

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**HOW TO UNDERSTAND SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH
THE PRISM OF COSMOPOLITAN MORALITY**



M.A. THESIS

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Department of Political Studies

Political Studies Programme

NOVEMBER 2024

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

**KOZMOPOLİTAN AHLAK YANSIMASINDA
EGEMENLİĞİ NASIL ANLAMALI**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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To brave Proteo,



FOREWORD

Firstly, I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my mother, Gamze, whose boundless love, guidance, and the countless opportunities she has provided me throughout my life have shaped the person I am today. Her unwavering belief in me and her courage have been a continuous source of inspiration, and I am profoundly thankful for her unyielding support.

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Yağız Kağan SARIKAYA

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HOW TO UNDERSTAND SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH THE PRISM OF COSMOPOLITAN MORALITY

SUMMARY

Human history is shaped by complex dynamics influenced by major transformations and divisions. These dynamics have continuously altered political, economic, and cultural structures, guiding the evolution of social organizations. Throughout history, humanity has formed various political and social units in response to changing needs, and these units have undergone transformations based on social, cultural, and moral developments. Tribes, religious communities, trade unions, political parties, and states represent historical examples of social groups, each with its own rules, structures, and definitions. To understand the concept of sovereignty, it is essential to explore its philosophical trajectory and evolution. Sovereignty is traditionally defined as the state's authority to exercise its will independently within its borders, free from external interference. However, globalization, social inequalities, environmental disasters, pandemics, and wars have necessitated a reevaluation of sovereignty. While modern states maintain their independence within national borders, these global challenges require increased international cooperation and collective solutions.

Therefore, the concept of sovereignty must be reconsidered in light of current global conditions. From a global perspective, sovereignty is no longer confined to internal matters of states but has become a shared issue for individuals and the international community. This paper examines how sovereignty can be reinterpreted in a global context and its implications for social and political structures. It is based on the assumption that the traditional notion of sovereignty is inadequate and that new institutional and political approaches are required.

Sovereignty, especially with the Peace of Westphalia and the revolutions of the 18th century, has been grounded in the nation-state system. Today, it emphasizes the right of states to maintain independence within their borders and to be protected from external interference. While this principle has underpinned nationalism and nation-state politics, global developments since the 20th century have shown that sovereignty cannot be limited to internal issues. The process of globalization, increasing international trade, the rapid flow of information, environmental crises, and human rights violations require a reassessment of state sovereignty. Many modern issues are transnational, prompting a shift towards international collaboration and a more collective, global approach to sovereignty.

Cosmopolitan morality, which advocates for the universal rights and equality of all humans, should extend into political theory as cosmopolitan sovereignty. This idea moves beyond the sovereignty of nation-states, proposing a global political union centered on individual rights and freedoms. In this view, human rights violations should be seen as a global issue, not just a domestic one. This requires a sense of responsibility beyond national borders and emphasizes international solidarity. Today's global challenges, such as climate change, pandemics, armed conflicts, and

poverty, cannot be addressed within the confines of nation-states alone. Cosmopolitan sovereignty suggests that solving such issues requires international cooperation, with states acting together based on shared values. The implementation of cosmopolitan sovereignty, however, is a difficult process, as it involves balancing national sovereignty with global justice and equality. States must adopt a collective approach to global issues while still safeguarding national interests. Human rights, as a fundamental aspect of cosmopolitan sovereignty, are not limited to the internal affairs of nation-states but are universal rights for all humanity. The protection of these rights is a global responsibility, as human rights violations have increasingly become a global issue. For example, environmental disasters, such as climate change, affect not only local or national populations but pose a global threat. The actions of countries emitting the most carbon affect vulnerable regions and exacerbate global inequalities. This environmental injustice calls for the need for environmental justice and the protection of human rights. Global problems, such as the refugee crisis, wars, and ethnic cleansing, also transcend national boundaries. These issues demand international cooperation and solidarity, as they affect entire regions or the global community. The Covid-19 pandemic, for instance, demonstrated how a health crisis could quickly spread across borders, affecting social, economic, and cultural connections globally. These challenges require collective action based on shared moral values, as they are no longer the sole concern of individual nations but of the entire international community.

Cosmopolitan sovereignty thus challenges the traditional notion of sovereignty based on nation-states, advocating for a global perspective. It calls for a normative framework that transcends national borders, urging the international community to collaborate on global issues, including human rights, environmental protection, and global peace. Sovereignty, from this cosmopolitan standpoint, is not merely a theoretical concept but a practical responsibility that requires global cooperation. International solidarity and cooperation are essential for addressing global challenges and ensuring justice, equality, and sustainability.

The inadequacy of the current definition of sovereignty arises from its reliance on a geopolitical understanding rooted in the concept of the nation-state. Instead, sovereignty should be defined through a perspective of power that is based on cosmopolitan morality and requires all individuals to act as part of a global and environmental community, encompassing a set of principles that draw from both utilitarian and deontological approaches. The concept of national sovereignty is inherently contradictory. This constitutes a two-level problem: one at the ideal level, and the other in practical terms. In practice, this concept needs to be criticized, as it contradicts the necessity for equal consideration of interests. In this context, institutionalization is essential. There is a need to focus on the concerns about the pressures that power can create and to build a critical mindset. It is necessary to argue for a critical public space in order to ensure secure cosmopolitan institutionalization and reduce the risk of corruption. Furthermore, if institutionalization is to occur, it is crucial to develop a framework of thought that examines the behavior of these institutions in a holistic manner. If cosmopolitan morality are grounded in a foundation

that does not include a critical mindset, they could turn into a source of oppression. Therefore, a critical mindset is required; otherwise, there is a risk of a shift from cosmopolitanism to particularism.

In conclusion, the fight against global problems requires moving beyond the traditional understanding of sovereignty and adopting a broader humanitarian perspective. The principles of human rights, equality, and environmental protection are global responsibilities. Therefore, every individual and state must contribute to this responsibility and act toward common global goals. Cosmopolitan sovereignty extends beyond national borders to encompass the entire global community. This approach necessitates a new normative framework, a shared ethical system, and international cooperation to address global crises. In this context, cosmopolitan sovereignty is not only a moral stance but also a practical necessity for safeguarding human rights, protecting the environment, and establishing global peace.



KOZMOPOLİTAN AHLAK YANSIMASINDA EGEMENLİĞİ NASIL ANLAMALI

ÖZET

İnsanlık tarihi, büyük dönüşümler ve bölünmelerin etkisiyle şekillenen karmaşık dinamiklere dayanmaktadır. Bu dinamikler, siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel yapıları sürekli olarak değiştirmiş ve toplumsal örgütlenmelerin evrimini yönlendirmiştir. İnsanlık, çeşitli ihtiyaçlarını müteakip farklı toplumsal ve siyasal birimler oluşturmuş ve bu birimler sosyal, kültürel, ahlaki gelişmeler ve pratiklere göre dönüşümler geçirmiştir. Kabileler, dini cemaatler, sendikalar, siyasi partiler ve devletler, tarihsel olarak farklı türde sosyal toplulukların örnekleri olarak öne çıkmış, her biri kendine özgü kurallar, yapı ve tanımlar oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın içeriğini oluşturabilmek adına özellikle egemenlik kavramının felsefi olarak izlediği yolu ve onun evrimini keşfetmek gereklidir. Egemenlik, günümüzde, devletin siyasi bir kurum olma çerçevesinde düşünülüp, kendi sınırları içinde iç ve dış müdahalelerden bağımsız olarak iradesini uygulama yetkisi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ancak, bu anlayış her ne kadar ulus-devletlerin siyasi egemenliğini güvence altına alsada küreselleşme, sosyal eşitsizlikler, doğa felaketleri, pandemiler ve savaşlar gibi sınırları aşan küresel sorunlar, egemenlik kavramının yeniden şekillendirilmesi gerekliliğini gündeme getirmektedir. Modern dünya, devletlerin iç sınırları içinde bağımsızlıklarını koruma anlayışına dayanırken, bu sorunlar uluslararası iş birliği ve ortak çözüm arayışlarını daha da ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, egemenlik kavramının günümüz küresel koşulları göz önünde bulundurularak yeniden ele alınması, toplumsal ve siyasi yapılar açısından önemli bir gereklilik haline gelmiştir. Küresel bir perspektiften bakıldığında, egemenlik artık yalnızca devletlerin içsel meseleleriyle sınırlı bir kavram olmaktan çıkmış, bireylerin ve uluslararası toplumun ortak bir sorunu haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışma, egemenlik kavramının küresel bağlamda nasıl yeniden değerlendirilebileceğine ve bu değerlendirmenin toplumsal yapılar üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Egemenliğin geleneksel anlayışının artık yeterli olmadığı, yeni kurumsal ve siyasal yaklaşımlar gerektirdiği bir döneme adım atıldığı varsayımına dayanmaktadır.

Egemenlik, özellikle Vestfalya Antlaşması ve 18. yüzyıldaki Amerikan ve Fransız devrimleri ile temellendirilen ulus-devlet anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Günümüzde ise egemenlik, devletlerin kendi sınırları içinde bağımsızlık ve egemenlik hakkına sahip olmalarını, ayrıca dış müdahalelerden korunmalarını esas alır. Bu anlayış, modern ulus-devletlerin milliyetçilik ve ulusçuluk fikirlerine dayanarak genişlemiş ve dünya genelinde egemenlik ile ilgili tartışmaların temelini atmıştır. Ulus-devletler, birbirlerinden bağımsız ve egemen yapılar olarak küresel siyaset sahnesinde kendilerine sağlam bir yer edinmişlerdir. Ancak 20. yüzyıl ve sonrasında yaşanan gelişmeler, devletlerin egemenliklerinin yalnızca sınırları içindeki meselelerle sınırlı olamayacağını ortaya koymuştur. Özellikle küreselleşme süreci, uluslararası ticaretin artması, bilgi akışının hızlanması, çevresel sorunlar ve insan hakları ihlalleri, devletlerin egemenlik anlayışının sorgulanmasını gerektirmiştir. Birçok ulus-devlet,

yalnızca kendi sınırları içinde hareket edebilecek durumda değildir; çünkü bugünün meseleleri genellikle sınırları aşan, çok uluslu bir nitelik taşımaktadır. Bu değişim, egemenlik anlayışının sadece devletlerin içsel işleyişiyle sınırlı olmadığı bir döneme geçişi işaret etmektedir. Uluslararası kurumlar, devletler üstü bir düzenin kurulmasına katkıda bulunmuş, egemenlik kavramının daha kolektif, küresel bir sorumluluk biçiminde değerlendirilmesini zorunlu kılmıştır. Sözelimi, Birleşmiş Milletler, Dünya Ticaret Örgütü ve Paris İklim Anlaşması gibi küresel organizasyonlar, devletlerin egemenlik sınırlarını aşarak ortak bir düzen inşa etmeye çalışmaktadır.

Kozmopolitan ahlak, temel olarak tüm insanların evrensel haklar ve eşitlik ilkelerine dayalı olarak bir arada yaşamalarını savunan bir değerler sistemi ve bir ahlaki yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşım, insan onurunu ve eşitliğini merkeze alarak farklılıkların bir hak olduğunu savunur, böylelikle her bireyin de haklarına saygı gösterilmesini öngörür. Kozmopolitan egemenlik ise, bu ahlaki düşüncenin siyasal düzeyde bir yansımasıdır ve devletlerin egemenlik sınırlarının ötesinde bir uluslararası adalet ve eşitlik anlayışını barındırır. Kozmopolitan egemenlik, ulus-devletlerin egemenliğinden daha öte bir fikir olarak, bireylerin hak ve özgürlüklerini merkeze alarak dünya çapında bir siyasal birliği önerir. Bu anlayışa göre, insan hakları ihlalleri yalnızca bir ülkenin iç meselesi olarak değil, tüm insanlık için ortak bir sorun olarak kabul edilmelidir. Bu da egemenlik ve ulusal sınırlar ötesinde bir sorumluluk duygusunun ve uluslararası dayanışmanın gerekliliğini vurgulamaktan geçer.

Günümüzün küresel sorunları, özellikle iklim değişikliği, salgın hastalıklar, silahlı çatışmalar ve yoksulluk gibi sorunlar, sadece ulus-devletlerin sınırları içinde çözülemeyecek kadar büyük bir nitelik taşımaktadır. Bu durum, ulus-devletlerin egemenlik anlayışını yeniden düşünmeyi gerektiriyor. Kozmopolitan egemenlik anlayışına göre, bu tür küresel sorunların çözülmesi için ulus-devletlerin iş birliği yapması ve ortak değerler doğrultusunda hareket etmeleri gerekmektedir. Dolayısıyla, kozmopolitan egemenliğin uygulanması, ideal bir felsefi bakış açısını aşarak somut bir çözüm önerisi haline getirilmesi açısından zorlu bir süreçtir. Bu süreç, ulusal egemenlik ile küresel adalet ve eşitlik arasında bir denge kurmayı gerektirir. Devletler, ulusal çıkarlarını savunurken, küresel meselelerde ortak bir yaklaşım benimsemelidirler. Küresel sorunlar ve insan hakları ihlalleri, ulus-devletlerin egemenlik alanlarını aşan bir sorumluluk gerektirir. Bu nedenle, kozmopolitan egemenlik yalnızca teorik bir çözüm önerisi değil, aynı zamanda pratikte küresel iş birliği gerektiren bir sorumluluktur.

İnsan hakları, kozmopolitan egemenliğin temel dayanaklarından biri olarak karşımıza çıkar. İnsan hakları, yalnızca ulus-devletlerin iç sınırlarında geçerli olan haklar değil, tüm insanlık için evrensel olarak geçerli olan haklardır. Bu haklar, insanların doğuştan sahip oldukları temel haklar olarak kabul edilir ve bu hakların korunması, uluslararası düzenin temel taşlarını oluşturur. İnsan hakları, sadece bir ülkenin vatandaşları için değil, tüm dünyadaki bireyler için geçerli olmalıdır. Dolayısıyla, bu hakların korunması ve ihlallerinin önlenmesi, yalnızca ulusal değil, küresel bir sorumluluk olarak kabul edilmelidir. Çünkü günümüzde, insan hakları ihlalleri, yalnızca devletlerin iç meseleleri olmaktan çıkmış, küresel boyut kazanan bir hal almıştır. Birçok durumda, ihlaller sadece belirli bir ülkenin sınırları içinde kalmamaktadır; bu

ihlallerin etkileri, sınırları aşarak başka ülkelerde de hissedilmektedir. Örneğin, savaşlar, iç savaşlar, etnik soykırımlar ve diktatörlükler gibi devlet içindeki siyasi ve sosyal baskılar, sadece o ülkenin halkını değil, çevre ülkeleri de etkileyebilir. Göç hareketleri, mülteci krizleri, siyasi sığınmacıların durumu gibi konular, bireylerin ulusal sınırları aşarak diğer ülkelerin topraklarına da taşınmaktadır. Bu tür küresel insan hakları sorunları, küresel bir müdahale gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bir örnek olarak iklim değişikliği düşünüldüğünde, çevresel felaketler sadece yerel veya ulusal düzeyde etkili olmamakta, küresel bir tehdit haline gelmektedir. Karbon salınımının en fazla olduğu bölgeler, dünyanın diğer köylerinde yaşamı tehdit eden kuraklıklar, sel felaketleri, gıda krizleri, ekosistem tahribatları ve çevresel göçlere yol açmaktadır. Bu süreç, yalnızca çevresel değil, aynı zamanda sosyoekonomik ve politik boyutları da şekillendirmektedir. Karbon salınımı yapan ülkelerin çevresel zararları, başka ülkelerdeki insanlar için doğrudan bir tehdit oluşturmakta ve bu durum küresel eşitsizliği daha da artırmaktadır. Örneğin, gelişmiş ülkeler sanayileşme sürecinde çevreyi daha fazla kirletirken, gelişmekte olan ülkeler bu kirliliğin etkilerini daha şiddetli bir şekilde hissetmektedir. Bu dengesizlik, sadece çevresel bir sorundan ibaret kalmayıp aynı zamanda adaletsizlik ve eşitsizlik gibi sosyal sorunları da derinleştirmektedir. Başka bir örnek olarak, deniz seviyelerinin yükselmesi, kıyı bölgelerinde yerleşik olan milyonlarca insanın yaşam alanlarını tehdit etmektedir. Ayrıca, aşırı hava olaylarının artışı, tropikal bölgelerdeki tarım alanlarını tahrip etmekte, gıda üretimini tehdit etmekte ve dolayısıyla yoksul halkların yaşamını daha da zorlaştırmaktadır. Kuraklıklar, su kaynaklarının tükenmesi ve tarımsal verimliliğin düşmesi, birçok bölgede gıda krizlerine yol açmakta ve bu da ekolojik göçlere neden olmaktadır. Bu göçler, sadece çevresel değil, aynı zamanda sosyopolitik sorunları da beraberinde getirmekte, dünya genelinde büyük bir insani kriz yaratmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, küresel ısınma ve çevresel felaketler, sadece çevreyi değil, insan hakları, adalet ve eşitlik anlayışlarını da etkilemektedir. Yüksek karbon emisyonları ve çevresel tahribatlar, en az kaynaklara sahip ve en savunmasız durumda olan halkları daha fazla etkilerken, bu durum küresel eşitsizlikleri derinleştirmekte ve çevresel adaletin sağlanması gerektiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Küresel ısınmanın neden olduğu felaketler, dünya çapında milyonlarca insanın yaşamını tehdit ederken, bu sorunları çözmek için uluslararası iş birliğini ve ortak çabayı gerektirmektedir. Bu da iklim değişikliğinin sadece bir çevresel mesele değil, aynı zamanda küresel bir dayanışma ve sorumluluk gerektiren bir insan hakları sorunu olduğunu göstermektedir. İklim değişikliği bağlamında oluşan eşitsizlikler, kozmopolitan egemenliğin önemli bir dayanağını oluşturur. Çünkü küresel çapta bir sorunla karşı karşıya kaldığımızda, bu sorunun çözümü yalnızca etkilenen ülkelerin değil, tüm insanlık adına bir sorumluluktur. Bu çalışma, çevresel eşitsizliklerin ortadan kaldırılması ve küresel ortak sorumluluğun kabul edilmesi gereğini temel bir adalet ilkesi olarak savunmaktadır. Küresel felaketlerin, sadece bir ülkenin değil, tüm dünya toplumunun sorunu haline geldiğini ve bu sorunlarla mücadele etmenin, yalnızca ulusal çıkarlarla değil, evrensel değerlerle ilgili bir mesele olduğunu önermektedir. Benzer şekilde, pandemiler, doğal felaketler ve mülteci krizleri gibi küresel sorunlar da ulus-devletlerin sınırlarını aşarak küresel bir boyut kazanmıştır. Bir pandemi, yalnızca bir ülkede ortaya çıkmadığı gibi, sınırların ötesine geçerek bütün bir dünyayı etkileyebilir.

COVID-19 pandemisi, bu gerçeği en açık şekilde gözler önüne sermiştir. Çin’de başlayan bir salgın, kısa sürede tüm dünyayı sarmış, insanlar arasındaki sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel bağları etkilemiş, uluslararası seyahatleri ve ticareti sekteye uğratmıştır. Bu tür küresel sağlık krizleri, sadece bir ülkenin ya da bölgenin sorunu olamayacağı gibi sağlık hizmetleri ve dünya ekonomisi üzerinde doğrudan etkilere yol açmasından ötürü uluslararası iş birliğine, dayanışmaya ve birlikte çözüm üretme zorunluluğuna mecburiyet yaratmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, kozmopolitan egemenlik anlayışının benimsenmesi, bu sorunların sadece bölgesel değil, küresel bir sorumluluk olarak kabul edilmesini gerektirir. Küresel sorunlarla başa çıkabilmek için, ulusal sınırların ötesine geçerek ortak bir yaklaşım geliştirmek gereklidir. Küresel sorumluluk anlayışı, her bireyin ulusal sınırları aşan bir topluluğun parçası olarak bu küresel sorunlarla mücadeleye katılması gerektiğini savunur. Ulusal devletlerin, egemenlik alanları içinde hareket etmeleri ne kadar gelenekselleşmiş olsa da küresel sorunlar karşısında uluslararası iş birliği ve koordinasyon da bir o kadar önemli görülmelidir. Yine başka bir örnek olarak, mülteci krizi, savaşlar ve etnik temizlikler gibi durumlar, sadece etkilenen ülkeleri değil, etrafındaki diğer devletleri de doğrudan etkileyebilir. Milyonlarca insanın göç etmesi, yeni toplumsal yapılar oluştururken bu bireylerin yaşamlarını sürdürebilmeleri için uluslararası yardımlar ve çözümler geliştirilmesi gerekir. İnsanların yaşam hakkı, güvenlikleri, barınma ihtiyaçları gibi temel hakları, tüm ulusların ortak sorumluluğu olmalıdır. Mültecilerin, savaşlardan, iç savaşlardan veya rejim değişikliklerinden kaçan kişilerin karşılaştıkları hak ihlalleri, yalnızca bulundukları ülkenin sorunu değil, çatı olarak aynı medeniyete sahip olan tüm insanlığın küresel bir meselesidir.

Mevcut tanımıyla egemenlik kavramının yetersiz olmasının nedeni, bunun ulus-devletler üzerine kurulu jeopolitik bir anlayışa dayanmasıdır. Bunun yerine, egemenlik, kozmopolitan bir ahlaka dayalı olarak ve tüm bireylerin küresel ve çevresel bir toplumun parçası olarak hareket etmelerini gerektiren bir dizi ilkeye sahip bir güç perspektifiyle hem faydacı hem de deontolojik bir yaklaşım çerçevesinde tanımlanmalıdır. Ulusal egemenlik kavramı, çelişkili bir yapıya sahiptir. Bu durum, iki düzeyli bir problemdir: Birincisi ideal bir düzeyde, ikincisi ise pratikte karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Pratik düzeyde ise bu kavram eleştirilmeye muhtaçtır çünkü çıkarların eşit şekilde dikkate alınması gereğine ters düşmektedir. Bu bağlamda ilk olarak, kurumsallaşma gereklidir. Gücün yaratabileceği baskılar konusunda duyulan kaygıya odaklanmak gerekir ve eleştirel bir zihnin inşa edilmesi gereklidir. Güvenli bir kozmopolitan kurumsallaşma sağlamak, yani yozlaşma riskini azaltmak için eleştirel bir kamusal alanın gerektiğini savunmak gerekir. Bununla birlikte, kurumsallaşma söz konusu olacaksa, bu kurumların davranışlarını bütünsel bir şekilde inceleyecek bir düşünce yapısının da inşa edilmesi önem arz etmektedir. Çünkü, eğer kozmopolitan ahlak eleştirel bir zihnin oluşmadığı bir temele dayandırılırsa, baskı kaynağına dönüşebilir. Bu nedenle eleştirel bir zihne ihtiyaç vardır, aksi takdirde kozmopolitanizmden partikülarizme doğru bir kayma yaşanması olasıdır.

