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[Introduction to] Leadership and Global Justice

Douglas A. Hicks

Thad Williamson

University of Richmond, twillia9@richmond.edu

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Leadership and Global Justice

Edited by
Douglas A. Hicks
and
Thad Williamson

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Introduction

What does global justice look like, and how can leadership help get us there? Whose voice is included in defining justice beyond national boundaries, and whose agency counts in achieving a more just world? What are the respective roles in leadership toward global justice of individual people, nation-states, nongovernmental organizations, UN bodies, international financial institutions, for-profit corporations, and other actors? Should we begin with the common humanity of all people as the foundation of justice, or do we see international justice as being a second-order concern after focusing on justice within nations? Finally, how do we move from theoretical questions to consideration of the practical actions required to move people and institutions toward a more just global order?

The contributors to *Leadership and Global Justice* tackle questions such as these. They confront the challenges associated with applying the concept of justice beyond national borders. The chapters analyze the roles and responsibilities of nation-states and other institutions in making collaborative progress toward international justice. They explore justice in various spheres: citizenship, the marketplace, health, education, and the environment. And they provide creative and constructive moral approaches for evaluating and promoting global justice, including human rights, capabilities, and solidarity of people across boundaries.

The chapters in this book were presented at the 2011 Jepson Colloquium on Leadership and Global Justice, held at the University of Richmond's Jepson School of Leadership Studies, in Virginia, January 28 and 29. The participants in that scholarly gathering—the authors of these chapters—teach and write in areas such as political theory, philosophy, theology, environmental studies, and business ethics. Their essays approach global justice and leadership in distinct ways,

reflecting in part the varied methodological approaches and backgrounds that they bring to the table. Some chapters address conceptual issues, whereas others focus on a concrete case, topic, or issue.

Taken as a whole, the book—like the colloquium that preceded it—aims to create an interdisciplinary conversation about the pressing questions of global justice and how people could and should collaborate to address human suffering, promote well-being, and protect the environment. The chapters clarify key conceptual and practical issues, and they identify resources for further study as well as possibilities for constructive action.

Global Justice: What is Possible and Who is Responsible?

The book opens with essays from two leading philosophical thinkers on global justice, Gillian Brock and Mathias Risse. Their arguments draw from and build upon their wider projects to provide intellectual underpinnings for a reasonable and actionable account of what justice requires in the global community. Brock addresses potential criticisms of her account of “cosmopolitan justice,” especially challenges of feasibility. Even if other skeptics have their concerns addressed—for instance, if it can be convincingly argued that global justice does not unduly burden nation-states in protecting and providing for their own people—there still remain fundamental, practical questions of how to make global justice work effectively. How shall self-interested individuals be motivated, and institutions and states be coordinated, beyond national borders? Brock provides the contours of a strong defense against the feasibility critics, arguing that her cosmopolitan approach to justice is indeed achievable.

Mathias Risse applies his own original account of the “grounds of justice” to the question of accountability and, in particular, to the challenges of accountability faced by one of the most important global institutions, the World Trade Organization (WTO). Risse asserts that the WTO should properly be seen as the mechanism—that is, a mechanism of global justice—for holding nation-states accountable in their practices of international trade. At the same time, the WTO must be reformed in democratic directions in order for it to embody this high-minded purpose. Provocatively, Risse argues that other international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, are not as easily justified in terms of global justice.

How might we understand the role of economic and human development as an act of leadership toward global justice? David Crocker, a leading development ethicist, tackles this question by arguing that normative claims about justice, even if unnamed or unrecognized, usually stand behind public debates about development and social change. Specifically, Crocker considers predictions that the world is becoming, and will continue becoming, “flatter” and more democratic. Crocker argues that social change and development occur not by prediction, but by the hard work of committed leaders and citizens. Crocker makes his case for deliberate, focused development efforts that aim to enhance the human capabilities of people, especially those who are in the most vulnerable situations. Democratic progress and the enhanced agency and well-being of people are indeed possible, but their achievement would require intentional focus on the normative claims of global justice and the leadership required to move toward its realization.

Daniel Finn, a theologian and economist, takes up the question of how leaders and citizens might conceptualize their own power to make changes that would be largely consistent with Crocker’s own call for democracy and capability. As an application of his approach, Finn considers the potential role of citizen-led action in Latin America, coordinated by the Catholic Church and other civil-society actors, to confront corruption within government institutions. Finn offers a hard-edged account of power, suggesting that citizens, including church leaders, should not shy away from using their influence to force, or coerce, government officials into doing the right thing. Not expecting a sea change overnight and acknowledging that citizens need not make transparency or anticorruption their only interest in politics, he offers an interesting account of leadership through coordinated community pressure.

