

Nevertheless, there is a compelling moral and economic case for Western countries to do as Wraight suggests with regard to trade barriers on agricultural products.

All in all, the author has a good grasp of the wide range of disciplines necessary to analyze this topic from so many angles. It is a worthy addition to any Christian's reading list even though Christian approaches to philosophy are omitted.

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## Free Market Fairness

**John Tomasi**

Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012 (348 pages)

In *Free Market Fairness*, John Tomasi, professor of political science and philosophy at Brown University, embraces an ambitious agenda: reconciling the left liberal philosophy of social justice with libertarian and classical liberal views on the economic rights of capitalism. To this end, Tomasi introduces a liberal research program that he calls “market democracy,” a deliberative form of liberalism that reflects sensitivity to the moral insights of libertarianism. In his first two chapters, Tomasi discusses the origins of the conflict within liberal thinking between the classical liberalism and the high liberalism traditions.

In chapter 1, Tomasi reviews the classical liberal revolution through the seminal writings of John Locke's doctrine of self-ownership and the natural freedoms of all citizens; Adam Smith, whose “systems of natural liberty” limit government activity to national defense, the provision of a limited range of public goods, and the administration of justice; and others chronicling the early American experience, including the creation of a Constitution with enumerated powers balancing economic rights with civil and political rights. Tomasi concludes his review with F. A. Hayek's writings, whereby the protection of freedom (including the protection of property) and the achievement of economic efficiency are married to create an ideal of formal equality. Hayek's rules of property allow for the best use of local knowledge governed by the *nomos*, or “grown” law, that forms the basis of the spontaneous order of society at large, while rejecting public policy's pursuing social or distributive justice. From this rich classical liberal tradition, Tomasi summarizes three concepts: (1) a thick concept of economic liberty grounded mainly in consequentialist considerations, (2) a formal concept of equality that sees the outcome of free-market exchanges as largely definitive of justice, and (3) a limited but important state role in tax-funded education and social-service programs.

In chapter 2, Tomasi explores the development of a largely European project: high liberalism. Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that laws protecting economic liberty did not really protect people from domination, while Karl Marx posited that there are no legal guarantees that the liberal social world will not be marked by fixed, enduring class divisions based on people's standing in the economic order. Further, John Stuart Mill argued that progressive beings do not need economic liberty in order to “pursue their own good

their own way.” By the early twentieth century, the idea of social justice emerged in an era of increasing industrialization, with new liberals advocating a government with broad economic powers to impartially pursue a more-substantive ideal of equality. John Rawls, in *A Theory of Justice* (1971), presented a justificatory (or distributive) theory he called constructivism that seeks to identify principles of justice by reasoning directly (from a device he called the “original position”) about the moral requirements of social life. High liberalism rests on Rawls’s concept of justice as fairness, where institutions are arranged so that any inequalities that emerge are advantageous to the least fortunate, with his favored regime types “liberal (democratic) socialism” and “property-owning democracy” subsuming economic liberty to civic and political liberties.

In chapter 3, Tomasi challenges the modern orthodoxy of high liberalism. The positive effects of economic growth and prosperity in the twentieth century where, for example, the inflation-adjusted per capita income of the average American has undergone an eightfold increase since 1900, makes the personal exercise of economic liberty more rather than less valuable to many liberal citizens. Open-minded advocates of deliberative democracy should therefore reject the platform of economic exceptionalism advocated by high liberalism. Tomasi further argues the importance of a thick concept of economic liberty as a basis for responsible self-authorship and democratic legitimacy. To this end, Tomasi offers his new, superior approach to the social democratic one: market democracy.

In chapter 4, Tomasi maps the conceptual space held by market democracy by envisioning it as a hybrid, combining insights from classical liberals (Hayek) and high liberals (Rawls). Like classical liberalism, market democracy affirms a wide-ranging right to economic liberty, with regime types strictly limiting the scope of legislative authority in economic affairs. Furthermore, market democracy emphasizes the use of markets in pursuit of social justice, pursued mainly through the forces of spontaneous order. From the high liberalism tradition, market democracy affirms a robust concept of social justice as the ultimate standard of institutional or political evaluation. With basic rights and liberties in place, fully just institutions consistently work to improve the condition of the least-well off citizens, offering greater benefits to the poor than any other alternative set of rights-protecting institutions.

In chapter 5, Tomasi addresses the opposition to social justice as a fixed premise of the classical liberal and libertarian traditions. Libertarians reject social justice as a direct assault on unassailable rights to property, based on either self-ownership or a principle of natural liberty. Traditional forms of classical liberalism, however, present less consistent deductive philosophical argumentation in their rejection of social justice. Tomasi argues that various thinkers in the free market tradition (Hayek in particular) often employ predictions (and moral commitments) about the beneficial (or distributive) effects of capitalism as a necessary condition for defending capitalism’s benefit to the poor. Tomasi proceeds to build an argument for how his market democratic affirmation of thick economic liberty might be made compatible with a wide variety of philosophic approaches to social justice. While questioning whether orthodox libertarians can affirm a spontaneous order,

he believes that classic liberal adherents to Hayek can affirm a conception of spontaneous order that allows for social justice.

