

CRITICAL REVIEW OF COSMOPOLITANISM PART 2: THE VIABILITY OF COSMOPOLITAN DEMOCRACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

FUNOM Theophilus Makama

Human Rights and Global Ethics. Department of Politics and International Relations.
University of Leicester. Leicester. United Kingdom.

Email: ftm4@student.le.ac.uk

Abstract

This review aims at answering the critical questions asked by critiques on Cosmopolitan Democracy. It explains how this concept practically fits into the global society of today as an effective way of global governance whilst responding to some issues raised by opponents and sceptics of this view, which are: the radical nature of its agenda, its lack of legal or political frameworks, its push for idealism centred on morality, rather than realism centred on the implementation of human rights on a political and legal structure, the ambiguity of the identity of a ‘global citizen’ and the complexities behind coercion and sovereignty. The Moderate-Moral Cosmopolitan ideology will be used to critically address the issues of military interventions; the legality of human rights, the preference for transnational laws than international laws in the propagation of cosmopolitan rights and the role of expert bodies in ensuring the enforcements of these rights whilst spreading cosmopolitan democracy.

Keywords

Cosmopolitanism, Cosmopolitan Democracy, Globalism, Global Governance, Distributive Justice, Sovereignty

Doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijdmr.v20i1.3>

Introduction

Firstly, what is the concept of cosmopolitanism? Cosmopolitanism, being individualistic, universal and general has its objective to promote and protect universal civic and political rights, putting the individual as supreme, above some components of the global society such as family, communities, states etc. Therefore, the individual becomes the unit of morality. It is for this reason that ‘international laws’ such as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights were established. This gave rise to ‘political constituencies’ which are needed, small or large, and independent of the state, to contribute to the decision making in a global scale. This ideology is applicable in distributive justice which fights exclusion due to culture, especially in issues of immigration and fighting boundaries which cause divides and dichotomies among people. It also antagonizes coercion which is typical of self-governance in democratic states that legally bind citizens together. But as a global citizen, non-existent agreements between ‘Outsiders’ means freedom and then no coercion which also results to little or no partiality (Makama, 2025).

But critics in the Academia and other stakeholders have criticised this ideology to be a mere radical agenda characterized by fierce hostility towards sovereignty. Others are critical of this ideology to be favouring the west against the rest, putting emphasis on the abstract nature of ‘human rights’, hence making it impossible to develop legal and political frameworks. The moral nature of this concept as opposed to its lack of legal or/and political frameworks makes the implementation, protection and accountability of these rights difficult to achieve. It is labelled as a neo-colonial western deceptive tool to control the world, non-flexible and multi-layered thereby negating its potential for accountability in making decisions (Makama, 2025).

It is a theory of confusion which dances around the identity of a ‘global’ as suppose, a ‘state’ citizen and the similarities or differences between these two entities in terms of privileges and their roles in the political affairs of both the state and the globe. This confusion extends to the irony of its theoretical concepts which distances its ideology from state coercion whereas it is in fact a culprit of it since it encourages interventions of ‘external bodies’ in the affairs of the state. Its stance on distributive justice where everyone regardless of their status or roles in a society should be treated equally and fairly has also been disputed as Reciprocity is essential in such justice. Some scholars affirmed that it is even fair to distribute resources according to how members of a society contribute to that same society (Makama, 2025). Finally, as argued by nationalists, democratic sovereignste, and communitarians, sovereignty is what makes societies viable and without viable societies, there will be no morality to uphold and hence, no justice to implement. The globalists’ agenda of cosmopolitan democracy is hence futile and only seeking to bring about more confusion in the Academic space of International Relations (Makama, 2025).

This review will address these issues raised by adopting the Moderate-Moral Cosmopolitan school of thought to discuss how naturally cosmopolitan the world is gradually becoming as a global village; the essence and methodology of military interventions; the practicality of human rights legality; the clear difference between transnational and international laws and the adoption of the former in the Cosmopolitan theoretical concept, the role of expert bodies in cosmopolitan democracy and the feasibility of cosmopolitanism as global, not western. Critically analysing these issues should clear the air for doubters to realize how the present global society will thrive in Cosmopolitan democracy.

