

# Thomas Mulligan

## CURRICULUM VITAE

thomas.mulligan@georgetown.edu  
www.thomasmulligan.net

### Areas of Study

AOS            Political Philosophy; Epistemology; Decision Theory  
AOC            Chinese Philosophy; Ethics; Logic

### Employment

2018–present    Visiting Scholar  
2016–2018      Faculty Fellow  
                    **Institute for the Study of Markets and Ethics, Georgetown University**  
2021–present    Deputy Chief Administrative Officer  
                    **City of New Orleans**  
2018–2020      Consultant  
                    **Boston Consulting Group**  
2015–2016      Postdoctoral Research Associate  
                    **Political Theory Project, Brown University**  
2008–2014      Case Officer  
                    **Central Intelligence Agency**  
2001–2005      Surface Warfare Officer  
                    **US Navy**

### Education

2015            PhD, Philosophy, Tulane University  
2007            MA, Philosophy, Tulane University  
2001            BA, Philosophy, Tulane University

### Publications (book)

2018            *Justice and the Meritocratic State*, Routledge  
                    -Released in paperback, 2019  
                    -Released Open Access, 2021

### Publications (journal articles)

Forthcoming    Intuition about Justice: Desertist or Luck Egalitarian? [with Huub Brouwer]  
                    *Journal of Ethics*  
Forthcoming    Optimizing Political Influence: A Jury Theorem with Dynamic Competence and  
                    Dependence  
                    *Social Choice and Welfare*  
2023            A Bayesian Solution to Hallsson's Puzzle  
                    *Inquiry* 66: 1914-27

- 2022 How East Meets West: Justice and Consequences in Confucian Meritocracy  
*Journal of Confucian Philosophy and Culture* 37: 17-38
- 2021 The Epistemology of Disagreement: Why Not Bayesianism?  
*Episteme* 18: 587-602
- 2019 Why Not Be a Desertist? Three Arguments for Desert and Against Luck  
Egalitarianism [with Huub Brouwer]  
*Philosophical Studies* 176: 2271-88
- 2018 Do People Deserve their Economic Rents?  
*Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* 11: 163-90
- 2018 Plural Voting for the Twenty-first Century  
*Philosophical Quarterly* 68: 286-306
- 2017 Uncertainty in Hiring Does Not Justify Affirmative Action  
*Philosophia* 45: 1299-1311
- 2016 A Note on the Epistemology of Disagreement and Politics  
*Political Theory* 44: 657-63
- 2015 Disagreement, Peerhood, and Three Paradoxes of Conciliationism  
*Synthese* 192: 67-78
- 2015 The Limits of Liberal Tolerance  
*Public Affairs Quarterly* 29: 277-95
- 2015 On the Compatibility of Epistocracy and Public Reason  
*Social Theory and Practice* 41: 458-76
- 2015 On Harry Frankfurt's "Equality as a Moral Ideal"  
*Ethics* 125: 1171-73

### Publications (book chapters)

- Forthcoming Equal Opportunity, Not Reparations  
*Handbook of Equality of Opportunity*, ed. M. Sardoč. Cham, Switzerland:  
Springer.
- 2023 Meritocracy  
*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- 2021 Equal Pay for All: An Idea Whose Time Has Not, and Will Not, Come  
*Debating Equal Pay for All: Economy, Practicability and Ethics*, ed. A.  
Örtenblad, 21-35. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2020 Social Choice or Collective Decision-making: What Is Politics All About?  
*What Is Pluralism?*, eds. V. Kaul and I. Salvatore, 48-61. Abingdon:  
Routledge.
- 2018 What's Wrong with Libertarianism: A Meritocratic Diagnosis  
*The Routledge Handbook of Libertarianism*, eds. J. Brennan, D. Schmidtz,  
and B. van der Vossen, 77-91. New York: Routledge.

### Reviews, op-eds, interviews, etc.

- Feb. 2023 Interview, 3:16
- Jan. 2022 Review of *The Code of Capital: How the Law Creates Wealth and Inequality* (by K.  
Pistor), *Business Ethics Quarterly* 32: 199-202
- Dec. 2020 "Affirmative action, fairness and America's future", *New York Daily News*
- Sep. 2020 "How to best guard against cancel culture", *Newsday*