Sonuç olarak, küresel sorunlarla mücadele etmek, sadece devletlerin egemenlik haklarını göz önünde bulundurmakla kalmayıp daha geniş bir insani perspektiften hareket etmeyi gerektirir. İnsan hakları, eşitlik ve çevre koruma gibi evrensel ilkeler,

sadece ulusal deęil, kresel bir sorumluluk barındırmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, her birey ve her devlet, bu sorumluluęa sahip olmalı ve ortak kresel hedefler doęrultusunda hareket etmelidir. Kozmopolitan egemenlik, ulus-devletlerin egemenlik sınırlarını ařarak, tm dnya toplumunu kapsamaktadır. Bu yaklařım, kresel sorunların czlmesi iin yeni bir normatif anlayıř, yeni bir deęerler sistemi, ahlaki uzlařı hali ve uluslararası dayanıřma gerektirir. İnsan hakları ihlalleri, cvresel felaketler, pandemiler ve mlteci krizleri gibi kresel sorunlar, yalnızca ulus-devletlerin i meseleleri deęil, dnya cpında bir sorumluluk olarak kabul edilmelidir. Bu sorumluluęu stlenmek, adaletin ve eřitlięin saęlanması önemli bir adımdır. Bu calıřma kozmopolitan egemenlięi, sadece bir ahlaki yansıma deęil, aynı zamanda insanların haklarını savunmak, cvreyi korumak ve kresel barıřı tesis etmek iin hayata geirilmesi gereken bir acil ihtiya olarak savunmaktadır. Uluslararası iř birlięi ve dayanıřma, bu dnřmn bařarısı iin temel faktrlerdir. Gelecekte, egemenlik anlayıřının yeniden řekillendirildięi, eřitlik ve dayanıřmanın temel alındıęı bir dnemi iřaret etmek iin ceitli siyasi kurumlar inřa edilmelidir.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Question and Argument

In this thesis, I have highlighted that the human story is centered on intricate dynamics of divisions that result in significant alterations and metamorphoses. These divisions often arose as political entities. Political communities have adapted their structures and names in accordance to current world realities, moral categorizations, inquiries, and requirements. Social groupings include many entities such as tribes, religious communities, unions, political parties, and countries. My study delved into the insufficiency of human society as a means to investigate cosmopolitan morality, with a specific emphasis on the wider political community. My objective was to reassess the concept of sovereignty in relation to present circumstances and examine the situation of nations, borders, and nation-states. While countries now hold the primary position as sovereign communities in our globe, it is important to note that not all of humanity is comprised only of nations. Furthermore, the existence of nations in the future cannot be guaranteed, regardless of the prevailing conditions. This had the potential to be a significant error. What should our solution be? Nevertheless, it remained imperative to contemplate and if feasible amend these speculative partitions in our contemporary day. Did the suffering of one group of people at unforeseen times prevent another group of people from experiencing the same downfall? What was the cause of this occurrence? Can a state hold sovereignty in a way that it implicitly exists as a separate country, so that a calamity occurring in a remote location would not impact the predetermined boundaries of other nations? Across the course of history, the world has seen several global catastrophes, including environmental crises, pandemics, disasters, and wars, which have had a widespread impact on the whole globe. Historically, the globe has encountered international disparities, political marginalization, and calamity. Nevertheless, certain elements have contributed to the distinctiveness of the current situation. An outstanding feature is the fast expansion of interactionism beyond historical levels. Consequently, the efficacy of past measures that traditionally safeguarded human rights and freedoms is now being closely

examined. Is it possible for humanity to come up with a solution to this predicament that would be equitable for every individual? Let's analyze this more thoroughly by providing a few illustrations: We were confronted with a worldwide climate crisis. The consequences of the climate crisis exhibited regional disparities, with some nations experiencing a disproportionate burden due to causes such as the depletion of natural resources or challenges related to urbanization. Moreover, poverty surfaced or intensified in various regions of the globe. In light of these conditions, I suggested that the notion of sovereignty should be broadened and formalized to include all living and nonliving creatures. Hence, I contended that it is feasible to create a sustainable planet.

As another example, in the event of a natural disaster or conflict, a nuclear explosion can take place in a specific area, rendering it unsuitable for human habitation. The radiation emitted globally impacts not only the borders of the nation where the event occurred, but also several other countries both directly and indirectly. When a civil war occurs or when a country's territory is invaded by a significantly bigger military force, there is often an emergence of unspoken brotherly connections, where economic and political interests are pursued under the guise of humanitarian ethics. The emergence of a pandemic in China has the potential to upset the global order and impact millions of individuals. Without doubt, one of the prime illustrations is the occurrence of two consecutive severe earthquakes in southern Türkiye. In response, Türkiye required assistance, leading to the arrival of specialists and a display of solidarity from numerous countries worldwide. This act may be seen as a historical obligation towards the advancement of human civilization. Essentially, these factors demonstrate that one country has a moral obligation towards another country due to the potential consequences of several extensive advances. Hence, a crucial inquiry emerges about our next endeavors: Amidst the global challenges, can the principle of nationality, which is based on legal boundaries, effectively address the current issues? Alternatively, does the existing project of sovereignty require a fresh overhaul, given its numerous historical transformations? However, the questions are compelling us to confront an issue that may require a more comprehensive approach. If understanding the concept of sovereignty within a country's borders is not enough, it is also important to evaluate the politics that extend beyond national boundaries. Since the political sphere is defined by a power imbalance, it is critical to understand that limiting power is more than merely a recommended solution. For example, a formidable force poses

a threat to the globe, but a recognized authority counteracts and stabilizes these forces, acting as a higher governing body. This strategy, together with the international institutions that were established following World War II, contributed to the creation of a security zone to some extent. Today, it is important to recognize that human rights violations occur on an individual level, rather than being limited to inter-polar transitions or camps. Additionally, developments in one part of the world can now have a much faster and significant impact on other regions compared to the past. Therefore, it is necessary to consider and evaluate certain updates to address these changes.

One can engage in discussions on human rights, equality, and issues that transcend national boundaries. Arguably, this issue has paramount importance in the pursuit of finding the optimal circumstances for cohabitation. Cosmopolitan sovereignty is a moral concept that is formed via these talks. It is seen as a utopia by some and a system of fundamental principles by others. Cosmopolitan sovereignty's remedies to these issues involve discussing sovereignty and developing new normative conceptions related to it. Consequently, the time periods in which we might contemplate the question of where are we going are no longer confined to a limited and less influential scope as they were in the past. For non-ideal thinkers, the goal of establishing a universal power may appear utopian and unachievable. I suggest replacing the current question with the one that follows: We are currently unable to discuss the establishment of cosmopolitan sovereignty as a global force and the determination of the focal point of Kant's concept of eternal peace, as the necessary circumstances are no longer present. Instead, we should advocate to a hybrid approach between deontologic and utilitarian idea of incorporating power into a set of new principles that require it to treat all individuals worldwide as part of a global community. If we were to consider the topic of forming world politics based on the values of international peace centuries ago, it would have been deemed impractical. Similarly, if this notion were debated consistently for two years without any conventional wars, it would have been universally acknowledged as impossible. However, certain infamous crimes committed against nations, minorities, and identities, as well as crimes that symbolize humanity as a whole, have forced our civilization into a realm of diplomacy. In this realm, global outcomes can be achieved by surpassing national borders through artificial means of decision-making. Whether our constructed institutions have failed or achieved success, it is certain that nations continue to exist. In fact, major historical

occurrences like the Peace of Westphalia in the 17th century, the American and French Revolutions in the 18th century, and the Congress of Vienna in the 19th century all demonstrate the country's emergence as a separate entity. Indeed, it is true that we do not employ the term 'nation' in a same manner in all of them. Specifically, during the French Revolution, the concept of nationalism emerged as a stance against monarchy, promoting the idea that the country should retain sovereignty. This belief was widely expressed. However, the occurrence of crimes such as the Holocaust, Srebrenica, and Rwandan genocides throughout the 20th century clearly illustrates that the concept of nationalism had a far greater impact than the anti-monarchist ideas of the French Revolution. The intervening phase also modifies the memories that the ideas undergo. Thus, at now, it is challenging to establish a singular definition of nationalism; instead, there are several manifestations of nationalisms. Historical evidence shows that the notions used to establish human groups through international agreements are subject to change. Any proud or offended progress in the global community regarding political notions constantly need realistic adjustments. Therefore, it is necessary to infer that all reforms aim at institutions and all revolutions aim at societies. My dissertation will investigate how this shift is reflected in the realm of politics. Meanwhile, I will argue that the connection between cosmopolitan sovereignty and politics should be a fundamental aspect of the resistance against political and social injustice. I shall define cosmopolitan sovereignty as the main focus of justice and explain how we might overcome the challenges in establishing a universal acceptance of moral ideas through discourse.

1.2 Framework and Outline

In the second chapter, I will endeavor to elucidate the concept of sovereignty as interpreted by many classical and ancient thinkers and categorize their notions into possible manifestations. My main thesis is that the concept of sovereignty in classical and ancient political theory is insufficient to address global concerns, since it is primarily viewed as a religious or legal term by intellectuals. This chapter will commence with an evaluation of sovereignty in Ancient and Classical Thought. This part will explore Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Ultimately, the conversation will be continued by Cicero, the famed Roman philosopher. Subsequently, the correlation between sovereignty and divine command will be demonstrated by examining

Aquinas' approach. Subsequently, the chapter will go into Machiavelli's concepts. Moreover, Bodin provides the first definitive explanation of sovereignty. Therefore, the concepts of sovereignty and the social contract will be examined from the viewpoints of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Finally, Kant and Mill. The synthesis section at the end of the chapter will address the gaps in classical and ancient political thinking, as well as provide arguments for examining current political philosophy to evaluate the notion.

In the third chapter, four different developments in the understanding of sovereignty will be shown. The initial topic to be discussed will be the concept of class perception, which encompasses the ideas of Marx and Gramsci. The philosophy of sovereignty often ties it with the concept of power. Schmitt will thereafter refer to this concept as the capacity to discern the exception. However, Hinsley will view sovereignty as a notion that seeks to establish complete and total authority over the political society. The discussion will be further developed by exploring Foucault's concepts and examining the relationship between sovereignty and power. Agamben is a thinker who aligns with the power inclination of the sovereignty philosophy. In Wolff's thought, the concept of sovereignty would later be characterized by a perpetual conflict between autonomy and authority. Kalyvas will subsequently establish a connection between component power and sovereignty. The territorial approach represents a prevailing tendency in the realm of sovereignty theory. This policy will be influenced by two separate and differing understandings of sovereignty, both inside the area and outside of it. Weber and Nagel will discuss the concept of monopoly of violence and establish a connection between sovereignty, the state, and justice. Nagel will perceive a clear and undeniable correlation between justice and sovereignty. Benhabib and Pogge, political theorists, have presented a perspective that goes beyond geographical boundaries. The most current theory in modern political theory that replaces sovereignty by connecting it to community, with reference to Arendt and Zizek, is the one that relates sovereignty to community.

In the fourth chapter, the idea of sovereignty will be examined from both a normative and descriptive standpoint. The differences between these two methods will be identified, and an in-depth examination of sovereignty will be conducted. The fundamental inquiry of this chapter will be the conceptual limits of the notion of sovereignty, whether examined from a descriptive or normative standpoint. The study

of the connection between the traditional institutions and practices of nation-states and the growing global exchanges and interdependencies of globalization has been a significant area of research. Often, the aim is to propose new institutional practices that can better deal with this situation. As a result, there have been demands within the context of philosophical inquiries for a novel kind of democracy and justice. This chapter will argue that adopting multi-level forms of governance that incorporate federalism and devolution, rather than asserting sovereign power, is essential for addressing the emerging political challenges resulting from globalization. Because of nation-state sovereignty, the world will be characterized by multilevel governance and global democratic processes. Therefore, definitions and rights will align with this new paradigm. The first portion of the chapter will analyze sovereignty as a descriptive term. Meanwhile, descriptive ideas will be defined and investigated. The concept of sovereignty as a normative principle will be examined and investigated in the next section. After doing a conceptual analysis, we will compare the normative and descriptive aspects, techniques, and types of the notion of sovereignty. The concept of value will be analyzed in the context of these research in the next publication, where it will be divided into two distinct categories: intrinsic and extrinsic. The chapter will be concluded by identifying and revealing the aspects of sovereignty, both as a descriptive and normative concept.

The concept of cosmopolitan sovereignty will be analyzed and explored in two stages in the fifth chapter. The first step involves the processing of cosmopolitan morality, whereas the second stage pertains to the historicity of cosmopolitan sovereignty. The initial segment of the chapter will address the subject of cosmopolitan morality. At this juncture, I will investigate if this concept functions as a connection between the past and the future. In the next section, I will discuss Kant's notion and principles of eternal peace. Subsequently, the cosmopolitan sovereignty theories proposed by many intellectuals will be publicly disseminated, which will be followed by a literary discourse. Now, we will discuss the historical foundation of cosmopolitan morality. Its linguistic significance of it will be discussed. The second portion will explore the analysis of global morality and its correlation with the concept of sovereignty. During this period, we will analyze the institutions associated with the concept of sovereignty and establish the structure for cosmopolitan sovereignty. This chapter's main goal will be to examine how understanding cosmopolitan morality is crucial to understanding

cosmopolitan sovereignty. My main argument will be that cosmopolitan sovereignty cannot be established without a thorough grasp of cosmopolitan morality. This is due to the fact that cosmopolitan sovereignty requires a broad foundation of moral values in order to be viable.

The final part of the chapter will present a discussion section and sovereignty theses, aligned with the concepts explored earlier. The last chapter will delve into the application of the cosmopolitan moral norms discussed in the previous chapter as a foundation for establishing cosmopolitan sovereignty. Cosmopolitan morality is a category that generates ideas aimed at achieving perpetual peace on a global scale, and as such, it holds the potential to create legal opportunities for the realization of cosmopolitan sovereignty. The first part of the chapter will analyze the various forms that cosmopolitan sovereignty has taken, or may take, within the framework of cosmopolitan morality. This will include an exploration of cosmopolitan sovereignty in relation to the methodologies, global diversity, and international institutions proposed by various philosophers. The concepts of cosmopolitan morality and its implications for cosmopolitan sovereignty will be discussed under this topic. The second part of the chapter will explore potential future forms of cosmopolitan sovereignty, considering the components discussed earlier. The discussion will focus on how the ideas of proposals, values, and qualities can be transformed into a new political institution by shaping an institutional morality around them. This chapter will primarily address the relationship between sovereignty and cosmopolitan morality. The main thesis is that by establishing institutions, a more inclusive form of sovereignty can be achieved, which in turn enables the development of cosmopolitan morality as cosmopolitan sovereignty.

The conceptual framework of this thesis is linked to the correlation that will be formed between two notions. The topics discussed here include cosmopolitan sovereignty, which is an ideal, and sovereignty, which is a historical and theoretical term. The thesis discusses many linkages, connections, and other concepts that are relevant to the topic, without delving into the conceptual framework

2. THINKING OF SOVEREIGNTY IN PRE-MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

2.1 Introduction

One of the fundamental principles in humankind's political, legal, and social systems is the idea of sovereignty. Since the concept emerged—the idea that individuals could control their own destiny until it was institutionalized—sovereignty has been recognized as a critical and autonomous aspect of individuals, states, and societies. By examining the historical malleability of this concept and breaking it down into a set of propositions, the meaning of sovereignty can be critically contested.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how sovereignty is understood by various thinkers in ancient and classical thought, categorizing their perspectives into potential forms. My primary argument is that the concept of sovereignty in ancient and classical political thought does not address global concerns, as thinkers at the time did not conceptualize sovereignty in such a way. Instead, the concept was often discussed in religious or legal contexts.

The chapter will begin by evaluating the development of sovereignty in Ancient and Classical Thought, referencing figures such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. It will then proceed to explore Roman thought, particularly through Cicero's writings. Following this, the relationship between sovereignty and divine command will be examined through Aquinas' approach. The chapter will continue by discussing Machiavelli's thoughts, before addressing the first definitive explanation of sovereignty in the work of Jean Bodin. Subsequently, the ideas of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau will be explored in relation to sovereignty and the social contract. Finally, the chapter will address the thoughts of Kant and Mill.

At the end of the chapter, the gaps in the concept of sovereignty within ancient and classical political thought will be identified, and the necessity of evaluating this concept within the framework of contemporary political thought will be discussed.

2.2 Sovereignty in Ancient and Classical Thought

In the conceptual analysis of sovereignty, the notion of power emerges as the primary and immediate concept, given its intrinsic connection to sovereignty. This relationship encompasses three fundamental dimensions. The first pertains to the definition of power itself. From this perspective, the central inquiry is how power is inherently intertwined with sovereignty and how it is conceptually articulated. In the works of various philosophers, power is manifested through different dimensions, including physical force, legal principles, or social contracts, such as those embodied in a constitution.

Secondly, the application of power becomes a focal point of analysis. Sovereignty can vary in its exercise of power, which raises two critical questions: who should wield power, and upon whom or what should power be exercised? In other words, who or what constitutes the subject of this power? At this juncture, the core issue revolves around the following possibilities: power can be exercised by the state, a monarch, a collective of individuals, or, distinctively, by an institution such as the church. Additionally, the question of the object of power—whether it is directed toward individuals or shaped within territorial boundaries—opens a discussion about the scope and extent of authority held by the entity exercising power.

The third dimension concerns the legitimacy of power, which establishes a critical link between sovereignty and authority. At this juncture, the relationship between the sovereign and power becomes a central question. If a state exercises power through legal principles, the basis for these principles as a source of legitimacy warrants examination. Such legitimacy might stem from the protection of civil rights and freedoms, the assurance of security among individuals, or even the safeguarding of territorial integrity. Alternatively, if the discussion pertains to an aristocratic group, the concept of wisdom becomes pertinent; power exercised by wise individuals is presumed to serve the well-being of the populace. Similarly, in the context of a religious institution such as the church, the legitimacy of power derives from divine command.

Initially, in Ancient Greece, Socrates believed that the ultimate source of sovereignty was ‘law’, and the laws were an expression of good. In *Republic* (Plato, 1991) Plato mentions Socrates telling him what duty the citizens are bound by in obeying the laws

and making the state's sovereignty manifest as justice and he proposes that in Socrates' view, "Justice means ruling according to the interests of the ruled". (Plato, 1991, 338c, 342e) Hence, it can be stated that concepts like constitutionality and the rule of law are linked to sovereignty. Although Socrates does not explicitly define sovereignty as a distinct concept, he conceptualizes its existence either as an entity or as a pattern and attributes superiority to it through a justificatory interpretation. In this context, when Socrates discusses sovereignty, he essentially refers to the sovereign, namely the constitution, which he regards as the embodiment of justice. He asserts that sovereignty is realized through the functioning of the constitution. Accordingly, Socrates associates power with the establishment of justice, legitimized by the state to serve the welfare of society. Thus, it can be argued that the foundational notion of sovereignty, albeit in a rudimentary form, is evident in the philosophy of Socrates.

Socrates and Plato's contrasting views on the state may be explained by their opinion that the state is the essential prerequisite for a happy existence for humans. In Plato's case, sovereignty is viewed as the natural and hence obtains worth rather than an object. And it is understood together with the concept of power. This can be found in the Republic and Laws. The sovereignty idea that Plato promotes in Republic is crucial to our conversation because it suggests that he is conscious of the drawbacks of a political society without a state. Furthermore, straying from the rule of law appears to be the establishment of a sovereignty principle. (Plato, 1988, 690c) Platonic rulers, also known as philosopher-rulers, find themselves bound by a constitution that they neither create nor have the authority to annul. They lack the sovereignty held by those who can establish the political society and enact laws. In Plato's ideal state, laws are not created by individual legislators or rulers based on their own opinions or desires. Instead, laws are derived from the form of justice and are meant to promote the common good and the well-being of the entire society. These laws are to be discovered through reason and philosophy, and they should govern every aspect of the state, including the behavior of individuals, the structure of the government, and the distribution of resources. Therefore, according to Plato, power is hidden in wisdom and is in the hands of kings. Moreover, the source of legitimacy for this is the rule of law. Therefore, according to Plato, the goal of law is to help its citizens flourish, and the most direct route to this is developing virtue in them (Plato, 1988, 631d). Consequently, when all these elements are considered collectively, sovereignty can be

understood as the possession of wisdom regarding the structure and governance of a state. Afterward, Aristotle's conception of sovereignty shows continuity with that of Plato but diverges to some extent in its approach to power. According to Aristotle, the sovereign is the ultimate authority within a state, not merely the state itself but the constitution that translates decisions into practical application. However, Aristotle emphasizes that not every type of constitution qualifies; only specific forms do. For Aristotle, sovereignty resides in the constitution, which is also embodied by the state. Constitutions, in turn, are categorized based on the quantitative structure of sovereignty. "But inasmuch as constitution means the same selfish or as government, and the government is the supreme power in the state, and this must be either a single ruler or a few or the mass of the citizens (...)" (Aristotle, 1932, p. 205).

Aristotle expressed the purpose of rule as caring for the common good as "(...) these constitutions must necessarily be right ones, while those administered with an eye to the private interest of either the one or the few or the multitude are deviations" (Aristotle, 1932, p. 206). Based on this idea, he mentions a total of six different forms of rule, including three good states of rule and three bad forms of rule (Aristotle, 1932, pp. 207-210). There is a monarchy, a private rule that aims for the common good, and tyranny, which is a corrupt form of monarchy that pursues the interests of the individual. The aristocracy is the rule of the few that works for the general good, whereas the oligarchy, which is a perversion of the aristocracy, is the rule of the few that protects the interests of the wealthy. There is democracy as politeia, the rule of the majority that aims at the common good, and majority rule, that is, politeia, that only seeks the interests of the poor. Correct constitutions are classified as a rule by a single person, that is, monarchy, rule by certain people, that is, aristocracy, and rule by the majority, that is, politeia, also called political government or constitutional government. According to Aristotle, the main component of power is the ability to equally distribute justice and the common good in society. Therefore, power must be in the hands of a wise group and must be legitimized by the constitution. For this reason, according to Aristotle, constitutions should take care of all classes' public good. Because Aristotle's understanding of sovereignty is the constitution that serves goodness and virtue. Therefore, for Aristotle, sovereignty is having a justified constitutional legitimated power, by a group of people controlling it, that serves the common good.

After this, Ancient Roman philosophy flowered as the continuation of Ancient Greek philosophy, especially with its law-based power approach. During this period, Ancient Greek philosophy became widespread in Rome and so philosophers continued the inherited ideas. Strongly supporting republicanism, Cicero maintained that the ideal type of government is one in which the people are involved in the political process. Cicero's approach to the concept of sovereignty bears significant resemblance to Aristotle's, as both philosophers, justify sovereignty through the framework of the constitution. However, while Aristotle argued for the inclusion of this power within the Constitution and favored governance by a specific group of competent individuals, Cicero's perspective differs in that he emphasizes an -eternal and unchangeable-natural law (Cicero, 1999, p. 33,71) approach, wherein sovereignty should exist in a setting where members of the community can engage in discourse. As it is explained, this particular characteristic sets Cicero apart from Aristotle: "The law is the highest bond of human society" (Cicero, 1998, p. 103).

