Back to the Future: The Re-emergence of Authentic Lifestyles in Response to the Alienating Effects of Contemporary Capitalism

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Abstract

This project was written to identify the social forces that were behind the emergence of eco-locally based grass-roots initiatives that have emerged in recent times. It was found that they were formed in response to the alienation inherent in contemporary capitalism, without attempting to directly challenge its dominance.

The project begins by identifying alienation as the predominant negative effect of capitalist societies, focussing on its beginnings, meanings and development through to contemporary times. While alienation was originally associated with factory production and waged work, over time it has come to colonise and expand its reach to include consumption as well as production activities. There is particular attention paid to enclosure, as the mechanism by which people are alienated, that is, the way are dispossessed of their physical and social resources. Attention has also been given to how the alienating and dominating tendencies of capitalism have been intensified by the ascendency of neo-liberal capitalism and the societal focus on economic expansion. Alienation related to food production and consumption are also studied in some depth because of the centrality of food in individuals' alienated experience and the priority placed on food provision by those who choose to adopt an alternative lifestyle.

Since the impact of the capitalist system on contemporary human social relationships is so pervasive, the focus turns to pre-industrial societal structure as a comparison. While the structure of society in this era was strictly hierarchical, there was great value put on interdependent social relationships, with much effort put into forging and maintaining social bonds. The discussion shows that compared to contemporary society there was also much less emphasis given to the separation between different aspects of everyday life, such as work and leisure. Since both work and leisure activities were typically labour intensive, time spent by community members working and playing together served to strengthen and reaffirm authentic community relationships.

With the rise of capitalism such authentic lifestyles were to diminish and capitalism came to dominate in both the social and economic systems. The recent

constructs of localism and eco-localism are investigated, with particular notice given to eco-locally based initiatives which are alleviating alienation and in the process, are moving into the mainstream consciousness of capitalist society.

This discussion demonstrates that there are linkages and strong resemblances between them and the authentic social and productive relationships of pre-industrial society and that they have arisen as a result of the increasingly alienating effects of globalised capitalism.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

This thesis originated with an interest in grass-roots initiatives that have recently begun to achieve greater prominence in the popular culture of western countries. This interest has led me to wide-ranging research into the growing range of the initiatives themselves, and an explanatory account of why such novel social movements have emerged. Briefly, this thesis has developed out of a search to identify the social forces that make sense of these new developments. The central thesis question is how can these new initiatives be explained? More specifically, what forces must be at work to account for these new developments?

Early on in this journey, it became apparent that in many ways the initiatives under investigation resemble pre-industrial societal organisation. Closer examination of feudal social life led towards its contrast with life in capitalist societies. In turn, this comparative analysis led me to the concept of alienation. That is, the transformation of feudalism into capitalism is associated both with the loss of many natural and authentic aspects of social life and the growth of a deeply alienating form of social existence. Therefore, the explanatory thesis underpinning the following account is that new grass roots social initiatives represent a search for a more authentic and natural form of social existence that seeks to overcome the deepening forms of alienated social life under neo-liberal global capitalism. In order to provide evidence of this explanatory thesis, the following account examines the extent to which the practice of these new grass-roots initiatives corresponds with key aspects of life before capitalism.

1.2 Topic Introduction

The term alienation was initially used in relation with philosophical thought so was therefore used infrequently, but over time has come to be used more often to describe some level of dissatisfaction or disconnectedness in an individual's life experience. In the following discussion, alienation refers to the two related yet distinct concepts that have been manufactured and directed by the prevalence and spread of capitalism, including the neo-liberally directed capitalism in the current era of globalisation. Therefore, alienation refers firstly, to the psychological experience of being disconnected and estranged from authentic social, cultural and the natural environments due to the barriers erected and maintained by the capitalist project; and secondly, to the physical experience of being dispossessed of resources traditionally and commonly utilised by individuals and communities by the forces of capitalist accumulation.

Seen at its most encompassing in western cultures, alienation is present in almost every aspect of contemporary society and expressions of alienation have come to be enacted and depicted only in ways that are compatible with capitalism itself. In spite of this pervasiveness and embeddedness of alienation in society there appears to be reduced emphasis in the discourse pertaining to the concept in the latter part of the twentieth century to the present day.

However, in this time period lifestyle initiatives have developed that diverge from the surrounding society in which they are located. These initiatives have generally arisen as a response to the alienation experienced by those who have the resources available to mitigate its detrimental effects, but do not outwardly challenge the capitalist system itself. Most of the initiatives operate alongside capitalism, simply reducing the alienated experiences for the individuals that adopt them in the areas of their life over which they have some control.

While these initiatives are aimed at fulfilling unmet needs in contemporary alienated capitalist society, they have been seen to have a striking resemblance to many aspects of pre-industrial society, without any conscious attempt having been made to reproduce them. Interestingly, what has occurred is that with no prior expectation of doing anything other than choose to make a less alienated lifestyle, members of contemporary capitalist society have arrived at solutions that were historically and for many years no choice at all.

The following discussion examines how the effects of alienation engendered by the global advance and concentration of capitalism, have led to grass-roots

initiatives that limit alienation and which resemble important aspects of the authentic lifestyles that existed in the pre-industrial era.

1.3 Thesis Overview

This discussion begins in section one by focussing on alienation, its beginnings, meanings and development through to contemporary manifestations. This includes paying particular attention to the role of enclosure as the mechanism by which capitalist forces dispossessed, and continue to dispossess, communities of their physical and social resources, their culture and traditions, forcing increasingly alienated and inauthentic lifestyles upon them. There is additionally, particular attention paid to the role that food production and consumption plays in individuals' alienated experiences, firstly, because it is fundamental to survival and secondly, because of the importance placed on food provision by the those that are choosing to adopt an alternative way of life.

The impact the capitalist system has had on society has been broad, thorough and encompasses all aspects of social and productive life. In the pre-industrial era, there was a very different societal framework and section two examines this in more detail. The pre-industrial social and economic structure was strictly hierarchical and there was much less emphasis given to the separation between different aspects of everyday life, such as work and leisure. Since both work and leisure activities were typically labour intensive the time spent by individuals working and playing together served to strengthen and reaffirm the interdependent relationships upon which their survival could often depend. However, these authentic, pre-industrial lifestyles were not to last and although they were not simply abandoned, capitalism was to become the predominant social and economic system.

In recent times the alienating and dominating tendencies of capitalism have been intensified by the now all encompassing rise and globalisation of neo-liberal capitalism and the societal focus given to economic expansion. Section three examines some of the theoretical constructs which, until recently as a group have been labelled 'localism', but this discussion discovers the seriously divergent

paths taken by neo-liberally developed localism and alternative projects that come under the term eco-localism. This discussion then examines more closely some eco-locally based initiatives, which go towards alleviating alienation and are actually existing within many western communities, are becoming more commonplace and moving into the mainstream of capitalist society.

Section One:

2. Alienation: Meaning, History and Place in Contemporary Society

As the following discussion will illustrate, alienation has a pervasive and encompassing presence in many lives and communities globally. While alienation had its beginning with early capitalism and industrialisation, it has come to inhabit all layers of western society so thoroughly that its presence is scarcely recognised, often particularly by those that are most detrimentally affected by it. By studying alienation in some detail, it will become apparent that it relates to many things including the negative effect on workers by capitalist work practices in maximising their productive goals; the effects of marketing campaigns where needs can only be assuaged by specific consumption choices, thereby colonising social relationships and turning them to economic advantage; and the disconnecting effect that enclosure has on varied communities when used by capital as a mechanism to appropriate and transform previously shared resources into private property.

This section will start by examining those areas of human nature from which it is possible to be alienated, both in productive and social aspects and including philosophical and evolutionary viewpoints. In reviewing the history of alienation it is clearly demonstrated that while initial research predominantly focussed on the detrimental effects of waged work in the factories, it is apparent that alienation has easily been adapted for and come to be pervasive across all social relations. These contemporary forms are discussed beginning with its colonisation of both consumption activities and social relationships in western societies. Neo-liberalism and globalisation have then to be investigated to explore other sites of alienation present in contemporary ‘developing’ countries. This additionally necessitates a fairly comprehensive investigation of contemporary forms of

enclosure which is the mechanism by which alienation is introduced, advanced and replicated in all capitalist endeavours at a global level. The current and future examples continue with enclosure in the form of patents including intellectual property and the patenting of traditional knowledge and customary practices. This section concludes by considering the alienating practises of capital on food, both production and consumption, as food is a central link in many alternative and resistance practices to globalised capitalism.

2. 1 Human nature: Basic Attributes

Prior to any discussion regarding alienation, consideration must first be given to intrinsic elements or attributes that are negated under capitalist social relations. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to thoroughly explore all of the philosophic viewpoints regarding human beings and their various characteristics, there are passing references to them included to indicate their philosophical foundations. This section begins with Marx's views on human nature, firstly regarding productive activities and secondly as a social being. Since his views on human nature were mainly focussed on capitalist production relations, his analysis is, therefore, somewhat limited from a contemporary perspective. His primary statement about alienation appears in his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. Fromm's (1966) amplified interpretation of Marx's discourse on the human nature has been used, along with Bottomore's translation of Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*, in the same book and also the online version of the same.

2.1.1 Engagement in productive activities

In contrast to the 'tabula rasa' viewpoint, Marx believed that humans had a definable core nature, which, along with anatomical and other physical differences, separated them from other species (Fromm, 1966). While this core nature is fixed, human consciousness and experience is socially moulded. Therefore, core human nature exists in practice through the prevailing forms of social life, and alienation occurs centrally as a conflict between the core human

nature and existent social life (Fromm, 1966, Marx, 1966). Foremost in Marx's thinking is that humans are producers. Fundamental to their being human is the ability to produce, developing not only tangible goods, but due to their productive activities are themselves products of their own "self-creation" (Fromm, 1966, p. 26). In the most basic sense humans need to produce in order to survive, this is basic subsistence living similar to that which is undertaken by other animals; but fundamental to their nature, humans also engage in "free conscious" productive activities, where humans consciously choose what to produce and how they are going to produce it (Marx, 1966, p. 101).

Fromm and Xirau (1968) build on this theme, and discuss human productive endeavour as that of "homo faber" relating to the ability of humans to engage in activities that create or produce items or structures (p. 5). However, along with Marx, they also acknowledge that animals can engage in productive activities as well as humans, and point out that ability to engage in production is not the sole province of humans, and introduce the concept of "animal faber" which is the view that while animals can produce, it is left to humans to produce as the result of thought, planning and the use of tools (p. 5).

Marx (1844) states that for individuals to fulfil their potential it is necessary for them to engage in a creative process of planning and execution in the production of objects and the process itself is intrinsically satisfying. More importantly, the character of the producer is reflected in the objects that have been produced and the "transformative activity" undertaken to produce an object, is the means by which an individual measures, evaluates and demonstrates their worth and additionally fulfils their true nature (Erikson, 1986; Henricks, 1982, p. 203; Marx, 1844).

It is immediately apparent that this analysis of human nature alienates humans from other animals and the natural world and reflects the belief that humans are beings that are somehow separate from other biological species and the natural world. Rather than being restricted by their non-humanity to producing for their immediate needs only, many animals do engage in productive activities such as storing food and building sometimes very complex dwelling places that may, for some species, last for many years or generations (Curtis, 2005). The fact that humans have expanded their overall production beyond what is needed for their subsistence, to a level that is obviously unsustainable and severely damaging to all

surviving life, as well the ability of the planet itself to support life, suggests that there is an inherent limitation in the psychology of the productive behaviour of the human species that other species do not appear to share.

However, engagement in productive activities is an attribute which is undertaken by most humans, which is not only important for their survival, but is the realisation of an activity central to human nature when undertaken as a creative process from planning through to the successful accomplishment of the project.

2.1.2 Humans as social beings

Another fundamental facet of human nature is that humankind is a socially living biological organism. In his pronouncements against capitalism Marx (1966) believed that the only natural existence of any human is a social one, with an individual's human nature being constructed by society, and in turn the individual constructs the society in which he lives. In fact, Marx's (1966) view was that living in society with others is the only truly human way to live, "the individual *is* the *social being*" (p. 130). Therefore to be human means to live in a community with others, where the productive activities undertaken within that society with others are not solely for oneself, but for the benefit of the wider community. In his own words 'man' is "a really *individual* communal being", reflecting that living in a community-centred or communal lifestyle not only does not inhibit an individual engaging in independent thought, but is central to living an authentic human life (Marx, 1966, p. 131).

A very significant area of humans as social beings is that of a "zoon politicon" which originates with Aristotle and refers to the necessity of human beings, or more specifically men, belonging to and being part of a social organisation (Fromm & Xirau, 1968, p. 5). Further, as Pocock (1998) relates, Aristotle believed that the only access to become a fully developed human was to be the foremost male in a patriarchal household which lifestyle enabled him "to engage in political relationships with his equals...affairs of war and commerce between the city and other cities" (p. 34). Similarly, in more recent times an individual's active citizenship within a social organisational structure, with the ability to make decisions regarding their life, is the route to fully developed humanity and

personal worth or as Pocock (1998) explains “the individual denied decision in shaping his or her life is denied treatment as a human” (p. 35).

While Aristotle’s patriarchal analysis is obviously outdated, there is value in the underlying belief of active citizenship, when distanced from the areas of slave ownership and the treatment of women as little more than chattels. Having a basic need for an individual’s concerns to be noted or expressed is what can motivate participation in the democratic process and alternatively, when those concerns are not heeded, those that share complementary views may take part in a collective activity such as a demonstration, strike or even revolutionary activity. While the ability of many workers to take part in collective action in the workplace is negated or at least limited by the weakness of the union movement in many countries of the world today, those concerns that are located within both civil society and political decision-making areas, remain sectors where collective and group action can have significant impact. Indeed there are some international groups whose sole purpose is to collectively protest and draw public attention to areas of concern and effect legislative change, such as Greenpeace and SAFE.

Another attribute that is central to humans as social beings is that of being “a rational being”, a philosophic viewpoint promulgated extensively by Kant (Fromm & Xirau, 1968, p. 5). This view, rather arrogantly, makes the assumption that only humans can be regarded as being rational beings as their existence is an end in itself, rather than other living creatures which can be used (by man) in an arbitrary manner and which have only a “relative value” as an object or “thing” (Fron, 2005, n.p.). Similarly, Decartes decided that all living creatures that were not human did not have the ability to think and were, therefore, no more than organic machines, consequently, any activity performed by non-humans could be accounted for without recourse to the belief that there was any linkage between thinking and the reaction undertaken by the animal involved (Kemerling, 2001). This can also be seen as another example of alienating humankind from other animals, a denial of the natural in the human species.

Fromm and Xirau (1968) further state that the belief that ‘man’ only is a rational being or an end in themselves and it is only man that is capable of rational thought was seen for many years as being incontrovertible, in spite of all the evidence which indicated “man’s profound irrationality” and it had to be left to Freud to eventually make an empirical study of human behaviour (p. 5), even if

many of his conclusions have since been found to be erroneous (Holt, 1989). As Fromm and Xirau (1968) note “man may be rational...but the causes of his irrationality, remains”, that is humans are obviously capable of rational thought but the individual cannot be separated from their environment and history and much of that has an undeniable effect on the individuals capacity for thinking and behaving in a rational manner (p. 5).

If concurring with the assumption that rational thought is an ability that is solely human, the possession of this ability should mean that there is little room for emotion and/or morality issues in decision-making. This would mean that the conclusion to all questions faced by humans as individuals and humanity as a species should be made on a purely rational basis. If that is the case, the question then remaining is what form the rationality takes. For example, does this mean that free market economic rationality is one that should be followed to reach a certain decision or environmental rationality, which clearly states that humankind is putting the ability of the planet to support life at risk? However, it is self-evident that not only are decisions not made on a rational basis, but the various stakeholders and decision makers that participate may have conflicting ‘irrationalities’ of personal moral and/or religious stance, influences of cultural background, strength or awareness regarding social justice, reaction to emotive issues that arise and so on.

A very important attribute that all humans share is the capacity to create their own symbols, including the written word, devices, emblems and representations, and recognise those symbols created by others (Fromm & Xirau, 1968). Fromm and Xirau (1968) consider the written word to be the most important, as words can be used to facilitate and expedite the processes of both thought and work. While this conclusion has merit, there is also the capacity of the written word to be misinterpreted or distorted to represent another viewpoint entirely, as Fromm (1966) explains, describing how many communist adherents distorted Marx’s philosophy, disregarding his individualistic and humanist value base.

Another form of symbol making in which there is very little room for misinterpretation is the capacity for symbols or devices to represent a collectivity of some sort, such as the devices relating to various religions, for example the cross to represent Christianity, as well as other symbols as indicators of membership in a society or subculture which imbue members with a sense of

community or belonging. From the earliest cave drawings yet found, dated at 31,000 years old, symbols have signalled this collectivity and a shared environment and history between human beings and this continues through to modern times (Gascoigne, 2010). Groups using symbols as signifiers can be extremely large such as those denoting nationhood or adherence to a particular religion and can give rise to very powerful emotions, both positive and negative; or symbols can also shared by much smaller groups such as a local sports club or children's playgroup, which perhaps do not stimulate the same emotional reactivity or at least not for a large amount of people.

To look deeper at the role that evolutionary processes played in the shaping of humans as a social species is thoroughly explored by Dunbar (1988, 1996) who explains that there are distinct and obvious advantages and disadvantages to living in groups and from an evolutionary viewpoint, the benefits in doing so must have outweighed the costs for a particular species to have survived to the present. Similar to other primate species, humans live in relatively stable groupings, and share a typical structure that Dunbar (1988) describes as "multi-layered sets of coalitions based on relationships that differ in intensity, character and function" (p. 106).

Large primate group sizes evolved primarily as a response to the threat of predation, for greater foraging efficiency, assistance in caring and rearing offspring, as well as the ability of superior numbers to aid in the protection of food sources from other competing groups (Dunbar, 1988, 1996). Dunbar (1996) found that the size of the group with which primates can maintain mutually beneficial social bonds was directly related to the ratio of the volume of a primates neo-cortex to the rest of the brain, in short, the larger the primate's neo-cortex, the larger and more sustainable the social group. The ratio of human neo-cortex volume to the rest of the brain was found to be 4:1, and extrapolating this fact against data relating to other primate species Dunbar (1996, 1998) found that humans are able to build and maintain close and beneficial relationships with approximately 150 other individuals, a very large number compared to all other primates.

In primates other than humans, these bonds are forged, maintained and strengthened through grooming activities, called "social grooming", which takes

between ten to twenty percent of a primates time, dependent upon the species (Dunbar, 1998, p. 186). Obviously, there is a very high time commitment involved in maintaining strong coalitions which limits the number with which an individual can form strong bonds and with humans this is approximately ten to fifteen others (Dunbar, 1996, 1998). This is much higher than in any other primate groups and since it would take a very large amount of time to participate in social grooming, it is thought that language developed in humans as a type of grooming shorthand "a cheap and ultra-efficient form of grooming...language evolved to allow us to gossip" (Dunbar, 1996, p. 79).

Therefore, the human species was designed or evolved over many thousands of years to live in hunter-gatherer type societies and the 150 people that comprised the clan or social unit were intimately known by all others in the same community (Krotoski, 2010). This does not mean that there are not larger groupings or social layers to which individuals belong, or as discussed earlier, smaller more intense relationship groups, but 150 is the approximate limit of the amount of people with which an individual can have a personal history and associated reciprocal trust and obligation arrangements (Krotoski, 2010). Dunbar found that the number of 150 was significant in many and varied non-industrial communities of human primates, that it became commonly known as the 'Dunbar number'. As Dunbar states "This made for a densely interconnected community, and this means the community polices itself" that is, the particular behaviours, values and norms of the social group were formed, enacted and regulated by all members (Krotoski, 2010).

2.2 History and Development of Alienation

It is generally agreed that it was the philosopher Hegel who was one of the first to conceptualise a version of alienation which he believed could be separated into two related, yet distinct, types. Firstly, there is the awareness by an individual that due to an unintentional personal change in their consciousness they are experiencing a separation from their "social, political and cultural institutions" (Kanungo, 1982, p. 12). Secondly, since this initial sense of separation is undesirable, rather surprisingly to contemporary individualistic thought, Hegel

suggests that the individual overcomes this state by intentionally and consciously relinquishing their personal interests, for the greater good of the wider community or organisation within which the individual is located (Kanungo, 1982). Therefore, the unintentional and unconscious internal shift within is managed and/or mitigated by a conscious effort on the part of the individual. In addition, included in Sayers (n.d.) interpretation of Hegel's views, he discusses the process in which it is only possible for the human being to attain their full potential as subjective, free-thinking individuals who are fulfilling their human nature, by the recognition of the internally located alienated self and the reconciliation of the alienated self with the actual self.

However, it could probably be successfully argued that it was through the work of Marx that the concept of alienation was introduced to a wider audience (Dahms, 2006; Affinnih, 1997), with Affinnih (1997) claiming "Marx was the major proponent of the theory of alienation" (p. 385). Mandel (1973) explains that the Marxist concept of alienation, located within the economics of industrial capitalism, can be broadly divided into three stages (as cited in Affinnih, 1997). The first of these stages as being "economic alienation" in which capitalist structures exist or are put in place to inhibit a workers access to the means of production and subsistence; secondly, there is the "alienation of labor" whereby access to other means of subsistence are disconnected and a worker is forced to sell their labour power; and the third stage culminates the alienation process, whereby the worker has no ownership of the finished products of their labour, which are owned and disposed of by the employer to their individual benefit (Mandel, as cited in Affinnih 1997, p. 385). Thus, industrial capitalism alienates humans from their nature as creative producers.

But Marx also perceived that within a capitalist system individuals became estranged or alienated from each other, due to the commodification of their labour and the resultant competition between individuals to exchange their labour for money, an insurmountable barrier to any community of spirit or commonality between workers (Erikson, 1986). This competitive structure so debases and diminishes individual workers that it leaves them increasingly unable to create or maintain meaningful relationships with each other that are central to fulfilling the social character of human nature (Erikson, 1986). Further, Marx realised that under the capitalist system since the individual workers main focus is to sell their

labour to provide subsistence, they are “no longer an active part of nature, no longer participants in its rhythms”, that is they are alienated from their identity as a part of the natural world and, compounding this, are additionally alienated from their human nature as creative producers (Erikson, 1986, p. 2).

The more contemporary concepts of alienation are generally thought to reflect five basic “human discomforts” or perceptions (Hendricks, 1982, p. 200; Seeman, 1959; Twining, 1980). These perceptions are:

1. Powerlessness**,** which Seeman (1959) claims originated in Marxian theories regarding the condition of the industrial worker under capitalist social order, that is that the worker has no authority or decision making capability over the organisation of his labour process or the product of that labour. Seeman (1959) comments that this form is “conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks” (p. 784). Previous work by Kris and Leites (1950) concluded that although the individual might initially attempt to alleviate their feelings of powerlessness by an increased interest in political and social affairs, they are subsequently left with greater feelings of inadequacy in the understanding of, or influence over, those developments that effect them directly (as cited in Dean, 1961).

