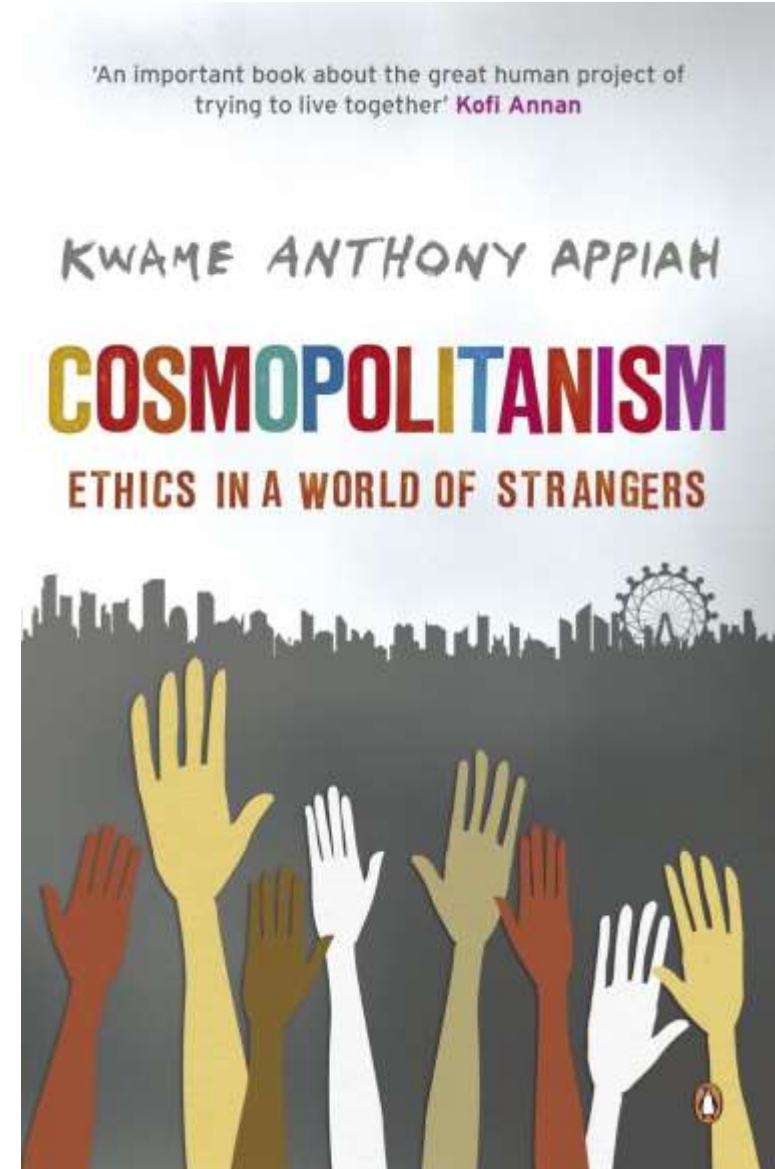




Martha Nussbaum:
Feeling, Fragility,
Flourishing

12. Cosmopolitanism



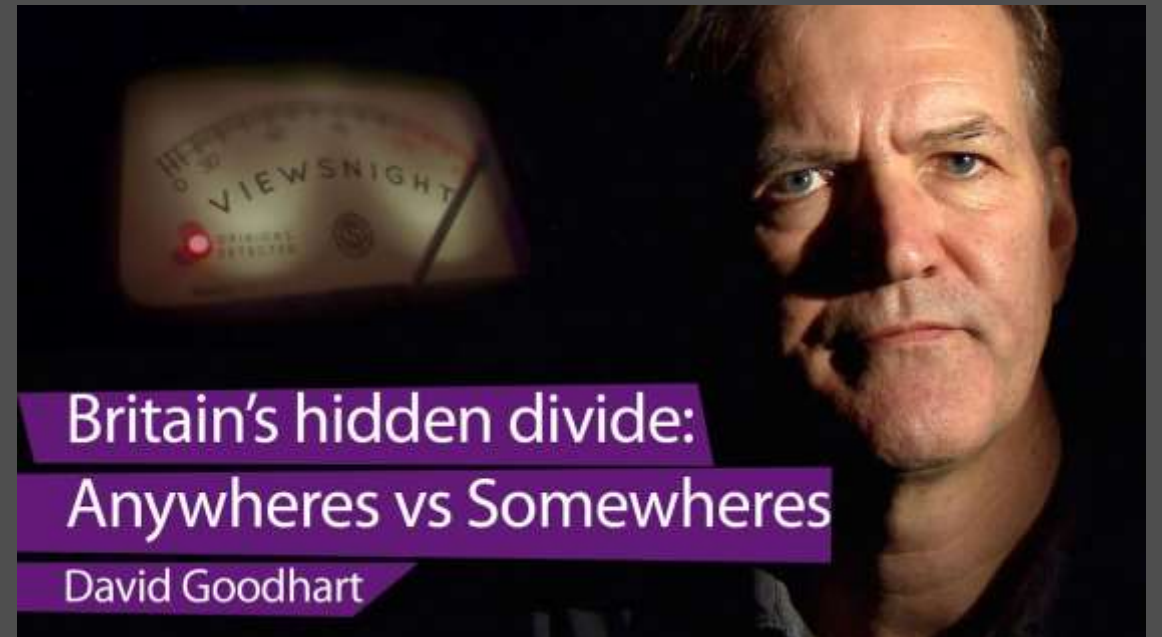
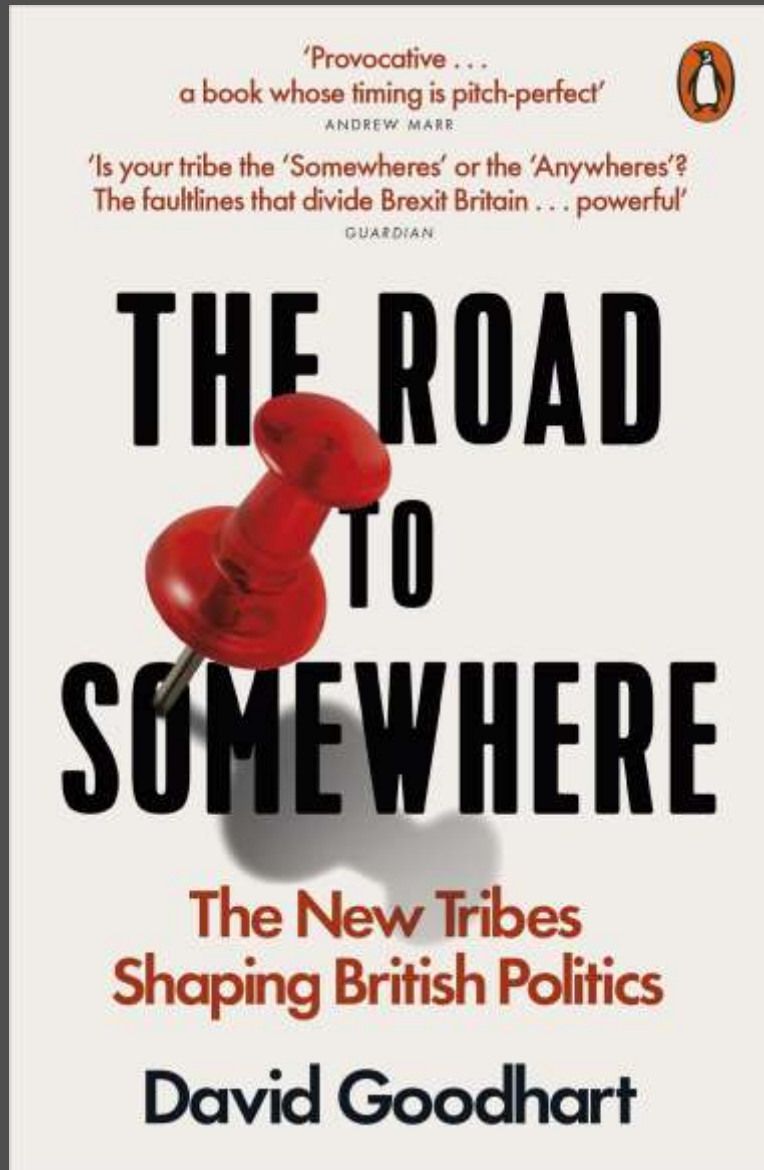


‘And the one thought that cosmopolitans share is that no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibilities to every other.’