Moderate-Moral Cosmopolitanism is the School of Thought

The concept of Cosmopolitanism has developed over time into a wide range of thoughts, and this is not unique to it as every school of thought is liable to metamorphose into such ranges. There is firstly the ‘institutional Cosmopolitanism’ which promotes a world state through the support of political institutions. Then, there is the moral Cosmopolitanism which hammers more on morality- all persons must be treated equally and fairly. The moral variant does not promote a world state but emphasizes on a just and evidently fair outcome of any political institution, on its subjects. A significant number of Cosmopolitan scholars are in this school of thought, which shockingly shows that the creation of ‘world state’ is not really the desired outcome of Cosmopolitan democracy, and in extension, counteracting the ‘Agenda-shots’ fired at it (Tan, 2012, p.189).

The theorists of moral cosmopolitan democracy are calling for institutions of governance and not governmental institutions (Tan, 2012, p.189-90). Moral cosmopolitanism is not set to disrupt cultural identities but at the same time, resist the restriction of an individual’s identity based on boundaries. Justice, which is the aim, cuts across boundaries and a fight against discrimination as, for example, it should not be championed only in some cultures or ‘bounded’ communities. So, nationality or Citizenship is not justified to impose ‘principled restrictions’ to dispense justice (Tan, 2012, p.190). Then of course, there are the extreme and moderate cosmopolitan views, the former placing emphasis on this concept as central on which every other moral commitment is referenced and must be justified. For example, denying the independent and moral worth of patriotism. Outrightly, the scholars of extreme cosmopolitanism see patriotism as bad and dangerous. The latter is quite the opposite of the former as some obligations are respected and viewed as independent, whilst not insisting on the Cosmopolitan values as absolutes that must be referenced and on which other moral values are measured.

While the moderate view accepts the morality of certain kinds of obligations which may not be explained or fully understood in cosmopolitan terms. Commitments that matter to people are very important, hence, any obligation promoting such commitments with outcomes of a better and stable society while ‘expressing Justice’ is still in order- ‘Justice’ not well defined by the people and their appreciation of it when expressed. Therefore, a ‘world citizen’ can still be patriotic and identify with a particular state while showing solidarity with other ‘world citizens’ who identify with other states. The cosmopolitan democratic agenda is to make these relations intrinsic and legal in whichever political framework that best suits it.

An individual, therefore, can be politically or culturally Arab but still shows solidarity and promote Justice with the Americans or Europeans. This ‘complete’ and ‘evolved’ view of Cosmopolitanism exalts individual responsibility above personal identification; the scope of Justice over world government and ‘value pluralism’ over supremacy of a particular value. In this respect, there is no tension between the cosmopolitan concept as an account of Justice and also as an account of patriotism, which is also an account of identity. It will not be contradictory to have a cosmopolitan patriot (Tan, 2012, p.193).

So, the Moderate-Moral Cosmopolitan democracy will be the focus of this review to further explain why it is the best concept for global governance and as well, quash any fears, while addressing any concern associated with the Cosmopolitan Democracy concept. We can look at this concept as synonymous and practically the same with the ‘democratic humanism’

concept which encourages citizens to imbibe justice into their political culture not just for their compatriots but for all humans, irrespective of the difference in citizenship. If this spreads and cuts across nations, different citizens will relate alike in dealing fairly and justly with each other. A good democratic patriot will not only consider their fellow citizens to have similar rights but as well consider ‘non-nationals’ transcending their limited national interests to include ‘others and hence a “Cosmopolitan patriot” as well’ (Gutmann, 1996; Kymlicka, 2001).

Jurgen Habermas constitutionalized this concept for citizens to understand and relate beyond borders or nationality through cultural, ethnic or linguistic terms, creating a joint commitment to a liberal political structure. This goes beyond a national cultural or linguistic identity termed as ‘constitutional patriotism’ in a ‘constitutional democracy’ (Habermas, 1996).

The World as a Global Village is gradually Cosmopolitan

The world is naturally evolving and becoming a global society on its own. Recent events and the sharing of cultures is proving this. For instance, Islam is the fastest growing religion not only in the world but in Europe (Hohol, 2021) and Africa, a so-called dark continent which may seem to lag in global politics is influencing the world elsewhere. Just as Pop culture has spread across the globe (Van Elteren, 1996; Darling-Wolf, 2014), Africa now has a stake in influencing the world through its popular culture (Kings and Simmert, 2020) and particularly the West African Afrobeat, both in Music and in Poetry, not only to the west but to Asian, Arab and non-Anglo Saxon Nations as well (Cobo-Pinero 2020; Wonodi & Okoro, 2022).