This form of alienation is directly related to the human attribute that is the one that is more commonly discussed in association with alienation, at least within Marxist literature, regarding the entire process in the creation and production of objects. Briefly, as already discussed, the Marxist view states that when a worker is denied the planning and conception phases in the production of objects or commodities, their true expressive and creative nature is denied them (Erikson, 1986). Within capitalist work organisations, since the work processes are divided and split between many numbers of workers each individual worker loses contact with what they have produced with their labour and thereby their human nature is denied (Erikson, 1968). When the creative meaning is lost for the worker and the work process is undertaken solely to meet the workers subsistence needs, or as “a means to an end”, the worker is spiritually depleted and if such work processes continue, they ultimately have a physically debilitating effect (Erikson, 1968, p. 2).

2. Meaninglessness, which refers to the inability of an individual to predict with some degree of clarity and certainty the outcome of events in which they participate (Seeman, 1959). A society or organisation which progressively focuses on the efficient organisation and deployment of its members to accomplish certain aims, removes the ability of the individual to understand the actions in which they are engaged and the "capacity to act...on the basis of one's own insight into the interrelation of events" (Seeman, 1959, p. 786). The individual does not have the necessary information that is required to decide on the behaviours that will be required for the predicted outcome to be reached, thereby concluding that they are engaging in valueless activities and lacking personal control over both their behaviours and their lives.

This belief that the (human) individual is a rational being, that is, their position as humans means they are an end in themselves and not to be used instrumentally as a resource is in direct contrast with industrial capitalism, where the labour of the worker is simply an adjunct or extension to the role of machinery in the workplace; in post-industrial countries this view of the worker is also reflected in the increasing availability and use of 'user-friendly' computers. Under the influence of so-called 'scientific' management practices, work processes are divided and devolved into simple, repetitive tasks leaving the worker with no opportunity to exercise any discretion, control over work practices or engage in any creative mental labour (Lewis, 2007). When combined with such organisational mechanisms and managerial control systems such as numerical flexibility, where workers are employed for variable periods of time with few or no employee protections or benefits, it can be seen that workers are not treated as rational beings capable of abstract and evaluative thought processes but largely as units of labour (Lewis, 2007), similar to the way other animals have been regarded for many years. These control systems used by capital over such workers is absolute and these workers have only relative value, that is their value is only measured by the labour that can be extracted from them, as and when required by capital.

Similarly, within the capitalist organisational structure the attribute of workers having an active citizenship role by participating in a social organisation, is commonly and consistently denied in their employment, where workers have no

opportunity to engage in decisions regarding their workplace, the work systems employed, the remuneration received or the workers place within the organisation. Rather, any decision-making rests with the managerial staff and as a consequence, since in this view being human means making decisions regarding one's life, the workplace has a de-humanising effect where the worker's humanity itself is actively denied, subjecting them to an alienating experience as their ability to be human is abrogated.

A reasonably close association can be found between this facet of alienation and the human attribute of symbol making, which, while it is not denied the worker, the language or symbols made and their comprehension must conform strictly to the standards set by the workplace and surrounding society. Certain occupations require specialised understanding of specific symbols, but these are rarely created by the worker, only used and re-used by them, therefore the creative side of the worker is again blocked and their creative selves spiritually attenuated reinforcing the belief that the individual is involved in meaningless activity.

3. Normlessness, is a condition where the traditional social standards and rules of behaviour, or norms, are no longer an effective measure of the behaviour required to reach desired objectives (Seeman, 1959). Seeman (1959) discusses what he calls "the 'means' emphasis in society," (p. 787) that is, that any actions or behaviours that result in the desired goal being attained is justification enough for the use of such actions and behaviours or that "socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals" (p. 788). Within such competitive urban societies, where institutionally prescribed behaviours are invalidated, the resultant atmosphere of mutual suspicion and mistrust is not favourable towards the formation of stable and interdependent social relationships, increasing an individual sense of alienation and estrangement (Seeman, 1959).

4. Isolation, is a situation or condition where the individual experiences a disconnection from the "popular cultural standards" in which they live (Seeman, 1959, p. 788). This form of alienation does not mean that they are unable to form close personal relationships within their community and culture but that those aspects existing within a culture that are highly valued by the majority of the population have far less value to the individual in question and thereby setting

them apart from those that would typically be, or even were formerly, their peers (Seeman, 1959).

In large part this isolation and individualism is due to the debasing of social relations by capitalism to a cash relationship, the reciprocity of pre-capitalist social relations are "torn asunder" and has left "no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest" (Marx & Engels, 1848, p. 15). Under capitalism, all relationships between people are viewed purely by what can be extracted by individual from others around them and all transactions based on cash exchange.

In addition, with reference to the human attribute of symbol making, the prevalent economic view of global capitalism typically requires a standardised form of symbol recognition and in recent times English has generally come to be acknowledged as being the common standard in the written and spoken word (Altbach, 2004; Crystal, 2003; Murray, 2006; Short, Boniche, Kim & Li, 2001). This creates difficulties in non-English speaking communities by resulting in the marginalisation of local dialects and thereby the associated local cultures and people, inducing isolation and alienation within their own communities or country by disconnecting them from their traditional cultures and lifestyles (Crystal, 2003; Murray, 2006; Short, et al., 2001). There is also the associated stratification of the socio-economic order into those that are and are not proficient in English, which is directly aligned to their employability (Altbach, 2004; Crystal, 2003; Murray, 2006; Short, et al., 2001). Further, it then becomes relatively easy to understand the proliferation of 'western' culture and work organisation, or as Ritzer describes this phenomenon "Americanization (the propagation of American ideas, customs, social policies, industries, and capital around the world)" along with "McDonaldization ('fast-food'-modeled capitalist rationality, principles of efficiency, predictability, calculability, and control)" resulting in isolation and alienation, particularly for those with no previous experience or cultural linkages to the 'standard' or 'western' model (as cited in Halnon, 2006, p. 207).

5. Self estrangement, as Seeman (1959) explains, is reflective of Marx's explanation that work should ideally be meaningful and satisfying in and of itself. However, this form of alienation relates to the individual being engaged in a work process that is only of value in the future reward that it brings, commonly a monetary payment, a reward that is totally separate from the work process itself or

the commodity or service that was produced (Seeman, 1959). Self-estrangement, therefore, refers to the inability of the worker to participate in "self rewarding or...self-consummatory activities" that holds their interest and in which they find satisfaction both in engagement and completion of the work process (Seeman, 1959, p. 790).

It can be observed that these five perceptions are closely related and overlap to varying degrees, but Browning, Farmer, Kirk and Mitchell (1961) further argue that the above perceptions should rather be viewed as inter-related steps in an ongoing process of deepening alienation rather than separate and specific groupings. While in agreement with the perceptions as defined by Seeman (1959), they suggest that alienation is a process which can be divided into three stages. The predisposing stage covers the first three perceptions outlined by Seeman (1959), and Browning, et. al. (1961) explain that the powerlessness experienced by the individual leads them to question the value and meaningfulness of their personal beliefs regarding work and labour and when their "means-ends schema", or the realisation that the reward of monetary payment received does not equal the expenditure of time, effort and personal debasement endured, is found to be no longer relevant, they come to believe that the greater normative societal structure also has no relevance to them (p. 780). The second stage is that of cultural disaffection where the individual realises that since the social norms are not personally relevant, they begin to reject the cultural norms that which had previously had personal relevance, thereby leading them to being isolated from their peers and community (Browning, et. al., 1961). The third and final stage in the alienation process as outlined by Brown, et. al. (1961) is that of social isolation, (what Seeman (1961) refers to as self-estrangement) where the individual rejects the "cultural goals" but "adheres to the institutionalized means", meaning they are marginalised within their community but still participating in the capitalist work process (p. 780). In other words, although they reject the capitalist system surrounding them they are constrained to live within it since there is no other choice open to them. This is a very significant point which is closely related to the transitional or alternative models which will later be investigated, as the people actively engaging in such models are, to varying degrees, resistant to the personal implications of globalised capitalism, but still are forced by necessity to

participate in the system.

Similarities can also be seen in this form or stage of alienation in observing marginalised ethnic and other communities, where capitalist economics have been inflicted upon them, leaving them with no choice but to participate in a system which has no relevance to them other than enabling them meet their subsistence needs through labouring for money.

2.3 Contemporary forms of Alienation

In more recent years there has been a shift in locating alienation within western societies. With regard to work and employment this means that while previously being centrally located within the capitalist production system, the study of contemporary alienation has "evolved from production to consumption"; so that rather than being solely centred within the manufacture of commodities, workers' alienated experiences are shifting, not only into increasingly rationalised and routinised employment in the service sector (associated with 'servicing' consumption activities), but to the carefully targeted and manufactured feelings of alienation aimed at expanding the markets for many products and services (Langman, 1991; Langman, 2006, p. 180). For the capitalist system to be successful there is a requirement that the market for goods and services be continually expanding and constantly renewed. The introduction, expansion and intensification of consumerism has accomplished this by artificially creating a "promise [of] meaning and meaningful selfhood, while at the same time breaking its promise in order to inspire ever more consumption" (Langman, 1991; Langman, 2006, p. 181).

Consequently, consumer products and services are heavily promoted as being objects and experiences that can provide a more "fulfilling selfhood", this means that the promise is that the purchase of the advertised product/s will provide a (temporary) alleviation of feelings of alienation which were intentionally produced by the targeted marketing campaign; or else the same campaign magnified alienated experiences already existing for those within service and production work (Langman, 2006, p. 181). The purchasers or consumers are convinced by the predominance and hegemony of the consumption-based society

that surrounds them that personal satisfaction and relief from feelings of alienation, anxiety and isolation are to be found with the acquisition of commodities that make external depictions regarding their personal, subjective identity or "badges of signification" the display or exhibition of which communicate that they are a member of a "pseudo-community" (Langman, 1991, n. p.). As Vega and Brennan (2000) state, "people no longer know what it is that they want – they only know what they are supposed to want" in other words, they are assured that the commodities they purchase are indispensable in alleviating the alienation or separateness they feel from the society that surrounds them (p. 471). In addition, Langman (2006) points out that intensified consumerism shifts the field of focus "from concerns with political economy to a preoccupation with various sites and modes of privatized hedonism", and this disregard for areas of political and social concern augments and enlarges the alienating social conditions which already exist (p. 182).

Intensive consumerism and the associated necessity of constant financial reinvestment to create the transient identities promoted by marketing programmes, when positioned alongside globalisation and advances in communication technologies which have caused many jobs to be either exported or automated, have resulted in many younger people being surplus to the requirements of global capital, with few employment prospects that enable upwardly directed social mobility (Langman, 2006). Langman (2006) contests that the alienation that is engendered by this aspect of globalisation, aligned with the inability to participate in expensively priced identity building consumption, and disconnection with the communities in which they live, has resulted in resistance to the dominant culture by "ludic subcultures of transgression" or groupings of people whose outward appearance depicts and celebrates what, in surrounding society, is commonly thought to be deviant or ugly (Langman, 2006, p. 189).

Langman's (2006) examples include those sub-cultures readily recognisable to urban inhabitants of any western country, such as Bikers, Goths, Punks, the Hip-hop community (with its own attendant sub-cultures), and the more extreme Urban Primitives. While these sub-cultures were typically instigated by younger people responding to feeling of alienation and resistance to the dominant consumer culture, the sub-cultures were gradually overtaken themselves by consumerism (Langman, 2006). Langman (2006) explains that the

demonstrations and means by which they express their criticism of consumer culture as can be seen in their depictions of themselves such as the Urban Primitives whose adornments range from multiple piercings and tattoos to include egregious surgical modifications. The Punks identify themselves with their extravagantly coloured and coiffed hairstyles, facial piercings, tattoos, spiked leather clothing and denims. The Goths are more theatrical, wearing predominantly black, erotically styled clothing, which flaunts their sexual deviance and they combine it with black make-up on spectral skin. Bikers are more basically clothed, typically in black leather, but are extensively tattooed often over most of their bodies. The Hip-hop followers do not tend towards tattoos but have a plethora of apparel items such as sneakers, head wear, flamboyant jewellery, and hooded sweatshirts (Langman, 2006). All of these accoutrements are required for those wishing to be recognised as a member of any of these sub-cultures, and importantly the musical forms for each, have to be purchased thereby adding another sector for the capitalist marketised culture to exploit (Haenfler, 2004; Halnon, 2006; Langman, 2006). As Langman (2006) states, "the outward articulation of their anger and rage... [are] reproducing the same conditions they would critique" (p. 192). In other words, simply by expressing their feelings of alienation in the creation and depiction of a definitive sub-culture has led to an overall increase in commodification, (with the purchase of the costumes, make-up and bodily modifications required), and therefore contributes to an increase in the prevailing conditions of unchecked consumerism and the associated alienation.

In the acquisition of the commodities thought to be necessary to the purchasers personal well-being, the acts undertaken in the production of the commodity are ignored (Billig, 1999). In Marx's theory of commodity fetishism, as soon as the economic or financial value of an item is decided, the value of the social relations that produced it are distorted or ignored (Billig, 1999; Marx, 1887). In *Capital*, Marx's (1887) view is that the value of an object is not in the purchase price, but in the social relations that have gone into the productive activity or "the measure of the expenditure of labour power" that was involved in the manufacture of the commodity (p. 46). The "social character of men's labour" has therefore been altered into a economic exchange relationship, concealing the true social nature involved in the act of production (Marx, 1887, p. 46). In the current phase of a

globalised market economy, the producer and consumer become increasingly estranged, with the social and productive activities of the worker further removed not only geographically but psychologically, the consumer focusing solely on the pleasure involved in purchasing and the fleeting alleviation of their alienated feelings, totally forgetting the "continuing miseries of production" (Billig, 1999). As Billig (1999) succinctly explains "the social relations beyond the label are forbidden territory" and the alienation of the labouring producers is ignored or disregarded (p. 319).

In her study aimed at the music sector Halnon (2006) introduces the "commodification of alienation", that is that the traditional symbols of alienated youth, typically those that identify the wearer as having a lower socio-economic status, are appropriated and upgraded for those consumers that require "authentic" expressions of "rebellious alternatives" thereby exploiting and commodifying alienation and the experience of alienation itself (p. 224). In what Halnon (2006) labels "alienation incorporated" the capitalist system identifies those facets that can be commodified and which resonate with rebellious and alienated youth, particularly those musical artists who are explicitly controversial, and as music is probably the single unifying ingredient in the creation and depiction of all urban sub-cultures, provides a (commercially profitable) channel for youth concerns (p. 201). In participating in this process, young people are being distanced from their historic role as the catalysts for social change and in a controlled manner they are provided with a way to express their anger and rebellion while also acquiring a temporary escape from everyday life, without becoming a threat to the established capitalist system (Halnon, 2006). This is accomplished with an "enticing and enchanting world of pseudorebellion, where alienated consumer youth temporarily escape the nothingness of everyday life, surface and feel the exhilaration of emotion, and release their unarticulated everyday rage" but which in reality simply reinforces the status quo (Halnon, 2006, p. 225). That is, in commodifying and actively marketing the expressions and depictions of alienated youth, the capitalist system manages and restrains those that might alternatively organise themselves into a force for social change (Halnon, 2006).

Another common representation that demonstrates the commodification of the negative effects of the capitalist economic system, particularly alienation, is exemplified in the television 'talk shows', more specifically in Prosono's (2006)

study of the Jerry Springer Show. These shows typically provide the stage on which individual suffering is marketed back to the audience in the guise of freedom of expression and entertainment. These forms of entertainment clearly illustrate the ability of capitalist hegemony to incorporate into itself those aspects of alienation, "which might otherwise cause it distress" and reap economic benefit from them (Prosono, 2006, p. 237). Prosono (2006) expands on this to explain "the cultural hegemony of globalized capital has processed, commodified, and marketed a product irrespective of the emotional pollution it has caused or the social nutrition of the product" (p. 239).

Viewed from an anthropological perspective, urbanised capitalist society engenders alienation by its very institutional structures, social norms and organisational arrangements. Evolutionary anthropologist, Robin Dunbar, reports that one of the difficulties related to urbanity, in combination with the safety and ease of personal mobility and the breakdown of the local community in an expanding globalised society, is that friendship and kinship networks are scattered throughout the country or world (Krotoski, 2010). Individuals have groups of friends and acquaintances that don't know each other, leading to a much less integrated society, preventing or destroying any sense of community that might be possible in smaller communities (Krotoski, 2010).

Since a human primate has been evolutionarily designed to navigate and locate themselves within groups of 150 interconnected members that share a common history, it is apparent that the plethora of fragmented relationships that are associated with capitalist living and working arrangements in a contemporary urban society, means that alienation is inherent in every layer of the system.

Viewed from this perspective, people are alienated in all aspects of their lives, since it has become normalised that an individual belongs to many non-related groups, a process which is increasing as one of the side-effects of globalisation. The various social groups to which an individual might belong may have only a single common factor, being the individual themselves. In illustration, a typical individual may have a familial or kinship group, a work group, belong to a sporting group, are associated with a community group, have a group of personal friends, and so on, any or all of which may not have another individual in common, excepting perhaps the kinship group. Neither will they associate with all the members of the groups they belong to on a daily basis, again excepting

perhaps some members of the familial or kinship group, as was necessary in the recent evolutionary past for the maintenance of community bonds. Therefore, there is a lack of common and shared group experiences that formerly would bind an interconnected group together. This is alienating both to the individual when located within a group that did not share in events experienced within another group, and in turn, has an alienating effect on each group from the other.

In addition, the anxiety generated by constantly managing and reassessing social situations in heterogenous urban places, amongst those with which no commonality is shared and with whom there are only weak, if any, social bonds, the lack of social control can readily permit and magnify deviant or atypical behaviour patterns (Tittle & Grasmick, 2001) as seen in the previous representations of subcultures. Tittle and Grasmick (2001) report that those who live in urban centres portray more "anonymity, alienation and deviant behavior", while those that live in smaller non-urban communities show "the least alienation, the strongest community bonds, the least amount of deviant behavior and...involvement in deviant subcultures" (p. 326).

Dahms (2005) claims that analysing and investigating the concept of alienation is currently more important than ever in detailing the injury inflicted upon those individuals who live their lives subject to economic market structures and processes. From those that lose their means of support by "economic transmutations and corporate mismanagement", the subsumation of health care and education systems to economic pressures and finally to those long term losses with respect to the cultural and traditional patterns of life suffered by those in industrialising countries, the populations of which are "forced to undergo rapid economic transformations" (Dahms, 2005, p. 220). Dahms (2005) continues by stating that "more aspects of modern civilization resemble the consummation of alienation, mediated over and over, with alienation affecting not just certain practices, but the possibility of practice itself" (p. 220). Therefore alienation and the process of alienating, is not simply a consequence of globalised capitalism, but the major instrument in which a globalised economic system is constructed and replicated. Dahms (2005) argues that these underlying patterns of alienation are, over time, increasingly difficult to recognise when the patterns are universal and alternatives are either raised to be disregarded, or not raised at all; and goes on to call this process "hyper-alienation" because all aspects of modern, urban life is

viewed through "socially, culturally, and politically mediated, reinforced, and rationalized alienation" (p. 224).

Marx theorised that alienation was an inevitable consequence of capitalist social relations of production and that capitalist activity would lead to its own demise by its structure of exploitation, which would cause a proletarian revolution (Marx & Engels, 1848). But capitalism has shown over time that it is flexible and dynamic, having the ability to reinvent itself, rapidly reacting to societal shifts and appropriating them for its own benefit (Prosono, 2006). From the capitalist system's initial starting point of commodifying the labour of the people, it then moved through to commodifying the lifestyles and identity of the people. Once that concept was socially embedded, it continues to commodify and profit from the most detrimental effect it has on people – the alienation it engenders – which demonstrates that it is only with a completely fundamental and extensive transformative social movement that the resilience of capitalist hegemony be overcome.

2.4 Neo-liberal Globalisation and its Effect on Alienation

2.4.1 Defining neo-liberalism

Neo-liberal ideology, along with its attendant policies, structures and coercive practices, emerged originally in the United States in the 1970s and rose relatively quickly to prominence in most western democracies (De Angelis, 2003; Przeworski, 1992). Its progression over the remainder of the world proceeded in a discontinuous and irregular way to transform and shape the relationship between the state and the economy (Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2009). While it was hailed by proponents as a complete answer to all social and economic challenges, the model was initially theorised from "no more than a mixture of evidence, argument from first principles, self-interest and wishful thinking" (Przeworski, 1992, p. 46).

The neo-liberally situated baseline policies outlined in the Washington Consensus were initially intended as a prescription for countries that required financial assistance from such institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but they quickly became the dominant view on policy by the

United States Treasury (Kanbur, 2008). Although widespread implementation has taken place, there are still difficulties that arise when attempting a precise definition of neo-liberalism because since the 1980s it has continuously been "inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested", and while acknowledging the conceptual foundation is "market-oriented regulatory restructuring" the processes of "neo-liberalization...are *simultaneously* patterned, interconnected, locally specific, contested and unstable" (Brenner, et al., 2009, p. 184).

However, as Shah, (2010) explains, it appears that, theoretically at least, the main points covered in neo-liberal doctrine are firstly, the premise that the market is a self regulating mechanism that insists upon the unhindered mobility of commodities, services and capital between countries and states. Secondly, this necessarily requires the systematic dismantling of government and other institutional regulation that inhibit the free mobility and operation of the market. Thirdly, there is a fundamental change in public and governmental perception, from the emphasis being on community and public good to individual responsibility and individualism. This is closely associated with fourthly, the reduction of governmental expenditure on public and social services and finally, fifthly, the privatisation of all public assets and common-pool resources (Shah, 2010). As is demonstrated by these points, the predominant theme is the unhindered and continual expansion of capitalist exploitation of the worlds resources and people.

Neo-liberal capitalism has made it necessary for nations to compete against each other for foreign investment that can only be obtained from multi- or trans-national corporations, under the mistaken assumption that this investment will contribute to economic growth and provide jobs. To do this governments "pander to their needs...allowing business to help shape them and their policies" (Hertz, 2002, p. 135).

The whims of the market, those that manipulate them and the decisions of the politicians that cater to their interests, are alienating people from the democratic process in their own country (Hertz, 2002). Hertz (2002) claims that less than half the population of the United States aligns themselves with any political party, with similar results from other countries that show that people are "disengaging from politics" (p. 137). This being the case, it is doubtful whether any government can

claim to be democratically elected, when they do not represent the interests of the non-corporates in their country and the widespread disillusion and alienation are curtailing voter turnout.

The justifications that were advanced for the rapid change and the adoption of neo-liberally based policies, were firstly, that it is only with sustained economic growth assured by free-market principles that social inequalities can be mitigated or rectified (commonly referred to as the 'trickle-down effect'); secondly, that it is only free markets which provide the most effective allocation of available resources; thirdly, that inefficiencies in management structures of the public sector are eliminated when such resources are privatised; fourthly, the sole function of the government is to provide and maintain the framework to support the enforcement of laws regarding contractual agreements and property rights; and finally, fifthly, that the globalisation of the economy will be of benefit to all (Shah, 2010).

Although it is beyond the scope of this discussion to enumerate in detail the coercively alienating effects that the global spread of neo-liberal doctrine and practice has had on the various countries, communities and individuals, the practice of using the market as the sole regulatory mechanism has been shown in recent times to be severely limited, requiring large inputs of state provided financial assistance as support when necessary.