‘I am urging that we should learn about people in other places, take an interest in their civilizations, their arguments, their errors, their achievements, not because that will bring us to agreement, but because it will help us get used to one another.’

– Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*





Britain's hidden divide:
Anywheres vs Somewheres

David Goodhart

Anywheres



- ‘The most typical Anywhere is a liberally-inclined graduate’
- “generally belong to the mobile minority who went to a residential university and then into a professional job, usually without returning to the place they were brought up”
- “predominate among decision makers and opinion formers”
- “are highly concentrated in London and the other main metropolitan centres, as well as university towns”
- “broadly welcome change and are not nostalgic for a lost Britain”
- “value autonomy and self-realisation before stability, community and tradition”

Somewheres

- “the average Somewhere is on a middling income, having left school before doing A-levels”
- “tend to be older and come from the more rooted middle and lower sections of society, from small towns and suburbia”
- “do not generally welcome change... older Somewheres are nostalgic for a lost Britain”
- “place a high value of security and familiarity, and have strong group attachments”
- “regret the passing of a more structured and tradition bound world”



Edited by
**Ian Geary and
Adrian Pabst**

Blue Labour

Forging a New Politics



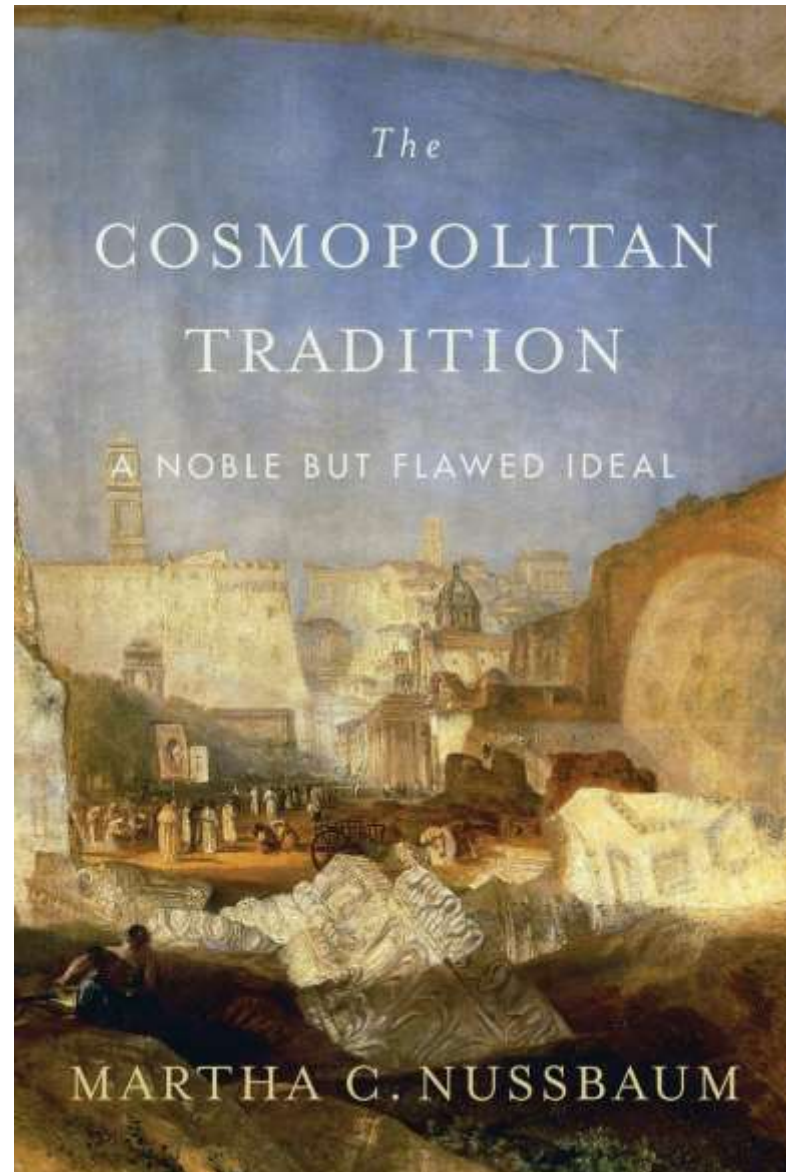
A PELICAN
BOOK

National Populism

The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy

Roger Eatwell and
Matthew Goodwin









“Ask me for anything you want,” Alexander said.
He said, “Get out of my light””

‘One day he saw a child drinking out of its hands.
He hurled away the cup from his purse, saying, ‘A
little child has beaten me in simplicity of life’”

Plato: “if you had paid court to Dionysius, you
would not have been washing lettuce.”

Diogenes: “If you had washed lettuce, you would
not have been paying court to Dionysius”.’




‘A Greek male refuses the invitation to define himself by lineage, city, social class, even free birth, even gender. He insists on defining himself in terms of a characteristic that he shares with all other human beings, male and female, Greek and non-Greek, slave and free.





And by calling himself not simply a dweller in the world but a citizen of the world, Diogenes suggests, as well, the possibility of a politics, or a moral approach to politics, that focuses on the humanity we share rather than the marks of local origin, status, class, and gender that divide us.’

‘Cynic / Stoic cosmopolitanism urges us to recognize the equal, and unconditional, worth of all human beings, a worth grounded in moral choice-capacity (or perhaps even this is too restrictive?), rather than on traits that depend on fortuitous natural or social arrangements.’





‘What is this something? Throughout the later Cynic / Stoic tradition it is imagined as a set of capacities for practical reasoning and choice, capacities that all humans possess to a sufficient degree, and that no non-human creature possesses to any appreciable degree.’ (69)

- ‘Alexander pronounces his rank to Diogenes by saying, “I am Alexander the Great King.” Diogenes responds with his own rank, “I am Diogenes the Cynic,” which is to say “Diogenes the Dog”’.
 - *Kynikos* – dog-like
 - Antithenes, another leading Cynic, was nicknamed *Haplokuon*, ‘a simple dog’.
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The Cynics

- Concerned with a way of living, *askesis*, that rejects and questions social conventions (*nomos*), and which is sceptical about religious and political authority.
- Nature is the standard of judgement. They embrace hardship, simplicity, openness about public functions.
- ““Observing a fool tuning a harp, ‘Are you not ashamed,’ he said, ‘to give this wood concordant sounds, while you fail to harmonize your soul with your life?’
- To one who protested ‘I am unfit to study philosophy,’ Diogenes said, ‘Why then live, if you do not care to live well?’”

CYNICISM

ANSGAR ALLEN



THE MIT PRESS ESSENTIAL KNOWLEDGE SERIES

The Cynics

- Three ideals appear: *eleutheria* (freedom of liberty); *autarkeia* (self-sufficiency); *parrhesia* (freedom of speech).
- Diogenes 'would rebuke men in general with regard to their prayers, declaring that they asked for things which seemed to them to be good, not for such as are truly good'
- Diogenes "used to say that he followed the example of the trainers of choruses; for they too set the note a little high, to ensure that the rest should hit the right note"

Nussbaum: cynics reject material aid

- To respect equal dignity, we must ‘scoff at money, rank, and power’ as ‘unnecessary for human flourishing’ (5).
- In the cosmopolitan tradition (as Nussbaum loosely defines it), the ‘dignity of moral capacity is complete in itself’, therefore it eschews and does not demand material aids.
- It may invoke pacifism and challenge human rights abuses. But ‘it imposes no duties of material aid—on the grounds that human beings do not really need the goods of fortune’.
- ‘Philosophers such as Cicero, Seneca, and Marcus, well-traveled and busily engaged in projects of imperial expansion, should not have neglected them’...





