Technological Determinism, Civil Liberties, and the Taboo of Diminishing Returns

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Abstract

While phrases like "technological evolution" and "technological progress" are frequently used in both the mainstream press and scientific journals to explain or justify broad social changes, closer examination reveals serious problems with this way of thinking.

The use of evolution in reference to technology is fundamentally metaphorical, fallacious, and a threat to both democratic institutions and human ecology.

The fallacy is precisely the secular equivalent of "intelligent design" among religious creationists, with similarly troubling implications.

"Technological evolution" is furthermore used to frame "progress" in terms of natural processes rather than economic policies, forming the nucleus of an ideology that is profoundly influential but largely overlooked due to its effective invisibility as an ideology.

"Progress" must end, and ending "progress" requires a realistic appraisal of the **diminishing returns** associated with investments in technology, and, accordingly, a shift in how resources are allocated.

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> graphic tracking information for a particular cell phone.

In 1979, information about phone calls apart from content could only include numhers dialed and time and duration of those

> hich Smith v. Marysted that any data

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law enforcement such questions in legal authority to on as they can. Adtend to answer the

"Evolution of technology may call into question legal concepts formulated in an earlier technological context."

ments narrow the scope of information these agencies may collect.

More generally, the U.S. government has advocated an interpretation that querving a database is the threshold event that defines a search. Privacy advocates strenuously disagree, arguing that capturing data should be regarded as search. Such questions arise because computer-based searches are different from human searches, but their answers are judgments about the formulation of national policy.

LOCAL VERSUS INTERNATIONAL STOR-AGE OF DATA. As U.S. companies increasingly store data abroad for a variety of business reasons, how and to what extent, if any, does U.S. government access to such data require legal assent of the nations where data

other. Few people object to the phone company's collecting metadata for billing purposes. But they may object to bulk collection of such information by government agencies.

Data that are not collected provide the maximal degree of privacy protection but are, by definition, unusable. Use-based privacy provides more flexibility in using data, but the degree of privacy protection depends on the scope of approved uses and on compliance to rules governing use. Perfect compliance with use-based protections cannot be assured, and thus, policy-makers must determine what level of noncompliance would make such protections ineffective.

SECURING VERSUS SURVEILLING. The U.S. government has sought to promote a global Internet that is safe, secure, and reliable. To this end, it undertakes many efforts, e.g., developing global standards to ensure secure communications. But it has been suggested that some parts of the U.S. government have sought to weaken standards for secure communication and to penetrate seemingly secure data communications pathways and storage facilities.

Whether or not the allegations about U.S.

INSIGHTS

An overly tight mucus grip in cystic fibrosis p. 730 Getting to O. in photosynthesis p. 736



PERSPECTIVES



Technology's limited role in resolving debates over digital surveillance

Teasing apart technical issues from social and political issues

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Most new technology comes from industrial-scale corporations.

Corporations are chartered by law and regulated by policy.

If a commercial technological development challenges a legal framework, why does this cause us to re-examine the law, rather than reconsider the need for a new technology?

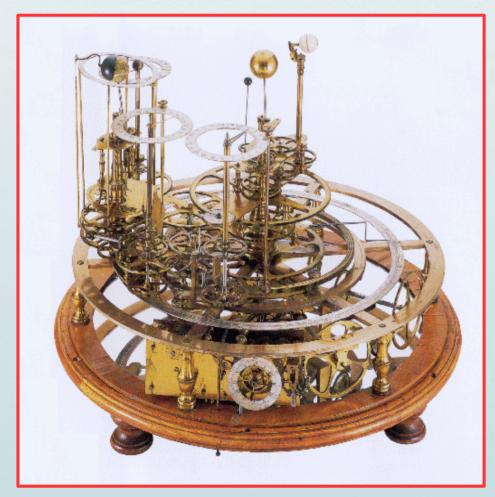
Why do corporations and think tanks get to influence the law simply by invoking "technological evolution?"

Herbert Lin, "Technology's Limited Role in Debates over Digital Surveillance." *Science*, 15 August 2014.

The use of evolution in reference to technology is fundamentally metaphorical, fallacious, and a threat to both democratic institutions and human ecology.



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Within the Mechanical Tradition in western science, the Newtonian "clockwork universe" is used to describe natural processes in terms of **immutable laws** rather than Providence or "occult" influences.

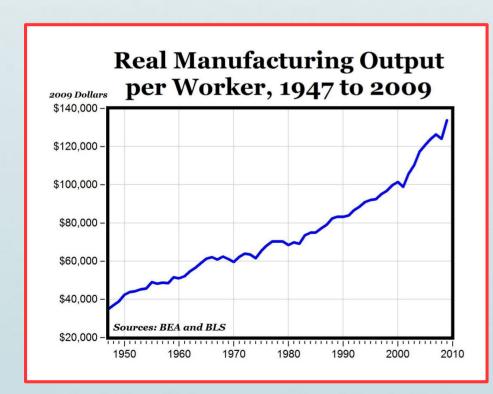
In reference to technology, the terms "progress," "evolution," "development" and "change" are often used as synonyms.

