Title
Evaluating Cosmopolitanism

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5323q0km

Journal

Author
Wieske, Samantha

Publication Date
2018

Copyright Information

Peer reviewed

CONCEPTUAL PAPER

Evaluating Cosmopolitanism

Samantha Wieske[1]

Abstract

As the international community has become increasingly connected, cosmopolitanism has often been proposed as a means to reduce inequalities and maintain peace. Cosmopolitan scholars, like Martha Nussbaum, hypothesize that this citizenship can be achieved through standardized, international education standards. While it is undeniable that the projects which cosmopolitans seek to solve are vital, this paper seeks to examine the plausibility and effectiveness of cosmopolitan theory, contending that modern cosmopolitan justifications only serve to further Western interests. It is imperative to examine the applicability of cosmopolitanism, because flawed theory produces flawed policy. Cosmopolitan scholars fail to recognize that one universalized standard of education creates a monolithic culture, without a capacity for innovation or ability to cultivate strong cultural identities. Furthermore, while cosmopolitans call for the disintegration of physical borders, past trends suggest that this free movement incites an agglomeration of wealth and capital. Historically, global citizenship hasn't been able to solve human rights issues or economic inequalities because humans' political identities cannot extend to the capacity which cosmopolitan thinkers assume they can; Western leaders have instead used 'human rights' and 'economic equality' as a justification to further their own nations' agendas. In sum, cosmopolitanism is a flawed ideology and nations should focus on international cooperation, instead of global governance and individuals' economic and political agency, instead of cultural conformity.

Keywords

---

[1]University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA. Corresponding author: samwieske@ucla.edu.

1. Introduction

In his 1971 song, 'Imagine,' John Lennon implored the world to "Imagine there's no countries... Imagine all the people sharing all the world" in true cosmopolitan fashion. A cosmopolitan is a 'citizen of the world,' an individual who sheds her national attachments in favor of a loyalty to humankind. Some find inspiration for cross-cultural cooperation from the maxims reflective of a cosmopolitan ideology like Ghandi's desire to cultivate a "genuine feeling of human oneness," and the Baha'i religion's belief that, "The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens" (Heater, 2004: 148).

While it is an appealing philosophy, the controversy over whether cosmopolitanism is pragmatic has drawn in academics on each side. This debate revolves around questions like: 'Can a farmer from North Dakota develop a genuine desire to prioritize the well-being of a total stranger in Brazil?' and 'To what extent can the axiomatic discourse of "cross-cultural unity" lead to practical policy?' Today, many systems of international oversight and globalization are in place which reflect cosmopolitan ideology: the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Fund. While not all cosmopolitan academics advocate for a total disintegration of nationalities, this paper examines the teleological end of cosmopolitan theory: a borderless world.

Considering the way that elements of cosmopolitanism have manifested in the past, it is clear that global citizenship education, the enforcement of human rights, free mobility across borders and economic globalization would only serve to further ingrain systems of inequality and proliferate Western values. Thus, international development efforts should focus on nationally-based reforms, rather than pursuing a cosmopolitan fantasy.

2. Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

While citizenship is typically defined on the national scale, cosmopolitans propose that one's political community can be global, encompassing all of humanity. Millenia ago, a myriad of classical thinkers concluded that national unity incentivizes the mobilization of individuals for the public good. Rousseau's conception of a social contract describes how citizenship is a two-way street, exchanging rights for obligations; for instance, the state provides the individual with the 'pursuit of happiness' in the form of public education, and in exchange, the citizen pays into the national education system through taxation (Rousseau, 1913: 26-30).

Can this social-contract relationship extended beyond the state? In his book on "Liberal Nationalism" Yael Tamir argues that a meaningful political identity forms best in a "small, relatively closed, and homogeneous framework," not extending beyond the degree of a nation (Tamir, 1995: 151). Stretching an individual's political community to the extent of 'humanity,' as cosmopolitans would have one do, political obligations become too thin and feelings of belonging fade. A strong cultural identity fortifies an individual's personal identity, motivating her to carry out the duties of citizenship.

Global citizenship would not have the motivational potential that nation-states have cultivated through group competition. The rationalism behind nationalism is that members of a community are motivated to work for the betterment of their community, due to competition with outsiders. When reflecting on examples such as the US/Soviet Space Race and pressure for American

lawmakers to improve the national education system due to competition with Singapore and Scandinavian countries, it is clear that competition breeds innovation. Global citizenship cannot replicate the same kind of group-based competition which nationalism inspires.

