

AFTERWORD

AN ECONOMICS OF HAPPINESS

Since *Ancient Futures* was first published, I have come into contact with hundreds of grassroots groups throughout the world. In the process, I've discovered a whole universe of individuals working to protect their communities and environments from the onslaught of destructive development. From Sweden to Zambia, the United States to Ladakh, I've seen countless initiatives that demonstrate remarkable courage, kindness, wisdom, and perseverance. They are an inspiring testimony to human goodwill and vision.

These forces from *below* are rooted in people's desire to preserve the connections to family, community, and nature that make life meaningful. At a fundamental level, these are movements for "localization"—for reweaving the fabric of place-based culture.

At the same time that so many positive initiatives are being forged from the bottom up, however, political and economic forces from *above* are continuing to globalize an outdated and destructive model of growth and "progress." As a consequence, social and ecological breakdown have increased dramatically, reaching such proportions that they can no longer be ignored, not even by the most skeptical of political leaders. Climate change threatens our very survival, oil supplies are dwindling, the global financial system is unjust and un-

stable, the gulf between rich and poor continues to widen, and rising food prices and food shortages are leaving millions without enough to eat.

Beyond these widely recognized problems, another crisis is only now beginning to be acknowledged. This is the human suffering—the psychological and spiritual poverty—of people pushed to produce and consume at an ever-accelerating rate. The resulting stress and time pressures are proving almost unbearable. In the most industrialized countries, depression and violence are escalating, especially among children and teenagers. Worldwide, people live in fear of a rising tide of intolerant nationalism and religious fundamentalism, as well as the constant spectre of terrorism.

In my travels, I've met countless people who are deeply concerned about the world their children will inherit. But most feel helpless and despairing, and increasingly speak of "catastrophe," of "collapse." They have a sense that there is nothing we can do, that these problems are simply too big to solve. Some believe that our crises are the inevitable result of innate human greed. Others assume that they are the consequence of the march of progress, and that this is an evolutionary process over which we have no control.

More than thirty years' experience in Ladakh has given me a fundamentally different perspective. I witnessed how outside economic pressures created not only pollution and resource scarcity but also unemployment and feelings of cultural inferiority, all previously unknown there. I also saw how these pressures sped life up, and how they separated people from the living world around them and from one another, leading to disregard for nature and to the breakdown of family and community. One of the most dramatic consequences was violent conflict between groups that had lived peacefully side by side for centuries.

The experience of Ladakh convinced me that the primary cause of our crises is neither human nature nor evolution, but rather a relentlessly expanding economic system that is steamrolling both people and the planet. Unfortunately, this system has grown so large that it has become difficult to recognize it as human-made: the tendency is to view it instead as some kind of irresistible evolutionary force. Only by stepping back and looking at the big picture can we

discern the links between the global economic system and the problems we face. This broader view makes it clear that what we need to change is policies and human institutions, not the nature of our species or of evolution. We can also see that the most effective way to alleviate a whole range of seemingly disparate symptoms—from deforestation to pollution, from poverty to ethnic conflict—is *to change the dominant economy*. Most important of all, countering the pressures that separate us from one another and the natural world would resonate with our deeper human needs, contributing to our well-being, to our happiness.

The Global Village as Global Monoculture

Governments worldwide, from the left to the right of the political spectrum, are signing treaties designed to accelerate economic growth through the deregulation of global trade and finance. The so-called global village—hailed by government and industry as uniting all nations in pursuit of the fruits of the global economy—is in fact a highly volatile monoculture based not on community or connection to place but on universal consumerism.

As trillions of dollars of investment and development aid pull more and more people into the consumer culture, economic power is concentrating in fewer and fewer corporate hands. Those corporations are driving a speculative economy in which ever faster technologies accelerate environmental destruction, as they speed up and scale up our lives—creating anonymity, competition, and poverty in the process. Today, most governments, even those of Scandinavia, are caving in to the pressures of global capital, promoting nuclear power, biofuels, genetic engineering, and increased military spending against the wishes of the majority of their citizens.

My experience of working with government and business leaders and academics in dozens of countries convinces me that policymakers are not really aware of the destruction they are inflicting on natural and human communities. What we face is not so much a conscious conspiracy as a *de facto*, structural conspiracy. In other words, interlocking structures “conspire” systemically to further a development path that threatens life itself.

In the past few decades we have seen a narrowing of vision—in effect, an insidious dumbing down of society—at the same time as economic activity has globalized. As we become further removed from the sources of our sustenance and other needs, it becomes increasingly difficult to see our impact on the rest of the world. How do we know that the food we buy hasn't been grown with slave labor, using toxic herbicides and fungicides? Because of the huge scale of the economic system, even those who want to do good can unknowingly participate in activities that have brutal and destructive effects. And as corporations become more effective at “greenwashing,” it is ever more difficult to know whether we are really making ethical choices or not.

Those actively promoting globalization are even less able to perceive the far-reaching impacts of their actions. Corporate and government leaders are—almost by definition—far removed from the natural world and the lives of the people touched by their decisions. In addition, they have been brought up on an intellectual diet full of myths about progress, in which today's consumer lifestyle is regularly contrasted with life 100 or 150 years ago. The artificial baseline is Dickensian London, at the early stages of the industrial revolution. In this period, rural communities had been uprooted, pushed into squalor, deprivation, and exploitation. Crime, ill health, and pollution were rampant. From this vantage point, our child labor laws, 40-hour work week, and relative prosperity look like real progress. Similarly, the baseline applied to the global South is the immediate postcolonial period, with its decimated local economies, poverty, and political instability. The state of societies in both North and South, *before* cultures and communities were torn apart, has been largely ignored or forgotten.

Today, with the myth of progress firmly in place, our power elites think they have the moral high ground. But they have become increasingly dependent on mediated and specialized information, for example, about infant mortality, illiteracy, and monetary incomes. For them, the easiest way to reconcile conflicting demands and simplify masses of raw information is to stick to the notion that an ever increasing Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the most meaningful

goal. (For business leaders, revenue growth and increased shareholder profits are not just the easiest goals to discern: the rules of the game make it all but impossible for them to consider anything else.)

Worldwide, political leaders do everything in their power to increase growth at any cost: they subsidize and deregulate international trade, support the development and marketing of new technologies, encourage the creation of new needs that stimulate consumer spending, and promote development policies that pull still more people into the consumer culture. All of these policies, in effect, constitute what has been described as “corporate welfare,” which is impoverishing not only the general populace but also governments themselves. Yet, secure in their belief in an abstraction—that economic growth is a tide that lifts all boats—and oblivious to real world consequences, politicians are single-mindedly accelerating and expanding the economic juggernaut.

The ultimate result of these trends is a system that is both blind and blind to its own blindness; a system that is fundamentally irrational from a human perspective, that threatens to overwhelm and destroy the connecting relationships of life itself. Indeed it is a bitter irony that the term growth should be used in conjunction with modern economic activity when those activities are now putting at risk real biological growth all over the planet.

Climate change—brought about primarily by the global economy’s unending thirst for fossil fuels—threatens to severely alter, or even destroy, entire ecosystems, permanently changing weather patterns, landscapes, and livelihoods. Overexploitation and pollution threaten critical resources: biologists report that stocks of all large fish species, including tuna, swordfish, cod, halibut, skates and flounder have decreased by over 90 percent since 1950. One-third of all coral reefs are dead and 90 percent show signs of degradation. In the ten years between 1990 and 2000, more than 94 million hectares of forest cover were lost globally. And the rate of species extinction has been rapidly escalating; biologist E. O. Wilson has estimated that if we continue to compromise the biosphere at current rates, half of all species on Earth will be extinct by the next century.

Equally serious is the attempt to impose a high-tech monoculture on the world's agricultural diversity, for it is on this diversity that the continuation of human life ultimately depends. Traditionally, cultures met their needs generation after generation through local adaptations, often altering ecosystems but almost never compromising their stability. In many cases, human cultures actually enhanced both food security and ecosystem stability by consciously increasing local biodiversity. The agricultural biodiversity that exists today is, in fact, the product of countless generations of farmers selecting seeds for success in different climates and ecosystems.

Globalization, by contrast, is homogenizing these locally adapted forms of agriculture as it amalgamates local, regional, and national economies into a single world system. A multitude of diversified farms are being replaced by a centrally managed, energy- and chemical-intensive industrial system—one designed to deliver a narrow range of transportable food commodities to markets worldwide. In the process, farmers are replaced by expensive technologies, diversified food production for local communities is replaced by export-based monocultures, and thousands of local plant varieties and animal breeds simply disappear.

