

Ethics Without Numbers*

Jake Nebel

Draft of August 28, 2021
Comments welcome!

Abstract

This paper develops an alternative to the standard framework of social welfare functionals. In the standard framework, a social or overall betterness ordering is assigned to each profile of utility functions, where utilities are real numbers. Different possibilities for the measurability and interpersonal comparability of well-being are captured, in this framework, by invariance conditions on social welfare functionals. But these invariance conditions are highly restrictive and it is not clear whether they really follow from the underlying measurability/comparability possibilities with which they are associated.

The alternative framework developed in this paper cuts out the middleman of utilities, replacing them with the properties that utilities are supposed to represent. This allows us to define the measurability/comparability possibilities directly, without the use of any invariance condition, and to state social welfare functionals that violate the standard invariance conditions without requiring inadmissible information. This suggests that the invariance conditions cannot be justified in the standard way. But they do follow from a simple principle that can be motivated by some familiar considerations from the metaphysics of quantities. I conclude by considering the case for this principle.

*I am very grateful to Matthew Adler, Krister Bykvist, Hilary Greaves, Harvey Lederman, Jeff Russell, Trevor Teitel, Ralph Wedgwood, John Weymark, and an audience at the 7th Oxford Workshop on Global Priorities Research for helpful comments.

1 Introduction

Arrow (1951) gave us the following problem. Consider a set of (at least three) alternatives $X = \{x, y, z, \dots\}$ and a set of (at least two) individuals $N = \{1, 2, \dots, n\}$. A preference profile is an n -tuple of orderings on X , one for each individual. An *Arrovian social welfare function* assigns a social preference relation to each preference profile in its domain.

Arrow wanted his social welfare function to have the following properties. It should assign an ordering to every logically possible preference profile. It should respect the unanimous preferences of individuals: if everyone prefers one alternative to another, then society should too. It should rank two alternatives by considering only the individual orderings over those two alternatives. And it should not be dictatorial: there should be no person such that society prefers whatever she does no matter what everyone else wants. But, Arrow showed, these conditions are jointly inconsistent.

The most influential diagnosis of this impossibility is that it results from a lack of relevant information (Sen 1970). An Arrovian social welfare function assigns a social preference relation to n -tuples of individual *orderings*. This precludes any concern for cardinal information and interpersonal comparisons. To accommodate such information, Sen offered a generalization of Arrow's proposal. Each person i has a utility function that assigns a real number ("utility") to each alternative, assigning higher numbers to alternatives that are better for i . A utility profile is an n -tuple of utility functions, one for each individual. A social welfare *functional* assigns an overall betterness relation to each utility profile in its domain.

In the social welfare functional framework, analogues of Arrow's conditions can be stated as follows. The social welfare functional should assign an ordering to every logically possible utility profile on the set of alternatives. It should rank an alternative higher than another if it is better for everyone. It should rank two alternatives by considering only the utilities assigned to those two alternatives. And it should not be dictatorial: there should be no person such that what is better for her is better overall no matter what is better for others.

These conditions are consistent. This might be taken to confirm Sen's diagnosis of Arrow's impossibility theorem: in order to compare alternatives in an acceptable way, we need more information than is contained in an Arrovian preference profile.

But how much information do we need? The social welfare functional delivers an overall betterness relation for each utility profile. So, it seems, we need to know the correct utility profile in order to know the correct ranking of alternatives. Utilities, however, are just numbers. There is no unique number that represents your well-being, any more than

there is a unique number that represents your mass. There is no one true profile of utility functions. For any profile that accurately represents the facts about individual welfare, there are infinitely many others that represent the same facts just as well. Such profiles are called *informationally equivalent*. Any differences between them are mere artefacts of the utility representation, much like the differences between the kilogram scale and the gram scale. According to the requirement of *informational invariance*, the social welfare functional must assign the same overall betterness relation to utility profiles that are informationally equivalent.

The concept of informational equivalence and the requirement of informational invariance lie at the heart of the social welfare functional approach. If the structure of well-being is too sparse—in particular, if there are no interpersonal comparisons—then it becomes too easy for utility profiles to be informationally equivalent, and we get Arrow’s impossibility again. But when interpersonal comparisons are permitted, the informational basis becomes rich enough for the social welfare functional to satisfy the Arrovian conditions. Informational conditions that allow for interpersonal comparisons can then be used alongside other conditions to characterize social welfare functionals that represent natural ethical views such as utilitarianism and Rawls’s difference principle.¹

For at least some purposes, though, the social welfare functional approach is still too restrictive. The strongest kind of scale on which welfare could, with any plausibility, be measured is an interpersonal ratio scale. This is a scale on which there are meaningful ratios of welfare levels between people: if person 1’s utility function assigns a number to alternative x that is twice the number assigned by person 2’s utility function to y , then we can infer that person 1 is twice as well off in x as person 2 is in y . Any two profiles that preserve these ratio facts are informationally equivalent. But, even with this highly informative scale, the requirement of informational invariance has highly restrictive implications (Nebel 2021*b*). For example, when utilities can be either positive or negative, it rules out seemingly reasonable theories that give priority to the worse off (Brown 2007). And, when population size can vary, it rules out theories on which it is bad to add lives that are only barely worth living (Blackorby, Bossert, and Donaldson 1999).

Some might argue that these views should simply be rejected, because they rest on implausible assumptions about the quantitative structure of well-being—in particular, that it can be measured on something stronger than a ratio scale. But the restrictive implications

¹For helpful overviews of this literature, see d’Aspremont and Gevers (2002), Bossert and Weymark (2004), Weymark (2016), and Adler (2019).

are symptoms of a deeper problem. As Sen (1977: 1542) observes, the invariance conditions are “unable to distinguish between (i) everyone having more welfare ... and (ii) a reduction in the unit of measurement of personal welfares.” If we take a utility profile and double the utilities assigned to every alternative, the resulting profile could be taken to represent each alternative as being twice as good for each person as it is according to the original profile, or as being exactly as good for each person but on a scale on which the units are halved. It is not at all obvious that these two possibilities should be treated the same way. But they cannot be distinguished within the social welfare functional framework because, as Morreau and Weymark (2016) emphasize, utility profiles contain no information about what utilities represent.

A further problem is that there is no way to *define*, within the orthodox framework, the measurability and comparability assumptions with which the invariance conditions are associated. The invariance conditions do not themselves provide such a definition: they are, at best, necessary but insufficient conditions. This is observed by Levi (1990: 242, n. 4), who warns against “the error of supposing that the adoption of an *X*-invariant [social welfare functional] presupposes assuming measurability–comparability assumption *X*.” One could, for example, believe that interpersonal cardinal comparisons of well-being levels are possible while accepting an invariance condition that makes such comparisons morally irrelevant. If we want to know whether the invariance conditions really do follow from their associated measurability–comparability assumptions, we had better be able to state those assumptions.

This paper offers a new framework that addresses these problems by paying closer attention to the structure of the thing represented (welfare), rather than the numerical representation of that thing. It cuts out the middleman of utility. This proposal is motivated by a feeling reported by Field (2016: P-4): “[T]hough formulating an empirical theory using a high-powered mathematical apparatus can in many ways be illuminating (especially when it comes to comparing that theory with others), it can sometimes make it hard to see what is really going on in the theory.” The apparatus of social welfare functionals has indeed been illuminating, especially for highlighting the differences between alternative theories of welfare aggregation and distributive justice. But it has obfuscated the issues of measurability and comparability that it was supposed to clarify. The point of my alternative framework is not to remove utility functions and social welfare functionals from the ethicists’ methodological toolkit (and it is certainly not to make any fragment of ethics nominalistically acceptable—I will freely quantify over numbers and other abstract objects), but rather to ensure that conditions stated in terms of utilities really do follow from the intended properties of well-being.

We will see that the invariance conditions do not.²

This does not mean that the invariance conditions have nothing going for them. Indeed, my framework allows us to pinpoint a simple, general principle that divides those who accept and those who reject them. Ultimately, I think this principle can reasonably be rejected. But I grant that, other things being equal, a theory that satisfies it is preferable to one that violates it. So we get an account on which the standard invariance conditions are far from being nonnegotiable constraints on meaningful social welfare evaluation, while also avoiding the downside of making it inexplicable why we would have ever found them compelling.

2 Qualitative Social Welfare Functionals

Utilities are real numbers. A person's utility assigned to some alternative is supposed to represent how good, or valuable, that alternative is for her. The degree to which something is good for a person is not a number, but a property—I will simply call it a *value*.

What are these values? I think of them as a kind of *magnitude*, much like magnitudes of familiar physical quantities like mass and temperature. There are two main views about the metaphysics of magnitudes. On one view, the magnitude 1 kilogram is just an equivalence class of objects under the relation of being equally massive (see, e.g., Kyburg 1997). Similarly, one could think of a value as an equivalence class of possible worlds (or centered worlds) under the relation of being equally good for a person. On another view, magnitudes are Platonic universals or abstract entities of some other sort, which exist independently of the things that instantiate them. Views like this have been defended by Mundy (1987), Michell (1997; 1999), Eddon (2013), Swoyer (1987), and Peacocke (2015); Bykvist (2021) defends such a view specifically in the theory of value. I prefer this second kind of view of values and magnitudes more generally, but the approach presented here is compatible with views

²Another alternative to the standard framework is developed by Morreau and Weymark (2016). In their framework of *scale-dependent* social welfare functionals, each utility function is paired with a *scale* that specifies the possible utilities, a greater-than relation defined on these utilities, and an “interpretation procedure” that specifies their meaning. But what are these meanings? Morreau and Weymark compare utilities to grades, the meanings of which might be fixed by a rubric describing the conditions under which each grade is merited (Balinski and Laraki 2010). But, when utilities are supposed to represent well-being, it is less clear how this is supposed to work. We also want to consider cases in which welfare has more than mere ordinal structure. But it is not clear how to distinguish such structures in the scale-dependent framework, since each scale just contains a greater-than relation over interpreted utilities. The framework developed here may help to answer these questions, thus complementing the scale-dependent approach, though in a way that renders utilities otiose.

of both kinds.³ Of course, it is not compatible with the radical (but respectable) view that there are no values, instead only relations between value-bearers. This view would suggest a quite different approach, to be explored in future research; here I simply set it aside. So long as there *are* values (degrees of goodness, welfare levels, or whatever one wants to call them) it does not matter for now how they are understood—though it may have substantial implications down the road for issues to be considered in section 6.

