

The courage of hopelessness: a transformative change for conservation sciences

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Abstract

As the twenty-first century unfolds, the human-driven decline of life on Earth is of greater concern and, despite tremendous growth in the volume of conservation science and many local successes, shows no clear signs of improvement. As a matter of fact, the reversal of nature's ongoing decline is only possible with urgent "transformative change"

However, no transformative changes are viable without first accepting that, as many other species, we may be bound for extinction and that no time or solutions may be left to reverse nature's decline. In light of this, I aim at provokingly inspiring the "courage of hopelessness", while paradoxically providing the leverage to think differently.

To this end I will remind that: 1) the main reports and projections about nature's decline paint a gloomy picture for the future of contemporary societies; 2) the destructive fingerprint of modern human societies (i.e., capitalist enterprise), although being just one of the many expressions in the evolution of human cultures, is now dominant and necessarily finds its root in the human biology, thus in the way our species is cognitively coupled with the environment (i.e. conscious purpose and dualistic thinking); 3) such destructive fingerprint is particularly difficult to modify since we are naturally reluctant to change habits and beliefs even when we know they lead into error.

Considering this, I suggest moving forward from the widely accepted but timed-out metaphor of conservation as a "crisis discipline", which intrinsically suggests a temporary state and an optimistic perspective, in favour of a more "palliative" attitude towards our times.

Impact statement: From conservation as "crisis discipline" to conservation as "palliative care"

Key words: nature decline, human behaviour, conscious purpose, dualistic thinking, habit formation, embrace extinction

35 **1. The need for transformative change**

36 As the twenty-first century unfolds, the human-driven decline of life on Earth is, day by
37 day, of greater concern and, despite tremendous growth in the volume of conservation science
38 and many local successes, shows no clear signs of improvement (Williams et al. 2020).

39 It is more and more acknowledged that the reversal of nature's ongoing decline is only
40 possible with urgent "transformative change" that tackles the root causes: the interconnected
41 economic, sociocultural, demographic, political, institutional, and technological indirect drivers
42 behind the direct drivers (Díaz et al. 2019). Diaz et al (2019) explain how such transformative
43 change can be enabled and accelerated with the collaborative application of priority
44 interventions to eight key points of intervention (leverage points) through innovative
45 governance approaches: 1) embrace diverse visions of a good life; 2) reduce total consumption
46 and waste; 3) unleash values and action; 4) reduce inequalities; 5) practice justice and inclusion
47 in conservation; 6) internalize externalities and telecouplings; 7) ensure environmentally
48 friendly technology, innovation, and investment; 8) promote education and knowledge
49 generation and sharing.

50 Alternatively, another sort of transformative change has been proposed by some
51 conservationists, where a radical detachment from industrialized civilization seems to be the
52 only and ultimate solution. Among these, Guy McPherson (2011) drew attention and critiques
53 when he resigned his position as a tenured, full professor to "go back to the land in the Age of
54 Entitlement". He states that living in the industrial civilization inevitably requires obedience at
55 home, oppression abroad, and wholesale destruction of air, water, soil, and non-human species
56 (Pritchard 2012) and, the best intentions notwithstanding, conservationist themselves are easily
57 tempted by prestige, money, and career.

58 In whatever form, either through innovative governance approaches or radically
59 detaching from the old system, urgent transformative change is not an easy task and requires

60 great flexibility, where our perceptions and values need to be questioned; in a nutshell, our way
61 of thinking (i.e., epistemologies). This demands a basic reorientation of our purposes and
62 automatisms, how we understand and recognize ourselves, how we learn, and what we
63 appreciate as knowledge.

64

65 **2. No change without hopelessness**

66 Kübler-Ross et al. (1972), in their famous schema, identify five stages (although they do
67 not necessarily come in the same order, nor are all five stages experienced by all patients) of
68 how we react upon learning that we have a terminal illness: denial; anger; bargaining;
69 depression; acceptance. Kübler-Ross et al. (1972) demonstrated how these stages can be
70 applied to any form of catastrophic personal loss whenever a society is confronted with some
71 traumatic break.