Nationalists seek to instill citizens with a sense of pride based on their political community, but whether global citizenship can replicate a sense of identity comparable to patriotism is questionable. In "Achieving Our Country," Rorty laments the loss of national pride and the hopeful, liberal vision of America, now replaced by a disgust for American hypocrisy. While the 'progressive' Left is usually defined by forward-looking, inventive policies, Rorty argues that since the Vietnam war, American revisionism has led to a self-destructive guilt. He analogizes national pride to countries as what self-respect is to individuals, praising Walt Whitman and John Dewey for promoting an idealized image of America. Essentially, Rorty insists on the prioritization of pride over truth, in order to create a hopeful, motivated population (Rorty, 2003:11-35). This means focusing on a better future and celebrating American achievements and values instead of agonizing over the past and breeding cynicism and shame. On the other hand, Nussbaum believes that progress, justice and equality can only truly be achieved through the development of a human community.

Most cosmopolitan thinkers, base their beliefs in the ancient Stoic philosophy, which proposed a devotion to a single moral collective, to humanity, envisioning a world with "no law, no compulsion, no currency, no temple" (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002: 138). In the classical model described by "The Politics," Aristotle posits that our primary loyalty should be to the State, which will in turn serve our individual interests. However, Nussbaum, the Stoics and other cosmopolitans believes that, one's loyalty to humankind must be cultivated and prioritized above other loyalties. In the eighteenth century, Kant's ideas established the basis of cosmopolitan academia, stressing the importance of developing a common human morality but rejecting the feasibility of a world state; Instead, Kant envisions a federation of free states (Kemp, 2011: 25). While their beliefs about the importance of local and national loyalties vary, the uniting belief of cosmopolitan thinkers is that individuals should prioritize humanity above the State for the sake of the collective good.

Cosmopolitanism as a concept has existed since ancient times, but the modern academics associated with cosmopolitanism include Martha Nussbaum, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Peter Kemp, Daniel Archibugi, and David Held, not to mention a number of other thinkers who incorporate cosmopolitan assumptions into their theories. These thinkers vary in terms of how practical they believe cosmopolitan ideals are; Nonetheless, cosmopolitan ideals of human unity remain in the background of many theories and policies. Throughout this article, when I use the term 'cosmopolitan' I am using it to imply the ideas if they were to be carried out at the fullest extent, with the end of a cohesive, global state without nations. For the purpose of this paper, the term 'cosmopolitan thinker' refers to academics whose theories are rooted in this cosmopolitan ideology, whether defined as so or not. For instance, while Joseph Carens doesn't advocate for 'cosmopolitanism' per se, his promotion for open borders is deeply 'cosmopolitan.'

According to cosmopolitan thinkers, global citizenship and unity is the vehicle through which humanity can establish a lasting peace, decrease social and economic injustices, and promote environmental sustainability. Firstly, cosmopolitans believe that cultivating a mutual respect across cultures will reinforce the shared right of all

humans to the earth and its resources. Shared territories and resources unify communities and prompt the establishment of a government, thus a mutual commitment to the Earth's preservation could be both a means and an ends to global citizenship. Furthermore, Kantian philosophy posits that mobilizing the political, economic and social forces of a society to serve the interests of humankind will facilitate the establishment of perpetual peace. He argues that lasting peace can result from an understanding and cooperation between states with the goal of protecting the inherent rights of all human beings.(Kemp, 2011: 136) Lastly, the recognition of an undeniable trend towards globalization defines modern cosmopolitan thought, thereby acknowledging that since individuals from different countries are becoming increasingly connected, economic and political inequalities have arisen. Cosmopolitans postulate that only through common understanding and concern can these disparities be bridged.

Cosmopolitanism received a renewed academic consideration due to Martha Nussbaum's essay, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," written in response to Richard Rorty's New York Times article. In "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," Nussbaum's theorizes that through cosmopolitan education, the world can become borderless with a system of global governance, thus solving environmental degradation, reducing inequalities and establishing world peace. (Nussbaum, 1994: 155-162.) An effective global education, as described by Nussbaum, is one which cultivates a global identity, inspires cross-cultural sympathies and prompts self-examination in the local, national and global domain (Nussbaum, 2002: 295-299). Rorty and other nationalists critique Nussbaum's failure to recognize how an individual's cultures and communities deeply shape her moral life, priorities and motivations. On the

contrary, Nussbaum recognizes the weight local and national attachments realistically have in our lives. Rather, she hopes we can eventually supplant identity politics and cultural relativism with a global view of morality.

