Introduction

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Sustainability, Local Knowledge, and the Bioregion

The concept of sustainability holds that the social, economic, and environmental factors within human communities must be viewed interactively and systematically. The Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) defines sustainable development as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In 1996, an international group of practitioners and researchers met in Bellagio, Italy, to develop new ways to measure and assess progress toward sustainable development. The Bellagio Principles (1997) serve as guidelines for the whole of the assessment process, including the choice and design of indicators, their interpretation, and communication of the results.

Desmond McNeill (2000) identifies a conflict of interpretations over the concept of sustainable development among various "actors" who have a stake in the sustainability debate. These include academics, activists, and bureaucrats, both legal and political, whose divergent perspectives, interests, and assumptions translate into competing claims as to the very definition of the term. McNeill locates the conflicts among these differing disciplines and professional orientations as arising from earlier debates about poverty, development, and environmental protection, and he calls attention to an emerging conflict between "technicists" seeking technical solutions to environmental problems and "humanists" whose critical perspectives move toward political solutions. Blake Ratner (2004a) calls for an integrated approach toward resolving the polarizing tendencies within the debate. Ratner singles out political economists, rational choice theorists, and cultural institutionalists, positing that their key perspectives, namely equity, efficiency, and cultural identity, respectively, are "three legs of a stool" and therefore necessary elements of any socially acceptable response to sustainability.

Although broadly conceived, the pursuit of sustainable development is a local practice because every community has different needs and quality of life concerns. Despite local variation, the participation of ordinary citizens, or "deliberative democracy," remains constant across the sustainable community movement (Hempel 1998; Agyeman & Angus 2003; Ratner 2004b). In rural areas undergoing rapid development and urban areas transformed by planning, renewal, and clearance, new partnerships are forming on behalf of sustainable development. Residents, and state and nongovernmental organization (NGO) experts, are partnering to design indicators and to monitor land, labor, housing, health, and other quality of life concerns. Civic engagement by ordinary residents is essential as local people have practical experience and bring important intuitive insights to the tasks of indicator design and monitoring. Jane Jacobs (1961) argued on behalf of such "self-diversification," or neighborhood transformation that reflects the vitality, mobility, and aesthetic interests of its residents.

An "ideal" sustainability indicator would be an interactive measure of how long and how well a certain feature of the quality of life or the health of a natural system could maintain itself. Such a measure would require a clear definition of the limits or carrying capacity of a system, or region, or community, to continue on without degrading the environment or decreasing biodiversity while sustaining human and biological life at a certain healthy level. True sustainability indicators will have to wait until both social science and ecological science give us better and measurable models of the operation of interacting systems and until economic measurements can be accurately correlated with social and environmental factors.

However, the interactions and shared effects of economic activity, human society, and the environment can be measured, if not precisely at this stage, at least with some clarity about how they in general improve or degrade each other over time (Bossel 1999; Hart 1999; United Nations 2001). This involves devising custom-made measures of a local system and stipulating from a values perspective what are desirable or undesirable effects. This requires a combination of artfully designed measurement devices and human-defined goals (Haughton & Hunter 1994; Roseland 1998; Meter 1999, 2002). It will also require a better grasp of philosophical and ethical issues surrounding sustainable development (Lee, Holland & McNeill, 2000).

Holistic planning theory has begun to recognize the connection between ecological principles, such as conservation, biodiversity, and restoration, and social scientific principles, such as human scale, social equity, and human development (Archibugi 1998; Beatley 1999; Calthorpe & Fulton 2001). Those who adopt these principles—New Urbanists, advocates of "smart growth" and "livable cities," and proponents of sustainable communities—are rediscovering the vision of "the regional city" as the basis of good and equitable planning and design (Goodman & Goodman 1960; Luccarelli 1995; Duany, Plater-Zyberk & Speck 2000).

The idea of sustainability returns to the notion of the region as the ground of both reason and democracy. Regional culture provides not only a diversity of practices for its citizens to experience but also local perspectives to shape their personal identities. These experiences engender a collective identity and ecology of public symbols that help a community to define place-centered ethical and aesthetic norms. Once internalized, these norms provide individuals with the coherence that fosters more immediate and spontaneous forms of interaction.