72 Recently, Žižek (2020) employed Kübler-Ross et al. schema (1972) to describe what some
73 of us are probably experiencing when eventually confronting the ongoing ecological collapse
74 (similar to the Covid-19 outbreak) : *“first, we tend to deny it (it is just paranoia, all that is
75 happening are the usual oscillations in weather patterns); then comes anger (at big corporations
76 which pollute our environment, at the government which ignores the dangers); this is followed by
77 bargaining (if we recycle our waste, we can buy some time; also there are good sides to it: we can
78 grow vegetables in Greenland, ships will be able to transport goods from China to the US much
79 faster on the new northern passage, new fertile land is becoming available in Siberia due to the
80 melting of permafrost ...), depression (it’s too late, we’re lost); and, finally, acceptance - we are
81 dealing with a serious threat, and we’ll have to change our entire way of life.”*

82 What Žižek (2020) and Kübler-Ross (1972) are trying to tell us is that it is only when we
83 despair and do not know what to do that an epistemological shift is more likely to occur, in what
84 he defines the “courage of hopelessness”. It follows that to trigger transformative change, we

85 first need to play with the idea of “hopelessness”, pretending that no time or solutions are left
86 to solve nature’s decline (and this is not farfetched after all).

87 In light of this, I will here identify and describe three reasons to be hopeless about the
88 future of human society, while paradoxically suggesting new ways forward and providing the
89 leverage to think differently. To this end I will remind that: 1) the main reports and projections
90 about nature’s decline paint a gloomy picture for the future of contemporary societies; 2) the
91 destructive fingerprint of modern human societies (i.e., capitalist enterprise), although being
92 just one of the many expressions in the evolution of human cultures, is now dominant and
93 necessarily finds its root in the human biology, thus in the way our species is cognitively
94 coupled with the environment (i.e. conscious purpose and dualistic thinking); 3) such
95 destructive fingerprint is particularly hard to modify since we are naturally reluctant to change
96 habits and beliefs even when we know they lead into error. Finally, I claim that the courage of
97 hopelessness should be integrated into the conservation practice, moving forward from the
98 widely accepted but timed-out metaphor of conservation as a “crisis discipline”(Soulé 1985),
99 which intrinsically suggests a temporary state and an optimistic perspective, to conservations
100 as a “palliative care”.

101 **3. Three reasons to be hopeless**

102 ***3.1 Same reports and projections about nature’s decline***

103 Nowadays, the term “Anthropocene” is widely used and has become more than a concept; it has
104 become a set of compelling narratives (Lidskog & Waterton 2016). Among these, it conveys the
105 sense that humanity has become a global geophysical force acting upon the Earth System,
106 similar to other natural processes. Besides, it is also a reminder that humanity is leaving a
107 planetary environment – the Holocene – which we know, and within which human societies

108 have developed, pushing us towards a *terra incognita*. The latest reports and projections about
109 nature's decline well support this alarming and irreversible perspective.

110 The Global Biodiversity Outlook 5 (GBO – 5) (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological
111 Diversity 2020), the flagship publication of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD),
112 reported that none of the 20 Aichi biodiversity targets agreed in Japan in 2010 to slow the loss
113 of the natural world have been fully achieved by the international community.

114 The same holds for fossil CO₂ emissions. From the last comprehensive assessment of
115 climate science (IPPC 2021), it emerges how, within the next two decades, temperatures are
116 likely to rise by more than 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, breaching the ambition of the 2015
117 Paris Agreement. Even if the world manages to limit warming to 1.5°C, some long-term impacts
118 of warming already in train are likely to be inevitable and irreversible. These include sea level
119 rises, melting of Arctic ice, and warming and acidification of the oceans, with serious
120 consequences for marine and terrestrial biota.

121 In this context, Trisos et al. (2020) estimated the timing of exposure to dangerous climate
122 conditions for more than 30,000 marine and terrestrial species, forecasting imminent
123 biodiversity disruption. Under a high-emission scenario – “business as usual” with
124 representative concentration pathway (RCP) 8.5 – the abrupt exposure events would begin
125 before 2030 in tropical oceans and spread to tropical forests and higher latitudes by 2050. Of
126 particular concern is the case of corals reef – even if global warming stays under 2°C, it is
127 unlikely that this would save most reefs worldwide (Frieler et al. 2013).

