



The Civilizational Sign-Flip:

Redefining Symbolic Value as Ecological Obligation Through a Triadic Systems Framework

R D Kitcey · Lernaean Research · Las Cruces, New Mexico USA

v. 2 rev January 17, 2026

Keywords: ecological debt, symbolic systems, Goodhart's law, incentive architecture, triadic frameworks, sustainability, monetary reform, externalities, systems dynamics, civilizational reform

Abstract

Contemporary economic systems exhibit a fundamental structural inversion: ecological degradation is systematically *mis-booked* as profit while restoration is recorded as cost. Drawing upon the Nature–Consciousness–Environment (NiCE) triadic framework, this paper demonstrates that this pattern represents a lawful systems dynamic rather than isolated ethical failures. We examine how symbolic abstractions—particularly monetary metrics—can become decoupled from the biophysical substrates they were designed to coordinate, producing what Goodhart (1975) termed the inevitable collapse of any measure that becomes a target. Extending this analysis through a 3×3 pathway model of mutually constitutive domains, we identify how dysfunction propagates automatically across Nature, Consciousness, and Environment while improvement propagates only conditionally (Strathern, 1997; Muller, 2018). The central theoretical contribution is the formalization of an ecological debt variable $D(t)$ that accrues intrinsically from biophysical violations and functions as an operative constraint rather than an optional narrative overlay. We propose that redesigning the Environment’s dominant symbol—currency—from a consequence-evading entitlement token to a consequence-restoring constraint variable constitutes a uniquely high-leverage intervention capable of reversing the sign of propagation across all nine N–C–E pathways. Empirical support is drawn from research on externality accounting (Pigou, 1920; Kapp, 1963), intrinsic motivation crowding (Deci et al., 1999; Ryan & Deci, 2000), institutional metric gaming (Campbell, 1979; Biagioli & Lippman, 2020), and ecological economics (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Jernelöv & Edenmark, 1992). The paper concludes with six non-gameable design rules for operationalizing ecological debt currency and discusses implications for governance, policy, and the emerging science of civilizational reform.

Contents

Abstract	2
1. Introduction.....	5
2. Theoretical Foundations.....	6
2.1 Goodhart's Law and the Corruption of Measures.....	6
2.2 The NiCE Triadic Framework	6
2.3 The Nine-Pathway Dynamics	7
2.4 Regimes: Stability, Thresholds, and Failure Modes	8
2.4.1 Symbolic Drift and Representational Regimes.....	8
2.4.2 Design Implication: Closing the Symbolic-Substrate Loop	10
2.5 The Asymmetric Propagation Law	10
2.5.1 The Thermodynamic Foundation.....	10
2.6 The Prophylactic Integrity Axiom	11
2.6.1 Core axiom restated	12
2.6.2 What a multi-domain reform model looks like in practice	12
2.6.3 Observational examples that approximate the axiom	13
3. The Profit Inversion: Ecological Debt Mis-booked as Success.....	16
3.1 The Boundary Selection Problem	16
3.2 The Trojan Horse Mechanism	16
3.3 Why This is a Triadic Failure	17
4. The Sign-Flip Solution: Engineering Constructive Gravity	18
4.1 The Design Challenge.....	18
4.2 Currency as Ecological Debt	18
4.3 Formalizing the Ecological Debt Variable	19
4.4 Six Non-Gameable Design Rules	19
5. The Nine-Pathway Sign-Flip: A Comprehensive Analysis	21
5.1 Cross-Pathway Integration.....	22
5.1 How the Sign-Flip Propagates Across Nine Pathways.....	22
5.1.1 Nature Pathways	22
5.1.2 Consciousness Pathways.....	23
5.1.3 Environment Pathways	23
6. Discussion	25
6.1 Theoretical Contributions	25
6.2 Empirical Grounding and Limitations	25

6.3 Implications for Governance.....	26
6.4 Toward a Science of Civilizational Reform.....	26
References.....	28

1. Introduction

Human civilization operates through symbolic systems—money, metrics, rankings, and status signals—that coordinate behavior across vast scales of space and time (Simmel, 1907/1978; Zelizer, 1994). These abstractions represent one of humanity’s most consequential innovations, enabling coordination complexity that would be impossible through direct exchange alone. Yet this same capacity for abstraction creates a systematic vulnerability: symbols can detach from the substrates they were designed to represent, producing what Strathern (1997) memorably termed the corruption of any measure that becomes a target.

