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# Cosmopolitanism: approaches, history, and possibilities

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Thesis

**COSMOPOLITANISM:  
APPROACHES, HISTORY, AND POSSIBILITIES**

by

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**COSMOPOLITANISM:  
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**JARRED LAWRENCE BARLOW**

**ABSTRACT**

Cosmopolitanism, a philosophy and ethical system that focuses on the sameness of humanity as a characteristic of identification, could hold a wealth of answers for normative political questions. What new type of political life would be possible if the individual internalizes cosmopolitan sentiment, and could an internalization of cosmopolitanism result in positive institutional change? This work explores the history of and theoretical arguments for and against cosmopolitanism to propose a concise and useable definition. Additionally, by comparing the individual cosmopolitan sentiment within nations against those nations' international actions, such as ratification of human rights declarations and approval of non-compulsory jurisdiction, it searches for the connection between the cosmopolitan individual and a state's cosmopolitan vision in the political world.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1: The Cosmopolitan Heart.....	1
1.2: Objectives and Questions .....	8
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF COSMOPOLITAN LITERATURE .....	11
2.1: Classical Origins .....	11
2.1.2: Immanuel Kant’s Cosmopolitan Philosophy .....	16
2.1.3: From Kant to the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century .....	18
2.2: Cosmopolitan Concepts in Today’s World.....	23
2.2.3: The Cosmopolitan Democratic Model.....	30
CHAPTER THREE: PINPOINTING A DEFINITION .....	33
3.1: What is “Cosmopolitan” and What is Not.....	33
3.1.2: Moral Relativism: Cosmopolitan Paradox.....	36
3.2: A Refined Definition of Cosmopolitanism.....	40
CHAPTER FOUR: WHAT MIGHT COSMOPOLITANISM MAKE POSSIBLE? .....	44
4.1: Possibilities of Cosmopolitanism .....	44
4.2: Addressing Criticisms and Alternatives .....	48
CHAPTER FIVE: SEARCHING FOR COSMOPOLITAN POSSIBILTIES .....	53

5.1: Cosmopolitan Indicators .....	53
5.1.2: Internalized Indicators .....	56
5.2: Observing the Cosmopolitan Link: Methods.....	58
5.2.2: Operationalizing Terms with Relevant Indices .....	60
5.2.3: Results and Discussion .....	63
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION: THE COSMOPOLITAN DREAM AND TASK .....	73
APPENDIX A. FULL CHART OF COMPILED DATA.....	75
APPENDIX B. HUMAN RIGHTS AGREEMENTS INCLUDED .....	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	79
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	84

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Declarations Signed Regression Table.....	64
Table 2. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Ratification of ICC Juris. Regression Table.....	65
Table 3. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Freedom House Scores Regression Table.....	66
Table 4. Interaction and Declarations Signed Regression Table .....	68
Table 5. Interaction and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Regression Table.....	69

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Declarations Signed Plot.....	65
Figure 2. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Plot.....	66
Figure 3. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Freedom House Score Plot.....	67
Figure 4. Interaction and Declarations Signed Plot .....	68
Figure 5. Interaction and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Plot.....	69

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1: The Cosmopolitan Heart**

At the heart of the cosmopolitan lies a universalist call for the betterment of the surrounding world beginning with basic mediations on the individual and the individual's place in the greater community of humanity. The vastness and diversity of humanity's cultural landscapes do not erase the fundamental characteristics that make us similar. These characteristics go beyond constructions endowing humans with certain legal rights in an attempt to realize a baseline expectation of mutual respect; there are intersubjective connections between humans that exist by virtue of shared humanness.

We are linked together by our knowledge of each other and of each other's positions – a knowledge that allows us to recognize the dignity of other people and their similar capacity for rationality. We are also connected by our emotional capacities, for we all exhibit empathy – the ability to reconstruct others' experiences in our own minds – and take part in others' conditions. Finally, we are connected by the realization that, if we widen our scope of reference enough, we all live within close physical proximity. All of our actions affect our common domain in aggregate, for we are all inhabitants of the same Earth. Humans make up an enormous mosaic, each embodying a fraction of the life-in-common. Each individual lies in a niche that they fill alone, ephemerally, yet there they are comforted by the presence of others, simultaneously undertaking the same task of living. We may realize as self-aware beings sharing one monolithic home – our nations, the Earth, or even the universe itself – that our neighbors share boundless commonalities with us and that these commonalities can be points of departure for empathic care.

The human being stands out amongst Earthly creatures due to its capacity for self-distinction, reflection, and awareness. We are able to experience ourselves and garner a hidden understanding of our own dispositions via introspection to attain a false sense of difference from the world. Although we can contextualize ourselves in the greater universe, the vast extent of what we know about ourselves (as we reside exclusively inside ourselves) stretches far beyond our knowledge of any other individual. Such knowledge consists of the infinite internal qualities that make us distinct from each other. All living creatures are perfectly unique but human uniqueness has the differentiating characteristic of acknowledgement, and this ultimately defines us: human beings *know* that they are unique, they are self-aware and can *feel* different from those around them.

But the human being is not really alone in the world: physically, sociologically, emotionally, ontologically, and epistemologically humans are plural, and intersubjective conditions affect us collectively by means of that plurality. One of these is that profound act of *knowing* about human individual uniqueness and reconciling it. Hannah Arendt writes in *The Human Condition* that “Plurality is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live.”<sup>1</sup> This mantra is key to understanding some crucial universalist qualities that do, in fact, make humanity part of a cohesive whole. Since we retain knowledge of one another, the emotional capacity to take part in others’ emotional conditions, and recognition of the common domain, we are commonly subject to

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<sup>1</sup> Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998): 8.

reconciling how we *affect* others both positive and negatively. Perhaps, additionally, we unknowingly identify with each other's plurality as unique individuals in an unforgiving environment.

Cosmopolitanism is first and foremost a way of viewing others as similar because of these human characteristics and decide that because of their universality, all humans are equally deserving of a place on the Earth. All people retain a venerable dignity. All corners of humanity should be welcomed to the politically deliberative table in order to devise a way into the future, for as humans we are all affected by some of the same intersubjective states. The cosmopolitan individual has faith that humanity is, in some way, shape, or form, a *single community* because of said dignity that *should* address adversity collectively and effectively as one. Cosmopolitanism begins as this sentiment between people, as the act of keeping others in our thoughts and addressing the needs of others as far away as they may be.

### *1.1.2: The New Cosmopolitan Setting*

The qualities that define modernity provide interesting opportunities for the cultivation of cosmopolitanism. Specifically, the epoch of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century is characterized by its technological innovations – communicative marvels that subvert spatial restraints: with the push of a button we can learn about events happening half a world away. That capacity for *knowledge* has evolved from a simple recognition of each other into the instant transmission of detailed information across space; our scope of awareness has necessarily widened as a result. The amount of physical space separating

us from our fellow inhabitants of the world has taken on a more arbitrary character than ever before as modernity drives the world unrelentingly toward an interconnected future.

In the contemporary modern epoch, there are ways, first of all, that the world is becoming post-physical and more outwardly interwoven. We can now entertain the idea that the nationalistic international superstructure is less a smattering of microcosms separated from one another by salient boundaries and more a series of factions gradually gravitating together. Secondly, therefore, the root of political division in the world must be socially constructed to a greater extent than ever before. With advanced education, technology, and the satisfactory provision of basic rights, humans *can* be aware of all the world at once regardless of the physical distance that divides them. It would not be outlandish to argue that the world, at some point in time, will be a community of nationalistic neighbors seeking specifically to live collectively and harmoniously. It is perhaps a consequence of uneven industrialization resulting in a lack of access to technologies and basic requirements for life, tied in with remnants of imperialism and other major global injustices, that reservation is held to invoke such a collaborative sentiment for living on Earth.

Additionally, global challenges, which threaten the world collectively and do not adhere to national boundaries, have come to define modernity. Such challenges do not only alter state actions by forcing protectionary responses, but also influence the way humans think, view, and interact with the world. Climate change and environmental concerns, for example, have created a new eco-centric mindsets that play a role in

shaping society today.<sup>2</sup> Nations and governments have, at times, put aside their differences to work multilaterally and address the basic needs of global populations. The misguided ideals of much international action aside,<sup>3</sup> we can derive from this a common consensus on an aim to bring the world together and respect the basic needs of all people to live, and to live prosperously, by virtue of the fact that all people are *human*. A *will* to communicate, to address the insurmountable nature of collective threats, can help humanity find the means identify said will and work together.

However, that will is in dire need of cultivation; international-scale responses to global threats could have more integrity and efficiency. Communicative technology is not a sufficient condition for collective action; nor is global communication a sufficient condition for the adoption of a responsive global consciousness. Despite the need for international resource consolidation expedited by collaboration at the highest governmental channels, a lack of institutional efficiency still may mitigate our responses to humanity's greatest challenges. Abuses of human rights, climate struggles, and global pandemics are all either characteristics of reality or possible challenges in the future – and they may only be exacerbated by a divisive international superstructure. Judging by the currents of modernity, the world's future will be interdependent but this interdependence may be one of economic neoliberal or imperialist necessity if a

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<sup>2</sup> Young, Nathan, Da Rosa, Victor, and Lapointe, Jean. “On the Origins of Late Modernity: Environmentalism and the Construction of a Critical Global Consciousness.” *Anthropólogicas* 12 (2011): 7. URL: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/On-the-Origins-of-Late-Modernity%3A-Environmentalism-Young-Rosa/277e4088b29f0cf55d9c867844a8874a70727946>.

<sup>3</sup> By this, I broadly reference a variety of things including the legacy of imperialism and colonial overtones of some instances of humanitarian intervention.

philosophical change does not sit therein to promote integrity in the mobilization of global care.

This is where I believe cosmopolitanism may provide an answer. Could cosmopolitanism – as a set of ethical axioms and goals, or a general philosophy – be a tangible way to set the international agenda on a desirable path towards harmony? A cosmopolitan community could, in its most idealistic construction, take the form of a massive populace committed to the protection all of its inhabitants, perpetually learning from one another's positions in a diverse universe. Model worlds in science-fiction and art provide examples and cosmopolitan thought experiments, dreaming of world governments and the like. Fantasies such as these keep the possibility of a centralized global system in the back of the mind. Perhaps in context of all the multilateral institutional action that has been occurring, justified by global axioms over the course of the last century, such a thing is but an alternative tributary of the brook humanity already treks down, and such a path could be incorporated into the international system.

The untapped capacities of cosmopolitanism are related to the complex, qualitative connections not only between individuals, but between individuals and their governments and those governments with each other. The very phrase “citizen on the world” necessitates the coalescence of globality and locality: the ability to function in a local setting while maintaining an awareness of how that setting fits into the world and vice versa. The phrase also necessitates an inexplicable linkage between the individual morality and the greater political sphere. Thus, the question at hand is: by considering the other from a point of sameness and care, could a philosophy at the individual level begin

to influence the trajectories of state actors, imbuing them with accountability and empathy?

David Lumsdaine's remarkable work *Moral Vision in International Politics* provides both substantial inspiration and a model for this study by showing, to the letter, the possibilities of individual cosmopolitan sentiment influencing state policy. Lumsdaine explores questions regarding the place of morality in the extension of foreign aid and discovers a few crucial facts which lend themselves to this question of the individual's connection to international policy. The book is a ten-country study in which Lumsdaine performs a regression between survey answers and a country's public aid support, finding that "the strongest predictor by far of support for aid was agreement with the statement 'we have a moral duty to help' Third World countries; this item alone accounted for an astonishing 37% of the variance in support for aid."<sup>4</sup> Lumsdaine argues that "A sense of world citizenship led individuals to support assistance to the Third World,"<sup>5</sup> shedding light on the question of whether or not individual attitudes can in fact be a determinant of greater state action.

Lumsdaine's analysis evokes questions about the connection between the cosmopolitan individual and the cosmopolitan vision for accountable internationalism that focuses on global unity by virtue of the plurality that defines humanity. Interpreting broadly, Lumsdaine seems to suggest here that there is a link between individuals and the institutions standing above them, that individual attitudes do in fact correlate with

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<sup>4</sup> Lumsdaine, David. *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993): 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 69.

institutional directives. If this is the case, perhaps the possibilities of retaining a cosmopolitan mindset include the ability to launch an era of global change that takes to heart human diversity as, somewhat paradoxically, evidence that we are one. Perhaps converting that sentiment of plurality into an actionable call for global change could yield a variety of untapped possibilities that are waiting patiently to be explored.

## **1.2: Objectives and Questions**

The central aim of this work is to answer to the main question: “what is possible with a cosmopolitan mindset?” Defining cosmopolitanism is crucial for how we are to take its worth and evaluate its potential, and it must also be evaluated in comparison with alternative frameworks. As I will explore later, cosmopolitanism can take many forms, but primarily of interest here is the internalized component of it and the tangible ramifications of a cosmopolitan orientation to politics. How should we define cosmopolitanism adequately and robustly? Could a cosmopolitan mindset create a domino effect, ultimately impressing cosmopolitan values upon the international superstructure unlike ever before? Even more importantly, could cosmopolitanism provide a way to reconcile differences worldwide and, through attention to cultural, ethnic, and nationalistic differences, provide an individual-level framework to guide our interconnecting outlooks? Tracing cosmopolitanism’s lineage back to its origins is also imperative for forging a detailed definition of cosmopolitanism that can lead to positive possibilities. Ultimately, I propose that the central possibility of cosmopolitanism is the

provision of a beneficial and unique framework for the construction of general positive change.<sup>6</sup>

Central to theoretical considerations on the possibilities of the cosmopolitan mindset are also testable, falsifiable research questions about the extent to which cosmopolitanism at the individual level affects world politics. On what conditions do people see themselves as connected to the world as a whole, and does this connect to support for various political positions and lead to certain outcomes? Essentially, does a populace's support of cosmopolitan sentiment correlate with their country's multilateral engagement and support of cosmopolitan foreign policy goals? For this portion, I hypothesize that there will, in fact, be a correlation between people's self-reported cosmopolitan affiliation and their country's tendencies for multilateralism and support of cosmopolitan foreign policy goals. Looking both inwards (introspectively, into the self) and outwards (to others, learning from intersectionality and growing empathic capacities for others) are both crucial for the cosmopolitan.

Thus, in this study, I aim to: 1) provide historical and literary context for cosmopolitan theory that traces its origins and exemplifies its applicability in the modern world, 2) propose a definition of cosmopolitanism in light of the literature that is humanistic in nature, 3) explore the question of "what is possible with a cosmopolitan mindset" in context of the literature and proposed definition, 4) attempt to survey whether

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<sup>6</sup> I speak of a tailored cosmopolitanism with a very specific definition here, acknowledging fully well that some interpretations of cosmopolitanism may breed the opposite sentiment.

or not cosmopolitanism already correlates with policy outcomes at the international level, and 5) inform subsequent theorizing and empirical analyses regarding cosmopolitanism.

