

# *Degrowth*



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# Degrowth

**Degrowth** (French: *décroissance*) is a political, economic, and social movement based on ecological economics, anti-consumerist and anti-capitalist ideas.<sup>[1]</sup> It is also considered an essential economic strategy responding to the limits-to-growth dilemma (see *The Path to Degrowth in Overdeveloped Countries* and post-growth). Degrowth thinkers and activists advocate for the downscaling of production and consumption – the contraction of economies – arguing that overconsumption lies at the root of long term environmental issues and social inequalities. Key to the concept of degrowth is that reducing consumption does not require individual martyring or a decrease in well-being.<sup>[2]</sup> Rather, "degrowthers" aim to maximize happiness and well-being through non-consumptive means—sharing work, consuming less, while devoting more time to art, music, family, nature, culture and community



Pro-degrowth graffiti on the July Column in the Place de la Bastille in Paris during a protest against the First Employment Contract 28 March 2006

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## Background

The movement arose from concerns over the perceived consequences of productivism and consumerism associated with industrial societies (whether capitalist or socialist) including<sup>[3]</sup>

- The reduced availability of energy sources (see [peak oil](#))
- The declining quality of the environment (see [global warming](#), [pollution](#), [threats to biodiversity](#))
- The decline in the health of flora and fauna upon which humans depend (see [Holocene extinction](#))
- The rise of negative societal side-effects (see [unsustainable development](#), [poorer health](#), [poverty](#))
- The ever-expanding use of resources by [First World](#) countries to satisfy lifestyles that consume more food and energy, and produce greater waste, at the expense of the [Third World](#) (see [neocolonialism](#))

## Resource depletion

As economies grow, the need for resources grows accordingly (unless there are changes in efficiency or demand for different products due to price changes). There is a fixed supply of non-renewable resources, such as [petroleum](#) (oil), and these resources will inevitably be depleted. Renewable resources can also be depleted if extracted at unsustainable rates over extended periods. For example, this has occurred with [caviar](#) production in the Caspian Sea.<sup>[4]</sup> There is much concern as to how growing demand for these resources will be met as supplies decrease. Many organizations and governments look to energy technologies such as biofuels, solar cells, and wind turbines to meet the demand gap after peak oil. Others have argued that none of the alternatives could effectively replace versatility and portability of oil.<sup>[5]</sup> Authors of the book *Techno-Fix* criticize technological optimists for overlooking the limitations of technology in solving agricultural and social challenges arising from growth.<sup>[6]</sup>

Proponents of degrowth argue that decreasing demand is the only way of permanently closing the demand gap. For renewable resources, demand, and therefore production, must also be brought down to levels that prevent depletion and are environmentally healthy. Moving toward a society that is not dependent on oil is seen as essential to avoiding societal collapse when non-renewable resources are depleted.<sup>[7]</sup>

## Ecological footprint

The ecological footprint is a measure of human demand on the Earth's ecosystems. It compares human demand with planet Earth's ecological capacity to regenerate. It represents the amount of biologically productive land and sea area needed to regenerate the resources a human population consumes and to absorb and render harmless the corresponding [waste](#). According to a 2005 [Global Footprint Network report](#),<sup>[8]</sup> inhabitants of high-income countries live off of 6.4 [global hectares](#) (gHa), while those from low-income countries live off of a single gHa. For example, while each inhabitant of [Bangladesh](#) lives off of what they produce from 0.56 gHa, a [North American](#) requires 12.5 gHa. Each inhabitant of North America uses 22.3 times as much land as a Bangladeshi. According to the same report, the average number of global hectares per person was 2.1, while current consumption levels have reached 2.7 hectares per person. In order for the world's population to attain the living standards typical of European countries, the resources of between three and eight [planet Earths](#) would be required with current levels of efficiency and means of production. In order for world [economic equality](#) to be achieved with the current available resources, proponents say rich countries would have to reduce their [standard of living](#) through degrowth. The constraints on resources would eventually lead to a forced reduction in consumption. Controlled reduction of consumption would reduce the trauma of this change assuming no [technological changes](#) increase the planet's [carrying capacity](#).

## Degrowth and sustainable development<sup>[9]</sup>

Degrowth thought is in opposition to all forms of [productivism](#) (the belief that economic productivity and growth is the purpose of human organization). It is, thus, opposed to the current form of [sustainable development](#).<sup>[10]</sup> While the concern for [sustainability](#) does not contradict degrowth, sustainable development is rooted in mainstream [development](#) ideas that aim to increase capitalist growth and consumption. Degrowth therefore sees sustainable development as an [oxymoron](#),<sup>[11]</sup> as any development based on growth in a finite and environmentally stressed world is seen as inherently unsustainable. Critics of degrowth argue that a slowing of [economic growth](#) would result in increased [unemployment](#), [increase poverty](#) and decrease income per capita. Many who understand the devastating environmental consequences of growth still advocate for economic growth in the South, even if not in the North. But, a slowing of economic growth would fail to deliver the benefits of degrowth—self-sufficiency, material responsibility—and would

indeed lead to decreased employment. Rather, degrowth proponents advocate for a complete abandonment of the current (growth) economic system, suggesting that relocalizing and abandoning the global economy in the Global South would allow people of the South to become more self-sufficient and would end the overconsumption and exploitation of Southern resources by the North.<sup>[11]</sup>

## "Rebound effect"

Technologies designed to reduce resource use and improve efficiency are often touted as sustainable or green solutions. Degrowth literature, however, warns about these technological advances due to the "rebound effect".<sup>[12]</sup> This concept is based on observations that when a less resource-exhaustive technology is introduced, behaviour surrounding the use of that technology may change, and consumption of that technology could increase or even offset any potential resource savings.<sup>[13]</sup> In light of the rebound effect, proponents of degrowth hold that the only effective 'sustainable' solutions must involve a complete rejection of the growth paradigm and a move toward a degrowth paradigm. There are also fundamental limits to technological solutions in the pursuit of degrowth, as all engagements with technology increase the cumulative matter-energy throughput.<sup>[14]</sup> However, the convergence of digital commons of knowledge and design with distributed manufacturing technologies may arguably hold potential for building degrowth future scenarios.<sup>[15]</sup>

## Origins of the movement

The contemporary degrowth movement can trace its roots back to the anti-industrialist trends of the 19th century, developed in Great Britain by John Ruskin, William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement (1819–1900), in the United States by Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), and in Russia by Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910).<sup>[16]</sup>

The concept of "degrowth" proper appeared during the 1970s, proposed by André Gorz (1972) and intellectuals such as Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Jean Baudrillard, Edward Goldsmith and Ivan Illich, whose ideas reflect those of earlier thinkers, such as the economist E. J. Mishan,<sup>[17]</sup> the industrial historian Tom Rolt,<sup>[18]</sup> and the radical socialist Tony Turner. The writings of Mahatma Gandhi and J. C. Kumarappa also contain similar philosophies, particularly regarding his support of voluntary simplicity.

More generally, degrowth movements draw on the values of humanism, enlightenment, anthropology and human rights.<sup>[19]</sup>

## Club of Rome reports

In 1968, the Club of Rome, a think tank headquartered in Winterthur, Switzerland, asked researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for a report on practical solutions to problems of global concern. The report, called The Limits to Growth, published in 1972, became the first important study that indicated the ecological perils of the unprecedented economic growth the world was experiencing at the time.

The reports (also known as the Meadows Reports) are not strictly the founding texts of the degrowth movement, as these reports only advise zero growth, and have also been used to support the sustainable development movement. Still, they are considered the first official studies explicitly presenting economic growth as a key reason for the increase in global environmental problems such as pollution, shortage of raw materials, and the destruction of ecosystems. A second report was published in 1974, and together with the first, drew considerable attention to the topic.

“ The world's leaders are correctly fixated on economic growth as the answer to virtually all problems, but they're pushing it with all their might in the wrong direction. ”

— Donella Meadows Thinking in Systems<sup>[20]</sup>

## Lasting influence of Georgescu-Roegen

The degrowth movement recognises Romanian American mathematician, statistician and economist Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen as the main intellectual figure inspiring the movement.<sup>[21]:13–16 [22]:548f [23]:1742 [24]:xi [1]:1f</sup> In his magnum opus on The Entropy Law and the Economic Process, Georgescu-Roegen argues that economic scarcity is rooted in physical reality; that all natural resources are irreversibly degraded when put to use in economic activity; that the carrying capacity of Earth—that is, Earth's capacity to sustain

human populations and consumption levels—is bound to decrease sometime in the future as Earth's finite stock of mineral resources is presently being extracted and put to use; and consequently, that the world economy as a whole is heading towards an inevitable future collapse.<sup>[25]</sup>

Georgescu-Roegen's intellectual inspiration to degrowth goes back to the 1970s.<sup>[26]</sup> When Georgescu-Roegen delivered a lecture at the University of Geneva in 1974, he made a lasting impression on the young and newly graduated French historian and philosopher Jacques Grinevald, who had earlier been introduced to Georgescu-Roegen's magnum opus by an academic advisor. Georgescu-Roegen and Grinevald soon made friends, and Grinevald started devoting his research to a closer study of Georgescu-Roegen's work. As a result, in 1979 Grinevald published a French translation of a selection of Georgescu-Roegen's articles entitled *Demain la décroissance: Entropie – Écologie – Économie* ('Tomorrow, the Decline: Entropy – Ecology – Economy').<sup>[27]</sup> Georgescu-Roegen, who spoke French fluently, personally approved the use of the term *décroissance* in the title of the French translation. The book gained influence in French intellectual and academic circles from the outset. Later, the book was expanded and republished in 1995, and once again in 2006; however, the word *Demain* ('Tomorrow') was removed from the title of the book in these second and third editions.<sup>[23]:1742[27][28]:15f</sup>

By the time Grinevald suggested the term *décroissance* to form part of the title of the French translation of Georgescu-Roegen's work, this term had already disseminated through French intellectual circles since the early 1970s to signify a deliberate political action to downscale the economy on a permanent and voluntary basis.<sup>[3]:195</sup> Simultaneously, but independently hereof, Georgescu-Roegen had criticised the ideas of The Limits to Growth and Herman Daly's steady-state economy in his pointed and polemical article on Energy and Economic Myths, delivered as a series of lectures from 1972 and onwards at various places, but not published in print before 1975. In this article, Georgescu-Roegen stated the following view:

“ [Authors who] were set exclusively on proving the impossibility of growth ... were easily deluded by a simple, now widespread, but false syllogism: Since exponential growth in a finite world leads to disasters of all kinds, ecological salvation lies in the stationary state. ... The crucial error consists in not seeing that not only growth, but also a zero-growth state, nay, even a declining state which does not converge toward annihilation, cannot exist forever in a finite environment.<sup>[29]:366f</sup>  
... [T]he important, yet unnoticed point [is] that *the necessary conclusion of the arguments in favor of that vision [of a stationary state] is that the most desirable state is not a stationary, but a declining one*. Undoubtedly, the current growth must cease, nay, be reversed.<sup>[29]:368f</sup> [Emphasis in original] ”

When reading this particular passage of the text, Grinevald realised that no professional economist of any orientation had ever reasoned like this before. Grinevald also realised the striking conceptual resemblance between Georgescu-Roegen's viewpoint and the French debates progressing by the time; this resemblance then transformed into the title of the French edition. Taken together, the translation of Georgescu-Roegen's work into French *both* fed on *and* gave further impetus to the concept of *décroissance* in the country—and everywhere else in the francophone world—thereby creating something of an intellectual feedback loop.<sup>[23]:1742[28]:15f [3]:197f</sup>

By the 2000s, when *décroissance* was to be translated from French and back into English as the catchy banner for the new social movement, the original term 'decline' was now deemed inappropriate and misdirected for the purpose: 'Decline' usually refers to an unexpected, unwelcome and temporary economic recession, something bad to be avoided or quickly overcome. Instead, the neologism 'degrowth' was coined to signify a deliberate political action to downscale the economy on a permanent and voluntary basis—as in the prevailing French usage of the term—something good to be welcomed and maintained, or so followers believe.<sup>[22]:548 [28]:15f [30]:874–876</sup>

When the first international degrowth conference of its kind was held in Paris in 2008, the participants bestowed a generous amount of credit and appreciation on Georgescu-Roegen and his work.<sup>[31]:15f, 28, *et passim*</sup> Further, in his manifesto on *Petit traité de la décroissance sereine* ('Farewell to Growth'), leading French champion of the degrowth movement Serge Latouche has credited Georgescu-Roegen as 'a main theoretical source of degrowth'.<sup>[21]:13–16</sup> Likewise, Italian degrowth theorist Mauro Bonaiuti has considered Georgescu-Roegen's work to be 'one of the analytical cornerstones of the degrowth perspective'.<sup>[24]:xi</sup>

## Serge Latouche

Serge Latouche, a professor of economics at the University of Paris-Sud has noted that:

If you try to measure the reduction in the rate of growth by taking into account damages caused to the environment and its consequences on our natural and cultural patrimony, you will generally obtain a result of zero or even negative growth. In 1991, the United States spent 115 billion dollars, or 2.1% of the GDP on the protection of the environment. The Clean Air Act increased this cost by 45 or 55 million dollars per year. [...] The World Resources Institute tried to measure the rate of the growth taking into account the punishment exerted on the natural capital of the world, with an eye towards sustainable development. For Indonesia, it found that the rate of growth between 1971 and 1984 would be reduced from 7.1 to 4% annually, and that was by taking only three variables into consideration: deforestation, the reduction in the reserves of oil and natural gas, and soil erosion.<sup>[32][33]</sup>



Serge Latouche

## Schumacher and Buddhist economics

E. F. Schumacher's 1973 book Small Is Beautiful predates a unified degrowth movement, but nonetheless serves as an important basis for degrowth ideas. In this book he critiques the neo-liberal model of economic development, arguing that an increasing "standard of living", based on consumption, is absurd as a goal of economic activity and development. Instead, under what he refers to as Buddhist economics we should aim to maximize well-being while minimizing consumption.<sup>[34]</sup>

## Ecological and social issues

In January 1972, Edward Goldsmith and Robert Prescott-Allen—editors of The Ecologist journal—published A Blueprint for Survival, which called for a radical programme of decentralisation and deindustrialization to prevent what the authors referred to as "the breakdown of society and the irreversible disruption of the life-support systems on this planet"

## Degrowth movement

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### Conferences

The movement has also included international conferences,<sup>[35]</sup> promoted by the network Research&Degrowth (R&D),<sup>[36]</sup> in Paris (2008),<sup>[37]</sup> Barcelona (2010),<sup>[38]</sup> Montreal (2012),<sup>[39]</sup> Venice (2012),<sup>[40]</sup> Leipzig (2014), Budapest (2016),<sup>[41]</sup> and Malmö (2018).<sup>[42]</sup>

### Barcelona Conference (2010)

The First International Conference on Economic Degrowth for Ecological Sustainability and Social Equity of Paris (2008) was a discussion about the financial, social, cultural, demographic, environmental crisis caused by the deficiencies of capitalism and an explanation of the main principles of the degrowth.<sup>[43]</sup> The Second International Conference of Barcelona on the other hand focused on specific ways to implement a degrowth society

Concrete proposals have been developed for future political actions, including:

- Promotion of local currencies, elimination of fiat money and reforms of interest
- Transition to non-profit and small scale companies

- Increase of local commons and support of participative approaches in decision-making
- Reducing working hours and facilitation of volunteer work
- Reusing empty housing and cohousing
- Introduction of the basic income and an income ceiling built on a maximum-minimum ratio
- Limitation of the exploitation of natural resources and preservation of the biodiversity and culture by regulations, taxes and compensations
- Minimize the waste production with education and legal instruments
- Elimination of mega infrastructures, transition from a car-based system to a more local, biking, walking-based one.
- Suppression of advertising from the public space<sup>[44]</sup>

In spite of the real willingness of reform and the development of numerous solutions, the conference of Barcelona didn't have a big influence on the world economic and political system. Many critiques have been made concerning the proposals, mostly about the financial aspects, and this has refrained changes to occur<sup>[45]</sup>

## Degrowth around the world

Although not explicitly called Degrowth, movements using similar concepts and terminologies can be found around the world, such as Buen Vivir<sup>[46]</sup> in Latin America or Eco-Swaraj<sup>[47]</sup> in India.

## Relation to other social movements

The degrowth movement has a variety of relations to other social movements and alternative economic visions, which range from collaboration to partial overlap. The Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie (Laboratory for New Economic Ideas), which hosted the 2014 international Degrowth conference in Leipzig, has published a project entitled "Degrowth in movement(s)"<sup>[48]</sup> in 2017, which maps relationships with 32 other social movements and initiatives.

## Criticisms

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### Marxist critique

Marxists distinguish between two types of growth: that which is useful to mankind, and that which simply exists to increase profits for companies. Marxists consider that it is the nature and control of production that is the determinant, and not the quantity. They believe that control and a strategy for growth are the pillars that enable social and economic development. According to Jean Zin, while the justification for degrowth is valid, it is not a solution to the problem.<sup>[49]</sup> However, other Marxist writers have adopted positions close to the de-growth perspective. For example, John Bellamy Foster<sup>[50]</sup> and Fred Magdoff,<sup>[51]</sup> in common with David Harvey, Immanuel Wallerstein, Paul Sweezy and others focus on endless capital accumulation as the basic principle and goal of capitalism. This is the source of economic growth and, in the view of these writers, is unsustainable. Foster and Magdoff develop Marx's own concept of the metabolic rift, something he noted in the exhaustion of soils by capitalist systems of food production, though this is not unique to capitalist systems of food production as seen in the Aral Sea.

### Systems theoretical critique

In stressing the negative rather than the positive side(s) of growth, the majority of degrowth proponents remains focused on (de-)growth, thus co-performing and further sustaining the actually criticised unsustainable growth obsession. One way out of this paradox might be in changing the reductionist vision of growth as ultimately economic concept, which proponents of both growth and degrowth commonly imply, for a broader concept of growth that allows for the observation of growth in other function systems of society. A corresponding recoding of growth-obsessed or capitalist organisations has recently been proposed.<sup>[52]</sup>

## See also

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- Degrowth advocates(category)

- [A Blueprint for Survival](#)
- [Anarcho-primitivism](#)
- [Anti-capitalism](#)
- [Anti-consumerism](#)
- [Club of Rome](#)
- [Ecological economics](#)
- [Edward Goldsmith](#)
- [André Gorz](#)
- [Ezra J. Mishan](#)
- [François Partant](#)
- [Genuine progress indicator](#)
- [GROWL](#)
- [L-shaped recession](#)
- [The Limits to Growth](#)
- [Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen](#)
- [Political ecology](#)
- [Postdevelopment theory](#)
- [Power Down: Options and Actions for a Post-Carbon World](#)
- [Serge Latouche](#)
- [Simple living](#)
- [Slow movement](#)
- [Steady-state economy](#)
- [Paradox of thrift](#)
- [Tim Jackson \(economist\)](#)
- [Prosperity Without Growth](#)
- [Transition town](#)
- [Uneconomic growth](#)
- [Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt](#)
- [The Path to Degrowth in Overdeveloped Countries](#)
- [Post-consumerism](#)
- [Post-growth](#)
- [Productivism](#)

## Notes

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## External links

- [First International De-growth Conference in Paris 18-19 April 2008](#)
- [2nd Conference on Economic Degrowth for Ecological Sustainability and Social Equity](#) Barcelona 26-29 March 2010

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- [International Conference on Degrowth in the Americas, Montreal, 13-19 May 2012](#)
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# Anti-consumerism

**Anti-consumerism** is a sociopolitical ideology that is opposed to consumerism, the continual buying and consuming of material possessions. Anti-consumerism is concerned with the private actions of business corporations in pursuit of financial and economic goals at the expense of the public welfare, especially in matters of environmental protection, social stratification, and ethics in the governing of a society. In politics, anti-consumerism overlaps with environmental activism, anti-globalization, and animal-rights activism; moreover, a conceptual variation of anti-consumerism is post-consumerism, living in a material way that transcends consumerism.<sup>[1]</sup>

Anti-consumerism arose in response to the problems caused by the long-term mistreatment of human consumers and of the animals consumed, and from the incorporation of consumer education to school curricula; examples of anti-consumerism are the book No Logo (2000) by Naomi Klein, and documentary films such as The Corporation (2003), by Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott, and Surplus: Terrorized into Being Consumers (2003), by Erik Gandini; each made anti-corporate activism popular as an ideologically accessible form of civil and political action.

The criticism of economic materialism as a dehumanizing behaviour that is destructive of the Earth, as human habitat, comes from religion and social activism. The religious criticism asserts that materialist consumerism interferes with the connection between the individual and God, and so is an inherently immoral style of life; thus the German historian Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) said that "Life in America is exclusively economic in structure, and lacks depth."<sup>[2]</sup> From the Roman Catholic perspective, Thomas Aquinas said that "Greed is a sin against God, just as all mortal sins, in as much as man condemns things eternal for the sake of temporal things"; in that vein, Francis of Assisi, Ammon Hennacy, and Mohandas Gandhi said that spiritual inspiration guided them towards simple living.

From the secular perspective, social activism indicates that from consumerist materialism derive crime (which originates from the poverty of economic inequality), industrial pollution and the consequent environmental degradation and war as a business. About the societal discontent born of malaise and hedonism, Pope Benedict XVI said that the philosophy of materialism offers no raison d'être for human existence;<sup>[3]</sup> likewise, the writer Georges Duhamel said that "American materialism [is] a beacon of mediocrity that threatened to eclipse French civilization"<sup>[2]</sup>

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## Background

Anti-consumerism originated from criticism of consumption, starting with Thorstein Veblen, who, in the book The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (1899), indicated that consumerism dates from the cradle of civilization. The term consumerism also denotes economic policies associated with Keynesian economics and the belief that the free choice of consumers should dictate the economic structure of a society (cfproducerism).

## Politics and society

Many anti-corporate activists believe the rise of large-business corporations poses a threat to the legitimate authority of nation states and the public sphere. They feel corporations are invading people's privacy, manipulating politics and governments, and creating false needs in consumers. They state evidence such as invasive advertising adware, spam, telemarketing child-targeted advertising, aggressive guerrilla marketing, massive corporate campaign contributions in political elections, interference in the policies of sovereign nation states (Ken Saro-Wiwa), and news stories about corporate corruption (Enron, for example).

Anti-consumerism protesters point out that the main responsibility of a corporation is to answer only to shareholders, giving human rights and other issues almost no consideration. The management does have a primary responsibility to their shareholders, since any philanthropic activities that do not directly serve the business could be deemed to be a breach of trust. This sort of financial responsibility means that multi-national corporations will pursue strategies to intensify labor and reduce costs. For example, they will attempt to find low wage economies with laws which are conveniently lenient on human rights, the natural environment, trade union organization and so on (see, for example, Nike).

An important contribution to the critique of consumerism has been made by French philosopher Bernard Stiegler, arguing modern capitalism is governed by consumption rather than production, and the advertising techniques used to create consumer behaviour amount to the destruction of psychic and collective individuation. The diversion of libidinal energy toward the consumption of consumer products, he argues, results in an addictive cycle of consumption, leading to hyper consumption, the exhaustion of desire, and the reign of symbolic misery.

In art, Banksy, influential British graffiti master, painter, activist, filmmaker and all-purpose provocateur<sup>[4]</sup> has made statements in public works about the consumerist society. Working undercover, the secretive street artist challenges social ideas and goads viewers into rethinking their surroundings, to acknowledge the absurdities of closely held preconceptions<sup>[4]</sup>. Quote from Banksy: "You owe the companies nothing. Less than nothing, you especially don't owe them any courtesy. They owe you. They have re-arranged the world to put themselves in front of you. They never asked for your permission, don't even start asking for theirs." After 2003, Banksy wrote the *New Yorker* by e-mail: "I give away thousands of paintings for free. I don't think it's possible to make art about world poverty and trouser all the cash." Banksy believes that there is a consumerist shift in art, and for the first time, the bourgeois world of art belongs to the people. On hiswebsite, he provides high-resolution images of his work for free downloading.