Technology does not "evolve" because it is strategic planning, boards of directors, and market equilibrium (oligopoly) among major industrial firms — rather than "natural selection" — that determines how technologies develop.

Discussing technological change as "evolution" frames technology as a deterministic, logically necessary *law of nature*, rather than as the result of specific *policy decisions* by government officials in conjunction with the goals of organized industry.

The use of evolution in reference to technology is fundamentally metaphorical, fallacious, and a threat to both democratic institutions and human ecology.

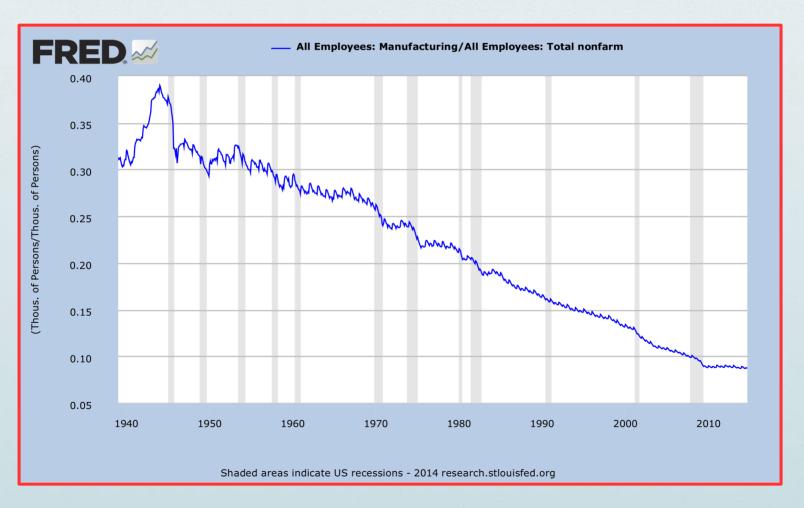
By invoking popular notions about the *amoral* objectivity of science, the doctrine of "technological evolution" *creates a moral problem for society's relationship to organized industry* by obscuring the role of *human intentionality (and, thus, of moral responsibility)* with respect to the social consequences of commercial technology products.





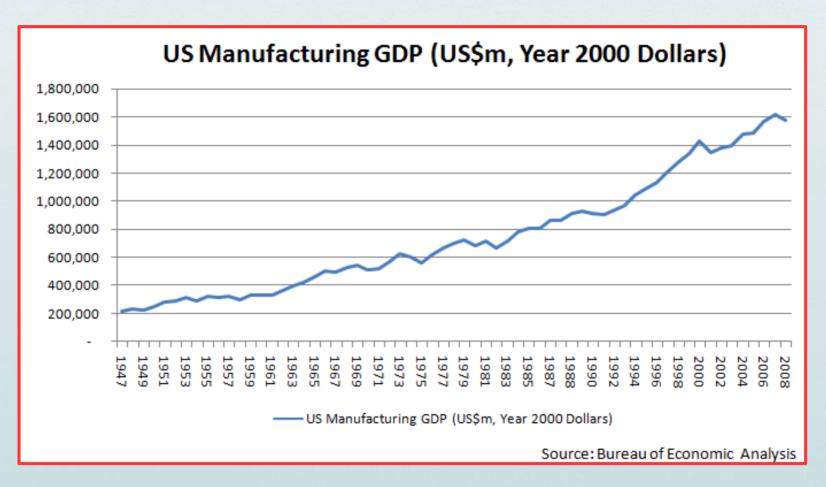
Left, data from the US Bureaux of Economic Analysis and Labor Statistics show gains in worker productivity resulting from automation. *Right, Modern Times* (1936), The Tramp strapped into a workplace feeding machine to dramatize the human impact of technology on labor.

The use of evolution in reference to technology is fundamentally metaphorical, fallacious, and a threat to both democratic institutions and human ecology.



WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOSS OF MANUFACTURING JOBS, WAGES, BENEFITS, AND TAX REVENUE CAUSED BY WORKPLACE AUTOMATION?

The use of evolution in reference to technology is fundamentally metaphorical, fallacious, and a threat to both democratic institutions and human ecology.



DO WORKERS DESERVE A SHARE OF THEIR INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY? *
DO THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM THE ELIMINATION OF JOBS HAVE A SOCIAL
OBLIGATION TO THOSE HARMED BY LOST JOB OPPORTUNITIES?

