The Green State Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty

Robyn Eckersley

Contents

Preface xi

 $1 \quad Introduction \qquad 1 \qquad \qquad i <$

	1.1	Why the Green State? .1
	1.2	Aims and Method: Critical Political Ecology 8
	1.3	Working toward the Green State: A Provisional Starting
		Point 11
	1.4	Three Core Challenges 13
2	The	State and Global Anarchy 19
	2.1	Environmental Realpolitiks and the Tragedy of the
		Commons 19
	2.2	Neoliberalism, Environmental Regimes, and the Limits of
		Problem Solving 28
	2.3	Critical Constructivism and Social Learning 33
		2.3.1 Not One but Many "Cultures of Anarchy" 43
		2.3.2 Toward Structural Transformation? 48
3	The	e State and Global Capitalism 53
	3.1	The Decline of the State? 53
	3.2	Eco-Marxism, the Welfare State, and Legitimation Crisis 54
	3.3	From the Welfare State to the Competition State 65
	3.4	Ecological Modernization: Just a New Competitive
		Strategy? 70
	3.5	Globalization, Sustainability, and the State 79
4	The	e Limits of the Liberal Democratic State 85
	4.1	The Liberal Democratic State: Not Reflexive Enough? 85
	4.2	The Ecological Critique of the Administrative State 88

	1.3 The Ecological Critique of Liberal Democracy 93 1.4 An-Immanent Ecological Critique of Liberal Dogmas 104	
5	From Liberal to Ecological Democracy 111 5.1 Ecological Democracy: An Ambit Claim 111 5.2 The Intuitive Green Appeal of Deliberative Democracy 115 5.3 Representing "Excluded Others": The Moral and Epistemological Challenges 119 5.4 Representing "Excluded Others": The Political and Institution ' Challenges 127	
6	The Greening of the Democratic State 139 5.1 From Ecological Democracy to the Green Democratic State 139 5.2 The State, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere 142 5.3 A Green Critique arid Reconstruction of the Habermasian Democratic State 150 6.3.1 Realizing the Potential of the Public Sphere 153 6.3.2 From Pragmatic to Moral Deliberation (and Back Again) 164	
7	Cosmopolitan Democracy versus the Transnational State 171 7.1 Principles of Democratic Governance: Belongingness. versus Affectedness 171 7.2 Communitarian or Cosmopolitan Democracy 179 7.3 The Transnational State as a Facilitator of Ecological Citizenship 190 7.4 Unit-Driven Transformation and the Power of Example 190	98
8	Green Evolutions in Sovereignty 203 8.1 Green Evolutions in Sovereignty 203 8.2 New Developments in Global Environmental Law and Policy 211 8.2.1 Environmental Multilateralism: General Developments 211 8.2.2 State Responsibility for Environmental Harm 217 8.2.3 The Right to Develop: Economic versus Environmental Justice? 221	1

	8.2.4 Ecological Security and New Norms of
	Intervention? 224
8.3	Ecological Harm, Nonintervention, and Ecologically,
	Responsible Statehood 228

Conclusion: Sovereignty and Democracy Working Together 241

Notes 255 Bibliography 297 Index 317