An anti-consumerist stencil graffiti saying "Consuming consumes you"

## Conspicuous consumption

It is preoccupation with possessions, more than anything else, that prevents us from living freely and nobly

— Bertrand Russell<sup>[5]</sup>

Trying to reduce environmental pollution without reducing consumerism is like combating drug trafficking without reducing the drug addiction.

In many critical contexts, the term describes the tendency of people to identify strongly with products or services they consume, especially with commercial brand names and obvious status-enhancing appeal, such as a brand of expensive automobiles or jewelry. It is a pejorative term which most people deny, having some more specific excuse or rationalization for consumption other than the idea that they are "compelled to consume". A culture that has a high amount of consumerism is referred to as consumer culture.

To those who embrace the idea of consumerism, these products are not seen as valuable in themselves, but rather as social signals that allow them to identify like-minded people through consumption and display of similar products. Few would yet go so far, though, as to admit that their relationships with a product or brand name could be substitutes for healthy human relationships that sometimes lack in a dysfunctional modern society.

The older term *conspicuous consumption* described the United States in the 1960s, but was soon linked to larger debates about media influence, culture jamming and its corollary productivism.

The term and concept of *conspicuous consumption* originated at the turn of the 20th century in the writing of economist Thorstein Veblen. The term describes an apparently irrational and confounding form of economic behaviour. Veblen's scathing proposal that this unnecessary consumption is a form of status display is made in darkly humorous observations like the following:

It is true of dress in even a higher degree than of most other items of consumption, that people will undergo a very considerable degree of privation in the comforts or the necessities of life in order to afford what is considered a decent amount of wasteful consumption; so that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence, in an inclement climate, for people to go ill clad in order to appear well dressed.<sup>[7]</sup>



Anti-consumerist stencil art

In 1955, economist Victor Lebow stated (as quoted by William Rees, 2009):

Our enormously productive economy demands that we make consumption our way of life, that we convert the buying and use of goods into rituals, that we seek our spiritual satisfaction and our ego satisfaction in consumption. We need things consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced and discarded at an ever-increasing rate.

According to archaeologists, evidence of conspicuous consumption up to several millennia ago has been found, suggesting that such behavior is inherent to humans.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Consumerism and advertising

Anti-consumerists believe advertising plays a huge role in human life by informing values and assumptions of the cultural system, deeming what is acceptable and determining social standards.<sup>[9]</sup> They declare that ads create a hyper-real world where commodities appear as the key to securing happiness. Anti-consumerists cite studies that find that individuals believe their quality of life improves in relation to social values that lie outside the capability of the market place. Therefore, advertising attempts to equate the social with the material by utilizing images and slogans to link commodities with the real sources of human happiness, such as meaningful relationships. Ads are then a detriment to society because they tell consumers that accumulating more and more possessions will bring them closer to self-actualization, or the concept of a complete and secure being. "The underlying message is that owning these products will enhance our image and ensure our popularity with others".<sup>[10]</sup> And while advertising promises that a product will make the consumer happy, advertising simultaneously depends upon the consumer never being *truly* happy, as then the consumer would no longer feel the need to consume needless products.

Anti-consumerists claim that in a consumerist society advertisement images disempower and objectify the consumer<sup>[11]</sup> By stressing individual power, choice and desire, advertising falsely implies the control lies with the consumer. Because anti-consumerists believe commodities supply only short-term gratification, they detract from a sustainably happy society. Further, advertisers have resorted to new techniques of capturing attention, such as the increased speed of ads and product placements.<sup>[9]</sup> In this way, commercials infiltrate the consumerist society and become an inextricable part of culture. Anti-consumerists condemn advertising because it constructs a simulated world that offers fantastical escapism to consumers, rather than reflecting actual reality. They further argue that ads depict the interests and lifestyles of the elite as natural; cultivating a deep sense of inadequacy among viewers.<sup>[11]</sup> They denounce use of beautiful models because they glamorize the commodity beyond reach of the average individual.

In an opinion segment of New Scientist magazine published in August 2009, reporter Andy Coghlan cited William Rees of the University of British Columbia and epidemiologist Warren Hern of the University of Colorado at Boulder, saying that human beings, despite considering themselves civilized thinkers, are "subconsciously still driven by an impulse for survival, domination and expansion... an impulse which now finds expression in the idea that inexorable economic growth is the answer to everything, and, given time, will redress all the world's existing inequalities." According to figures presented by Rees at the annual meeting of the Ecological Society of America, human society is in a "global overshoot", consuming 30% more material than is sustainable from the world's resources. Rees went on to state that at present, 85 countries are exceeding their domestic "bio-capacities", and compensate for their lack of local material by depleting the stocks of other countries.

## Alternatives to mainstream economic concepts

Throughout the ages, various movements have tried to model alternatives to consumerism while remaining in the capitalist society. Intentional communities provide an example of this, as do monastic orders, barter movements and technology-driving sharing or exchange mechanisms.<sup>[12]</sup> For instance, an intentional community called the Bruderhof has a system of sharing within the community, and no money is used by the members.<sup>[13]</sup> The Bruderhof runs a successful manufacturing business that allows it to trade in the capitalistic society but without the members indulging in consumerism.<sup>[14]</sup>

Such anti-consumerist, anti-capitalist notions are not without their detractors. New thought and theory has spurred movements to alter world economic climate. Green movements and some other thinkers are opposed to the focus put on economics. The need for terminology has created familiar ideas such as carrying-capacity, and ecological footprint.

David Ricardo, an early economist, had ideas that state the finitude of growth, rather than the opposite; his ideas were similar to those of Mark Twain, when he said "Buy land, they don't make it anymore." To Ricardian logic, land was a limiting factor.

## Austrian economics

Some adherents to the Austrian economic philosophy advocate against consumerism due to its effect of contributing to "debt slavery." Austrian economic advocates focus on the entrepreneur, promoting a productive lifestyle rather than a materialistic one wherein the individual is defined by things and not himself.<sup>[15]</sup>

## Criticism

Many have accused anti-consumerists of opposing modernity or utilitarianism. Right-wing critics see anti-consumerism as rooted in socialism. In 1999, the right-libertarian magazine Reason attacked anti-consumerism, claiming Marxist academics are repackaging themselves as anti-consumerists. James B. Twitchell, a professor at the University of Florida and popular writer, referred to anti-consumerist arguments as "Marxism Lite."<sup>[16]</sup>

There have also been socialist critics of anti-consumerism who see it as a form of anti-modern "reactionary socialism", and state that anti-consumerism has also been adopted by ultra-conservatives and fascists.<sup>[17]</sup>

## In popular media

In Fight Club, the protagonist, finds himself participating in terroristic acts against corporate society and consumer culture.

In Mr. Robot, Elliot Anderson, a young cybersecurity engineer, joins a hacker group known as fsociety, which aims to crash the U.S. economy, eliminating all debt.

In the novel American Psycho by Bret Easton Ellis, the protagonist Patrick Bateman criticizes the consumerist society of America in the 1980s of which he is a personification. Later on he goes on a killing spree without any consequences, suggesting that the people around him are so self-absorbed and focused on consuming that they either don't see or don't care about his acts.

## See also

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- Anti-consumerists(category)
- Adbusters
- Affluenza
- Anti-capitalism
- Austrian school
- Counter-economics
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- Détournement
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- Post-growth
- Use Less Stuff
- Steady-state economy
- Vaporwave
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- What Would Jesus Buy?
- The Zeitgeist Movement

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## External links

- [Consumerism and Kids](#)
- [Fifty Possible Ways to Challenge Over-Commercialism](#) by Albert J. Fritsch, SJ, PhD
- [The Rebel Sell, This Magazine](#), By Joseph Heath and Andrew Potter
- [25 Years of Monitoring the Multinationals](#)
- [The story of stuff](#) by Annie Leonard
- [Website of Postconsumers](#)
- [Chinese Consumers: The Romantic Reappraisal](#)
- [Renegade Consumer- active opposition to consumerism](#)
- [The Good Life: An International Perspective](#)

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# Category:Degrowth advocates

See also: [Category:Criticism of economic growth](#)

This category contains people who actively promote [degrowth](#).

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# Deep ecology

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**Deep ecology** is an ecological and environmental philosophy promoting the inherent worth of living beings regardless of their instrumental utility to human needs, plus a restructuring of modern human societies in accordance with such ideas.

Deep ecology argues that the natural world is a subtle balance of complex inter-relationships in which the existence of organisms is dependent on the existence of others within ecosystems<sup>[1]</sup> Human interference with or destruction of the natural world poses a threat therefore not only to humans but to all organisms constituting the natural order

Deep ecology's core principle is the belief that the living environment as a whole should be respected and regarded as having certain inalienable legal rights to live and flourish, independent of its instrumental benefits for human use. Deep ecology is often framed in terms of the idea of a much broader sociality; it recognizes diverse communities of life on Earth that are composed not only through biotic factors but also, where applicable, through ethical relations, that is, the valuing of other beings as more than just resources. It describes itself as "deep" because it regards itself as looking more deeply into the actual reality of humanity's relationship with the natural world arriving at philosophically more profound conclusions than that of the prevailing view of ecology as a branch of biology.<sup>[2]</sup> The movement does not subscribe to anthropocentric environmentalism (which is concerned with conservation of the environment only for exploitation by and for human purposes) since deep ecology is grounded in a quite different set of philosophical assumptions. Deep ecology takes a more holistic view of the world human beings live in and seeks to apply to life the understanding that the separate parts of the ecosystem (including humans) function as a whole. This philosophy provides a foundation for the environmental, ecology, and green movements and has fostered a new system of environmental ethics advocating wilderness preservation, human population control, and simple living<sup>[3]</sup>

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### Bibliography

## Origins

In his original 1972/73 deep ecology paper, Arne Næss claims the deep ecology movement arose from scientists – ecologists – who were out in the field studying the biodiversity and wild ecosystems throughout the world. They were also doing the work of philosophers, laying the foundations for the Age of Ecology and a new ecological worldview to replace the anthropocentric, mastery of Nature, and modernist worldview arising in the 17th and 18th centuries. Three of the most influential ecological spokespersons of the 1960s were Rachel Carson, David Brower, and Paul R. Ehrlich.<sup>[4]</sup> Some consider the publication of Rachel Carson's book Silent Spring (1962) as the beginning of the contemporary, long-range deep ecology movement. When her book appeared there was a long-standing movement for conservation of land and resources, as well as support for creating parks and other areas devoted to preserving wilderness and spectacular nature. Carson's writings were especially influential because they clearly showed how human well-being depends on the condition of whole biotic communities. She explained in practical terms how living beings are interrelated within ecosystems. She explained how pesticides used to control mosquitoes and other insects led to declines in some bird populations. Silent Spring helped show how complex food webs and networks of biotic relationships function. Since humans are at the top of many food chains, exposure to chemicals becomes more concentrated as these move up the chains. The chemicals also can be stored in human tissues and gradually accumulate over time, adversely affecting health. Carson showed the need for deep changes in human practices and ways of living.

The 1960s was a decade of vigorous social activism in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia. Some activism focused on war and peace and the issue of nuclear weapons. A well-known early environmental organization started with a focus on nuclear tests and their environmental hazards. Some people in British Columbia, Canada, were opposed to the test of a nuclear weapon by the US government on Amchitka Island. They hired a fishing vessel and sailed towards the nuclear test site in protest. This action led to the founding of Greenpeace, which became more identified with environmental issues as time went by. These great movements were further catalyzed by the now iconic images of the whole Earth floating in space taken during the return of the Apollo space missions from their journey to the moon. Among the astronauts that witnessed seeing the whole Earth firsthand was Edgar D. Mitchell, who in 1971, during the return mission of Apollo 14, had an epiphany that what is needed to solve the eco-crisis "is a transformation of consciousness"<sup>[5]</sup>

## Principles

Proponents of deep ecology believe that the world does not exist as a resource to be freely exploited by humans. If material goods do not guarantee happiness beyond a very moderate level, and over-consumption is endangering the biosphere, defining a new non-consumptive paradigm of well-being seems primordial, such a paradigm would be non-acquisitive/non-consumerist and non-hierarchical in relation to our place on Earth.<sup>[6]</sup> The ethics of deep ecology hold that the survival of any part is dependent upon the well-being of the whole. Proponents of deep ecology offer an eight-tier platform to elucidate their claims:

- The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman life on Earth have value in themselves. These values are independent of the usefulness of the nonhuman world for human purposes.
- Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves
- Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital human needs
- The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease.
- Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening
- Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present.
- The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great.

- Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

— *Deep Ecology*<sup>[7]</sup>

These principles can be reduced to three simple propositions:

- Wilderness and biodiversity preservation
- Human population control
- Simple living (or treading lightly on the planet)<sup>[3]</sup>

## Development

The phrase "deep ecology" was coined by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss in 1973.<sup>[8]</sup> Næss rejected the idea that beings can be ranked according to their relative value. For example, judgments on whether an animal has an eternal soul, whether it uses reason or whether it has consciousness (or indeed higher consciousness) have all been used to justify the ranking of the human animal as superior to other animals. Næss states that from an ecological point of view "the right of all forms [of life] to live is a universal right which cannot be quantified. No single species of living being has more of this particular right to live and unfold than any other species."

This metaphysical idea is elucidated in Warwick Fox's claim that humanity and all other beings are "aspects of a single unfolding reality".<sup>[9]</sup> As such deep ecology would support the view of Aldo Leopold in his book A Sand County Almanac that humans are "plain members of the biotic community". They also would support Leopold's land ethic: "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." Daniel Quinn, in his novel Ishmael, showed that an anthropocentric myth underlies our current view of the world.<sup>[10]</sup>

The ecological problems faced by the world today are partly due to the loss of traditional knowledge, values, and ethics of behavior that celebrate the intrinsic value and sacredness of the natural world and that give the preservation of Nature prime importance. Correspondingly, the assumption of human superiority to other life forms, as if we were granted royalty status over Nature - the idea that Nature is mainly here to serve human will and purpose - receives a radical critique in deep ecology.<sup>[5]</sup> Deep ecology developed a response to the anthropocentric view and several different actors played an important historical role in its development. Prominent among them was Joseph W. Meeker, who in 1973 told George Sessions about Arne Næss, whom Meeker knew personally.<sup>[11]</sup> As Warwick Fox related, "One of the things that initially interested Sessions about Næss was Næss's strong interest in, and innovative approach to, the work of Spinoza. Sessions says that he had himself 'arrived at Spinoza as the answer to the process of teaching history of philosophy by about 1972 and independently of being in contact with Næss. Sessions therefore wrote to Næss at this time, beginning a lifelong association. Meeker's (1972, 1997) book *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* emerged through the work of scholars seeking an environmental ethic. That book represents Meeker's founding work in literary ecology and ecocriticism, which demonstrates the relationship between the literary arts and scientific ecology, especially humankind's consideration of comedy and tragedy. It reminds readers that adaptive behaviors (comedy) promote survival, whereas tragedy estranges from other life forms. This thesis rests on Meeker's study of comparative literature, his work with biologist Konrad Lorenz, and his work as a field ecologist in the National Park service in Alaska, Oregon, and California".<sup>[5]</sup>

Deep ecology offers a philosophical basis for environmental advocacy which may, in turn, guide human activity against perceived self-destruction. Deep ecology and environmentalism hold that the science of ecology shows that ecosystems can absorb only limited change by humans or other dissonant influences. Further, both hold that the actions of modern civilization threaten global ecological well-being. Ecologists have described change and stability in ecological systems in various ways, including homeostasis, dynamic equilibrium, and "flux of nature".<sup>[12]</sup> Regardless of which model is most accurate, environmentalists contend that massive human economic activity has pushed the biosphere far from its "natural" state through reduction of biodiversity, climate change, and other influences. As a consequence, civilization is causing mass extinction at a rate between 100 species a day and possibly 140,000 species a year, which is 10,000 times the background rate of extinction. Deep ecologists hope to influence social and political change through their philosophy. Næss has proposed, as Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke writes, "that the earth's human population should be reduced to about 100 million."<sup>[13]</sup>

# Environmental education

Ecology in the narrow sense refers to the biological science of ecology. However, ecological paradigms and principles are being developed and applied in almost all disciplines, and these paradigms have to do with the way we approach understanding the relationships and inter-connections within and between living beings which give to each its special place and identity. Human ecology, e.g., must certainly take account of the role of our subjective lives and spiritual needs, as well as our biological ones, in terms of their ecological effects. Ecology in this sense is not a reductionist undertaking, but a movement toward a more whole (or holistic) vision and understanding of world processes.<sup>[2]</sup> Deep ecology seeks to look into all levels of existence and might be viewed as radical by some; for them a more anthropocentric view is appropriate because it puts humans at the center. Learning how to live in harmony with our surroundings is beneficial because stopping the global extinction crisis and achieving true ecological sustainability will require rethinking our values as a society. In that way education seems to be the best way to start. Sustainability education aims to help learners understand their interconnectedness with all life, to become creative problem solvers and active citizens, and to engage personally and intellectually in shaping our common future. Experiential learning and critical pedagogy are central to providing opportunities for learners to engage in transformative sustainability learning. The “Environment” broadly defined, remains somewhat neglected within development studies, despite a substantial increase in contributions to the field over the fifteen years since 2000. Undergraduate and postgraduate courses (with some notable exceptions) often “add on” environmental issues as special lectures or modules, and there remains a tendency for those who are grounded in the material and discursive struggles that define the discipline to consider the environment as an exotic special interest, a problem that manifests itself in societies that have the leisure to care about the natural world. Development of a modern education model promoting patriotism and civic responsibility, active social position and healthy lifestyle is closely linked to the development of environmental responsibility in the younger generation. Development of environmentally responsible personality in individual is of particular importance for graduates of educational institutions. Environmental education could be integrated in different curriculum in most fields: education for sustainable development in the context of ecopedagogy

Ecopedagogy calls for the remaking of capitalist practices and seeks to re-engage democracy to include multispecies interests in the face of our current global ecological crisis. It does so by using different ideas that challenge the way we see education. In Critical Pedagogy, Ecoliteracy and Planetary Crisis: The Ecopedagogy Movement, Richard Kahn (2010) reformulates Herbert Marcuse’s critical theories of society and supports the kind of education that seizes the power of radical environmental activists and supports the earth democracy in which multispecies interests are represented. The destruction of habitats and threats to biodiversity resulting from expansion of human population and consumption is rarely addressed in a way that confronts students with the necessity to consider moral implications of such destruction.<sup>[14]</sup> Pedagogically, a return to education associated with significant life experiences, such as hiking in wilderness areas as a youth; as well as strategically significant education, action competence, social learning, and variations and combinations of those and many other pedagogical approaches developed in the past 40 years. Some of these pedagogical approaches have been disputed—for example, the belief that experiencing environment first hand is an essential component of engaging people in conservation has been disputed by arguments that these education efforts have been informed by behaviorist socio-psychology models that assumed a linear causality between education experience and pro-environmental behavior.<sup>[15]</sup> Rather, the critics have argued that people’s environmental behaviors are too complex and contextually dependent to be captured by a simple causal model. The process of environmental education of schoolchildren has the following methodological characteristics:

- Goal-setting as the projected results reflects a model of environmentally responsible personality taking into account trends in the development of key elements of education system; all natural sciences are involved in the development of basic ecological concepts.
- The introduction of interactive training methods takes place at the high school level in teaching self-reflection, hypothesizing, predicting; school natural science education is rebuilt on the basis of system approach in accordance with the planned ecologization results. Implementation of relevant methodology will promote successful development of environmentally responsible personality in high school graduates<sup>[15]</sup>

In higher education, the analysis of students’ individual writing assignments after viewing films/documentaries presents an interesting case of using radical ‘messages’ within the aims of environmental education in order to trigger both student’s engagement and critical thinking. The case study “If a Tree Falls and Everybody Hears the Sound” provides an example of how environmental advocacy and the objective of pluralistic education can be combined as mutually supportive means of achieving both democratic

learning in which students' individual opinions are seen as extremely valuable, and simultaneously provide an example of the type of ecopedagogy that supports learning for environmental sustainability. The role of environmental advocacy can be crucially important if the interests of all planetary citizens—and not just one species—are to be taken seriously.<sup>[14]</sup>

In her book *Wild Children — Domesticated Dreams: Civilization and the Birth of Education*, Layla AbdelRahim argues that the current institutions responsible for the construction and transmission of civilized epistemology are driven by the destructive premises at the foundation of civilization and human predatory culture.<sup>[16]</sup> In order to return to a viable socio-environmental culture, AbdelRahim calls for the rewilding of our anthropology (i.e. our place among other species) and of pedagogical culture, which in civilization is based on the same domestication methods of other animals.<sup>[16][17]</sup>

## Sources

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### Scientific

Næss and Fox do not claim to use logic or induction to derive the philosophy directly from scientific ecology<sup>[8]</sup> but rather hold that scientific ecology directly implies the metaphysics of deep ecology, including its ideas about the self and further, that deep ecology finds scientific underpinnings in the fields of ecology and system dynamics

In their 1985 book *Deep Ecology*,<sup>[18]</sup> Bill Devall and George Sessions describe a series of sources of deep ecology. They include the science of ecology itself, and cite its major contribution as the rediscovery in a modern context that "everything is connected to everything else." They point out that some ecologists and natural historians, in addition to their scientific viewpoint, have developed a deep ecological consciousness—for some a political consciousness and at times a spiritual consciousness. This is a perspective beyond the strictly human viewpoint, beyond anthropocentrism. Among the scientists they mention specifically are Rachel Carson, Aldo Leopold, John Livingston, Paul R. Ehrlich and Barry Commoner, together with Frank Fraser Darling, Charles Sutherland Elton, Eugene Odum and Paul Sears.

A further scientific source for deep ecology adduced by Devall and Sessions is the "new physics", which they describe as shattering Descartes's and Newton's vision of the universe as a machine explainable in terms of simple linear cause and effect. They propose that Nature is in a state of constant flux and reject the idea of observers as existing independent of their environment. They refer to Fritjof Capra's *The Tao of Physics* and *The Turning Point* for their characterisation of how the new physics leads to metaphysical and ecological views of interrelatedness, which, according to Capra, should make deep ecology a framework for future human societies. Devall and Sessions also credit the American poet and social critic Gary Snyder—with his devotion to Buddhism, Native American studies, the outdoors, and alternative social movements—as a major voice of wisdom in the evolution of their ideas.

The Gaia hypothesis was also an influence on the deep ecology movement.<sup>[19]</sup>



Old-growth forest in Biogradska Gora National Park, Montenegro

### Spiritual

The central spiritual tenet of deep ecology is that the human species is a part of the Earth, not separate from it, and as such human existence is dependent on the diverse organisms within the natural world each playing a role in the natural economy of the biosphere. Coming to an awareness of this reality involves a transformation of an outlook that presupposes humanity's superiority over the natural world. This self-realisation or "re-earthing"<sup>[20]</sup> is used for an individual to intuitively gain an ecocentric perspective. The notion is based on the idea that the more we *expand the self* to identify with "others" (people, animals, ecosystems), the more we realize ourselves. Transpersonal psychology has been used by Warwick Fox to support this idea. Deep ecology has influenced the development of contemporary ecospirituality.<sup>[21]</sup>

A number of spiritual and philosophical traditions including Native American, Buddhist and Jain are drawn upon in a continuing critique of the philosophical assumptions of the modern European mind which has enabled and led to what is seen as an increasingly unsustainable level of disregard towards the rights and needs of the natural world and its ability to continue to support human life. In relation to the Judeo-Christian tradition, Næss offers the following criticism: "The arrogance of stewardship [as found in the Bible] consists in the idea of superiority which underlies the thought that we exist to watch over nature like a highly respected middleman between the Creator and Creation."<sup>[22]</sup> This theme had been expounded in Lynn Townsend White, Jr.'s 1967 article "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis";<sup>[23]</sup> in which however he also offered as an alternative Christian view of man's relation to nature that of Saint Francis of Assisi, who he says spoke for the equality of all creatures, in place of the idea of man's domination over creation. Næss' further criticizes the reformation's view of creation as property to be put into maximum productive use: a view used frequently in the past to exploit and dispossess native populations. Many Protestant sects today regard the Bible's call for man to have stewardship of the earth as a call for the care for creation, rather than for exploitation.