Islam in the globe is generally becoming more liberal with new practices such as the Islamic pop culture which is as a result of the hybridisation of reconciling the mixture of western culture, global Islamic influences and local traditions in Malaysia and especially in Indonesia (Nef-Saluz, 2007; Weintruab, 2011). Saudi Arabia, the custodian of the religion of Islam is also evolving as it has recently relaxed some of its guardianship laws to enable Saudi Arabian women travel out of the country, independently of any man’s supervision or permission, just after allowing its women to drive independently as well (Stickings, 2019). Still about Saudi Arabia, the global football star, Cristiano Ronaldo joined the Al Nassr football club in the Kingdom and was allowed to stay with his unmarried partner, despite the strict marriage rules in the country (Mbu, 2023).

The Green card Visa Lottery to the USA (Wilson & Rael, 2014), the highly skilled and low-skilled immigration to Europe (Naumann, STOETZER, L.U.K.A.S & Pietrantuono, 2018) and to some Asian countries such as Singapore, Japan and South Korea (Kwon, 2019) are great contributory factors to culture spread and mixture. These skilled professionals move to these countries with their families, cultures, identities, and worldviews. When this happens over time, these countries accepting the skilled professionals become ‘global societies’ and hence are also influenced by the immigration too. It also shows that one can learn a skill in a part of the world and use that skill in another part of the world. The United States, for instance, have citizens who still maintain their identities while being responsible citizens as integral part of the population. Identities such as African-American, Chinese-American, Hispanics, Arab-American etc are the case. The celebration of multinational festivals and holidays, popular in various parts of America also proves the viability of a global society. Holidays such as the Greek’s Saint Basil’s day, Sikh and Hindu influenced Lohri/Bhogi, Makar Sankranti, Pongal,

Ram Navami and Diwali holidays; Japan's Hanamatsuni, Welsh's Calan Gaeaf among many others are common holidays in America. Halloween is now a global festival and particularly popular in Asia because of its similarity with the Ghost Festival which is the celebration of the dead (Montillo, 2009).

The central focus of Cosmopolitanism is 'human rights.' It is already a flawed mentality to think human rights are western-centric. Human rights are applicable to anywhere there is a human being. For instance, 'Gender Equality' is one of the agenda of the 21st century globalists. When women are treated with equality in rights and equity in responsibilities, that society is set to thrive in developments, be it western or not (Johnsson-Latham, 2007). Considering the countries that have had a female president or prime minister in their history as shown in Table 1 below, it is interesting to note that a massive representation of African nations can be observed in that list, so is the representation of some majority-Islamic nations like Indonesia. In fact, Pakistan not only had a female leader in person of Benazir Bhutto, but she was also the leader on two occasions, 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996; campaigning and leading a Muslim-Male dominated country with her liberal and secularism views. Having a female leader in a country may not fully justify the 'Gender equality' status of that country, nevertheless, it still counts because, the highest regard a society may give to an individual is to give that person the mantle of leadership to lead them. And a society where a woman can lead is a society with a good chance for the female gender to thrive.

Table 1: List of Female Presidents and Prime Ministers in the World from 1960 to 2023

| Year or Duration | Country | Name of Female President Or Prime Minister |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 1960 | Sri Lanka | Sirimavo Bandaranaike |
| 1966 | India | Indira Gandhi |
| 1975 | Central African Republic | Elisabeth Domitien |
| 1986 | Philippines | Corazon Aquino |
| 1988 | India | Benazir Bhutto |
| 1993 | India | Benazir Bhutto |
| 1993 | Burundi | Sylvie Kinigi |
| 1993 | Rwanda | Agathe Uwilingiyimana |
| 1993 | Turkey | Tansu Ciller |
| 2001 | Indonesia | Megawati Sukarnoputri |
| 2001 | Senegal | Mame Madior Boye |
| 2002 | Sao Tome and Principe | Maria das Neves |
| 2004 | Mozambique | Luisa Diogo |
| 2006 | Liberia | Ellen Johnson Sirleaf |
| 2010 | Kyrgyzstan | Roza Otunbayeva |
| 2011 | Mali | Cisse Mariam Kaidama Sidibe |
| 2011 | Thailand | Yingluck Shinawatra |
| 2012 | Malawi | Joyce Banda |
| 2015 | Mauritius | Ameenah Firdaus Gurib-Fakim |
| 2015 | Namibia | Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila |
| 2022 | Samia Suluhu Hassan | Samia Suluhu Hassan |