The fallacy is precisely the secular equivalent of "intelligent design" among religious creationists, with similarly troubling implications.

Religious fundamentalists who advocate the "intelligent design" of nature commit a fallacy, since nature is **not** *teleological*, or, designed with intent to satisfy a specific purpose.

Scientistic ideologues who promote "technological evolution" commit a fallacy, since technology is *teleological*, or, designed with intent to satisfy one or another specific purpose.

The fallacy is precisely the secular equivalent of "intelligent design" among religious creationists, with similarly troubling implications.

The use of "technological evolution" to *explain* technological change as an amoral, objective process (like the laws of nature) leads to problematic inferences about the social consequences of technology policy:

"Technology is neither good nor bad, but can be used for good or bad." *

"Nerve gas is neither good nor bad, but can be used for good or bad."

"Thermonuclear weapons are neither good nor bad, but can be used for good or bad."

"Cold War nuclear stockpiles were neither good nor bad, but could be used* for good or bad."

"The decision to develop thermonuclear weapons was neither good nor bad, but could be used for good or bad."

"The decision to deploy * thermonuclear weapons in WWII was neither good nor bad, but could be used for good or bad." *

"Technological evolution" is furthermore used to frame "progress" in terms of natural processes rather than economic policies, forming the nucleus of an ideology that is profoundly influential but largely overlooked due to its effective invisibility **as** an ideology.

"One would encounter less dispute, on the whole, by questioning the sanctity of the family or religion than the absolute merit of technical progress."

"No other social goal is more strongly avowed than economic growth. No other test of social success has such nearly unanimous acceptance as the annual increase in the **Gross National Product**. And this is true of all countries developed or undeveloped; communist, socialist, or capitalist."

"The Communist countries have been greater or less rivals of the non-Communist states in accordance with their greater or less increase in output."

"There are differences of opinion between Communist and non-Communist scholars on the validity of the statistics and concepts which are employed in the two worlds to measure economic growth. But there is no disagreement on the validity of the goal itself."

- John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (1967)

"Progress" must end, and ending "progress" requires a realistic appraisal of the diminishing returns associated with investments in technology, and, accordingly, a shift in how resources are allocated.

Eli Kintisch, "Fund climate intervention research, study says." *Science*, 23 February 2015.

he U.S. government should fund research in the contentious field of climate engineering, the National Research Council (NRC) declared this week. One tome of the hefty, two-vamines so-called albedo modification—oncepts for cooling the planet by snading it, for example by spreading particles in the stratosphere or by making clouds more reflective. The other scrutinizes carbon dioxide removal techniques, which directly reduce the amount of greenhouse gas in the atmosphere, by using giant carbon-sucking ma-

Neither "intervention" is "a replacement for reducing carbon emissions" in combating climate change, the authors stressed in a statement. But they concluded that albedo modification—the more controversial of the options—requires a

chines, for instance.

"increasingly likely" that carbon removal and storage technologies will be needed "to avoid the worst impacts of climate change." But any move to

informed by a far more substantive body of sci-

LIMATE SCIENCE

Fund climate intervention research, study says

U.S. needs more science to understand sun-blocking, carbon-removal technologies

"might translate into gove says climate scientist Dav vard University. "It might sion' that [federal] prograt they need to move ahead."

Previous funding initiatered. In 2001, a draft Energy (DOE) plan called \$64 million research effort squelched that proposal, ficial Aristides Patrinos scause it didn't match as DOE also feared "adverse pless of the merits of the renoted. In Congress, says

A Canadian firm envisions carbon-sucking fans (artist

rvey and now editor-in-chief of Science light translate into government action,' ye climate scientist David Keith of Harrd University. "It might be the 'permison' that [federal] program managers feeey need to move ahead." Previous funding initiatives have fal-

y freet to move aniest, and the graph of the



s carbon-sucking fans (artist's concept) that could help cool the planet

ntative Bart Gordon (D-TN), who once the House of Representatives science ent, the idea faced skeptics from both ght and left—from conservative lawmaks who felt it addressed a nonexistent reat and from environmentalists worried at geoengineering would sap support for nissions cuts.

nissions cuts.
The field continued to get the cold shoulrunder President Barack Obama. In 2009.
En news reports suggested that White
suse science adviser John Holdren had pel
ch studies in play, Holdren felt compel
shout down the idea. Among policymak, the message was clear: The topic was
boo. It's telling that the new report was
figinally requested by the CIA, although
veral research agencies, including Dof
d MSAS, ultimately belped pay for Di.
Red MSAS, ultimately belped pay for Di.

