Sustainable development and globalisation: the necessary transformation of public policies in a cosmopolitan perspective

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ENG Abstract. We are in a moment of multidimensional crisis that affects the economic, political, social, and environmental spheres of human organizations. Thus, the globalizing dynamic has reconfigured power structures, expanding the impact of transnational phenomena on national political actors and processes. In this framework, this paper analyses the importance of developing public policies aimed at sustainable development that, in addition, incorporate a cosmopolitan dimension that makes it possible to make visible the impact of globalized structures on state political systems. This work is part of a research project that analyses the implementation of the 2030 Agenda in various European and Latin American countries. This methodological framework is allowing the development of extensive field work on public policies, sustainable development, and globalization. For this reason, the methodology used has been based mainly on an extensive bibliographic review that is integrated with analytical reflections derived from in-depth interviews with 28 experts on public policies and the 2030 Agenda. The article concludes by confirming the theoretical hypothesis raised in this work that refers to the need to integrate the cosmopolitan dimension into public policies for sustainable development to the extent that global dynamics substantially influence and reconfigure national processes, while national public policies influence global dynamics.

Keywords: Public policies, sustainable development, globalization, cosmopolitanism.
Summary: 1. Introduction. 2. Methodology. 3. Sustainable development and public policies. 4. Globalisation and public policy oriented towards sustainable development. 5. The cosmopolitan doctrine. 5.1. Cosmopolitan epistemology in the interpretation of political processes. 6. Cosmopolitism and public policy for sustainable development. Final deliberations. Bibliography.

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1. Introduction

The phenomenon of globalisation has been the most radical change experienced by societal and human organisations since the industrial revolution. Transnationalization processes and interdependence have created a world of "communities with overlapping destinies" (Held, 2005: 115), where all States, independent from their development and wealth status, can be affected by the changing complexities in this new global era. The new globalising dynamic has restructured power relations amongst States, private actors and human organisations, at the same time it has reduced and transformed the cognitive distances amongst peoples of the world. The recent experience of the global pandemic of COVID-19 affecting humanity has displayed the interdependence and vulnerability under which contemporary societies are bounded in the process of profound interconnection. (Millán y Santander, 2021).

On the other hand, empirical evidence has shown that we are facing a system in an economic, political, social and environmental crisis (United Nations, 2015; United Nations, 2020) which requires new perspectives and policies to build resilient societies that place the protection of people and environmental sustainability at the core. Globalisation has therefore been accompanied by significant dynamics of environmental degradation, precariousness, violation of rights and eco-social crises (Vilanova, 2021).

These transformation processes mean real challenges for public policy oriented towards sustainable development, which depart from the analytic frame of sustainability, redistribution, gender equality and human rights protection to configure political action and hence set public agendas of contemporary societies. In this sense, the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development intends exactly to contribute and integrate the transnational dynamics in developmental processes, stemming from the core idea that public policies are multilevel and are modified by the international arena.

Based on this analytical framework, this article aims to study how globalisation has affected the challenges concerning the configuration of public policies oriented towards sustainable development, making it so that a profound transformation of these processes becomes necessary in order to incorporate the cosmopolitan dimension that makes transnational impacts visible and incorporates them in the configuration and implementation of these policies.

With this in mind, after the introduction, the second section focuses on explaining the methodology for this article; the third section studies the importance of incorporating the concept of sustainable development as a central theme in the design of public policies; the fourth section deals with the radical changes that globalisation has brought about for national political processes and thus for the design of public policies; the fifth section explains the theoretical and methodological foundations of the cosmopolitan doctrine; and, in the sixth section, the necessary transformation of public policies for sustainable development in a cosmopolitan key are analysed. The article ends with some analytical reflections on the most important challenges facing cosmopolitan public policies in this new era of global interdependencies and crises.

As aforementioned, the problems of development have been transnationalized thus generating modifications and global challenges that can no longer be taken unilaterally by States or individual or corporative actors. As is the case of the global pandemic of COVID 19, new realities demand collective and global answers where each actor has to take common responsibilities in the local and global promotion of sustainable development (Mateos, 2021). Consequently, it is necessary to approach these transformations with a new outlook that not only takes into account the new cosmopolitan reality, but that also promotes the need for transcendence towards a new citizenship that grants rights and freedoms to all peoples as the Universal Declaration for Human Rights states (Habermas, 1999).