The present paper addresses a specific manifestation of this vulnerability at civilizational scale: the systematic mis-booking of ecological debt as economic profit. Under contemporary accounting conventions, the dominant measure of economic success—profit—is frequently an artifact of boundary selection that draws the ledger tightly around immediate financial gains while excluding long-tail liabilities such as soil depletion, atmospheric carbon accumulation, biodiversity loss, and health degradation (Costanza et al., 1997; Dasgupta, 2021). The selection pressure that follows is straightforward: actors who can convert ecological substrate into symbolic claims fastest—while exporting costs beyond the accounting boundary—achieve competitive advantage (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Hornborg, 2012).

This paper employs the Nature–Consciousness–Environment (NiCE) triadic framework to analyze this pattern not as isolated moral failure but as predictable systems dynamics. The NiCE framework models human experience and behavior as emerging from the mutual constitution of three domains: Nature (N), encompassing biological capacities, energetic constraints, and embodied substrates; Consciousness (C), encompassing attention, meaning-making, values, and goal-directed behavior; and Environment (E), encompassing affordances, institutions, norms, and symbolic tools (Thompson, 2007; Di Paolo et al., 2017). The framework’s central ontological claim is that these three vertices do not merely interact but co-define each other, such that none can be fully specified without reference to the others.

We develop this analysis through four main sections. Section 2 establishes the theoretical foundations, reviewing evidence for Goodhart dynamics in institutional settings and explicating the NiCE framework’s nine-pathway structure. Section 3 presents the core argument: that the modern meaning of “profit” constitutes a systematic inversion that can be corrected only by redesigning the Environment’s dominant symbol such that its default gradient pulls toward ecological viability rather than extraction. Section 4 formalizes the ecological debt variable $D(t)$ and derives six non-gameable design rules for operationalizing it. Section 5 discusses implications for governance and civilizational reform.

2. Theoretical Foundations

2.1 Goodhart's Law and the Corruption of Measures

In 1975, British economist Charles Goodhart observed that “any observed statistical regularity will tend to collapse once pressure is placed upon it for control purposes” (Goodhart, 1975, p. 116). Originally formulated in the context of monetary policy—where targeting specific money supply aggregates prompted financial institutions to innovate substitute instruments that evaded the targets—this principle has since been recognized as a general law of measurement under incentive pressure (Chrystal & Mizen, 2003; Muller, 2018).

Campbell (1979) independently articulated a closely related insight: “The more any quantitative social indicator is used for social decision-making, the more subject it will be to corruption pressures and the more apt it will be to distort and corrupt the social processes it is intended to monitor” (p. 85). The mechanism is straightforward: when consequences are attached to metrics, agents rationally optimize the metric rather than the underlying outcome the metric was designed to track. This optimization need not involve deception; it can occur through perfectly legitimate shifts in resource allocation that maximize measured performance while degrading unmeasured dimensions (Holmstrom & Milgrom, 1991).

Empirical documentation of Goodhart effects spans diverse institutional domains. In education, high-stakes testing regimes have been shown to narrow curriculum to tested subjects, incentivize teaching to the test, and in extreme cases produce systematic cheating (Jacob & Levitt, 2003; Koretz, 2017). In academic publishing, citation metrics have spawned citation cartels, salami slicing of research, and strategic citation gaming (Biagioli & Lippman, 2020; Fire & Guestrin, 2018). In healthcare, performance metrics have been associated with gaming of waiting time statistics, patient selection to improve outcome metrics, and tunnel vision that neglects unmeasured quality dimensions (Mannion & Braithwaite, 2012; Bevan & Hood, 2006).