Cicero has an approach similar to Aristotle, in which sovereignty is a good constitution that protects the common good and prevents the disconnection between rich and poor. For Cicero, this concept is partnership in benefit (*utilitatis communio*). However, where Cicero differs is that, although laws, which are a set of written rules, are still dominant, this comes from natural law. Cicero talked about what he meant by natural law in *The Laws* (Cicero, 1999, pp. 18-20, 111-112). This is a universal mind. In Cicero, the device that holds power is the state, and it is legitimized by the constitution. Therefore, the fundamental component of power is the rule of -natural- law. Cicero posits that humans are composed of a soul and a body, with the soul being the more superior structure. The virtue of justice bestows onto the soul its better character. The most natural thing to do is to uphold these values and establish legislation; this is to obey the natural laws. The state is the entity that puts it into practice, and written laws are sovereign documents found in constitutions.

Unlike Cicero, the theory of sovereignty in Divine Command thinking is founded upon the concept of God. Aquinas, in *Summa Theologica*, characterizes God as a genuine sovereign who implements justice by giving each existent object what is proper to its state, preserving the nature of each with the powers that pertain to it (Aquinas, 1981, p. 160).

Apart from this, we see some of his interpretations of law in his early relationship with the concept of sovereignty. His philosophy of law could be associated with natural law, which asserts that there is an inherent moral and procedural order in the universe and that human laws should conform to this higher, divine law. He expresses his natural law -lex naturalis- understanding as “the rule and measure of human acts is the reason, which is the first principle of human acts” (Aquinas, 1981, p. 90). Firstly, Aquinas believed that the moral laws, which he referred to as the eternal law, were established by God and were the highest law governing the universe. Natural law encompasses fundamental ideas and ethical guidelines that possess universal applicability to all individuals, irrespective of their cultural or societal context. In Aquinas, power is perceived as divine, and therefore material power must parallel the naturalness of the divine. In addition to this, its legitimacy comes from its compatibility with the divine. According to him, human law should be derived from and consistent with natural law (Aquinas, 1981, p. 1334). Followingly, he distinguishes between various types of laws as divine law (laws directly revealed by God), natural law, and human law (laws created by humans within a society). Moreover, he advocated the idea that human laws that do not align with natural law are considered unjust and are not morally binding. Aquinas highlighted that advancing the common good is the main goal of the law (Aquinas, 1981, p. 598), ensuring the well-being and flourishing of society. He stressed the importance of prudence (practical wisdom) in making and applying laws. This is the most important detail in the view of Aquinas in discussing sovereignty as a main starting point: He acknowledges the need for legitimate authority to create and enforce laws, and this authority should be based on justice and serve the common good. Besides that citizens have a moral obligation to obey just laws as well, but they are not bound to follow laws that violate natural law principles or are unjust. In Aquinas’ conception of sovereignty law still takes center stage and the sovereign is conceptualized as a ‘dispenser of justice.’ However, the quite different component is the distinction in Aquinas’ perspective in that this role is grounded in power that relies on God.

After the divine command thought, another perspective arose from Machiavelli, who believed that the way to peaceful unity was through a sovereign. Machiavelli has a fundamental difference from other philosophers, which is also related to power.

Because what is noticed at the first stage in Machiavelli's works is the complete breaking of the relationship between God and power that existed in Aquinas.

In Machiavelli's philosophy, power is a concept closely examined in connection with governance. In fact, the primary distinguishing aspect of power lies in its relationship with the prevailing circumstances. Accordingly, the legitimacy of power stems from itself; in other words, the authority of the ruler is justified by the mere fact of their rule. A strong ruler is deemed essential for overcoming divisions within the state. When analyzing Machiavelli's ideas, it is more appropriate to approach them in two distinct parts. In the book *The Prince*, Machiavelli views the prince as the primary source of power, and believes that a prince can maintain his legitimacy even when he fails, as long as he can provide legitimate reasons to justify his actions (Machiavelli, 2008, p. 281), but in *Discourses* he gets rid of this idea and sees the source of power as the people (Machiavelli, 2007, p. 190). For this reason, it can be said that in Machiavelli's thought, sovereignty is not only a phenomenon that can be realized with the hereditary legitimacy of the Prince but also a power-associated concept that is possessed by the people.

Besides Machiavelli, Bodin also talked about the necessity of a ruler, and he was the first definer of the concept of sovereignty as a separate phenomenon. Bodin's ideas shaped the understanding of sovereignty with his definition of sovereignty. According to Bodin, "Sovereignty is the absolute and perpetual power of a commonwealth" (Bodin, 1992, p. 1). It can also be said that he formulates the sovereignty as a treatise on the commonwealth. His definition underscored the indivisible and ultimate authority inherent in the concept of sovereignty. Followingly, we see several attributes based on its definition. According to Bodin, sovereignty is perpetual, as there may be instances where one or more individuals are granted complete authority for a specific duration, after which they revert to being ordinary citizens. Later, sovereignty is indivisible since being sovereign requires the establishment of legal standards; if it gets divided, it will result in anarchy instead of a unified state (Bodin, 1992, p. 92).

In this way, it could be said that sovereignty cannot be thought of as an independent concept of sovereign's norms, because Bodin formulates it compulsorily as an inalienable, untransferable, and imprescriptible norm by their very nature (Bodin, 1992, p. 87). According to Bodin, power is unlimited, indivisible and permanent, concentrated in the person of the sovereign, that is, his absolute authority. This power

is above the people, but below God and the law. Its source of legitimacy is that it protects the people from anarchy. Eventually, according to Bodin, sovereignty is a perpetual and indivisible concept that is undecomposable to the commonwealth's ruler.

Unlike Bodin, Hobbes claimed that sovereignty originates from moral principles, thereby attributing it to the social contract rather than the ruler. Hobbes argues that in the absence of a central authority, men exist in a state of war, where every individual is pitted against one another (Hobbes, 1998, p. 84). As a continuation of that Hobbes seeks a way to create a just common power. In his thought, this common power must be equal for anyone, to establish peace. Hobbes states that men naturally love liberty, and dominion over others (Hobbes, 1998, p. 111). So, in this situation the state of nature arises, thus, there is a necessity to compromise the man's natural passions for common power. In this way, Leviathan takes this common power, and secures the men from themselves.

Hobbes's understanding of power, he believed, included belief in a ruler's absolutism, or the king's right to have superior and uncontrolled power over his subjects. However, the legitimacy of this power stemmed from a social contract; people gave up some of their freedoms, to Leviathan, ensuring equal security for everyone. Hobbes introduced the concept of a social contract, in which individuals relinquish some of their natural rights and surrender to the authority of a ruler in exchange for protection and the establishment of a system of laws and order. Conversely, the authority of a ruler prevents the natural state of affairs from descending into chaos. Considering all of these factors, Hobbes defines sovereignty as the legitimate power of the commonwealth, which is justified by a social contract.

In contrast to Hobbes, Locke believed that human rights are not constructed, but natural, as he said "MEN being, ..., by nature, all free, equal, and independent" (Locke, 1980, p. 52). He envisioned sovereignty as having multiple dimensions, as various political and economic institutions can embody its normative goals within the framework of different justifying narratives. Locke's views on sovereignty share certain similarities with Hobbes' contractarian ideas. However, Locke diverged by asserting that the sovereign is not synonymous with the state, but rather a product of a social contract. The purpose of a social contract is to safeguard private property (Locke, 1980, p. 66).

According to Locke, state power is the power of the people. The people transfer some of their power to the state through contracts, and separation of powers must be implemented to combat dictatorships. Locke divided the powers into legislative, executive and federative powers, and the role of the people is great in Locke's understanding. Therefore, in Locke, the most fundamental component of power is the people, and it derives its legitimacy from the social contract. The praxis of this power is the distribution of individual rights and freedoms in society. Locke's thought of the sovereign is the performer of law, that is, the state. The state is the provider of equality, but its primary reason for doing so is to ensure that individual freedoms are equally possible for everyone. In this respect, it breaks away from Hobbes' security state approach and emphasizes the rights of individuals. Locke uses topics like the form he provides to the property system, the condition of nature he depicts, his perspective on tyranny, and the history of the shift to political society to construct his philosophy of sovereignty. According to him, the natural condition of affairs is one of liberty, where people are unrestricted by the will of others and may govern their behavior, property, and people as they see fit, all within the bounds of natural law (Locke, 1980, p. 8). According to Locke, sovereignty is the functioning of institutionalized permanent laws.

After Locke, Rousseau also discussed the concept of sovereignty as an issue of people. He posits that when individuals enter into a social contract to form a political aggregate, they collectively generate a general will that represents the shared interests and welfare of the entire community. According to Rousseau, for sovereignty to exist a political community must exist.

In the Social Contract, Rousseau explains it in a master-slave relation as "man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains" (Rousseau, 2008, p. 156). And thus, it is possible to see in his philosophy that sovereignty directly and naturally belongs to the people, but is -involuntarily- transferred to other hands by force. The delicate equilibrium between personal autonomy and communal authority is a fundamental aspect of his theory. He perceives the body politic as inherently containing the seeds of its own demise (Rousseau, 2008, p. 170).

In the formalization of Rousseau's philosophy of sovereignty, it must be a pattern of unanimous consent, because as the first rule, the relation between the ruler and the people must lawfully have a voice. However, what was needed for the philosophical

basis of this was how to transform the collective into a single political body. According to Rousseau, the people should have all power and exercise it in accordance with their collective desire. The populace will gather, have private discussions on the laws, and then, by majority vote, determine the collective will. Therefore, the main component of power is the people and is embodied in the state. This state derives its legitimacy from the general will. This point was the emergence and therefore, it would be possible to express it as sovereignty is the political body formed by each member of the community where they create general will. Eventually, for Rousseau, sovereignty is “merely the exercise of the general will” (Rousseau, 2012, p. 153), so it is popular sovereignty.

Enlightenment philosopher Kant discussed the moral attitude of man, and the duties of the collective and the state in a way that shapes them in their pure form, because, when it comes to Kant, although Rousseau’s and Locke’s social contract theory maintains its value, there is a principled transformation in the moralization of politics. So, when Kant’s philosophy of sovereignty emerges, it is also necessary to explain its various aspects surrounding rights and duties. In other words, human reason, which is shaped based on moral law in Kant, also forms the basis of political and public reason. According to him, when it comes to political and public reason, what should be understood is the moral pattern that is the basis of political interaction and compromise with other people. As a result, Kant’s theory of sovereignty tends to show that a relationship of mutual implication is the goal of sovereignty. Additionally, it undermines the rationale for the sovereign’s right and its manner of exercise.

In Kant, the idea of the original contract creates a path for his sovereignty theory. He explains a contract as a “unity of the will to form a people” (Kant, 1991, p. 147). The rights and obligations that result from a contract must be the result of an act demonstrating mutual consent for the contract to be consistent with each party’s freedom. People have a right that is directly based on principle, that is, without any special act being required to establish this right. Consequently, the rules he establishes are formulated to imply that they originate from the collective volition of the entire population. Moreover, the fundamental element to be taken into account while discussing the notion of authority in Kant’s philosophy is consent. Although power is exerted over individuals, it must ultimately derive from the collective volition of the people.

The mind is being shown up here by constantly creating problems and trying to solve them, that is, by being progressive. Because, in this respect, Kant did not discuss each of the concepts such as life, people, human, and state independently, but included all of them in the act of reasoning dynamically. In this way, nature has a teleological purpose, and this is realized in this way. Kant developed a theory of sovereignty centered on the notion that every individual has an inalienable right to freedom, subject only to its unique set of systematic conditions.

At this point, we encounter Kant's original theory of contractarianism. Kant discovers this as a product of practical reason, by his teleology. Thanks to this contract, the people essentially become the state, the enforcer of this norm, and in this way, the state becomes *civitas*. Therefore, the definition of sovereignty is a process that ensures the civil establishment of good will.

In these discussions, Mill proposes that there is a close relationship between the individual freedom of a person and the society that being lived in, and therefore the form of government. Mill begins the concept of sovereignty with the question "what is the appropriate limit of the individual's sovereignty" (Mill, 2003, p. 139) and answers this question by saying that the sovereignty of individuals is over themselves, but not over others.

According to Mill, an egalitarian society is a phenomenon that must be protected, and the way to achieve this is to ensure that the concept of society itself takes on a form that protects individuals. Therefore, each individual who receives the protection of society owes something to society in return, and living in a society requires each individual to be obliged to other individuals in that society by following a certain line of action. This begins, first, with one person not harming the lawfully established interests of another person, and then continues with each individual enduring his or her share of the sacrifices chosen to protect society or its members from harm.

As a utilitarian philosopher, Mill advocated civil liberties and emphasized that, within the bounds of democratic principles, sovereignty should protect peoples' fundamental rights and freedoms. All these values, however, were not seen as absolute realities, but merely as steps towards the goal of universal happiness. For this reason, for Mill, sovereignty is a concept that exists to build what is most beneficial for everyone. In addition, when Mill talks about sovereignty, the first thing to understand is the sovereignty of the individual. In this respect, it differs from other people-oriented

sovereignty interpretations. Mill expresses this as “over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign” (Mill, 2003, p. 81). For this reason, it would not be wrong to perceive that sovereignty has both a limited and an unlimited side.

In Mill’s understanding of power, power is understood as a concept that has the ability to cause harm. However, this potential for harm is legitimized by the collective coming together and directing it towards good. Therefore, the sovereign state is founded on utilizing its authority to enhance individual rights and promote the collective welfare. Mill argues that the boundary of sovereignty coincides with the boundary of individual liberties, as the sovereign is essentially an individual with genuine being. At this point, this situation can be understood with the principle called as harm principle. Accordingly, in Mill’s philosophy of freedom, it lies in the ability to do anything that does not harm others and the limit of individual sovereignty constitutes the limit of individual freedoms. Therefore, for Mill, sovereignty is the limit of individual liberty.

2.2 Considering the Sovereignty in Ancient and Classical Political Thought: What it Neglects?

In this chapter, it has been discovered that various thinkers have considered power as a dominant element in the concept of sovereignty. This tendency can basically be divided into two: force and consent. However, the dominant understanding of power in ancient politics largely includes force. In this chapter, three questions were asked to each thinker respectively: What are the characteristics of the definition of power, the second is who has the use of power and on whom, and the third is how power is justified.

In ancient Greece, power was intertwined with wisdom, and it was recommended that rulers composed of wise men of politeia, and the source of legitimacy was the constitution. Although the concept was developed in Rome, Cicero’s writings indicated that power is vested in the people and is justified by legal principles. Subsequently, in Aquinas’ teachings, the concept of divine command became intricately linked with authority. Accordingly, the state derives its legitimacy from not contradicting divine laws. In Machiavelli, it was revealed that the divine state of power became secular, and it is possible to handle this in two stages. He first gives unlimited power to the Prince, and in his late writings he suggests that the people are wiser than the Prince. Bodin argues that power is unlimited, indivisible, and eternally centered in

the sovereign or his absolute authority. This power is above the people but below God and the law. Its legitimacy stems from its ability to protect the population from anarchy. For Hobbes, the basic component of power is equality and derives its legitimacy from a social contract. Ruler is the one who uses power and uses it to ensure security and equality on the people. There is something similar to this in Locke, for him, the basic element of power is the people, and just like Hobbes, this power derives its legitimacy from the social contract. The sovereign, that is, the state, exercises this power over the people to protect individual rights and freedoms and property for the people. Rousseau, a proponent of the social compact, argues that the major source of power lies in the collective will of the people, which is unified in the presence of the state. Thus, it is the people. Actually, the state's authority over the populace is only a reflection of this overarching desire. Its legitimacy is the social contract. Later, consent is the fundamental element that Kant's philosophy of power takes into account. Power must somehow be grounded on the collective will of people, even as it is exercised over them. According to Mill, who is cited in this chapter, the concept of power is a thought that possesses the ability to inflict harm. Nevertheless, when individuals unite and harness their combined influence for benevolent purposes, the possibility for negative consequences is warranted. The fundamental principle of a sovereign state lies in the exertion of power to promote both the welfare of the general public and the rights of individuals.

Several elements have been discovered that are not included in the approaches given. Among these, two different evaluations can be made in the context of sovereignty's capacity and inclusiveness. The most fundamental feature of the classical period is the limited capacity of sovereignty in this respect. Later, the other aspect is inclusiveness. It seems that this concept is discussed only with the institutionality of the state and its devices. Is sovereignty an essential component of politics? is another topic that need to be the starting point of discussion. Although sovereignty has entered the literature as an independent concept since Bodin, many other concepts that substitute for sovereignty have existed since Ancient Greece's thought. One argument equates sovereignty with law. These argue that there is a sharp break in the ancient and medieval worlds of the West, arguing that other political concepts were important but sovereignty was not, or he sees pre-modern uses of the term sovereignty as pioneering. Another argument sees sovereignty as being associated with the secular model,

specifically the king, or ruler. A third argument is that there is a long and continuous tradition of sovereignty. Bodin himself argues that sovereignty is an earthly concept passed down through families. For this reason, it is not enough for sovereignty to become an independent notion, and its argumentation can be seen as dependent on an order. In other words, sovereignty does not exist as a law-making notion, but as the existing law itself.

It is possible to obtain both descriptive and normative views of sovereignty in Ancient and Classical political thought. So, since this normativity is again the extension of the ruler or the social contract, there is no generalizable debate in terms of its inclusiveness. Because the political thought of sovereignty is intertwined with what it represents. For this reason, power or borders are not within the scope. Nevertheless, the primary distinction between classical political philosophy and modern political theory lies in the manner in which they approach and interpret the concept of power. In classical political thinking, power is legitimized and authority is derived either from lineage or from a divine source. Therefore, we must anticipate modern political philosophy to provide a legitimate source of authority on Earth.

There are a few things that differ about sovereignty in political thought, but which did not have enough influence in pre-modern political thought. One of these is the assurance that interactionism is happening faster than ever before in history, and that the safeguards previously afforded to human rights and freedoms broadly are being tested more than ever before. So can humanity come up with a response to this challenge that is fair to all? Let's examine this with a few examples: As we are in the middle of a global climate crisis. While the climate crisis affects different regions of the world to varying degrees, certain countries experience more severe consequences due to resource scarcity, urbanization issues, and the exacerbation of poverty. However, everyone is affected, although not equally. In other words, due to a natural disaster or war, a nuclear explosion occurs in a part of the world and that region becomes uninhabitable. Radiation may spread around the world and affect not only the borders of the country where the incident occurred but also many countries, directly or indirectly. If a civil war breaks out in a country or its territory is attacked by a much larger military force, implicit bonds of brotherhood emerge, and economic and political needs are included in strategic ambitions under the categories of human ethics.

As a result, we cannot find an answer to a significant question for our future in ancient political thought: While the world is facing such common problems, can the dominance of the concept of nationality built around legal borders overcome today's troubles? Or does the current sovereignty project need a newer transformation, as it has experienced many times in history? To find the answer to this, it is necessary to look at contemporary political thought.



2.3 Conclusion

In the first half of this chapter, the discussion highlights the difficulty in imagining different understandings of ‘sovereignty’ existing, and the challenge in categorizing the concept within ancient and classical political thought. The chapter concludes that a largely descriptive approach is evident when considering the concept of sovereignty during this period.

An important aspect of understanding whether the concept of sovereignty represents a fundamental and unique aspect of politics is the evolving nature of political thought over time. For example, while power had similar meanings for the Romans and Ancient Greeks, the concept of the state became more specific in later history. Furthermore, the meaning of politics, as understood today, and its association with legal and political terms, gained an independent significance after Bodin’s work.

The chapter reveals two dimensions of sovereignty. The first dimension focuses on the pre-Bodin understanding of sovereignty, which is closely tied to law and principles. This is a descriptive approach that focuses on the question of ‘what’ sovereignty is. However, with the emergence of Bodin’s theories, the focus shifts to the ‘how’ of sovereignty, introducing a moral dimension to the concept. This shift marks the beginning of the normative perspective on sovereignty.

Before Bodin, the term ‘sovereignty’ was used, but not with all the essential elements that would later define its distinct meaning. This points to the idea that sovereignty is a fluid concept, one that has an open-ended set of components. Over time, as components of its definition are modified or endowed with new meanings, the concept becomes more flexible and malleable. As such, it is unrealistic to expect a fixed, singular meaning of sovereignty.

In ancient and classical political thought, sovereignty was not always defined by its independent meaning but by what it represented, such as the state, constitution, or even God. However, after Bodin, this shifts, and the question becomes not about what sovereignty represents, but about what constitutes sovereignty. This marks a transition where sovereignty begins to be represented by figures like the king, the ruler, or, in some cases, by the social contract. In this way, sovereignty in ancient and classical political thought gains meaning through both what it represents and what it is represented by.

3. THINKING OF SOVEREIGNTY IN MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, four distinct tendencies in the conceptualization of sovereignty will be introduced. The first is the class perception, which includes the perspectives of Marx and Gramsci. These thinkers view sovereignty through a lens of class struggle and power dynamics within society. The second tendency will associate sovereignty with the concept of power, beginning with Carl Schmitt, who links sovereignty to the ability to determine the exception. Schmitt's theory suggests that the sovereign is the one who decides when and how normal legal rules can be suspended in times of crisis. In contrast, in the work of Hinsley, sovereignty is framed more as an idea to establish final and absolute authority over a political community. The discussion will then transition to Michel Foucault, who ties sovereignty to power in a more diffuse and pervasive manner, focusing on the relationship between power structures and societal norms. Similarly, Giorgio Agamben builds upon this understanding by exploring the relationship between sovereignty and biopolitics, emphasizing how sovereign power extends over life itself, often through the state of exception. Next, in the thought of political theorist Wolff, sovereignty is presented as a concept marked by an ongoing tension between authority and autonomy, illustrating how sovereignty involves both coercive power and a struggle for individual freedoms. Kalyvas, following in this tradition, connects sovereignty to constituent power—the idea that the sovereign's authority arises from the power of the people to establish or change the political order. The third tendency explored in this chapter is the territorial approach to sovereignty. Within this framework, sovereignty is understood either in relation to territory (i.e., the state's control over a defined geographic area) or in a beyond-territory perspective. Thinkers like Max Weber and Thomas Nagel emphasize the state's monopoly on violence and the relationship between sovereignty and justice. Nagel, in particular, draws a clear connection between sovereignty and the concept of justice, highlighting how sovereignty underpins the ability to enforce legal and ethical norms within a given jurisdiction. The final tendency examined will consider the idea of sovereignty beyond

territorial boundaries. Philosophers like Seyla Benhabib and Thomas Pogge discuss sovereignty in global terms, examining how it can transcend state borders in favor of cosmopolitan ideals and international justice. Lastly, the chapter will address the idea of sovereignty as tied to community, with a focus on political theorists like Hannah Arendt and Slavoj Žižek. These thinkers view sovereignty through the lens of collective identity and democratic participation, suggesting that sovereignty is not merely about authority but also about the shared experiences and commitments of a political community..