The original Christian teachings on property support the Franciscan/stewardship interpretation of the Bible. Against this view, Martin Luther condemned church ownership of lands because "they did not want to use that property in an economically productive fashion. At best they used it to produce prayers. Luther, and other Reformation leaders insisted that it should be used, not to relieve men from the necessity of working, but as a tool for making more goods. The attitude of the Reformation was practically, "not prayers, but production." And production, not for consumption, but for more production." This justification was offered to support secular takings of church endowments and properties.<sup>[24]</sup>

Anthropologist Layla AbdelRahim sees the root of the anthropogenic degradation of the biosphere in the anthropology that constructs the human animal as the supreme predator. The ontological explanation offered for Human Supremacy by both science and religion, she says, alienate the human being from the community of life and allow for an immoral control and destruction of the wilderness, which, according to her contains the spirit and intelligence of life.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Philosophical roots

### Spinoza

Arne Næss, who first wrote about the idea of deep ecology, from the early days of developing this outlook conceived Baruch Spinoza as a philosophical source.<sup>[25]</sup>

Others have followed Næss' inquiry, including Eccy de Jonge, in *Spinoza and Deep Ecology: Challenging Traditional Approaches to Environmentalism*,<sup>[26]</sup> and Brenden MacDonald, in *Spinoza, Deep Ecology, and Human Diversity—Realization of Eco-Literacies*<sup>[27]</sup>.

One of the topical centres of inquiry connecting Spinoza to Deep Ecology is "self-realization." See Arne Næss in *The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology movement* and *Spinoza and the Deep Ecology Movement* for discussion on the role of Spinoza's conception of self-realization and its link to deep ecology

## Criticism, debate, and response

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### Knowledge of non-human interests

Animal rights activists state that for an entity to require rights and protection intrinsically, it must have interests.<sup>[28]</sup> Deep ecology is criticised for assuming that living things such as plants, for example, have their own interests as they are manifested by the plant's behavior—for instance, self-preservation being considered an expression of a will to live. Deep ecologists claim to *identify* with non-human nature, and in doing so, deny those who claim that non-human (or non-sentient) lifeforms' needs or interests are nonexistent or unknowable. The criticism is that the interests that a deep ecologist attributes to non-human organisms such as survival, reproduction, growth, and prosperity are really human interests. This is sometimes construed as a pathetic fallacy or anthropomorphism, in which "the earth is endowed with 'wisdom', wilderness equates with 'freedom', and life forms are said to emit 'moral' qualities."<sup>[29][30]</sup>

## "Deepness"

Deep ecology is criticised for its claim to being *deeper* than alternative theories, which by implication are *shallow*. When Arne Næss coined the term *deep ecology*, he compared it favourably with *shallow environmentalism* which he criticized for its utilitarian and anthropocentric attitude to nature and for its materialist and consumer-oriented outlook.<sup>[31]</sup> Against this is Arne Næss's own view that the "depth" of deep ecology resides in the persistence of its penetrative questioning, particularly in asking "Why?" when faced with initial answers.

Writer William D. Grey believes that developing a non-anthropocentric set of values is "a hopeless quest". He seeks an improved "shallow" view, writing, "What's wrong with shallow views is not their concern about the well-being of humans, but that they do not really consider enough in what that well-being consists. We need to develop an enriched, fortified anthropocentric notion of human interest to replace the dominant short-term, sectional and self-regarding conception.<sup>[32]</sup>

## Bookchin's criticisms

Some critics, particularly social ecologist Murray Bookchin have interpreted deep ecology as being hateful toward humanity, due in part to the characterization of humanity by some deep ecologists, such as David Foreman of Earth First!, as a pathological infestation on the Earth.<sup>[13]</sup> Bookchin<sup>[33][34]</sup> therefore asserts that "deep ecology, formulated largely by privileged male white academics, has managed to bring sincere naturalists like Paul Shepard into the same company as patently antihumanist and macho mountain men like David Foreman who preach a gospel that humanity is some kind of cancer in the world of life."<sup>[33]</sup> Bookchin mentions that some, like Foreman, defend seemingly anti-human measures, such as severe population control and the claim regarding the Third World that "the best thing would be to just let nature seek its own balance, to let the people there just starve".<sup>[33]</sup> However, Bookchin himself later admitted that "statements made by Earth First! activists are not to be confused with those made by deep ecology theorists".<sup>[35]</sup> Ecophilosopher Warwick Fox similarly "warns critics not to commit the fallacy of 'misplaced misanthropy' That is, just because deep ecology criticizes an arrogant anthropocentrism does *not* mean that deep ecology is misanthropic."<sup>[35]</sup> Likewise, *The Deep Ecology Movement: An Introductory Anthology* attempts to clarify that "deep ecologists have been the strongest critics of anthropocentrism so much so that they have often been accused of a mean-spirited misanthropy"; however, "deep ecology is actually vitally concerned with humans realizing their best potential" and "is explicit in offering a vision of an alternative way of living that is joyous and enlivening".<sup>[36]</sup>

Bookchin's second major criticism is that deep ecology fails to link environmental crises with authoritarianism and hierarchy. Social ecologists like him believe that environmental problems are firmly rooted in the manner of human social interaction, and suggest that deep ecologists fail to recognise the potential for human beings to solve environmental issues through a change of cultural attitudes. According to Bookchin, it is a social reconstruction alone that "can spare the biosphere from virtual destruction."<sup>[33]</sup> Though some deep ecologists may reject the argument that ecological behavior is rooted in the social paradigm (which, according to their view, would be an anthropocentric fallacy), others in fact embrace this argument, such as the adherents to the deep ecologist movement Deep Green Resistance

## Botkin's criticism

Daniel Botkin<sup>[37]</sup> has likened deep ecology to its antithesis, the wise use movement, when he says that they both "misunderstand scientific information and then arrive at conclusions based on their misunderstanding, which are in turn used as justification for their ideologies. Both begin with an ideology and are political and social in focus." Elsewhere, though, he asserts that deep ecology must be taken seriously in the debate about the relationship between humans and nature because it challenges the fundamental assumptions of Western philosophy. Botkin has also criticized Næss's restatement and reliance upon the balance of nature idea and the perceived contradiction between his argument that all species are morally equal and his disparaging description of pioneering species

## Response

Some writers have misunderstood Næss, taking his ecosophy T, with its self-realization norm, as something meant to characterize the whole deep ecology movement as part of a single philosophy called "deep ecology". Næss was not doing either of these. He emphasized that movements cannot be precisely defined, but only roughly characterized by very general statements. They are often united internationally by means of such principles as found in the United Nations (UN) Earth Charter (1980), and in UN documents about basic human rights. Næss was doing something more subtle than many thought. He was not putting forth a single worldview and philosophy of life that everyone should adhere to in support of the international ecology movement. Instead, he was making an empirical claim based on overwhelming evidence that global social movements, from the grass roots up, consist of people with very diverse religious, philosophical, cultural, and personal orientations. Nonetheless, they can agree on certain courses of action and certain broad principles, especially at the international level. As supporters of a given movement, they can treat one another with mutual respect. Because of these misunderstandings Næss introduced an apron diagram to clearly illustrate his subtle distinctions.<sup>[5]</sup> The apron diagram is meant to illustrate logical, as distinct from genetic, relations between views and their connection with social movements, policies and practical actions. By "logical relations" this means verbally articulated relations between the premises and conclusions.<sup>[5]</sup> There is collective cooperation on global concerns, and yet a great variety of ultimate premises from which each person or group acts locally. Within global movements there is diversity at the local level because each place and community is different and must adapt to its unique setting. Thus, Næss stressed that his ecosophy T is not meant to hold for everyone, since it is tailored to his very modest lifestyle suitable to a place such as Tvergastein. The ultimate premises for his whole view might be conceptually incompatible with those in someone else's whole views. But even if this is true, they could both support the platform principles of the deep ecology movement and other social-political global movements, such as for peace and social justice. In recognizing the principle that all living beings have intrinsic worth, there is an acknowledgement that they are good for their own sake. This does not mean committing to biocentric equality or egalitarianism between species. Within the vast diversity of living beings, there are complex relationships the range of which is predation, competition, cooperation, and symbiosis. Many think that symbiosis and complementarity are important values to embrace as they are consistent with global cooperation, community life, and support for the deep ecology movement platform.

## Links with other philosophies

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Parallels have been drawn between deep ecology and other philosophies, in particular those of the animal rights movement, Earth First!, Deep Green Resistance and anarcho-primitivism

Peter Singer's 1975 book Animal Liberation critiqued anthropocentrism and put the case for animals to be given moral consideration. This can be seen as a part of a process of expanding the prevailing system of ethics to wider groupings. However, Singer has disagreed with deep ecology's belief in the intrinsic value of nature separate from questions of suffering, taking a more utilitarian stance.<sup>[38]</sup> The feminist and civil rights movements also brought about expansion of the ethical system for their particular domains. Likewise deep ecology brought the whole of nature under moral consideration.<sup>[39]</sup> The links with animal rights are perhaps the strongest, as "proponents of such ideas argue that 'All life has intrinsic value'".<sup>[40]</sup>

Many in the radical environmental direct-action movement Earth First! claim to follow deep ecology, as indicated by one of their slogans No compromise in defence of mother earth. In particular, David Foreman, the co-founder of the movement, has also been a strong advocate for deep ecology, and engaged in a public debate with Murray Bookchin on the subject.<sup>[41]</sup><sup>[42]</sup> Judi Bari was another prominent Earth First!er who espoused deep ecology. Many Earth First! actions have a distinct deep ecological theme; often these actions will be to save an area of old growth forest, the habitat of a snail or an owl, even individual trees. Actions are often symbolic or have other political aims. At one point Arne Næss also engaged in environmental direct action, though not under the Earth First! banner, when he chained himself to rocks in front of Mardalsfossen, a waterfall in a Norwegian fjord, in a successful protest against the building of a dam.<sup>[43]</sup>

There are also anarchist currents in the movement, especially in the United Kingdom. For example, Robert Hart, pioneer of forest gardening in temperate climates, wrote the essay "Can Life Survive?" in Deep Ecology & Anarchism.<sup>[44]</sup>

## Early influences

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▪ Mary Hunter Austin

▪ Rachel Carson

- [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#)
- [D.H. Lawrence](#)
- [Aldo Leopold](#)
- [John Muir](#)

- [Henry David Thoreau](#)
- [Friedrich Nietzsche](#)
- [Baruch Spinoza](#)
- [Leo Tolstoy](#)

## Notable advocates of deep ecology

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- [Layla AbdelRahim](#)
- [David Abram](#)
- [Michael Asher](#)
- [Judi Bari](#)
- [Thomas Berry](#)
- [Wendell Berry](#)
- [Leonardo Boff](#)
- [Fritjof Capra](#)
- [Savitri Devi<sup>\[13\]</sup>](#)
- [Michael Dowd](#)
- [Vivienne Elanta](#)
- [David Foreman](#)
- [Warwick Fox](#)
- [Chellis Glendinning](#)
- [Edward Goldsmith](#)
- [Félix Guattari](#)
- [Paul Hawken](#)
- [Martin Heidegger](#)
- [Julia Butterfly Hill](#)
- [Derrick Jensen](#)
- [Bernie Krause](#)
- [Satish Kumar](#)
- [Dolores LaChapelle](#)

- [Gilbert LaFreniere](#)
- [Pentti Linkola](#)
- [John Livingston](#)
- [Joanna Macy](#)
- [Jerry Mander](#)
- [Freya Mathews](#)
- [Terence McKenna](#)
- [W. S. Merwin](#)
- [Arne Næss](#)
- [Peter Newman](#)
- [David Orton](#)
- [Val Plumwood](#)
- [Theodore Roszak](#)
- [John Seed](#)
- [George Sessions](#)
- [Elena Sharoykina](#)
- [Paul Shepard](#)
- [Vandana Shiva](#)
- [Gary Snyder](#)
- [Timothy Sprigge](#)
- [Richard Sylvan](#)
- [Douglas Tompkins](#)
- [Oberon Zell-Ravenheart](#)
- [John Zerzan](#)

## Relevant journals

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- [Environmental Ethics](#)
- [Environmental Values](#)
- [Resurgence & Ecologist](#)

## See also

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- [ANCEP](#)
- [ATWA](#)
- [Biocentrism \(ethics\)](#)
- [Biophilia hypothesis](#)
- [Coupled human-environment system](#)
- [Earth liberation](#)
- [Ecocentrism](#)
- [Eco-communalism](#)
- [Ecofeminism](#)
- [Ecotheology](#)
- [Ecosophy](#)
- [Ecosystem-based management](#)

- [Environmental psychology](#)
- [Gaianism](#)
- [Human ecology](#)
- [Intrinsic value \(animal ethics\)](#)
- [Negative Population Growth](#)
- [Neotribalism](#)
- [Pantheism](#)
- [Population Connection](#)
- [Spiritual ecology](#)
- [Sustainable development](#)
- [The Revenge of Gaia](#)
- [Voluntary Human Extinction Movement](#)

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# Deindustrialization

**Deindustrialization** or **deindustrialisation** is a process of social and economic change caused by the removal or reduction of industrial capacity or activity in a country or region, especially heavy industry or manufacturing industry. It is the opposite of industrialization.



The Bethlehem Steel plant in Pennsylvania went bankrupt in 2001, and has since been demolished to build the Sands Casino.

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## Interpretations

There are different interpretations of what deindustrialization is. Many associate US deindustrialization with the closing of plants between 1980 and 1990.<sup>[1][2]</sup> The US Federal Reserve raised interest and exchange rates 1979 to 1984, which automatically caused import prices to fall. Japan was rapidly expanding productivity at that time, and this killed the US machine tool sector. A second wave of deindustrialization occurred in the US between 2001 and 2009, from which the US did not recover. Some point out that the percentage loss of industrial jobs 2001-2009 exceeded the industrial job loss of the Great Depression. Some attribute the decline of industrial investment to the diversion of business profits to stock buybacks.

Others point to investment in patents rather than in new capital equipment. It is probably no coincidence that the opioid epidemic took off during this time period of 21st deindustrialization<sup>[3]</sup>. At a more fundamental level, Cairncross<sup>[4]</sup> and Lever<sup>[5]</sup> offer four possible definitions of deindustrialization:

1. A straightforward long-term decline in the output of manufactured goods or employment in the manufacturing sector.
2. A shift from manufacturing to the service sectors so that manufacturing has a lower share of total employment. Such a shift may occur even if manufacturing employment is growing in absolute terms
3. That manufactured goods comprise a declining share of external trade, so that there is a progressive failure to achieve a sufficient surplus of exports over imports to maintain an economy in external balance
4. A continuing state of balance of trade deficit (as described in the third definition above) that accumulates to the extent that a country or region is unable to pay for necessary imports to sustain further production of goods, thus initiating a further downward spiral of economic decline.

## Explanations

Theories that predict or explain deindustrialization have a long intellectual lineage. Rowthorn<sup>[6]</sup> argues that Marx's theory of declining (industrial) profit may be regarded as one of the earliest. This theory argues that technological innovation enables more efficient means of production, resulting in increased physical productivity, i.e., a greater output of use value per unit of capital

invested. In parallel, however, technological innovations replace people with machinery, and the organic composition of capital increases. Assuming only labor can produce new additional value, this greater physical output embodies a smaller value and surplus value. The average rate of industrial profit therefore declines in the longer term.

Rowthorn and Wells<sup>[7]</sup> distinguish between deindustrialization explanations that see it as a positive process of, for example, maturity of the economy, and those that associate deindustrialization with negative factors like bad economic performance. They suggest deindustrialization may be both an effect and a cause of poor economic performance.

Pitelis and Antonakis<sup>[8]</sup> suggest that, to the extent that manufacturing is characterized by higher productivity, this leads, all other things being equal, to a reduction in relative cost of manufacturing products, thus a reduction in the relative share of manufacturing (provided manufacturing and services are characterized by relatively inelastic demand). Moreover, to the extent that manufacturing firms downsize through, e.g., outsourcing, contracting out, etc., this reduces manufacturing share without negatively influencing the economy. Indeed, it potentially has positive effects, provided such actions increase firm productivity and performance.

George Reisman<sup>[9]</sup> identified inflation as a contributor to deindustrialization. In his analysis, the process of fiat money inflation distorts the economic calculations necessary to operate capital-intensive manufacturing enterprises, and makes the investments necessary for sustaining the operations of such enterprises unprofitable.

Institutional arrangements have also contributed to deindustrialization such as economic restructuring. With breakthroughs in transportation, communication and information technology, a globalized economy that encouraged foreign direct investment, capital mobility and labor migration, and new economic theory's emphasis on specialized factor endowments, manufacturing moved to lower-cost sites and in its place service sector and financial agglomerations concentrated in urban areas<sup>[10][11]</sup>.

The term **de-industrialization crisis** has been used to describe the decline of labor-intensive industry in a number of countries and the flight of jobs away from cities. One example is labor-intensive manufacturing. After free-trade agreements were instituted with less developed nations in the 1980s and 1990s, labor-intensive manufacturers relocated production facilities to third world countries with much lower wages and lower standards. In addition, technological inventions that required less manual labor, such as industrial robots, eliminated many manufacturing jobs.

## See also

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- [Center for Labor and Community Research](#)
- [Degrowth](#)
- [Deindustrialisation by country](#)
- [Jobless recovery](#)
- [Reindustrialization](#)
- [Post-industrial society](#)
- [Urban decay](#)
- [Industrial revolution](#)
  - [Great Divergence](#)
  - [Textile manufacture during the Industrial Revolution](#)
- [The End of Work](#)
- [Rust Belt](#)
- [Dutch disease](#)

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- De-industrialisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Myth or Crisis?

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# Green anarchism

**Green anarchism** (or **eco-anarchism**) is a school of thought within anarchism which puts a particular emphasis on environmental issues. A green anarchist theory is normally one that extends anarchist ideology beyond a critique of human interactions, and include a critique of the interactions between humans and non-humans as well.<sup>[1]</sup> This often culminates in an anarchist revolutionary praxis that is not merely dedicated to human liberation, but also to some form of nonhuman liberation,<sup>[2]</sup> and that aims to bring about an environmentally sustainable anarchist society

Important early influences were Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy<sup>[3]</sup> and Élisée Reclus.<sup>[4]</sup> In the late 19th century there emerged anarcho-naturism as the fusion of anarchism and naturist philosophies within individualist anarchist circles in France, Spain, Cuba,<sup>[5]</sup> and Portugal.<sup>[3][6]</sup> Important contemporary currents (some of which may be mutually exclusive) include anarcho-primitivism which offers a critique of technology and argues that anarchism is best suited to uncivilised ways of life, Green syndicalism, a Green anarcho-socialist political stance made up of anarcho-syndicalist views, and veganarchism which argues that human liberation and animal liberation are inseparable,<sup>[7]</sup> and social ecology, which argues that the hierarchical domination of nature by human stems from the hierarchical domination of human by human.<sup>[8]</sup>

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## Early ecoanarchism

### Henry David Thoreau



Henry David Thoreau  
influential early green  
anarchist who wrote *Walden*

Anarchism started to have an ecological view mainly in the writings of American anarchist and transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau. In his book Walden he advocates simple living and self-sufficiency among natural surroundings in resistance to the advancement of industrial civilization.<sup>[9]</sup> The work is part personal declaration of independence, social experiment, voyage of spiritual discovery, satire, and manual for self-reliance.<sup>[10]</sup> First published in 1854, it details Thoreau's experiences over the course of two years, two months, and two days in a cabin he built near Walden Pond, amidst woodland owned by his friend and mentor Ralph Waldo Emerson, near Concord, Massachusetts. The book compresses the time into a single calendar year and uses passages of four seasons to symbolize human development. By immersing himself in nature, Thoreau hoped to gain a more objective understanding of society through personal introspection. Simple living and self-sufficiency were Thoreau's other goals, and the whole project was inspired by transcendentalist philosophy, a central theme of the American Romantic Period. As Thoreau made clear in his book, his cabin was not in wilderness but at the edge of town, about two miles (3.2 km) from his family home.

As such "Many have seen in Thoreau one of the precursors of ecologism and anarcho-primitivism represented today in John Zerzan. For George Woodcock this attitude can be also

motivated by certain idea of resistance to progress and of rejection of the growing materialism which is the nature of American society in the mid 19th century."<sup>[9]</sup> John Zerzan himself included the text "Excursions" (1863) by Thoreau in his edited compilation of writings called *Against civilization: Readings and reflections* from 1999.<sup>[11]</sup>

### Élisée Reclus

Élisée Reclus (15 March 1830 – 4 July 1905), also known as Jacques Élisée Reclus, was a renowned French geographer, writer and anarchist. He produced his 19-volume masterwork *La Nouvelle Géographie universelle, la terre et les hommes* ("Universal Geography"), over a period of nearly 20 years (1875–1894). In 1892, he was awarded the prestigious Gold Medal of the Paris Geographical Society for this work, despite his having been banished from France because of his political activism. According to Kirkpatrick Sale<sup>[12]</sup>

His geographical work, thoroughly researched and unflinchingly scientific, laid out a picture of human-nature interaction that we today would call bioregionalism. It showed, with more detail than anyone but a dedicated geographer could possibly absorb, how the ecology of a place determined the kinds of lives and livelihoods its denizens would have and thus how people could properly live in self-regarding and self-determined bioregions without the interference of large and centralized governments that always try to homogenize diverse geographical areas.