This lay form of civic community relies upon a distinct way of knowing that differs from yet is supportive of the universalistic assumptions of the Enlightenment. Clifford Geertz (1983) refers to this way of knowing as "local knowledge" and contends that this form of "fugitive truth" can still be derived from contemporary practices, such as politics, law, ethnography, and poetry, as all are "crafts of place" and "are alike absorbed with the artisan task of seeing broad principles in parochial facts" (Geertz, 1983:167). James Scott (1976), who, like Geertz, has studied Southeast Asian agrarian societies, observed a form of local knowledge in peasant economic, social, and moral arrangements. In the local economies of Burma and Vietnam, Scott found a "subsistence ethic"–or a right to a minimal guaranteed return on the harvest as a hedge against food shortages–embedded in the economic practices and social exchange relations of peasant community life.

Especially valuable in understanding this phenomenon in urban life is the work of social historians and historically informed social scientists interested in the structural aspects of social formations, particularly how their dynamics reflect changes in knowledge and civic culture. Robert Putnam (1993) investigated civic traditions in modern Italian politics and emphasized the primacy of "civic engagement" as a central form of civic virtue. Thomas Bender (1993) studies the extent to which the sense of civic obligation depends upon the character of "urban knowledges." Both seek to document the ways in which "civic community" is represented in what Pierre Bourdieu (1977) would call the habitus of modern citizens, namely the bundle of conventions and habitual ways and perceptions that order lives in particular times and places. Such lay initiatives represent what is perhaps the most fundamental and least appreciated form of civic engagement: the direct and highly active participation of citizens in public affairs by means of NGOs.

An area where considerable attention has been paid to local knowledge is that of bioregionalism, a concept based on ecological principles and traditions of vernacular culture. Bioregionalists envision a more equitable relationship between human and natural systems through reorganizing society around common ecosystems or bioregions and upon sustainable principles. The literature on common pool resources and common property has focused on environmental degradation and resource depletion, and scholars of the commons have offered community-based conservation as a corrective (Agrawal 2003). Some have

called for a "recovery of the commons" as a means of regaining local community through peoples' direct involvement in the web of the natural resources (Snyder 1990). This would come about through a revitalized sense of citizenship based upon shared governance around food, water, soil, and energy resources (Orr 1994). Some have even suggested that a "common covenant" could result if people allied themselves by virtue of a common watershed (Jackson 1987). Such a place-focused politics would become viable if local communities were rebuilt upon ecological principles rather than upon political or economic centralization. These "communities of place" would be complex and human-scaled—ones that forge connections between people, foster a sense of well-being, and ensure resilience in crises (Calthorpe & Fulton 2001).

Adaptive Learning and Human Survival

Sustainable development cannot be understood apart from a community, its *ethos,* and its ways of life. Cultural processes, such as norms, values, and expectations, operate as precedents to guide human adaptation, as in the case of a community facing development choices. Culture forms part of a milieu, or adaptive nexus, in which humans learn to cope by taking these precedents into account (Bennett 1996). It acts as a collective memory for human groups to store and retrieve knowledge on which to model future events (Adams 1988). Adaptive behavior, or strategic coping, requires the anticipation of outcomes, using foresight and intentionality as cognitive potentials. In this sense, culture is a form of anticipatory behavior specific to humans, for much of our time is spent reorganizing the world to resist randomness or entropy (Bennett 1996). Humans are goal-directed and self-organizing systems that adapt using new and old information to anticipate outcomes (Moran & Gillett-Netting 2000). The capacity for *internal* adaptation is seen in coping, a short-term process of stress reduction through which individual organisms respond to fluctuations in the environment (Alland 1970).

We also have the capacity to relate with the environment through image-making (Arnheim 1969; Langer 1972). This form of *external* adaptation rests on the ability to symbolically represent the physical world as a cognitive map (Bennett 1996). A cultural worldview reflects the shared cognitive categories of people that experience, and work within, a *local* set of spatial and temporal arrangements. Culture unifies the cognitive maps of different individuals within a locale by imposing "consistency among meanings," as a paradigm for working with the energetic world. By unifying the mental and the energetic in a symbolic system, a local society provides the means to reproduce its own self-organization (Adams 1988).