Nussbaum: material aid

- Why didn't he ask Alexander "I want you to give all your subjects a decent minimum living standard, including adequate nutrition and basic health care?"
- No state had anything that provided anything like this. Medical expertise is possessed only by a few, while adequate nutrition is dependent on farming and seasonal factors.
- Nussbaum freely judges past thinkers and traditions by early 21st century liberal norms.
- What Diogenes strives for is independence. 'He would be saying, you have power over me, and he would be paying court to that power.' To ask this, he would be acknowledging his own need.
- 'I think that is how the Cynics saw things.' ...



DIOGENES SYNDROME

A CLINICAL STUDY OF GROSS NEGLECT IN OLD AGE

[A.N.G. Clark](#) • [G.D. Mankikar](#) • [Ian Gray](#)

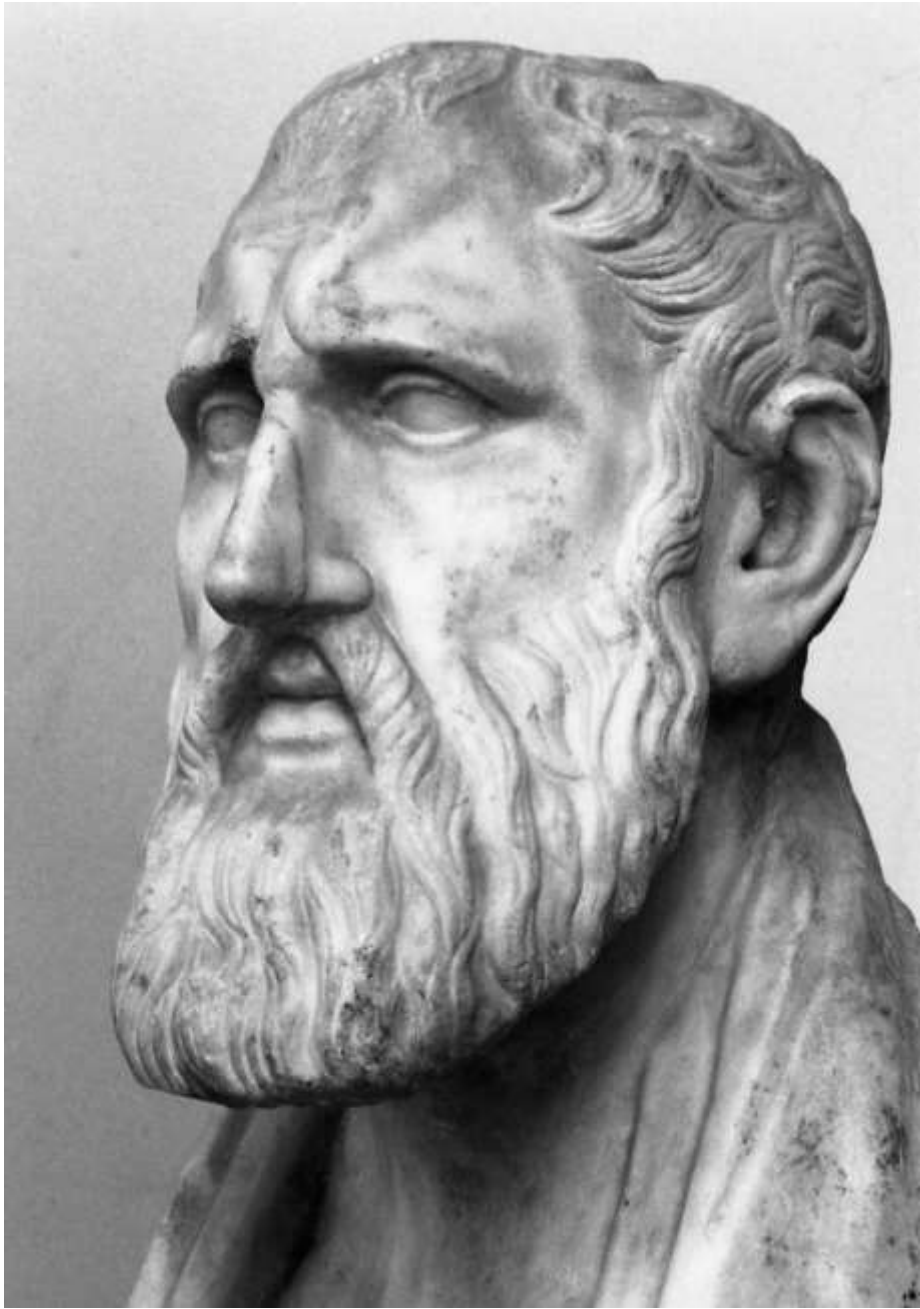
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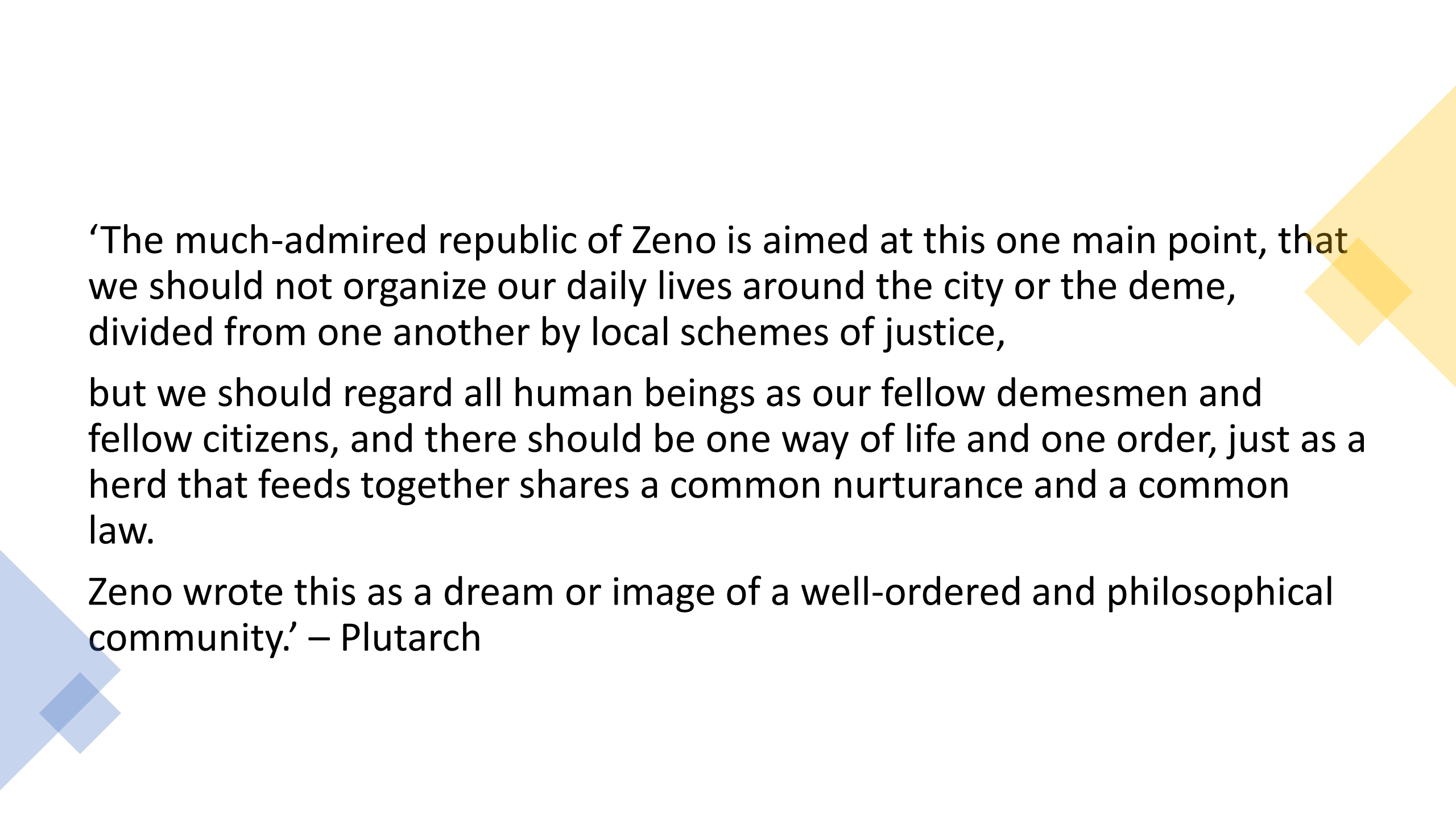
Abstract