3. Culture and Education

An important element of the classical philosophies of Aristotle was that a regime's effectiveness relies on the coincidence between a state's constitution and the cultural values of the citizenry. The Greeks defined culture as the intellectual and aesthetic achievements of a race, which create a common bond amongst a citizenry, thereby constructing diverse societies which make up human civilization (Jaeger, 1986: xvii). A foundational belief of cosmopolitanism is that in order to make global governance work, the state needs to mold individuals to have globalized values through education.

Cosmopolitan thinkers reject the notion that a political identity cannot extend beyond the 'national' level, suggesting the formation of a global culture through education. Derek Heater theorizes that education can mold our values, creating civic virtues which match the governmentality of the state, might it be democratic, totalitarian or dictatorial (Heater, 2004: 110-115). The education a generation dictates their culture, may that culture be rooted in a nation, a local community, the global community, etc. National education in the United States teaches the intellectual and aesthetic achievements of Americans to replicate American cultural values in the next generation. For instance, learning about the Revolutionary War imbues students with a pride for American liberty, in a way that learning about the genocide of the Native Americans does not. Thus, American history teachers might focus on the Boston Tea Party

and skim over the Trail of Tears. In a more extreme example, the Chinese Communist Party restricts historical information about the thirty-six million Chinese who died during the Great Famine from being taught in modern Chinese schools (Jisheng, 1958:1-5).

It is true that modern China extreme censorship compared to the United States yet the same principles apply--national education standards are fitted to encourage patriotism. While this biased way of teaching might seem immoral, all countries dapple in myth-making, in hopes of creating strong cultural values to motivate the next generation (Rorty, 2003: 11-22). Hence, a standardized system of international education for all countries would require a loss of cultural diversity. Anti-cosmopolitan educational theorists urge us to ask; who will decide these educational standards?

Daniel Archibugi perfectly sums up one of the key predicaments of a realistic cosmopolitanism: the imposition of Western values. Considering the West's social, cultural, economic and most of all, military dominance, Archibugi fears that the project of cosmopolitanism has the potential to be implemented by force, rather than persuasion; As in the past, this ideology could serve as a moral justification to impose the West's will (Croce, 2010). A compulsory universal education could become a form of Western coercion. Thomas Popkewitz argues that while cosmopolitanism thinkers claim that it embodies universalism, cosmopolitanism still is a system of inclusion and exclusion, excluding those who fail to 'embody principles of cosmopolitan civility.' Similar to the imposition of 'Enlightenment reason' by Europeans on colonized countries, a system of global education would create categories of the "enlightened" and "unenlightened" groups and seek to 'enlighten' the latter.

Furthermore, the effect of conformity to the liberal educational standards which

cosmopolitans seek to promote would prompt a distillation of traditional cultural values and the adoption of a monolithic, Western-influenced culture. Not all 'culture' is equal. Anti-cosmopolitans speculate that transformation into a singular, global culture would lead to a culture which is indistinctive and commercialized, incapable of undergirding strong individual identities. If effective, the conformity of educational standards internationally would mean cultural conformity (Popkewitz, 2008).

While the implementation of global education under realistic and modern conditions presents many obstacles, Heater correctly assess that education has a formative and galvanizing potential. The future of educational reform lies not in creating a global citizenship, rather, a system focused on preserving cultural values while solving global issues at the same time. The problems which cosmopolitanism seeks to address are alive and escalating daily. Thus, instead of motivating students' to shed national attachments in favor of large-scale, global undertakings, educational reforms should be aim to promote the projects of peace, environmental sustainability and a commitment to reducing economic inequalities while at the same time, promoting respective cultural sentiments. Introducing curricula topics which convince students of the economic and social utility of peace and outline the realities of climate change mobilizes them to fight for international peace and environmentalism respectively.

