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### 1AC---Cosmo

#### Competitiveness is built on taken-for-granted nationalism---the search for “anticompetitive practices” creates a reinforcing cycle of otherization. Before “prohibiting” anticompetitive life we must ask who we must compete against and who is the “we” that competes.

Pauli Kettunen 21. Professor of Political History in the Social Science Faculty of University of Helsinki. "Welfare state, competition state, security state: Nationalism in nation-state responses to crossborder mobilities." In Remapping Security on Europe’s Northern Borders, pp. 201-220. Routledge, 2021.

Democratic welfare nationalism, competitiveness-seeking nationalism, and security-seeking nationalism appear as rational nation-state policies and are generally not associated with nationalism. It is reasonable to argue that the persistent limits of the conventional use of “nationalism” outside specialist studies of nations and nationalism indicate the power of nationalism as a taken-for-granted mode of thought and action. Taken-for-granted nationalism seems to be reinforced by the intertwining of democratic welfare nationalism with competitiveness-seeking and security-seeking nationalism. There is thus a self-reinforcing circle. The extent to which globalisation is defined as a national challenge reinforces the role of competitiveness and security in political agenda setting, and the extent to which competitiveness and security frame the political agenda assists them to maintain national perspectives to globalisation.

From the welfare-state, competition-state, and security-state perspectives “nationalism” is not a tool for self-description, but for condemning xenophobic and racist far-right nationalism. However, the taken-for-granted nationalism justifying the nation-state limits of these perspectives provides a readymade framework for xenophobic nationalism. The distinctions between us and others and between the internal and external are a shared point of departure, but instead of policies recognising their interdependencies, xenophobic nationalism turns the us-other distinction into an exclusionary us-against-them divide, and the internal-external distinction into a motive for stricter borders.

The emphasis on the national “us” in mainstream modes of combining welfare-state, competition-state, and security-state arguments may facilitate populist protests that accuse the elite of betraying the people. There are similarities with how the nation as an imagined community provided subordinated social groups with the criteria for a collective critique of existing society and created preconditions for the labour movement. However, while the working class was able to motivate its demands by referring to its central role in the production of life’s necessities, the social divides associated with current projects for a national competitive community give little scope for such arguments.

We may find that an insoluble tension appears between what is recognised as the institutional preconditions of competitiveness, and how its content is conceived. At the same time as egalitarian institutions and participatory practices can be defended as preconditions for knowledge-based competitiveness, true membership in a competitive community is a matter of individual competitiveness. This in turn consists of communicative and innovative skills, talent, and a reflexive capacity to monitor oneself from the perspective of competitiveness. Besides winners and losers, some people cannot even participate in this competition.

Individual deficiencies or the unavoidable imperatives of the global economy tend to be offered as explanations for grievances. Welfare-state policies aim to improve individual capacities and compensate for job losses, yet it is far from self-evident that people willingly accept individualised or naturalised explanations. Political implications may be found in constructions demarcating collective threat images and in the support for right-wing populist parties that have managed, not least in the Nordic countries, to merge nostalgic welfare nationalism and xenophobic nationalism.

While the emphasis on “us” in the making of national competitive communities is an integral part of global capitalism, the same transformations may also either erode the solidarity based on common spatial ties or open new crossnational and crossterritorial perspectives for defining “us”. A multicircle non-divisive understanding of “us” would arguably require a transnational democratic dimension in defining problems and solutions. Inspiration may be found in the ideas of policy coordination beyond nation states and European regional integration that Gunnar Myrdal proposed in his 1950s critique of the nationalism of democratic Western welfare states. In any case, even good answers to questions of national competitiveness and security fail to answer questions of democracy, citizenship, social equality, and the ecological preconditions of life. There is a risk that the reinforced emphasis on the competition-state and security-state aspects of the nation state will make it even more difficult to formulate such questions to effectively recognise that they are simultaneously local, national, European, and global.

#### Competition defines “us” through total war---the virtuous cycle of Darwinist competition eliminates morality.

Pauli Kettunen 97. Professor of Political History in the Social Science Faculty of University of Helsinki. "The society of virtuous circles." Models, modernity and the Myrdals (1997): 158-159. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Pauli-Kettunen/publication/310465167\_myrdal97/data/582ee82d08aef19cb815235b/myrdal97.doc

There was, thus, a possibility of virtuous circle between national integration and welfare, and international integration and balance. Here, however, Myrdal's "created harmony" was clearly a criterion of an immanent critique of the Welfare State. Applying my account of the Nordic notion of society, I would interpret his position in the following way. On the national level planning made efficiency, solidarity and democracy become values and properties of society and 'us'. These values of national society and national 'us' each had an international dimension. Democracy meant international manifestation of the democratic model of society; solidarity was widened to international solidarity; and efficiency meant international economic competitiveness. But there was a big difficulty: it was very obvious that 'us' defined through international competitiveness and 'us' defined through international solidarity were not identical. The actor of the virtuous circle of national and international integration could not be 'us' defined through international competitiveness but here 'us' had to be based upon "the international idealism of all people, which I believe is a reality", as Myrdal wrote in 1960 (Myrdal 1960, 214).

This past vision of future may be contrasted with the recent description of present by Riccardo Petrella, a leading figure in the adminstration of social reseach in the European Union. The year is 1995. According to Petrella economic competitiveness

has become the prime objective bit just of enterprises but also of the State and of society as a whole. ... The 'gospel of competition', like all ideologies, boils down to a few simple ideas. We are engaged willy nilly - so the industrialists, economists, political leaders and academics tell us - in a ruthless technological, industrial and economic war encompassing the entire planet. The aim is to survive, and survival hinges on being competitive. Otherwise there is no short- and long-term salvation, no growth, no economic and social welfare. The chief role of State, local authorities and trades unions is to provide the most suitable environment for enterprises to be, become or stay competitive in the world economic war. (Petrella 1995, 11-12)

Petrella's sarcastic description of Darwinist competition for survival is a description of a way in which national society is reproduced in the globalized economy after the liberation of finance markets and after the disappearance of the Cold War confrontation and moral competition between different types of society. It is important to note that in his criticism of the enthusiastic construction of national competition strategies, Petrella is not in the first place talking about "bad" strategies of social dumping and the lowering of social costs. Rather, he is talking about "good" value-added strategies which are based on process and product innovation, education and training, increased competence, stronger attention to "human capital" by means of "human resource management", etc.

Petrella warns about breaking up of the social contract. But he is not talking about the same thing as Touraine who writes that we "no longer belong to a society, a social class or a nation to the extent that our lives are in part determined by the world market, and in part confined to a world of personal life, interpersonal relations and cultural traditions" (Touraine 1994, 373). Neither is Petrella talking about the dissolution of society in the sense of Lash and Urry who point to vanishing borders and growing reflexivity of actors in the process of globalization. On the contrary, Petrella identifies a very national and very influential way of reacting and contributing to globalization, in which competition of nations, firms and individuals is the main expression of "reflexive modernization" (cf. Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994).

There are, no doubt, different views about the role of nation-state and national society in globalizing capitalism. In this book The Work of Nations. Preparing ourselves for 21st century capitalism (1991) Robert B. Reich, the Secretary of Labor in the Clinton administration, argues for the thesis that there are no more national economies, there is only a global economy. But according to Reich, this very condition can liberate the national society of the imperatives of international economic competition. The national society could survive and even strengthen as a basis of social solidarity and as a basis of policies which contribute to the progress of global economy (Reich 1991, 301-315).

National society without national economy - without stopping to discuss the probability of this vision we may see that it is different from Myrdal's national and international "created harmony", despite the "international idealism" common to Myrdal and Reich.

However, the vision of another Harvard economist, Michael E. Porter, seems to offer more influential way of giving both role and meaning to national society. His book The Competitive Advantage of the Nations (1990) is an argument for a central role of nation as "home base" for globally operating and globally competitive enterprises. Crucial competitive advantages are created in national contexts, especially those that are based on innovation and competence. This argument attracts policy-makers and -planners. Even the defence of the Nordic institutions of industrial relations may get new legitimation as it is taught that high standards of working life and participation of employees are sources of innovation and thus competitiveness. The way is open to positive value-added competition strategies. In their connection many good things can be included in the argumentation for economic competitiveness. You can argue for moral, ecological, or aesthetic values without being obliged to use moral, ecological, or aesthetic arguments; you just prove that they promote economic competitiveness.

Obviously, this is a kind of virtuous circle. And it is not so very different from the old virtuous circle of the Swedish Model or Myrdal's thought. It is important to note that the vulgarized Keynesian notion of the virtuous circle between increased production and increased consumption does not adequately catch the main economic concern of Myrdal and other Swedish Social Democrats. They had a remarkable supply-side interest already in the 1930s, expressed, for example, in the plan of the Myrdals for the raising of the quality of human material in Sweden (cf. Esping-Andersen 1992, 45). A major concern was to release the creative resources of the people. This was a precondition for social equality and welfare, but still more, promoting social equality was seen as the means by which these human resources would be released.

Now, there is here a crucial difference between the old and new virtuous circles. Social equality and social solidarity have been dropped outside the virtuous circle in the project for competitive innovation. It is not through more equality that people are supposed to become more innovative and more competitive. And in the Nordic countries we carry a historical burden to which the Myrdals for their part contributed: all good things have to form a virtuous circle and only such things are good that can be placed in the virtuous circle of society.

#### “We” are in a moment of crisis that requires new terms of debate---the current order cannot address violence until the very concepts of “the public” is rewritten.

Jay Blumler and Stephen Coleman 21. Jay Blumler is Emeritus Professor of Public Communication at the University of Leeds and Emeritus Professor of Journalism at the University of Maryland. Stephen Coleman (corresponding author) is Professor of Political Communication at the University of Leeds. “After the Crisis, A “New Normal” for Democratic Citizenship?” Javnost - The Public, 28:1, 3-19, DOI: 10.1080/13183222.2021.1883884

The lesson we draw from these studies is that crises do not generate changes in norms and practices deterministically through some sort of metaphysical shock wave. Normative and practical changes are consequences of altered perceptions of meaning. Crises throw social meaning into disarray, fracturing seemingly settled accounts of who “we” are; whose social contributions are most important; how to speak about causes and effects; feasible scales of social coordination; what can and cannot be tolerated; and how to demonstrate accountability. In crises, contestations of meaning become more explicit. Claims that certain perspectives are beyond the pale have less clout. Ideas that had an incipient, but marginal presence in pre-crisis thinking might begin to be taken seriously. A mixture of nervous conjecture and confident extemporisation inflect the public conversation, undermining abiding certainties.

Faced with a historically exceptional combination of global pandemic and economic depression, some citizens and politicians reach for a new language of civic reflection. This is because any hope of tackling the unprecedented debt pressures, market failures, infrastructural collapse, population immobility, intensifying inequalities and collective trauma generated by the crisis will not only call for imaginative, coordinated and massively resourced policy responses, but a new way of talking about policy that is not weighed down by obsolete categories. In short, much depends upon whether people can find a common frame of reflection that will enable them to think, speak and act upon what binds them together as well as what divides them.

Politics arises when people disagree, and now that there are more and bigger problems than ever to disagree about it is vitally important to find ways of arguing that do not exacerbate uncertainty or intolerance. In any political disagreement there are two matters at stake: firstly, the nature of the dispute; secondly, the competing options for action. The second cannot be realised unless there is some clarity surrounding the first. The political theorist, William Connolly (1993, 2) suggests that the distinction between these tasks can be compared to the conventionally agreed meanings set out for juries before they deliberate on a legal case:

The jury examines the evidence and reaches a verdict but prior to its deliberations, the judge, acting as the official interpreter of the law, charges the jury with a set of responsibilities, establishes what can be considered as evidence, and specifies what constitutes a punishable offense … In charging the jury and in regulating the presentation of evidence to it, the judge, we might say, specifies the terms within which the jury considers evidence and reaches a verdict.

Of course, democratic public debate does not take place in a courtroom in which the rules of discourse can be laid down by an authoritative judge. The contestability of the terms of political discourse by the people themselves is a fundamental precondition of democracy. People must not only be able to have their say, but to determine what they are talking about; what matters and what things mean. This entails a capacity to argue about the very norms that underpin policy decisions and to communicate across differences, acknowledging normative disagreements as necessary features of political communication. It is to these matters of normative contestation that we refer when we suggest that “the new normal” depends upon finding a refreshed language of democratic citizenship. What form might this discursive reconfiguration take? How might it be incorporated into an emerging vernacular of civic discourse?

Re-Thinking the Space, Mediation and Contestation of Citizenship

Citizenship involves the performance of norms and practices through which people are bound to strangers within communities of co-existence. The traditional liberal conception of citizenship sees it as a relationship between individuals and the state entailing the exercise of duties and rights. Citizenship in this sense is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a polity. Anyone who possesses this status is equal, having all the rights and duties that come with legally sanctioned legitimacy. No universal principle determines what those rights and duties shall be, but over time societies tend to create images of the ideal citizen and direct individuals to aspire to them (Marshall 1964).

In contrast to this legalistic notion of citizenship, there is a broader, less state-bound characterisation which sees it as comprising a repertoire of practices that people inherit and devise in order to co-exist interdependently with others. In this broader sense, to act as a citizen is to engage in public situations of various kinds with people one might not know and who might not share one’s interests, tastes, values, or even language. Sometimes civic interactions will involve relations with governments, authorities, or employers. At other times they will relate to quotidian ways of living amongst neighbours and strangers. Performances of citizenship are both framed institutionally, conforming to conventional notions of political and civic participation (voting, joining parties and campaigns, following the news) and improvised from below, often transcending or resisting established civic scripts. Through such extemporised forms of social practice, citizens create what Arendt (1958, 198) refers to as “spaces of appearance”: “the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men (sic) exist not merely like other living or inanimate things, but make their appearance explicitly.”

The crisis induced by the pandemic raises fundamental questions about how citizens are to “make their appearance explicitly.” Most of the decisions and regulations responding to the crisis have been framed by political elites and legitimised by appeals to expert wisdom. Public involvement in shaping or making such decisions has been extremely limited, raising questions about the role of democratic publics in responding to critical issues that affect them. Moves to democratise crisis response are bound to consider fundamental questions about who constitutes “the public” (given the need to respond to social challenges that transcend political borders); how civic discourse is mediated (given the need to generate global narratives, conversations and concerted actions in the face of common threats) and how political differences can be both recognised and negotiated (given the urgent need for pluralistic publics to work through complex problems). It is to these questions that we now turn.

Constituting the Public Domain

The global pandemic has brought into sharp focus the spatial framing of political problems within national boundaries. Since the middle of the seventeenth century, politics has been conceived as “taking place” within national units characterised by territorial borders, sovereign authority, civically attached populations and bounded economic interests. The emergence of nation-states as a natural scale of political action and analysis is the defining feature of the Westphalian order in which to govern is to protect and enhance national state interests; to be a citizen is to belong to a nation state, thereby bound by specific geo-political responsibilities and rights; and to speak of democracy in an empirically meaningful sense is to refer to a mode of legitimacy operating at the nation-state level. The Westphalian view of political place established a firm distinction between domestic and foreign domains; inside and outside; the scope of national control and extraneous precariousness.