128 Similarly, the report about nature's contribution to people (e.g., modulating air and
129 water quality, sequestering carbon, building healthy soils, pollinating crops, and providing
130 coastal protection from hazards), monitored by the Intergovernmental Platform on
131 Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), paint a gloomy picture for the future of

132 contemporary societies, highlighting that over the past 50 years the capacity of nature to
133 support quality of life has declined for 14 of the 18 categories (Díaz et al. 2019).

134 In light of this, it is not unreasonable to assume that we have entered an "evolutionary
135 suicide" path (Parvinen & Dieckmann 2013) and we are bound for extinction through extinction
136 debt – the future extinction of other species due to events in the past, owing to a time lag
137 between an effect, such as habitat destruction or climate change, and the subsequent
138 disappearance of species (Tilman et al. 1994).

139

140 ***3.2 Conscious purpose and the dualistic thinking***

141 Recently, there is growing consensus that despite the success of the term
142 "Anthropocene", this is profoundly unsatisfying, since it treats "humanity" as a single entity
143 while obscuring profound differences between (groups of) people with vastly different impacts
144 and claims on the environment (Büscher & Fletcher 2019). The term "Capitalocene" has been
145 recently proposed to better point out the responsibility: this pervasive ecological crisis has
146 been mostly produced by the globalization of capitalist production over the past five hundred
147 years, not by some general "Anthropos" (Büscher & Fletcher 2019). Although this term is certainly
148 helpful in zooming in the causes of the ecological crisis, in a wider sense, it fails again to account
149 for the fact that the destructive fingerprint of modern human societies (i.e., capitalist
150 enterprise), although being just one of the many expressions in the evolution of human cultures,
151 is now dominant and necessarily originates in the human ("Anthropos") biology, thus in the
152 way our species is cognitively coupled with the environment. Identifying and acknowledging
153 this coupling is necessary for promoting an epistemological shift, providing the leverage to
154 think differently and disengage from the evolutionary suicide path.

155 In the animal domain, the cognitive coupling with the environment is managed by the
156 "consciousness", supporting the organism in directing its attention, and its movements, to

157 whatever in the environment is most important for its survival and reproduction (Pierson & Trout
158 2017). Practically, consciousness is a goal-directed behaviour, characterized by active
159 deliberation of future consequences, high computational cost, and adaptive flexibility to
160 changing environments (Lipton et al. 2019).

161 Specifically, what has made human consciousness unique is the phylogenetic interaction
162 of three forms of animal behaviour: play, tool use, and communication. Despite all three
163 elements being present in many animal species, when the three components meet in humans,
164 they strengthen and mutually reinforce each other, producing a positive feedback loop: there
165 are no other species that plays, communicates, and uses tools as much as humans do
166 (Kotchoubey 2018). Thanks to our consciousness, our abilities as ecosystem engineers are
167 unprecedented, to the point that no species have modified their selective environment in such
168 a short time to the same extent as humans (Laland et al. 2001)

169 Although a fundamental theory of what is consciousness has not been elaborated yet
170 (Koch 2018; Seth & Bayne 2022), the global workspace theory (GWT:(Baars 1997, 1998)), one of the
171 most elaborated psychological theory of consciousness in the last 30 years, compares
172 consciousness to a theatre of mind, in which “*conscious contents resemble a bright spot on the*
173 *stage of immediate memory, selected by a spotlight of attention under executive guidance. Only*
174 *the bright spot is conscious; the rest of the theater is dark and unconscious.*”(Baars 1997). This is
175 to mean that a prerequisite of consciousness is to be always selective: only a certain amount of
176 information about what is happening in the total mind seems to be relayed to what we may call
177 the “stage of consciousness”, which ultimately produces a single conscious experience.

178 Therefore, what gets played on the stage is not a random sampling, but a systematic
179 selection of multiple sensory inputs guided by a concurrent specific purpose. Therefore, the
180 selective attention exerted by consciousness provides a “simplified” understanding of our
181 environment to achieve a specific purpose. It follows that the goal-directed consciousness is

182 good in dealing with simple cause and effect, necessarily without considering broader systemic
183 implications(Palmer 2022). Practically, *human consciousness is a short-cut device to enable you*
184 *to get quickly at what you want; not to act with maximum wisdom in order to live, but to follow*
185 *the shortest logical or causal path to get what you next want, which may be dinner; it may be a*
186 *Beethoven sonata; it may be sex. Above all, it may be money or power.”* (Bateson 1972a).

