

Customary Morality and the Concept of Environmental Citizenship

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Whatever the nature of the contemporary climate crisis, its status has become an aspect of global politics. Whether the nature of this necessity is natural or political is the question. The idea of natural necessity is driving the political necessity of the acceptance of a range of frameworks concerning governance. The climate is being symbolically represented via powerful institutional agencies carrying out a labor of legitimation. How will this affect the ground of public existence?

Keywords: institutions – environment – crisis – citizenship

Introduction

The representational construction of environmental crises allows those operating via institutional channels that extend beyond the nation-state frameworks, shaping the lives of people whose citizenship is confined by such borders, to constitute the *sense* of problems possessing significance beyond the local. There is a bifurcation in operation at the heart of the bureaucratic vision rooted in the monopolization of the institutions that have the power to produce schema, representational forms. These representations privilege the position of those whose view is inscribed in the viewpoint from which the representational forms “make sense” because they are projections of the interests that they express. The construction of global problems is a manifestation of the institutional power of those possessing the economic power to globally enmesh themselves so as to constitute “global problems” as mediums

of an effaced, collective action that exploits the institutional barriers that limit others to regions within nations whose national sovereignty the powerful wish to efface. It is an authorising discourse allowing political actors to appear to express interests transcending nation-states, limiting sovereignty, which effaces the conditions of expression of such interests. The idea is that the problems, as represented by those in the institutional networks producing the representations, transcend the boundaries of regional political units. This warrants a series of trans-regional frameworks that allow for political and economic interventions across regions. This is fundamentally anti-democratic, reproducing hierarchical relationships between institutionalised centres of power and regions: centre-periphery relations are at the core of the bureaucratic vision of those whose power inheres in the representational realm that institutionalised agents produce as a euphemistic, sublated, expression of their interests. It is precisely because of the threat of the institutionalised production of *symbolic power* as a medium for the expression of economic power that democratic ideals are important in the face of the political usage of expert opinion.

Rights are those fundamental preferences whose exercise constitute cognitively significant aspects which, if denied, increase misery because these are constitutive aspects arising from involvement in environmental sources of meaning whose curtailing, implies impairment. If the cognitive modalities attendant on behaviour are a significant aspect of our humanity, the source of its significance, then curtailing the environmental possibilities that are the source of the public actualisation that constitutes the sphere within which our citizenship is expressed will entail impairment. The point is that these “global problems” are representationally constructed and suffused by the interests of those producing the representations: they are effects of the founding of forms that allow for the subterfuge carried out by the *ideological* work that fuses the interests of capital with an abstracted model of the “public interest.” Globalist representations are symptoms of a political elite who are internationally mobilised. Any economic order is founded on the dispositions necessary to sustain it and the foundations of a new economic order must be rendered intelligible. The “climate reset” appears to be the foundational myth that will initiate economic restructuring, redistributing wealth and entrenching poverty under the guise of liberation: conservative revolutions present restorations as revolutions. Currently, we face the elaboration of new concepts of ecological civilisation introducing changed consumption practices aiming to reduce individuals’ “ecological footprint.” The notion of citizenship ensconced in concepts of ecological civilisation follows Mill’s classical formulation,

eschewing natural rights, grounding liberty in utility which is ‘the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions’ provided it is ‘utility in the largest sense, grounded on the permanent interests of man as a progressive being’ (Mill 1864, 16), initiating environmental citizenship’s focus on its version of rights connected to the environment and equality in relation to a civil sphere allowing all to participate in social goods related to the political sphere. This is meaningless without attendance to the institutional sources that constitute such aspects of human being by grounding them interpersonally because income inequality annuls access to such a sphere, explaining the entrenchment of inequalities as a political tool: apathy being the result of a political dispossession that the concentration of political capital entrenches as part of the capital accumulation strategies of dominant groups.

I. Environmental Citizenship Providing Citizenship for Whom?

The concept of environmental citizenship fuses citizenship with a transcendental view of its founding within the global system transcending locality inducing responsibility¹: non-territoriality (Kastroyano 2005, 693 – 696) is key to the required morality. The idea is that a form of citizenship can impel awareness of environmental responsibility by bringing each individual to awareness of their belonging to a greater whole, thereby engendering behaviour reducing their ecological footprint. Pallett (2017, 1916 – 1925) argues that linking the environment and citizenship, thus locates the concept of citizenship within the environmental conditions that envelope the localities that render sensible the experience of being a citizen. The key problem with these ideas is that they inhere in representationally mediated constructions of citizenship, raising the question of how people experience the disclosive forms that ground their experience of being persons.