Globalized economic activity is also leading to a massive shift of population from rural areas to the cities. It has been estimated that by 2025 over 60 percent of people around the world will live in urban centers. Urbanization, particularly in less industrialized countries, is synonymous with a whole host of problems: overcrowded slums, unemployment, poverty, poor sanitation, pollution. Even in the wealthier North, large-scale urbanization is directly related to a loss of community, with long-term side-effects that range from alienation to crime, violence, and drug abuse.

The psychological impacts of the global economic system, with its corporate manipulation of genuine human needs, are insidious and widespread. Millions of children from Mongolia to Patagonia, Melbourne to New York, are targets of a sustained campaign to bring them into the consumer culture. It has been estimated that the average child in the United States watches 40,000 television commercials a year. The underlying message is: "If you want the respect

of your peers, if you want to feel loved and appreciated, you must have the right running shoes, jeans, toys, and electronic gadgets.” But as children acquire more things, they gain not a sense of belonging but competitiveness, separation, and envy. Clinical depression is a growing problem all over the world, in all age groups and in virtually every community. By 2020, at its current rate of increase, depression will rank second only to heart disease among the most disabling conditions in industrialized countries. Depression is closely linked with feeling isolated and insecure—a common occurrence in broken communities where people have little connection to each other or the natural world.

Globalization has even played a sinister role in the rise of terrorism in recent years. Long before 9/11, anger and violence were on the increase, particularly in the South. Most of us are aware only dimly, if at all, of the ethnic conflicts that simmer and periodically boil over from Sri Lanka to Turkey. These conflicts become “newsworthy” only by virtue of their proximity to Western industrial countries—Chechnya and Bosnia, for example—or when they slake the media’s thirst for sensationalism, as was the case in Rwanda. But unbeknownst to most Westerners, fanaticism, fundamentalism, and ethnic conflict have been growing for many decades, and not just in the Islamic world.

Failure to recognize this trend can lead us to ignore the broader pattern of which terrorism is part. To really understand the rise in religious fundamentalism and ethnic conflict, we need to look at the deep impacts of what could be described as the *jihad* of a global consumer culture against the rich diversity of cultures on the planet. Doing so not only allows us to better understand the recent tragedies but to see a way forward that lessens the violence on all sides.

To take the example I know best, in Ladakh, the destruction of the largely self-reliant local economy by outside economic forces exerted structural and psychological pressures that led to a rise in religious fundamentalism and violence. As I describe in the book, the structural pressures included subsidies for imported food, which destroyed the market for local producers and undercut village livelihoods, thereby creating unemployment and intense competition for the few available cash-paying jobs.

At the same time, advertising and Western-style schooling glamorized an urban consumer lifestyle, making agriculture and traditional ways of life seem primitive and backward. As a consequence, Ladakhi teenagers began to reject virtually every aspect of their own culture. Bombarded by media imagery that exalted blond, blue-eyed role models, they even began to reject *themselves*, a trend revealed in rising sales of a dangerous skin-lightening cream called Fair and Lovely. Keenly aware of their shortcomings compared with the media ideal and no longer confident in the skills and knowledge that sustained Ladakhis for generations, young people acted out the intense psychological pressures they experienced. Among young men, in particular, these pressures translated into anger against the “other.” Coupled with the competition for power, jobs, and resources in the modern urban sector, this anger increased so dramatically that Buddhists and Muslims—who had previously managed to sustain a peaceful balance of power for five hundred years—were driven to extremes of violence against each other: both communities actually talked of the need to “exterminate” one another in order to survive.

The breakdown of peaceful coexistence in Ladakh took place from 1975 to 1989. During the same period, I witnessed an almost identical pattern of change in the kingdom of Bhutan, where Buddhists and Hindus also became involved in conflict. As development and modernization continue to level cultures and undermine rural life, they are having similar consequences virtually everywhere. The dream of a unified, homogeneous global village is fundamentally flawed. Just as the biosphere requires diversity for its strength, so it is among human cultures, where diversity and acceptance of difference are the true bases of peaceful and harmonious relationships.

The Levers of Change

The spread of the industrial juggernaut brings with it the seeds of its own destruction. As identity, community, and the web of life are threatened, people begin to feel an almost visceral need for community and contact with nature. This need is finding expression in a host of ways. Followers of many different faiths now recognize the importance of caring for the planet as part of religious life. Architects are

rediscovering ancient building techniques and natural materials. The demand for natural ways of maintaining health increases year by year. In increasing numbers, farmers and gardeners are turning away from chemical fertilizers and toxic pesticides in favor of an approach that works with nature, not against it. Even suburban lawns are being turned into vegetable gardens. And as people become aware of the hazards of artificial colorings, preservatives, and processed foods, they are shifting toward eating more local, natural foods.

These are truly encouraging signs, but in order to ensure lasting success, we need to address the links between diverse crises and the global economic system. Too often our activism is focused on treating individual symptoms rather than their underlying cause. Yet the most strategic solution to the problems we face would be a broad-based effort to change economic policy. Turning away from economic globalization and turning toward the local would help us to create what I call an “economics of happiness.” In other words, through *localization* we could meet our needs—both material and psychological—without compromising the survival of life on Earth.

Transforming the economic system would not be as difficult as it may seem at first glance. The first step is to recognize that this system is kept afloat by misguided assumptions and half-truths. Economic pundits refer to “the market” and to “growth” as though these were independent phenomena: we hear that “governments should get out of the way and let the market decide” or that “increased consumer spending is essential to a healthy and prosperous society.” In fact, “the market” and “growth” are constructs whose definitions have been tailored to suit particular interests. When government policymakers make decisions based on these constructs, they are determining the direction of the economy, effectively transforming society to meet the needs of transnational corporations (TNCs) and banks. This leads to wealth accumulation for a tiny fraction of the global population at the expense of the majority.

Despite what we’ve been taught about “supply and demand” or “natural scarcity,” prices in the marketplace today are the product of political choices. In both North and South, processed, packaged food from the other side of the world costs less than fresh food from the

farm next door. This is a reflection of policy, not some natural state of affairs.

Three primary levers are being used to shift the direction of the economy: regulations, taxes and subsidies, and the way we measure societal well-being.

Regulation

Fundamentally, globalization is about deregulating global trade and finance, freeing the movements of big business and foreign investment around the globe, and eliminating laws and regulations enacted to protect society and the environment. Across the South, “Special Economic Zones” are being established, in which restrictions are waived to give TNCs total freedom. While these constraints are lifted from global businesses, small, local businesses are being overregulated, strangled by bureaucratic red tape. This results in part from the harmful practices of giant corporations and in part from their political sway, as they lobby for regulations designed to drive out small competitors. For instance, big U.S. hotel chains have lobbied in Washington to impose stricter regulations on bed and breakfasts; farmers in the E.U. who have been producing delicious, healthy, artisan cheeses for generations are going under because they now must have expensive new equipment in the name of hygiene.

Taxes and Subsidies

Even before the era of globalization, economic policies were responsible for pushing business to become ever larger. Typically an enterprise that employs people—from a bakery to a hospital—is punished with heavy taxes. On the other hand, businesses that rely more on employing technology and large inputs of energy are rewarded, almost without fail, with tax breaks and subsidies. The more energy you use, the less you pay. Thus our economic system simultaneously creates unemployment and massively increases pollution.

As globalization proceeds and corporations succeed in eliminating smaller competitors, policymakers can easily get the impression that big business is the only game in town. As a result, governments compete with one another to offer corporations not just the least

restrictive health and environmental regulations, not just the cheapest labor and resources, but also the largest subsidies and tax breaks. They provide TNCs with publicly funded transportation infrastructure—highways, airports, rail links, and shipping terminals. They facilitate the building of huge, centralized power plants, and work to ensure a steady supply of fossil fuels to meet corporate production and transport requirements. They shift the emphasis of education to make it ever more high tech and business oriented, with students trained in the skills and knowledge base needed in a corporate-led economy. Though smaller businesses and the majority of citizens benefit little or not at all from these subsidies, much of the funding for this largesse comes, of course, from their taxes.

Measures of Societal Well-being

Policymakers look to GDP to validate these choices, assuming that the rate at which GDP rises is a valid measure of the health of society and the economy. It is anything but that. When tap water is so polluted that we must buy our drinking water in plastic bottles, GDP increases. GDP also grows when we pump oil out of the ground and burn it, as though we could do this indefinitely. It increases when we cut down an old-growth forest and turn it into bathroom tissue, as if the services provided by forest ecosystems—including fresh air and water and a stable climate—were unimportant. When more people are sick and need pharmaceutical drugs and hospital care, GDP goes up. If pollution decreases and people are healthy in body and mind, GDP goes down. In other words, the more pollution, illness, and breakdown there is in society, the more the economy “grows” and the better off we’re assumed to be.

