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## Is Trash Hybrid?

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The scholarship focusing on globalization over the last thirty years has achieved impressive gains in nuance and understanding. Some of the more prominent approaches to study globalization that have developed in this period include network, feminist, gender, economic, political, media, religious, diaspora, and migratory lenses. All of these lenses are adroitly utilized by scholars to help us better understand globalization and their use helps to shape the field of global studies. This article argues that environmental humanities scholars must build upon insights from these disciplines, while bringing scholarly tools from the environmental sciences into their research projects, if we are to better understand the contested ways that processes of globalization shape and are shaped by both nature and culture. It further argues, however, that global studies must take the environment as being not a passive background upon which globalization occurs, but rather must take seriously the entire ecological situatedness of the entirety of globalization. Thus, by applying theory and methods related to the critical analysis and interpretation of texts in varied guises as these relate to the environment, as is done in the environmental humanities, global studies can mature as a field of inquiry. While this argument is made specifically with the historical literature of global studies, it extends broadly beyond. The trope of an “ecoscape,” explored below, can provide a new methodological lens through which scholars can generate critical theories about how,

why, and in what ways, humans have degraded their environments, past and present; and more so, how, why, and in what ways, we can ameliorate these processes.

I begin my exploration by focusing on Arjun Appadurai's classic book *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, where Appadurai argues that we are living in a "global culture of the hyperreal" (29) such that there are "politics of...global cultural flows" wreaking "havoc with the hegemony of Eurotechnology" (30).<sup>1</sup> For Appadurai, what is new in today's world of global processes is "*the imagination as a social practice*" (31; his italics), where this imagination is "now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order" (31). In light of this, he claims that, "The new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and peripheries)" (32).

These disjunctures both include and impact further, subsequent disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics. Appadurai delineates five interlinked "flows" that, when taken together, can help us better understand these disjunctures of the global cultural economy. These flows form the foundation of his main argument and signal a profound innovation in helping subsequent theories and studies better understand processes of globalization, and are described as follows:

an elementary framework for exploring such disjunctures is to look at the relationship among five dimensions of global cultural flows that can be termed (a) *ethnoscapes*, (b) *mediascapes*, (c) *technoscapes*, (d) *financescapes*, and (e) *ideoscapes*...they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the

historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors... These landscapes thus are the building blocks of what I would like to call *imagined worlds*, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe (33; his italics).

Appadurai builds his argument by explaining how these various scapes/flows are constituted and how they interact in disjunctive ways across varieties of speed, volume, and scale.<sup>2</sup> Migration of humans for economic reasons, technological flows, and financial transfers (35) also impact and shape these disjunctures.

My point in this article is not to find fault with these categories or the rationales behind them. Rather, I find them to be compelling categories that help explain various global processes, especially cultural and economic ones that are at play today. Furthermore, I am in agreement with his conclusion that the global cultural economy cannot be understood by center-periphery labels (32).<sup>3</sup> Rather, what I find distressing and disheartening in this foundational text on globalization is the author's complete lack of recognizing both the more-than-human world, as well as autopoietic local-to-global environmental processes, in his categories. There is a distinct lack of recognizing that nature has any agency in Appadurai's otherwise deft analysis of globalization, including especially the role (either active or passive) that the more-than-human plays in shaping the social imaginary.

Unfortunately, Appadurai is not alone in exhibiting this glaring gap that currently exists in a vast amount of contemporary theory and case studies about globalization. Numerous other globalization scholars either gloss over or completely ignore the

environment when it comes to their theories of globalization.<sup>4</sup> The problems with failing to factor the environment into understanding the various processes of globalization are numerous and will be spelled out in the remainder of this article, where the hope is that the emerging field of environmental humanities can help fix this lacuna in globalization theory and global studies.

