

La tensión cosmopolita. Avances y límites en la institucionalización del cosmopolitismo, by Caterina García Segura (ed.), (Madrid, Tecnos, 2016), 376 pp.

Cosmopolitanism has animated several debates over the last decades, among political science and International Relations scholars. The term has been given associated to several meanings and to a wide variety of practical implications. More research and investigations are however required. The book edited by Caterina García Segura aims at contributing to such debate, offering a multidisciplinary perspective together with the analysis of some sensitive policy fields. As such, it significantly supplies the International Relations scholarship and challenges the existing theoretical tools.

The main assumption of the book is that cosmopolitanism is passing through a process of change which is bringing to a new world order, called *Worldfalia*. This model reflects both the difficulties of nation states in managing current crisis, representing collective interests and producing efficient policies and the rising of communal identities which identify in shared principles and values. Contributors deepen such models trying to balance the constant tension between the expanding of *Worldfalia* and the endurance of *Westfalia*, made of those state interests and preferences which inescapably persist.

The book is divided into three parts which correspond to the different developments of principles, norms and practices of cosmopolitanism and their influence the life of global political system. In the first one, authors explain how such principles and norms institutionalise and turn into political practices. Chapters included in the second part analyse the process through which cosmopolitanism has developed within international organizations, shaping the performances of states and other relevant political actors. The third part applies norms and principles to the global policy-making processes and, in particular, to the provision of collective public goods.

As for the first one, the focus is on the institutionalization processes. In Chapter 1, Angel J. Rodrigo offers an analysis which is predominantly normative; however, law, society and politics combine, producing a 'community' which expresses three dimensions. In the social dimension, all actors are unified by common principles and values and contribute to re-shape and consolidate mutual understanding of global issues. The political one offers to States, international organizations, NGOs and non-state actors the chance to formally and informally participate in the public space, according to their multi-layered relations. Finally, the legal dimension is the one which has produced a massive and structured system of international and regional institutions, which rule an ample list of policy fields. Therefore, the global public space is populated by a multitude of actors, whose interactions generate informal practices and formal norms. The overall environment is constantly reformed and modified.

Caterina García Segura and Pablo Pareja Alcaraz (Chapter 2) provide an application of the cosmopolitan dimension on a very specific policy field, that is the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Conceived in an open and multifaceted context, pushed by NGOs and civil society actors, the R2P

principle is a paradigmatic example of how cosmopolitanism still clashes with states' performances. On one hand, it aims at characterising humanitarian interventions and violations of human rights through universal norms and behaviours. On the other, it still presents an indefinite application and lacks coordination among all existing tools. Additionally, consensus among states appears extremely diversified, with emerging countries (the chapter deepens the BRICS performances) severely opposing the application of the norm to underestimate state sovereignty. The authors affirm that, as a cosmopolitan norm which aims at being universal, R2P needs greater consent. However, a certain level of criticism or resistance is a natural part of the process and is not sufficient to delegitimise the norm itself. Therefore, the force of cosmopolitanism dwells in the ability to institutionalise and maintains norms. R2P is further deepened in the third chapter. Marta Abegon Novella and Matilde Perez Herranz explore the application of the principle to the environmental damage, to understand to what extent a responsibility to protect individuals and populations towards the implications deriving from natural and man-made disasters can be envisaged. The authors firstly discuss the relations between the environment, stability and human rights, then deepen the applicability of R2P through the case study of the Nargis cyclone, which affected Burma in 2008 and contributed to renovate the normative debate on the application of the principle and the identification of a specific responsibility. They sustain that there is no formal inclusion of environmental damage in the R2P doctrine, as it has been developed in 2005. However, the implications of disasters like Nargis and its effects on human security have created those premises which are essential for a reconsideration of the problem. According to the authors, the international community should be provided with a cosmopolitan approach and develop an agenda of prevention and reconstruction which is inclusive of all actors (particularly civil society) and tailored on the people's needs.

In the second part of the book, contributors explore the application of cosmopolitanism within institutions and *fora*. Silvia Morgades Gil (Chapter 5) demonstrates how international law has deeply changed facing cosmopolitan effects. In particular, she analyses the European Charter of Fundamental Rights and its application by the European Court of Human Rights. She observes that the Court has significantly enlarged the applicability of jurisdiction in a broad cosmopolitan perspective, focusing more on the individuals and limiting sovereignty. The process is an irremediable one; however, she sustains that more steps can be promoted. In Chapter 6, Miguel Angel Elizalde deepens the performance of the International Atomic Energy Agency and investigates to what extent it maintains a rigid state sovereignty dominance or it rather opens to a cosmopolitan view. Through a detailed scrutiny of IAEA norms and procedures, he validates how difficult is to overcome state preferences in highly sensitive issues and to mediate among very different positions which sometimes hardly accept the legitimacy of a supranational body. However, even IAEA has started a process of change. State sovereignty continues to dominate the agency outcomes, but the legitimacy of the agency as well as some forms of collective practices are slowly enhancing. Finally, Ander Gutierrez-Solana Journoud, in Chapter 6, studies the case of G20 anticipating, already in the title, that its cosmopolitan legitimacy is impossible. G20 is a flexible, informal forum which do not generate norms but rather aims at harmonise understandings and approaches among the most relevant states. As such, it perfectly fits

into the model of multilateral institutions, allowing states to cooperate without being constrained. Its cosmopolitan legitimacy is, therefore, impossible. The total and deliberate exclusion of civil society and any form of citizens' participation is only the most visible reason. Nor the inclusion of some more 'Southern' countries could fill the gap.

The final part of the book stresses the relation between cosmopolitanism and the provision of global public goods. In Chapter 7, José Antonio Sanahuja challenges the debate around global governance and sustainable development, introducing a North-South perspective. Development and aid policies have significantly changed after the Millennium Declaration of 2000 and, without underestimating traditional tool, have been enriched with more deliberations and inclusion of additional actors. The documents approved by the UN in 2015 are the results of these variations and witness the increase in communication and interaction. Agenda 2030 is, then, a good starting point; however, the process still needs further improvements. Karlos Perez de Armiño (Chapter 8) discusses about peace, and demonstrates how the established paradigm of liberal peace is no more able to fulfil current expectations. Through the analysis of the fundamentals of such paradigm, the author joins the more critical views, sustaining that liberal peace is far away from providing real stability and satisfaction. New labels, like 'hybrid peace' are more likely to achieve the goal, since they bridge the gap between the local and global dimension. Incorporating the local views into the policies aiming at providing peace enlarge the democratic space, assure more accountability and more participation. Thus, the local dimension enriches the understanding of international society and the peace and conflict dynamics. The last chapter, written by Itziar Ruiz-Gimenez Arrieta offers a gender analysis. For the first time, in 2015, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution concerning the relation among women, peace and security. It was an important step and, according to the author, it is within the international organisation like the UN, that gender issue started to gain more attention and strengthened. The liberal peace paradigm represents the ideal framework for understanding how feminist movements grow and achieve a cosmopolitan dimension. The so-called Gender Agenda is still a very controversial tool: some scholars celebrate it as a global accomplishment, while others consider it as limited and sectarian. The author concludes that, for sure, gender issues are currently living in a very cosmopolitan dimension.

In conclusion, all chapters follow a unique path which brings the reader towards a better understanding of how cosmopolitanism is changing the world order, through principles, norms, practices and rules of the game. The book is particularly interesting to a wide variety of scholars, from different backgrounds, not limited to Political Science, International Relations and Law, but it also provides valuable insights to practitioners. Cosmopolitanism is a doctrine which certainly requires deep theoretical reflections but also provokes significant political implications.

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