There are alternative indicators, like the Genuine Progress Indicator, created in the 1990s by a California-based organization called Redefining Progress. Such metrics seek to properly acknowledge the many services provided by healthy ecosystems and subtract the expenditures we make in response to breakdown—prison construction, cancer treatment, antidepressant drugs, and so on. An international movement is seeking to develop indicators based on an idea of the former King of Bhutan, who proposed “Gross National Happiness”

(GNH) rather than GDP as a true measure of economic and social well-being. Adopting GNH as a standard would provide a very different picture of the global order. In a survey of more than sixty-five countries conducted from 1999 to 2001, Nigeria turned out to have the highest percentage of people who considered themselves happy. Britain ranked twenty-fourth on this scale, despite boasting a GDP more than twenty-two times higher than that of Nigeria.

At the moment, these levers are being used to push us all in a suicidal direction. I believe that to heal ourselves and the planet, we need to regain control of these levers through economic activism, underpinned by an understanding of the workings of globalization. If the multitude of social and environmental movements link hands to address a common agenda, sufficient pressure can be exerted to bring about meaningful policy change.

Healing and Renewal in Ladakh

In the three decades since I first went to Ladakh, the conflict between globalization and the resurgence of the local has continued and intensified. Outside influences still pressure the Ladakhis to embrace a global consumer monoculture. Television and other mainstream media are making deeper inroads, while subsidized, chemical-laden imported food continues to replace the wholesome organic local food. Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Nestlé's freeze-dried noodles, and condensed milk have arrived in force, capturing children even in the remotest of villages.

Despite these negative trends, however, there is a real hope that their worst impact has already been felt. Even though many teenagers continue to be seduced by glamorized images of the outside world, there is now a countervailing and growing awareness of how much Ladakh has to offer the world. The vital lessons that the developed world can learn from traditional Ladakh—self-reliance, frugality, social harmony, environmental sustainability, and spiritual sophistication—are real, and their value is increasingly recognized. As a result, the great wound of Ladakhi self-rejection is beginning to be healed by a new sense of self-respect. And in recent times, the conflict between Buddhists and Muslims has

subsidied; they are once again able to live together in peace as the social fabric is rewoven.

The work that we at the International Society for Ecology and Culture (ISEC) started has had considerable impact. A growing number of nongovernmental organizations—many of which we helped to build—are trying to counter the avalanche of forces that have hurt the Ladakhis' self-respect. As time passes, more and more Ladakhi leaders realize that outside pressures have led to a dangerous dependence on imported food and that it is extremely important for Ladakh to remain self-reliant in basic needs. The Hill Council, the regional, semi-autonomous government, is now championing local food and organic agriculture, and promoting respect for farmers.

The indigenous Ecology Group we helped to set up has had wide-reaching success in promoting decentralized renewable energy systems. It has also raised awareness about the need to protect local organic agricultural methods, alerting people to the dangers of genetically modified seeds, pesticides, fungicides, and so on. The former directors of the Ecology Group were instrumental in setting up the Hill Council.

The Women's Alliance, now with over 5,000 members and a presence in every village, has an esteemed and growing reputation for its work in promoting and preserving the ecological and spiritual foundations of Ladakhi culture. The alliance runs crafts and seed conservation programs, and was responsible for banning plastic bags in the capital town of Leh. It has gained the genuine respect of the people as well as the government, becoming an authentic voice for positive change in the region.

Our Learning from Ladakh Project—in which westerners live and work with a Ladakhi farming family for a month during the agricultural season—has given participants a greater understanding of the value of indigenous cultures, as well as the destructive impacts of the global economy. Traditional Ladakhi culture and agriculture still provide opportunities to learn about decentralized modes of economic organization. Participants in the project have come away with a deepened respect for a way of life in which knowledge, wisdom, and methods of livelihood are finely tuned to the local ecosystem.

To counteract the notion that western, urban ways are superior to indigenous life, ISEC has brought groups of Ladakhis on “reality tours” that give them a more complete and realistic picture of life in the West. These visits not only reveal problems like unemployment, drug addiction, poverty, and alienation, but also show that many westerners are rejecting the consumer culture in favor of more sustainable, ecological ways of living. Many individuals who have been on these tours have become leaders in Ladakhi civil society.

The tremendous psychological and structural pressures on the South call urgently for international information exchange or “counter-development” of this kind. People from more industrialized parts of the world can offer information and experience that serve as a kind of reality check against western media messages romanticizing consumer lifestyles. Whether it be fears about nuclear contamination, the frustration of traffic gridlock, or concern about the overuse of industrial chemicals, a “warts and all” picture of life in the West must be communicated honestly. When one travels around the global South today, one can find people innocently handling toxic chemicals of all kinds, using DDT containers for salt shakers, even sprinkling pesticides and fungicides directly onto grain and vegetables, unaware of the dangers. Very often people do not or cannot read the instructions on the packets, and even when they do, they may lack enough background to perceive the dangers. In such a context, information commonly available in the West can save lives.

It is significant that many in the South who are actively working to protect their own culture and environment have spent time in the North. When they see the homeless, or mental hospitals and old people’s homes, and when they meet campaigners concerned with alleviating environmental and social problems, they gain powerful insights that can counter fantasy images spread in the media.

Many of these southern activists have made arrangements to translate *Ancient Futures*, saying that the story of Ladakh is “our story too.” In 1991, ISEC adapted the book into a film with the same title. From Alaska to Peru, indigenous groups have used both the book and the film to strengthen cultural self-esteem and demonstrate that the western consumer lifestyle is fundamentally unsustainable. Between

them, the book and film have been translated into more than forty languages, including Hungarian, French, Laotian, and Mongolian. The book has been a bestseller in South Korea; professors of economics from New Zealand to New Mexico have used it in their courses; and it was surreptitiously brought to Burma, where a translation is now going into a second edition. As a consequence of this interest, ISEC, despite being a tiny organization, has had a remarkably global reach.

Going Local, Globally

The encouraging trends that ISEC has helped nurture are not isolated phenomena. Today globalization is ever more questioned and challenged by a proliferation of groups and individuals the world over. Even prominent financiers and politicians are voicing concerns. Over the past ten years in particular, resistance has been growing, and there is a real chance that the global tide can be turned.

In 1999, I participated in an event that made news around the world and catalyzed media coverage of the growing resistance to globalization: over 40,000 people gathered in Seattle to protest the harmful policies of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Since then, virtually every economic summit has faced similar protests. People have come to see what globalization really means for their jobs, their communities, and their environment. I have been greatly inspired by witnessing the cooperation between people from vastly different sectors of society all over the world: labor unionists joining hands with environmental activists, teachers with politicians, scientists with theologians.

By now the movement has evolved from simple resistance to formulating and promoting positive ways forward. The World Social Forums, which to date have met in Brazil, India, Italy, France, the UK, and Kenya, are a good example. The Social Forums afford important opportunities for North–South dialogue, an exchange of information and ideas that enable people to resist the current economic system and work toward demonstrating that, as their slogan says, “another world is possible.”

There is also a vast and equally important movement toward “going local.” In fact, more and more groups are recognizing that

economic localization represents a systemic solution multiplier. At a fundamental level, centralized, top-heavy systems—whether they are capitalist, socialist, or communist—cannot remain democratic. Decentralizing, or localizing economic activity, from finance to industry and farming, can restore participatory democracy while simultaneously renewing the social and ecological fabric. Instead of scaling government up, localization is about scaling business down. Business and banking need to be place-based in order to allow culture and ethics to shape commerce, rather than vice versa.

Localization is not about ending trade, nor is it about acting only locally. For grassroots localization efforts to succeed and grow in the long term, they must be accompanied by policy changes at the national and international levels. Rather than thinking just in terms of isolated, scattered efforts, we must demand government policies that promote *small scale on a large scale*, allowing space for community-based economies to flourish and spread. Today, more than ever, we require international collaboration to solve our problems. Gradually, as governments wake up to the real world effects of globalization, groups of nation-states are likely to form a breakaway strategy: leaving the WTO and supporting each other in reducing their dependence on multinationals. In subtle ways, this process has already started. In 2006 in Latin America, five countries announced, at the World Water Forum in Mexico City, that they were forming a common front against WTO policies of water privatization.