First, as a corrective to Appadurai's five scapes, I would like to posit a complementary scape or flow, what I call an "ecoscape," or collectively, "ecoscapes." An ecoscape recognizes and includes the importance of global ecological and environmental processes and how these have contributed to the historical and contemporary processes of globalization, as well as to the formation of all cultural texts. It also recognizes that without ecoscapes, there would be no ethno, media, techno, finance, and ideoscapes. This is not to reduce the processes of globalization, past and present, to a hard environmental determinism or materialism, but rather to point out that a thorough understanding of both globalization and the production of cultural texts, and of the power dynamics present within these processes, must include a recognition and grasp of the importance of environmental processes and flows. As the bioregional scholar Mitchell Thomashow explains, "The biosphere is not necessarily what [we] project it to be. It involves processes and patterns that are empirically derived" ( 17).

For example, the Catholic theologian and historian of religion Thomas Berry explains how there are five major components of earth functioning: the geosphere, hydrosphere, atmosphere, biosphere, and noosphere (mindsphere). Without these, we would not have human societies and cultures and hence no "globalization" about which to talk. He continues, and this example is salient to my overall argument, with an

exploration of the Black Death and its impact on Europe during the Middle Ages. He writes:

In response to the plague and to other social disturbances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, two directions of development can be identified—one toward a religious redemption out of the tragic world, the other toward greater control of the physical world to escape its pain and to increase its utility to human society. From these two tendencies the two dominant cultural communities of recent centuries were formed: the believing religious community and the secular community with its new scientific knowledge and its industrial powers of exploiting the natural world (125).

These two communities—a redemption mystique of faith-based Christianity, versus a scientific, secularizing, control-of-nature Eurotechnological community—have both impacted the processes of globalization since they formed as a response to the plague. Furthermore, they have directly shaped the cultural values and practices that form the subject domain of the environmental humanities, where understanding these values and practices as they shape and are shaped by nature is our subject matter. But here is my point: a plague—a natural process occurring within the ecoscapes of the Earth—changed the face (literally and figuratively) of human development and the planet.

Another quick example: the Irish potato famine (and in consonance, the Scottish land clearances). Here the failure of a monocrop, the potato, changed the complexion of a whole nation and subsequently another, as immigrants in the thousands migrated to the United States. Today we have diasporic Irish Catholic communities, the impact of John

F. Kennedy on U.S. politics and its autobiographical ideoscape, and land reform campaigns in Scotland and Ireland. All from a potato! I mention Scotland, because the land clearances in the Highlands during the 1800s were part of the same process that cleared Ireland: the demand for land for export markets (sheep and wool) and profits for the rich elite of London—an elite made as a result of the community of utilitarian use of land that resulted from the Black Death.<sup>5</sup>

The work of geographer Yi Fu-Tuan serves as a cautionary rebuttal to show that these processes of ecoscapes and globalization have not just been germane to the Occident. In his analysis of the role human-nature interaction played in the development of culture and power in the East, Fu-Tuan concludes that ancient China, despite the appearance of environmentally beneficent ideoscapes contained in Buddhism and Taoism, nonetheless significantly denuded its landscapes of trees. He also claims that, “perhaps the most dramatic example of the triumph of the human will over the irregular lineaments of nature is the Roman grid method of dividing up land” (179), a method later deployed in the United States with the passing of the Dawes Act. Here we see that private property and control of resources (or commodification of the commons in today’s parlance), which are part and parcel of the financescapes of the economic aspects of globalization, are possible because of the ecoscapes they colonize. The colonization of ecoscapes we witness in globalization today therefore has a long and distinguished history that has assumed many guises over the centuries, in a variety of major metropolitan regions and empires found throughout the globe.

To quickly summarize, with the above examples I am attempting to show how Appadurai was correct with his five scapes/flows, but also to show how we must include

the environment (ecoscapes) in our understanding of globalization; furthermore, environmental humanities scholars are perfectly situated to help us better understand precisely how Appadurai's five scapes/flows shape and are shaped by what I am calling ecoscapes. At the same time, I am not arguing for gross environmental determinism or materialism; clearly, humans have agency in how they choose to treat the local environment, and these choices are in large part mediated by cultural texts and narratives, and by very real issues of power. Even though ethno and ideoscapes are shaped by ecoscapes, they also shape ecoscapes, creating a dialectic of praxis within built environments.<sup>6</sup> This point cannot be emphasized enough, and the environmental humanities are situated to capture the intricacies of this dialectic and its impacts on both nature and culture. As Belden Lane explains, "We live in a natural world framed by the stories we tell... We walk continually through a terrain manufactured by the human imagination, dwelling as much in our interpretation of the place as in the place itself" (239). The gestalt of this is an ecological imaginary, shaped by both ecoscapes and Appadurai's five other scapes.