Construals of environmental citizenship emphasise *personal obligations over rights* and assume particular kinds of *subjecthood* requiring forms of environmental awareness that constitute a literate-class bias. The Consortium of the European Network for Environmental Citizenship (ENEC) defined environmental citizenship as consisting of the “responsible pro-environmental behaviour of citizens who act and participate in society as agents of change in the private and public sphere, on a local, national and global scale, through individual and collective actions, in the direction of solving contemporary environmental

¹ See more: UNESCO, *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st Century*, Paris: UNESCO, 2014.

problems.”² It is important to note the *representational construction* of the terms of this form of citizenship, since the *modalities* rooted in involvement are unavailable to many sections of the population who face a public realm in which their possibilities are circumscribed by positional aspects rooted precisely in the lack of any viable sources of genuine citizenship. Climate concern appears to be an institutionally mediated form of consciousness presuming institutional vehicles that constitute the disclosive grounds of its representational forms. The construal of environmental citizens as part of a global system being tuned to produce certain environmental outcomes is deeply revealing of the groups constituting the discourse. It is paradoxical that such construals are constituted when environmental policies will impoverish many, removing opportunities: without common grounding how are moral responses to be constituted?

Arne Naess (1989) represents human civilisation as arising from the natural realm and as part of the biosphere in order to promote new forms of organization and elicit new sources of value, that induce a shift from anthropocentrism to biocentrism, so that harmonious relationships with the environment become the basis of human societies. Environmental citizenship is construed as involving a range of rights, responsibilities, awareness, and willingness to participate in the protection of common environmental goods. Common environmental goods make little sense in a social world in which public environments are striated by class processes that constitute exclusive divisions that are a prelude to the appropriation of space and resources. The fact that such considerations are not prominent in the theorisation of environmental citizenship is indicative of the professional groups mobilised to function as a moral vanguard, establishing sanctifying forms of public identity under the guise of furthering the interests of humanity.

There are morphological obstacles concerning the size of political units, making participatory politics impossible and this means that dispossession is a constitutive aspect of political phenomena (Bourdieu 1992). These problems mask a primal dispossession arising from the concentration of specialised forms of value: conditions for the operation of the institutional apparatus that constitute the recognised form of political competence thereby dispossessing those distant from the institutional grounds constitutive of political existence

² “Defining Environmental Citizenship,” ENEC, accessed December 2, 2023: <http://enec-cost.eu/our-approach/enec-environmental-citizenship/> (Italics added.)

who are divested of the hidden conditions necessary to accede to political competence: leisure time and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1992, 172).

There has been, since 1970, a concentration of political capital in the hands of fewer people: participation in any institutional sphere has become more mediated by endemic credential inflation which is an effect of class control of institutional space. The persistent class-based nature of political culture entails a bifurcation throughout public space between the institutionally grounded forms of life of the urban middle classes, and the non-institutionalised forms of working populations. A chief expression of the social power of the institutionalised middle classes is political discourse itself: they are able to produce representational forms that express their fundamental interests. The representational apparatuses that they deploy, assimilate interests which they are a euphemised expression of. The words of Heidegger seem relevant, “representation has at its command a conceptual machinery that nothing is capable of withstanding” (Heidegger 1962, 27).

The unprecedented concentration of political capital arises from other institutional changes which have acted to create a dystopian reality that is drenched in an absurdity arising from the displacement attendant on the restructuring at the heart of the forms of monopolisation that characterise widening inequalities globally: eight billionaires own as much wealth as half of humanity. “Six of those eight made their money in the supposedly equalizing field of technology: Gates, Zuckerberg, Jeff Bezos of Amazon, Larry Ellison of Oracle, Carlos Slim of Telmex and other Mexican businesses, and Michael Bloomberg, the purveyor of computer terminals” (Giridharadas 2018, 90; cf. also Horowitz – Igielnik – Kochhar 2020). These developments mirror more fundamental processes occurring in the institutions that subtend the economic organisation that facilitates this appropriation of resources via the “open” market.