Article Info

Abstract

A study of elderly patients (fourteen *Summary* men, sixteen women) who were admitted to hospital with acute illness and extreme self-neglect revealed common features which might be called Diogenes syndrome. All had dirty, untidy homes and a filthy personal appearance about which they showed no shame. Hoarding of rubbish (sylllogomania) was sometimes seen. All except two lived alone, but poverty and poor housing standards were not a serious problem. All were known to the social-services departments and a third had persistently refused offers of help. An acute presentation with falls or collapse was common, and several physical diagnoses could be made. Multiple deficiency states were found—including iron, folate, vitamin B₁₂, vitamin C, calcium and vitamin D, serum proteins and albumin, water, and potassium. The mortality, especially for women, was high (46%); most of the survivors responded well and were discharged. Half showed no evidence of psychiatric disorder and possessed higher than average intelligence. Many had led successful professional and business lives, with good family backgrounds and upbringing. Personality





‘The much-admired republic of Zeno is aimed at this one main point, that we should not organize our daily lives around the city or the deme, divided from one another by local schemes of justice, but we should regard all human beings as our fellow demesmen and fellow citizens, and there should be one way of life and one order, just as a herd that feeds together shares a common nurturance and a common law.

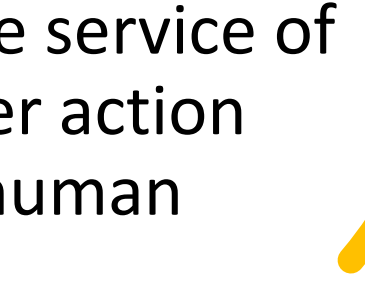
Zeno wrote this as a dream or image of a well-ordered and philosophical community.’ – Plutarch




Marcus Aurelius

- 'If reason is common, so too is law; and if this is common, then we are fellow citizens. If this is so, we share in a kind of organized polity. And if that is so, the world is as it were a city-state'
- 'My city and my country, as I am Antoninus, is Rome; as I am a human being, it is the world'.
- Criticism 1: the Stoics ground equality in 'the potentiality of moral reason' (76)
- Criticism 2: Marcus advocates an impoverished, 'barren' life





Criticism 1: Moral Equality

- In the *Meditations* this does not appear. He seems to instead have in mind acting justly, and acting for the common good.
 - So when Nussbaum says the Stoics have an unpalatable position on excluding the disabled, this has not been demonstrated.
 - In fact Marcus would probably advocate the opposite...
 - 'Your only joy, and your only rest, is to pass from one action performed in the service of the human community to another action performed in the service of the human community' (85).
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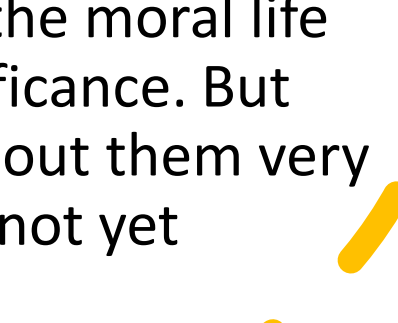
‘Remember that the term Rational was intended to signify a discriminating attention to every several thing and freedom from negligence;
and that Equanimity is the voluntary acceptance of things which are assigned to thee by the common nature;
and the Magnanimity is the elevation of the intelligent part above the pleasurable or painful sensations of the flesh, and above that poor thing called fame, and death, and all such things.

If then, thou maintainest thyself in the possession of these names, without desiring to be called by these names by others, thou wilt be another person and wilt enter into another life.’ (X, 8)

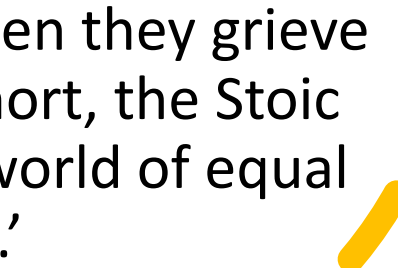




Criticism 2: An impoverished life

- 'If education is not external to virtue, but required for human flourishing, then the Stoics are just flatly inconsistent when they claim that we don't need anything beyond our power to flourish.' (82)
 - *But where do they argue this?*
 - Marcus: 'If there is a shortage of things indifferent,' he writes, "do not imagine that there is any great evil present; for that is a bad habit. But still, as the old man in the play . . . gave his child back the little top, fully mindful that it was just a top, you too behave in a similar way' (V.36).
 - Nussbaum: 'Do not think, yourself, that the externals around which the drama of the moral life revolves are of deep and abiding significance. But recognize that most people do care about them very intensely, like little children who have not yet developed a sense of true value.'
- 

Criticism 2: An impoverished life

- Marcus doesn't really value what matters – love, family...
 - 'The tendency to justice, but no urgent work for justice to accomplish. Goodness without deep love of family, children, friends.'
 - His highly detached outlook would 'hardly prove sufficient to motivate energetic efforts of benevolence, or, indeed, to make a world humanly worth dwelling in'.
 - Condescending: 'Are most human beings just "fools" when they mind the loss of liberty, when they grieve over the deaths of loved ones? ... In short, the Stoic attitude to externals bodes ill for the world of equal respect and reciprocity that they prize.'
- 




Marcus: 'Think all the time about how human beings of all sorts, and from all walks of life and all peoples, are dead . . .

We must arrive at the same condition where so many clever orators have ended up, so many grave philosophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates; so many heroes of the old days, so many recent generals and tyrants.

And besides these, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, other highly intelligent minds, thinkers of large thoughts, hard workers, versatile in ability, daring people, even mockers of the perishable and transitory character of human life, like Menippus. Think about all of these that they are long since in the ground . . .