If we reside in both natural landscapes and landscapes of the imagination, then a recognition of the importance of ecoscapes can help contribute to a more thorough understanding of the history of globalization (and to be sure, some theorists, especially outside of the realm of global studies, already include some of these factors in their work), as well as to the environmental humanities. For example, what impact did ocean currents, tides, and winds have on the merchant and military fleets leaving Europe at the onset of the Western European rise to power?<sup>7</sup> How did mountains, bays, valleys, swamps, islands, and deserts influence techno, ethno, finance, and ideoscapes? What role did

disease and parasites play in the formation of ideoscapes, as mentioned earlier?<sup>8</sup> What were the results of water shortages, droughts, heavy rains, salinization, and deforestation on globalization, and how did Appadurai's five scapes contribute to these? In terms of technoscapes, the horse (coupled with guns) allowed for the Spanish to invade South and Central America—again, a disproportionate feat based on one factor of the environment: a horse.<sup>9</sup> Lastly, how has the movement of flora and fauna, whether by natural evolutionary migratory patterns or human induced patterns, impacted globalization? The answer is that this movement has, and in significant ways that require books and monographs to adequately trace. If such environmental processes have been central to globalization, past and present, then why do so many theories about globalization not make mention of them?

Moving from past to present, it is even more imperative to ask how ecoscapes are impacting the other five scapes of globalization today. To begin, there is anthropogenic climate change. Clearly, melting icecaps, the potential loss of the Amazon and breadbasket of the United States due to increasing temperatures, and possible reversal of the Gulf Stream will all significantly impact globalization. It will also precipitate massive migration of humans—we must remember that we are animals and are therefore both subject to natural evolutionary laws and are also part and parcel of the ecoscape. In terms of migration, there is growing likelihood that global cities and peripheral villages along many coastlines might have to be evacuated and abandoned in light of rising oceanic levels. The increasing likelihood of these scenarios suggests that ecoscapes will over-determine cultural praxis in the coming decades/centuries, and the environmental humanities are perfectly situated to investigate this process.



China is another example of a country that is running into limits of its own internal ecoscapes, while at the same time it is also impacting the ecoscapes of the globe (for a sobering exposition of this process, see Jared Diamond's *Collapse*). Not only is China's burgeoning growth in media, techno, and financescapes impacting the planetary cultural commons, but its rapacious use of resources is impacting the planetary environmental commons, too. For the first time ever, China needs to import rice, thereby changing the global commodity market for rice. Some corporations and governments are championing GMO technology to help offset this demand, thus potentially unleashing new genetic mutations into the ecoscape that could possibly lead to certain plant varieties becoming extinct if fears expressed by critics of Monsanto's "terminator seed" technology are well-founded.

Another critical source of possible contention that can potentially lead to deadly war is in the Himalayas, which supply India and China, respectively, with water. If climate change is leading to less snowfall everywhere (and the record is beginning to show this) coupled with the rapid melting of high altitude glaciers, then this changing ecoscape flow will have major repercussions on over two and a half billion humans and on global processes in general.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, we must remember that climate change resulting from the emission of fossil fuels from the combustion engine is only possible because of ecoscapes that existed hundreds of millions of years ago. At that time, great forests populated the earth and became the source of stored carbon that we are releasing today to power our global economy and migration of consumer goods and humans.<sup>11</sup> Yet the demand for individual automobiles today is a result of marketing (media and ideoscapes), financial capital

(financescapes), and engineering (technoscapes), built especially in the United States upon an ethnoscape of manifest destiny and individualism where personal car ownership is seen as a “natural right.”