2. Methodology

The article presented here is part of a broader research project being developed at the Complutense University that analyses the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In this context, a theoretical, analytical and empirical journey is being elaborated on the different global processes that impact the actors and political processes in the framework of the 2030 Agenda, analysing the theoretical implications of this agenda, as well as different

case studies in order to advance in comparative studies of political science. This academic work is one of the contributions of theoretical reflection to this research. The methodology used is explained below.

Hypothesis: This study departs from the hypothesis that it is necessary to integrate a cosmopolitan dimension to public policy on sustainable development to the extent that global dynamics influence and reconfigure, in a substantial manner, national processes; at the same time, national public policies influence global dynamics.

General objective: To analyse the importance of integrating the cosmopolitan dimension into the cycle of designing public policy on sustainable development.

Methodology: The methodology used has been based on an extensive literature review on the three elements that are interconnected in this study (sustainable development, public policies and cosmopolitan doctrine) which is complemented by some reflections derived from the field study conducted in the framework of the aforementioned research (28 interviews in the analysis of the implementation of public policies for the 2030 Agenda carried out between 1 July and 31 August 2021).

This is therefore a theoretical article of analytical reflection based mainly on a wide variety of secondary sources, although it draws (more indirectly) on considerations derived from extensive fieldwork that has addressed this object of study.

3. Sustainable development and public policy

Traditionally, the hegemonic vision in the social sciences has understood that economic growth is the basic indicator of progress in human societies. Thus, conceptions related to progress, growth, competitiveness and industrialisation have been the key elements on which progress in contemporary societies is structured. In this way, the economic system has placed capital at the centre, granting privilege to activities that are based in the market and, therefore, are plausible to be monetised, evaluated and economically remunerated (Unceta, 2009). Capitalism thus proposes a system of accelerated and limitless growth, production and consumption, denying the basic essence of planetary and human nature, which is, by definition, limited and interdependent (Herrero, 2018; Radetich, 2016).

The concept of human development has sought to break this one-dimensional and economistic vision, positing development as a multidimensional sphere where people's freedom should be the basic objective of public action (Sen, 1992). From Amartya Sen's perspective, development should be oriented towards expanding the capabilities and opportunities of human beings; thus, the more capabilities and options it offers citizens, the more developed a society is. Sen thus proposes that development has a material basis - given that without basic needs covered, people are not free - and a political and social basis based on the progressive expansion of citizens' rights; the freer people are from social expectations, beliefs and prejudices, the more options they have to freely choose how to live, how to raise their children, who to love, or what to work on.

The concept of human development has meant a true paradigm shift for development theory (Iturralde, 2019), in that it has allowed academia and political actors to transcend the economicist vision to incorporate the multidimensional perspective, where the social, environmental, economic, gender, cultural and political dimensions are equally important. Furthermore, within the framework of evolution in development theory, it is necessary to incorporate the concept of sustainability, understanding this concept as the capacity of societies to satisfy the needs of the present generation without compromising the capacity of future generations (CMMAD, 1988). Thus, in contemporary debates, academic literature refers, in the framework of the 2030 Agenda, to the concept of sustainable development as a process that incorporates the environmental and social dimension in the processes of evolution of human organisations (United Nations, 2015).

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is the most important international normative development in this area, as it proposes a range of 17 goals and 169 targets to contribute to the promotion of a world centred on people, prosperity and the planet, so that all actors develop programmes and policies to "transform the world" and "leave no one behind"

(United Nations, 2015: 4). In this sense, the concept of sustainable development that has been analysed in this section - and which stands as the central foundation of the 2030 Agenda - is configured as a normative perspective that seeks to transform political action through innovative parameters that place human security at the centre. It is worth recalling the role of normative visions in political processes; as Sartori (2004) points out, social disciplines must be able to interconnect the normative dimension of the "ought to be" with the empirical dimension of what is expressed in reality. In this way, it is possible to advance in the transformation of societies under an ethical-normative horizon, but assuming the limits and contradictions that are expressed in political praxis.