4. Human Rights

A much-touted virtue of a cosmopolitan world is its ability to promote human rights. But what do human rights entail in a world of diverse social rights? Nussbaum argues that we need to develop a

global commitment to human rights through widely-accepted education standards, since nations constantly work together economically and politically. The concept of 'human rights' presupposes that there are fundamental truths of justice, and that sufficient deliberation will cause all rational humans to reach an agreement on what is 'right' and 'wrong.' When pondering the gross amount of extrajudicial killings, beheadings, religious persecutions and more which occur daily, it seems undeniable that these situations violate human rights and require justice. In principle, who would deny that all humans deserve respect, fairness and justice? However, when it comes to enforcement of these principles and an elucidation of what constitutes fundamental 'human rights,' complications arise. There is an undeniable utility for international accountability in certain cases, like genocides. However, rights like free speech, secular education, and voting rights blur the line between moral and immoral actions in certain situations. Examining the efficacy of human rights policies, we must consider whether interferences and interventions occur due to an altruistic desire to help humankind or whether national interests are at play.

A hypothetical future where one mold of justice, in terms of human rights, could be congruent with all individuals' value systems would require a complete acculturating of the world. In "Vulnerability and Human Rights," Brian Turner takes issue with the human rights discourse as an alternative to nationalism. He argues that modern human rights derive from Western origins which don't always coincide with the social rights of other countries. Consequently, Turner claims that the international community should not have a right to enforce a policy of human rights which conflicts with a society's cultural practices (Turner, 2006: 61-67).

Take for instance the case of the offensive Charlie Hebdou cartoon which satirized respected Islamic figures like the Prophet Muhammad, sparking a worldwide debate over the extents of free speech (New York Times, 2015). While some will jump to defend unrestricted free speech, others might prefer to put limits on the dispersion of offensive and provocative anti-religious material. Thus, calling unhampered 'freedom of expression' a 'human right,' excludes individuals whose religious and cultural beliefs conflict with unrestricted free speech. While the West might label 'good Muslims' as those who conform to Western standards of justice, it isn't a Westerner's place to determine what constitutes 'right' and 'wrong' for non-Westerners. Cosmopolitan thinkers fail to recognize that as long as cultural and religious diversity persists, there is no singular standard of justice suited to every human beings' ethical makeup. Since different religious and cultural beliefs lead to diverging standards of ethics between nations, institutions of justice should be state-led, not globally directed.

Human rights violations are a common justification for military interventions, which in many instances, have induced more harm than good. Former US-President Ronald Reagan famously said, "It is the Soviet Union that runs against the tide of history by denying human freedom and human dignity to its citizens," in a speech to the British House of Commons, to mobilize support and spread anti-Communist ideology. (Reagan, 1982) Claiming that Cold War interventions are for the sake of 'human freedom and human dignity,' Reagan employs a cosmopolitan rationale, essentially painting the conflict as American sacrifice for the sake of the human good.

For the last fifty years, the United States has painted itself as the world's police, giving them the pretext to get involved in the affairs of developing countries, thereby

providing favorable conditions for economic expansion. There are numerous examples of US involvement in Latin America, when American leaders condoned CIA coups of democratically-elected presidents, in order to protect human rights and 'preserve freedom' (TeleSUR, 2016). In Guatemala, democratically-elected leader Jacobo Árbenz was instituting agrarian reforms which helped Guatemalan citizens, but threatened the American-run United Fruit Company. Naturally, his policies were branded as 'communist' to justify American military intervention, exhibited by Wisconsin Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin's statement, "It seems to me that Guatemala is going to be a source of Red infection throughout Central America, and the sooner we help sterilize that source, the better."The result was a repressive military junta led by Carlos Castillo Armas which lasted for three decades and led to nearly two hundred thousand Guatemalans' deaths (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011).

The United States' policies in Latin America prove that if cosmopolitanism isn't rooted in a 'genuine feeling of human oneness,' pursuing the ideology will lead to an empty claim of global concern. This empty claim masquerades as a wealthy nations' desire for international development, but only serves to promote national interests abroad.

5. The Disintegration of Borders

Another integral part of the cosmopolitan utopia is the physical disintegration of national borders. Nussbaum argues that borders are morally arbitrary, and that our values shouldn't be limited by where we live, since cross-cultural differences are minimal and menial (Nussbaum, 1994: 161). In this section, I will argue that the

cosmopolitan vision idealizes the unrestricted movement from place to place, but when examining the modern trends of migration, it's clear that a borderless world will only further ingrain a systemic hierarchy of Western culture.