The robustness of these conceptual categories of inter-national social order have been called into question by the speed and density of global economic and cultural interconnections that have become increasingly manifest since the late twentieth century. The conception of the globally dominant capitalist market as a “world system” was elaborated in the mid-1970s by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 390) who urged social scientists to abandon the reification of the nation-state as the primary unit of politico-economic analysis. He argued that capitalism could only operate as a world economy “with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems.” In short, states might be distinguished by cultural characteristics and domestic political projects, but they cannot escape their enmeshment in a global system of interdependent economic relations. Some theorists have celebrated globalisation as a modernising force, while others have warned against its homogenising flattening of cultures. Rejecting the simplistic notion of globalisation as “a single society and culture occupying the planet” (Waters 1995), more nuanced theorists have observed that the contemporary world is characterised by a marked tension between the specificity of place and the overriding dynamics of a global system. The latter frequently overrides the particularities of national statehood, economy and culture, while state actors do what they can to assert their independence. It makes sense to think of there being “multiple, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory globalisms” (Tsing 2000, 342), with states reshaping their territorial claims “on to both sub- and supra-national geographical scales” (Brenner 1999, 65). Such framing and reframing of political space depend as much upon symbolic mediation as upon the rules, treaties and logics of transnational institutions. In short, globalisation entails an ongoing struggle to tell people where and to what they belong.

The Covid-19 health crisis is a primary example of this battle to frame a global event. Most people acknowledge that the pandemic is truly global, albeit disparately pernicious in different parts of the world, and at different times. In relation to the urgent need for global coordination to find a vaccine, the insular ambitions of nations or regions seem manifestly petty and irrelevant. However, that has not stopped nationalist leaders from playing blame games in which they ascribe the origin of the virus to nefarious foreign states, or from making boastful claims that their public health strategy is “world-beating” rather than simply functional. Rarely has the disconnect between bombastic national rhetoric and empirical global reality seemed more conspicuous.

Given that the most pressing and intractable contemporary challenges can only be addressed through global coordination, the challenge of finding effective ways of communicating and acting beyond national silos seems more urgent than ever. From the spread of viruses to regulation of the environment, and from the direction of migration flows to the looming catastrophe of climate change, nation-states appear to be Canute-like before the irresistible waves of globalism. Left to themselves, nations squabble about who should take responsibility, constantly deferring meaningful action until others have made a move.

The inescapably global nature of the pandemic has shown the futility and risk of such an approach, casting doubt upon the pursuit of national solutions and pointing towards the urgency of appeals to transnational public agency. Faced with globally diffuse problems of viral contagion, climate change and market instability, the civic case for stretching the use and meaning of the term “we, the public” becomes compelling. This important shift in collective self-consciousness entails the adoption of what Nancy Fraser (2007, 21) refers to as “the all-affected principle”:

Today, … the idea that citizenship can serve as a proxy for affectedness is no longer plausible. Under current conditions, one’s conditions of living do not depend wholly on the internal constitution of the political community of which one is a citizen. Although the latter remains undeniably relevant, its effects are mediated by other structures, both extra and non-territorial, whose impact is at least as significant … In general, globalization is driving a widening wedge between affectedness and political membership. As those two notions increasingly diverge, the effect is to reveal the former as an inadequate surrogate for the latter.

It follows from Fraser’s analysis that “what turns a collection of people into fellow members of a public is not shared citizenship, but their co-imbrication in a common set of structures and/or institutions that affect their lives” (ibid, 22). The logic of the all-affected principle rejects the notion that only national publics can confer democratic legitimacy, as the latter depends upon registering the voices of all those who are potentially affected by a problem, notwithstanding their national labels. This amounts to a post-Westphalian conception of citizenship in which, rather than being fragmented by artificial political divisions, the public is characterised by its common vulnerabilities, experiences and capacities. Members of post-Westphalian publics will continue to disagree with one another, of course, but the public sphere within which such political disagreement takes place will correspond to the dimensions of the issues at stake.

To be clear, it is only through the emergence of a cosmopolitan public domain in which solidarities are rooted in common affectedness rather than national-legal identities that global challenges such as the pandemic and economic depression, as well as climate change and other environmental threats, can be tackled democratically. This does not amount to a utopian call for citizens to adopt an abstractly cosmopolitan stance. Already competing with discourses of nationalism and populism in contemporary societies are many millions of voices across the world who view social problems from the perspective of a universal humanity sharing a common home. Such people are more inclined “to take risks by virtue of encountering the ‘other’” and to possess “some ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies” (Szerszynskiand and Urry 2002, 470). By understanding that “[g]lobalisation has brought large swathes of the world’s population closer together” in overlapping communities of fate (Held 2003, 478), many contemporary campaigners for social justice frame their arguments in terms of a language of cosmopolitan sensibility. These include movements opposing the structural inequalities of transnational economic power (such as Occupy Wall Street), ecological depredation (the School Strike for Climate Change), institutional sexism (MeToo) and racism (Black Lives Matter). The effectiveness of these campaigns in bringing injustices to global attention does not entail abandoning national institutions and populations as if they no longer matter, but framing messages to affected citizens within a cosmopolitan context that celebrates openness to global heterogeneity, pluralism and nuance.

As the pandemic highlights the limitations of the Westphalian conception of “normal” by forcing people from across the world to face up to their interdependence, both in terms of the transnational porosity of contagion and the resources needed to contain it, it calls attention to the aptness of a “new normal” in which shared social problems are addressed on a new scale. This adjustment of scale calls into being new conceptions of the public, defined increasingly in terms of shared affectedness.

Given that the most urgent crisis facing the world in the aftermath of the pandemic will be the threat of global catastrophe caused by climate change, the world is increasingly dependent upon the practical effectiveness of calls to action that are couched in a language of citizenship that transcends state borders and prioritises shared affectedness. The challenge of co-ordinating moral and political responses with a view to enhancing the public’s global agency is now a prerequisite for even modest success of efforts to save the planet from systemically wrought depredation. Could the public that has begun to develop a consciousness of its collective global vulnerability during the pandemic act upon such awareness beyond the current crisis?

#### Cosmopolitization is ontological---the nation-state makes survival impossible, engaging in double exclusion: excluding the excluded from consideration.

Ulrich Beck 14. Institute of Sociology, Munich, Germany. “We Do Not Live in an Age of Cosmopolitanism but in an Age of Cosmopolitization: The ‘Global Other’ is in Our Midst.” https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7124081/

Nation

But the same is true for the macro level as well. Like climate change, most of the main impetuses for social and economic transformations in the new century do not differentially or exclusively apply to certain limited groups of nations. Consider the following: global free trade and financialization, corporate deterritorialization and transnationalized production, globalized policy consulting and formulation (coerced by the International Monetary Fund, etc.), and, last but not least, globally financed and managed regional wars (Chang 2010b: 444–445).

There are no permanent systematic hierarchies, sequences or selectivities by which different groups of nations—whether at different levels of development, in different regions or of different ethnicities and religions—are exposed to these new civilizational forces in mutually exclusive ways. Wanted or not, they are every nation’s and every person’s concern because they are structurally enmeshed with the new civilization process which I call ‘(reflexive) cosmopolitization’; and the civilizational condition thereby shared across the globe is ‘(reflexive or) second modernity’.

Cooperate or Fail!

Recent world history seems to dictate that surviving, let alone benefiting from, these new civilizational forces requires every nation to actively internalize them and one another. Again: the global other is in our midst!

Isolationist efforts—whether spoken of in terms of trade protectionism, religious fundamentalism, national fundamentalism, media and internet control or whatever else—are readily subjected to international moral condemnations (and, to some extent, ineffective). In fact, accepting or refusing these forces remains beyond willful political or social choices because they are globally reflexive—that is, compulsively occurring through the cosmopolitan imperative: cooperate or fail!

There is an increasing unease, nourished not least by the hesitant responses to the global financial crisis, the European currency crisis, and the poor results of the last global climate conference at Copenhagen in 2009, that these institutions are proving unable to address the challenges they were created to meet. Similar developments can be observed at the national level, regarding, for example, democratic institutions, welfare systems, families, and so forth. Can the World Bank solve the global problem of poverty? Can the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) solve a global food crisis? Can the World Trade Organization effectively regulate global trade? It seems as if these institutions do not constitute a sufficient basis for managing or controlling the global risks and crises created by the global victory of industrial capitalism.

Reflexivity and Normativity4

The age of cosmopolitization finally means that the great questions of life have to be addressed and understood—in opposition to the main trends in sociology and art, albeit from a novel point of view: in the distant other who is also very close we recognize ourselves.

Every epoch has its own epistemological and moral Sisyphus-questions: what is a ‘good life’? What is a ‘good government’? What goes towards making a ‘good society’, a ‘good family’ (a ‘good woman’, a ‘good man’, a ‘good child’, etc.)? All social and moral orders hitherto had, implicitly at least, answers befitting their own age or aspiring to universal validity. Reflexive cosmopolitization casts doubt on these claims in two ways: on the one hand, the regime of the Either/Or had traditionally set territorial limits to the contradictions of particular universalist claims to a ‘good life’, a ‘good society’, and a ‘good religion’ and in so doing, defused them. In the age of cosmopolitization, this world of clear distinctions and classifications now disappears. It follows that today in the everyday encounters between world religions the claims to universal validity of the two major cultures of Europe—the culture of Christianity and the culture of secular modernity—no longer hold water. The same may be said of the particularist universalist claims of other religions, such as Islamist universalism (‘Ummah’). Thus it is not just the case that religious differences become sources of conflict; over and above that, in the cosmopolitan constellation, we are witnessing the implosion of contextually defined universalisms and national and ethical certitudes along with them. Hence the outburst of neo-nationalism and the emergence of a democratic racism in the midst of societies everywhere.

On the other hand, a second consequence of this change is that we are witnessing the opening of a horizon in which new, existential Sisyphus questions become visible for which traditional social and political systems hold no answers. These questions concern the possibility of what Joshua J. Yates (2009) calls ‘the good world’, as the solution to a civilization at risk of self-destruction. They ask whether a modernity without limits (unlimited freedom, unlimited capitalism, unlimited research into human genetics, reproductive medicine, nanotechnology, etc.) needs ‘reflexive taboos’ (Beck/Sznaider 2011) to protect its most sacred values from itself. Is this the explanation for the absolutely unquenchable thirst for limits that is convulsing the global community?

This is exactly what the transformative dynamics of the second, cosmopolitan modernity is about! Isn’t there a gulf of centuries between the threats, opportunities and conflict dynamics of border-transcending, radicalized modernization in the twenty-first century and the ideas, institutions and structures of industrial capitalism and national state authority rooted in the nineteenth century?

It has become a commonplace that national institutions alone are unable to cope with the challenges of regulating global capitalism and responding to new global risks (Beck 1999, 2009). It is no less obvious that there is no global state or international organization capable of regulating global capital and risk in a way comparable to the role played by the European welfare national state in first modernity. In my Munich research centre (Institute for the Study of Reflexive Modernization), Edgar Grande in particular is concentrating on ‘risk regime’. There are platforms of cosmopolitan cooperation between representatives of transnational capital, national governments, global civil society groups and EU experts—trying to find answers to all kind of risk problems and conflicts which can later be implemented in national spaces. And, of course, regional powers become important: Cosmopolitan Europe (and maybe in the future a Cosmopolitan Asia, a Cosmopolitan South America, a Cosmopolitan Africa as well).

Re-mapping Social Inequality Beyond Methodological Nationalism

Studying the cosmopolitization of social inequality—and, indeed, across the globe inequalities seem to have increased—it is less clear that social class is the principal unit of analysis and investigation. I rather provocatively developed the argument that ‘social class’ is too soft a category to study social inequalities in the twenty-first century.

I developed three points here: first, the world of second modernity is a world of unbelievable contradictions and contrasts. There are ‘super modern castles’ or citadels constructed next to scenes of Apocalypse Now (as with the now destroyed World Trade Center in New York with thousands of beggars living in the subway below). Class hardly captures such shimmering inequality.

Second, the major movements of change have little to do with class, even that responsible for the most stunning transformation of the past three decades, such as the financial crisis of 2008, ‘9/11’ and the dramatic and unpredicted bringing down of the Soviet empire by various rights-based social networks.

Third, the national outlook on social inequality is inward orientated. It stops at the borders of the nation-state. Social inequalities may blossom and flourish on the other side of the national garden fence, which is, at best cause for moral outrage, but politically irrelevant.

A clear distinction must be made, therefore, between the reality of social inequality and the political problem of social inequality. National boundaries draw a sharp distinction between politically relevant and irrelevant inequality. Inequalities within national societies are enormously magnified in perception; at the same time inequalities between national societies are faded out. The ‘legitimation’ of global inequalities is based on an institutionalized ‘looking the other way’. The national gaze is ‘freed’ from looking at the misery of the world. It operates by way of a double exclusion: it excludes the excluded. And the social science of inequality, which equates inequality with nation-state inequality, is unreflectively party to that. It is indeed astonishing how firmly global inequalities are ‘legitimated’ on the basis of tacit agreement between nation-state government and nation-state sociology—a sociology programmed to work on a nation-state basis and claiming to be value-free!

My point is that while the performance principle legitimates national inequality, the nation-state principle legitimates global inequality (in another form). How? The inequalities between countries, regions and states are accounted politically incomparable. In a perspective bounded by the nation-state, politically relevant comparisons can only be played out within the nation-state, never between states. Such comparisons, which make inequality politically explosive, assume national norms of equality.

Paradox: even de-creasing global inequalities and in-creasing global norms of equality make global inequalities socially and politically explosive. Why? Because nation-state borders lose their function to legitimate global inequalities.

Yet that is precisely what the national gaze fades out: the more norms of equality spread worldwide, the more global inequality is stripped of the legitimation basis of institutionalized looking away. The wealthy democracies carry the banner of human rights to the furthest corners of the earth, without noticing that the national border defences, with which they want to repel the streams of migrants, thereby lose their legitimation. Many migrants take seriously the proclaimed human right of equality of mobility and encounter countries and states which—not least under the impact of increasing internal inequalities—want the norm of equality to stop short at their fortified borders. Put in other words, that means: the conception of social class, based on principles of nationality and statehood, misleads analysis. Most theorists of class, including Bourdieu (1984), who thought so extensively about globalization in his final years, identify class society with the nation-state. The same is true of Wallerstein (1974/1980/1989), Goldthorpe (2002) and, incidentally, also of my individualization thesis.

World Risk Society and Its Political Dynamics

Why is the concept of ‘(world) risk society’ so important in order to understand the social and political dynamics and transformations at the beginning of the twenty-first century? (Beck 2009). It is the accumulation of risks—ecological, financial, military, terrorist, biochemical and informational—that has an overwhelming presence in our world today. To the extent that risk is experienced as omnipresent, there are only three possible reactions: denial, apathy and transformation. The first is largely inscribed in modern culture, but ignores the political risk of denial; the second gives way to a nihilistic strain in postmodernism; the third marks the issue the theory on world risk society raises: how does the anticipation of a multiplicity of man-made futures and its risky consequences affect and transform the perceptions, living conditions and institutions of modern societies?

#### Double exclusion predetermines the parameters of violence we can conceptualize---attempts to filter out the 1AC are the ontological-cosmological commitments that denigrate and minimize life expression.