We see again the iterative praxis of ecoscapes shaping and being shaped by Appadurai’s other scapes, and from these interactions emerge the subject matter of the environmental humanities, for example: what are the texts and regimes of power associated with car production and use? What values are assumed into the imaginary of the automobile economy and suburban dwelling, and how do these impact the environment, other species (road kill, for example), and conceptions of self in relation to the larger environment? What are counter-discourses and narratives that are emerging to these hegemonic imaginaries, and how might we study them?

Invasive species are another ecoscape flow that can potentially wreak havoc on the techno and financescapes of human communities. Ship ballast, international flights, the trade in underground exotic species—all of these can result in the escape of an exotic plant or animal that can impact ecoscapes and the livelihoods of millions (of course it can be argued that the last five thousand years of globalization has involved the transfer of exotic species of flora and fauna). We see this process at work in the Everglades of Florida, where invasive pythons are wreaking havoc on the landscape as it evolved in the absence of pythons. This minute change in the ecoscape has had ripple effects on the politics, economy, and narrative of South Florida, including conceptions of the Everglades and the perceived duty of humans in trying to eradicate the python—a fool-hardy quest, given the lack of natural predators and rate of rebirth for the pythons. Even here, though, the desire to preserve an ecoscape (a “pristine” Everglades) is shaped by

cultural values (Jordan, III and Lubick), suggesting that the environmental humanities are served by investigating the mutual interactions between ecoscapes and Appadurai's scapes, as these combine into an "ecosocial imaginary."<sup>12</sup>

Despite the examples of the above iterative praxis between ecoscapes and Appadurai's other scapes, ranging from past to present around the globe, there *is* a reduction to actual environmental materialism that must be recognized by environmental humanities and global studies scholars both: the geochemical and geophysical ecoscapes of the planet dictate and shape the other five, but especially financescapes. Currency exchange and the profit motive are based on production of goods, but the goods themselves (unless it is futures trading or some other sort of speculative investing) are based on ecoscapes. In fact, they *are* ecoscapes. Without the environment, there are no tradable goods, and without calories from the environment, there are no humans to make and consume the goods.

This is expertly seen in a thought-provoking article called "The History of a Cup of Coffee," by World Watch researchers Ed Ayers and Alan Durning. In this article, Ayers and Durning show how a single cup of coffee imbibed in the United States requires direct and indirect uses of fossil fuels; the colonization of indigenous peoples; the degradation of forest ecosystems; creation of coffee plantation monocultures; and the mining and use of precious metals and minerals. Furthermore, a single cup contributes to cancer and other diseases in communities of color in manufacturing areas, and leads to the contamination of water sources (for example, from the process of bleaching paper coffee filters). Granted, much of this is possible because of the mediascape (coffee advertising), technoscape (technologies to make coffee and the container ships on which

it is transported), financescape (international financing of coffee production and trading—coffee is one of the most heavily traded commodities on the planet), ethnoscapes (workers who grow and transport the coffee), and ideoscapes (for example, the imagery Starbucks adds to the global commons), but without the ecoscapes Ayers and Durning highlight, these would be moot players. Here is a sterling example of how paying close attention to ecoscapes allows our work as environmental humanists to achieve analytic sophistication, and how our own work offers corrective voices to other disciplines who are too focused on everything but ecoscapes.

The example of coffee gives evidence that the advertising agencies (mediascapes) need fossil fuels and energy sources so they can function, and they also need buildings to reside within. Financescapes also require buildings and energy flows—it is impossible to electronically transfer stocks or finances without an energy grid to power computer technologies or a phone or satellite grid over which messages can travel. These latter grids are made up from resources, precious metals, and materials from ecoscapes, some of which are politically contested because of territorial and use-rights disputes and also because of rapidly dwindling supplies and sources.