Corrected 12 February 2015; see full text Published by AAAS The report offers few specific guidelines for new funding, But it emphasizes that albedo modification potentially poses greater risks than carbon removal, because it involves large-scale changes to the atmosphere. The panel concludes that major experiments should not advance unit be government establishes a 'deliberative process' for weighing environmental risks. Both research areas should be managed by the cross-agency U.S. Global Change Research Program, it suggests, embedding such studies within mainstream climate science. Yet the authors warm that mixing

> effect" on funding such basic studies. Some scientists think a dedicated research program would be less likely to "contaminato" (limpte science

NEWS | IN DEPTH

Researchers are eager to see how the government responds. Keith leads a team that wants funding to release hall a kilogram of sulfuric acid particles into the stratosphere to see how sulfate haze—a possible sunshade—would affect coone (Science, 18 October 2013, p. 307). "The agencies say they're waiting for guidance from OSTP [the White House OSTP]

Office of Science and Technology Policy], but OSTP says the agencies can do what they want," he says. (OSTP declined to address Keith's comment.)

Some loope there poor twill can'd and and bard look—and help the United States awould the look—and help the United States awould the controversies that have crippled climate en ginering research elsewhere. In the United Kingdom, the Royal Society in 2000 recommended a decadelong, £100 million research program. Six years later, it has funded just htree projects, and the first—which involved using a balloon to release water vapor 1000 meters up—del after controversy over patents and opposition from environment all groups. The lesson, says physiciat Tim Kruger of the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom, is that "for any proposed technique to be depluyable, it needs both to work technically and sociality."

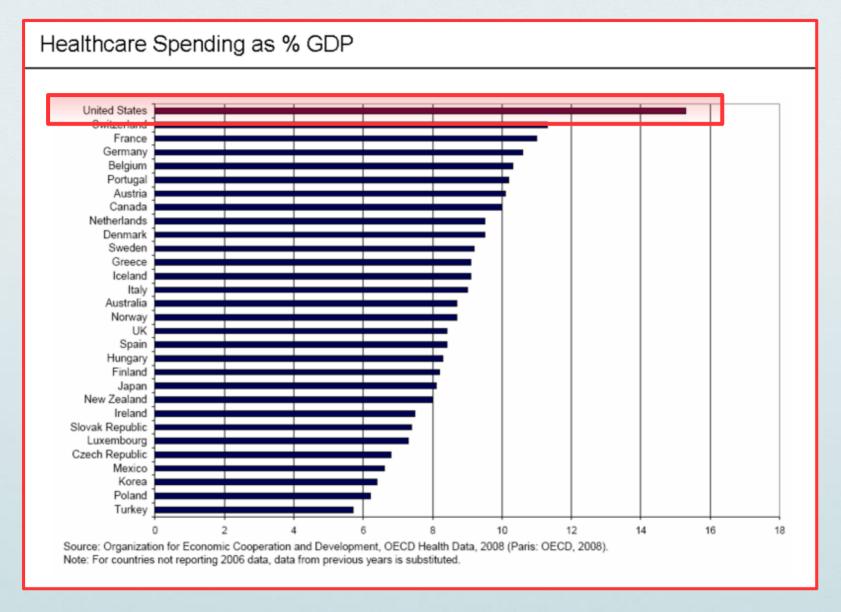
13 FEBRUARY 2015 • VOL 347 ISSUE 6223 705

Is it rational as a policy position to expect technical solutions to the problems caused by technology itself?

Rather than develop new technologies to mitigate the harmful consequences of current technologies, a straightforward policy solution to CO2 emissions, for example, is to reduce energy use by increasing its cost (though this may impact growth & "progress). *

Reducing use avoids the problem of diminishing returns.

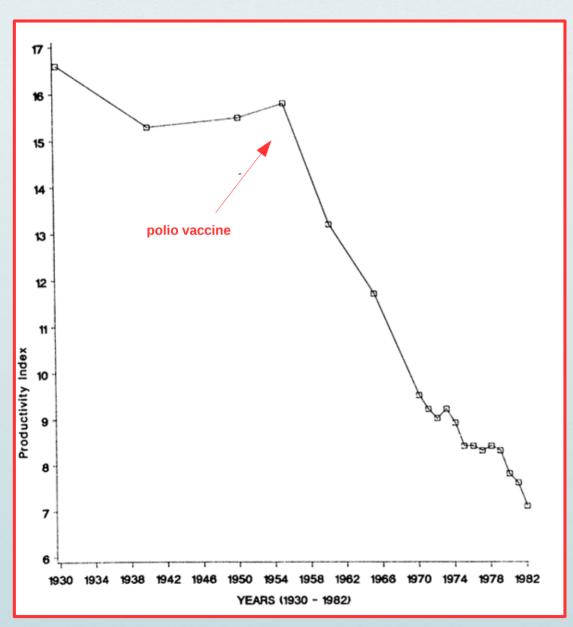
EXERCISE 1 – "PROGRESS" IN MODERN MEDICINE



Americans do not live 25% longer than the Swiss, French, or Germans. Like any other business, societal investments modern medicine are subject to the economic law of diminishing returns. As a law, diminishing returns is not an explanation but a description: Newton's laws of gravity say nothing about what this invisible force is, while Einstein's theory of relativity explains gravity in terms of a curved space-time continuum.