The NiCE framework interprets Goodhart dynamics as a special case of what it terms symbolic drift: the progressive decoupling of representational systems from the substrates they were designed to coordinate. When the Environment's dominant symbols detach from Nature's constraints, Consciousness adapts to the new reward landscape: meanings, identities, and status competitions reorganize around the symbol rather than the substrate. The system then becomes increasingly capable of maximizing abstractions while eroding the conditions that make any civilization possible.

2.2 The NiCE Triadic Framework

The NiCE framework extends familiar nature–nurture intuitions by elevating consciousness and symbolic context to co-equal explanatory status. It aligns with 4E cognition (embodied, embedded, extended, enactive) and with niche construction theory, while arguing that phenomenology and

policy selection must be explicitly represented in any adequate model of human behavior (Varela et al., 1991; Gallagher, 2017; Laland et al., 2000).

The framework's three vertices each encompass distinct domains of influence:

Nature (N) includes energetic budgets, plasticity bounds, evolved constraint priors, and embodiment. When this vertex is ignored, interventions typically make unrealistic malleability assumptions, produce burnout, or commit 'willpower' errors that underestimate the role of physiological states in behavioral regulation (McEwen, 1998; Baumeister & Tierney, 2011).

Consciousness (C) includes phenomenal experience, attention, metacognition, intentionality, and narrative meaning. When this vertex is ignored, systems produce metric gaming, shallow compliance, and moral crowding-out where extrinsic incentives displace intrinsic motivation (Deci et al., 1999; Frey & Oberholzer-Gee, 1997; Gneezy & Rustichini, 2000).

Environment (E) includes affordances, symbolic tools, institutions, norms, incentives, and developmental inputs. When this vertex is ignored, analysis defaults to blaming individuals for structurally induced behavior, missing the way that institutional architecture systematically shapes the option space within which agents optimize (Gibson, 1979; Norman, 1988; Thaler & Sunstein, 2008).

The framework distinguishes three types of relations among vertices.

1. *Constitutive relations* (within a time-slice) specify what makes a state what it is—the structural couplings that realize it.
2. *Causal relations* (across time) specify how present states update future states through learning, development, and institutional change.
3. *Enabling relations* specify boundary conditions that make trajectories feasible without being identical to, or directly producing, the target state (Bennett, 2017).

2.3 The Nine-Pathway Dynamics

NiCE formalizes influences among vertices as a 3×3 mapping from $[N, C, E]t$ to $[N, C, E]t + 1$, yielding nine directed pathways. At time t , the system state can be represented as a vector $x(t) = [N(t), C(t), E(t)]$,

Where:

- $N(t)$ represents biophysical integrity (carrying capacity, sink capacity, regenerative rates),
- $C(t)$ represents cognitive and psychological coherence (time horizon, stress load, meaning stability), and

- $E(t)$ represents institutional and technological incentive topology (rules, infrastructures, markets, metrics).

The dynamics can be expressed as:

$$\frac{dx}{dt} = A(\sigma)x + u(t) - \Omega(x)$$

where $A(\sigma)$ is the coupling matrix parameterized by symbolic sign parameter σ , $u(t)$ represents intentional interventions, and $\Omega(x)$ represents entropic decay pressures (capture, drift, fragility). The crucial insight is that the sign parameter σ —whether the dominant symbol rewards accumulation ($\sigma = +1$, profit-sign) or penalizes it ($\sigma = -1$, debt-sign)—changes the direction of coupling across all nine pathways.