A few more examples from the current era of globalization can shed further light and show how ecoscapes are central to its unfolding. One is the profusion of prescription pharmaceuticals currently being used to treat various ailments ranging from ADD to dropping libidos to depression.<sup>13</sup> These chemicals end up in municipal water supplies as they are either excreted from humans, dumped down drains, or leach into groundwater after being deposited in landfills. Once in the water, the chemicals impact other humans--especially of younger ages with weaker immune systems and growing bodies--

who drink the water, and they also impact other species.<sup>14</sup> Fish and amphibians are now being found with increased levels of hormones and this is beginning to impact their birth rate and the genetic and sexual composition of their newborn generations. In an apocalyptic scenario, but one that nonetheless could conceivably happen, if more and more of these chemicals enter into waterway ecoscapes, then a change in reproduction patterns in fish and amphibians could shift the composition of entire aquatic ecoscape systems. Such a change could potentially impact human activities in various, unforeseen ways. Such a change will most likely shape our cultural understandings and narratives of self, as well, as a growing number of communities are reimagining their sense of identity within the context of ecoscape collapse (House; Albrecht)—again we quickly enter into the domain of the environmental humanities via riding the flows of various ecoscapes, from local to global.

Another example showing how Appadurai's five scapes are dependent upon and impact ecoscapes is the process of biopiracy. Pharmaceutical companies are again complicit in this process as they attempt to locate and then patent traditional medicines based on local and indigenous knowledge of flora ecoscapes. One result of this process is that once local people realize they can sell local plants for medicine and money to international companies, coupled with increased demand for these "wonder drugs" in affluent areas, the local plant stock crashes and the local ecosystem suffers.<sup>15</sup> This process is currently playing itself out with a new "boutique" foodie food item: quinoa, where traditional Peruvian farmers are unable to afford this staple crop due to increased demand in U.S. and other Global North foodie circles.

A final example can help highlight the importance of paying attention to ecoscapes in our work as environmental humanists, whether we are in dialogue with global studies or any other discipline. This example is a “new ‘continent’ in the Pacific Ocean. A vast expanse of floating crud has been gathering together in a mass that scientists now refer to as ‘The Great Pacific Garbage Patch.’ The thick mass of plastic slop, located about 500 miles east of California, is reported to be twice the size of the United States. According to a recent UN report, each square mile of ocean water now contains an average of 46,000 pieces of floating garbage” (*Acres USA 11*).<sup>16</sup> Who is willing to claim responsibility for this new continent? If the trash and plastic are mined from, used, and discarded from all places on the globe, then is this Trash Patch not an example of ecoscape hybridity?<sup>17</sup>

These examples can be placed within a larger ecoscape framework of overshoot, as researchers Wackernagel, et al. have shown. They conclude that the total human use of available bioproductivity of the planet (a mixture of ecoscape flows like water, soils, weight and composition of flora and fauna both terrestrial and oceanic, and available energy from sunlight and photosynthesis) is well above a sustainable level. Their efforts are built upon the pioneering work of ecologists Peter Vitousek et al., who in 1986 provided evidence that humans were directly using 40% of the total Net Primary Productivity of the planet’s ecoscapes. What these findings show is that globalization is really dependent on the ecoscape flows of the planet. By not factoring these flows into theories, case studies, and understandings of globalization, globalization theorists not only miss a huge part of the picture, past and present, but gloss over the likely trauma that ecosystem collapse will visit upon future generations and how this will shape

globalization.<sup>18</sup> My hope in this article is to provide a corrective to this lack of taking the earth seriously in globalization studies, while also suggesting that one of our strengths in the environmental humanities is precisely the opposite: we take ecoscapes seriously. How can we continue to do so, and how might taking ecoscapes seriously in order to help our field grow, are key questions I would like to see us continue to pursue as we study the interaction between cultural texts, values, gender, and power, amongst others, and the environment.

In terms of globalization studies, this glaring gap in knowledge leads to a direct relationship with understanding ideoscapes and the social imaginary. For example, theorists are deficient in their understanding of why various activist communities protest the machinations of globalization, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight (G8), and World Bank/International Monetary Fund (WB/IMF). In a condescending article, champion of free market neoliberalism Jagdish Bhagwati gently chides his socialist peers and severely castigates left-leaning university students who protest on the streets regarding the concerns about neoliberal globalization that these groups exhibit and profess. Bhagwati seemingly misses the boat by creating a straw man where uneducated but passionate students actually are more interested in violence and media posturing than honest debates based on a thorough understanding of global financescapes. Leaving aside the absurd question of who is an expert on financescapes, given their complexity and inherent fallacies of misplaced concreteness (Daly and Cobb), Bhagwati, despite personal claims to altruistic understanding of anti-globalization activists, nonetheless misses the reasons for their true motivations. The motivations of these activists and scholars are actually grounded in both concrete experiences of the six