The lack of a demonstrable alternative to a globalised free-market economy, that has meant that the underlying neo-liberal ideology, which has been systematically and consistently advocated by academics, politicians and those in the business sector, has become institutionalised and naturalised in most national economies (Dahms, 2005; Heynen & Robbins, 2005). Those few that challenge and criticise the prevailing ideology, including claiming that it is a blatant violation of the principles and values supposedly upheld by the established practises of western democratic processes, are severely criticised and warned that any deprivation or drawbacks caused by this system are outweighed by the achievements already made and the benefits that are to be accrued in the long term (Cerny, 1999; Dahms, 2005; Hertz, 2002).

2.4.2 Defining globalisation

It must first be recognised that neo-liberal globalisation is not a recent invention born out of neo-liberal doctrine and practices, globalisation is simply a new term for a continuous process that has historically, not necessarily been linked to the global spread of capitalism at all (Acker, 2004; Sen, 2002) . For thousands of years progressive ideas, knowledge and technological innovation has been disseminated in sometimes free exchange, throughout the world, across borders and oceans, from many different geographical regions and cultures (Sen, 2002). Nonetheless, it is the accelerated and inexorable spread of capitalism and in particular the neo-liberal form of capitalism that is closely linked with the process of globalisation in its contemporary phase (Heynen & Robbins, 2005; Lewellen, 2002). Lewellen (2002) gives what he describes as a "bare-bones" definition of globalisation as follows,

> Contemporary globalization is the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism, and it is the local and regional adaptations to and resistance against these flows (p. 8).

While the identity of globalisation that is frequently referred to in the popular media relates to economic exchange, globalisation is inconsistent and variable and it encompasses both cultural and political issues as well as having a significant impact on ethnic and gender relations (Acker, 2004; Lewellen, 2002). It is associated with the development and aggregation of influence residing in inter-, multi- and transnational corporations and their business tactics of "decentralization, relocation and reorganization of production and subcontracting...the commodification of almost everything...organizational restructuring, downsizing, new forms of flexibility, new forms of employment relations" without boundaries or controls on their actions (Acker, 2004, p. 19).

The current phase and conditions of neo-liberal globalisation has meant that for individuals there has been an intensification of the alienating tendencies of capitalism as discussed earlier, with the commodification of individuals' labour, lives and social relationships, ensuring they are progressively more powerless, isolated and estranged from their human nature. Individuals are distanced and removed from the localised and interdependent communities that they were evolutionarily designed to locate themselves within and are constrained to live in

areas where they are able to find the means to support themselves and their dependants. This means that they are increasingly distanced from that which is fundamentally essential for the formation and reinforcement of that which makes them human, the natural world which surrounds them. Indeed, they are frequently compelled by economic necessity into taking part in activities which are directly or indirectly causing the destruction of nature and the environment.

Contemporary globalisation, therefore, is nothing more than the progression of unhindered neo-liberal capitalism, in which gender, ethnicity, culture and any other defining features relating to individuals and populations are currently non-commodifiable and therefore are invisible and/or overlooked. This progress is nowhere more visible than in 'developing' countries where through the process of enclosure vast numbers of individuals and communities are being dispersed and displaced, which is where the focus of this discussion now shifts.

2.4.3 Centrality of enclosure to neo-liberal globalisation

The Commons

Without an understanding of what is frequently referred to as 'the commons' there can be no basis for understanding enclosure as the key apparatus used by the neo-liberal project and the array of implementation methods which are consistently used in the globalising process.

The commons, is a broadly inclusive term regarding resources that are shared between either individuals or groups, in which each party has equal interest (Hess, 2006). The term includes such things as common property, which can be either a formal or informal property agreement, in which a specified or a customary number of rights are apportioned to the stakeholders (Hess, 2006). Hess (2006) states that the rights that may be included in such agreements may be such things as "ownership, management, use, exclusion, access of a shared resource" (Hess, 2006, n.p.). Common-pool resources (CPRs) basically refer to resources which are not privately owned or included within a shared formal or informal agreement, where the utilisation by one individual or group results in lessening the resource for others; therefore, while it may be important that overuse be prevented or limited, is is often too expensive and complicated to do so (Hess, 2006). Put another way, there is "difficulty of exclusion and subtractability"; which creates

problems if the short-term interests of any one person or group is put ahead of others, leading to overuse of and non-contribution towards the maintenance and future improvement of the CPR (Ostrom, Berger, Field, Norgaard & Policansky, 1999, p. 278-279). CPRs cover many and varied areas, including natural resources such as forests, fisheries, land, water supplies, fossil fuels, pasturage and so on (Hess, 2006; Nonini, 2007). There are also social CPRs involving human labour such as care services, education, domestic duties and maintenance, waste removal and treatment (e.g. water) and maintaining social order (Nonini, 2007); while Hess (2006) also includes in this list emerging urban CPRs involving common areas such as playgrounds, apartment buildings, libraries and parkland. Another form of CPRs have an intellectual and cultural basis such as theories, scientific concepts, artistic and artisanal products and skills, research technologies, data, and so on (Nonini, 2007); with Hess (2006) contributing the Internet and other public access information and communication technology such as wikis. Hess (2006) also includes global CPRs such as air supplies, oceans, Antarctica, space and the the electro-magnetic spectrum (increasing frequencies of which are undergoing commodification). Finally, Nonini (2007) discusses the most recently emergent CPRs, relating to the human species, including bodily organs, gene mapping and sequences, human embryos, and other related areas, with considerable controversy surrounding market encroachment into these sectors.

Therefore what is referred to as 'the commons' are those resources that are shared between people, through a formal or informal, often traditionally held, agreement for the benefit of all stakeholders, with the goal of maintaining and sustaining the resource/s into the future.

Enclosure

Enclosure is the mechanism by which the globalised economy has developed and is continuing to develop, that is fundamentally transforming the commons into private capital. Enclosure can be more fully defined as how those in positions of power alienate citizens from, not only tangible resources, the use of which has enabled them to survive for millennia; but also from the intangible resources of their culture, their language and ways they live their lives. Within it can be seen the process and enforcement of alienation as it is occurring and transforming or expunging lives and cultural practices that have sustained populations for

thousands of years. It is the means used by dominant economic groups by which people are alienated, and subsequent to their alienation the commodification and control of these people becomes straightforward. Enclosure removes people from the land and their "cultural framework" and constrains them to adapt to a new "framework which reflects and reinforces the values and interests of the newly dominant group" (The Ecologist, 1992, p. 149). The current era of globalisation means that multinational corporations are usually the newly dominant group and within these organisations, where the driving force is the maximisation of economic benefits, all that does not contribute to financial gain is deemed valueless and is discarded (The Ecologist, 1992).

Historically, while enclosure has most often encompassed land and the resources associated with land such as waterways and forestry, it has come to apply to other resources and social relationships such as knowledge; language; community values; non-market productive activities replaced by those of the market; the substitution of customary forms of entertainment to western forms; exchanging crops for subsistence to crops for profit; and so on (The Ecologist, 1992). Enclosure and the total alteration and destruction of traditional, community centred cultural lifestyles is generating alienation at its most devastating, and while it is inexcusable in its inhumanity, it should be remembered that this practice is as old as capitalism itself.

What accelerated and normalised the process of enclosure occurred in 1968 when Garrett Hardin in his influential article "*Tragedy of the Commons*" claimed that any "rational" user of a common resource will attempt to maximise their personal gain by increased usage, irrespective of the long term costs both to other users and ultimately themselves (Hardin, 1968, p. 1244; McCay & Acheson, 1987; Ostrom, et al., 1999). It was claimed as being inevitable that when there are many users of a CPR, each individual will act in an identical and rational manner and repeat the maximising action so leading to overuse and ultimately the CPRs destruction (Hardin, 1968; Ostrom et al., 1999; The Ecologist, 1993). Ostrom, et al. (1999) explain that Hardin's solution to this problem was ownership, either by the government, raising the horror of socialism to an American audience, "or the privatism of free enterprise", which was considerably more acceptable to the American psyche (p. 278). It must be remembered that Hardin was viewing the commons through the lens of one who lived in the United States, one of the most

individualistic and economically driven cultures in the world, which perhaps had coloured his view. Nevertheless, in some countries Hardin's comments were used by policy-makers to enable governments to take control of CPRs, excusing their actions by imparting the belief that it is only with external control that there can be solutions and limits imposed on users of CPRs for the greater good of the community and the nation involved (Ostrom, et al., 1999). This policy ignored the fact that for thousands of years communities had been self-governing and organising usage of CPRs often in a long-term and sustainable manner (McCay & Acheson, 1987; Ostrom, et al., 1999), as indeed could be expected when the very survival of their community had depended upon doing so. In a justification or modification of opinion, it was later explained by Hardin that he was not discussing CPRs where there is governance over the resources by some form of community-based arrangement, but an "open access regime" that is, without ownership or governance of any kind, and where the only value is the one of short-term profit and longer term sustainability is not a consideration (The Ecologist, 1993, p. 13).

Hardin's justification of his views continues to be disregarded and under neo-liberal ideological influence, the unrelenting driver of globalisation, the enclosure of common and so-called 'uncultivated' land proceeds unchecked and at an accelerated pace, with such organisations as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank setting the benchmark of what constitutes development in Third World countries (Marzec, 2002). McMichael (2007, 2009) notes that while subsistence or smallholder/peasant agriculture is still relatively common at a global level, there is a prevailing and mistaken assumption by such organisations as the IMF and World Bank, that such agriculture is the first step the progression of agricultural and agrarian development. The justification for enclosure and private ownership is often that people that practice subsistence living are living in poverty, which is assigning western values to non-western ways of life, and imputing that the industrialisation of agriculture is both beneficial and inevitable. However, McMichael (2009) goes on to argue that at a global level that it is probably more desirable to be supporting the peasantry in their low-carbon lifestyles than promoting industrial agricultural expansion.

The neo-liberal analysis of land along with the proponents of market-based land reform and agrarian development, erroneously views land solely as an

economic resource that requires allocation and ownership, within a minimally regulated environment, for the fortunate landholders to directly benefit from what the ownership of land can provide, in other words enabling them to access credit and thereby increase the national levels of capital accumulation (Haroon Akram-Lodhi, 2007; Brown, n.d.). However, Marzec (2002) states that as a result, such 'development' that has been inflicted on such countries and peoples, gives little account to traditional ways of subsistence, culture and being, and rather demands the land produce high yields of crops that can be sold - a process of surplus extraction - that leaves such enclosed land depleted and the people impoverished. The only recourse for those local populations that do not have the means to purchase land under the new regime and with the removal of their ability to subsist by the privatisation of the commons, is to become migrant workers, a part of "the most geographically mobile labor force since the advent of capitalism ...separating us from our countries, farms, gardens, homes, workplaces because this guarantees cheap wages, communal disorganization and maximum vulnerability" (Midnight Notes Collective, 2001, p. 5). In addition, indigenous people often see land as positioned within a tessellation of "social, political, economic, ecological and cultural relations" therefore the land has a central role in the construction of both individual and cultural identity and loss of land equates with loss of identity (Haroon Akram-Lodhi, 2007, p. 1439). Hence, neo-liberal development of agrarian land, that is privatising ownership and transforming the land into a commodity, dispossesses people from the land, in conjunction with the corresponding cultural and subsistence practices centred around the land, thereby alienating them from their own personal and cultural identity and replacing this identity and experience with the forms of alienation characteristic of capitalism (Haroon Akram-Lodhi, 2007).

2.5 Continuously Developing Forms of Enclosure that Increase Alienation

2.5.1 Patents as mechanisms of enclosure

The enclosures occurring in 'developing' countries are largely mirroring the enclosures that initially occurred in Britain beginning in the fifteenth century, or rather can be seen as part of this continuing process. However, there are many more and varied enclosures which are currently taking place within the global environment (Boyle, 2003). What has been labelled by some as the "second enclosure movement" is that which encompasses human intellectual endeavour, and, indeed the human body itself (Boyle, 2003). This form is frequently seen in the application for, and granting of, a patent. While a patent does not confer upon the organisation or individual that holds the patent any right to use or sell what is patented, it does exclude others from "making, using, offering for sale, selling or importing the invention" thus, it enables the patent holder to research, develop and innovate products, using and based on the patented material or product while precluding others from doing so (US Patent and Trademark Office, 2010, n.p.).

Although it has only been since 1980 that patents have been issued for life forms, the latest figures show that over three million applications have been filed regarding the human genome (Biological and Environmental Research Information System [BERIS], 2010). However, since applications are confidential until a patent has been granted, it is often unknown which genes, gene fragments, DNA sequence variations, proteins and stem cells have had applications filed (BERIS, 2010). Although much of the raw data regarding genes and gene sequences generated by the Human Genome Project is available via the Internet in a knowledge commons, operated by the Human Genome Project itself, those researchers and members of the general public can have injunctions placed against their scientific or biomedical undertaking if a private company has previously lodged an application for a patent (BERIS, 2010). As a consequence, the threat of an existing or impending patent means that there is a significant chance that biomedical research and innovation may be impeded due to the associated royalty payments and/or infringement penalties that may be accrued by researchers (BERIS, 2010; Cassier, 2006).

In a literary twist Heller and Eisenberg (1998) have named the proliferation of patents and privatised rights to parts of human DNA and other discoveries as "the tragedy of the anti-commons" where, in contrast to Hardins' overuse of a limited resource due to self-interest, there is an "*under*-use of a resource owing to excessive property rights" (as cited in Cassier, 2006, p. 261). A useful example of

this is supplied by Shiva (2004) with regard to research contributing towards developing a cure for HIV/AIDS, which 2008 UNAIDS (2009) figures show has infected 33.4 million people globally, particularly decimating populations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Shiva (2004) reports that a US biotechnology company has patented the CCR5 gene, which could be used to act as a "cellular 'block' against HIV/AIDS", without having any knowledge as to its utility and function (p. 669). Because of their patent the biotechnology company, in their turn, are blocking any further research into the use of this gene, stating that they will claim "double and triple [infringement] damages", stymieing any chance of following this branch of research into a either vaccine or cure (Shiva, 2004, p. 669). However, in March 2010 an interesting precedent for researchers and humankind alike was set by United States federal judge, Robert W. Sweet, who invalidated seven patents on two genes, mutations of which have been closely linked to the chances of developing breast and ovarian cancer which could have far reaching results for future patents being granted (Schwartz & Pollock, 2010).

This enclosure of knowledge through patenting, is blocking opportunities for researchers to collaborate across boundaries on scientific endeavour that is of significance to the human race as a whole, and in doing so, is preventing access to knowledge and innovation that could be of benefit to large numbers of individuals. Enclosure and commodification of the very fabric of that which makes humans a separate species from all others, should and has raised very serious concerns, because even a superficial analysis of enclosure and subsequent commodification will demonstrate that these initiate the process of alienation. Where this will lead is, as yet unknown, for how can individuals be alienated from that of which they are composed? If it is at all possible it will be found, driven by the profit motive of neo-liberal capitalism. In addition, there is an ethical concern that is emerging around the issue of ownership of genes and gene sequences, that the holders of such patents are the owners of a fundamental component of human life, which, taken an incremental step further, allows for an individual (or organisation) to own all or part of a separate and individual human being (BERIS, 2010).

2.6 Alienating Issues surrounding Food Production and Consumption

It is important at this stage to discuss a type of alienation that is the simplest to overcome, either in its entirety or to whatever level is acceptable or attainable by the individual. Food is one of the most fundamental and personal things that it is possible for an individual to be alienated from and it is that which is essential to not only their health, but is the basis of many social activities and is at the root of numerous cultural modes of behaviour (Axelson, 1986). It will, therefore, be discussed at some length, due both to its importance as a item required for survival and also because the alternatives to globalised capitalism which will be discussed later, are frequently centred on food, its safety, its origins, the ethics in its production, its nutritive value, and so on.

Consumers are increasing alienated from their food through lack of food choices, limited knowledge of procedures and components used in food production, inability to know the origin of food, lack of information on the level of nutritional and health benefits to be derived from food, or, more frequently, the health damaging effects, amongst others. However, there is also the ability of multi-national corporations to alienate the *producers* from the choice of food that they grow, such as being unable to source seeds for crops that are not genetically modified or tampered with in any way and the inability to save seed for use in the next growing season. Therefore the choices are being removed from the consumers and also removed from the farmers, leaving all people alienated from the very food that they need to survive.

2.6.1 Food production

The prevailing attitude of developed countries towards the production of food, as expected, is that only by using an industrial production model in association with scientifically and technologically advanced products and processes that increases in agricultural production can be achieved (Handy, 2009). In part, this is probably due to the fact that most nations of the world have signed and ratified the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), as

New Zealand did in 1978 (Ministry of Justice, n.d.; United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, n.d.). The language used in the covenant is typical of the times and would probably be considered as being uncompromising and inflexible in comparison to what would be expected of such a covenant today (Kneen, 2009). Article 11 of the ICESCR stresses that it must be an object of all signatories to concentrate on "developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilisation of natural resources", without regard to cultural differences, production relations or ecological concerns (Ministry of Justice, n.d., p. 4). In particular, the covenant states that food should be produced using the industrial model of maximising production through the utilisation of scientific and technological advances, and consequently the inference must be that traditional knowledge and skills have no place or importance (Kneen, 2009). Other major concerns being that such technological and scientific/western modes of production routinely use toxic chemicals, synthetic fertilisers, single cropping (monoculture) over mixed cropping and the more recent emphasis is on genetic modification and the use of nanotechnology (Kneen, 2009; Miller, 2008). Overall, the covenant prioritises capitalist or market-based relations in food production and reform, with no regard to relations based on equity and social responsibility (Kneen, 2009).

It is claimed that a widespread expansion in food production is necessary due to international population increases, with the obvious consequence that more food is needed at a global level; but additionally there is the projected increase in the affluence of populous countries, since it has been demonstrated that as national prosperity increases (albeit regionally) so too do dietary requirements and preferences, beginning with an increase in food consumption, which then develops rapidly into the replacement of vegetable protein with animal protein (Penning de Vries, Van Keulen, Rabbinge & Luyten, 1995).

As historically evidenced, Handy (2009) explains that these increased demand factors lead to the approach of blaming and vilifying subsistence farmers for "their economic backwardness and social underdevelopment" in not maximising land use and supplying the demands of global food retail markets (p. 326). These attitudes have been propounded by many commentators, beginning with English writers during the periods of land enclosure in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and these statements progress quickly to the conviction that it is in the

public interest that leaving such a crucial undertaking as the production of food to such people as peasant farmers is not only undesirable but is ultimately detrimental to all (Handy, 2009). Therefore, the production and practices of this type of food producer must be adapted to suit the needs of the capitalist, which is to produce what is required, when required, in greater volumes and at less cost (Handy, 2009). This pressure leaves small peasant producers no alternative other than to relinquish the means of production (land) and the production of food itself to those that can conform to these directions, which in contemporary times means large-scale industrialised agricultural producers (Handy, 2009). It is in this way that capital justifies the enclosure of common-pool or smallholder land, using the excuse of the greater good when depriving and alienating people from their land and means of subsistence. The benefits that are presumed to accrue in maximising land production do not devolve to any small producer that might have held on to their land, nor to those who have been displaced, nor, despite the rhetoric, is it for the consumers of the food products. Rather only those in the global food supply chain financially benefit from packaging, transportation, processing and sale.

However, the "relentless assault" on small subsistence or peasant farming is comprised of many other factors, not only by appropriating the land and converting it into a link in a global retail supply chain, but the newer coercive practices of enforcing "intellectual property rights" over traditional understanding and the monopolisation of customary seed products (McMichael, 2006, p. 407) in an alienating enclosure process referred to as biopiracy. Biopiracy is "the unauthorized and uncompensated expropriation of traditional knowledge and resources" which is usually performed by corporations and governmental agencies from developed countries working within less developed countries (Tejera, 1999, p. 971). For example, the 'basmati' rice type which has been a traditional staple in Himalayan communities and a high value export grain was appropriated and the name patented by a U.S. Corporation, RiceTec (Kumar, 2009). However, after pressure by the Indian government and other agencies RiceTec withdrew most of its claims and are now prohibited from using the name 'basmati' and their patents are restricted to three rice strains developed by them and unrelated to the Indian rice varieties (Manoj, 2006). Many similar instances of biopiracy, have shown it is only after lengthy and expensive legislative processes, strong organisational backing and public criticism that these customary rights to use are upheld. It is

interesting to note, that to overcome the expensive litigation that government and other institutions were forced to undergo in these cases, that the decision was made to construct a common-pool resource. In 2001 a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL) was established which documents and makes available in the public domain customary knowledge regarding "Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha and Yoga" medicine for classification of "medicinal plants, minerals, animal resources, effects and diseases, methods of preparations, mode of administrations, etc" (TKDL, 2010, n.p.). In this way, the information regarding already existing knowledge was made available to all who wished to access and use it, and more specifically was for the use of International Patent Offices, preventing the granting of patents and thereby precluding the "misappropriation of traditional Indian knowledge" (TKDL, 2010, n.p.).

It is largely through the widespread industrialisation of food production and pressure brought to bear by multi-national corporations on food producers that has meant the abandonment of traditional and culturally significant practices and procedures surrounding the production of food and from the land on which food is produced. Additionally, producers are finding that their traditional knowledge is being subject to enclosure and intellectual property rights held over those customary resources and knowledge that has provided their subsistence for many thousands of years. This whole process is alienating in the extreme, with multi-nationals in the pursuit of maximum profit expropriating their traditional food production practices, their seed crops, traditional understandings and methods of production and this expropriation often includes the land itself. Furthermore, by alienating producers from these things means that consumers are, in their turn, also alienated from these things.

2.6.2 Food consumption

Consumers are increasingly alienated from the commodity item that they are frequently and intimately connected with. While most of the research relating to food and its consumption relates to the economic benefits that will ensue from the industrial production model, there is the consequence that the use of this model alienates people not only with where their food originates geographically, but they are also disconnected from any understanding of the procedures that are required

in production of foods, such as the application of chemical pesticides, use of hormonal growth promotants, food preservation techniques used, the modification of the genetic material, the seasonal aspect of food, the nano-technology used, and so on. The eating of food has become simply a consumption activity, with participants in this activity being totally disconnected from production and having little control over, or knowledge of, the components that make up many processed and packaged food, nor are the negative health and environmental effects of these procedures and components either disseminated or known.

Historically, people have eaten what their culture has dictated and the food choices in that culture have been shaped by factors such as environmental and religious constraints (Pollan, 2008). Acceptance patterns of what foods are to be eaten, how much to eat, what times of day food is to be eaten and what flavours can be combined are all formed in early childhood by eating and other food consumption experiences (Birch, 2002). But as Pollan (2008) explains, in more recent times there has been an alteration in eating patterns, the traditional guidelines relating to food consumption has seen a major shift, to a large extent due to modern marketing and advertising, which in the United States amounts to thirty-two billion dollars a year (Pollan, 2008). This means that food patterns are constantly being shaped and re-shaped by the forces of profit-driven capitalism as are demonstrated in studies focusing on children's exposure television advertising. Pre-school children exposed to short (thirty second) television food advertising had their short-term food preferences affected (Borzekowski & Robinson, 2001) and older children ate more food and made higher-fat and sugar choices after viewing television advertising (Halford, Gillespie, Brown, Pontin & Dovey, 2003). Since food choices and activities surrounding food are shaped in childhood and most advertising promotes pre-processed or 'fast' food, the assumption can be made that not only have people that live in contemporary western countries become alienated from their cultural linkages to food, but any knowledge of what food actually consists of has been omitted. That is, regardless of whether a food is nutritionally healthy or potentially physically devastating over time, is never mentioned and deemed irrelevant by advertisers, since food consumption advertising is profit driven. Therefore, not only are people alienated from what components constitute their food, but they are additionally alienated from knowledge of something that can assist them in making choices that may

have a long-term effect on their health and the health of their children.

