Introduction to Political Theory
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Lecture - 28
Politics & Environmental ethics-I: Intro; doom & gloom; democracy and environmental crisis

Hello and welcome friends. Today, in this lecture we are going to start a new topic that is a Political Theory and its Relationship with Environment. And we will see that how political theory as a discipline engaged with this challenge of environmental crisis or what we can also called climate change or the crisis of ecology or global warming. So, all these terms may have internal differences, but we will take them together to understand how political theory as a discipline engage with this emerging concern of environment, climate change or global warming and so on.

So, as I have been saying what political theory that the relevance or the significance of political theory lies in its ability or in its approach to engage with the newer challenges that a country or a society or world as a whole is facing. So, today and in the next lecture we will focus on how political theory engaged with the question of environment, environmental issues and what is the response of democracy or the concepts that we have discussed in this course to tackle or to confront this challenge of climate change.

So, in this lecture we are focusing on the introduction to this issue of politics and environmental ethics. Then we will briefly discuss the idea of gloom and doom that is associated with the environmental concerns of many of the thinkers and activists have argued that the environmental crisis is something which is unmanageable and affecting everyone even those who have not been the cause of this crisis. So, the reason or the causes of environmental crisis may not be the same people or the same countries as its victims could be. So, we will discuss that and then finally, we will in this lecture focus on the democratic response to the climate change or environmental crisis.

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So, to begin with or to understand this new challenge that is confronting the humanity as a whole. So, from the individual and the localised community to nation and to world as a whole is confronting this challenge of climate change or environmental crisis which requires a global approach. It starts from the individual and to do that one needs to change the attitude, the life style, the values or the preference that is so dear to us. And it also lead, to a change in the whole social political order that we have been thinking of or that we have been trying to organise, if we are to tackle the climate change or the environmental crisis.

So, the crisis or this environmental challenge or what we can also call the global climate change pose serious challenges to the discipline of political theory. So, the environmental crisis or climate change and issue that is related to that has become a recognisable. So, no longer there can be any deniable, deniability or deniable of this crisis which requires urgent attention, urgent actions, legislation, discourse or sensitivity to protect the environment or to protect the ecology is a recognisable part of the political landscapes.

So, in different countries, different communities, different states, whether it is from the prosperous country of global north or from the poor country of the global south. They are all now trying to come together to confront this challenge and it has become the part of political discourse, its recognisable part of the political landscapes in most of the countries.

However, in the conventional political theory the environment as we understand it today or the climate change that we understand in contemporary times was not given as much importance. So, in conventional political theory the notion of nature or the relationship between man and nature were thoroughly discussed. Especially, if you look at the writings of social contract theorists and some of their concepts we have discussed while discussing different concepts in a political theory such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau. We will find a kind of abundance or a kind of engagement with the idea or the notion of nature, the relationship between man and nature, a state of nature and how to overcome it, what is natural law and what is natural justice which should help us to create a society which would be based on rule of law or justice.

So, as a notion as a concept or idea the notion of nature or natural justice was there, but the it was not seen or it was not in we searched as a kind of entity which may be affected or which would be vulnerable because of the anthropogenic or the human actions or behaviour. So, we have seen in their writings that the idea of nature, the state of nature, natural law, natural rights were thoroughly discussed, but they did not engage with the question of environment or environmental issue as we now discussed in our contemporary times.

So, in the writings the state of nature was seen as something that needs to be overcome. So, state of nature filter you remember Hobbes talking about state of nature which is war of each against all and the individual behaviour in the state of nature is nasty brutish and sort and therefore, there is no progress of industry, development, prosperity and so on. So, we need to come out of that state of nature and to do that in we searched role of leviathan or the sovereign and then he gave the theory of political obligation and so on.

So, in these tradition the state of nature is seen as a kind of problem which needs to be overcome in order to establish rule of law and to do that the natural law again or the principles of natural justice were seen as a kind of guiding principles or as a guide. So, in this tradition what comes out is an understanding of nature as something that needs to be teamed or control and without mixing the human labour nature in itself is seen as a waste or something which do not have value or without value. So, in these social contract traditions nature is seen as of some value and human labour is mixed with the natural resources. In itself the nature is seen as some kind of entity with no value or which something which needs to be made valuable by mixing it with the human labour.

So, the idea that nature might be vulnerable to humanity would have seemed a strange to most thinkers in this traditions because the in their horizon of expectations or thinking the idea that nature would be vulnerable to the human actions or human behaviour was not non-existence. And therefore, the approach to the whole question of nature and how it should be teamed or how it should be made valuable was very different from the way we now associate with the natural resources, environment and talking about sustainable development and so on.