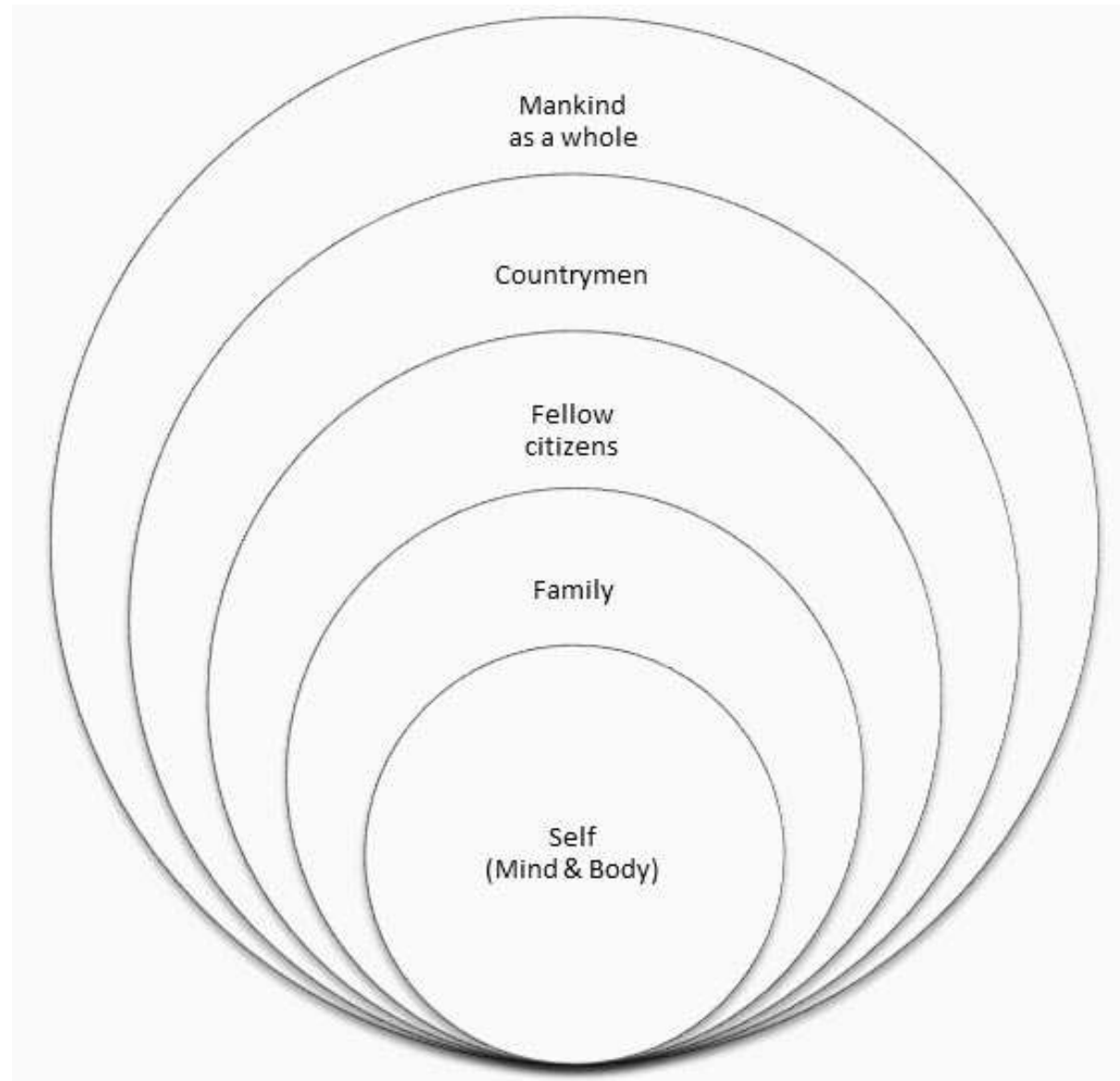
And what of those whose very names are forgotten? So: one thing is worth a lot, to live out one's life with truth and justice, and with kindness toward liars and wrongdoers.' (VI.47)

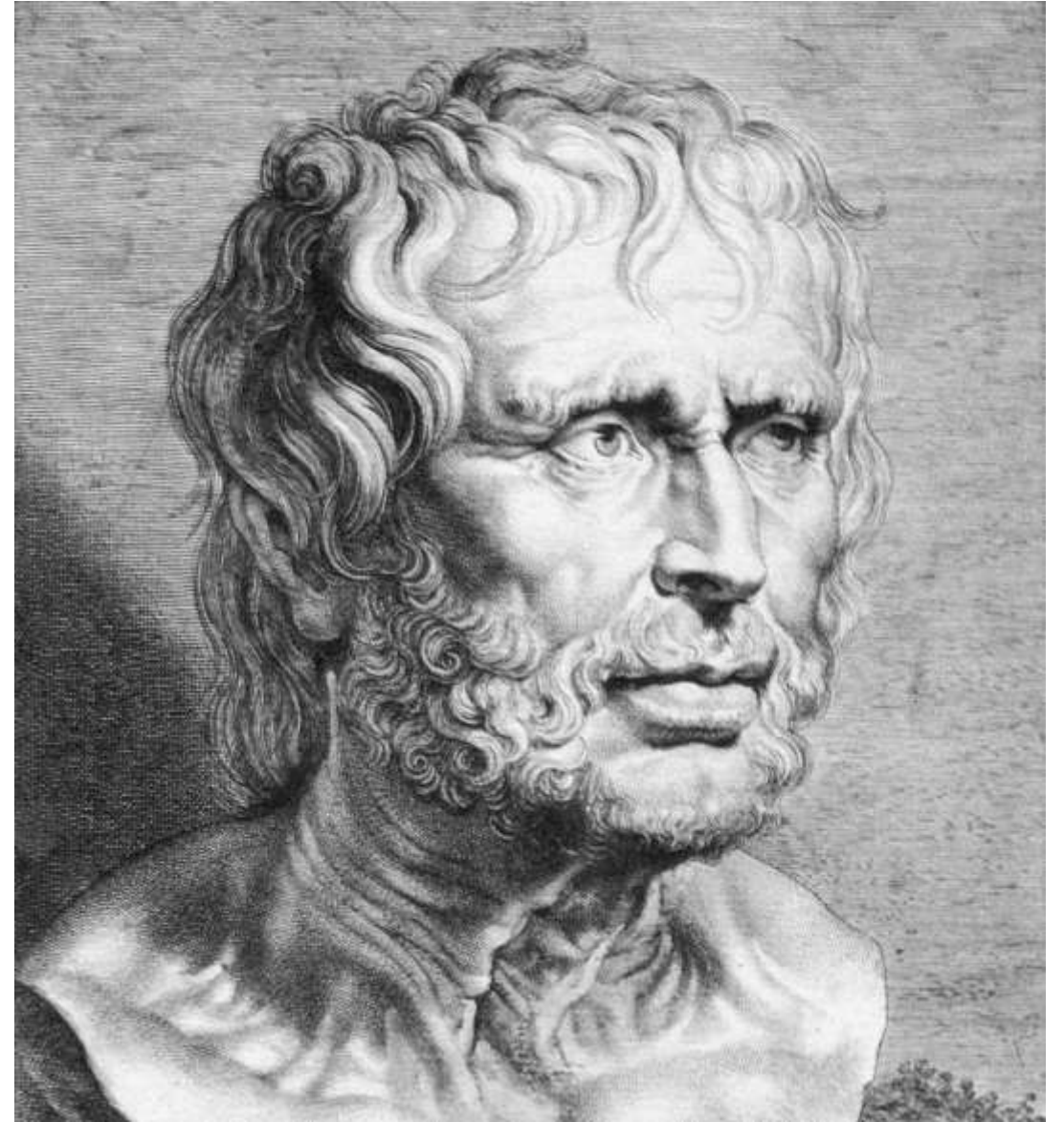
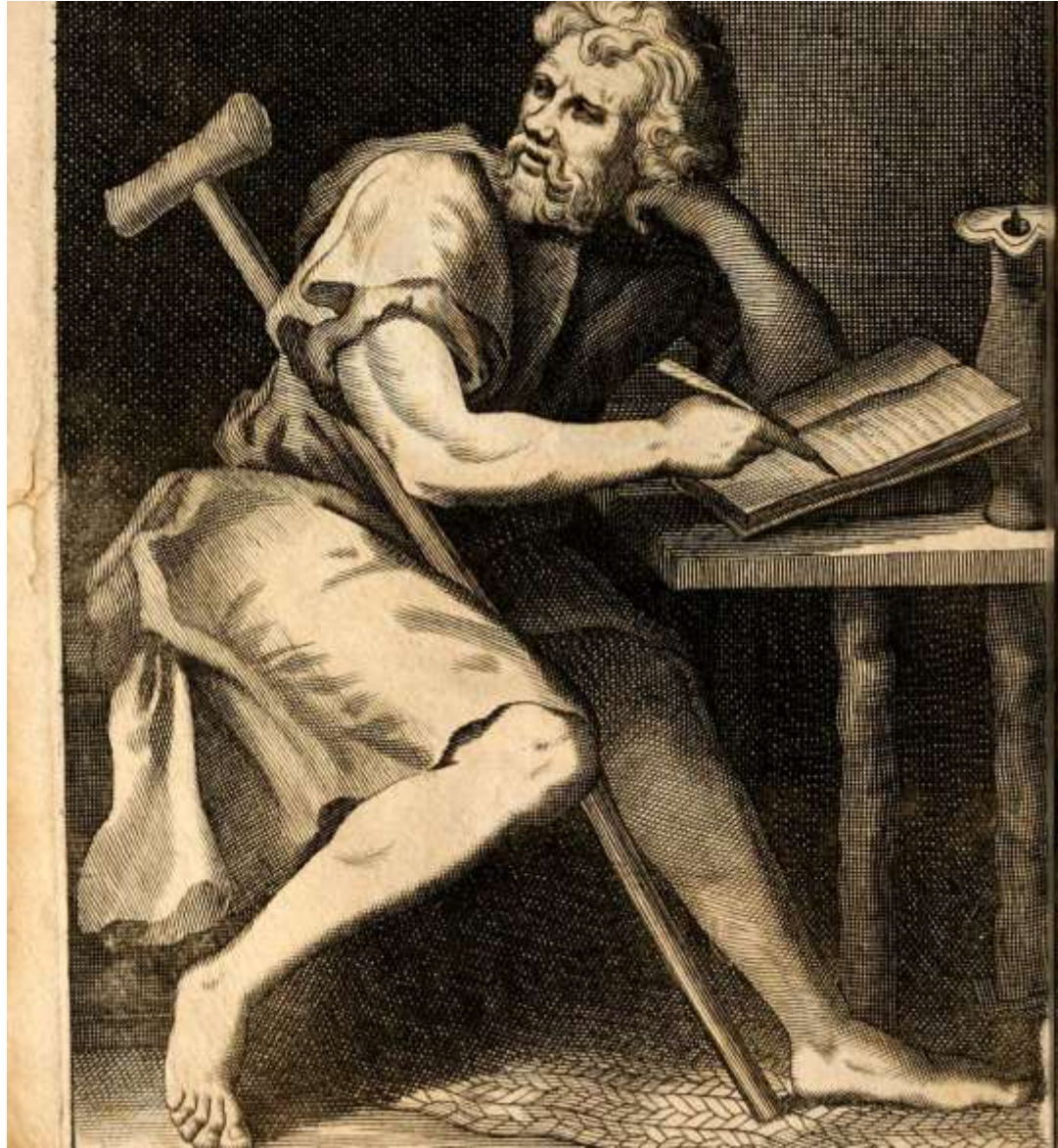