EXERCISE 1 – "PROGRESS" IN MODERN MEDICINE

"Advancement of Medical Science" or "Diminishing Returns"



Productivity of the US health care system, 1930-82.

Productivity index = (Life Expectancy) / (National Health expenditures as a percent of GNP)

Modern medicine is largely successful due to a small number of innovations:

- 1) Sanitation and hygiene (1847)
- 2) Anesthetics and Analgesics
- 3) Antibiotics (developed for ~ \$20,000)
- *4) Preventative medicine (vaccine)*

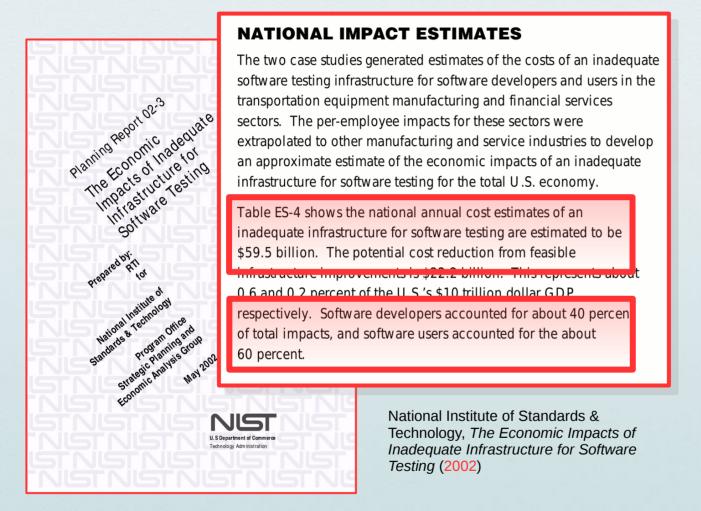
Modern medicine today is increasingly concerned with mitigating the negative consequences of industrial civilization itself on **diet**, **lifestyle**, **and habitat**.

Medical discoveries today solve increasingly esoteric problems -- at increasing costs -- for fewer patients.

From Joseph Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge University Press, 1988).

EXERCISE 2 – PROGRESS IN COMPUTING TECHNOLOGY

"Newer is Better" or "Diminishing Marginal Utility"



Adjusted for inflation, \$59.5 billion equals \$78.9 billion in 2015 dollars.

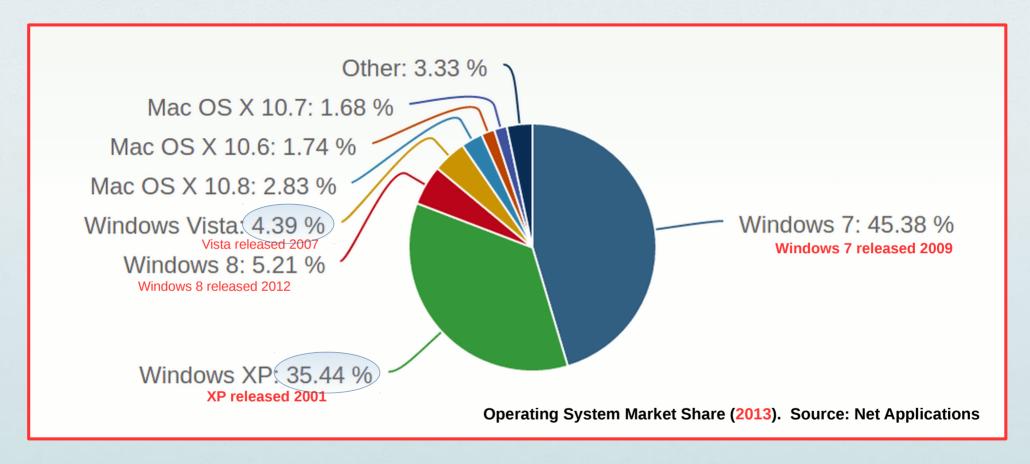
End users subsidize technological growth through indirect costs associated with software upgrades, such as lost productivity due to bugs or interface changes, updated system requirements, incompatibilities, and overhead (IT departments).

"For better or poorer, the only two products not covered by product liability today are religion and software, and software should not escape for much longer."

- Dan Geer, Cybersecurity as Realpolitic (Blackhat Keynote, 2014)

EXERCISE 2 – PROGRESS IN COMPUTING TECHNOLOGY

"Newer is Better" or "Diminishing Marginal Utility"



At the end of 2013, over 30% of computers on the planet were running Windows XP, a 12-year-old, "functionally obsolete" operating system (which, over time, proved *good enough for a great many users*). Windows 95 was a commercial success because it was far superior to DOS. Windows Vista, a notorious flop, was not comparably superior to its predecessors (like XP).

