

The varieties of impartiality, or, would an egalitarian endorse the veil?

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Abstract

Social contract theorists often take the ideal contract to be the agreement or bargain individuals would make in some privileged choice situation (i.e., an ‘original position’). Recently, experimental philosophers have explored this kind of decision-making in the lab. One rather robust finding is that the exact circumstances of choice significantly affect the kinds of social arrangements experimental subjects (almost) unanimously endorse. Yet prior work has largely ignored the question of which of the many competing descriptions of the original position subjects find most compelling. This paper aims to address this gap, exploring how attractive experimental subjects find various characterizations of these circumstances of choice. We find evidence suggesting that no one choice situation can fulfill the role that social contract theorists have hoped it would play. We also find that, contrary to what some prominent social contract theorists have expected, there is no robust relationship between an individual’s ranking of distributive principles and their ranking of various descriptions of the original position. In conclusion, we discuss the broader implications of these results for political philosophy.

1. Introduction

In broad strokes, the social contract tradition considers the decisions of rational or reasonable¹ individuals placed in various circumstances of choice designed to ensure some level of impartiality (we refer to a choice situation as an *original position* or an *impartiality frame*). Decisions are then taken to inform the features of a just social contract as well as justify various social arrangements. One assumption commonly made in the social contract tradition is *uniqueness*. Namely, rational or reasonable individuals are thought to converge on (i.e., choose) similar ways of organizing and structuring society, broadly construed. Uniqueness has wide

¹ Reasonableness here is meant to convey the fact the individuals in question are not only advancing their own interests, but receptive to the claims and interests of others (cf. Rawls 1971). Some contractarians, such as Rawls, assume that the participants in the original position are both rational and reasonable. Nothing significant will turn on this point in the paper.

support and is generally assumed by contractarians and contractualists alike. Rawls (1971), for instance, famously contended decision-makers will converge in their judgments.

While critics of the social contract tradition have questioned whether the decisions of rational and reasonable individuals will coincide (see, for instance, Sugden 1990, Skyrms 1996, 2016, Thrasher 2013, Muldoon et al. 2014), recent experimental work on the social contract provides strong evidence in favor of uniqueness. Norman Frohlich and Joe Oppenheimer (Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1993) have found that subjects placed in circumstances of choice approximating the veil of ignorance by and large endorse the same social contract (utilitarianism with a minimum ‘floor’), and these findings have now been widely replicated (Lissowski et al. 1991, Bruner forthcoming). Additional experiments investigating a ‘thin’ version of the veil based on Thomas Scanlon’s contractualism (1998), as well as work exploring the judgments of informed but impartial third-parties, à la Adam Smith and David Hume, have also suggested that convergence is the norm.

As mentioned, experimental work of this kind is particularly significant since many theorists take what is selected unanimously by contractors as the ideal social contract. Furthermore, prominent theories of political justification rely on a similar approach, privileging those principles overwhelmingly supported by rational and reasonable participants. Yet despite strong empirical evidence in favor of uniqueness at the level of principles selected within a given impartiality frame, a significant *divergence* obtains. Namely, principles nearly unanimously selected under one impartiality frame often gain little to no support from subjects deliberating from an alternative impartiality frame. For instance, while those behind the veil opt for utilitarian principles, those tasked to perform as third-party spectators support egalitarian arrangements. In other words, the difference principle gains substantial support, just not from those deliberating from behind the veil. This divergence suggests that while there may be a determinate social contract when all contractors employ the same impartiality frame, choice of impartiality frame significantly affects the properties of the contract that is agreed upon.

Divergence of this kind threatens to undermine the strategy traditionally employed by those in the social contract tradition. Since the circumstances of choice partly determine which contract agents assent to, there are either a plurality of ideal social contracts, an option that most social contract theorists would hope to avoid, or a case must be made as to which of the available frames should be privileged. We explore the latter option in this paper, which is consistent with the traditional contractarian commitment to a determinate and unique social contract, although we also provide a few thoughts regarding the former option in section 6. Recently, some social contract theorists have abandoned the commitment to uniqueness at the level of impartiality frame (Gaus 2010; Moehler forthcoming). In virtue of militating against the view that some prominent impartiality frame should be privileged over others, we take the results of our experiments (section 3-5) to support this relatively new strand of contractarian thought.

Of course, impartial choice situations are motivated in various ways by the theorists who advance them, and the justification of an impartiality frame partly depends on how well it coheres with considered judgments regarding principles of justice associated with the frame. Yet

it is clear that there is no agreement in the philosophical literature as to how these circumstances of choice *should* be best characterized. We explore this issue further and present a series of experiments designed to investigate whether individuals are overwhelmingly drawn to a particular impartiality frame. A comparison of frames is particularly apt as previous empirical research has only focused on behavior in a given choice situation, rather than the choice of frame itself.