A lack of food choice can be observed in those foods that are traditionally seen as being healthy, such as fruit, vegetables and grains. This relates not to the large volume or to the inclusion of lesser known products that are available but to the fact that under the current industrial model of food production, large scale seed users/growers have a limited selection of seed crops to choose from and that limits the range of products that are offered to consumers in retail outlets. This can be directly related to the fact that there are only ten seed companies that control the global seed market, with the largest being Monsanto, who control the greatest share (Mindfully, 2005). There are an increasing number of patents being acquired by Monsanto and other companies, not only for seeds, plant breeding techniques and seed genetic material but on animal breeds as well (No Patents on Seeds [NPS], 2007). The seed patents cover such things as soy, broccoli, maize, wheat, rice, sunflowers, rape, cabbage, mustard, and many more edible and non-edible (ornamental) plants and many patents relate to non-genetically engineered plants (NPS, 2007). To date the patents relating particularly to animals, involve high performance and 'modified' breeds of pigs and beef, but also include dairy and other cattle, poultry, giraffes, buffalo, deer and salmon (Then, 2007). But not only are the animals themselves being patented but there are also patents being granted on intellectual property rights for certain breeding techniques which are not new, as well as those being conferred on specific genetic manipulation techniques (NPS, n.d.).

These patents will result in farming becoming more competitive and those that cannot match the production potential attained by the newer genetically modified vegetable and meat, will be forced to comply or go out of business. This means the range of plant *species* available for consumption are likely to increase (perhaps even giraffes, as above), but the *varieties* of these species are declining, and are frequently bred, with less concern with taste and nutritional attributes, than the ability to withstand the rigours of transportation from global supply chains that stretch for many thousands of miles. For example, the New Zealand Central Treecrops Research Trust have undertaken extensive domestic and overseas testing of 250 'heritage' varieties of apples and the New Zealand Monty's Surprise and Hetlina contained "levels of quercetin flavanoids and procyanidins (compounds known to inhibit the growth of cancer cells) several times greater

than the most beneficial commercial apple", the Red Delicious variety (Christensen, 2009, n.p.). The Trust has also found heritage tomatoes and a heritage variety of New Zealand peach have more beneficial compounds than commercially grown varieties and breeding for commercial benefits have "been achieved at the expense of nutritional and medicinal qualities of the fruit" and are undertaking further research relating to other fruits and vegetables (Christensen, 2009, n.p.).

There is a further and more immediate problem with regard to food consumption and that is its safety. The incidences of serious illness and death resulting from eating contaminated food are too lengthy to be discussed in any depth but the numbers involved are considerable and cover a wide range and type of food-borne illnesses as can be seen on public notices by organisations such as the European Food Information Council and the United States Food and Drug Administration (FDA). While it seems inconceivable, lengthy global supply chains makes it possible for incidences of deliberate contamination of food products to take place, with such additives as the industrial chemical melamine which was added in at least two separate occasions to cereals used in pet food and milk products used in baby formula resulting in death and long-term health problems for both pets and people in many countries (Bradley, 2008; U.S. FDA, 2010). There have been many other 'accidental' food safety concerns and scandals over the past fifteen years or so, perhaps the most widely publicised was the 1996 outbreak of Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), which originated from cattle eating meal made from diseased sheep carcases, and the human equivalent Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD), which came from humans eating beef and beef products made from infected animals (Douthwaite, 1996; U.S. FDA, 2010). In fact Douthwaite (1996) was already claiming that the "confidence in the conventional agro-industrial food system disappeared" (p. 251).

As well as being very negatively impacted by having contaminants introduced either deliberately or accidentally into their food, end users of commercially grown and sold products are being alienated from both the knowledge of and ability to purchase foods that have the the health and nutritional benefits available in non-commercially grown fruits and vegetables. In addition, since one of the commercial benefits of such plants is the extended length of time that they can be

stored without deterioration, and can therefore be transported to markets many thousands of miles from where they were harvested, the consumers are also alienated from the natural cycle of consuming food in a seasonal manner, that is food that is available when it is harvested, or they may even be in ignorance that such a seasonal cycle exists.

2.7 Summary

Alienation as examined here is centrally driven by the advent and development of industrial capitalism. As demonstrated in this section, alienation is an ever present condition which is a factor in every facet of daily life, in both the public and private spheres, for most people in western countries and increasingly for those in non-western countries.

Initially identified in the factory system of the industrialised production process where humans were denied the ability to express their nature as creative producers, capitalism has accelerated and intensified alienating conditions by colonising many other sectors. Alienating practices spread outward to encompass not only every facet of production but consumption activities as well and it is within these conditions that most people in industrialised countries now live.

Not only are humans denied behavioural patterns and processes that are relevant to expressing their productive and social natures, but urban living has denied human primates the opportunity to express the evolutionary behaviour patterns of their species, which is to be living in small interdependent groups. This estrangement from nature has led humans to the belief that nature is something that is separate from them; they are denied the ability to recognise that they are inherently a part of the natural world.

Beginning with industrialisation and continuing the process of globalising capitalism with the normalising of neo-liberal doctrine, the whole of human society has been totally transformed. The mechanism of enclosure continues being used by market-based capitalism to alienate and dispossess people not only of their lands but their religion, their culturally significant practices, their food and their communities, sweeping away the commons and forcing alienation upon them

in the sole pursuit of economic gain.

It is not to be expected that it was possible for human beings to experience such a pervasive and intensive denial of their nature without alternatives being sought that mitigated the effects of the capitalist system. When seeking an alternative that alleviated the conditions of alienation it is doubtful that there was a conscious decision to return to pre-industrial social models, however, it is now evident that the alternatives do strongly resemble them.

In understanding the forms of resistance to globalised capitalism that have arisen over the past twenty years, and the authentic ways of life that are being rediscovered, it is necessary to understand more fully the society that capitalism was able to displace with such ease. Therefore, the next section investigates pre-industrial society, its basic structure and institutions that actively discouraged the conditions that advanced alienation under capitalism.

Section Two:

3. Pre-industrial Society and Alienation

As has been illustrated, it is apparent that the development of capitalism directly corresponds with the development of alienation in its varying manifestations, including as a response to the deprivation incurred under capitalist work relations, a deliberate process accomplished by enclosure, and a manufactured perception of need used a means of boosting consumption. All three of these are directly related to an estrangement of people from their true nature and from the natural world around them.

In the pre-industrial era things were vastly different, these types of alienation were for most people non-existent, as most individuals would typically spend their lives within a geographic locality, largely associating with those familiar to them and who were often members of their extended family (Langman, 1991). There were enduring generational ties that linked families to localities and to each other, which meant that interaction was based on long association and deep understanding of the community in which they lived, with established social mores understood by all community members. Most people were involved in work that was agrarian-based which required work processes that were performed within seasonal boundaries and the planting, cultivation and harvesting cycles. These natural rhythms within rural living meant a closer contact and relationship with nature and the natural environment. Long familial association with an area gave an intimate knowledge of the environmental features of a geographic locality and how best to work within these for maximum benefit. Since alienation is directly associated with isolation and separation from the human species natural behavioural patterns, and nature itself, the reality of these interlinked relationships made for more authentic and non-alienated social relationships.

With the increase in trade and capitalist progression associated with the emergence of industrial capitalism came individualisation, beginning with the

disconnection between public and private spheres, in which the household became separate from the wider economy, and with this came the development of an interest in personal privacy (Langman, 1991). While the sense of individualisation began initially in urban areas with the burgeoning population of displaced rural dwellers that had been forced into the recently formed industrial centres, individualisation also spread relatively quickly to the population that continued to live in rural areas and smaller communities. The connections between the residents were severed and fragmented leading to loss not only of the community but of the connection to the land and the natural rhythms and processes of nature.

Many of the contemporary alternatives and resistance methods employed by those who are able to recognise and wish to mitigate the negative effects of capitalist globalisation in their lives, have returned to more authentic lifestyles that in key respects resemble those that existed in pre-industrial societies. Therefore, the focus of this section is on the social structures and institutions that existed in the feudal system which actively discouraged individualisation and the alienation that is associated with it and instead fostered a more natural, communal and much less fragmented social life.

However, due to the acceptance and incorporation of high levels of individualism and the fragmentation of social life into what is currently the norm, there is some difficulty in providing and accurate description of pre-industrial social structure that was much more locally and socially integrated. In particular, there were very blurred boundaries between sectors that are recognised today such as between work and leisure, immediate and extended family, workers and employers, public and private and so on. To ensure coherence for contemporary understanding it is necessary to separate pre-industrial society into sectors, but the difficulty lies in where the separation should occur as there is little, if any, defining margins.

Therefore, it should be kept in mind that the only separations that were well-defined were between levels of social hierarchy and gender, but to adequately examine pre-industrial social and political structures they will be included and discussed as if separate sectors were evident.

3.1 Feudal Socio-political Structure a Central Factor in Minimising Alienation

Prior to the rise of capitalism, feudalism was the socio-political structure that was dominant in many separate geographical areas of the world, including most of Europe (Crone, 1989), which is where this section is geographically located with a particular focus on Britain. The basis of the feudal economy was centred on agrarianism, with eighty to ninety percent of the population engaged in arable farming (Hilton, 1987). Agrarianism was practised by the relatively small peasant farmer and food production was most frequently produced on a family-run farm, held more often by tenancy and less often by ownership (Hilton, 1987). The entire structure of complex social and political relationships between nobles, clergy, cities and states were therefore supported by the production supplied by a peasant economy (Hilton, 1987).

Feudal societal structure has a hierarchical form where an individual's level within society was essentially fixed from birth, initially inherited from their parents, remained largely unchanged throughout their lifetime and was subsequently passed on to their children (Crone, 1989; Shapely, 2001). Typically under feudalism an individual had rights or dues owed to them by those lower in the hierarchy and obligations owing to those above them, the pinnacle of which is personified in the monarch who commonly had strong links to God (Crone, 1989). Since this structure was not dynamic, rights and obligations became fixed over time and were "transmitted by heredity" (Crone, 1989, p. 100). This meant there were enduring divisions within feudal society both vertically between those living in a particular locality or belonging to a specific ethnic group and horizontally with strict separation measured by hereditary social status or rank (Crone, 1989).

It was due to the precariousness and dangerousness of daily life that the rigidities associated with the feudal social structure were valued for the sense of permanence and security it gave to people (Edwards, 2002; Goodale, 2001). Edwards (2002) relates that during the tenth century much of Europe was subject to Viking raids; the tenth, eleventh and twelfth saw many similar attacks made by brigands and military groups and such warlike behaviour was a present and real

threat to everyday life. Much of the manorial lords wealth was generated from the rents and taxes paid by the peasants that worked the land under his ownership and this significantly exploitive relationship was compensated by the security which was conferred by the lords authority which kept the peasants and other tenants safe from such destructive groups.

There were other threats that were equally serious, such as that of famine if the yearly harvest was unsuccessful or less than what was required to see the population adequately nourished until the next growing season. Along with malnutrition, there was the constant possibility of an epidemic illness or plague which could decimate the community and these could occur in addition to, or in combination with, all the other ailments caused by crowded living conditions and compounded by lack of knowledge of hygiene and health care (Edwards, 2002). Goodale (2001) goes further when describing pre-industrial rural life as being "one of hardship, hunger, famine, disease, and death" (n.p.). Urban life was no better with the poor living in "rat- and flea-infested garrets, in damp and fetid neighborhoods adjacent to the tanneries and slaughterhouses" and while the wealthy lived a very different lifestyle, their relatively close proximity left them susceptible to any epidemic illness that might originate or incubate in the poorer areas (Goodale, 2001, n.p.).

Crone (1989) explains that while the hierarchical or horizontal segregation is particularly obvious amongst the titled aristocracy, it also existed at urban and village level and Hardy (1883) while describing the inhabitants of a pre-industrial village, gives an illustration of the hierarchy that appeared to have typically existed within such English villages,

> Villages used to contain, in addition to the agricultural inhabitants, an interesting and better-informed class, ranking distinctly above those - the blacksmith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, the small higgler, the shopkeeper (whose stock-in-trade consisted of a couple of loaves, a pound of candles, a bottle of brandy-balls and lumps of delight, three or four scrubbing-brushes, and a frying-pan), together with nondescript-workers other than farm-labourers, who had remained in the houses where they were born for no especial reason beyond an instinct of association with the spot (p. 9).

Hardy (1883) also gives an account of a hierarchy existing even at what would seem to be by modern standards a single 'class', that of farm labourers, and he

comments that those wives with families containing elder sons who could work alongside their fathers on the farm, and thereby command more income, ranked above those wives of families who had working age daughters.

Marshall (1980) also reports horizontal layering among the peasants, with upper, middle and lower levels being measured by the amount of assets owned, as well as the standard of living they were able to maintain. These peasants owned their land and so were bracketed above by the gentry and those that worked in professions, and below by small craft workers and peasants who did not own land and lower still were the rural labourers (Marshall, 1980).

However, while members of the peasantry could, and sometimes did, become quite substantial property owners, they retained their social status as peasant farmers and could be expected to take part in basic agricultural labour and other such activities when necessary, such as mining or craft-work (Blanchard, 1972). Blanchard (1978) goes further in his later study of "farmer-miners" when he suggests that since his analysis of income derived from mining is similar throughout the geographical areas of his research, the miners "thus worked in the mines to earn enough money to pay the rent upon his arable holding and to buy a stable volume of … goods, the size of which was determined by his place in village society" (p. 5). This shows that the income expectation of a farmer-miner was met but not exceeded and this behaviour was duplicated by the "cottar" miners who were lower in status with smaller income expectation and earnings which reinforced the "adherence to the hierarchical consumption ethic of the village" (Blanchard, 1978). Blanchard (1978) states that, "Only if he was prepared to stand apart from village society's dictates could he seemingly 'enjoy' real material prosperity" (p. 8) which in the hierarchical and communal feudal society would be practically inconceivable. This would result in being socially alienated from the community, meaning firstly, that kinship ties would be severed, secondly, that in difficult times kinship and friendship networks were essential to survival, and thirdly, since stability was a prime concern to the local nobility, any deviation would have been dealt with as necessary. In addition, this view was upheld by the church, which taught that an individual's position and occupation in society was God's will and its disapproval towards those involved in finance and financial accumulation (apart from themselves) promoted a social view that was "suspicious of the profit motive", which made working longer and harder than

was necessary for survival actively discouraged (Shapely, 2001, n.p.).

Feudal social order with its rights and duties was shaped by political rather than economic or market forces and ranked orders of occupation rather than classes existed and were seen as being necessary for society to function successfully (Crone, 1989). Crone (1989) explains that while the current perception of social classes are that they are divisive and/or cause conflict, this is because they relate to economic measurement and pre-industrial society was not shaped or organised with the intention of being a site of economic competition, therefore such classes or economic groupings such as working and middle classes which are known under capitalism did not exist in feudal times. Such things as class struggle and collective action were not viable or desirable due to the localised village-based societal structure (Crone, 1989), where all members could be relied upon to do what was expected of them to ensure the continuance and survival of the community as a whole.

While individuals were separated by hierarchy (and gender), each knew that their contribution was necessary to the subsistence of the household and each household contributed to the success of the wider community. Not only was an individual's place embedded within their extended family, but also within their geographically located community and their religious community as well. The strong religious beliefs which taught that every individual would be rewarded in heaven for their service to those of higher rank and to the church also gave a feeling of having a position in society or a role to play in the community. The socio-political construction of feudal society meant that being apart or separate caused severe privation, which was to be strenuously avoided, so the isolation and individualisation characteristics of industrial capitalism were absent.

As illustrated, the largely peasant based political, economic and social structure of the feudal system was based on a hierarchy that was rigidly enforced and hereditarily conferred, with rights due to those of higher rank and obligations to those of lower rank. The precarious nature of life in feudal times meant that this structure, while considerably exploitative, was embraced due to the fact that it provided security.

Social isolation in this system was largely absent due to the close communalism of everyday life and the trust-based relationships both with peers and those of higher and lower ranks. In addition, the agrarian economy required

an intimate knowledge of the surrounding natural environment, with its familiar seasonal cycles and rhythms, and this along with a unified religious belief meant that every member of a community was integrated within the social, natural and religious structure of feudal society. No isolation or separation existed for those within this system, as to do so would make an already insecure environment still more hazardous.

3.2 Organisation of Agrarian (Rural) Production

A comparison of food production between pre-industrial and industrial models, is central to a consideration of the cause and solutions to the central elements of contemporary forms of alienation. The production of food is one of the most fundamental elements of human social life, the expression of human nature and was the basis of the feudal social, political and economic system. Most of the population were involved in agrarian production to some degree.

The feudal economy was organically based, which meant that the input of raw materials required to provide energy for productive activities, are reliant upon sources that are organically derived, or obtained from animal or vegetable products, such as draft animals and wood (Landers, 2003; Sjoberg, 1955; Wrigley, 2006). Landers (2003) and Wrigley (2006) report that this reliance put strict limitations on the level of economic productivity that could be attained. Limitation in productivity is clearly illustrated by Landers (2003) who comments that, “the largest direct contribution...came from muscle power, and most of the muscle was human” (p. 2). Low productivity per head of population meant that most people lived at subsistence level, with the majority of the labour supply was required in the agricultural sector, to supply food for themselves and the minority of those that did not produce food, such as the nobility and those that lived in urban areas (Landers, 2003).

It could never be said that organic economies prior to the industrial revolution were static and unchanging, but the dependence on muscle power – either human or animal – restricted the distances food products could be transported, therefore most of the population were required to live relatively close to the food production areas. Sites of both production and consumption were spread over the landscape

and since the distribution of subsistence food products was localised there was little necessity in highly efficient forms of infrastructure such as direct route roads (Landers, 2003).

Another factor limiting economic growth and expansion was weather conditions. Agricultural pursuits were seasonally restricted and so too was transportation or "inland navigation" which was determined by the weather, particularly in colder Northern areas (Landers, 2003, p. 4; Thomas, 1964). Localised interdependent communities were the norm, since the ideal weather required for growing and harvesting crops and performing animal husbandry tasks was similar as those for travel. This meant the members in a community had their mobility curtailed firstly, by the need to get the necessary work performed in the growing season when required, secondly, ties to place and kinship were of great importance and thirdly, winter weather in many areas was severe enough to make travelling long distances during this season dangerous. But as Landers (2003) remarks during winter "economic activity yielded to to an intensity of social life, of informal gatherings that reworked the multitude of networks and alliances on which life in small-scale communities depended" (p. 4).

While much of the arable land was under the ownership of the local lord or nobleman, those that provided the labour in the fields and produced the food and food crops were often tenant farmers (Martin, 1983). The tenants would frequently work the land in a cooperative way and earlier and less intensive forms of agriculture this meant each tenant would have their own smallholding to manage how they chose as an independent unit, as well as the right to use other communally held resources such as pasturage, watercourses and forests within the territorial boundaries ('the commons') (Blum, 1971; Martin, 1983). The allocation of land and other regulations including the daily management of the community were supervised by elected or appointed officials and "the communities regulated the collective life of their residents according to rules understood and accepted by all the villagers" (Blum, 1971). Over time to increase food production, greater cooperation was required between villagers and the size and frequency of individual smallholdings decreased and it became the norm for all of the available land to be combined into a large unfenced area and various smaller areas apportioned to household units, often by the annual drawing of lots (Blum, 1971; Thirsk, 1964). This method of organisation required not only

continuous cooperation between the villagers, but a completely communal basis for land management (Blum, 1971). The overriding feature of this organisation was the common interests were placed above the interests of individuals, except perhaps those interests pertaining to the local lord or nobleman and the church in both its role in religious leadership and land ownership (Blum,1971).

The necessity of working the land in a cooperative way meant that an early form of democracy was necessary to ensure that individual needs were not put before those of the majority. Arranging production cooperatively meant that there was no possibility of being alienated within this system as it was arranged in such a way to benefit all members of the community. Every individual had to contribute and would receive their share of the harvest and since agrarianism requires tasks to be done when required they would be done collectively, all community members contributing according to their abilities.

3.3 Organisation of Artisanal (Urban) Production

While the production of manufactured articles, and those who made them, were very much in the minority during pre-industrial times, it was the foundation out of which industrial capitalism was to arise. However, these early forms of manufacture were vastly different from contemporary forms of production in industrial, post-industrial and industrialising countries. Similar in the essential features to agrarian production, artisanal production was largely communal and non-competitive, and took the form of supportive and interdependent communities of producers.

In the following outline a comparison can be made between the two different types of production, specifically feudal pre-industrial production and capitalist industrial and post-industrial production, the appearance of which heralded the emergence and ascendency of alienation to its multiplicity of contemporary manifestations.

Prior to industrialisation most non-agricultural production was performed by artisanal or craft manufacturers. Artisans were a diverse group, and while those artisans working in smaller villages may have been in some way directly involved in agricultural production, generally artisan subsistence was reliant upon the larger

proportion of their income being derived from payment for the articles that they produced (Farr, 2004; Price, 2002). This payment would vary in relation to the medium of exchange which was typically used in the particular area where they were located, for artisans living in the cities this would commonly have been coinage, while those in smaller villages, in times before coinage usage became widespread, would use local variations on the barter system (Edwards, 2002).

Characteristically for the time, artisans were horizontally separated with regards to the type of craft or trade engaged in, the level of skill and seniority of the individual within the craft and the gender of the worker (Farr, 2004). The horizontal separation between crafts was clearly defined by the perceived level of prestigiousness of a craft and this division is labelled by Rigby (1995) as a social stratification. Rigby (1995) emphasises that the artisan craftsmen were not a homogeneous group and ranged from those working in the more elite and wealth generating crafts such as goldsmithing, to those that were confined to less prosperous crafts and "humble trades" such as tanning, brewing and butchery (p. 154). This horizontal stratification was visibly represented in dress, by the area in which they lived and by the customary rituals pertaining to their craft (Burke, 1975).

There was also a form of hierarchy within the individual crafts, which was related to the level of seniority and skill attained in the craft or trade which was made up of three broad groupings comprised of masters, journeymen and apprentices (Rigby, 1995).

Apprentices began their training as children at approximately six or seven years of age, and usually the apprentice was the son of a master in the same or related artisan craft or trade (Epstein, 1989; Theibault, 2001). The new apprentices would become a resident in the masters household, in conditions similar to being an indentured servant, not receiving wages or payment other than their subsistence, but receiving due training in the particular craft (Epstein, 1989; Rigby, 1995; Theibault, 2001).

After his contracted period was over, having received the requisite training, journey man status was attained and he would frequently leave his home-town, bearing a letter of introduction to the guild masters of another town and work in the shop of another master (Epstein, 1989, Epstein, 1998; Theibault, 2001). However, often only those journeymen who were the sons of current masters in

their craft were assured of eventually gaining masters status and owning their own shop acquired through inheritance, although undoubtedly some few attained their status through marriage of a daughter or widow of a master (Stearns, 2001; Theibault, 2001).