In this regard, at the point of promoting sustainable development and reconfiguring social dynamics, public policy acquire a fundamental relevance not only due to their capacity of impacting society to solve social problems (Subirats, 1993; Cabrero, 2000); but also, because the implementation of these processes would mean a political positioning on the vision of society and defines to a large extent the relationship between society and the State (Oszlak & O'Donnell, 1982).

For this reason, the real challenge in this area lies in the implementation of concrete programmes that make it possible to mainstream the doctrine of sustainable development throughout the public policy cycle, from problem identification to the evaluation phase, as proposed by the 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2021; Millán, 2021). This poses significant challenges for political action if one considers that most governments have an organisational culture that tends towards verticality and compartmentalisation, and that, in addition, the institutional architecture of national governments - divided into relatively autonomous ministries and departments - makes it difficult to integrate the sustainable development perspective in a cross-cutting manner in public administrations (Arenillas, 2019).

Nevertheless, the vision of sustainable development contained in the Agenda incorporates different potentialities for more efficient and effective public management within the framework of the theories of new public administration (Arenillas, 2019). These potentialities are related to: i) strengthening the capacities of the state to intervene in the dynamics of society and the market; ii) promoting spaces for coordination and transversality between public actors; iii) focusing on the monitoring and evaluation of public policies; iv) integrating civil society actors through the configuration of networks and partnerships; and v) developing a multilevel perspective to manage global public goods and evils.

In sum, the theory of sustainable development represents an important commitment to the transformation of public policies so that they take on a leading role in the promotion of more democratic societies (Aguilar, 2009) and in the construction of a fairer and more equitable world. Despite the fact that the coherence of public policies for sustainable development is always an extremely ambitious task with significant resistance when it comes to implementation, it also represents an extraordinary opportunity to promote changes towards more horizontal, innovative, efficient and transparent political action in conjunction with an innovative public administration adapted to the challenges of contemporary times.

4. Globalisation and public policies oriented towards sustainable development

Once the concept of sustainable development that this study relies upon is defined, it is necessary to explain the structural changes that the globalisation process has meant to human societies.

Taking into account the complexity, scope and radical changes that the globalising dynamic has brought about for societies, it is not feasible to develop a complete definition of this reality. A first approximation could define globalisation as a phenomenon of intensification, immediacy and interdependence of cross-border interactions - political, economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural - between different state and transnational actors, provoking new interdependencies and shaping a new society (Del Arenal, 2002). Within this context, processes develop "whereby sovereign nation states are intermingled and intertwined by transnational actors and their respective probabilities of power, orientation, identities and various interweaving" (Beck, 1998: 29).

Globalisation hence introduces new forms of interconnectedness, at various scales, which inevitably challenge the concept of the 'other'; there are no longer 'others', as all of humanity shares a common destiny (Beck, 2004). This new configuration of human reality connects people to large-scale systems as part of a constantly shifting local and global dialectic (Sassen, 2010). These dynamics have generated an interrelated and dependent global system where the fate of communities is closely interconnected (Held, 2004).

In this manner, the nature of public problems has been transformed; thus, phenomena such as poverty, human vulnerability or social exclusion refer to risks that have transcended territorial borders to generate challenges and threats in a much wider space than the traditional nation state (Kaul et al., 1999; Millán and Santander, 2020), as demonstrated by the global pandemic that has affected almost all societies. This does not mean, however, that development problems do not respond to specific conjunctures, institutional gaps and states' incapacities to face their own national contradictions; but rather, that these problems are the result of a complex dynamic between local or national vulnerabilities and global conjunctures. Therefore, there are no national solutions to development problems that have been transnationalized, just as there are no global solutions and universal formulas for the problems specific to each community or nation.

In short, globalisation has generated changes in economic, political, social and environmental dynamics that condition the life of the people on the planet and generate global challenges that no longer can be understood as (uniquely) unilateral and national. And in this perspective, it becomes necessary to analyse the configuration of public policy in contemporary times.