So, in their thinking or theorization this idea that nature might be vulnerable to humanity would have seemed is strange to many of these thinkers. In modern times it is to the credit of George Perkins Marsh who in his book Man and Nature, argued about the potential of humans profoundly affecting environment. So, this relationship between man and nature or men and environment in the modern times for the first time argued by George Perkins Marsh in his book Man and Nature in 1864. And from there they begin a kind of theorization or explaining or understanding this relationship between man and nature whether man is central to the universe or many just part of so many other species in the world and so on.

So, for the first time it was George Perkins Marsh who argued about this potential threat that humanity post to the environment. And in the post-industrial society especially in the countries of north, there are the growth of many romantic environmentalism and the idea of going back to the nature.

This is some kind of romantic ideas, but nonetheless in the post-industrial society. This idea was widely discussed and it became a kind of a rallying point, to going back to the land, to the preindustrial times and that was a kind of romantic or nostalgic approach to the question of man and environment. And especially when the many evils of the industrial growth or the market economy was seen by many scholars, poets and communities they develop this idea of going back to the nature going closer to the nature, and many theorist or the scholars in the political activist who are actually inspired by this idea of going back to the nature and revisiting the relationship between man and nature.

Closer home in India if you remember Gandhi criticising many of the modern tools or techniques such as railway, medicine, parliament and so on was also a great extent

inspired by this romantic environmentalist or those who are arguing for going back to the nature or living in close connection or relationship with the environment. So, that is the post-industrial time.

In the contemporary discourse on environmentalism Rachel Carson's work the Silent Spring 1962 proves to be turning point and from then on the question of environment or environmental crisis, climate change, global warming is seen and discussed in a different way. And there on you have the growth of environmental movement, green parties or scholars or scientist arguing for protection of nature or environment and so on.

Developing international consensus or global consensus to tackle the climate change collectively is given more urgency or in serious attention then it was given prior to this book silent spring written by Rachel Carson's in 1962. And the Silent Spring gives a kind of scientific or every suitable facts about the changing climates that leads to the extinction of many of the species which was effect on the season or the climate and so on.

So, since the publication of this book, there have been the phenomenal growth of environmental movements in different parts of the country, formations of green parties, concerns for ecologies or environmental laws that was legislated in many countries. So, in the modern contemporary times the publication of silent spring by Rachel Carson's become a turning point which leads to be lot of a response or different kind of response to the climate change.

And in Germany especially the entry of the green parties in the parliament lead to the new kind of legislation and that similar legislation we see in many parts of the country. So, in India you have the Chipko movement in 1970s, which was the most successful environmental movement in the post independent India and that was about protecting the environment and the rule of communities and protecting the environment.

So, one of them shift in the environmental discourse in contemporary times, it is not just the responsibility and the role of state or the market to fix the environmental crisis, but the individual and communities are themselves coming on; or gradually becoming aware of and then responsive to the climate change and the environment crisis. So, it starts from the individual to community, to state and market and at the global level and the negotiation or modification in the life style, in the behaviour, in the consumptions are

also changing according to the growth of awareness about environmental crisis and so on.

So, environmental crisis pose serious challenges to communities and modern democracy and the magnitude of crisis is such that it requires revisiting some of the core values and preferences of modern lives and politics. So, it puts enormous pressures on democratic political institutions to alter the ways in which we consume; think of development and growth and so on. So, it requires us to revisit some of these notions of our life style, the way we consume things, the idea of development or is it possible to constantly grow in a planet which is having finite resources. So, it requires us to revisit some of these notions.

The environmental ethics focuses basically upon the individual convictions and concession and actions towards nonhuman world and environmental protection as a whole. So, the environmental ethics tries to create a new kind of human or individual subjectivity with a different conviction and consciousness and action towards the nonhuman species in the planet or even mountains, rivers and their rights. So, in many countries or democracy you see there are the growth of or the legislation of rights of mountains, rives, as there is rights to individual and also rights to the nonhuman such as animals and so on.

So, it was believed that these new set of values lead to the creation of a new set of social and political order. So, that leads to the creation of new set of social and all when there is a new subjectivity with different approach conviction and actions towards nonhuman's species in the planet. So, there are arguments let most of the environmental problems are result of anthropocentrism. Anthropocentrism basically refers to our moral and political systems that is human centre. So, human is at the centre of our moral, political, social organisations or system.