187 Here, it is important to remember that our deliberate conscious purposes are not
188 separate from emotions (Damasio 1998) and the vast domain of the “unconscious” is always
189 orienting and directing human purposes, with the worst emotions of the human person
190 possibly being involved - greed, envy, jealousy, anger, competitiveness, etc. This is particularly
191 dangerous in a capitalist society, where the dominant emotions promote competitiveness over
192 mutualism and exploitation over sustainability.

193 A further consequence of goal-directed consciousness is that we tend to draw
194 boundaries and frames around things and systems to make them appear as discrete, definable,
195 and readily graspable objects. Although indisputably useful, this systematically blinds us to the
196 wider relationships and interconnectedness in which the parts of our environment we are
197 manipulating are embedded (Guddemi 2011), feeding the illusion of being apart from and having
198 control over the natural world. This can contribute to the “othering” of groups of people, and
199 creatures or mask connections and interactions, finally nurturing dualistic thinking (Palmer
200 2022): *mind versus matter, elite versus people, chosen race versus other, nation versus nation, and*
201 *man versus environment* (i.e., human-nature dichotomy)(Bateson 1972b).

202 However, the conscious purpose and the related ability of ecosystem engineers have
203 been characterizing the behaviour of *homo sapiens* for thousands of years. Indeed, the common
204 assertion that preindustrial societies had only local and transitory environmental impacts is
205 mistaken and reflects a lack of familiarity with a growing body of archaeological data (Boivin et
206 al. 2016). Nonetheless, it is only in the last 200 years that the human enterprise experienced a

207 remarkable and destructive explosion (i.e., Great Acceleration) with the onset of
208 industrialization and the pervasive use of fossil fuels (Steffen et al. 2007; Ellis et al. 2021). Indeed,
209 all the potentially destructive consequences of the conscious purposes (i.e., goal-directed
210 behaviour, lack of consideration of the broader systemic implication, and nature-people
211 dichotomy) are exacerbated by more and more effective machinery, that empowers us to
212 further upset the balance of the body, society, and the environment. On the contrary,
213 “indigenous societies” may have successfully maintained ecosystems over long periods not
214 necessarily because of intrinsic superiorities within their ways of thinking, but because they
215 had to adapt sensitively to those environments to survive and persist (Berkes et al. 1998; Laland
216 et al. 2001; Guddemi 2011).

217

218 ***3.3 Human habits and the loss of flexibility***

219 Besides the detrimental effect of consciousness, a further human feature hampers the
220 epistemological shift towards a transformative change. To accomplish such shift, a good degree
221 of flexibility is required, while it seems we are naturally reluctant to change our habits and
222 beliefs (Glaserfeld 1988).

223 The development of behavioural habits is deeply rooted in our biology, being important
224 and functional for a broad array of life circumstances, some that are essential to survival and
225 reproduction, and others that are not (Newlin & Strubler 2007). Indeed, creating repetitive habits
226 or beliefs, which can emerge both at the social and individual level (Tomasello 1999), is one of
227 the brain’s evolutionary survival mechanisms. For example, to appreciate some of the functions
228 of habits, imagine having to completely relearn how to eat every time there is food available or
229 one is hungry.

230 While purposeful behaviour will diminish if the outcome is no longer desired, habitual
231 performance of such behaviour will persist because, during its development, the action

232 becomes dissociated from the outcome, and its performance is driven instead by antecedent
233 stimuli and/or emotional states (Daw et al. 2005; Robbins & Costa 2017; Lipton et al. 2019). Major
234 benefits come from automaticity, freeing us to dedicate our conscious cognitive resources to
235 other matters while nevertheless engaging in complex actions. It is estimated that almost half
236 of our daily behaviour is performed repetitively in stable contexts (Wood et al. 2002).

237 However, automaticity inevitably leads to a loss of flexibility, proceeding even when the
238 consequences are knowingly unwanted or underlying the susceptibility to the development of
239 maladaptive habits (e.g., compulsions and addictions) (Marteau et al. 2012; Lipton et al. 2019). For
240 instance, it has been observed that believing that (anthropogenic) climate change is real had
241 only a small to moderate effect on the extent to which people are willing to act in climate-
242 friendly way (Hornsey et al. 2016).