Furthermore, the concept of uniqueness plays multiple roles in the social contract tradition. As a result, our experiments pertain not only to debates concerning the ideal social contract, but also bear on related issues, such as the *public justification* of principles of justice. In particular, principles uniquely selected by participants provide important evidence regarding the public role principles of justice are able to effectively play. Those principles that are widely agreed to—and not merely imposed—form the grounds of a public conception of justice that will be stable over time *for the right kinds of reasons* (Rawls 1993). That is, their stability will rely on an ongoing commitment to these principles, rather than the merely self-interested reasons that ground a *modus vivendi*. As a result, these principles of justice can be justifiably implemented in designing and reforming a society's institutions. While not necessary for public justification, since multiple sets of principles of justice could potentially be widely accepted, finding that principles are uniquely converged on in a society is sufficient to show that they are publicly justified. This is a further reason why many social contract theorists have been interested in uniqueness. As we will see, our experiments address these issues and shed light on which principles are most likely to serve as components in a widely-accepted public conception of justice.

The paper proceeds as follows. First, we will discuss in more depth the role that uniqueness plays in the social contract tradition as well as the extant experimental literature on justice. Section 3, 4 and 5 then outline the design and results of three experiments we have conducted. Section 6 discusses their philosophical significance and concludes.

2. Uniqueness and the lab

Contemporary social contract theorists consider the contract rational and reasonable individuals would agree to. Importantly, contractors are placed in a choice situation that allows for some level of impartiality, and it is furthermore assumed individuals will come to endorse the same contract. This latter presumption -- that contractors will agree to a unique social contract -- is clearly seen in the writings of a variety of recent thinkers. We discuss a few representative cases in what follows. Famously, Rawls (Rawls 1971) assumes that in the original position individuals select principles of justice from behind a 'veil of ignorance.' Not knowing their class, race or other differences, contractors will agree unanimously on a conception of justice. Relatedly, John Harsanyi (Harsanyi 1953) contends Bayesian rational decision-makers will all assent to the same (utilitarian) social contract from behind the veil.

Similarly, contractarians such as David Gauthier (Gauthier 1986) presuppose a unique contract will be selected by rational individuals. Gauthier, however, models justice not as agreement under conditions of uncertainty, but instead as a bargain among rational agents. For Gauthier, the uniquely ‘rational solution’ to the bargaining problem is for contractors to allocate resources in a way which minimizes the maximum concession made by those involved. In a similar vein, James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (Buchanan and Tullock 1962) consider the case in which individuals are tasked with selecting institutional rules (such as a constitution) to govern collective decision-making. Due to epistemic limitations, individuals are unable to accurately predict the impact various rules will have on their interests, and are thus unable to promote their group’s interest when negotiating institutional rules. As a result, Buchanan and Tullock contend contractors will instead unanimously settle on rules benefiting the “average or representative player” (p. 80).

As mentioned, social scientists and philosophers have recently explored how experimental subjects behave when placed in scenarios approximating various impartial choice situations discussed in the literature. Contributions in this vein can be traced back to the pathbreaking work of Frohlich and Oppenheimer. Frohlich and Oppenheimer (Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1993, Frohlich, Oppenheimer and Eavey 1987) consider small deliberative groups tasked with discussing and then voting on various principles of justice. The principles that are chosen determine how much group-members earn for their participation in the experiment. Additionally, individuals are placed ‘behind the veil’ and are thus unable to determine the precise impact principles have on their earnings. Frohlich and Oppenheimer find that an overwhelming majority of groups gravitate toward the same principle (‘maximize the average with a floor constraint’), and in some treatments, *all* groups select this principle. It is worth noting that this finding has been replicated multiple times. Frohlich and Oppenheimer themselves have considered variations of their original experimental design, and others have registered that ‘maximize the average with a floor constraint’ attracts wide support in other subject populations (Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1990, Lissowski et al. 1991, Bruner forthcoming).

Experimental evidence in favor of uniqueness extends beyond Rawls. James Konow’s work on ‘quasi-spectators’, for instance, suggests that consensus is the norm when individuals must stand as an informed third-party (Konow 2009). When given detailed information about a hypothetical scenario involving imagined individuals, experimental subjects converge on the same fairness judgments. Similar experiments have also registered that spectators tend to converge in their judgments when provided context and information about the individuals of interest (Faravelli 2007, Mitchell et al. 1993, Herne and Mard 2008, Konow 2008).² Experimental work on Thomas Scanlon’s original position also indicates widespread agreement holds among subjects. This is particularly noteworthy since Scanlon himself does not claim a unique social contract would be agreed to in his original position. Nonetheless, Herne and Suojanen (2004) and Herne and Mard (2008) find that egalitarian principles are routinely

² See, however, Michelbach et al. (2003) for evidence of dissensus among spectators.

selected when individuals know how various principles affect their earnings and all have the right to reject a principle they find distasteful.