A critical asymmetry structures this dynamic system: dysfunction propagates automatically across N–C–E, while improvement propagates only conditionally. This reflects a deeper thermodynamic principle: disorder is the natural downhill state requiring no coordination, while order requires continuous energy input, coordination, and maintenance (Prigogine & Stengers, 1984; Kauffman, 1993). Any intervention that does not change the default gradient—what the system naturally falls into—will be outcompeted by the existing drift.

2.4 Regimes: Stability, Thresholds, and Failure Modes

A regime is a self-stabilizing pattern of triadic coupling. NiCE emphasizes tempo regimes, motivational regimes, energetic constraint regimes, and representational regimes. Understanding these regimes is critical for diagnosing system failures and designing effective interventions.

2.4.1 Symbolic Drift and Representational Regimes

Symbolic drift occurs when representational systems (money, metrics, status signals) detach from biophysical and human outcomes, producing misalignment regimes that are locally rational but globally destructive. The NiCE framework formalizes this phenomenon through the ecological debt accumulator $D(t)$ and the sign parameter σ , which determines whether coupling reinforces extractive or restorative dynamics.

Figure 1 presents the complete NiCE 9-pathway coupling matrix with the ecological debt constraint mechanism. The matrix shows how symbolic drift propagates through three primary mechanisms:

1. **E-level:** Metrics become targets (Goodhart dynamics), reinforcing short-horizon optimization.
2. **C-level:** Valuation frames and salience are primed toward symbolic wins, crowding out intrinsic motives and moral restraint.
3. **N-level:** Symbolic rewards recruit incentive salience and interact with stress arousal, strengthening compulsive loops.

