And in that sense, distributional aspect of equality becomes more prominent than the foundational aspect of treating everyone, equally. So, this ideal of equal moral worth gets less prominence than the distributional aspect of equality which tries to create a kind of equal condition or equality, in a more substantial sense and not merely, in the abstract and formal sense.

We have discussed the various aspects of equality, like equality of welfare, of resources, of capabilities and also, the complex equality of Michael Walzer. We have also, discussed the notion of equity and egalitarianism, and its connections with the ideal of equality, what is equality of opportunity and its differences from equal access and equality of outcome. And, we have also, discussed the needs and justifications for affirmative action or preferential treatment, and the moral issues involved in such mechanism.

Finally, we have discussed the idea of luck egalitarianism and the interrelationship between the political ideals of equality and liberty, in today's lecture. So, what we overall find that equality, although is central value in the organization or modern collective political life, its conceptions differ and absolute equality is neither desirable nor possible to realize. This idea of equality is a central value for the organization of modern collective life. Despite of that the conception of equality, actually, means to be

equal, an equal of what and among whom, are some of the contentious issues. Therefore, it leads to different or contested interpretations or conceptualizations.

And absolute equality is neither desirable nor possible to realize. It is as I have said is a gradual and progressive process through which a society becomes more and more equal and egalitarian. That is the kind of stimulating factor in equality which tries to create a society more equal and egalitarian in a gradual, progressive manner and not a kind of radical or immediate kind of rupture from the existing hierarchies.

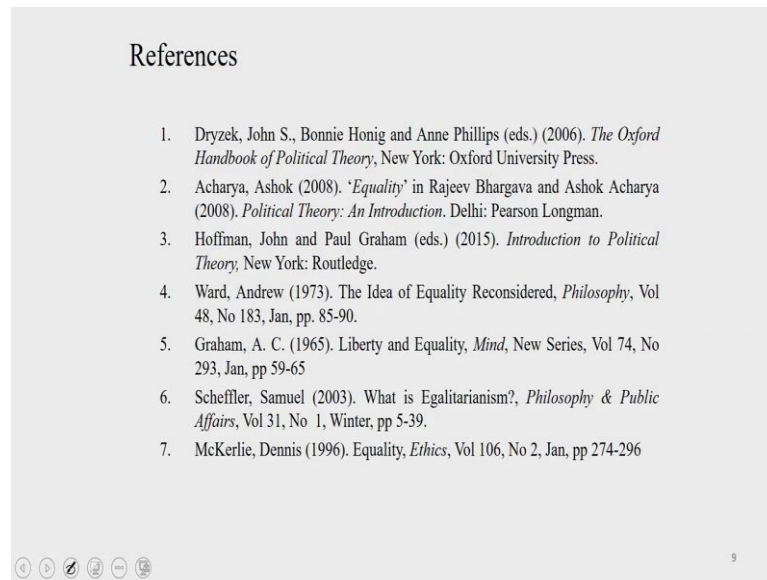
Thus, equality continues to invoke huge passions among people, especially, those who are excluded, marginalized and from the disadvantaged groups or communities. And so long as, there are exclusions, dominations and marginalizations, equality will remain a cherished value or an ideal in public, or in political discourse.

So, what makes the issue of equality and fight for equality relevant is the ideal among those especially, who are marginal, excluded, dominated or suppressed, to get treated or get the recognition from rest of the members in the society of their differential existence and to be treated with equality, self respect or with the same moral worth and dignity is a continuous struggle. And so long, there exist exclusion, marginalization and domination in the society, the principle or value of equality will remain ideal and relevant in our public and political discourse.

Now, the conception or interpretation of equality, may differs, but the fundamental premise of equality will remain valid or to create a society more equal and egalitarian.



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So, in this lecture today, on luck egalitarianism and relationship between liberty and equality, you can refer to some of these texts which are mentioned in the above slide and this will be very helpful, to understand some of the issues which we have discussed on equality. That is all on equality. In the next lecture, we are going to discuss the concept of right. Do write to us, what do you think about these lectures on equality and we will be happy to respond. Thank you for listening.

Thank you all.