The development of automation and micro-processing has acted to shrink the wage economy and we are seeing the development of productive forces requiring diminishing numbers of workers, increasing the rate of exploitation and inflating the financial sector which has become the key driving sector of the economy allied with those who occupy the steering positions in government. The governmental adoption of international frameworks driven by finance and other key corporatised industries shrinks the state’s room for manoeuvre and affects the nature of economic space within the nation state. This economic regime is based on the *institution of insecurity*, increasing casualisation of employment and unemployment. The institution of insecurity

(cf. Bourdieu 1998, 42, 85 – 98) entails an increasingly precarious form of social existence, destroying any relation to a future. These changes have profound effects on the nature of public culture because they entail an erosion of sources of collectivity, leading to massive increases in drug and alcohol use and suicide (cf. Case – Deaton 2020, 69 – 72), revealing the cross-generational effacement of forms of citizenship. The erosion of access to the public frameworks that function as the scaffold supporting access to sources of identity has deleterious effects for those who are targeted by these down-classing processes that efface their access to sources of objectivity, increasing the misery characteristic of those without the economic resources to accede to recognised forms of social existence, to viable personhood and meaningful forms of citizenship.

II. Selfhood, Environment and Social Existence

Relational forms constitute cognitively significant modalities that render environments via the skein of meaningful forms revealed by the way we experience being-situated so that presence is a disclosive aspect of worldly forms. A key facet of the world is its objectivity, the forms of public significance, whose interpersonal grounds constitute the possibilities that disclose modalities that inhere in actualisations of form inscribed, interpersonally, via experiencing being subject to such processes inheres in an objectivity that we experience via others. This aspect of transcendental intersubjectivity is a condition of our experiencing the forms of being in the world that we do (cf. Husserl 1959, Husserl 1968). This makes us vulnerable to worldly solicitations and to public forms that function as vehicles of significance that constitute a scaffold affecting cognition. The environmental correlates that subtend cognition are a significant aspect of our modes of access to being. This is why the concept of personhood is important and why citizenship must be *socially realised* via public forms that support modes of access to its interpersonal forms. If environmental correlates that elicit cognitively significant forms are necessary for the experience of capacities whose inscription are part of their constitution, then deprivation of necessary sources of actualisation alienates the poor from capacities whose inalienable status, when eroded, dispossess them of initiative because they rob them of relations to worldly forms constitutive of capacities. Giridharadas paints the following picture:

Leibrock's job brought her into contact with a section of America that the Valley mostly ignored. Interview by interview, Leibrock was cultivating a sense of this other country. One day she was interviewing via Skype

a woman named Heather Jacobs about her life and finances...Every month she went slightly crazy when money was running out...She felt like "I'm about to go a little insane and pull out my hair. That's when I'm like desperate...because I'm anxiety bipolar, so I go immediately to straight full stress, and then I have a panic attack...Society tells me I have to go to school, get a good job, and then I'll get a salary, because I'm in America...And that's what I did, and now I'm in debt. And now I'm suffocating"...America has stabilized its own income statements over a generation by off-loading uncertainty onto workers (Giridharadas 2018, 61 – 62).

What it is important to recognise is how the significance of a mundane aspect of economic life, money, becomes a trauma-trigger signified via inabilities that affect the emotional core of a subject that experiences being founded via a way of being-in-the-world circumscribed via an objectivity constituted via a labour market whose sources of objectification require possession of income. Positioning in public webs of significance, for the poor, entails modalities that impair cognition. The way that these affective forms are constituted is via significances that are encountered as ways of being, mediated by conditions of existence that constitute sources of objectification. These entail closures relating to the way barriers are inscribed via the sense of the way the forms are incorporated and, thereby, temporally sedimented so that circumscription is a fundamental aspect of the negation that is a constitutive aspect of the way the public sphere is constituted to validate some and denigrate others. To be "lucky" means to be capable of soliciting the recognitions which disclose the environmental solicitations that constitute possibilities. Those with resources are "lucky," the poor endure the bad luck of their absence of the forms of engagement that underpin this aspect and are "cursed."

Much of the human world arises from environmental solicitations that inheres in recognitions which disclose the possibilities realised via forms which constitute the meanings inscribed via being subject to such processes so that presence is possessed of an objectivity that inheres in exposure to grounding sources that concern public forms. If meanings are enacted interpersonal aspects of the environments that make available modalities that inheres in the enacted forms that constitute our presence, then valuation is an aspect of the constitution of the public realm and devaluation is an aspect of the dispossessing of the negated who are denied access to the satisfaction conditions necessary to accede to intentional states. It is this relation between environmental correlates and cognitively significant states, and their relation to social valuation as an objectifying effect of economically rooted divisions