So, many scholars have argued that the most of the environmental problems and challenges that we have is because of our approach of anthropocentrism which focus which is human centre and put human at the centre of the rest of the species on the planet. This result in the present-day environmental crisis. So, although there are many versions of anthropocentrism from weak to the strong, where the weak will give focus to the human as the most preferred or rationally species in comparison to the other species, but it does recognise nonhuman species. But the strong anthropocentrism will believe in the human being as the most or the superior species in the species on the planet.

However, the all whether it is weak or a strong version of anthropocentrism, all give preference to humans or nonhumans. So, ecological modernisation is seen as a response to environmental challenge and this ecological modernisation theory is basically arguing that as countries modernise, economically politically and socially, environmental challenges are internalised into the prevailing system of governance and productions. So, ecological modernisation is to modernise, but modernise in a way which a protects the environment or which internalise the actions or the values that is required for the protection of environment and so on.

This modernisation is seen; in modernisation here means ecological modernisation as the ultimate solution to environmental problems. However, many scholars are sceptical of the antidemocratic tendencies, lurking behind the idea of ecological modernism and

therefore, for the argue for a new kind of politics and democratic institutions which would be more sensitive to environmental issue. And this response we will discuss which they talk about environmental citizenship or green virtue or a deliberate model of democracy in the later part of this lecture.

Now, to understand the evolution of modern political discourse and environmentalism we need to go back to the decades of 1960s and 70s when this debate first embers. And in this decade the writings or the scholarly academic writings on the environmental issue was full of this gloom and doom. So, academic writings on the environmental challenges seriously began to come in late 1960s and early 1970s and these writings were full of doom and gloom.

So, Paul Ehrlich in his book The Population Bomb, 1968, argued that the hundreds of millions of people would die of starvation due to the overpopulation. Similarly, a group of researchers at MIT argued in the limits of growth that humanity would soon exhaust the resource based of the planet. Now, this argument is basically about creating a picture or imagery of the human potential to destroy environment completely and there is no hope for the protection of environment and so on. So, there is a kind of negative approach or assessment of the threat that is pushed to environment by the overpopulation or the growth or the mindless growth and so on, in the finite resources that is available in the planet.

Similarly, Garrett Hardin the tragedy of the commons this is the most influential people to understand the climate discourse or environmental discourse in this decade argued that how individual benefits from acts that pollute degrade the land, change the climate and stress fisheries, but the costs are spread over the entire population. So, each of us act in our immediate self-interest, but together we produced outcomes that are worst for all of us.

So, the main reason for the environmental crisis according to Garrett Hardin in his influencer paper tragedy of the commons is that the individual benefits from polluting, the land, the air or change the climate and these benefits are of their immediate interest which is the guiding force for their actions and behaviours in a particular manner which is detrimental to the environmental. So, the cost of environment is or environmental crisis is paid or distributed among all the population, but the benefit out of degrading

environment or polluting is limited to the individual and a company or an industrial house and so on, but its costs are shared among the all.

So, together when we are guided by only immediate self-interest, you produce outcomes that is worse for all of us. So, individually we may benefit out of polluting the land or degrading the land or affecting the climate change, but in the long term collectively we are becoming worse. So, according to Hardin there are two possible solution to counter this challenge; one is to appeal to the concerns of the individual and community and second is coercion.

However, Hardin rejects this idea of appeal to the conscience as an effective mechanism to tackle the climate change or environmental crisis. So, what he argue is that the only possible alternative to tackle environmental problem is the mutual coercion, mutually agreed upon. So, the conscience when we change our attitude, we change our convictions, we change our behaviour towards climate it will lead to a new set of values which will ultimately create a new social political order which will be conducive for the protection of environment or addressing the climate change. But that is something which is not effective because the cost that is associative with such change in the values or preferences is not willingly or voluntarily being bought by the individual, if that is against their interests.

So, what he argue as the effective alternative to tackle the climate change or environmental problem is the coercion, when we collectively decide what certain coercion that will force the individual to change their behaviour, to change their consumption and so on. So, for him the only possible alternative to tackle environmental problem is the mutual coercion that is mutually agreed upon and that is the only possible and effective way to tackle climate change according to Hardin.