5. The Cosmopolitan doctrine

The contemporary cosmopolitan vision began to acquire relevance from the different research studies focused on the structural changes inherent to globalisation which, in the 1990s, acquired a relevant role in various social science research programmes. The fact that the process of globalisation implies a deep questioning of the concept of nation-state has given new impetus to the cosmopolitan doctrine. This is why cosmopolitanism has become an important philosophical and political outlook for much of contemporary social science (Delanty, 2002).

It is worth noting, however, that the development of the theoretical and epistemological construction of cosmopolitanism has been fundamentally shaped at the normative level, as opposed to the state project based on nationalism that has been effectively realised in history and remains the prevailing scheme in contemporary societies' conception of state, law and citizenship. Consequently, cosmopolitanism can be understood, in the first instance, as a humanist vision that adopts a Kantian conception of equality, while seeking to generate a normative option in favour of a social and political order different from the existing order, although it limits the range of these options to alternatives that are possible to the current world (Cox, 1996).

From a historical-philosophical perspective, cosmopolitanism is based on the ideal that all human beings should be considered as members of a single ethico-political community, the cosmopolitan community. In this approach, fundamental rights are attributed to people by their very human nature without distinction of nationality, race, sex, ethnicity or any other particularities. The first principle that should guide cosmopolitan doctrine is that the ultimate units of moral concern are people, regardless and on top of the goals of states or any other human organisation (Beardsworth, 2008). This would imply the configuration of a system of open borders and global justice (Velasco, 2020).

Derived from this conceptualisation of citizenship and rights, the cosmopolitan stance assumes that we find ourselves in a world with increasingly porous borders where it is necessary to promote a global system of rights for individual subjects. Cosmopolitanism thus opposes any vision of citizenship restricted by legal, nationalist, ethnic or regionalist criteria. If we take into account the complex processes inherent to the dynamics of globalisation, the cosmopolitan perspective seems to be adequate to understand the various structural changes in international society, such as: the generation of a global economic order that ignores national

borders, the legal transformations in the international order, the increase in migratory pressures, the generation of ecological risks that have acquired a planetary dimension, the transformations in information technologies and the changes in the configuration of armed conflicts. In this context, cosmopolitanism transcends the normative role to assume a new epistemology (Beck, 2005) that can explain and analyse these new social phenomena. Cosmopolitanism can therefore be understood as a philosophical doctrine, a new methodological vision and a "realist" interpretation of the structural changes of the current global era.

5.1 The Cosmopolitan epistemology in the understanding of political processes

Having briefly described the cosmopolitan doctrine, it is time to analyse the implications of assuming this perspective within the framework of political practice. In this sense, cosmopolitan epistemology questions the basic pillars on which the political processes organised around the foundations of the nation state and the national outlook derived from this conception are interpreted.

In this sense, the national view conceptualises the world as a series of organised states separated by borders and framed within a defined and autonomous political, social, economic and cultural sphere. The state is the conceptual frame of reference and is constituted as a complete and closed social system that provides the "political ceiling of national culture" (Schlesinger, 2008: 26). This nationalist epistemology assumes view of social phenomena centred around the state, with the state working as the frame of reference and 'containment' for political theory and practice (Smith and Guarnido, 2000). Consistent with this perspective, social science research programmes have traditionally assumed that the state is the container and the limit of a society. In this way, the national view identifies society with the state as a single unit of analysis, homogenising citizenship as a culturally and socially uniform entity.

However, as has been explained, the transnationalization of development processes in contemporary societies means that political dynamics are no longer delimited by the limits of the nation state. The analysis of social, economic, political and cultural reality based on the category of the nation-state does not seem to be a conceptual approach that responds to the structural changes of the current globalised era. Therefore, from a methodological perspective, dividing national and international spaces as if they were independent compartments of analysis seems to be a totally insufficient approach for understanding the structural dynamics of political phenomena.

Therefore, the cosmopolitan methodological perspective proposes transforming and redefining analytical approaches to study the concept of the state and democracy, power structures, political processes and social dynamics. In this context, methodological cosmopolitanism makes it possible to capture realities that escape the borders of the state, realities that are transnational and cannot be explained from a national perspective. Likewise, this methodological vision implies assuming the multidimensionality of political phenomena, which is why the cosmopolitan doctrine should assume an interdisciplinary character.