that makes poverty a crime. Dispositions arise via the environmental solicitations that constitute the modalities that subtend the forms which physiognomically materialise the sense appropriated via experiencing being subject to such possibilities. The significance, the content, is not representationally constituted, primarily: it is disclosed via interwoven, interpersonal sources that constitute the environmental correlates that encompass a web of implicit forms, an unexplicated background, from which our capacities arise. Capacities arise from absorption in an interpersonally constituted sphere whose engagements realise the individual so that they accede to socially recognised forms of public existence. Devaluation, denigration, publicly and objectively, annul access to this disclosive medium. What is “suffocating” is the dislocation entailed by reduction to a present that entails being bereft of possibilities so that agency is eroded and cognitive function impaired, and the effacement of personhood robs people of the interpersonal mediations constitutive of being subject to the disclosure of sources of intentional aspects and this reduction interrupts projection, so that the vital relation to sources that anchor the subject in the vehicle for the constitution of significance is annihilated and the person loses any sense of capacity to retain a hold of forms constituted via recognitions which disclose sources of actualisation and their temporal relation to being is mutilated.

Why would the effects of chronic stress be described via a metaphor rooted in disintegration? Without income, experience is characterised by a perpetually deferred appetitive tension that cannot be resolved living pay-day to pay-day, enveloping the perceptual realm, as life is mutilated by the structuring potency of necessity, the sting of need that cannot be mitigated by agency because its possibilities are so curtailed. This impairment isn't merely realised by the absence of the implicit conditions necessary to accede to intentional forms of existence, income, its absence engendering an inability arising from the lack of the grounding elements necessary to constitute referential forms: the fabric of sense constitutive of intelligibility is affected by the tearing of the intentional threads (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 86) that relate being to its worldly context via sources that constitute epistemic modalities. Money itself becomes a trigger of an underlying trauma that is rooted in a source of damage that concerns the person's objectivity, their embodied significance, and the sense they incorporate via being subject to a public realm constituted in such terms. Income is mediated by positional forms that constitute access to the public sources of organisation that constitute economic viability and so devaluation is part of a mode of domination, part of the contestation enacted, publicly, that

ties some into a world of possibilities whilst robbing others, not merely of viability, but of other fundamental, inalienable, forms like meaningful experiences of freedom: without possibility there can't be any experience of capacity and the intentional terrain of existence implodes.

III. Sociodicy and Semblance of Equality

People are sensitive to the economic sphere because its interpersonal mediation constitutes access to sources of meaning, arising from objectifying sources that concern our being-for-others, mediating access to possibilities involving foundational aspects concerning essential modalities that appear to be natural dispositions. The animating, spirited, intentional aspects concerning our public objectivity are affected by the economic, by the mediation of our relation to collective sources that mediate what appear to be essential characteristics that affect life-chances. The encroachment into this domain, increasingly, of corporate digitised frameworks, will involve the extinguishing of the meagre hopes that decades of neoliberalism have left the majority. The transformation of public institutions by the encroachment of the market commodifies existence, reducing people to impersonal functions, reducing working people to a life dependent on credit because they are accredited with so little. Human presence is expressive, it is animated by forms possessed of a latent consistency: uncodified configurations manifest sense incorporated via exposure to sources of realisation that sediment forms so that their inherence in collectivity lead them to function as markers of the aggregates who are publicly differentiated via the way such aspects function as boundaries arising from their public intelligibility. The constitution of forms arises relationally as an effect of determinations rooted in the realisation of hierarchy in ways that empower those with the capacity to derive the significance via aggregative action that discloses the space within which meanings are materialised.

The formation of institutional agencies that can function as mediums for the collective action of aggregates mobilised around the constitution of interests whose expression inheres in the establishment of such conditions is, therefore, a key domain of social power. This is why the lives of the poor are characterised by minimal institutional contact because contact and the interpersonal constitution of environmental sources that support complex forms of intentional existence are effects of economic power. Social valuation is, therefore, a key constitutive aspect of public life and the civil realm. What is instituted is a distinction at the core of the constitution of the public sphere between those possessed of value, usually themselves effaced, miscognised,

expressions of sources of economic power, and the devalued, which is instituted via a difference between accession to public forms of existence in the case of the former and an essentially privatised existence for the latter.