I first parse through the extensive history and literature of cosmopolitanism, ranging from the Ancient Greeks all the way to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Then, using insights garnered from the cosmopolitan canon, I define cosmopolitanism. Using the definition I suggest, I explore in theory and in praxis the possibilities of a cosmopolitan mindset. This begins with a theoretical, normative argument before transitioning into a supplementary empirical one: does individual cosmopolitan sentiment correlate with cosmopolitan foreign policy? Using data from the World Values Survey, I explore the relationship between cosmopolitan sentiment and country motions on Human Rights Declarations as well as their ratification of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Finally, in light of all of these considerations, I conclude with large implications of the cosmopolitan vision.

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF COSMOPOLITAN LITERATURE

### 2.1: Classical Origins

Cosmopolitan thought has ancient origins; positing that humans are inherently connected by virtue of their humanness has been a component of the collective consciousness for millennia. The ancient Greek philosopher Diogenes, widely considered to be the first cosmopolitan, was a Cynic who claimed to be a ‘citizen of the world’ as opposed to of the state.<sup>7</sup> According to Long, Diogenes jettisoned common decorum and social norms to become “a living icon of counter culturalism...” who embodied “...the idea that human nature in its rational capacities transcends all civic and ethnic boundaries.”<sup>8</sup> The origins of the term “cosmopolitan” itself lie with Diogenes, whose aforementioned declaration of world citizenship, rejection of nationalistic restraints, and philosophical drive all appear to precede modern cosmopolitan thought.<sup>9</sup>

Diogenes’ philosophies do not exactly mirror modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism; the modern scholar may even find Diogenes to be problematic and starkly different from the cosmopolitanism of today. Melanie Subacus, in her dissertation on Greek and Roman cosmopolitanism, explains the dichotomy between positive and negative cosmopolitanism that is pertinent to this question: “A negative view of cosmopolitanism entails a renunciation of any local citizenship or affiliation not in the name of greater cosmic affiliation, but as a claim that being a citizen of the cosmos is the

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<sup>7</sup> Stellars, John. “Stoic Cosmopolitanism and Zeno’s Republic.” *History of Political Thought* 28, No.1 (Spring 2007): 4. [www.jstor.org/stable/26222664](http://www.jstor.org/stable/26222664).

<sup>8</sup> Long, A.A.. “The Concept of Cosmopolitanism in Greek and Roman Thought.” *Daedalus* 127, No.3 (Summer 2008): 54-55. [www.jstor.org/stable/40543797](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40543797).

<sup>9</sup> Stellars, “Stoic Cosmopolitanism and Zeno’s Republic,” 3.

equivalent of being a citizen nowhere. In contrast, a positive view of cosmopolitanism is described as living in accord with universal reason.”<sup>10</sup> Diogenes’ declaration of world citizenship could be read positively as being of everywhere<sup>11</sup> or read negatively as being of nowhere,<sup>12</sup> and this negative view especially contrasts humanistic modern conceptions. In other words, his declaration of world citizenship could be a positive invocation of human universalism as much as it could be a negative, anarchic rejection of society in general. Additionally, Diogenes’ rejection of materialism proves anathema to modern cosmopolitan aims – as summarized by Nussbaum: “Shouldn’t cosmopolitans be concerned about getting people the material things they need in order to live well? ... Why didn’t [Diogenes] say to Alexander, ‘I want you to give all your subjects a decent minimum living standard...?’”<sup>13</sup>

Although his philosophies may be problematic in the modern’s scholar’s retrospective glance, Diogenes influenced the subsequent Stoics that cultivated cosmopolitanism.<sup>14</sup> The Stoics’ cosmopolitanism primarily concerns itself with the inherent rational capacity of humans and how it affirms the validity of moral universalism, incorporating all people into world citizenship by virtue of their rational nature. As Nussbaum states: “According to the Stoics, the basis for human community is

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<sup>10</sup> Subacus, Melanie. “*Duae Patriae: Cicero and Political Cosmopolitanism in Rome.*” (Phd Diss., New York University, 2015), 4.

<sup>11</sup> Stellars, “Stoic Cosmopolitanism and Zeno’s Republic,” 3.

<sup>12</sup> Subacus, “*Duae Patriae: Cicero and Political Cosmopolitanism in Rome,*” 31.

<sup>13</sup> Nussbaum, Martha. “The Worth of Dignity: Two Tensions in Stoic Cosmopolitanism” in *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin*, Gillian Clark and Tessa Rajak eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002): 5. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198299905.003.0003.

<sup>14</sup> Stellars, “Stoic Cosmopolitanism and Zeno’s Republic,” 3.

the worth of reason in each and every human being. Reason, in the Stoic view, is a portion of the divine in each of us. And each and every human being, just in virtue of being rational and moral... has boundless worth.”<sup>15</sup>

Marcus Aurelius, emperor of Rome, furthers the Roman Stoic perspective by logically arguing that the universe is like a state. Because the inherent capacity for rationality both exists in all individuals and guides all individual conduct, the universe is akin to a common law: “If mind is common to us all, then so is reason... If that reason is common which prompts us to do or not do things, then law is also common. If that is so, we are citizens. If so, we share in an organised community.... But the universe is the only common government.... Thus, the universe the universe is as it were a state.”<sup>16</sup> Aurelius founds his notions of cosmopolitanism on the power of humans to function collectively, as a cooperative whole sharing concern and capacity for fellowship and welfare.<sup>17</sup>

Aurelius’ emphasis on this social side reflects a massive evolution from Diogenes who, instead of finding cosmopolitanism in the cooperation of the masses, believed the cultivation of a particular sort of wisdom was necessary – for Diogenes, cosmopolitanism was a series of *a priori* values that only the wise could acknowledge: “[Diogenes’] worldwide city should be regarded as the community of the wise, an ideal of enlightened

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<sup>15</sup> Nussbaum, Martha. “Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism.” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 5, No.1 (1997): 7. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9760.00021>.

<sup>16</sup> Stanton, G. R.. “The Cosmopolitan Ideas of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.” *Phronesis* 13, No. 2 (1968): 187. [www.jstor.org/stable/4181819](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4181819).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 188

persons united not by local or relational ties but by the common values they share – a group that understands what human nature needs in order to protect itself.”<sup>18</sup>

Cicero, another significant (yet questionable) figure in the Roman tributary of cosmopolitanism subscribes to the theory that an inherent capacity for rationality, which is in and of itself a divine thing, ensures the worthiness of all humans.<sup>19</sup> Similar to Aurelius, he emphasizes how general principles urging individuals not to undermine humanity are akin to natural law, and this sense of universal justness connects him directly to the later works of Immanuel Kant.<sup>20</sup> Cicero uses the model of a human body to describe society, a metaphor showing the necessity of acknowledging the welfare of other humans to ensure the upkeep of the artificial-man-esque body.<sup>21</sup> He believes in the cosmopolitan, surprisingly international moral notion that “National boundaries are morally irrelevant.... At the core of Cicero’s argument is an idea of not doing violence to the human person.”<sup>22</sup>

One cannot consider Cicero’s argument without acknowledging the imperialistic connotations of it, which are ultimately anathema to cosmopolitanism due to their problematic, implicit substitution of universalism with imperialism. Ciceronian

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<sup>18</sup> Long, “The Concept of Cosmopolitanism in Greek and Roman Thought,” 55.

<sup>19</sup> Subacus, “*Duae Patriae*: Cicero and Political Cosmopolitanism in Rome,” 88.

<sup>20</sup> Nussbaum, Martha. “Symposium on Cosmopolitanism: Duties of Justice, Duties of Material Aid: Cicero’s Problematic Legacy.” *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 8, No. 2 (Winter 2000): 184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9760.00098>.

<sup>21</sup> Pangle, Thomas. “Roman Cosmopolitanism: The Stoics and Cicero” in *Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Globalization*, Lee Trepanier and Khalil M. Habib. Lexington eds. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky 2011): 58. [muse.jhu.edu/book/2613](http://muse.jhu.edu/book/2613).

<sup>22</sup> Nussbaum, “Symposium on Cosmopolitanism: Duties of Justice, Duties of Material Aid: Cicero’s Problematic Legacy,” 185.

cosmopolitanism is particularly fixated in Roman imperialism, which causes some issues for its comparison with modern conceptions; as Subacus argues, "...community for Cicero is Romanocentric and thus is only cosmopolitan to the extent that Rome is equated with the cosmos and that Roman aristocratic values are equated with wisdom and virtue."<sup>23</sup> However, that Cicero's notion of a dyadic identity spans both regionalism and (at least, what Cicero considers to be) globalism is a crucial development in the cosmopolitan thread and cannot be overlooked since it parallels later conceptions. There are particularly useful insights regarding the duality of identity that come of Ciceronian cosmopolitanism. Cicero emphasizes the affiliation many different local groups have with the universalism of Rome, an affiliation that "does not negate one's local identity or the fact that for citizens and non-citizens alike who did not live in or close to Rome, one participated politically in one's local community while being a member of the larger 'Roman' community united under Roman rule."<sup>24</sup> Whether or not Cicero truly was a cosmopolitan is disputable – because his universalism is so closely tied to one nation's goals of conquest and dominance, perhaps he was but an imperialist to the core – but the idea of duality between locality and "globality" is not to be overlooked as a precursor to the modern cosmopolitan idea of maintaining a twofold association with one's local and global communities simultaneously.

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<sup>23</sup> Subacus, "*Duae Patriae: Cicero and Political Cosmopolitanism in Rome*," 63.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

### 2.1.2: Immanuel Kant's Cosmopolitan Philosophy

Contemporary cosmopolitanism's most important and famous proponent is undeniably Immanuel Kant, who establishes cosmopolitan axioms as a necessary component of an everlasting peace between nations in "A Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch." "A Perpetual Peace" invokes cosmopolitan sentiment both in abstract and via the practical means Kant argues are necessary to retain peace. For Kant, cosmopolitanism is necessary for an international federation of states founded upon a mutual agreement to the aversion of war;<sup>25</sup> specifically his belief in a cosmopolitan *right* is crucial to this agreement's anatomy. The federation is built upon a cosmopolitan commitment – a simultaneous acknowledgement by all states of the cosmopolitan right exhibited by all individuals: "Yet the homage which every State thus renders — at least in words — to the conception of Right still proves that there is to be found in man a higher and greater moral capacity; though it may slumber for a time; and it is evidently felt that this capacity will yet attain the mastery over the evil principle in him, the existence of which cannot be denied; and this gives a ground of hope to others."<sup>26</sup> Kant's idea of an international order would exist as collection of states retaining their differences and freedom from one another, not one akin to a despotic global order, whose cosmopolitan covenant would make it in state's best interest to cooperate.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kant, Immanuel. *Perpetual Peace*. (Minneapolis: Slought Foundation, Philadelphia and the Syracuse University Humanities Center, 2010): 21. URL: [https://slought.org/media/files/perpetual\\_peace.pdf](https://slought.org/media/files/perpetual_peace.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 19

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 32

The cosmopolitan right permeating Kant's international federation is an affirmation of humanity's ownership of the Earth in common. Due to the commonality of this ownership (i.e., no one individual or sect of humanity has a more potent right to the Earth than anybody else), all human life is innately equal and that fact gives us no choice but to accept one another: "All men are entitled to present themselves thus to society in virtue of their Right to the common possession of the surface of the earth, to no part of which anyone had originally more right than another; and upon which, from its being a globe, they cannot scatter themselves to infinite distances, but must at last bear to live side by side with each other."<sup>28</sup> Kant's suggestion of an inherent worth calls back to Cicero and other Stoics who believed the baseline of rational capacity in all humans guaranteed some sort of cosmopolitan equality.

Thus, for Kant, the universal acknowledgement of a cosmopolitan right – which is no less than a right to life founded on the baseline of human commonality – stands as central pillar of an ideal international federation that would ensure a lasting peace. The two crucial facets of Kantian cosmopolitanism, then, are firstly that cosmopolitanism exists in the form of a natural right, i.e., something tangible that all people in the world may lay claim to that guarantees the peace of nations,<sup>29</sup> and secondly, that adherence to the cosmopolitan right must be facilitated by a cooperative, legalistic federation organizing states.<sup>30</sup> Kant believed in the idea of cosmopolitan law which would augment the laws of states, permeate between them, and ensure that people of all nationalities

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 22

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 24

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 30-31

remained on equal footing for communication with one another contingent on them remaining peaceful.<sup>31</sup>

### *2.1.3: From Kant to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*

Kant is, in all respects, a powerful starting point for modern cosmopolitan thought. However, modernity has brought with it more refined, pragmatic, and applicable cosmopolitan definitions and visions that are informed by the contemporary state of international affairs and take into account a wealth of factors Kant could not have. Extrapolating Kant directly to the present day and evaluating the implications of his federation in light of what we know now proves to be a useful task in exposing many 21<sup>st</sup> century factors that unavoidably play a role in the formulation of the conditions for cosmopolitanism to flourish in the modern era. These factors include changes in the process of globalization, the modern concept of state sovereignty, and the entrenched institutions that define the international superstructure.

Globalization had begun far before Kant's day, but the characteristics of today's globalization hold new implications for cosmopolitan thought. This is critical because normative cosmopolitan arguments today lacking a heavy emphasis on using modern globalization and current international institutions as a general paradigm are in danger of losing salience. Holton defines globalization as the phenomenon of universalization that

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<sup>31</sup> Held, David. "Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Global Order: Reflections on the 200th Anniversary of Kant's 'Perpetual Peace.'" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 20, No. 4 (Winter 1995): 422. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40644842>.

occurs throughout the world simultaneously, and as containing three primary elements: physical and economic integration, social and cultural integration, and finally, the cosmopolitan recognition of humanity as one monolithic group in some form or another.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, Norris adds that globalization softens borders between nations and pushes the globe towards a worldly interdependence.<sup>33</sup> The process of globalization, which has continued for 200 years since Kant's passing, is characteristically different than it was before – today, globalization happens within the context of the UN, more fully fledged neoliberal economic expansion, advanced communicative and war technology, and human rights. The cosmopolitan outlook on politics and life in general is perhaps more pertinent now than ever as globalization continues to push the world towards interdependence, but thinking today exactly as Kant did poses major complications due to the difference of the times.

For example, sovereignty (and meaning of the concept today) is central here and it can pose complications when Kant is brought directly into today's context. Although the world is nationalistic, the nature of state borders are changing; Beck and Sznaider, for example, argue that the predisposition of social science as a whole to view the world as inherently rooted in a nation-state based assembly is definitively problematic: “the light of cultural problems has moved on’ from a nation-state definition of society and politics

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<sup>32</sup> Holton, Robert J. *Making Globalization*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 14-15.