This form of social reproduction is frequently reinforced through ritual. Anthropology, ethology, and neuroscience view ritualization as adaptive behav-

ior in its ability to encode cultural knowledge (Laughlin, McManus & d'Aquili 1993; Rappaport 1999; Watanabe & Smuts 1999). Ritual symbols, according to Victor Turner (1969), prompt social action because their referents call up polarities between physiological phenomena and normative values, such as reciprocity, respect, generosity, and kindness. Ritual–as a performance–uses these multiple sensory domains in order to provoke an exchange between the physiological and cultural poles, and to reinforce social trust and perhaps a sense of *communitas* among participants.

Living systems theory posits an articulation between humans and the global environment (Miller 1978). This model assumes that human, technical and social spheres are mediated by individual and collective behavior, which is influenced at the biosocial level by physiological and metabolic processes. A living system depends upon subsystem components for its survival, that is, information channels, memory, decision centers, motor outputs, and reproductive elements. All living systems, from cells to the earth, rely on matter, energy, and information flows.

Anthropological holism and living systems theory regard purposive behavior, or culture, as an open system interacting with the environment through positive feedback. The holistic approach views culture as developing in relation to the environmental niche, and social practices as adaptive responses to particular ecological pressures. Historical ecology regards landscape as a manifestation of this dialectical relationship between human action and natural systems over time (Crumley 1994). Living systems theory similarly uses cognitive potentials to explain adaptation in crisis. The systems view holds that organizations and communities, like individuals, will need to draw upon competencies derived from adapting to past crises as sources of feedback. Moreover, how each system experiences a critical event and the emergent pattern of responses will influence the direction of change through later stages of its development.

Using this framework, one may characterize three main evolutionary transitions in human history. Agriculture marked the achievement of long-range predictive control over the food supply through intensive land use techniques. The Industrial Revolution liberated people from this direct symbiotic relationship to the land but severed their local dependence upon the land itself. The second industrial revolution constituted the emergence of human systems capable of large-scale intervention into natural systems, exemplified by human population growth and greater control over the earth's resources. This includes subterranean exploitation of energy and metals; vertical expansion into the atmosphere and oceans for nitrogen, minerals, and food: and control over areas of the electromagnetic spectrum. This last transition brought with it the power to transform the planet into a global system through environmental-exploitative techniques (Bennett 1976). The processes of control in the global system, that is extraction, production, distribution, transportation, and communication, are regulated by

diverse ideologies. Global pressures have required local communities to reinvent the symbolic and organizational elements of their cultures in the face of new technologies and ways of life.

At a different scale, local community, or locality, denotes both a physical space and a distinct sensory order where concentrations of people engage in complex networks of social relations (Leeds 1973). Primary relationships of kinship, friendship, and neighborliness, based upon face-to-face interaction, are the most immediate forms of association. Less personal relationships, based upon transaction, are the secondary modes of activity. A loose social organization derives from this multiplicity of contexts, events, and situations. Localities retain their flexible and somewhat amorphous structure because they can accommodate diverse social relationships within their boundaries and control the outcomes of most external intrusions. As highly organized segments of a population, localities support a social structure where individuals take on multiple roles within many cross-cutting networks. Within this configuration, social resources are viewed as potentials and as rights accrued by virtue of a person's status and role within each network. A locality strives to maintain internal control through everyday routines and rituals, and through the networks that govern interpersonal behavior. Local power resides in the internal control of both human and material resources and tends to limit the encroachment of external institutions, such as state or corporate bureaucracies.

The concept of sustainable development, as framed by Redclift (1987), links the transfer of capital, labor, and natural resources within the global economic system. Through a comparative framework that situates the historical role of the environment within capitalist development, Redclift views resource exploitation and structural underdevelopment in the southern hemisphere as a consequence of environmental change in the industrialized northern hemisphere. With global change, localities throughout the world have undergone ecological crises, such as resource depletion, changes in land use, and biodiversity loss. These conditions are frequently accompanied by anthropogenic hazards, such as climate change, greenhouse warming, and emerging epidemic diseases, as well as chaotic environmental episodes such as drought, flooding, and violent storms. Despite efforts to maintain internal control of their economies, many localities become enmeshed in global markets and, as a result, experience increased pressures to change their styles of work and land tenure practices, and to specialize in order to remain competitive. Local communities not only become dependent upon external market forces but are also bound by the policies of development programs designed to introduce technological change. In the past, localities would call upon culture to guide decisions about resource use, as in the case of sustained yield resource management. Locally determined strategies were directed to sustaining an internal equilibrium and were not motivated by demands from outside the local system (Bennett 1976).