3.2 Sovereignty in Modern Thought

If Starting from a class perspective, the first thinker to be discussed is Karl Marx. Marx argued that the defining element of sovereignty lies in economic relations. For him, the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie must be abolished to pave the way for a free and just world for humanity. He envisioned the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitional phase toward this goal. The struggle, according to Marx, would continue until there is no bourgeois authority remaining over the people, as his aim was not merely to reform the existing inter-societal or inter-institutional hierarchy but to completely eliminate it. In works like *Das Kapital* and *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx critiques the existing political and economic systems, revealing their close connection to the concept of sovereignty. Marx's theory extends beyond conventional views of sovereignty by emphasizing the material conditions and economic relationships that underpin state structures. His perspective suggests that sovereignty is not just about the authority of the state but is fundamentally tied to the economic relations that shape society. The state's function within the capitalist system is thus central to Marx's critique of sovereignty, highlighting how economic power and class struggle determine the political structures in place. For Marx, sovereignty is a product of the capitalist system, and true freedom can only be achieved once the economic foundation of bourgeois dominance is overthrown. Marx stated that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Marx, 1996a, p. 11).

For Marx, the concept of power is deeply intertwined with domination. He views power as the ability of one class to dominate the rest of society. The ruling class holds control over the means of production, and this control is legitimized through brutal force and ideological justification. This dominance is seen as a natural and

unquestioned part of the system. Marx challenges the conventional understanding of sovereignty as an isolated political authority, instead emphasizing its connection to economic forces. He argues that the state's role in sustaining capitalism leads to questions about the sovereignty of the working class. Marx suggests that the struggle for socialism and the liberation of the working class requires a transformation of sovereignty, overturning the dominance of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, for Marx, sovereignty is a concept that is manipulated by the ruling classes to perpetuate harm to the people, and it must be seized from the bourgeoisie in the pursuit of true liberation.

In addition to this, Gramsci disapproved of the economic determinism of traditional Marxism and preferred a complex political theory that took into account contingent variations in historical context. Gramsci introduced Marxism and neo-idealist perspectives on practical subjectivity, outlining a revolutionary strategy meant to create a new collective identity. Hegemony, his notion, evolved across a variety of themes and notes; at times, it was used in conjunction with other ideas to make strategic observations, and at other times, it was employed as a methodological tool to examine historical circumstances. Furthermore, it functioned as a philosophical standpoint that highlighted the indivisibility of thought and action, suggesting that all cognitive endeavors were inherently connected to the cultivation of an essential lifestyle. Consequently, hegemony is a condition applicable to both bourgeois and proletarian forms of rule.

In essence, the *dominio* (or coercion) and *direzione* (or consensus) stages of power relations serve as the foundation for Gramsci's theory of power. These two cases constitute essential elements, if not the essential elements, of an equilibrium between the social forces referred to as the led and the led. Through cultural hegemony, the bourgeoisie's hold on power is legitimized. According to Gramsci, the ruling classes hold the highest authority, with political society and civil society exerting influence that, when united, constitute the state. Sovereignty is indirectly demonstrated through the power possessed by the dominant social classes within a state. The state was a complex structure that combined both coercion and consent: it was both the means by which the ruling class maintained its domination over society (Gramsci, 1971, p. 247). For Gramsci, the state is the sum of political society and civil society. This is protected by the armor of hegemony, which it sees as the praxis of the state.

According to Gramsci, the sovereign can be reinterpreted as the hegemonic power of a collective will that is able to create new political, social, and moral structures based on the independent activity of the people, or national masses (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 129-131).

In the thought of Marx and Gramsci, the concept of sovereignty is handled from a class perspective, in Marx it is centered on economic relations, in Gramsci it has an understanding that deepens hegemony. For this reason, when understanding sovereignty, it is necessary to consider it on a class basis in Marxist thought, with the oppressor-exploited duality rather than the ruler-ruled relationship in liberal democracy.

Another cornerstone here is Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. The critical point in Lincoln's text is that the concept of sovereignty enters a new era for the first time, and its relationship with the concept of power gains a new dimension. The phrase "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth" (Lincoln, 2011, p. 79) in Lincoln's text is taken from power on people. In other words, since the power appears to be absolute and represents authority, it is used for the benefit of the people, and therefore it is intertwined with the people. Then, what's more, this is the first time this has been mentioned by a ruler.

In light of all this, some thinkers consider the concept of power and sovereignty together; at this point, the political depth of sovereignty is revealed through the concepts considered together with it. Initially, Schmitt proclaimed, "sovereign is he who decides the exception" (Schmitt, 1922, p. 5). In Schmitt's understanding, the primary factor of the concept of power is order. Therefore, the moment when one can go beyond the order is the moment when power is exercised, in other words, the moment when the limits of the order are determined. This power is practiced by those who control the state and imposed on society with exceptions. For this reason, the legitimacy of power in Schmitt is realist and positivist. The main focus in Schmitt is the use of power, it centers on being able to determine the exception and therefore becomes the determinant of the exception at the point of praxis of the power. This encapsulates a central theme in Schmitt's thought: The idea that sovereignty is fundamentally tied to the ability to ruin the regular. He contended that the core of sovereignty resides in the capacity to decide when and how the ordinary legal system

can be set aside in response to existential threats or any deviation from the norm that endangers the state. Schmitt's focus on the exception as a fundamental characteristic of sovereignty revolutionized the traditional interpretations, establishing it as a stable and legal concept. He argued that sovereignty cannot be limited to a predetermined set of rules and procedures, but instead arises during critical times of decision-making that go beyond normal legal boundaries. When these are considered together, Schmitt's sovereignty stands out as a concept to be discussed together with law, norm, and power. However, it made the definition itself, without needing an explanation, and made it necessary to talk to the one who is capable of changing the normality.

In Hinsley's view, sovereignty occupies a central position between the concepts of political society and power. He argues that sovereignty is fundamentally an idea, one that embodies the notion of absolute and ultimate power within a political community. The concepts of authority and power, however, are flexible and evolve with human history. As such, they can fluctuate—stretching, weakening, or strengthening—over time. This fluidity leads to the conclusion that sovereignty should no longer be seen as a fixed fact, but rather as a dynamic concept shaped by historical developments. (Hinsley, 1989, p. 2). Hinsley argues that the establishment of the state as the highest authority leads to the realization of the concept of sovereignty in a similar manner. The concept of sovereignty arose relatively late in European nations due to the existence of absolute authority until a later period. Hinsley elucidates that in order to comprehend the genesis of this idea, it is imperative to differentiate between the establishment of the state as a unique institution, and conversely, the degree to which the state is acknowledged and the degree to which its governance is efficacious (Hinsley, 1989, p. 21).

Hinsley's understanding of power is based on a situation within the political community. Accordingly, power first emerges with the formation of the political community, which is collective. However, the legitimization of this power occurs when that political community turns into an institution such as the state, and with this institution it transitions to an administrative form. In this case, a political community, the final form of which is the state, is legitimate until the moment when a larger political community emerges. It derives its legitimacy from its volume and idea. According to Hinsley, the concept of sovereignty necessitates the creation of a state as a governing institution, but it does not depend on it. To diminish the significance of

sovereignty, it is necessary for a community and its government to maintain a clear separation, such that the concept of sovereignty is only applicable when the government is in a structured condition. Thus, an additional foundation is required in this context, namely political society. Sovereignty is a principle that pertains to political society rather than just the state itself. Hinsley defines sovereignty as a concept used to reinforce existing forms of legitimacy and responsibility, or as a foundation for new iterations of these mechanisms through which power is transformed into authority (Hinsley, 1989, p. 25).

The philosopher who associates the concept of sovereignty with power as well is Foucault. In his philosophy, sovereignty is embedded in three different forms of power. Unlike Hinsley, Foucault extends power not only to the state and political community, but to all areas of life. The first conceptualization of power is that established by the state using its central power through sanctions and ensuring obedience to the law. The content of the sanction consists of crime and punishment defined by law. Its purpose is praxis in its simplest form. The second conceptualization of power, with the *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* reveals a practice of power that is different from the previous paradigm of sovereignty. While the previous paradigm of sovereignty was based on making power visible, with the new techniques that emerged, 'what is looked at is no longer power, but creating subjects who are subject to power.' In the third conceptualization, the acceleration created by industrialization emerges, with the effect of this, the paradigm of sovereignty has been replaced by two different power mechanisms. It tries to separate these into discipline and regulation. Disciplinary power is established through body politics and aims to regulate life itself, not the body, by calling it bio-politics. Firstly, Foucault's examination of power relations arises from his focus on sovereignty as the opposing aspect. Furthermore, sovereignty serves as the conceptual focal point that defines the political objective of Foucault's work in an adversarial manner. Sovereignty, according to Foucault, is the "right to take life or let live," (Foucault, 2003, p. 240) a right that ultimately resides in and is exercised as the "right to kill" (Foucault, 1978, p. 136)

At the center of Foucault's understanding of power is the idea of power/knowledge. As discussed in his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault believes that power and knowledge are inextricably linked; They work together to form a control system.

Those in positions of authority rely on knowledge production to maintain power. They do this by creating classification systems that allow them to exercise surveillance and control over the population. This allows them to determine what is considered as the normal. Therefore, power is a relationship between authority and subjects. It derives its legitimacy from the knowledge it produces. Foucault's emphasis on the dispersion of power highlights that authority is not solely vested in the state or a single sovereign but is distributed throughout society, operating in various forms and at multiple levels. This perspective has implications for how we understand sovereignty in a world where power is decentralized and often operates in subtle and hidden ways. According to Foucault, "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1977, p. 26).

As a result, in order to comprehend Foucault's idea of sovereignty completely, it is essential to consider both how to justify power and the question of what is power?

In Foucault's comprehension, power includes some key points like being ubiquitous, productive, discursive, regulatory, relational, and historical. And among all these, the factor that justifies power is the role of discourse and knowledge. Those in positions of authority often use language, rhetoric, and official narratives to justify their actions. They create and promote knowledge systems that support their claims to power.

When all these are brought together, it becomes clear that, for Foucault, sovereignty is not just biopower. However, there is also a state of internalization. The main thing to understand here is that Schmitt's philosophy is further developed, and in Foucault, the state is only an example of power. However, the mechanism that decides whether to die or survive is not just the state, it is called governmentalities.

Agamben's ideas can be seen as a development of Schmitt's and Foucault's theories, particularly regarding the location and nature of power. Like Hinsley and Foucault, Agamben suggests that power is omnipresent, influencing all aspects of life. However, he distinguishes his perspective by asserting that this power operates in separate ways across different domains. He argues that the state of exception is a fundamental aspect of modern political authority. In times of crisis or emergency, such as in the case of terrorism or pandemics, the state temporarily suspends the normal legal order, granting governments extraordinary powers. Where Schmitt's ideas align with Agamben is in clarifying the meaning of the state of exception. The concept of biopolitics, central to Agamben's understanding of power, focuses on how political authority intersects with

biological life, shaping individuals and societies through various strategies and controls. Agamben introduces the notion of “bare life,” a life excluded from the political sphere, which becomes vulnerable to sovereign power’s decisions and violence. This concept reveals a shift away from the traditional view of sovereignty as the ability to exercise rights; instead, it connects sovereignty to the ability to decide who can be excluded from the political order. For Agamben, sovereign power gains its legitimacy not through the enforcement of laws, but through the suspension of laws during a state of exception. This suspension becomes the defining act of sovereignty. His critique of modern sovereignty is rooted in the increasing reliance on this mechanism of exceptional power, where the true exercise of sovereign authority is marked by the power to decide when and how to halt the legal framework, rather than by its normal application. The sovereign, who possesses the legal authority to suspend the validity of laws, effectively positions themselves outside the boundaries of the law. This implies that the paradox can also be expressed as follows: the law exists beyond itself, or in other words, the ruler, who exists beyond the jurisdiction of the law, proclaims that there is nothing beyond the law (Agamben, 1998, p. 15).

Schmitt argued that sovereignty is primarily defined by the ability of a sovereign authority to make crucial decisions, particularly in identifying enemies. For Schmitt, conflict and enmity are central to political life, with the sovereign’s role being to draw the distinction between friends and enemies. This determination, he contended, is what defines the essence of sovereignty. In contrast, Agamben shifts the focus to the normalization of the state of exception and its impact on individual rights and the legal system. Rather than concentrating on the identification of enemies, Agamben examines how the sovereign’s power to suspend legal frameworks becomes an ongoing condition, systematically affecting the protection of rights. He introduces the concept of *Homo Sacer*, referring to individuals who are excluded from legal protection and reduced to a state of mere biological existence. This exclusion exposes them to the direct control and potential violence of sovereign power, reflecting the biopolitical nature of modern sovereignty, where the state asserts control not just over political decisions but over life itself. Some approaches similar to Schmitt and Foucault stand out for Agamben. Agamben focuses on the structure of sovereignty and discusses it within the framework of the exception/exclusion relationship. He begins sovereignty by distinguishing between the Ancient Greek concepts of *zoe* and *bios*. The first is the

simple phenomenon of natural life/aliveness, and the second is the way of life of an individual/collective subject. Here, while Zoe is seen as belonging only to reproductive life, it is separated from political life, the polis. Therefore, the Zoe domain is outside the domain of the bios. Its similarity to Foucault and Schmitt is that it deals with sovereignty dichotomously, and its differentiation is that it does not perceive it with population, community, or categorization, but takes it back to the most dominant exception. Agamben's definition of sovereignty shares similarities with Foucault's in recognizing the pervasive nature of power across all aspects of life. However, Agamben's understanding of power diverges from Foucault's. He argues that every form of power, without exception, ultimately involves a mechanism of exclusion and inclusion. In this framework, sovereignty is defined by the sovereign's authority to determine who is included within the legal and political community, and crucially, who is excluded. This power of exclusion extends to the decision of life and death, with the sovereign being the one who decides the right to kill or let live. This concept reflects Agamben's emphasis on the biopolitical dimensions of sovereignty, where the ultimate exercise of power is over the very existence of individuals.

Kalyvas, unlike Hinsley, approaches sovereignty through a praetorian lens, focusing on the physical and material dimensions of power. He argues that a sovereign's primary duty is to protect those under its authority, and if the sovereign fails to fulfill this responsibility, it loses its legitimacy and sovereignty may be claimed by another force. For Kalyvas, the sovereignty of the state is contingent upon its ability to ensure protection and fulfill its duties, which forms the basis of its authority. This perspective aligns with Schmitt's view of power, where the sovereign's authority is closely tied to the ability to act decisively in moments of crisis, especially concerning the protection of the political community. Kalyvas also incorporates Schmitt's idea of constituent power into his understanding of sovereignty, asserting that sovereignty should not be viewed in isolation but alongside the concept of constituent power, which is the power to create and shape the political order. Kalyvas points to Schmitt and expresses this as "It is this alternative conceptualization of the sovereign as constituent power that I will seek to recover as a more attractive and relevant form of sovereignty" (Kalyvas, 2005, p. 226).

Kalyvas mentions three different approaches to sovereignty, the first of which is the traditional approach, and is largely based on coercion. Therefore, it turns its focus on

the dominance of the establishment and is perceived as repressive. The focus of judgment is dominant in the second strategy, which is an alternative. According to this method, the sovereign comes from the legislative. The sovereign currently functions as a legislator who had a key role in establishing the laws, rather than having unlimited power as a monarch. Finally, the notion of the constituent sovereign directs our focus to the underlying origins of the institutionalized reality at the lower level, rather than highlighting the discretionary power of a superior command originating from the higher level (Kalyvas, 2005, p. 227).

In Kalyvas' thought, sovereignty is considered together with the constituent power, and its legislative feature is emphasized. Kalyvas defines sovereignty as follows: "The sovereign is mainly the constituent power, the capacity to create and find new political order" (Kalyvas, 2005, p. 224).

Another power-oriented philosopher of sovereignty is Wolff. According to him, politics in itself is the state's exercise of its power (Wolff, 1990, p. 1). Therefore, political philosophy is also the philosophy of the state. For this reason, it adheres to this focus when discussing sovereignty. The authority must be whichever component or combination is referred to as sovereign. "The right to command, and correlatively, the right to be obeyed" (Wolff, 1990, p. 1) is how Wolff defines authority. According to Wolff, the dominant element of power is legitimacy, therefore power is authority that has not yet been legitimized. Because he reaches the capacity to exercise power only when he turns into authority, and he has the right to do so. The critical point here is the word right. The source of authority for a bearer of sovereignty is typically a legitimate source that is widely recognized, such as natural law, divine mandate, inherited law, constitution, or international law. This legitimacy implies that the authority is valid and accepted. In contemporary society, the concept of sovereignty is derived from a body of legal principles that are universally recognized.

Wolff states that there is a continuous conflict between authority and autonomy, so the authority will always strive to expand its more authoritarian area, the other will always seek more freedom space, this is a never-ending conflict. However, according to Wolff, there is a very sharp distinction between authority and power, and the issue of sovereignty arises here. Just like other power-oriented thinkers of the philosophy of sovereignty, in Wolff the authority is power, but with a difference, it is legitimized power. This field of legitimacy can be any method, it is out of the question, but

legitimized power is only authority. Therefore, sovereignty is the legitimization of power.

There are also differences among thinkers who read the philosophy of sovereignty intertwined with the concept of power. While Schmitt examines the concept of exception in relation to the exercise of power as the ability to make decisions, Hinsley views it as the authorized state of the political community as recognized by the government. Subsequently, Foucault presents a contrasting viewpoint to Hinsley by asserting that power extends beyond the realm of the state and permeates all aspects of existence. Furthermore, Foucault contends that sovereignty has the potential to manifest itself ubiquitously. However, in addition to Foucault's and Schmitt's thoughts, Agamben reveals not only the spread of power in all areas of life but also its application. While in Kalyvas the sovereignty is the establishment, which is the founding power, in Wolff it is the authority, which is the legitimized power.

Another approach to the concept of sovereignty is to consider it from a territorial perspective. This perspective weighs sovereignty in terms of state and border. Therefore, it contains two different approaches. The first is the idea that defines it as the use of power within certain boundaries, and the other is the idea of beyond-territory, which includes cosmopolitan sovereignty.

Firstly, when examining the concept of sovereignty inside territorial boundaries, we come across Max Weber, who defines the state as the entity that possesses exclusive control over the use of force within a specific geographic area. Weber comprehends the notion of sovereignty in relation to the conceptions of authority, power, violence, and state. He contemplates the nature of political authority and the state by asserting "A state is a human community that [successfully] claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber, 1919, p. 78). This statement reconceptualizes sovereignty as a forceful action rather than an inherent entitlement, closely tied to the state's capacity to exert lawful coercion. It acknowledges that sovereignty is not inherently obvious, but rather must be established on the basis of authority and agreement. Weber posited that the state can come into being when the subjugated individuals acquiesce to the authority (the legitimate or sanctioned ability to issue commands, compel obedience, or prohibit actions) wielded by the dominant group. Weber argued that the state, as a political community, is founded on a relationship characterized by one person exerting dominance over

another. He further showed that this connection is sustained by the use of legal violence, or violence that is sanctioned by the law.

Weber interprets power as the capacity of an individual to successfully assert their own desires in a social context, even when faced with resistance from others. This description encompasses a wide range of power structures and is rather comprehensive. For this reason, in Weber, the dominant element of power is obedience, and a hierarchy is formed between two different subjects. Here, Weber has a differentiating feature that, for him, power covers every field where politics exists. For this reason, the point at which it becomes legitimized, that is, the moment when domination turns into authority, is the subject's acceptance of obedience. A concept that cuts across Weber's understanding of sovereignty is bureaucracy. In other words, authority is the praxis of sovereignty. Thus, bureaucracy actually becomes the hallmark of sovereignty. It can be asserted that Max Weber refers to the administrative structure in a rational-legal system as bureaucracy. Weber contends that a rational-legal bureaucracy embodies rational action, serving as the essential instrument for efficient, adaptable, and proficient regulation in a law-based administration. The ideal form of bureaucratic management, as outlined by Weber, possesses distinct features compared to traditional authority, representing an alternative form of sovereignty. According to Weber, the bureaucratic state is the most suitable form for shaping the intellectual evolution of the modern state. Therefore, when we delve into the most basic ground in Weber's understanding of sovereignty, it will be revealed that this is actually territorial bureaucracy.

Another thinker is Nagel. In Nagel's thought, the social contract established to ensure justice requires that sovereignty be central. Nagel defines it as a comprehensive communal activity or institution that can only be considered right in the most fundamental sense when it exists under the authority of a sovereign government. One can only determine if a system is fair or unfair by observing how it functions. (Nagel, 2005, pp. 115-16)

Nagel emphasizes that the presence of a sovereign state is needed for the establishment of justice. Therefore, he perceives sovereignty as the act of instituting and enforcing the law. As observed, advocates of the classical social contract theory believed that justice could be achieved through a sovereign state alone. They considered the state to be essential and adequate for justice, and hence, believed it should have a well-

established institutional structure. Nagel assesses the correlation between the notion of sovereignty and the notion of justice. He recognizes that a significant number of individuals endure extreme poverty, as well as human rights abuses, and lack the basic prerequisites for safety.

Nagel associates the concept of power with the state. At this point, the state is the institution that exercises power over citizens. It derives its legitimacy from the fact that it provides justice. In Nagel's thought, the state is clearly defined as a territorial sovereign. The concept of sovereignty has a function, and this function is the establishment of justice, and therefore this sovereignty is an issue that arises in the essence of the state.

Another territorial perspective is the beyond-border understanding of sovereignty. In this system of thought, the concept of sovereignty is again considered intertwined with the concept of justice, but when this issue of justice is closed within borders, it ignores global inequality, therefore justice appears as a global concept.

For Pogge, sovereignty is an important but not absolute moral status as it aims to enable possibilities such as UN-sanctioned humanitarian intervention and stronger growth of international organizations fighting poverty (Pogge, 1992, pp. 48-75). In cosmopolitan sovereignty and Sovereignty, according to him, political authority should be divided into intertwined regional units and the current definition of sovereignty should be replaced by a generally accepted understanding of sovereignty in the vertical dimension. For Pogge, the dominant component of power is institutionalization, and the subject that must carry out this institutionalization is the smallest local units. These institutions and organizations hold power because they intend to end global poverty. As a result of the dispersion, authority will be distributed both downwards and upwards among districts, cities, towns, and federative units that are smaller than the state, and through this process, both centralization and decentralization will proceed together. People should govern themselves through various political formations, no one should be at the center and act like a state (Pogge, 1992, p. 58). This idea is clearly divergent from the concept of sovereignty as presented by Weber and Nagel. In Weber and Nagel's territorial thinking, it is advocated that the state should be significantly reinforced and provided with resources from the central government. Nevertheless, Pogge's philosophy incorporates an argument from anarchists, who perceive sovereignty in a vertical manner. Considering

all the evidence, it is accurate to assert that the notion of sovereignty is viewed with doubt in Pogge.