Various political alliances across the globe also set it on a path to a global society. The European Union and in extension, the Schengen common visa policy is one that is always mentioned. This is a union of different autonomous countries with their histories, cultures and languages very similar but independent whilst operationally and functionally borderless. But the EU is not only a good example of this concept, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is another good example, with similar operational framework to that of the

EU's and already proposing a single currency for the union (Agyei & Clottey 2007; Mati & Ozdeser, 2019) Such unions exist in other parts of the world and examples are: Union of South American Nations (USAN), South Africa Development Community (SADC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc. There are some national passports or visas that their owners, by virtue of having them, have access to hundreds of countries around the world, indicating the possibility to have borderless alliances even if the countries involved are thousands of miles apart- hence transnational in interaction. Therefore, the world is already, on its own, gradually 'homogenising' in culture and history, counteracting the thought that only war and repression can achieve this. And as cultures and politics gradually mix, everyone then influences everyone and in turn is influenced by everyone in a 'back-and-forth', mutating interaction. We are already Cosmopolitan to some degree without even knowing it. Therefore, relegating Cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitan democracy to being 'western-centric' is inaccurate.

Military Interventions

External interference will not be the case if states can satisfy liberal justice. It is as simple as that (Caney, 2005). Interventions only violate sovereignty if its attempt to establish justice on the intervened country fails. Basic structures in place in the affected state or its domestic policies which have international relevance are keys to establishing this justice in the state, subject to 'rehabilitative intrusions' (Caney, 2005; Moellendurf, 2002).

Though Military interventions are seen as too aggressive to most likely cause further international crisis, they are however outcomes of a process that was carefully followed, since not all human rights violations require such interference (Tan, 2000). Armed interventions are expensive both financially and socially as soldiers also are at risk of dying. A procedure of non-violent actions which is the first step of approach involving: debates, resolutions, economic incentives/sanctions or penalties are first applied, before military interventions are invoked (Benhabib, 2009, p.142). If after all these measures taken, violations such as 'ethnic cleansing,' 'genocides,' etc, continue or even worsen, these acts are violent or aggressive enough on their own account to trigger an aggressive response to be curbed. Therefore, interventions are empirically and methodologically enforced not rushed or implemented in political manipulation and are therefore necessary for the preservation of human rights.

The Possibility of Human Rights Legality

Basic human rights are not only moral but can be legal and their justifications can be produced, popularized and enforced. But the substantive minimalization of the legality of human rights also comes into question. For instance, stopping the crime against humanity via ethnic cleansing, genocides, enslavements and mass deportations have been obligated to all nations by the Genocide Convention, but enforcing this on states becomes a problem. Finding this balance between morality and Justice further legitimizes the law and not causing problems as insinuated by opposing scholars (Dworkin. 2018, p.184ff).

In law, vocabulary is key and distinguishing between 'concepts' and 'conceptions' is important to further understand this process. Fairness, for instance, is a concept, but the concept of fairness is better relatable when other moral and political principles factor into the original concept as critically assessed (Dworkin, 2018, p.134ff). Rawls defines Justice as fairness while

Karl Marx defines it as ‘from each, according to his abilities, to each, according to his needs.’ (cited in Benhabib, 2009, p.697) To be able to understand from any of these angles, factorial claims such as human needs, wants and scarcity must be put into the definition to adequately understand justice.

So, in responding to the issue of distributive justice; in a situation of abject scarcity and stark tragic conflict, social justice becomes irrelevant as the case of a very scarce vaccine commodity in a country where there is a flu epidemic as illustrated by David Miller (Miller, 2008). In such a case, it will be irrational, immoral and impartial to put ‘outsiders’ at an equal consideration to ‘compatriots,’ when all other factors have been considered. The extreme Cosmopolitan or Institutional Cosmopolitan may think otherwise, as both the ‘citizens’ and ‘strangers’ are global citizens. Another good example is in the case of Emergency Unit services in a hospital setting where there are not enough staff to attend to the many patients trooping in (Scarcity again). The concept of triaging comes to play where the patient with the most need of emergency care is prioritized and attended to even if they are the last to be brought to the unit.

But when other factorial needs are same and not really in play, ‘strangers’ should be treated fairly, just as ‘citizens’ too. In some Cosmopolitan societies, the ‘strangers’ may even seem to be treated better, and this in no way counters ‘reciprocity.’ Walzer states that what should be distributed first in a group is ‘membership’ before anything else (Walzer, 1983), but Cosmopolitanism does not negate this school of thought. In fact, it evolves and solidifies it. What if these ‘shared responsibilities’ are taken to the ‘strangers’ first? Would it not make them have a sense of belonging for them to subsequently partake in the ‘patriotic duties’ also? If a group is so good to ‘outsiders’ or ‘newcomers,’ these set of ‘strangers’ will not only want to be a part of that group but will also want it to function (even better) for them to continue to benefit from it.

