

# Notes

## Preface

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3. *Ibid.*, 4–5, 203.
4. van Steenbergen, 'Towards a Global Ecological Citizen', 147.
5. T. Hayward, *Constitutional Environmental Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1.
6. See T. Hayward, *Political Theory and Ecological Values* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998); —, 'Anthropocentrism: a Misunderstood Problem', *Environmental Values* 6, no. 1 (1997).
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9. A. Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); M. Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press/Belknap, 2011).
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13. N. Fraser, 'Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History', *New Left Review* II, no. 56 (2009): 97–8.
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## 1 Introduction: Citizenship, the State and Ideology in a Critical, Pragmatic and Realist Lens

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2. T. Hayward, 'Ecological Citizenship: Justice, Rights and the Virtue of Resourcefulness', *Environmental Politics* 15, no. 3 (2006): 441; A. Dobson, *Citizenship and the Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 89.
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5. D.R. Bell, 'Liberal Environmental Citizenship', *Environmental Politics* 14, no. 2 (2005): 183.
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7. J. Barry, 'Resistance Is Fertile: From Environmental to Sustainability Citizenship', in *Environmental Citizenship*, ed. A. Dobson and D. Bell (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 23–5.
8. See also, P. Petit, *Civic Republicanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); J. Barry and K. Smith, 'Civic Republicanism and Green Politics', in *Building a Citizen Society*, ed. S. White and D. Leighton (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2008); R.C. Paehlke, *Environmentalism and the Future of Progressive Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
9. Dobson, *Citizenship and the Environment*, 50.
10. *Ibid.*, 44.
11. *Ibid.*, 46.
12. *Ibid.*, 47, italics in original, 82.
13. T. Gabrielson, 'Green Citizenship: A Review and Critique', *Citizenship Studies* 12, no. 4 (2008): 430.
14. For an overview, see work by A. Biro, *Denaturalizing Ecological Politics: Alienation from Nature from Rousseau to the Frankfurt School and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); J.M. Meyer, *Political Nature: Environmentalism and the Interpretation of Western Thought* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001); V. Plumwood, 'Nature, Self and Gender: Feminism, Environmental Philosophy and the Critique of Rationalism', *Hypatia* 6, no. 1 (1991); —, 'Inequality, Ecojustice and Ecological Rationality', *Ecotheology: Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 5, no. 6 (1999); R. Williams,

- Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: Verso Books, 1989); G. Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: 'Male' and 'Female' in Western Philosophy*, ed. J. Ree, Ideas (London: Methuen, 1984).
15. Gabrielson, 'Green Citizenship: A Review and Critique', 435.
  16. Throughout the book, I distinguish a social fraction – a disorganized but dissenting group within a larger one – from a political faction – a small, organized dissenting group within a larger one.
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  19. *Ibid.*, 375; Dobson, 'Ecological Citizenship: A Disruptive Influence?' 40–1.
  20. Dobson, *Citizenship and the Environment*, 132.
  21. J. Barry, *Rethinking Green Politics* (London: Sage, 1999), 99.
  22. Dobson, *Citizenship and the Environment*, 133.
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  24. Hayward, 'Ecological Citizenship: Justice, Rights and the Virtue of Resourcefulness', 438.
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  28. J. Barry, 'Review: *Denaturalizing Ecological Politics: Alienation from Nature from Rousseau to the Frankfurt School and Beyond* by Andrew Biro', *Environmental Politics* 17, no. 4 (2007): 689.
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  31. Meyer, *Political Nature: Environmentalism and the Interpretation of Western Thought*, 2.
  32. *Ibid.*, 5, 124, italics in original.
  33. Biro, *Denaturalizing Ecological Politics: Alienation from Nature from Rousseau to the Frankfurt School and Beyond*, 159.
  34. B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. C. Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993 [1991]).
  35. B. Latour, *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 37, 67, 87, 89.
  36. I. Blühdorn, and I. Welsh, 'Eco-Politics Beyond the Paradigm of Sustainability: A Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda', *Environmental Politics* 16, no. 2 (2007): 193, italics in original.
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42. Blühdorn and Welsh, 'Eco-Politics Beyond the Paradigm of Sustainability: A Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda', 199.
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44. J. Valdivielso, 'Social Citizenship and the Environment', *Environmental Politics* 14, no. 2 (2005): 241–2.
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49. Susen, 'The Transformation of Citizenship in Complex Societies', 260.
50. *Ibid.*, 263; Turner, 'Contemporary Problems in the Theory of Citizenship', 3; —, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', 202.
51. J.S. Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 83.
52. See T. Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*; C. Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984).
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56. Susen, 'The Transformation of Citizenship in Complex Societies', 271, italics removed.
57. *Ibid.*, 273.
58. Latta, 'Locating Democratic Politics in Ecological Citizenship', 389.
59. *Ibid.*, 391.
60. Schlosberg, *Defining Environmental Justice*, 8.
61. L. Dumont, *From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 18–19. Cited in E. Chiapello, 'Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology: The Example of the Concept of the "New Spirit of Capitalism"', *European Journal of Social Theory* 6, no. 2 (2003).
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63. L. Boltanski and L. Thévenot, *On Justification: Economies of Worth*, ed. P. DiMaggio et al., trans. C. Porter, *Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006 [1991]).
64. Chiapello, 'Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology: The Example of the Concept of the "New Spirit of Capitalism"', 155–6.
65. L. Dumont and C. Delacampagne, 'Louis Dumont and the Indian Mirror', *RAIN* 43 (1981): 6.
66. L. Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*, English ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986 [1983]), 217. Chapter based on seminar paper, 'The Anthropological Community and Ideology', presented at l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and the Department of Anthropology University of Chicago, and originally published in *L'Homme*, 18, no. 3/4 (1978): 83–110. Dumont argues that anthropology has not recognized the importance of such 'protest' to social formation.
67. Isin and Wood, *Citizenship and Identity*, 4.
68. Eckersley, *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*, 63.
69. L. Thévenot, 'The Plurality of Cognitive Formats and Engagements: Moving between the Familiar and the Public', *European Journal of Social Theory* 10, no. 3 (2007): 411.
70. Boltanski and Thévenot, *On Justification: Economies of Worth*; —, 'The Sociology of Critical Capacity', *European Journal of Social Theory* 2, no. 3 (1999): 360.
71. The key models of justice developed by Boltanski and Thévenot are the *market* (valuing self-interested performance); *industrial* efficiency (valuing technical competence and long-term planning); *civic* engagement (valuing technique); *domesticity* (valuing local and personal embodied ties); *inspiration* (expressed