<sup>33</sup> Norris, Pippa. “Global Governance and Cosmopolitan Citizens” in *Globalization and Governance*, Joseph S. Nye Jr. and John D. Donahue eds. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press, 2000): 155.

to a cosmopolitan outlook.”<sup>34</sup> The cosmopolitanism that Beck and Sznajder refer to is different from Kant’s in that it recognizes the effect of globalization on sovereignty. It couples with the softening of borders between nations – opening the door for cosmopolitanism coming specifically *out of* the reduction of border efficacy – due to the rise of global issues that supersede any one nation’s capacity to address them.

Instead of coming to the conclusion that such problems will transcend national boundaries and create cosmopolitans out of their lack of containment, Kant emphasizes *retention* of state sovereignty: “The envisaged federation of free states which renounce war once and for all in their external relations is supposed to leave intact the sovereignty of its members. The permanently associated states preserved their supreme constitutional authority....”<sup>35</sup> As Beck himself argues this via his theory of reflexive modernization “... borders are no longer predeterminate, they can be chosen (and interpreted), but simultaneously also have to be redrawn and legitimated anew.”<sup>36</sup> Arguably, had Kant known the extent to which globalization questions border efficacy and changes the nature of borders as constructions, he would have revised his position on the role sovereignty plays in his federation.

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<sup>34</sup> Beck, Ulrich and Sznajder Natan. “Upacking cosmopolitanism for the social sciences: a research agenda.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, No. s1 (Winter 2010): 382. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01250.x>.

<sup>35</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. “Kant’s Idea of Perpetual Peace: At Two Hundred Years’ Historical Remove” in *The Inclusion of the Other*, Ciaran Cronin and Pablo De Greif eds. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, [1996] 1998): 168

<sup>36</sup> Beck, Ulrich. “The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies.” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 19 No.1-2 (2002): 19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640201900101>.

Also present are concerns over what Kant's federation would entail given all we have learned about the scope and power of international institutions since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Habermas takes up the task of re-contextualizing Kant, bringing his cosmopolitan philosophies to the modern day and reevaluating them. He argues that a Kantian federation of states would not be able to successfully guarantee true cosmopolitan law unless there was a sort of executive agency binding nation states to its will, using the example of the United Nations (UN) and the Security Council to illustrate the issues with a non— or semi-compulsory system.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, the UN seems to resemble Kantian ideals despite the fact that its anatomy leaves it inherently flawed, allowing certain states to better impose their own interests upon it.<sup>38</sup> Globalization is an unbridled, economic phenomenon that increases macroeconomic disparities between nations, bringing with it what Habermas calls stratification in global society: "...the world market couples increasing productivity with growing impoverishment and, more generally, processes of economic development with underdevelopment."<sup>39</sup> This, again, contests the likes of Kant because it suggests that Kant's federation will result in economic inequality so consequential that the integrity of his envisioned order will be put into question. Additionally, an undeniable disparity between Kant's theories and modern reality exist as a result of his confidence in mutual recognition and universal respect of the cosmopolitan

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<sup>37</sup> Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace...", 179-180.

<sup>38</sup> Archibugi, Daniele. *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008): 280.

<sup>39</sup> Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace...", 183.

right by nations, and thus, it has been argued that a practical organization prepared to achieve Kant's end would be more far-reaching and hands-on than he ever imagined.<sup>40</sup>

Just as Habermas deals with issues such as sovereignty in the Kantian vision, David Held places Kant's idea of cosmopolitan *law* into modern reality. Held argues that Kant's emphasis on universal hospitality could not exist under cosmopolitan law, but only under cosmopolitan democratic law: "Universal hospitality is not achieved if, for economic, cultural, or other reasons, the quality of the life of others is shaped and determined in near or far-off lands without their participation, agreement, or consent."<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Cheang argues that Kant's vision for a cosmopolitan right does not actually incorporate universal human rights, for "...the scope of cosmopolitan right is limited to the provision of hospitality."<sup>42</sup> Kant personally defines what he means by this term: "'Hospitality' here indicates the Right of a stranger in consequence of his arrival on the soil of another country, not to be treated by its citizens as an enemy. As a stranger he may be turned away, if this can be done without involving his death; but so long as he conducts himself peacefully in the place where he may happen to be, he is not to be dealt with in a hostile way."<sup>43</sup> Hospitality gears itself around the acceptance of the other, which is crucial to cosmopolitan thought, but it is also limited to that basic provision; Kant's definition alone reveals that hospitality is not necessarily the same as the modern day

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<sup>40</sup> Pojman, Louis. 2005. "Kant's Perpetual Peace and Cosmopolitanism." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 36, No.1 (2005): 70. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9833.2005.00258.x.

<sup>41</sup> Held, "Cosmopolitan Democracy and the Global Order...", 423.

<sup>42</sup> Cheang, Pheng. "Cosmopolitanism." *Theory, Culture, and Society* 23 No. 2-3 (2006): 488. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640602300290>.

<sup>43</sup> Kant, "A Perpetual Peace...", 22.

notion of a “right.” Perhaps exactly what Kant meant by “hospitality” will never be fully understood, but hospitality seems to involve a moral threshold lower than that of modern human rights because of its limit to accepting the other’s existence. While rights involve a duty to others regardless of where they stand on Earth, duties of hospitality require only the extension of courtesy.

Thus, when rendered through the lens of modern reality, Kant’s vision for perpetual peace becomes quixotic – quite ironic given the similarities between it and the global governance bodies that arose after his death. We should not expect Kant to have considered what was impossible for him to foresee, but it is crucial to extrapolate his normative visions for a cosmopolitan order into the modern day carefully, accounting for the limitations of his philosophy’s applicability. From Kant’s critics, however, the factors needing affirmation in an accountable cosmopolitan vision come clearly into light.

## **2.2: Cosmopolitan Concepts in Today’s World**

Cosmopolitanism has extended far beyond Kant in the modern scholar’s interpretations. What exactly cosmopolitanism *is* has been in and of itself a major consideration; it has been brought far beyond cosmopolitan law. Centrally, the term is normative, but beyond this it can mean a variety of things today – according to Skrbiš and Woodward, “‘Cosmopolitan’ has meant anything from an attitude to a value, to a regime of international governance, or even a set of epistemological assumptions about

the nature of evolving social structures in the global world,”<sup>44</sup> meaning that cosmopolitanism extends beyond abstract, introspective thoughts about one’s connection to people around the world. With regards to individual cosmopolitans, Holton sets forth a series of “cosmopolitan modalities,” essentially categories of different cosmopolitanisms that yield an appropriate typology for its many forms: Cosmopolitanism can be a “socio-cultural condition,” a “philosophical worldview,” a “political project,” a “project for recognizing multiple identities,” a “mode of orientation to the world,” a “set of competencies...in different cultures,” “feelings and emotions,” or “a habitus.”<sup>45</sup> However, cosmopolitanism does not lose all meaning because of how widespread it has become – certain fundamentals make up the concept’s core.

David Held provides a useful summary of principles covering the values generally taken to be cosmopolitan: “...principles of: 1. equal worth and dignity; 2. active agency; 3. personal responsibility and accountability; 4. consent; 5. collective decision-making about public issues through voting procedures; 6. inclusiveness and subsidiarity; 7. avoidance of serious harm; and 8. sustainability.”<sup>46</sup> Held also proposes a general composition of cosmopolitanism; he makes up cosmopolitanism as based on two meta-principles: one of autonomy and one of impartialist reasoning.<sup>47</sup> The meta-principle of

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<sup>44</sup> Skrbiš, Zlatko and Woodward, Ian. *Cosmopolitanism: Used of the Idea*. (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC: Sage Publications, 2013): 13.

<sup>45</sup> Holton, Robert J. *Cosmopolitanisms: New Thinking and New Directions*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 33.

<sup>46</sup> Held, David. “Restructuring Global Governance: Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and the Global Order.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 37 No.3 (May 2009): 538. DOI: 10.1177/0305829809103231.

<sup>47</sup> Held, David. “Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?” *Review of International Studies* 29 No. 4 (Oct 2003): 471. DOI: 10.1017/S0260210503004650.

autonomy, part of all emerging democratic societies, holds a will for the freedom and equality of all people, while the meta-principle of impartialist reasoning allows for moral considerations to be done completely impartially, with no one group standing upon a high ground with the power to dictate what is moral and what is not.<sup>48</sup> These principles together set the groundwork for any vision of cosmopolitanism, acknowledging some modicum of equality in all people and emphasizing that morals should be considered at a baseline, humanistic level instead of endorsing the perceptions of specific groups. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, beyond these myriad definitions and principles attributed to cosmopolitanism lies the central idea of humanistic openness – being open and accepting of other people.<sup>49</sup> This, perhaps, is the greatest linkage to Kant’s concept of hospitality; we can clearly see fragments of Kant peer through in these new interpretations.

I will address the details of defining cosmopolitanism comprehensively in the next section, but for a consideration of how cosmopolitanism is conceived by the modern philosopher’s consciousness, suffice it to say that it gets interpreted differently by each scholar employing it. In a way, this is fitting – how could the innermost facets of any theory concerning a humanistic universalism be determined by one individual in a way that makes it applicable to all? A cosmopolitan theory that embodies its self-acclaimed universalism should be fluid enough to accommodate all peoples. When considered together, leading scholars’ conceptions of what cosmopolitan is (and if it is a design that

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 472.

<sup>49</sup> Skrbiš and Woodward, *Cosmopolitanism: Used of the Idea*, 14.

can or should be achieved) reveal the baseline of cosmopolitan theory and allow us to more easily determine an adequate definition of philosophical cosmopolitanism.

### 2.2.2: *Cosmopolitanization and Global Identification*

A logical distinction about cosmopolitanism since Kant is the difference between cosmopolitanism as a philosophy and cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon. Ulrich Beck argues for a crucial distinction between “philosophical cosmopolitanism” and “social scientific cosmopolitanization,” the former being a chosen action by individuals to become elite cosmopolitans (via abstraction and a priori considerations) and the latter being a phenomenon anatomically related to globalization.<sup>50</sup> More specifically, cosmopolitanization is the component of globalization that transforms individuals, making them cosmopolitan simply because they exist in a globalizing world of technological and moralistic overlap: “...cosmopolitanization means internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies. This transforms everyday consciousness and identities significantly. Issues of global concern are becoming part of the everyday local experiences and the ‘moral life-worlds’ of the people.”<sup>51</sup> It is the internalized couplet of globalization, as “cosmopolitanization comes into being by recognizing oneself as being involved and victimized by global risk regimes.”<sup>52</sup> When considering cosmopolitanism today, Beck’s dyadic dichotomy of philosophical

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<sup>50</sup> Beck Ulrich. “Varieties of Second Modernity and the Cosmopolitan Vision.” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 33 No.7-8 (Dec 2016): 260. DOI: 10.1177/0263276416671585.

<sup>51</sup> Beck, Ulrich. “The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies.” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 19 No.1-2 (2002): 17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640201900101>.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 26.

cosmopolitanism and visible cosmopolitanization is an extremely useful framework that makes sense of such a fluid concept. It allows us to reconcile the dual use of “cosmopolitan” as a reference to a citizen of a normative, globally-governed world and a real person of the 21st century, influenced and changed by technologies and globalism.

The process of globalization results in a new *identity* component of cosmopolitanism that, arguably, is not always grounded in Kantian philosophy but is primarily a product of modernity. This is cosmopolitanism as a form of personal, social, and cultural identification (i.e., in the sense that individuals may choose to embody cosmopolitanism or label themselves a cosmopolitan). Hannerz argues that the vast web of social relations across the world has become, in and of itself, a global culture of diversity.<sup>53</sup> Beck argues similarly that the combination of global trade, bi-lingual education, and the presence of the Internet together influence the process by which individuals identify themselves, and this means national affiliation will not be the exclusive determinant of their comprehensive personal identities.<sup>54</sup>

Conceptions of the cosmopolitan identity vary and can begin from very different places – cosmopolitanism does not need to be a philosophical worldview designed by the highest reaches of society from an elitist perspective. Cosmopolitanism can also take on a new form that deviates substantially from the Kantian design and is rooted in observations of the world and the kinds of world citizens that reside in it today. Gerard Delanty explains this new form of cosmopolitanism which celebrates plurality:

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<sup>53</sup> Hannerz, Ulf. “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture.” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 No. 2-3 (Jun 1990): 237. DOI: 10.1177/026327690007002014.

<sup>54</sup> Beck, “The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies,” 31.

“...theories of multiple modernity have led to a new conception of cosmopolitanism that gives particular emphasis to post-universalism. A post-universal cosmopolitanism is critical and dialogic, seeing as the goal alternative readings of history and the recognition of plurality rather than the creation of a universal order.”<sup>55</sup>

Holton collects a wealth of different types of cosmopolitans (designed by other scholars, distinguished from one another with preceding adjectives) that all hinge on divisions between the haves and have-nots in capitalist society, showing the possibilities of bottom-to-top cosmopolitanisms that can vastly differ depending upon one’s background.<sup>56</sup> More specifically, Pnina Werbner puts forth notions of the working class cosmopolitan, forged by the global pathways of work and trade that ultimately give working class people attachments to a variety of countries, resulting in a mosaic of localizations that make up identification.<sup>57</sup> Cosmopolitanization, then, yields the ability for a pluralistic cosmopolitanism to take root beginning with people and not thought. Modern cosmopolitan theory of the normative cosmopolitan individual has proposed very intriguing terms that capture both this aspect yet still retain fragments of classical cosmopolitanisms as well.

Beroš sets forth a dichotomy of cultural cosmopolitanism that adequately allows us to organize scholars; it ranges from a “strict form” necessitating cultural enmeshment

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<sup>55</sup> Delanty, Gerard. “The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 57 No. 1 (Mar 2006): 35. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2006.00092.x.

<sup>56</sup> Holton, *Cosmopolitanism: New Thinking and New Directions*, 34-36

<sup>57</sup> Werbner, Pnina. “Global Pathways. Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds.” *Social Anthropology* 7, No. 1 (Jan 2007): 33. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-8676.1999.tb00176.x.