Green utopianism

➢ Some theorists in the 1970s began to argue that environmental problems require a new system of political organizations that are based on new set of values. They argued that solving the environmental challenges require newer and fresh approach such as 'deep green version of anarchism'. Still, many others argued that this challenge of climate change can be tackled within the existing political organizations and set of values. These discussions turned into greater urgency when Green Party in Germany entered federal parliament in 1983. There, the political discourse on climate change and environmental crisis was divided between 'realos' (realists) and 'fundis' (fundamentalists). Former wanted the power within the existing political structure while the latter challenged the existing political system. They dominated the discourse and popularized the slogan – 'neither left nor right but ahead'. They were committed to four pillars of - Ecology; Social responsibility; Democracy; and, non-violence.

➢ Since then, environmental laws in Germany and many other countries of the world developed rapidly. Germany is seen as the most strict country in terms of implementing environment protection laws. Since 1991, it functions on the principle of 'polluter pays' requiring manufacturers or retailers to take responsibility for recycling or disposing of the products that they sell or produce. It has also led to a number of green utopian thinking and theorizations of state, politics, democracy, and citizenship.

Now, further on there is a development of green utopianism and some tourist in the 1970s began to argue that environmental problems require a new system of political organisation that are based on new set of values. So, to tackle the climate change we cannot address it adequately by following the conventional system of political organisation or set of values what individual his rights or the community and its rights and so on. So, we need a new set of values with new system of political organisation to tackle climate change or environmental problems.

So, they argued that solving the environmental challenges required newer and fresh approach such as deep green version of anarchism. Let us say individual can themselves governed or protect or be responsive towards the environment this would not necessarily like to send any authority or institution for a state and market. So, it is not the responsibility of someone out there to protect the environment it is something which we all need to come together to develop the new consciousness and conviction towards protecting the environment.

So, a still many others argued that this challenge of climate change can be tackled within the existing political organisation and set of values. So, they argued that we do not need to acquire or develop new set of values or political institutions and organisation, but within the existing structure of political organisation and political system and the set of values that we have we can tackle the environmental problems and environmental

challenges.

Now, these discussions whether we should go for new set of values or new system of political order or we should continue with our existing political structure and set of values to tackle the climate change, turn into greater urgency when green part in Germany, entered federal parliament in 1993. So, there the political discourse on climate change and environmental crisis was divided into two groups which we can basically called "realos" that is realists or the pragmatist and the "fundis" which is fundamentalists.

So, within the green parties there was a kind of division between those who believed in the existing political system or a structure and operating within that to tackle the climate change. So, those are called realos or the realists. And the latter who wanted change the existing structure or existing system of political order they are call the fundamentalist or the fundis.

So, former wanted the power within the existing political structure to tackle the climate change, the latter challenged the existing political system as a whole to create a new order new values. So, they dominated the discourse and popularise the slogan neither left nor right, but ahead. So, the climate change or the environmental problem is seen as the major problem and therefore, the ideological divide on the basis of left and right is really immaterial because what we need to address collectively together is this climate change and environmental crisis which poses serious challenge to the humanity to the species on the planet as a whole.

So, they were committed to this four pillars of a ecology, social responsibility, democracy and non-violence. So, their whole approach to the environment problem or the crisis revolves around these four key components of ecology, social, responsibility, democracy and nonviolence those where the ideals or the guiding principles for them to tackle the environmental challenge.
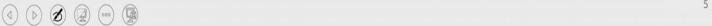
So, since then the environmental laws in Germany and many other countries of the world developed rapidly. Germany is seen as the most strict country in terms of implementing environmental protection laws in Europe and since 1991 it functions on the principle of polluter pays that requires manufacturers or the retailers to take responsibility for recycling and disposing of the products that they sell or produce. So, it is also lead to a

number of green utopian thinking and theorization of state politics democracy and citizenship in different countries.

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Now, environmental crisis if you try to understand is a long-term problem. Global warming, resource depletion, depletion of ozone layers, localised pollution, decline in the species are some of the major characteristic of contemporary environmental crisis. The climate change that is underway is to a great extent caused by emission of greenhouse gases particularly carbon dioxide.

So, while to some extent everyone has contributed in it; that means, in the contemporary environmental crisis responsibility lies with each one of us. So, everyone to some extent has contributed to this current environmental crisis; however, the role of advanced industrial society are far more greater. So, the conjunctions, the greenhouse gas emissions in advanced industrial society is many times higher than say a developing or a least developed country.

So, it is a global problem beyond the purview of a single society or a nation. It can only be addressed collectively because no one country no matter how much superior economically and military can tackle this problem of climate change, because the behaviour of one country and their conjunctions, their set of values or their preference may affect the air force that is taken by another countries to mitigate climate. And therefore, there is a need to universal consensus on climate change or emissions of

greenhouse gases and so on and for that every year or every 2 year there is negotiation at international level or at many community levels or a supranational level as well.