When a critical mass of people have awakened to the need for this fundamental shift from globalization to localization, political representatives can be forced to negotiate international treaties to protect both the local and the global commons. This may sound implausible today, but political initiatives at the local and regional level already are working in this direction. The beginnings of this shift can be seen in the United States, where local leaders are rejecting policies adopted at the national level. Nine states and 194 mayors from U.S. towns and cities have pledged to adopt Kyoto-style legal limits on greenhouse gas emissions.

Around the world, community initiatives are demonstrating the multiple benefits of rebuilding local economies. Many of these have

been spurred on by the rising threat of climate chaos along with dwindling oil supplies. In particular, growing awareness about “peak oil”—the point at which half the world’s reserves will have been extracted—has created a sense of urgency at the grassroots level about the need to reduce our dependence on oil. Largely prompted by these concerns, a relocalization movement has been gaining ground in North America. Several hundred communities are attempting to lower their carbon footprints by shortening the distances that goods travel, installing decentralized renewable energy systems, and rethinking transportation. In the UK, about forty communities are part of a parallel effort called the Transition Town movement. One of its central thrusts is to rebuild the skills required to develop flourishing, sustainable communities without the waste of materials and energy so characteristic of the global economy.

Even before the current concerns about peak oil and climate change, thousands of so-called eco-villages or intentional communities have been working to promote localization, in particular to renew community and a deeper connection to nature. The Global Ecovillage Network was established in 1994, linking groups that sought to move away from the consumer culture and toward a way of life that supports spiritual and ecological values. Other localization initiatives have included local currencies and LETS, or local exchange trading systems. In the United States, the Business Alliance for Local Living Economies is bringing together small businesses to resist the pressures exerted by giant corporate chains.

Within the localization movement, the most effective initiatives to date have been attempts to rebuild healthy food economies. Without support from either government or industry, these grassroots efforts constitute together one of the most hopeful and successful demonstrations of people power winning out over multibillion dollar advertising, hidden subsidies, and hype.

The logic of local food economies is unassailable: Locally grown food is fresher, and thus tastier and more nutritious, than food transported over long distances. It is likely to contain fewer of the preservatives and other artificial chemicals needed to prolong shelf-life and transportability. And when the producer knows the consumer

personally and not as a faceless “target market,” he or she is less likely to take risks with the consumer’s health. Perhaps most important of all, local economies give farmers an incentive to diversify their production, which has a whole host of environmental and economic benefits. The global economy, with its giant middlemen and supermarket chains, pressures farmers to produce tons of identical products that fit large-scale machinery—from harvesting to transport and packaging. A local market, on the other hand, cannot absorb tons of carrots or potatoes. Studies have shown that farmers who start selling closer to home quickly increase the diversity of crops, because that is what a local market demands.

A 2008 report by the International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology for Development, based on a three-year study by over 400 scientists from around the world, concludes that industrial production systems are costly in terms of human health and the environment. Its director, Robert Watson, warns that if radical changes aren’t made in how we produce and distribute our food, “the world’s people cannot be fed” and we will be left with “a world nobody wants to inhabit.”

As widespread awareness of the negative impacts of the global food system grows, more and more people are seeking out local food. Since 1997, when the first farmers’ market in the UK was set up in the city of Bath, the number of farmers’ markets in the UK has grown to more than 500. Many people are also joining community supported agriculture (CSA) schemes that bring farmers and consumers into closer contact. This movement is sweeping the world, from Switzerland, where it started over three decades ago, to Japan, where hundreds of thousands of people are involved. In America, the number of CSAs has mushroomed from two in 1986 to over 1,000 today. Small farmers—increasingly vulnerable to the whims of distant markets beyond their control—go bankrupt at an alarming rate every year, but direct marketing has the potential to reverse that trend.

Other food-based movements on the international scene include permaculture—which has spawned a set of grassroots projects to heal land and rebuild self-reliant, diversified food and energy systems;

biodynamics, a spiritually based, highly productive approach to organic farming; and the Slow Food network, founded on the concept of “eco-gastronomy,” which raises awareness of the connections between plate and planet. Founded in 1986, the network now has over 80,000 members.

The upsurge in awareness about genetically modified (GM) food has joined earlier concerns about pesticides, fungicides, and growth hormones, to boost sales of organic food dramatically in recent years. When the first shipments of Monsanto’s genetically modified soy arrived in the UK late in 1996, public awareness of GM crops was virtually nonexistent. Today GM food is a hot issue, and opinion polls in Europe reveal that the vast majority of people oppose its use. More and more people realize that the best way to ensure the safety and nutritional value of the food they eat, as well as to reduce the impact of agriculture on the Earth, is to buy organic, and especially local, organic food. The global market for organic food has more than doubled since 2003 and is now worth over \$70 billion.

Despite these clear signals from consumers and voters, governments and vested interests refuse to listen. At the G8 meetings in 2008, representatives concluded that high oil and food prices were harming economic growth, and in the same year the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency refused to take action on the impact of rising prices on food supplies. In truth, it is the uncontrolled growth of the mainstream economy that is driving prices up and making basic needs “unaffordable.”

As the threats of climate change and food security become more apparent, specious arguments based on fancy footwork with statistics abound. For example, it has been argued that lamb imported from New Zealand to the UK has an overall lower carbon footprint than lamb produced in the UK itself. This reductionist view of agriculture and trade helps perpetuate the global system and distracts from the task at hand: to make agriculture more sustainable at every level—economic, social, and ecological. Some even have claimed that local food is elitist, that it undermines Third World economies, when the exact opposite is true. If poorer countries were able to devote their labor and their most fertile land to growing food for

themselves rather than exotic exports for rich countries, then both poverty and hunger would decrease.

In fact, one of the largest groups working to promote local food while opposing globalization originated in Latin America. Bringing together small- and medium-sized farmers, indigenous people, rural youth, and agricultural workers from fifty-six countries, La Via Campesina organizes actions to promote social and economic justice, protect natural resources, and encourage sustainable, small-scale agriculture. Its work in linking groups from North and South shows that the local food movement is indeed global.

The Economics of Happiness

We do have the power to change things, to build a better future for ourselves and our children. Globalization is not an inevitable, evolutionary force and its active proponents constitute less than 1 percent of the global population. The choice is ours. We can continue down the globalizing path, which at the very least will exacerbate human suffering and environmental problems, and at worst, threaten our survival. Or, by actively supporting a shift to local economies, we can begin to turn the tide.

Localizing economies is the most strategic way to heal both people and the planet—reweaving our interdependence with one another and with the natural world to which we belong. Ladakh opened my eyes to the joy, well-being, and fulfillment that come from a lived experience of interdependence. My work there has shown me that, at the deepest, most fundamental level, localization is the economics of happiness.

FURTHER READING

- Attenborough, R. ed. 1982. *The Words of Gandhi*. New Market Press, New York. One of many anthologies of Gandhi's writings.
- Badiner, Alan H. 1990. *Dharma Gaia: A Harvest of Essays in Buddhism and Ecology*. Parallax Press, Berkeley. Essays exploring how the holistic view of Buddhism is related to ecological thinking.
- Bahro, Rudolf. 1986. *Building the Green Movement*. New Society, Philadelphia. Essays from a leading German Green thinker.
- Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, Steven Tipton. 1985. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Harper and Row, London, New York. This sociological study, based on extensive interviews, looks at how individualism and economic rationality affect community in America.
- Berger, Peter. 1974. *Pyramids of Sacrifice*. Basic, New York. Berger questions the sacrifice and destruction that have been brought about by both capitalist and communist development, and examines the roots of both systems in modernism.
- Berman, Morris. 1981. *The Reenchantment of the World*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y. An examination of alternatives to the Newtonian world view, both historical and future.
- Berry, Thomas. 1988. *The Dream of the Earth*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. Essays on forging a new relation between humanity and the Earth.
- Berry, Wendell. 1975. *A Continuous Harmony: Essays Cultural and Agricultural*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York; 1977. *The Unsettling of America*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco; 1987. *Home Economics: Fourteen Essays*. North Point Press, San Francisco; 1990. *What Are People For?* North Point Press, San Francisco; 2001. *Life Is a Mistake*. Counterpoint Press, Berkeley. Several of the many books by America's most eloquent and prolific defender of traditional rural life and small-scale farming.
- Bizimana, N. 1989. *White Paradise: Hell for Africa?* (Available from the author: Grainauer Str. 13, 1000 Berlin 10, Germany.) Autobiographical account of an East African's encounter and subsequent delusion with the culture of Western Europe.
- Bodley, John H. 1990 (Third ed.) *Victims of Progress*. Mayfield, Mountain View, CA; 1976. *Anthropology and Contemporary Human Problems*. Cummings Press, Menlo Park, CA; 1987. *Tribal Peoples and Development Issues*. Mayfield, Mountain View, CA. Thorough examinations of misconceptions about tribal peoples and the destruction wrought on these cultures by contact with the West.
- Boulding, Kenneth E. 1978. *Ecodynamics: A New Theory of Societal Evolution*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills. A renegade (and ecologically minded) economist's vision of how social and environmental systems interact.
- Brown, Lester R. 1981. *Building a Sustainable Society*. W. W. Norton, New York. The founder of the World Watch Institute lays out what he sees as necessary reforms to bring human demands in line with environmental constraints. See also the Worldwatch papers and annual State of the World.