(and the construction of one monolith global culture over time) to a “moderate form” which retains cultural differences but may homogenize political concerns as universal over time.<sup>58</sup> Identifying as a world citizen does not *require* the relinquishment of all local or national allegiances in favor of a single culture, as might be a charge of classical notions – a single cosmopolitan culture is a particularly Western and imaginary concept.<sup>59</sup> Nussbaum, falling closer to the strict cosmopolitan pole<sup>60</sup> argues that a Stoic-based cosmopolitanism extrapolated to today would tier the individual’s circles of ethical duty and care: starting from immediate circles (i.e. the individual, the family, the immediate community), associations with others will eventually broaden and encompass all of humanity, manifesting as an “...eager[ness] to understand humanity in all its strange guises.”<sup>61</sup> Appiah puts forth the idea of rooted cosmopolitanism, through which patriotism and cosmopolitanism can be reconciled together – where individuals identifying as citizens of the world retain a particular attachment to their roots while simultaneously engaging with and celebrating the humanity in different cultures around the world.<sup>62</sup> The key difference between these scholars is perhaps that Nussbaum assumes nationality is, at the end of the day, somewhat unimportant to one’s morality<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Beroš, Marin. “Cosmopolitan Identity: Historical Origins and Contemporary Relevance.” *Tabula: Journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula* 14 (2016): 204. DOI: 10.32728/tab.14.2016.12.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 206.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 202.

<sup>61</sup> Nussbaum, Martha. “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism” in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, John Cohen ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996): 9.

<sup>62</sup> Appiah, Kwame Anthony. “Cosmopolitan Patriots” in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, John Cohen ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996): 22.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

whereas Appiah believes that nationality, although a social construction, does matter in the grand scheme of morality because of the importance people attribute to it: "...the cultural variability that cosmopolitanism celebrates has come to depend on the existence of a plurality of states...."<sup>64</sup>

### *2.2.3: The Cosmopolitan Democratic Model*

Despite emphasis on pragmatic and visible cosmopolitanisms in modernity, far-reaching and structurally unprecedented normative visions have not left the cosmopolitan consciousness. David Held, a proponent of cosmopolitan global governance, advocates for cosmopolitanism as an effective response for confronting the global issues that task the world today.<sup>65</sup> Held explains that for the cosmopolitan, "the ultimate units of moral concern are individual people, not states or other particular forms of human association. Humankind belongs to a single moral realm in which each person is equally worthy of respect and consideration,"<sup>66</sup> Held argues that a cosmopolitan polity would help to mitigate these defining global injustices and perils via a variety of layered regional governance structures, a focus on cosmopolitan values within the General Assembly, and a cosmopolitan executive capacity.<sup>67</sup>

Other scholars also address normative ideas of cosmopolitan democracy, generally built upon the UN as a baseline institution. Archibugi advances a theory of

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 28.

<sup>65</sup> Held, "Restructuring Global Governance...", 535.

<sup>66</sup> Held, "Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?" 470.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 476-478.

cosmopolitan democratic governance in *The Commonwealth of Global Citizens*. The form of cosmopolitan democracy that Archibugi endorses is not a global government – it is built upon the idea that all people are inherently citizens of the world and a democratic development of international institutions creates a multi-layered, multi-faceted governance structure.<sup>68</sup> Using the already established framework of the UN, Archibugi provides various proposals on multiple fronts that would reorganize the UN into a genuinely cosmopolitan institution: for example, the development of an effective International Criminal Court (ICC), representing citizens of the world directly in a “World Parliamentary Assembly,” reinforcing international institutions, and emphasizing nonviolence and human rights.<sup>69</sup> Richard Falk paints a more pragmatic picture of the UN transitioning to cosmopolitan democracy, arguing that although capitalist globalization generally stifles democratic aims there is reason for hope particularly because global governance initiatives have valued human rights over sovereignty.<sup>70</sup> Normative viewpoints of a cosmopolitan future also hone in on various human components of cosmopolitanism; for example, Nussbaum advocates for a global cosmopolitan education in the essence of Stoicism to cultivate individuals and their capacities.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Archibugi, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*, 110.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 282-283.

<sup>70</sup> Falk, Richard. “The United Nations and Cosmopolitan Democracy: Bad Dream, Utopian Fantasy, Political Project” in *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Daniele Archibugi, David Held, and Martin Köhler eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996): 327.

<sup>71</sup> Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” 10.

A normative view of inherent (thus, cosmopolitan) human rights is of central importance to the cosmopolitan democratic model. Habermas emphasizes the central importance of human rights, how they can reify universal human dignity in written law: “After two hundred years of modern constitutional history, we have a better grasp of what distinguished this development from the beginning: human dignity forms the ‘portal’ through which the egalitarian and universalistic substance of morality is imported into law.”<sup>72</sup> Henry Shue puts forth a crucial framework for human rights in *Basic Rights*: taking on a cosmopolitan tone, he defines rights as “...everyone’s minimum reasonable demands upon the rest of humanity.”<sup>73</sup> Shue’s framework includes uncontroversial rights to security, i.e., the expectation that one’s bodily autonomy will not be violated<sup>74</sup> as well as, more controversially, basic rights to subsistence, which guarantee a baseline economic security<sup>75</sup> and correspond with a duty to protect, aid, and avoid the deprivation of others.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. “The Concept of Human Dignity and the Realistic Utopia of Human Rights.” *Metaphilosophy* 41 No. 4 (Jul 2010): 469. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9973.2010.01648.x.

<sup>73</sup> Shue, Henry. *Basic Rights*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980): 19.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 23.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 60.

## CHAPTER THREE: PINPOINTING A DEFINITION

### 3.1: What is “Cosmopolitan” and What is Not

There exists no singular, agreed upon definition of cosmopolitanism to date.<sup>77</sup> The vastness of different scholars’ conceptions of cosmopolitanism as a practice, set of ethical codes, a political ideology, and a phenomenon can be wholly oversaturating. Holton articulates the conflict of defining cosmopolitanism well, as it must bring together the sediments of so many different ideas: “We have, so to speak, collected along the way a series of ideas and prompts that are useful in constructing a definition.... How then may a clearer definition of cosmopolitanism be established, and how to discriminate between what is and what is not cosmopolitan?”<sup>78</sup> Establishing clear edges around the concept allows one (as Holton states) to differentiate “cosmopolitanism” from “non-cosmopolitanism” and this is a telling factor in a true definition; the integrity of the philosophy’s character seems to be most contingent upon what it is *not* in the grand scheme of things.

Therefore, consider a tourist who has the financial capital to travel the world but does not engage with local culture during his sojourns. He is epistemologically, emotionally, and morally unchanged by his travels in any significant capacity. If one defines cosmopolitanism as *exposure* to otherness, the tourist becomes cosmopolitan by default and the philosophy becomes tasteless – a byproduct of global economic interconnectedness that simply allows elitists to take advantage of the fruits of

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<sup>77</sup> Roudometof, Victor. “Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Glocalization.” *Current Sociology* 53 No.1 (Jan 2005): 115. DOI: 10.1177/0011392105048291

<sup>78</sup> Holton, *Cosmopolitanisms: New Thinking and New Directions*, 17.

globalization. The same would happen if cosmopolitanism is defined simply as being or being akin to a citizen of the world. If our tourist felt he was a citizen of the world due to this ability to travel, cosmopolitanism once again takes on an elitist character that does not involve humanistic acceptance of otherness. On the other hand, Hannerz would argue that this tourist is, definitively, *not* cosmopolitan just by virtue his ability to travel – cosmopolitanism requires a much deeper cultural involvement.<sup>79</sup> Thus cosmopolitanism immediately becomes more pluralistic and sociological, focused on the communication between the cosmopolitan and the world he inhabits.

Keeping in line with the notion that cosmopolitanism may understood best by considering what it is *not*, it is necessary to consider what may be alternative to, or even opposite of cosmopolitanism – communitarianism. The ideas behind the two sects of cosmopolitanism and communitarianism are universalism and contextualism, respectively; while the universalist believes justice is inherent and applicable in the same way for all people around the world the contextualist believes there are limits to this due to differences in internal expectations amongst various communities.<sup>80</sup> Just like cosmopolitanism, there are various definitions of communitarianism, but at the heart is a reliance on the factional community as a way to keep balance between autonomy and personal constraint.<sup>81</sup> Exploring reasons why cosmopolitanism offers an answer to

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<sup>79</sup> Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals. . .,” 241.

<sup>80</sup> Zürn, Michael and de Wilde, Pieter. “Debating Globalization: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism as Political Ideologies.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21 No.3 (2016): 9. DOI: 10.1080/13569317.2016.1207741.

<sup>81</sup> Etzioni, Amitai. “Communitarianism Revisited.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 19 No.3 (2014): 253. DOI: 10.1080/13569317.2014.951142.

complications of communitarian thinking is a task reserved for later chapters, but presently, the communitarian juxtaposition reminds us of the different cultural and national communities that need to be understood in a modern cosmopolitan context. Cosmopolitanism can and must be formulated in a way that accounts for facets of moral relativism and norm differences. That being said, what cosmopolitanism posits as inherent to all human beings – rationality or dignity – is unquestionably universal and should be treated as such. In defining cosmopolitanism adequately, this very sentiment must be captured, ensuring cosmopolitanism is pluralistic in nature.

Compartmentalizing cosmopolitanism by separating it out into different varieties allows for variance in interpretation and manifestation while simultaneously retaining parsimoniousness. Various adjectives have been attached affront “cosmopolitanism” in the literature to accomplish this end.<sup>82</sup> That being said, a groundwork of critical principles (forming a baseline definition off of which future scholars may develop refined cosmopolitanisms) is necessary to guide conversation and distinguish what is cosmopolitan and what is not. A definition must be flexible in establishing that critical foundation upon which refined typologies may stand.

Cosmopolitanism begins with the individual, with beliefs, behavior, and dispositions – not with rootless blueprints for a morally pure globe. I argue that the general, classical idea of cosmopolitanism as being a citizen of the world and understanding a basic equality of all people necessitates universalism *via* pluralism in the

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<sup>82</sup> Holton, *Cosmopolitanisms: New Thinking and New Directions*, 34-36.

modern sphere. Difference stands as an integral part of, not superseded by, cosmopolitan universalism for the philosophy to genuinely embody its own principles.

### 3.1.2: Moral Relativism: Cosmopolitan Paradox

A definition of cosmopolitanism must be able to reconcile the difficulty of supposing a pragmatic universalist moral philosophy that crosses borders and brings humanity together. From the beginning, it is clear that all cosmopolitanisms are individualistic to a point. Cosmopolitanism emphasizes the individual as the initial entity for which general moral concern is reserved and that all people have dignity and are equally deserving of respect, consideration, and passion – together, Held calls this “individualist moral egalitarianism.”<sup>83</sup> Moral individualism harks back to Diogenes’ initial use of the term *kosmopolitês*, which translates to “a citizen of the world” and reveals his demand to be characterized not by national identity but by his own person.<sup>84</sup> He reserves allegiance solely for the greater community of humanity alone. The Cynic and Stoic view of cosmopolitanism also exemplifies moral individualism in its belief in an inherent equality due to innate capacities for choice or reason.<sup>85</sup> The world can be reduced to its inhabitants who, despite arbitrary constructed identities, are human together. It is this humanness – an individualistic characteristic exuded by people alone,

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<sup>83</sup> Held, “Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?” 470.

<sup>84</sup> Nussbaum, “The Worth of Dignity...,” 1-2.

<sup>85</sup> Nussbaum, Martha. *The Cosmopolitan Tradition: A Noble but Flawed Ideal*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019): 2. <https://www-degruyter-com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/product/547428>.

not in groups – that guarantees access to a global moral community. Descriptive difference, at this stage of cosmopolitanism, can be disregarded as a label that succeeds the individual worth of the person.

Individualistic moral egalitarianism, when considered in the modern context, makes an ontological assumption of common moral equivalence *despite* (not *beyond*) difference and converts what is primarily an individualistic philosophy into something pluralistic and universalist. Similar to the considerations of Chapter Two – for example, the critiques authors such as Habermas have of Kant given knowledge of globalization today – modernity’s characteristics implicate cultural pluralism and a focus on difference. Beck argues that modernity exhibits reflexivity requiring that “...the new volcanic landscapes of ‘societies’ and their radicalized social inequalities have to be re-mapped on the macro level as well as on the micro level, and projected horizontally through communication, interaction, work, economy and, indeed, all such social and political practices.”<sup>86</sup> This is similar to the compressed modernity proposed by Chang Kyung-Sop, which outlines the “civilizational condition in which economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system.”<sup>87</sup> In sum of these points, modernization intertwines with economic globalization

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<sup>86</sup> Beck, “The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies,” 260.

<sup>87</sup> Chang, Kyung-Sop. “The second modern condition? Compressed modernity as internalized reflexive cosmopolitization.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, No. 3 (2010): 446. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2010.01321.x.

and the technological epoch to form a sea of interconnected social spheres, the waves of which frequently crash over social identities across the world. Social systems change shape over time and are ultimately subject to the reality of globalization.

Realizing modernity as an ongoing process that fuses the aims and grievances of diverse populations help us to remember that as humankind globalizes, so too rises a need for a global capacity to meet issues. But fusion does not necessitate cultural centralization and the reality of modernity, if any, remains plural. Although economic and political globalization both erode national autonomy,<sup>88</sup> policy responses to it are not exclusively top-down, with global governance taking a multi-layered approach and promoting social dialogue.<sup>89</sup> There is no prospect for a world government, for global assimilation or a composite culture, at least in the contemporary state of the world – such things necessarily bring forth the bitter taste of Western neoliberal imperialism presently.<sup>90</sup> Difference in language, culture, history, nation, and lifestyle all are crucial facts of the

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<sup>88</sup> Yeates, Nicola. “Globalization and Social Policy: From Global Neoliberal Hegemony to Global Political Pluralism.” *Global Social Policy* 2 No.1 (2002): 73. DOI: 10.1177/1468018102002001095.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 77.

<sup>90</sup> I would argue that neither of these ideas are naturally incongruent with the holdings of an accountable cosmopolitanism focused on plurality. Neither necessitate an absence of plurality, and if centuries of amalgamation as a species yields either of these outcomes peacefully, that is perhaps the most beautifully cosmopolitan future of all. The issue with of these ideals at present is simply that they must conceptually, physically, and temporally distance themselves from the legacy of imperialism and the powerful nations of the Security Council, who would likely be the ones to upset its serendipitous occurrence with the patriarchal imposition of personal goals. Ironically, the best way to do this may be to facilitate the widespread adoption of individual cosmopolitanism, fostering empathy and accountability and thereby influencing grand policy goals over time.

human condition that necessarily affect outlook and communication, and diversity in communication and outlook mitigates tunnel vision.