Rigby (1995) explains a master is distinguished from a journeyman, due to the ownership he has of both the raw materials and the tools required for production, the control over his own and his workers labour power, in addition to the ownership of the final product of his and his workers labour and the payment received upon the sale of such items (Rigby, 1995).

The number of unskilled or wage labourers was limited due in large part, to the guild system that prevailed in the towns and their control over the structure of the comparatively rudimentary labour market that existed at the time (Brenner, 1987). The strength of the guilds meant that strict limits were kept on the employment opportunities available to labourers in the interests of limiting both competition and ensuring the hierarchy of the guild system be preserved (Brenner, 1987). It is also apparent that most artisan producers would have adequate free labour when required, supplied by family members and apprentices, in addition to waged journeymen, without having to employ waged labour.

It might be thought that a journeyman was no better off than a labourer or a contemporary worker, but under this system there was a very substantial difference. They were often taken into the masters household under a type of adoption, where they would have to submit to the authority of the master, like every other member of the household, but instead of being simply a wage worker who was supplied with board and lodging, they were treated and expected to behave as if they were the master's son (Crone, 1989). As Crone (1989) succinctly puts it,

> Just as you would take the whole man, not just his labour, so he would switch his social allegiance, becoming your follower rather than a neutral labourer...the hireling could not be expected to leave behind his social background, political allegiance and religious persuasion for eight hours a day on a par with modern workers; he was either one of yours or he was not. Hence the concept of labour as a commodity distinct from the person offering it (wage labour) was weakly developed: you could not buy the labour without the man, just as the labourer could not thereby sell it without

selling himself (p. 30-31).

Although this form of subservient service is unacceptable to contemporary thought, it must be remembered that having a position and role was very important, and it was necessary for survival to be surrounded with a network of friends and kin (whether adopted, or not). This network was important for economic as well as personal reasons, for the support that could be obtained during difficult times and for future partnerships that may be undertaken in craft production. It was a reciprocal relationship, there were obligations owed to the person from those above them in the hierarchy as well as duties expected from those below. So within such as system there could be little alienated feelings, alienation could only exist where a person did not have these networks surrounding them and would most likely mean an incredibly difficult and short life.

3.3.1 Guild system

Networks extended to all levels of artisanal production as can be seen in the regulatory mechanisms and processes of the feudal Guild system. Guilds were formalised associations between the master craftsmen of a particular manufacturing enterprise, such a bakers, butchers, shoe makers and so on, in a particular urban locality (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, n.d.; Epstein, 1989; Epstein, 1998; Price, 2002). Therefore, Guilds were primarily concerned with the interests of craft masters rather than workers, although apprentices and journeymen were subject to their authority and required to swear an oath of loyalty and in return the Guild could mediate in employment disputes (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, n.d.; Epstein, 1989; Rigby, 1995; Shapely, 2001; Stearns, 2001). The Guilds held multiple roles within pre-industrial manufacture, including: regulating the quality of the craft items produced (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, 1989; Farr, 2004; Price, 2002); setting hours of work (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, n.d.; Price, 2002); limiting the amount of servants, apprentices and journeymen a master could employ (Epstein, n.d.; Farr, 2004; Rigby, 1995); had strong religious affiliations, often honouring a patron saint (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, n.d.; Rigby, 1995); served as a welfare organisation for members, and their widows and orphans (Epstein, n.d., Rigby, 1995; Stearns, 2001) and fixing

prices to limit competition between members (Cunningham, 1886; Epstein, n.d.; Farr, 2004; Rigby, 1995).

This system represents an professional association which recognised that the workers had an important part to play in the success of their Guild. They also understood that competition brings antagonism and alienation between competing producers that would be detrimental to both the organisation and to the overall social structure so they were careful to limit factors that would increase competition between members. While Marx's (1887) concept of commodity fetishism was not recognised, the Guilds may have realised that when competition shifts the focus of production to the economic value of an item the breakdown of social relations that occur in manufacture begins. While this would have a detrimental effect on the social and hierarchical nature of the feudal system, their reasons for doing so were probably more pragmatic. They would probably have realised that if production was shifted to a competitive basis the guild itself would lose the sole control they had over production, so it was in their best interests to limit competitive behaviours between members.

The Guild was ultimately a social organisation where masters could explore solutions to common difficulties and form and maintain social and economic affiliations in a society where it was imperative that cooperation and reciprocity exist in production as well as in other areas.

3.3.2 Merchant class

A significant contribution was made by merchants or traders in the transformation of the European socio-economic system from feudalism to capitalism and resultant industrial capitalism. Merchants differed from other productive members that made up the feudal society in that they did not themselves produce any commodity but rather purchased raw or manufactured goods and sold them at a profit (Kohn, 2003; Price, 2002; Reyerson, 2004; Rigby, 1995). Kohn (2003) specifically describes them as "middlemen, facilitating trade between ultimate buyers and ultimate sellers", with the resultant aim of maximising the gains made between the purchase and selling price, differing from other productive groups, in that they focussed on the profit motive (p. 9). Merchants could perhaps be considered the first capitalists with Rigby (1995)

commenting “Whilst the merchant uses his capital for accumulation, the artisan uses his resources to achieve subsistence” (p. 153).

These early capitalists also formed guild associations with other merchants to provide themselves with opportunities to socialise and engage in activities of common interest (Kohn, 2003). Membership in a guild required the taking of an oath of loyalty to the other Guild members and the Guild itself, often including swearing to support each other in crises or disputes, observe Guild funeral rites for deceased members and ensure protection of their members estate for their heirs (Greif, Milgrom & Weingast, 1994; Kieser, 1989; Kohn, 2003).

As can be seen in agrarian and artisanal production and within the capitalist merchants, social and economic bonds were not only interwoven but essential for all individuals and the survival of their communities. In a society where alienation as social isolation meant privation and even death, it was of utmost importance that networks and existing bonds be constantly reaffirmed and new ones formed. It was only with the introduction and development of capitalism that the individualisation and acquisitiveness has become the pre-eminent driver of political and economic systems on a global scale.

3.4 Pre-Industrial Timekeeping and the Lack of Differentiation Between Work and Leisure

3.4.1 Time measurement

Work or labour in pre-industrial society was necessarily performed when and where required, either on a routine or non-routine basis without being organised by any timekeeping mechanism, such as a clock, but rather by the demands of the task to hand (Rearick, 2001).

However, Douglass (2006) explains that in some towns and villages there was timekeeping of a sort which was dictated by the local church, through the church bells which rang seven rather inexact divisions to the day and were calls to prayers. While this was primarily for those that were in religious orders or those

that worked on the large farming estates owned by the church, the bell could be heard over a considerable distance so it is unlikely that others would not have used these time indicators to regulate their work and non-work activities. For the most part these "canonical hours" were seven approximate daily divisions, often guided by the position of the sun. (Hooker, 1999, n.p.). The dissolution of the monasteries in England during the 1530's meant that this method of timekeeping was lost for local rural communities (Hooker, 1999).

Time measurement was also dependent on the geographical location of the community in which the people were located (Thompson, 1967). As Thompson (1967) states, communities located near the sea or reliant upon it for their livelihood, needed to take note of the tides so that work could be organised around tidal forces irrespective of when they occurred. Similarly, such "task orientation" occurred in the agricultural and agrarian sectors where seasonal and daily activities could be required to be completed when necessitated by weather or other natural occurrences and rhythms, referred to as "cyclical time" (Rearick, 2001; Thompson, 1967, p. 60). Thompson (1967) holds that in such work, task orientation is more understandable as work was attended to as it was required to be by necessity, rather than by "linear time", an external measurement with the use of a clock or similar timepiece (p. 60). It was not until the fourteenth century that clocks for public use began to appear in larger towns and most church towers had them by the end of the sixteenth century, although they were often checked and set with the aid of a sundial or similar device (Thompson, 1967). The early widespread lack of accurate time measuring devices meant that the demarcation between between work and social activities was nominal and the working-day was as short or as long as it needed to be to attend to both the work tasks that were necessitated and to those of community or social activities, although there are exceptions made in particularly busy times such as during the harvest when it became necessary that work activities took preference (Thompson, 1967).

Other things also influenced the uneven work patterns followed by workers, prior to the advent of mineral-based forms of motive power. Reid (1976) explains that the seasonal irregularity of the water supply which was often required to supply the motive power for milling processes, was another reinforcement to uneven work patterns. The daily work itself in early manufacturing was also run irregularly, often with a very early start at three or four a.m., a midday break for

three or four hours to sleep, play or drink and then work again until nine or ten p.m. (Reid, 1976). As already discussed, many workers also had small-holdings or access to common land, which meant they were able to sustain themselves without having to keep to regular working patterns (Reid, 1976) and it could be surmised with the excessive hours spent at or near the workplace that the available land would be tended by the wives and children of the workers.

The rapid development of industrial production and the domination of work processes by linear measurement led to people being alienated from the natural rhythms and cycles of nature. Rather than being a part of the nature people became isolated from nature, the natural and variable divisions of the day and year replaced with mechanical ways of measuring time, segmenting time into increasingly smaller divisions. Working days became divided into the minutes and hours that suited the capitalist goals of accumulation, subordinating them not only to the requirements of capital but to the requirements of the clock.

3.4.2 Task orientation

It was not only time measurement that was different from the industrial capitalist version of work that was to become prevalent, but the task orientation itself. Compared with the alienating and de-humanising effects of task specialisation and 'scientific management' under industrial capitalism, Thompson (1967) describes the various tasks that many artisan cottagers were often engaged in apart from their particular craft. For example, a cottage weaver was engaged in such things as "harvesting and threshing, churning, ditching and gardening... jobbing with a horse and cart, picking cherries, working on a mill dam" as well as essential social occasions such as "attending a Baptist association and a public hanging" in addition to attending to his own cow and calf (Thompson, 1967, p. 72). Even those that worked in mining operations had their income supplemented by such work tasks as fishing or had smallholdings of their own which required animal husbandry and harvesting tasks (Hopkins, 1982; Thompson, 1967). Or as Blanchard (1972) reports, small-scale mining was often an important adjunct to the income of a peasant farmer and was something that was undertaken between sowing and harvesting and, weather permitting, during the winter.

3.4.3 Leisure Time and Activities

The irregularity of occupation and inability to accurately measure time meant that there were periods of concentrated labour and those of inactivity, but as the primary religion in European feudal society was Christianity, for the populace in general there were days and times that were required for religious observance and celebration (Cosman, 1989; Thomas, 1964).

In most of Europe Sunday was the day of the week generally dedicated to worship which meant a mandated total of fifty-two days per year where no work was done, and an added minimum of forty saints' days, but in England the total was much larger (Cosman, 1989). But this was not all, since there were various locally celebrated religious occasions adding approximately another thirty days to this total, numbering at least 126 days (Cosman, 1989).

Not all commemorations were religiously motivated, there were also those that were of a more political nature with public festivals associated with royalty and the monarch such as "public honorings of royal crownings, marriages, births, and funerals; war and peace commemorations; kings', queens', and prelates' visitations and progresses; and other festive occasions" (Cosman, 1989, n.p.).

Apart from the religious and politically motivated commemorations, there were few clearly defined periods of leisure other than those provided by the seasons. However there were many activities which could combine both economic objectives with recreational features, such as story-telling or singing while working or the interactive and social aspects of attending a market (Rearick, 2001; Thomas, 1964).

In illustration of this combination of work and social activities there was what was possibly one of the most popular and necessary institutions in pre-industrial times, which was the local market or fair (Epstein, 1994). The weekly market typifies the lack or minimisation of the boundaries between work and leisure in pre-industrial communities of all sizes. While the main function of the markets was economic, being sites for the sale and purchase of goods, they were also important sites for social interaction. Slater and Tonkiss (2001) relate that markets were areas of "publicness" where "economic, political and social senses of the public" were combined (p. 12). The local market was usually a once weekly event where community members would gather together to buy those

things that they could not produce themselves and sell their productive surpluses, while at the same time exchanging information and socialising in a convivial communal space.

Generally, while in daily life there was a lack of specific periods dedicated to work and non work activities, what tasks were done or non-work activities pursued were dependent upon an individuals position within the hierarchy of feudal society (Rearick, 2001). The non-work pursuits of a person in the higher echelons of society such as noblemen, would be such activities as hunting, fencing and holding tourneys (Rearick, 2001) which differ from those of a peasant smallholder, participated in "tea drinking … shooting in the butts, drinkings, chess and dice-playing, and gossiping and coarse jesting, … more active sports such as wrestling and football" (Hatcher, 1998, p. 80). It must also be assumed that in the interdependent communities and villages there were other days when work was suspended for important local occasions such as weddings, funerals and baptisms. Taken together these festivals and their associated celebrations and rites, meant that over a third of the year was taken up with these officially and religiously sanctioned holidays and as Cosman (1989) states, "In the yearly round of holidays and festivals, play beautifully balanced life's work" (n.p.).

There was a holiday in England that was not officially sanctioned by the church or other institutions, and this was the customary observance of what was known as Saint Monday, usually held to recover from excessive drinking on Sunday (Thompson, 1967). It is unknown precisely when this tradition began but appears to have originated with the pre-industrial miners (Kirby, 2009) but it survived and even thrived in urban areas and with the onset of the industrial revolution. In the early years of capitalism and industrialisation, since many cottage workers received piece-rate payment for what they produced during the week, it was not unusual for what was calculated as a weeks worth of work to be concentrated into three or four days of working very long hours which made the continued observance of Saint Monday possible (Hopkins, 1982; Thompson, 1967). Thompson (1967) reports that few trades were exempt from this observance and,"shoemakers, tailors, colliers, printing workers, potters, weavers, hosiery workers, cutlers, all Cockneys" participated (p. 73). The variably strict observance of Saint Monday brought the English total of holiday time to a staggering number, so it must surely be supposed that in the late pre-industrial and

early industrial period there were less religiously sanctioned holidays observed than there had been at earlier times.

Therefore, it is obvious that people worked at the level required to fulfil their basic needs, while still having ample time to engage in activities that were of significance to themselves, their families and the local community. The accumulation imperative that is so pervasive today was for the most part absent in the general populace, largely due to the "consumption ethic of the village", as discussed above (Blanchard, 1978), but in also partly due that there were few commodities or non-essential goods produced. Since there was little in the way of products to acquire or aspire to, meant that it was purposeless and unnecessary to work more than was required for subsistence. It would have been of more importance to keep strong ties to the community to which they belonged, which would necessitated taking part in religious and community celebratory occasions. It could be surmised that in smaller communities familial and social ties would have been more important than may be apparent today as there would have been more reliance upon local affiliations in times of hardship, such as crop failure. Therefore, strong community based ties would have been essential for survival and to belong to a community necessitates taking part in those occasions that are important to that community and taking part in social activities other than work.

3.5 Changes Wrought by the Advance of Capitalism

As already discussed, enclosure is the private appropriation of collective resources which have a monetary value and transferring them into private ownership. Enclosure is alienation in action and beginning in the sixteenth century landlords began to realise that much more money could be made by leasing or renting land to those that could pay the most - or what are now known as market rates - rather than the lesser amount of rent paid by those customary tenants, who may occupy the same cottage that their parents did (Wood, 2002). The first major change in the feudal structure was the Parliamentary Acts that allowed for widespread enclosure of land, which meant the time of the agrarian peasant communities were coming to an end (Clark & Clark, 2001). In Britain

enclosure was a process which meant that common and waste land could be transferred into private ownership and removed from communal use. As Plumb (1950) defines it,

> Enclosure was the replacement of two or three large open fields round a village, whose strips were owned individually but whose crops and stock were controlled by the community of owners, according to ancient rights and practices, by smaller, individually owned fields whose cropping and stocking could be controlled by the owner. Such a change affected the whole structure of rural society (as cited in Russell, 2000, p. 55).

Enclosure in this original form had been occurring since at least the fifteenth century but it accelerated and became widespread, between 1760 to 1820 (Clark & Clark, 2001), which can be seen to roughly coincide with the rapid growth period of industrialisation in England. It continues in the present as subsistence and peasant farmers are subject to the effects of global competition (McMichael, 2006).

Shaw-Taylor (2001) reports that the rural people were transformed by enclosure from enjoying some level of self employment into "wage dependent proletarians" (p. 640). The "economic safety net" that the commons provided was resented by the nobility and the factory owners who required an ever growing and renewable workforce (Russell, 2000, p. 55). Therefore abolishing the commons would curtail this form of independence for the lower orders and prevent those that were inclined to dissent, the ability to subsist without needing to conform to societal (ruling class) dictates (Russell, 2000). Bishton (1794) typified the opinion of the day by stating, "the labourers will work every day in the year, their children will be put out to labour early...that subordination of the lower ranks of society which in the present times is so much wanted, would be thereby considerably secured" (as cited in Russell, 2000, p. 57).

Russell (2000) states that enclosure was just the beginning in the determination to change the structure of rural society. In the period between 1780 to 1850 there was sustained attacks on the popular culture of the day, with "Plough plays, folk song, Morris dancing, statute hirings, 'rough music', village feasts ... all manifestations of the values and beliefs which were part of working people's lives came under attack" (Russell, 2000, p. 63). Traditional annual village feasts were often abolished, by order of the local member of the clergy and the "principal

inhabitants" and in one instance the reason for the discontinuation of the custom was that the annual feast day fell during harvest time and "interferes with our Business" (Russell, 2000, p. 63).

But any activity in which the inhabitants of a village or other rural community came together was censured, which included open air religious observances and public hiring statutes where farm workers and prospective employers would gather together (Russell, 2000). Therefore, the English workers were not only enclosed from the common lands upon which their subsistence relied and the close relationship they had with the natural environment, but also from their culture and community. They were forced to inhabit urban areas with no other method of subsistence except by selling their labour power for monetary exchange and this began their decent into contemporary hyper-alienation.

In addition to enclosure, the shift to a "mercantilist theory of labour" was reflected in the economic writings of the seventeenth century, and in a homogeneity of thought, saw an increased emphasis given to the necessity that the labouring masses "fulfilled their role to labour diligently" (Hatcher, 1998, p. 67). Since, observationally, it appeared that workers preferred leisure and recreation to hard work, most authors of the time, who it must be noted were not of the labouring classes but rather the non-labouring elite, expressed the ideal of low wages which would force workers to be consistently and continually hard-working or suffer the consequences of poverty, while higher wages caused workers to be lazy, disruptive and allowed them to engage in depraved activities, which led to treasonable activities such as sedition (Hatcher, 1998). In addition, higher wages meant the lower orders could afford to purchase unsuitable items of apparel and other small luxuries, which encouraged ambition towards social betterment which disrupted the rigid societal hierarchy of the time (Hatcher, 1998).

The shift towards an intensification of, and focus on, economic gain by the social elites was manifested in the process by which people were removed from the natural community centred and subsistence way of life and transformed into mere instruments of accumulation by capital.

3.6 Summary

The pre-industrial feudal system while strictly hierarchical was one which conferred upon the people a feeling of stability and security in what was a very dangerous place to live. This stability was apparent in the hereditary nature of society where most people were born into and continued participating in relatively unchanging forms of work and exchange and social activities as their parents and peers.

Agrarian based lifestyles tended to be somewhat democratically organised, at least at the village level where most people lived and due to their long association with the locality there was an intimate knowledge of the surrounding natural environment. Agrarian production meant that it was necessary to be attuned to the seasons and the rhythms of nature, and due to this there was little need of linear time measurement and tasks were done when required as dictated by the seasons and necessity. The close association with nature and membership in an interdependent community left little chance of being isolated or alienated from the environment, work processes or the surrounding community. In fact the direct connections between an individual's engagement in agrarian production and their families subsistence served to embed an individual's place in the family and the community. An individual's social standing was accepted as natural, and due to community, hierarchy and religious pressures there was little chance of any individual deviating from their customary social position and causing community instability.

Artisanal production was also focussed on kinship-like attachments and strong and enduring linkages were formed between the social and workshop hierarchy within a particular craft. According to their skill level and abilities, craft workers had control over their work processes and were able to express their role as creative producers which meant that the alienation that is present in contemporary capitalist work processes was absent.

Guild membership enabled craft masters forge and maintain social bonds and support networks with their peers and Guilds performed a mediating role where necessary and set regulatory controls to prevent competitive tensions and antagonism between masters which prevented alienation occurring between the members. While merchants were focussed on capital accumulation, they also formed Guilds to enable them to engage in social activities with other members

and support each other in times of difficulty which included protecting their accumulated wealth for their heirs.

While pre-industrial life was extremely difficult and frequently hazardous, and in accordance with their social standing the people hard-working, they had ample time to engage in social activities that could be relied upon to relieve the burdens associated with their work. There were few distinctions between work and leisure pursuits and participation in both was necessary to ensure and embed their position in the social hierarchy of their community and avoid the dangers of social isolation and alienation.

The rise of capitalism brought interdependence and cooperative working relationships to an end, replacing them with individualisation and competitiveness and the resultant alienated work processes and lifestyles that are present in society today. The entire structure of contemporary industrial and post-industrial western society, means people are alienated within every sector of the capitalist induced segmented, competitive and individualised social structure and this has also severed people from their evolutionary roots and bonds with the natural world in their position as a part of nature as socially living primates.

However, there is evidence that within most western societies there is a subtle yet complex social shift that is taking place which covers a broad variety of social and ethical issues, many of which have alienation as a root cause. Groups of individuals are gathering together to seek a way forward which mitigates the alienation present within their personal lives and which creates a model for others to build upon and modify to suit their most pressing concerns.

Many of these models, probably without conscious thought, reflect aspects of the lifestyles and social conditions that were the norm in pre-industrial times. These more authentic lifestyles have the ability to eliminate or at least reduce the unnatural state of hyper-alienation under which many people live and provides an organic base which promotes the movement of individuals, communities and the whole of society into a phase of sustainable, ethical and democratic organisation which is the focus of the next section.

Section Three:

4. Back to the Future – The Revival of Authentic Lifestyles

...wherever the act and wareness of refusal generates passionate break-outs from the factories of collective illusion, the revolution of everyday life is under way...The long revolution is creating small federated microsocieties, true guerilla cells practising and fighting for this self-management – Raoul Vaneigem (1967).

4.1 Situational Urgency: The Need for Change

There can be no doubt that as a species, humans have reached a watershed in their collective social, economic, political and evolutionary history and there is no longer any justification for resisting major change in all four of these areas. Nevertheless, substantive change is being impeded. A central factor impeding the ability of many to conceive of an alternative paradigm is their subordinated and alienated position in society, which has effectively undermined any capacities for resistance or the ability to envisage alternative ways of living. In addition there are those who are unwilling to envisage any benefits associated with overcoming both their individual and societal accumulation and consumption addictions and continue to focus on economic gains to the exclusion of any other.

Solutions are urgently required to remedy comprehensive injustices and abuses inherent in the global social, economic and political systems which are founded on capitalism, the harsher elements of which have been exacerbated by the combination of neo-liberal ideology with the process of globalisation. The problems generated by this congruence are many and varied including:

- the oversupply and consumption of limited and fixed resources by affluent

countries (or in more recent times those countries with an acceptable credit rating);

- over production and supply of luxury products with corresponding under supply of basic necessities for poorer peoples and countries;
- increasing levels of poverty and inequality, including populations in affluent countries;
- continuous technological advances that increase productivity and efficiency, adding to un- and under-employment;
- immeasurably large amounts of wasteful production in such items as packaging, throw away commodities and through planned obsolescence of commodities;
- financial investment channelled into developments based on the profit motive rather than supplying basic necessities for poorer people and countries;
- irreversible damage to the global ecosystem and the life-supporting properties of the planet;
- emphasis on conspicuous and passive consumption, avariciousness, competition and individuality leading to alienation, isolation, frustration, and boredom (Trainer, 1996).