Yet although the experimental work surveyed above bolsters the claim that individuals will converge in their judgments, a significant divergence is nonetheless observed. While utilitarian arrangements are near-unanimously agreed to behind the veil, egalitarian principles are selected when agents are either placed in Scanlon's original position or asked to stand as an impartial, but nonetheless informed, third-party. These findings are somewhat robust, and hold across different subject pools and experimental setups.³ Taken together, these experiments suggest that the choice of principle crucially hinges on how the circumstances of choice are characterized. While this is perhaps not too surprising -- one would expect details regarding the situation of choice to in part determine *what is in fact chosen* -- the level of divergence we observe *across* impartiality frames is truly striking. Overwhelming support for utilitarian or egalitarian principles can arise depending on how one characterizes the original position.

Thus, while prior experimental work has given us some reason to think uniqueness holds for principles selected from a given impartiality frame, we are still not in a favorable position to describe the features of the ideal social contract. As mentioned in the introduction, one response at this point is to surrender the very goal of identifying an ideal social contract, and instead embrace a variety of different social arrangements as legitimate (see, for instance, Gaus 2010 as well as Moehler forthcoming). We discuss this option more in section 6, but note for now that this avenue is likely to be viewed as unattractive by most social contract theorists, who have rather deep and long-held commitments to uniqueness. We thus explore an alternative response they are likely to give in what follows. Namely, we attempt to determine whether uniqueness holds at the level of impartiality frame, i.e., whether certain descriptions of the circumstances of choice are seen as especially attractive. If widespread agreement exists with respect to how the original position should be constructed, along with widespread agreement on principles that should be selected from within that impartiality frame, divergence across frames becomes significantly less troubling. While different frames might not lead to the same principles of justice, the existence of a privileged frame garnering widespread support would allow us to recover a unique social contract.

Before we get to our experiments, however, a few words on the particular impartiality frames we consider. There are of course a variety of different frames that have been suggested and considered in the literature. Our aim here is not to provide a taxonomy nor an exhaustive experimental comparison of frames. Instead, we draw on a few canonical impartiality frames most familiar to political philosophers. In particular, we consider Rawls' veil of ignorance, the perspective of a disinterested and sympathetic third-party and Scanlon's account of the original position. This first frame involves Rawls' 'thick' veil, where individuals are ignorant of their abilities and social circumstances and must select principles of justice in this epistemically impoverished state (we refer to this frame as *Thick*). The second impartiality frame involves the

³ For an experimental comparison of these frames, see Herne and Suojanen 2004, Herne and Mard 2008 and Aguiar, Becker and Miller 2013.

judgments of a sympathetic and informed, but nonetheless detached, spectator who adjudicates the affairs of others (and can be loosely traced back to the writings of Adam Smith, David Hume and Francis Hutcheson). This impartiality frame, which we will refer to as *Spectator*, has been discussed at length in the experimental ethics literature (see, for instance, Konow 2012).

Finally, Scanlon's original position should be familiar to most readers. In this case, individuals are placed behind a 'thin' veil and thus have knowledge of their social circumstances, abilities and talents (we refer to this frame as *Thin*). Impartiality is achieved because individuals only consider those principles of justice no reasonable person could reject. In the next sections we discuss in more detail a series of experiments involving all three of these impartiality frames.

3. Experiment 1: Impartiality frames

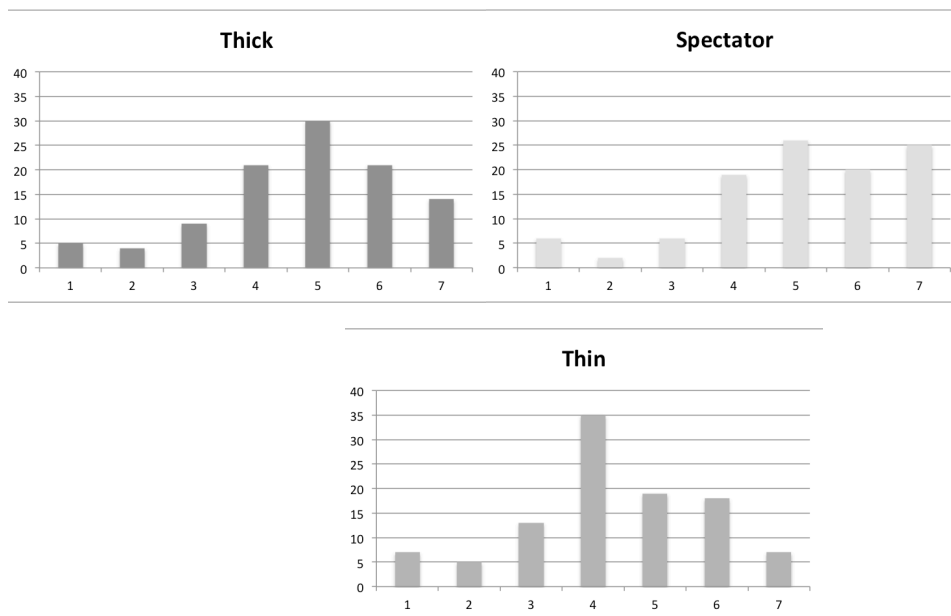
In Experiment 1, we sought to determine whether uniqueness holds at the level of *impartiality frame*. There are, once again, two primary motivations for examining uniqueness at this level of political theory. First, while there is empirical evidence for consensus at the level of principles selected under a given frame, there is as yet no research examining whether particular impartiality frames receive more support than others. This is problematic insofar as agreement not just under some impartiality frame, but under the *correct* or *best* impartiality frame, is supposed to be evidence that a given set of principles are the true principles of justice. Second, many political philosophers want to offer not only a true theory of distributive justice, but a *public conception of justice* – one that could be agreed upon by real citizens and used to do real work in an actual society. There is a tradition of taking this publicity requirement itself, even, as a theoretical virtue of a theory of distributive justice, i.e. part of what should go into our evaluation of whether or not it is the true theory (Kant 1795, Rawls 1971). Since uniqueness is sufficient, though not necessary, for public justification, social contract theorists have been interested in publicity as an additional and important upshot of establishing the uniqueness of their preferred conception of justice. We are skeptical, however, that securing consensus on any one conception of justice is a reasonable goal for political philosophy, and one important reason for our skepticism is the plurality of appealing impartiality frames that are offered in the social contract tradition. We anticipate that none of the most promising impartiality frames will achieve anything like the level of consensus needed to meet the uniqueness condition.