Unlike magnitudes of familiar physical quantities, however, I do not assume at the outset that values can be represented by real numbers or have any quantitative structure. Nor do I assume that they are interpersonally comparable. For each person i , there is a set \mathbb{V}_i of values for i . If these values are interpersonally comparable, then $\mathbb{V}_i = \mathbb{V}_j$ for all individuals i and j , in which case we use a single set \mathbb{V} . Elements of \mathbb{V} will be denoted by a, b, c, \dots , with subscripts when not interpersonally comparable.

Each person has a *value function* $v_i(\cdot)$ which assigns a value in \mathbb{V}_i to each alternative in X . A *value profile* is an n -tuple of value functions, one for each person: $V = (v_1(\cdot), \dots, v_n(\cdot))$. Each value profile purports to say how good each alternative is for each individual.

A *qualitative social welfare functional* is a function that assigns an ordering to each value profile in its domain. I call it qualitative to distinguish it from a *numerical* social welfare functional defined on profiles of utility functions. When there is no risk of ambiguity, I omit the “qualitative.” I use \succsim^V to denote the *at least as good as* ordering assigned by the qualitative social welfare functional to profile V . \succ^V denotes its asymmetric part (strict betterness), \sim^V its symmetric part (equal goodness). I assume that the domain of the social welfare functional is *unrestricted*: it is the set of all logically possible value profiles.

To simplify our exploration of qualitative social welfare functionals, I restrict our attention to those that are *welfarist*, which means that they compare alternatives solely by how well off people are in those alternatives. In the qualitative framework, welfarism can be formulated as follows.

Given a value profile V and an alternative x , there is a list of values assigned by each person’s value function to x : $V(x) = (v_1(x), \dots, v_n(x))$. Call this list a *value vector*. A *social welfare ordering* is an ordering on the set of all value vectors. A social welfare functional is welfarist just in case there is a social welfare ordering \succsim^* such that, for any profile V and alternatives x and y , $x \succsim^V y \Leftrightarrow V(x) \succsim^* V(y)$. This property allows us to abstract from the alternatives and simply consider their value vectors, which will be represented by boldface letters (e.g., \mathbf{v}) when considered independently of the alternatives to which they might be

³And with more exotic views, such as the “quantity spaces” view of Arntzenius and Dorr (2012).

assigned.

A social welfare functional with an unrestricted domain can be shown to be welfarist in this sense just in case it satisfies two conditions. First, if two alternatives have the same value for each person, then they are equally good:

Pareto Indifference For any value profile $V = (v_1(\cdot), \dots, v_n(\cdot))$, and any alternatives x and y , if $v_i(x) = v_i(y)$ for every $i \in N$, then $x \sim^V y$.

Second, the restriction of the overall betterness ordering to x and y depends only on the values assigned to x and y :

Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives For any value profiles $V = (v_1(\cdot), \dots, v_n(\cdot))$ and $V' = (v'_1(\cdot), \dots, v'_n(\cdot))$ and any alternatives x and y : if, for every $i \in N$, $v_i(x) = v'_i(x)$ and $v_i(y) = v'_i(y)$, then $x \succeq^V y \Leftrightarrow x \succeq^{V'} y$.

Pareto Indifference and Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives are jointly equivalent to welfarism as formulated above (for proof, see Appendix A).

In the qualitative framework, measurability and comparability conditions are imposed by specifying a *value structure*, which tells us how the values relate to each other. In sections 3–5, I consider some value structures corresponding to different hypotheses about the quantitative structure and interpersonal comparability of well-being that have been considered in the social choice literature. For each kind of value structure, I explain the associated invariance condition and its implications. I show in each case how a social welfare ordering that violates the associated invariance condition can be defined within that value structure, suggesting that the invariance conditions cannot be justified in the standard way.

3 Ordinal Value Structures

Let us start with the simplest example of a value structure. Assume that different people's values are fully interpersonally comparable, so we need only work with the single set \mathbb{V} . There is a linear ordering \geq on \mathbb{V} , with the following interpretation: for any $a, b \in \mathbb{V}$, $a \geq b$ just in case something whose value for a person is a is at least as good as something whose value for a (possibly different) person is b . This is a *linear* ordering because \geq is antisymmetric: if $a \geq b$ and $b \geq a$, then $a = b$. I will assume that there is no greatest or least value: things could always be better or worse for a person.

I will call the value structure (\mathbb{V}, \geq) an *interpersonal ordinal structure*. It allows us to make (nothing more than) ordinal comparisons of different people's values. We cannot say how much better off one person is than another, or how much better for someone one alternative is than another. Nor can we add, subtract, multiply, or divide values.

This informational framework is associated with a dilemma posed by d'Aspremont and Gevers (1977). Suppose we strengthen Pareto Indifference to

Strong Pareto For any value vectors $\mathbf{v} = (v_1, \dots, v_n)$ and $\mathbf{w} = (w_1, \dots, w_n)$: if $v_i \geq w_i$ for every $i \in N$, then $\mathbf{v} \geq^* \mathbf{w}$; if, in addition, $v_i > w_i$ for some $i \in N$, then $\mathbf{v} >^* \mathbf{w}$.

Define a *permutation* of a value vector as follows: \mathbf{w} is a permutation of \mathbf{v} iff there is some bijection $\sigma : N \rightarrow N$ such that, for every $i \in N$, $v_i = w_{\sigma(i)}$. According to

Anonymity If \mathbf{w} is a permutation of \mathbf{v} , then $\mathbf{v} \sim^* \mathbf{w}$.

A person is *unaffected* in the comparison between two value vectors just in case her welfare is the same in both vectors. The comparison of value vectors should not depend on the welfare of unaffected individuals:

Separability For any value vectors $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w}, \mathbf{v}', \mathbf{w}'$: if there is some subset M of N such that $v_i = w_i$ and $v'_i = w'_i$ for every $i \in M$, and $v_j = v'_j$ and $w_j = w'_j$ for every $j \in N \setminus M$, then $\mathbf{v} \geq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \mathbf{v}' \geq^* \mathbf{w}'$.

d'Aspremont and Gevers's final axiom, in the qualitative framework, can be stated as follows. A transformation $\varphi : \mathbb{V} \rightarrow \mathbb{V}$ is *strictly increasing* iff, for any $a, b \in \mathbb{V} : a > b \Leftrightarrow \varphi(a) > \varphi(b)$. Say that $\mathbf{v}' = \varphi(\mathbf{v})$ iff, for every $i \in N$, $v'_i = \varphi(v_i)$. According to

Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any strictly increasing φ , $\mathbf{v} \geq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \geq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w})$.

d'Aspremont and Gevers show that a social welfare ordering that satisfies the (utility analogues of) Strong Pareto, Anonymity, Separability, and Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations must either be extremely egalitarian or extremely inegalitarian, in the following sense: when comparing two vectors, it must either give absolute priority to the worst-off affected individual (*leximin*) or to the best-off affected individual (*leximax*). The proof does not depend on any distinctive features of the real numbers that are lacking in the interpersonal ordinal structure (\mathbb{V}, \geq) , so the theorem is valid in this setting as well.

The present framework provides a simple response to this dilemma: we can reject Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations, even if we maintain that welfare is no

more than ordinally measurable. We do not need an invariance condition to ensure that we respect the informational constraints of an interpersonal ordinal structure. The standard justification for such a condition is that a utility profile contains numerical properties that do not reflect anything in the structure of well-being. For example, we can compare utility differences, ratios, and sums across people, because utilities are real numbers, but these comparisons are not “meaningful” when utilities just represent an ordering. In the present case, however, there is no such justification. The value profile contains no superfluous information. There are no operations analogous to the addition, division, or subtraction of real numbers. More generally, there is no numerical representation, so there are no numerical claims to be deemed “meaningless.”

To see how a social welfare ordering can violate Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations while using only ordinal information, consider

Headcount-then-Leximin There is some value $\theta \in \mathbb{V}$ such that, for any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} , $\mathbf{v} \geq^* \mathbf{w}$ iff (1) the number of individuals for whom $v_i > \theta$ is greater than the number for whom $w_i > \theta$, or (2) the numbers are the same but the worst-off individual in \mathbf{v} is better off than the worst-off individual in \mathbf{w} , or (3) the numbers are the same and the worst-off individuals in \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} are equally well off but the second-worst-off individual in \mathbf{v} is better off than the second-worst-off individual in \mathbf{w} , and so on.

Headcount-then-Leximin satisfies Strong Pareto, Anonymity, and Separability. It violates Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations. But it does not require anything more than ordinal comparisons.

It might be objected that it does require more than ordinal comparisons. It requires there to be a “special level” θ . But this level is not designated as special *by the interpersonal ordinal value structure*. We need not suppose, for example, that there is some level above which a life is worth living, or below which a person is poorly off in some absolute sense, or that has any other qualitative interpretation other than that assigned by the social welfare ordering. It need not be represented by zero or any other number. We can suppose instead that the level is either chosen arbitrarily or by satisfying our intuitions about the comparison of alternatives. Headcount-then-Leximin says that there *is* a level such that it is always worse for there to be more people below this level, but it does not require the level to be chosen or represented in any particular way.

Consider an analogy. The Mohs scale is an ordinal scale of mineral hardness. A rock collector might insist on having only rocks above a certain Mohs level. This does not mean that they are treating the Mohs scale as more than merely ordinal.

I think there could be reasons to rule out social welfare orderings that appeal to special levels. I will discuss a way to rule them out, in greater generality than just imposing Invariance to Common Increasing Transformations, in section 6. But they cannot be ruled out on the grounds that they require more than ordinal interpersonal comparability.