- Oct. 2019 Review of *Should Current Generations Make Reparation for Slavery?* (by J. Thompson), *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 97: 847
- Mar. 2019 “Meritocracy is good but we don’t have it”, *Institute for Art and Ideas*
- Mar. 2019 Interview, *Future Tense*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation
- Dec. 2018 “On the Very Idea of a Just Wage (editorial)” [with Huub Brouwer], *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* 11: iv–vi
- Nov. 2018 Book review forum, *PEA Soup*
- Aug. 2018 Interview, *New Books Network*
- Sep. 2017 “Libertarianism vs. meritocracy”, *Washington Post*
- May 2017 “Experts agree on need for corporate rate cut, but how will we pay for it?”, *The Hill*
- Mar. 2017 “Liberals, conservatives have more in common than they think”, *The Hill*

## Presentations

- Sep. 2023 “Is Affirmative Action Just?”  
—Civil Discourse Forum, Ohio State
- Apr. 2023 “Why a Just State Is a Meritocracy”  
—Keynote address, Phi Sigma Tau conference, Georgia State
- Nov. 2022 “Why Reparations Are Unjust: The Argument from Equal Opportunity”  
—Annual PPE Society Meeting
- Feb. 2022 “A More Perfect Court: Supreme Court Decisions under Optimal Voting, 1946–2020”  
—Annual PPE Society Meeting
- July 2021 “The Rational Response to Excessive Confidence”  
—Joint Session of the Aristotelian Society & Mind Association
- June 2021 “Optimizing Political Influence: A Jury Theorem with Dynamic Competence and Dependence”  
—International Conference on Social Choice and Voting Theory
- Apr. 2021 “Human Intuition about Justice: Desertist or Luck Egalitarian?”  
—Cal State Long Beach
- Mar. 2021 “On Meritocratic Hiring”  
—Normative Business Ethics Workshop, Wharton School of Business
- Feb. 2021 Panelist, *Against Political Equality: The Confucian Case* (by Tongdong Bai)  
—American Philosophical Association Central Division Meeting
- Feb. 2021 “Human Intuition about Justice: Desertist or Luck Egalitarian?”  
—Georgetown Institute for the Study of Markets and Ethics Workshop
- Dec. 2020 “Optimizing Political Influence: A Jury Theorem with Dynamic Competence and Dependence”  
—Virginia Tech
- Sep. 2020 “Optimizing Political Influence: A Jury Theorem with Dynamic Competence and Dependence”  
—Georgetown Institute for the Study of Markets and Ethics Workshop
- July 2020 “Collective Decision-making: A Theoretical Introduction”  
—European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Summer School on Political Epistemology
- Mar. 2020 “On a Just Wage: Desert, Luck Egalitarianism, and Human Intuition”  
—Annual PPE Society Meeting

May 2019 “U.S. – European Trade Relations”  
—Center for Intercultural Education and Development, Georgetown University

Mar. 2019 “On Merit”  
— Annual PPE Society Meeting

Jun. 2018 “U.S. – European Trade Relations”  
—Center for Intercultural Education and Development, Georgetown University

May 2018 “The Epistemology of Disagreement: Condorcetian Lessons and Bayesian Prospects”  
—Society for Exact Philosophy Annual Conference

Mar. 2018 Author-meets-critics: *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—Annual PPE Society Meeting

Mar. 2018 “Political Belief and Political Action: A Plea for Epistemic Modesty”  
—Annual PPE Society Meeting

Feb. 2018 *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—University of San Diego

Jan. 2018 “Do People Deserve their Economic Rents?”  
—Normative Business Ethics Workshop, Wharton School of Business

Jan. 2018 *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—Georgetown University

Nov. 2017 *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—University of Montreal

Oct. 2017 “The Epistemology of Disagreement and Collective Decision-making: Lessons and Bayesian Prospects”  
—Central States Philosophical Association Annual Meeting

Oct. 2017 Comments on “(Epistemic) Probability Is Degree of Support, Not Degree of (Rational) Belief” (by Nevin Climenhaga)  
—Central States Philosophical Association Annual Meeting

Oct. 2017 *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—University of Maryland

Jun. 2017 “US-EU Relations in the Shadow of TTIP”  
—Center for Intercultural Education and Development, Georgetown University

May 2017 *Justice and the Meritocratic State*  
—GISME manuscript workshop

Mar. 2017 “Just and Efficient Taxation: A Desert-based Approach”  
—Inaugural Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Society Conference

Jan. 2017 “Plural Voting for the Twenty-first Century”  
—American Philosophical Association Eastern Division Meeting

Oct. 2016 “Just and Efficient Taxation: A Desert-based Approach”  
—Normative Business Ethics Workshop, Wharton School of Business

Sep. 2016 “Just and Efficient Taxation: A Desert-based Approach”  
—Georgetown Institute for the Study of Markets and Ethics Workshop