According to another thinker, Benhabib, deterritorialized law and cosmopolitan norms are both thought to pose a threat to democratic legislatures and challenge the nation-state. However, while cosmopolitan norms strengthen popular sovereignty, an understanding of democratic iterations and republican federalism may emerge that will strengthen popular sovereignty by creating connections between the local, national, and international. Benhabib mentions that the rise in cosmopolitan thought inevitably affects the concept of sovereignty (Benhabib, 2007, p. 21). According to Benhabib, it is critical to first differentiate between popular and state sovereignty since shifts in the notion of sovereignty have an impact on states' ability to exercise their sovereignty and alter the standards of state sovereignty. The concept of the monopoly of violence and the presence of a public institution that holds ultimate authority in its distribution are the fundamental pillars in the formation of the modern state. The term sovereignty is commonly associated with the power to govern. According to Benhabib, sovereignty cannot be reduced in this particular scenario. We are currently engaged in the process of both redefining citizenship and reorganizing sovereignty. By establishing stronger connections with local, regional, and international organizations, we are transitioning from considering citizenship as national membership to focusing on residency citizenship (Benhabib, 2007, p. 22). Thus, we must challenge the dysfunction of the state-centered sovereignty model and reconsider the concept of people sovereignty and democratic governance.

For Benhabib, the concept of power contains universality. At this point, the dominant comes in two types, internal and external, and provides dominance by institutionalizing. Therefore, when we talk about the state, citizenship, and ties again, a new definition of sovereignty emerges. For Benhabib, "sovereignty is the unilateral reassertion of sovereignty" (Benhabib, 2007, p. 28). So, she states that violate certain norms by restricting freedoms such as market, speech, and association, and close their borders are considered to be outside the society of states or alliances. It is important to establish shared institutions that uphold domestic principles. Sovereignty no longer refers to absolute and capricious control over a limited geographical area (Benhabib, 2008, p. 24).

When examined, it will be seen that from the territorial perspective, sovereignty tends to be narrowed down to the state and its capacity, just as Benhabib stated. For Weber, a state is a form of sovereignty that carries all the wheels of a mechanism embodied in bureaucracy, while for Nagel, the state itself, as a device, is an element that must be strengthened to distribute and fulfill justice. In the works of Pogge and Benhabib, the situation is distinct, and the focus that requires enhancement is not on the state. Specifically, the notion of justice should lean towards being dispersed in a bottom-up manner rather than a top-down approach. Therefore, sovereignty is a dynamic term that requires continuous redefinition.

Another idea in the philosophy of sovereignty is that it is defined by the community. Here, the political community is defined as based on the institution in which the dominant concept is shaped. In this inclination, which is grounded in perceiving the political community as the political entity itself, it is imperative to comprehend sovereignty in a direct manner.

Arendt claims that because power is a result of action and solely dependent on persuasion, it is a special kind of phenomena. It is founded on persuasion because it involves the capacity to gain others' permission via unfettered discussion and debate, and it is a product of action since it results from the coordinated efforts of several individuals. The presence of other individuals is its sole restriction, though. "Power is not accidental, since human power initially corresponds to the condition of plurality," she observes (Arendt, 1968, p. 201). According to Arendt, the legitimacy of power is maintained when people act in concert via speech and persuasion. It originates from the first time that people come together, the fundamental covenant of togetherness that constitutes a political community. Power, in her view, does not require justification as it is inherent in the creation of political communities. However, it does require legitimacy. Power emerges when individuals unite and collaborate, but its legitimacy is derived from the original act of coming together rather than from any subsequent actions (Arendt, 1968, p. 204).

Arendt provides a historical account of how sovereignty has been expressed politically and the challenges it has faced. Arendt contends that modern sovereignty, while bearing similarities to pre-political coercive power prevalent in earlier times (which continued as absolute household authority even during the classical age), also

contributes a significant novel aspect to the modern era. As a characteristic: The cultivation of human volition as the primary motivating factor behind behavior. So, Arendt argues, the foundation of sovereignty is “the ideal of a free will independent from others and eventually prevailing against them” (Arendt, 1954, p. 153). Arendt thus seems to view sovereignty as a force that is almost exclusively detrimental. We have to hope, at most, that those who impose their will on the rest of us are honorable and nonviolent. However, such a scenario pales in comparison to the importance of our participation in our own political lives. Arendt addresses sovereignty in *The Human Condition*. She understands that sovereignty, when claimed by a single entity that is isolated, whether it is an individual or a nation, is always false. However, in the case of many men who are tied by vows to each other, sovereignty takes on a certain limited reality (Arendt, 1968, p. 245).

Therefore, although sovereignty seems vague in Arendt, some components of it emerge. Among these, it is an absolute and undeniable form of authority, and it has action, whether individual or collective.

The thinker who critically bases his philosophy of sovereignty on the people is Žižek. If there is a democratic order in Žižek’s thought, sovereignty rests on the people. However, it is necessary to question what this people are and what they are like. For Žižek, before the people begin to govern themselves, they rely on power and become a kind of subjects of power. Žižek argues that political power is primarily symbolic in nature. The word refers to the notion that the roles, masks, or powers assumed by public officials hold greater political significance than the actual reality of the individuals themselves. This authority acquires its symbolic significance through legal means, and these individuals in public positions exert their authority over individuals who are not in public positions. For this reason, it is not permanent, but temporary. Thus, no government can rely entirely on the people. So, Žižek relies on his thoughts on sovereignty in a temporary position. According to his perspective, individuals are incapable of directly governing themselves. The position of authority must always remain vacant, and anyone who occupies it can only do so temporarily, acting as a surrogate or substitute for the unattainable true sovereign. This implies that no one can rule without some degree of guilt or wrongdoing (Žižek, 2019, p. 165).

Thus, when discussing sovereignty in Žižek’s work, it is imperative to consider it in relation to the specific characteristics of the political community. The essence of the

community is unveiled and signifies a novel comprehension. Thus, there is a criticism of liberal democracy in Žižek's discourse. However, what he has in common with Arendt is that he approaches political activism along a similar line. Because in Žižek, even if sovereignty seems like a consistent logic, it needs constant actions to make this consistency visible (Žižek, 1999, p. 160). Thus a definition emerges. Sovereignty relies on the production of subjects within the exclusionary space to accommodate the acts which maintain its consistency.

In the thought that deals with the philosophy of sovereignty through community tendency, other concepts in which the concept of sovereignty is discussed together are political action and participation. While in Hannah Arendt sovereignty is understood as directly intertwined with political participation, in Slavoj Žižek the focus is on the quality of people.

3.3 Rethinking the Inclusive Limits of Sovereignty

There are some conspicuous deficiencies in this section where the definition of sovereignty in modern political thought is discussed. For example, although institutional progress in terms of capacity extends to some international institutions, the connection of these international institutions to national device, which are nation-states, remains unclear. For this reason, the definition of sovereignty that remains within and transcends borders is stuck between the limited features of popular sovereignty. Therefore, institutional gaps emerge.

In this chapter, how power, the main element of sovereignty, is related by various modern thinkers was evaluated with three different questions. Accordingly, for Marx and Gramsci, who discussed the issue from a class perspective, power was a concept that one class of society performed on rest of the people and captured through various means. Hinsley, one of the thinkers who made the relationship between sovereignty and power, treated it as a concept that emerged within the political community and became legitimate by turning into an institution such as the state. Foucault's concept centered on the interplay between power and knowledge. Thus, the authority established its legitimacy by generating knowledge. Giorgio Agamben argues that power and biopolitics are closely connected, and that authority derives its legitimacy from its association with the body. In Kalyvas, it is presented that power is a material concept and its main function, that is, its form of legitimization, is to protect the

subjects who depend on it. Philosopher Wolff analyzes the potency of legitimacy rather than questioning the validity of the power notion. According to Wolff, power is authority that has not yet been legitimized. Therefore, the emphasis was placed on its capability. In Weber, what is given in the chapter is that the main component of power is obedience and a hierarchy is formed between two different subjects. It had a distinctive feature: it covered every field where politics existed. Therefore, the point at which domination was legitimized, that is, the moment when domination turned into authority, was when the subject accepted obedience. In the political thought of another thinker, Nagel, the concept of power is largely associated with the state. Accordingly, the state was an institution that derived its legitimacy from establishing justice and exercised its power over the people. The situation was somewhat different in cosmopolitan thinkers such as Pogge, and Benhabib, according to which power was perceived from the bottom up. Because Pogge, and Benhabib focus on the universality of power and legitimize it by institutionalizing it. Arendt, the thinker who associated sovereignty with political community, described power as a concept dependent on action, and power is a concept that derives its legitimacy from persuasion between two subjects. In this way, the concept of consent as a modern notion was put forward. Finally, in Zizek, power was seen as symbolic and discussed as a temporary matter undertaken by public officials.

From another perspective, its inclusive features need to be taken further in modern thought. My argument is that the question of political sovereignty must be broadened to human and human-related issues and that sovereignty must transcend not just white supremacists but all humans relying on institutions. For this reason, the definition of sovereignty in modern political thought needs to create new connections based on life, individuals, society, and institutions. Today, it is essential to define multiple nationalisms rather than a single, uniform nationalism, as history demonstrates that the concepts used to define human societies in international agreements are never static. Political concepts constantly evolve, and the development of any political idea within one segment of the world community inevitably triggers pragmatic updates across others. Consequently, it is crucial to derive insights from these ongoing discussions. Every reform typically targets institutions, while every revolution aims at transforming society. My perspective, then, is not to frame cosmopolitan sovereignty as a reformist ideal aimed at institutional change but to define it as a revolutionary populist

movement capable of rethinking ethics. Why not focus on a fundamental point where cooperatives center on the multitudes, rather than strengthening national or international institutions? It becomes clear that incorporating a moral principle into the understanding of a community in one part of the world can lead to rapid global connections, as communities in different regions adopt these principles. Since humans began living together, small moral communities have increasingly been influenced by global issues, but today's difference lies in their ability to affect these issues just as much as they are affected. I argue that this transformation should be reflected on a political scale. Therefore, the relationship between cosmopolitan sovereignty and politics must inherently oppose political and social inequality. Cosmopolitan sovereignty must be viewed as both a subject of sovereignty theory and a theory of justice. To adopt these moral principles on a global scale, we must overcome the institutional barriers that prevent their widespread acceptance, calling for institutional innovations. Ideal theory can provide a clear and consistent standard for evaluating the justice of a society. Indeed, if we know what a perfectly just society would look like, we can use that as a yardstick to measure how inadequate our society is. This can help us identify areas of our society that need improvement and develop policies that will move us closer to justice. My thesis focuses on the disparity between the issues faced in the 20th century and those encountered in the 21st century. Hence, the temporal boundaries within which we can inquire about our destination have expanded beyond their previous limitations. In this way, the answer to the establishment of a universal power may of course seem utopian and unrealistic to non-idealist theorists. But I propose to change the question from here to the following: We no longer feel how to establish cosmopolitan sovereignty as a 'universal power and how to determine the focal point of perpetual peace', because. Instead, we must put forward the moral possibility of framing power itself within new principles that compel it to treat all the peoples of the world as if they belonged to the world community.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter explores the concept of sovereignty in contemporary political philosophy. Initially, a distinction arose between ancient and classical political philosophy. Consequently, although sovereignty is linked to authority, it is argued that there is a

distinction in its rationale. Sovereignty encompasses four distinct ways that can be categorized into two sides.

It is possible to talk about four different tendencies in modern political thought regarding the philosophy of sovereignty. Accordingly, there are class perspectives, power-centered approach, territorial understandings, and political community-oriented thought. And one of the two different sides of sovereignty is descriptive, and according to this, sovereignty is defined in a realist and positivist way. In this chapter, it is revealed that this view is shaped by the tendency to base sovereignty on law and principles. Three of the four approaches within these sides are covered. The class, territorial, and communal approaches given in this chapter have discussed the concept of sovereignty descriptively. Because in this respect, sovereignty is assigned to a certain social layer, state bureaucracy, and borders, or a political community. Another side of sovereignty is normative. It treats sovereignty as a moral category, thus giving rise to its politicization. In the descriptive aspect, it is mentioned that sovereignty is a legal structure, and in the normative aspect, it is revealed that this issue is idealistic. Therefore, in the normative approach, the definitions of good differ, and this is especially evident in its relationship with power. It has been revealed that there is no consensus among thinkers. Because what was discovered among thinkers appeared to be the issue of how the power was justified. As a result, in modern political thought, sovereignty is conceptualized as an essentially contested concept on which there is no consensus, and in light of all these evaluations, it would be correct to say that sovereignty is a concept with various tendencies in modern political thought and it is considered together with concepts such as power, state, and people in modern political thought, as well as in ancient and classical political thought. If there is one thing common to all ideas, it is that sovereignty is largely intertwined with political capacity.

4. CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF SOVEREIGNTY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the concept of sovereignty from both a normative and descriptive perspective, identifying the differences between these two approaches and conducting a conceptual analysis of sovereignty.

The central question of the chapter is: what are the conceptual limits of sovereignty when examined descriptively versus normatively? A primary focus in these approaches is the relationship between traditional institutions and practices of the nation-state and the growing global exchanges and interdependencies that characterize globalization. Often, these discussions aim to propose new institutional practices that can better address the challenges posed by globalization. This has led to calls for a new type of justice and democracy, as explored in philosophical debates.

The main argument presented in this chapter is that the political challenges raised by globalization necessitate multi-level forms of governance that adopt principles of federalism and devolution, rather than reinforcing the assertion of sovereign authority. The sovereign policies of nation-states are giving way to a world of multi-level governance and global democratic practices, shaping rights and definitions accordingly.

In the first part of the chapter, sovereignty will be discussed as a descriptive concept, with a definition and discussion of descriptive concepts. In the following section, sovereignty will be examined from a normative perspective. The conceptual analysis conducted will then compare the descriptive and normative aspects of sovereignty, including its various types and approaches. Next, the concept of value will be analyzed in light of these discussions, dividing it into two categories: intrinsic and extrinsic value. Finally, the chapter will conclude by determining and revealing the components of sovereignty as both a descriptive and normative concept.

4.2 Sovereignty as a Descriptive Concept

Rather than passing judgment on the morality or intrinsic worth of current political institutions, processes, and behaviors, descriptive theories seek to objectively describe and evaluate them. By analyzing the connections between institutions, individual behavior, and political norms, the descriptive method seeks to comprehend the nature of politics as it functions in society. Without dictating what politics ought to be, descriptive theorists seek to observe and record the ways in which politics operates, pointing out trends, political structures, and social roles of the political norms. Descriptive examples encompass a range of possibilities, such as examining the progression of a political system over time, evaluating how states interpret legal principles, or investigating the impact of political ideas on social behavior. The key distinction between the descriptive concept and the normative concept lies in their respective assertions. A normative claim asserts that something *-should be-* a certain way, whereas a descriptive claim simply declares that something *-is-* a certain way. Therefore, it is logical that sciences that involve judgment, such as ethics, are called normative, and sciences that approach their subject more objectively are called descriptive sciences. These latter disciplines are said to merely attempt to express what is. For example, the recurring uniformities that exist in the universe of indestructible matter are specified in the laws of physics. It is neither good nor harmful because its subject is nothing but pure existence. Since engineering is tied to physics and other sciences, art can also be produced if its objects serve a truly useful use, but this use is not unique to descriptive science. Put simply, normative theory provides a viewpoint based on values regarding how the world ought to be or function, whereas positive theory seeks to elucidate how the world operates irrespective of values. Normative theories typically articulate ideals or standards that ought to be followed, whereas positive theories typically describe the actual state of affairs.

Descriptive concepts are very practical and grounded in reality. They ensure that daily activities do not deviate from appropriate political concepts as they arise. Descriptive theories do not include the concept of value, so they are not influenced by any judgment. There is an intention to reveal what exists in all its reality. Descriptive concepts in political science are opposing concepts/approaches, yet they might sound very similar if not properly defined or understood, and each highlights separate segments of politics.

Sovereignty encompasses a range of fundamental aspects including government, law, state theory, international relations, ethics, diplomacy, and various political considerations. The discourse of political theory emphasizes several general features, including the relationship of authority between rulers and the governed, the concept of recognition as the basis for establishing sovereignty, the regulative ideal that promotes political order and stability, the use of a function to determine the territorial boundaries of a political unit, and the establishment of a modern constitutional state as the norm. Nevertheless, in the descriptive method, sovereignty is not regarded as a standard or principle. When discussing sovereignty, it is always intrinsically discussed in conjunction with another notion.

The first principle is that authority is vested in the sovereign individual. In other words, the agent or item holds additional power beyond coercion, which refers to A's ability to force B to do something against their choice. The source of power for the sovereign, as well as the concept of sovereignty itself, is typically a mutually recognized and valid source, such as natural law, divine command, law of inheritance, constitution, or international law. In the realm of descriptive analysis, a legal accumulation is universally recognized as the foundation of sovereignty.

Furthermore, territoriality is an additional element of sovereignty. The concept of territoriality provides a structure for delineating individuals who belong to a certain group. Residing inside the limits is explicitly stated as the foundation for membership. This concept holds significant influence due to its ability to establish membership in a manner that may not align with one's identity. The existence of the right to national self-determination provides proof that the boundaries of a sovereign state may encompass many ethnic groups or nations. Boundaries may not completely accommodate diverse identities. Individuals are not under the jurisdiction of a government, but rather are considered part of it just by virtue of residing inside its territorial boundaries. Modern sovereigns possess the utmost authority inside a specific geographical region, and their definition is closely tied to territorial boundaries.

Two other descriptors that characterize sovereignty are external and internal. In this example, the terms refer to various aspects of sovereignty that coexist and are ubiquitous, rather than specific forms of sovereignty. In addition to being exercised within national borders, sovereign power naturally extends to foreigners who are not allowed to interfere with the sovereign's government. For this reason, sovereignty

depends on one's capacity to do something. This capacity is again a reflection legitimized by the rules of law.

The legal and constitutional discourse revolves around various characteristics, such as sovereignty as self-government, the ability to enact laws independently, establishing the rule of law and appointing the highest legal authority, jurisdiction, proposing constitutional changes, unequal power distribution, the enduring nature of sovereignty across different officeholders, independent power, self-management, full authority, strong leadership, independence, supreme rule, self-reliance, autonomy, and control over one's affairs. The area that necessitates comprehensive knowledge in a certain region is the realm of international relations. Discussions on international relations frequently revolve around the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty is defined as a clearly demarcated territory that distinguishes internal and external sovereignty, security and property boundaries, the exclusive right of the state to use force within its territory and during foreign interventions, the authority to declare war and negotiate peace, the acknowledgment of legal equality among states, and the extent and application of sovereignty, as well as the interactions between states. These principles collectively provide the framework for understanding concepts related to world politics, international relations, global politics, state-non-state actor relations, foreign policy, and international power relations.

When examining the descriptive approach to sovereignty, it becomes evident that each theory of sovereignty emphasizes distinct general characteristics, attributes, indicators, and conditions that need to be explained, along with a unique set of essential terms. Philosophy provides an explanation of the background and significance of sovereignty, although it does not fully encompass or tackle these concepts. From this perspective, it is evident that the several well-established notions of sovereignty significantly influence the essence of sovereignty. When discussing the concept of sovereignty, it is appropriate to conduct a test based on principles to determine whether the descriptive approach is dominant. Legal texts can sometimes reveal what sovereignty is. For example, a constitution, or any type of social contract, might describe what sovereignty is in a legal sense and how it is to be exercised. At this point, a sovereign may be a direct ruler in a kingdom, while in a democracy there may be a prime minister or head of state who is elected by popular vote and temporarily occupies his position. At this stage, it is necessary to talk about self-government, because it means that the

legitimacy of an administration is realized through legal principles, in the Rousseauian sense, in a way that relies on the general will. For the subject to remain descriptive, a set of principles that replace sovereignty must be sought here. This set of principles becomes its defining element, and authority derives its legitimacy from compliance with these defining elements by both society and the state. For this reason, the first element of this descriptive understanding is self-government.

The second element, as mentioned above, is the descriptive approach defined within the framework of borders, and at this point, it is organized around the relationship of states with other states. Namely, the principles gathered around international law and international institutions reveal the status of a country's sovereignty in front of another country. Therefore, from a territorial perspective, the sovereignty of a state is defined by looking at these principles. To trace the sovereign state is to discover that the concept is a subject of constant contestation and debate. But this discovery can be wrought with an intellectual legacy in ways that leave us surprisingly little to say about it. It is necessary to reiterate that the term sovereign state is merely a way of referring to an established apparatus of government and that such governments are of insignificant and diminishing importance in our globalizing world. It is also problematic, at least initially, to try to figure out what makes a sovereign state by looking at the most notable aspects of the administrations of states that are widely acknowledged as sovereign. However, if there is something that does not change, what status they have vis-à-vis other states, what rights they have, and under what conditions these rights will be exercised.

Sovereignty is the supreme authority of a governing body to assert the right to independent act. It is a matter that gives a sense of reality to the person in the highest position in government in the political sphere. Sovereignty is the act of giving superiority to the sovereign. The practice of granting respect and authority to the dominion to serve as the decision-maker of the governing body and to act quickly in difficult situations is known as dominion over politics. There are various forms of sovereignty, including:

Legal sovereignty refers to the absolute power of a nation to create and enforce laws, as well as to make independent decisions on its own behalf. Electorates are often believed to possess solely political sovereignty. Political sovereigns choose legal sovereignty. In Krasner, this situation is further divided into three (Krasner, 2012, pp.

6-12): Internal sovereignty is the de facto power that a state's structured authorities exercise over that state. Interdependence entails international legal sovereignty, de facto border control, formal recognition by other sovereign nations, and sovereignty. Last but not least, Westphalian sovereignty asserts that local sovereignty is the only source of authority in the state. Another essential aspect of sovereignty, according to Immanuel Wallerstein, is that it is a claim that needs to be acknowledged in order to be meaningful. He views sovereignty as a theoretical transaction, where two opposing sides, acknowledging the actual distribution of power, exchange acknowledgments as their most advantageous approach (Wallerstein, 2019, p. 44).

Secondly, there is titular sovereignty: this type of government is essentially a phony one, existing only in name and lacking the actual authority to rule. As an illustration, nominal sovereignty is being exercised by the Queen of Britain and the King of Japan. An office having supreme authority solely in name is referred to as having titular sovereignty. Such an office, lacking the authority to issue directives, serves only as a figurehead or symbol in the real exercise of power. The British monarch might be considered a titular sovereign, as the prime minister and parliament handle a large portion of state governance.

Later, the third type of sovereignty is internal and external sovereignty. The implementation of the state's absolute power over all other authorities or institutions is the fundamental idea behind this form of sovereignty. External sovereignty is the use of state power to deter foreign countries from invading other foreign countries. The link between the political community and the sovereign authority is known as internal sovereignty. In actuality, internal revolutions have the ability to severely weaken state sovereignty, which would have catastrophic effects on the general public. Thus, internal sovereignty refers to a government's capacity to exercise control over its citizens and uphold power inside its boundaries. It is the supreme political authority of an independent state, with the power to enact laws and render decisions inside its borders. This is not the same as external sovereignty, which is the state's authority to negotiate with other national governments. To put it another way, domestic sovereignty is the authority a government has over its own citizens and national affairs. It means that the power a country has to talk and make deals with other countries. One example that might fit into this is individual sovereignty. To put it in other words, the idea of self-ownership pertains to the ownership of one's own physical being. It is

widely recognized as the exclusive authority to control one's own physical being, encompassing one's existence, and is linked to an individual's ethical or inherent entitlement to physical wholeness. In this context, the term exclusive means having the power to prevent others from exercising a particular right by establishing and enforcing a prohibition. Individual sovereignty, which lives inside external sovereignty, cannot attain the same level of strength and occasionally lacks the unrestricted power that state sovereignty possesses. As in Krause, "To be sure, the notion of sovereignty as applied to individual agency has never been as absolute as sovereignty in the context of the state" (Krause, 2015, p. 2). Self-ownership is another word for individual sovereignty. It is the idea of property inside oneself, articulated as the natural or moral right of an individual to maintain physical integrity and to have sole authority over their own body.