Global Justice Issues: Climate Change, Health, Education

Steve Vanderheiden and Simon Caney provide two significant, and significantly different, approaches to global justice and climate change. Vanderheiden dives into the fray by exploring the roles and responsibilities of the United States in combating climate change. A political scientist, Vanderheiden aptly combines critical description of the empirical realities of science and international politics with a normative analysis of how the United States and other powerful (and high-consuming)

nations should act vis-à-vis energy and the environment. Vanderheiden provides an engaging discussion of moral courage and moral cowardice to outline ways in which the United States could act; the normative force of his chapter is in the delineation of a case for how and why the United States should act along the lines of fair play and global justice.

While Vanderheiden analyzes in-depth the moral responsibilities of one major actor in climate change, Caney considers the place of this one critical issue within a wider human-rights approach to global justice. Like Vanderheiden, the empirical discussion of Caney (a philosopher) on global climate change is most informative. Caney then provides a careful discussion of how climate change must fit within a frame of global distributive justice and, specifically, the implications of this approach for implementing specific changes and the responsibilities and relative obligations that should be borne by various nation-states. In practice, the approaches by Caney and Vanderheiden might align well—for instance, in placing significant moral burden on the United States—but their respective approaches (Vanderheiden's resource-based argument versus Caney's interest-based one) frame leadership to confront climate change quite differently.

How should we understand global justice as it concerns the health of individuals around the planet? Economists and others speak readily of economic attainments and inequalities (in terms of income, for instance), but we should also be concerned about the attainment, and even the distribution, of good health. The public-health ethicist Jennifer Prah Ruger extends, as Crocker also does, the human capabilities approach to justice and development. In her chapter, Ruger presents ways in which her account of global health justice would focus upon improvements in the capabilities of children and adults facing preventable diseases and diminished quality of life. Her framework could help leaders shift their priorities—and build fuller collaboration, from local to international levels—in order to place more urgency on basic health capabilities around the world.

International justice has various regional institutions between the nation-state and the world as a whole. Andrea Sangiovanni illuminates this reality in his comparative analysis between the United States and the European Union. He examines the broad question of the movement of people across political borders with the narrower issue of educational mobility and public support of education for "outsiders" versus "locals." He considers, in light of justice criteria, the surprising fact that European students studying in another country of the European Union receive more educational assistance from their host nation than

American students crossing state borders receive from their host state within the United States. Sangiovanni presents human solidarity as a value that helps determine the obligations of justice that a political community has toward outsiders. In the process, he also provides thoughtful reflections on the good of education within individual lives and in wider society.

Forging Global Justice amid Markets, Governments, and Civil Societies

Whatever else it is, the market economy is global, but politics remains local or national. Waheed Hussain examines the responsibilities of consumers in a world of powerful corporations and “diminished” governments. Hussain lays out an argument for dealing with cases in which the market system is not functioning properly because of the actions of particular corporations or individuals within corporations. Given various factors that have diminished state power, as outlined in the chapter, Hussain sees a very tangible but constrained responsibility on the part of consumers (who are also citizens of some country) to hold corporations accountable for their practices. This helpfully identifies various actors involved in the global economy, showing that corporations are entangled in and even constrained by various other actors. The coordination of these actors—or even coercive pressure, as discussed earlier in Finn’s chapter—is a matter of leadership toward global justice.

How should we conceive of and act upon the ties that connect human beings in communities beyond our local horizons? Theological ethicist Rebecca Todd Peters presents a thoughtful reflection upon the value of human solidarity for working on global issues such as poverty alleviation. Her account of solidarity is arguably thicker than Sangiovanni’s approach—at least when her fullest version, mutuality, is achieved. Peters urges citizens and their leaders to move progressively from the individual, one-on-one fellow-feeling among people toward a more systematic analysis of the global economy. Solidarity, for Peters, calls for coordinated action to achieve structural changes at national and international levels. Solidarity, then, is a value that requires wise and effective leadership in order for it to be achieved.

In our closing chapter, we (Hicks and Williamson) offer our own outline of key conceptual and practical leadership challenges for moving toward global justice. Informed by the January 2011 discussions in Richmond as well as by the chapters presented herein, the chapter

should stand alone as a set of questions regarding the claims and constraints that advocates of global justice should properly attend to. We consider the ways in which leadership is articulated in these debates, and we caution against the heroic view of leaders that seems to make progress toward global justice seem impossible. The chapter names various levels at which a prudent but hopeful approach to global justice could be informative for theorists and practitioners. Global justice is no pie in the sky, but if progress is to be made, it will take deliberate and coordinated leadership.

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Douglas A. Hicks and
Thad Williamson
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