Élisée Reclus, French anarchist geographer and environmentalist

For the authors of [An Anarchist FAQ](#) Reclus "argued that a "secret harmony exists between the earth and the people whom it nourishes, and when imprudent societies let themselves violate this harmony, they always end up regretting it." Similarly, no contemporary ecologist would disagree with his comments that the "truly civilised man [and women] understands that his [or her] nature is bound up with the interest of all and with that of nature. He [or she] repairs the damage caused by his predecessors and works to improve his domain.<sup>[13]</sup>

Reclus advocated [nature conservation](#) and opposed meat-eating and cruelty to animals. He was a [vegetarian](#).<sup>[14]</sup> As a result, his ideas are seen by some historians as anticipating the modern [social ecology](#) and [animal rights](#) movements.<sup>[15]</sup> Shortly before his death, Reclus completed *L'Homme et la terre* (1905).<sup>[16]</sup> In it, he added to his previous greater works by considering humanity's development relative to its geographical environment. Reclus was also an early proponent of [futurism](#).<sup>[4]</sup>

## Anarcho-naturism

In the late 19th century Anarchist naturism appeared as the union of [anarchist](#) and [naturist](#) philosophies.<sup>[3][17][18][19]</sup> Mainly it had importance within [individualist anarchist](#) circles<sup>[6][20]</sup> in Spain,<sup>[3][6][18]</sup> France,<sup>[6][21]</sup> Portugal,<sup>[22]</sup> and Cuba.<sup>[23]</sup>

Anarcho-naturism advocated [vegetarianism](#), [free love](#), [nudism](#) and an ecological world view within anarchist groups and outside them.<sup>[3][20]</sup> Anarcho-naturism promoted an ecological worldview, small [ecovillages](#), and most prominently nudism as a way to avoid the artificiality of the industrial mass society of modernity.<sup>[24]</sup> Naturist individualist anarchists saw the individual in his biological, physical and psychological aspects and tried to eliminate social determinations.<sup>[25]</sup> Important promoters of this were [Henri Zisly](#) and [Emile Gravelle](#) who collaborated in *La Nouvelle Humanité* followed by *Le Naturien*, *Le Sauvage*, *L'Ordre Naturel*, & *La Vie Naturelle*<sup>[26]</sup>

## France

Richard D. Sonn comments on the influence of naturist views in the wider French anarchist movement:

In her memoir of her anarchist years that was serialized in *Le Matin* in 1913, [Rirette Maîtrejean](#) made much of the strange food regimens of some of the *compagnons*. ... She described the "tragic bandits" of the [Bonnot gang](#) as refusing to eat meat or drink wine, preferring plain water. Her humorous comments reflected the practices of the "naturist" wing of individualist anarchists who favored a simpler, more "natural" lifestyle centered on a vegetarian diet. In the 1920s, this wing was expressed by the journal *Le Néo-Naturien, Revue des Idées Philosophiques et Naturiennes*. Contributors condemned the fashion of smoking cigarettes, especially by young women; a long article of 1927 actually connected cigarette smoking with cancer! Others distinguished between vegetarians, who foreswore the eating of meat, from the stricter "vegetarians," who ate nothing but vegetables. An anarchist named G. Butaud, who made this distinction, opened a restaurant called the *Foyer Végétalien* in the nineteenth arrondissement in 1923. Other issues of the journal included vegetarian recipes. In 1925, when the young anarchist and future detective novelist Léo Malet arrived in Paris from Montpellier, he initially lodged with anarchists who operated another vegetarian restaurant that served only vegetables, with neither fish nor eggs. Nutritional concerns coincided with other means of encouraging health bodies, such as nudism and gymnastics. For a while in the 1920s, after they were released from jail for antiwar and birth-control activities, Jeanne and Eugène Humbert retreated to the relative safety of the "integral living" movement that promoted nude sunbathing and physical fitness, which were seen as integral aspects of health in the Greek sense of *gymnos*, meaning nude. This back-to-nature, primitivist current was not a monopoly of the left; the same interests were echoed by right-wing Germans in the interwar era. In France, however, these proclivities were mostly associated with anarchists, insofar as they suggested an ideal of self-control and the rejection of social [taboos](#) and prejudices.<sup>[27]</sup>

## Henri Zisly

Henri Zisly (born in Paris, November 2, 1872; died in 1945)<sup>[28]</sup> was a French individualist anarchist and naturist.<sup>[a]</sup> He participated alongside Henri Beylie and Émile Gravelle in many journals such as *La Nouvelle Humanité* and *La Vie Naturelle*, which promoted anarchist-naturism. In 1902, he was one of the main initiators, alongside Georges Butaud and Sophie Zaïkowska, of the cooperative *Colonne de Vaux* established in *Essômes-sur-Marne*, in *Aisne*.

Zisly's political activity, "primarily aimed at supporting a return to 'natural life' through writing and practical involvement, stimulated lively confrontations within and outside the anarchist environment. Zisly vividly criticized progress and civilization, which he regarded as 'absurd, ignoble, and filthy.' He openly opposed industrialization, arguing that machines were inherently authoritarian, defended nudism, advocated a non-dogmatic and non-religious adherence to the 'laws of nature,' recommended a lifestyle based on limited needs and self-sufficiency, and disagreed with vegetarianism, which he considered 'anti-scientific.'<sup>[29]</sup>

## Cuba

The historian Kirwin R. Schaffer in his study of *Cuban anarchism* reports anarcho-naturism as "A third strand within the island's anarchist movement" alongside *anarcho-communism* and *anarcho-syndicalism*<sup>[5]</sup>. Naturism was a global alternative health and lifestyle movement. Naturists focused on redefining one's life to live simply, eat cheap but nutritious vegetarian diets, and raise one's own food if possible. The countryside was posited as a romantic alternative to urban living, and some naturists even promoted what they saw as the healthful benefits of nudism. Globally, the naturist movement counted anarchists, liberals, and socialists as its followers. However, in Cuba a particular "anarchist" dimension evolved led by people like Adrián del Valle, who spearheaded the Cuban effort to shift naturism's focus away from ~~only~~ individual health to naturism having a "social emancipatory" function.<sup>[5]</sup>

Schaffer reports the influence that anarcho-naturism had outside naturists circles. So "For instance, nothing inherently prevented an anarcho-syndicalist in the Havana restaurant workers' union from supporting the alternative health care programs of the anarcho-naturists and seeing those alternative practices as "revolutionary"".<sup>[5]</sup> "Anarcho-naturists promoted a rural ideal, simple living, and being in harmony with Nature as ways to save the laborers from the increasingly industrialized character of Cuba. Besides promoting an early twentieth-century *"back-to-the-land"* movement, they used these romantic images of Nature to illustrate how far removed a capitalist industrialized Cuba had departed from an anarchist view of natural harmony."<sup>[5]</sup> The main propagandizer in Cuba of anarcho-naturism was the *Catalonia* born "Adrián del Valle (aka Palmiro de Lidia) ... Over the following decades, Del Valle became a constant presence in not only the anarchist press that proliferated in Cuba but also mainstream literary publications ... From 1912 to 1913 he edited the *freethinking* journal *El Audaz*. Then he began his largest publishing job by helping to found and edit the monthly alternative health magazine that followed the anarcho-naturist line *Pro-Vida*.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Spain

Anarcho-naturism was quite important at the end of the 1920s in the *spanish anarchist movement*<sup>[18]</sup>. In *France*, later important propagandists of anarcho-naturism include *Henri Zisly*<sup>[29]</sup> and *Émile Gravelle* whose ideas were important in individualist anarchist circles in Spain, where *Federico Urales* (pseudonym of *Joan Montseny*) promoted the ideas of Gravelle and Zisly in *La Revista Blanca* (1898–1905).<sup>[30]</sup>

The linking role played by the *Sol y Vida* group was very important. The goal of this group was to take trips and enjoy the open air. The Naturist athenaeum, *Ecléctico*, in Barcelona, was the base from which the activities of the group were launched. First *Etica* and then *Iniciales*, which began in 1929, were the publications of the group, which lasted until the *Spanish Civil War*. We must be aware that the naturist ideas expressed in them matched the desires that the libertarian youth had of breaking up with the conventions of the bourgeoisie of the time. That is what a young worker explained in a letter to *Iniciales*. He writes it under the odd pseudonym of *silvestre del campo* (wild man in the country). "I find great pleasure in being naked in the woods, bathed in light and air,



Isaac Puente, Spanish anarchist, naturist and anarcho-communist

two natural elements we cannot do without. By shunning the humble garment of an exploited person, (garments which, in my opinion, are the result of all the laws devised to make our lives bitter), we feel there no others left but just the natural laws. Clothes mean slavery for some and tyranny for others. Only the naked man who rebels against all norms, stands for anarchism, devoid of the prejudices of outfit imposed by our money-oriented society<sup>[18]</sup>

The "relation between Anarchism and Naturism gives way to the Naturist Federation, in July 1928, and to the IV Spanish Naturist Congress, in September 1929, both supported by the Libertarian Movement. However, in the short term, the Naturist and Libertarian movements grew apart in their conceptions of everyday life. The Naturist movement felt closer to the Libertarian individualism of some French theoreticians such as Henri Ner (real name of Han Ryner) than to the revolutionary goals proposed by some Anarchist organisations such as the FAI, (Federación Anarquista Ibérica)".<sup>[18]</sup> This ecological tendency in Spanish anarchism was strong enough as to call the attention of the CNT-FAI in Spain. Daniel Guérin in *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* reports:

Spanish anarcho-syndicalism had long been concerned to safeguard the autonomy of what it called "affinity groups". There were many adepts of naturism and vegetarianism among its members, especially among the poor peasants of the south. Both these ways of living were considered suitable for the transformation of the human being in preparation for a libertarian society. At the Saragossa congress the members did not forget to consider the fate of groups of naturists and nudists, "unsuited to industrialization." As these groups would be unable to supply all their own needs, the congress anticipated that their delegates to the meetings of the confederation of communes would be able to negotiate special economic agreements with the other agricultural and industrial communes. On the eve of a vast, bloody, social transformation, the CNT did not think it foolish to try to meet the infinitely varied aspirations of individual human beings<sup>[31]</sup>

## Isaac Puente

Isaac Puente was an influential Spanish anarchist during the 1920s and 1930s and an important propagandist of anarcho-naturism,<sup>[32][33]</sup> was a militant of both the CNT anarcho-syndicalist trade union and Iberian Anarchist Federation. He published the book *El Comunismo Libertario y otras proclamas insurreccionales y naturistas* (en: *Libertarian Communism and other insurrectionary and naturist proclamations*) in 1933, which sold around 100,000 copies,<sup>[34]</sup> and wrote the final document for the Extraordinary Confederal Congress of Zaragoza of 1936 which established the main political line for the CNT for that year.<sup>[35]</sup> Puente was a doctor who approached his medical practice from a naturist point of view.<sup>[32]</sup> He saw naturism as an integral solution for the working classes, alongside Neo-Malthusianism and believed it concerned the living being while anarchism addressed the social being.<sup>[36]</sup> He believed capitalist societies endangered the well-being of humans from both a socioeconomic and sanitary viewpoint, and promoted anarcho-communism alongside naturism as a solution<sup>[32]</sup>

## Other countries

Naturism also met anarchism in the United Kingdom. "In many of the alternative communities established in Britain in the early 1900s nudism, anarchism, vegetarianism and free love were accepted as part of a politically radical way of life. In the 1920s the inhabitants of the anarchist community at Whiteway, near Stroud in Gloucestershire, shocked the conservative residents of the area with their shameless nudity."<sup>[37]</sup> In Italy, during the IX Congress of the Italian Anarchist Federation in Carrara in 1965, a group decided to split off from this organization and created the *Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica*. In the seventies, it was mostly composed of "veteran individualist anarchists with an orientation of pacifism, naturism, etc, ...".<sup>[38]</sup> American anarcho-syndicalist Sam Dolgoff shows some of the criticism that some people on the other anarchist currents at the time had for anarcho-naturist tendencies. "Speaking of life at the Stelton Colony of New York in the 1930s, noted with disdain that it, "like other colonies, was infested by vegetarians, naturists, nudists, and other cultists, who sidetracked true anarchist goals." One resident "always went barefoot, ate raw food, mostly nuts and raisins, and refused to use a tractor, being opposed to machinery, and he didn't want to abuse horses, so he dug

the earth himself." Such self-proclaimed anarchists were in reality "ox-cart anarchists," Dolgoff said, "who opposed organization and wanted to return to a simpler life." In an interview with Paul Avrich before his death, Dolgoff also grumbled, "I am sick and tired of these half-assed artists and poets who object to organization and want only to play with their belly buttons."<sup>[39]</sup>

## Leo Tolstoy and Tolstoyanism



Leo Tolstoy  
dressed in  
peasant clothing  
by Ilya Repin  
(1901)

Russian Christian anarchist and anarcho-pacifist Leo Tolstoy is also recognized as an early influence in green anarchism.<sup>[3]</sup> The novelist was struck by the description of Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu ascetic renunciation as being the path to holiness. After reading passages such as the following, which abound in Schopenhauer's ethical chapters, the Russian nobleman chose poverty and formal denial of the will:

But this very necessity of involuntary suffering (by poor people) for eternal salvation is also expressed by that utterance of the Savior (Matthew 19:24): "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Therefore those who were greatly in earnest about their eternal salvation, chose voluntary poverty when fate had denied this to them and they had been born in wealth. Thus Buddha Sakyamuni was born a prince, but voluntarily took to the mendicant's staff; and Francis of Assisi, the founder of the mendicant orders who, as a youngster at a ball, where the daughters of all the notabilities were sitting together, was asked: "Now Francis, will you not soon make your choice from these beauties?" and who replied: "I have made a far more beautiful choice!" "Whom?" "*La povertà* (poverty)": whereupon he abandoned every thing shortly afterwards and wandered through the land as a mendicant.<sup>[40]</sup>

Despite his misgivings about anarchist violence, Tolstoy took risks to circulate the prohibited publications of anarchist thinkers in Russia, and corrected the proofs of Kropotkin's "Words of a Rebel", illegally published in St Petersburg in 1906.<sup>[41]</sup> Tolstoy was enthused by the economic thinking of Henry George, incorporating it approvingly into later works such as Resurrection, the book that played a major factor in his excommunication.<sup>[42]</sup> Tolstoyans identify themselves as Christians, but do not generally belong to an institutional Church. They attempt to live an ascetic and simple life, preferring to be vegetarian, non-smoking, teetotal and chaste. Tolstoyans are considered Christian pacifists and advocate nonresistance in all circumstances.<sup>[43]</sup> They do not support or participate in the government which they consider immoral, violent and corrupt. Tolstoy rejected the state (as it only exists on the basis of physical force) and all institutions that are derived from it - the police, law courts and army.<sup>[44]</sup> Tolstoy influenced Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who set up a cooperative colony called Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg, South Africa, having been inspired by Tolstoy's ideas. The colony comprising 1,100 acres (450 ha) was funded by the Gandhian Herman Kallenbach and placed at the disposal of the satyagrahis from 1910.<sup>[45]</sup> He also inspired similar communal experiments in the United States<sup>[46]</sup> where the residents were also influenced by the views of Henry George and Edward Bellamy,<sup>[47]</sup> as well as in Russia,<sup>[b]</sup> England<sup>[c]</sup> and the Netherlands.<sup>[d]</sup>

## Mid-20th century

Several anarchists from the mid-20th century like Herbert Read, Ethel Mannin, Leopold Kohr<sup>[51]</sup> and Paul Goodman<sup>[52]</sup> held proto-environmental views linked to their anarchism. Mannin's 1944 book *Bread and Roses: A Utopian Survey and Blue-Print* has been described by anarchist historian Robert Graham as setting forth "an ecological vision in opposition to the prevailing and destructive industrial organization of society".<sup>[52]</sup>

## Leopold Kohr

Leopold Kohr (5 October 1909 in Oberndorf bei Salzburg, Austria – 26 February 1994 in Gloucester, England) was an economist, philosopher and political scientist known both for his opposition to the "cult of bigness" in social organization and as one of those who initiated the small is beautiful movement. For almost twenty years he was Professor of Economics and Public Administration at

the University of Puerto Rico. He described himself as a "philosophical anarchist" In 1937, Kohr became a freelance correspondent during the Spanish Civil War, where he was impressed by the limited, self-contained governments of the separatist states of Catalonia and Aragon, as well as the small Spanish anarchist city states of Alcoy and Caspe. In his first published essay "Disunion Now: A Plea for a Society based upon Small Autonomous Units", published in Commonweal in 1941, Kohr wrote about a Europe at war: "We have ridiculed the many little states, now we are terrorized by their few successors." He called for the breakup of Europe into hundreds of city states.<sup>[51]</sup> Kohr developed his ideas in a series of books, including *The Breakdown of Nations* (1957), *Development without Aid* (1973) and *The Overdeveloped Nations* (1977).<sup>[53]</sup> From Leopold Kohr's most popular work *The Breakdown of Nations*

... there seems to be only one cause behind all forms of social misery: bigness. Oversimplified as this may seem, we shall find the idea more easily acceptable if we consider that bigness, or oversize, is really much more than just a social problem. It appears to be the one and only problem permeating all creation. Whenever something is wrong, something is too big. ... And if the body of a people becomes diseased with the fever of aggression, brutality, collectivism, or massive idiocy, it is not because it has fallen victim to bad leadership or mental derangement. It is because human beings, so charming as individuals or in small aggregations, have been welded into overconcentrated social units.

Later in his academic and writing career he protested the "cult of bigness" and economic growth and promoted the concept of human scale and small community life. He argued that massive external aid to poorer nations stifled local initiatives and participation. His vision called for a dissolution of centralized political and economic structures in favor of local control.<sup>[53]</sup> Kohr was an important inspiration to the Green, bioregional, Fourth World, decentralist, and anarchist movements, Kohr contributed often to John Papworth's 'Journal for the Fourth World', Resurgence. One of Kohr's students was economist E. F. Schumacher, another prominent influence on these movements, whose best selling book Small Is Beautiful took its title from one of Kohr's core principles.<sup>[54]</sup> Similarly, his ideas inspired Kirkpatrick Sales books Human Scale (1980) and Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision (1985). Sale arranged the first American publication of *The Breakdown of Nations* in 1978 and wrote the foreword.<sup>[51]</sup>

## Murray Bookchin

Murray Bookchin (January 14, 1921 – July 30, 2006)<sup>[55]</sup> was an American libertarian socialist author, orator, and philosopher. In 1958, Murray Bookchin defined himself as an anarchist,<sup>[56]</sup> seeing parallels between anarchism and ecology. His first book, Our Synthetic Environment, was published under the pseudonym Lewis Herber in 1962, a few months before Rachel Carson's Silent Spring.<sup>[57]</sup> The book described a broad range of environmental ills but received little attention because of its political radicalism. His groundbreaking essay "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought" introduced ecology as a concept in radical politics.<sup>[58]</sup> In 1968 he founded another group that published the influential *Anarchos* magazine, which published that and other innovative essays on post-scarcity and on ecological technologies such as solar and wind energy, and on decentralization and miniaturization. Lecturing throughout the United States, he helped popularize the concept of ecology to the counterculture.

Post-Scarcity Anarchism is a collection of essays written by Murray Bookchin and first published in 1971 by Ramparts Press.<sup>[59]</sup> It outlines the possible form anarchism might take under conditions of post-scarcity. It is one of Bookchin's major works,<sup>[60]</sup> and its radical thesis provoked controversy for being utopian and messianic in its faith in the liberatory potential of technology.<sup>[61]</sup> Bookchin argues that post-industrial societies are also post-scarcity societies, and can thus imagine "the fulfillment of the social and cultural potentialities latent in a technology of abundance".<sup>[61]</sup> The self-administration of society is now made possible by technological advancement and, when technology is used in an ecologically sensitive manner, the revolutionary potential of society will be much changed.<sup>[62]</sup> In 1982, his book *The Ecology of Freedom* had a profound impact on the emerging ecology movement, both in the United States and abroad. He was a principal figure in the Burlington Greens in 1986-90, an ecology group that ran candidates for city council on a program to create neighborhood democracy. In *From Urbanization to Cities* (originally published in 1987 as *The Rise of Urbanization and the Decline of Citizenship*), Bookchin traced the democratic traditions that influenced his political philosophy and defined the implementation of the libertarian municipalism concept. A few years later *The Politics of Social Ecology*, written by his partner of 20 years, Janet Biehl, briefly summarized these ideas.

## Jacques Ellul

Jacques Ellul (January 6, 1912 – May 19, 1994) was a French philosopher, law professor, sociologist, lay theologian, and Christian anarchist. He wrote several books about Christianity, the technological society, propaganda, and the interaction between religion and politics. Professor of History and the Sociology of Institutions on the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences at the University of Bordeaux, he authored 58 books and more than a thousand articles over his lifetime in all, the dominant theme of which has been the threat to human freedom and religion created by modern technique. The Ellulian concept of technique is briefly defined within the "Notes to Reader" section of *The Technological Society* (1964). What many consider to be Ellul's most important work, *The Technological Society* (1964) was originally titled: *La Technique: L'enjeu du siècle* (literally, "The Stake of the Century").<sup>[63]</sup> In it, Ellul set forth seven characteristics of modern technology that make efficiency a necessity: rationality, artificiality, automatism of technical choice, self-augmentation, monism, universalism, and autonomy.<sup>[64]</sup>

For Ellul the rationality of technique enforces logical and mechanical organization through division of labor, the setting of production standards, etc. And it creates an artificial system which "eliminates or subordinates the natural world." Today, he argues, the technological society is generally held sacred (cf. Saint Steve Jobs<sup>[65]</sup>). Since he defines technique as "the totality of methods rationally arrived at, and having absolute efficiency (for a given stage of development) in every field of human activity"<sup>[66]</sup> it is clear that his sociological analysis focuses not on the society of machines as such, but on the society of "efficient techniques".

## Contemporary developments

Notable contemporary writers espousing green anarchism include Layla AbdelRahim, Derrick Jensen, Jaime Semprun, George Draffan, John Zerzan, Starhawk and Alan Carter.<sup>[67]</sup>

### Social ecology and Communalism

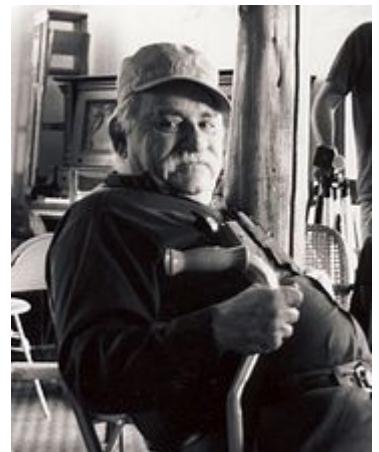
Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Social ecologists assert that the present ecological crisis has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.<sup>[68]</sup>

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called "Communalism" (spelled with a capital "C" to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a form of Social anarchism, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of Anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens' assemblies in individual communities/cities organized in a confederal fashion. This method used to achieve this is called Libertarian Municipalism which involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which are to grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state.

Janet Biehl (born 1953) is a writer associated with social ecology, the body of ideas developed and publicized by Murray Bookchin. In 1986, she attended the Institute for Social Ecology and there, began a collaborative relationship with Bookchin, working intensively with him over the next two decades in the explication of social ecology from their shared home in Burlington, Vermont.<sup>[69]</sup>

From 1987 to 2000, she and Bookchin co-wrote and co-published the theoretical newsletter *Green Perspectives*, later renamed *Left Green Perspectives*.<sup>[70]</sup> She is the editor and compiler of *The Murray Bookchin Reader* (1997);<sup>[71]</sup> the author of *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism* (1998) and *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics* (1991); and coauthor (with Peter Staudenmaier) of *Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience* (1995).



Murray Bookchin

## Green Anarchist

The magazine *Green Anarchist* was for a while the principal voice in the UK advocating green anarchism, an explicit fusion of libertarian socialist and ecological thinking. Founded after the 1984 Stop the City protests, the magazine was launched in the summer of that year by an editorial collective consisting of Alan Albon, Richard Hunt and Marcus Christo. Early issues featured a range of broadly anarchist and ecological ideas, bringing together groups and individuals as varied as Class War, veteran anarchist writer Colin Ward, anarcho-punk band Crass, as well as the Peace Convoy, anti-nuclear campaigners, animal rights activists and so on. However, the diversity that many saw as the publication's greatest strength quickly led to irreconcilable arguments between the essentially pacifist approach of Albon and Christo, and the advocacy of violent confrontation with the State favoured by Hunt. During the 1990s *Green Anarchist* came under the helm of an editorial collective that included Paul Rogers, Steve Booth and others, during which period the publication became increasingly aligned with primitivism, an anti-civilization philosophy advocated by writers such as John Zerzan and Fredy Perlman. Starting in 1995, Hampshire Police began a series of at least 56 raids, code named 'Operation Washington', that eventually resulted in the August to November 1997 Portsmouth trial of Green Anarchist editors Booth, Saxon Wood, Noel Molland and Paul Rogers, as well as Animal Liberation Front (ALF) Press Officer Robin Webb and Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group (ALFSG) newsletter editor Simon Russell. The defendants organised the GANDALF Defence campaign. Three of the editors of *Green Anarchist*, Noel Molland, Saxon Wood and Booth were jailed for 'conspiracy to incite'. However, all three were shortly afterwards released on appeal.