Methodological cosmopolitanism thus becomes an instrument that allows us to open up to this new cosmopolitan reality on two levels, temporal and spatial. On the spatial level, national-international relations give way to multi-level relational patterns with translocal and local-global dynamics. On the temporal plane, it is necessary to construct an imaginary of a common past and future, so the process of cosmopolitisation opens up a new phenomenon where the boundaries of current thinking must be diluted to imagine a common, multilevel reality that uses multiple lenses to understand the complexity of current reality (Beck, 2005; Archibughi, 2003).

In sum, the Cosmopolitan outlook opens up an epistemology that allows the analysing of structural changes that constitute a fundamental part of global processes both from the perspective of theory as from the perspective of political science.

Table 1: Epistemological views to conceptualise political processe

National outlook

- Citizenship is linked to the nation-state
- Transnational dynamics are not considered in the understanding of national political processes.
- Transnational impact of public policy designed in the "domestic" sphere is obscured.

Cosmopolitan outlook

- Citizenship must be granted under the premise of humanity, as it constitutes a single ethical and political community.
- Transnational dynamics are fundamental in the comprehension of national processes.
- National policies produce externalities with regards to sustainable development at a transnational scope.

Source: self authorship

6. Cosmopolitism and public policy for sustainable development

So far, the phenomena of sustainable development and public policies have been analysed in a globalised environment that demands cosmopolitan epistemological perspectives in order to understand the political and social reality of contemporary societies. In this sense, this section will analyse the potential integration of cosmopolitan doctrine and sustainable development orientation in the public policy cycle from diagnosis to evaluation. It should be recalled that the conceptual framework of the public policy cycle is being used because it allows these phenomena to be ordered and analysed, but that this conceptual apparatus is an "artifice" that does not comprehensively explain reality, not only because the dynamics of public policies are transversalized by multiple phenomena, but also because the stages mentioned in this cycle can overlap, condense, anticipate or delay each other (Aguilar, 1992). Figure 1 below illustrates the five-stage cycle proposed by Jones (1970), one of the most widely accepted views among policy scholars, and the integration of the abovementioned perspectives.

Figure 1: The integration of sustainable development orientation and the Cosmopolitan doctrine to public policy cycles
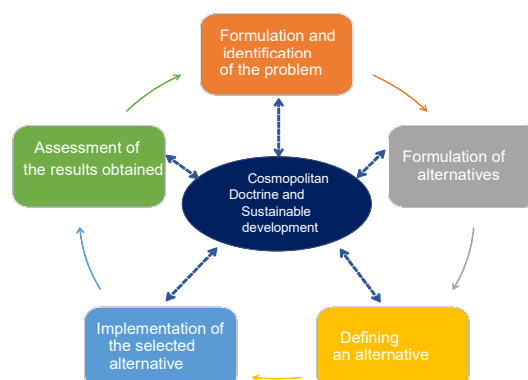
Source: Tomado de Jones (1970) y Tamayo (1997).

When approaching this task, it should be made clear that this paper is framed within the academic literature on public policy, which considers that the aim of this discipline (in theory and practice) is to resolve public affairs (Aguilar, 2019; Tamayo, 1997, Velázquez, 2009), promote the common good (Graglia, 2012, Alija, 2020) and reinforce democratic systems (Lasswell, 1936; Arellano and Blanco, 2013). In this sense, in order to guide public policies within the framework of sustainable development, it is essential for the state to have significant capacities that allow it to intervene in the market to place people and the planet at the centre and "leave no one behind"; in this way, the coherence of public policies for sustainable development is the cardinal element that should guide the entire public policy cycle (Millán, 2014). This theoretical/policy approach implies assuming that policies need to integrate a multidimensional perspective to address political problems that are interdependent and generate multiple impacts on human societies (Aguilar, 2019); additionally, the political, economic, social and environmental spheres are imbricated in the same dynamic and must be addressed in a cross-cutting manner as proposed by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This requires comprehensive technical and political capacities on the part of the state and *ex ante* mechanisms to assess the potential impact of the policy in its multiple dimensions. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is precisely a cross-sectional and multidimensional proposal to manage public policies by assuming the cosmopolitan dimension of development challenges and placing people and their rights at the centre of public action.