Worldly forms must be intended, interpersonally realised, via sources that are intercorporeal and intersubjective: the domain that politics must preserve by ensuring the viability of sources of meaning so that the civil sphere represents a plurality of positions (see Arendt 1998). In this sense visibility and appearance are aspects of the way the world is disclosed. We encounter being, personhood, via how we experience our visibility as it is interpersonally constituted. The worldly forms of possibility that are available to us concern the meaning of our visibility, as a public aspect of our objectivity. In this sense, the public sphere is central to the constitution of possibilities involving citizenship. Freedom is a source which requires continual actualisation via the founding of worldly sources of possibility that constitute environmental solicitations that render being meaningful. Scarcity annuls these conditions. Inequalities erode the interpersonal sphere that grounds meaningful forms. Excess competition involves the public effacement of the poor who become second-class citizens existing in relation to segregated institutional spheres, producing different ways of being situated for those with economic power who access a personalised route to public existence guaranteed by recognition of characteristics constituted via their recognition so that they experience the interpersonal disclosure of worldly forms that function as an environmental scaffold that intersubjectively donate the sense that their personhood inheres in, whereas the poor face anonymous processes and a mutilating objectivity whose sense is reproduced by the displacement constituted via their devaluation. It is precisely because of the failure of institutions founded on division, because of the absence of the environmental scaffold necessary to support viable sources of identity, that we have the annulling of public existence that renders digital identity a solution from the perspective of an institutionally entrenched elite. The existence of the masses has to be reduced to traces of legibility generated via digital systems. Economic power leads to institutional segregation entrenching divisions. As this closure of economic space realises a greater monopolisation, we see the development of attenuated resource channels that are part of modes of appropriation that inhere in the use of institutions to dispossess some and enrich others. James Lovelock, for example, says of carbon trading:

Most of the 'green' stuff is verging on a gigantic scam. Carbon trading, with its huge government subsidies, is just what finance and industry wanted. It's not going to do a damn thing about climate change, but it'll make a lot of money for a lot of people (Vince 2009, online interview).

Contemporary forms of corporate and statist organization, contemporary governance, is institutionally mediated, via elites who are products of closed circuits (see more in Scott 1998, 212), making the production of legibility a precondition of political action. Legibility is not merely a condition of control. It is a *medium* for the constitution of spatial forms that make available possibilities for the experience of intentional states whose sense inheres in the enacted disclosure of the difference as part of the public realisation of the meaning as a consequential process. The publicly objectifying forms that constitute differences materialise forms of significance that render members of aggregates legible via the anonymous processes of the market. This is why those with economic power are invested in their objectification, in their unceasing search for distinction, so that they produce a public realm of networks that can function as a scaffold that supports capacities that inhere in access to the grounds of such possibilities. The desire to be perceived as virtuous, to publicly "do good," is simply part of the need of those with economic power to transpose this into sublimated expressions of their *moral* superiority, part of the public constitution of the *sociodicy* of their privilege, transposing their economic superiority into an experience of ethical superiority that can validate claims to rulership, part of the use of institutional space to constitute the possibility of bearing the sense of a distinctive relation to culture realised via public mastery of self as a prelude to rulership over others (cf. Bourdieu 1998, 44). Public institutions must operate to maintain a semblance of equality, justifying inequalities. Ideals of social justice are part of the ideological formation that obscures the reality of the way institutions exist to privilege those with capital, transposing the use of capital into modalities that appear charismatic. Political discourse constitutes the grounds that disclose the representational forms that validate those producing the discourse as a means of their self-objectivisation. The notion of environmental citizenship belongs to this discursive order.

IV. Conclusions

The institutions become, for the people who personify them, reified, they become the incarnation of the ideals they are supposed to realise in the world. In a recent speech Ursula von der Leyen proclaimed, "Our peaceful and united