In other words, the territorialization of political control inevitably accompanied the division between internal and external sovereignty. A sovereign was only sovereign within his territory. Other sovereigns outside of it claimed the same territory for themselves. This made it possible to distinguish between the internal and exterior components of sovereignty; nonetheless, a monarch could only be deemed sovereign if both were present. The absence of an internal higher ruler was insufficient. Additionally, one needed to remain unaffected by outside forces. However, there were insufficient political forces arising from other power dynamics to justify such subjugation.

Popular sovereignty is an additional form of sovereignty. It denotes the exercise of authority by a governmental entity that is backed and empowered by the general population. In democratic nations, the common populace exercises popular sovereignty through the process of electing their representatives. Popular sovereignty is the term used to describe the highest governing power within a political society. That person or organization has the only authority to enact laws. Although this ultimate authority is meant to belong to the people, what is the most widely accepted modern meaning of popular sovereignty? Although popular sovereignty is the foundation of most Western democracies, in practice the people have little ultimate power short of revolution. Legislators make the majority of choices, even important ones. The legislature typically has power over the constitution, which is the fundamental tool of governance, and it typically decides how much public authority there is. The

legislature often has the exclusive power to suggest changes, even in cases where the approval of the general public is necessary. This implies that the legislature is often granted sovereignty. The final authority to enact laws rests with this body, not the people. However, for a government to be genuinely popular, it must grant the people the power to overturn any other entity as well as at least the same amount of authority as it does. This is the concept of popular sovereignty, and the suggested governmental structure is based on it. Two prerequisites must be met for a government to be said to have popular sovereignty. It depends on the people's capacity to enact their fundamental legislation as well as to suggest and approve changes to it. Thus, popular sovereignty approaches not only a descriptive approach but also a normative approach. Within this concept, if the people are grasped as an ideal, it becomes normative, but if the notion of the people is seen as a form of legitimacy in sovereignty, it becomes descriptive.

As a result, it becomes clear that we are faced with four different types of sovereignty. The main point in these four components is that they are all based on legal principles. Accordingly, while the approach that emerges is normative when the authority derives its legitimacy from the people, it becomes descriptive when the definition of the existence of the authority depends on the people. When considered on a population basis, society needs an equivalence with individual sovereignty as individual individuals, and it must be based on the general will of the society.

4.3 Sovereignty as a Normative Concept

It is necessary to look clearly at the question of what it is for something to be normative. Actually, two fundamental questions stand out here. The first is what it means for a feature or a phenomenon to be normative, and the other is what it means, in linguistic terms, for a linguistic expression or a concept to be normative. When this question is asked about a concept or a phenomenon, it can be answered as follows: a statement or concept can be normative because it is traditionally associated with a normative role or intention. The point is that what marks an expression or concept as normative is that it is traditionally associated with normative usage. Another question is how a linguistically accurate characterization of a property being normative can be achieved. It would not be unreasonable to claim that the answer to a property being

normative is that it is attributed to it by a possible predicate of a certain kind. However, this suggestion can be associated with the predication of possession as formulated.

There will be many distinctions that can be defined as possessive, or in other words read as possessive, and which need to be followed when discussing conceptual questions. However, I will overlook some distinctions. There is a distinction between these, which, to emphasize again, is vital for some purposes. It is the distinction sometimes drawn between normative and evaluative. For this reason, it is worth asking the question of whether it is inevitable for a linguistic structure that is considered evaluative to be normative. There are different kinds of normative statements, and one might reasonably suspect that they differ significantly; hence we should not assume that the same view of what makes a statement normative applies to everyone. Therefore, for something to be normative, it must essentially refer to two things. The first of these is the adornment of a concept or phenomenon with a possessive. For example, if theoretical concepts such as freedom or slavery are adorned with possessives, it will appear that these concepts are naturally normative in the linguistic structure in which they are discussed. Parfit argues that facts provide us with reasons, namely when they support our adoption of a certain attitude or our engagement in a particular action. However, the phrase ‘counts in favor of’ essentially implies providing a rationale for anything. An example is the most effective way to elucidate the concept of a cause. An illustration of this concept is the belief that we consistently possess a motive to evade experiencing excruciating pain (Parfit, & Scheffler 2011, p. 31).

As can be understood, for a concept to be normative, or for a normative approach and evaluative attitude towards a concept, a phenomenon must be instrumentalized in favor of an action. Its content may include a linguistic construct, such as possessiveness, or subjective action, or it may also include operational intention during the evaluation of a concept.

Exposing an action that has both of these qualities for normative concepts to linguistic or philosophical fiction in favor of an intention reveals a broader tendency, which is morality. For instance, the notion of good, which is fundamental in the field of ethics, becomes normative based on various interactions with identical notions. For this reason, the moralization of action means the intentionalization of philosophical and linguistic fiction. Thus, normative concepts acquire a pattern, and this pattern spreads

to the language. Considering all this, the question to be asked will transform from 'what is' to 'how'. As a result, 'should be' will move to the center of normative concepts and approaches.

Sovereignty can be considered normatively in two ways. These are intrinsic and extrinsic values. In many philosophical discussions, the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy is at issue. It will be challenging to comprehend a large portion of the current discussion on motivational factors, mental content, and epistemic justification if this distinction is not correctly understood. However, value theory in particular and moral philosophy in general may be the only subjects that are more directly tied to it. Generally speaking, the following topics come up in discussions concerning this distinction: Finding out what is genuinely excellent or awful on an intrinsic level and what is merely good or bad on an instrumental level has been the goal. Many basic inquiries concerning the nature, relevance, and coherence of human conceptions of value have been raised by the dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic value.

There are several ways to understand the idea of intrinsic worth: it can be seen as anything that has value in and of itself, as a goal, or as such. Extrinsic value, on the other hand, has generally been defined as a means or as something desirable for the purpose of something else. Therefore, it is likely that several concepts and thus multiple distinctions will be significant in many research pertaining to value, especially intrinsic value. It might appear that there is little difference between intrinsic and extrinsic value. Extrinsic value comes from relational features that are external to the value bearer, whereas intrinsic value comes only from internally held characteristics. But there are issues. The first is dependent upon an object's ability to distinguish between its internal and exterior attributes. Therefore, an item is essentially valuable if it is valuable for its own sake, either because of some external relational features or because of the completely internal properties of its value carrier (intrinsic value).

It wouldn't be wrong to think this way: politics, in its intrinsic value, is not a means to anything, it is the goal itself. For example, the state, or the people, may be the purpose of something, and everything is for its good and development. The situation changes with extrinsic value and this value can become a tool for something. For example, the state is an instrument for the welfare of the people. Or politics is instrumentalized for the peace of society. At this point politics becomes truly extrinsic value. At this point,

various typologies can be found in the normative aspect of sovereignty. One definition of sovereignty is undoubtedly 'superior normative power in a field'. Let me begin by briefly commenting on each of the three elements in this definition. I think normative power is a more precise translation of the more common 'authority'. It would not be wrong to put it this way: Someone has normative power if he can control one or more normative relations. Normative power is the power to issue binding norms regarding something or to define the normative status of something. This shows that addressing the normative state of sovereignty leads to a relationship with power. Because the question of 'how' of sovereignty is nothing more than the question of how to use power and how to legitimize it. A normative power may be prospective or active depending on the context. Because the responsibility to use or not utilize one's normative authority is compatible with the existence of such power. On the other hand, since only agents are able to issue norms, it follows that only agents can be sovereign if we take into account that a sovereign has the option to utilize or not use his power. This does not imply that a human being must be the ruler. The 'criterion of agency' states that the only prerequisite is the capacity to decide on a normative matter. In this sense, an institution may be regarded as an intermediate if it is a center capable of making decisions and publishing rules.

A sovereign's dominance in normative control is what sets him apart. It is insufficient to conclude that a criminal has exercised his sovereignty just because he or she has succeeded in creating a norm, that gives them legitimacy. Normative control indicates that a power is supreme and sovereign in the normative sense if it is not controlled by another agent, or more accurately, if no other agent possesses the normative ability to impede the sovereign's choice to construct a rule. Therefore, if an agent's choice to create a standard inevitably leads to the establishment of the pertinent norm, then that actor is dominant over a certain domain. It should be stressed that supremacy is a real concept: normative authority is superior not because someone genuinely tampers with its execution, but merely because no one possesses the normative ability to meddle. Eliminating an agent's normative authority is one method of interfering with it. Therefore, the requirement that the normative authority of a sovereign be supreme means that the power must be inalienable in the sense of Bodinian comprehension. Sovereignty should be assessed based on the significance of the power idea for two key reasons. The first is that in the many circumstances in which the notion is applied,

assigning sovereignty to an individual or organization frequently carries with it normative ramifications. For instance, different ideologies such as nationalism, communism, and liberalism all allocate authority to a particular individual or organization for a different reason. Or, to put it more broadly, in terms of international politics, the legal justification for a state's decision to refrain from intervening in its sovereignty. The second argument is that the idea of sovereignty is absolutely inadequate for communicating anything. For this reason, for this concept to fulfill our expectations, it requires more assistance. Nothing prevents any normative authority from qualifying as a kind of sovereignty if the normative capabilities of a power structure provide a valid justification for giving the council jurisdiction over issues whose resolution is final. Any normative authority that can be effectively executed without the assistance of other players and if at least some actors are unable to obstruct its implementation would naturally be judged superior if the claim to factual superiority is not insisted upon. However, once more, our comprehension of sovereignty can only aid in our understanding of the sovereignty of different levels of government. A state might be parliamentary democracy or monarchical, for instance. This idea is brought up about power once more, and although there is absolutism in one case, there is power separation in the other. Because of this, it is unavoidable to think about power in terms of other haphazard ideas and to identify power with the normative face of sovereignty.

One definition of normative power can be found in Manners (Manners, 2009, pp. 1-5). According to him, conceptualization as non-material ideational justification requires an understanding of its use and analysis that links principles, actions and impact. First, normative authority needs to be accepted as legitimate in the values that are upheld. The underlying ideas of normative justification must be accepted as true and logically justified in order for it to be convincing or persuasive. Three general implications that might be seen more comprehensively seem to result from applying normative authority with sovereignty. A more comprehensive and 'outside the box' approach to understanding agency, power, and the goals of policy in international politics is necessary to fully grasp the idea of normative power. This type of comprehensive thinking requires a more in-depth examination of the actions and outcomes of political ideas. In this case, normative authority is demonstrated in its idealized or purest form, which means it enhances sovereignty. Practically speaking,

though, it is frequently combined with monetary rewards and/or physical coercion. It can be seen as descriptive as a result. Normative power, on the other hand, should be given priority to guarantee that other uses of power are taken into account and applied more sensibly. Lastly, the idea of normative power arises as a strategy that prevents it from taking on a tangible form or makes it possible for it to serve an intentional purpose. It highlights comprehensive thinking and justified activities.

The absence of a written form of sovereignty can be considered as the beginning of its normative consideration. The types of sovereignty that can be included in this approach, which stand out from the various types of sovereignty discussed in the descriptive approach, can be achieved by establishing a relationship between quantity and quality in total. In this respect, it is possible to accept that there are two types of sovereignty. Accordingly, sovereignty is primarily individual or collective in terms of quantity.

Individuals are considered sovereign in two senses: first, morally and ethically, because they are the only ones who can create moral and ethical meaning in the world; and second, in an explanatory sense, because social structures, institutions, and practices are shaped by the actions and beliefs of individuals. In the normative structure of sovereignty, we are concerned with the first one. Because we are able to transcend the collective as individuals, individual agents are different from collectives. Furthermore, individual agents' activities are the sole way the collective—with its institutions, customs, and structures—exists and gains meaning. If distinct agents decide to act in various ways, the collectivity's characteristics will eventually shift. So, "Individualism is still used in a great many ways, in many different contexts and with an exceptional lack of precision" (Lukes, 1971, p. 45). Moral and ethical meaning emerges as an echo of many forms of political liberalism, on the one hand, and moral and ethical egoism, on the other. The methodological meaning dominated by the individual is in the approach to explanation and understanding that philosophers in the human sciences call methodological individualism.

At this point, at least two connected arguments might be made to show that the orthodox method embraces the sovereign individual (Lucy, 1999, pp. 94-95). First, it can be argued that the internal perspective privileges a reason-based explanation and understanding of actions, institutions, and practices over a reason-based explanation. For this reason, the understanding of sovereignty in which the individual rules create

a moral barrier. This barrier has a purpose because the immunity of the individual differs from the relational closeness that the collective establishes within itself. And so, even if the sovereignty of the collective is considered, somewhere, individual sovereignty is active. Second, it can be argued that the two alternative explanations are wholly irreconcilable, or that the internal perspective favors a methodological individualist over a methodological holistic explanation and understanding of action, institutions, and practices. The veracity of these assertions seems to directly relate to the explanatory primacy of individual agency: people's activities are what shape and define social structures, practices, and institutions. The reality that the behavior ultimately lies outside of the individual's control will not alter, regardless of whether these people are accountable for the group as a whole.

It could be concluded as that the following process is used to conceptualize and reveal individual sovereignty: In the classical sense, sovereignty can be defined as the highest form of political authority exercised by the state over a certain population and elements located in a certain territory corresponding to the borders of the state. The state, political instruments, and political power form the triangle of sovereignty. However, where the individual should be limited or narrowed down remains open to debate. At this point, sovereignty is transferred from the individual, which is the starting point, to the collective.

Another example of sovereignty in its normative approach is collective sovereignty, which includes various forms. Accordingly, collective sovereignty comes in four types. In turn, divine sovereignty is based on the theory of divine command, and how it should be is determined by the theological boundaries of God. Another is national sovereignty, and the form of political organization is nation-states. The other is popular sovereignty, and for this, it is necessary to organize around the ideal of a republic.

First of all, when we look at divine sovereignty, what will be seen is that sovereignty is organized with strong dogmas and is unquestionably attributed to God. Since God is the supreme ruler of all of creation, his sovereignty and lordship are synonymous. The three main tenets of God's lordship are authority, control, and present (Poythress, 2014, p. 63). Nonetheless, talking about God's sovereignty is primarily about control, even though we shouldn't leave God's might and gracious presence out of the conversation. There is not a single thing outside of God's effective and all-encompassing authority over everything. Another form of sovereignty is national

sovereignty. This concept is the manifestation of the fact that, as a result of a social contract, sovereignty must pass from a singular structure, such as a king, or a singular institution, the church, to individuals who are collectivized through a form of general will. Accordingly, it must be a sovereign nation. Because it is a truthful and infallible expression that enables sharing the responsibility of the administration of a state, with its mistakes or rights, of the sovereignty passed to the nation. States therefore transform into nation-states, and the people who are collected under the country's roof become its proprietors. These individuals also attain moral and ethical parity and engage in the affairs of the nation through the concept of citizenship. Popular sovereignty, in another form, pertains to the concept that the leaders and government of a state are elected and supported by the citizens of that state, who are the foundation of all political authority. Popular sovereignty is a concept that does not require a specific political implementation. Benjamin Franklin, embodies the idea "In free governments, the rulers are the servants and the people their superiors and sovereigns"(Franklin, 2003, p. 398). Put differently, popular sovereignty refers to a government that has its citizens' wishes at its core. The people are the source of the government's power under popular sovereignty. Its authority is illegitimate if it disregards the people's will. Put more simply, the people have the last say over what is allowed. In the end, if the people feel that the existing administration is not acting in their best interests, they have the ability to act as state officials and exercise their powers. Three essential elements of popular sovereignty must be proposed: The constitution ought to be created by the people, or they ought to actively participate in it. Either a majority vote of the electorate or representatives chosen by the electorate should ratify the constitution. Direct or indirect popular approval is required for amendments to be submitted and ratified.

Another type of sovereignty is cosmopolitan sovereignty, which occurs within the framework of an ultimate ideal that completely transcends territorial understanding. The moral philosophy of cosmopolitan sovereignty is based on three main ideas (Pogge, 1992, pp. 48–49): The first is the individualism principle, which holds that people are "the ultimate units of concern," not families, ethnic groupings, or states. Put another way, the way a behavior affects a person's well-being and dignity is what counts for determining its morality. The third principle is generality, while the second is universality, which asserts that every human being is deserving of the same level of

moral care. “Persons are ultimate units of care for everyone - not merely for their compatriots, fellow religionists, or the like,” according to Pogge’s explanation of generality (Pogge, 1992, p. 49).

Thus, while there are significant differences between the unit that is represented (in the case of popular sovereignty, the people or the nation, and in the case of cosmopolitan sovereignty, humanity), both practices share a structural similarity in that they ground the claim to supreme authority in the representation of political unity and the rights and obligations that come with belonging.

As a result, the types of sovereignty in the normative approach are divided into individual and collective. The difference from the descriptive approach is that these types of sovereignty do not contain a set of written principles, but rather interpretations beyond what should be. Subsequently, the main difference emerges as follows: whoever and wherever has sovereignty must have an ideal, a utopia, and political interpretations are presented to reach this ideal as much as possible.

The notion of sovereignty is characterized by both descriptive inconsistency and normative contention. Having a limited understanding of the various and occasionally conflicting interpretations of politics may lead one to perceive it as a contentious topic. Providing a singular definition of politics is unattainable due to the absence of a universally agreed-upon definition, rendering it a contentious subject. So this makes it a contested concept.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the concept of sovereignty is examined from both normative and descriptive perspectives. A conceptual analysis is conducted by identifying the differences between these two approaches. The main issue of the chapter—the conceptual limits of sovereignty—is explored in terms of its descriptive and normative dimensions.

The primary focus of these approaches is to investigate the relationship between the traditional institutions and practices of the nation-state and the growing global exchanges and interdependencies that characterize globalization. It is commonly argued that new institutional practices must be developed to effectively address this evolving situation. This context has given rise to a novel demand for justice and

democracy in philosophical debates. As a result, the policies surrounding sovereignty in nation-states will lead to a world governed by multi-level governance and the implementation of global democratic norms. Consequently, new rights and definitions will emerge to align with these changes. Therefore, it is essential to initiate institutional dialogues that address these demands and assess them on a global scale, ultimately establishing a universal set of moral principles that uphold the rights of all humanity.

The first part of the chapter discusses sovereignty as a descriptive concept, with an analysis of what should be understood from descriptive concepts. The next section examines sovereignty from a normative perspective. Following this, the descriptive and normative aspects, types, and approaches to sovereignty are compared. In the subsequent section, the concept of value is analyzed in light of these discussions, with value divided into two categories: intrinsic and extrinsic. The chapter concludes by revealing and determining the components of sovereignty from both descriptive and normative perspectives.



5. COSMOPOLITAN MORALITY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, cosmopolitan sovereignty will be considered as a concept and examined in two stages. The first stage focuses on cosmopolitan morality, while the second explores the historicity of cosmopolitan sovereignty.

In the first part of the chapter, cosmopolitan morality will be discussed, specifically addressing whether this concept serves as a bridge between the past and the future. This will involve an exploration of Kant's ideas and principles of perpetual peace. Following this, the ideas of various thinkers regarding cosmopolitan sovereignty will be revealed and examined through a literary discussion. Additionally, the historicity of cosmopolitan morality will be analyzed, with an emphasis on its linguistic and conceptual load.

In the second part of the chapter, the relationship between cosmopolitan morality and the concept of sovereignty will be analyzed. The framework of cosmopolitan sovereignty will be outlined, and the institutions that can be associated with this concept will be examined.

The central question of the chapter is why it is essential to understand cosmopolitan morality in order to grasp cosmopolitan sovereignty. The primary thesis is that cosmopolitan sovereignty must be grounded in various moral norms, meaning that cosmopolitan morality must first be understood before cosmopolitan sovereignty can be fully realized. The chapter will conclude with a discussion section, where all the ideas and theses related to sovereignty will be presented and critically evaluated..

5.2 Cosmopolitan Morality: Kant's Deontology, and Utilitarianism

First of all, it is necessary to know that in order to understand cosmopolitan sovereignty, it is necessary to first understand cosmopolitan morality. Because cosmopolitan sovereignty is based on the laws of cosmopolitan morality. To comprehend cosmopolitan morality, it is unquestionably imperative to examine Kant's

Deontological ethics. Deontology is a moral philosophy that rejects the notion that morality is solely determined by the outcomes or consequences of actions. Immanuel Kant produced the most well accepted deontological theory. Kant's ethics and the overarching philosophical framework in which it resides are quite comprehensive. It can be stated that his ethics are grounded in a perspective on our fundamental nature, specifically, our essence as individuals. Kant posits that individuals are fundamentally rational beings who merit reverence. The foundation of the fundamental ethical principle, known as the Categorical Imperative according to Kant, is based on this rationality. All ethical principles are derived from it. This imperative is considered categorical since it requires strict adherence, regardless of personal desires or preferences. Kant asserts the existence of a Categorical Imperative, which he articulates through three distinct formulations. The significance of the first two formulations in his theory is highly noteworthy.

The initial formulation is grounded in the concept of a maxim: the principle of behaving in a specific manner to attain a particular objective. If the maxim, which is the principle of universalizability of conduct, were to be considered a universal law, then it would need that every individual act in line with this law. Therefore, Kant's first formulation might be stated as: Only engage in behaviors that may be universally applied as principles. The fundamental concept behind this formulation is that it is incorrect to create a specific exemption for oneself from a certain norm.

The second formulation of Kant can be stated as follows: Always regard humanity, whether in yourself or in others, not as a mere tool to achieve a goal, but as a goal in itself. Consequently, it is imperative that we should not view individuals solely as tools or instruments; rather, we must honor and value them for their inherent worth and dignity. Utilizing individuals just as tools entails treating them as instruments or in manners that they would not like or agree to, so demonstrating a lack of respect towards them.

The third articulation of the categorical imperative is predicated on the differentiation between behaviors motivated by inclination and actions motivated by obligation. Put simply, it is founded on the differentiation between acts driven by impulses and anxieties, and those driven by rationality. Kant observes that actions driven by personal desires hold no moral worth, but morally significant actions are those driven by a sense of responsibility (Kant, 1996, p. 50).