## Fredy Perlman

Fredy Perlman (August 20, 1934 – July 26, 1985) was a Czech-born, naturalised American author, publisher and militant. His most popular work, the book Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!, details the rise of state domination with a retelling of history through the Hobbesian metaphor of the Leviathan. The book remains a major source of inspiration for anti-civilization perspectives in contemporary anarchism most notably on the thought of philosopher John Zerzan.<sup>[72]</sup>

## Anarcho-primitivism

Anarcho-primitivism is an anarchist critique of the origins and progress of civilization. According to anarcho-primitivism, the shift from hunter-gatherer to agricultural subsistence gave rise to social stratification, coercion, and alienation. Anarcho-primitivists advocate a return to non-'civilized' ways of life through deindustrialisation, abolition of the division of labour or specialization, and abandonment of large-scale organization technologies. There are other non-anarchist forms of primitivism, and not all primitivists point to the same phenomenon as the source of modern, civilized problems. Anarcho-primitivists are often distinguished by their focus on the praxis of achieving a feral state of being through 'rewilding'.

## John Zerzan

John Zerzan is an American anarchist and primitivist philosopher and author. His works criticize agricultural civilization as inherently oppressive, and advocate drawing upon the ways of life of hunter gatherers as an inspiration for what a free society should look like. Some subjects of his criticism include domestication, language, symbolic thought (such as mathematics and art) and the concept of time.

His five major books are *Elements of Refusal* (1988), *Future Primitive and Other Essays* (1994), *Running on Emptiness* (2002), *Against Civilization: Readings and Reflections* (2005) and *Twilight of the Machines* (2008). Zerzan was one of the editors of *Green Anarchy*, a controversial journal of anarcho-primitivist and insurrectionary anarchist thought. He is also the host of *Anarchy Radio* in Eugene on the University of Oregon radio station KWVA. He has also served as a contributing editor at *Anarchy Magazine* and has been published in magazines such as AdBusters. He does extensive speaking tours around the world, and is married to an independent consultant to museums and other nonprofit organizations. In 1974, Black and Red Press published *Unions Against Revolution* by Spanish ultra-left theorist Grandizo Munis that included an essay by Zerzan which previously appeared in the journal Telos. Over the next 20 years, Zerzan became intimately involved with the Fifth Estate, Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed, Demolition Derby and other anarchist periodicals. He began to question civilization in the early 80's, after having sought to confront issues around the neutrality of technology and division of labour at the time when Fredy Perlman was making similar conclusions.<sup>[73]</sup>

## Green Anarchy

*Green Anarchy* was a magazine published by a collective located in Eugene, Oregon. The magazine's focus was primitivism, post-left anarchy, radical environmentalism, African American struggles, anarchist resistance, indigenous resistance, earth and animal liberation, anti-capitalism and supporting political prisoners. It had a circulation of 8,000, partly in prisons, the prison subscribers given free copies of each issue as stated in the magazine.<sup>[74]</sup> Green Anarchy was started in 2000 and in 2009 the Green Anarchy website shut down, leaving a final, brief message about the cessation of the magazine's publication. The subtitle of the magazine is "An Anti-Civilization Journal of Theory and Action". Author John Zerzan was one of the publication's editors.<sup>[75]</sup>



John Zerzan, anarchist-primitivism theorist

## Species Traitor

*Species Traitor* is a sporadically published journal of insurrectionary anarchoprimitivism. It is printed as a project of Black and Green Network and edited by anarchist-primitivist writer, Kevin Tucker.<sup>[76]</sup> ST was initially labeled as a project of the Coalition Against Civilization (CAC) and the Black and Green Network (BAG). The CAC was started towards the end of 1999 in the aftermath of the massive street protests in Eugene (Reclaim the Streets) and in Seattle (WTO) of that year. That aftermath gave a new voice and standing for green anarchist and anarchist-primitivist writers and viewpoints within both the anarchist milieu and the culture at large. The first issue came out in winter of 2000-2001 (currently out of print) and contained a mix of reprints and some original articles from Derrick Jensen and John Zerzan among others. Issue two came in the following year in the wake of Sept. 11 and took a major step from the first issue in becoming something of its own rather than another mouthpiece of green anarchist rhetoric. The articles took a more in depth direction opening a more analytical and critical draw between anarchy and anthropology, attacks on Reason and the Progress/linear views of human history and Future that stand at the base of the ideology of civilization.

## Vegananarchism

Veganarchism or vegan anarchism, is the political philosophy of veganism (more specifically animal liberation and earth liberation) and anarchism,<sup>[77][78]</sup> creating a combined praxis that is designed to be a means for social revolution.<sup>[79]:6[79]:5</sup> This encompasses viewing the state as unnecessary and harmful to animals, both human and non-human, whilst practising a vegan lifestyle. It is either perceived as a combined theory, or that both philosophies are essentially the same.<sup>[79]:inside page</sup> It is further described as an anti-speciesist perspective on green anarchism, or an anarchist perspective on animal liberation.<sup>[79]:5</sup>

Veganarchists typically view oppressive dynamics within society to be interconnected, from statism, racism and sexism to human supremacy,<sup>[79]:7</sup> and redefine veganism as a radical philosophy that sees the state as harmful to animals.<sup>[79]:9</sup> Those who believe in veganarchy can be either against reform for animals or for it, although do not limit goals to changes within the law.<sup>[79]:8[79]:12</sup>

## Layla AbdelRahim

Layla AbdelRahim is a Canadian anthropologist and author. Her work critiques civilization, technologies, and, what she calls a "predatory anthropology".<sup>[80]</sup> In *Children's Literature, Domestication, and Social Foundation: Narratives of Civilization and Wilderness* (2015), she attributes the Holocene extinction and climate change to the human choice of hunting as a cultural choice for subsistence. This anthropological revolution in human self-construction as predator, she argues, generated the need for developing the technologies that would ensure the propagation of a predatory culture and violence.<sup>[81]</sup> "The first of these technologies is ... the technology of absence. ... This entails physical and emotional absence, but also includes a metaphysical dimension, since technological development is literally linked to death. Namely, the rise of hunting, i.e. killing of others for food, during the Upper Palaeolithic period in the Middle East led some human groups to develop hunting technologies".<sup>[82]</sup> She cites palaeoanthropologist Clive Gamble who connects this development in hunting technologies to colonization,<sup>[83]</sup> and the work of anthropologist Richard Lee (1988) who links the appearance of human language to the rise in hunting activities during that period.<sup>[84]</sup> AbdelRahim concludes

that hunting "thus led to domestication, and both of these cultures of subsistence kill intentionally and on a systematic basis".<sup>[82]</sup> Civilization with its cultural, political, and social institutions that classify living beings for the purpose of exploitation, she says, is the material manifestation of this cultural choice and anthropology.<sup>[81]</sup>

*Wild Children – Domesticated Dreams: Civilization and the Birth of Education* (2013) argues that civilized child rearing cultures are based on the principles of animal domestication. The institutions of education are responsible for the generation of the epistemology of predation and for the propagation of its ideology through scientific texts, pedagogical methods, and fictional narratives.<sup>[85]</sup>

## Total liberation

Total liberationism is a form of green anarchism that combines an opposition to all forms of human oppression with a commitment to animal and earth liberation.<sup>[86]</sup> Whilst more conventional approaches to anarchist politics typically maintain a tacit assumption of anthropocentrism, proponents of total liberation espouse a holistic revolutionary strategy aimed at identifying the intersections between all forms of domination and social hierarchy, and building alliances between individual political movements in order to integrate them into a single movement aimed at abolishing a range of social structures such as the state, capitalism, patriarchy, racism, heterosexism, cissexism, disablism, ageism, speciesism, and ecological domination.<sup>[87]</sup> As David Pellow summarises:

The concept of total liberation stems from a determination to understand and combat all forms of inequality and oppression. I propose that it comprises four pillars: (1) an ethic of justice and anti-oppression inclusive of humans, nonhuman animals, and ecosystems; (2) anarchism; (3) anti-capitalism; and (4) an embrace of direct action tactics.<sup>[88]</sup>

## Derrick Jensen

Derrick Jensen is an American author and environmental activist (and critic of mainstream environmentalism) living in Crescent City, California.<sup>[89]</sup> Jensen's work is sometimes characterized as anarcho-primitivist<sup>[90][91]</sup> although he has categorically rejected that label, describing primitivist as a "racist way to describe indigenous peoples." He prefers to be called "indigenist" or an "ally to the indigenous," because "indigenous peoples have had the only sustainable human social organizations, and ... we need to recognize that we [colonizers] are all living on stolen land."<sup>[92]</sup>

*A Language Older Than Words* uses the lens of domestic violence to look at the larger violence of western culture. *The Culture of Make Believe* begins by exploring racism and misogyny and moves to examine how this culture's economic system leads inevitably to hatred and atrocity. *Strangely Like War* is about deforestation. *Walking on Water* is about education (It begins: "As is true for most people I know, I've always loved learning. As is also true for most people I know, I always hated school. Why is that?").<sup>[93]</sup> *Welcome to the Machine* is about surveillance, and more broadly about science and what he perceives to be a Western obsession with control. *Resistance Against Empire* consists of interviews with J. W. Smith (on poverty), Kevin Bales (on slavery), Anuradha Mittal (on hunger), Juliet Schor ('globalization' and environmental degradation), Ramsey Clark (on US 'defense'), Stephen Schwartz (editor of *The Nonproliferation Review*, on nukes), Alfred McCoy (politics and heroin), Christian Parenti (the US prison system), Katherine Albrecht (on RFID), and Robert McChesney (on (freedom of) the media) conducted between 1999 and 2004. *Endgame* is about what he describes as the inherent unsustainability of civilization. In this book he asks: "Do you believe that this culture will undergo a voluntary transformation to a sane and sustainable way of living?" Nearly everyone he talks to says no. His next question is: "How would this understanding — that this culture will not voluntarily stop destroying the natural world, eliminating indigenous cultures, exploiting the poor, and killing those who resist — shift our strategy and tactics? The answer? Nobody knows, because we never talk about it: we're too busy pretending the culture will undergo a magical transformation." *Endgame*, he says, is "about that shift in strategy, and in tactics."<sup>[94]</sup> Jensen co-wrote the book *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet* with Lierre Keith and Aric McBay

## CrimethInc.

CrimethInc. is a decentralized anarchist collective of autonomous cells.<sup>[95]</sup><sup>[96]</sup><sup>[97]</sup> CrimethInc. emerged in the mid-1990s,<sup>[98]</sup> initially as the hardcore zine *Inside Front*, and began operating as a collective in 1996.<sup>[99]</sup> It has since published widely read articles and zines for the anarchist movement and distributed posters and books of its own publication.<sup>[100]</sup> Individuals adopting the CrimethInc. *nom de guerre* have included convicted ELF arsonists,<sup>[101]</sup> as well as hacktivists who successfully attacked the websites of DARE, Republican National Committee and sites related to U.S. President George W. Bush's 2004 re-election campaign.<sup>[102]</sup><sup>[103]</sup> The creation of propaganda has been described as the collectives' core function.<sup>[104]</sup> Among their best-known publications are the books *Days of War, Nights of Love, Expect Resistance, Evasion, Recipes for Disaster: An Anarchist Cookbook* and the pamphlet *Fighting For Our Lives* (of which, to date, they claim to have printed 600,000 copies),<sup>[105]</sup> the hardcore punk/political zine *Inside Front*, and the music of hardcore punk bands. As well as the traditional anarchist opposition to the state and capitalism, agents have, at times, advocated a straight edge lifestyle, the total supersession of gender roles,<sup>[106]</sup> violent insurrection against the state,<sup>[107]</sup> and the refusal of work.<sup>[108]</sup>

## Direct action

Some green anarchists engage in direct action (not to be confused with ecoterrorism). Organizing themselves through groups like Earth First!, Root Force, or more drastically the Earth Liberation Front ELF, Earth Liberation Army (ELA) and Animal Liberation Front (ALF). They may take direct action against what they see as systems of oppression such as the logging industry, the meat and dairy industries animal testing laboratories, genetic engineering facilities and, more rarely government institutions.

Such actions are usually, though not always, non-violent, with groups such as The Olga Cell attempting assassinations of nuclear scientists, and other related groups sending letterbombs to nano tech and nuclear tech-related targets.<sup>[109]</sup> Though not necessarily Green anarchists, activists have used the names Animal Rights Militia, Justice Department and Revolutionary Cells among others, to claim responsibility for openly violent attacks.

## Convictions

Rod Coronado is an eco-anarchist and is an unofficial spokesperson for the Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front. On February 28, 1992, Coronado carried out an arson attack on research facilities at Michigan State University (MSU), and released mink from a nearby research farm on campus, an action claimed by the ALF and for which Coronado was subsequently convicted.

In 1997, the editors of *Green Anarchist* magazine and two British supporters of the Animal Liberation Front were tried in connection with conspiracy to incite violence, in what came to be known as the GANDALF trial.

Green anarchist Tre Arrow<sup>[110]</sup><sup>[111]</sup> was sought by the FBI in connection with an ELF arson on April 15, 2001 at Ross Island Sand and Gravel in Portland, torching three trucks amounting of \$200,000 in damage. Another arson occurred a month later at Ray Schoppert Logging Company in Estacada, Oregon, on June 1, 2001 against logging trucks and a front loader, resulting in \$50,000 damage.<sup>[112]</sup> Arrow was indicted by a federal grand jury in Oregon and charged with four felonies for this crime on October 18, 2002.<sup>[113]</sup> On March 13, 2004, after fleeing to British Columbia, he was arrested in Victoria for stealing bolt cutters and was also charged with being in Canada illegally.<sup>[114]</sup> He was then sentenced on August 12, 2008 to 78 months in federal prison for his part in the arson and conspiracy ELF attacks in 2001.<sup>[115]</sup><sup>[116]</sup>

In January 2006, Eric McDavid, a green anarchist,<sup>[117]</sup><sup>[118]</sup> was convicted of conspiring to use fire or explosives to damage corporate and government property.<sup>[119]</sup> On March 8, he formally declared a hunger strike due to the jail refusing to provide him with vegan food. He has been given vegan food off and on since.<sup>[120]</sup> In September 2007, he was convicted on all counts after the two activists he conspired with pleaded guilty testified against him.<sup>[119]</sup><sup>[121]</sup><sup>[122]</sup> An FBI confidential source named "Anna" was revealed as a fourth participant, in what McDavid's defense argued was entrapment.<sup>[123]</sup> In May 2008, he was sentenced to nearly 20 years in prison.<sup>[124]</sup><sup>[125]</sup>

On March 3, 2006, a federal jury in Trenton, New Jersey convicted six members of SHAC, including green-anarchist Joshua Harper,<sup>[126]</sup><sup>[127]</sup><sup>[128]</sup> for "terrorism and Internet stalking", according to the *New York Times*, finding them guilty of using their website to "incite attacks" on those who did business with Huntingdon Life Sciences HLS.<sup>[129]</sup> In September 2006, the SHAC 7 received jail sentences of 3 to 6 years.

## Other prisoners

- [Marco Camenisch](#) Swiss green anarchist accused of arson against electricity pylons<sup>[130][131]</sup>
- [Nicole Vosper](#): green anarchist who pleaded guilty to charges against HLS<sup>[132][133]</sup>
- [Marius Mason](#) (born Marie Jeanette Mason): serving 21 years and 10 months (#04672-061, FMC Carswell, Federal Medical Center, P.O. Box 27137, Fort Worth, TX 76127, USA) for his involvement in an ELF arson against a University building carrying out Genetically Modified crop tests. Marius also pleaded guilty to conspiring to carry out ELF actions and admitted involvement in 12 other ELF actions. (vegan)<sup>[134]</sup>

## See also

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- [Chellis Glendinning](#)
- [Green anarchists \(category\)](#)
- [Green Scare](#)
- [Intentional community](#)
- [Left-libertarianism](#)
- [Operation Backfire \(FBI\)](#)
- [Permaculture](#)

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- a. Henri Zisly, self-labeled individualist anarchist, is considered one of the forerunners and principal organizers of the naturist movement in France and one of its most able and outspoken defenders worldwide.<sup>[29]</sup>
- b. In [Russia](#) censorship meant that many of Tolstoy's non-fiction works in the 1880s and 1890s were published abroad first, either in Russian or in translation, delaying the author's influence in his country of birth. However, with [Vladimir Chertkov](#) (1854–1936) as a key promoter of Tolstoy's ideas, a movement started over the 1890s. The movement continued to grow after the writer's death and was at its strongest in the years immediately following the [revolutions of 1917](#) with agricultural communities established in the provinces of [Smolensk](#), [Tver](#), [Samara](#), [Kursk](#), [Perm](#) and [Kiev](#). The Tolstoyan communities that proliferated between 1917 and 1921 were eventually wiped out or stripped of their independence as [collectivisation](#) and ideological purges got under way in the late 1920s. Colonies, such as the [Life and Labor Commune](#) relocated to [Siberia](#) to avoid being liquidated. Several Tolstoyan leaders, including [Yakov Dragunovsky](#) (1886–1937), were put on trial and then sent to the [Gulags](#).<sup>[48]</sup>
- c. In [England](#) John Coleman Kenworthy of the [Brotherhood Church](#) established a colony at [Purleigh, Essex](#) in 1896. This community closed a few years later but its residents spawned the [Whiteway Colony](#) in Gloucestershire and [Stapleton Colony](#) in Yorkshire, both of which are still going today. Although given Whiteway soon abandoned Tolstoy's principles, it has been regarded by many including [Gandhi](#) who visited in 1909, as a failed Tolstoyan experiment.<sup>[49]</sup>
- d. Johannes Van der Veer was the key figure in the Dutch Tolstoyan movement. In the [Netherlands](#) two colonies were started, a short-lived one at [Bussum](#) in [North Holland](#) and a more successful one nearby at [Blaricum](#). The reasons attributed to the failure of Tolstoyan communities across Europe have included the personal incompatibility of the participants and a general lack of practical agricultural experience.<sup>[50]</sup>

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7. 'Animal Liberation and Social Revolution' (<http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/brian-a-dbminick-animal-liberation-and-social-revolution>)
8. "While almost all forms of modern anarchism consider themselves to have an ecological dimension, the specifically eco-anarchist thread within anarchism has two main focal points, Social Ecology and "primitivist" [1] (<http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/secA3.html#seca33>) An Anarchist FAQ by Various authors
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## External links

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- [The Institute for Social Ecology](#)
- Articles tagged with "green" and "ecology" at [The Anarchist Library](#)
- [Green Anarchy](#)
- [REWILD.info](#)
- [Primitivism](#)
- [Tiamat Publications](#)
- [The News from Nowhere](#) Practical Green Anarchist ideas and theory

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# GROWL

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**GROWL** is an international education network for degrowth formed by academics, practitioners, researchers and political activists.<sup>[1]</sup> One central aim of the network is to promote collective action across initiatives related to degrowth (e.g. Transition Towns, agroecology, Solidarity economy, DIY among other "nowtopias"<sup>[2]</sup>), in order to reduce the atomization and dispersal of initiatives that hinder their capacity to scale up and present a solid alternative to the dominant economic paradigm.<sup>[3]</sup>

## History

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GROWL was founded in 2013 by ten non-profit, research and higher education organisations under the coordination of the think-tank Research & Degrowth. The network build-up has been supported with a ca. €200000 grant from the Grundtvig programme for the period between August 2013 and July 2015.<sup>[4]</sup>

In 2014, the first international thematic courses took place:

- Social dimension of agroecology
- Solidarity & Cooperative Economy
- Mental Infrastructures
- Local Economic Alternatives

## Philosophy

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The network departs from the acknowledgment of major shortcomings of contemporary education institutions in providing adequate knowledge and skills required to critically address the problems of limits to growth and engage in the transformations towards a post growth and sustainable society.<sup>[5]</sup>

The network relies on the theoretical foundations of social constructivism and the concept of peer learning based on communities of practice.<sup>[6]</sup>

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# Neo-Luddism

**Neo-Luddism** or **new Luddism** is a philosophy opposing many forms of modern technology.<sup>[1]</sup> The word Luddite is generally used as a derogatory term applied to people showing technophobic leanings.<sup>[2]</sup> The name is based on the historical legacy of the English Luddites, who were active between 1811 and 1816.<sup>[1]</sup>

Neo-Luddism is a leaderless movement of non-affiliated groups who resist modern technologies and dictate a return of some or all technologies to a more primitive level.<sup>[3]</sup> Neo-Luddites are characterized by one or more of the following practices: passively abandoning the use of technology, harming those who produce technology, advocating simple living, or sabotaging technology. The modern neo-Luddite movement has connections with the anti-globalization movement, anti-science movement, anarcho-primitivism, radical environmentalism and deep ecology.<sup>[3]</sup>

Neo-Luddism is based on the concern of the technological impact on individuals, their communities, and/or the environment.<sup>[4]</sup> Neo-Luddism stipulates the use of the precautionary principle for all new technologies, insisting that technologies be proven safe before adoption, due to the unknown effects that new technologies might inspire.

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- Types of intervention

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- Relationship to violence and vandalism

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## Philosophy

Neo-Luddism calls for slowing or stopping the development of new technologies. Neo-Luddism prescribes a lifestyle that abandons specific technologies, because of its belief that this is the best prospect for the future. As Robin and Webster put it, "a return to nature and what are imagined as more natural communities." In the place of industrial capitalism, neo-Luddism prescribes small-scale agricultural communities such as those of the Amish and the Chipko movement in Nepal and India<sup>[5]</sup> as models for the future.

Neo-Luddism denies the ability of any new technology to solve current problems, such as environmental degradation,<sup>[5]</sup> nuclear warfare and biological weapons without creating more, potentially dangerous problems.<sup>[6][7]</sup> Neo-Luddites are generally opposed to anthropocentrism, globalization and industrial capitalism.

In 1990, attempting to reclaim the term 'Luddite' and found a unified movement, Chellis Glendinning published her "Notes towards a Neo-Luddite manifesto". In this paper, Glendinning describes neo-Luddites as "20th century citizens—activists, workers, neighbors, social critics, and scholars—who question the predominant modern worldview, which preaches that unbridled technology represents progress."<sup>[8]</sup> Glendinning voices an opposition to technologies that she deems destructive to communities or are materialistic and rationalistic. She proposes that technology encourages biases, and therefore should question if technologies have been created for

specific interests, to perpetuate their specific values including short-term efficiency, ease of production and marketing, as well as profit. Glendinning also says that secondary aspects of technology, including social, economic and ecological implications, and not personal benefit need to be considered before adoption of technology into the technological system.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Vision of the future without intervention

Neo-Luddism often establishes stark predictions about the effect of new technologies. Although there is not a cohesive vision of the ramifications of technology, neo-Luddism predicts that a future without technological reform has dire consequences. Neo-Luddites believe that current technologies are a threat to humanity and to the natural world in general, and that a future societal collapse is possible or even probable.