Proponents of open borders argue that removing restrictions on migration will mean that poor world citizens will have access to jobs, capital and security in richer nations. Joseph Carens claims that by restricting mobility across borders, governments are denying certain individuals access to equal opportunity, even going to far as to argue that border enforcement denies some human beings the access to resources which others enjoy (Tan, 2004: 125). However, Roy Beck makes the argument that while low-wage immigration into America is often framed as morally righteous, the most favorable outcome of immigration is relieving only a couple million out of three billion individuals from poverty. (Beck, 2010) He estimates that the United States can only permit about 1 million immigrants a year before overwhelming our social and economic infrastructure, due to a limit on the number of jobs, housing and resources. Furthermore, this restrictive immigration can be destructive to emigrant countries. Since wealthy countries are so selective, privileged migration means movement of the most educated, fervent, wealthy individuals from developing to developed countries. The countries lose the educated individuals who have the best chance of being industry innovators or government leaders through a phenomenon commonly referred to as 'brain drain.'

Conversely, privileged migration leads to elite, cosmopolitan travelers from the Global North ending up in jobs which spread their language and culture, instead of assimilating. In "Migration, Whiteness, and Cosmopolitanism: Europeans in Japan," Debar examines the reality of first-generation

European immigration in Japan. He finds that instead of integrating into Japanese culture, immigrants tend to socialize together. Despite embarking on a cosmopolitan way-of-life by moving from their nations to Japan, these immigrants cannot shed their cultural identities. Debar also notices that European immigrants will filter into 'cultural ambassador' sectors, like teaching their native language, thereby spreading Western culture into non-Western places (Debnar, 2017) . Ulf Hannerz points out that when the traveler travels, she does not accept their new location as a whole, rather, she seeks out the best parts of a place, or the parts which most resemble home (Hannerz, 1990: 242). Even with the increase in tourism that trending globalization has brought on, there isn't necessarily cultural exchange going on. When Westerners travel, they spread their fashion, language, culture and language, taking back the best of a place as souvenirs, resulting in these customs to become westernized and commercialized, in a phenomenon known as cultural appropriation. Carrying the theory of free mobility to its teleological end, unrestricted migration would result in the congregation of resources and human capital in the most habitable parts of the world. In poorer countries, the societies would be overwhelmed by an influx of Western culture, thereby displacing historical cultural traditions.

5. The International Market

Lastly, a key claim for the necessity of cosmopolitanism and its tenants is the regulation of the international market by an international state, in order to provide a cushion against the naturally polarizing effects of global capitalism. Nussbaum argues that global civic education is morally vital, so that Americans will realize the effect of their high standards of living on developing nations. Cosmopolitans reason that we live in a different world than classic philosophers did, ergo we need a philosophy compatible with this new reality. Aristotle's robe was not made in China, so the way he spent his Drachmas affected only those Athenians he interacted with daily, but our tea comes from India, our cotton shirts were manufactured in Thailand, and our laptops were made in China. With this said, it's clear that ones' consumer decisions affect more than just the workers in our immediate city, state and nation. Thus, cosmopolitans believe that a realization of global governance would act as a buffer against the effects of the market, suggesting international systems of distributive justice. However, these systems of distributive justice haven't had the anticipated positive effects which they claim to be working towards.

The desire to create global systems of distributive justice were realized in the creation of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. All three institutions have stated similar goals, as exampled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s mission statement: "to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world" (IMF, 2018). However, according to the Meltzer Report which assesses the effectiveness of international aid systems, the IMF promotes economic stagnation rather than growth and the World Bank hasn't made any significant impact on reducing global poverty (Bello, 2008: 92-93). Firstly, to call these institutions "global" implies equal representation for all nations; In reality, decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of wealthy nations who are financing the international aid systems. Furthermore,

the hypocrisy of humanitarian aid is that when rich countries give free food and resources to citizens, local farmers struggle to compete, thereby furthering the reliance of poor countries on rich ones. A more constructive form of charity by rich countries would be recognizing the agency of citizens and buying commodities from local suppliers, thus investing money into the economy. So why don't rich countries implement the latter solution? As is true in the case of human rights policy, national interests are strongly at play and the former 'solution,' better serves their own economies.