In chapter 6, Tomasi concludes that society, in its moral essence, is a public thing. Its institutions must be committed to respecting citizens and creating conditions in which they can develop and exercise the moral capacities for self-authorship. Moreover, citizens must respect the core liberty-interests of their fellow citizens, including those life-defining economic decisions in light of their own character, values, and dreams. Finally, the basic political and economic structures of a free society must be justifiable to all classes of citizens to ensure that all groups benefit. Tomasi breaks with classical liberal and libertarian traditions in founding politics on a deliberative ideal of democratic citizenship while simultaneously correcting for left, liberal biases and defects in Rawls's theory to fashion his view of a "free market fairness" that seeks to maximize the personal wealth controlled by the poor.

In chapter 7, Tomasi addresses the danger of "philosophilia," or the love of philosophy (with or without wisdom), so ardent that philosophers come to believe that ideal theory is the whole of political theory. Philosophia helps explain why much of the philosophical community has been slow to take seriously the sentiments of middle-class citizens that their private economic liberties matter more rather than less to them as their societies grow wealthier. For a candidate regime to realize justice as fairness in a broadly Rawlsian scheme, it must seek justice in a way that is compatible with the general laws of sociology; for example, operating under the most favorable—yet possible—set of historical, cultural, and economic conditions. Thus, if a regime type pursues justice as fairness by an institutional strategy unrealistic in light of the general facts of political sociology, that regime type is unjust regardless of the number of official guarantees it includes. Furthermore, as a corollary, if some regime type pursues justice as fairness by a strategy that is within the boundaries of what is sociologically realistic, that regime type must be recognized as just regardless of how few guarantees it includes.

In chapter 8, Tomasi focuses on justice as fairness. He proceeds to complete his sketch of free market fairness by first affirming its compliance with the general formulation of the difference principle; second, by affirming the generically conceived "ideal of formal equality," while supplementing it with the more demanding ideal of "fair equality"; and third, by recognizing the special status of political liberties, with free-market fairness requiring a political system that protects every citizen from domination in the formulation of the rules and policies that are to govern cooperative life. Ultimately, the choice political philosophers must make is strictly moral: Which concept of fairness, the social democratic or the free market regime, offers us the more inspiring ideal?

John Tomasi has written a spirited, accessible book that successfully argues the classical liberal tradition (although less so the libertarian variant) of private economic liberty as a necessary and equal partner with social and political liberties in a free and just democratic society. This integrated, constructive approach—what he calls market democracy—also recognizes the importance of social justice, a high liberal concept that he redefines by

employing the principles of classical liberal thought. While those orthodox thinkers in the high liberal and libertarian traditions may indeed not consider Tomasi's market democracy as a serious alternative to their embedded philosophies, the "ideologically uncommitted" and "intellectual adventurers" (to use Tomasi's descriptors) may want to give market democracy a serious second look. Tomasi has provided the intellectual and justificatory framework for classical liberal adherents to robustly explore opportunities in a market-democracy research program.

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## The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion

**Jonathan Haidt**

New York: Pantheon Books, 2012 (419 pages)

As a social psychologist, Jonathan Haidt's research focuses on how moral reason functions in social systems. In *The Righteous Mind*, Haidt is concerned that political and religious opponents wrongly demonize each other because they do not understand what the other side values and why. The book seeks to present the moral foundations of liberals (modern-day progressives) and conservatives in an attempt to show why it is that both sides talk past each other and why this impasse throws a wrench into policy making. In the end, Haidt notes that conservatives have an advantage in making a case for their positions in public discourse because they are more balanced in their moral foundations.

For those unfamiliar with the discipline of moral psychology, Haidt provides good background in the first few chapters. In chapter 1, we learn that moral psychology began as a subdivision of developmental psychology. Building on the work of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, researchers were pursuing two questions: How do children come to know right from wrong and where does morality come from (5)? Haidt observes that rationalists, overvaluing reason in a Kantian sense, dominated early research, causing them to miss other important aspects of human nature. Early pioneers were beholden to Kantian frameworks, believing that moral actions followed cognitive moral reasoning. Haidt believes this approach to be inaccurate. As an alternative explanation, Haidt maintains that moral reasoning is what we do to justify our moral intuitions *post hoc*. For Haidt, our moral reasoning apparatus includes innate intuitions given to us by way of evolution as well as those learned from particular cultural norms and practices.

The next several chapters introduce readers to the basic principles of moral psychology and Haidt's "intuitionist model." Chapters 2 and 3 explain the first principle of moral psychology, namely that intuitions come first and strategic reasoning second. Using the illustration of a rider on an elephant, Haidt observes that the mind is divided into controlled processes (the rider) interfacing with automatic processes (the elephant). Because we use moral reasoning to make sense of our intuitions, if you want to change someone's