EXERCISE 3 – EVOLUTION AND MARKETS NEVER ERR

"Humans are Tool Making Animals" or "Why Nukes Are a Survival Advantage"

Progress in Perspective (scale: 1 million years = 1,000 pixels)

The average longevity of a mammal species is 1,000,000 years

As an organizing principle of social order in the West, the ideology of progress is only about 200 years old. Although Antiquity acknowledged a "primitive" past, humankind was considered in a degraded state compared to a remote Golden Age. In Christendom, Eden was a lost paradise. The Renaissance venerated Antiquity. The idea that knowledge, society, and technology can be made to constantly improve dates to the Enlightenment, and has threatened ecological catastrophe in the geological blink of an eye. There is little empirical evidence that our big brains are a distinct survival advantage.

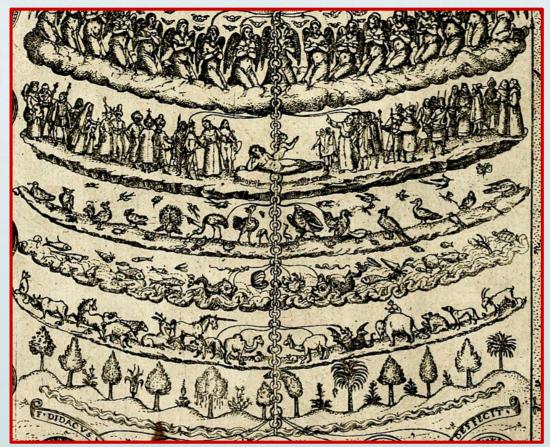
Neanderthals endured for about 350,000 years.

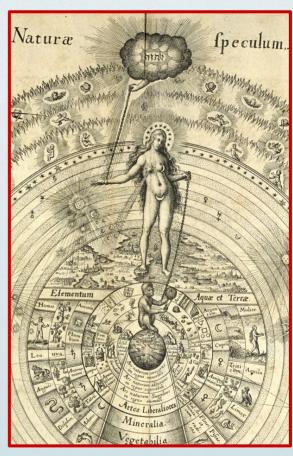
Behaviorally modern humans first appeared 50,000 ago

As an ideology and social mythology, progress is only about 200 years old

EXERCISE 3 – EVOLUTION AND MARKETS NEVER ERR

"Humans are Tool Making Animals" or "Are Nukes a Survival Advantage?"





Our ideas about progress derive from medieval conceptions of the scala naturae, or "great chain of being," which continues to influence perceptions of our role on the planet today: since "god is dead" we talk about humanity at "the top of the food chain" or "the most evolved" species on the planet. We apply this same thinking when we assume new technologies always improve the quality of our lives when, in many cases, this is only true when qualified as "convenience" or "distraction."

"More Technology is Always Better"

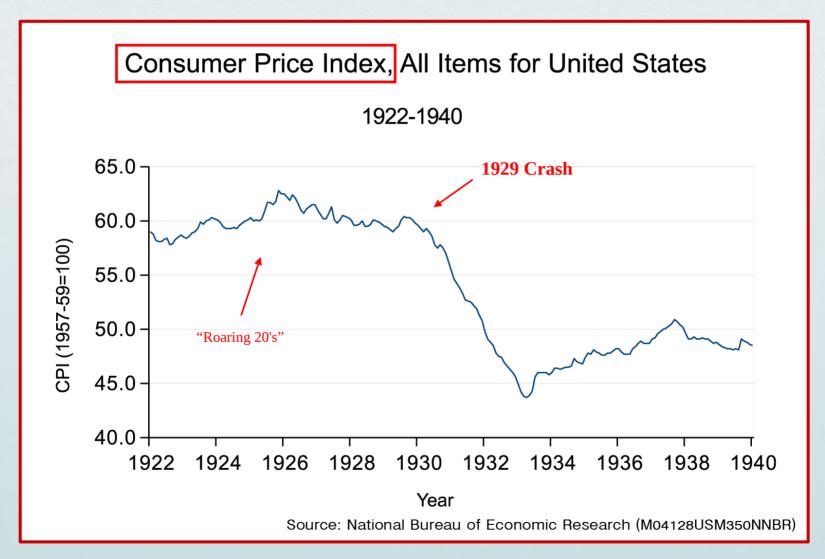
Average Annual Rates of Labor Productivity and Capital Productivity Growth

	Average Annual	Average Annual
<u>Period</u>	Labor Productivity Growth	Capital Productivity Growth
1899-1909	1.30%	-1.62%
1909-1919	1.14%	-1.95%
1919-1929	5.44%	4.21%
1929-1937	1.95%	2.38%

Source: Devine, Warren Jr. (1983), Table 2 "From Shafts to Wires: Historical Perspectives on Electrification." *The Journal of Economic History* vol. 43

During World War I, American agricultural output increased dramatically to supply grain to Europe. The years leading up to the Great Depression were, accordingly, some of the most productive on record. After the war, American agriculture underwent heavy industrialization, which increased supply further, while European demand began to decline...