During the late 20th century, the United States and Europe claimed that the goal of the IMF was to secure financial stability, yet the overall effect in many countries was financial dependence and peripheralization. Foreign aid often comes with strings attached, stipulating the creation of a favorable investment environment which tend to disadvantage the recipient country. More than other countries, Argentina fully embraced the management of the US and the IMF. Heeding their advice, the government adopted a free-market economic model, lifting trade barriers and privatizing everything from railroads to telecommunication, thus making itself as attractive as possible for foreign investment. While these policies were initially successful, the lack of state control and constant borrowing lead Argentina's inflation rates and debt to rise. Even though it was IMF policies which ushered Argentina into economic ruin, the organization denied accountability, blaming the resulting crisis on superfluous public spending and the currency peg. Unfortunately, Argentina's financial collapse wasn't an isolated incident. Many other countries adhered to IMF and World Bank policies, due to the promise of aid, and like in Argentina, the result was debt, peripheralization and economic reliance on these institutions. (Cavanagh, 2002: 43)

In "Introducing Globalization: Ties, Tensions, and Uneven Integration," Matthew Sparke argues that economic globalization is often painted as unavoidable, but that the paradoxical need for politicians to convince citizens of the globalization's inevitability proves the preventable nature of the phenomenon. To bolster his point, he references Barack Obama claiming that, "We don't really have an option. Globalization is with us." while trying to convince Americans to implement pro-immigration, pro-free trade policies that would further entrench the globalized economic system (Sparke, 2012: 10). Judging from the past blunders of global aid institutions, it is clear that Western leaders have been disingenuously claiming to be working for the good of humanity, while keeping national and sub-national interests as the top priority--they are disguising their national agendas with cosmopolitan ideals.

6. Another World is Possible

While cosmopolitanism is a flawed ideology, the global problems which cosmopolitans identify are imperative. Due to economic globalization, an established system of uneven development has formed, benefiting developed nations at the expense of developing ones. Over 70% of all wealth is concentrated in the hands of the top 1% of the global population, leaving hundreds of millions of individuals malnourished, despite sufficient food production (Guardian, 2017). Instead of continuing to rely on the economic, social and political 'Globalization' which led to this inequality in the first place for redistributive policies, poor countries have held gatherings like the World Social Forum and the International Forum on Globalization have to discuss alternatives to corporate, capitalist globalization altogether.

Instead of attempting to fix inequalities by employing cosmopolitan ideologies and economic globalization policies, in the future, there needs to be a shift from the highly interconnected economic system of today to a more decentralized system which focuses on economic development on a national scales. In "De-globalization," Walden Bello provides an alternative to neoliberal capitalism, arguing that the genuine empowerment of local and national actors can only take place as a result of a restructured global economic system. As an alternative to relying on international aid systems, Bello suggests drawing funds for development from within a state, to reduce dependence on foreign aid and investment.

Also, he recommends that developing nations imbue citizens with the democratic right to establish their own economic priorities rather than allowing policies to be market-determined (Bello, 2002: 84). To achieve a future of international economic equality, Bello proposes state-based efforts to refocus domestic economic priorities from a 'production for export' to a 'production for the local market' strategy (Bello, 2002: 107-118). Currently, developing nations operate as economic peripheries, either producing raw materials and carrying out basic manufacturing to be marketed and sold in the economic core. Wage inequalities are solidified through this system; In the case of an iPhone, the Chinese Foxconn employees receive less than $1/hour whereas American salespeople are paid a minimum of $15/hour. In Bello's reimagined economic structure, Chinese workers would focus on 'production for the local market' instead of being a part of the prevailing corporate system which disadvantages them. Instead of having economic activities in Argentina and Brazil directed by Washington, he recommends that developing countries break away from the current paradigm of globalization.

7. Conclusion

Effective policy requires a realistic worldview, recognizing the limits of human compassion and understanding that genuine political loyalties develop naturally from physical proximity and repeated interactions. Claiming and believing that individuals are capable of cosmopolitan devotion, while in truth, they still prioritize local, regional and national interests, tends to justify invasive international policies which promote Western interests and disadvantage non-Westerners due to the global power structure.

Evaluating the realities of a cosmopolitan world by looking at the effects of the modern institutions which are supported by a cosmopolitan ideology, demonstrates that the teleologic end of cosmopolitanism is a monolithic, Western-led culture. A standardized system of human rights would require cross-cultural compromise on what constitutes fundamental rights; The present-day controversy over what constitutes 'human rights' results due to differing religions, social practices and customs and might never be resolved as long as cultural diversity persists. Accordingly, utilitarian cosmopolitanism demands a single, monolithic culture to permeate throughout all countries. Likewise, while cosmopolitans claim that education would create mutual understanding and respect, this would come at the cost of cultural diversity. Bearing in mind the Western economic and political hierarchy which exists, these cultural standards would likely derive from Western values. A lack of culture and diversity around the world would stifle progress. Moreover, a borderless world would mean an outflow of talented individuals from poorer countries and the further imposition of Western culture.