Apart from this, there is an idea of eternal peace that starts from Kant's deontology. It is impossible to ignore this, because it takes its place in literature as a fixed example on which the foundations of cosmopolitan morality are based. According to Kant, there are certain preconditions for this ideal federation of free republican states to be realized. Kant says this must be satisfied and thus the attitude of people of different nations towards each other will undergo a gradual renewal process. Kant calls these preconditions for permanent peace among nations. These are six in number and are as follows: (I) No treaty of peace to be regarded as valid if made with the secret reservation of material for a future war. (2) No independently existing state to be acquired by another through inheritance, exchange, purchase or gift. (3) Standing armies to be gradually abolished as being a perpetual menace to peace. (4) No national debts to be contracted in connection with external affairs. (5) No state to interfere violently in the internal constitution of another. (6) No belligerent state to employ modes of hostility which tend to jeopardize mutual confidence in the subsequent state of peace (these modes include espionage and inciting disaffection in the hostile state). And later, Kant determines Three Definitive Articles would provide not merely a cessation of hostilities, but a foundation on which to build a peace. (I) "The civil constitution of each state shall be republican." (II) "The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states." (III) "The rights of men, as citizens of the world, shall be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality." Then finally, Kant adds two supplements: First supplement: "Concerning the guarantee of perpetual peace", second supplement: "A secret article for perpetual peace" (Kant, 2016, pp. 120,128,137).

A peaceful world is both a moral ideal and a practical, reachable objective, in Kant's view. So, it should be started by looking at Kant's view of peace as the moral ideal in this title, and be talked about how realistic this goal is, particularly in the twenty-first century. Kant presents what he terms the guarantee of enduring peace. Many interpret Kant's assertion in this passage to be about the historical inevitability of perpetual peace. Conversely, it can be demonstrated that Kant's reference to the guarantee of perpetual peace is only meant to suggest that such a peace is indeed possible. Kant was a fervent universalist who held that all of humanity comprised the ultimate moral community. Since the human species eventually becomes a single society, he believes that the ideal legal system is one that includes all individuals and that relations between all people should be ruled by law rather than force. The formation of a single global

state where all people are citizens is one method to realize such a goal. Kant, however, opposes this notion, contending that the only way the rule of universal law can be established is by a world federation of sovereign, independent states coexisting in peace or by the union of countries. Therefore, national law governs interactions between individuals inside a state, and international law governs ties between states, according to Kant's conception of pacifism. This perspective holds that international law simply serves to govern relations between nations; it does not safeguard or decide the rights of people. Now Kant not only rejects the idea of a world state for himself. Though he thinks it is impossible to attain such a state, he nonetheless feels that the idea of a global state is ultimately undesirable. There are two basic reasons behind this. Firstly, it is predicated on the notion that the rule of law is limited to small areas and that the strength of the law decreases with the size of the state. Secondly, however, Kant contends that cultural differences—he explicitly mentions variations in language and religion here—make it impossible for such a worldwide state to succeed since it would almost certainly be unstable. It appears that he is operating under the presumption that a republic's stability and unity depend on a certain level of citizen uniformity. Therefore, a universe of sovereign, free republics coexisting in harmony is Kant's moral ideal. However, he also makes the case that this is a doable objective. In fact, he contends that achieving world peace is both a moral objective that every decent leader ought to pursue and a situation that is achievable even in a demon-dominated world where self-interest is the only motivating force.

Having said that, this is how it can be interpreted the assurance of a peaceful transition: In summary, the following may be found in Kant's thinking. First and foremost, a natural guarantee is a prerequisite for the permanence of peace. And then there must be an objective law of history that ensures the establishment of such a perpetual state of peace and that law must have the same standing as other laws of nature. My interpretation of Kant's meaning of guarantee in this particular circumstance is fully consistent with his view of historicity in the also strongly proposed sense. At this point, the idea of contemporary cosmopolitan sovereignty reveals some issues that deepen the relationship between human history and eternal peace. And the most important of these issues is a common human community.

In addition to Kant's duty-based philosophy, utilitarianism provides an alternative way of thinking that focuses an emphasis on the outcomes or consequences of a situation.

When seen from a utilitarian point of view, it is ethically commendable to support behaviors that lead to happiness or pleasure, while opposing actions that result in suffering or injury. By applying a utilitarian perspective to issues that pertain to politics, economics, or society, the goal is to maximize the overall well-being of the society as a whole. In the philosophy of utilitarianism, an action is seen to be morally acceptable if it is able to improve the level of pleasure experienced by the largest number of people within a society or group. Utilitarianism asserts that an action is morally acceptable if it contributes to the promotion of happiness, and that it is unethical if it contributes to the promotion of pain or the opposite of pleasure. The pleasure that is experienced extends beyond the individual who is engaged in the activity and embraces everyone else who is influenced by it. In accordance with its most all-encompassing definition, utilitarianism is a moral theory that evaluates acts according to the impact they have on the well-being of the individuals involved. The vast majority of utilitarians are of the opinion that happiness is the most important aspect of well-being. Utilitarianism is well-known for its advocacy of giving priority to the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people. Utilitarianism is a moral theory that places an emphasis on the well-being of all humans, not only those who are directly engaged in an activity. Nonhuman animals are included in this category because they are able to feel both pleasure and misery similarly to humans. Because of this, utilitarians are of the opinion that the well-being of non-human animals ought to be taken into account when determining the morality of a particular activity. When it comes down to it, the utilitarian position maintains that an action is only morally acceptable if it results in the highest possible level of total well-being in comparison to all of the other possible actions that the person might have done given their circumstances. In light of this, it may be deduced that utilitarianism has the potential to sanction any action, including but not limited to lying, stealing, or even murder, provided that it results in a higher level of overall well-being in comparison to any alternative action that the person would have chosen under the same circumstances. These habits are often criticized by utilitarians due to the fact that they have a common propensity to diminish overall wellbeing. But they claim that the effect on well-being is what makes these activities morally wrong, not the fact that they are banned by universally recognized moral standards, religious mandates, principles of human rights, or other opposing criteria. They say that this is what makes these actions morally wrong. In addition to the basic form of utilitarianism that was explained

before, there are numerous versions of this approach that may be used. These versions evaluate acts based on whether or not they comply with generally recognized norms that promote welfare, rather than only taking into consideration the actions' direct effect on overall well-being. In spite of this, all interpretations of this perspective are in agreement that the fundamental utilitarian ethical principle of increasing the well-being of society has an impact on moral judgments of activities, whether it be in a direct or indirect way.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter presents a two-stage conceptual discussion of sovereignty, exploring it in two distinct ways. First, cosmopolitan sovereignty is examined as a moral issue, and then it is analyzed within the frameworks of Kantian philosophy and utilitarianism.

In the first part of the chapter, the cosmopolitan idea is discussed as a moral issue, drawing upon the ideas of various thinkers to create a literary accumulation within this debate. The potential of cosmopolitan sovereignty to serve as a bridge between the past and the future is highlighted. Kant's idea of perpetual peace is also explored, with a focus on how it could be realized based on principles and its possibilities. To properly address cosmopolitan sovereignty, it was necessary to first discuss cosmopolitan morality. This section examines how moral laws can contribute to the foundation upon which cosmopolitan sovereignty, together with legal principles, can be built.

The second part of the chapter shifts to Kant's duty-based philosophy and later presents the utilitarian perspective. The final section explores the development of cosmopolitan sovereignty in relation to institutions, emphasizing its potential to establish itself as a moral norm in the political realm.

6. COSMOPOLITAN SOVEREIGNTY

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus will be on discussing how cosmopolitan sovereignty can be established based on the norms of cosmopolitan morality explored in the previous chapter. Cosmopolitan morality is a category that offers suggestions for achieving perpetual peace in the world, and as such, it holds the legal potential to shape the possibility of cosmopolitan sovereignty.

The first part of the chapter will analyze the forms that cosmopolitan sovereignty has taken, or may take in the future, within the framework of cosmopolitan morality. This will include an examination of the mechanisms, international diversity, and international institutions proposed by various thinkers in relation to cosmopolitan sovereignty. Additionally, the components of cosmopolitan morality will be discussed, along with their reflections on cosmopolitan sovereignty.

In the second part of the chapter, suggestions will be made regarding what cosmopolitan sovereignty might look like in the future, based on the components discussed earlier. The chapter will explore how an institutional morality, grounded in these suggestions, can evolve into a new political institution. This transformation will be examined in the context of the values, suggestions, and qualities associated with cosmopolitan sovereignty.

The central question of the chapter is how cosmopolitan morality can be reflected in sovereignty. The main thesis is that cosmopolitan morality can transform into cosmopolitan sovereignty because it is possible to construct a more inclusive form of sovereignty through institutions.

6.2 Rethinking Sovereignty with the Cosmopolitan Morality

When examining the impact of cosmopolitan morality on political sovereignty, it is important to understand that this matter is comprised of several distinct aspects. In the preceding chapter, it was said that Kant's concept of perpetual peace, derived from the

principles of deontology, is intimately intertwined with ideal political theory. Consequently, in order to grasp the notion of cosmopolitan sovereignty, it is essential to recognize that it encompasses two distinct viewpoints. There are two views to consider: the consequentialist approach and the utilitarian approach. However, while examining these factors, the primary aspect to scrutinize is the notion of morality within the cosmopolitan viewpoint.

Kant refers to the right of hospitality as the core principle of cosmopolitan right. According to him, it is possible for governments and people to request engagement with other states and their residents, but they do not have the right to invade other territory. The recipients possess the entitlement to decline such appeals, unless they exhibit hostility and would result in the demise of the petitioner. Kant's response to the aforementioned inquiries is that nations are obligated to abstain from imperialistic interference and provide a secure sanctuary for refugees. Additionally, those who want to travel to other territories do not possess the entitlement to do so freely unless they are given authorization. Kant saw the cosmopolitan right as the essential prerequisite for establishing a fair and equitable world order. Kant argues in *Toward Perpetual Peace* (Kant, 2008, p. 72) that if relations at this level are not governed by principles of justice, then the condition of war has not yet been resolved. In his work *Metaphysics of Morals* Kant contends that the absence of any of the three domains of public right undermines the strength of the others, ultimately resulting in their downfall (Kant, 1991, p. 124). Put simply, the concept of cosmopolitan right is an essential component for achieving enduring peace. While cosmopolitan rights may be seen as a separate aspect of public rights, they are really only a subset of international rights. More precisely, they represent a particular concern within international rights that is important, but not substantial enough to warrant its own independent category. Agreements about ambassadors, commercial connections, and similar matters should be made between governments, rather than individuals. Communication across international boundaries is governed by international law and does not need the establishment of new categories. The divergence in extent between the international and cosmopolitan right is what sets them apart from one other. Interstate rights are protected by international law. In contrast, Kant considers individuals and nations that have a connection of external mutual influence as part of a global human community and subject to cosmopolitan rights. Cosmopolitan rights dictate the manner in which

governments interact with international individuals or organizations, seeing them as global citizens rather than citizens of a particular state. The cosmopolitan right ensures that all individuals are considered equal, regardless of their allegiance to a certain country or the presence of treaties between nations. It creates normative principles for their interactions with other countries.

Any examination of global rights inherently involves making value judgments and promoting an idealized concept of cosmopolitan authority. Therefore, it should be understood within the confines of an impeccable theory. Describing a theory as ideal when implemented in real-world conditions is a subjective evaluation. According to popular belief, the theory is considered to be optimum. The ideal theory establishes limits on the scope of the theory of justice and contrasts it with non-ideal theory. Both theories aim to discern the principles that should regulate basic social institutions in order to advance justice. Non-ideal theory offers direction on how to cope with situations when people do not comply to the norms, whereas ideal theory assumes that everyone strictly adheres to the principles of justice. If the question pertains to the requirements of perfect justice, the solution lies in precise adherence. In the absence of adherence to the criteria of justice, the attainment of perfect justice will be hindered. To refute the notion that socioeconomic reasons render a totally fair society unattainable, we assume the presence of advantageous conditions. Ideal theory aims to define and defend a set of standards of justice that must be adhered to in order for a society to be considered fair. Hence, it can be asked, "What would an impeccably equitable society resemble?" (Rawls, 1972, p. 8). When we defend and justify principles of justice, we assume that they are enforced in an ideal manner. The concept of perfect harmony may be extended to principles of justice that do not lead to a just society. When addressing an ideal theory, it is crucial to understand that we are not talking to total conformity with any one principle of justice, but rather to total conformity with the ethical principles of justice that are necessary for a society to be completely fair. Still, we are uncertain about the attainability of the idealized item in ideal theory. However, achieving this goal is our primary objective since it is our aspiration to reach that point. It signifies the path we must follow to achieve a society that is, at the very least, substantially equitable. In other words, it allows us to evaluate the degree to which perfect justice, whether it is partial or complete, has been achieved. An ideal theory establishes a set of criteria that must be met for a certain situation to

be considered correct. Stating that the primary objective of an ideal theory is to attain it suggests that the theory actively steers societal progress and policy-making.

I mentioned above that it is possible to draw two different frameworks for the reflection of cosmopolitan morality, which I base on ideal theory, in cosmopolitan sovereignty. It should be said that the difference between the state and utilitarians in Kant's deontology is basically divided into duty-based ones, that is, those who focus on what is right, and those who focus on consequences and therefore determine the maximum benefit for the person. The principles encompassed in cosmopolitan morality, specifically the philosophy derived from Kant's concept of perpetual peace, encompass the necessary elements for the attainment of our vision of everlasting peace. Consequently, these principles presuppose that all individuals will adhere to them in order to inhabit a harmonious world. As a result, there is a clear lack of a precise definition when it comes to institutionalization. From a utilitarian standpoint, cosmopolitan morality include all individuals who are capable of experiencing suffering inside its philosophical framework. Therefore, it is essential to see the environment as a whole entity, and in this regard, it surpasses Kant. In Kant's philosophy, the scope of moral consideration is limited to human beings, making it anthropocentric. Nevertheless, cosmopolitan morality, as understood by utilitarians, entails acknowledging that all living and non-living elements are interconnected within the system.

Utilitarianism and the Kant's deontology may be the prime basis of cosmopolitan morality. Cosmopolitans advocate equality, independence, neutrality, and perspectivelessness. Utilitarianism is primarily focused on the consequential impact on society as a collective entity. Consequentialism, universalism, and utility are the fundamental principles of utilitarianism. The value-related portion is the variable component in this context and might include a diverse array of material. Because every individual have inherent value and worth. This indicates that moral judgments should not favor any one viewpoint or group of viewpoints, according to the principle of perspectivelessness. It is inappropriate to discriminate against or prioritize any individual's perspective or field of interest above another. This often results in an objective and reflexive approach, as opposed to a subjective one. The distinctiveness of utilitarianism lies in the fact that the theory aims to maximize a value that is unique to each individual and is solely based on their particular characteristics. Authors that

analyze the effects of global events put out a variety of practical recommendations. As an example, Peter Singer supports the idea of extensively redistributing wealth from wealthy individuals to others who are less fortunate, regardless of national boundaries, based on utilitarian considerations (Singer, 1972, p. 237). Before delving into the implications of what I consider to be the most exemplary implementation of utilitarianism over the whole world, it is imperative to thoroughly analyze the actualities of deprivation. Considering the current data on political, social, and economic inequality, which are prevalent in a society that has sophisticated production, technological, and carrying capacity, any viable utilitarian theory must account for these figures. A comprehensive theoretical framework must include and acknowledge the significance of individuals' ideas about the immorality of this scenario, since these beliefs are undoubtedly fundamental to most people's moral evaluations. The magnitude of the situation reinforces the rationale for attempting to tackle and overcome this predicament. Basic inquisitiveness utilitarians possess the ability to easily record the negative consequences that the current world system inflicts or permits, since they are particularly attuned to the neglect of protecting people's fundamental necessities. Moreover, these utilitarians argue that due to population fallacies, it is morally necessary to redistribute vast wealth and resources from affluent nations to developing nations. This redistribution is essential in order to optimize the fulfillment of people's fundamental needs, as well as their aspirations for sustenance and the prerequisites for a satisfactory existence within society. This kind of utilitarianism is a reasonable perspective if the whole cosmopolitan perspective is considered reasonable. This is due to its alignment with the logical conviction that suffering is inherently negative, as well as its proposal to overhaul international organizations that inadvertently perpetuate this misery via their regular operations.

As previously said, another aspect to consider is the extent to which Kant's deontological theory aligns with cosmopolitan morality on the concept of sovereignty. Kant's theory of public rights includes constitutional and international rights, as well as a distinct category called 'cosmopolitan right'. This pertains to the manner in which nations interact with unfamiliar individuals and is based on the notion that individuals and states that communicate with each other outside their borders are seen as members of a global human community. According to Kant's perspective, international law only pertains to the interactions between states. Consequently, the relationship between

governments and other entities necessitates a distinct set of entitlements. According to Kant, the essential concept here is the principle of hospitality, which he describes as the entitlement to request interaction. This means having the freedom to express one's identity and to want access or communication without being seen as an enemy. This statement aligns with Kant's perspective that public law is applicable to individuals within a civil state, including both political and ethical communities. Citizens in a moral community are obligated to follow public laws, which should be seen as the instructions of a shared legislative body. This exemplifies Kant's anthropocentric philosophy and his predilection for duties rather than institutionalization. Moral principles may not necessarily need to be kept hidden, since they are not forceful and primarily emphasize internal drive rather than observable behavior. According to Kant, this simply suggests that they are unsuitable for inclusion in human public law. By definition, they only impact individuals.

Combining these two ways results in the emergence of a number of features that are both common and distinctive. Universality is a characteristic that is shared by both the Kantian cosmopolitan concept, which is founded on ethical requirements, and the consequentialist utilitarian approach. As a consequence of this, it is clear that there is a propensity toward one of the fundamental distinctions between internal and exterior sovereignty. To a certain extent, the principles that underpin cosmopolitan morality may be traced back to cosmopolitan sovereignty. Legitimacy, territory, and authority are the three main components included in this equation. In Kant's deontology, truth is not limited by constraints since it assumes the form of a universal law and is thus applicable in all circumstances. This means that truth is not confined by restrictions. At the other end of the spectrum, utilitarians support for cosmopolitan sovereignty as the best possible goal since it would be beneficial to all of humanity. As a consequence of this, the answer to the question of how we ought to live is the same for both approaches: we should live in harmony. As was said before, the ideal theory involves a relationship between cosmopolitan morality and cosmopolitan sovereignty, which in turn makes a certain procedure easier to accomplish. The viewpoint that is being presented here suggests that there are two distinct topics that are being discussed. In accordance with the ideal hypothesis, imagination is given priority since it is essential to see anything before any other item may be envisioned. Following that one's imaginative thought can develop into a projection, and in the end, it might materialize

as a thorough representation in the world of political reality. The institutionalization gap is not addressed by any of the recommended options. Secondly, there is the matter of values. Within this context, it is of the utmost importance to place an emphasis on three principles: equality, which is in accordance with the idea of the collective welfare; sustainability, which entails the preservation of current resources while ensuring that they are available for future generations; and the ambition for community cohabitation. I will investigate the idea of cosmopolitan sovereignty from a different point of view by bringing attention to the differences between these two ideologies, emphasizing the differences between them, and identifying the limitations that exist within the contemporary political environment.

6.3 Implications in Current Politics: Why Environment Matters?

What responsibilities do we have towards animal species, ecosystems, and the well-being of present and future generations of people who depend on essential ecological services? How might the rapid and worldwide changes in the environment contradict our traditional understanding of these responsibilities? In our last discussion on cosmopolitan morality, we highlighted that the notion of cosmopolitanism has not yet been expanded to address its inherent focus on human beings. Consequently, an essential first measure towards global authority is the adoption of environmental ethics. Environmental ethics is a field of philosophy that focuses on the practical aspects of society's attitudes, practices, and laws related to the protection and maintenance of ecological systems and biodiversity. It also examines the fundamental ideas behind environmental values. Environmental ethics include a range of perspectives, including anthropocentric and nature-centered orientations. Non-anthropocentrists advocate the promotion of nature's intrinsic value rather than its utilitarian or instrumental use by humans. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of the structure and functioning of ecological and evolutionary systems and processes is a result of adopting an ecological perspective. Due to their strong commitment to protecting species and ecosystems, newer scientific fields like conservation biology and sustainability science are considered to be "normative." This urge is driven by either their intrinsic value or its enduring impact on human welfare.

However, there are several intricate components and a complex connection between environmental science and environmental ethics. Likewise, it is clear that

environmental scientists and conservationists often have differing opinions on topics such as the importance of animal welfare in wildlife management, the assessment and control of non-native species, and the implementation of a more proactive approach to conservation and ecological protection. This division is sometimes triggered by disputes in the field of science over the analysis of data or the anticipated results of societal endeavors and policies, as well as moral perspectives and principles concerning our responsibility towards species and ecosystems.

Environmental ethics is a cognitive approach that focuses on the subject of how we ought to live. Environmental ethics is founded upon a comprehensive grasp of scientific knowledge, integrating human values, moral principles, and sophisticated scientific decision-making. Environmental ethics is inherently multidisciplinary, relying on other fields of academic investigation; it cannot exist alone. Frequently, the fundamental inquiry is: What is the appropriate course of action for us?, and is it possible to apply it universally? These inquiries may provide fresh insights about environmental issues. Engaging in ethical considerations about the environment has the capacity to enable individuals to actively participate in the development of environmental solutions.

From a broad perspective, environmental ethics may be distilled into three fundamental ideas. Undoubtedly, the world and all its living entities has moral standing, meaning they deserve our ethical consideration. Furthermore, the world and its living creatures possess inherent worth, indicating that they possess moral value not just based on their ability to fulfill human requirements, but simply because they exist. Furthermore, people should take into account the comprehensive nature of an ecosystem, including various living forms and the surrounding environment.

The main question of environmental ethics is how should we live? And the answer is in what ways? Morality, critical thought, and human ideals are all part of environmental ethics, which is built on science information. Environmental ethics is inherently cross-disciplinary, meaning it can't operate in a vacuum. It needs to draw from other fields of study. Often, the most important question is: What is best for us, and does it apply to everyone? These questions might help you see environmental problems in a new way. As long as people treat the environment with respect, they can help make answers that help the environment. When talking about environmental ethics in the broadest sense, it's important to remember three main ideas. The world

and its people do have moral worth and should be treated with moral care. Second, the world and all living things are socially important just because they exist, not because they satisfy people's wants. Inherent value is what we call this. Based on the idea of an ecosystem, people must think about the whole, which includes the earth and other living things.

Socioeconomic justice, sometimes known as social justice, is the primary ethical aspect of the social equity pillar within the field of environmental ethics. The integrity of Earth's life-support systems is primarily jeopardized by the lives of both the affluent and impoverished individuals, although for distinct reasons. The richest individuals use a far larger amount of resources than the Earth can sustainably support for the whole global population, beyond what would be considered an equitable distribution. While individuals in poverty typically lack the agency to make sustainable choices, affluent countries possess this capability. Hence, supporting the destitute is the fundamental basis of sustainability, and promoting their economic development would enhance the strength of sustainability. The social justice component suggests that sustainable development not only has intrinsic moral value but also has the potential to provide morally beneficial outcomes. The sustainability paradigm encompasses ethical considerations for future generations. Human civilization is depleting natural resources at a faster pace than they can be replenished, posing a threat to the ability of future generations to meet their needs. The Earth that is being inherited by current and future generations is experiencing higher levels of pollution, depletion of resources, and a decline in biodiversity compared to any previous period. Currently, individuals are driven by the concept of sustainability to prioritize the well-being of future generations and see their needs as worthy of our ethical consideration. Despite the significant impact that our markets and technologies have on the well-being of future generations, persons in the present day are not used to considering their influence. Limiting our use of non-renewable resources may serve as a demonstration of our ethical consideration for the future. It is important to note that some resources, such as minerals, have severe limitations. Additional sources that harness solar energy, such as plants and wind, may be regulated to provide a continual supply of goods. It is crucial to comprehend that sustainability does not connote efficiency or other comparable notions. In essence, sustainability refers to the capacity to consistently and effectively do an activity over an extended period of time. Hence, the social equality

aspect of sustainability has significant importance. From an ethical standpoint on sustainability, it is society's responsibility to prevent the affluent from wasting resources, while also promoting the economic progress of the most underprivileged, all while safeguarding the environment. When considering sustainable development, it is crucial to clearly define the specific item, the intended recipient, and the duration for which it should be maintained. Sustainability is inherently a relative need rather than an absolute one. Like justice, sustainability is a slow process that occurs in phases, and progress in this process must always be incremental. The ultimate objective of this is to achieve universality.