To these there could also be added,

- advancing the process of enclosure of resources in developing countries and creation of surplus population;
- the continuance of capitalist accumulation imperative and re-assertion of dominance through the control of production.

Trainer (1996) adds that any human society has many different facets such as "a political system, a moral code, a geography, customs and culture as well as an economic system" (p.77). While all these sectors should be given consideration in the workings of a society it is the imperative of the capitalist economic system that predominates over all the other facets (Trainer, 1996, p. 77). It is not just this dominance that needs to be reversed, but the embeddedness of the underlying capitalist system needs to be redesigned and with it the beliefs and attitudes of those ensnared within it and/or because of it.

There are alternatives to globalised capitalism that are currently evolving in contemporary society. What is striking about these alternatives is that there is a similarity or a predominant theme that occurs in most of them, typically based on

some form of localism. This means that they prioritise a lifestyle that is geographically, economically and culturally locally-centred and later in this section some of these will be examined in some detail.

4.2 A Revolution in Thought

Hines (2003) states fundamental change with regard to the detrimental effects of globalised capitalism would require a major "mindwrench" away from the relatively recent traditional patterns of thought that expound the capitalist values of individualism, accumulation, acquisitiveness and overconsumption as being the only path to a satisfying and fulfilling life (p. 4). There needs to be a return to earlier traditional values, where fulfilment is gained not from having belongings, but from a sense of belonging, being a part of an interdependent community where there is freedom from harassment by capitalist production methods and the drivers of over-consumption, where a sufficiency is all that is desired and is obtainable through a variety of methods, similar to pre-industrial society.

Historically, comprehensive societal change, or revolution, occurs when "the forces for change exceed the adaptive capacity of society's normal adaptation mechanisms" and frequently, since those with a personal interest in preserving the status quo often strongly resist reformation, revolution is rapid, uncontrollable and often violent (McManners, 2008, p. 27). In this case the conflicting forces are between those that want to expand the globalising, profit-driven and expansive activities of capitalism by extending its dominance into any and all places where there are resources to be exploited, and those who recognise that it is only with fundamental change of the underlying profit-driven capitalist structures and the implementation of policies of social and environmental responsibility that human and all other species have a future which is not only sustainable but where alienating influences of capitalism can be minimised or eliminated (McManners, 2008).

To attain this goal there is a necessity that a type of revolution takes place, but not a revolution in the traditional sense. What is required is a revolution in *thought* rather than the outdated notion of a revolution by direct and violent

action. Indeed it would be difficult to condone or envisage a successfully sustainable and socially responsible society which was accomplished on the basis of the end justifying the means.

The alienation engendered by the current form unfettered capitalism and neo-liberal globalisation has impacted on all aspects of everyday life for the majority of people, but perhaps the most devastatingly on the poor and marginalised groups. It would be reasonable to suppose that it is these groups that would be more likely to seek to change the conditions of their poverty and marginalisation. Indeed, Marx and Engels (1848), envisioned and counselled the overthrow and elimination of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat which would thereby transform capitalist political economy. However, this never eventuated, and perhaps what was missing in their analysis of a proletariat-led revolution was the individual and familial effects on the members of the proletariat if they lost the very little that they had to lose. To a person living in poverty a revolution would mean their very precarious existence would be made comprehensively more difficult and there would be absolutely no means by which they could provision even the most basic of items required for their survival for the length of time it would take for a revolution of violence to be accomplished and some sort of coherent government or support networks to be formed. On the other hand those that had sufficient resources to best survive such a revolution – the bourgeoisie or middle classes – certainly had no wish to do so and that remains a valid position today.

However, one of the most interesting aspects about the alternative locally-based paradigm *is that it is driven by the middle-classes*, those that have enough monetary wealth and education to think beyond their basic day-to-day subsistence needs and identify with the wider issues that are surrounding the human species and their future or continued existence. These more affluent members of western societies appear to have no wish to overthrow governments or even directly challenge the capitalist system. On a material level, there is little reason for them to do so. What many do appear to want, however, is more freedom from the rule of multi-national corporations and institutions, directing them what to eat, what to wear, how to live, what to aspire to and what and how to think. Many have found a new way of living their lives which does not greatly impact the capitalist foundations of the countries in which they live, but they do mitigate the effects of the alienation they personally encounter in some aspects of their lives. For

example they may have a job that is alienating, in that it does not satisfy their creative and productive natures, but they have access to a community garden. This is a site where not only do they have a sense of identity as one of a group of gardeners, food producers and social beings, but they have a direct relationship with the food that they eat. In other words they know what it is they are eating and how it was produced, and the garden provides them with meaningful connections in their lives, both socially and with the natural world, that are not be supplied in other domains.

The models that are to be discussed are only possible because of the revolution in thought that continues to take place, particularly in industrial and post-industrial countries. They are not yet alternatives to capitalism, but are depictions of what an alternative to capitalism could possibly resemble or are perhaps transitional models that are a step on the way to a valid alternative. In these models of societal sectors and societies themselves, there exists the ability to provide all with a life of sufficiency, but in addition to a sufficiency of material goods, there also exists a sufficiency of individual and group identity, that of being part of a larger group but also able to explore and express individual personality. Some of the alternatives that are currently available may not survive over the long term but they do provide a transitional template for those who decide that their lives could be more fulfilling, without the middle classes totally giving up the material benefits that the capitalist system has bestowed upon them.

What is significant with regard to this topic and central to the issue of alienation is the fact that these transitional localised alternatives to globalised capitalism replicate in many essentialities the conditions that existed before the advent of capitalism and in particular industrial capitalism, minus that of the feudal hierarchical system and universal religious belief. That is, the individuals who have the educational and financial benefits which enable them to exercise free will have chosen to follow a model that, in historical terms, has actually been out of favour for little more than 250 years in Britain where industrial capitalism began and for lesser periods of time in many other countries. A localised economic and political structure was not a choice in pre-industrial society, it was necessitated by the level of population, available technology, infrastructure and so on. But that is not to say that it was not a more natural and authentic way of life with regard to our species or that it was less satisfying than the lifestyles of

contemporary society.

4.3 Transitional Models - Types of Localism

The focus turns a discussion of alternative models of local development that are being promoted. The years marking the rise of neo-liberalism has also seen the demise of centralised, dictatorial, bureaucratic and above all, alienating socialist governments, such as the USSR, which demonstrated major deficiencies regarding personal freedoms, local autonomy, environmental sustainability and governmental efficiency (Trainer, 1996). Therefore, viable and sustainable alternatives have to provide solutions to the problems encountered by both sides of the spectrum, that is, rampant capitalism and the excessively controlling forms of socialism. The alternative that appears to currently be in the forefront in governmental, non-governmental and individual consciousness, is a form of localism, of which there are at least two major types. These are named localism and eco-localism and due to their fundamental differences need to be looked at separately.

Both are centred on a geographic locality and the shared interests of the individuals that live in that locality, but there is a fundamental divergence not only with the application of their contrasting principles and viewpoints but also with regard to how they have developed. Localism has received extensive theoretical attention from both policy makers and academics (Brenner & Theodore, 2002), while eco-localism and its practitioners have largely been disregarded until relatively recently (Curtis, 2003). Eco-local practices have nonetheless been evolving in an organic manner, rather than having their evolution constrained and being restricted by the dominance of capitalist and neo-liberally funded and based academic theories and research, as well as political ideology and expediency. There is also bioregionalism, another lesser known, more radical and spiritual form of the eco-localist project that appears to be becoming increasingly popularised, particularly in the United States but due to its similarities with eco-localism, and the limitations to its widespread application due to its philosophical basis, the analysis remains descriptive only (Aberley, 2005).

4.3.1. 'Neo-liberal' form of localism

Firstly, localism has been studied and theorised by sociologists and policy developers for at least the past two decades (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). It is largely centred on the "geo-economic context" that is, how the promotion of local economic strategies and restructuring expresses the global economic imperatives which focus on improving regional competitiveness, fully capitalising on place-specific assets and increasing flexibility in the local labour market, which will result in beneficial economic activity in a locality (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 341) or in other words reflects neo-liberal ideology.

Expanding on this view Briffault (1999) reports localism enhances local efficiency, supports effective democracy and strengthens community. Localism and the furtherance of local autonomy is expected to improve efficiency because local needs can be more quickly assessed and addressed, thereby ensuring more timely and effective provision of public goods and services (Briffault, 1999).

Briffault (1999) states that a local focus will also enable individual residents to choose which locality suits them best by an individual selection process, deciding between the different local combinations of regulations, services and taxes and exiting to another location when and if more suitable or beneficial terms are offered. This threat of "taxpayer exit", in turn, means that local governmental institutions will be placed on a competitive footing with each other, creating "interlocal competition" which is assumed will be a constraining factor on tax rates and government spending while optimizing administrative efficiency (Briffault, 1999, p. 19).

Unfortunately, what this competition between areas does not prevent is the restriction of the poor and marginalised into certain less attractive and productive areas or localities, increasing their social exclusion and alienation as well as leaving them very little hope of upward social mobility. This form of market competition in local government may be of benefit to those with greater income and income security, but for others in casualised and precarious employment it will have little or no effect on their quality of life or on their social inclusion, in other words, no change from the present situation. It is simply reproducing global neo-liberalism at a local level.

It is expected that this form of localism supports effective democracy by

providing more opportunities for citizens to participate in decision making due to the fact that elected representatives are more accessible than those at a national or state level, enabling citizens to have their concerns acknowledged and/or addressed (Briffault, 1999). This also means that the promotion of local policy initiatives, or campaigning on behalf of political candidates will be less expensive in time, energy and money as for both purposes they will be able to reach and influence residents more effectively (Briffault, 1999). The ability of individual voters to have input into policy development and having knowledge of relevant areas of local concern is expected to result in greater voter engagement in the political process, more particularly because locally centred governments have the capability to have a significant effect on individual voter's lives (Briffault, 1999).

This would vary between the more affluent constituencies and those in poorer areas, as those areas with larger numbers of "poor, socially deprived and unemployed" people have much lower voter turnouts than those localities (The Electoral Commission, 2005, p. 7). However, voter disengagement is not due to whether politics is centralised or localised but to the belief that participation in voting or electoral engagement will not be of any use in changing their lives for the better, "when an individual feels unable to exert any influence over the most basic elements of their life – housing, education, food - asking them to vote becomes meaningless" (The Electoral Commission, 2005, p. 4). In other words there is a direct correlation between the socio-economic status of the individual and participation the the democratic process with 68% voter turnout from those in managerial and professional occupations and 53% turnout of those in manual occupations or on long term state assistance (The Electoral Commission, 2005).

Localism is promoted as supporting the view that communities are collections or groups of people who share interests, values and a history of past experiences which are closely linked to the locality in which they live in a "place-based association" and it is important that those linkages remain and are strengthened (Briffault, 1999, p. 21). Since there is an assumption that communities have distinctive characteristics and values, demonstrating a unique identity, which is accordingly reflected in local customs and mores, the retention of this identity and the collective knowledge of what would suit their community best is closely tied to the ability of the members of the community to govern themselves more effectively than could a centrally located government (Briffault, 1999).

Much of the research and discussion on localism has been situated in the UK and has appeared to have culminated in the 2010 released 'Decentralisation and Localism Bill'. This legislative document assigns the responsibility of a considerable amount of governance and control to local and parish councils. It is stated that "the coalition government has suggested that such a Bill would enable the devolution of greater powers to councils and neighbourhoods and give local communities control over housing and planning decisions" (Baines, 2010, p. 1). The proponents of the Bill also claim that it will be "empowering for local people; freeing local government from central and regional control; giving local communities a share in real local growth; a more efficient and more local planning system" (Baines, 2010, p. 1). The wording used has been chosen to appeal to those with an incomplete understanding of the implications of what such legislation will mean, directing attention away from what are primarily neo-liberally based economic goals, all the while hinting at socially responsible outcomes. What is clearly not mentioned is that central government has appeared to leave local councils to their own devices, perhaps so that any failures and/or economic reverses in local strategies, as well as being blamed on them alone, can similarly be borne solely by them, socially, economically, or both. By shifting these responsibilities onto already existing councils means past conflict and current incompatible viewpoints and insularity in local council members could have the ability to stifle any progressive initiatives that are truly transformative, thereby reinforcing the status quo while at the same time having no central authority to settle disputes or stalemates as was demonstrated by McCulloch's (2004) research into such projects in Newcastle upon Tyne. In a worst case scenario, in this format, the Bill can be seen not as a tool to strengthen the local, but rather as a mechanism for weakening community bonds by the perhaps inevitable internal conflict and accompanying impasses, leading to the increase of individualisation and the ultimate intensification in the alienation of marginalised individuals and groups (McCulloch, 2004). This form of 'neo-liberal' localism does not significantly alter its subordination of the local to global but places the burden of global imperatives on those at the sub-national level.

The use of the term 'localism' by the central government in a legislative capacity demonstrates the flexibility and adaptability of the capitalist system,

which again appears to have appropriated what has for many years been a focus point for many alternative view theoreticians and anti-globalisation activists, and adapted its meaning for use in the neo-liberal era (Albo, 2007). True to past demonstrations and experience, capitalism has the ability to mould those things that in their original form might otherwise be detrimental to its progression into something that is rather more self-serving. Thus, it would appear that this form of localism is merely neo-liberally based policies turning the focus from the global control of the economy, which has largely been accomplished, to the relatively untapped resources to be obtained in the local economy and attempting to have the communities concerned complicit in their further exploitation. In this case localism is not as force for fundamental societal change, but rather a constrained and restricted platform for expressing limited community involvement while leaving neo-liberal globalisation and its destructive progress to continue unimpeded.

4.3.2 Eco-localism

As discussed in the previous chapters, the current form of neo-liberal globalisation and the alienating mechanism of enclosure has created private property out of a vast array of products in many different areas, tangible and intangible, physical and intellectual. This privatisation or creation of ownership is closely associated with the onset of individualisation, which in turn, generates and sustains competition between individuals, communities and countries. Hines (2003) proposes that this neo-liberally based form of globalisation should be replaced with a new model of internationalisation, by which there should be a free flow of knowledge, innovation and technology to support and sustain local communities, where, in comparison with globalisation, the emphasis is "not on competition for the cheapest, but on cooperation for the best" (p. 1). The central theme of this alteration in attitude and vision is that of the re-localisation of countries and communities, that is, changing the focus from international competitiveness, corporate subordination and environmental degradation to one of prioritising local diversity of production in environmentally sustainable ways (Hines, 2003). This requires replacing corporate control over the economies of countries and communities to governmental policies which transfer control over

economies to those that are most directly concerned with them, the countries and communities themselves (Hines, 2003). Hines (2003) emphasises that this does not mean direct and restrictive state control of communities, but is about the government enacting policies that enable individuals, businesses and community-based organisations to redesign their local economies as best suits them, for overall community benefit. Localisation does not prohibit international trade but shifts the focus from obtaining the cheapest no matter where it is found globally, to that of trading only in those things that cannot be produced in the locality where the end users live (Hines, 2003). In this system Hines (2003) advocates combining the "fair trade" (ensuring purchase prices for items produced are equitable) and "miles" concepts (such as 'food miles', that is, the carbon footprint created in the production, transportation and consumption of food) to create "Fair Trade Miles" which means communities exporting internationally would have the benefit of getting fair prices for their sustainably produced commodities, while additionally there would be the added benefit of the overall diminishment of international trade volume, thereby lessening fossil fuel usage and the subsequent damage to the environment and associated detrimental effects of climate change (Hines, 2003, p. 3).

McManners (2008) analysis focuses on sustainability, and his view is that sustainability is only possible with the localising of communities, particularly focussing on urban centres as "social communities" (p. 96). Accomplishing the goal of sustainability and the building of a replacement global configuration, will require powerful, committed and ethical governance. While conceding that such governance is currently not to be found at any level more widespread than the national level, promotion of the principle of the primacy of national governments is of first importance in accomplishing localisation and sustainability goals. It is easily recognised that governments have control over policy, legislation and borders, but they have the additional advantage of being able to tap into strong feelings of national allegiance, attachment and patriotism which could be of major importance in ensuring that a sustainable society can be constructed that is built on a "selfish determination to build better life for a particular society's own members... balancing economics, environmental protection and social provision" (p. 29). Additionally, and of equal importance, McManners (2008) states that since people have greater feelings of commitment at the local, community level,

the principle of subsidiarity should be followed, whereby responsibility is devolved to the lowest possible level, but "under the stewardship of the state" (p. 32).

While there will be resistance to the adoption of sustainable practices between countries, those that do adopt the sustainability model will work closely together for their own and each others benefit, cushioned from the vagaries of market forces, acting as an example to other governments (McManners, 2008). Where the sustainability example is not followed, or a transition planned, such countries can expect to be excluded from any economic and socially beneficial inter-governmental activities. Although included governments will have close relationships, none will interfere in the internal cultural mechanisms and workings of any other country, ensuring that there will be a diversity of (sustainable) economic and social models, as well as preserving underlying core values that are often country specific (McManners, 2008).

While it is beyond the scope of this discussion to relate the details of the global restructuring and regulatory modes that would be required, Trainer, (1996), Hines' (2003) and McManners' (2008), analysis, amongst others, goes some way towards giving a theoretical explanation of how an eco-localist economic movement could be enacted on a global scale. Nonetheless, Hines (2003) is quick to note that many individuals and community groups are active in a 'grass roots' or 'bottom-up' strategies that assist in strengthening local economies and community involvement, which is where the main focus of this discussion is situated.

Curtis (2003) was the first to use the term eco-localism as a term pertaining to an "alternative economic theory of environmental sustainability" and his analysis brought together the common threads of earlier theoretical writing regarding sustainable, community based living systems (p. 98). Included in this generic term are existent community endeavours such as local exchange trading systems (LETS) or local currencies, "food co-ops, micro-enterprise, farmers' markets...community supported agriculture (CSA) farms,...barter systems, co-housing and eco-villages,...home-based production, community corporations and banks and localist business alliances" some of which will be discussed in greater detail, as well as other community and network alliance-building responses to globalised alienation (p. 83).

These many aspects and ways of enacting eco-localist principles within a community share a common substructure and similar to localism, eco-localism is fundamentally place-based. That is, there is an underlying and established awareness that particular geographical areas or localities have their own unique combination of communities, culture, resources, history and eco-systems and these impact on the lives that are lived within them, the way they are lived and the quality of those lives, that are non-replicable in another locality (Curtis, 2003). Eco-localist principles reject the view of humans as being solely economic actors who are insatiably hedonistic, and recognise that humans are primarily social and place-based beings (Curtis, 2003). The main goal, therefore, is to establish and maintain a local economy that is financially sound, while being ecologically sustainable and ensuring that the economy is subordinate to the social and cultural health of the community (Curtis, 2003). Economic decisions are made with the full understanding that the health of the local ecosystem is necessary for the health of the economy and the community (Curtis, 2003). Eco-localist principles include "social and environmental responsibility, health of the community, stewardship of nature, affection for and commitment to place, fidelity, propriety and sufficiency" and hold to the perspective that each member should leave the community more "use-value" over the long term, rather than the conventional economic view of individualistic maximisation of financial gain over the short term (Curtis, 2003, p. 86). This values based system relates to the quality of an individual's life, which have no meaningful expression in quantitative measurements such as financial affluence, income or personal expenditure and consumption levels (Curtis, 2003).

The eco-local economy differs from a typical globalised capitalist economy in several basic ways which reflect an altered world view. It is important to briefly investigate the differences in the underlying philosophical viewpoint of eco-localism and those that support and promote it and Curtis' (2003) analysis groups these differences into the categories of capital, technology, scale and efficiency, consumption, trade and self reliance, as follows.

Capital - Eco-localists have broader ranging views regarding capital and recognise five different forms of capital, instead of the more typical economic and financial forms regarding the ownership of assets. These five forms are: natural capital, which is the local surrounding ecosystem, the centre of all sustainability in the

eco-localist community; social capital, trust based reciprocal relationships for both personal and overall community benefit; physical capital, which ranges over not only production machinery and other tools, but locally centred infrastructure such as pathways and roads, sustainable energy generation systems, housing, community buildings and land use that are location specific, serving aesthetic as well as functional use; financial capital, such things as locally-based currencies, as well as community banks, credit unions and co-operatives, financing local business and micro-enterprises that meet environmental, social and community needs; and finally human capital, those skills required to satisfy the needs both of the occupations as well as the "community fostering skills" of perspicacity, tolerance, perseverance and understanding (p. 89). All these forms of capital are relatively locally specific that work in a collaborative way to support and enhance the local economy, with a focus not on accumulation but on the personal achievement of a enhanced quality of life (Curtis, 2003).

Technology - The level of acceptable technology use is that which is appropriate for the community and is environmentally sustainable. Being appropriate means that it is to a level where detrimental effects to the community and the ecology are kept to a minimum and are adapted to fit the local conditions, regarding such things as affordability, materials used, the local culture, climate and the environment. Ultimately the technology level that exists within a community, is decided by the needs and capabilities of the community, minimising dependence on external economic and resource inputs and focusses on renewable forms of energy utilising such things as solar, wind and water (Curtis, 2003).

Scale and efficiency - Where conventional economic principles (economies of scale) are followed, the emphasis is on the large scale production of a particular commodity which usually equates with less input costs overall. Reduction of input costs usually requires centralised, large scale production of standardised products. In addition, such organisations are frequently located in countries where labour costs (and rights) are low, which necessitates finished commodities travelling long distances, increasing carbon emissions and associated environmental damage (Curtis, 2003).

The eco-localist perspective views the apparent efficiencies and benefits

accruing from vast economies of scale as being largely misleading and accounts often fail to take into account rising marketing, managerial, communication and (particularly) transportation costs and their success is more often due to government subsidies and tax breaks. Once such subsidies are accounted for and removed from the equation, smaller-scale localised production are able to demonstrate that they are no more expensive or inefficient and non-standard production facilities can quickly be adapted to suit changing preferences. In addition, if a large-scale production project is required, several firms may work cooperatively and combine their resources to accomplish such a project (Curtis, 2003).

Eco-localists view various other goals as being of equal importance to economic goals, such as community health, environmental sustainability and maintaining a positive quality of life. In other words eco-localists value "qualitative goals and not quantitative calculations...the economic is subordinated to the social and the natural" (Curtis, 2003, p. 92).

Consumption - The eco-localist perspective rejects excessive consumption based on the fabrication and multiplication of wants and preferences and instead focusses on needs and quality of life, "they emphasise the quality of necessities rather than the quantities of luxuries" (p. 93). The reduction of consumption and the associated environmental impact is central, but there is acknowledgement that reducing consumption may be the most difficult to accept by those in more affluent geographical areas and countries. This is because eco-localism curbs expensive consumerist lifestyles and makes it impossible for the wealthy to acquire the resources of, or discard their wastes in, other countries (Curtis, 2003).