A good example is the Sanctuary Scholarships being offered to Asylum Seekers and refugees or/and their dependants to study in the UK, from undergraduate to research post-graduate level, despite having a lot of the British citizens taking student loans to study, which would be paid in later years while they work (Hudson & Murray, 2018; Mitchell & Haith-Cooper, 2017). This is in addition to the fact that their children are entitled to free hours in years two and three of nursery education and entitled to go to school from year four of reception. This may seem unfair to the citizenry, but it is not. A person who flees from a tumorous environment to a stable one where they are accepted, settled and given education free will not only integrate into that society but will most likely do everything possible to ‘reciprocate’ and be a ‘responsible contributor’ to such a society.

In addressing human right issues and issues of justice and partiality, these other factors of need must be put into consideration to dispense justice instead of displaying rigidity and extremism which is liable to backfire and cause more chaos to the world we are trying to shape in fairness and justice. Thus, while the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) gives general normative principles of human rights, the UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of Genocide; the 1951 convention on Refugees, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Res, 1966) or the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Assembly, 1966) can create specific formulations of these general principles which can then be enacted in various legal documents.

Rules and their interpretations go hand in hand. None can exist without the other, however, rules cannot control the broad-spectrum of interpretations they are associated with, especially every context that they can be applied to. In this regard, the interpretation of rules and in extension, laws should be able to transcend their fixity of meaning, hence, have the possibility of carving out an extra-legal normative universe for public claim making. This can be achieved through the development of new vocabularies to promote new perspectives and subjectivity for the public's engagements.

Therefore, Laws can anticipate forms of justice in the future and not tools for domination and coercion (Benhabib, 2009, p.696) This fact has empowered the international community to also empower citizens of local democracies and civil societies for new claim-making by producing new vocabularies. The various empowered civil groups can then become powerful transborder networks of rights propagators/activism and actors of resistance to hegemonies (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Yet, it is not enough to provide vocabulary and then paper-empowerment of the citizens and the civil societies. The endorsement of human rights norms must be institutionally channelled to shape and influence the political structure and legislation of signatory states. And this leads us to the next segment of this review- transnational laws.

Transnational Law Versus International Law

As Seyla Benhabib (2009, p.697) will argue, 'rights to life and liberty will translate to specifics on freedom from slavery, serfdom, forced occupation, sexual violence and sexual slavery.' In democracies where 'majority carries the vote' what will become of the freedom of religious expression? Should all, including the minority religions have this freedom or some form of restriction should be applied to the minority to foster unity, calmness and avoid chaos? Cohen explains human rights as 'entitlements' that justifies membership because being human is not enough on the basis that no society wants just any human to be its member. The accountability of an individual's 'goodness' as assessed by the political society's institutions is necessary to establish these rights for that person (Cohen, 2006, pp.237-38). Therefore, in a society where two religions with conflicting doctrines are dominant, 'restriction' as a political tool of suppression is not always the case. It is for political order and stability. The suspension of sovereignty is in fact, what will bring about this suppression, as the more dominant religion is liable to not recognise and disobey external authority when called to order.

So, what becomes of the free processes of democratic opinions towards human rights of the people who are both the subject and the authors of the law? If Cosmopolitan human rights must come to play, should they override democratic legislations? To answer this question, we need to understand the difference between 'transnational law' and 'international law.'

Transnational law is a legal process between nations on how private and public stakeholders interact within large forums of domestic and international spaces on a back-and-forth dynamic-mutating manner whilst constituting and reconstituting national interests (Kohs, 1997, pp.2626-27). International law, on the other hand, centres on public legal conventions on a global scale, painting a one-large-world-community where every human being is a global citizen (1948 UN Convention). International law is legitimized by lawmakers as seen in the Article IV on the Status of Treaties of the United States constitution. And Sovereignty comes to play here because, a state chooses to adopt or not to adopt these laws, to become a part of their domestic laws. However, the lack of clauses to explicitly recommend enforcements has

reduced the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights as only mere principles (Koskenniemi, 2001), or seemingly different kind of laws (Resnik, 2001; 2006; 2008), or mere treaties to be alternatives to domestic laws (Benhabib, 2009, p.699).