- Burns, E. Bradford. 1980. *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. University of California Press, Berkeley. Documents the destruction of traditional cultures in Latin America in the face of the onslaught of ideas and gadgets from the North.
- Callenbach, Ernest. 1975. *Ecotopia*. Banyan Tree Books, Berkeley; 1981. *Ecotopia Emerging*. Banyan Tree Books, Berkeley. Fictionalized speculation on ecologically sound utopia.
- Capra, Fritjof. 1982. *The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture*. Bantam Books, New York. This book links the major problems facing the world today to a dangerously narrow world view that has dominated for the last centuries, and outlines a new, more holistic paradigm emerging in a variety of domains.
- Covarrubias, Miguel. 1937. *Island of Bali*. Knopf, New York. A detailed account of the intricacies of Balinese life, at a time when Western visitors were less abundant than today.
- Daly, Herman E., and John B. Cobb, Jr. 1989. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*. Beacon, Boston. An economist and a theologian team up to challenge current economic thinking. They propose protecting people, communities, and the environment by increasing local control and restricting international trade.
- Devall, Bill. 1988. *Simple in Means, Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology*. Peregrine Books, Salt Lake City. Thoughts on translating nonanthropocentric world views into practice.
- Diamond, Irene, and Gloria F. Orenstein, eds. 1990. *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. A diverse collection of essays affirming the importance of women's experience and knowledge in overcoming patriarchy and healing the Earth.
- Douthwaite, Richard. 1999. *The Growth Illusion*. New Society, Gabriola Island, BC; 1996. *Short Circuit*. Green Books, Darlington, UK. An economist looks at the logic of economic growth and surveys some of the many local economic models being implemented worldwide.
- Ehrenfeld, David. 1978. *The Arrogance of Humanism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, N.Y. Ehrenfeld questions the hubris of humanism. He examines the modern assumptions of ever-increasing material wealth and ever-greater control of nature through technological progress.
- Ekins, Paul. 1986. *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York. This collection of essays from TOES, The Other Economic Summit, critiques the conventional economic paradigm and presents alternative analyses and visions.
- Elgin, Duane. 1981. *Voluntary Simplicity: Toward a Way of Life That Is Outwardly Simple, Inwardly Rich*. William Morrow, New York. An exploration of the personal and planetary effects of living a materially simple lifestyle in industrial society.
- Ellul, Jacques. 1964. *The Technological Society*. Random House, New York. (Translated from the French, originally published 1954.) A somewhat difficult to read classic on the continued incursion of technical rationality into all phases of life in industrial civilization.

- Fromm, Erich. [1976] 1981. *To Have or To Be*. Bantam, New York, London. Two modes of existence struggle fiercely for the spirit of mankind: the having mode, dedicated to aggression and material possession, and the being mode, suffused with love, caring, and a feeling of sufficiency. One of many insightful books by a prolific author.
- Fukuoka, Masanobu. 1978. *The One Straw Revolution: An Introduction to Natural Farming*. Rodale, Emmaus, PA. Description of a farming system developed over thirty years that minimizes human intervention in the natural order. A classic that has inspired many permaculturists and others.
- George, Susan. 1977. *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger*. Allanheld Osmun, Montclair, N.J.; 1988. *A Fate Worse Than Debt*. Grove Press, New York. These books expose the gross inequalities of the current international economic system and the development policies that support it.
- Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. Gilligan exposes the male bias in psychological testing.
- Goldsmith, Edward. 1988. *The Great U-Turn: Deindustrializing Society*. Green Books, Bideford, UK. A call for radical restructuring of modern society from the editor of *The Ecologist*.
- Goodman, Paul, and Percival Goodman. [1947] 1960. *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life*. Random House, New York. Early questioning about the directions of industrial culture; still relevant.
- Gorelick, Steven. 1996. *Small Is Beautiful, Big Is Subsidized*. ISEC, Berkeley. Describes how government subsidies and regulations support the large and global at the expense of the small and local.
- Griffin, David Ray. 1988. *The Reenchantment of Science: Postmodern Proposals*. State University of New York Press, Albany. Essays calling for a replacement of modern dualism and reductionism with a more ecological, organismic, and ultimately spiritual foundation to scientific inquiry.
- Griffin, Susan. [1978] 2000. *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. A unique and powerful work that juxtaposes the voice of modern patriarchy with women's voices on a variety of themes of society and nature.
- Heilbroner, Robert. 1974. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*. W.W. Norton, New York. This book outlines the discrepancies between the material, the cultural, and the social products of advanced industrial society and generally desirable human goals.
- Heinberg, Richard. 2005. *The Party's Over: Oil, War, and the Fate of Industrial Societies*. New Society, Gabriola Island, BC. A dim view of the prospects for the global-industrial way of life from one of the best writers on "peak oil."
- Henderson, Hazel. 1971. *Creating Alternative Futures*. G. P. Putnam, New York; 1981. *The Politics of the Solar Age*. Anchor, Doubleday, New York. An exploration of new directions in economic and political thinking that can help create a more ecologically sound future.
- Illich, Ivan. 1971. *Deschooling Society*; 1973. *Tools for Conviviality*; 1974. *Energy and Equity*. Harper and Row, New York. Key works from one of the most insightful and severe critics of industrial society.

- Jackson, Wes. 1980. *New Roots for Agriculture*. Friends of the Earth, San Francisco; with Wendell Berry, 1984. *Meeting the Expectations of the Land: Essays in Sustainable Agriculture*. North Point Press, San Francisco; 1987. *Altars of Unhewn Stone: Science and the Earth*. North Point Press, San Francisco. Fundamental questioning of the patterns of thinking that underlie modern industrial agriculture from an agricultural researcher who is investigating the possibilities of radical changes in the way we practice agriculture.
- Jensen, Derrick. 2004. *Culture of Make Believe*. Chelsea Green, White River Junction, VT. A sometimes painful look at the way “civilization” has systematically destroyed people and nature.
- Keller, Evelyn Fox. 1985. *Reflections on Gender and Science*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT. Essays on how scientific questioning and methods have been shaped by patriarchy and why a feminization of science is needed.
- Kimbrell, Andrew. ed. 2002. *Fatal Harvest: The Tragedy of Industrial Agriculture*. Island Press, Washington DC. Comprehensive and authoritative overview of both “the tragedy of industrial agriculture” and the great promise of its opposite: small-scale organic.
- King, Franklin H. [1911] 1973. *Farmers of Forty Centuries; or, Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea, and Japan*. Rodale, Emmaus, PA. Description of traditional farming practices that maintained fertility for centuries.
- Kohr, Leopold. 1973. *Development Without Aid: The Translucent Society*. Schlocken, New York; [1962] 1976. *The Overdeveloped Nations: The Diseconomies of Scale*. Swansea, UK. Early and cogent challenges to the growth and development mystiques.
- Korten, David. 1995. *When Corporations Rule the World*. Kumarian, West Hartford, CT. A critical look at an unjust global economic order, by someone who once worked inside the system.
- Lappé, Francis Moore, and Joseph Collins. 1977. *Food First*. Houghton and Mifflin, Boston; with David Kinley. 1980. *Aid As Obstacle: Twenty Questions About Our Foreign Aid and the Hungry*. Institute for Food and Development Policy, San Francisco. A thorough refutation of common beliefs about the causes of hunger; misguided development and political economic policies are most often the important factors.
- Leopold, Aldo. [1987] 1949. *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York. Eloquent reflections on the beauty of nature, and philosophical inquiries into the ethics of modern society’s relation to nature. Contains well-known essay on Leopold’s proposed land ethic.
- Lutz, Mark A., and Kenneth Lux. 1988. *Humanistic Economics: The New Challenge*. Bootstrap Press, New York. Challenges the basic assumptions about homo economicus in favor of Gandhian economics.
- Macy, Joanna. 1985. *Dharma and Development: Religion As Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-help Movement*. Kumarian Press, West Hartford, CT. The role of Buddhism and Buddhist monks and nuns in Sri Lanka’s Sarvodaya village development movement.
- Mander, Jerry, 1978. *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television*. Morrow, New York; 1992. *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of*