Nussbaum: 'Because we shall die, we must recognize that everything particular about us will eventually be wiped out. Family, city, sex, children, all will pass into oblivion.

So really, giving up those attachments is not such a big deal. What remain, the only things that remain, are truth and justice, the moral order of the world.

In the face of the looming inevitability of our end, we should not mind being dead already. Only the true city should claim our allegiance.'



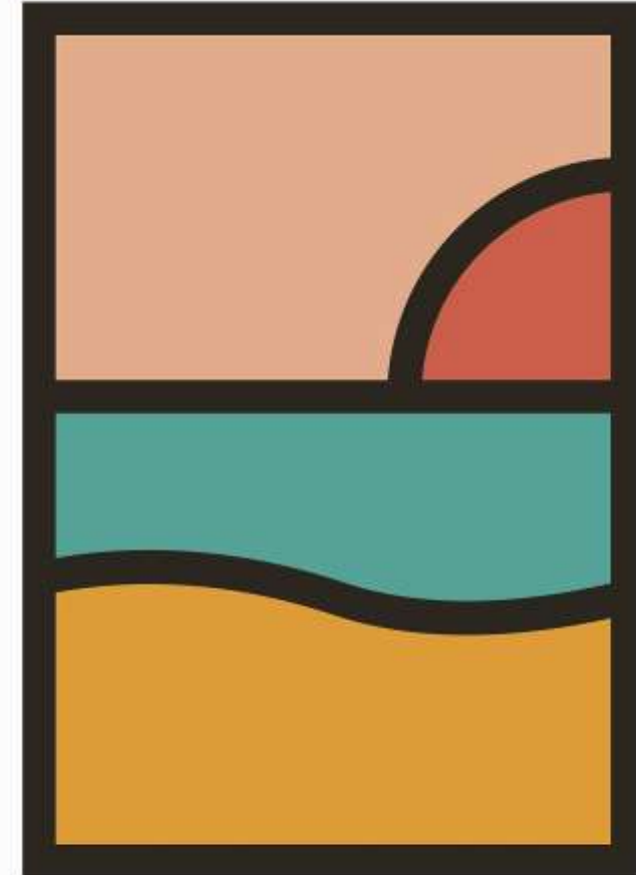
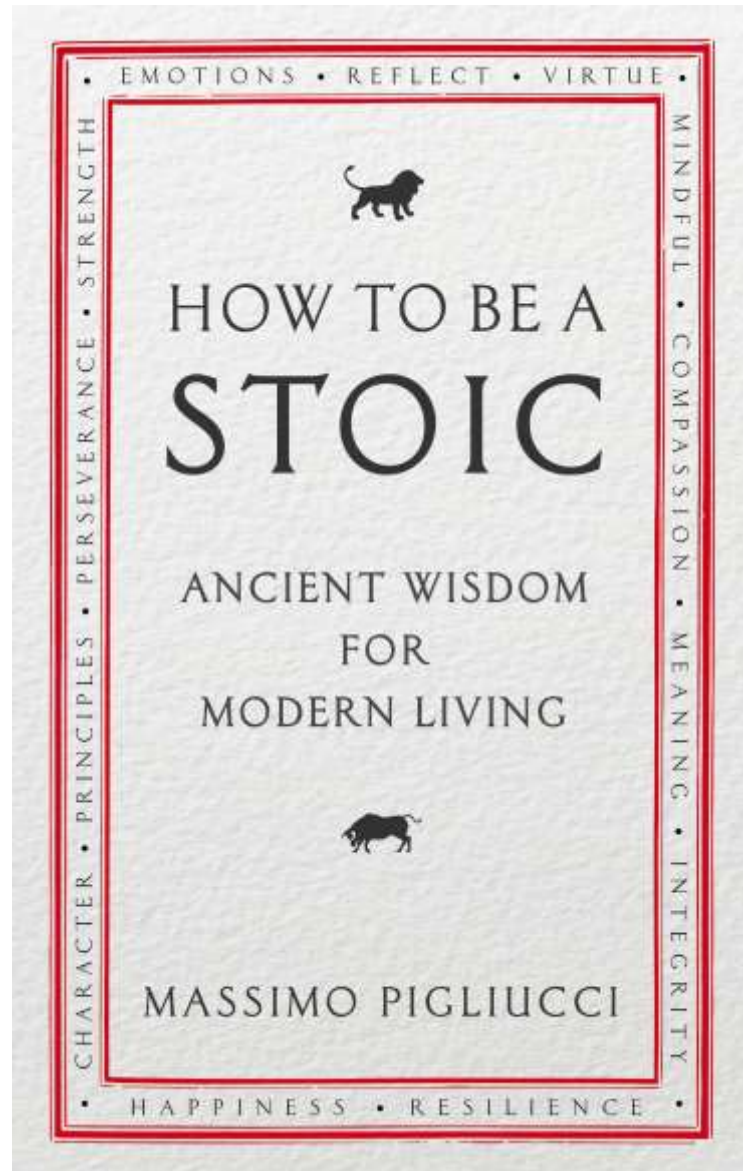


‘What fortune does not give, she does not take away’ – Seneca

‘You must remind yourself that you love a mortal, and that nothing that you love is your very own; it is given you for the moment, not for ever nor inseparably, but like a fig or a bunch of grapes at the appointed season of the year, and if you long for it in winter you are a fool.






So too if you long for your son or your friend, when it is not given you to have him, know that you are longing for a fig in winter time.’

– Epictetus, *Discourses*.