But the laws with specifics such as the UN Charter and the Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) or the Kyoto Protocol on Global Warming, have been adopted by State legislatures, State Judges, City Councils and Mayors (Degener & Koster-Dreese, 1995; Koderer, 1996; Resnik, 2006; Resnik, Civin & Frueh, 2008). This process has fostered immense transnational cooperation between neighbouring nations.

The Role of Expert Bodies in Cosmopolitan Democracy

With the legality of human rights in place, the establishment of ‘expert bodies’ who will be involved in the mobilization, participatory discussions and the regulated compliance of citizens and governments of relating nations in a transnational relationship will further enforce cosmopolitan rights legally through litigation in local courts (Neuman, 2002, pp.1863-901). These expert bodies when established in the form of social movements and civil society actors will sustain the compliance of multilateral covenants, achieving both the sustenance of stable societies and as well, the regard to human rights.

In the 1980s, nine women from Muslim societies: Mauritius, Tanzania, Iran, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Morocco, Sudan and Algeria came together to form the ‘Women Living Under Muslim Laws’ (WLUML) in response to Muslim family laws that discriminate against Muslim women. These women constitute the practicing Muslim and the antireligious. Their efforts transcend nations to trigger ‘transnational participation’ of other movements such as Malaysia’s Sisters in Islam, which constituted devoted Muslim women members as they all rose to debate some of these laws that are repressive towards women in their societies (Benhabib, 2009, p.700).

A good example of the influence of the WLUML group is when the Canadian Muslim Women sought their help to overturn the Muslim arbitration courts in 2003. These women who are Canadians were also immigrants in a multi-layered minority status, yet they were able to build local and global constituencies including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This period also marked the increase in national and transnational relevance of other faith-based organizations such as the Salvation Army, B’nai Brith, the Sunni Masjid’ El Noor, the Christian Legal Fellowship and the Ismaili Muslims (Moghadam, 2009). Alternative dispute resolution was also becoming popular in many countries for the enforcement of private conflict settlements and resolutions but under the supervision of the state (Resnik, 2005).

Though, in Quebec, family law arbitrations are not binding but advisory, the province of Ontario for instance empowers women as right holders to seek compensation for household labours that created the platforms for their husbands to build their careers when the marriage is dissolved. In this case ‘domestic contracts’ are more-or-less legally binding as well, meaning that, outcomes from them are enforceable in court (Macklin, 2009, pp. 276, 304). Audrey Macklin (2009, p.276) has further elaborated how women have successfully used transnational and transcultural mechanisms to claims of their Canadian citizenship to participate in political and socio-economic activities of the Canadian Societies while still maintaining their cultural Citizenship. This also negates the claim of minorities not able to express themselves to maintain order and calmness in the society.

After studying the impact of these Muslim women across borders and how they diplomatically interacted through state-centred and transnational mechanisms, Valentine Moghadam (2009, p.271), the Iranian Sociologist concluded that feminism is not ‘western’ but global. This is applicable to a significant number of cosmopolitan human rights and hence, counteracting the concern that the cosmopolitan democracy framework favours the west.

Societies with the increasing empowerment of networking actors across borders, societies that sustain ‘political order’ through the ‘restriction’ of the human rights of minorities which cuts across gender, religious and political views or tribal or linguistic affiliations will have these ‘expert bodies’ to contend with. The framework will be built on a strategic development of claim-making in expanding the cosmopolitan human rights agenda through the mobilization of the participation of various represented groups such as: mosques, churches, synagogues, cultural institutions, the media etc, which in turn promotes ‘liberal tolerance’ and ‘liberal interventionism.’ So, when analysing the cosmopolitan perspective, limiting this view to Military intervention alone is not appropriate and this is evidently shown from the recent ‘liberal interventions’ to end genocide in Dafur, improving the health status of HIV/AIDS victims, the prohibition of female genital mutilation in the entire African continents, and the protection of undocumented migrants’ rights in Western States- also proving that those at the receiving end of cosmopolitan democracy are not always non-western states (Benhabib, 2009, p.701).

So, unlike what statist or nationalists or sovereigntists portray, the current global system of interdependence is much stronger than expressed and sufficiently influential enough to initiate transnational cooperation to enforce justice across borders.