global flows being discussed, whether based on personal experience of seeing neoliberal policies impacting community and ecosystem health to including, significantly, the ideoscapes of transnational advocacy networks ( Keck and Sikkink). Keck and Sikkink argue that the transnational advocacy networks that have developed and organized in response to what these groups perceive to be the deleterious effects of neoliberal globalization are strongly value-driven (ideoscapes). They are also heavily dependent on information flows (techno and mediascapes) and have as their core goal a desire to impact and change policy level decisions in governments, international bodies, and corporations. This aspect of the current global social imaginary actually generates changes that are not consonant with their sizes and do so by depending on a mix of information and testimony sharing. These actors have a significant grasp of what they perceive to be the failures of neoliberal globalization, despite the characterization given by Bhagwati, including a well-founded concern about the impact globalization is having on ecoscapes.

My own Master's research carried out during the G8 protests in Gleneagles, Scotland in 2005 found that some of these anti-globalization actors are also driven by strong spiritual and religious beliefs. In direct relationship to the argument I am making in this article, some of the activists who join these protests are motivated by a strongly felt spiritual kinship with ecoscapes and the environment. In fact, the international director for one of the longest lived and most prestigious environmental groups in the United States shared with me how he had a spiritually life-changing experience while whale watching off the coast of Hawaii, during which time he witnessed whales breaching the ocean surface. The majesty of their presence led him to realize that (a) these beings were threatened with extinction, and (b) he would dedicated his life to doing anything in his



power to save them. Here is an example of how a felt sense of spiritual kinship with various aspects of global (and for some, even the universal) ecoscape flows can lead to direct political action. It also shows how the social imaginary is both shaped and impacted by the constitution of ecoscape flows and the environment.<sup>19</sup> By failing to account for such ecoscape derived perceptions, globalization theorists, whether they are apologists of neoliberal processes like Bhagwati or sympathizers of those who protest these processes, like Keck and Sikkink, miss out on a contributing motivating factor for those who are protesting against the processes of and justifications for neoliberal globalization.

This article attempts to show how incorporating insights from the environmental humanities can significantly help theories and understandings of globalization become more nuanced and pertinent to real world processes of globalization and the continued degradation of the environment. It takes Apaddurai's five flows of globalization which constitute the social imaginary and argues that there is a sixth equally important flow: an ecoscape. By recognizing the power, impact, and primacy of the planet's environment and how this has shaped migration, technology, customs, economics, religion, ethics, and politics--and how it will continue to do so into the future--theorists of globalization can bring more nuance and stronger analysis to the field of global studies. This will hopefully result in a greater call for interdisciplinary dialogue and networking and a more thorough understanding of what motivates various globalization actors, and those working in the environmental humanities have a very important voice to bring to these explorations. Furthermore, the incorporation of ecoscapes into scholarly work can lead to a more

complete grasp of the environmental problems globalization is precipitating and the dilemmas we all are beginning to face as a result.

## Notes

1. David Harvey convincingly argues that this hegemony of Eurotechnology emerged out of Renaissance era Europe, and specifically the development of perspectivism, which “shaped ways of seeing for four centuries” (244). See especially chapter 15, “The Time and Space of the Enlightenment Project,” for a convincing and detailed summary of this process.

2. This article will use the terms “scapes” and “flows” interchangeably, but privileges “scapes” to be more consistent with the overall spirit of Appadurai’s argument.

3. This echoes a similar conclusion reached by Marquardt and Vasquez, who claim that scholars must recognize “the contested, uneven, and situated impact of globalization...the conflict-laden relations among global, regional, national, local, and individual actors and processes” (3)—an argument along the lines of Appadurai’s disjunctures and his thoughts on deterritorialization (37).