John Sellars
Lessons
in Stoicism

What ancient
philosophers
teach us about
how to live

- 
- For the Stoics, ‘their training aimed at shifting our emotional spectrum, away from unhealthy emotions like anger, fear and hatred, and toward the mindful cultivation of healthy emotions like love, joy, and a sense of justice.
 - They even used distinct words for the two classes (as I’m sure Nussbaum knows well): pathē (from which our modern “pathology” comes from) and eupatheiai (which literally means good emotions!)’
 - - Massimo Pigliucci, author of *How to be a Stoic*
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‘a violation of right on one place of the earth is felt in all’ – *Perpetual Peace*

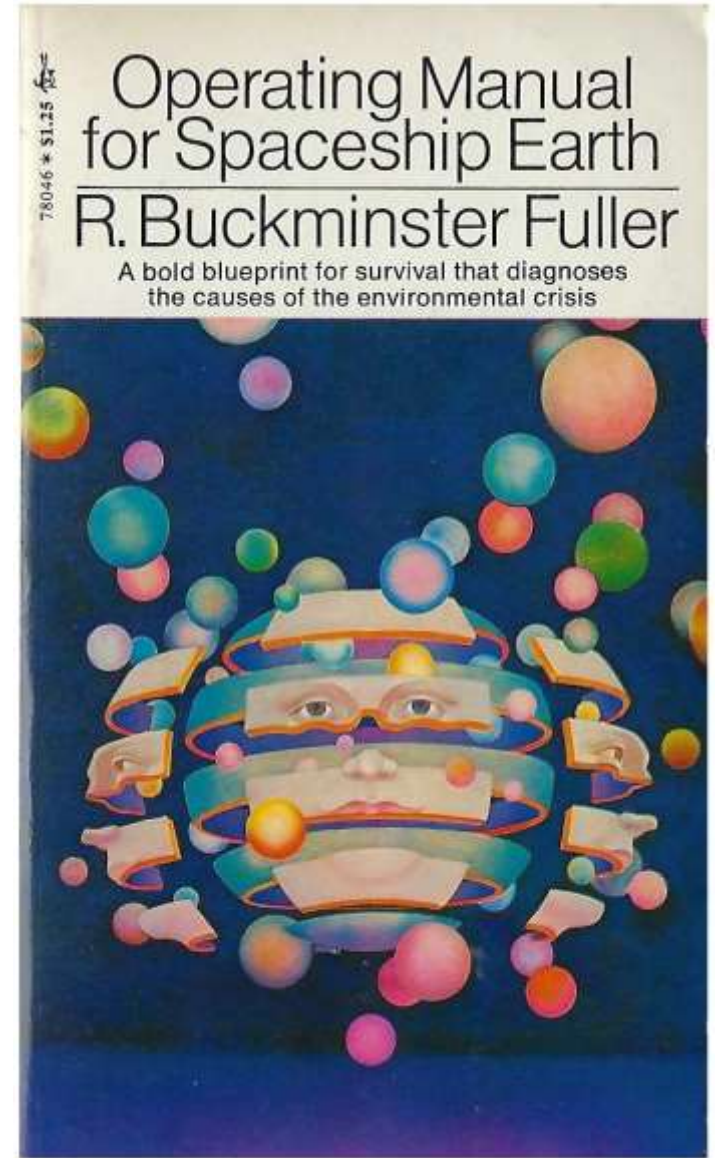
The difficulty of cosmopolitanism

- ‘A few rare human beings may be able to have intense love and concern that is truly cosmopolitan (compatible with due respect for all human life and due attention to the just claims of all) and to live their lives with an awareness of the equal worth and the equal needs of all. But once we let the passions back in, we will discover that they are not stably supportive of these ends.’
- Aristotle, *Politics*: “‘There are two things that make people love and care for something: the thought that it is all theirs, and the thought that it is the only one they have. Neither of these will be present in that city.’



‘recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world’







Climate Change Will Create 1.5 Billion Migrants by 2050 and We Have No Idea Where They'll Go



OPINION

California fires, rising seas: Millions of climate refugees will dwarf Dust Bowl by 2100

Yvette D. Clarke and Michael Shank | Opinion contributors

Published 1:22 PM EST Nov 6, 2019

“Climate refugee” is likely a new term for most Americans. Also referred to as environmental migrants, climate refugees are people who are now forced to seek refuge from the life-threatening impacts of the climate crisis.

Sport

Culture

Lifestyle

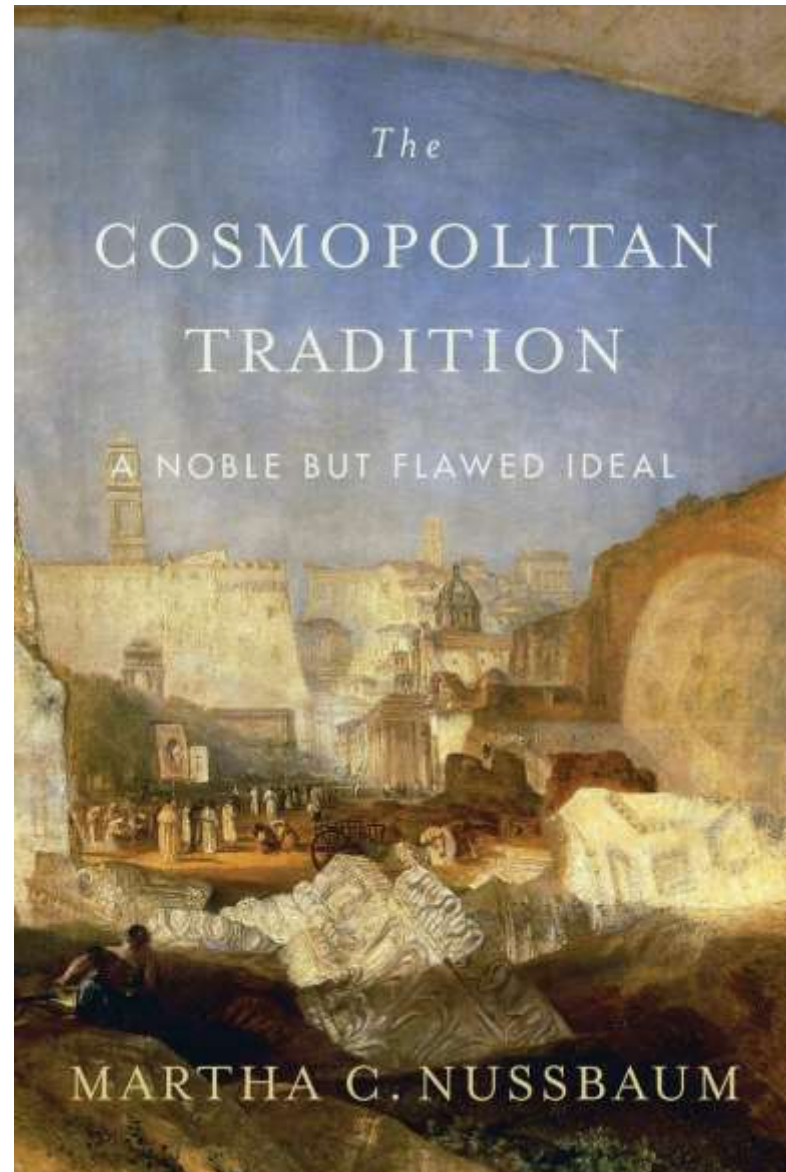
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otted temperature rises against the number of tions and are predicting that as the southern eats up the number of people migrating to the EU riple