Tamara Trownsell et al. 19. Tamara Trownsell, Associate Professor of IR @ Universidad San Francisco de Quito, Ecuador. AND Amaya Querejazu, Associate Professor of IR and Latin American Studies at Universidad de Antioquia, Colombia. AND Giorgio Shani, Chair of the Department of Politics and IR @ International Christian University. AND Navnita Chadha Behera, Visiting Fulbright Fellow at George Washington University and Professor of IR @ the University of Delhi. AND Jarrad Reddekop, Associate Fellow at the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society @ the University of Victoria. AND Arlene Tickner, professor of IR @ the Universidad del Rosario, Colombia. “Recrafting International Relations through Relationality.” https://www.e-ir.info/2019/01/08/recrafting-international-relations-through-relationality/

How we relate to others should be a central concern of the field of International Relations. However, independent political communities—states—and their interrelations have historically been the focus of the discipline of International Relations (IR), thus limiting the forms of interaction that potentially constitute the field.[1] Postpositivist accounts have repeatedly indicated the disjuncture between the conceptual constructs that IR scholars use to make sense of the world historically and the way people practice their lives, which in the end is the substance of global politics. Many critical projects including Global IR have challenged the research produced through atomistic understandings of the world, and attempts have been made to integrate other ways of knowing into the discipline (Acharya 2014, Jackson and Nexon 1999, Tickner and Wæver 2009). While the ‘critical turn’ has made IR a more plural discipline by opening space for examining different types of relations, they have still been founded on modern, western ‘ontological’ assumptions about existence that have undercut their ability to reap the full benefits of other more robustly relational ways of existing (Blaney and Tickner 2017, Shani 2008, Trownsell 2013). Because the kind of plurality practised has not effectively dealt with distinctly relational ways of living and forms of knowing in their own terms, the call that we are making here is not just about adding other perspectives to the IR cauldron. We are aspiring for a deep plurality, in which IR scholars learn to effectively engage with difference at the ontological, methodological and practical levels.

Since the issue at hand is about ontological-cosmological commitments, we proffer our particular understandings of these terms. By ontology, we mean those basic assumptions about the nature of existence that are operative within any given tradition of living and thinking. In this sense ontology is closely linked to the cosmological in that they both reflect how we conceptualize our relationship with the cosmos and our place in it (Shani 2017). They are distinct in that cosmology refers more to origin stories and to cultural, spiritual and religious practices while ontology expresses the assumptions about the primordial condition of existence that provides the underlying logic of cosmological accounts and as such of all the other cultural fruits that emerge from them. Here we focus on ontology, because it helps draw attention to and provincialize many of the fundamental assumptions made in the dominant IR tradition, many of which have become invisible or merely commonsensical by being consonant with prevalent shared meaning systems and through longstanding and conventional use.

The general inability both in the field and discipline of international relations to recognize when and how one and others are engaging existence from very distinct ontological points of departure has had a serious impact in terms of both politics and knowledge production. Promoted through globally replicated institutions including academia, media, churches, etc., conceptualizing and practicing existence based on separation has become so naturalized that other more relational forms of being have been silenced and excluded. Conflict over what counts as real arises since those applying the predominant assumptions cannot even fathom that these other ways of being can be possible, legitimate or valid. As such living in one’s own or a group’s terms becomes a struggle when they are not aligned with the more predominant logic.

Several consequences of being blind to these relational ways of living and being manifest themselves politically. First these life expressions are often “othered” and “minimized” by treating them as myths (Law 2015), legends, superstitions, or stories about how people communicate with other beings. Denigration also becomes evident when examining public policies that do not even articulate, let alone protect, these relational ways of life. Among humans, groups abound that have not been deemed worthy of civil rights protections in the process of statebuilding for not engaging the world in sufficiently “civilized” manners (Sawyer 2004). Others have been the targets of state-led violence through national forced sterilization or “population control” initiatives (Carpio 2004, Pegoraro 2015). Beyond the human, these excluded groups have clamored to protect other beings that do not translate easily into traditional legal frameworks. For example, while indigenous groups were able to get the rights of nature officially acknowledged in Ecuador’s 2008 constitution, an effective implementation of these rights has yet to be seen. Efforts to maintain a healthy relationship with the beings of land, water, air, plants and animals often come into direct conflict with “national interests,” international treaties, foreign direct investment and forms of international cooperation, as can be clearly seen in last year’s indigenous struggles at Standing Rock in the United States. In the end, the ontological nature of these clashes has been clearly echoed in the zapatistas’ claims to a world of many worlds when stating, “We are another resistance, we are another reality.”[2]

In addition to the important political implications in the field of international relations, the discipline itself has yet to consider seriously relational ways of knowing and being. Because the problematics typical of IR and the tools generated to deal with them have been identified and named through the same predominant set of existential assumptions, the conceptual capacity of the discipline to grasp and respond to these ways of knowing is limited. In fact the predominant understanding of ontology within the discipline of IR has been referred to as “scientific ontology” (Patomäki and Wight 2000, Jackson 2011). Here scholars fight over what exists in the world without a prior discussion as to how it is ontologically that we arrive at a place where we insist on the existential autonomy of categories in the first place. This means that we keep studying these cosmologies through ontologically incommensurate filters (not based on similar existential assumptions) thinking that in this way we will still be able to understand them and then use the knowledge generated through reduced filters to find effective strategies for engagement. Yet our ontological parochialism still translates into epistemic violence by not being able to hear, understand, engage their world in their own ontological terms. Simultaneously we continue to generate a skewed picture of the kinds of knowing and being practiced in distinct parts of the world and subsequently of world politics. Consequently the resulting “intelligibility gap” still reinforces certain ways of being and knowing in the world as more legitimate or acceptable than others, thus reinforcing the source of cosmological insecurity for those falling outside these parameters.

#### The only just response is post-Westphalian---the “who” of justice determines what we consider crisis and response. Meta-injustice through frame setting determines who has the right to have rights.

Nancy Fraser 05. Henry A. and Louise Loeb Professor of Political and Social Science and professor of philosophy at The New School. “Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World, NLR 36, November–December 2005.” New Left Review. https://newleftreview-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/issues/ii36/articles/nancy-fraser-reframing-justice-in-a-globalizing-world

Globalization is changing the way we argue about justice.footnote1 Not so long ago, in the heyday of social democracy, disputes about justice presumed what I shall call a ‘Keynesian-Westphalian frame’. Typically played out within modern territorial states, arguments about justice were assumed to concern relations among fellow citizens, to be subject to debate within national publics, and to contemplate redress by national states. This was true for each of two major families of justice claims—claims for socioeconomic redistribution and claims for legal or cultural recognition. At a time when the Bretton Woods system facilitated Keynesian economic steering at the national level, claims for redistribution usually focused on economic inequities within territorial states. Appealing to national public opinion for a fair share of the national pie, claimants sought intervention by national states in national economies. Likewise, in an era still gripped by a Westphalian political imaginary, which sharply distinguished ‘domestic’ from ‘international’ space, claims for recognition generally concerned internal status hierarchies. Appealing to the national conscience for an end to nationally institutionalized disrespect, claimants pressed national governments to outlaw discrimination and accommodate differences among citizens. In both cases, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame was taken for granted. Whether the matter concerned redistribution or recognition, class differentials or status hierarchies, it went without saying that the unit within which justice applied was the modern territorial state.footnote2

To be sure, there were always exceptions. Occasionally, famines and genocides galvanized public opinion across borders. And some cosmopolitans and anti-imperialists sought to promulgate globalist views.footnote3 But these were exceptions that proved the rule. Relegated to the sphere of ‘the international’, they were subsumed within a problematic that was focused primarily on matters of security, as opposed to justice. The effect was to reinforce, rather than to challenge, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame. That framing of disputes about justice generally prevailed by default from the end of the Second World War to the 1970s.

Although it went unnoticed at the time, this framework lent a distinctive shape to arguments about social justice. Taking for granted the modern territorial state as the appropriate unit, and its citizens as the pertinent subjects, such arguments turned on what precisely those citizens owed one another. In the eyes of some, it sufficed that citizens be formally equal before the law; for others, equality of opportunity was also required; for still others, justice demanded that all citizens gain access to the resources and respect they needed in order to be able to participate on a par with others, as full members of the political community. The argument focused, in other words, on exactly what should count as a just ordering of social relations within a society. Engrossed in disputing the ‘what’ of justice, the contestants apparently felt no necessity to dispute the ‘who’. With the Keynesian-Westphalian frame securely in place, it went without saying that the ‘who’ was the national citizenry.

Today, however, this framework is losing its aura of self-evidence. Thanks to heightened awareness of globalization, and to post-Cold War geopolitical instabilities, many observe that the social processes shaping their lives routinely overflow territorial borders. They note, for example, that decisions taken in one territorial state often have an impact on the lives of those outside it, as do the actions of transnational corporations, international currency speculators, and large institutional investors. Many also note the growing salience of supranational and international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, and of transnational public opinion, which flows with supreme disregard for borders through global mass media and cybertechnology. The result is a new sense of vulnerability to transnational forces. Faced with global warming, the spread of aids, international terrorism and superpower unilateralism, many believe that their chances for living good lives depend at least as much on processes that trespass the borders of territorial states as on those contained within them.

Under these conditions, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame no longer goes without saying. For many, it has ceased to be axiomatic that the modern territorial state is the appropriate unit for thinking about issues of justice, and that the citizens of such states are the pertinent subjects of reference. The effect is to destabilize the previous structure of political claims-making—and therefore to change the way we argue about social justice.

This is true for both major families of justice claims. In today’s world, claims for redistribution increasingly eschew the assumption of national economies. Faced with transnationalized production, the outsourcing of jobs, and the associated pressures of the ‘race to the bottom’, once nationally focused labour unions look increasingly for allies abroad. Inspired by the Zapatistas, meanwhile, impoverished peasants and indigenous peoples link their struggles against despotic local and national authorities to critiques of transnational corporate predation and global neoliberalism. Finally, wto protestors directly target the new governance structures of the global economy, which have vastly strengthened the ability of large corporations and investors to escape the regulatory and taxation powers of territorial states.

In the same way, movements struggling for recognition increasingly look beyond the territorial state. Under the umbrella slogan ‘women’s rights are human rights’, for example, feminists throughout the world are linking struggles against local patriarchal practices to campaigns to reform international law. Meanwhile, religious and ethnic minorities, who face discrimination within territorial states, are reconstituting themselves as diasporas and building transnational publics from which to mobilize international opinion. Finally, transnational coalitions of human-rights activists are seeking to build new cosmopolitan institutions, such as the International Criminal Court, which can punish state violations of human dignity.

In such cases, disputes about justice are exploding the Keynesian-Westphalian frame. No longer addressed exclusively to national states or debated exclusively by national publics, claimants no longer focus solely on relations among fellow citizens. Thus, the grammar of argument has altered. Whether the issue is distribution or recognition, disputes that used to focus exclusively on the question of what is owed as a matter of justice to community members now turn quickly into disputes about who should count as a member and which is the relevant community. Not just the ‘what’ but also the ‘who’ is up for grabs.

Today, in other words, arguments about justice assume a double guise. On the one hand, they concern first-order questions of substance, just as before. How much economic inequality does justice permit, how much redistribution is required, and according to which principle of distributive justice? What constitutes equal respect, which kinds of differences merit public recognition, and by which means? But above and beyond such first-order questions, arguments about justice today also concern second-order, meta-level questions. What is the proper frame within which to consider first-order questions of justice? Who are the relevant subjects entitled to a just distribution or reciprocal recognition in the given case? Thus, it is not only the substance of justice, but also the frame, which is in dispute. The result is a major challenge to our theories of social justice. Preoccupied largely with first-order issues of distribution and/or recognition, these theories have so far failed to develop conceptual resources for reflecting on the meta-issue of the frame. As things stand, therefore, it is by no means clear that they are capable of addressing the double character of problems of justice in a globalizing age.footnote4

In this essay, I shall propose a strategy for thinking about the problem of the frame. I shall argue, first, that theories of justice must become three-dimensional, incorporating the political dimension of representation alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition. I shall also argue that the political dimension of representation should itself be understood as encompassing three levels. The combined effect of these two arguments will be to make visible a third question, beyond those of the ‘what’ and the ‘who’, which I shall call the question of the ‘how’. That question, in turn, inaugurates a paradigm shift: what the Keynesian-Westphalian frame cast as the theory of social justice must now become a theory of post-Westphalian democratic justice.

Specificity of the political

Let me begin by explaining what I mean by justice in general and by its political dimension in particular. In my view, the most general meaning of justice is parity of participation. According to this radical-democratic interpretation of the principle of equal moral worth, justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction. Previously, I have analysed two distinct kinds of obstacles to participatory parity, which correspond to two distinct species of injustice. On the one hand, people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers; in that case they suffer from distributive injustice or maldistribution. On the other hand, people can also be prevented from interacting on terms of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that deny them the requisite standing; in that case they suffer from status inequality or misrecognition.footnote5 In the first case, the problem is the class structure of society, which corresponds to the economic dimension of justice. In the second case, the problem is the status order, which corresponds to its cultural dimension. In modern capitalist societies, the class structure and the status order do not neatly mirror each other, although they interact causally. Rather, each has some autonomy vis-à-vis the other. As a result, misrecognition cannot be reduced to a secondary effect of maldistribution, as some economistic theories of distributive justice appear to suppose. Nor, conversely, can maldistribution be reduced to an epiphenomenal expression of misrecognition, as some culturalist theories of recognition tend to assume. Thus, neither recognition theory nor distribution theory alone can provide an adequate understanding of justice for capitalist society. Only a two-dimensional theory, encompassing both distribution and recognition, can supply the necessary levels of social-theoretical complexity and moral-philosophical insight.footnote6

That, at least, is the view of justice I have defended in the past. And this two-dimensional understanding of justice still seems right to me as far as it goes. But I now believe that it does not go far enough. Distribution and recognition could appear to constitute the sole dimensions of justice only so long as the Keynesian-Westphalian frame was taken for granted. Once the question of the frame becomes subject to contestation, the effect is to make visible a third dimension of justice, which was neglected in my previous work—as well as in the work of many other philosophers.footnote7

The third dimension of justice is the political. Of course, distribution and recognition are themselves political in the sense of being contested and power-laden; and they have usually been seen as requiring adjudication by the state. But I mean political in a more specific, constitutive sense, which concerns the nature of the state’s jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation. The political in this sense furnishes the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition are played out. Establishing criteria of social belonging, and thus determining who counts as a member, the political dimension of justice specifies the reach of those other dimensions: it tells us who is included in, and who excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition. Establishing decision rules, the political dimension likewise sets the procedures for staging and resolving contests in both the economic and the cultural dimensions: it tells us not only who can make claims for redistribution and recognition, but also how such claims are to be mooted and adjudicated.