Delocalization results when people become less affected with local concerns, especially in decisions about the management of common resources, and in their stance towards their neighbors who have been marginalized by consequences of global change (National Science Foundation 1995). Through its encounter with these displacements, the new ecological anthropology has come to view the community as embedded within larger systems at the regional, national, and international levels, and to study the impact of a multitiered and globalizing world on the locality (Marcus 1995; Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Kottak 1999; Burawoy 2000). This new paradigm recognizes the importance of cultural mediations in ecological processes at a time when local ethnoecologies are being transformed by development, biodiversity conservation, environmentalism, and the influence of NGOs (Brosius 1999; Escobar 1999). Within political ecology, environmental justice research has addressed the ways poor communities organize to confront disproportionate, high, and adverse environmental exposure (Pastor 2001, 2002; Harper & Rajan 2002).

The global economy has led to the transformation of cities, such as New York, London, Tokyo, Sydney, Toronto, Miami, and Los Angeles, into "transnational market spaces" more oriented to world markets than to their national economies (Sassen 1994). Global cities are strategic places in the world economy where the centralized control and management operations required to direct a geographically dispersed array of economic activities are located. As the hubs of global financial markets, these cities are places where there is considerable foreign direct investment and where the broader social structure has grown more international. Their workforces deliver highly specialized services, including finance, telecommunications, and advertising, to diverse linguistic and cultural communities worldwide.

The emergence of globally oriented service industries within these cities, together with the decline of mass production, has created new inequalities and economic polarization. There is a growing earnings disparity between those within the city linked to the international economy and those who remain marginal to it. There is also a disparity in consumption patterns between those employed in the major growth sectors that have high-paying jobs and the low-wage workers employed by small, low-cost service operations. Economic globalization has contributed to a "new geography of centrality and marginality" that elevates certain localities as central to the international economy, while rendering others marginal to the production and distribution of global capital. The turn from the local toward the global resulted in the population movements and dislocations that characterize a crisis, referred to as "late capitalism" or "post-Fordism," first in the developed northern hemisphere, and more recently in the rapidly developing southern hemisphere (Harvey 1989).

Networks and Reorientation

The dislocations caused by the extreme situations of our time have spawned a new pattern of strategic coping, especially when established mechanisms cannot respond adequately to the community's needs. Consequently, various mediating structures–social networks, mutual aid groups, cooperatives, and associations based on ethnic, community, and voluntary ties–move into the vacuum to act as pathways through crisis. These informal social resources promote strategies for survival amid the fragmentation that accompanies dislocation (Fischer 1982). Through them, individuals become cognizant of alternative forms of problem solving, help seeking, and negotiating after crises. Those who embrace these resources gain support and mutual aid, but they also realize an expressive dimension through their participation. The forms of association mobilized during a crisis affect survivors' lives since their sense of belonging reduces the isolation that results from dislocation, and the emergent ties help survivors restore their psychological and social equilibrium. Through facing a crisis and coping with peers in voluntary efforts, survivors learn pragmatic strategies of self-construction. These social milieus cultivate a collective strength and a personal identity, one capable of surviving the multiple crises of late modernity. This form of engagement, called "life politics" by Giddens (1991), concerns issues, such as environmental risks, nuclear power, food security, and reproductive technologies, where self-identity is influenced by globalizing processes.

Networks of civil engagement–mutual aid organizations and other small-scale voluntary associations–were essential to community life in the face of myriad dislocations that marked the onset of modernity in the United States, Western Europe, and elsewhere. Robert Putnam (1993) and his associates have demonstrated, through extensive study of the role of civic traditions in the development of contemporary Italian regional governments, that denser mutual support networks in a community ensure a greater likelihood of civic engagement. Since the medieval period, civic legacies in the towns of northern and central Italy were built upon institutions that supported social solidarity, such as voluntary associations and mutual aid societies. These networks of civic engagement were crucial to the management of collective life in Italian communal republics.