To test this “anti-uniqueness” hypothesis regarding impartiality frames, we designed an experiment that presented the three most prominent types of frames found in the philosophical and empirical literature on social contract theory. They are the Rawlsian veil of ignorance (*Thick*), the Smithian impartial spectator (*Spectator*), and the Scanlonian reasonable acceptance (*Thin*) frames. In Experiment 1, participants⁴ were given brief instructions that explained what

⁴ Our participants were 104 MTurk users. We limited the study to users with a 98% or better approval rating for their previous work. Because facility with the English language was required for this study, we limited our participants to those with I.P. addresses in the United States.

impartiality frames and principles of distributive justice are, along with some background information about distributive justice and political philosophy. Subjects were then asked to imagine a society called Alpha that was trying to determine what distributive principles were required by justice. Subjects were told they were not in fact members of Alpha. The members of Alpha were entertaining the idea of using one of these impartiality frames to determine which distributive principles were just. Participants read a description and then evaluated each of these impartiality frames by registering their agreement with the statement “This is a good way of determining whether a principle is just or not” on a 7-point Likert scale (endpoints and midpoint were labeled in the prompt as follows: “1 = Not at All, 4 = Somewhat, 7 = Strongly Agree”). The presentation of the impartiality frames to each participant was randomized to control for potential order effects.⁵

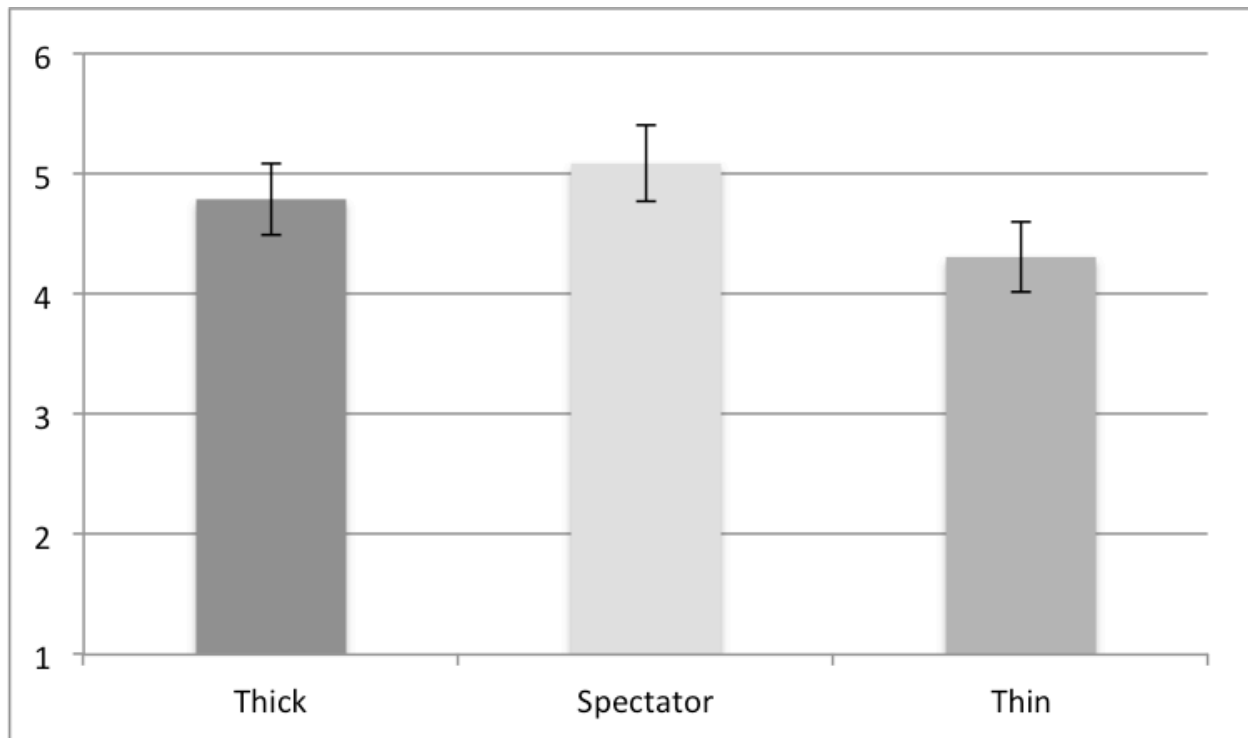
Figure 1 displays histograms for the three impartiality frames (*Thick*, *Spectator* and *Thin*):



Participants were required to follow instructions and enter a randomly-generated code that was given to them in order for their results to be counted.