"More Technology is Always Better"



In the postwar years, as mechanization and automation caused supply to far outstrip demand, prices collapsed.

"More Technology is Always Better"

The most hungry years of the Great Depression were some of the most productive on record.

This social and economic disaster was compounded, paradoxically, by abundance: policy makers failed to organize an adequate system to regulate technological output in light of its social consequences.

Source: USDA Agricultural Statistics (1939)

iways Di	Stici											
TABLE 1	Table 1.—Wheat: Acreage, production, value, and foreign trade, United States, 1866-1938—Continued											
				Season price per bushel received by farmers	Farm value	Price per bushel at—		Foreign trade, including flour, year beginning July 4				
Year	Acre-	Average yield	Produc-			Chi-	Minne-	_		Net exports ?		
Teat	har- vested	per acre	tion			cago, year begin- ning July ²	apolis, year begin- ning July 3	Do- mestic ex- ports	Im- ports	Total	Per- cent- age of pro- duc- tion	
1916 1917 1918	46, 787 61, 068	13, 2	1,000 bushels 634,572 619,790 904,130	205.0	1,000 dollars 910,052 1,268,898 1,853,063	Cents 157 228 224	Cents 176 220 236	1,000 bushels 205, 962 132, 579 287, 402	1,000 bushels 24,960 31,215 11,289	181,067	Per- cent 28. 5 16. 6 30. 6	
1919 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924	73, 700 62, 358 64, 566 61, 397 56, 920	12.9 13.5 12.7 13.8 13.3	945, 409 952, 097 843, 277 818, 964 846, 649 759, 482	216.3		227 216 128 113 106	300 201 148 126 124	222, 030 369, 313 282, 566 224, 900 159, 880	17, 375 20, 031	216, 671 312, 625 265, 590 205, 079 131, 892	22.8 37.1 32.4 24.2 17.4	
1924 1925 1926 1927 1928	52, 463 52, 443 56, 616 59, 628 59, 226	16.0 12.8 14.7 14.7 15.4 12.9	800, 877 841, 617 668, 700 832, 213 875, 059 914, 373 800, 649	143.7 121.7	1, 012, 831 1, 041, 512	139 161 140 138 117	158 165 151 141 126	260, 803 108, 035 219, 160 206, 259 163, 687	6, 201 15, 679 13, 264 15, 734 21, 442	254, 695 92, 669 205, 994 190, 578 142, 301	30.3 13.8 24.8 21.8 15.6	
1929 1930 1931 1932 1933 1934	63, 332 62, 614 57, 681 57, 839 49, 438	13. 0 14. 2 16. 3 13. 1 11. 2 12. 2	823, 217 886, 470 941, 674 756, 927 551, 683 513, 213			130 84 53 53 94	130 82 71 61 91	153, 245 131, 475 135, 797 41, 211 37, 002	12, 956 19, 059 12, 886 9, 382 11, 494	140, 361 112, 435 123, 774 32, 284 25, 508	17. 0 12. 7 13. 1 4. 3 4. 6	
1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 °	43, 400 51, 229 48, 863	12. 1 12. 2 12. 8 13. 6 13. 3	526, 393 626, 344 626, 766 875, 676 930, 801	84.8 83.2 102.6 96.3 10 55.2	446, 367 521, 315 643, 183 842, 874 514, 231	102 104 117 118	116 126 147 128	21, 532 15, 929 21, 584 107, 194	25, 134 46, 638 47, 924 3, 561	8 3, 602 8 30, 709 8 26, 340 103, 633	11.8	

"More Technology is Always Better"

engines, and power spraying pumps complete. Data for tractors in 1924 and 1925 based