But that is not limited to communication; we must be careful when assuming sameness in certain areas. Held's egalitarian moral individualism must be reconciled with the fact that different cultures have different ideas of morality and different conceptions of how to respond to challenges. This is perhaps the greatest miscalculation of cosmopolitanism in the Cynic and Stoic vein, which supposes constructed divisions are arbitrary at the end of the day – they do not take into account that socialization *informs* the formation of morality. Appiah, in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, reminds us that “A lingering suspicion that a lot of what we take to be right and wrong is simply a matter of local custom has hardened, in the modern age, into a scientific certainty that talk of objective moral ‘truths’ is just a conceptual error.”<sup>91</sup> Moral relativism, in this sense, is essentially the idea that people of different cultures may view the same event with different mechanisms of morality and thus will come up with differing moral evaluations of said event.<sup>92</sup>

Therefore, an adequate baseline definition of cosmopolitanism must be consistent with the idea of moral relativism by taking caution when supposing universal morals or epistemological “truths.” Saying simply that cosmopolitanism is a commitment to universal human morality, for example, would be problematic because what is “moral”

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<sup>91</sup> Appiah, Anthony Kwame. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006): 17.

<sup>92</sup> Tännsjö, Torbjörn. “Moral Relativism.” *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 135 No. 2 (Sep 2007): 123. DOI: 10.1007/s11098-007-9083-2.

and how morality manifests is at the discretion of an individual. This is not to say that cosmopolitanism does not have a moral dimension – for it does, and the foundation of cosmopolitanism is all about specific morals – but it must be expansive enough to account for different ways moral commitments may manifest or be viewed by the people of the world. Cosmopolitan morals can accomplish this and appeal to a pseudo-universal morality by dealing with things that are *essentially* universal, or that which comes out of things that are objectively universal. As pointed out by Appiah, some moral codes – such as kindness – are effectively universal because of how common they are,<sup>93</sup> and things such as believing in a “right” to life may as well be also universal, coming out of a common human condition. Essentially universal things, in which to take solace and on which to base a philosophy of commonality, might be physical restraints such as death the act of living biologically, or abstract notions such as similarly of being unique from all other individuals.

### 3.2: A Refined Definition of Cosmopolitanism

I propose a three-part definition of cosmopolitanism (that can be refined as necessary when coupled with other terms). Firstly, cosmopolitanism means to see all of humanity as a singular community by virtue of humanness, and to recognize one’s place as a human within it. There is nothing besides humanness on which admission to the global community is contingent; nationalistic or cultural ties do not have any bearing on

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<sup>93</sup> Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, 95.

whether or not one is an equal part of said community. The cosmopolitan sees the world as one of sameness via difference, taking solace and deriving equivalence from it.

Secondly, I concur with the wealth of literature cited by Skrbiš and Woodward that cosmopolitanism, at its very center, "...is defined by an openness to other cultures, values, and experiences."<sup>94</sup> The community recognized by cosmopolitanism reflects difference. It does not suppose that all people should be the same for "...the perspective of the cosmopolitan must entail relationships to a plurality of cultures understood as distinctive entities."<sup>95</sup> Additionally, the word "relationship" is crucial here – a cosmopolitan affects and is affected by those they come in contact with, engaging in positive mutual dialogue.

Now, given this, it is critical to remember moral relativism, and relativism in general. Cosmopolitanism must be able to reconcile ideological and moral differences in the pathways to the common end of being a global community. More universal than any one morality is the fact that all humans require specific needs in order to survive and truly *be* a human being. David Beetham, in the essence of Henry Shue, summarizes this comprehensively: "...all humans share certain common needs and capacities: the need for subsistence, security, and respect; the capacity for reflective individual and collective choice and ingenuity in meeting their needs."<sup>96</sup> For a cosmopolitan to truly respect the

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<sup>94</sup> Skrbiš and Woodward, *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea*, 14.

<sup>95</sup> Hannerz, "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture," 239.

<sup>96</sup> Beetham, David. "Human Rights as a Model for Cosmopolitan Democracy" in *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, Daniele Archibugi, David Held, and Martin Köhler eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998): 60.

equivalence of their fellow world citizens, they must, at the very least, *hope* – if not *advocate for* and outwardly *accept a duty to* – assist fellow world citizens in the retention of these capacities (which I evade calling rights for their manifestation does not need to be legalistic) regardless of nationalistic ties. Different people may see different ways of accomplishing this due to their own personal moral drives, but that executive disposition to help others is a requirement. Thus, the final prong of the cosmopolitan definition deals with the moral impulse of respecting other’s fulfilment of the capacities of life itself. It is possible that some moral positions, then, are incompatible with cosmopolitanism if they do not believe that others are deserving of assistance or care – as Appiah says, “The real challenge to cosmopolitanism isn’t the belief that other people don’t matter at all; it’s the belief that they don’t matter very much.”<sup>97</sup>

The three prongs put together forge a refined definition of what I take to be “true” cosmopolitanism; however, I still find it necessary to differentiate this type of cosmopolitanism from the general term that has lent itself to a vast number of interpretations throughout the centuries. I refer to this specific definition as “accountable cosmopolitanism” for it reduces room for those interpretations that distort the necessity of pluralism. Genuine cosmopolitanism cannot exist in the world today without a heavy emphasis on ethnic, cultural, and national pluralism because the ontological setting in which cosmopolitanism must work its hand is indefinitely pluralist. The cosmopolitan universalist sentiment cannot be “we are all the same, therefore I must help the other;” it must be “at our cores, there is sameness within us; this fact will kindle a revised world of

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<sup>97</sup> Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, 153.

care.” Cosmopolitanism *must* be accountable cosmopolitanism in order to remain true to the quality of the vision it onsets.

## CHAPTER FOUR: WHAT MIGHT COSMOPOLITANISM MAKE POSSIBLE?

### 4.1: Possibilities of Cosmopolitanism

What possibilities could arise from this sort of accountable cosmopolitanism, defined and focused on openness as well as the duty of right? Accountable cosmopolitanism has much to offer our institutions, our reconciliation of the process of globalization, and our intersubjective experience of each other as worldly neighbors. If cosmopolitanism were guiding international institutions, it could captain globalization forward into an uncertain future and instill the essence of care within the process. One way or another, the world will continue to become more and more interdependent – economically, culturally, and socially as globalization forces national enmeshment and shows no signs of slowing down. However, not all forms of global interdependence are positive. The world is interdependent today, but the medium of interdependence consists of the neoliberal economic web, the legacy of colonialism, and insurmountable economic disparities. Cosmopolitanism, especially the cosmopolitan democratic model, offers a philosophical and legal alternative to this by promoting such positive interdependence.

As Held says, “I take cosmopolitanism to connote... the ethical and political space which sets out the terms of reference for the recognition of people’s equal moral worth, their active agency and what is essential for their autonomy and development.”<sup>98</sup> Individualized cosmopolitanism works to create a specific framework that necessitates empathetic capacities. In and of itself, the incorporation of cosmopolitan capacities and empathic sentiment into the practices of world politics could potentially be a force of

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<sup>98</sup> Held, “Cosmopolitanism: Globalism Tamed?” 473.

reconstruction and a way to guide international responses to the challenges which define the present era. If we are to learn anything from Lumsdaine, after all, it is that individual attitudes can be a powerful predictor of foreign aid<sup>99</sup> – perhaps empathetic sentiment forged in other political areas by cosmopolitanism could yield similar results. Crawford points to the connection between empathy particularly and institutional deliberation, to how “the development of empathy, moral reasoning, and deliberative capacities will be essential for the development of non-paternalistic institutions and practices of global governance.”<sup>100</sup> The cultivation of cross-cutting empathic sentiment is arguably linked to what I will call “cosmopolitan solidarity” – the internalization of that feeling to be *dutiful* to strangers in the world. Such a thing could ideologically guide the revision of international institutions and reshape the way individuals are valued by them, instilling accountability and caution in the ways they provide care.

Humanity must be able to grapple with the looming effects of industrialization – the consequences of technological development – sooner rather than later. Such a task requires efficient consolidation of resources, quick and effective responses, and the capacity for long term collaborative unity. However, the characteristics of our responsive institutions do not confidently meet the challenges ahead; disparities and global injustices remain rampant. Held charges the current international system with general ineffectiveness in its responses to international challenges that affect all the people of the

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<sup>99</sup> Lumsdaine, *Moral Vision in International Politics*, 43.

<sup>100</sup> Crawford, Neta. “Institutionalizing Passion in World Politics: Fear and Empathy.” *International Theory* 6, No.3: (Nov. 2016): 549-550. DOI: [doi.org/10.1017/S1752971914000256](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752971914000256).

world.<sup>101</sup> He argues that there is a moral gap between the West and other portions of the world, manifested as an insurmountable economic disparity in which “over 1.2 bn people live on less than a dollar a day...,” and the “UN expenditure per annum of \$1.25bn” is dwarfed by the “US per annum expenditure on cars of \$550 bn.”<sup>102</sup> Undoubtedly, the world is in need of revolutionary new ways to respond to these challenges and disparities. Certain issues comprising modernity grow larger every day, and if they have not already, will soon eclipse individual nations’ immediate capacities to address them.

Global disparities and injustices are in severe need of mitigation and top-level response. The ethical, ideological guiding of institutional deliberation could help to at least dim down the fires of global injustice. Centralizing the call to action around the protection of *people* in the face of a neoliberal web exacerbating economic disparities and international corporatism may be difficult or even impossible to accomplish in the span of a few generations – but adoption of the cosmopolitan perspective may be just what is needed to push global governance toward an era of ethics and care. Additionally, the possible normative restructuring of global governance institutions to imbue them with executive efficacy could be a major step towards realizing such goals.

Additionally, some increased kind of interstate unity (in abstract, following the idea of responsible cosmopolitan global governance) fueled specifically by a drive to help others and fulfill global tasks will be the most efficient way to mitigate global disasters; cosmopolitanism holds its hand up high as a strong candidate for facilitating such

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<sup>101</sup> Held, “Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?” 466.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 468.

cooperation. Especially prevalent is environmental negligence, an issue that physically does not heed before national perimeters. Oran Young argues extensively this case for a unified globe as the primary method to respond to environmental adversities, citing the fact that humanity has become the driver of Earth's ecological future: "The defining feature of this epoch is the emergence of human actions as driving forces on a planetary scale..."<sup>103</sup> and thus, "effective solutions require cooperation on the part of all members of international society."<sup>104</sup> A cosmopolitan institutional push offers a way to both coordinate and prioritize these global issues in an oversaturated world of dueling interests. Humanity itself has become the central determinate factor for the future of the Earth – recognizing this comprehensively seems like an appropriate response to the all-encompassing nature of global issues.

Thus, the central possibility of more people believing in the cosmopolitan vision might be a trickle-up effect that begins to influence institutional deliberation and by consequence international ethics. Intersubjective and cross cutting unity is crucial for this vision, and individuals may come together to determine the global response to human rights violations. It follows that this effect could then increase beneficial international interdependence and unity, bolster capacities to deal with existential threats, and increase the accountability of rights-based institutions that protect the well-being of all people.

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<sup>103</sup> Young, Oran. "International Relations in the Anthropocene" in *International Relations Theory Today: Second Edition*, Edited by Ken Booth and Toni Erskine, (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2016): 231.

<sup>104</sup> Young, "International Relations in the Anthropocene," 240

## 4.2: Addressing Criticisms and Alternatives

Addressing critics of the cosmopolitan standpoint and alternative normative approaches may help us understand its possibilities, its usefulness, and the advantages of cosmopolitanism over other approaches. This ties into a central debate over “who the cosmopolitans are” in the literature subject – i.e., not necessarily who identifies personally as a cosmopolitan, but who is most appropriately labeled “a cosmopolitan” in today’s world – and to a greater debate over to what extent cosmopolitanism reflects Western elitism.

Alternative to the cosmopolitan democracy model, but still very much in the same vein of global-normative approaches, is the global civil society model (the authors of which pose unique criticisms of cosmopolitanism). John Keane argues that the world is becoming a ‘cosmocracy’ – a place of mutual entanglement and interdependence.<sup>105</sup> He critiques models of multi-tiered cosmopolitan democracy, charging that they are in image of the West, and instead, he advocates for universal civil society focused on plurality of the peoples.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, Fiona Robinson in *The Ethics of Care* provides a feminist resistance the primarily rights-based, Kantian normative and epistemological approaches to world peace.<sup>107</sup> She advocates for peacebuilding under feminist care ethics,<sup>108</sup> focusing on a responsibility to alleviate injustices such as poverty rooted in a universal history.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Keane, John. *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 97.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* 124-125.

<sup>107</sup> Robinson, Fiona. *The Ethics of Care: A Feminist Approach to Human Security.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 2011): 27.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 120.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* 98.

Global civil society, built upon the coalescence of plurality and the aforementioned care ethics, is related to both cosmopolitan and communitarian approaches in its appeal to universality and harmoniousness. It may provide a healthy linkage between the two of them and be a helpful influence in forming a self-aware cosmopolitanism that lends from the respect of difference in communitarian approaches.

In a similar vein, critics of cosmopolitanism note issues the theory nets, for the fact that “...nationalism and parochialism receive legitimacy from the belief that the apparently universal ‘global’ culture carries the risks of standardization and the impoverishment of local cultures, if today the global is understood to be a predominantly American consumer culture...”<sup>110</sup> Fiona Robinson argues this point, explaining that a cosmopolitan approach to global ethics will only recreate the international situations that necessitate its advocacy, effectively upholding the Western influence already in place.<sup>111</sup> Robinson also expresses skepticism over abstract universalism, which may not adequately facilitate the dialogue needed to overcome unequal relations amongst groups.<sup>112</sup>

There are various counterarguments to this criticism of cosmopolitanism in both the pragmatist, legalistic mode and the cosmopolitan identification mode. Archibugi argues that cosmopolitanism, if implemented at the top level, would primarily benefit underprivileged populations due to its existence at the judicial level instead of at the

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<sup>110</sup> Norris, Pippa. “Global Communications and Cultural Identities.” *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4, No. 4 (Sep 1999): 2. DOI: 10.1177/1081180X9900400401.

<sup>111</sup> Robinson, *The Ethics of Care...*, 49.

<sup>112</sup> Robinson, Fiona. *Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory, and International Relations*. (Boulder: Westview Press 1999): 127

abstract level.<sup>113</sup> Robert Firth articulates the legalistic reply to this argument well, stating “that active citizenship is a central objective of cosmopolitan democracy, and the set of empowering rights it calls forth is not an end in itself. Instead, these rights are designed to reconfigure power relations such that cosmopolitan citizens have an equal opportunity to participate in shaping the conditions of their association. In short, they underpin the conditions for empowered political agency.”<sup>114</sup>

With regards to the duel between cosmopolitanism and communitarianism as internationalist ethics, Robinson argues that both philosophies are “rather unappealing,” for “Moral universalism asks us to eradicate difference and to understand both identity and community in terms of our shared humanity. Communitarianism asks us to valorize difference and to understand identity and community as given.... As such, both positions offer us neither an adequate method of critique nor a practical way forward.”<sup>115</sup>

Additionally, Robinson argues that considerations such as those over one’s duty to others are primarily abstract in nature, which ultimately “...either falsifies our moral experience or fails to account for a range of moral phenomena which are of decisive importance for understanding the relation of ethics to international relations.”<sup>116</sup>

In response to this, I once again invoke the Arendtian idea explaining the nature of what it is that makes humans fundamentally similar: “Plurality is the condition of

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<sup>113</sup> Archibugi, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*, 182.