⁵ Furthermore, we surveyed an additional 130 subjects to determine the extent to which subjects comprehended the different descriptions of the three impartiality frames and found no statistically significant difference in reported level of comprehension across frames.

Figure 2 shows the mean ratings that participants gave to each impartiality frame:



Error Bars: 95% CI

There was a significant difference between the mean ratings that participants gave to each impartiality frame.⁶ In particular, the mean ratings that participants gave to *Thick* ($M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.54$) and *Spectator* ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.64$) were significantly higher than those given to *Thin* ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.53$).⁷ The difference between the ratings given to *Thick* and *Spectator* was not significant.⁸

The results of Experiment 1 suggest that none of these impartiality frames are uniquely preferred over the others. While we do not attempt to give a criterion for uniqueness in this paper, it is intuitively plausible that in order to be the uniquely chosen impartiality frame, one of these frames would have to be preferred significantly more than its competitors. However, while the *Thick* and *Spectator* frames were viewed significantly more favorably than the *Thin* frame, neither the *Thick* nor the *Spectator* frame could claim to be significantly preferred over the other. Hence, while significant preferability is not a sufficient condition for uniqueness of an impartiality frame, significant preferability as a minimum, necessary condition for uniqueness is

⁶ Repeated-measures ANOVA, $F(2, 206) = 7.268$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .066$.

⁷ Paired-samples, *Thick* vs. *Thin*: $t(103) = 2.587$, $p = .011$; *Spectator* vs. *Thin*: $t(103) = 3.542$, $p = .001$. Because we will be making three comparisons, the Bonferroni correction sets the alpha level for significance at .01667.

⁸ Paired-samples, $t(103) = -1.411$, $p = 1.61$.

not met by any of the competing impartiality frames. Further, despite the significant differences that we did observe, none of the frames scored particularly highly among participants. Thus, our results give us reason to doubt that any of these frames could serve as a uniquely chosen impartiality frame in a society.

4. Experiment 2: First-person comparisons

The results of Experiment 1 support the anti-uniqueness view about impartiality frames. While the *Thick* and *Spectator* frames were rated significantly higher than the *Thin* frame, there was no significant difference in judgments between them. The frames in Experiment 1 were, as mentioned above, set out as third-personal frames for participants – they were to imagine a society called Alpha that they wouldn’t be a member of. However, one might think that some frames will perform better than others when participants imagine using them for a society that they will be a member of. In particular, the *Thick* Rawlsian frame might be thought to perform best for people imagining the kind of society that they would want to live in, and hence how their own society should be reformed to match their considered judgments about justice. One might expect this because thinking about the veil of ignorance naturally invites one to consider what rules one would agree to in the absence of knowledge of one’s own socioeconomic position and social group membership. In Experiment 2, we tested whether presenting the frames in a first-personal way would make a difference ($N = 99$). We hypothesized that the anti-uniqueness result would remain robust despite this change.

Figure 3 displays histograms for three impartiality frames, first-personal (*Thick*, *Spectator* and *Thin*):