We have seen that, in the framework of qualitative social welfare functionals, d'Aspremont and Gevers's dilemma can be avoided without using anything more than interpersonal ordinal comparisons. Let us now consider a sparser informational framework in which we cannot make interpersonal comparisons of well-being.

Suppose that each person i has her own set of values \mathbb{V}_i , and that \mathbb{V}_i and \mathbb{V}_j are disjoint for any distinct i and j . For each individual i there is a linear ordering \succeq_i on \mathbb{V}_i , with the interpretation that $v_i(x) \succeq_i v_i(y)$ iff x is at least as good for i as y . Define \succeq as the union of these n orderings. The value structure $(\bigcup_{i \in N} \mathbb{V}_i, \succeq)$ is an *intrapersonal* ordinal structure.

Arrow's impossibility can be obtained in this setting by adding an invariance condition.

Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any n -tuple of strictly increasing transformations $\varphi = (\varphi_1, \dots, \varphi_n)$ where $\varphi_i : \mathbb{V}_i \rightarrow \mathbb{V}_i$: $\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \succeq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w})$.

A social welfare ordering that satisfies Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations and Strong Pareto must be dictatorial: there must be some individual i such that if $v_i > w_i$, then $\mathbf{v} >^* \mathbf{w}$. More specifically, it must be a *lexicographic dictatorship*: one vector is at least as good as another just in case the first is better for some particular person (the dictator) unless she is equally well off in both vectors, in which case it must be better for some other particular person (the deputy dictator) unless she is equally well off, and so on (Luce and Raiffa 1957).

But there is no need to impose Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations to ensure that we are respecting the informational constraints of an intrapersonal ordinal value structure. Here, for example, is a social welfare ordering (based on List 2001) that requires only intrapersonal ordinal comparisons but violates Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations and is not dictatorial:

Headcount-then-Dictatorship There are values $\theta_1, \dots, \theta_n$ in $\mathbb{V}_1, \dots, \mathbb{V}_n$ such that, for any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} , $\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w}$ iff (1) the number of individuals for whom $v_i > \theta_i$ is greater than the number for whom $w_i > \theta_i$, or (2) those numbers are the same but $v_1 > w_1$, or (3) the numbers are the same and $v_1 = w_1$ but $v_2 > w_2$, and so on.

This ordering violates Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations and is not a dictatorship. But it does not require anything more than ordinal, intrapersonal comparisons.

One might agree that Headcount-then-Dictatorship requires only ordinal comparisons, but object that it involves some kind of interpersonal comparison. Once we pick a special level θ_i for each person, we can say that some people are above their special levels while others are not. But this is not an interpersonal comparison of different people's well-beings.

Here is an analogy. We can pick a temperature and call it special—e.g., the boiling point of water—and pick a mass and call it special—e.g., the mass of the standard kilogram. We can say that some objects are below the special level of temperature while others are above the special level of mass. But this doesn't mean that the former objects are cooler than the latter are heavy.

Again, I think there could be reasons to rule out Headcount-then-Dictatorship and other social welfare orderings that appeal to special levels. But the reason cannot be that it requires information more than intrapersonal, ordinal comparisons.

We have seen how the qualitative framework lets us avoid the impossibilities of d'Aspremont and Gevers (1977) and Arrow (1951) without going beyond ordinal comparisons. Let us now see how the framework sheds light on richer value structures, starting with the case of ratio-scale measurability.

4 Interpersonal Extensive Structure

In order to construct a ratio scale, we need to enrich the value structure. Since we are assuming full interpersonal comparability, we have a single set of values \mathbb{V} and a linear ordering \geq on \mathbb{V} . We also need a *concatenation* operation \circ that takes any pair of values in \mathbb{V} and returns another value in \mathbb{V} . By “concatenation,” I just mean a way of combining things, in an addition-like manner. A classic example, in the case of length, is the operation of stacking rods together from end to end (Krantz, Luce, Suppes, and Tversky 1971).

How should we interpret this concatenation operation on values? If our values were masses, many would be willing to interpret \circ as the operation that takes two masses and returns their sum (as in Mundy 1987; Eddon 2014). Perhaps we have an intuitive notion of addition defined on masses, which has properties much like the addition of real numbers, and which we understand independently of empirical operations like stacking two objects together on a scale. Some might take themselves to have a similar intuitive notion of addition

defined on values, so that $a \circ b = c$ can be taken to mean that c is the sum of the values a and b .

Others, like myself, may not find ourselves to have any pre-theoretical grip on this notion. We might instead try to assign a meaning to \circ in a more roundabout way, in terms of an operation on value-bearers and only indirectly on values. Suppose that the bearers of value are *lives*. Now imagine that an individual could lead multiple lives, one after another. For example, you first live Napoleon's life, and then Britney Spears's (with your memory wiped in between). We might then define $a \circ b = c$ to mean that a life with value c for an individual is just as good as leading a life with value a and then a life with value b . We then assume that a person's value function assigns some value to an alternative x just in case her life in x has that value. I do not insist on this interpretation of \circ , but it may be useful to have in mind when considering the axioms of the structure.

There are well-known conditions, due to Krantz, Luce, Suppes, and Tversky (1971: sec. 3.2.1), that are necessary and sufficient for a concatenation structure to be representable by real numbers, with concatenation represented by addition. Krantz et al.'s conditions, however, are too weak for our purposes. In the framework of numerical social welfare functionals, the unlimited domain assumption guarantees that, for any real number and any two individuals, there is a utility vector in which that real number is the ratio between those individuals' utilities. That ratio is supposed to represent how many times better off the one person is than the other. So we do not just want each value to be representable by a real number, as in the system of Krantz et al. We want each utility to be assigned to a value. We want an isomorphism—a one-to-one, structure-preserving mapping—from the *interpersonal extensive structure* $(\mathbb{V}, \geq, \circ)$ onto the numerical structure $(\mathbb{R}, \geq, +)$. For this sort of result, we have to go back to the original system of Hölder (1901: Part I), whose theorem is the basis for those of Krantz et al. The following axioms are a modification of Hölder's:

1. \geq is a linear ordering on \mathbb{V} .
2. \mathbb{V} is closed under concatenation: for any values a and b there is a value c such that $a \circ b = c$.
3. The concatenation operation is associative: $a \circ (b \circ c) = (a \circ b) \circ c$.
4. The comparison of two values is independent of common values to which they are concatenated: $a \geq b$ iff $a \circ c \geq b \circ c$ iff $c \circ a \geq c \circ b$.
5. There is at least one "positive" value: a value a such that $a \circ a > a$.
6. There is no smallest positive value: if $a \circ a > a$, then there is a b such that $a > b$ and $b \circ b > b$.

7. For any a and b , there exist (possibly identical) x and y such that $a \circ x = b$ and $y \circ a = b$.
8. Consider any partition of \mathbb{V} into an “upper” set A and a “lower” set C such that every $a \in A$ is greater than every $c \in C$. There must be a $b \in \mathbb{V}$ that is no greater than any in the upper set and no less than any in the lower set.

It follows from Hölder’s theorem that if (and only if) the structure $(\mathbb{V}, \geq, \circ)$ satisfies the above conditions, there is a one-to-one correspondence $u : \mathbb{V} \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that, for any $a, b \in \mathbb{V}$, $u(a) \geq u(b) \Leftrightarrow a \geq b$, and $u(a) + u(b) = u(a \circ b)$.⁴ This representation is unique up to similarity transformation—i.e., multiplication by a positive number. However, as Krantz et al. emphasize, we do not need to use the operation of addition to represent \circ . Consider the alternative representation $u'(\cdot) = e^{u(\cdot)}$. Using this representation—which is unique up to transformation by a positive power— $u'(a) \times u'(b) = u'(a \circ b)$.

In this structure, we can define ratios of values. For any natural number n and value $a \in \mathbb{V}$, define na as the concatenation of a with itself n times: e.g., $2a = a \circ a$. The ratio of na to a is n , which I write as $na : a = n$. If for some a and b that are both positive or both negative, there is no such n such that $na = b$, there might still be an n and m such that $na = mb$ —i.e., the n -fold concatenation of a with itself is equal to the m -fold concatenation of b with itself—in which case $a : b = m/n$. Otherwise the ratio is the limit of m/n as this self-concatenation process yields a closer and closer approximation (as laid out by Krantz et al., sec. 2.2).

We can now state the invariance condition generally associated with ratio-scale measurability. Say that $\varphi : \mathbb{V} \rightarrow \mathbb{V}$ is a similarity transformation iff there is some positive real number r such that, for all $a \in \mathbb{V}$ such that $a \circ a \neq a$, $\varphi(a) : a = r$. According to

Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any similarity transformation φ ,

$$\mathbf{v} \geq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \geq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w}).$$

This condition is standardly implemented in the numerical framework by requiring the ordering of utility vectors to be invariant to common similarity transformations of utilities—i.e., multiplication by a positive constant. But this is arbitrary: it only captures Invariance

⁴Hölder’s own system was restricted to positive magnitudes. But the conditions above imply that \mathbb{V} can be partitioned into three sets of values: one that satisfies Hölder’s axioms for positive magnitudes, one that satisfies obvious analogues of Hölder’s axioms for negative magnitudes, and one containing a single “null” value that, when concatenated with any other value, returns that same value. Simply apply axiom (7) to the pair (a, a) : there must be a value b that, when concatenated with a , returns a . This is the null value. Then apply (7) to the pair (b, a) , where b is null and a is positive: there must be a value c that, when concatenated with a , returns the null value b . This is a negative value— a ’s additive inverse.

to Common Similarity Transformations given one particular convention for representing concatenation, namely via addition. To see this, consider a simple social welfare ordering that satisfies Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations:

Classical Utilitarianism For any value vectors $\mathbf{v} = (v_1, \dots, v_n)$ and $\mathbf{w} = (w_1, \dots, w_m)$,

$$\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow v_1 \circ \dots \circ v_n \geq w_1 \circ \dots \circ w_m.$$

When values are represented by utilities and \circ by $+$, Classical Utilitarianism is equivalent to an ordering of utility vectors by their sums, which is invariant to common similarity transformations of utilities. But when \circ is represented by \times , Classical Utilitarianism is equivalent to an ordering of utility vectors by their products, which (when population size can vary) is not invariant to common similarity transformations of utilities, but is instead (unlike the sum-of-utilities ordering) invariant to positive power transformations. Neither of these should be privileged as *the* utilitarian ordering: each represents Classical Utilitarianism relative to a different numerical representation. Utilitarianism should not be understood as a view about arithmetic operations on arbitrarily chosen *numbers*, but rather as a view about the aggregation of well-being.

Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations rules out an important class of *prioritarian* social welfare orderings within an interpersonal extensive structure. A social welfare ordering is prioritarian iff it satisfies Separability, Strong Pareto, Anonymity, and a further principle that gives priority to the worse off, by favoring any transfer of a quantity of well-being from a better-off to a worse-off person that leaves the former at least as well off as the latter:

Pigou-Dalton For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} , if there is some positive $a \in \mathbb{V}$ and individuals i and j such that $w_i \circ a = v_i$, $v_j \circ a = w_j$, and $v_j \geq v_i$, and for all k other than i and j , $v_k \sim w_k$, then $\mathbf{v} \succ^* \mathbf{w}$.

One example of a prioritarian social welfare ordering, as I have defined it, is the leximin rule. This rule can be excluded by requiring the social welfare ordering to be *continuous*, in the following sense. A *neighborhood* of a value vector \mathbf{v} is a set that, for some positive value ε , contains every value vector \mathbf{w} such that $v_i \circ \varepsilon > w_i$ and $w_i \circ \varepsilon > v_i$ for every individual i . Intuitively, it is the set of all value vectors that are within a certain distance of \mathbf{v} . According to

Continuity For any \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} such that $\mathbf{v} \succ^* \mathbf{w}$, there are neighborhoods of \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} such that, for every \mathbf{v}' in the neighborhood of \mathbf{v} , and every \mathbf{w}' in the neighborhood of \mathbf{w} , $\mathbf{v}' \succ^* \mathbf{w}'$.

This rules out leximin, according to which an arbitrarily small improvement to the worst off outweighs any benefit to others. But, within an interpersonal extensive value structure, there is no continuous-prioritarian social welfare ordering that satisfies Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations.⁵

Continuous prioritarianism can be made to satisfy Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations if the value structure is restricted to *positive* values, as in Hölder’s original system. Such a structure would include the condition that every value, when concatenated with any other, returns a greater value. But this condition is not very plausible. If \circ is interpreted on the life-sequences model, for example, it implies that it would be better to live your life and then a life in which you are tortured than to just live your life and die.

If we reject Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations, we can formulate a continuous-prioritarian social welfare ordering within an interpersonal extensive value structure. According to

Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism There is a positive $\lambda \in \mathbb{V}$ such that, for any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} ,

$$\mathbf{v} \succ^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \sum_{i=1}^n -e^{-(v_i:\lambda)} \geq \sum_{i=1}^n -e^{-(w_i:\lambda)}$$

Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism compares value vectors by taking the ratio of each person’s value to a constant λ , applying a negative exponential transformation to these ratios, and then adding up the transformed ratios. Nebel (2021b) calls λ a *dimensional constant*, after physical constants such as the gravitational constant: it is a value, not a dimensionless number. This is a quantitative version of the appeals to “special levels” we saw in sections 3.

Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism satisfies the continuous-prioritarian axioms but violates Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations because the value λ is singled out as special. If we apply a similarity transformation that moves some people above λ who were previously below it, that can change the ordering. This example suggests that Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations cannot be justified on the standard grounds that it is somehow required for the social welfare ordering to be based on meaningful information when welfare is at most ratio-scale measurable. For Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism seems clearly meaningful given an interpersonal extensive value structure, even though it violates Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations.

It might be objected that Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism requires something stronger than

⁵See Blackorby and Donaldson 1982; Brown 2007. The proof in Nebel 2021b can be easily translated to the qualitative framework by replacing the utilities with values of the same “sign.”

a ratio scale. The only kind of such scale is a so-called *absolute* scale, on which numbers themselves are meaningful, not just ratios or other relations between them. The typical example given of an absolute scale is *counting*: the number of protons in an atom is completely unique; the only admissible transformation of this number is the identity. It is implausible that well-being is measurable on an absolute scale. But there is no reason to think that Kolm-Pollak Prioritarianism requires an absolute scale of well-being. The ratio of each value to λ is indeed a unique real number, but this ratio is not a quantity of well-being; it does not belong to \mathbb{V} . What is absolutely unique is not the numbers assigned to values, but rather ratios between values. And that is true for any quantity that can be measured on a ratio scale.

5 Difference Structures

In this section, I consider value structures that allow for cardinal comparisons of some form—i.e., how *much* better one alternative is for a person than another—but not ratio comparisons. Unlike an interpersonal extensive structure, these structures do not require a primitive concatenation operation.

In Part II of his paper, Hölder (1901) considered intervals of points along a straight line. He showed that, if the ordering of intervals met various axioms, then one could combine their absolute distances in a natural way that satisfied his axioms for magnitudes of extensive quantities (a variation of which we saw in section 4). This sort of structure is the basis for what Krantz et al. call *difference structures*, which give rise to cardinal (also called *interval*) scales. In this section, I explore Hölder-style difference structures with various kinds of interpersonal comparability, starting with the case of full interpersonal comparability.

5.1 Interpersonal Difference Structure

In a difference structure, the individual betterness relation holds between pairs of values, which I call value intervals. I write the pair (a, b) as ab and call a and b its *endpoints*. It represents, roughly, how much greater a is than b , or the difference between a and b (though, as we will see, this difference need not be represented by the arithmetic operation of subtraction). For example, suppose that these values are a rational agent's degrees of desire considering various possible lives. Then the interval ab might be interpreted as the strength or intensity of such an agent's preference between a life with value a and one with value b .

In an *interpersonal difference structure*, we can say how much better off one person is than

another. We have a single set of values \mathbb{V} common to all individuals, and \succsim is an ordering on $\mathbb{V} \times \mathbb{V}$. (It is not antisymmetric because two value intervals can be the same size but have different endpoints and thus be distinct.) A rough interpretation of this relation is that, for any $a, b, c, d \in \mathbb{V}$, $ab \succsim cd$ if something with value a is better for a person than something with value b by at least as much as something with value c is better for a person than something with value d . But this is only a sufficient condition, because \succsim can hold between pairs whose first element is *not* better than the second. The more general interpretation will be clearer when we see the axioms of the structure.

In the numerical framework, with an unlimited domain, ratios of utility differences can be arbitrarily large or small: for any real number r , there are utility vectors such that the difference between two people's utilities in one vector is r times the difference between two people's utilities in another vector. This is supposed to represent the ratio between the two value intervals. To obtain this property, I will assume that an interpersonal value structure $(\mathbb{V} \times \mathbb{V}, \succsim)$ satisfies the following conditions, which essentially combine those of Hölder (1901: Part II) and Krantz, Luce, Suppes, and Tversky (1971: sec. 4.4.1):

1. There are at least two distinct values in \mathbb{V} .
2. \succsim is an ordering on $\mathbb{V} \times \mathbb{V}$.
3. Reversing the endpoints of intervals reverses their "signs": if $ab \succsim cd$, then $dc \succsim ba$.
4. The intervals add up, in the following sense. Consider two value triples (a, b, c) and (a', b', c') . Suppose that $ab \succsim a'b'$ and $bc \succsim b'c'$. Then $ac \succsim a'c'$.
5. Any value interval can be bisected into equal subintervals: for any distinct values a and c , there is a value b between them such that $ab \sim bc$.
6. Any interval can be "copied" elsewhere in the structure using any other value as an endpoint: for any interval ab and value d , there are unique values c and c' such that $cd \sim dc' \sim ab$.
7. For any partition of \mathbb{V} into an "upper" set A and a "lower" set C such that every $a \in A$ is greater than every $c \in C$, there must be a $b \in \mathbb{V}$ that is no greater than any in the upper set and no less than any in the lower set.

In this structure, we can classify intervals as positive, negative, or null, in the following way. Any interval between a value and itself is of the same size: for any $a, b \in \mathbb{V}$, $aa \sim bb$. These intervals can be classified as null. Value a is greater than b iff $ab > aa$, in which case ab is positive. a is less than b iff $aa > ab$, in which case ab is negative.

The axioms of an interpersonal difference structure allow us to define a concatenation operation \oplus on the set of value intervals. This operation combines value intervals together

to form larger ones (if both are positive). For example, if the endpoints were times rather than values, and the intervals were durations of time, then \oplus would take two durations of time and return, intuitively, their sum.

To define this operation more precisely, let $[ab]$ denote the equivalence class of value intervals of the same size as ab . \oplus takes any two equivalence classes of value intervals such that, for some $a, b, c \in \mathbb{V}$, ab is in the first equivalence class and bc is in the second, and returns the equivalence class $[ac]$, so that $[ab] \oplus [bc] = [ac]$. The axioms of the structure ensure that this operation is unique and well-defined for any pair of value intervals.

There is a crucial difference between the operation just defined and the concatenation operation \circ of an interpersonal extensive structure. There the concatenation operation was a primitive, ineliminable ingredient of the structure. By contrast, \oplus is *defined* using the axioms above. Everything we say using \oplus could be restated, though in a cumbersome way, without that operation, in terms of value intervals.

The structure consisting of the set of (equivalence classes of) value intervals, together with the defined operation \oplus and the ordering \succcurlyeq , satisfies Hölder's axioms for extensive magnitudes laid out in section 4. This allows us to define *ratios* of value intervals, though not of values themselves. Intuitively, the ratio between two value intervals (of the same sign) is the number of times the smaller one would have to be concatenated to itself to be just as large as the larger one. When there is no such natural number, there may still be a pair of natural numbers m and n such that the m -fold concatenation of the larger interval with itself is of the same size as the n -fold concatenation of the smaller interval with itself—in which case the ratio of the smaller to the larger is m/n . When there is no such rational number, then there is a real number that is the limit of m/n as the stacking-and-copying process is iterated to get the concatenation of smaller intervals to an increasingly close fit into the concatenation of larger intervals. Such a ratio exists between any two (nondegenerate) intervals. I write $ab : cd$ to denote the ratio of ab to cd as defined by this process.