Eco-local economies and localised production lessen the environmental consequences caused by excessive consumption as the requirement for transportation and related resources and infrastructure for delivering both the products and the consumers to distribution sites is minimised. In addition, since consumption is largely restricted to those items that have been locally produced within the community, the depletion in resources and disposal of wastes also occur within the locality. Consequently, only those goods with an acceptable environmental impact in the locality are produced, requiring a community with a sense of responsibility towards sustainability and local subsistence (Curtis, 2003).

With regard to the environmental impact of productive processes, those items produced are required to be of better quality and able to be repaired when and if necessary, thereby extending their useful life and reducing consumption. Since being time-poor is lessened as excessive working hours are often performed simply to fund consumption activities, so the better quality products lead to an enhanced quality of life. Eco-localists are not simply consumers, they are also producers and as individuals are usually involved in producing some of their own requirements such as growing and cooking food and DIY activities such as home building and construction projects along with household repairs and refurbishment (Curtis, 2003).

Trade and self reliance - The eco-local values of stewardship of resources, community participation, satisfying quality of life, sustainability and needs sufficiency in a place-based economy, are founded on the premise that such communities would be largely self-reliant. Self-reliance means that non-market based benefits are kept within the locality and improved upon, creating a better community, social and ecological environment, thereby contributing and enhancing all members quality of life. It also means that the environmental and social costs of production are also internalised within the locality, driving innovation to minimise such costs (Curtis, 2003).

Self reliance does not, however, mean complete self-sufficiency. While it is a premise that the eco-local community should be able to source those things necessary to meet all the basic needs of energy, food, shelter and clothing, within their boundaries there are some localities where such essentials are not available. To meet these needs it is necessary for the eco-local community to trade, but in strictly defined ways, and they include such things included in mainstream ecological economics such as ending subsidies to, and active discouragement of, polluting manufacturing and transportation industries; while discouraging the external trade of goods, there is active promotion and fostering of information flows, particularly those that assist other communities and localities in meeting eco-local goals; and economic disincentives or taxation of negative environmental externalities (Curtis, 2003).

Additionally, since trade within localities rather than between localities is prioritised, when external trade is permitted, it is restricted to the transfer of raw

materials or primary products only, excluding importation or exportation of manufactured goods. This has the effect of minimising or at least reducing export dependence, protecting communities and individuals from devastating negative effects of global monetary instabilities and market fluctuations and strengthens political autonomy. There are also complementary benefits such as increasing local economic diversity in resources such as capital, skill sets and the knowledge base while increasing intra-local business links and partnerships (Curtis, 2003).

In summary, Curtis' (2003) analysis of eco-localism has assembled the theoretical components that would be present in such an alternative economic system to illustrate the "breadth, depth and coherence" which would be necessary "as an alternative paradigm" (p. 98). The starting point in an eco-local system is based on values in the creation of a sustainable society and economy that favour the natural environment in community- and place-based solutions (Curtis, 2003). Eco-local solutions recognise that environmental sustainability can only be achieved through clearly expressed premises of the following: the regional variability of the natural environment; preservation and sustainable use of ecosystems require "locally adapted knowledge, communities, products, cultures and practices" (p. 98); globalisation undermines community based efforts to achieve sustainability; sustainability requires local, collective forms of "social, physical and financial capital" (p. 98); human beings have non-material needs that cannot be met with consumption activities; economics must be subordinate to nature and human society; local production and consumption cause negative externalities to be minimised and positive externalities maximised; small scale production efficiencies have locally based goals rather than being profit driven; production of high quality goods targeted towards local consumer needs, which may be met by sharing and "collective consumption" and/or self production (p. 99); joint responses are required to reduce environmental impact to sustainable levels including reducing material living standards, technology that is locally appropriate and shortened and localised supply chains (Curtis, 2003). Curtis (2003) also stresses that eco-localism is not simply theoretical but eco-local principles and values are being enacted in many places by intentional and decisive consumer choice and is therefore a reality for many people and an aspirational goal for many others.

4.3.3 Bioregionalism

Similar to eco-localism, bioregionalism is also place-based with "flexible" boundaries that are delineated by ecological characteristics of the area rather than any political, social or economic rationalities (Sale, 1991, as cited in Douthwaite, 1996; Snyder, 2010, p. 1). As well as geographical features, such as mountains and valleys, the ecological characteristics include such things as climatic conditions, hydrological systems and the natural flora and fauna but take no account of the social environment outlined in eco-localism (Sale, 1991, as cited in Douthwaite, 1996; Snyder, 2010). Bioregions need to be capable "of supporting unique human and non-human living communities", the populations of which conform to the natural limitations of the area (Snyder, 2010, p. 3). A bioregional outlook is values driven with regard to production and consumption, with responsibility and accountability to the health of the natural ecosystem taking the foremost position in a bioregional economy, (Snyder, 2010). Snyder's (2010) analysis of bioregionality lists the central characteristics of the model as being "locality, accountability, community, and conviviality" (p. 7).

Locality – similar to eco-localism bioregionalism is place-based, but whereas in eco-localism the boundaries are determined by social as well as ecological features, bioregional boundaries are set solely by the ecological features of the region. External trade can only occur in raw materials that cannot be produced in a locality due to the limitations of the natural environment (Snyder, 2010).

Accountability – this refers to the best methods for reaching the paramount goal of maintaining and enhancing the natural ecosystem. A production model that is organised only in small-scale worker cooperatives that minimise resource use and allow for direct personal responsibility and accountability is necessary to meeting the ecological requirements. In addition this model has additional worker benefits of democratic participation and identification with place (Snyder, 2010).

Community – Snyder (2010) states the focus is on the "multi-skilled citizen" rather than specialisation, all inhabitants are required to undertake varied occupations within the community, identifying themselves with their work rather than it being a means to fund consumption (p. 12). Re-introduction of marketplaces is advocated, to enact behaviours relating to civil society and community life as well as being a site of retail exchange. The strengthening of

community bonds constructs an “alternative hedonism” of being a a valuable member of a cohesive community rather than being focussed on consumption activities (Snyder, 2010, p. 12).

Conviviality – refers to the satisfying expression of connections and interdependencies freely initiated and entered upon between people and between people and their environment, replacing consumption activities as the alleviators of alienation within bioregional communities. Snyder (2010) uses the example of the consumption of food, whereby the intangible benefits in the preparation and sharing of food as well as eating locally specialised and sourced produce, outweighs the material value of the food itself. Thus, convivial activities contribute to an enhanced identification and appreciation of the bioregional ecosystem and replaces an ethos of materialism to one of social satisfaction (Snyder, 2010).

While there are certain difficulties associated with bio-regional thought and the widespread implementation of such communities (Taylor, 1997) there are also difficulties which could arise which are associated with the acceptance of the underlying bioregional philosophy. The emphasis is on alternative religious views or types of spirituality, which appear to be based on an amalgam of various earth-based or pagan forms of spirituality as well as a belief in the Gaian hypothesis and often reflect the values of deep ecology (Aberley, 1999; Davidson, 2007; Hay, 2002; Taylor, 1997; Taylor, 2001). It could perhaps be argued that this factor of bioregionalism has a limiting effect as a viable alternative, as there is no room for freedom of choice or lack of religion, therefore there is really an absence of personal choice. There are linkages with deep ecology which may also limit its acceptance, expressing that it is possible to accomplish “trans-species communication” and the accomplishment of this would ensure that beneficial inter-species relationships would be able to be built (Davidson, 2007; Taylor, 2001, p. 183), which seems to resemble a Disneyesque anthropomorphism.

Localism as a concept is constantly changing and evolving which can be interpreted and demonstrated in different ways. As discussed above, capitalist influences have taken the idea of re-localising communities, which has been a focus for many anti-globalisation activists and alternative theoreticians, and adapted it for use in the neo-liberal era. However, the ideals of localism itself and

eco-localism in particular has definitely not been abandoned. There are undoubtedly those that view the movement towards localising communities as utopian, which is to be expected with the global hegemony of neo-liberal ideology. However, the various facets of eco-localism and eco-localism as a philosophical basis for societal advancement is a growing and progressive focus for all of those that have a concern for global sustainability and want to provide themselves and their families with a better quality of life. A reflection of this is seen in the eco-local initiatives which are reviewed below and which are being enacted and depicted in many communities throughout industrial and post-industrial countries.

4.4 Grass-roots Eco-local Initiatives

The above theoretical constructs of localism, eco-localism and bioregionalism represent overviews of how a fully functioning locally-based social and economic structure may operate at a national or international level. While this has not yet occurred there are certain facets of the eco-local project which are being enacted which could perhaps be viewed as models for how alienating capitalist globalised society could be transitioned into a locally-based non-alienating one, located within existing national boundaries.

It cannot be ignored that eco-localist principles reflect a lifestyle that is at the basic foundational level similar to that which was the norm in pre-industrial and pre-capitalist societies. There was a myriad of very serious problems with the hierarchical political and religious framework of the feudal system, and no twenty-first century western mind could wish for a return. However, although on an individual level life was precarious, the underlying structure of localised economies and communities was a model that was stable and lasted for many hundreds of years. The individuals within these communities although constrained to some degree by hierarchical nature of the feudal system, did have strong community bonds which assured them of their identity within the community, and in large part the family and the extended family unit played an integral part in the success and therefore the survival of the community. Being a

member of such a community would have had limitations and drawbacks and the time was comparatively dangerous, but when every individual within the community had important role and purpose to their existence, alienation in the form of social isolation, separation from the natural world and disconnection from the creative processes in production, would have been minimised or not have existed at all.

However, whatever form eco-localism takes, the most fundamental aspects are those of individual identity formation, community building and freedom from corporate control. What is interesting is because these are transitional initiatives, or are currently being observed as occurring alternatives that exist alongside globalised capitalism, there is not an uncompromising stance that these models have to be followed to the exclusion of the over-riding capitalist paradigm within the wider community. That is, an individual can participate in an alternative at whatever level they choose, it does not have to be 'all-or-nothing'. They may choose the very minimal participation of buying their produce at a farmers' market or at the other end of the scale, choose to live in an eco-village which has a commitment to practising permaculture and veganism. Also, incremental steps can be taken by individuals from minimal participation in any alternatives, to perhaps eventual maximum participation where all aspects of eco-local philosophy are incorporated into everyday lifestyles. What is of central importance to the middle class who are the principal drivers of eco-local initiatives, is the ability to exercise individual choice.

4.4.1 Community building with food production and supply

> *In our society growing food yourself has become the most radical of acts. It is truly the only effective protest, one that can – and will – overturn the corporate powers that be. By the process of directly working in harmony with nature, we do the one thing most essential to change the world – we change ourselves – Jules Dervaes (2008).*

One of the most far-reaching of changes that has accompanied the globalisation of capitalism has been the commodification and industrialisation of the food supply. The food eaten by people in most industrialised countries has been made

"invisible" by governments and the agro-industrial food system until very recently, leaving people alienated from any knowledge related to their food and its production (Pollan, 2010, para. 1). For the most part this invisibility has been caused by global supply chains which are so long that the origins of ingredients included in many common foods are untraceable, as are the methods used in preparation and production.

Health issues, as previously discussed, and such things as the obesity epidemic, have focussed a great deal of attention on current food systems and as a result various alternatives to the industrial food system are gaining in popularity. These alternatives, are all bottom-up grass-roots initiatives which originate with, and are organised and administered by, concerned and participative individuals and small community groups, without any guidance or direction by authorities or governmental agencies (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000). All the sectors that make up the "food movement", reflect the concerns and perspectives held by those that inaugurate and develop them and have wide-ranging and varying goals such as the reformation of school food, animal rights, the sovereignty of food systems, urban agricultural initiatives and community gardens, farm regulatory reform, including workers rights, food labelling, food marketing issues and farmers' markets, amongst others (Pollan, 2010, para. 9). In spite of this, over time they appear to be gaining in coherence and all seem to be focussed on production that is smaller in scale with traceable ingredients, diverse in production, sustainable, more humane towards people and animals, less dependent on fossil fuels for fertilisers and pest control, localised and above all concentrate on rebuilding individuals close relationship and understanding of the food that they eat (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; Pollan, 2010). As Pollan (2010) notes "the food movement is also about community, identity, pleasure, and, most notably, about carving out a new social and economic space removed from...big corporations...and government" (para. 23).

The many 'food movement' initiatives have beneficial effect upon peoples experiences and sense of alienation, simply because they are brought in contact with like-minded individuals. The focus of this section in the discussion on the alternatives to the food system is on two of these sectors, farmers' markets and community gardens, because they are centred on constructing localised communities, rather than having community activity that evolves around a

common cause, while at the same time alleviating the alienation people have from their supply of food and each other.

Before beginning the discussion on farmers' markets it is necessary to explain that most research done on farmers markets were related to the economic issues surrounding this form of direct retail marketing. Therefore the terms used in the research material were those typically used when discussing economic relations such as consumer and vendor, but since this section is to demonstrate the farmers' market as being more than a site of economic exchange and consumption, but of social activities and relationships, the terms used to describe the roles of the actors in these sites have been changed to customer and producer.

Farmers' Markets

Farmers' markets are the modern form of the pre-industrial markets where much of the exchange and social activities were centred (Thomas, 1964). There are some directives that govern farmers' markets and that differentiate a farmers market from other direct marketing operations and while there are some national and local variations there are more similarities than differences. Therefore, for this discussion the Farmers Markets New Zealand rules are used as being typical. They are: that the farmers' market is for food only; the food supplied is locally sourced and within a defined radius from the market; the producers of the food only sell "what they grow, farm, pickle, preserve, bake smoke or catch themselves" (Farmers' Markets New Zealand, 2011, n.p.).

There is no doubt that farmers' markets are proliferating in many western countries with more than 550 in the UK (National Farmer and Retail Markets Association [FARMA], 2008), 50 in New Zealand (Tourism New Zealand, 2011), and 6,132 in the US (United States Department of Agriculture [USDA], 2010). In spite of the societal changes engendered by industrialised capitalism, or perhaps because of them, there is fundamentally very little difference to be seen in the social activity in the farmers' markets and those in the pre-industrial model as reflected by Pollan (2010),

> One can get a taste of this social space simply by hanging around a farmers' market, an activity that a great many people enjoy today regardless of whether they're in the market for a bunch of carrots or a head of lettuce. Farmers' markets are thriving, more than five thousand strong, and there is a

> lot more going on in them than the exchange of money for food. Someone is collecting signatures on a petition. Someone else is playing music. Children are everywhere, sampling fresh produce, talking to farmers. Friends and acquaintances stop to chat. One sociologist calculated that people have ten times as many conversations at the farmers' market than they do at the supermarket. Socially as well as sensually, the farmers' market offers a remarkable rich and appealing environment. Someone buying food here may be acting not just as a consumer but also as a neighbor, a citizen, a parent, a cook. In many cities and towns, farmers' markets have taken on (and not for the first time) the function of a lively new public square (para. 24).

Farmers' markets are not a new thing, but a very old institution with a new name (Hinrichs, 2000). While the local, traditional produce markets in many European countries, such as "France, Spain and Italy" have never disappeared, in such countries that industrialised and allowed the 'Americanisation' of their culture and the 'McDonaldisation' of their food system, such as "New Zealand, Australia, Britain, Canada and the USA" they became a rarity (Guthrie, Guthrie, Lawson & Cameron, 2006, p. 561). While never truly disappearing in America, their numbers were very few and tended to persist only because of the protectionist policies of some government agencies not because of their provisioning capacity (Brown, 2001). However, more recently the numbers of US farmers' markets has grown rapidly, up sixteen percent in the 2009-2010 period and from a total of only 1,755 in 1994 to the 6,132 seen today (USDA, 2010).

For the customer, farmers' markets differ from other food exchange sites, in that they tend to generate pleasing nostalgic feelings for traditional food and the past, in addition to providing the opportunity for social interaction with producers as well as other consumers and this interaction is promoted and cultivated (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Cameron & de Vries, 2006; Guthrie, et al., 2006; Hinrichs, Gillespie & Feenstra, 2004; Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, Sherry & Heisley, 1993; Smithers, Lamarche & Joseph, 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). They provide a way for consumers to become re-connected to traditional knowledge about food such as seasonality, preparation and origin, as well as providing face-to-face contact with the people that produced the food and who can respond to any questions that may be asked.

The social aspects are readily demonstrated in the McGrath, et al. (1993) study of a particular farmers' market where they rather humorously categorised the customers by the time of day at which they attended, with "The Die Hards" who appear between 6 - 7.30 am and are there earliest in spite of the weather in search for the freshest and what they perceive as the best products. "The Sociable Die-hards" appear next at 7.30 – 9.00 am who as well as wanting good product selection rate visiting with friends and speaking with producers as being important. "The Very Social" who above all rate the social contact gained at the market as the most important. "The Late People" who appear to shop for bargains and do not appear to belong to any social group (p. 299). There tends to be no sense of urgency for finishing the task of purchasing and then leaving, most customers are always ready to spend time socialising with other customers and vendors and indeed most are accompanied by family members or friends and the activity is more a social event between them rather than a provisioning exercise (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010) . There are many discussions about the foods available and recipes discussed between customers and any new products are observed and discussed at length as well as the who the producer is and where they are located in the market (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Smithers, et al., 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). The time of harvest becomes a reference point for the customers along with a knowledge of seasonality, the traditional knowledge of purchasing, and therefore eating, with the seasons (Hunt, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). This knowledge creates a sense of empowerment and customers derive pleasure from anticipating these changes in product choice and the evidence derived from this is that the produce is locally grown and of good quality (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). McGrath, et al. (1993) take note of those that specifically come together to buy a seasonal surplus in bulk specifically for preserving (such as making jams, sauces, soups or pickles), so not only is the shopping a social activity but so also is the preserving of the food item, enacting traditional activities that are necessarily accompanied by food product knowledge.

Customer choice of producer tends to be individualised based on the perception of the qualities, character and personality of the producer as well as their product knowledge (Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008). The producers can enact such roles as "teachers, experts, entertainers, 'characters' and fixtures" with teaching frequently taking a primary role, passing on recipe suggestions, tips on serving and their personal preferences (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993, p. 305; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). Much product care advice, such as storage, is given by the producers, frequently without being sought by the customer, and producers are, quite correctly, considered to be accessible agricultural experts and are generous their knowledge (Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010). The personalities of producers are also acknowledged and expected to be viewed by customers, who value the relational aspect of the shopping experience, such as the authenticity of the relationship with the producers and the perception of individualised attention (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Hinrichs, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008). Regular customers demonstrate producer and local loyalty, stressing that the knowledge gained by production system transparency is of importance and assists in creating a trust-based relationship with the producer (Hinrichs, 2000; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006; McGrath, et al., 1993; Moore, 2006; Smithers, et al., 2008; Svenfelt & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010).

In a similar way to pre-industrial marketplaces, the farmers' market serves as a social occasion where the producers can meet and network with other producers and provides social activity and the welcome widening of their social circle as rural living can create difficulties in meeting other like-minded people (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Cameron & de Vries, 2006; Hinrichs, 2000; Hinrichs, et al., 2004). Producers also exhibit pride in what they produce and enjoy the experience of meeting their customers and supplying them with what they want, leading to an enhanced self-esteem and satisfaction with their productive activities (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Cameron & de Vries, 2006; Kirwan, 2006). They also note that the direct contact with the customers means that they are receiving feedback on their products at first hand and so are able to adjust their future

supply to better suit customer requirements and therefore ensure their future within the market (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Hinrichs, et al., 2004; Hunt, 2006; Kirwan, 2006). They can also work alongside members of their family in a friendly atmosphere, in an area of interest to them, selling a product they are enthusiastic about, within an environment where there is little perceived competitiveness between suppliers of similar products and more feelings of fellowship (Cameron & de Vries, 2006; Hinrichs, 2000; Hinrichs, et al., 2004).

Markets have always been a place where communities gather together in one area and combine economic and social activities and this is still the case. They are sites that are of importance in the construction and maintenance of linkages that are so important for a sense of belonging to and being a part of a community. Traditional knowledge about food and more specifically about the products being sold is re-establishing peoples intimacy with that which they require for their survival. While the medium of exchange in the farmers' market is currency, that does not appear to have a large effect on the social aspects of the gathering, consisting of face-to-face interaction with like-minded people contributing to a alleviation of social isolation. In many instances individual experiences appear to be more about the social aspects than the economic exchange taking place. In addition, the customer is making a radical decision, in that they are 'opting out' of the globalised agro-industrial food system and taking back their right to eat what they have chosen for themselves.

Community Gardens

Most Community Gardens (CGs) are organised in a similar way to the way village-based agrarian production was organised in the pre-industrial period, and the American Community Garden Association (ACGA) states that a community garden is any piece of land that is gardened by a group of people in a co-operative and interactive way (n.d.).

The Auckland City Council (2002) provides a more concise definition,

> a small scale low-investment neighbourhood communal gardening venture, growing vegetables, fruit and/or flowers. It uses vacant or unspecified open space – either in the public domain, or owned by another organisation or business (for example by a church or through a public housing body).

> Community gardens may have an explicit gardening philosophy such as organic growing, permaculture or biodynamic gardening, or they may allow participants with individual plots to manage them as they see fit. They may also establish nurseries to propagate and raise seedlings for their gardeners (para. 15).

CGs can take many forms, and sourcing the land to use for the garden can be done in a variety of ways. For example, in the UK there is the more formal and regulated allotment system, where the land is owned by the parish or town council and rented to individuals, and as might be expected have long waiting lists (Harrison, 2010). There are, however, more informal associations, such as the Landshare website, created by 'River Cottage' media personality, small-holder and animal rights activist, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, which links private owners of unused land which can be used for growing food, with those who wish to have a productive garden, and if a payment is required for the use of land it is usually a share of the produce (Landshare, n.d.). CGs need not be sited only in urban areas, but can be anywhere where there is land available for cultivation, including in suburban and rural areas (ACGA, n.d.).

There are many benefits associated with starting or participating in a CG project, including life enhancement, provides impetus for acting in other community projects, promotes social exchange across generational and racial boundaries, develops personal independence, provides nutritious food at small cost, cuts resource consumption and reduces crime (ACGA, n.d.; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009).

There is no specific demographic that community gardening appeals to although many are initiated by community groups with a specific focus, such as for a particular age group (retired people or children), a socio-economic level (low income neighbourhoods, unemployed or on social welfare benefit), or belonging to a "special population group" (lessened physical or mental ability, victims of domestic abuse, immigrant communities), and so on (Armstrong, 2000, p. 324; Baker, 2004; Ferris, Norman & Sempik, 2001; Parry, Glover & Shinew, 2005). However, the majority of CGs serve neighbourhoods or communities with no particular focus or to serve a special needs group, although individual health reasons, including mental health, were frequently given as a reason for participation (Armstrong, 2000; Ferris, et al., 2001; Henderson & Hartsfield,

2009; Parry, et al. 2005; Shinew. Glover & Parry, 2004). While urbanisation has served to detach many people from the natural environment the innate need for contact remains and there is considerable evidence to suggest that there are both physiological and psychological advantages to be gained by maintaining a connection with a natural environment (Ferris, et al., 2001; Kingsley, Townsend & Henderson-Wilson, 2009).

Physical health can benefit by the consumption of the healthy foods provided by the garden as well as the exercise obtained by gardening; mental health is benefited by the "social support,... informal networks, and community organizing" obtained by belonging to a CG and it is also worth noting that many view the garden as a place to relax and unwind (Armstrong, 2000, p. 325; Ferris, et al., 2001; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009; Kingsley, et al., 2009; Milburn & Vail, 2010; Shinew, et al., 2004).

