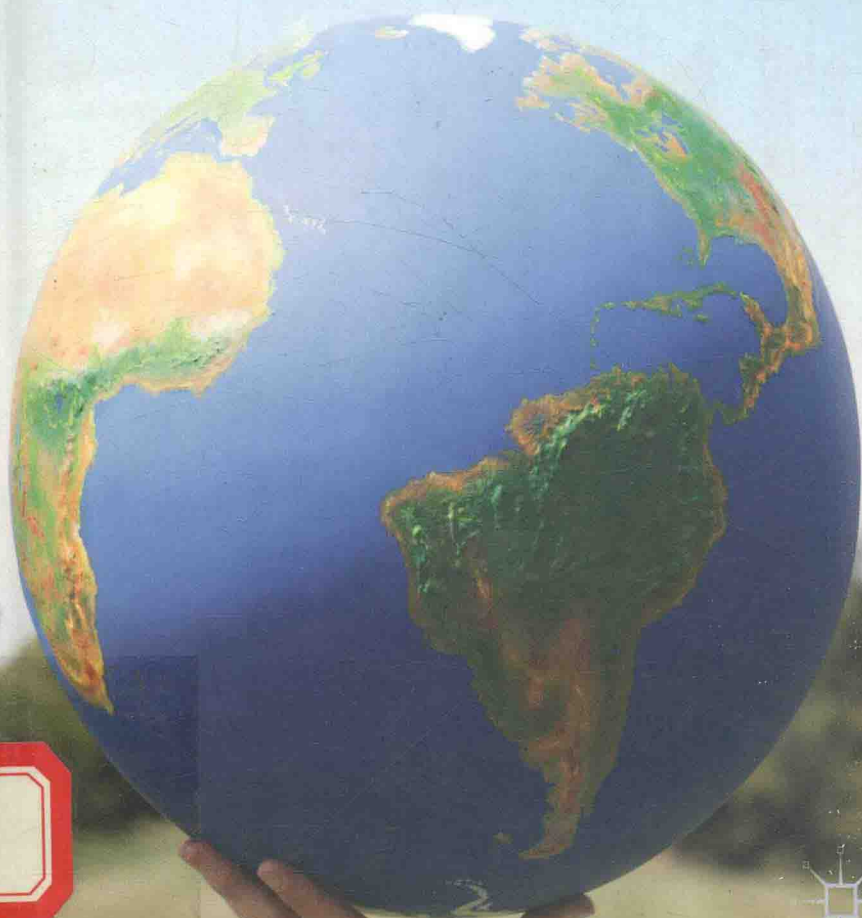


INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY

GLOBAL JUSTICE AND THE POLITICS OF RECOGNITION

**EDITED BY TONY BURNS
AND SIMON THOMPSON**



Global Justice and the Politics of Recognition

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To Helen, Emily, and Ursula
T.B.

To Lucy, William, and Gabriel
S.T.

Preface

With one or two exceptions, the origins of the chapters collected together in this book are to be found in the proceedings of a conference in 2007 devoted to the theme of 'Global Justice and the Politics of Recognition', which was organized under the auspices of the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (CSSGJ), in the School of Political & International Relations at the University of Nottingham.

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Chapter 6, by Shane O'Neill and Caroline Walsh, entitled 'Recognition and Redistribution in Theories of Justice Beyond the State', first appeared in *European Journal of Political Theory*, 8, 1 (2008), pp. 123–35 and is reprinted here with the permission of the editors.

An earlier version of Chapter 7 by Volker Heins 'Property, Justice, and Global Society' first appeared under the title 'The Place of Property in the Politics of Recognition', in the journal *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, 16, 4 (2009), pp. 579–92 and is reprinted here with the permission of the editors.

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Abbreviations

EU	European Union
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFI	International Financial Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MAI	Manifestación de Impacto Ambiental (Manifestation of Environmental Impact)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
TNC	transnational corporations
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (World Trade Organization)
UN	United Nations
UNCESCR	United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

This book has two broad aims. The first is to explore the relationship between the political theory of recognition and that of global justice, thereby bringing together two bodies of literature which, up until recently, have for the most part been kept in a state of separation from one another, to the detriment of both. The second is to connect a discussion of these issues to the philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel.

So far as the first aim is concerned, two questions immediately spring to mind. One of these is whether recent work carried out by theorists working on problems of global justice can make a contribution to the great debate over the issue of 'the politics of distribution versus the politics of recognition', which is associated pre-eminently with the work of Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth (Fraser and Honneth, 2003). This debate has had a central place in political philosophy in the last two decades. A number of book-length studies were devoted to it in the *Noughties* (Markell, 2003; Ricoeur, 2005; Thompson, 2006; McNay, 2008), in addition to four special issues of academic journals (Featherstone and Lash, 2001; Anon., 2002; Kompridis, 2007; McBride and Seglow, 2009). Moreover, it continues to generate a great deal of academic interest today, with three more book-length studies (including the present text) and a further special issue published in the last three years (Schmidt am Busch and Zurn, 2010; Thompson and Yar, 2011; Martineau, Meer and Thompson, 2012). The second question is whether a normative theory, which suggests that a just society is one in which everyone receives due recognition, can have anything to say about issues such as the fairness of the global distribution of resources or the legitimacy of the institutions and practices of global governance.