Cosmopolitanism As Practically Global Not Western

From the concerns raised, it is observed that the concept of Cosmopolitan Democracy may most likely favour the west. The Open Market for instance would be used by western powerhouses to dominate the global market, just as it will open doors for unfair trans-national and trans-continental trade and transactions between ‘rich countries’ and their ‘poor’ counterparts. But is this really the case in the 21st century global open market? Let’s begin with the Clinton era, during whose administration, the ‘Democratic enlargement’ foreign policy as a post-cold war strategy to stabilize order and foster peace around the globe was initiated. The blueprint of this policy targets four objectives which were: a.) to strengthen the community of market democracies, b.) to foster and consolidate new democracies and market economies where possible; c.) to counter the aggression and support the liberalization of states that are hostile to democracy and d.) to help democracy and market economies take root in regions of greatest humanitarian concern (Brinkley, 1997, p.116).

Though this policy had noble intentions, these targets were not viable as for instance, the Asians see constituted democracy as a concept to maintain social order rather than individual rights. Thus, the USA needed to respect the Asians which they did. By trying to network together with the Asians, the Americans were concerned about access to free market, leaving the other components of these strategies to sort themselves out. But decades of trade, integration and cultural mix later, human rights are now more popular and even adopted in laws, values and practices in various parts of Asia (Baik, 2012; Ciorciari, 2012; Yasuaki, 2000). Laws, frameworks or policies were not needed to make this happen. This is a practical proof

that whilst the free market is not a global tool for manipulation or imperialism by the west, it is an excellent platform for a healthy relationship between actors in the global society, which, in extension, propagates cosmopolitanism.

The organization of the petroleum exporting countries, otherwise known as OPEC is another excellent example of the global free market that is not run or influenced by the west. The 13-member-state organization includes countries from the Gulf, middle east and Africa and they control the global supply and the prices of oil, a group of nations where there is no western state as a member (Griffin & Teece, 2016; Onifade, Alola, Erdoğan & Acet, 2021; Cattlin, 2022). Saudi Arabia is the leader of this organization and though the USA-Saudi Arabia relationship is a very important one in the world, Saudi Arabia has ignited an oil conflict as it accuses the United States of manipulating the market, removing some supply from world oil market (Egan, 2022; Bland 2022), a conflict that has angered the USA. Interestingly, this is not the first time Saudi Arabia is tormenting the United States on account of similar conflict. Between October 1973 and March 1974, Saudi Arabia placed an embargo on the United States in retaliation to the US military aid to Israel during the Yom Kippur War (Peck, 2020). During this time, Americans suffered terrible fuel scarcity. They experienced long queues in fillings stations and the rationing of fuel availability on certain days and on the binary categorization of license plates numbers: whether even or odd. For not just a western nation, but the superpower of the world to experience this, means that the market is beyond its reach to be influenced.

This particular issue will not be satisfactorily tackled if Africa is not mentioned. Africa has been the worst victim when it comes to the global market, but Africa is largely responsible. There are numerous instances, one is France's illegal suppressive mining of Uranium in Niger Republic in an unfortunate protracted colonial relationship (Martin, 1989; Goumandakoye, 2016; Pederson, 2000). Another is the same France and its neo-colonization of 14 African countries till this day (Taylor, 2019). And the very unfair International Cocoa market, which is worth \$107 Billion but subjects Ghana, the second largest producer of Cocoa in the world to earn a meagre \$2 Billion (Ndukwe, 2021).

Starting with Ghana, the nation has recently woken up to stop the export of Cocoa product and especially to Switzerland (Ghanaweb, 2021). Ivory Coast, the largest producer of the product in the world has joined in this fight for fairness in the global market (Maytaal & Ange, 2020) and just recently, the two nations boycotted a Cocoa meeting in Brussels to show their displeasure (Mensah, 2022). Why having a 'cocoa-meeting' in Brussels in the first place? Now, Africa is taking charge as it should have been for a long time now. Cosmopolitan Democrats champion a full participation in the open market and when this is done, there will be equal opportunities, mutual respect and fairness. If there is no active participation and contribution, the inactive or less contributing member may be vulnerable or subjected to unfair transactions. Ghana and Ivory Coast have just matched that participation. Cosmopolitanism advocates for this participation and in extension, fairness. Ghana and Ivory Coast standing up will be supported by proponents of Cosmopolitanism- this is what it should be.