<sup>114</sup> Firth, Robert. “Cosmopolitan Democracy and the EU: The Case of Gender.” *Political Studies* 56 No. 1 (Mar 2008): 230. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00684.x.

<sup>115</sup> Robinson, *Globalizing Care...*, 75

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* 76

human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live.”<sup>117</sup> Such is the sentiment of accountable cosmopolitanism, finding its strength at the levels of moral experience that are effectively in common (of which there are many). Advocating for the help of others from that abstract notion does not need to eclipse communitarian moral experience for the simple reason that the moral experiences we *do* have in common include the objective reality we share with one another (i.e., one of the same physical space); the perimeters of what we know encase all of us closely together.

Although one could certainly hold “sameness via difference” to be a philosophy on which to base accountable cosmopolitanism, the concept does not have to be all that abstract to form a cosmopolitan disposition. Save for the most isolated communities, the experience of plurality is inevitable and *must* be accepted by the individual as a facet of life. Related to that fact of life is the reality of globalization – Earth is become interdependent *one way or another*. Cosmopolitanism offers an organized method (and labels a phenomenon already occurring in individuals who identify more and more with the world as a whole) to change the quality of that interdependence in a positive way.

Finally, I argue that there is not much salient difference between global civil society and accountable cosmopolitanism, and perhaps even that accountable cosmopolitanism implicates the global civil society normative model more-so than global government or even stricter, elite-establishment imposed versions of the cosmopolitan democratic model. Keane’s significant charge of cosmopolitanism, that “where there is

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<sup>117</sup> Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 8.

profound disagreement about what being ‘human’ means, the presumption that rational dialogue is a good thing cannot operate as a life jacket.... The case for ‘minimum universalism’ goes under,”<sup>118</sup> loses context in the light of the accountable definition. Rationality is *not* the only basis on which cosmopolitan sentiment takes shape – intersubjective factors bring humans together and allow for different conceptions of morality and ethical deliberation. However, an acceptance of that minimum threshold of care (that at the lowest levels still promotes an acceptable, not minimal, quality of life) in the cosmopolitan definition forcefully ensures that no cosmopolitan interpretation is morally bankrupt or dangerous. Keane’s definition of global civil society in part as “a force for ‘globalization from below’” and in part as an aim of people to promote collective benevolence globally<sup>119</sup> seem clearly in line with the implications of accountable cosmopolitanism; perhaps global civil society and cosmopolitanism, then, are in fact linked.

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<sup>118</sup> Keane, *Global Civil Society?*, 190.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 64

## CHAPTER FIVE: SEARCHING FOR COSMOPOLITAN POSSIBILITIES

### 5.1: Cosmopolitan Indicators

How to view cosmopolitanism in modernity is a question requiring substantial attention. Various cosmopolitan “indicators” can be identified that “point to” cosmopolitanism in the individual; they are morsels of cosmopolitan manifestations in physical form. To find a decent measure of cosmopolitanism, we may simply ask individuals how they identify, and if their identification includes some tier of “worldly identification.” When dealing with indicators, caution must be taken once again to ensure that we are identifying genuine cosmopolitanism and that we are not following the trail of “false prophets.” As per the example of the surface-level tourist, exposure to different places and people is in no way a sufficient condition of the cosmopolitan mindset. Hannerz once again emphasizes this point with the example that some expatriates were colonialists, absolutely anathema to the cosmopolitan project.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, Beck explains the phenomena of banal cosmopolitanism, which describes how identities around the world are constantly influenced by the global integration of tangible things (i.e., food, music, the Internet).<sup>121</sup> Undeniably, the globalization of culture suggests a sort of cosmopolitanism, but banal cosmopolitanism is latent. It is uncontrolled, unembodied, happening subconsciously as a result of globalization, and thus may or may not be attached to cosmopolitan sentiment.

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<sup>120</sup> Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture,” 243.

<sup>121</sup> Beck, “The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies,” 28.

A distinction must be made between latent forms of cosmopolitanization and more deliberate trends of cosmopolitanism. Becoming more global may fulfill the unrecognized feeling that one is part of a larger community but some sort of internal acknowledgement or subjective impulse to empathize, help, and encourage others is necessary to truly embody it. Skrbiš and Woodward denote this division, "...the distinction between *reflexive* and *banal* forms of cosmopolitanism, the former related to a deep capacity for inclusive ethical practice and the latter to sampling and superficial enjoyment of cosmopolitan opportunities...." <sup>122</sup> The accountable definition of cosmopolitanism as 1) recognizing a similarity in all of humanity by virtue of humanness, 2) retaining openness and engaging with otherness, and 3) advocating for and working to uphold others' basic needs certain falls under the "reflexive" category and thus the indicators I propose are primarily concerned with finding the internalization of reflexive cosmopolitanism.

Firstly, there are a few external, physical indicators that could signify the presence of cosmopolitanism. Latent cosmopolitanization through global engagement certainly *can* be an indicator of reflexive cosmopolitanism, even if it is not a sufficient condition for it, but it is not the type of cosmopolitanism we are searching for via these indicators. Multicultural engagement opens up the possibility for the individual to be influenced by those around them and become unbound from thick nationalistic ties. However, one must be careful as the connection between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism has yet to be bridged; as Roudometof explains, "...the degree to which cosmopolitanism is related to

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<sup>122</sup> Skrbiš and Woodward, *Cosmopolitanism: Uses of the Idea*, 25.

the presence or absence of a transnational experience is a relationship that can be (and should be) considered an open-ended question.... They should not be blended, and one should not be confused with or reduced to the other.”<sup>123</sup> Some empirical evidence has shown a connection between transnationality and cosmopolitan values,<sup>124</sup> but the extent to which we may generalize about the connection is severely limited. Thus, while learning other languages or alternative dialects, having traveled to a vast number of places, knowing a high density of individuals from different places, consuming media from a variety of countries, and exhibiting awareness of worldly events are all *potentially* indicators of cosmopolitanism — they do not guarantee that the internalization of inclusivity.

In addition to cosmopolitan indicators that allow us to discern cosmopolitanism in individuals, we may also attempt to identify state actions that are more or less “cosmopolitan.” Most obviously, this would include actions that implicitly play into the cosmopolitan democratic model – accepting super-judicial jurisdiction and authority, emphasis of the concept of basic human rights (that are established not just legally, but based on the inherent worth of human beings), and a general willingness to use global channels and institutions in a productive, individual-based way. “Cosmopolitan” national action would also include evidence of the focus on pluralism – this could include an openness to immigrants and asylum-seekers, internal anti-discrimination measures, and

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<sup>123</sup> Roudementof, “Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and Glocalization,” 122-123.

<sup>124</sup> Mau, Steven, Mewes, Jan, Zimmermann, Ann. “Cosmopolitan Attitudes Through Transnational Social Practices?” *Global Networks* 8 No.1 (Dec 2008): 16. DOI: 10.1111/j.1471-0374.2008.00183.x.

more. Isolationist, factionalist, or nationalist sentiments, on the other hand, are indicators that cosmopolitanism is not present.

### *5.1.2: Internalized Indicators*

Beyond external indicators there are a plethora of internalized indicators that could signify the presence of cosmopolitanism – namely, internal indicators would be emotional, rational, or moral sentiments that align and hint to a cosmopolitan outlook. Cosmopolitan indicators can be both certain beliefs that are held – i.e., intellectual positions or policy preferences that align with the general cosmopolitan design – or capacities for certain emotional stances that harmonize with the cosmopolitan mission. Cosmopolitan capacities and dispositions can take a variety of shapes, and again, are not sufficient conditions – however, they are arguably necessary conditions that will be exemplified unanimously by genuine cosmopolitans.

First, there is the ideological component holding that cosmopolitans retain a certain amount of faith in multilateralism and international institutions. Ecker-Ehrhardt argues in his consideration of individual attitudes towards the UN that “The inability of individual nation states to regulate global problems efficiently is just one reason for political cosmopolitans to argue for the redistribution of political authority from the national to the international level; a second is universalism.”<sup>125</sup> Faithfulness in

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<sup>125</sup> Ecker-Ehrhardt, Matthias. “Why Do Citizens Want the UN to Decide? Cosmopolitan Ideas, Particularism, and Global Authority.” *International Political Science Review* 37 No.1 (2016): 101. DOI: 10.1177/0192512114540189.

international institutions (or at the very least, faith in the value of multilateral international institutions as a general concept), indicates cosmopolitanism because the cosmopolitan individual recognizes the need for global communality in issue responses. Conceivably, this could incorporate personal identification with such institutions. Archibugi points out that the development of a more fully-fledged cosmopolitanism requires that the UN be connected more directly to the lives of common people,<sup>126</sup> and this hones in on a crucial point. The UN cannot act as the consolidator of a global (or glocal) identity if it is too far above the lives of communities around the world. Finding somebody who identifies strongly with the UN would seemingly be rare then, but such a thing would undoubtedly be a telltale cosmopolitan indicator.

Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, there is the emotional-sentimental dimension speaking to the cosmopolitan's universalist morality. Internal moral dispositions that align with cosmopolitan outlooks are more observable than identities extending beyond nationality.<sup>127</sup> Internalized cosmopolitan dispositions yield cosmopolitan behavior and attitudinal examples, which serve as observable examples of cosmopolitanism in reality – as Pichler explains, “Cosmopolitan philosophy likely manifests itself in attitudes and behaviours of people. What all notions have in common is, however, that cosmopolitanism refers to greater world openness, global awareness,

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<sup>126</sup> Archibugi, *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*, 171.

<sup>127</sup> Delanty, “The Cosmopolitan Imagination...,” 42.

loyalty to humankind, self-reflection and self-problematization.”<sup>128</sup> Thus, cosmopolitan indicators may include specific policy views such as openness to immigration, tolerance of otherness, and behavioral examples such as financial contributions to international non-governmental organizations. Even deeper into the mind, however, there are a couple of specific dispositions that are required for an individual to be able to exhibit these behaviors and outlooks; Crawford explains that “dispositions of empathy, respect, critical awareness, and action, and knowledge” are fundamental to implementation of global responsibility and respectful institutions.<sup>129</sup> Particularly, a capacity for general empathy seems pertinent to discovering cosmopolitanism in the individual; the ability to take another’s position while remaining socially aware of one’s personal history is crucial for forging intersectional discourse and facilitating care across borders.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, empathy, outward compassion towards those of other backgrounds, and knowledge of the world and one’s place in it are indicators of cosmopolitanism as well.

## 5.2: Observing the Cosmopolitan Link: Methods

Using empirical data, it may be possible to observe ramifications caused by linkages between the cosmopolitan individual and the world they live in, or at the very

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<sup>128</sup> Pichler, Florian. “‘Down-to-Earth’ Cosmopolitanism: Subjective and Objective Measurements of Cosmopolitanism in Survey Research.” *Current Sociology* 57 No.5 (Sep 2009): 708. DOI: 1177/0011392109337653.

<sup>129</sup> Crawford, Neta. 2009. “No Borders, No Bystanders: Developing Individual and Institutional Capacities for Global Moral Responsibility” in *Global Basic Rights*, Edited by Charles Beitz and Robert Goodin, 140. Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 146-147.

least, observe evidence that might speak to that connection's existence. The adoption of cosmopolitan sentiment arguably results in the individual internalizing a duty to help – be this through an abstract commitment or a variety of intersubjective factors – and my hope is to visualize this sentiment proliferating out, scaling with countries' cosmopolitan actions at the international level. Cosmopolitanism at the individual level *should* yield cosmopolitanism at the state level contingent of course upon the democratic nature of the state in question. The question at hand then becomes, what is the best way to approximate those two things? What metrics do the best job at surveying the reality of cosmopolitanism and allow us to quantify it?

I am attempting to see if there is currently a connection between individual cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanism at the international level, to show that between the two at least some semblance of a linkage exists. This end can hopefully supplement the theoretical arguments and approaches I have taken towards cosmopolitanism. Specifically, does cosmopolitanism at the individual level implicate a broader cosmopolitan call to action, such as cosmopolitan foreign policy or multilateralism? Does individual cosmopolitan sentiment yield state-level cosmopolitan action? Answering this question first requires operationalizing certain international-scale actions that warrant the “cosmopolitan” label as “cosmopolitan foreign policy.” Then, through bivariate regression analysis using answers from the World Values Survey (which is the elected method for operationalizing internalized cosmopolitanism), the threads of this connection can be opened for consideration.

The end here, of both this section and the work at large, is not to precisely pinpoint this connection after having theorized it, but rather to briefly explore the quantitative possibilities for surveying of cosmopolitanism and hopefully to garner useful insights and juxtapose theory. The dyadic quality of cosmopolitanism as both *inwards and introspective* yet also *outwards and normative* might be best captured by such a mixed approach.

#### 5.2.2: Operationalizing Terms with Relevant Indices

Operationalizing “internalized cosmopolitanism” for this analysis is as complex as it is simple – while cosmopolitanism, once again, should be varied in its interpretation at the individual level, general principles unify it as a cohesive entity. The simplest and most effective way to gauge cosmopolitanism across different countries was to use a survey asking individuals about their attitudes. Specifically, World Values Survey Wave 6 question V212 asks if the individual agrees with the statement: “I see myself as a world citizen” and provides a 4-Point scale: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.<sup>131</sup> V212 acts as the independent variable in this study. Using this variable, it is possible to consolidate the “average” level of cosmopolitan sentiment surveyed in each country by giving each answer choice an ascending numerical value and averaging them.

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<sup>131</sup> Inglehart, R., C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez-Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin & B. Puranen et al. (eds.). World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version. (Madrid: JD Systems Institute 2014). [www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp).

This garners a concise individualized cosmopolitan score, or Cosmopolitan Aggregate Response for every country in Wave 6.<sup>132</sup>

Operationalizing “cosmopolitan foreign policy” and “state level cosmopolitanism” proves to be the more difficult task. Instead of looking for specific normative or ideological goals that a nation’s rhetoric seems to implicate, it is more efficient to search for national actions within the established international system that align with various cosmopolitan capacities and indicators. Sufficient metrics of cosmopolitan foreign policy might include, then, metrics of *openness* towards others (such as attitudes toward immigrants or anti-discrimination law within countries) as well as *multi-lateral actions* or *uses of the international system* that promote the establishment of a cosmopolitan legal order.