It follows from the theorems of Hölder and Krantz et al. that there is a one-to-one correspondence $u(\cdot)$ from \mathbb{V} to the real numbers such that, for any $a, b, c, d \in \mathbb{V}$, $ab \succcurlyeq cd \Leftrightarrow u(a) - u(b) \geq u(c) - u(d)$. And, given any such $u(\cdot)$, any positive α , and any β , the function $v(\cdot) = \alpha u(\cdot) + \beta$ —a positive affine transformation of $u(\cdot)$ —will also represent the structure in the same way. But, as Krantz et al. emphasize, we do not need to use the arithmetic operation of subtraction to represent value intervals. Consider the alternative representation $u'(\cdot) = e^{u(\cdot)}$. Using this representation, $ab \succcurlyeq cd \Leftrightarrow u'(a)/u'(b) \geq u'(c)/u'(d)$, and ratios of intervals will be represented as ratios of log-ratios rather than ratios of differences. This

representation will be unique up to transformation by a positive power and multiplication.

In the framework of numerical social welfare functionals, the invariance axiom associated with an interpersonal difference structure would require us to assign the same betterness ordering to two utility profiles where each person's utility function in one profile is a common positive affine transformation of her utility function in the other profile. In the present framework, we do not have multiplication or addition. But we can define the relevant class of transformations using our ratio operation. Say that $\varphi : \mathbb{V} \rightarrow \mathbb{V}$ is a positive affine transformation just in case there is some positive real number r such that, for every distinct $a, b \in \mathbb{V}$, $\varphi(a)\varphi(b) : ab = r$. According to

Invariance to Common Affine Transformations For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any positive affine transformation φ : $\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \succeq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w})$.

As explained above, however, this sort of invariance transformation need not be represented as multiplication of utilities by a positive real number and addition of a constant.

Classical Utilitarianism (as defined on page 14) cannot be stated in an interpersonal difference structure, because we do not have a concatenation operation on values. We can, however, formulate a utilitarian social welfare ordering that concatenates value *intervals*, using the defined operation \oplus . According to

Interval Utilitarianism For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} ,

$$\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow [v_1w_1] \oplus [v_2w_2] \oplus \cdots \oplus [v_nw_n] \succeq [aa] \text{ for any } a \in \mathbb{V}$$

When value intervals are represented by utility differences, Interval Utilitarianism can be represented by a numerical social welfare ordering that adds up utility differences. But, since value intervals could instead be represented by utility ratios, Interval Utilitarianism could instead be represented by adding utility ratios.

Interval Utilitarianism is the only social welfare ordering that satisfies Invariance to Common Affine Transformations, Strong Pareto, Anonymity, Separability, and Continuity.⁶ This is the qualitative analogue of a theorem due to Maskin (1978). We can assure ourselves that Maskin's theorem is valid in this framework by representing the value vectors as utility vectors and helping ourselves to Maskin's theorem in the numerical framework. However, the case for Invariance to Common Affine Transformations in this framework is

⁶The statement of Continuity on page 14 appeals to the notion of *neighborhoods* which was defined in terms of concatenated values. But it can be straightforwardly translated in terms of intervals.

weak. The justification for its numerical analogue is that, when \mathbf{w} and \mathbf{v} are utility vectors and φ is a positive affine transformation, $\varphi(\mathbf{v})$ and $\varphi(\mathbf{w})$ represent the very same distributions of welfare as \mathbf{w} and \mathbf{v} ; φ is a mere change in scale. This is not so in the qualitative framework. When \mathbf{w} and \mathbf{v} are value vectors and φ is a (nontrivial) positive affine transformation on values, $\varphi(\mathbf{v})$ and $\varphi(\mathbf{w})$ are distinct distributions of welfare; φ is a real change in well-being. If there is a reason to rank $\varphi(\mathbf{v})$ and $\varphi(\mathbf{w})$ the same way as \mathbf{w} and \mathbf{v} , it cannot be that they represent the same welfare information on different scales.

We can reject Interval Utilitarianism while satisfying Maskin's other axioms within the informational setting of an interpersonal difference structure. To see this, notice that we can generalize Interval Utilitarianism as follows:

Generalized Interval Utilitarianism There is a value $\theta \in \mathbb{V}$ and a strictly increasing function $g : \mathbb{V}^2 \rightarrow \mathbb{V}^2$ such that, for any value vectors $\mathbf{v} = (v_1, \dots, v_n)$ and $\mathbf{w} = (w_1, \dots, w_m)$,

$$\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow [g(v_1\theta)] \oplus \dots \oplus [g(v_n\theta)] \succeq [g(w_1\theta)] \oplus \dots \oplus [g(w_m\theta)]$$

For example, suppose $g(ab) : ab = 1/2$ when $ab \succeq aa$ but $g(ab) : ab = 2$ when $aa > ab$. This would mean that values below θ get more weight than those above θ , unlike in Interval Utilitarianism.

Some might claim that Generalized Interval Utilitarianism uses more than a cardinal scale. The appeal to a special level θ looks much like what many authors say to establish a ratio scale. Broome (2004: 255) claims to have derived a ratio scale of well-being from a cardinal scale by specifying a level to call zero (see also Adler 2011: 216). But this is not a ratio scale of *well-being*. It is a scale of *well-being intervals* from the chosen level. Even if the chosen level has some significant properties that distinguish it from others, calling it zero does not make it zero. By way of analogy, the temperature to which the Celsius scale assigns the number zero has some physically significant properties. We could insist, if we wanted, that any scale of temperature represent it with the number zero. But this would not entitle us to interpret ratios or sums of degrees Celsius as ratios or sums of temperatures; they would still just be ratios or sums of temperature intervals from the freezing point of water. As we saw in section 4, we would need a richer value structure to have meaningful ratios of values.⁷

⁷Generalized Interval Utilitarianism, like Classical Utilitarianism, can be used to compare vectors of different lengths. This makes it suitable for evaluating variable-population choices—unlike Interval Utilitarianism, which requires each person to have a value in both alternatives. The most obvious variable-population generalization of Interval Utilitarianism that satisfies Invariance to Common Affine Transformations is average utilitarianism: one simply computes the average size of the interval from each value in one vector to each value in the other. But average utilitarianism is not very plausible (see Parfit 1984: sec. 143). I take it to be an advantage of my approach that it allows for a view that handles variable-population cases more plausibly than

5.2 Intrapersonal Difference Structure

Now that we have difference structures on the table, we can consider such structures without full interpersonal comparability. In an *intrapersonal difference structure*, we can say how much better x is than y for person i , but we cannot make any interpersonal comparisons.

The value structure for this informational setting is as follows. For each person i , take the set of all i -value intervals: $\mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i$. For each individual i , there is an ordering \succsim_i on $\mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i$. Assume that, for each individual, the structure $(\mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i, \succsim_i)$ satisfies the axioms for a difference structure laid out on page 17. Then the value structure $(\bigcup_{i \in N} \mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i, \bigcup_{i \in N} \succsim_i)$ is an intrapersonal difference structure.

In the numerical framework, the inability to make interpersonal comparisons is characterized by the following invariance condition: two utility profiles must be assigned the same ordering if each person's utility function in the one profile is some (possibly different for each person) positive affine transformation of her utility function in the other profile. The qualitative analogue of this condition is

Invariance to Individual-Specific Affine Transformations For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any n -tuple of positive affine transformations $\varphi = (\varphi_1, \dots, \varphi_n)$ where $\varphi_i : \mathbb{V}_i \rightarrow \mathbb{V}_i$, $\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \succeq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w})$.

But Invariance to Individual-Specific Affine Transformations entails Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations. In an intrapersonal difference structure we can say that a transformation φ_i on \mathbb{V}_i is strictly increasing just in case $\varphi_i(v_i)\varphi_i(w_i) \succ_i aa \Leftrightarrow v_i w_i \succ_i aa$ for any $v_i, w_i, a \in \mathbb{V}_i$. For any such transformation, there is a positive affine transformation φ'_i on \mathbb{V}_i such that $\varphi'_i(v_i)\varphi'_i(w_i) \succ_i aa \Leftrightarrow \varphi_i(v_i)\varphi_i(w_i) \succ_i aa$. So if two pairs of value vectors must be ranked the same way according to Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations, we can find a positive affine transformation to relate them, and so they must be ranked the same way according to Invariance to Individual-Specific Affine Transformations. So, by Arrow's theorem, Invariance to Individual-Specific Affine Transformations and Strong Pareto together require the social welfare ordering to be dictatorial.

The standard lesson of this is that enriching the informational basis to include cardinal structure without interpersonal comparisons is not enough to avoid Arrow's impossibility. Unsurprisingly, I think this is false, because we do not need to impose Invariance to average utilitarianism without requiring an interpersonal extensive structure with a primitive concatenation operation on values.

Individual-Specific Affine Transformations to rule out interpersonal comparisons of well-being; such comparisons simply cannot be made within an intrapersonal difference structure. The following social welfare ordering (suggested by Nebel 2021a on behalf of Harsanyi 1955) involves no interpersonal comparisons of well-being:

Interval-Weighted Summation There are positive value intervals $\kappa_1, \dots, \kappa_n$ in $\mathbb{V}_1 \times \mathbb{V}_1, \dots, \mathbb{V}_n \times \mathbb{V}_n$, such that, for any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} ,

$$\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \sum_{i=1}^n (v_i w_i : \kappa_i) \geq 0$$

Interval-Weighted Summation compares value vectors by adding up the ratio of each person's value interval between those vectors and some constant value interval (or equivalence class of value intervals). This ordering makes sense given an intrapersonal difference structure, but it does not satisfy Invariance to Individual-Specific Affine Transformations.