243 In addition, it is important to remember that automatism refers not only to behavioural
244 motor actions but also includes automatism of thinking. This, in addition to the necessity of
245 automatisms to be inflexible, it brings what Maturana and Varela (1992) names “the temptation
246 of certainties”. So, as we naturally do not like to give up comfortable habits or beliefs, we do not
247 like to give up our certainties in the light of errors. Bateson (1972b) alternatively describes the
248 process of creating certainties as the “ecology of thinking”: *“But in mental evolution, there is also
249 an economy of flexibility. Ideas which survive repeated use are actually handled in a special way
250 which is different from the way in which the mind handles new ideas. The phenomenon of habit
251 formation sorts out the ideas which survive repeated use and puts them in a more or less separate
252 category. These trusted ideas then become available for immediate use without thoughtful
253 inspection, while the more flexible parts of the mind can be saved for use on newer matters”*.

254 Therefore, we necessarily behave as if these trusted ideas objectively mapped the
255 external world. On one the hand, this slows us to see the feedback from the destruction of the
256 ecosystem. For instance, it took several decades to acknowledge that growth-oriented

257 economies, rooted in free enterprise capitalism and freedom of the commons (Hardin 1968), are
258 a major cause of the environmental crisis (Pacheco et al. 2018). On the other hand, we fail in
259 agreeing on what is relevant knowledge abstracted from habits and beliefs. Indeed, as stated
260 above, the formation of habits (and trusted ideas) is driven by antecedent stimuli and/or
261 emotional states, which can also be collectively shared within a cultural domain or political
262 lines. For instance, much of the heterogeneity in attitudes on climate change in America falls
263 along political lines: conservatives show less belief in and concern over climate change than do
264 liberals (McCright & Dunlap 2011). This becomes particularly true because of the abstract,
265 probabilistic, and intangible nature of climate change (Markowitz & Shariff 2012).

266

267 **4. Ways forward: embracing extinction**

268 To summarize, the main reports and projections about nature's decline paint a gloomy
269 picture for the future of contemporary societies and the technology-empowered conscious
270 purpose together with our natural reluctance to change our habits and beliefs give little chance
271 to achieve a transformative change. Indeed, throughout our days we shift between two broad
272 categories of behaviour (Marteau et al. 2012). On the one hand, we consciously act by directing
273 ourselves toward particular purposes, often without considering broader systemic
274 implications. In other instances, we act without reflection, relying on our developed
275 automatisms and beliefs, where we are tempted by establishing certainties that eventually
276 constrain our ability to see, react, and agree on the destructiveness of our activities.

277 Our ancient and current history of population growth, environmental impact, and harm
278 to other species might easily confirm that the powers of generating conscious purpose can far
279 outstrip our wisdom and foresight in their application and that even when we are aware of our
280 responsibility in nature's ongoing decline (Matter & McPherson 2000), it remains difficult to
281 change our habits. As a matter of fact, in 2020 we had the lowest decrease in global annual

282 emissions ever observed when the Covid-19 outbreak stopped human beings from their daily
283 frenetic purposes and changed many of our habits (Le Quéré et al. 2021). Similarly, the dualistic
284 thinking is especially linked to Western society since the Enlightenment and the related
285 Scientific Revolution (Merchant 2006), building on the very religious tenet that humans are
286 separate from nature, that humans can be abstracted from the rest of the world, and that they
287 possess the faculties to understand the world in its entirety through the objective pursuit of
288 universalities (Fletcher et al. 2021). Practically, the dualistic thinking is reflected in the
289 increasing alienation from nature defined as “extinction of experience” (Pyle 1993), which is
290 nowadays of great concern. Younger generations are becoming less likely to have direct contact
291 with nature, diminishing a wide range of benefits relating to health and well-being, but also
292 discouraging positive emotions, attitudes, and behaviour with regard to the environment (Soga
293 & Gaston 2016).

294 In this context, embracing the perspective of possible human extinction is a necessary
295 act of courage. After all, the estimate of any mammals’ species life span, from origin to extinction,
296 is about 1 million years and there is no reason to believe the human species is exempt from this
297 estimate (Lövei 2007).