Thus, the two main metrics I shall use as indicators of cosmopolitan action are the ICC’s data on countries which have signed, ratified, or have neither signed nor ratified the Rome Statute<sup>133</sup> and the United Nation’s Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) data regarding how many International Human Rights declarations have been ratified by each state.<sup>134</sup> A state’s willingness to participate in non-compulsory jurisdiction, which essentially involves relinquishing some fiber of sovereignty in order

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<sup>132</sup> The exact scores for each country are outlined in Appendix A.

<sup>133</sup> United Nations Treaty Collections. “10. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.” Last modified March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2020.  
[https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=XVIII-10&chapter=18&clang=\\_en](https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XVIII-10&chapter=18&clang=_en).

<sup>134</sup> United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. “Ratification of 18 International Human Rights Treaties.” Accessed April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2020.  
<https://indicators.ohchr.org/>.

to promote the universal protection of human rights, undoubtedly suggests a cosmopolitan commitment. In the same fashion, so does the ratification of Human Rights Declarations, which are commitments that exceed the breadth of a state's immediate jurisdiction and distinctly suggest universalist aspirations.

However, there is also another factor to be considered here – democracy itself. Democracy is a crucial facet of the cosmopolitan link for a simple logical reason. The cosmopolitan individual should be able to impress their beliefs upon their governmental system of government *if* that government gives them a platform to do so. On the other hand, it should be *harder* for the cosmopolitan link to work properly in a more authoritarian system. Additionally, dispositions such as empathy and tolerance, that are congruent with the cosmopolitan vision, are more likely to be incompatible with authoritarianism. Thus, while we should expect to see a correlation between cosmopolitan sentiment and democracy itself, the salience of the cosmopolitan linkage should hinge upon freedom. Therefore, I use Freedom House scores as an interaction term in this analysis, as well as in its own regression with cosmopolitan sentiment in addition to basic bivariate analysis.<sup>135</sup> This will hopefully refine the scope of the empirical analysis.

For the ICC data, I coded a ratification of non-compulsory jurisdiction as a 3, a signature of the Rome Statue as a 2, and neither as a 1. This allowed for an approximately “ascending” quantification of enthusiasm to join a super-judicial authority, something

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<sup>135</sup>Freedom House. “Countries and Territories.” Accessed April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2020. URL: <https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores?sort=desc&order=Country>

that might indicate a state-level cosmopolitan disposition.<sup>136</sup> The Human Rights Agreements data is simple a number representing the number of ratifications out of 18 International Human Rights Agreements, as stated by the OHCHR Dashboard.<sup>137</sup> This once again reflects nations' enthusiasm for international human rights and international congruence on issues of human dignity in general.

For obvious reasons, neither of these metrics perfectly represent “cosmopolitan foreign policy” due to the wealth of factors that are associated with whether or not a state becomes a signatory of international Human Rights declarations or opts in to non-compulsory jurisdiction. Additionally, there are plenty of arguments to be had over any specific metric of regime type. That being said, they are together an approximation of state actions' cosmopolitan character and may lead to the linkage between the cosmopolitan individual and normative, institutional change.

### *5.2.3: Results and Discussion*

The cosmopolitan score yielded by V212 per nation (the average of all responses) ranges from 5 to 8, with 5 indicating the least cosmopolitan response and 8 indicating the most (the first four categories are omitted; they contained not-applicable information).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> There being only three tiers in this metric, in conjunction with it acting as a dependent variable, may particularly compromise the robustness of analysis to an extent, but the goal here once again is not to solidify a grasp on causal mechanisms – it is to explore possible avenues in which the cosmopolitan linkage may turn up.

<sup>137</sup> A full list of each of these agreements can be found in Appendix B.

<sup>138</sup> A full table of all countries organized by their scores in the relevant indices may be viewed and used for study recreation purposes in Appendix A.

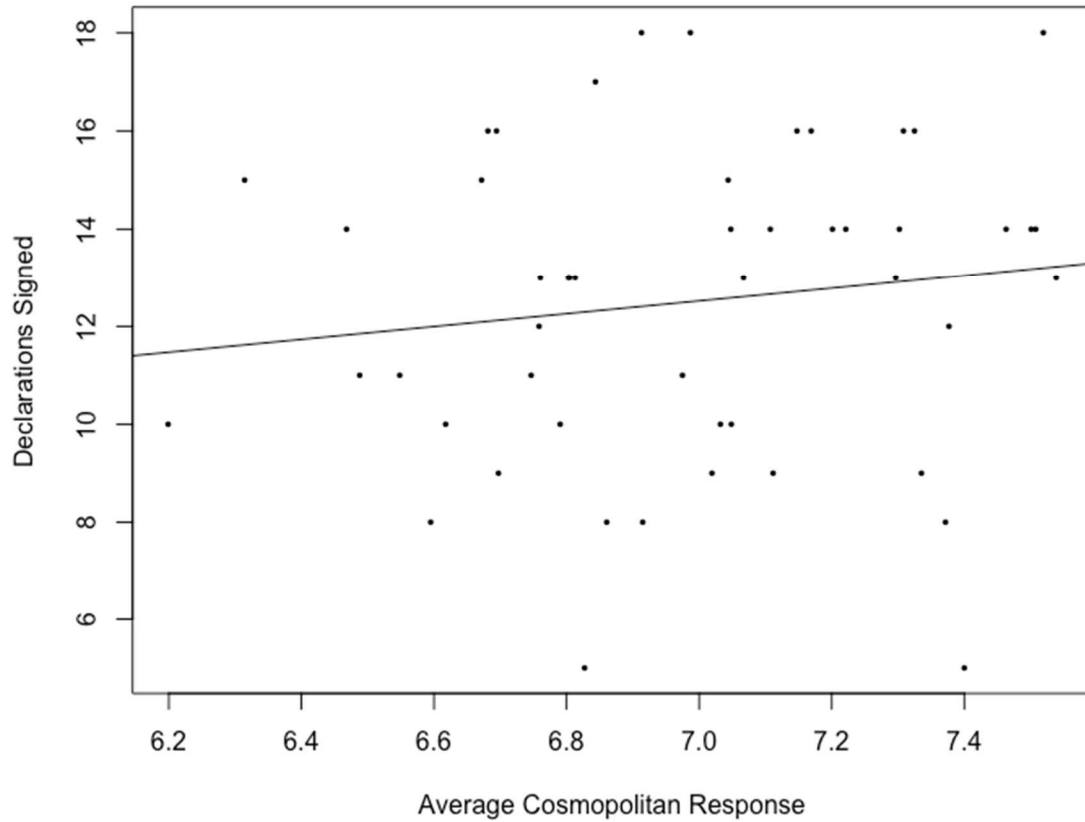
The score for each country has been labeled in the code as “Cos\_Aggr,” standing for “Cosmopolitan Aggregate Response.” Already, the results of the table are revealing – most surveyed nation’s aggregate cosmopolitan score reside between 6.5 and 7.5, suggesting that on average across the surveyed nations, individuals are somewhat neutral to the cosmopolitan question.

I used each country’s Aggregate Cosmopolitan Response in a regression first with the “Dec\_Signed” Index; the number of international human rights declarations signed per country. This yield a negligible R squared value, meaning that predictability between the two metrics was very low. That being said, there was in fact a correlation between the two variables (if not a significant one), as shown by Figure 1.

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Alpha	3.336	9.731	0.773
Cos_Aggr	1.312	1.392	0.351

*N* = 50, *Adj. R*<sup>2</sup> = -.002275 *Significance Codes:* 0 ‘\*\*\*’, 0.001 ‘\*\*’, 0.01 ‘\*’, <0.05 ‘.’

**Table 1. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Declarations Signed Regression Table**

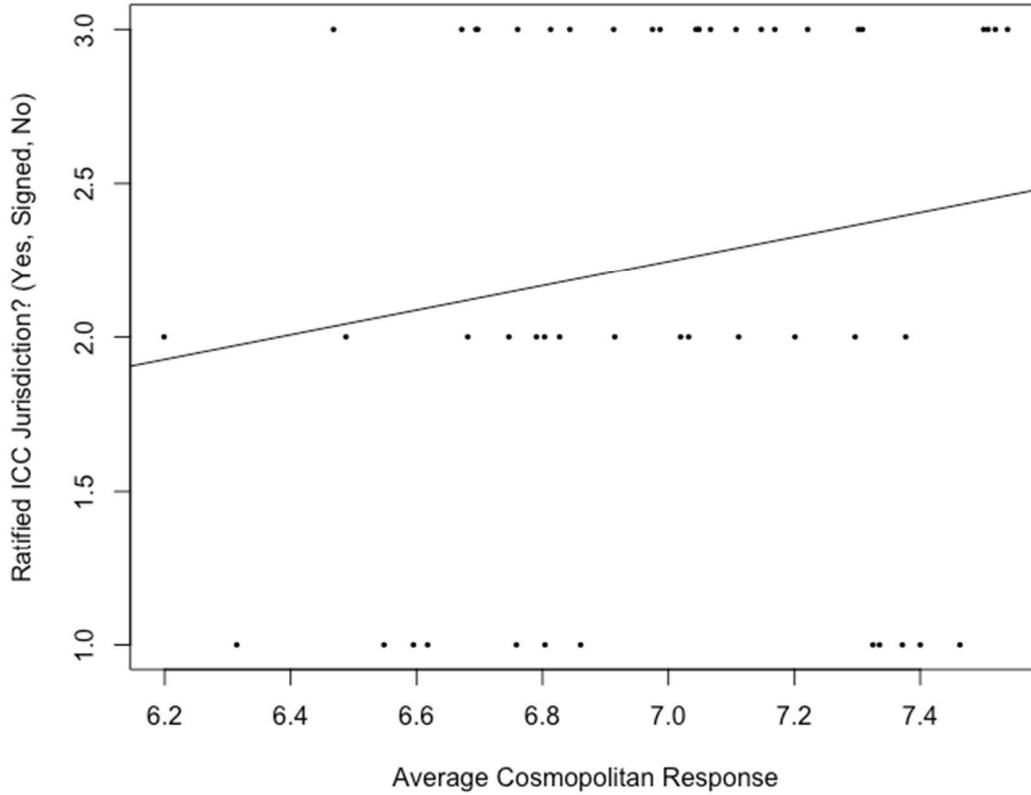
**Figure 1. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Declarations Signed Plot**

The regression between the Cosmopolitan Aggregate Score and ratifications of the ICC's jurisdiction yielded similar results, with slightly higher R Squared value of .02582. Yet, again, there exists only a statistically insignificant correlation between the two variables.

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Alpha	-.5471	2.4739	0.826
Cos_Aggr	.3990	.3538	0.266

$N = 50$ ,  $Adj. R^2 = .02582$ , Significance Codes: 0 '\*\*\*', 0.001 '\*\*', 0.01 '\*', <0.05 '.'

**Table 2. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Ratification of ICC Juris. Regression Table**

**Figure 2. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Plot**

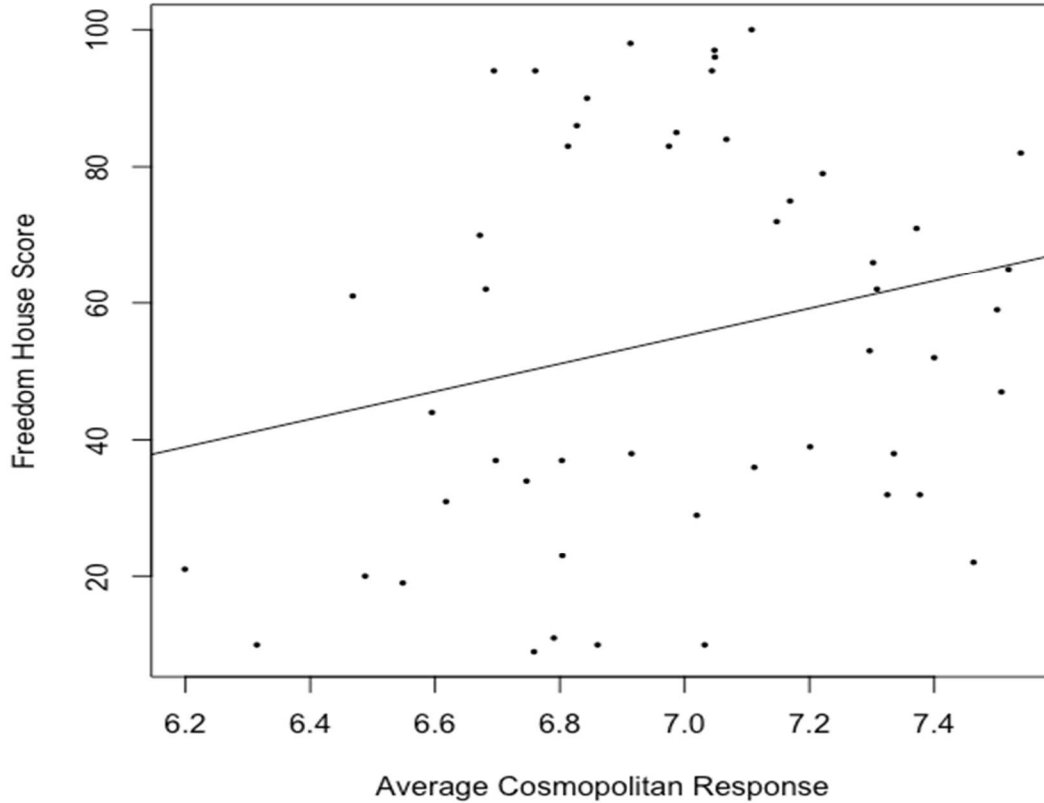
The regression model done with Freedom House scores once again yielded similar results, with an R Squared value of .03383.

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Alpha	-86.26	85.72	0.319
Cos_Aggr	20.20	12.26	0.106

$N = 50$ ,  $Adj. R^2 = .03382$  Significance Codes: 0 '\*\*\*', 0.001 '\*\*', 0.01 '\*', <0.05 '.'