Aug. 2016 “Plural Voting for the Twenty-first Century”  
—Rocky Mountain Ethics Congress

- Jun. 2016 “Meritocratic Distributive Justice”  
—Third International Conference on Economic Philosophy
- May 2016 “In Defense of Desert”  
—Society for Exact Philosophy Annual Conference
- Jan. 2016 “Defending Desert from the Left and the Right”  
—Political Philosophy Workshop, Brown University
- Sep. 2015 “Meritocratic Distributive Justice”  
—Political Theory Project invited workshop, Brown University
- Apr. 2015 Comments on “The Lottery of Life and Moral Desert: An Interdisciplinary Investigation” (by Daniela Goya-Tocchetto & Thomas Nadelhoffer)  
—Meeting of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology
- Mar. 2015 “Epistemic Modesty and Political Participation”  
—Mississippi Philosophical Association Conference
- Nov. 2014 *The Just and Meritocratic State*  
—Research in Progress colloquium, Tulane University

### Teaching Experience (as instructor of record)

- Spring 2018 *Moral Foundations of Market Society*, Georgetown University
- Spring 2017 *Economic Justice*, Georgetown University
- Autumn 2016 *Global Justice*, Georgetown University
- Spring 2016 *Meritocracy*, Brown University
- Summer 2014 *Ethics*, Tulane University
- Spring 2014 *Global Justice*, Tulane University

### Awards

- 2018 Grant, Institute for Humane Studies
- 2014–2015 Graduate Fellowship, the Murphy Institute
- 2014 Scholarly retreat, *A Studio in the Woods*
- 2014 Tulane Summer Merit Fellowship Award
- 2013–2014 Edward Marshall Ballard Memorial Scholarship
- 2013 William Benjamin Smith Summer Stipend
- 2008–2014 CIA: Three Exceptional Performance Awards, including one for a major 2011 counterterrorism operation, as well as an award for achievement in foreign language
- 2007 Presidential Management Fellowship (declined)
- 2001–2005 US Navy: Various military decorations.

### Academic Service

- 2014– Referee for the *American Journal of Political Science* (2x); *American Philosophical Quarterly* (2x); *Analyse & Kritik*; *Analysis* (4x); *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* (5x); *British Journal of Political Science* (2x); British Society for Ethical Theory; *Business Ethics Quarterly*, Cambridge University Press; *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*; *Diametros* (2x); *Economics & Philosophy* (2x); *Episteme* (3x); *Erkenntnis* (2x); *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* (3x); *Ethics*; *European Journal of Political Theory*; *Journal of Applied Philosophy* (2x); *Journal of Ethics* (2x); *Journal of Ethics and Social Philosophy* (3x); *Journal of Medical Ethics*; *Journal of Philosophical*

*Research; Journal of Political Philosophy; Journal of Politics; Journal of Social Philosophy* (3x); *Journal of Value Inquiry; Mind; Moral Philosophy and Politics; Nous*; Oxford University Press; *Philosophers' Imprint; Philosophia* (4x); *Philosophical Papers; Philosophical Quarterly* (5x); *Philosophical Studies* (2x); *Philosophies; Political Studies* (2x); *Politics; Politics, Philosophy & Economics; Ratio* (2x); *Res Publica* (2x); *Review of Politics*; Routledge; *Social Epistemology* (2x); *Social Theory and Practice* (5x); *Social Philosophy Today*; Society for Business Ethics; *Synthese* (10x); *Theoretical Computer Science; Theoria; Theory and Research in Education*; and *Thought*

- 2021 PhD defense “opponent”, University of Gothenburg (Alexander Andersson)
- 2020 Mentor, Philosophers’ Cocoon Job-market Mentoring Program
- 2017–2018 Guest Editor, *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* special issue: “On the Very Idea of a Just Wage”
- 2018 Session Chair, Society for Exact Philosophy Annual Conference
- 2017 Fulbright Program Endorsement Committee
- 2017 Judge, Effective Altruism Case Competition
- 2016 Judge, Civil Liberties & the Market Case Competition
- 2016 Session Chair, Rocky Mountain Ethics Congress
- 2016 Session Chair, Society for Exact Philosophy Annual Conference
- 2014–2015 Secretary, Tulane Philosophical Society; departmental representative to the Tulane Graduate Studies Student Association

## Languages

English (native)  
Spanish (fluent)

## References

**Jason Brennan**, Robert J. and Elizabeth Flanagan Family Professor of Strategy, Economics, Ethics, and Public Policy

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