Centred on issues of membership and procedure, the political dimension of justice is concerned chiefly with representation. At one level, which pertains to the boundary-setting aspect of the political, representation is a matter of social belonging. What is at issue here is inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims on one another. At another level, which pertains to the decision-rule aspect, representation concerns the procedures that structure public processes of contestation. Here, what is at issue are the terms on which those included in the political community air their claims and adjudicate their disputes.footnote8 At both levels, the question can arise as to whether the relations of representation are just. One can ask: do the boundaries of the political community wrongly exclude some who are actually entitled to representation? Do the community’s decision rules accord equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in public decision-making to all members? Such issues of representation are specifically political. Conceptually distinct from both economic and cultural questions, they cannot be reduced to the latter, although, as we shall see, they are inextricably interwoven with them.

To say that the political is a conceptually distinct dimension of justice, not reducible to the economic or the cultural, is also to say that it can give rise to a conceptually distinct species of injustice. Given the view of justice as participatory parity, this means that there can be distinctively political obstacles to parity, not reducible to maldistribution or misrecognition, although (again) interwoven with them. Such obstacles arise from the political constitution of society, as opposed to the class structure or status order. Grounded in a specifically political mode of social ordering, they can only be adequately grasped through a theory that conceptualizes representation, along with distribution and recognition, as one of three fundamental dimensions of justice.

Three levels of misrepresentation

If representation is the defining issue of the political, then the characteristic political injustice is misrepresentation. Misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to deny some people, wrongly, the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction—including, but not only, in political arenas. Far from being reducible to maldistribution or misrecognition, misrepresentation can occur even in the absence of the latter injustices, although it is usually intertwined with them. At least two different levels of misrepresentation can be distinguished. Insofar as political decision rules wrongly deny some of the included the chance to participate fully, as peers, the injustice is what I call ordinary-political misrepresentation. Here, where the issue is intra-frame representation, we enter the familiar terrain of political science debates over the relative merits of alternative electoral systems. Do single-member-district, winner-take-all, first-past-the-post systems unjustly deny parity to numerical minorities? And if so, is proportional representation or cumulative voting the appropriate remedy? Likewise, do gender-blind rules, in conjunction with gender-based maldistribution and misrecognition, function to deny parity of political participation to women? And if so, are gender quotas an appropriate remedy? Such questions belong to the sphere of ordinary-political justice, which has usually been played out within the Keynesian-Westphalian frame.

Less obvious, perhaps, is a second level of misrepresentation, which concerns the boundary-setting aspect of the political. Here the injustice arises when the community’s boundaries are drawn in such a way as to wrongly exclude some people from the chance to participate at all in its authorized contests over justice. In such cases, misrepresentation takes a deeper form, which I shall call misframing. The deeper character of misframing is a function of the crucial importance of framing to every question of social justice. Far from being of marginal significance, frame-setting is among the most consequential of political decisions. Constituting both members and non-members in a single stroke, this decision effectively excludes the latter from the universe of those entitled to consideration within the community in matters of distribution, recognition, and ordinary-political representation. The result can be a serious injustice. When questions of justice are framed in a way that wrongly excludes some from consideration, the consequence is a special kind of meta-injustice, in which one is denied the chance to press first-order justice claims in a given political community. The injustice remains, moreover, even when those excluded from one political community are included as subjects of justice in another—as long as the effect of the political division is to put some relevant aspects of justice beyond their reach. Still more serious, of course, is the case in which one is excluded from membership in any political community. Akin to the loss of what Hannah Arendt called ‘the right to have rights’, that sort of misframing is a kind of ‘political death’.footnote9 Those who suffer it may become objects of charity or benevolence. But deprived of the possibility of authoring first-order claims, they become non-persons with respect to justice.

It is the misframing form of misrepresentation that globalization has recently begun to make visible. Earlier, in the heyday of the postwar welfare state, with the Keynesian-Westphalian frame securely in place, the principal concern in thinking about justice was distribution. Later, with the rise of the new social movements and multiculturalism, the centre of gravity shifted to recognition. In both cases, the modern territorial state was assumed by default. As a result, the political dimension of justice was relegated to the margins. Where it did emerge, it took the ordinary-political form of contests over the decision rules internal to the polity, whose boundaries were taken for granted. Thus, claims for gender quotas and multicultural rights sought to remove political obstacles to participatory parity for those who were already included in principle in the political community. Taking for granted the Keynesian-Westphalian frame, they did not call into question the assumption that the appropriate unit of justice was the territorial state.

Today, in contrast, globalization has put the question of the frame squarely on the political agenda. Increasingly subject to contestation, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is now considered by many to be a major vehicle of injustice, as it partitions political space in ways that block many who are poor and despised from challenging the forces that oppress them. Channelling their claims into the domestic political spaces of relatively powerless, if not wholly failed, states, this frame insulates offshore powers from critique and control.footnote10 Among those shielded from the reach of justice are more powerful predator states and transnational private powers, including foreign investors and creditors, international currency speculators, and transnational corporations. Also protected are the governance structures of the global economy, which set exploitative terms of interaction and then exempt them from democratic control. Finally, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is self-insulating; the architecture of the interstate system protects the very partitioning of political space that it institutionalizes, effectively excluding transnational democratic decision-making on issues of justice.

From this perspective, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is a powerful instrument of injustice, which gerrymanders political space at the expense of the poor and despised. For those persons who are denied the chance to press transnational first-order claims, struggles against maldistribution and misrecognition cannot proceed, let alone succeed, unless they are joined with struggles against misframing. It is not surprising, therefore, that some consider misframing the defining injustice of a globalizing age. Under these conditions, the political dimension of justice is hard to ignore. Insofar as globalization is politicizing the question of the frame, it is also making visible an aspect of the grammar of justice that was often neglected in the previous period. It is now apparent that no claim for justice can avoid presupposing some notion of representation, implicit or explicit, insofar as none can avoid assuming a frame. Thus, representation is always already inherent in all claims for redistribution and recognition. The political dimension is implicit in, indeed required by, the grammar of the concept of justice. Thus, no redistribution or recognition without representation.footnote11

In general, then, an adequate theory of justice for our time must be three-dimensional. Encompassing not only redistribution and recognition, but also representation, it must allow us to grasp the question of the frame as a question of justice. Incorporating the economic, cultural and political dimensions, it must enable us to identify injustices of misframing and to evaluate possible remedies. Above all, it must permit us to pose, and to answer, the key political question of our age: how can we integrate struggles against maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation within a post-Westphalian frame?

#### Our contestation of the “who” of politics is open cosmopolitanism. Think transnational, crisscrossed networks of anti-nationalist, open public spheres that reimagine just, desirable futures---bottom up, agile movements can address global crisis by resisting hegemonic lifeworlds of competition.

Giuseppe Caruso 17. “Open Cosmopolitanism and the World Social Forum: Global Resistance, Emancipation, and the Activists’ Vision of a Better World.” Globalizations, 14:4, 504-518, DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2016.1254413

The resurgence over the past three decades of a cosmopolitan discourse is related to, on the one hand, the expansion of market-led globalisation and, on the other, the intensification of social and political mobilisation for social justice. The fall of the Berlin Wall introduced a vision of global unity predicated on the global spread of neo-liberal doctrines. Liberalisation, privatisation, and devolution fostered by global governance institutions—the World Bank, IMF, and WTO—affected the global dynamics of production, trade, and governance. Concurrently, a global culture began to develop carried by waves of consumer goods and by the flooding of the global airwaves (and fibre optics) with entertainment products which established or reinforced global cultural stereotypes and entrenched values of competition, individualism, and consumerism. Narratives about the survival of the fittest increasingly express human relationships and social arrangements

As neo-liberalism was hailed by conservative elites as the panacea to social problems and the engine of global development, its dark side was increasingly resisted in protests around the world targeting labour market deregulation, environmental degradation, poverty, inequality, and exploitation. Localised forms of resistance grew in scale with the intensification of electronic communication between activists. In 1999, weaving networks that criss-crossed the planet, an unprecedented activist convergence burst into the public scene in the Seattle mobilisation against the WTO. The critical mass achieved in Seattle moved in waves to successive demonstrations such as those against the World Bank and the IMF in Prague in 2000 or the G8 in Genoa in 2001 (Della Porta, Andretta, Mosca, & Reiter, 2006; Pleyers, 2010; Smith, Byrd, Reese, & Smythe, 2011). In January 2001, the first World Social Forum (WSF) took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil (Conway, 2013; Juris, 2008a; Teivainen, in press). Grown out of the alterglobalisation movement and shaped by Brazilian activists, WSF’s more recent roots lay in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, peace, and pro-democracy movements since the 1960s and in the alternative NGO forums to the UN conferences of the 1990s (Correa Leite, 2003; Fisher & Ponniah, 2003; Glasius, 2005; Seoane & Taddei, 2002; Wallerstein, 2004; Waterman, 2004).

The WSF is the world’s largest and most diverse transnational activist initiative to date. Its global events in Brazil, India, Kenya, Mali, Pakistan, Venezuela, Senegal, Tunisia, and Canada, and the dozens of regional, national, and local avatars have gathered millions of participants and tens of thousands of civil society organisations and social movements (Massiah, 2011).1 The WSF was developed as a counter-event to the World Economic Forum (WEF), a gathering of the world’s wealthiest CEOs and most influential finance ministers, heads of government, and academics. Its meetings focus on market expansion and economic development. WSF’s activists, instead, stress social and environmental justice when imagining desirable futures. They privilege equity over individual wealth, harmony with over exploitation of the environment, and shared responsibility over profit. The WSF has been described as a global public sphere (Conway & Singh, 2009; Doerr, 2008; Glasius, 2005; Hardt, 2002), a global network of social movements (Byrd & Jasny, 2010; Juris, 2008a; Waterman, 2004), a utopian space (Tormey, 2005), a space of intentionality (Juris, 2008b), an embryonic party (ChaseDunn & Reese, 2007; Marcuse, 2005; Patomaki & Teivainen, 2004), or a contact zone (Conway, 2011) in which alliances develop transversally (Housseini, 2013) across multiple political cleavages (Santos, 2004).

WSF’s most inspiring political and organisational innovation has been the ‘open space’. The open space, a bottom-up and participatory methodology for social change, provides a context for the creation of knowledge and experience beyond a directive pursuit of change (Whitaker, 2005). This formula rallied unprecedented numbers of activists from very diverse backgrounds. The open space is the organisational representation of the political environment in which WSF’s open cosmopolitanism takes shape. WSF’s unique cosmopolitan vision is developed both as resistance against neo-liberal cosmopolitanism and as a methodology of individual and collective emancipation. The nature of WSF’s cosmopolitan aspiration has been discussed by Janet Conway and Boaventura de Souza Santos. Scholars familiar with the WSF, they framed WSF’s cosmopolitanism as decolonial (Conway 2011, 2013) 2 and subaltern (Santos, 2004, 2005a). Dialogue (Conway, 2012) and translation (Santos, 2005b) are among the strategies deployed to develop WSF’s field and to extend its reach across world society. The two authors differ in the understandings of the tensions and conflicts in the WSF. Santos sees the cleavages traversing the WSF as a guarantee of openness against the domination of one ideological and organisational form. Conway warns about power dynamics among WSF participants and points at the contradictions of a space in which structures of domination not only are not challenged, but through denial are also in fact strengthened.

WSF’s open cosmopolitanism, I argue, invokes a struggle for global justice built on dissent and resistance, driven by emancipatory aspirations, and fuelled by a global alliance against neo-liberal globalisation: dissent against any totalitarianism that denies social complexities, that attempts to subsume them forcefully, or that attempts to annihilate them; resistance against hegemonic lifeworlds; emancipatory because it is predicated on individuals’ and groups’ self-determination. In previous examinations, I have described the WSF in terms of ‘emancipatory cosmopolitanism’ (2012b) and ‘open cosmopolitanism’ (2012a). Here, I consider the latter as a recursive process of power and resistance, conflict and emancipation taking place both across and within the boundaries of WSF’s open space. Open cosmopolitanism understands that denied conflict between allies reinforces dynamics of domination and that courageous engagements of those conflicts, however painful and apparently destabilising of activists’ contingent goals, promote trust and, potentially, effectiveness (Caruso, 2004).

Open cosmopolitanism is not based on a blueprint, it develops in fits and starts, it is traversed by powerful ambivalences, it often suffers setbacks, and its outcomes are not foreseeable and are always open to reframing and reinterpretation as the activists’ work develops into new and previously unimaginable forms. Power dynamics, ideological cleavages, and pragmatic concerns about organisation, alliance building, and strategic efficacy traverse the open space and, according to some, challenge WSF’s ability to pursue its goals (Worth & Buckley, 2009; Zibechi, 2012). Criticism centred on the extent to which the excitement that the WSF generated among activists may be justified; on the gap between values and practices in the open space; on the disappointment generated by the unrealistic investments in the possibility for global social change afforded by the WSF; and, more recently, on the ability of the WSF to adapt to a changed political environment. Tensions, internal struggles, and critical analysis, I argue, contribute to make WSF’s cosmopolitan project, though apparently harder to achieve, more realistic (but by no means easier) than statements of universal solidarity among global activists or, even more, among all human beings united in a common destiny on a shared planet. When acknowledged and worked through, conflicts and power dynamics contribute to the recursive nature of the struggle for individual and collective emancipation. As conflicts are engaged and negotiated and as the ambivalent nature of human existence is made central to groups’ organisation, resistance to domination becomes the ground on which the alternative is constructed and emancipation can realistically be achieved. WSF’s open cosmopolitanism is here understood as the struggle between Empire and Cosmopolis as discussed by Gills (2005). This struggle is not only represented by the opposition of WSF’s Cosmopolis to the WEF’s Empire, but also, more broadly, as the struggle between two contending visions of human existence and global community. With Gills, I understand these contending visions as the expression of a ‘perennial historical tension, [which is] deeply embedded in history and human psyche’ (2005, p. 5). I have been involved in the WSF since 2002. The present article is based on material collected during participant observation in four continents complemented by extensive virtual ethnography and unstructured interviews.3 The remainder of this article is organised as follows. The next section discusses WSF’s founding cosmopolitan principles. The following introduces WSF’s cosmopolitan practices. Section 4 discusses conflict in the open space. Section 5 spells out WSF’s open cosmopolitanism. Section 6 concludes.

#### Combating injustice requires reclaiming democracy by creating new arenas to contest the who and how of politics.

Nancy Fraser 05. Henry A. and Louise Loeb Professor of Political and Social Science and professor of philosophy at The New School. “Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World, NLR 36, November–December 2005.” New Left Review. https://newleftreview-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/issues/ii36/articles/nancy-fraser-reframing-justice-in-a-globalizing-world

But the claims of transformative politics go further still. Above and beyond their other demands, these movements are also claiming a say in a post-Westphalian process of frame-setting. Rejecting the standard view, which deems frame-setting the prerogative of states and transnational elites, they are effectively aiming to democratize the process by which the frameworks of justice are drawn and revised. Asserting their right to participate in constituting the ‘who’ of justice, they are simultaneously transforming the ‘how’—by which I mean the accepted procedures for determining the ‘who’. At their most reflective and ambitious, accordingly, transformative movements are demanding the creation of new democratic arenas for entertaining arguments about the frame. In some cases, moreover, they are creating such arenas themselves. In the World Social Forum, for example, some practitioners of transformative politics have fashioned a transnational public sphere where they can participate on a par with others in airing and resolving disputes about the frame. In this way, they are prefiguring the possibility of new institutions of post-Westphalian democratic justice.footnote16

The democratizing dimension of transformative politics points to a third level of political injustice, above and beyond the two already discussed. Previously, I distinguished first-order injustices of ordinary-political misrepresentation from second-order injustices of misframing. Now, however, we can discern a third-order species of political injustice, which corresponds to the question of the ‘how’. Exemplified by undemocratic processes of frame-setting, this injustice consists in the failure to institutionalize parity of participation at the meta-political level, in deliberations and decisions concerning the ‘who’. Because what is at stake here is the process by which first-order political space is constituted, I shall call this injustice meta-political misrepresentation. Meta-political misrepresentation arises when states and transnational elites monopolize the activity of frame-setting, denying voice to those who may be harmed in the process, and blocking creation of democratic arenas where the latter’s claims can be vetted and redressed. The effect is to exclude the overwhelming majority of people from participation in the meta-discourses that determine the authoritative division of political space. Lacking any institutional arenas for such participation, and submitted to an undemocratic approach to the ‘how’, the majority is denied the chance to engage on terms of parity in decision-making about the ‘who’.