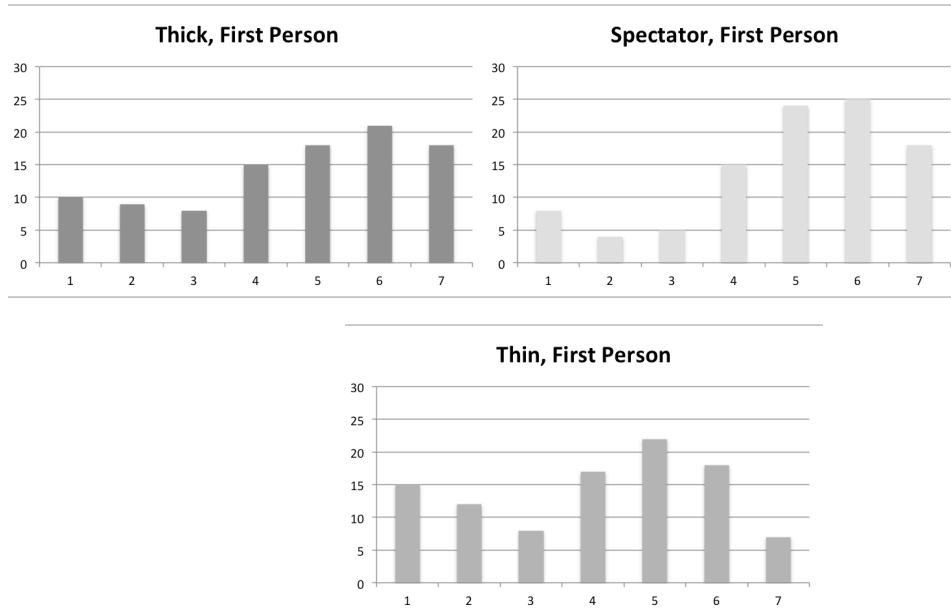
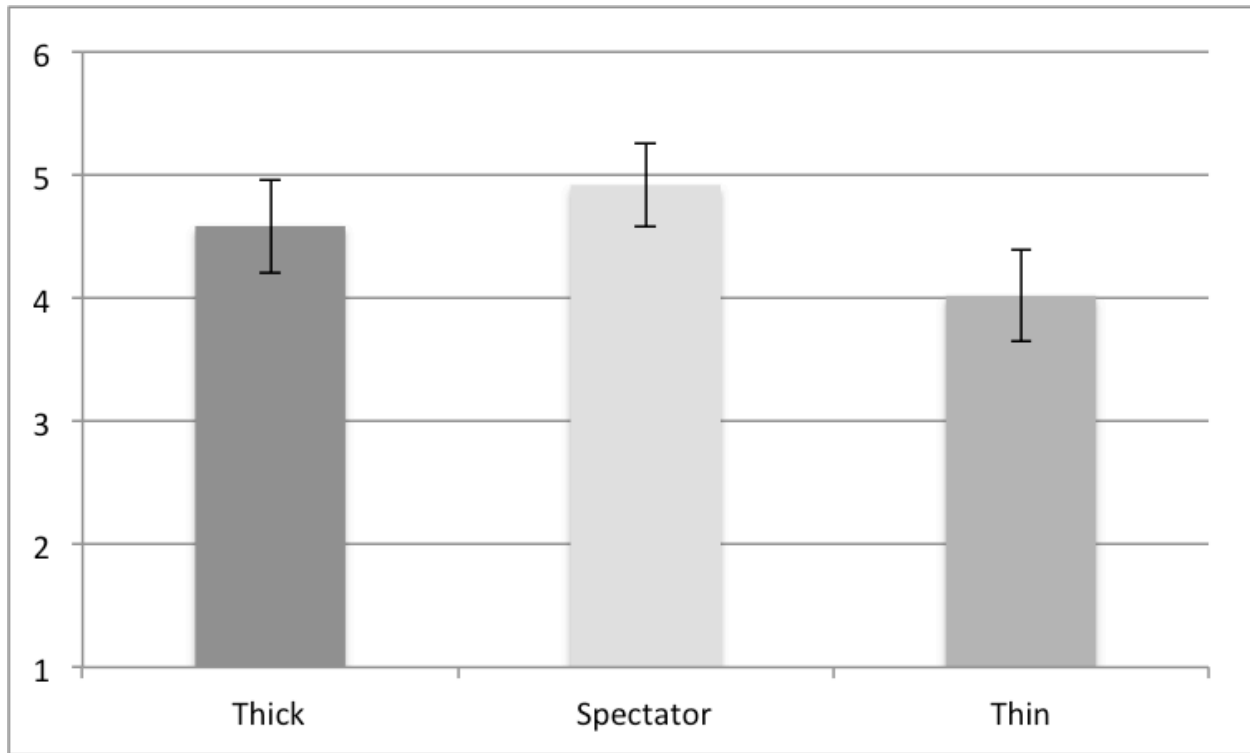


Figure 4 shows the mean ratings given to each first-person impartiality frame:



Error Bars: 95% CI

There was a significant difference between the mean ratings given to each impartiality frame.⁹ Also following the pattern of results found in Experiment 1, *Thick* ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.93$) and *Spectator* ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.74$) performed significantly better than *Thin* ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.88$),¹⁰ but there was no significant difference between *Thick* and *Spectator*.¹¹

The presentation of impartiality frames as first personal rather than third personal did not change the fact that no frame was rated as uniquely better than the others. The result that the *Thick* and *Spectator* frame were rated higher than the *Thin* frame was also robust between Experiments 1 and 2. Most importantly for our purposes, there was still no significant difference in the ratings given to the *Thick* and *Spectator* frames when presented first-personally as opposed to third-personally. This suggests that the anti-uniqueness result found in Experiment 1 is robust and cannot be attributed to the prior third-personal framing.

⁹ Repeated-measures ANOVA, $F(2, 196) = 8.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .078$.

¹⁰ Paired-samples, *Thick* vs. *Thin*: $t(98) = -1.387$, $p = .012$; *Spectator* vs. *Thin*: $t(98) = 4.336$, $p < .001$.

¹¹ Paired-samples, $t(98) = 2.56$, $p = .017$.