Neo-Luddite Ted Kaczynski predicted a world with a depleted environment, an increase in psychological disorders, with either "leftists" who aim to control humanity through technology, or technology directly controlling humanity.<sup>[9]</sup> According to Sale, "The industrial civilization so well served by its potent technologies cannot last, and will not last; its collapse is certain within not more than a few decades."<sup>[10]</sup> Stephen Hawking a famous astrophysicist, predicted that the means of production will be controlled by the "machine owner" class and that without redistribution of wealth, technology will create more economic inequality.<sup>[11]</sup>

These predictions include changes in humanity's place in the future due to replacement of humans by computers, genetic decay of humans due to lack of natural selection, biological engineering of humans, misuse of technological power including disasters caused by genetically modified organisms, nuclear warfare, and biological weapons; control of humanity using surveillance, propaganda, pharmacological control, and psychological control; humanity failing to adapt to the future manifesting as an increase in psychological disorders, widening economic and political inequality, widespread social alienation, a loss of community, and massive unemployment; technology causing environmental degradation due to shortsightedness, overpopulation, and overcrowding.<sup>[5][12]</sup>

## Types of intervention

In 1990, attempting to reclaim the term 'Luddite' and found a unified movement, Chellis Glendinning published her "Notes towards a Neo-Luddite manifesto". In this paper, Glendinning proposes destroying the following technologies: electromagnetic technologies (this includes communications, computers, appliances, and refrigeration), chemical technologies (this includes synthetic materials and medicine), nuclear technologies (this includes weapons and power as well as cancer treatment, sterilization, and smoke detection), genetic engineering (this includes crops as well as insulin production).<sup>[8]</sup> She argues in favor of the "search for new technological forms" which are local in scale and promote social and political freedom.

In "The coming revolution", Kaczynski outlined what he saw as changes humanity will have to make in order to make society functional, "new values that will free them from the yoke of the present technoinustrial system", including:

- Rejection of all modern technology— "This is logically necessary because modern technology is a whole in which all parts are interconnected; you can't get rid of the bad parts without also giving up those parts that seem good."
- Rejection of civilization itself
- Rejection of materialism and its replacement with a conception of life that values moderation and self-sufficiency while deprecating the acquisition of property or of status.
- Love and reverence toward nature or even worship of nature
- Exaltation of freedom
- Punishment of those responsible for the present situation. "Scientists, engineers, corporation executives, politicians, and so forth to make the cost of improving technology too great for anyone to try"



Kaczynski as a young professor at U.C. Berkeley, 1968

## Movement

Contemporary neo-Luddites are a widely diverse group of loosely affiliated or non-affiliated groups which includes "writers, academics, students, families, Amish, Mennonites, Quakers, environmentalists, "fallen-away yuppies," "ageing flower children" and "young idealists seeking a technology-free environment."<sup>[10]</sup> Some Luddites see themselves as victims of technology trying to prevent further victimization (such as Citizens Against Pesticide Misuse and Parents Against Underage Smartphones). Others see themselves as advocates for the natural order and resist environmental degradation by technology (such Earth First!).<sup>[10]</sup>

One neo-Luddite assembly was the "Second Neo-Luddite Congress", held April 13–15, 1996, at a Quaker meeting hall in Barnesville, Ohio. On February 24, 2001, the "Teach-In on Technology and Globalization" was held at Hunter College in New York city with the purpose to bring together critics of technology and globalization.<sup>[10]</sup> The two figures who are seen as the movement's founders are Chellis Glendinning and Kirkpatrick Sale. Prominent neo-Luddites include educator S. D. George, ecologist Stephanie Mills, Theodore Roszak, Scott Savage, Clifford Stoll, Bill McKibben, Neil Postman, Wendell Berry, Alan Marshall and Gene Logsdon.<sup>[5][10]</sup> Postman, however, did not consider himself a Luddite and loathed being associated with the term.

## Relationship to violence and vandalism

Some neo-Luddites use vandalism and or violence to achieve social change and promote their cause.<sup>[13]</sup>

In May 2012, credit for the shooting of Roberto Adinolfi, an Ansaldo Nucleare executive, was claimed by an anarchist group who targeted him for stating that none of the deaths following the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami were caused by the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster itself:

Adinolfi knows well that it is only a matter of time before a European Fukushima kills on our continent [...] Science in centuries past promised us a golden age, but it is pushing us towards self destruction and slavery [...] With our action we give back to you a small part of the suffering that you scientists are bringing to the world.<sup>[14]</sup>

Kaczynski, also known as the *Unabomber*, initially sabotaged developments near his cabin but dedicated himself to getting back at the system after discovering a road had been built over a plateau he had considered beautiful. Between 1978 and 1995, Kaczynski engaged in a nationwide bombing campaign against modern technology, planting or mailing numerous home-made bombs, killing three people and injuring 23 others. In his 1995 manifesto *Industrial Society and Its Future*,<sup>[9]</sup> Kaczynski states:

The kind of revolution we have in mind will not necessarily involve an armed uprising against any government. It may or may not involve physical violence, but it will not be a POLITICAL revolution. Its focus will be on technology and economics, not politics.

In August 2011 in Mexico a group or person calling itself Individuals Tending Towards the Wild perpetrated an attack with a bomb at the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education, State of Mexico Campus, intended for the coordinator of its Business Development Center and Technology Transfer. The attack was accompanied by the publication of a manifesto criticizing nanotechnology and computer science.

Sale says that neo-Luddites are not motivated to commit violence or vandalism.<sup>[15]</sup> The manifesto of the 'Second Luddite Congress', which Sale took a major part in defining, attempts to redefine neo-Luddites as people who reject violent action.<sup>[10]</sup>

## History

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### Origins of contemporary critiques of technology in literature

According to Julian Young, Martin Heidegger was a Luddite in his early philosophical phase and believed in the destruction of modern technology and a return to an earlier agrarian world.<sup>[16]</sup> However, the later Heidegger did not see technology as wholly negative and did not call for its abandonment or destruction.<sup>[17]</sup> In *The Question Concerning Technology* (1953), Heidegger posited

that the modern technological "mode of Being" was one which viewed the natural world, plants, animals, and even human beings as a "standing-reserve"—resources to be exploited as means to an end.<sup>[17]</sup> To illustrate this "monstrousness", Heidegger uses the example of a hydroelectric plant on the Rhine river which turns the river from an unspoiled natural wonder to just a supplier of hydropower. In this sense, technology is not just the collection of tools, but a way of being in the world and of understanding the world which is instrumental and grotesque. According to Heidegger, this way of being defines the modern way of living in the West.<sup>[17]</sup> For Heidegger, this technological process ends up reducing beings to not-beings, which Heidegger calls 'the abandonment of being' and involves the loss of any sense of awe and wonder as well as an indifference to that loss.<sup>[17]</sup>

One of the first major contemporary anti-technological thinkers was French philosopher Jacques Ellul. In his *The Technological Society* (1964), Ellul argued that the rationality of technology enforces logical and mechanical organization which "eliminates or subordinates the natural world." Ellul defined *technique* as the entire totality of organizational methods and technology with a goal toward maximum rational efficiency. According to Ellul, technique has an impetus which tends to drown out human concerns: "The only thing that matters technically is yield, production. This is the law of *technique*; this yield can only be obtained by the total mobilization of human beings, body and soul, and this implies the exploitation of all human psychic forces."<sup>[18]</sup> Another critic of political and technological expansion was Lewis Mumford who wrote *The Myth of the Machine*. The views of Ellul influenced the ideas of the infamous American neo-Luddite Kaczynski. The opening of Kaczynski's manifesto reads: "The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race."<sup>[19]</sup> Other philosophers of technology who have questioned the validity of technological progress include Albert Borgmann, Don Ihde and Hubert Dreyfus<sup>[5]</sup>[19]

## See also

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- Neo-Luddites (category)
- Ned Ludd
- Anarcho-primitivism
- Antiscience
- Green conservatism
- CLODO
- Development criticism
- Earth liberation
- Green anarchy
- Hardline (subculture)
- John Zerzan
- Pentti Linkola
- Radical environmentalism
- Reactionary
- On the Origin of the "Influencing Machine" in Schizophrenia
- Traditionalist Workers Party
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## External links

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- [Primitivism writings archive](#)
- [Luddism and the Neo-Luddite Reaction](#) by Martin Ryder, University of Colorado at Denver School of Education
- [Stand up against the anti-technology terrorist](#) by Gerardo Herrera Corral, Nature 476, 373 (2011)
- [Rage Against the Machines](#)

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# Postdevelopment theory

**Postdevelopment theory** (also **post-development** or **anti-development** or **development criticism**) holds that the whole concept and practice of development is a reflection of Western-Northern hegemony over the rest of the world. Postdevelopment thought arose in the 1980s out of criticisms voiced against development projects and development theory, which justified them.

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## Development as ideology

The postdevelopment critique holds that modern development theory is a creation of academia in tandem with an underlying political and economic ideology. The academic, political, and economic nature of development means it tends to be policy oriented, problem-driven, and therefore effective only in terms of and in relation to a particular pre-existing social theory.

The actual development projects thus initiated, by both governments and NGOs, are directed in accordance with this development theory. Development theory itself, however, assumes a framework already set in place by government and political culture in order to implement it. The development process is therefore *socially constructed*. Western interests are guiding its direction and outcome, and so development itself fundamentally reflects the pattern of Western hegemony.

Development as an ideology and a social vision is ingrained in the ideals of modernization, which holds western economic structure and society as a universal model for others to follow and emulate. Rooted in western influence, the developmental discourse reflects the unequal power relations between the west and the rest of the world, whereby the western knowledge of development, approach toward development, and conception of what development entails, as well as perceptions of progress, directs the course for the rest of the world.

## Reviewing development

Influenced by Ivan Illich and other critics of colonialism and postcolonialism, a number of post-development theorists like Arturo Escobar and Gustavo Esteva have challenged the very meaning of development. According to them, the way we understand development is rooted in the earlier colonial discourse that depicts the North as "advanced" and "progressive", and the South as "backward", "degenerate" and "primitive".

They point out that a new way of thinking about development began in 1949 with President Harry Truman's declaration: "The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealings."<sup>[1]</sup> While claiming that the "era of development" began at this point, post development theorists do not suggest that the concept of development was new. What was new was the definition of development in terms of an escape from underdevelopment. Since the latter referred to two-thirds of the world, this meant that most societies were made to see themselves as having fallen into the undignified condition of "underdevelopment", and thus to look outside of their own cultures for salvation.

Development, according to these critics, was now a euphemism for post-war American hegemony, it was the ideals and development programs of the United States and its (Western) European allies that would form the basis of development everywhere else.

## **Post-development theory**

Post-development theory arose in the 1980s and 1990s through the works of scholars like Arturo Escobar, Gustavo Esteva, Majid Rahnema, Wolfgang Sachs, James Ferguson, Serge Latouche, and Gilbert Rist. Leading members of the post-development school argue that development was always unjust, never worked, and at this point has clearly failed. According to Wolfgang Sachs, a leading member of the post-development school, "the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape" and "it is time to dismantle this mental structure."<sup>[2]</sup>

To cite an example of this "mental structure", development theorists point out how the concept of development has resulted in the hierarchy of developed and underdeveloped nations, where the developed nations are seen as more advanced and superior to the underdeveloped nations that are conceived as inferior, in need of help from the developed nations, and desiring to be like the developed nations. The post-developmentschool of thought points out that the models of development are often ethnocentric (in this case Eurocentric), universalist, and based on western models of industrialization that are unsustainable in this world of limited resources and ineffective for their ignorance of the local, cultural and historical contexts of the peoples to which they are applied. In essence, the problem post-development theorists see in development and its practice is an imbalance of influence or domination by the west. Post development theorists promote more pluralism in ideas about development.

### **Critique of ethnocentrism and universalism**

Among the starting points and basic assumptions of post-development thought is the idea that a middle-class, Western lifestyle and all that goes with it (which might include the nuclear family, mass consumption, living in suburbia and extensive private space), may neither be a realistic nor a desirable goal for the majority of the world's population. In this sense, development is seen as requiring the loss, or indeed the deliberate extermination (ethnocide) of indigenous culture<sup>[3]</sup> or other psychologically and environmentally rich and rewarding modes of life. As a result, formerly satisfactory ways of life become dissatisfying because development changes people's perception of themselves.

Majid Rahnema cites Helena Norberg-Hodge: "To take an example, Helena Norberg-Hodge mentions how the notion of poverty hardly existed in Ladakh when she visited that country for the first time in 1975. Today she says, it has become part of the language. When visiting an outlying village some eight years ago, Helena asked a young Ladakhi where were the poorest houses. 'We have no poor houses in our village,' was the proud reply. Recently Helena saw the same Ladakhi talking to an American tourist and overheard him say, 'if only you could do something for us, we are so poor'<sup>[4][5]</sup>

Development is seen as a set of knowledges, interventions and worldviews (in short, discourses) which are also powers: to intervene, to transform and to rule. Post-development critiques challenge the notion of a single path to development and demands acknowledgment of diversity of cultural perspectives and priorities.

For example, the politics of defining and satisfying needs is a crucial dimension of development thought, deeply entwined in the concept of agency. But who voices development concerns, what power relations are played out, how do the interests of development "experts" (the World Bank, IMF officials, professionals, and so on) rule the development priorities, and which voices are excluded as a result? The post-development approach attempts to overcome the inequality of this discourse by opening up spaces for non-Western peoples and their concerns.

Postdevelopment theory is, above all, a critique of the standard assumptions about progress: who possesses the key to it and how it may be implemented.

## Alternatives to development

While the postdevelopment school provides a plethora of development critiques, it also considers alternative methods for bringing about positive change. The postdevelopment school proposes a particular vision of society removed from the discourse of development, modernity, politics, cultural and economic influences from the west, and market oriented and centralized authoritarian societies.

In his works, Escobar has outlined the common features of post-development thought and societal vision. According to Escobar, the post-development school of thought is interested (in terms of searching for an alternative to development) in "local culture and knowledge; a critical stance toward established scientific discourses; and the defense and promotion of localized, pluralistic grassroots movements." Grassroots movements, Escobar argues, are "local, pluralistic, and distrust organized politics and development establishment." (Escobar, 2017)

Post-development thought takes inspiration from vernacular societies, the informal sector and frugal rather than materialistic lifestyles. Furthermore, post-development theorists advocate for structural changes. According to Escobar, post-developmental thinking believes that the economy must be based around solidarity and reciprocity; policy must focus on direct democracy; and knowledge systems should be traditional, or at least a hybrid of modern and traditional knowledge.

## James Ferguson

One of the leading anti-development writers, James Ferguson contributed to what John Rapley termed "the most important of the opening salvos" of post-development theory with his book *The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. In *The Anti-Politics Machine* Ferguson describes the failure of the development project to properly understand the cultural and economic values of the people of Lesotho. This misunderstanding led to misappropriation of resources by the international community and myriad negative consequences for Basotho (residents of Lesotho), prompting Ferguson to comment that "Capitalist interests [...] can only operate through a set of social and cultural structures so complex that the outcome may be only a baroque and unrecognizable transformation of the original intention.<sup>[6]</sup> Development projects cannot simply create a desired result, but instead have a number of unexpected consequences.

Ferguson suggests that although development projects often end in failure, they still produce tangible impacts in the physical and social-political environment. In *The Anti-Politics Machine* he asks, "What do aid programs do besides fail to help poor people?"<sup>[6]</sup> In the case of Lesotho, Ferguson proposes that, "while the project did not transform livestock-keeping it did build a road to link to Thaba-Tsea more strongly with the capital.<sup>[6]</sup> Ferguson argues that there is value to understanding and thinking about the unintended consequences for an environment.

## Arturo Escobar

Critics of development do not deny the need for change. They argue instead that to enact proper and effective change, change itself must first be conceived in different terms. Arturo Escobar, another leading member of the post-development school, argues:

While social change has probably always been part of the human experience, it was only within the European modernity that 'society', i.e. the whole way of life of a people, was open to empirical analysis and made the subject of planned change. And while communities in the Third World may find that there is a need for some sort of organised or directed change—in part to reverse the damage done by development—this undoubtedly will not take the form of 'designing life' or social engineering. In this long run, this means that categories and meanings have to be redefined; through their innovative political practice, new social movements of various kinds are already embarked on this process of redefining the social, and knowledge itself.

## **Majid Rahnema**

Majid Rahnema addresses the question of which path to take directly in his conclusion to the *Post-Development Reader*. Rahnema admits that it may be true that a large majority of people, whose lives are in fact difficult, do want change. But the answer he suggests is not development but the "end of development". He says that the end of development is not "An end to the search for new possibilities of change, for a relational world of friendship, or for genuine processes of regeneration able to give birth to new forms of solidarity". Rather, Rahnema argues, the "inhumane and the ultimately destructive approach to change is over. It should resemble a call to the 'good people' everywhere to think and work together"

## **Serge Latouche**

Serge Latouche is a French emeritus professor in economy at the University of Paris-Sud. A specialist in North-South economic and cultural relations, and in social sciences epistemology, he has developed a critical theory towards economic orthodoxy. He denounces economism, utilitarianism in social sciences, consumer society and the notion of sustainable development. He particularly criticizes the notions of economic efficiency and economic rationalism. He is one of the thinkers and most renowned partisans of the degrowth theory.<sup>[7]</sup> Latouche has also published in the Revue de Mauss, a French anti-utilitarian journal.

## **Wolfgang Sachs and *The Development Dictionary***

Wolfgang Sachs is a leading writer in post-development thought. Most of his writing is focused on environmentally sustainable development and the idea that past notions of development are naturally unsustainable practices on our finite planet. However, in 1992 he co-authored and edited *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* which contributed greatly to the compilation of post development literature as a general theory

This manifesto posits that the new era of development that emerged in the 1950s was created by the United States in order to secure its new hegemonic position in the global community. Sachs explains that the concept of "underdevelopment" was actually constructed in Harry S. Truman's 1949 inaugural address, which popularized the term. Sachs argues that the creation of this term was a discrete, strategic move to secure American hegemony by reinforcing the idea that the United States is at the top, and other countries on a lower pillar, of a linear and singular trajectory of development. It created a homogeneous identity for these countries and stripped them of their own diverse characteristics. "It converts participation into a manipulative trick to involve people in struggles for getting what the powerful want to impose on them".<sup>[8]</sup>

*The Development Dictionary* describes a biological metaphor for development. This biological metaphor was transferred to the social sphere and perpetuated the ideal that there is one natural way to develop into the perfect form. To develop in a manner disparate from the "natural order of things" was to become a disfigured anomaly. This definition held the potential to provide morally ambiguous justification for imperialist behavior and can be connected to colonial discourse and mainstream development theories. Under such categorization, Sachs explains, development was reduced to a simple measurement of the economic growth of per capita production.

Sachs issues a cry for public awareness of the "limits of development." He leaves the reader with the idea of the "New Commons" and posits that men and women should begin with this awareness before attempting to introduce new political policies with room for creativity and innovation in diverse development paths.

# Criticisms

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There is a large body of works which are critical of post-development theory and its proponents. It has been noted that post-development theory sees all development as imposed upon the developing world by the West. This dualist perspective of development may be unrealistic, and Marc Edelman notes that a large proportion of development has risen from, rather than been imposed upon, the developing world.<sup>[9]</sup> Citing Jonathan Crush's point that "Development, for all its power to speak and to control the terms of speaking, has never been impervious to challenge and resistance, nor, in response, to reformulation and change"<sup>[10]</sup> Ray Kiely argues that "The post-development idea is thus part of a long history within the development discourse."<sup>[11]</sup> In short, Kiely argues that post-development theory is merely the latest version of a set of criticisms that have long been evident within writing and thought in the field of development. Development has always been about choices, Kiely explains. Choices with resulting losers and winners, dilemmas and destruction, as well as creative possibility

There are a number of more fundamental objections to the postdevelopment school. The first is that it overstates its case. A rejection of *all development* is a rejection of the possibility for material advancement and transformation. It ignores the tangible transformations in life opportunities and health and material well-being that has been evident in parts of the developing world. Moreover, development itself is so varied and carries so many meanings that critiques need to be specific about their intention when they claim to be "post- development". By damning development all together, post-development theorists fail to notice the heterogeneity within development discourse. They categorize all development under the umbrella of Western hegemony, contradictively applying the same sort of essentialist generalization post-development theorists reject.

Critics also argue that post-development perpetuates cultural relativism: the idea that cultural beliefs and practices can be judged only by those who practice them. By accepting all cultural behaviors and beliefs as valid and rejecting a universal standard for living and understanding life, critics of post-development argue, post-development represents the opposite extreme of universalism, extreme relativism. Such a relativist extreme, rather than besting extreme universalism, has equally dangerous implications. John Rapley points out that "rejection of essentialism rests itself on an essentialist claim – namely, that all truth is constructed and arbitrary[...]"<sup>[12]</sup>

Kiely also argues that by rejecting a top-down, centralized approach to development and promoting development through local means, post-development thought perpetuates neo-liberal ideals. Kiely remarks that "The argument — upheld by dependency and post-development theory — that the First World needs the Third World, and vice versa, rehearses neo-liberal assumptions that the world is an equal playing field in which all nation states have the capacity to compete equally[...]"<sup>[13]</sup> In other words, making locals responsible for their own predicament, post-development unintentionally agrees with neo-liberalist ideology that favors decentralized projects and ignores the possibility of assisting impoverished demographics, instead making the fallacious assumption that such demographics must succeed on their own initiative alone. Kiely notes that not all grassroots movements are progressive. Post-development is seen to empower anti-modern fundamentalists and traditionalists, who may hold non-progressive and oppressive values.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Notable development critics

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- [Edward Abbey](#)
- [John Africa](#)
- [Stafford Beer \(viable system model\)](#)
- [Charles A. Coulombe](#)
- [Stanley Diamond](#)
- [Jacques Ellul](#)
- [Arturo Escobar \(anthropologist\)](#)
- [Gustavo Esteva](#)
- [Julius Evola](#)
- [James Ferguson \(anthropologist\)](#)
- [Masanobu Fukuoka](#)
- [Mohandas Gandhi](#)
- [Edward Goldsmith](#)
- [David Graeber](#)
- [René Guénon](#)
- [Martin Heidegger](#)
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- [Derrick Jensen](#)
- [Theodore Kaczynski](#)
- [Ruhollah Khomeini](#)
- [Philip Larkin](#)
- [Pentti Linkola](#)
- [Ned Ludd](#)
- [Maria Mies](#)
- [Yukio Mishima](#)
- [MOVE organization](#)

- [François Partant](#)
- [Fredy Perlman](#)
- [Daniel Quinn](#)
- [Majid Rahnema](#)

- [Gilbert Rist](#)
- [Vandana Shiva](#)
- [Henry David Thoreau](#)
- [John Zerzan](#)

## See also

- [Anarcho-primitivism](#)
- [Critical theory](#)
- [Critique of technology](#)
- [Deep ecology](#)
- [Degrowth](#)
- [Eco-anarchism](#)
- [Eco-feminism](#)
- [High modernism](#)
- [Human history](#)
- [Industrialization](#)

- [Modernization](#)
- [Myth of progress](#)
- [Neo-Luddism](#)
- [Neotribalism](#)
- [Paradigm shift](#)
- [Principles of intelligent urbanism](#)
- [Radical traditionalism](#)
- [Simple living](#)
- [Social criticism](#)

## Opposing theories

- [Modernization theory](#)
- [Neoliberalism](#)

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# Ted Kaczynski

**Theodore John Kaczynski** (/kə'zɪnski/; born May 22, 1942), also known as the **Unabomber** (/ju:nə'bɒmər/), is an American domestic terrorist, former mathematics professor, and anarchist author.<sup>[2][3][4]</sup> A mathematics prodigy,<sup>[5]</sup> he abandoned an academic career in 1969 to pursue a primitive lifestyle. Between 1978 and 1995, he killed three people and injured 23 others in an attempt to start a revolution by conducting a nationwide bombing campaign targeting people involved with modern technology. In conjunction, he issued a social critique opposing industrialization and advancing a nature-centered form of anarchism.<sup>[6]</sup>

In 1971 Kaczynski moved to a remote cabin without electricity or running water near Lincoln, Montana, where he lived as a recluse while learning survival skills in an attempt to become self-sufficient. After witnessing the destruction of the wilderness surrounding his cabin, he concluded that living in nature was untenable and began his bombing campaign in 1978. In 1995, he sent a letter to The New York Times and promised to "desist from terrorism" if The Times or The Washington Post published his essay, Industrial Society and Its Future, in which he argued that his bombings were extreme but necessary to attract attention to the erosion of human freedom and dignity by modern technologies that require large-scale organization.