#### Open cosmopolitanism is a process, not a blueprint---the struggle, even if imperfect, is resistance.

Giuseppe Caruso 17. “Open Cosmopolitanism and the World Social Forum: Global Resistance, Emancipation, and the Activists’ Vision of a Better World.” Globalizations, 14:4, 504-518, DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2016.1254413

Open cosmopolitanism represents WSF’s end, its journey, and its mode of travel. Both aspirations and realisations develop through recursive conflicts between multiple instantiations, historical and psychological, of Empire and Cosmopolis. Open cosmopolitanism is not based on blueprints. It is a work in process, impossible to uniquely define. Open cosmopolitanism invokes a recursive process of emancipation. It is about freeing, just as much as it is about freedom. It is about opening, just as much as it is about openness. It is not built on the assumption of universality, but on continued struggles to confront the conflicts that traverse global society. The following passage illustrates WSF’s conception of resistance and alternatives as one:

To imagine that another world is possible is a creative act to make it possible. The WSF releases contradictions and makes them operate, catalyzing, liberating creative energies. [ ... ] The WSF intends to be a space to facilitate pulling together and strengthening an international coalition of the most diverse social movements and organizations, adhering to the principle of respect for differences, autonomy of ideas, and forms of struggle. [ ... ] It’s an initiative of the emerging planetary civil society. [ ... ] It’s a movement of ideas that feeds on human diversity and possibilities, opposing the ‘single way of thinking’. [ ... ] The WSF is a living laboratory for world citizenship. (WSF, 2003, original italics)

Resistance and experimentation gather energy from recursive processes of individual and collective emancipation taking place across multiple conflicts both within and without WSF’s open space. This also explains the emergent nature and the mutually constitutive relationship between WSF’s cosmopolitan imaginations, practices of resistance, and new solidarities. Justice, equality, self- and collective realisation, mutual recognition, and radical democracy are, at the same time, methodologies and objectives of WSF’s open cosmopolitanism. The multiple paths it explores are traced by the prevalence of collective work over basic assumptions of ‘equality in the struggle’ and are grounded on values supporting creative thinking: curiosity, empathy, and solidarity.

#### We need new research agendas. Political and social theory must be redefined.

Ulrich Beck and Natan Sznaider 10. Ulrich Beck. Department of Sociology, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitat Munich. Natan Sznaider, School of Behavioral Sciences, Academic College of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, Israel. "Unpacking cosmopolitanism for the social sciences: a research agenda". Wiley Online Library. 1-15-2010. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01250.x

Indeed, the basic idea behind this special issue of the British Journal of Sociology is that ‘the light of the great cultural problems has moved on’ from a nation-state definition of society and politics to a cosmopolitan outlook. At this point the humanities and social sciences need to get ready for a transformation of their own positions and conceptual equipment – that is, to take cosmopolitanism as a research agenda seriously and raise some of the key conceptual, methodological, empirical and normative issues that the cosmopolitanization of reality poses for the social sciences. The intellectual undertaking of redefining cosmopolitanism is a trans-disciplinary one, which includes geography, anthropology, ethnology, international relations, international law, political philosophy and political theory, and now sociology and social theory (see Beck and Sznaider 2006). Cosmopolitanism is, of course, a contested term; there is no uniform interpretation of it in the growing literature. The boundaries separating it from competitive terms like globalization, transnationalism, universalism, glocalization etc. are not distinct and internally it is traversed by all kind of fault lines. Yet we will argue that the neo-cosmopolitanism in the social sciences –‘realistic cosmopolitanism’ or ‘cosmopolitan realism’– is an identifiable intellectual movement united by at least three interconnected commitments:

First, the shared critique of methodological nationalism which blinds conventional sociology to the multi-dimensional process of change that has irreversibly transformed the very nature of the social world and the place of states within that world. Methodological nationalism does not mean (as the term ‘methodological individualism’ suggests) that one or many sociologists have consciously created an explicit methodology (theory) based on an explicit nationalism. The argument rather goes that social scientists in doing research or theorizing take it for granted that society is equated with national society, as Durkheim does when he reflects on the integration of society. He, of course, has in mind the integration of the national society (France) without even mentioning, naming or thinking about it. In fact, not using the adjective ‘national’ as a universal language does not falsify but might sometimes even prove methodological nationalism. That is the case when the practice of the argument or the research presupposes that the unit of analysis is the national society or the national state or the combination of both. The concept of methodological nationalism is not a concept of methodology but of the sociology of sociology or the sociology of social theory.

Second, the shared diagnosis that the twenty-first century is becoming an age of cosmopolitanism. This could and should be compared with other historical moments of cosmopolitanism, such as those in ancient Greece, the Alexandrian empire and the Enlightenment. In the 1960s Hannah Arendt analysed the Human Condition, in the 1970s Francois Lyotard the Postmodern Condition. Now at the beginning of the twenty-first century we have to discover, map and understand the Cosmopolitan Condition.

Third, there is a shared assumption that for this purpose we need some kind of ‘methodological cosmopolitanism’. Of course, there is a lot of controversy about what this means. The main point for us lies in the fact that the dualities of the global and the local, the national and the international, us and them, have dissolved and merged together in new forms that require conceptual and empirical analysis. The outcome of this is that the concept and phenomena of cosmopolitanism are not spatially fixed; the term itself is not tied to the ‘cosmos’ or the ‘globe’, and it certainly does not encompass ‘everything’. The principle of cosmopolitanism can be found in specific forms at every level and can be practiced in every field of social and political action: in international organizations, in bi-national families, in neighbourhoods, in global cities, in transnationalized military organizations, in the management of multi-national co-operations, in production networks, human rights organizations, among ecology activists and the paradoxical global opposition to globalization.

Critique of methodological nationalism

Methodological nationalism takes the following premises for granted: it equates societies with nation-state societies and sees states and their governments as the primary focus of social-scientific analysis. It assumes that humanity is naturally divided into a limited number of nations, which organize themselves internally as nation-states and externally set boundaries to distinguish themselves from other nation-states. And it goes further: this outer delimitation as well as the competition between nation-states, represent the most fundamental category of political organization.

The premises of the social sciences assume the collapse of social boundaries with state boundaries, believing that social action occurs primarily within and only secondarily across, these divisions:

[Like] stamp collecting . . . social scientists collected distinctive national social forms. Japanese industrial relations, German national character, the American constitution, the British class system – not to mention the more exotic institutions of tribal societies – were the currency of social research. The core disciplines of the social sciences, whose intellectual traditions are reference points for each other and for other fields, were therefore domesticated– in the sense of being preoccupied not with Western and world civilization as wholes but with the ‘domestic’ forms of particular national societies (Shaw 2000: 68).

The critique of methodological nationalism should not be confused with the thesis that the end of the nation-state has arrived. One does not criticize methodological individualism by proclaiming the end of the individual. Nation-states (as all the research shows – see also the different contributions in this volume) will continue to thrive or will be transformed into transnational states. What, then, is the main point of the critique of methodological nationalism? It adopts categories of practice as categories of analysis. The decisive point is that national organization as a structuring principle of societal and political action can no longer serve as the orienting reference point for the social scientific observer. One cannot even understand the re-nationalization or re-ethnification trend in Western or Eastern Europe without a cosmopolitan perspective. In this sense, the social sciences can only respond adequately to the challenge of globalization if they manage to overcome methodological nationalism and to raise empirically and theoretically fundamental questions within specialized fields of research, and thereby elaborate the foundations of a newly formulated cosmopolitan social science.

As many authors – including the ones in this volume – criticize, in the growing discourse on cosmopolitanism there is a danger of fusing the ideal with the real. What cosmopolitanism is cannot ultimately be separated from what cosmopolitanism should be. But the same is true of nationalism. The small, but important, difference is that in the case of nationalism the value judgment of the social scientists goes unnoticed because methodological nationalism includes a naturalized conception of nations as real communities. In the case of the cosmopolitan ‘Wertbeziehung’ (Max Weber, value relation), by contrast, this silent commitment to a nation-state centred outlook of sociology appears problematic.

In order to unpack the argument in the two cases it is necessary to distinguish between the actor perspective and the observer perspective. From this it follows that a sharp distinction should be made between methodological and normative nationalism. The former is linked to the social-scientific observer perspective, whereas the latter refers to the negotiation perspectives of political actors. In a normative sense, nationalism means that every nation has the right to self-determination within the context of its cultural, political and even geographical boundaries and distinctiveness. Methodological nationalism assumes this normative claim as a socio-ontological given and simultaneously links it to the most important conflict and organization orientations of society and politics. These basic tenets have become the main perceptual grid of the social sciences. Indeed, this social-scientific stance is part of the nation-state's own self-understanding. A national view on society and politics, law, justice, memory and history governs the sociological imagination. To some extent, much of the social sciences has become a prisoner of the nation-state. That this was not always the case is shown in Bryan Turner's paper in this issue (Turner 2006: 133–51). This does not mean, of course, that a cosmopolitan social science can and should ignore different national traditions of law, history, politics and memory. These traditions exist and become part of our cosmopolitan methodology. The comparative analyses of societies, international relations, political theory, and a significant part of history and law all essentially function on the basis of methodological nationalism. This is valid to the extent that the majority of positions in the contemporary debates in social and political science over globalization can be systematically interpreted as transdisciplinary reflexes linked to methodological nationalism.

These premises also structure empirical research, for example, in the choice of statistical indicators, which are almost always exclusively national. A refutation of methodological nationalism from a strictly empirical viewpoint is therefore difficult, indeed, almost impossible, because so many statistical categories and research procedures are based on it. It is therefore of historical importance for the future development of the social sciences that this methodological nationalism, as well as the related categories of perception and disciplinary organization, be theoretically, empirically, and organizationally re-assessed and reformed.

What is at stake here? Whereas in the case of the nation-state centred perspective there is an historical correspondence between normative and methodological nationalism (and for this reason this correspondence has mainly remained latent), this does not hold for the relationship between normative and methodological cosmopolitanism. In fact, the opposite is true: even the re-nationalization or re-ethnification of minds, cultures and institutions has to be analysed within a cosmopolitan frame of reference.

Cosmopolitan social science entails the systematic breaking up of the process through which the national perspective of politics and society, as well as the methodological nationalism of political science, sociology, history, and law, confirm and strengthen each other in their definitions of reality. Thus it also tackles (what had previously been analytically excluded as a sort of conspiracy of silence of conflicting basic convictions) the various developmental versions of de-bounded politics and society, corresponding research questions and programmes, the strategic expansions of the national and international political fields, as well as basic transformations in the domains of state, politics, and society.

This paradigmatic de-construction and re-construction of the social sciences from a national to a cosmopolitan outlook can be understood and methodologically justified as a ‘positive problem shift’ (Lakatos 1970), a broadening of horizons for social science research making visible new realities encouraging new research programmes (Beck and Lau 2005; Beck, Bonss and Lau 2003: 1–35). Against the background of cosmopolitan social science, it suddenly becomes obvious that it is neither possible to distinguish clearly between the national and the international, nor, correspondingly, to make a convincing contrast between homogeneous units. National spaces have become denationalized, so that the national is no longer national, just as the international is no longer international. New realities are arising: a new mapping of space and time, new co-ordinates for the social and the political are emerging which have to be theoretically and empirically researched and elaborated.

This entails a re-examination of the fundamental concepts of ‘modern society’. Household, family, class, social inequality, democracy, power, state, commerce, public, community, justice, law, history, memory and politics must be released from the fetters of methodological nationalism, re-conceptualized, and empirically established within the framework of a new cosmopolitan social and political science. It would be hard to understate the scope of this task. But nevertheless it has to be taken up if the social sciences want to avoid becoming a museum of antiquated ideas.

#### Cosmopolitan dialogue opens up transformative space for social struggles.

Gerard Delanty 14. University of Sussex, UK “The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice.” Journal of Sociology 2014, Vol. 50(2) 213–228 https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/plurispace/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/DELANTY\_Prospects-Cosmopolitanism.pdf

It is in the first instance a condition of openness to the world in the sense of the broadening of the moral and political horizon of societies. It entails a view of societies as connected rather than separated. Cosmopolitanism is made possible by the fact that individuals, groups, publics, societies have a capacity for learning in dealing with problems and, in particular, learning from each other. In this sense, then, cosmopolitanism is not a matter of diversity or mobility, but a process of learning. Dialogue is a key feature of cosmopolitanism since dialogue opens up the possibility of incorporating the perspective of others into one’s own view of the world. It can thus be associated with a communicative view of modernity. Rather than being an affirmative condition, it is transformative and is produced by social struggles rather than being primarily elite driven or entirely institutional. In this sense, cosmopolitanism can be related to popular and vernacular traditions rather than exclusively to the projects of elites (see Holton, 2009). From an epistemological perspective, cosmopolitanism involves the production of essentially critical knowledge, such as the identification of transformative potentials within the present.

Finally, cosmopolitanism is related to subject formation: it is constitutive of the self as much as it is of social and political processes. This is reflected in the von Humboldtian – in this case Wilhelm von Humboldt’s – understanding of cosmopolitanism as a particular kind of consciousness that is best exemplified in education. In the acquisition of knowledge, the self undergoes a transformation, for Bildung is a form of self-formation and occurs through the encounter of the individual with the world. Bildung is a means of encountering the universal, as reflected in the category of the world, and is the aim of education.

These features of cosmopolitanism challenge the received view of normative ideas, such as global justice as transcending political community or as simply utopian. The conception of cosmopolitanism I am putting forward is that it is constitutive of modernity and part of the make-up of political community. This is why cosmopolitanism is not a zero sum condition – either present or absent – as its critics often argue and its defenders mistakenly argue in its support. It is present to varying degrees in contemporary societies.