So, climate change has both the local and global dimension and tackling it to requires a force from both local as well as at the global level. So, the main challenge in curbing climate change is that the effects of climate change are probabilistic. So, we know certain things are because of the climate change, but we cannot be very sure about the exact relationship between that thing or the climate change. However, we now agree that climate change is perhaps the major factor in the lot of social political changes that is happening across the world.

So, the major problem in tackling the climate change is that the effect of climate change are probabilistic in nature rather than deterministic and therefore, there a number of people or groups who are apprehensive about the whole climate change discourse. In fact, there are some who actually deny the theory of climate change in many countries like US you have deniers or those who deny the change in the climate change and so on.

So, climate change can cause floods or droughts, heat waves or cold snaps, it can also have some indirect impacts such as in causing wars famines and also refugee flows in different parts of the world. This often it impacts are invisible; however, its effects are felt across the world or across the globe both globally and internationally and there are various efforts and campaigns launched to confront it and that put enormous stress on the existing democratic structure and institution to respond to it in a positive and effective manner. So, now, we will very briefly look at what are the democratic response to the climate change.

Democratic Responses

- Environmental crisis and climate change pose a serious challenges to the democratic system as it exist today. Politics which is understood as 'who gets what, when, where, and how' and is based on interest groups may not address the problem of global climate change adequately. One of the reason for that is many who will be most affected by it do not participate in the reigning political systems. They are non-human natural world, future generations, citizens of other countries, and even the disenfranchised and alienated citizens of one's own country.
- Political campaigns in most of the modern democracies have become more of a 'branding' which is less likely to promote civilized and rational debates on any issues of public interest. It basically tries to hit the deep rooted emotions of citizens and thereby it hardly allow any serious rational debates on issues of national and global political interests such as climate change.
- It is often argued that a deliberative democracy which is guided by reason and free speech and citizens are driven by certain core values may help people become more concerned about climate change and global warming. This is one kind of response to climate change or environmental challenges. However, some theorists have argued that instead of deliberative democracy we should focus more on changing our conception of citizenship. Instead of a thin notion of citizenship that is about – paying taxes, obeying laws, defending the nation, and voting, they argue about a thick notion of citizenship which would govern a much broader set of relationships. So the notion of environmental citizenship would make people aware about and responsive to climate change. It would include the welfare of people across the national boundaries, future generations, and even non-humans.

So, environmental crisis and climate change pose a serious challenge to the democratic system as it exists today. And politics which is understood as 'who gets what, when, where and how'. So, politics which is largely seen as a pragmatic signs that is about the struggle for power and politics determines who get power how much when and how. So, this conventional understanding of politics it based on interest groups and may not be seen as adequate enough to address the problem of climate change.

 So, one of the reason for that is many who will be the most affected by climate change or environmental crisis do not participate in the reigning political system. So, they who are actually the victim of climate change or environmental crisis may not have the scope or the opportunity to participate in climate change (Refer Time: 33:48).

So, they are nonhuman natural world, the future generation, citizens of other countries and even the disenfranchised or alienated citizen of ones on country. So, they are the real victim or a stakeholders in the climate change discussions and debates, but they are not given enough scope and participation in the climate change debates or agreements. So, political campaigns in most of the modern democracies have become more of a branding which is less likely to promote civilised and rational debates on issue of public interest such as climate change and so on.

So, it basically tries to hit the deep-rooted emotions of citizens and thereby it hardly allow any serious rational debates on issue of national and global political interest such

as climate change which will affect the community or the lives of in a nation in the long terms. So, politics is about the immediate pragmatic concerns of individual and society. And the political parties or the political leaders who believes in branding, their image and then the voters or the electrodes are merely associating themselves with a one brand or the another thereby do not engage in a critical rational manner to some issues of a long term entries that is climate change or environmental crisis and so on. And therefore, the politics in the conventional sense is seen as not in adequate response to the climate change in many of the modern democracy.

Now, what are then the response to this conventional politics? So, one is the idea of deliberative democracy. So, it is often argued that a deliberative democracy which is based on reflecting views or opinions of the communities and that saves the politics or the policy makings in the country will ultimately lead to some kind of rational original arguments and debates about climate change.