Kaczynski was the subject of the longest and most expensive investigation in the history of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Before his identity was known, the FBI used the acronym UNABOM University and Airline Bomber to refer to his case, which resulted in the media naming him the "Unabomber". The FBI and Attorney General Janet Reno pushed for the publication of Industrial Society and Its Future, which led to a tip-off from Kaczynski's brother, David Kaczynski, who recognized the writing style.

After his arrest in 1996, Kaczynski tried unsuccessfully to dismiss his court-appointed lawyers because they wanted him to plead insanity in order to avoid the death penalty, as he did not believe he was insane. In 1998 a plea bargain was reached, under which he pleaded guilty to all charges and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole.

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Kaczynski after his capture in 1996	
<b>Born</b>	Theodore John Kaczynski
	May 22, 1942
	Chicago, Illinois, U.S.
<b>Other names</b>	Unabomber
<b>Education</b>	Harvard University (BA) University of Michigan (MA, PhD)
<b>Occupation</b>	Mathematician
<b>Notable work</b>	<i>Industrial Society and Its Future</i> (1995)
<b>Home town</b>	Evergreen Park, Illinois
<b>Criminal status</b>	Incarcerated at ADX Florence, #04475-046 <sup>[1]</sup>
<b>Conviction(s)</b>	10 counts of transportation, mailing and use of bombs; 3 counts of murder
<b>Criminal penalty</b>	8 consecutive life sentences without the possibility of parole

Details	
<b>Span of crimes</b>	1978–1995
<b>Killed</b>	3
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### **Childhood**

Theodore John Kaczynski was born on May 22, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois, to working-class second-generation Polish Americans, Wanda Theresa (née Dombek) and Theodore Richard Kaczynski.<sup>[7]</sup> His parents told his younger brother, David Kaczynski, that Ted had been a happy baby until severe hives forced him into hospital isolation with limited contact with others, after which he "showed little emotion for months".<sup>[8]</sup> Wanda recalled Ted recoiling from a picture of himself as an infant being held down by physicians examining his hives. She said he showed sympathy to animals who were in cages or otherwise helpless, which she speculated stemmed from his experience in hospital isolation.<sup>[9]</sup>

From first to fourth grade, Kaczynski attended Sherman Elementary School in Chicago, where administrators described him as "healthy" and "well-adjusted".<sup>[10]</sup> In 1952, three years after David was born, the family moved to southwest suburban Evergreen Park, Illinois; Ted transferred to Evergreen Park Central School. After testing scored his IQ at 167,<sup>[11]</sup> he skipped the sixth grade. Kaczynski later described this as a pivotal event: previously he had socialized with his peers and was even a leader, but after skipping ahead he felt he did not fit in with the older children and was bullied.<sup>[12]</sup>

Neighbors in Evergreen Park later described the Kaczynskis as "civic-minded folks", with one stating that the parents "sacrificed everything they had for their children".<sup>[8]</sup> Both Ted and David were intelligent, but Ted stood out in particular. One neighbor said she had "never known anyone who had a brain like he did",<sup>[13]</sup> while another said that Ted was "strictly a loner" who "didn't play ... an old man before his time".<sup>[8]</sup> His mother recalled Ted as a shy child who would become unresponsive if pressured into a social situation.<sup>[14]</sup> At one point she was so worried about Ted's social development that she considered entering him in a study for autistic children led by Bruno Bettelheim. She decided against it after observing Bettelheim's abrupt and cold manner.<sup>[15]</sup>

In 1990, Ted's father Theodore, suffering from terminal cancer, committed suicide with a .22 caliber rifle. Contrary to reports, Theodore had not suffered from mental health problems; he felt that death from cancer would be too painful for him and his family. Theodore spent his last days with his family members, showing them affection as an implicit farewell.<sup>[16]</sup>

## High school

Kaczynski attended Evergreen Park Community High School where he excelled academically. He played the trombone in the marching band and was a member of the mathematics, biology, coin, and German clubs but was regarded as an outsider by his classmates.<sup>[17]</sup><sup>[18]</sup> In 1996, a former classmate said: "He was never really seen as a person, as an individual personality ... He was always regarded as a walking brain, so to speak."<sup>[8]</sup> During this period, Kaczynski became intensely interested in mathematics, spending hours studying and solving advanced problems. He became associated with a group of likeminded boys interested in science and mathematics, known as the "briefcase boys" for their penchant for carrying briefcases.<sup>[18]</sup> One member of this group recalled Kaczynski as "the smartest kid in the class ... just quiet and shy until you got to know him. Once he knew you, he could talk and talk."<sup>[8]</sup>

Throughout high school, Kaczynski was ahead of his classmates academically. Placed in a more advanced mathematics class, he soon mastered the material. He skipped the eleventh grade, and by attending summer school he graduated at age 15. He was one of his school's five National Merit finalists, and was encouraged to apply to Harvard College.<sup>[17]</sup> He entered Harvard on a scholarship in 1958 at the age of 16.<sup>[19]</sup> A classmate later said that Kaczynski was emotionally unprepared: "They packed him up and sent him to Harvard before he was ready... He didn't even have a driver's license."<sup>[8]</sup>

## Harvard College

During his first year at Harvard, Kaczynski lived at 8 Prescott Street, which was designed to accommodate the youngest, most precocious freshmen in a small, intimate living space. For the next three years he lived at Eliot House. One of his suitemates there recalled that he avoided contact with others and "would just rush through the suite, go into his room, and slam the door." Another said Kaczynski was reserved, but regarded him as a genius: "It's just an opinion – but Ted was brilliant." Other students stated Kaczynski was less socially averse than these descriptions imply; an Eliot House resident who dined with Kaczynski at times called him "very quiet, but personable... He would enter into the discussions maybe a little less so than most [but] he was certainly friendly."<sup>[20]</sup>

Kaczynski earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in mathematics from Harvard in 1962.<sup>[21]</sup><sup>[22]</sup> He finished with an above-average 3.12 GPA.<sup>[23]</sup>

## Psychological study

As a sophomore, Kaczynski participated in a study described by author Alston Chase as a "purposely brutalizing psychological experiment" led by Harvard psychologist Henry Murray. Subjects were told they would be debating personal philosophy with a fellow student, and were asked to write essays detailing their personal beliefs and aspirations. The essays were turned over to an anonymous attorney, who in a later session would confront and belittle the subject – making "vehement, sweeping, and personally abusive" attacks – using the content of the essays as ammunition, while electrodes monitored the subject's physiological reactions. These encounters were filmed, and subjects' expressions of anger and rage were later played back to them repeatedly.<sup>[24]</sup> The experiment lasted three years, with someone verbally abusing and humiliating Kaczynski each week.<sup>[25]</sup><sup>[26]</sup> Kaczynski spent 200 hours as part of the study.<sup>[27]</sup>

Kaczynski's lawyers later attributed his hostility towards mind control techniques to his participation in Murray's study.<sup>[24]</sup> Some sources have suggested that Murray's experiments were part of Project MKUltra, the Central Intelligence Agency's research into mind control.<sup>[28]</sup><sup>[29]</sup><sup>[30]</sup> Chase<sup>[31]</sup><sup>[32]</sup> and others<sup>[33]</sup><sup>[34]</sup> have also suggested that this experience may have motivated Kaczynski's criminal activities, while philosopher Jonathan D. Moreno said that, though "Kaczynski's anti-technological fixation and his critique itself had some roots in the Harvard curriculum," his later bombing campaign can "by no means be laid at Harvard's door."<sup>[25]</sup>

## Mathematics career

In 1962, Kaczynski enrolled at the University of Michigan where he earned his master's and doctoral degrees in mathematics in 1964 and 1967, respectively. Michigan was not his first choice for postgraduate education; he had also applied to the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of Chicago, both of which accepted him but offered him no teaching position or financial aid. Michigan offered him an annual grant of \$2,310 (equivalent to \$19,343 in 2018) and a teaching post.<sup>[23]</sup>

At the University of Michigan, Kaczynski specialized in complex analysis, specifically geometric function theory. His intellect and drive impressed his professors. "He was an unusual person. He was not like the other graduate students. He was much more focused about his work. He had a drive to discover mathematical truth," said professor Peter Duren. "It is not enough to say he was smart," said George Piranian, another of his Michigan mathematics professors.<sup>[35]</sup> At Michigan, Kaczynski earned 5 Bs and 12 As in his 18 courses. However, in 2006, he said his "memories of the University of Michigan are NOT pleasant.. the fact that I not only passed my courses (except one physics course) but got quite a few As, shows how wretchedly low the standards were at Michigan."<sup>[23]</sup>

In 1967, Kaczynski's dissertation *Boundary Functions*<sup>[36]</sup> won the Sumner B. Myers Prize for Michigan's best mathematics dissertation of the year.<sup>[8]</sup> Allen Shields, his doctoral advisor, called it "the best I have ever directed",<sup>[23]</sup> and Maxwell Reade, a member of his dissertation committee, said "I would guess that maybe 10 or 12 men in the country understood or appreciated it."<sup>[35][8]</sup> Kaczynski published two journal articles related to his dissertation, and three more after leaving Michigan.<sup>[36][37]</sup>

In late 1967, the 25-year-old Kaczynski became the youngest assistant professor of mathematics in the history of University of California, Berkeley, where he taught undergraduate courses in geometry and calculus.<sup>[38]</sup> His teaching evaluations suggest he was not well-liked by his students: he seemed uncomfortable teaching, taught straight from the textbook and refused to answer questions.<sup>[8]</sup> Without any explanation, Kaczynski resigned on June 30, 1969.<sup>[39]</sup> At the time, the chairman of the mathematics department, J. W. Addison, called this a "sudden and unexpected" resignation.<sup>[40][41]</sup>

In 1996, vice chairman at Berkeley, Calvin C. Moore said, given Kaczynski's "impressive" dissertation and publications, he "could have advanced up the ranks and been a senior member of the faculty today."<sup>[42]</sup> A 1996 Los Angeles Times article stated: "The field that Kaczynski worked in doesn't really exist today [according to mathematicians interviewed about his work]. Most of its theories were proven in the 1960s, when Kaczynski worked in it." According to mathematician Donald Rung, "[Kaczynski] probably would have gone on to some other area if he were to stay in mathematics."<sup>[39]</sup>

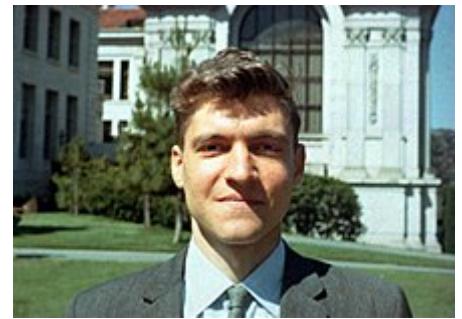
## Life in Montana

After resigning from Berkeley, Kaczynski moved to his parents' home in Lombard, Illinois, then two years later, in 1971, to a remote cabin he had built outside Lincoln, Montana, where he could live a simple life with little money and without electricity or running water,<sup>[43]</sup> working odd jobs and receiving some financial support from his family.<sup>[8]</sup>

His original goal was to become self-sufficient so that he could live autonomously. He taught himself survival skills such as tracking game, edible plant identification, organic farming, bow drilling and other primitive technologies.<sup>[44]</sup> He used an old bicycle to get to town, and a volunteer at the local library said he visited frequently to read classic works in their original languages. Other Lincoln residents said later that such a lifestyle was not unusual in the area.<sup>[45]</sup>

Kaczynski decided it was impossible to live peacefully in nature because of the destruction of the wildland around his cabin by real estate development and industrial projects.<sup>[44]</sup> In response, he began performing acts of sabotage against nearby developments in 1975,<sup>[46]</sup> and dedicated himself to reading about sociology and political philosophy, such as the works of Jacques Ellul.

In an interview after his arrest, he recalled being shocked on a hike to one of his favorite wild spots.<sup>[44]</sup>



Kaczynski as an assistant professor at UC Berkeley in 1967



Kaczynski's cabin, now displayed at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.

It's kind of rolling country, not flat, and when you get to the edge of it you find these ravines that cut very steeply in to cliff-like drop-offs and there was even a waterfall there. It was about a two days' hike from my cabin. That was the best spot until the summer of 1983. That summer there were too many people around my cabin so I decided I needed some peace. I went back to the plateau and when I got there I found they had put a road right through the middle of it ... You just can't imagine how upset I was. It was from that point on I decided that, rather than trying to acquire further wilderness skills, I would work on getting back at the system. Revenge.

— Ted Kaczynski, interview

In that 1999 interview, he described his loss of faith in the potential for reform. He decided that the "human tendency ... to take the path of least resistance" meant that violent collapse was the only way to bring down the industrial-technological system<sup>[44]</sup>

They'll take the easy way out, and giving up your car, your television set, your electricity, is not the path of least resistance for most people. As I see it, I don't think there is any controlled or planned way in which we can dismantle the industrial system. I think that the only way we will get rid of it is if it breaks down and collapses ... The big problem is that people don't believe a revolution is possible, and it is not possible precisely because they do not believe it is possible. To a large extent I think the eco-anarchist movement is accomplishing a great deal, but I think they could do it better... The real revolutionaries should separate themselves from the reformers ... And I think that it would be good if a conscious effort was being made to get as many people as possible introduced to the wilderness. In a general way, I think what has to be done is not to try and convince or persuade the majority of people that we are right, as much as try to increase tensions in society to the point where things start to break down. To create a situation where people get uncomfortable enough that they're going to rebel. So the question is how do you increase those tensions?

— Ted Kaczynski, interview

## Bombings

Between 1978 and 1995, Kaczynski mailed or hand-delivered a series of increasingly sophisticated bombs that cumulatively killed three people and injured 23 others. In all, 16 bombs were attributed to Kaczynski. While the bombing devices varied widely through the years, all but the first few contained the initials "FC", which Kaczynski later said stood for "Freedom Club",<sup>[47]</sup> inscribed on parts inside. He purposely left misleading clues in the devices and took extreme care in preparing them to avoid leaving fingerprints; latent fingerprints on some of the devices did not match those found on letters attributed to Kaczynski.<sup>[48]</sup>



An FBI reproduction of one of Kaczynski's bombs, on display at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.

### Initial bombings

Kaczynski's first mail bomb was directed at Buckley Crist, a professor of materials engineering at Northwestern University. On May 25, 1978, a package bearing Crist's return address was found in a parking lot at the University of Illinois at Chicago. The package was "returned" to Crist who was suspicious because he had not sent the package, so he contacted campus police. Officer Terry Marker opened the package, which exploded and injured his left hand.<sup>[49]</sup>

The primary component was a length of metal pipe about 1 inch (2.5 cm) in diameter and 9 inches (23 cm) long containing smokeless explosive powder and contained in a box. The box and the plugs sealing the pipe's ends were handcrafted from wood. Most pipe bombs use threaded metal ends easily obtained by consumers; the wooden ends lacked the strength for significant pressure to build within the pipe, weakening the blast. The trigger was primitive: a nail tensioned by rubber bands, which would strike six common match heads when the box was opened. The match heads would ignite and initiate combustion of the powder. Kaczynski later used batteries and heat filament wire to ignite the powder more effectively.<sup>[50]</sup>

Kaczynski had returned to Illinois for the May 1978 bombing, and stayed there for a time to work with his father and brother at a foam rubber factory. However, in August 1978 he was fired by his brother for writing insulting limericks about a female supervisor whom he had briefly dated.<sup>[51]</sup><sup>[52]</sup> The female supervisor later recalled Kaczynski as "intelligent, quiet," but remembered little of their acquaintance and firmly denied they had had any romantic relationship.<sup>[53]</sup>

## FBI involvement

The initial 1978 bombing was followed by bombs sent to airline officials, and in 1979 a bomb was placed in the cargo hold of American Airlines Flight 444, a Boeing 727 flying from Chicago to Washington, D.C. A faulty timing mechanism prevented the bomb from exploding, but it released smoke, which forced an emergency landing. Authorities said it had enough power to "obliterate the plane" had it exploded.<sup>[49]</sup> As bombing an airliner is a federal crime, the Federal Bureau of Investigation became involved, designating it UNABOM for University and Airline Bomber

Kaczynski left false clues in every bomb, which he made hard to find to make them believable. The first clue was a metal plate stamped with the initials FC hidden somewhere (usually in the pipe end cap) in every bomb.<sup>[48]</sup> Another clue included a note left in a bomb that did not detonate; it read "Wu—It works! I told you it would—RV".<sup>[54]</sup> Another clue was the Eugene O'Neill \$1 stamps used to send his boxes.<sup>[55]</sup> He sent one bomb embedded in a copy of Sloan Wilson's novel *Ice Brothers*.<sup>[49]</sup> The FBI theorized that Kaczynski had a theme of nature, trees and wood in his crimes. He often included bits of tree branch and bark in his bombs, and targets selected included Percy Wood and Professor Leroy Wood. Crime writer Robert Graysmith noted that his "obsession with wood" was "a large factor."<sup>[56]</sup>

## Later bombings

The first serious injury occurred in 1985, when John Hauser, a graduate student and captain in the United States Air Force, lost four fingers and vision in one eye.<sup>[57]</sup> The bomb, like others of Kaczynski's, was handcrafted and made with wooden parts.<sup>[58]</sup>

Hugh Scrutton, a 38-year-old Sacramento, California computer store owner, was killed in 1985 by a nail-and-splinter-loaded bomb placed in the parking lot of his store. A similar attack against a computer store occurred in Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 20, 1987. The bomb, which was disguised as a piece of lumber, injured Gary Wright when he attempted to remove it from the store's parking lot. The explosion severed nerves in Wright's left arm and propelled more than 200 pieces of shrapnel into his body.<sup>[b]</sup>

In 1993, after a six-year break, Kaczynski mailed a bomb to David Gelernter, a computer science professor at Yale University. Though critically injured, Gelernter recovered. In the same weekend, Kaczynski mailed a bomb to the home of Charles Epstein from the University of California, San Francisco, who lost several fingers upon opening it. Kaczynski then called Gelernter's brother, Joel Gelernter, a behavioral geneticist, and told him, "You are next."<sup>[60]</sup> Geneticist Phillip Sharp at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology received a threatening letter two years later.<sup>[61]</sup>

In 1994, Burson-Marsteller executive Thomas J. Mosser was killed by a mail bomb sent to his home in North Caldwell, New Jersey. In another letter to The New York Times, Kaczynski said he "blew up Thomas Mosser because ... Burston-Marsteller helped Exxon clean up its public image after the Exxon Valdez incident" and, more importantly, because "its business is the development of techniques for manipulating people's attitudes."<sup>[62]</sup> This was followed by the 1995 murder of Gilbert Brent Murray, president of the timber industry lobbying group California Forestry Association, by a mail bomb addressed to previous president William Dennison, who had retired.<sup>[61]</sup>

## Table of bombings

Date	Location	Victim(s)	Occupation of victim(s)	Injuries
May 25, 1978	Illinois: Northwestern University	Terry Marker	University police officer	Minor cuts and burns
May 9, 1979	Illinois: Northwestern University	John Harris	Graduate student	Minor cuts and burns
November 15, 1979	Illinois: American Airlines Flight 444 from Chicago to Washington, D.C. (explosion occurred in midflight)	Twelve passengers		Non-lethal smoke inhalation
June 10, 1980	Illinois: Lake Forest	Percy Wood	President of United Airlines	Severe cuts and burns over most of body and face
October 8, 1981	Utah: University of Utah	None (bomb defused)		None
May 5, 1982	Tennessee: Vanderbilt University	Janet Smith	University secretary	Severe burns to hands; shrapnel wounds to body
July 2, 1982	California: University of California, Berkeley	Diogenes Angelakos	Engineering professor	Severe burns and shrapnel wounds to hand and face
May 15, 1985	California: University of California, Berkeley	John Hauser	Graduate student	Loss of four fingers and severed artery in right arm; partial loss of vision in left eye
June 13, 1985	Washington: The Boeing Company in Auburn	None (bomb defused)		None
November 15, 1985	Michigan: University of Michigan	James V. McConnell Nicklaus Suino	Psychology professor Research assistant	Temporary hearing loss Burns and shrapnel wounds
December 11, 1985	California: Sacramento	Hugh Scrutton	Computer store owner	Death (first fatality)
February 20, 1987	Utah: Salt Lake City	Gary Wright	Computer store owner	Severe nerve damage to left arm
June 22, 1993	California: Tiburon	Charles Epstein	Geneticist	Severe damage to both eardrums with partial hearing loss, loss of three fingers

June 24, 1993	Connecticut: <u>Yale University</u>	David Gelernter	Computer science professor	Severe burns and shrapnel wounds, damage to right eye, loss of right hand
December 10, 1994	New Jersey: <u>North Caldwell</u>	Thomas J. Mosser	Advertising executive	Death (second fatality)
April 24, 1995	California: <u>Sacramento</u>	Gilbert Brent Murray	Timber industry lobbyist	Death (third fatality)
<b>References:</b> <sup>[63][64]</sup>				

## ***Industrial Society and Its Future***

In 1995, Kaczynski mailed several letters to media outlets outlining his goals and demanding that his 35,000-word essay *Industrial Society and Its Future* (dubbed the *Unabomber Manifesto* by the FBI)<sup>[65]</sup> be printed verbatim by a major newspaper. He stated that if this demand was met, he would "desist from terrorism."<sup>[66][67][68]</sup>

There was controversy as to whether the essay should be published, but the Department of Justice headed by Attorney General Janet Reno, along with FBI Director Louis Freeh, recommended its publication out of concern for public safety and in hope that a reader could identify the author. Bob Guccione of Penthouse volunteered to publish it, but Kaczynski replied that as *Penthouse* was less "respectable" than the other publications, he would "reserve the right to plant one (and only one) bomb intended to kill, after our manuscript has been published".<sup>[69]</sup> Instead, the essay was published by both The New York Times and The Washington Post on September 19, 1995.<sup>[70][71]</sup>

### **Style**

Throughout the document, written on a typewriter without italics, Kaczynski capitalizes entire words to show emphasis. He always refers to himself as either "we" or "FC" ("Freedom Club"), though there is no evidence that he worked with others. Academic Donald Foster, who analyzed the writing at the request of Kaczynski's defense, noted that it contains irregular spelling and hyphenation, as well as other linguistic idiosyncrasies which led him to conclude that Kaczynski was its author.<sup>[72]</sup>

### **Summary**

*Industrial Society and Its Future* begins with Kaczynski's assertion: "The Industrial Revolution and its consequences have been a disaster for the human race."<sup>[73][74]</sup>

Kaczynski writes that technology has had a destabilizing effect on society, has made life unfulfilling, and has caused widespread psychological suffering.<sup>[75]</sup> He argues that, because of technological advances, most people spend their time engaged in useless pursuits he calls "surrogate activities," wherein people strive toward artificial goals, including scientific work, consumption of entertainment, and following sports teams.<sup>[75]</sup> He predicts that further technological advances will lead to extensive human genetic engineering and that human beings will be adjusted to meet the needs of the social systems, rather than vice versa.<sup>[75]</sup> He believes that technological progress can be stopped, unlike some people, who he says understand some of its negative effects yet passively accept it as inevitable,<sup>[76]</sup> and calls for a return to wild nature.<sup>[75]</sup>