4. See Friedman and his comments on hybridity, locality, and scholarly elites; Garrett and Robertson and their work on religion and globalization; Robertson again, when he writes: “I regard national organized societies; individuals; the international system of societies; and humankind as the four major focal points of the global circumstance” (124); in Csordas when he defines globalization as consisting of “a multidimensional process, with religion, popular culture, politics, and economics as necessarily coeval and intimately intertwined” (260); or Cetina’s expert theorizing on global microstructures. Each of these well-argued and researched views on globalization fail to mention the significance and centrality of the environment, and if they do at all, it is simply background noise upon which “globalization” occurs. When applying a

discriminatory lens that is sympathetic to the environmental humanities and ecoscape processes (to be defined shortly), then the total number of examples reflecting this omission of these processes as part of globalization are legion—I have only highlighted a select few. Ironically, Castells' understanding of a network society is tellingly close to how ecoscapes function. As physicist Fritjof Capra explains, "networks are the basic pattern of organization of living systems" (34). Even Cetina is close to echoing how ecoscapes function: if microstructures represent a new micro-network that can potentially change the larger network in unforeseen and significant ways, this simply mirrors the nonlinear dynamic dissipative structures that operate far from equilibrium in the ecoscapes (micro to macro) of the world where a small change in one can lead to large scale, unforeseen changes in others (Capra: ). One scholar who does recognize the environment is Michael Klare, whose work focuses more on how control of dwindling resources influences the global chess match of Peak-Oil (and soon to be Peak-Fresh Water) geopolitical machinations.

5. The redemption mystique that Berry writes about can be said to exist in today's "wealth and health gospel" of various forms of Protestant, evangelical, especially Pentecostal Christianities, including those forms developing in the Global South. These forms of Christianity impact politics, economics, the environment (especially in terms of land ownership inequality), and migration; see, for example, Vasquez and Marquardt, Chapter Eight. Another argument made along the lines of Berry and that shows the interaction between religion (an ideoscape, and arguably an ethnoscape) and the environment (ecoscape) and technology (technoscape) is the famed 1967 article by the historian Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis."

6. There is no longer any “natural” environment, as argued for by William Cronon in his provocative essay “The Trouble with Wilderness”—in essence, environments today have all been built or impacted by humans. Fu-Tuan also writes about this dialectic between ideoscapes and ecoscapes, claiming that, “the acceptance of certain specific environmental ideas can have a definite effect on decision and on behavior” (176). This behavior shapes the environment, which *then* shapes the other five scapes, which then shapes the environment. In other words, and as argued above, if the imagination as social practice is central to understanding today’s globalized world, as Appadurai posits, then we must also understand how this imaginary is shaped by the environment and how it shapes the environment.

7. Abu-Lughod shows how Europe was actually on the periphery of global trade for many centuries while Abenathy argues that the modern era of globalization centered on European empires began in 1415 when Portugal sailed to Ceuta on the northern tip of Africa.

8. It was not until the onset of animal husbandry that humans encountered parasites, worms, and related diseases on a large scale, yet animal husbandry is one of the historical driving forces behind the technoscapes and financescapes of globalization. We see here again the dialectic of ecoscape interacting with Appadurai’s flows/scapes.

9. We can mention the impact of diseases here again, with some scholars estimating that up to 90% of the indigenous populations of the Western hemisphere were wiped out by Old World diseases. Latin Americanist Cynthia Radding also documents the effect the cow and pig had upon ecosystems in the New World; as invasive species,

these animals greatly altered landscapes throughout the New World, thus impacting subsequent patterns of development upon the changed areas.

10. For two different perspectives on water resources and conflict, see Wolfe and Gleick.

11. This is expertly summarized in Thom Hartmann's phrase "the last hours of ancient sunlight," and provides the title for his book on how climate change will precipitate needed changes in the ideoscapes, mediascapes, and technoscapes of humans worldwide. Chamberlain argues that looming water resources, partly as a result of climate change but also resulting from technoscapes of irrigation (itself in part driven by demands of financescapes), will also lead to a hoped for change in ideoscapes, especially religious ones, related to water. Hartmann also argues elsewhere that the ideoscape based on a faulty legal interpretation by a US Supreme Court clerk of corporations--which gave to them legal standing as distinct entities--is responsible for much of the abuses of ecoscapes and human rights that we see today, an apotheosis that culminated in the Citizens United Supreme Court ruling.