- in creativity and valuing emotion or religious 'grace'); and, *renown* (valuing public opinion, charisma and fame). Further work by Boltanski and Chiapello identifies with contemporary postindustrial conditions a *projective/connectionist* model (valuing flexibility, spontaneity and networking). Meanwhile, alternate contemporaneous research by Thévenot with Claudette Lafaye and Michael Moody identifies a *green* model of justice (valuing wilderness and sensitivity to environmental limits). See Boltanski and Thévenot, *On Justification: Economies of Worth*; L. Boltanski and E. Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. G. Elliott (London: Verso Books, 2005 [1999]); L. Thévenot, M. Moody, and C. Lafaye, 'Forms of Valuing Nature: Arguments and Modes of Justification in French and American Environmental Disputes', in *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology*, ed. L. Thévenot and M. Lamont (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
72. Thévenot, Moody, and Lafaye, 'Forms of Valuing Nature: Arguments and Modes of Justification in French and American Environmental Disputes', 236.
  73. P. Lascoumes, 'Les Instruments D'action Publique, Traceurs De Changement: L'exemple Des Transformations De La Politique Française De Lutte Contre La Pollution Atmospherique (1961–2006)', *Politique et Societies* 26, no. 2–3 (2007); —, *Leco-Pouvoir, Environnements Et Politiques* (Paris: La Découverte, 1994).
  74. *Ibid.*, 374.
  75. *Ibid.*, 17–18; Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit of Capitalism*, 33.
  76. M. Steger, *The Rise of the Global Imaginary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
  77. A. Honneth, 'Organized Self-Realization: Some Paradoxes of Individualization', *European Journal of Social Theory* 7, no. 4 (2004): 476; R. Sennett, *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (London: Yale University Press, 2005); Z. Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).
  78. Z. Trachtenberg, 'Complex Green Citizenship and the Necessity of Judgement', *Environmental Politics* 19, no. 3 (2010): 350.
  79. R. Geuss, *Outside Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 226.
  80. R. Geuss, *Philosophy and Real Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 9–16.

## 2 Modern Artificialism: An Alternative Perspective on Nature/Culture Dualism

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2. C. Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 15, 19.
3. *Ibid.*, 10–11, 15, 21.
4. M. Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958 [1946]), 339.
5. P. James, *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community* (London: Sage Publications, 1996); —, *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In* (London: Sage Publications, 2006).