In addition, I have said that environmental ethics should include the concept of value. Virtue ethics promote the cultivation of character, which consists of enduring patterns of behavior and thinking that are necessary for creating positive transformations in the world. As a result, they may be particularly beneficial for many types of leadership. The development of social and personal virtues will provide a solid basis for a lasting commitment to ethical living. Considering the gravity of existing environmental problems and the challenges they pose to human societies, the need of environmental ethics is even more imperative. Virtuous ethics enables us to understand the principles of leading a morally upright life in relation to nature and the environment, a goal that many individuals strive for in contemporary society. Therefore, given the severity of the environmental disaster, the knowledge of virtue ethics will empower us to choose the most effective approach to establishing new environmental virtues.

It seems that the environmental crisis is so serious that we need to argue that a new approach to human virtue is needed. It is time to consider that reimagining the classical basic virtues in an environmental context is good, but not sufficient to meet the challenge of our time. The relationship between modern human society and nature is so unbalanced that a new set of attitudes, a new approach to virtue, must be proposed. Some of the virtues that need to be established include: developing a new attitude towards the environment, living within ecological limits, or developing a genuine respect for nature. Environmental virtue ethics proposes moving away from individuals performing heroic acts and instead a relational awareness of a broader sense of the common good. Environmental virtue ethics addresses the development of environmentally responsible character, but within a community. How do we acquire these virtues? In the virtue ethics tradition, performing good actions enables one to

develop good practices. If we start practicing right behavior, we can be more willing to do the right thing. When this happens, we develop a greater habit of desire for what is good. Virtue ethics suggests that people can develop character by putting virtues into practice. We can gain virtue through our actions, and a virtuous person acts virtuously. Virtue ethics is action-oriented. Virtue ethics suggests that ideas alone are not sufficient for ethics. A person who possesses virtue feels a responsibility to act and feels that their character is strengthened by expressing virtue in action, no matter how timid. To be consistent, ethical living requires action, it requires participation; it requires commitment, and the virtues can guide us on this journey. How do we encourage others to grow in virtue? Especially those who disagree with our environmental values? It is not enough to simply throw ideas or values at others. Virtues can provide the basis for including those who think differently, who do not perceive the problems of environmental degradation in the same way.

The narrative or story we tell about the world and our role in it plays a powerful role in virtue ethics. We all tend to think about our practices in terms of narratives that explain how we live out the virtues in our lives. Then virtue ethics takes an additional step: We assume in our stories the concepts of character, the kinds of virtues they will acquire in the stories of our lives. For this reason, I argue that it is possible to integrate virtue ethics, which is inherent in cosmopolitan morality.

The concept of cosmopolitan sovereignty can be utilized to differentiate between various additional categories. The distinguishing characteristics of institutional cosmopolitanism and moral cosmopolitanism are investigated in the first study. Two of the qualities of cosmopolitan philosophy that contribute to moral cosmopolitanism are normative individualism and universalism. Generalism is another element of cosmopolitan philosophy. The significance of these elements in guiding and controlling the conduct of individuals and organizations is also brought to light, as is the value of these aspects in analyzing the regulations and procedures that are now in place to manage institutions. In addition, it does not include any recommendations for the comprehensive inclusion of nations or any significant alterations to the existing order of the international community. An ideology that is institutionally cosmopolitan places a significant amount of significance on global integration. The goal is to accomplish the development of a political framework that is really worldwide. It is for the aim of overcoming the impediments that frequently occur within the framework of

sovereign nations, which impede the fulfillment of cosmopolitan goals, that such a comprehensive reform is being implemented. There are two basic classifications of cosmopolitan morality that can be distinguished from one another. Among these theories is the one known as interactionism. The focus of this study is on the actions of both individual and collective agents, with the perception that these agents are directly accountable for the accomplishment of cosmopolitan goals or the acquisition of objects that are morally valuable. The following are some examples of collective interactional cosmopolitan thinking: arguments that support states prioritizing respect for human rights in their foreign policy, fulfilling their commitments to provide substantial foreign aid, and taking appropriate action on global environmental issues in order to act as good participants in the global community.

In the second stage of cosmopolitan morality, the major objective is to analyze the fairness of the current international institutional frameworks. These frameworks include the laws and norms that regulate interactions on a global scale. In this situation, the use of institutional frameworks is necessary in order to accomplish global goals. In a more general sense, one may be under positive duties to work for the promotion of greater equality and to contribute to the betterment of global institutions and governing structures. In contrast, one is also subject to negative responsibilities, which include the need to refrain from helping in the formation or enforcement of an international institutional framework that is unfair. This idea of cosmopolitan institutionalization is referred to as integrative institutionalization, which is the word that is used to define it. In this sense, the term “institutionalization” refers to the justification for sustaining a legally mandated and very all-encompassing system of worldwide political integration, in which nations behave in a manner that is subservient to global institutional actors on some crucial issues. It is not common for a worldwide system of this sort to be constructed in accordance with the Kantian notion of the state, which is an institution that has unrestricted and absolute power that is focused at the highest level. Instead, it is built on the utilitarian concept of institutionalization, which seeks to develop an institutional framework that results in the greatest possible advantages for all parties involved. Advocates of cosmopolitan global political integration need to be aware that this is compatible with a hierarchical distribution of power and the distribution of global governance powers among states, sub-state institutions and global organizations.

Within the framework of a defined cosmopolitan morality, there are two distinct approaches. The need for global integration is the subject of the first facet, which is mostly instrumental in nature. It is thought that integration and democratic participation outside of the state are the major factors that significantly contribute to the achievement of these goals. The second method, which is also known as the democratic procedural approach or the cosmopolitan democracy approach, is particularly focused with making sure that an appropriate supply of inputs is provided. In order to guarantee that every person has an equal opportunity to have their voice heard on matters that might have a significant impact on them, the idea intends to establish democratic institutions on a worldwide scale. Education stands out as the most important component in all of this. On the other hand, this matter is of the highest significance and presents a substantial challenge within the context of socioeconomic disparities. These instrumental explanations concentrate their attention largely on the challenges that cosmopolitan ambitions face within the context of the contemporary global system. Collective activities and associated security concerns are examples of them. These worries make it difficult to find a solution to pressing issues like the control of nuclear weapons and climate change. In addition, there exist biases that make it difficult for the state to achieve a broad distribution, and instead favor the community that is located in the immediate vicinity. The construction of a complete global system that includes nations into regional and global organizations with substantial enforcement capacities is a more effective strategy to eliminating obstacles and reaching universal moral objectives. This approach is also more likely to be successful. The concepts of cosmopolitan neutrality and other comparable objectives need to serve as the guiding principles for this system. These narratives often provide aid in promoting the democratization of non-state institutions or the formation of new democratic ones. The primary purpose of these narratives is to guarantee that the results of regional and global governance are in accordance with cosmopolitan moral values. In conclusion, it is essential to point out that not all cosmopolitan theorists that concentrate on instrumentalism argue for complete global institutional integration. However, they do favor some international institutional reforms that are aimed to generate more fair results, despite the fact that they are opposed to total integration on the grounds that it is regarded to be morally ambiguous or because they disagree with it. Concerns have been raised by others about the protection of a varied society of nations and the prevention of unfavorable results, such as the well-known danger of

tyranny in the context of global governance. As a consequence of this, they support international organizations that may facilitate the advancement of significant cosmopolitan goals, but which have limited capabilities to ascertain and enforce compliance with legal or regulatory requirements. Specifically, Pogge's theories might have a substantial influence in shaping this mode of thinking. The shared weakness of cosmopolitan ethics based on Kant's duty-based approach, so the deontology, and utilitarian philosophy is the incomplete realization of institutionalization. Thomas Pogge was among the early scholars who highlighted the distinctions between institutional and interactional interpretation. He adopted a particular institutional perspective that asserts that demands for human rights primarily arise from coercive social structures and the individuals who support these institutions. Pogge presents historical evidence to substantiate his institutional perspective, illustrating how the concepts of natural law and natural rights contributed to the development of the concept of human rights. He argues that the belief that human rights should just be used to protect against threats from the government is implied in the current understanding. This suggests that it is illogical to argue that an individual without any official authority may infringe upon another person's fundamental rights. Thus, it is incorrect to assert that human rights might be violated by a spouse prone to violence or a petty criminal. Thomas Pogge defines human rights as demands mainly placed on authoritative social organizations and secondly on individuals who endorse such organizations (Pogge, 2008, p. 51). According to him, the institutional conception allows us to look beyond the disagreement between those who believe that all human rights involve both positive and negative obligations (maximalist interpretation) and those who believe that human rights only involve negative obligations (minimalist interpretation). Within the institutional paradigm, social and economic human rights would continue to be applicable notwithstanding minor limitations. Unlike some who see human rights as a meta-right, Pogge's institutional interpretation argues that these rights generate both powerful and minimal demands. "They possess immense power as a society can establish and organize itself in a manner that allows its members to engage with that person safely, even in circumstances where they lack legal authorization to do so" (Pogge, 2008, p. 51).

Describing the impact of cosmopolitan principalities on the architecture of governmental bodies is crucial, ranging from internationally connected cities to

regional initiatives like the European Union, and even to the concept of a world government. I emphasize the need of conceiving global or cosmopolitan justice at the city level, considering the significant role that local governments play in the daily lives of the majority of people across the globe. I argue that global justice is a concept that may be applied to political institutions at any level, including local ones. It is crucial to discuss how the knowledge gained by promoting justice notions that are relevant to local contexts should also be used beyond state boundaries in the present circumstances. Institutionalization has the same universal nature as the two forms of cosmopolitan morality, namely utilitarian principles, the ethics of duty, and the Kantian perspective.

What is really critical is that at a point when we talk about institutionalization, it is necessary to say that power also exists under all circumstances. For example, if sovereignty is a power, and we establish it in the sense of cosmopolitan sovereignty, the institutionalization here will be the institutionalization of power. So, we need to think about this: if there is power somewhere, there must definitely be talk of oppression there. And where there is this oppression, there is a lack of control. There may be a method that should be considered as a solution. However, this method should be democratic and inclusive. Because the issue called institutionalization will not progress as standard and simple as it seems. Therefore, a mind that needs to be constructed and constructed is required here. This should be called critical mind. If a phenomenon, namely cosmopolitan morality, is constructed on cosmopolitan sovereignty, this structure can turn into a closed structure. Therefore, it can become the source of oppression, and this oppression can reach a destructive and dangerous dimension. Of course, institutionalization is still required. However, a strong public control is also required on this institutionalization. As Michel Foucault also touched upon in the elements mentioned above, this is the real threat that Thomas Pogge may contain regarding cosmopolitan institutionalization. What needs to be done, the main suggestion of this thesis is this: If a cosmopolitan institutionalization to the extent suggested by Pogge is to be realized, a critical public sphere needs to be established at this point. Of course, there will be an institution or institutions, but besides this, something is needed that will inspect the behaviors of that institution as an inseparable whole.

Here it seems useful to draw on another theory. Young's theory of oppression is the result of a larger project aimed at challenging the traditional liberal understanding of justice as the fair distribution of goods and resources. Justice, he argues, "must refer not only to distribution but also to the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation". Accordingly, injustice then refers to "two kinds of crippling constraints, oppression and domination" (Young, 1990, p. 39).

There were five different faces of oppression that Young described. While each of these five faces of oppression—exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence—is conceptually independent, any group can experience more than one form of oppression, albeit in different combinations. However, the presence of only one of these five conditions is sufficient to consider a group as oppressed. It is also important to note that Young's methodology excludes any hierarchy, that is, there is no form of oppression that is more important or more fundamental than others. On the contrary, the demand for justice in a society is not less urgent or more imperative. It is in this dangerous position that an ethic must be constructed, and this ethic must include both relativism and tolerance. The critical mind must remain active at this point, so that the idea put forward by Pogge can assume a more credible position.

In my view, to be an effective democrat in the modern era, one must actively engage in political reform and advocate for the establishment of a global political authority or world state, because national sovereignty is largely contradictory. There are two levels of this problem, one is ideal; because it does not correspond the needs of today's world, second is practice. For this reason, I am generally critical of the second, which includes institutions. This entity would have the power to enforce and maintain the principles of cosmopolitan justice. Cosmopolitan justice may be seen as a fundamental component of global justice, since it focuses on our ethical responsibilities towards both individuals and humanity as a whole. Cosmopolitan justice establishes the necessary underlying conditions for the proper functioning and legitimacy of political regimes at the local, regional, and international levels. In the present global circumstances, it is essential to establish a cosmopolitan moral framework that is institutionalized and impartial. This framework should include a global political authority that can determine and enforce the rights and responsibilities of states in a

way that aligns with their cosmopolitan obligations. This is crucial for achieving cosmopolitan justice in an efficient manner. I disagree with communitarian, nationalist, liberal, and republican democratic theorists who are concerned that the establishment of a global political authority will undermine or destroy the democratic value of collective self-government. I propose that we do not have the necessary fundamental background conditions to validate the legitimacy of any limited political community's claims to self-government under global conditions that are unable to effectively achieve cosmopolitan justice. In other words, the value of democratic self-government is based on the attainment of global conditions that embody cosmopolitan justice, and is dependent on these conditions. In addition, democrats who aim to validate the democratic principle of collective self-government should prioritize the achievement of cosmopolitan justice.

Taking into consideration the things that have been discussed so far, I propose that the basis for building a relationship between cosmopolitan morality and cosmopolitan sovereignty ought to be founded in the rights that are a result of existence. It is important that these rights be available to all entities, whether they are alive or non-living, that take part in interactions within a system. On the other hand, rather than concentrating simply on human-centered concepts of legitimacy, this approach need to give priority to a more comprehensive viewpoint. The elimination of global injustice as well as discrimination against fundamental rights is the path that leads to the achievement of global justice with its associated benefits.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the focus is on examining how cosmopolitan morality reflects on cosmopolitan sovereignty. The chapter analyzes the components of cosmopolitan morality and explores the possibilities it offers in relation to the concept of sovereignty.

In the first part of the chapter, sovereignty is considered in conjunction with cosmopolitan morality. This section discusses the essential components of cosmopolitan sovereignty, the relationships and connections between these components, and the moral and legal ideas put forward by various thinkers. These ideas are explored to understand how they can shape cosmopolitan sovereignty.

The second part of the chapter delves into the practical implications of implementing cosmopolitan sovereignty in contemporary politics. The discussion focuses on the

duties of states, their legitimacy, and the moral principles that guide them. Finally, the chapter addresses how, in the changing global context, the relations between states could become more cosmopolitan through the institutional frameworks they adopt.



7. CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis is to focus on the relationship between cosmopolitan morality and sovereignty. During this process, cosmopolitan morality was accepted as a part of the ideal theory, and based on this, it was examined how it could be considered together with the concept of sovereignty within the ideal theory. Accordingly, the main question of the thesis is what is the basic issue that cosmopolitan morality ignores while reflecting on sovereignty, and my argument is that in order to establish a connection between cosmopolitan morality and cosmopolitan sovereignty, it is necessary to focus on institutionalization, because the duty-based approach of Kant's deontology in the cosmopolitan thought to date restricts it as anthropocentric, for this reason cosmopolitan morality should be considered in a hybrid manner which is a combination of Kant's deontological duty-based approach and utilitarian principles. My thesis was written within a normative framework, and various thinkers and literature were investigated while reaching the answer to the research question.

The initial segment of the second chapter examines the difficulty of perceiving many interpretations of sovereignty occurring simultaneously. Categorizing the notion in ancient and classical political theory is a formidable undertaking. The chapter concludes that ancient and classical political theory adopts a predominantly descriptive approach when analyzing the concept of sovereignty. When evaluating whether the notion of sovereignty accurately captures a fundamental and distinctive aspect of politics, it is important to take into account the changing understanding of politics over this period. For instance, although the Romans and Ancient Greeks had a similar understanding of power, the concept of state acquired a more specific definition in subsequent history. Furthermore, following Bodin, the definition of politics as it is currently used and its dependence on legal and political language became more independent. The chapter demonstrates that sovereignty is comprised of two components. The first method is descriptive and focuses on the what rather than the how of the issue. It reflects the pre-Bodin perspective on sovereignty, which is linked to law and values. However, subsequent to that, the aspect of how sovereignty is achieved becomes the main point of attention, leading to the formation of a moral

framework. Various interpretations of a concept can give rise to different perspectives, ultimately leading to the development of a normative viewpoint and the subsequent consequences as shown in Bodin's work. Prior to Bodin, the term sovereignty was sometimes used, albeit not necessarily with the whole meaning that sets it apart from other concepts. This perspective asserts that a politically important term is composed of a random assortment of pieces, and that its meaning may change and adapt over time as some aspects within it gain new or diminished importance. Consequently, it is not feasible to anticipate discovering and establishing a solitary, conclusive explanation. The concept of sovereignty is discussed, even if it lacks a clear and independent definition. Instead, it is replaced with another prevailing concept that encompasses entities such as the state, the constitution, God, and so on. However, after Bodin, the focus shifts and the question becomes how sovereignty is represented, rather than what it is represented by. At this juncture, the monarch, the ruler, or, in opposition to all of them, the social contract, begin to personify sovereignty in a distinct manner. Thus, sovereignty gains importance in classical and ancient political thought by means of its representations or their substance.

The third chapter of the thesis examines the concept of sovereignty in contemporary political thought. The distinction between classical and ancient political thought first became apparent. There are several perspectives when it comes to politics, including community-oriented views, territorial understandings, class viewpoints, and power-centered methods. Moreover, sovereignty has two separate facets. The descriptive aspect characterizes sovereignty from a positivist and realist perspective. This chapter explores how the inclination to establish sovereignty based on rules and regulations influences this viewpoint. We analyze three out of the four approaches mentioned on these pages. This chapter has presented a comprehensive analysis of the concept of sovereignty, examining it from the viewpoints of class, territorial, and communal dynamics. Sovereignty is ascribed to boundaries, a political community, a certain social strata, and administrative bureaucracy. Normative characteristics provide an additional dimension of sovereignty. When sovereignty is seen as a moral idea, it becomes subject to political manipulation. The descriptive section asserts that sovereignty is a legal construct, whereas the normative side emphasizes that it is an idealistic matter. Consequently, the normative approach encompasses several interpretations of good, which are especially evident in their connection to power. It

has been revealed that there is a lack of consensus among academics. Intellectuals were primarily concerned with justifying the use of power. Due to this, sovereignty is perceived in contemporary political discourse as inherently disputed and without consensus. Considering all of these evaluations, it is precise to assert that sovereignty exhibits many inclinations in contemporary political ideology and is examined in conjunction with notions such as authority, nation-state, and populace in both contemporary and classical political ideology. The connecting thread among these hypotheses is the intimate correlation between political aptitude and sovereignty.

The fourth chapter delves into the idea of sovereignty, examining it from both a normative and descriptive perspective. A conceptual understanding of sovereignty was generated by discerning the differences between these two approaches. The main focus of this chapter is to examine the conceptual limits of the notion of sovereignty, which may be understood from both a normative and descriptive perspective. The fundamental focus of these methods has been to examine the connection between the established institutions and practices of nation states and the growing global exchanges and interdependencies that define globalization. There is a prevailing argument that suggests the need for proposing new institutional procedures in order to effectively address this predicament. Within the context of philosophical inquiries, it has been discovered that this situation gives rise to a novel longing for fairness and democratic governance. Thus, the establishment of appropriate rights and definitions will lead to the growth of multi-level governance and global democratic practices, thereby shaping the nation-state's sovereignty policy. Therefore, it is crucial to initiate institutional dialogues that will tackle these needs and specifications comprehensively, evaluate these discussions on a global scale, and promote a moral framework that ensures equal rights for all individuals. The chapter starts with an examination of sovereignty as a concept that describes something. In the next section, the concept of sovereignty is examined from a normative perspective. The subsequent conceptual study facilitated a comprehensive comparison of the many forms, methodologies, and descriptive and normative characteristics of the notion of sovereignty. The subsequent section of these studies delves into the examination of the concept of value, which is further classified into two discrete categories: internal and external. The chapter finishes by delineating and explicating the facets of sovereignty, encompassing both its normative and descriptive dimensions.

The fifth chapter introduces a two-stage conceptual argument. As a result, sovereignty has been handled in two different ways. At first, cosmopolitan sovereignty was examined as a question of moral principles, and then investigated within the context of historical development. The first part of the chapter examined cosmopolitan sovereignty as a moral issue, and a literary collection was created by analyzing various concepts within this discussion. Subsequently, an analysis was conducted on the correlation between cosmopolitan sovereignty and history. The preceding discussion explored the capacity of cosmopolitan sovereignty to forge links between the past and the future. Concurrently, the notion of enduring tranquility put forward by Kant was scrutinized, alongside the possible methods of attaining it based on fundamental principles. In order to address the issue of cosmopolitan sovereignty, it was crucial to examine the idea of cosmopolitan morality. Currently, a study has been undertaken on the role of moral laws in the advancement of the discussion on cosmopolitan sovereignty and its connection with legal principles. This chapter's latter portion delves into the impact of cosmopolitan morality on sovereignty. The investigation has scrutinized many deliberations on cosmopolitan sovereignty, along with the endeavors undertaken by international organizations, to ascertain its prerequisites and constraints. The concluding portion of the chapter examines the evolution of cosmopolitan sovereignty in connection with institutions and its capacity to establish itself as a moral standard in the political domain.

The sixth, and last, chapter investigates the correlation between cosmopolitan morality and cosmopolitan sovereignty via the lens of inquiry. The chapter examines the constituent elements of cosmopolitan morality and explores the potential of cosmopolitan sovereignty, as well as the concept of sovereignty itself. The first part of the chapter analyzed the notion of sovereignty in relation to cosmopolitan morality. The text examined the necessary components of cosmopolitan sovereignty, as well as the linkages and interactions between these components. It also discussed the ethical and legal ideas put out by various cosmopolitan philosophers. The latter part of the chapter centered on the application of cosmopolitan sovereignty in present-day politics. This dialogue examines the obligations of governments, the origins of their power, and the moral principles on which they are built. Ultimately, it was contended that in contemporary times, the connections between nations might be cosmopolitan, irrespective of the particular institutional framework they adhere to.

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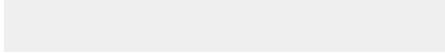
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