5.3 Hybrid Difference Structure

In what I will call a *hybrid difference structure*, we can compare different people's gains and losses in welfare (value intervals), but not their welfare levels (values). This informational setting (which is often called "cardinal unit comparability") is used in d'Aspremont and Gevers (1977)'s axiomatic characterization of utilitarianism. They show that the utilitarian social welfare ordering is the only one that satisfies the utility-theoretic versions of Strong Pareto, Anonymity, and an invariance condition that requires two pairs of utility vectors to be ranked the same way if they are related by a positive affine transformation whose scale factor is the same for each person (the translations can differ by person).

Structures of this sort have been studied by Krantz et al., who call them *cross-modality ordering structures* (Krantz, Luce, Suppes, and Tversky 1971: sec. 4.6). Their experimental application involves subjects matching different kinds of paired sensations—e.g., matching a pair of sounds with respect to their loudness with a pair of lights with respect to their brightness—without ever comparing two sensations of different kinds.

A possible analogue in the theory of welfare might be the comparison of preference intensities. It seems to make sense to say that my preference to keep my job rather than lose it is stronger than someone's preference to have chocolate rather than vanilla ice cream. But one might doubt that there are interpersonally comparable "levels" underlying these comparisons of preference intensities. Utterances like "I want to keep my job more than you

want to have chocolate ice cream” might seem to compare monadic desires in terms of their strengths, but the truth conditions for such utterances may be best understood in terms of comparisons of dyadic preference strengths (Greaves and Lederman 2016: 29, n. 25).

A hybrid difference structure has the same base set as an intrapersonal difference structure: $\bigcup_{i \in N} \mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i$. But, unlike in an intrapersonal difference structure, we have a single ordering \succsim on this base set: the structure is $(\bigcup_{i \in N} \mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i, \succsim)$. So intervals between my values must be comparable to intervals between your values, but there is no comparison of my values to your values.

Assume that the restriction of a hybrid difference structure to each individual’s set of value intervals satisfies the difference structure axioms stated on page 17. Also assume that, for any individual i and values $a_i b_i \in \mathbb{V}_i$, and any individual j , there are values $a_j b_j \in \mathbb{V}_j$ such that $a_i b_i \sim a_j b_j$. This is enough to define a concatenation operation \oplus : \oplus takes any two equivalence classes of value intervals such that, for some $a_i, b_i, c_i \in \bigcup_{i \in N} \mathbb{V}_i \times \mathbb{V}_i$, $a_i b_i$ is in the first equivalence class and $b_i c_i$ is in the second, and returns the equivalence class $[a_i c_i]$, so that $[a_i b_i] \oplus [b_i c_i] = [a_i c_i]$. So Interval Utilitarianism makes sense in this structure.

In empirical applications, the intervals in a cross-modality ordering structure are conventionally represented by ratios rather than differences. There are functions u_1, \dots, u_n from $\mathbb{V}_1, \dots, \mathbb{V}_n$ to the positive real numbers, such that $u_i(a_i)/u_i(b_i) \geq u_j(a'_j)/u_j(b'_j)$ iff $a_i b_i \succsim a'_j b'_j$. The representation is unique up to transformation by a common positive power for all individuals and multiplication by positive numbers that can differ by individuals. As we have seen, there is nothing special about representation by ratios or representation by differences. But it suggests that it is not pedantic to complain about the practice, in the numerical framework, of characterizing each informational basis in terms of a single privileged invariance condition. Whether or not two utility profiles are informationally equivalent depends on what arithmetic operations such as subtraction are supposed to represent. And, for that, we need to specify a value structure.

Given a hybrid difference structure, we can state the qualitative analogue of d’Aspremont and Gevers (1977)’s invariance condition as follows.

Invariance to Affine Transformations with Common Scale Factors For any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} and any n -tuple of positive affine transformations $\varphi = (\varphi_1, \dots, \varphi_n)$ where $\varphi_i : \mathbb{V}_i \rightarrow \mathbb{V}_i$ and $[\varphi_i(a_i)\varphi_i(b_i) : (a_i b_i)] = [\varphi_j(a'_j)\varphi_j(b'_j) : (a'_j b'_j)]$ for every $i, j \in N$: $\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \varphi(\mathbf{v}) \succeq^* \varphi(\mathbf{w})$.

The qualitative analogue of d’Aspremont and Gevers (1977)’s theorem also requires a different anonymity principle. This is because Anonymity (as stated on page 8) is trivial when the

value structure is a hybrid difference structure: the only permutation of a value vector is the identity. We need a stronger anonymity principle that allows us to rearrange value intervals without requiring us to rearrange values. According to

Interval Anonymity For any value vectors $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{v}', \mathbf{w}, \mathbf{w}'$: if there is some bijection $\sigma : N \rightarrow N$ such that, for every $i \in N$, $v_i w_i \sim v'_{\sigma(i)} w'_{\sigma(i)}$, then $\mathbf{v} \succsim^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \mathbf{v}' \succsim^* \mathbf{w}'$.

However, Interval Anonymity would make Invariance to Affine Transformations with Common Scale Factors redundant in a characterization of Interval Utilitarianism. For, as I show in Appendix B, Interval Anonymity and Strong Pareto are together sufficient to obtain Interval Utilitarianism.

d'Aspremont and Gevers's theorem may have seemed to provide a compelling argument for utilitarianism on the assumption that we can make interpersonal comparisons of welfare gains and losses but not of levels, as in a hybrid difference structure. But when we translate these premises to the qualitative framework, the argument seems much less compelling, since it requires Anonymity to be strengthened to a premise that is nearly equivalent to the desired conclusion.

Here is an example of a non-utilitarian social welfare ordering that can be formulated using a hybrid difference structure, based on the generalized Gini family (Weymark 1981). For each individual i , pick a value $\theta_i \in \mathbb{V}_i$. Given any vector \mathbf{v} , we rank the individuals by the size of the interval $v_i \theta_i$, as ordered by \succsim . Then each person's interval from θ_i is "multiplied" by a positive number $a_{(i)}$ that depends on i 's rank, giving priority to those further down the rank ordering. The qualitative interpretation of this multiplication is that an interval is mapped onto one that is $a_{(i)}$ times bigger. We then concatenate these rank-weighted intervals. We then perform the same operation on \mathbf{w} , and compare the resulting concatenations of rank-weighted intervals. This social welfare ordering looks formally egalitarian, but it is not egalitarian, because we cannot say that anyone is better or worse off than anyone else. We can only say that one person i is better off than her level θ_i by more than another person j is better off than his θ_j .

6 Automorphism Invariance

We have now seen how each of the standard invariance conditions can be rejected within the qualitative framework. In each case, the social welfare ordering has to single out a value or interval in the value structure. This strategy does not seem to require any information

that is not available in the value structures under consideration. Nor does it seem to involve any numerical claims that might plausibly be considered “meaningless.” So, in the qualitative framework, the invariance conditions cannot be justified on the standard grounds. And they lack the immediate plausibility they seemed to enjoy in the numerical framework. Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations, for example, does not have anything to do with the informational equivalence of utility profiles related by a similarity transformation. It says, when combined with the welfarism axioms, that if x' is twice as good for each person as x and y' is twice as good for each person as y , then x is at least as good as y iff x' is at least as good as y' . This is a real change in well-being, not a merely representational change in the unit of measurement.

This does not mean that the invariance conditions cannot be justified at all. I want to conclude by asking how they might be restored within the qualitative framework. Of course, one could simply insist, of each such condition, that it is true. But, intuitively, if any of the invariance conditions is true, it is true in virtue of some more general principle that rules out any appeal to special values or intervals. Identifying such a principle will help us to better understand the disagreement over these conditions. It will also provide another advantage of the qualitative approach, since it would seem desirable to have a framework that is, by itself, neutral about the conditions under debate.

An important strand in the theory of measurement studies the properties of relational structures in terms of their *automorphisms* (Luce, Krantz, Suppes, and Tversky 2014; Narens 2002). An automorphism is a one-to-one mapping of a structure onto itself that preserves all of the relations in the structure. For example, if we take each value in an interpersonal extensive structure map it to the value that would result from concatenating the value with itself n times—a similarity transformation—the structure stays the same: same set of values, same ordering over these values, and same concatenation operation. Similarly, if we take each interval in an interpersonal difference structure and map it onto one that is n times bigger—a positive affine transformation—the structure stays the same. More generally, the transformations identified by the standard invariance conditions are automorphisms of their associated value structures. So the violations of these invariance conditions can be ruled out by

Automorphism Invariance If two value profiles are related by a transformation that is an automorphism of the value structure, then they must be assigned the same overall betterness ordering.

Given the welfarism axioms, Automorphism Invariance implies the analogous condition for

the social welfare ordering on value vectors: if two pairs of value vectors are related by an automorphism of the value structure, then they must be compared in the same way. This means that, whatever the value structure is, the social welfare functional must satisfy the invariance condition associated with that structure—e.g., Invariance to Common Similarity Transformations for an interpersonal extensive structure.

Why might we accept Automorphism Invariance? One reason is an epistemic worry about social welfare functionals that violate Automorphism Invariance. Suppose we want to know the correct ordering of alternatives. Then we need to know the correct value profile—the one in which each person's value function assigns the value to each alternative that it actually has. Now suppose that profiles V and V' are related by an automorphism of the value structure. Suppose, for example, that the value structure is an interpersonal difference structure, and that they are related by a positive affine transformation: according to V' , everyone is better off in each alternative, by a common interval, than V says they are. How could we possibly tell whether V or V' is correct? One might argue that we cannot distinguish between profiles that are related by an automorphism of the value structure, on the grounds that we can only tell how well off a person is in some alternative by comparison to other alternatives or other people. We cannot, on this view, discriminate between possibilities in which the values assigned to every alternative for every person are related by an automorphism of the value structure. So, if Automorphism Invariance were false, the correct ordering of alternatives would be unknowable. For any profile that could be accurate given our evidence, there will be one that is indistinguishable from it but to which the social welfare functional assigns a different ordering of alternatives.