The roots of civic community were thus embedded in a pattern of associational life that traced its ancestry to earlier periods of civic inventiveness. Nineteenth-century Italy saw such a situation as local communities, governed for centuries by civic republicanism, were obliged to develop new forms of collective action for mutual benefit to confront the risks of a rapidly changing social order. In facing the dislocations associated with modernity, localities throughout Italy relied on their civic traditions to guide them in forging a new sense of civic commitment. The emergent "modern" form of civic community, built upon cooperative organizations, cultural associations, and other vehicles for civic

mobilization created amid the turmoil of nineteenth-century life, was largely responsible for the success of the regional governments established in northern and central Italy during the 1970s. As they did when their cultural fabrics were rapidly transformed by technological and social advances associated with nation-building and industrialization a century ago, contemporary Italian localities called upon their civic traditions to direct them in the task of reshaping civic culture in the face of regionalization. In these regional governance efforts, cities and their surrounding rural areas framed joint strategies that both stabilized urban fresh food supplies and created clusters of rural industries that extended from the factory to cottage levels. Similar strategies have been adopted in France and Holland, as well as by the European Union.

By comparison, in the United States, massive transformations of civic life during the 1960s and 1970s have brought about considerably different outcomes. For one thing, there has been a tendency to polarize urban areas from rural areas, strengthening transnational market spaces at the expense of sustainable communities and local food networks. Further, the American civic universe has since been characterized by national advocacy organizations that are professionally dominated and far less dependent upon voluntary participation than were the local membership organizations of previous eras (Skocpol 2003). As a result, the public sphere where people actively engage in politics and policy-making has changed (Calhoun 1992). In the United States and elsewhere in the North, the move away from local associations to global advocacy organizations has had an impact on local communities worldwide. Until recently, these localities have used cultural dynamics similar to the ones Putnam describes to survive the transition to urban, industrial life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and to confront the turbulence of globalization in our own times.

However, there have also been changes in the global "Third Sector" as a result of the transformation of NGOs within national societies of the North (Salamon & Anheier 1997; Anheier & Toepler 1999). In the area of sustainability and natural resource management, significant amounts of international donor monies have been appropriated for interventions on behalf of biodiversity conservation and land stabilization (Brosius, Tsing & Zerner 1998). Consequently, NGO-initiated community-based conservation projects frequently conflate the local knowledge of indigenous resource-owning residents with the well-meaning conservationist initiatives of transnational NGOs (Igoe 2003; Hviding 2003). Through these projects, local-level movements for control over natural resources frequently link up with NGO-inspired transnational advocacy networks. Much of the recent debate, emerging from the convergence of local and global interests through these movements, involves the way each set of actors has come to interpret local knowledge (Dumoulin 2003).

The cases that comprise the book further explore the ways local communities have reinvented themselves using cultural knowledge to blend traditional

sentiments with fully modern sensibilities, and to sustain both local and regional networks and the sense of cultural identity amid large-scale dislocations within their own societies and in the international economy. Therefore, following the lead of Eric Wolf (1982) and other anthropologists and social scientists, in general, who have been "rediscovering" history in the social sciences, the authors attempt to place recent examples of social formations related to sustaining natural resources and preserving cultural knowledge into a larger context.

Local and Global Knowledges

The first set of essays focuses on conflicts between local and global knowledges in biomes, such as tropical rainforests and rivers. Claude Raynaut and his coauthors provide a critical analysis of the notion of sustainability, showing that, even when applied to a local place and to issues of protection and preservation of nature and of local cultures, it cannot be established upon clear, ready-made criteria that could guide an attempt to reach a stable, long-lasting situation of natural and social equilibrium. Thomas Thornton looks at problems that come about when indigenous communities develop regional and village-level business corporations to manage land, resources, and income. These local practices will often conflict with state regulations to conserve wild, renewable resources, such as fish, plants, and wildlife, as a legal way to enhance their sustainability. Johanna Gibson calls for an expansion of the concept of "place-centered community" to include collective values, such as shared identity and mutual responsibility in facing the potential loss of connection to the land. In other words, "community" can be understood as including indigenous biological resources and an ethos of preservation of cultural diversity within a globalizing framework of biodiversity. Dario Novellino argues that despite expanded notions of community that include ecological sustainability and protection of biodiversity, there remains a threat to local knowledge and practices because of conflicting priorities. As a result of their efforts to promote local knowledge, both government and NGO conservationists come into conflict with the ways of perceiving and using natural resources by traditional communities. On the other hand, the indigenous people themselves have difficulties in conceiving of a unitary notion of "culture" and "community" that could serve a political function.