Among students of political theory, there has been a strong resurgence of interest recently in the idea of global justice together with the associated notion of cosmopolitanism. Many political theorists have come to accept – almost as a commonplace – the idea that they cannot offer convincing accounts of justice if their frameworks of analysis remain fixed at the level of particular political associations, including the nation-state. As Volker Heins, a contributor to the present volume, has noted, ‘it is generally accepted today that moral claims and norms do not cease to be valid at the frontiers of one’s own family, tribe or country’ (Heins, 2008: 141). The assumption of these theorists sometimes appears to be that the empirical fact of globalization has certain irresistible implications for the practice of normative political theory. For some of these theorists, indeed, the profound interconnectedness of the contemporary world forces cosmopolitanism on us, or at least it compels us to explain why we reject it in the name of some communitarian alternative. In other words, such theorists think that in a world in which the fates of all human beings are bound tightly together, it is impossible to deny that the values by which we should seek to live together should be universal in their scope.

In marked contrast, political theorists of recognition have to date made almost no attempt to show how their theories could be applied to matters of global justice. With just one or two exceptions (Fraser, 2005b; Fraser and Hrubek, 2004; Honneth, 2012a), they have assumed that it is possible to focus their attention on relations of recognition within a single, putatively sovereign political association, at what might be termed the domestic, local, or national rather than the global level. From the perspective of cosmopolitan political theory, then, they have ignored the fact of globalization and have therefore failed to take on board its normative implications. This observation is one of the motivations lying behind the present volume, which attempts to demonstrate how it may be possible to make good this deficiency in the politics of recognition by focusing on its hitherto ignored global dimension. Another is our belief that, by focusing on the concept of recognition, it is possible to add something new, distinctive, and valuable to contemporary accounts of global justice. Although some literature has started to appear in this area (van Hooft, 2010; Staples, 2012; Browning, 2011a; Burns, 2013), there is a great deal more that could be said.

As we have said, the second broad aim of this book is to make a connection between these issues about recognition and Hegel's philosophical system. In one way or another, the philosophy of Hegel is of paramount importance for those involved in contemporary debates surrounding the political theory of recognition. The concept of recognition is closely associated with Hegel, who (rightly or wrongly) is often thought to have added it to the vocabulary of Western philosophy. As is widely acknowledged, the key text here is the 'master-slave' section of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Hegel, 1977 [1807]). The importance of Hegel and his ideas for understanding contemporary discussion of the politics of recognition is readily apparent to those who are familiar with the above-mentioned debate between Honneth and Fraser (Tobias, 2006–2007; Lauer, 2012).

It is perhaps more surprising to claim that Hegel is also an important source of ideas for those interested in global justice, although at least some work in this area has begun. Noteworthy in this regard are the various contributions to Andrew Buchwalter's *Hegel and Global Justice* (Buchwalter, 2012; see also Buchwalter's contribution to the present volume). Hegel is usually regarded as a Hobbesian 'realist' so far as international relations are concerned (Browning, 2012; Honneth, 2012a: 137, 151). However, a number of contributors to the present volume (Browning, Buchwalter, and Burns) believe that he says things about the issue of justice between nation-states which do not fit in with this traditional assessment of his views. Indeed, going further, it might be suggested that there are occasions when Hegel talks not only about juridical relations between states in the sphere of international relations but also about a sphere of justice which obtains at a supranational level. Indeed, according to one reading, Hegel's philosophy of world history is associated with the idea of the emergence of a global political community or a 'world-state'. It can, therefore, be fruitfully connected to the contemporary revival of interest in cosmopolitan political thought.

The remainder of this Introduction is divided into three sections. First, an account of the politics of recognition is provided. Second, a brief account of some important contemporary theories of global justice is presented. Third, an attempt is made to show how the scope of a political theory of recognition might be extended upwards to the global level. Our tentative conclusion is that a political theory which is based on the notion of recognition has a distinctive

and worthwhile contribution to make to discussions of problems of justice in today's globalized world.

The politics of recognition

The expression 'the politics of recognition' can be used in two ways. It can be employed either to describe or explain a range of empirical phenomena, or to denote a normative response to those phenomena. As Fraser has put it, problems of recognition have both a 'social-theoretical' and a 'normative-philosophical' dimension (Fraser, 1998: 23). For reasons of clarity, we shall refer to 'the politics of recognition' when discussing the empirical phenomena and the activities of those who study them, and 'political theories of recognition' when discussing the views of those who offer normative responses to such a politics.

If the phrase 'the politics of recognition' has any resonance for the reader, it is likely that it is associated with the notion of 'the politics of identity'. Indeed, on some accounts, these expressions are synonymous. However, this is not true in all cases. For example, Fraser makes a clear distinction between the two and is critical of the 'identity model', or of 'identity politics', as she understands it, because in her opinion its focus is too psychological and not sufficiently sociological in character (Fraser, 2008a: 131–34).

Another reason for having reservations about the concept of identity politics is its ambiguity. The expression is employed in two significantly different ways (Taylor, 1994 [1992]: 37–44; see also Featherstone and Lash, 2001a; Fraser, 2001; McBride, 2009), which we may characterize by the labels 'narrow' and 'broad', only the second of which is to be associated with the politics of recognition, as we understand it. In order to clarify this distinction, we may assume that in the case of any two individuals there will be some features that they possess in common, and which make them the same, and others which they do not share, and which therefore differentiate them from one another. Thus, we can talk about the politics of identity as involving either relationships of sameness or relationships of difference, or as involving both of these together.

Now according to the first (narrow) way of thinking about identity politics, the 'politics of identity' should be contrasted with the 'politics of difference', whereas according to the second it should