Europe is being challenged like never before, by populists and nationalists.” When you operate trans-nationally via supra-national institutions that constitute the ground of the representational forms that mediate your sense of reality, the people, whom you condemn to lives enmired in the economic structures that circumscribe lives within localities they are consigned to by objectifications arising from the difference you institutionally realise, become the problem: become the enemy. These divides constitute the invisibility of the people who are the supposed subjects of supra-national state agencies that can, purely representationally, constitute the interests of the subjects themselves. The subjects exist via a representational language whose efficacy arises from the grounding of the divisions producing the sense of the efficacy of the discourse rendering them existent so that this dispossession can be realised, invisibly, by the reduction of the sense of their interests to their purely representational construction via processes that exploit the invisibility being institutionally manufactured as part of the class processes constitutive of political competence. The fact is that these representational processes occur alongside the censorship essential to the expressive power of the architecture, ensuring that the state nobility exists in a class-ethnically-cleansed self-referential realm augmenting the arrogance arising from the ignorance of the closures that subtend the sources of their power. The important political divisions are manifest, in effaced form, via their symbolic expression. When you use institutions to obscure the economic conditions necessary for participation then you can euphemise the expression of your interests exploiting a polysemia that is an effect of the autonomy of your position. Anyone who attempts to classify your behaviours can be accused of reductionism: the euphemism attendant on economic differentiation cloaks the bureaucratic intelligentsia in a legitimacy that masks the illegitimacy of its usurpation of political power. The universal is intoned to efface the parochiality of the interests being expressed via the use of the signification of the universal as a vehicle for the expression of particular interests that become realisable via the frameworks that render such political action possible. The universal is intoned as an imposition rooted in the curtailment of human freedom. The ethical has to be grounded in forms of citizenship that concern the founding of environmental sources of possibility whose sense inheres in the solicitations that physiognomically materialise capacities whose intelligibility arise from an experience of this domain so that rights are experienced via forms of efficacy that are rooted in the viability of experiencing being a member of a unit via experiencing states that must be institutionally realised.

When populism becomes a slur, political dispossession is apparent: nationalism and populism are elided with racism because we are subject to the imposition of multiculturalism by a trans-national elite who want to efface borders and other barriers to their capital accumulation. The materialisation of the appearance of the function of the institution reduces to attendance to the processes that produce the representations that are perceived to manifest efficacy. The phenomena become irrelevant because they only exist insofar as they are represented. Fundamental social realities are effaced using bureaucratic processes that produce indices formulated to contest them. "Truth" becomes class-contested because of the way official representations are produced via corporate and state agencies. Between the big tech-companies, the non-governmental organisations and the national security state there has been established a multi-billion dollar industry that coalesces around the military industrial complex, government, civil society, non-governmental organisations and then media and fact-checker organisations that operate an architecture used to profile aspects of reality and construct opinions by determining the space of possibility from which thought arises.

Formulating policies that operate via representational forms rooted in existing forms of public objectivity eternalises historically emergent forms. These have arisen from inequalities whose institutional form are part of the realisation of this historical dispossession which policy perpetuates because it emerges from the representational power of those using institutions to perpetuate such conditions. The space of possibility must be mediated via recognition of individuated forms whose sense inheres in sources of actualisation. This means, there is an issue concerning temporality and a modality arising from immersive actualisation that sediments sense. For there to be freedom, there has to be the *interpersonal* constitution of environmental sources that support possibilities that render it meaningful via constituting vehicles for the experience of its expression. What has changed, is the nature of the fabric constitutive of public space. The realm of possibility, the environmental sources that support access to cognitively significant modalities, has been eviscerated by decades of neoliberal policies constituting a public sphere that has been colonised by the groups invested in the economic strategies that service them. We have seen the emergence of a new form of surveillance capitalism as digital technology and computer power makes the real-time automated collation of enormous data sets possible, thus enabling new surveillance strategies for a small group of companies, and, therefore, new dangerous forms of control (see more in Kotkin 2020, 18).

Surveillance capitalists require the unregulation arising from their use of technology to encroach on privacy in order to ensure acquisition of the data that allows the accumulation strategy at the heart of emerging markets that they have founded via the use of personal technology and the move toward a re-engineered “smart” world where monitoring technologies are part of the fabric of the space facilitating the generation of the behavioural indices that machine learning turns into a new type of asset dependent upon this new means of production whose target is the constant surveillance of our personal life.

A key condition of the efficacy of this contrived machinery of institutional objectification is to sustain the atomisation of populations because isolated people are more easily manipulated. The more dispossessed people are, the more the legitimacy of cultural forms can be imposed. For those able to use institutional mechanisms of objectification to produce schema that determine legitimate opinion, the world comes to exist solely via the representational forms used to construct the sense of their knowledgability. Phenomena exist only insofar as they are appropriated via schema rooted in the expressive interests of the institutional agents that constitute capacities for reference via producing the grounds of such instruments.

The institutional apparatus that is the medium of social power becomes reified. What chance do we have to establish a political environmental philosophy? The framing of a philosophy relevant to a divided world needs to begin with the issue of the grounds that found the possibility of cognition. The answer to these representationally rooted problems will not be representational, they will concern the institutional system that underpins the forms of economic existence that characterise the reality most experience which these contemporary grand narratives aim to obfuscate so as to entrench historical inequalities, eternalising them via new mechanisms of legitimation.

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