In order to assess the prospects of cosmopolitanism it is therefore necessary to determine the extent to which cosmopolitan phenomena are present in the cultural model of societies and in their modes of social organization and institutions. By the cultural model, I mean the social imaginary of societies, that is the dominant forms of collective identity or self-understanding. The cultural model of all modern societies involves the amplification and metamorphosis of transcultural ideas such as liberty, justice, freedom, autonomy, rights, which of course are variously interpreted and are not always fully institutionalized. But the existence of such ideas (essentially meta-norms), means that societies have the cognitive means of reaching beyond themselves. For this reason, there is generally a tension in modern societies between the cultural model and institutions. Related to these levels of analysis is the dimension of subject formation, the cosmopolitan self. It is possible that any one time in the history of a society there is a tension between subject formation, the cultural model of society, and social institutions. It is for this reason that cosmopolitanism can be seen as a critical theory of society (see Delanty, 2009): it shares with the critical heritage the concern with possibilities within the present or the immanent transcendence of society.

I am emphasizing, then, the formative dimensions of cosmopolitanism, which in other words is a structure forming itself out of both the self and society. It entails a subject (the cosmopolitan subject), a discourse in which ideas, knowledge, modes of cognition are produced, and social practices. Viewed in such terms, cosmopolitanism is a process as opposed to a fixed condition. It is marked by conflict, contradictions, negotiation. The implications of this view are that evidence of cosmopolitanism must be found not in an end state – a cosmopolitan society or state as opposed to a non-cosmopolitan one – but in the process by which it emerges. It is the task of sociology to determine whether and how this process is occurring.

#### Our political imaginary is possible and desirable.

Gerard Delanty 14. University of Sussex, UK “The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice.” Journal of Sociology 2014, Vol. 50(2) 213–228 https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/plurispace/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/DELANTY\_Prospects-Cosmopolitanism.pdf

The notion that global justice is both a challenge and a possibility is a relatively new idea.1 Notions of justice have traditionally been confined to territorially limited political communities, generally nation-states, and global justice seen as a secondary or derivative matter. It was not very long ago that all questions of justice were thought to pertain to nationally defined political communities. This was certainly the assumption that Rawls made in A Theory of Justice in 1971, and which set the terms of debate for more than four decades. In the past two decades there has been a steady increase in what may be called discourses of global justice – including theoretical conceptualizations – and political practices that reflect notions of global justice. It would appear that global justice has become part of the Zeitgeist or the political imaginary of critical publics in contemporary societies as they address a range of global challenges.

To create new or possible worlds it is first of all necessary to be able to imagine them. The fact that we are unsure of what exactly constitutes global justice, but nonetheless speak of it, suggests that it is a reality of a certain kind. One might say it is a reality creating idea. The reality of global justice can now be declared to be a constitutive feature of political community. It is a way of judging the world and a way of thinking about the world, as well as a way of examining the world that challenges the exclusivity of national borders as determining the boundaries of justice. Global justice has a normative, a cognitive and an epistemological dimension: it offers principles against which injustice can be measured, it offers a language to speak about human interconnectedness, and it is a topic on which knowledge can be acquired through social research. The concern with global justice is central to the idea of cosmopolitanism, though not the only aspect of cosmopolitanism. In this article I am largely concerned with the political dimension of cosmopolitanism, which I see as the context in which to discuss global justice. The aim of the article is to explore the considerations that are at stake in assessing the prospects of cosmopolitanism today as a political project. I argue that there is scope for fruitful dialogue between sociology and political science around this question, which asks how a normative idea becomes an empirical phenomenon. In the first section I discuss the notion of global justice before outlining a theoretical approach to the analysis of cosmopolitanism. The third section of the article moves on to look at the conditions of the possibility of cosmopolitanism, before finally considering the prospects of cosmopolitanism.

#### We should create institutional loci for internationalism.

Daniele Archibugi 04. London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK and Italian National Research Council, Italy European Journal of International Relations Copyright 2004. “Cosmopolitan Democracy and its Critics: A Review”. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Daniele-Archibugi-2/publication/240701697\_Cosmopolitan\_Democracy\_and\_Its\_Critics\_A\_Review/links/5cc861b5299bf120978b3022/Cosmopolitan-Democracy-and-Its-Critics-A-Review.pdf

Marxist analysis maintains the existence of a permanent conflict of interests between rival social classes; interests that — now more than in the past — are in conflict not only within states, but also between states. The creation of a global citizenship will not put an end to these conflicts of interest, but that is not the ambition inspiring it. Its goal is simply to find institutional loci where these conflicts of interest could possibly be addressed and managed. If the prolonged civil war in Sierra Leone were somehow linked to the diamond trade, and the traders from Anvers, Moscow or New York were thought to play an effective role in promoting the instigation of the hostilities, what kind of institutional channels might prove effective in resolving the issue? Policies that are decided within international institutions — such as the certification of the diamonds’ origin — offer the possibility of mitigating the conflict. In other words, global institutions should offer effective channels for mending conflicts.

What needs to be revised is the political programme — not the spirit — of proletarian internationalism. Cosmopolitan democracy suggests the creation of institutions and representative channels not limited to a specific social class, but open to all individuals. Its aim is not to overcome social classes, but an objective more modest but equally ambitious — offering channels of direct representation to all people at the global level, regardless of their social status. This implies basing decision-making on global issues on the preferences of a majority, rather than on those of a single class. In this vein, Ulrich Beck (1999: 18) invoked, ‘Citizens of the world, unite!’

Trans-national campaigns have already succeeded in influencing the choices of political decision-makers — take the decision of the UK government to follow environmentally friendly procedures for the disposal of the Brent Spar (Prins and Sellwood, 1998); the institution of the International Criminal Court (Glasius, 2002); the decision of some multinationals to recede from their profit-making interests and allow for the free diffusion of the AIDS drug (Seckinelgin, 2002), or even military interventions to protect human rights (Kaldor, 2001). An international public sphere (Koehler, 1998; Cochran, 2002) is moving towards public action, and some partial but nevertheless significant results have been achieved (Pianta, 2003).

#### The competitiveness model is unsustainable---universalizes the search for difference.

Pauli Kettunen 11. Professor of Political History in the Social Science Faculty of University of Helsinki. “Welfare Nationalism and Competitive Community.” In Welfare citizenship and welfare nationalism.

Conclusion: the nationalism of models

In conclusion, the concept of “model” deserves some attention. The current discussion on models is inspired by the encounters between globalised capital and national institutions, and it indicates increasing reflexivity as an aspect of globalisation. The popularity of the concept of “the Nordic model” since the 1980s implies such a shift of perspective. Reflexivity is nourished by the imperatives of competitiveness, which include the need for continuous comparisons in order to learn the universal “best practice” or to find the “difference”, i.e. an edge, one’s own particular competitive advantage. European integration has provided an important context for the discussion on models.

An interesting ambiguity appears in the current usage of the concept of model. It may refer to a structure that has become threatened through globalisation, or it may refer to a way of responding to the challenge. The former meaning is obvious in the discussion on the threats against the “Nordic welfare-state model”. The latter, in turn, is manifested in the praising of “the Danish model” of “flexicurity”46, or “the Finnish model” as a paragon of consensual competitiveness in a new knowledge-based society47, or “the Nordic model” in general, assessed to be capable of embracing globalisation by means of risk sharing48. In both cases – the model as a target of threats or the model as a response – globalisation is dealt with as a national challenge. Yet the ambiguity of the concept of model indicates the changing role of the nation state, which can be characterised by the concepts of welfare state and competition state. Instead of a shift from the welfare state to a competition state, the change reflected by the two sides of the concept of the “Nordic model” can be interpreted as a conversion in which welfare-state institutions are modified to serve competition-state functions.

### 2AC---AT: Framework

#### We meet---Open cosmopolitanism is a method---Socio-cognitive shifts are possible---defeatism is prescriptive---only political imagination can solve.

Gerard Delanty 14. University of Sussex, UK “The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice.” Journal of Sociology 2014, Vol. 50(2) 213–228 <https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/plurispace/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/DELANTY_Prospects-Cosmopolitanism.pdf>

Evidence of major change can never be easily found in the short term. Criticisms of cosmopolitanism that invoke the obvious presence of counter-cosmopolitan trends – which presumably presuppose cosmopolitan currents – are too short-sighted in focusing on a short time span or on reactive events. The Axial Age breakthrough itself took several centuries – 800 to 200 bc – to produce the first universalistic visions, which laid the foundations for the emergence of cosmopolitanism, and the tumultuous history of democracy is itself a reminder of the need to take a longer view on major social and political transformation. Thus the fact that there is much evidence of global injustice does not mean that global justice is absent from the self-understanding of contemporary critical publics or that it has no consequences. The thesis of this article is that the most compelling evidence resides less in manifest institutional change – despite considerable gains, as discussed in the preceding section – than in socio-cognitive shifts in learning competences. Thus the structuring impact that global justice has had on the political imagination in recent times is essentially more of a cognitive than a normative development in redefining the self-understanding of political community.

#### Interpretation---Evaluate political imaginaries---judging the aff’s constitutive political community is a reality creating principle.

Gerard Delanty 14. University of Sussex, UK “The prospects of cosmopolitanism and the possibility of global justice.” Journal of Sociology 2014, Vol. 50(2) 213–228 https://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/plurispace/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/DELANTY\_Prospects-Cosmopolitanism.pdf

The notion that global justice is both a challenge and a possibility is a relatively new idea.1 Notions of justice have traditionally been confined to territorially limited political communities, generally nation-states, and global justice seen as a secondary or derivative matter. It was not very long ago that all questions of justice were thought to pertain to nationally defined political communities. This was certainly the assumption that Rawls made in A Theory of Justice in 1971, and which set the terms of debate for more than four decades. In the past two decades there has been a steady increase in what may be called discourses of global justice – including theoretical conceptualizations – and political practices that reflect notions of global justice. It would appear that global justice has become part of the Zeitgeist or the political imaginary of critical publics in contemporary societies as they address a range of global challenges.

To create new or possible worlds it is first of all necessary to be able to imagine them. The fact that we are unsure of what exactly constitutes global justice, but nonetheless speak of it, suggests that it is a reality of a certain kind. One might say it is a reality creating idea. The reality of global justice can now be declared to be a constitutive feature of political community. It is a way of judging the world and a way of thinking about the world, as well as a way of examining the world that challenges the exclusivity of national borders as determining the boundaries of justice. Global justice has a normative, a cognitive and an epistemological dimension: it offers principles against which injustice can be measured, it offers a language to speak about human interconnectedness, and it is a topic on which knowledge can be acquired through social research. The concern with global justice is central to the idea of cosmopolitanism, though not the only aspect of cosmopolitanism. In this article I am largely concerned with the political dimension of cosmopolitanism, which I see as the context in which to discuss global justice. The aim of the article is to explore the considerations that are at stake in assessing the prospects of cosmopolitanism today as a political project. I argue that there is scope for fruitful dialogue between sociology and political science around this question, which asks how a normative idea becomes an empirical phenomenon. In the first section I discuss the notion of global justice before outlining a theoretical approach to the analysis of cosmopolitanism. The third section of the article moves on to look at the conditions of the possibility of cosmopolitanism, before finally considering the prospects of cosmopolitanism.

### 2AC---AT: Debility K

#### No Link and Perm---Open cosmopolitanism was already the alt. Allows resistance along all lines---the open structures make reforms possible.

Giuseppe Caruso 17. “Open Cosmopolitanism and the World Social Forum: Global Resistance, Emancipation, and the Activists’ Vision of a Better World.” Globalizations, 14:4, 504-518, DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2016.1254413

Open cosmopolitanism is rooted in conflict and predicated on their transformation within open spaces such as WSFs. The nature of these conflicts varies, but at the bottom it rests on Gill’s historical and psychological forces of Empire and Cosmopolis, forces representing creativity and emancipation or, conversely, of destructiveness. Gendered, racial, colonial, and other group dynamics generate struggles for emancipation. Forms of resistance vary across fault lines and register the intensity of the struggle, on the one hand, and the complexity of building alliances across differences, on the other. Taken together, they express the nature of WSF’s cosmopolitan project as rooted in resistance across all existing fault lines, the outcome of which is neither predetermined nor inevitable, whose struggles are never completed and carry a connotation of endless strive. These struggles of resistance taking place in the WSF are equally constitutive of its open cosmopolitanism as the struggles of emancipation taking place between WSF’s activists and their local, regional, and global adversaries. The conflicts within and across the open space’s boundaries make the difficulties of emancipation evident. As mentioned above in the words of [INT 21], size and success made WSF’s activists oblivious of these difficulties. Forms of denial caused disappointments and withdrawal among its activists and, for some, the eventual failure of WSF’s project in its current form. But this too is a constitutive feature of open cosmopolitanism. Its transformative innovations do affect the organisational forms as well through which its work is conducted. As current forms fail, new ones develop and disappointment turns again into creativity.

WSF’s open cosmopolitanism develops at the intersection of individual and collective transformation. Acknowledging the multiplicity of domination, the possibility of emancipation, and the nature of change, according to some of WSF’s initiators, could facilitate a revolution in the mainstream understanding of politics, society, and social change. Consider the following: ‘(t)he other world we are trying to build has to be built first in each of us and in our organisations’ (Grajev quoted by Whitaker, 2003). This change in perspective on emancipation makes it possible right here and now and, at the same time, makes directive logics and strict organisational structures less compelling as the horizon of emancipation is moved much closer to each activist. Individual and collective emancipation need a continued commitment over long periods of time, rather than contingent strategies that risk replicating the epistemology of domination they wish to replace (Whitaker, 2005). Deep transformations are slow and require eschewing instrumental thinking and strategic shortcuts.

#### Liberalism is not monolithic – it is reflexive and premised on mutual recognition of vulnerability.

Gabriele Badano 14. PhD Candidate, Centre for Philosophy, Justice, and Health, University College London. “Political liberalism and the justice claims of the disabled: a reconciliation.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 17(4): 401-22. Emory Libraries.

I argue that any proposal abandoning the language of political justice would not seem to do enough for those individuals with disabilities who fall outside the basic idea of persons as depicted by Rawls. In fact, the intuitions supporting the idea that concepts like rights and opportunities are indispensable are very strong.11 Let us go back to the examples of individuals falling outside Rawls’s idea of persons because their disabilities prevent them from being a net beneﬁt to social cooperation. They are individuals who need multiple careers to work, or whose disabilities prevent them from providing a beneﬁt to social cooperation that is large enough. To put the point more sharply, it is worth noticing that the disabilities in question are compatible with being in full possession of one’s logical and moral powers. Now, should we accept that those individuals ought to be given no rights or opportunities? An afﬁrmative answer would strike us as implausible, and for a good reason. In a liberal society, having one’s rights, opportunities and basic distributive entitlements acknowledged is one and the same as being recognized as an equal. And what is missing from Rawls’s political liberalism is precisely the idea that falling below a threshold of full cooperation should not be enough to prevent the disabled from being regarded as persons on an equal footing with anyone else.

In sum, Rawls’s political liberalism is not amenable to any extension that, keeping the basic ideas of society and persons intact, is able to include a concern with the status of individuals with disabilities. In addition, the proposal that the interests of the disabled are not for public reason to protect is not satisfactory. Consequently, a substantial revision is the only way to reconcile political liberalism with our intuitions concerning what is due to the disabled.