- the Indian Nations*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. Crucial insights into the way technology affects both the individual and society.
- Mander, Jerry, and E. Goldsmith. eds. 1996. *The Case against the Global Economy, and for a Turn to the Local*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. Essays by forty thinkers and activists, detailing the problems of economic globalization and the benefits of localization.
- Margolin, Malcolm. 1978. *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco–Monterey Bay Area*. Heyday Books, Berkeley. A description of what life was like before the European invasion of California.
- Matthiessen, Peter. 1978. *The Snow Leopard*. Viking, New York. Description of an expedition to study snow leopards in Tibetan Buddhist Nepal.
- McKibben, Bill. 2007. *Deep Economy*. Henry Holt, New York. A critique of the growth imperative underlying conventional economic thinking, and a call for more localized, nature-based economies.
- Merchant, Carolyn. 1980. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution*. Harper and Row, New York. The rise in dominance of the mechanistic world view of modern science was accompanied by the increasing exploitation of nature and the domination of women.
- Mollison, Bill. 1990. *Permaculture: A Practical Guide for a Sustainable Future*. Island Press, Covelo, CA; also, *Permaculture One* and *Permaculture Two*. Design ideas for creating living arrangements that provide a maximum of food, energy, and shelter with a minimum of environmental impact. The permaculture bible.
- Mumford, Lewis. [1934] 1963. *Technics and Civilization*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York. A history of modern technology and how it has shaped both the external world and human society and culture. Mumford's insights into the powerful force of "technics" are as relevant today as they were in 1934.
- Naess, Arne. 1989. *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle: Outline of an Ecosophy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York. Translated and revised by David Ruthenberg. Deep ecology from the Norwegian philosopher who first coined the term.
- Nash, Hugh, ed. 1981. *Progress as if Survival Mattered: A Handbook for a Conserver Society*. Friends of the Earth, San Francisco. Policy suggestions to steer society toward a more ecological footing.
- Norberg-Hodge, Helena, T. Merrifield, and S. Gorelick. 2002. *Bringing the Food Economy Home: Local Alternatives to Global Agribusiness*. Kumarian, West Hartford, CT. The ecological, social, economic, and health costs of the global food system, and the multiple benefits of shifting toward local food systems, globally.
- Payer, Cheryl. 1975. *The Debt Trap: The IMF and the Third World*; 1982. *The World Bank: A Critical Analysis*. Monthly Review Press, New York. A critical look at two of the major international development institutions and the effects of their policies on the lives of people in the South.
- Perkins, John. 2004. *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*. Plume, New York. An insider describes the way "development" has been used to undermine democracy, sovereignty, and human dignity in the so-called Third World.
- Polanyi, Karl. [1944] 1957. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Beacon, Boston. A historical perspective on the sweeping changes brought by the reorganization of society around markets.

- Pollan, Michael. 2006. *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. Penguin Press, New York. A journalist traces the path taken by our food before it gets to the table, highlighting the social, ecological, and health implications of different food systems.
- Pye-Smith, Charles, and Richard North. 1984. *Working the Land: A New Plan for a Healthy Agriculture*. Temple Smith, London. Exposition of the ills of English agriculture and the organic alternative.
- Rifkin, Jeremy. 1983. *Algeny*. Viking, New York; 1985. *Declaration of a Heretic*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Boston. A plea for caution and humility in scientific research and technological development.
- Roszak, Theodore. 1979. *Person Planet*. Doubleday, Garden City, NY. An excellent exposition of the thesis that the forces that are endangering the environment also threaten individuals and communities. The cures for the personal and the planetary lie in the same direction.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1972. *Stone Age Economics*. Aldine Atherton Inc., Chicago, New York. Drawing on a wide range of anthropological study, Sahlins explodes the myth that life for hunter-gatherers was a constant struggle. He also examines exchange relations in preindustrial society and points out many reasons to challenge the "naturalness" of today's conceptions of "economic man."
- Sale, Kirkpatrick. 1980. *Human Scale*. Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, New York; 1985. *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco. An appeal for smaller scale, decentralization, and the reorganization of society to better integrate with the natural world and the real needs of humanity.
- Schumacher, E. F. 1973. *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. Harper and Row, New York, Blond and Briggs Ltd., London. This seminal work by the father of the Appropriate Technology movement challenges the assumptions of growth, development, and the economic paradigm. Schumacher's vision puts the needs of people before economic efficiency.
- Shiva, Vandana. 1988. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. Zed, London. The women and the land of India bear the costs of destructive and short-sighted development.
- Snyder, Gary. 1974. *Turtle Island*. New Directions, New York; 1977. *The Old Ways: Six Essays*. City Lights Books, San Francisco; 1990. *The Practice of the Wild*. North Point Press, San Francisco. Also many volumes of poetry. An internationally renowned poet who has written poetry and essays for the last four decades on, among other things, nature, spirituality, and the wisdom of tradition.
- Spretnak, Charlene. 1986. *The Spiritual Dimension of Green Politics*. Bear and Co., Santa Fe. The importance of spiritual wisdom in regaining a more healthy relationship to the earth.
- Turnbull, Colin M. 1961. *The Forest People*. Chatto & Windus, London. Life and culture of the traditional inhabitants of the rainforests of central Africa.
- Van der Post, Laurens. 1961. *The Heart of the Hunter*. Hogarth Press, London (African Bushman folklore); 1974. *A Far-off Place*. Morrow, New York; 1953. *The Face Beside the Fire: A Novel*. Morrow, New York. Fiction set in traditional Africa.

INDEX

- NOTE: Names of Ladakhi nationals are entered without inversion (e.g., Tashi Rabgyas)
- Abi-le. *See* Grandmothers
- Accidents, 41
- Affection, 56, 66
- Aggression, 46, 98. *See also* Anger
- Aging, 67–68, 135, 185
- Agriculture
- acreage devoted to, 11–12
 - Center for Ecological Development, support of, 175–176
 - cycles of, 19–24, 80
 - decentralization of, 165
 - education for, 112
 - industrial, 147–149, 159
 - market economy and, 103
 - subsidies for, 119
 - Western, 158
- See also* Cash cropping; Farmers; Subsistence economies
- Aksai Chin region, 11
- Amchis*, 39, 40–41, 59–60, 62, 118–119
- Angchuk Dawa, 56
- children of, 63
 - marriage of, 55–56, 58–59, 67
 - Ngawang and, 45
- Angchuk (son of Deskit), 28, 29
- Angdus (husband of Dolma), 55–56, 63
- Anger, 56. *See also* Aggression
- Angmo (wife of Nam-gyal), 57–58
- Anil Agarwal, 162
- Animals
- breeding of, 182
 - communal shepherding of, 53
 - economic role of, 13, 28
 - vs. machines, 106
 - slaughter of, 31
 - stray, 49–50
- Animism, 19–20, 32, 42–44, 62, 79. *See also* Household gods; Spirit possession
- Appropriate technology, 151–152, 164
- Arrows, 59, 62
- Astrology, 19, 42, 59, 62, 63
- Atchos*, 55
- Baloo*. *See* Sonam (*Baloo*)
- Bardo Thodol*, 52
- Barley, 11, 25, 30, 102
- Bes*, 53
- BHC (pesticide), 117
- Bhutan, 143, 145
- Biotechnology, 147–149
- Bizimana, Nsekuye, 161–162
- Book of the Dead*, 52
- Bread, 30
- Brick construction, 32, 119, 168
- Buddhism, 10, 72–82
- child naming and, 63
 - cultural change and, 136
 - interconnectedness and, 187
 - polyandry and, 57
 - protective deities of, 24
 - in religious conflict, 128–129
 - sects of, 15
 - sex roles and, 69
 - symbols of, 16, 17, 78–79
 - Tibetan medicine and, 39
- Burtse*, 25
- Butter, 117
- Butter tea, 30
- Calendar, Tibetan, 78
- Capitalism, 154
- Cash cropping, 103, 146
- Celibacy, 69, 79
- Center for Ecological Development, 173–175