Table 627.—Farm equipment and related products manufactured and sold: Value by classes, United States, 1920-37															
			Sold in United States												
Year	Total manufac- tured	Total sold for export	Total	Plows and listers	Harrows, rollers, and pul- verizers	Planting machin- ery	Cultiva- tors and weeders	Harvest- ing ma- chinery	Haying machin- ery	Machines for pre- paring crops for market or use	Tractor and trac- tion engines	Horse- drawn vehicles	Barn and barnyard equip- ment	Miscel- laneous	Power group 1
1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930 1931 1932 6 1933 6	1,000 dollars 536,945 328,041 209,640 364,854 4 323,367 4 391,812 461,399 460,881 524,255 606,622 507,002 214,391	1,000 dollars 66,626 (2) 21,663 49,349 4 51,988 65,324 78,993 71,946 4 95,158 112,870 98,257 4 248	1,000 dollars 471, 442 (2) 222, 908 311, 976 4 277, 925 340, 271 364, 751 391, 869 4 402, 872 4 458, 091 4 382, 191 , 979	1,000 dollars 37,699 9,071 11,215 20,086 17,651 20,002 23,737 22,676 26,436 30,450 28,483 (2)	1,000 dollars 20,636 7,488 5,472 4 10,340 4 8,596 4 10,174 13,546 12,327 12,870 13,400 11,538 (2)	1,000 dollars 21,612 5,870 5,241 9,250 4 12,966 4 19,121 24,490 22,882 24,387 24,811 21,040 (²)	1,000 dollars 17, 296 6, 545 5, 571 4 13, 179 4 13, 432 17, 234 17, 041 13, 086 16, 534 20, 536 4 18, 729	1,000 dollars 30,626 8,977 11,242 17,032 14,849 23,468 29,161 38,823 48,641 53,655 42,030 (2)	1,000 dollars 19,667 6,776 8,831 14,017 12,158 12,247 12,858 14,850 13,760 17,311 14,060 (2)	1,000 dollars 34,749 15,032 19,873 22,918 4 19,987 4 27,617 25,445 28,948 25,149 24,825 18,862 (²)	1,000 dollars 165,799 (2) 53,861 77,418 474,063 492,507 105,002 131,667 122,281 155,406 133,055 (2)	1,000 dollars 40,929 (2) 13,410 23,156 15,408 17,457 11,965 8,961 9,406 8,194 4,754 (2)	1,000 dollars (2) 3 437 4,306 9,635 6,369 8,889 8,563 9,158 8,950 10,020 8,381 (2)	1,000 dollars 82,429 (2) 83,886 4 94,938 4 82,446 4 91,555 92,942 88,491 4 94,458 4 99,482 81,259 (2)	1,000 dollars 242,174
1934 ⁶	4 334, 210 487, 273 580, 048	4 24, 185 37, 045 64, 095	4 302, 259 409, 090 507, 147	17, 127 22, 523 28, 760	8, 221 11, 598 14, 507	14, 663 20, 692 25, 482	11, 396 16, 731 20, 256	25, 461 29, 605 50, 537	14, 708 15, 928 17, 028	14, 630 19, 088 21, 179	123, 433 171, 851 214, 192	7 5, 778 7 7, 755 7 8, 288	(8) (8) (8)	9 56, 899 9 79, 285 9 89, 080	157, 392 228, 231 293, 257
Data include power equipment as follows: Tractors, tractor plows, combines, grain threshers, corn huskers and shredders, power hay presses, power feed grinders, farm local factors. Farm wagons and horse-drawn trucks only. Farm wagons and horse-drawn trucks only. Farm wagons and horse-drawn trucks only.															

Source: USDA Agricultural Statistics (1939)

\$17,838,272

Value of engines shown separately as follows: 1935, \$9,942,451; 1936, \$14,033,704; 1937,

[&]quot; ... the present state of acute economic emergency being in part the consequence of a severe and increasing disparity between the prices of agricultural and other commodities, which ... has largely destroyed the purchasing power of farmers for industrial products .. and has seriously impaired the agricultural assets supporting the national credit structure ..."

"You Can't Reason with Nature, but You Can Tax a Corporation"

Why allow commerce to occupy such a central position in society if its causing the erosion of civil society and leading us to ecological catastrophe?

Why afford technological "progress" carte blanch to reorganize human societies on the basis of a metaphorical use of the word "evolution?"

Technological "evolution" is not a benign metaphor, but treats certain types of organized commerce as necessary.

The word "heresy" derives from the Greek "to choose."

We have a choice about how we wish to expend our resources: technology can be controlled by policy, and limits imposed in light of ecological concerns and economic limitations; or, we can have faith that a technical solution to the problems created by technology will appear miraculously, and save us from ourselves.

Additional Notes

Estimate of mammal species longevity: PBS Evolution Library, "The Current Mass Extinction" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/library/03/2/I_032_04.html)

Although 50,000 years ago is the conventional figure for behavioral modernity, good evidence of modern cognitive abilities can be found about 80,000 years ago in Christopher Henshilwood, et al. (2002): "Emergence of Modern Human Behavior: Middle Stone Age Engravings from South Africa," *Science* 295 (5558): 1278–1280. doi:10.1126/science.1067575

Neanderthal dates: Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, "Homo neanderthalis" (http://humanorigins.si.edu/evidence/human-fossils/species/homo-neanderthalensis)