This does not particularly bother me, since I see no reason to think that the correct ordering of alternatives must be knowable by us. It would be more disturbing if the ordering of *any* pair of alternatives were unknowable. But that would not follow from the argument. Even if we can only identify the correct profile up to a class of profiles related by an automorphism of the value structure, and even if the social welfare functional does not assign the same ordering to all profiles in this class, it will still surely agree on the ordering of some alternatives (e.g., by applying axioms like Strong Pareto and Separability).

One might, however, take the apparent indistinguishability of value structures to have metaphysical implications. One might claim that profiles related by an automorphism of the value structure cannot represent distinct possibilities. On this view, the problem isn't that we might not know the correct profile, but rather that there is no uniquely correct profile—only a correct class of profiles. This is analogous to influential “comparativist” claims in the

metaphysics of quantities—e.g., that it is impossible for everything to be twice as massive as it actually is, or to be located two feet to the right of where it actually is (Dasgupta 2013; for discussion, see Wolff 2020; Sider 2020; Baker 2020; Martens 2021). These claims are often motivated by appealing to the alleged indistinguishability of possibilities related by a universal doubling of mass facts or a static Leibniz shift. One might similarly reason from the apparent indistinguishability of value profiles related by an automorphism to the claim that there is really no difference between such profiles. This argument seems to get at the heart of the issue: they do not, contrary to Sen (1977)’s comment on the invariance conditions and Morreau and Weymark (2016)’s critique of the standard framework, represent different ways the value facts could be.

There is a crucial difference, though, between the arguments for comparativism about physical quantities and the argument for Automorphism Invariance. Arguments for comparativism that appeal to the empirical undetectability of uniform scalings assume that the physical laws are such as to make those scalings undetectable. The physicists tell us the laws, and we can then figure out what kinds of transformations would indeed be undetectable based on those laws. But, in the context of social welfare evaluation, the laws are the very things up for debate; we do not know them in advance. If it is assumed that the social welfare functional satisfies Automorphism Invariance, then we will not be able to distinguish between value profiles based on the overall betterness orderings assigned to them. Otherwise, though, we could perhaps distinguish two profiles precisely on the grounds that they ought to be assigned different overall betterness orderings.

This applies also to the earlier, purely epistemic argument. That argument assumes that we can only know the ordering of alternatives by inferring it from knowledge the correct profile and the social welfare functional. On a different picture, we can have reason to believe that some alternative is better than another without first knowing how well off each person is in each alternative, and we can appeal to such judgments in trying to determine the correct social welfare functional and value profile. This is compatible with thinking that the ordering of alternatives is explained by how well off each person is in each alternative, since the order of explanation need not be the same as the order of inference.

But even if we grant the premise of indistinguishability, the general inference from indistinguishability or undetectability to the metaphysical impossibility of distinctness does not seem compelling. We are unable to distinguish between possibilities in which there is an external world and those in which the appearance of an external world is generated by an evil demon. But this doesn’t lead us to think that there is no difference between such worlds

(Schaffer 2005). So why should we conclude that two value profiles cannot represent distinct metaphysical possibilities merely on the grounds that we could not possibly tell which one is actual? Perhaps we have reason, *ceteris paribus*, to disprefer theories that posit undetectable welfare facts to theories that do not (as Dasgupta 2013 suggests of undetectable physical structure). This would give us reason to prefer social welfare orderings that satisfy Automorphism Invariance to those that do not, when other things are equal. But this is far from the decisive constraint that social choice theorists have characterized the standard invariance conditions as being.

Furthermore, even if we grant that profiles related by an automorphism of the value structure cannot represent distinct metaphysical possibilities, it would not follow that we must accept Automorphism Invariance. We do not need to think of value profiles as metaphysically possible ways the evaluative facts could be. They could also represent merely *epistemic* possibilities. Indeed, the multi-profile methodology of social choice theory is usually justified by appeals to ignorance, not metaphysical contingency. Even if two metaphysically possible worlds cannot be related by a universal doubling of mass facts, one's knowledge might leave one unable to rule out the epistemic possibility that everything has twice the mass that it (unbeknownst to one) actually has—just as one might not be in a position to know whether water is H_2O or XYZ even though, whichever it is, it could not possibly have been the other. If profiles represent merely epistemically possible assignments of values, we should leave open the possibility that such profiles could be assigned different orderings by the social welfare functional.

For these reasons, the case for Automorphism Invariance does not seem to me decisive. This is not to say, of course, that any violation of Automorphism Invariance is perfectly welcome. For a particularly grotesque example, suppose that we have a merely intrapersonal ordinal value structure and that each person's values can be represented by real numbers. Consider the following social welfare ordering, which violates Invariance to Individual-Specific Increasing Transformations: there are utility functions $u_1(\cdot), \dots, u_n(\cdot)$ from $\mathbb{V}_1, \dots, \mathbb{V}_n$ to the real numbers, such that, for any value vectors \mathbf{v} and \mathbf{w} ,

$$\mathbf{v} \succeq^* \mathbf{w} \Leftrightarrow \sum_{i=1}^n u_i(v_i) \geq \sum_{i=1}^n u_i(w_i)$$

This rule compares alternatives by choosing a particular utility function for each person and then adding up utilities. This seems to reify an arbitrary numerical representation of an ordering—indeed, of n orderings—as a part of normative reality. Surely, no morally sig-

nificant relation could be captured by this social welfare ordering, much as an ordering of objects by the sums of their mass-in-grams and height-in-inches could not have any empirical significance.

This is a particularly ugly violation of Automorphism Invariance because it involves as many special levels as there are values. But I think it would be a mistake to infer from this ugliness that there cannot be any special levels and that Automorphism Invariance must hold in full generality. Social welfare functionals that satisfy Automorphism Invariance are, I admit, more parsimonious than those that violate it. They do not require special values or intervals, or possibly undetectable welfare facts. Parsimony, however, is just one theoretical consideration among others. Elegant theories are better than ugly theories. But true theories are better than false ones, however elegant. If we have strong independent reason to accept a theory that violates the invariance conditions, we should not reject it out of hand.

A Welfarism Theorem

A qualitative social welfare functional with an unrestricted domain satisfies Pareto Indifference and Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives if and only if it is welfarist—i.e., there is a social welfare ordering \succsim^* on $\prod_{i=1}^n \mathbb{V}_i$ (the set of all value vectors) such that, for any profile V and alternatives $x, y \in X$: $x \succsim^V y \Leftrightarrow V(x) \succsim^* V(y)$.⁸

Proof. Suppose that the domain is unrestricted and that the social welfare functional satisfies Pareto Indifference and Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives. Define \succsim^* on $\prod_{i=1}^n \mathbb{V}_i$ as follows: for any $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w} \in \prod_{i=1}^n \mathbb{V}_i$, let $\mathbf{v} \succsim^* \mathbf{w}$ iff there is some profile V and alternatives $x, y \in X$ such that $V(x) = \mathbf{v}$, $V(y) = \mathbf{w}$, and $x \succsim^V y$. Since the domain is unrestricted, for any $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w} \in \prod_{i=1}^n \mathbb{V}_i$, there must be some profile V and alternatives $x, y \in X$, such that $V(x) = \mathbf{v}$ and $V(y) = \mathbf{w}$. Since \succsim^V is an ordering, either $x \succsim^V y$ or $y \succsim^V x$. So \succsim^* is complete: for any $\mathbf{v}, \mathbf{w} \in \prod_{i=1}^n \mathbb{V}_i$, either $\mathbf{v} \succsim^* \mathbf{w}$ or $\mathbf{w} \succsim^* \mathbf{v}$.

Now suppose that $\mathbf{v} \succsim^* \mathbf{w}$: for some profile V and $x, y \in X$ such that $V(x) = \mathbf{v}$ and $V(y) = \mathbf{w}$, $x \succsim^V y$. We now show that, for any profile V' and alternatives $x', y' \in X$ such that $V'(x') = \mathbf{v}$ and $V'(y') = \mathbf{w}$, $x' \succsim^{V'} y'$. Since the domain is unrestricted, there must be some profile V'' such that $V''(x) = V''(x') = \mathbf{v}$ and $V''(y) = V''(y') = \mathbf{w}$. By Independence of

⁸The proof follows the same strategy as the proofs of Theorems 2.1 and 2.2 in Bossert and Weymark (2004: 1106f.). But it is worth reformulating in the qualitative framework to show that it doesn't depend on any distinctive features of the numerical framework—e.g., that individual utility functions have the same range, or that their ranges are or even have the structure of the real numbers.

Irrelevant Alternatives, $x \succsim^{V''} y$. By Pareto Indifference, $x \sim^{V''} x'$ and $y \sim^{V''} y'$. So, by the transitivity of $\succsim^{V''}$, $x' \succsim^{V''} y'$. And thus, by Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives, $x' \succsim^{V'} y'$, as desired.

To show that \succsim^* is transitive, suppose that $\mathbf{u} \succsim^* \mathbf{v} \succsim^* \mathbf{w}$. There must be a profile U and alternatives x, y, z such that $U(x) = \mathbf{u}$, $U(y) = \mathbf{v}$, and $U(z) = \mathbf{w}$. The reasoning above establishes that $x \succsim^U y \succsim^U z$. By the transitivity of \succsim^U , $x \succsim^U z$. So, by the definition of \succsim^* , $\mathbf{u} \succsim^* \mathbf{w}$.

The right-to-left direction—that a welfarist social welfare functional satisfies Pareto Indifference and Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives—is trivial. □

B Characterization of Interval Utilitarianism via Interval Anonymity

Given a hybrid difference structure, a social welfare ordering satisfies Interval Anonymity and Strong Pareto iff it is Interval Utilitarianism.

Proof. Consider two vectors \mathbf{v}^1 and \mathbf{v}^2 such that $[v_1^1 v_1^2] \oplus \cdots \oplus [v_n^1 v_n^2] \geq [a_1 a_1]$. Suppose for contradiction that $\mathbf{v}^1 \not\succeq^* \mathbf{v}^2$. By the completeness of \succsim^* , this implies $\mathbf{v}^2 \succ^* \mathbf{v}^1$.