- Centralization, economic, 115–121,
154–155, 181
- Ceremonies and festivals, 80–81. *See also*
Weddings
- Cham* dance, 80–81
- Chang*, 25, 50
- Chanting, 45, 52
- Chapel rooms, 34, 78
- Cheese, 51
- Chhewang Phonsog, 171
- Childbirth, 62–63
- Children
economic development and, 127–128
illegitimate, 56
on Ladakhi development, 113–114
rearing of, 63–66, 187, 191
See also Education
- Chipe-chirrit*, 35
- Chipko women, 159
- Chortens*, 16, 17, 78
- Chospel (villager), 49–50
- Christianity, 73, 74
- Churpe*, 31
- Churpon*, 20
- Chutsos*, 48, 52, 53
- City life, 102, 115–121, 153, 184
- Classes, social, 48, 103–104, 107, 137
- Climate, 11
- Clothing, 121. *See also* Weaving
- Coexistence, 45–48
- Colonialism, 149
- Communism, 154
- Community life, 45–54, 122–130, 186–188
- Compassion, 75, 82
- Competition, 128–130
- Conflict avoidance, 45–48
- Conformity, 187–188
- Consumerism, 125
- Contentedness, 87, 136–137, 139
- Cooperation, 51–54, 103
- Corporations, multinational, 155
- Counter-development, 157–166, 169
- Cows, 112
- Cremation, 51–52
- Cultural activities, 123–124
- Cultural breakdown, 139
- Cultural diversity, 163, 182–183
- Dadars*, 59
- Dalai Lama, 73, 75, 76, 173
- Damaru*, 43
- Dards, 10
- Dawa (youth), 98–100, 124
- DDT, 159
- Death, 51–53, 81, 135
- Decision making, 48–50, 51
- Delhi, 153
- Democracy, 128
- Demok*, 25
- Deskit (sister of Tsering), 27, 57–58, 65,
126–127
- Development
advantages of, 135–136
community life and, 122–130
cultural breakdown and, 139–140
cultural diversity and, 182
decentralized, 157–166, 169
disadvantages of, 141–156
economic aspects of, 101–104
education and, 110–114
ethnic rivalry and, 129–130
government policies for, 92
Indian, 153
of infrastructure, 142–143
overpopulation and, 150–151
as “progress,” 154, 160
technological aspects of, 105–109
urbanization and, 115–121
- Dharmapalas, 24
- Diagnosis, medical, 40
- Diesel-powered mills, 105
- Diet, 30–31, 39, 41, 183
- Disease, 118
- Dolma (wife of Angchuk), 45, 55–56,
63–64, 66, 67
- Domestic life, 55–71, 86, 166, 185–186
- Drimos*, 112
- Dung, 25–26
- Dzo*
in harvest, 21
in ploughing, 23
in sowing, 20, 54
tending of, 28
usefulness of, 13
- Economic centralization, 115–121, 154–155
- Economic development. *See* Development
- Economic systems. *See* Global economy;
Money economy; Subsistence
economies
- Eco-villages, 190
- Education
age segregation in, 127
Center for Ecological Development,
programs of, 175
contextual, 164–165

- counter-development as, 159–160
 development organizations and, 151
 higher, 112
 social mobility and, 136
 traditional, 110–111
 Western, 111–114
- Ego, 75, 81
- Electricity, 139–140, 173. *See also*
 Hydroelectric plants
- Emotions, 86–87
- Energy resources, 117, 163–164. *See also*
 Electricity; Fuels; Hydroelectric plants
- English language, 152
- Environmentalism, 180
- Ethics, 109
- European Community, 159
- Experiential knowledge, 189–190
- Family life, 55–71, 86, 166, 185–186
- Farmers, 126, 145, 158. *See also* Agriculture
- Feminine thought patterns, 189–190
- Fertilizer, 25–26
- Festivals. *See* Ceremonies and festivals
- Films, 96–97
- Fish, 31
- Flags, prayer, 78
- Food, 30–31, 39, 41, 183
- Foreign influences, 139. *See also* Western
 culture
- Formaldehyde, 117
- Frugality, 24–26
- Fuels, 167–168
- Funerals, 51–53
- Gandhi, Indira, 173
- Gender roles, 31–32, 69, 126, 166. *See also*
 Men; Women
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 154
- Genetic engineering, 147–148
- Gesar* saga, 36
- Global economy, 154–156, 163, 183–184
- Gobas*, 49, 51
- Gompas*, 78, 79–81, 128
- Gompertz, M. L. A., 133
- Gonchas*, 175
- Gongrat*, 35
- Grain mills, 53, 105, 173
- Grandmothers, 18, 25, 108, 128
- Grandparents, 67–68
- Grazing land, 13, 26–30
- Great Wheel Initiation, 76
- Greed, 141–142
- Green parties, 180
- Gross national product, 126, 145, 190
- Gurgur*, 30
- Guru Rinpoche, 78
- Gyektsis*, 42
- Gyelong Paldan, 13, 157, 169, 185
- Handicrafts, 175. *See also* Weaving
- Happiness, 83–87, 136–137, 166, 181–182
- Harvesting, 21–24, 35, 102
- Hazards
 health, 117
 industrial, 159
 nuclear, 161
- Health care. *See* Medicine
- Health hazards, 117
- Heart disease, 39
- Hemis village, 16
- Hepatitis, 41, 118
- Higher education, 112
- High lamas, 63
- Hospitals, 118
- Household gods, 51
- Housing, 32–34, 53, 119–120, 144, 183
- Hybrids, 148, 182
- Hydraulic ram pumps, 173
- Hydroelectric plants, 173. *See also* Electricity
- Id (Muslim holiday), 73
- Illegitimate children, 56
- Illiteracy, 134
- Implements, 34–35, 53
- Imports, 92, 117
- India, 10–11, 91–92, 153
- Individualism, 124–125, 187. *See also* Self
- Industrial hazards, 159
- Infant mortality, 37, 135
- Infants, 62–63
- Infrastructure development, 142–143, 146
- Inheritance customs, 58–59
- Intermediaries, 47–48
- International Society for Ecology and
 Culture, 171
- International trade, 154–155, 183
- Interpersonal relations, 45–54, 122–130. *See*
 also Family life
- Irrigation. *See* Water supply
- Jammu State, 10
- Jersey cows, 112
- Jewelry, 32
- Justice system, 49–50
- Kalachakra Initiation, 76

- Kashmir State, 10, 92
Kataks, 61, 63
Khambhir, 61
Khambit, 30
Khangus, 58, 59
 Khor, Martin, 162
 Kitchens, 33–34
- Ladakh Ecological Development Group,
 172–173
Ladakh, Look Before You Leap (play), 170–171
 Ladakh Project, 167–179, 190
 Lamas, 63, 108
 Land inheritance, 58–59
 Languages, 13, 82, 126, 152, 161
 Latrines, 26
 Leh, 115–117, 177
Lhabas, 42–44
Lhangsde, 54
Lhatos, 27, 78
Lhu, 19, 62
 Life expectancy, 38
 Lighting, electric, 139–140, 173
 Lobzang (driver), 107
 Lobzang (shopkeeper), 104
Lorapas, 49
Loto, 42
- Maathai, Wangari, 162
Magpas, 58
 Mahayana Buddhism. *See* Buddhism
 Mangyoo, 12
Mar, 30
Markala, 32
 Market economy. *See* Money economy
 Marriage, 55–58, 69, 71, 128
 Meat, 31
 Media, 123–124. *See also* Films
 Medicine
 modern, 118–119, 134–135, 159
 traditional, 37–44, 158
 Meditation, 81–82
 Men, 127. *See also* Sex roles; Young men
 Mental disturbances, 41
 Milarepa (poet-sage), 75
 Milk, 30–31, 112
 Mills, 53, 105, 173
 Modernization. *See* Development
 Monasteries, 15–16, 77, 78, 79–81, 128
 Money economy, 101–104, 114, 141–142.
 See also Cash cropping
 Mongolians, 10
- Monks, 52, 62, 69
 Monogamy, 128
 Mons, 10, 48
 Mothers, 64, 86
 Mourning, 52
 Mud construction, 32, 119, 168
 Multinational corporations, 155
 Muslims, 73, 128–129
- Nagarjuna (scholar), 74–75
 Names, personal, 63
 Namgyal (villager), 49–50, 57, 58
Natitpas, 60
 Neighborliness. *See* Community life
 Neurosis, 41
Ngamphe, 11, 30, 140
 Ngawang Paljor, 83
 Ngawang (villager), 45
 Norbu (brother of Tsewang), 58
 Norbu (monk), 16
 Norbu (shepherd), 27, 29, 49
 Norbu (villager), 116–117
 Nuclear energy hazards, 161
 Nuclear families, 185–186
 Nuns, 69
 Nurrla village, 123
Nyeness, 78
 Nyimaling (mountain), 28
 Nyingma Smanla, 108
Nyitse, 35
- Obesity, 37
 Old age, 67–68, 135, 185
Oma, 30
Oms, 63
Onpos, 19, 42, 59, 62, 63
- Pace of life, 35, 106–107. *See also* Scale of life
 Paljor (*goba*), 49–50, 124
 Palmo (wife of Norbu and Tsewang), 58
 Parental affection, 66
Paspuns, 51–53, 61, 85
 Pastures, 13, 26–30
 Peace of mind, 87, 182
Peraks, 60
 Personal relationships. *See* Interpersonal
 relations
 Pesticides, 117
 Philippines, 161
 Philosophy of life, 81–82, 87, 135. *See also*
 Thought patterns; World view
 Photoskar, 12