298 Does this really mean that we should abandon the search for better conservation
299 strategies? Of course not, but without first dwelling in the space of hopeless acceptance, we
300 cannot experience a fearless awareness and, from there, respond appropriately to the threats
301 that face us and future generations. Practically, this can be done by not fearing to engage, even
302 in conservation practices, in less conscious purpose attitudes of human behaviour which
303 typically fall outside the scientific approach (i.e. conviviality, art, contemplation, reflexivity,
304 sacredness, or interconnectedness). Such attitudes are often common in Indigenous societies
305 which successfully maintained ecosystems over long periods, actualizing the need to
306 complement our scientific knowledge with traditional knowledge (Berkes et al. 1998).

307 Similarly, it means that we must reconnect with the idea, typical of traditional societies, of
308 ecosystems (and life) as unpredictable and uncontrollable, and of ecosystem processes as
309 nonlinear, multiequilibrium, and full of surprises (Berkes et al. 1998). Unpredictability, death,
310 or eventual extinction are not problems to be solved, but rather facts to be embraced. In doing
311 so, we can experience and feel more easily the sense of interconnectedness and humbleness
312 that can partially sew up our illusory detachment from nature and, the best intentions
313 notwithstanding, disengage from the dominant emotions guiding our conscious purposes in
314 capitalist societies (e.g., competitiveness, exploitation, fear, etc).

315 Additionally, the reluctance to change our habits and beliefs can be overcome, although
316 the effort will take time and will never be complete. Thus, we can train in resisting the
317 temptations of certainties and beliefs, cultivating the idea of “alternativism” - that there is
318 always another way to think about and explain phenomena.

319

320 **5. The courage of hopelessness in conservation sciences**

321 Conservation practice and theory considerably evolved and adapted to the emerging
322 challenges of our time. For instance, Kareiva & Marvier (2012) revisited the core principles of
323 “conservation biology” in favour of a more systemic approach of “conservation sciences”, with
324 a wider range of disciplines to be included. In this context, major shifts in the framing and
325 goal(s) of conservation occurred (Mace 2014; Evans 2021): from an early “nature for itself” to the
326 most recent “peoples and natures” approach, the latter emphasizing interdisciplinarity and
327 socioecological systems for resilient interactions between human societies and different
328 understandings of nature. Researchers are becoming self-critical, responsive, and adaptable
329 (Montana et al. 2020); for instance, recognizing that ecological assumptions have been so far
330 shaped and held back by exclusionary western society, often excluding diverse peoples
331 inhabiting Earth’s varied ecosystems. (Malavasi 2020; Nuñez et al. 2021; Trisos et al. 2021).

332 Despite all the above, conservation is not exempted from the pitfalls of conscious
333 purpose, dualistic thinking, and the temptation of certainties. The dualism between nature-
334 culture remains so entrenched in mainstream Western culture and environmental
335 conservation that is seldom critically challenged in dominant institutions(Fletcher et al. 2021).
336 For instance, a protected area, although necessary in many circumstances, aims by its very
337 definition at protecting nature from people. This is about foraging nature–people dichotomies
338 rather than celebrating the many inherent links between them (Malavasi 2020).

339 Similarly, I argue that the common attitude towards conservation has remained mostly
340 unchanged (reluctancy to change ideas) since the time Soulé (1985) defined conservation
341 biology as a “crisis discipline” - metaphorically comparing conservation biologists to medical
342 doctors who are often called on to act rapidly without considering broader systemic
343 implications (hidden by the conscious purpose). Since the concept of crisis intrinsically
344 suggests a temporary state and an optimistic perspective, the risk is that such a metaphor,
345 keeping us in a permanent responsive and bargaining state (see Kübler-Ross et al. 1972), does
346 not allow for dwelling in the space of hopeless acceptance and for “thinking differently”, as
347 opposed to “act rapidly”. In light of this, although rapidly, I suggest moving forward from the
348 widely accepted metaphor of conservation as a “crisis discipline”(Soulé 1985) in favour of a
349 more “palliative” attitude toward our times.

350 All in all, I believe that it is the very sensation of ephemeral interconnection and
351 sacredness while we are walking through whatever preserved natural area, and that cannot be
352 captured by the great authority of quantitative science, that persuaded us to engage in the
353 conservation affair. In this context, I believe that Bateson sentence is still very timely (Bateson
354 1979): *we are beginning to play with ideas of ecology, and although we immediately trivialize*
355 *these ideas into commerce or politics, there is at least an impulse still in the human breast to unify*
356 *and thereby sanctify the total natural world, of which we are.*

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