Additionally, it is necessary to remember that any political process (and the discipline of public policy is no exception) is framed by power structures and relations. Henceforth, the public policy cycle depends on the interests, visions and values of the decision-makers, as not all problems can become public problems (Montesinos, 2007). Therefore, the identification of the problem - which significantly conditions the rest of the implementation cycle - is a political/social construction that derives from the struggles of diverse actors who seek to impose their own interpretations and agendas for managing social reality.

On the other hand, incorporating the cosmopolitan perspective into the public policy process is an extremely complex task, given the asymmetry of the contemporary globalisation process; indeed, while transnational dynamics decisively affect the national political process, states have little capacity to disrupt global dynamics, and in most cases national governments are subjected to dynamics that are beyond their sovereignty and even question the very foundations of the democratic system (Bobbio, 1985; Ferrajoli, 2005; Castells, 2017). Nevertheless, and despite the limits imposed, the changes described above demand the incorporation of the cosmopolitan perspective so that these policies are instruments to promote human rights, sustainability and peace in a profoundly interdependent world. To this end, four key elements that encourage the incorporation of this perspective into the public policy cycle are described below.

Firstly, by assuming that public policies should be oriented towards the promotion of sustainable development, it seems undeniable that human rights are a basic element of the political theory of development. Consistent with this approach, cosmopolitan philosophy questions the international system of fragmentation of citizens' rights where the right to development is systematically denied to people who do not have citizenship status. In this way, the human rights of migrants are violated in democratic territories which, theoretically, should guarantee minimum standards of protection for these vulnerable populations. Thus, what should be demanded - from a cosmopolitan perspective - is that in the public policy cycle (especially in the identification and definition phase) these populations should be incorporated as holders of rights, and that the possible impact of policies on these groups ought to be analysed.

Secondly, when designing and implementing national public policies, it is necessary to consider the limits, restrictions, opportunities and impacts that the international system has on the problem to be addressed. Thus, mainly at the stage of identifying and defining the problem - which is more of a political construction derived from the different interests of power actors (Noël-Roth, 2002) - trans-local dynamics can have a defining effect on national policies, restricting the framework for government action, generating dynamics of competition between states, incorporating transnational actors that put pressure on the configuration of public policies, or exposing societies to risks that go beyond national borders, as has been the recent case of the COVID 19 pandemic, which has altered the health, political, social, cultural and

environmental processes of national public policies.

Thirdly, from a cosmopolitan perspective of sustainable development, it is necessary to incorporate the consequences of national public policies on the well-being of other societies and human organisations. In this regard, the processes of interconnection have transformed the classic impacts of "domestic" policies by making these policies have a profound impact on the transnational sphere. Above all, in the design, implementation and evaluation phases, policy-makers have to consider that policies that may promote positive actions for local citizens, but generate vulnerability, poverty or environmental unsustainability in the international system, are not development policies. In this way, economic, tax, financial, environmental or social policies have negative externalities that affect other human societies, and these potential effects must be made visible in the public policy cycle.

Fourthly, it is necessary to incorporate a multi-level vision into the public policy process, developing cooperative actions among actors to respond to the global risks faced by societies in the current stage of globalisation. Therefore, states need to incorporate a "cosmopolitan" vision that allows them both to protect their citizens from global risks and to develop capacities and instruments to be able to move towards collective and cooperative actions that provide transnational responses to realities that cannot be solved from a unilateral and national perspective. Connecting with the sustainable development perspective explained above (proposed by the 2030 Agenda), the problems of the environment, peace and security, macroeconomic stability, migration, employment, inequality, human rights violations and poverty need to be solved on a multilevel scale. From this perspective, sustainable development requires a cosmopolitan perspective insofar as interstate cooperative action is needed to move towards coordinated and coherent solutions on a global scale.