5. Revising political liberalism I: beyond Hartley’s contractualism

The aim of this section and the next is to propose a substantial revision of Rawls’s theory that accommodates the justice claims of the disabled while upholding the project of political liberalism. A question that needs to be answered at this point is: why should we uphold the project of political liberalism, rather than endorsing a different model that more neatly ﬁts with our intuitions concerning what is due to the disabled? First, the general project of political liberalism is compelling. Rawls’s political liberalism aims to identify a common ground of political ideas that can work as the basis on which the most important political decisions should be made. This project is of the greatest importance because, if successful, it creates legitimacy by building institutions on the basis of concepts that are acceptable to each reasonable individual. Moreover, it promotes stability in societies that are characterized by deep pluralism.

Second, despite Rawls’s failure to take the interests of the disabled into consideration, political liberalism is well suited to support the justice claims of individuals with disabilities. This is because the idea that the disabled are citizens who deserve our respect is part of the common culture of our societies. In other words, there is an overlapping consensus on the idea that rights, opportunities and distributive shares must be granted to individuals who are not fully cooperating members of society, including those who fall below full moral powers. It is widely believed that those with physical disabilities should have the same rights as their fellow citizens, live in a social environment that does not excessively limit their opportunities and receive beneﬁts that help meet their special needs. Besides, although the state or third parties are given exceptional rights to interfere with the autonomy of individuals with severe cognitive disabilities, it is widely recognized that the mentally disabled are citizens whose basic interests must be protected by the law.12 In the public space, any proposal that individuals who are not fully cooperating members of society should have their basic interests neglected would be widely received with outrage. Such proposal would be said to ﬁt a fascist society, not a decent one. Among other legal documents, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN General Assembly, A/61/611) can be taken as the epitome of this widespread attitude. Adopted in 2006, the Convention requires that all individuals with disabilities should share in the enjoyment of equal fundamental rights.

#### Only liberal notions of common humanity and state policy can solve structural problems with (dis)ability. Rejection is inherently liberal, but ignores necessary reforms.

Martha Nussbaum 00. Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics, University of Chicago. “The Future of Feminist Liberalism.” *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 74(2): 47-79. Emory Libraries. Problematic language modified.

My solution to these problems lies, then, squarely within the liberal tradition. But Kittay suggests that we should go further departing from that tradition altogether. She holds that Western political theory must be radically reconfigured to put the fact of dependency at its heart. The fact, she says, that we are all "some mother's child," existing in intertwined relations of dependency, should be the guiding image for political thought.39 Such a care-based theory, she thinks, will be likely to be very different from any liberal theory, since the liberal tradition is deeply committed to goals of independence and liberty. Although Kittay supplies few details to clarify the practical meaning of the difference, I think her idea is that the care-based theory would support a type of politics that provides comprehensive support for need throughout all citizens' lives, as in some familiar ideals of the welfare state-but a welfare state in which liberty is far less important than security and well-being.

Kittay is not altogether consistent on this point. At times she herself uses classic liberal arguments, saying that we need to remember that caregivers have their own lives to lead, and to support policies that give them more choices.40 But on the whole she rejects, in the abstract, solutions that emphasize freedom as a central political goal. The concrete measures she favors do not seem to have such sweeping anti-liberal implications. The restoration and expansion of Aid to Families with Dependent Children expansion of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; various educational measures promoting the dignity of the disabled, through a judicious combination of "mainstreaming" and separate education4"-all these are familiar liberal policies, which can be combined with an emphasis on choice and liberty as important social goals. Kittay's most controversial proposal, that of a direct non-means-tested payment to those who care for family dependents at home-clearly has, or could have, a liberal rationale: that of ensuring that these people are seen as active, dignified workers rather than passive non-contributors.

Indeed, if we adopt all the changes I have proposed, we will still have a theory that is basically liberal. For theories that take their start from an idea of human capability and functioning emphasize the importance of giving all citizens the chance to develop the full range of human powers, at whatever level their condition allows, and to enjoy the sort of liberty and independence their condition allows. Would we do better to reject this theory in favor of Kittay's idea, rejecting independence as a major social goal and conceiving of the state as a universal mother? To be sure, nobody is ever self-sufficient; the independence we enjoy is always both temporary and partial, and it is good to be reminded of that fact by a theory that also stresses the importance of care in times of dependency. But is being "some 57 mother's child" a sufficient image for the citizen in a just society? I think we need a lot more: liberty and opportunity, the chance to form a plan of life, the chance to learn and imagine on one's own. These goals are as important for [those with varying degrees of (dis)ability] the mentally handicapped as they are for others, though much more difficult to achieve. Although Kittay's daughter Sesha will never live on her own (and although Kittay is right to say that independence should not be seen as a necessary condition of dignity for all mentally disabled people)42, many others do aspire to hold a job, and vote, and tell their own story. Michael Berube ends his compelling account of his son's life with the hope that Jamie, too, will write a book about himself, as two adults with Down Syndrome recently have.43 One day Jamie's kindergarten class went round the room, asking the children what they wanted to be when they grew up. They said the usual things: basketball star, ballet dancer, fireman. The teacher wasn't sure Jamie would understand the question, so she asked it very clearly. Jamie just said, "Big." And his literal answer, said the teacher, taught them all something about the question. Berube too wants, simply, a society in which his son will be able to be "big” healthy, educated, loving, active, seen as a particular person with something distinctive to contribute, rather than as "a retarded child."

For that to happen, his dependencies must be understood and supported. But so too must his need to be distinct and an individual: and at this point Berube refers sympathetically to Rawls. He argues that the idea at the heart of the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)-the idea that every child has the right to an "appropriate education" in the "least restrictive environment" possible, based on an "Individualized Education Plan"-is a profoundly liberal idea, an idea about individuality and freedom. One of the most important kinds of support mentally disabled children need is the support required to be free choosing adults, each in his or her own way. Insofar as Kittay suggests that we downplay or marginalize such liberal notions in favor of a conception of the state that makes it the parental supporter of its "children’s needs, I thinks he goes too far, misconceiving what justice would be for both the disabled and the elderly. Even for Sesha, who will never vote or write, doesn't a full human life involve a kind of freedom and individuality namely, a space in which to exchange love and enjoy light and sound, free from confinement and mockery?

So I believe that the problem we have investigated shows us that liberal theory needs to question some of its most traditional starting points-questioning, in the process, the Kantian notion of the person. But that does not disable liberalism: it just challenges us all to produce a new form of liberalism, more attentive to need and its material and institutional conditions. The liberal ideas of freedom and of the human need for various types of liberty of action are precious ideas that feminist philosophers, it seems to me, should cherish and further develop, creating theories that make it possible for all citizens to have the support they need for the full development of their human capabilities.

#### The aff is grammatically prior---the poor are portioned from justice and global economic structure is insulated---only post-Westphalian representation solves.

Nancy Fraser 05. Henry A. and Louise Loeb Professor of Political and Social Science and professor of philosophy at The New School. “Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World, NLR 36, November–December 2005.” New Left Review. https://newleftreview-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/issues/ii36/articles/nancy-fraser-reframing-justice-in-a-globalizing-world

It is the misframing form of misrepresentation that globalization has recently begun to make visible. Earlier, in the heyday of the postwar welfare state, with the Keynesian-Westphalian frame securely in place, the principal concern in thinking about justice was distribution. Later, with the rise of the new social movements and multiculturalism, the centre of gravity shifted to recognition. In both cases, the modern territorial state was assumed by default. As a result, the political dimension of justice was relegated to the margins. Where it did emerge, it took the ordinary-political form of contests over the decision rules internal to the polity, whose boundaries were taken for granted. Thus, claims for gender quotas and multicultural rights sought to remove political obstacles to participatory parity for those who were already included in principle in the political community. Taking for granted the Keynesian-Westphalian frame, they did not call into question the assumption that the appropriate unit of justice was the territorial state.

Today, in contrast, globalization has put the question of the frame squarely on the political agenda. Increasingly subject to contestation, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is now considered by many to be a major vehicle of injustice, as it partitions political space in ways that block many who are poor and despised from challenging the forces that oppress them. Channelling their claims into the domestic political spaces of relatively powerless, if not wholly failed, states, this frame insulates offshore powers from critique and control.footnote10 Among those shielded from the reach of justice are more powerful predator states and transnational private powers, including foreign investors and creditors, international currency speculators, and transnational corporations. Also protected are the governance structures of the global economy, which set exploitative terms of interaction and then exempt them from democratic control. Finally, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is self-insulating; the architecture of the interstate system protects the very partitioning of political space that it institutionalizes, effectively excluding transnational democratic decision-making on issues of justice.

From this perspective, the Keynesian-Westphalian frame is a powerful instrument of injustice, which gerrymanders political space at the expense of the poor and despised. For those persons who are denied the chance to press transnational first-order claims, struggles against maldistribution and misrecognition cannot proceed, let alone succeed, unless they are joined with struggles against misframing. It is not surprising, therefore, that some consider misframing the defining injustice of a globalizing age. Under these conditions, the political dimension of justice is hard to ignore. Insofar as globalization is politicizing the question of the frame, it is also making visible an aspect of the grammar of justice that was often neglected in the previous period. It is now apparent that no claim for justice can avoid presupposing some notion of representation, implicit or explicit, insofar as none can avoid assuming a frame. Thus, representation is always already inherent in all claims for redistribution and recognition. The political dimension is implicit in, indeed required by, the grammar of the concept of justice. Thus, no redistribution or recognition without representation.footnote11

#### Failure and negativity under solidarity – makes stopping existential climate change impossible.

Kim Hall 14. Professor of Philosophy and Director of Gender, Women's Studies, and Sexuality Studies at Appalachian State University. “No Failure: Climate Change, Radical Hope, and Queer Crip Feminist Eco-Futures,” *Radical Philosophy Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 14, p. 203–225.

These discussions of futurity in queer and disability studies are extremely important and generative; nonetheless, I wonder if they have gone far enough. Despite their emphasis on failure, materialism, and futurity, there has been (with a few notable exceptions)7 a striking silence concerning the planet with which queer crip feminist critique and identities are intertwined. My point here is not to insist on a simple addition of another context for discussion; my point is that the absence of consideration of planetary implications is particularly puzzling given the contemporary moment in which ideas of the future and failure are so central to discourses of sustainability and climate change. Most discussions about futurity in queer studies rightly focus on the social, political, and economic crisis of neoliberal global capitalism; however, critical attention to this crisis fails for the most part to extend concern to what is arguably one of the most urgent, very material, crises in our world, a crisis fueled by neoliberal global capitalist development: climate change. In this paper I seek to address this omission by advancing a queer crip feminist8 critical engagement with the emphasis on failure and futurity in queer studies today.

Building on Rosi Braidotti’s concept of becoming-earth,9 I argue that, when radically understood, queerness and disability are sites of imaginative alternatives crucial for responding to (i.e., being critically attuned toward and accountable to) climate change. I argue for a queer crip feminist conception of and orientation to the future informed by critique of assumptions regarding and implications of boundaries between the “human” and “non-human.” Many discussions of futurity within queer studies have failed to take into account the nature-cultural10 beings we are. Building on the title of Clare Colebrook’s edited series for Open Humanities Press press, Braidotti contends the Age of the Anthropocene11 calls for a “’critical climate change,’” a shift in how we conceptualize being, life, death, and temporality. 12 Ultimately, I aim to show that far from “kid’s stuff”13 or merely a site for alternative social alliances, a more-than-human understanding of the future is vital for queer crip feminist lives and offers the conceptual resources necessary for bringing about another, more just world.

As critiques of queer theory’s whiteness have shown,14 counter-hegemonic orientations are not innate in the concept of queerness itself; instead, the resistant potential of queerness is contingent upon how the concept is deployed and in which contexts. One major context that needs to be considered in queer discussions of futurity is the more-than-human planetary context. As the contributors to Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire demonstrate, there has been a justified suspicion of appeals to ‘nature’ and the ‘natural’ within queer theory (as well as in feminist and disability studies) because of the longstanding role of those appeals in the pathologization of non-normative bodyminds,15 identities, and lives. It is indeed important to retain a critical suspicion of appeals to nature. Nonetheless, when coupled with an inattentiveness to our naturecultural being in the world, such suspicion fails to critically address assumptions about what it means to be human that have also played a role in pathologizing identities, bodyminds, and lives that exceed gendered, racialized, and able-bodied norms. In other words, the failure to attend to the implications of queer conceptions of futurity and sustainability for the planet reflects and reinforces a conception of queerness that undermines desires for transnational alliances and livable worlds. A commitment to transnational alliances and livable worlds must address practices (for instance, emissions produced by the consumption habits of global elites) that disproportionately threaten the present and future lives of those who are least privileged in the world. Too often, appeals to a livable world in queer theory ignore the planet on which hopes, dreams, relationships—in short, our lives—take place. When calls for a more livable future and world are made, which entities’ futures do queer theorists tend to have in mind? In this paper I aim to show that radical thinking about the meaning of the future and more livable, sustainable worlds must strive to take into account and be accountable to the planet with which human lives and life in general is enmeshed.

My discussion of these issues begins with a critical consideration of the association of queerness with anti-futurity, followed by a discussion of the idea of queerness as failure. Then, I consider the view that intersectionality forecloses the future. Next, I turn to a discussion of ice in order to provide an example alternative conception of the future that resists queer anthropocentrisms and is responsive to the reality of climate change. Finally, I make a case for a queer crip feminism informed by radical hope for alternative futures. It is radical hope for alternative, more-than-human futures that can sustain queer crip feminist lives.

