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Contractualism and the Numbers

Revision of a Moral Ideal

Book Abstract

At the heart of democracy lies the conviction that every single individual's interests matter, and equally so. In philosophy, this conviction fueled the twentieth-century resurgence of contractualism—most prominently through the work of John Rawls—seeking to safeguard the individual from domination by the many in the name of social utility. But how, exactly, should the individual be made to figure in moral and political decision-making?

“Contractualism and the Numbers” advances a new proposal through a critical reassessment of T. M. Scanlon’s moral contractualism. Confronting a cluster of difficulties in *What We Owe to Each Other*, it argues that Scanlon’s theory still falls short on three counts. First, the so-called aggregation problem: in rescue dilemmas, why are we under a moral duty to save the greater number? Second, the issue of decision under risk: Scanlon’s theory offers no viable method for taking into account the kind of numbers that are probabilities. Third, the problem of future generations: what, if anything, can Scanlonian contractualists say about our apparent duties to merely possible, not-yet-existing persons? The book argues that these three seemingly disparate puzzles require a coordinated approach and offers an integrative answer.

Most contemporary contractualists treat these problems as settled. They are not. Recent formulations make them disappear, but at the high price of weakening the claims of concrete individuals vis-à-vis the many—a trade that distorts the contractualist ideal. “Contractualism and the Numbers” sets out to correct this distortion. Restating contractualism so that the individual is taken seriously from the start and never traded away, the book develops what the author calls Headcount Contractualism: a framework that lets numbers register directly in moral justification without diminishing the force of individual complaints. The result is, at present, arguably the best defensible systematic account of how the individual matters in ethical reasoning.

Deutsche Fassung

Zum Kernbestand demokratischen Denkens gehört die Überzeugung, dass die Interessen jedes einzelnen Individuums zählen, und zwar gleichermaßen. In der Philosophie liegt diese Überzeugung der durch John Rawls angestoßenen Revitalisierung kontraktualistischer Theoriebildung im

20. Jahrhundert zugrunde, die den und die Einzelne vor der Unterwerfung durch die Mehrzahl im Zuge der Förderung des gesellschaftlichen Gesamtnutzens schützen will. Doch welche Rolle genau soll die Einzelperson in Entscheidungen von politischer oder moralischer Tragweite spielen?

“Contractualism and the Numbers” macht diesbezüglich einen neuartigen Vorschlag, der einer kritischen Neubewertung von T. M. Scanlons moralischem Kontraktualismus entspringt. Im Zuge der Untersuchung eines Bündels teils wohlbekannter Schwierigkeiten mit *What We Owe to Each Other* argumentiert der Verfasser, dass Scanlons Theorie fortgesetzt drei Probleme aufwirft. Erstens das sogenannte Aggregationsproblem: Warum sind wir in Rettungs-Dilemmata verpflichtet, die größere Anzahl Menschen zu retten? Zweitens das Problem der Entscheidung unter Risiko: Scanlons Theorie artikuliert keine gangbare Methode, um diejenigen Zahlen angemessen in Rechnung zu stellen, um die es sich bei Wahrscheinlichkeiten handelt. Drittens das Problem zukünftiger Generationen: Was können Scanlonsche Kontraktualist*innen zur Aufklärung darüber beitragen, was wir nach allgemeiner Auffassung bloß möglichen, noch nicht existierenden Personen schuldig sind? Das Buch argumentiert, dass diese drei nur dem Anschein nach disparaten Probleme einen koordinierten Lösungsansatz erfordern, und beantwortet sie mit einem integrierten Entwurf.

Die meisten gegenwärtigen Kontraktualist*innen halten die genannten Probleme für gelöst. Sie sind es nicht. Gegenwärtige Kontraktualismen auf Scanlons Spuren bringen die Probleme zum Verschwinden, aber um den hohen Preis einer Abschäbung der Ansprüche und Einwände, die konkrete Individuen gegenüber den Vielen zur Geltung bringen können. Diese Abschwächung verzerrt das moralische Ideal, das der Kontraktualismus zeichnen will. “Contractualism and the Numbers” zielt auf eine Korrektur dieser Verzerrung. Indem es die Einwände der Einzelperson ernstnimmt und niemals aus dem Blick geraten lässt, entwickelt das Buch unter dem Namen *Headcount Contractualism* eine Theorie, die ‘die Zahlen’ in ganz unmittelbarer Weise in moralische Rechtfertigungen eingehen lässt, ohne jedoch Abstriche an der Kraft individueller Einwände zu machen. Das Ergebnis ist die gegenwärtig wohl am besten zu verteidigende normative Theorie über die Rolle des Einzelnen im ethischen Argumentieren.

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