Ultimately, the new cosmopolitan and transnationalized reality demands innovative and cross-sectional responses to manage public policy and answer the multidimensional sustainable development crisis. In figure 2 one can observe the incorporation of these two perspectives in the public policy cycle.

Figure 2: Integration of the elements of sustainable development and the Cosmopolitan doctrine into the cycle of public policy.
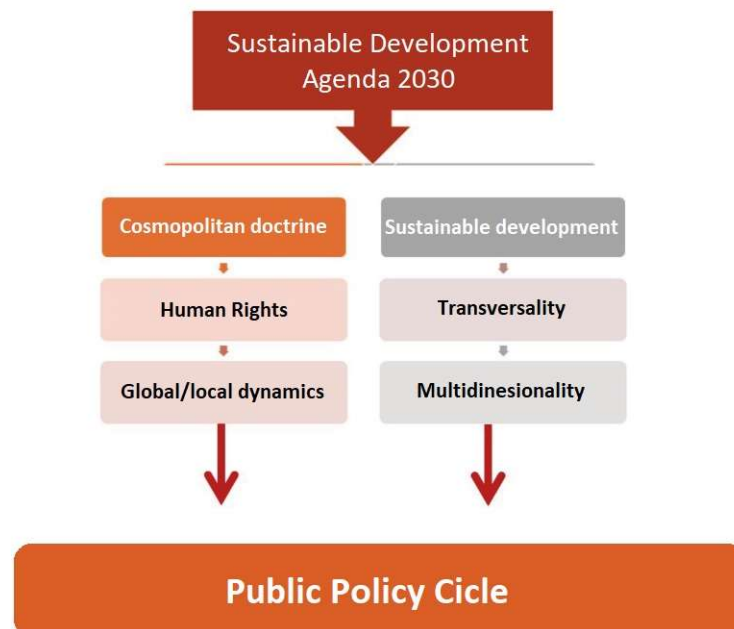
Source: own authorship.

Final reflections

We are at a time of profound change in the social, political, environmental, and cultural structures of contemporary societies. The crisis of sustainable development demands new narratives, proposals, visions and processes that incorporate a wide margin for innovation and cooperation between states, societies and citizens. Based on this recognition, academia needs to propose democratic and equitable projects to build a world that is fairer, more egalitarian and respectful of planet Earth.

Public policies play a key role in developing responses to this civilisational crisis as they are very powerful instruments for solving citizenship problems, promoting the common good and consolidating democracy. Consequently, when addressing the public policy cycle, it is necessary to place the vision of sustainable development as proposed in the 2030 Agenda at the centre. This requires a paradigm shift to incorporate interdisciplinary processes into the management of public affairs. This process cannot take place without the support of a strong state, with significant capacities and deep democratic commitment; thus, processes are promoted in view of intervening in markets to promote redistribution, gender equity, sustainability and the protection of human rights.

In addition, the dynamics of interdependence and transnationalization are radically changing the way power structures and human relations themselves develop. These dynamics demand new narratives and instruments in order to develop effective and realistic responses to the challenges and risks facing humanity. The cosmopolitan doctrine proposes an effective way of looking at global challenges, establishing that human rights cannot be denied because they are not "national" and by explaining that only by transcending the cognitive limits of the national narrative will it be possible to find solutions to the real risks facing humanity as a community. Thus, the cosmopolitan doctrine makes the transnational dimension of development visible in three ways: i) by integrating the impacts of transnational dynamics into the understanding of public management; ii) by assessing the impacts of local policies outside the national territory; and iii) by developing transnational and multi-level mechanisms to cooperatively address the challenges and risks of sustainable development on a global scale.

As Sartori (2004) argued, social science disciplines move in a constant dialogue between the "should be" and the "being". Assuming that what has been proposed in this paper is an ambitious vision with significant resistance when it comes to its implementation, it seems necessary to promote narratives, visions and practices aimed at transforming power structures in order to build more inclusive and respectful societies and to return to a new understanding of politics as the management of the common good (Aristotle, 1970). The aim of this paper is to contribute to this task under the normative vision that human rights cannot depend on any exogenous factor and that it is unavoidable to think of responses to this civilisational crisis with more humane, just and respectful actions with the planet and the rest of the species with which we coexist.

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