Kaczynski argues that the erosion of human freedom is a natural product of an industrial society because "the system has to regulate human behavior closely in order to function," and that reform of the system is impossible as "changes large enough to make a lasting difference in favor of freedom would not be initiated because it would be realized that they would gravely disrupt the system."<sup>[77]</sup> However, he states that the system has not yet fully achieved "control over human behavior" and "is currently engaged in a desperate struggle to overcome certain problems that threaten its survival." He predicts that "[i]f the system succeeds in acquiring sufficient control over human behavior quickly enough, it will probably survive. Otherwise it will break down," and that "the issue will most

likely be resolved within the next several decades, say 40 to 100 years.<sup>[77]</sup> Kaczynski therefore states that the task of those who oppose industrial society is to promote "social stress and instability," and to propagate "an ideology that opposes technology," one that offers the "counter-ideal" of nature "in order to gain enthusiastic support." Thus, when industrial society is sufficiently unstable, "a revolution against technology may be possible.<sup>[78]</sup>

Throughout the document, Kaczynski addresses leftism as a movement. He defines leftists as "mainly socialists, collectivists, 'politically correct' types, feminists, gay and disability activists, animal rights activists and the like,"<sup>[79]</sup> states that leftism is driven primarily by "feelings of inferiority" and oversocialization<sup>[75]</sup> and derides leftism as "one of the most widespread manifestations of the craziness of our world.<sup>[79]</sup> Kaczynski additionally states that "a movement that exalts nature and opposes technology must take a resolutely anti-leftist stance and must avoid all collaboration with leftists," as in his view "[l]eftism is in the long run inconsistent with wild nature, with human freedom and with the elimination of modern technology."<sup>[73]</sup> He also criticizes conservatives, describing them as "fools" who "whine about the decay of traditional values, yet they enthusiastically support technological progress and economic growth. Apparently, it never occurs to them that you can't make rapid, drastic changes in the technology and the economy of a society without causing rapid changes in all other aspects of the society as well, and that such rapid changes inevitably break down traditional values.<sup>[79]</sup>

## Reception

In The Atlantic, Alston Chase reported that the text "was greeted in 1995 by many thoughtful people as a work of genius, or at least profundity, and as quite sane".<sup>[80]</sup> Chase himself argued, however, that it "is the work of neither a genius nor a maniac. [...] Its pessimism over the direction of civilization and its rejection of the modern world are shared especially with the country's most highly educated."<sup>[80]</sup> UCLA professor of political science James Q. Wilson, who was mentioned in the manifesto, wrote in The New Yorker that Industrial Society and Its Future was "a carefully reasoned, artfully written paper ... If it is the work of a madman, then the writings of many political philosophers —Jean Jacques Rousseau Tom Paine, Karl Marx— are scarcely more sane.<sup>[81]</sup>

David Skrbina, a philosophy professor at the University of Michigan and a former Green Party candidate for governor of Michigan, has written several essays in support of investigating Kaczynski's ideas, one of which he titled "A Revolutionary for Our Times."<sup>[82][83][84]</sup> Paul Kingsnorth, a former deputy-editor of The Ecologist and a co-founder of the Dark Mountain Project, wrote an essay for Orion Magazine in which he described Kaczynski's arguments as "worryingly convincing" and stated that they "may change my life".<sup>[85]</sup>

Psychiatrist Keith Ablow, writing for Fox News, stated that Kaczynski was "reprehensible for murdering and maiming people" but "precisely correct in many of his ideas," and compared Industrial Society and Its Future to Aldous Huxley's Brave New World and George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four.<sup>[86]</sup> Anarcho-primitivist authors such as John Zerzan and John Moore came to Kaczynski's defense, while also holding reservations about his actions and ideas.<sup>[87][88]</sup>

## Influences

As a critique of technological society, the manifesto echoed contemporary critics of technology and industrialization, such as John Zerzan, Jacques Ellul (whose The Technological Society was referenced in a 1971 essay by Kaczynski),<sup>[89]</sup> Rachel Carson, Lewis Mumford, and E. F. Schumacher.<sup>[90]</sup> Its idea of the "disruption of the power process" similarly echoed social critics emphasizing the lack of meaningful work as a primary cause of social problems, including Mumford, Paul Goodman, and Eric Hoffer.<sup>[90]</sup> Its general theme was also addressed by Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, which Kaczynski references in the text.<sup>[91]</sup> Kaczynski's ideas of "oversocialization" and "surrogate activities" recall Sigmund Freud's Civilization and Its Discontents and its theories of rationalization and sublimation (a term used three times in Kaczynski's essay to describe "surrogate activities").<sup>[92]</sup>

In a Wired article on the dangers of technology, "Why The Future Doesn't Need Us" (2000), Bill Joy, one of the co-founders of Sun Microsystems, quoted Ray Kurzweil's The Age of Spiritual Machines which quoted a passage by Kaczynski in Industrial Society and Its Future on the types of society that might develop if human labor were entirely replaced by artificial intelligence. Joy wrote that Kaczynski is "clearly a Luddite", but, "simply saying this does not dismiss his argument," and stated "I saw some merit in the reasoning in this single passage [and] felt compelled to confront it".<sup>[93]</sup>

Anders Behring Breivik the perpetrator of the 2011 Norway attacks<sup>[94][95]</sup> published a manifesto in which large chunks of text were copied from *Industrial Society and Its Future* with certain terms substituted (e.g., replacing "leftists" with "cultural Marxists" and "multiculturalists").<sup>[96][97]</sup>

## Other works

Following correspondence with Kaczynski for nearly a decade, University of Michigan–Dearborn philosophy professor David Skrbina helped to compile Kaczynski's work into the 2010 anthology *Technological Slavery*, including the original manifesto, letters between Skrbina and Kaczynski that clarify the latter's positions, and other essays.<sup>[98]</sup> Within the next decade, Kaczynski updated his 1995 manifesto as *Anti-Tech Revolution: Why and How* to address advances in computers and the Internet. The book advocates for matching the computer programming skills of technology adherents and practicing other types of protest. It makes no mention of violence.<sup>[99]</sup>

## Investigation

The suspect was labeled the "Junkyard Bomber" by U.S. Postal Inspectors, who initially had responsibility for the case because of the material used to make the mail bombs.<sup>[100]</sup> FBI Inspector Terry D. Turchie was charged with running the UNABOM investigation.<sup>[101]</sup> In 1979, an FBI-led task force that included 125 agents from the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), and U.S. Postal Inspection Service was formed.<sup>[101]</sup> The task force grew to more than 150 full-time personnel, but minute analysis of recovered components of the bombs and the investigation into the lives of the victims proved of little use in identifying the suspect, who built his bombs primarily from scrap materials available almost anywhere. The victims, investigators later learned, were chosen irregularly from library research.

In 1980, chief agent John Douglas, working with agents in the FBI's Behavioral Sciences Unit, issued a psychological profile of the unidentified bomber. It described the offender as a man with above-average intelligence and connections to academia. This profile was later refined to characterize the offender as a neo-Luddite holding an academic degree in the hard sciences, but this psychologically based profile was discarded in 1983. An alternative theory was developed by FBI analysts that concentrated on the physical evidence in recovered bomb fragments. In this rival profile, the suspect was characterized as a blue-collar airplane mechanic.<sup>[102]</sup> A 1-800 hotline was set up by the UNABOM Task Force to take calls related to the investigation, with a \$1 million reward for anyone who could provide information leading to the Unabomber's capture.<sup>[103]</sup>

Before the publication of *Industrial Society and Its Future*, Ted's brother, David Kaczynski, was encouraged by his wife to follow up on suspicions that Ted was the Unabomber.<sup>[104]</sup> David was dismissive at first, but he began to take the likelihood more seriously after reading the manifesto a week after it was published in September 1995. He searched through old family papers and found letters dating to the 1970s that Ted had sent to newspapers to protest the abuses of technology using phrasing similar to the manifesto.<sup>[105]</sup>

Before the manifesto's publication, the FBI held many press conferences asking the public to help identify the Unabomber. They were convinced that the bomber was from the Chicago area where he began his bombings, had worked in or had some connection to Salt Lake City, and by the 1990s had some association with the San Francisco Bay Area. This geographical information, as well as the wording in excerpts from the manifesto that were released before the entire text of the manifesto was published, persuaded David's wife to urge her husband to read the manifesto.<sup>[106][107]</sup>



The famous composite sketch of the Unabomber, created by Jeanne Boylan

## After publication

After the manifesto was published, the FBI received over a thousand calls a day for months in response to its offer of a \$1 million reward for information leading to the identification of the Unabomber. Many letters claiming to be from the Unabomber were also sent to the UNABOM Task Force, and thousands of suspect leads were reviewed. While the FBI was occupied with new leads, Kaczynski's brother David hired private investigator Susan Swanson in Chicago to investigate Ted's activities discreetly.<sup>[108]</sup> David later hired Washington, D.C. attorney Tony Bisceglie to organize the evidence acquired by Swanson and make contact with the FBI, given the presumed difficulty of attracting the FBI's attention. David wanted to protect his brother from the danger of an FBI raid, such as the Ruby Ridge or the Waco Siege, since he feared a violent outcome from any attempt by the FBI to contact his brother.<sup>[109]</sup>

In early 1996, former FBI hostage negotiator and criminal profiler Clinton R. Van Zandt was contacted by an investigator working with Bisceglie. Bisceglie asked Van Zandt to compare the manifesto to typewritten copies of handwritten letters David had received from his brother. Van Zandt's initial analysis determined that there was better than a 60 percent chance that the same person had written the manifesto, which had been in public circulation for half a year. Van Zandt's second analytical team determined an even higher likelihood. He recommended that Bisceglie's client immediately contact the FBI.<sup>[109]</sup>

In February 1996, Bisceglie provided a copy of the 1971 essay written by Ted Kaczynski to Molly Flynn at the FBI.<sup>[101]</sup> She forwarded the essay to the San Francisco-based taskforce. At the UNABOM Task Force headquarters in San Francisco, agents Joel Moss and Kathleen Puckett read the essay,<sup>[101]</sup> but it was FBI Profiler James R. Fitzgerald<sup>[110][111]</sup> who immediately recognized similarities in the writings. Linguistic analysis determined that the author of the essays and the manifesto were almost certainly the same. Combined with facts gleaned from the bombings and Kaczynski's life, the analysis provided the basis for a search warrant signed by Terry Turchie, the head of the entire investigation.<sup>[101]</sup>

David Kaczynski had tried to remain anonymous, but he was soon identified, and within a few days an FBI agent team was dispatched to interview David and his wife with their attorney in Washington, D.C. At this and subsequent meetings, David provided letters written by his brother in their original envelopes, allowing the FBI task force to use the postmark dates to add more detail to their timeline of Ted's activities. David developed a respectful relationship with behavioral analysis Special Agent Kathleen M. Puckett, whom he met many times in Washington, D.C., Texas, Chicago, and Schenectady, New York, over the nearly two months before the federal search warrant was served on Kaczynski's cabin.<sup>[112]</sup>

David had once admired and emulated his older brother but later decided to leave the survivalist lifestyle behind.<sup>[113]</sup> He had received assurances from the FBI that he would remain anonymous and that his brother would not learn who had turned him in, but his identity was leaked to CBS News in early April 1996. CBS anchorman Dan Rather called FBI director Louis Freeh, who requested 24 hours before CBS broke the story on the evening news. The FBI scrambled to finish the search warrant and have it issued by a federal judge in Montana; afterwards, an internal leak investigation was conducted by the FBI, but the source of the leak was never identified.<sup>[113]</sup>

FBI officials were not unanimous in identifying Ted as the author of the manifesto. The search warrant noted that numerous experts believed the manifesto had been written by another individual.<sup>[48]</sup>

## Arrest

FBI agents arrested Kaczynski on April 3, 1996, at his cabin, where he was found in an unkempt state. A search of his cabin revealed a cache of bomb components, 40,000 hand-written journal pages that included bomb-making experiments, descriptions of the Unabomber crimes and one live bomb, ready for mailing. They also found what appeared to be the original typed manuscript of *Industrial Society and Its Future*.<sup>[114]</sup> By this point, the Unabomber had been the target of the most expensive investigation in FBI history.<sup>[115][116]</sup>

After his capture, theories emerged naming Kaczynski as the Zodiac Killer. Among the links that raised suspicion was the fact that Kaczynski lived in the San Francisco Bay Area from 1967 to 1969 (the same period that most of the Zodiac's confirmed killings occurred in California), that both individuals were highly intelligent with an interest in bombs and codes, and that both wrote letters to newspapers demanding the publication of their works with the threat of continued violence if the demand was not met. However,

Kaczynski's whereabouts could not be verified for all of the killings, and the gun and knife murders committed by the Zodiac Killer differ from Kaczynski's bombings, so he was not further pursued as a suspect. Robert Graysmith, author of the 1986 book *Zodiac*, said the similarities are "fascinating" but purely coincidental.<sup>[117]</sup>

The early hunt for the Unabomber portrayed a perpetrator far different from the eventual suspect. *Industrial Society and Its Future* consistently uses "we" and "our" throughout, and at one point in 1993 investigators sought an individual whose first name was "Nathan" because the name was on a fragment of a note found in one of the bombs.<sup>[54]</sup> When the case was presented to the public, authorities denied that there was ever anyone other than Kaczynski involved in the crimes.<sup>[104]</sup>

## Guilty plea

A federal grand jury indicted Kaczynski in April 1996 on ten counts of illegally transporting, mailing, and using bombs, and three counts of murder<sup>[118]</sup>

Kaczynski's lawyers, headed by Montana federal public defenders Michael Donahoe and Judy Clarke, attempted to enter an insanity defense to avoid the death penalty, but Kaczynski rejected this strategy. On January 8, 1998, he requested to dismiss his lawyers and hire Tony Serra as his counsel; Serra had agreed not to use an insanity defense and instead base a defense on Kaczynski's anti-technology views.<sup>[119][120][121]</sup> This request was unsuccessful and Kaczynski subsequently tried to commit suicide by hanging on January 9.<sup>[122]</sup> Several, though not all, forensic psychiatrists and psychologists who examined Kaczynski diagnosed him as having paranoid schizophrenia. Forensic psychiatrist Park Dietz said Kaczynski was not psychotic but had a schizoid or schizotypal personality disorder.<sup>[123]</sup> In his 2010 book *Technological Slavery*, Kaczynski said that two prison psychologists who visited him frequently for four years told him they saw no indication that he suffered from paranoid schizophrenia and the diagnosis was "ridiculous" and a "political diagnosis".<sup>[124]</sup>

On January 21, 1998, Kaczynski was declared competent to stand trial "despite the psychiatric diagnoses".<sup>[125][126]</sup> As he was fit to stand trial, prosecutors sought the death penalty but Kaczynski avoided that by pleading guilty to all charges on January 22, 1998, and accepting life imprisonment without the chance of parole. He later tried to withdraw this plea, arguing it was involuntary. Judge Garland Ellis Burrell Jr denied his request, and the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upheld that decision.<sup>[127]</sup>

In 2006, Burrell ordered that items from Kaczynski's cabin be sold at a "reasonably advertised Internet auction." Items considered to be bomb-making materials, such as diagrams and "recipes" for bombs, were excluded. The net proceeds went towards the \$15 million in restitution Burrell had awarded Kaczynski's victims.<sup>[128]</sup> Kaczynski's correspondence and other personal papers were also auctioned.<sup>[129][130][131]</sup> Burrell ordered the removal, before sale, of references in those documents to Kaczynski's victims; Kaczynski unsuccessfully challenged those redactions as a violation of his freedom of speech.<sup>[132][133][134]</sup> The auction raised \$232,000.<sup>[135]</sup>

## Imprisonment

Kaczynski is serving eight life sentences without the possibility of parole at ADX Florence, a supermax prison in Florence, Colorado.<sup>[132][136]</sup> When asked if he was afraid of losing his mind in prison, Kaczynski replied:

No, what worries me is that I might in a sense adapt to this environment and come to be comfortable here and not resent it anymore. And I am afraid that as the years go by that I may forget, I may begin to lose my memories of the mountains and the woods and that's what really worries me, that I might lose those memories, and lose that sense of contact with wild nature in general. But I am not afraid they are going to break my spirit.<sup>[44]</sup>

In 2016, it was reported that early on in his imprisonment Kaczynski had befriended Ramzi Yousef and Timothy McVeigh, the perpetrators of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the Oklahoma City bombing, respectively. The trio discussed religion and politics and formed a friendship which lasted until McVeigh's execution in 2001.<sup>[137]</sup>

Kaczynski's cabin was seized by the U.S. government and is on display at the [Newseum](#) in Washington, D.C.<sup>[138]</sup> In October 2005, Kaczynski offered to donate two rare books to the [Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies](#) at [Northwestern University's](#) campus in [Evanston, Illinois](#) the location of his first two attacks. Northwestern rejected the offer due to already having copies of the works.<sup>[139]</sup>

The [Labadie Collection](#), part of the [University of Michigan's Special Collections Library](#), houses Kaczynski's correspondence with over 400 people since his arrest, including replies, legal documents, publications, and clippings.<sup>[140][141]</sup> His writings are among the most popular selections in the [University of Michigan's special collections](#).<sup>[98]</sup> The identity of most correspondents will remain sealed until 2049.<sup>[140][142]</sup> In 2012, Kaczynski responded to the Harvard Alumni Association's directory inquiry for the fiftieth reunion of the class of 1962; he listed his occupation as "prisoner" and his eight life sentences as "awards".<sup>[143]</sup>

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## See also

- [Das Netz](#), a 2003 German film that includes a segment on Kaczynski
- [Italian Unabomber](#), a terrorist responsible for a similar series of bombings in Italy beginning in 1994
- [Manhunt: Unabomber](#), a 2017 television miniseries that dramatizes the UNABOM investigation
- [P.O. Box Unabomber](#), a 2011 Bulgarian play that includes Kaczynski as a character
- [Unabomber for President](#) a campaign which aimed to elect the Unabomber in the 1996 United States presidential election
- [Unabomber: The True Story](#), a 1996 television film that dramatizes the UNABOM investigation

## Notes

- a. As stated in the "Additional Findings" section of the FBAffidavit, where a balanced listing of other uncorrelated evidence and contrary determinations also appeared, "203. Latent fingerprints attributable to devices mailed and/or placed by the UNABOM subject were compared to those found on the letters attributed to Theodore Kaczynski. According to the FBI Laboratory no forensic correlation exists between those samples."<sup>[48]</sup>
- b. Kaczynski's brother, David—who would play a vital role in Kaczynski's capture by alerting federal authorities to the prospect of his brother's involvement in the Unabomber case—sought out and became friends with Wight after Kaczynski was detained in 1996. David Kaczynski and Wight have remained friends and occasionally speak together publicly about their relationship.<sup>[59]</sup>

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## Further reading

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- Kaczynski, David (2016), *Every Last Tie: The Story of the Unabomber and His Family* Duke University Press, ISBN 978-0-8223-5980-7

## External links

- [Ted Kaczynski and Why He Matters](#) The Dark Mountain Project
- [Writings of Ted Kaczynski Online](#)

- [Kaczynski's letter to the writers of the book, American Terrorist, about fellow terrorist Timothy McVeigh](#)
- [Text of Unabomber's Letter Received by NYTimes April 26, 1995](#)
- [Text of Letter from Unabomber to Dr David Gelernter](#)
- [Letter to a Turkish anarchist](#)
- [The Unabomber's family photo album -Chicago Tribune](#)
- [Radio Interview with Ted Kaczynski by Stephen Dubner](#)
- [Review \[1\] of Anti-Tech Revolution: Why and How by Steve Fuller](#)
- [Ted Kaczynski at the Mathematics Genealogy Project](#)

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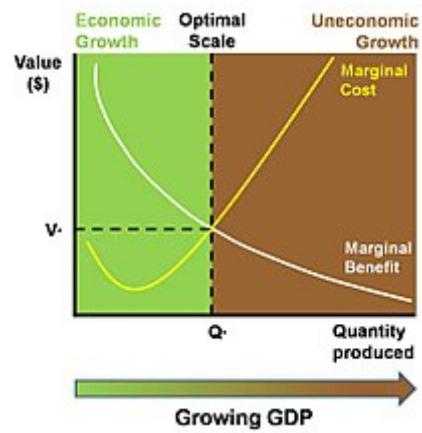
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# Uneconomic growth

**Uneconomic growth**, in human development theory, welfare economics (the economics of social welfare), and some forms of ecological economics is economic growth that reflects or creates a decline in the quality of life. The concept is attributed to leading ecological economist and steady-state theorist Herman Daly, though other theorists can also be credited for the incipient idea.<sup>[1][2]</sup> Note Uneconomic growth (or uneconomic degrowth) should not be confused with economic degrowth, the reduction of the size of the economy to increase well-being and sustainability.<sup>[3]</sup>

The cost, or decline in well-being, associated with extended economic growth is argued to arise as a result of "the social and environmental sacrifices made necessary by that growing encroachment on the eco-system."<sup>[4][5]</sup> In other words, "[u]neconomic growth occurs when increases in production come at an expense in resources and well-being that is worth more than the items made."<sup>[6]</sup>



The marginal costs of a growing economy may gradually exceed the marginal benefits, however measured.

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## Types of growth

The rate or type of economic growth may have important consequences for the environment (the climate and natural capital of ecologies). Concerns about possible negative effects of growth on the environment and society led some to advocate lower levels of growth, from which comes the idea of uneconomic growth, and Green parties which argue that economies are part of a global society and a global ecology and cannot outstrip their natural growth without damaging them.

Canadian scientist David Suzuki argued in the 1990s that ecologies can only sustain typically about 1.5–3% new growth per year, and thus any requirement for greater returns from agriculture or forestry will necessarily cannibalize the natural capital of soil or forest. Some think this argument can be applied even to more developed economies.

## The role of technology, and Jevons paradox

Mainstream economists would argue that economies are driven by new technology—for instance, we have faster computers today than a year ago, but not necessarily physically more computers. Growth that relies entirely on exploiting increased knowledge rather than exploiting increased resource consumption may thus not qualify as uneconomic growth. In some cases, this may be true where technology enables lower amounts of input to be used in producing the same unit of product (and/or it reduces the amount or hazardousness of the waste generated per unit product produced) (e.g., the increased availability of movies through the Internet or cable television electronically may reduce the demand for physical video tapes or DVDs for films). Nonetheless, it is crucial to also recognise that innovation- or knowledge-driven growth still may not entirely resolve the problem of scale, or increasing resource consumption. For instance, there might likely be more computers due to greater demand and replacements for slower computers.

The Jevons Paradox is the proposition that technological progress that increases the efficiency with which a resource is used, tends to increase (rather than decrease) the rate of consumption of that resource.<sup>[7][8]</sup> For example, given that expenditure on necessities and taxes remain the same, (i) the availability of energy-saving lightbulbs may mean lower electricity usage and fees for a household but this frees up more discretionary, disposable income for additional consumption elsewhere (an example of the "rebound effect")<sup>[9][10]</sup> and (ii) technology (or globalisation) that leads to the availability of cheaper goods for consumers also frees up discretionary income for increased consumptive spending.

On the other hand, new renewable energy and climate change mitigation technology (such as artificial photosynthesis) has been argued to promote a prolonged era of human stewardship over ecosystems known as the Sustainocene. In the Sustainocene, "instead of the cargo-cult ideology of perpetual economic growth through corporate pillage of nature, globalised artificial photosynthesis will facilitate a steady state economy and further technological revolutions such as domestic nano-factories and e-democratic input to local communal and global governance structures. In such a world, humans will no longer feel economically threatened, but rather proud, that their moral growth has allowed them to uphold Rights of Nature".<sup>[11]</sup>

## See also

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- Steady-state economy
- Degrowth
- Economic growth
- Measuring well-being
- Genuine progress indicator
- Moral purchasing
- Human development theory
- Ecological economics
- Regenerative economic theory
- Parable of the broken window

## References

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## Further reading

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## External links

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- Center for the Advancement of the Steady State Economy
- R&D : Research & Degrowth
- International Conference on Degrowth in the Americas, Montreal, 13-19 May 2012

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