There is a place for certain institutions of international cooperation, but that cooperation does not necessitate a global

culture, citizenship or government. In order to refine modern institutions and policies so that they no longer disadvantage developing countries, a reimagined economic structure which empowers their citizens is essential. Recognizing the agency of non-Westerners is an important step towards global cooperation; For instance, a nation's unwillingness to conform to Western values like democracy does not mean that their leaders are incapable of implementing successful social and political policy. Those individuals living in a country are the best suited to develop and implement solutions which will benefit its citizenry. Nonetheless, cooperation can be 'international,' between two or more nations, rather than 'global,' including all nations of the world. Despite the impracticalities of full-fledged global citizenship, the formation of strong national identities does not preclude a future of cooperation that permits the sovereignty of nations to fix their domestic problems and sustain cultural diversity.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The author declares no conflict of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Bibliography

Acuña, O. (2016) "10 Of the Most Lethal CIA Interventions in Latin America." TeleSUR [Online]
  Available at: www.telesurtv.net/english/'analysis/10-of-the-Most-Lethal-CIA-
  Interventions-in-Latin-America-20160608-0031.html.

Beck, R. 'Immigration, World Poverty and Gumballs' (2010) NumbersUSA .10 Sept 2010 [Online]
  Available at: www.youtube.com/watch? 16

Bello, W. (2008) *Deglobalization: Ideas for a new world economy.* New York: Palgrave.

Brooks, D. (2015) "I am Not Charlie Hebdou"*The New York Times* [Online] Available at:
  https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/09/opinion/david-brooks-i-am-not-charlie-hebdo.html

Cavanagh, J. (2002). *Alternatives to economic globalization: a better world is possible.* San
  Francisco, Berrett-Koehler. p. 43

"Congress, the CIA, and Guatemala, 1954." (2011) Central Intelligence Agency, [Online] Available
  at: www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-
  csi/vol44no5/html/v44i5a03p.htm.

Croce, M. (2010) 'Toward a Converging Cosmopolitan Project?' [interview manuscript] *Open
  Democracy* [Online]
  www.opendemocracy.net/mariano-croce-daniele-archibugi-seyla-benhabib/toward-
  converging-cosmopolitan-project.

Debnár, M. (2016) Migration, Whiteness, and Cosmopolitanism: Europeans in Japan. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 325-328

Hannerz, U., 1990. Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7(2-3),
  pp.237-251.

Heater, D. (2004) 'World Citizenship.' *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and*
  Education. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press. p.148

Jaeger, W. (1986) *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture.* Oxford University Press. p. xvii

Jisheng, Y. (1958-1962) Tombstone: the great Chinese famine. Macmillan, 2012. pp. 1-10

Miščević, N. (2001) *Nationalism and beyond: introducing moral debate about values.* Central

European University Press

Neate, R. (2017) "Richest 1% Own Half the World's Wealth, Study Finds." The Guardian. [Online]
    Available at: www.theguardian.com/inequality/2017/nov/14/worlds-richest-wealth-credit-suisse.20

Nussbaum, M., (1994) Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. *The cosmopolitan reader*, pp.155-162.

Nussbaum, M., (2002) Education for citizenship in an era of global connection. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, *21*(4-5), pp.295-9

Reagan, R. (1982) "Speech to the House of Commons." *Teaching American History* [Online]
    Available at: teachingamericanhistory.org/ 13 library/document/speech-to-the-house-of-commons/.

Rorty, R. (2003) *Achieving Our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth-Century America.* Harvard
    University Press. pp.1-38

Rousseau, J. (1913) *The Social Contract and Discourses.* J.M. Dent & Sons, pp. 26-30

Sparke, M. (2012) Introducing globalization: Ties, tensions, and uneven integration. John Wiley &
    Sons, 2012. p. 10

Tan, Kok-Chor. (2004) Justice without borders: Cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and patriotism. Cambridge University Press. p.125

Tamir, Y. (1995) *Liberal Nationalism.* Princeton University Press, p. 151

Turner, B. (2006) *Vulnerability and human rights.* Vol. 1. Penn State Press. pp. 20-24
    45-44, 61-67

Vertovec, S. and Cohen, R. (2002) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice.* Oxford University Press. p. 138