Participation in a CG also gives a sense of being connected with a locality or belonging to a community, increasing social engagement and improving social interaction between both those that participate in gardening activities and also with others in the community (Armstrong, 2000; Baker, 2004; Kingsley, et al., 2009; Milburn & Vail, 2010; Parry, et al., 2005; Shinew, et al., 2004). This connectivity contributes to a heightened knowledge and interest about other community issues, which appears to be more noticeable in lower socio-economic communities, perhaps because there are more problems to be addressed (Armstrong, 2000; Baker, 2004; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009; Kingsley, et al., 2009; Milburn & Vail, 2010; Parry, et al., 2005; Shinew, et al., 2004). This can often lead to collective action, necessitating increased community organisational capacity, and the demonstration of which, in turn, leads to community and individual empowerment and enfranchisement (Armstrong, 2000; Baker, 2004; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009; Milburn & Vail, 2010; Parry, et al., 2005). There is a range of personal benefits for those involved in a CG including: the establishment of a sustainable food system to promote health and lessen dependence on global food systems which increases feelings of self reliance; participation in aesthetically improving the local environment conveys feelings of pride and accomplishment, leading in increased self esteem; a CG provides safe outdoor place for those who do not otherwise have this access; it can be a place to improve employment skills and opportunities; and provide assistance with

depression and other mental health concerns (Armstrong, 2000; Baker, 2004; Ferris, et al., 2001; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009; Kingsley, et al., 2009; Parry, et al., 2005; Shinew, et al., 2004). The combination of these benefits which accrue to the individual who participates CG, while in no way effects the wider surrounding capitalist structures, significantly effects and alters their social and personal life. Reduction or even elimination of feelings of isolation and alienation from the community, lead to personal empowerment and the acknowledgement and demonstration of previously untapped abilities, which, in turn, lead to even greater community involvement and betterment.

It is not overstating the case to claim that being part of a CG alleviates the alienating conditions of both the globalised food system and advanced global capitalism itself.

Prior to the industrial revolution and the industrialisation of the food system, the availability of food was, for most people, directly associated with the ability and means of growing it, primarily using family members as the labour force, or for larger areas or at harvest members of the immediate community. As previously discussed, the "village commune" model was often adopted and the land would be cultivated in a cooperative way to provide adequate food for all those concerned (Blum, 1971, p. 160; Schumacher, 2008). CGs are run in much the same way, although without being so necessary for subsistence or without having to relinquish much of the produce to pay for the rental of the land.

4.4.2 Community building not related to food

There are other community-building initiatives that are not directly food-related, but are fundamental alternatives to the capitalist system that allow those that participate in them to lessen or eliminate their alienated experiences.

Local Exchange Trading Systems (LETS)

For ease of reference the various yet similar community-based and localised trading systems such as Community Exchange Systems (CES), Time Banks and Mutual Credit Trading Systems in this discussion will all be referred to under the umbrella term of LETS, despite some minor theoretical differences.

LETS are innovative methods which have the goal of building community and giving community members a sense of place, while keeping the global monetary system separate from local economies (Cahn, 2001; Pacione, 1997). Operating under these systems there is no third party, such as banks, who decide the value of a currency, nor are LETS subject to the volatility of market forces as are most national currencies, with the frequent associated negative results to individuals and their communities (CES, n.d.). Instead within a LETS any wealth that is generated is kept locally; and the value is set by local standards, which can mean that the value can be other than that of the exchange, as the promotion of self worth and identity to the members in a community may be worth more to them as individual members of a local community than the actual good or services traded (Cahn, 2001; CES, n.d.).

As Pascione (1997) states LETS are not intended to challenge the hegemony of globalised capitalism, but to provide those that want to "foster a local social and economic identity" (p. 1180). They often serve the role as a supplemental currency adding a value stream within a community, and act as a buffer in times of economic downturn (Cahn, 2001; CES, n.d.; Pascione, 1997; Seyfang, 2002). Individuals can exchange the use of their skills for the products and services of others within the system, thereby still contributing to others and meeting their own needs, especially necessary for those that have become unemployed in the market economy (Cahn, 2001; CES, n.d.; Pascione, 1997; Seyfang, 2002). However, it should be noted that some researchers believe that Time Banking is an attempt to reconstruct a different economic and monetary system, rather than a supplementary currency as are the other examples, as the measurement unit is time spent on providing a product or service, rather than a unit of value placed on a product or service (Cahn, 2001).

LETS range in type from fairly straightforward barter agreements between two individuals through to community currencies in the form of tokens or vouchers, some of which have non-binding value linkages to the national monetary system, while many more which have dispensed with any type of tokens or vouchers and rely on a system which records each members activity and transactions as a type of "score-keeping" (CES, n.d., para. 5; Croft, n.d.).

The LETS exchange uses a type of directory to list members skills, products and services that they have available to others for exchange, as well as listing the

needs or requirements of members (CES, n.d.). Contact is made between the user/buyer and the provider/seller, a value agreed upon and the trade is made and recorded in the online exchange, with a sale listed as a credit to the provider/seller and a debit to the user/buyer. Time Banks are slightly different in that there is no value agreed upon, all work carries the same value, it is the time that is spent doing the activity that is recorded, regardless of what the productive activity entails. Credits can then be exchanged for other goods and services within the community and debits are owed by the individual to the community exchange and this information is regularly made available to the members, in a similar form to a bank statement, and regular newsletters assist in constructing linkages and enhancing and promoting a sense of community between members (CES, n.d.).

The main objective of LETS are to "strengthen local economies, rebuild communities, and forge social networks", usually underpinned by an localist environmental viewpoint and are not for profit, largely unfunded and run by volunteering "community activists" (Seyfang, 2002, p. 3). CES (n.d.) claim that the main thing of value in a community is the knowledge base, skills and abilities of the members and even those who are marginalised within the capitalist economic system such as the elderly, disabled people, unemployed, single parents, immigrants and others have something to offer within a LETS and can assist in building relationships and lessening social isolation and alienation between individuals. The exchange of goods and services has the additional benefit of alleviating the embarrassment or shame in asking for assistance from a charity or governmental agency, leading to an enhancement of self-reliance and esteem in the individual and the community (CES, n.d.; Seyfang, 2002, 2004).

Seyfang (2002, 2004) reports that "social citizenship" is enhanced and frequently those active in a LETS become more active in other community-based activities, increasing their engagement within the community and lessening feelings of alienation from there surrounding community (p. 6). LETS also serve to break down misconceptions between social groups (such as those based on age, race, physical ability, sexual identity and so on) and instead increase tolerance and respect for others that might not otherwise have occurred (Seyfang, 2002, 2004).

What is striking about these exchange systems is that working within them means the removal of excessive production and consumption, that is, production is limited by the consumption that is available and consumption is curbed by the

producers limits as well as the value of the skills possessed by the producer. Therefore, the value of the skills will have little to do with mainstream capitalist economics and work systems, as in a LETS the skills of a brick-layer or tree pruner would probably have more value than those of a corporate CEO or airline pilot.

LETS are similar to pre-industrial exchange systems because they vary between localities and are largely individually organised between the producer and the consumer, where the medium of exchange can be whatever best suits the two parties. The task done has no external price fixed by a regulatory body or by the market, the value is decided by what it is worth to the person that wants it done and what it is worth to the person that can do it. The informality of such arrangements were essential in pre-industrial times when there was no central governmental regulatory body, and are probably, at least in part, chosen in contemporary times for the same reason.

Additionally, the control over the planning and the execution of that plan is up to the individual, that is, the timing of the work done, how it is to be accomplished and other aspects is controlled by the individual. While they are working for eventual returns the control of the production is theirs. This means there is no direct alienation from the product of their labour or from the process of production. The sense of ownership of the product or service, and their measure of their worth which is demonstrated in what they have produced, is the fulfilment of the creative side of their human nature.

Cohousing and Eco-village Communities

Although these can be seen as different categories, due to some basic ideological differences, it is possible that both cohousing and eco-villages can be interpreted as being the same model that has been pursued or implemented to different degrees. While cohousing seeks simply to build and maintain a sense of neighbourliness and community, eco-villages tend to have a commitment to ecological and ethical considerations and so use various methods to sustain themselves to some level and the environment as far as possible.

Nonetheless, eco-villages share the social and the community centred approach of cohousing and the Cohousing Association of the United States (CAUS) (2011)

provides a basic outline of the constituent parts that make up such a community, which tends to be typical of both. This outline states that the design of the neighbourhood encourages a sense of community and to accomplish this there is often resident input in the designing and sometimes the building process. Pedestrian traffic is promoted by excluding cars from the central areas to parking areas which are provided at the perimeter and there is frequent use of car-pooling. While every family or resident has a fully contained private home, with the emphasis put on building community connectivity there are various common and shared areas. The major community hub is the common house which frequently includes such facilities as kitchen, dining room, sitting room, children's playroom, laundry and less frequently a library, workshop, craft room, gym, and guest rooms; while outdoors there is often shared lawn space, gardens and playground areas.

There are typically common meals available at least two or three times a week and while these are not compulsory to attend and meals can be taken back to the residents dwelling to eat, every resident or family participate in the meal preparation, usually taking turns on a rostered basis. All members of the community maintain the neighbourhood facilities with residents typically expected to do a certain number of hours per week or fortnight on community projects or maintenance. There is a management committee or similar, also made up of residents, who meet regularly to discuss problems and policies with decisions made often by informal consensus, with a formal residential voting process if required (CAUS, 2011).

The differences between co-housing and eco-village communities essentially centre around the concept that within eco-villages there is a greater commitment to environmental sustainability (Scott, 1998). Residents tend to use a variety of strategies to ensure that their village is largely self supporting and sustainable into the future, or are at least working towards that end goal (Scott, 1998). To accomplish this, technologies such as those relating to passive solar collection, insulated and energy efficient dwellings, ecologically neutral or beneficial sewage treatment, grey and storm-water recycling and reuse, and other innovations are used (Barton 1998). In addition, most grow at least some of their own food organically, some use wind for energy generation, have their own currencies, run environmentally sustainable businesses and may have an underlying earth-based

spirituality (Findhorn Foundation, n.d.). They may be located in rural, suburban or urban areas and the geographical location and external governmental and regulatory practices will put borders and boundaries on what sustainability level the community can aspire to.

As with most grass-roots alternatives to the prevailing system there are many variants which conform to their own set of aspirations set by the members and by the environment into which they are integrated. However, for the topic under discussion, it appears that they have more similarities than differences with regards to building social support and so will both be referred to simply as communities.

While some communities tend towards self support most are not and the residents are commonly engaged in some type of employment that is external to their community. Therefore, it is fairly safe to assume that their employment is typical of post and/or industrial society with regard to the alienating effects that are typical within such workplaces. Additionally, these communities are located within the wider society and live under the influence of modern individualistic, accumulation and consumption-driven culture. Typical neighbourhoods under this combination of influences has led, over time, to the decline in the integration of individuals into social structure, and this in turn, has led to a reduction in, and decreased understanding regarding the importance of values-based relationships between individuals in interactive social networks (Kirby, 2003; Lietaert, 2009). As a consequence, feelings of alienation and a dissatisfaction with current forms of individualism and self indulgent hedonistic consumption have given rise to shift in focus, from individualism and separateness, to an engagement with, and commitment to, externalities such as community and the environment (Kirby, 2003). This is usually expressed in the individual as being the desire for deeper and more meaningful personal relationships and a greater connection with what is ethically, emotionally and personally fulfilling (Jansson & Rodhe, 2009; Kirby, 2003; Lietaert, 2009; Williams, 2005). Many have found that the aspiration of having these desires met are most likely to occur in community-centred approach to living which replaces the isolation faced by a traditional nuclear family model to a kinship model, which was the norm in pre-industrial communities, without the reliance on conventional kinship based on shared lineage (Kirby, 2003; Scanzoni, 2001).

In such a community there are norms of reciprocity, sharing arrangements, mutual obligations, trust-based relationships and inclusivity, combined with the free distribution of information and feedback. Therefore, a "functionally significant and psychologically meaningful group association" will be provided, improving the well-being of individuals, and have the additional benefit of having the community act as a mediating or perhaps a buffering structure between individuals and the surrounding external religious, political and economic conditions and pressures (Jansson & Rodhe, 2009; Kirby, 2003, p. 324; Lietaert, 2009; Meltzer, 2011; Williams, 2005). In combination with the sharing and mutual aid ethics there are celebrations and festival occasions in common which are either specific to the community, such as residents birthday celebrations, or those that are also celebrated in the wider community such as Halloween and Christmas; in the sharing of these occasions enduring social bonds are constructed and reinforced (Jansson & Rodhe, 2009; Kirby, 2003; Meltzer, 2011; Williams, 2005).

The physical structure of the community, the approaches to free and expressive communication and shared governance combine to shape individuals immediate world into a stable yet flexible reflection of community values, understanding, knowledge and beliefs. Such collaborative associations can benefit all those who were previously seen as separate sectors of society, segregated by age, gender, sexual preference, physical ability, and so on (Scanzoni, 2001) and within such an environment individual and collective transformative processes can take place, presenting the residents with "a new approach to inhabiting the world" and associating with each other (Jansson & Rodhe, 2009; Kirby, 2003, p. 325; Williams, 2005).

Williams (2005) claims that although residents are diverse in terms of their above mentioned qualities or orientation, in terms of their attitudes, educational attainment and associated monetary affluence/social class they are rather more homogenous; with Meltzer's (2011) United States research revealing that fifty percent of the population have a Masters or higher degree (significantly higher than the average US total of 10.56 percent) and thirty percent an undergraduate qualification. This commonality of background, value-base or attitude may facilitate social interactions and sharing behaviours between individuals, but may be seen as a barrier to integrating the community within the wider locality or

neighbourhood (Meltzer, 2011; Williams, 2005).

Rather than being disconnected and alienated from those around them as encouraged by the industrial and post industrial forms of capitalism, Kirby (2003) reflects that such communities display what he refers to as five forms of connectedness, which are: a connection with the natural ecosystem of the locality; connection with the members of of the community; connections both internal and external to the community, formed by contributing to projects agreed upon and under control of the residents; mental connectedness, whereby the fragmented components of family and social relationships, personal interests and activities and sometimes occupations are reconnected; generational connection where the contributions of all age groups are valued. These connections provide a framework in the formation of a sustainable social system can be practised and maintained, that is, one which is of benefit to human physical and mental growth and health, while acknowledging and respecting the natural world and its ecological systems and recognising human connectedness to the natural world (Kirby, 2003).

Meltzer's (2011) analysis is more pragmatic, explaining that support is the foundation of success in non-alienating communities. There is practical support such as child minding, home maintenance and other forms of mutual aid, which can have the benefits of saving money, lessening stress and giving significance to social relationships. Emotional support is also available in the form of "nurturing and supportive social relationships" when personal circumstances change unexpectedly or there is a family emergency, such as job loss, separation of a couple or more simply, the birth of a child (para. 20). It becomes a part of daily life to have caring, supportive relationships with those that live in a true community and it is this which creates personal fulfilment and lessens individual alienation (Meltzer, 2011).

Pre-industrial comparison is not difficult, but is necessarily incomplete due to two main features, firstly that there is no universally accepted religion, which directs individuals to accept their position in life and expect their reward for obedience after death; and secondly the feudal system that is strictly hierarchical and carries hereditary obligations and benefits to all levels of the social structure. However, the similarities are undeniable, which can be seen firstly in the structure

of the community. Due to the lack of oil-based transportation systems, in pre-industrial villages and towns it was necessary for people to live in reasonably close pedestrian proximity to each other, and this facilitated interactions between people that would have occurred simply in the process of going about their day-to-day business with others. Secondly, festive occasions and celebrations were frequent and contributed to the close ties and reinforced the social and kinship arrangements that necessarily existed between neighbours in villages. Thirdly mutual aid, sharing and reciprocal arrangements were common and an accepted part of pre-industrial life as there was minimal market or economic exchange between villagers. Fourthly, all members of the community were valued for what contribution that they could make, while work was heavily segregated by gender and to a lesser extent by age, every member was important for the contribution that they could make now, would make into the future and had made in the past.

The above models which have emerged as a response to the alienation engendered by capitalism and exacerbated by neo-liberal globalisation are not the only alternatives or resistance methods to the current system that have been adopted by some and found their way into the public consciousness. There are others that do not directly relate to the attempts that are currently being made to alleviate people alienated experiences, but are associated to other experiences connected to capitalism. There are movements to curb excessive consumption, such as the voluntary simplicity, downshifting and frugality movements, which currently appear to have culminated in the faddish adoption of the "100 Thing Challenge" where possessions are minimalised to number only one hundred items.

There are those that are challenging the agro-industrial food system by changing to organic farming methods with a view to a sustainability that cannot be accomplished with current practices. These changes are often accompanied by the more ethical treatment of animals, such as free-range eggs and meat.

There is also the emergence and growth of the 'slow food' movement, arising as a direct response to 'fast food' and, although being of Italian origin, is rapidly gaining in popularity in most other western countries of the world.

There are many other examples of responses to globalised capitalism that could be included, but as they do not directly relate specifically to the topic of alienation, they have not been including in this discussion.

4.5 Summary

The need for change in the social, economic and political areas of human society is obvious to many people, but change is being impeded by the uncertainty of what the implications would be of significant change to many peoples way of life. However, there are those that not only see the need for major change but realise that it is only with the adoption of localist practices that change can be implemented and the alienating effects of the current system be minimised. This requires a personal shift in mindset and sufficient resources to implement an alteration in personal and familial habits and circumstances, both of which are available to the middle-class and it is the middle class which are adopting localist alternatives.

Localism originally appeared as an alternative to globalisation and it has since been appropriated and adapted for use by neo-liberal capitalism with the goal of spreading free-market economic policies into local economies. The only true alternative and resistance to these incursions is now eco-localism and the existing grass-roots and community-centred endeavours that are incorporated within the eco-local concept.

The eco-local initiatives of farmers' markets, community gardens, local exchange trading systems and co-housing and eco-village communities are all examples of how people are adopting patterns of production, consumption and lifestyle which are aimed at lessening the alienation which is so prevalent in industrial and post-industrial societies. It is significant that these initiatives closely resemble pre-industrial society in many aspects apart from the social and the universal religious belief. What can be seen is that those who have the resource advantages of education and financial support are freely choosing to live in authentic ways that were only relatively recently abandoned due to capitalist industrialisation. It is only in these ways that the alienating effects of global capitalism can be mitigated for the people and their families that adopt them.

5. Conclusion

As this discussion has shown, alienation is one of the most prevalent and inescapable of the adverse effects of the capitalist system upon the human species. Capitalism and its adherents forces all those living under its hegemonic influence and authority into behaving in ways that alienate them not only from patterns and modes of behaviour that allow them to live and work in ways that satisfy their nature as a member of the human species, but isolate them from the understanding that they are still, and always will be, a part of the natural world.

The rise of capitalism has led to the severing of the social bonds which are a fundamental part of human nature. Through the mechanism of enclosure humans were separated from the natural world and as the capitalist project has expanded and intensified, so too have the alienated experiences of the social human animal. While originally associated with the rise of industrial production alienation has spread and it now is now a characteristic of consumption as well as productive activities in western society. Capitalist expansion has led to an environment of fragmented human relationships, divisive and competitive individualisation, loss of community and loss of connections with the natural world. The humans that live under the rule of the capitalist system have an experience of alienation that has become so accepted and inescapable that it is often unrecognised by those that suffer most acutely from it.

When examining the origins of alienation it becomes obvious that while life in pre-industrial societies for most people was incredibly difficult, with work being highly labour intensive and survival often precarious, it was only with the rise of capitalism that alienation came to occupy so many facets of life and society. Rather, pre-industrial society was organised and structured in such a way that actively forged strong and enduring linkages between people, where stability and interdependent alliances were all important. Indeed, there was very little independent thought or even the comprehension of individuality and least of all, of not being a part of the natural and variable rhythms and cycles of nature. The fragmentation of relationships as seen under capitalism would undermine the

social stability that was so important in increasing the chances of survival for both individuals and communities.

While much of the power of the capitalist system comes from dividing people from those behaviours and resources that are consistent with a social animal, the forces of de-naturalisation and divisive individuality is incompatible with human nature. This has perhaps made it inevitable that alternatives be sought or attempts be made by individuals to mitigate the detrimental effects of the divisive and alienating effects of capitalism. The individuals engaged in developing and embracing initiatives that offer alternative lifestyles are not those who would be supposed to suffer most heavily under the burdens placed on them by the system, but those that have sufficient educational and financial resources to envisage a more natural and authentic way of life. The focus of these individuals has shifted since the initial theorising of localism, and since localism has been adapted to meet the needs of capitalism, they now are located under the overarching term of eco-localism.

The eco-local initiatives of farmers' markets, community gardens, local exchange trading systems and cohousing/eco-village communities are responses to the deepening process of alienation and are centred on negating the effects of alienation in the lives of those that adopt them. But more than this they have a strong resemblance to the more social and natural features of pre-industrial, feudal society.

The farmers markets do this by re-connecting people with the natural world through the association with the food producers, the processes by which it was grown and the seasonality and natural rhythms of nature. It also has all the social aspects of the village marketplace, where the main focus is not on the provisioning but on the social aspects of the provisioning exercise.

Community gardens connect people more closely with their food and the natural rhythms and cycles of nature, but as well as this they provide an opportunity to form connections with others in a cooperative environment. This is similar to the way in which agrarian production was organised, that is, in a cooperative and social manner which enabled strong community bonds to be formed and maintained.

Local exchange trading systems (LETS) are designed to work outside of the market economy and enable those that operate within them to negotiate directly

with each other to reach a reward or payment that is independently agreed by those involved. The producer has control over the creative side of the labour process and the product of their labour. These interactions forge and strengthen community bonds, lessening social isolation. The LETS reflect the labour patterns of the artisan craftsman, who was able to follow the production process from conceptualisation to completion and to sell the product for a reward that was agreeable to both parties.

Cohousing and eco-village communities are perhaps the most obvious of these initiatives with regard to the building and maintenance of community and social relationships. The social aspects of living in close proximity with others necessitates a cooperative approach to governance, with special effort given to sharing celebratory events and provision of support to others within the community. These communities mirror pre-industrial villages with regard to proximity, celebratory arrangements, community support and value placed on the contribution made to community goals and/or survival.

These are all examples of how people are adopting patterns of production, consumption and lifestyle which are aimed at lessening the alienation which is so prevalent in industrial and post-industrial societies.

In exploring these and other new grass-roots initiatives that have recently emerged into a position of prominence in popular culture, it has become apparent that there is an easily recognisable resemblance to pre-industrial societal models, without any attempt being made to replicate them. This indicates that such models reflect a more authentic and natural lifestyle for humans as social animals. There is a very noticeable contrast that can be identified between these lifestyle initiatives and those that are commonplace in alienating and divisive industrial and post-industrial capitalist societies. This suggests an underlying social movement behind the development of the grass-roots initiatives. However, the individuals that choose these lifestyles, while rejecting the negative aspects of it, do so without undertaking to overthrow or subdue capitalist domination. There is special significance in the fact that those that are able to, are rejecting capitalist social relations and are choosing for themselves authentic and mutually satisfying lifestyles that are fitted to the needs of a natural and social animal.

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