6. L. Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*, English ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986 [1983]), 10; —, Dumont, *From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).
7. Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*, 55–6.
8. See Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 339.
9. Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*, 56.
10. L. Dumont and C. Delacampagne, 'Louis Dumont and the Indian Mirror', *RAIN* 43 (1981): 6.
11. M. Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, ed. T. Pavel and M. Lilla, trans. O. Burge, *New French Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997 [1985]), 68.
12. Dumont, *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*, 56.
13. *Ibid.*, 77, 237.
14. Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, 188.
15. *Ibid.*, 94.
16. A. Biro, *Denaturalizing Ecological Politics: Alienation from Nature from Rousseau to the Frankfurt School and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 159.
17. T. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Allen Lane Publishers, 1973 [1947]).
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19. A. Supiot, *Homo Juridicus: On the Anthropological Function of the Law*, trans. S. Brown (London: Verso, 2007 [2005]), 14.
20. Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, 94; M. Gauchet, B. Renouvin, and S. Rothnie, 'Democracy and the Human Sciences: An Interview with Marcel Gauchet', *Thesis Eleven* 26 (1990 [1988]): 147.
21. T.H. Marshall, 'Citizenship and Social Class', in *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*, ed. G. Shafir (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998 [1950]), 94.
22. See B.S. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', in *Citizenship: Critical Concepts*, ed. B.S. Turner and P. Hamilton (London: Routledge, 1994 [1990]), 194.
23. Dumont, *Mandeville to Marx*, 54, 80, parentheses, italics in original.
24. See H. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 61–2, 253.
25. J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Boston Polity Press/Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989 [1962]), 111–12.
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27. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, 25–6, 102.

28. M. Gauchet, 'Democratic Pacification and Civic Desertion', *Thesis Eleven* 29 (1991): 10.
29. M. Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*; C. Lefort, *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986); C. Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. K. Blamey (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987 [1975]).
30. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', 211.
31. L. Boltanski and E. Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. G. Elliott (London: Verso Books, 2005 [1999]), 22.
32. *n.b.* The terms *la cité, des cités* are translated variously as the city, the polity and political communities. Boltanski and Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, 22, italics in original.
33. Boltanski and Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, 50, n. 54.
34. *Ibid.*, 23.
35. E. Chiapello, 'Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology: The Example of the Concept of the "New Spirit of Capitalism"', *European Journal of Social Theory* 6, no. 2 (2003), 155–6.
36. L. Boltanski and L. Thévenot, *On Justification: Economies of Worth*, ed. P. DiMaggio et al., trans. C. Porter, *Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006 [1991]), 374.
37. J.S. Dryzek, *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 82, 83.
38. *Ibid.*, 83.
39. Gauchet, Renouvin, and Rothnie, 'Democracy and the Human Sciences: An Interview with Marcel Gauchet', 149.
40. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', 193–4.
41. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 28.
42. Boltanski and Thévenot, *On Justification: Economies of Worth*: 53, 56.
43. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 32–3, 35, 56.
44. J.M. Meyer, *Political Nature: Environmentalism and the Interpretation of Western Thought* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 5.
45. M. Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982), 345.
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47. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', 202; —, 'Marshall, Social Rights and English Identity', 68.
48. Chiapello, 'Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology' 166–7, italics in original.
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50. L. Dumont, 'Sur L'ideologie Politique Française: Une Perspective Comparative', *Le Debat* 58 (1980).



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52. N. Bobbio, *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction*, trans. A. Cameron (Cambridge: Polity, 1996 [1995]), 60–1.
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56. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 134–5.
57. Turner, 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship (originally published in *Sociology* 24 (2): 189–217)', 193.

### 3 Challenging Modern Artificialism

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4. M. Gauchet, 'Democratic Pacification and Civic Desertion', *Thesis Eleven* 29 (1991): 2.
5. N. Fraser and L. Gordon, 'Contract versus Charity: Why Is There No Social Citizenship in the United States?', *Socialist Review* 23, no. 3 (1992).
6. Turner, 'Citizenship Studies: A General Theory', 7.
7. J. Valdivielso, 'Social Citizenship and the Environment', *Environmental Politics* 14, no. 2 (2005): 241.
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10. See N. Fraser, in N. Fraser and A. Honneth, *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*, trans. J. Golb, J. Ingram, and C. Wilke (London: Verso Books, 2003), 80, 106. Fraser refers to a similar point, made by G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
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#### 4 The New Citizenship, Imperatives of State and Questions of Justice

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## 5 Not Just the Warm, Fuzzy Feeling You Get from Buying Free-Range Eggs ...

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## 7 Conclusion

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