5. Experiment 3: Frames and principles

In the previous two experiments, we examined support for prominent impartiality frames, and found that across third-personal (Experiment 1) and first-personal (Experiment 2) variations, none of these frames could meet the uniqueness condition. In a third experiment ($N = 319$), we investigate whether a connection holds between preferences for impartiality frames and preferences for distributive principles. In other words, this experiment allows us to determine whether those inclined to support more utilitarian or egalitarian distributions tend to favor a particular impartiality frame. A clearer understanding of this connection is significant for a number of reasons. For one, it allows us to better understand what factors determine level of support for various frames. Additionally, it allows us to register whether people tend to endorse coherent principle-frame ‘packages.’ For instance, do egalitarians tend to favor frames that lead to the selection of egalitarian principles (such as *Spectator*)? Or, are egalitarians drawn to those frames more traditionally associated with egalitarian principles (such as *Veil*)? In other words, *would an egalitarian endorse the veil?* Notice that if the answer to these latter two questions is ‘no,’ then the situation appears rather dire for Rawls. Not only do subjects fail to select his favored distributive principle from behind the veil of ignorance, but those who favor egalitarian principles are not drawn to Rawls’ characterization of the original position. But more broadly, if coherent principle-frame packages do not tend to be endorsed, much of the motivation for contractarianism and its focus on securing principles through contractual procedures is called into question.

For this experiment we asked participants two questions, the order of which was randomized. One question began with a description of two distributive principles: Rawls’ difference principle and utilitarianism with a floor or the “principle of restricted utility” (see appendix for exact wording). We then asked individuals to rank these principles. Similarly, our question pertaining to impartiality frames presented subjects with *Veil* and *Spectator*, the two frames that received the highest levels of support in Experiments 1 and 2. Subjects were then asked to select the frame they found most attractive.

We found that subjects were once again somewhat evenly split between *Veil* (42.6%) and *Spectator* (57.4%). While these proportions are significantly different,¹² clearly if 42.6% of the population prefers *Veil*, *Spectator* is not uniquely preferred. With respect to distributive principles, however, a little under three-fourths (74%) of subjects preferred the principle of restricted utility over the difference principle.¹³ This is quite striking. One possible explanation for this latter significant finding is that individuals took themselves in this experiment to be selecting principles from ‘behind the veil.’ That is, subjects may have imagined themselves to be stakeholders selecting principles that would ultimately impact their well-being in some difficult to determine fashion. Alternatively, it could be the case that individuals just by and large are inclined to endorse more efficient distributions but veer from this tendency only when

¹² We used a Chi-Square Goodness-of-Fit Test to compare these proportions, $\chi^2(1) = 4.63, p = .03$.

¹³ $\chi^2(1) = 46.06, p < .001$.

placed in particular circumstances (such as the *Spectator* frame). Either way, it is clear some of our experimental subjects are *more* utilitarian than others, and we exploit this fact to then register whether a tendency toward utilitarian principles predicts one's preferences over impartiality frames. In particular, we determine whether those inclined to rank utilitarian principles over egalitarian principles are more likely to endorse *Veil* over *Spectator*.

What we uncover is rather surprising. We find that choice of principles is *not significantly associated with choice of impartiality frame*. In fact, it appears that there is little connection *at all* between an individual's choice of principle and choice of frame. For instance, of the 236 subjects who preferred the restricted utilitarian principle, 58.5% of them preferred *Spectator* to *Thick*. This is (nearly) the same proportion of the total population that ranked *Spectator* above *Thick* (57.4%). Similarly, 55.0% of those who preferred the difference principle also ranked *Spectator* over *Thick*. Preference for distributive principle does not appear to predict preference for impartiality frames.¹⁴

Table 1 drives this point home. We compare the proportion of subjects in our experiment who endorse a particular principle-frame combination to the proportion of subjects one would expect to endorse this combination on the assumption that choice of principle and choice of frame are completely independent of one another. As Table 1 illustrates, the actual proportion of individuals endorsing a principle-frame combination is nearly identical to the proportion one would expect on the assumption of independence.

A few points are in order. It is worth mentioning that almost a majority of individuals selected the utilitarian principle in combination with the *Spectator* frame. This is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it undercuts a conclusion one may be tempted to draw from the experiments of Frohlich and Oppenheimer, namely, that the combination of utilitarianism and the *Thick* veil is the preferred principle-frame package. Our experiment indicates that while this package is attractive to experimental subjects, it is not the most popular principle-frame combination on offer. That said, the most popular principle-frame combination, utilitarianism and *Spectator*, was nonetheless striking as utilitarianism is not typically selected by experimental subjects asked to play the role of a disinterested but informed third-party.¹⁵ In other words, experimental subjects tended to endorse a frame which, prior research suggests, is not judged to support the very principle they find most compelling. This mild inconsistency is somewhat puzzling and could be due to the fact that subjects either (i) do not take into account what principle would be chosen from a given frame when deciding among frames, or (ii) incorrectly predict that utilitarianism would be selected from the *Spectator* frame. Future experimental work is required to determine

¹⁴ Additionally, 25% of those who preferred *Spectator* also preferred the egalitarian principle and 28% of those who preferred *Veil* preferred the egalitarian principle. Thus preference for frame does not appear to predict a subject's preference for distributive principle. A Chi-Square Test for Independence confirmed that there is no association between the distributive principles and impartiality frames that participants chose, $\chi^2(1) = .004, p = .951$.