Consider the permutation $\sigma : N \rightarrow N$ such that $\sigma(i) = i + 1$ for all $i \neq n$ and $\sigma(n) = 1$. For each $i \in N$ and for any $k > 1$, there is a value v_i^{k+1} such that $v_i^k v_i^{k+1} \sim v_{\sigma(i)}^{k-1} v_{\sigma(i)}^k$. By Interval Anonymity, $\mathbf{v}^{k+1} \succ^* \mathbf{v}^k$ for every $k > 1$, since we supposed that $\mathbf{v}^2 \succ^* \mathbf{v}^1$. So, by the transitivity of \succ^* , $\mathbf{v}^n \succ^* \mathbf{v}^1$.

But this violates Strong Pareto, because $v_i^1 \geq v_i^n$ for every $i \in N$. To see this, let $\sigma^k(\cdot)$ denote the composition of σ with itself k times. For every i ,

$$\begin{aligned} [v_i^1 v_i^n] &= [v_i^1 v_i^2] \oplus [v_i^2 v_i^3] \oplus \cdots \oplus [v_i^{n-1} v_i^n] \\ &= [v_i^1 v_i^2] \oplus [v_{\sigma(i)}^1 v_{\sigma(i)}^2] \oplus \cdots \oplus [v_{\sigma^{n-1}(i)}^1 v_{\sigma^{n-1}(i)}^2] \\ &= [v_1^1 v_1^2] \oplus [v_2^1 v_2^2] \oplus \cdots \oplus [v_n^1 v_n^2] \end{aligned}$$

Thus, $[v_i^1 v_i^n] \geq [a_1 a_1]$ for every i , so $v_i^1 \geq v_i^n$. By Strong Pareto, $\mathbf{v}^1 \succsim^* \mathbf{v}^n$, which contradicts $\mathbf{v}^n \succ^* \mathbf{v}^1$.

The other direction—that Interval Utilitarianism satisfies Interval Anonymity and Strong Pareto—is trivial. □

References

- Adler, Matthew D. (2011), *Well-Being and Fair Distribution: Beyond Cost-Benefit Analysis* (Oxford University Press).
- (2019), *Measuring Social Welfare: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press). doi: 10 . 1093/oso/9780190643027 . 001 . 0001.
- Arntzenius, Frank and Dorr, Cian (2012), “Calculus as Geometry”, in Frank Arntzenius (ed.), *Space, Time and Stuff* (Oxford University Press).
- Arrow, Kenneth (1951), *Social Choice and Individual Values* (New York: Wiley).
- Baker, David John (2020), “Some Consequences of Physics for the Comparative Metaphysics of Quantity”, in *Oxford Studies in Metaphysics Volume 12* (Oxford University Press), 75–112. doi: 10 . 1093/oso/9780192893314 . 003 . 0004.
- Balinski, M L and Laraki, Rida (2010), *Majority Judgment* (MIT Press).
- Blackorby, Charles, Bossert, Walter, and Donaldson, David (1999), “Information Invariance in Variable-Population Social-Choice Problems”, *International Economic Review*, 40/2: 403–22.
- Blackorby, Charles and Donaldson, David (1982), “Ratio-Scale and Translation-Scale Full Interpersonal Comparability without Domain Restrictions: Admissible Social-Evaluation Functions”, *International Economic Review*, 23/2: 249–68. doi: 10 . 2307/2526436.
- Bossert, Walter and Weymark, John A. (2004), “Utility in Social Choice”, in Salvador Barberà, Peter J. Hammond, and Christian Seidl (eds.), *Handbook of Utility Theory: Volume 2 Extensions* (Boston, MA: Springer US), 1099–177. doi: 10 . 1007/978-1-4020-7964-1_7.
- Broome, John (2004), *Weighing Lives* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press).
- Brown, Campbell (2007), “Prioritarianism for Variable Populations”, *Philosophical Studies*, 134/3 (): 325–61. doi: 10 . 1007/s11098-005-0897-5.
- Bykvist, Krister (2021), “Taking Values Seriously”, *Synthese* (). doi: 10 . 1007/s11229-021-03071-1.
- D’Aspremont, Claude and Gevers, Louis (1977), “Equity and the Informational Basis of Collective Choice”, *The Review of Economic Studies*, 44/2: 199–209. doi: 10 . 2307/2297061.
- (2002), “Social Welfare Functionals and Interpersonal Comparability”, in Kenneth J. Arrow, Amartya K. Sen, and Kotaro Suzumura (eds.), *Handbook of Social Choice and Welfare*, i (Handbook of Social Choice and Welfare; Elsevier), 459–541. doi: 10 . 1016/S1574-0110(02)80014-5.
- Dasgupta, Shamik (2013), “Absolutism vs Comparativism about Quantity”, in Karen Bennett and Dean W. Zimmerman (eds.), *Oxford Studies in Metaphysics, Volume 8* (Oxford University Press), 105–48. doi: 10 . 1093/acprof : oso/9780199682904 . 003 . 0003.

- Eddon, M. (2014), “Intrinsic Explanations and Numerical Representations”, in Robert M. Francescotti (ed.), *Companion to Intrinsic Properties* (Berlin, Boston: DE GRUYTER). doi: 10.1515/9783110292596.271.
- Eddon, Maya (2013), “Fundamental Properties of Fundamental Properties”, *Oxford Studies in Metaphysics*, 8: 78.
- Field, Hartry (2016), *Science without Numbers* (Second Edition, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), 176 pp.
- Greaves, Hilary and Lederman, Harvey (2016), “Extended Preferences and Interpersonal Comparisons of Well-being”, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (). doi: 10.1111/phpr.12334.
- Harsanyi, John C. (1955), “Cardinal Welfare, Individualistic Ethics, and Interpersonal Comparisons of Utility”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 63/4: 309–21.
- Hölder, Otto (1901), *Die Axiome der Quantität und die Lehre vom Mass* (Teubner), 72 pp.
- Krantz, David H., Luce, R. Duncan, Suppes, Patrick, and Tversky, Amos (1971), *Foundations of Measurement*, i, 3 vols. (New York: Academic Press), 3 pp.
- Kyburg, Henry E. (1997), “Quantities, Magnitudes, and Numbers”, *Philosophy of Science*, 64/3: 377–410.
- Levi, Isaac (1990), *Hard Choices: Decision Making under Unresolved Conflict* (Revised ed. edition, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- List, Christian (2001), “A Note on Introducing a “Zero-Line” of Welfare as an Escape Route from Arrow’s Theorem”, *Pacific Economic Review*, 6/2: 223–38. doi: 10.1111/1468-0106.00129.
- Luce, R. Duncan, Krantz, David H., Suppes, Patrick, and Tversky, Amos (2014), *Foundations of Measurement* (Elsevier).
- Luce, R. Duncan and Raiffa, Howard (1957), *Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey* (Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey; Oxford, England: Wiley).
- Martens, Niels C. M. (2021), “The (Un)Detectability of Absolute Newtonian Masses”, *Synthese*, 198/3 (): 2511–50. doi: 10.1007/s11229-019-02229-2.
- Maskin, E. (1978), “A Theorem on Utilitarianism”, *The Review of Economic Studies*, 45/1 (): 93–6. doi: 10.2307/2297086.
- Michell, Joel (1997), “Quantitative Science and the Definition of Measurement in Psychology”, *British Journal of Psychology*, 88/3: 355–83. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8295.1997.tb02641.x.
- Michell, Joel (1999), *Measurement in Psychology: A Critical History of a Methodological Concept* (Cambridge University Press), 268 pp.

- Morreau, Michael and Weymark, John A. (2016), “Measurement Scales and Welfarist Social Choice”, *Journal of Mathematical Psychology*, 75: 127–36. doi: 10.1016/j.jmp.2016.04.001.
- Mundy, Brent (1987), “The Metaphysics of Quantity”, *Philosophical Studies*, 51/1 (): 29–54. doi: 10.1007/BF00353961.
- Narens, Louis (2002), *Theories of Meaningfulness* (Scientific Psychology Series; Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates), 456 pp.
- Nebel, Jacob M. (2021a), “Aggregation Without Interpersonal Comparisons of Well-Being”, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. doi: 10.1111/phpr.12783.
- (2021b), “Utils and Shmutils”, *Ethics*, 131/3: 571–99. doi: 10.1086/712578.
- Parfit, Derek (1984), *Reasons and Persons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Peacocke, Christopher (2015), “Magnitudes: Metaphysics, Explanation, and Perception”, in Danièle Moyal-Sharrock, Volker Munz, and Annalisa Coliva (eds.), *Mind, Language and Action* (Berlin, München, Boston: DE GRUYTER). doi: 10.1515/9783110378795.357.
- Schaffer, Jonathan (2005), “Quiddistic Knowledge”, *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition*, 123/1/2: 1–32.
- Sen, Amartya (1970), *Collective Choice and Social Welfare* (San Francisco: Holden-Day San Francisco.).
- (1977), “On Weights and Measures: Informational Constraints in Social Welfare Analysis”, *Econometrica*, 45/7: 1539–72. doi: 10.2307/1913949.
- Sider, Theodore (2020), *The Tools of Metaphysics and the Metaphysics of Science* (Oxford University Press).
- Swoyer, Chris (1987), “The Metaphysics of Measurement”, in John Forge (ed.), *Measurement, Realism and Objectivity Essays on Measurement in the Social and Physical Sciences* (Reidel), 235–90.
- Weymark, John A. (1981), “Generalized Gini Inequality Indices”, *Mathematical Social Sciences*, 1/4 (): 409–30. doi: 10.1016/0165-4896(81)90018-4.
- (2016), “Social Welfare Functions”, in Matthew D. Adler and Marc Fleurbaey (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Well-Being and Public Policy* (Oxford University Press). doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199325818.013.5.
- Wolff, J. E. (2020), *The Metaphysics of Quantities* (Oxford University Press).