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Introduction

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With this volume, the editors had one aim: to put labor back on the agenda as the focus of analysis within debates around global justice. Over the past two decades, the field of global ethics, or global justice, has evolved into a proper academic domain, as well as a policy discourse, as evidenced in the conferences and journals carrying these terms in their titles, as well as international networks and policy programs.

While the debates in this field center around notions of cosmopolitanism, equity, global redistribution, and migration, we missed in the language and debates on global justice the explicit questioning of labor practices and labor market policies as these have been affected by globalization. The essays collected in this edited volume together begin to fill this lacuna.

The need for this book—putting labor back into global justice—is made evident in two introductory chapters, providing the conceptual context for the other essays, which focus more specifically on the politics and policies of labor under globalization. In the first of these introductory chapters, Ronald Commers presents a critique of the “global justice”/“global ethics” stream or narratives. He insists on a more radical view concerning the social power relations worldwide. The conflict between labor/capital is too hidden in global justice narratives. For example, the global compact narrative addresses forced and compulsory labor only by proposing the abolition of child labor, as if only children are subject to forced labor.

Commers recalls Marx’s metaphor of the Juggernaut of capital accumulation wheeling at full speed to argue that the primitive form of capital accumulation is still at work: pauperization and enrichment go hand in hand through social fractures, austerity policies and drastic cuts in public services, and coordinated campaigns against trade unions. These themes run through the essays presented in this volume.

In the second introductory chapter, Mary Rawlinson demonstrates the dependence of a just state on meaningful work. She draws on Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech, in which he identifies the right to work as fundamental to citizenship, health, and happiness. On this account, international community, security, and peace depend on the extent to which the right to work is realized within and among countries. Rawlinson draws on Nussbaum and Sen to qualify GDP as a meaningful measure of growth, arguing that it only becomes a meaningful measure when other variables like income distribution across race, class, and gender are put into the equation. The reality, however, is that growth of the global economy increases inequity and produces forced migration, as well as the dispossession of traditional homes, lands, and practices.

What the common measure of global economic growth—GDP—fails to count is the benefit of domestic and agricultural labor performed predominantly by women. In Roosevelt's analysis, the valorization of moneymaking results in an alienation of destiny as citizens of a free republic. Rawlinson brings an analysis of how the alienation of destiny and disrespect for labor is gendered.

Rawlinson argues that the alienation of labor is inherently linked with the loss of respect for others: currently, education reproduces this alienation instead of preparing people for meaningful work. Globalization in its current form fails to produce and sustain the "international generosity" and transnational collaboration that Roosevelt foresaw as necessary to both global security and prosperity. For Roosevelt and Rawlinson, a more generalized prosperity depends not on a confidence in "free markets," but on a respect for labor.

CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND GLOBAL JUSTICE

The first part of the book contains essays that examine the role and meaning of work for citizenship and democracy. Labor migration and cosmopolitanism both undermine nationally bounded understandings of how work and citizenship constitute democracy.

Franc Rottiers advances the proposition that, if the world is global, then participating in that global community is only possible if certain conditions are met. More precisely, you need to be a global citizen, and citizenship requires a subjectivity that is both participatory and acknowledged as contributing to the communal welfare. Rottiers argues there are not enough access points to this realm of participation and integration. His chapter can be read as a critique of what "work" and "contribution" are understood to be and an account of how restrictive definitions limit access to citizenship, and, thus, to justice.

The chapter by John Pearson analyses how different theories of global justice understand the role of trade unions. His chapter demonstrates how a failure of theories of global justice to appreciate the role of trade unions undermines debates about global justice. Pearson's method is to take the main positions one by one and to derive from these positions general concerns relating to the collective organization of labor. More precisely, specific rights, institutions, values and norms need to be in place for trade unions to function effectively in promoting social justice. He analyses communitarianism, social liberalism, liberal internationalism, and cosmopolitanism to show how a republican approach to collective organization might be developed to address the deficiencies of other approaches. One thing is clear from Pearson's account: theories of global justice and the debates around them cannot remain neutral with regard to countries' choices on the collective organization of labor. Theories must account for each country's need to fashion and implement industrial relations structures that match its traditions.

József Böröcz's chapter analyses what happens in terms of labor migration when these "traditions" of industrial relations are broken. He notes that a steadily growing proportion of the world's labor force crosses state boundaries and becomes immersed in the exploitation process in states with which they have no citizenship relation, so that the exploitation process is even more oppressive and abusive. More precisely, Böröcz shows how the experience of state socialist societies that have recently exited state socialism is relevant for discussions of global labor migration. The question guiding his analysis is the following: if the conditions of post-state-socialist labor are so deeply disadvantaged, and if opportunities of exit are so clearly available, then why is labor from the former-state-socialist states not "flooding" the labor markets of the European Union, the United States, and other wealthy economies? He looks at EU and US visa policies to answer this question, but also points out that the disintegration of the region's three federal states—Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR implied changes in rights, principles, and practices regarding citizenship. These changes had deep effects on labor, as they created noncitizen labor pools by administrative fiat. These people became labor migrants overnight, whilst having close familiarity with local conditions, excellent language skills, work skills and habits that are compatible with local customs, and extensive informal networks. Hence, they exhibit characteristics opposite to those of east European labor migrants in western Europe. This leads Böröcz to conclude that citizenship, or the denial of it, is a "perfect" structural condition for the transformation of fellow-citizens into undocumented "migrants."

JUSTICE ACROSS BORDERS?: MIGRATION AND TRAFFICKING IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

The essays in the second part of this book deal explicitly with labor migration policies: regular labor migration, undocumented labor migration, and human trafficking.