¹⁵ Recall that egalitarian principles were typically selected from the *Spectator* frame (Herne and Mard 2008).

which of these explanations best captures these surprising results concerning the lack of a relation between preferences for impartiality frames and preferences for distributive principles.

	Spectator 57.4%	Veil 42.6%
Utilitarian 74.0%	43.3% (74.0% x 57.4% = 42.5%)	30.7% (31.5%)
Egalitarian 26.0%	14.1% (14.9%)	11.9% (11.1%)

Table 1: Percentage of individuals who independently endorse a distributive principle and impartiality frame. Numbers in parentheses refer to proportions of subjects who endorse a principle and impartiality frame combination on the assumption that endorsement of frame and endorsement of distributive principle are statistically independent.

6. General discussion

In this paper we presented the results of three experiments suggesting that the search for a uniquely choiceworthy impartiality frame is misguided. When comparing among three prominent impartiality frames, subjects rated two of them (*Thick* and *Spectator*) significantly higher than the third (*Thin*) across both first and third personal variations, but neither of these two performed significantly better than the other in this comparison (Experiment 1 and 2). When we performed a runoff between these two impartiality frames, one performed significantly better than the other (*Spectator*), but not enough to justify the thought that it was the *uniquely* preferred choice (Experiment 3). We contend these results undermine much of the force of traditional approaches to contractarianism in political philosophy. If no impartiality frame is uniquely choiceworthy, neither are the principles of justice which follow from them.

Proponents of contractarianism might respond that the judgments of the folk are irrelevant. Such proponents might appeal to the supposed difference in the judgments of philosophers and non-philosophers, contending that while the former are reliable, the latter are not. Such appeals to the so-called “expertise defense,” it should be noted, have a shoddy empirical track record (Weinberg 2009; Weinberg et al. 2010; Schwitzgebel and Cushman 2012;

Tobia et al. 2013), and we are skeptical of them. However, even if one is willing to accept the expertise defense for some contexts and topics, the matter of finding a *publicly justifiable* conception of justice relies on the premise that such a conception will be stably agreed upon by ordinary people. As a result, there are no good grounds for excluding the judgments of reasonable and rational ‘non-experts’ in this particular debate.

As noted above, we take our results to be troubling for traditional contractarian approaches. The absence of a privileged impartiality frame leads to indeterminacy, thereby posing a problem for those committed to uniqueness. Yet while our findings undercut orthodox approaches to the social contract, this is not to say that social contract theorizing is for naught, or that the contractarian tradition should be abandoned. If anything, our experimental results provide additional motivation for a very recent turn in social contract theory exemplified by the work of Gerald Gaus (2010) and Michael Moehler (forthcoming). Gaus explicitly rejects uniqueness, contending a variety of distinct social contracts may be publicly justified and further argues no procedure for selecting a social contract is *uniquely* justified. Instead of invoking a collective decision procedure or impartiality frame, Gaus takes a pseudo-evolutionary approach and argues social evolution will ‘break the symmetry,’ resulting in eventual coordination on a publicly justified contract. Moehler takes a similar approach and advocates for a Humean account of the social contract involving an evolved system of moral rules that constitute a contract members of society are assumed to enter.¹⁶ Our experiments provide new empirical support for these recent developments in social contract theory, reinforce Gaus’ contention and suggest where theorists working in the tradition should place their efforts.

Appendix

1. Impartiality frames

Thick:

Members of Alpha consider what distributive principles they would select if they did not know anything about themselves. In other words, the distributive principle required by justice is the distributive principle they would select if they didn't know their race, gender, socioeconomic status, their talents, or how motivated they were.

Spectator:

Members of Alpha consider what distributive principle they would select if they were fully informed impartial spectators. In other words, the distributive principle required by justice is the

¹⁶ Moehler endorses a hybrid view, according to which in situations where there is widespread divergence regarding moral commitments, a unique social contract based on instrumental rationality will be agreed to. However, in better societal conditions, where values are more widely shared, a plurality of evolved norms for different societies will emerge on his account.

distributive principle someone would choose if they knew all the relevant facts about the members of Alpha and didn't have any reason to favor any participant over others.

Thin:

Members of Alpha consider only distributive principles no member of society could reject for good reasons. In other words, if the members of Alpha don't have good reasons to reject a principle, that distributive principle can govern Alpha.

2. Distributive principles

Difference principle:

"The most just distribution of income is that which maximizes the floor or minimum income in society."

Utilitarianism with a floor (Principle of restricted utility):

"The most just distribution of income is that which insures that all members of society can meet their basic needs and, once this condition is secured, maximizes the average income in that society."

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