So, a deliberative democracy which is guided by reason and free speech and citizens are driven by certain core values may help people become more concerned about the climate change and global warming. So, this is one kind of responds to climate change or environmental challenge, that in a deliberative democracy which is largely driven by reason or the free speech, where the citizen has certain core value can possibly educate or make the people aware about the climate change and global warming and thereby it will lead to change in the values norms preference of the individual which will help in protecting the environment and so on.

This is one of the response to the climate change or environmental challenges; however, some theorist have argued that instead of deliberative democracy we should focus more on changing our conception of citizenship. So, instead of a thins motion of citizenship that is what merely paying tax, obeying laws, defending the nation and voting, they argue about a thick notion of citizenship which would govern a much broader set of relationship. So, the notion of environmental citizenship would make people aware about and responsive to climate change. It would include the welfare of people across the national boundaries, future generation and even nonhuman.

So, another kind of a response to climate change environmental is not just having a deliberative democracy, but to change the conception of citizenship where citizenship is

seen or understood not by merely paying tax or obeying law of within initial state, but to develop a consciousness which include or accommodate the interest and welfare of the other people across the national boundaries, also the future generations and the nonhumans in the planet.

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So, the idea is to have environmentally responsible citizen who would engage deliberately in a democratic society in such a way that would contribute meaningfully to confront challenges like climate change. So, in order to have an environmentally responsible citizens some of the following green values need to be inculcated.

And these green values are a, to develop a love of nature and living lightly on earth. So, taking minimum from the earth and having a relationship with nature where you love protect or do not exploit control or trim the nature, b, self restraint and moderation will help promote minimise their consumption and over consumption. So, if the individual or a citizens are moderate or self restraint that will lead to less and less consumptions and avoid over consumptions which will ultimately lead to protection of natural resources and thereby natural environment and so on.

So, this would develop the value of living simply and moderately so, that others may also live simply and moderately. Mindfulness is seen as anti-dote to some of the ills of modern capitalist society and a mindful person shall be conscious of the consequences of his or her actions and behaviour which may be remote in time and space.

So, what they do? So, the way climate change occurred is a very technologically sophisticated understanding is required to understand the cause and effects of climate change. So, what a person do today, it may affect the climate change in the long term or what a person do in one remote location of the world may have influence or effect in other parts of the world. So, a mindful person is always aware of his consumptions, his behaviours or actions which will affect the climate change and she will not thoughtlessly emit climate gases. So, to develop a new consciousness or new responsible environmentally responsible citizen we need to inculcate these green values or what we call green virtues.

So, now if you bring these three democratic responses, that is deliberative democracy, environmental citizenship and the green virtue together, we get a fair idea of what kind of society is required to confront the global climate change. However, it also requires some kind of modification of many of our social, political and cultural values and also the preferences that we have.

So, whether liberal democracy in its present forms with many of its current premises or value premises are helpful in creating society. What would be the model of development? Should we continue with present capitalist market-oriented model of development or should we look for some alternative model of development? So, should it also include sustainability keeping in mind the demands and needs of not just the current generation, but also the future generation and the nonhumans.

What is the justice? It is just about economic resources or distribution of economic resources or should it include the notion of environmental justice should it always be anthropocentric that is always giving preference to human over the nonhuman is with finite in a non-commercial you know what the nonhuman. These are some of the questions which requires deeper and critical engagements by individuals, communities, a state, market and global institution.

Now, some of these questions and issues which are there that is related to environmental crisis or environmental problem which we will discuss in the next lecture.

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Reference

1. Goodin Robert E. (1992) *Green Political Theory*, Polity Press.
2. Dryzek, John S., Bonnie Honig and Anne Phillips (eds.) (2006). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press.
3. Catriona McKinnon, *Issues in Political Theory*, Oxford University Press, 2012.
4. John Hoffman and Paul Graham (eds.), *Introduction to Political Theory,* New York: Routledge, 2015.

So, that is all in today's lecture. For the themes or the contents that we have discussed in this lecture you can refer to some of this book like Robert Goodin, Green Political Theory; from a John Dryzek and Philip you read chapter on environment from the oxford company into political theory. And Catriona McKinnon has particular chapter on climate change or environmental crisis and democratic response which is very helpful to understand some of the changes in the political values, social values that is required to tackle climate change.

So, from issues in political theory you can look at that chapter, and again from John Hoffman and Paul Graham introduction to political theory you can read a chapter on a climate change and environmental problem. So, that is all in today's lecture. Thanks for listening and do write to us your comments, quarries and feedback. We will be happy to respond.

Thank you.