For Patrick Loobuyck labor migration is—in ideal circumstances—a triple win for home countries, host countries, and migrants and their families. However, the real situation shows a stark difference from the ideal one. Labor migration can increase unemployment, create unfair competition, or distort the labor market otherwise. Migrants often end up in flexible or informal employment, working long hours for low wages. Controlled labor migration can avoid these negative consequences and make it work toward a more ideal picture.

Loobuyck reviews the European labor migration policy after the EU enlargement of 2004. His analysis shows that the intentions of the EU on labor migration are in line with the minimal principle of justice, which stipulates that a policy should not make anyone worse off. However, one challenge for the future is to implement these intentions in concrete and effective policy measures. Another is to devise a more organized and corrective international policy to address the social-economic root causes of forced migration, through fair trade and redistribution. Also, perceptions of migration within the EU and its member states need to be brought in line with reality. Currently, member states see migration as a security threat, while Eurocrats seem to be more sympathetic toward migration, emphasizing the link between migrant rights and international development.

In her chapter for this book, Zahra Meghani takes up one form of labor migration, undocumented direct care workers (DCW) in the United States, and analyses how this group is treated from the perspective of the epistemic dimension of justice. She starts by identifying the key characteristics of the female undocumented DCW population and gives a brief account of the political, economic, and social factors that shape their decision to work in the United States. She argues that Benhabib's approach for addressing the problem of the unjust treatment of noncitizens—by disaggregating political rights from citizenship status and hence affording a political voice to noncitizen residents—may not be effective in liberal democracies such as the United States (or the European member states) where a “vision-distorting” type of nationalism is mainstream. Such a distorted vision creates the belief that their right to engage in self-determination as a democratic polity gives citizens the right to treat undocumented workers as falling outside local concepts of justice.

Similar to Mill's understanding that the experience of living in a patriarchy has a corrupting influence on the character of males, Meghani argues that liberal democracy distorts both the vision of the oppressed and the self-understanding of those who benefit from the injustice. Meghani decodes these oppressive ideologies, showing their complicity with public democratic deliberations about what constitutes just treatment of undocumented workers. Her critique of nationalism and its interaction with other systems of oppression opens the way for a more just approach to undocumented workers.

Ramona Vijeyarasa's essay analyses a particular system of oppression. Her chapter shows how victims of trafficking are not adequately represented by data on trafficking and, hence, how their labor exploitation remains hidden. The case study reveals the methodological challenges that determine both the scope of trafficking in Vietnam, as well as the socioeconomic characteristics of Vietnam's trafficked population. Vijeyarasa makes a number of recommendations for a more nuanced and accurate approach to data collection, as a precondition for addressing the exploitation and global injustice involved in labor trafficking.

LABORING FOR JUSTICE: THE ROLE OF LABOR IN ACHIEVING SOCIAL EQUITY UNDER GLOBALIZATION

The third part of this book focuses on what the role of organized labor currently is or could be in order to achieve more social equity across borders.

Stephen Bouquin's essay shows how French sociology systematically exaggerated and then discounted strategies of labor resistance. Bouquin argues that the role of unions in resistance to work is related to worker identity. Against contemporary depictions of labor as fragmented, self-interested, and lacking solidarity, Bouquin identifies productive points of resistance and diagnoses the blindness of theory and policy to real capacities for solidarity.

Charles Umney follows with a chapter looking at the ambiguous relationship trade unions have with the concept of global justice. Unions may resemble global justice actors in the context of international framework agreements or corporate codes of conduct, but when looking at a more local level, it is not always possible to see how their actions are compatible with the notion of global justice. Umney does this exercise for British unions. He asks what the motivations for unions to act internationally are and what forms such activities take. Is internationalism motivated by material interests or by trade union norms? In any case, internationalism has often failed among grassroots union members and has remained consigned to union elites. Union members are more

directly menaced by threats to employment conditions than their leaders; union officials on the other hand are committed to normative principles of workers' solidarity, transcending short-term interest representation. Umney finds that a union's capacity to fulfill the role of global justice actor reflects underlying material conditions. Unions members caught up in multi-national economic structures may find workers abroad to be a source of solidarity, but they may also represent a competition for jobs. Hence, internationalism will be fraught with tension. Strengthening international activity will be possible if international resources can be used to support local material disputes. Oddly enough, when organizational activity is not linked to international economic structures (e.g., in the public sector) and internationalism is hence of only limited interest to members, there might be more space to develop wide ranging "global justice" programs at an elite level. Umney concludes however, that internationalism in unions is always driven "from above."

The final chapter in this book, by Lefteris Kretsos brings us back to where we started: the Juggernaut at full speed, or how austerity measures can be read as an intended and orchestrated strategy of pauperization. Kretsos discusses the impact of austerity policies (as a response to the Greek crisis) on living and working conditions. He points out the visible and nonvisible political dimensions of resistance to austerity politics. The crisis in Greece is a Greek manifestation of a global problem. Kretsos gives examples of new grassroots movements in Greece and argues how these can be Greek manifestations of a more global mobilization of workers.

CONCLUSION

Together these essays attempt to transform debates around global ethics and global justice by demonstrating how the concept of labor and the formulation of labor practices and policies are central and essential to these debates. This agenda has three dimensions. First, these essays question core concepts of global justice, such as citizenship and democracy, and show how these concepts must be reconfigured around a respect for labor. Second, these essays clearly reveal the necessity of formulating cross-border policies from a labor perspective. Finally, the agenda of these essays reveals how resistance or alternative globalizations can be organized through labor movements.

If the academic and policy debates of philosophers and other social scientists are to contribute to the creation of a more inclusive and equitable world, then their narratives and analyses, and the institutions in which they are presented,

need to take labor and respect for labor as a focus of analysis. The essays presented in this volume aim to show some ways in which this can be done.