**Table 3. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Freedom House Scores Regression Table**

**Figure 3. Cosmopolitan Sentiment and Freedom House Score Plot**



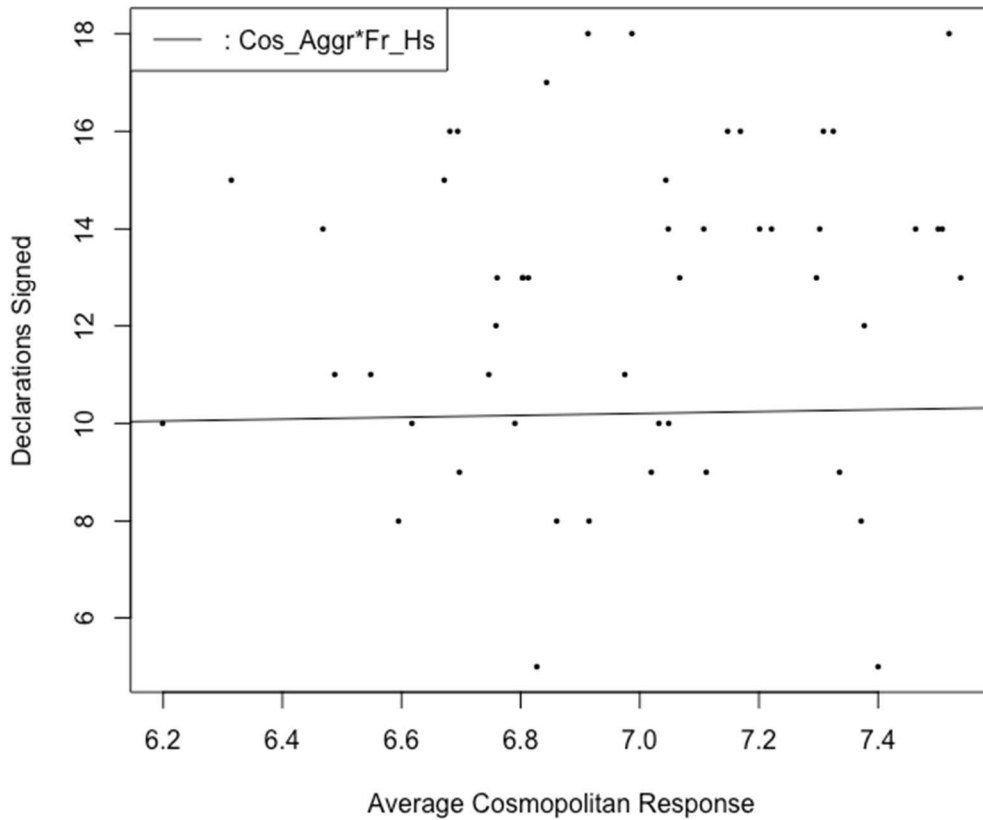
Interestingly, adding in the freedom interaction term yielded much more varied results in both variables; yet, in both instances, the correlation was reduced below what it was before. The first regression, between cosmopolitan sentiment and declarations signed, with the interaction between “Cos\_Aggr” and “Fr\_Hs” (Freedom House Scores) added in, led to a plateaued but slightly positive correlation. The R Squared value jumped up to .09257, meaning that predictability between the interaction term and Declarations Signed was relatively higher than the predictability in the other analyses.

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Alpha	8.853789	20.607787	0.669
Cos_Aggr	0.192538	3.006037	0.949
Fr_Hs	-0.002183	0.407719	0.996
Cos_Aggr * Fr_Hs	0.006285	0.058934	0.916

$N = 50$ ,  $Adj. R^2 = .09257$  Significance Codes: 0 '\*\*\*', 0.001 '\*\*', 0.01 '\*', <0.05 '.'

**Table 4. Interaction and Declarations Signed Regression Table**

**Figure 4. Interaction and Declarations Signed Plot**



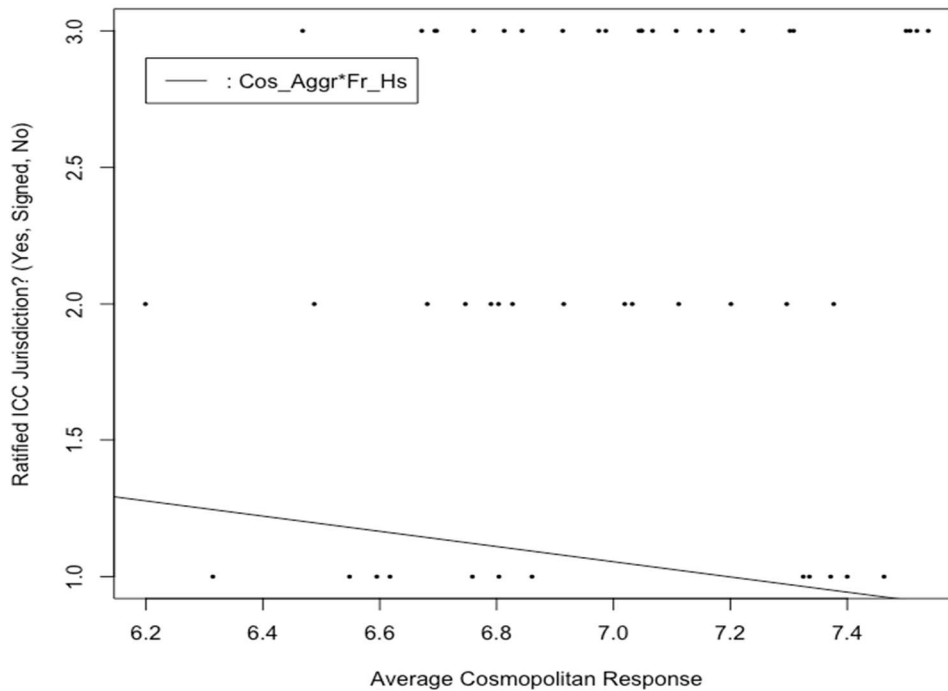
Finally, the regression including the interaction term with ICC jurisdiction resulted in some of the most bizarre results, with a negative correlation and a staggering R Squared value of .5106.

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Alpha	3.002055	3.862485	0.441
Cos_Aggr	-0.278283	0.563417	0.624
Fr_Hs	-0.017775	0.076418	0.817
Cos_Aggr * Fr_Hs	0.005598	0.011046	0.615

*N* = 50, *Adj. R*<sup>2</sup> = .5106 *Significance Codes:* 0 '\*\*\*', 0.001 '\*\*', 0.01 '\*', <0.05 '.'

**Table 5. Interaction and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Regression Table**

**Figure 5. Interaction and Ratification of ICC Jurisdiction Plot**



None of the bivariate analyses yielded a particularly high adjusted R squared nor significant P values for coefficients. Additionally, although the interactive analyses resulted in higher R Squared values, neither had significant correlations, and the unique outcome of the ICC interactive analysis may suggest issues with the ICC metric as a whole. The disappointing outcomes of these regressions are not void of a silver lining, however. Although the positive correlations were insignificant, they did in fact exist in varying capacities *except* in the final ICC interactive analysis. Given the limited scope of the empirical project I do not believe these regressions convincingly denounce the existence of a cosmopolitan link.<sup>139</sup> There are myriad other plausible conclusions both abstract and methodological in nature.

Firstly, from this analysis alone, the most immediate discernable conclusion is that the cosmopolitan link has not been cultivated to the extent that it turns up brightly in an empirical analysis; perhaps the most important omitted variable is time. Identifying as a world citizen is certainly not a new idea – that much is clear from the extensive history of cosmopolitanism – but presently identifying with the “world” may be a relatively untapped idea for the masses, even if indicators of its existence are present, and may increase over time as the world continues to integrate. Globalization as a process evolves and continuously integrates economies of the world; it is possible that the cosmopolitan linkage is being viewed in its “true” state but that this correlation will be exacerbated given more time, scaling with the years of globalization.

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<sup>139</sup> Additionally, the alternative final result in which they did yield a significant correlation would likewise *not* be an unquestionably convincing affirmation of the connection (for the same methodological reasons discussed here).

On the other hand, perhaps the issue is not that the correlation between cosmopolitan state action and cosmopolitan individual attitudes does not exist, but that this analysis failed to employ an adequate methodology to find it. The issue therein could be with the limits of the study in general or with the metrics themselves. Surveying these limitations with both the methodology and the study may suggest routes of future study for other cosmopolitan scholars. The most obvious possibility for refining this methodology and pinpointing the cosmopolitan linkage would be to add in a variety of control variables that narrow down the scope of the regression even further in an attempt to isolate the causal link. Various extraneous factors could alter the analysis and mitigate the relationship between the variables and these might be deliberately controlled for in future analyses. Alternatively, perhaps an original metric for “cosmopolitan foreign policy” that more accurately reflects the cosmopolitan character of state actions could be developed in order to pinpoint a relationship. The rhetoric of state leaders, for example, may be included, which may also indicate that a state’s outward disposition is or is not cosmopolitan.

What is finally discernable from the limited scope of this analysis is that the linkage between the cosmopolitan individual and cosmopolitan state action seems to be budding in certain capacities having to do primarily with human rights (not yet in the legal capacity) but it has not yet fully blossomed. Undoubtedly there are hints of a correlation between the two variables even if predictability between them turns up abysmally low; the nature of these hints of correlation are in need of more focused study. However, they have successfully offered a possible way to test the linkage and to

understand the extent of the cosmopolitan linkage in the future. Their limitations will hopefully inform the excursions of future scholars employing empirical metrics to survey the existence of a cosmopolitan linkage.

## **CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION: THE COSMOPOLITAN DREAM AND TASK**

The cosmopolitan looks upon worldly institutions and establishments with the optimistic eye of the reformist and sees that, beginning from that which makes humans similar, cohesive institutions pursuing the end of global equity are both possible and plausible. Additionally, the cosmopolitan remembers the common domain – that the Earth encases all homes and humanity holds all heritages. With a significant number of individuals identifying with their humanity, but retaining their pluralistic differences and learning from one another's uniqueness, the foundation for accountable institutions is laid. Empathic capacities have been cultivated across the globe and this very sentiment fuels the international drive for the betterment of the lives of individuals – be that through education, the extension of prosperity from those sectors of the world it has favored, or the entrenchment of basic human rights across the globe. Resources have been shifted to the pursuit of a cleaner environment due to this same sentiment, as the global community has increased its coordination capacities and efforts to preserve its home-in-common. Adversity has not been extinguished; neither has the drive of some individuals to deny the rights of others. However, the international order is more equipped to respond effectively to these antitheses. There is a sense of worldwide togetherness in our reactions to challenges, and it is our actions during these times that end up defining the character of our civilizations.

These are dreams of the decidedly cosmopolitan individual, pictures of a more peaceful and orderly world that could come of simply keeping the faraway other in mind. Through history, theory, and empirical analyses we can recognize how extensive the

implications of “cosmopolitanism” are. Realizing such a dream takes various cosmopolitan tasks, things that can be done now to cultivate cosmopolitan capacities. Via fulcra of sameness – life, death, plurality, residence, self-awareness, rationality, and dignity – human beings are capable of recognizing their similar subjection to a universal state of life. With challenges ahead for the human race that loom over responsive capacities, the 21<sup>st</sup> century is no better time to reference those fulcra and promote the revision of cross-cutting institutions and policy.

By interacting with others, learning from our plurality, and instilling a sense of duty to provide what we can for strangers in need, the cosmopolitan connections preceding the future may blossom. Additionally, democracy will be integral to the cultivation of it, for democracy will facilitate the connection between the cosmopolitan masses and their governments, allowing for policy to take on a cosmopolitan character. The implications of a widespread cosmopolitanism and democracy are limitless, for if we are able to convert our recognition of our interconnectedness as beings on Earth into a call to protect humanity in general, the institutional forces promoting protection may be guided by a normative, humanistic, empathic disposition. As we are single species stranded on a miniscule speck in the infinity of space, we cannot waste any more time failing to uphold the needs of each other as our civilization grows, as we linger around the edge of the abyssal universe. A cosmopolitan democratic outlook will play a necessary role in bringing that unity to fruition, in bringing humanity to a sustainable and prosperous future.

**APPENDIX A. FULL CHART OF COMPILED DATA**

	Cos_Aggr <sup>140</sup>	Dec_Signed <sup>141</sup>	Icc_Rat <sup>142</sup>	Fr_Hs <sup>143</sup>
Algeria	6.746589	11	2	34
Azerbaijan	6.314371	15	1	10
Argentina	6.986789	18	3	85
Australia	7.047786	14	3	97
Armenia	7.296539	13	2	53
Brazil	7.168966	16	3	75
Belarus	6.548323	11	1	19
Chile	6.843552	17	3	90
China	6.860548	8	1	10
Colombia	7.302013	14	3	66
Cyprus	7.043757	15	3	94
Ecuador	7.519199	18	3	65
Estonia	6.760554	13	3	94
Georgia	6.468085	14	3	61
Germany	6.694332	16	3	94
Ghana	7.53866	13	3	82
Haiti	6.914861	8	2	38
India	7.37162	8	1	71
Iraq	6.617544	10	1	31
Japan	7.048475	10	3	96
Kazakhstan	6.804	13	1	23
Jordan	6.697256	9	3	37

<sup>140</sup> Inglehart, Haerpfer, Moreno, Welzel, Kizilova, Diez-Medrano, Lagos, Norris, Ponarin, Puranen et al. (eds.). World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version: V212. (Madrid: JD Systems Institute 2014).

<sup>141</sup> United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. "Ratification of 18 International Human Rights Treaties." Accessed April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>142</sup> United Nations Treaty Collections. "10. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court." Last modified March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

<sup>143</sup> Freedom House. "Countries and Territories." Accessed April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

South Korea	6.974853	11	3	83
Kuwait	7.111577	9	2	36
Kyrgyzstan	7.201069	14	2	39
Lebanon	6.594982	8	1	44
Libya	6.758569	12	1	9
Malaysia	7.4	5	1	52
Mexico	7.308233	16	3	62
Morocco	6.80322	13	2	37
Nigeria	7.507675	14	3	47
Pakistan	7.335299	9	1	38
Peru	7.147513	16	3	72
Philippines	7.500833	14	3	59
Poland	7.066955	13	3	84
Romania	6.81294	13	3	83
Russia	6.487923	11	2	20
Rwanda	7.462999	14	1	22
South Africa	7.221176	14	3	79
Zimbabwe	7.019333	9	2	29
Sweden	7.107388	14	3	100
Thailand	7.376897	12	2	32
Tunisia	6.67177	15	3	70
Turkey	7.324857	16	1	32
Ukraine	6.681333	16	2	62
Egypt	6.198949	10	2	21
United States	6.827206	5	2	86
Uruguay	6.91309	18	3	98
Uzbekistan	7.032097	10	2	10
Yemen	6.790398	10	2	11

**APPENDIX B. HUMAN RIGHTS AGREEMENTS INCLUDED<sup>144</sup>**

- 1) International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- 2) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- 3) International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
- 4) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- 5) Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- 6) Convention on the Rights of the Child
- 7) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
- 8) International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance
- 9) Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
- 10) Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
- 11) Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- 12) Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Aiming at the Abolition of the Death Penalty

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<sup>144</sup> United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights. “The Core International Human Rights Instruments and Their Monitoring Bodies.” Accessed April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2020.  
<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CoreInstruments.aspx>.

- 13) Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
- 14) Optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict
- 15) Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography
- 16) Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on a Communications Procedure
- 17) Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- 18) Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

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**CURRICULUM VITAE**