Local Practices: Adaptive Strategies and State Responses

This set of essays concerns local practices in communities in transition, focusing on the conflicts between innovative adaptive strategies used by local communities to preserve resources and ways of life, and regulative responses by state

agencies. Krista Harper analyzes environmental politics and activism during the post-socialist transformation of Central and Eastern Europe. The spatial dimensions of urban-rural inequalities and marginalization are presented in the context of both a growing environmental awareness and new advocacy organizations among ethnic populations. The ensuing tension between environmental justice and mainstream environmentalism challenges existing notions of sustainability. Deborah Pellow describes how the dual processes of transnational migration and the preservation of sustainable foodways help maintain the informal sector of urban ethnic enclaves. Many ethnic neighborhoods have local markets that sell prepared ethnic foods made by migrants from rural and tribal areas. In the cosmopolitan neighborhoods of Third World cities, one finds a "creolization" of food consumption in that both local and Western cuisines are co-present in these "globalized local communities." State public health agencies have become increasingly concerned with the conditions under which such foods are produced, stored, and distributed. Janet Benson discusses how the evolution of agricultural practices in the 1960s provided a basis for the development of rural "industrialization," namely meatpacking and agribusiness. This trend was coupled with the use of transnational migrant labor and led to municipal growth in farming areas. As a result, state services have increased, since town dwellers have greater needs for public health, education, and social services. Current practices have led to major water conservation issues and threaten agricultural sustainability in the region. Barbara Yablon Maida and Carl Maida examine residents' attitudes toward land use and development and the perceptions of the visual landscape in a rapidly urbanizing agricultural area. After voters passed measures that would ideally control development infringement onto agricultural land and preserve open space, residents and experts designed quality of life indicators to measure features of the economy, social well-being, and environmental health. Civic engagement was crucial to the indicator design process.

Social Capital, Civic Engagement, and Globalization

The third set of essays regards practices that tend to increase social capital in local communities, such as civic engagement and the design of sustainable development indicators. Critical perspectives on cultural practices of consumption and on community self-sufficiency are offered to assist localities in meeting the challenges of globalization. Kenneth Meter describes how residents, technical experts, and professional researchers formed new urban partnerships to address environmental concerns and prevent pollution, and in the process devised new tools that are applicable globally. In an effort to engage residents directly in defining indicators of neighborhood sustainability for their own communities, participants defined linkages among issues that are typically viewed as separate. Karla Caser looks at dynamics in coastal communities as new businesses, primarily ecotourism

and commercial travel and tourism, and upwardly mobile residents enter the area. This influx has led to an altered landscape, as well as changes in both class relations and lifestyles that have held the community together for generations. A case study looks at how changes in the physical environment hinder community identity and channel people's use of space, decreasing social capital especially for low-income residents. Bourdieu's praxeology is used to develop an account of the ways by which the built environment objectifies social capital. Such "physical-social capital" symbolically and physically constrains social interaction and engenders shared identity and predictability. The framework is considered especially useful for design professionals, equipping them with critical tools for creating environments responsive to society's contemporary needs while building inclusive communities of place.

Two essays address theoretical issues related to the ongoing debate on globalization and local knowledge. Richard Westra reflects on how the abstract and impersonal effects of globalization on the human "life-world" tend to neglect the human cultural goals of caring, mutual aid, accountability, and shared governance. As a corrective and perhaps reparative strategy, communities of place can attempt to re-embed their local economies in the "life-world," through sustainable practices that increase self-sufficiency and personal autonomy. In this way, local communities can potentially insulate themselves from the ravages of global markets. Snježana Čolić discusses the prospect of sustainability within a globalizing world and how global culture has come to eclipse local knowledge with respect to resource needs and thereby moved localities to embrace more universalist consumption practices, including media and other knowledge commodities of advanced capitalist societies. With these practices come forms of global knowledge that may even include new styles of citizenship and regulations supporting resource conservation, biodiversity, and sustainable development. Moreover, the new media conveying these commodities create a "cultural space of the global" that is relatively void of context; the attendant cognitive dissonance, anxiety, and insecurity will often provoke a sense of cultural disenchantment. To critically analyze the various ways sustainable ideas and practices, in the context of globalization, have brought about dynamic changes in local communities, as the papers in this volume demonstrate, anthropologists will have to approach the study of culture through multiple perspectives, based upon the interests and needs of particular societies, rather than the universalist interests of any single ideological, historical, or methodological tradition.

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