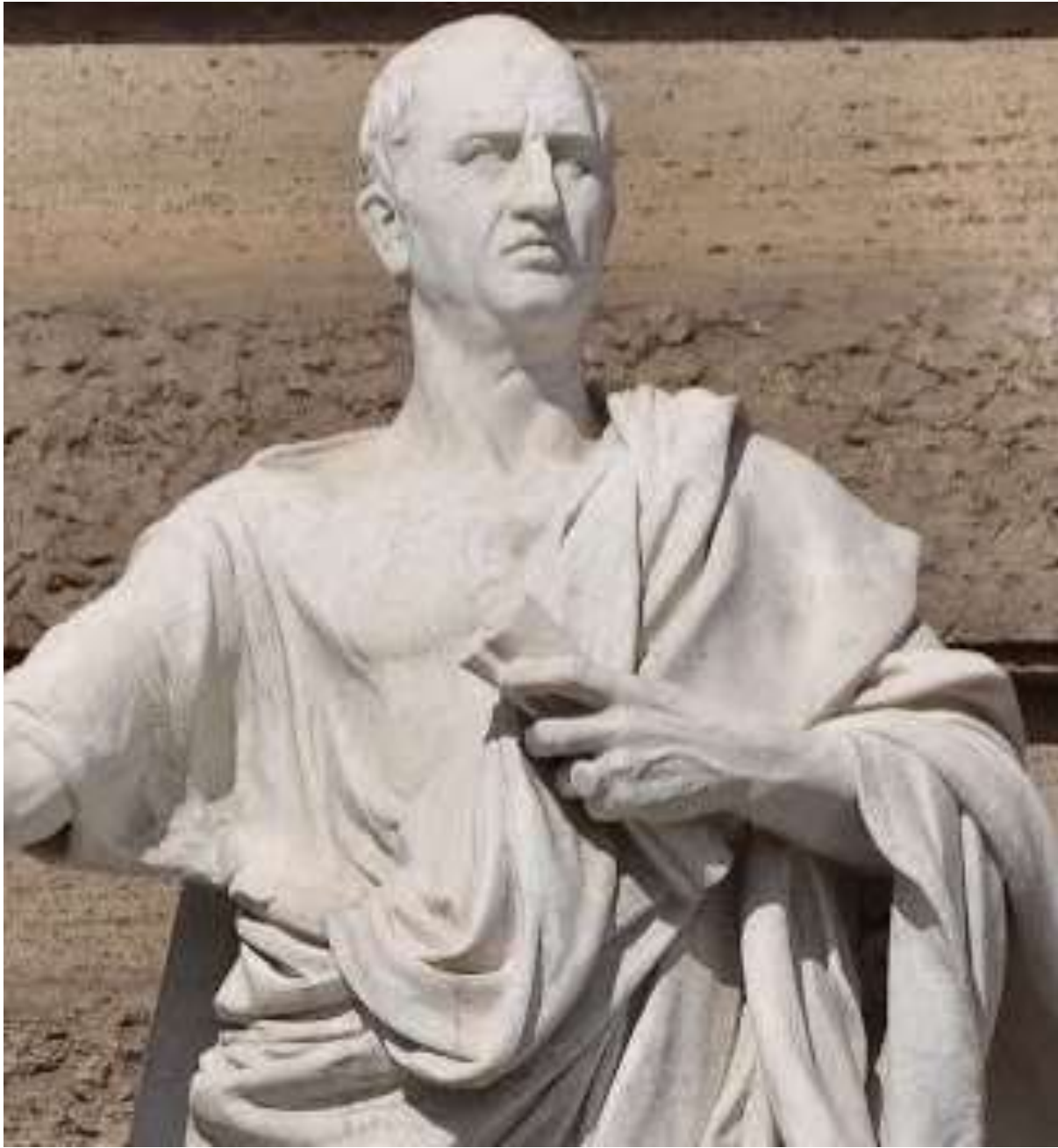




Evaluating *The Cosmopolitan Tradition*

- ‘The gates of the cosmic city must open to all.’
- Advocates a middle-ground of overlapping doctrines
- Liberal nationalism and pared back internationalism, where domestic law is sovereign
- Vague calls for material aid, but no detail how
- Nor is the cosmopolitan tradition really defined
- Majority of citations are to previous Nussbaum titles





‘There is a true law, a right reason, conformable to nature, universal, unchangeable, eternal, whose commands urge us to duty, and whose prohibitions restrain us from evil’. – Cicero, *Of The Republic*

‘whoever sets a republic in order and establishes its laws must necessarily assume that all men are evil and that they must always make use of the malice in their soul whenever opportunity gives them free reign’ – Machiavelli, *The Prince*



‘Do not despise your inner world. That is the first and most general piece of advice I would offer

... Our society is very outward-looking, very taken up with the latest new object, the latest piece of gossip, the latest opportunity for self-assertion and status.

But we all begin our lives as helpless babies, dependent on others for comfort, food, and survival itself. And even though we develop a degree of mastery and independence, we always remain alarmingly weak and incomplete, dependent on others and on an uncertain world for whatever we are able to achieve.’





Three features

1. Philosophy should be therapeutic

‘Lucretius is a poet; Cicero typically writes in dialogue form; Seneca writes both dialogues and epistles. Precisely because the philosophical agenda of all three of these great thinkers is therapeutic, they have chosen forms of writing that are hard to teach in the usual analytic manner.

... The point of saying that philosophy should be therapeutic is not to say that philosophy ought to subordinate its own characteristic commitments to some other norms (e.g., flourishing, calm); it is, rather, to say that you can get the good things you are searching for (flourishing, calm) only through a lifelong commitment to the pursuit of argument. Other figures in the culture-soothsayers, magicians, astrologers, politicians-all claim to provide what people want, without asking them to think critically and argue.’

– *Therapy of Desire*

Three features

2. Emotions can enhance our power of thinking

‘Like gusts of wind or the currents of the sea, they move, and move the person, but obtusely, without vision of an object or beliefs about it’

We should understand them instead as ‘intelligent responses’ to important concerns

‘Instead of viewing morality as a system of principles to be grasped by the detached intellect, and emotions as motivations that either support or subvert our choice to act according to principle, we will have to consider emotions as part and parcel of the system of ethical reasoning’

– *Upheavals of Thought*

3. Thinking begins by recognising our dependence on others

‘[Aristotle]’s insistence that human beings are both vulnerable and active, his insistence on their need for a rich and irreducible plurality of functions, his emphasis on the role of love and friendship in the good life

... the absence, in Aristotle, of any sense of universal human dignity, a fortiori of the idea that the worth and dignity of human beings is equal ... For the Stoics, by contrast, the bare possession of the capacity for moral choice gives us all a boundless and an equal dignity.’

– *Fragility of Goodness*

‘we must reject one more key element of Stoicism: the contention that human beings are, in matters of the greatest importance, immune to the ravages of luck. Without a full appreciation of the needs people have for things outside themselves – food, shelter, bodily safety, the conditions of political participation – we just don't have sufficient reason to say that certain political arrangements are of urgent importance, and that others violate human dignity.

... human dignity is not impervious to what happens in the world, that it makes demands on the world, and is worthy of certain sorts of treatment. The task of government is to give people the social conditions of a life worthy of human dignity.’ – *Therapy of Desire*



A liveable life

‘Well, I think it means, first of all, that they are preoccupied with the idea of a life that has many different parts. That is a life that is rich and full, that involves many different activities. Now, it also turns out that these activities are not entirely under people’s control at all times.

That a lot of them, like the ability to love and care for a family, the ability to get an education, the ability to think well, even the ability to be a moral person and to choose well, all of these require support from the surrounding society

And so they have the image often of the person as like a plant, something that is fairly sturdy, that has a definite structure, but that is always in need of support from the surrounding society’ – Bill Moyers interview



Lasting questions

- What place does cosmopolitanism have in 21st century society?
- In what ways should we recognise and respond to our deepest fears and vulnerability?
- What, for you, has been most striking or helpful about Martha Nussbaum's philosophy?

That's it – thank you

- I hope you've enjoyed our journey through Nussbaum's work – I have
- We will discuss Cosmopolitanism live on Monday at 1pm – link will be emailed. Or take part in the Forum
- I'm not sure yet about next term's teaching, but some kind of remote course will take place – possibly on the Stoics. Please email me if interested!
- Questions and final thoughts to Dan.Taylor@marywardcentre.ac.uk