- Phu*, 13, 26–30
 Phuntsog Dawa, 168
 Phuntsog (uncle of Sonam), 18, 31
 Phyang Monastery, 77
 Plants, 25. *See also* Agriculture; Barley; *Yagdzas*
 Plays, 169–170
 Ploughing, 23, 106
 Polyandry, 55–57, 58, 128
 Polygamy, 57–58
 Population, 56–57, 93, 128, 135, 150–151
 Power resources. *See* Energy resources
Prainaparamita, 78
 Prayer flags, 78
 Progress. *See* Development
 Pumps, 173
- Rabhi, Pierre, 162
 Radiation exposure, 152
 Radio, 123–124
 Rares, 53
 Red Hat sect, 15
 Reductionism, 188–189
 Reincarnation, 81
 Relationships, personal. *See* Interpersonal relations
 Relativity, linguistic, 82
 Religions, 73, 108–109, 128–130. *See also* Buddhism; Household gods; Spirit worship
 Remedies, folk, 40–41
 Ridzong Monastery, 15–16
 Rigzin (dramatic character), 170
 Rinchen (brother of Angchuk Dawa), 79–80
Rinpoche (high lama), 63
 Ritual. *See* Ceremonies and festivals
 Rivalry, 128–130
 Roles. *See* Sex roles; Social roles
- Sadak. *See* Spirit worship
 Sakti, 54
 Salt, 101
 Samadhirajasutra, 72
Samsara, 74
 Sankar village, 120
Sazgo namgos, 78–79
 Scale of life, 50–51, 181. *See also* Pace of life
 Schumacher, E. F., 167
 Scientific manipulation, 148–149
 Security, personal, 187, 188. *See also* Happiness
 Seeds, 147, 165
- Self, 75, 81, 85, 187. *See also* Individualism
 Self-reliance, 26, 48, 101, 111
 Self-respect, 84, 113, 125, 171, 187
Semba, 82
 Sex roles, 31–32, 69, 126, 166. *See also* Men; Women
 Sexuality, 41, 56
 Shadi, 55
 Shamans, 42–44
 Shiva, Vandana, 162
 Skangsol, 22–24, 66
 Skara village, 123
 Slings, 29, 49
Small Is Beautiful (E.F. Schumacher), 167
 Smanla family, 108–109
 Snow leopards, 30
 Social classes, 48, 103–104, 107, 137
 Social roles, 66–67
 Soil erosion, 148
 Solar energy technologies, 147, 168–169, 172–173, 177–178
Soldja, 30
 Sonam Angchuk, 178
 Sonam (*Baloo*), 15, 17
 equanimity of, 46
 family life of, 126
 at Skangsol, 22, 23–24
 Sonam Dawa, 178
 Sonam Dorje, 178
 Sonam Paljor, 171
 Sonam Rinchen, 128
 Sonam Tsering, 54
 Sowing, 19–20, 53–54
Spallbis, 78
 Specialization, academic, 188–189
 Species diversity, 182
 Spinning, 31–32
 Spirit possession, 42–44
 Spirit worship, 19–20, 32, 42–44, 62, 79. *See also* Household gods
 Spontaneous intermediaries, 47–48
 Srinagar, 153
 Stagmo village, 139–140
 Standards of living, 143, 145
 Stone throwing, 49
 Storerooms, 34
 Storytelling, 36
 Stoves, 34, 78
 Stray animals, 49–50
 Students' Educational and Cultural Movement of Ladakh, 176
 Subsidies, agricultural, 119

- Subsistence economies, 143, 145–147
Sunyata, 73–74
 Surgery, 41
 Sweden, 190–191
 Symbols, Buddhist, 16, 17, 78–79

Tagi shamo, 30
Tarchens, 78
 Tashi Rabgyas
 on English culture, 190
 linguistic work of, 13–15
 on *sunyata*, 73–75
 on technology, 105–106
 on tourists, 91
 at weddings, 60, 61
 Tea, 30
 Technological change, 105–109
 Technology, appropriate, 151–152
 Telephones, 107
 Television, 134
Thankas, 77, 175
 Theater, 169–170
 Third World, 156, 161–162
 Thought patterns, 189–190. *See also*
 Philosophy of life; World view
 Thundup (brother of Sonam), 15
 Tibetan language, 13
 Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism. *See* Buddhism
 Time, 35, 106
Titka gatpa, 41
 Tongde, 55
 Tools, 34–35, 53
 Tourism, 93, 94–100, 124, 167
 Trade, 154–155, 183
 Transportation, 107, 158, 183
 Trombe walls, 168–169
Tsans, 79
 Tsering Dolkar, 17
 Tsering Dolma, 83, 103
 Tsering Dorje, 107–108
 Tsering (sister of Deskit), 26–27, 30
 Tsering Wangyal, 59–60, 62
Tsermang, 25
 Tsewang (brother of Norbu), 58
 Tsewang (*lhaba*), 42–44
 Tsewang Rigzin Lagrook, 178
 Turbines, 173

 Unemployment, 114
 Urbanization, 102, 115–121, 153, 184

 Vajrayana Buddhism. *See* Buddhism
 Vegetables, 152
 Villages, 11, 48–50

 Waste disposal, 25–26, 117–118
 Water mills, 53, 105, 173
 Water supply
 for drinking, 24
 of Leh, 117, 118
 maintenance of, 123
 sowing and, 20–21
 village size and, 11
 Weaving, 31–32. *See also* Clothing
 Weddings, 59–62, 85
 Weeds, 25, 152
 Western culture
 breakdown of, 153–154
 impact of, 91–93
 Ladakhi education and, 111–114
 perceived by Ladakhis, 95–98, 169, 177
 renewal of, 180–192
 world view of, 188–189
 See also Development
White Paradise, Hell for Africa? (Bizimana), 161
 Winnowing, 20–21
 Winter activities, 36
 Wolves, 29
 Women, 68–71
 Chipko, 159
 counter-development and, 166, 185
 development and, 126–127
 status of, 58, 60
 thought patterns of, 189–190
 See also Sex roles
 Wool, 31–32
 Work, 35–36, 96. *See also* Cooperation
 World Bank, 143, 145, 161
 World view, 188–189. *See also* Philosophy of
 life; Thought patterns

Yagdzas, 25, 32–33
 Yaks, 31, 112, 113
Yangmols, 59
 Yangskit Dolma, 157
Yarnas, 80
 Yellow Hat sect, 15
 Yeshe (doctor), 64
 Young men, 98, 136, 152, 176, 177

 Zanskar Valley, 187

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Helena Norberg-Hodge is an internationally recognized cultural commentator, author, and environmentalist, and a pioneer in the worldwide localization movement. Educated in Sweden, Germany, Austria, England, and the United States, she trained as a linguist—including doctoral studies with Noam Chomsky—and speaks seven languages. In 1975, she became one of the earliest Westerners in modern times to visit Ladakh, or Little Tibet, and since then she has returned every year, working with the Ladakhis to explore alternatives to conventional development. For these efforts she won the Right Livelihood Award, or Alternative Nobel Prize. Founder and director of the International Society for Ecology and Culture (ISEC), Norberg-Hodge is a member of the International Commission on the Future of Food and Agriculture, and serves on the editorial board of *The Ecologist* magazine. She is a co-founder of the International Forum on Globalization and the Global Ecovillage Network.

The International Society for Ecology and Culture is a not-for-profit organization concerned with the protection of both cultural and biological diversity. ISEC promotes policy change and community strategies for economic localization—the key to social and ecological renewal. Its educational programs move beyond single issues to focus on the root causes of our many crises. ISEC is the

parent organization of the Ladakh Project, which has earned international recognition for its groundbreaking work on the Tibetan Plateau. ISEC recently established an “Ancient Futures Network” to bring together groups and individuals from every corner of the world that are struggling to maintain their cultural integrity in the face of economic globalization. ISEC has offices in the United States, the UK, and Australia, and subsidiaries in Germany, France, and Ladakh. For further information, visit www.isec.org.uk.

Ancient Futures and the film based upon it have together been translated into more than forty languages and are used regularly by educators, activists, and grassroots organizations all over the world. The film is available on DVD from ISEC at the Web address above.