As for the other issues surrounding African nations, Africa will need to step up as well, in order to be helped or assisted by the cosmopolitan world. Africa has influential International Organizations and a few are: the African Union, African National Congress, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Economic Community of

Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, etc (Georgetown University Library, 2022). So why is none of them interested in acting as a ‘transnational’ organization to be in the forefront in fighting for Africa and bringing Africa to be a respected contemporary in the global stage? Why must it be non-African bodies’ responsibility to shoulder the burdens of a continent of ‘independent Nations’? The Independent states can start, then ‘transnational bodies’ around the world will pick up from there and only then will some of these atrocities meted on the member states stop. But if somehow, the leadership of the individual states are part of what is making the continent remain ‘malnourished’ and intra-continental bodies, which, by the way, are made up by the same selfish and corrupt leaders, there is nothing any other ‘transnational body’ or international group/community can do. The change starts from Africa, with Africa, all for Africa to develop. Therefore, from the suppressive mining in Niger to the neo-colonialism of 14 African countries by France and many others, Africa and Africa alone is the only player to save itself. Others will only join to enforce this fairness. And this is already happening as different coups have happened in several ‘francophone-African’ nations to get loose from the grip of France’s neocolonial dominance (Adekoya, 2021; BBC, 2022; Mensah, 2023). The intents of these toppling military rulers have been to be free from neocolonialism so that their nations develop. Niger Republic has reverted the price of Uranium from \$0.80/Kg, set by France, the major buyer of the natural resource to \$200/Kg, the actual price in the global market (Spectacle, 2023; The African Web, 2023). Africa now takes its own destiny in its own hands; the continent can therefore match any global player to be an equal participant in the open market whilst commanding respect from their international partners. The Asians commanded it, even when their political value system differed from the west, African, as well, can.

Therefore, the free global market is not meant to benefit the west, but a fair playing ground for individual states and groups to trade and transact. Any player subjected to unfair networking is either not participating well or has allowed itself to be taken advantage of, for most likely, a morsel of bread, and has nothing to do with the side effect of Cosmopolitanism. In this regard, Cosmopolitan democracy is the solution to such inequality in the global market and not a cause or consequence of it.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitan Democracy is a decentralized system of democracy at the global level that centres on individuality, human rights and social justice. There may be a range of thoughts from the institutionalized to the moral, and to the extreme and the moderate views of this concept, but I chose both the moderate and the moral school of thought in a harmonized concept ‘moderate-moral cosmopolitan Democracy’ to show the viability of this concept as applied to global governance. Based on this theoretical concept, everyone is a global citizen who should have a say and get justice. Boundaries are divisive physically, politically, culturally and in extension, morally, which enhance exclusion rather than inclusion. It is for this reason that there is seemingly a slight tension between Cosmopolitanism and sovereignty and proponents of statism and nationalism.

The scholars of these opposing theoretical concepts show concerns of a radical agenda coming out of cosmopolitan Democracy as more of resistance against Sovereignty is felt than

efforts put in place for a cosmopolitan framework to work for the global citizens practically and effectively. There is also the issue of its lack of political and legal framework and hence its inability to implement its principles and convert them into laws. The multilayer nature of this ideology and its flexibility means, powerful nations as the west can take advantage of it to dominate the world. The use of ‘external bodies’ to enforce the human rights principles and spread the ideology across the globe is also another issue which seems more mythical than practical. These ‘external bodies’ are not empowered politically to enact and implement these principles into laws.

I responded to these issues raised by suggesting how the world has naturally become a global village over the last few decades on its own, setting the path to a cosmopolitan democratic era. The exchange of cultures, alliances formed, the universality and not western-centric nature of the cosmopolitan rights are all indicative of the ‘shrinking world’ of mixed people and cultures. Also, military interventions are not rushed. A methodological approach is always adopted to reduce the chances of invasions. In this case, they are still needed to preserve human rights in sovereign states violating them. As for the global open market, the west does not dictate it, the west or anyone only take advantage if the other party does not participate appropriately. When all parties participate appropriately, the global market will be a platform of equals doing business.

Human rights are applicable anywhere in the world provided a human being exists there, and hence can be legal through producing new vocabulary, empowering civil groups to become powerful transnational agents and the institutional endorsement of human rights into the political structure and legislation of states. Hence, cosmopolitanism is not against states but enhances states to practice fairness, justice and to obey the rule of law in relation to preserving human rights. Transnational laws can then be created to promote a back-and-forth, mutating relationship among nations. When these expert bodies initiate, regulate and spread such relationship among nations, in a world that is already becoming a ‘global village,’ cosmopolitanism is already well executed and hence a clear viability to be practiced in a modern global society.

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