#### Even their impact framing depends upon fundamentally liberal values of freedom and equality---their complaint is only that universalism isn’t sufficiently universal---means they’re a reinterpretation, NOT rejection of liberal humanism---totalizing rejection is reductionist AND anti-humanism is empirically just as bad if not worse---context and contingency are key

Alan **Lester 12**, Director of Interdisciplinary Research, Professor of Historical Geography and Co-Director of the Colonial and Postcolonial Studies Network, University of Sussex, “Humanism, race and the colonial frontier,” Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 37(1), January 2012, p.132-148

Anderson argues that it is not an issue of extending humanity to … negatively racialised people, but of putting into question that from which such people have been excluded – that which, for liberal discourse, remains unproblematised. (2007, 199) I fear, however, that if we direct attention away from histories of humanism’s failure to deal with difference and to render that difference compatible with its fundamental universalism, and if we overlook its proponents’ failed attempts to combat dispossession, murder and oppression; if our history of race is instead understood through a critique of humanity’s conceptual separation from nature, we dilute the political potency of universalism. Historically, it was not humanism that gave rise to racial innatism, it was the specifically anti-humanist politics of settlers forging new social assemblages through relations of violence on colonial frontiers. Settler communities became established social assemblages in their own right specifically through the rejection of humanist interventions. Perhaps, as Edward Said suggested, we can learn from the implementation of humanist universalism in practice, and insist on its potential to combat racism, and perhaps we can insist on the contemporary conceptual hybridisation of human–non-human entities too, without necessarily abandoning all the precepts of humanism (Said 2004; Todorov 2002). We do not necessarily need to accord a specific value to the human, separate from and above nature, in order to make a moral and political case for a fundamental human universalism that can be wielded strategically against racial violence. Nineteenth century humanitarians’ universalism was fundamentally conditioned by their belief that British culture stood at the apex of a hierarchical order of civilisations. From the mid-nineteenth century through to the mid-twentieth century, this ethnocentrism produced what Lyotard describes as ‘the flattening of differences, or the demand for a norm (“human nature”)’, that ‘carries with it its own forms of terror’ (cited Braun 2004, 1352). The intervention of Aboriginal Protection demonstrates that humanist universalism has the potential to inflict such terror (it was the Protectorate of Aborigines Office reincarnated that was responsible, later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for Aboriginal Australia’s Stolen Generation, and it was the assimilationist vision of the Protectors’ equivalents in Canada that led to the abuses of the Residential Schools system). But we must not forget that humanism’s alternatives, founded upon principles of difference rather than commonality, have the potential to do the same and even worse. In the nineteenth century, Caribbean planters and then emigrant British settlers emphasised the multiplicity of the human species, the absence of any universal ‘human nature’, the incorrigibility of difference, in their upholding of biological determinism. Their assault on any notion of a fundamental commonality among human beings has disconcerting points of intersection with the radical critique of humanism today. The scientific argument of the nineteenth century that came closest to post-humanism’s insistence on the hybridity of humanity, promising to ‘close the ontological gap between human and non-human animals’ (Day 2008, 49), was the evolutionary theory of biological descent associated with Darwin, and yet this theory was adopted in Aotearoa New Zealand and other colonial sites precisely to legitimate the potential extinction of other, ‘weaker’ races in the face of British colonisation on the grounds of the natural law of a struggle for survival (Stenhouse 1999). Both the upholding and the rejection of human–nature binaries can thus result in racially oppressive actions, depending on the contingent politics of specific social assemblages. Nineteenth century colonial humanitarians, inspired as they were by an irredeemably ethnocentric and religiously exclusive form of universalism, at least combatted exterminatory settler discourses and practices at multiple sites of empire, and provided spaces on mission and protectorate stations in which indigenous peoples could be shielded to a very limited extent from dispossession and murder. They also, unintentionally, reproduced discourses of a civilising mission and of a universal humanity that could be deployed by anticolonial nationalists in other sites of empire that were never invaded to the same extent by settlers, in independence struggles from the mid-twentieth century. Finally, as Whatmore’s (2002) analysis of the Select Committee on Aborigines reveals, they provided juridical narratives that are part of the arsenal of weapons that indigenous peoples can wield in attempts to claim redress and recompense in a postcolonial world. The politics of humanism in practice, then, was riddled with contradiction, fraught with particularity and latent with varying possibilities. It could be relatively progressive and liberatory; it could be dispossessive and culturally genocidal. Within its repertoire lay potential to combat environmental and biological determinism and innatism, however, and this should not be forgotten in a rush to condemn humanism’s universalism as well as its anthropocentrism. It is in the tensions within universalism that the ongoing potential of an always provisional, self-conscious, flexible and strategic humanism – one that now recognises the continuity between the human and the non-human as well as the power-laden particularities of the male, middle class, Western human subject – resides.

#### A positive orientation towards history and the ideals of radical humanist freedom are key to global liberationist struggles---only this can avert every major existential crisis of our times.

Karenga 6 [Professor and Chair Department of Africa Studies at Cal State University and a major figure in the Black Power movement. Maulana, Philosophy in the African Tradition of Resistance: Issues or Human Freedom and Human Flourishing in Not Only the Master’s Tools, 2006, p. 242-5]

Surely, we are at a moment of history fraught with new and old fOnTIS of anxiety, alienation, and antagonism; deepening poverty in the midst of increasing wealth; proposals and practices of ethnic cleansing and genocide; pandemic diseases; increased plunder; pollution and depletion of the environment; constant conflicts, large and small; and world-threatening delusions on the part of a superpower aspiring to a return to empire, with spurious claims of the right to preemptive aggression, to openly attack and overthrow nonfavored and fragile governments openly, and to seize the lands and resources of vulnerable peoples and establish "democracy" through military dictatorship abroad, all the while suppressing political dissent at home (Chang 2002; Cole et at. 2002). These anxieties are undergirded by racist and religious chauvinism, by the self-righteous and veiled references of these rulers to themselves as a kind of terrible and terrorizing hand of God, appointed to rid the world of evil (Ahmad 2002; Arnin 2001; Blum1995). At the same time, in this context of turmoil and terror and the use and threatened use of catastrophic weapons, there is the irrational and arrogant expectation that the oppressed will acquiesce, abandon resistance, and accept the disruptive and devastating consequences of globalization, along with the global hegemony it implies (Martin and Schumann 1997). There is great alarm among the white-supremicist rulers of these globalizing nations, given the metical resistance rising up against them, even as globalization’s technological, organizational, and economic capacity continues to expand (Barber 1996; Karenga 2002e, 2003a; Lusane 1997). There is great alarm when people who should "know" when they are defeated ridicule the assessment, refuse to be defeated or dispirited, and, on the contrary, intensify and diversify their struggles (Zepezauer 2002). Certainly the battlefields of Palestine, Venezuela, long suffering Haiti, and Chiapas, Mexico, along with other continuing emancipatory struggles everywhere, reaffirm the indomitable character of the human spirit and the durability and adaptive vitality of a people determined to be free, regardless of the odds and assessments against them. Indeed, they remind us that the motive force of history is struggle, informed by the ongoing quest for freedom, justice, power of the masses, and peace in the world. Despite "end of history" claims and single-super- power resolve and resolutions, these struggles continue. For still the oppressed want freedom, the wronged and injured want justice, the people want power over their destiny and daily lives, and the world wants peace. And all over the world-especially in this U.S. citadel of aging capitalism with its archaic dreams of empire-clarity in the analysis of issues, and in the critical determination of tasks and prospects, requires the deep and disciplined reflection characteristic of the personal and social practice we call philosophy. But this sense of added urgency for effective intervention is prompted not only by the critical juncture at which we stand but also by an awareness of our long history of resistance as a people, because in our collective strivings and social struggles we seek a new future for our people, our descendants, and the world. Joined also to these conditions and considerations is the compelling character of our self-understanding as a people, as a moral vanguard in this country and the world. For we have launched, fought, and won with our allies struggles that not only have expanded the realm of freedom in this country and the world but also have served as an ongoing inspiration and a model of liberation struggles for other marginalized and oppressed peoples and groups throughout the world. Indeed, they have borrowed from and built on our moral vocabulary and moral vision, sung our songs of freedom, and held up our struggle for liberation as a model to emulate. Now, self-understanding and self-assertion are dialectically linked. In other words, how we understand ourselves in the world determines how we assert ourselves in the world. Thus, an expansive concept of ourselves as Africans-continental and diasporan-and as Africana philosophers forms an essential component of our sense of mission and the urgency with which we approach it. It is important to note that I have conceived and written this chapter within the framework of Kausaida philosophy (Karenga 1978, 1980, 1997) Kawaida is a philosophic initiative that was forged in the crucible of ideological and practical struggles around issues of freedom, justice, equalitys, self-determination, conullunal power, self-defense, pan~African- ism, coalition and alliance, Black Studies, intellectual emancipation, and cultural recovery and reconstlouction. It continued to develop in the midst of these ongoing struggies within the life of the mind and stmggles iottbtn the life of the people, as well as within the context of the conditions of the world. Kawaida is defined as an ongoing synthesis of the best of xAfrican thought and practice in constant exchange tuttb tl3e 'U)()ltd. It characterizes culture as a unique, instructive and valuable way of being human in the world-as a foundation and framework for self-understanding and self-assertion. As a philosophy of culture and struggle, Kawaida maintains that our intellectual and social practice as Nricana activist scholars must be undergirded and informed by ongoing efforts to (1) ground our- selves in our own culture; (2) constantly recover, reconstruct, .and bring forth from our culture the best of what it means to be African and human in the fullest sense; (3) speak this special cultural truth to the world and (4) use our culture to constantly make our own unique contribution to the reconception and reconstruction of this country, and to the forward flow of human history.

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#### The aff is key---the alt alone causes wars and can’t solve

Michael Löwy 20. Sociologist and philosopher as well as emeritus scholar at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), and a lecturer at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris. “Why Socialism Must Be Internationalist.” https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/41529

Warning against Nationalism

Rosa Luxemburg was prophetic in her warnings against the evils of imperialism, nationalism, and militarism. A prophet is not someone who miraculously predicts the future, but one who, like Amos and Isaiah, warns the people of the catastrophe that lies ahead—unless they take collective action to prevent it. She warned that there would always be new wars as long as imperialism and capitalism continue to exist: “World peace cannot be secured by such utopian or basically reactionary plans as international courts of arbitration composed of capitalist diplomats, diplomatic agreements concerning ‘disarmament’ ... ‘European federations’, ‘middle-European customs unions’, ‘national buffer states’ and the like. Imperialism, militarism and wars will not be abolished or damned as long as the rule of the capitalist classes continues uncontested.”

She warned against nationalism as a mortal enemy of workers and the socialist movement and as a breeding ground for militarism and war. “The immediate task of socialism”, she wrote in 1916, “shall be the intellectual liberation of the proletariat from the domination of the bourgeoisie as manifest in the influence of nationalistic ideology.”

In the “Fragment on War, the National Question and Revolution” (1918), she worries about the sudden rise of nationalist movements during the last year of the war: “At the nationalist Blockberg it is today the Walpurgis night” (a reference to the German mythological witches’ sabbath). These movements were of very different nature, some being the expression of less developed bourgeois classes (like in the Balkans), while others, such as Italian nationalism, were purely imperial-colonial. This “present world-explosion of nationalism” contained a colourful variety of special interests, but was united by a common interest flowing from the exceptional historical situation created by October 1917: the struggle against the threat of the proletarian world-revolution.

What she meant by “nationalism” was not, of course, the national culture or the national identity of different peoples, but rather the ideology that turns “The Nation” into the supreme political value to which everything else must submit (“Deutschland über alles”).

Her warnings were prophetic, insofar as some of the worst crimes of the twentieth century—from the First to the Second World War (Auschwitz, Hiroshima) and beyond—were committed in the name of nationalism, national hegemony, “national defence”, “national vital space”, and the like. Stalinism itself was the product of the nationalist degeneration of the Soviet state, as embodied in the slogan “Socialism in one country”.

One can criticize some of her positions in relation to national demands, but she clearly perceived the dangers of nation-state politics (territorial conflicts, “ethnic cleansing”, oppression of minorities). She could not have predicted genocides.

A Compass for the Globalized Left

What is the relevance of Rosa Luxemburg’s internationalism today? Of course, historical conditions in the early twenty-first century are very different from those of the early twentieth, when she wrote most of her texts. Yet in some decisive aspects, her internationalist message is as—or perhaps even more —relevant today as in her time.

In the twenty-first century, capitalist globalization has imposed its power to a historically unprecedented degree, promoting obscene levels of inequality and leading to catastrophic environmental consequences. According to the 2017 Oxfam Report, eight billionaires and owners of multinational enterprises have a fortune equivalent to that of the poorest half of humanity (3.8 billion people). Through its institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), and the G7—capital has consolidated a united bloc of capitalist ruling classes around neoliberalism and de-regulation. There are of course contradictions between various imperialist interests, but they all share a common agenda: erasing all partial conquests of the labour movement, eliminating public services, privatizing profits and socializing losses, and thus intensifying exploitation. This planetary process is hegemonized by parasitical finance capital, whose despotic rule through the blind and reified mechanisms of “financial markets” is now imposed on the populations of all countries.

Local and national resistance is necessary but insufficient: such a perverse planetary system must be fought on a planetary scale. In other words, anti-capitalist resistance must be globalized. The Communist and Socialist Internationals of Rosa Luxemburg’s days hardly exist in this form. There are some regional organizations, such as the Party of the European Left or the Latin American São Paulo Conference, but no equivalent international body. The Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 is still active on all four continents, but its influence is limited.

The main cause for hope is the new international movement for global justice, which is sowing the seeds of a new internationalist culture. The form taken by this planetary resistance to capitalist globalization is that of the “movement of movements”, a loose federation of social movements whose main expression is the World Social Forum founded in 2001. This convergence of trade unionists, feminists, environmentalists, workers, peasants, indigenous communities, youth networks, as well as socialist or communist groups in the common struggle against corporate—i.e., capitalist—globalization is an important step forward. Of course, it is mainly a space for exchanging experiences and taking scattered common initiatives, and lacks the ambition to define a common strategy or program.

Rosa Luxemburg’s legacy can be important for this movement in many respects. She makes clear that the enemy is not “globalization” or just “neoliberalism”, but the global capitalist system itself. The alternative to global capitalist hegemony is not “national sovereignty”, the defence of the national against the global, but rather globalizing, i.e. internationalizing, resistance. The alternative to the Empire is not a “regulated”, “humanized” form of capitalism, but a new, socialist and democratic world civilization. Of course, in our times we have to deal with new challenges unknown to Rosa Luxemburg: ecological catastrophe and global warming. They result from the destructive dynamic of capitalists’ unlimited urge for expansion and growth and must be confronted on a global scale. In other words, the ecological crisis is a new argument for the relevance of Luxemburg’s internationalist ethos.

Rosa Luxemburg’s warning against the poison of nationalism has never been so relevant. In the world today—and particularly in Europe and the United States—nationalism, xenophobia, and racism under various “patriotic”, reactionary, fascist, or semi-fascist guises are on the rise and constitute a mortal danger for democracy and freedom. Islamophobia, antisemitism, and anti-Roma racism are rampant, enjoying open or discrete government support. Above all, xenophobic hatred of migrants—desperate populations fleeing persecution, war, and famine—is cynically promoted by neo-fascist parties and/or authoritarian governments. Orbán, Salvini, and Trump are only the most blatant and nauseating representatives of policies that scapegoat migrants—whether Muslim, African, or Mexican—and denounce them as a threat to national, racial, or religious identity. Thousands of migrants were condemned to death in the waters of the Mediterranean by the hermetic closure of Europe’s borders. One can treat this as a new form of the brutal colonialist behaviour Rosa Luxemburg so harshly denounced.

Her socialist internationalism remains an invaluable moral and political compass in the midst of this xenophobic tempest. Fortunately, Marxist internationalists are not the only ones to stubbornly oppose the racist and nationalist wave: many people all around the world, moved by humanist, religious, or moral values, are demonstrating solidarity with persecuted minorities and migrants. Trade unionists, feminists, and other social movements are busy organizing people of all races and nationalities in a common struggle against exploitation and oppression.

Is reactionary xenophobia the only form of nationalism in the world today? One cannot deny that there are still movements of national liberation with legitimate demands for self-determination—a concept to which, as we know, Rosa Luxemburg did not subscribe. The Palestinians and the Kurds are two obvious examples. Yet it is interesting to observe that the main Kurdish left-nationalist force, the PKK (Kurdish Workers’ Party), decided to abandon the call for a separate nation-state. Criticizing nation-statism as an oppressive form, it adopted a new perspective influenced by the anarchist ideas of Murray Bookchin: “Democratic Confederalism”.

The internationalist ideas of Rosa Luxemburg, but also of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Gramsci, José Carlos Mariategui, W.E.B. Dubois, Frantz Fanon, and many others are precious instruments to understand and transform our reality. They are necessary and indispensable weapons for the struggles of our times. Nevertheless, Marxism is an open method, constantly in movement, which must cultivate new ideas and concepts to confront the new challenges of each epoch.