12. For other scholars looking into narrative ecoscape imaginaries, see Whitney Sanford and her work on the "ecological imagination," and Chaone Mallory and her work on local foods, ecofeminism, and the philosophy of place.

13. Demand for these chemicals results from a mix of mediascapes, technoscapes, ideoscapes, and financescapes, respectively.

14. Persistent organic pollutants (POPs) are another example of this phenomenon and are especially impacting the health of indigenous communities whose traditional diets are fish taken from local waterways. Toxic chemicals from acid rain (another

ecoscape flow) and from chemical discharges from industries into waterways result in a build-up of toxins in the tissues of fish. Humans then consume the fish, which results in the POPs getting passed up the food chain (they are also passed along in breast milk). To paraphrase the ecologist Garret Hardin, “You can never change just one thing.” This is especially true in today’s global world of space-time compression (Harvey).

15. *Acre USA* writes how the yew tree in India, hoodia plant in Namibia, magnolia plant in China, and Autumn crocus in Greece are all under severe threat for these exact reasons. Wild ginseng and chamomile, both used by Southeastern US indigenous peoples for centuries in various healing remedies, are examples of domestic ecoscape disruption due to medical products driven by the finance, techno, media, and ideoscapes of the global market.

16. I musingly chose the title of this paper because of this exact ecoscape absurdity.

17. A similar phenomenon can be witnessed in the Gulf of Mexico with its “dead zone.” This is an area where there is no life due to the toxic runoff of agricultural pesticides from the Mississippi River. This is another hybrid ecoscape driven by globalization, but that also affects globalization—there are no longer fish or shrimp to trawl for market purposes in this zone. This ties into another ecoscape flow: the production and transference of agricultural chemicals that has allowed for the Green Revolution. This revolution has led to increased yields, thus helping lead to human population growth. It has also led to increased monopolization of farming land by large farmers and farm conglomerates and a subsequent “unsettling of America” (Berry). These displaced farmers must enter the workforce in other sectors, thus contributing to

changes in market dynamics. Notice that all of this—production and use of chemicals, loss of microbial life in soils due to chemicals, trading of food commodities, increased salinization of soils, implementation of GMO technology, creation of farming monocultures—is dependent on ecoscapes. Such a globalized system is also increasingly fragile, as we see when crops like corn and soybean are used to make fuel and taken out of the food chain—witness recent food riots around the world that have occurred because the cost of food (an ecoscape) has tripled in some areas in just two years. The residual “fallout” on cultural values and texts of these ecoscape processes is of course complex and worthy of future study in this journal. The same questions can be applied to other recent phenomena, including the Deepwater Horizon disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, and the Fukushima disaster in Japan.

18. And glosses over the trauma being visited upon current generations who are environmental refugees and where almost two billion are without access to clean water and adequate food supplies.

19. Social scientists Schultz, et al. argue that, “the type of concerns [ideoscapes] a person develops about environmental issues is associated with the extent to which the individual believes that s/he is part of nature. We argue that this connection is implicit, and exists outside of conscious awareness” (31). While I personally question whether this connection is outside of conscious awareness, their conclusion nonetheless shows that ecoscapes shape and mold ideoscapes. Along similar lines, religious studies scholar Bron Taylor argues that the future of religion will most likely be “green,” in that the findings of evolutionary biology coupled with mounting evidence of ecosystem degradation are contributing to three growing forms of green religion: historical mainstream religions



attempting to green their teachings and practices; nature-as-sacred spiritualities of connection; and a nascent post-supernaturalistic spiritualities of connection strand (Taylor). If his argument is correct, then we clearly see evidence of ecoscapes impacting ideoscapes. Yet, it is important to recognize contested discourses around imaginaries and tropes that attend to “healing” ecoscapes, as these imaginaries are both shaped by and reinforce dualisms (Heise; Roach).

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