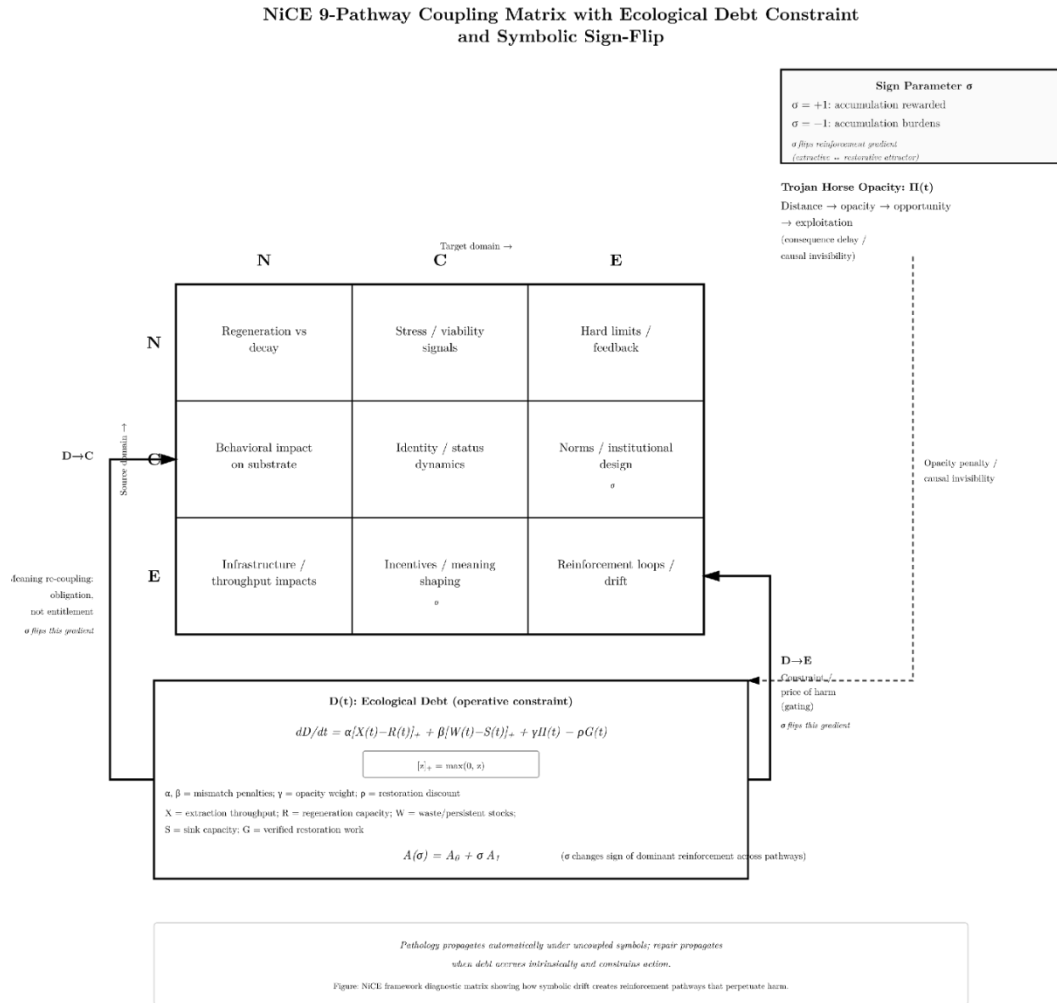


Figure 1. NiCE 9-Pathway Coupling Matrix with Ecological Debt Constraint and Symbolic Sign-Flip.

Figure 1. NiCE 9-Pathway Coupling Matrix with Ecological Debt Constraint and Symbolic Sign-Flip. The 3×3 matrix shows all directed pathways between Nature (N), Consciousness (C), and Environment (E) vertices. The ecological debt accumulator $D(t)$ tracks mismatch between extraction and regeneration ($[X-R]_+$), waste and sink capacity ($[W-S]_+$), opacity-induced harm ($\gamma \Pi$), minus verified restoration (ρG). Feedback arrows $D \rightarrow E$ and $D \rightarrow C$ show how accumulated debt constrains action (gating) and reshapes meaning (obligation vs. entitlement). The sign parameter σ determines whether coupling reinforces extractive ($\sigma = +1$) or restorative ($\sigma = -1$) attractors. The Trojan Horse opacity term $\Pi(t)$ captures how distance creates causal invisibility, enabling exploitation through consequence delay. Pathology propagates automatically under uncoupled symbols; repair propagates when debt accrues intrinsically and constrains action. Small σ symbols mark pathways particularly sensitive to sign-flip dynamics ($E \rightarrow C$ incentive shaping and $E \rightarrow E$ reinforcement loops).

The figure illustrates how the sign parameter σ fundamentally changes system dynamics. Under profit-sign coupling ($\sigma=+1$), accumulation is rewarded and extraction intensifies through positive feedback. Under debt-sign coupling ($\sigma=-1$), accumulation burdens the system and triggers restorative dynamics. This formalization allows institutional designers to identify leverage points where changing incentive structures can flip entire systems from degenerative to regenerative regimes.

The Trojan Horse opacity term $\Pi(t)$ represents a critical insight: distance between action and consequence creates opportunities for exploitation. When agents are spatially, temporally, or causally distant from the impacts of their decisions, harmful extraction becomes invisible and locally rational. The opacity penalty $\gamma\Pi(t)$ in the debt accumulator ensures this consequence delay compounds ecological debt even when immediate feedback loops are absent.

2.4.2 Design Implication: Closing the Symbolic-Substrate Loop

Treat representational design (metrics, interfaces, curricula, rituals) as a high-leverage $E \rightarrow C$ and $E \rightarrow N$ intervention. The matrix shows that Environment-to-Consciousness pathways shape meaning and incentive salience, while Environment-to-Nature pathways determine infrastructure impacts on biological substrates.

Evaluate tools not only by efficiency, but by the valuation frames and attentional habits they induce. When symbolic systems drift from substrate reality, the coupling matrix reveals specific pathways through which misalignment propagates. Interventions must target both the symbolic ecology (E) and the meaning-making processes (C) while respecting biological constraints (N).

The feedback arrows from $D(t)$ to the matrix demonstrate how ecological debt, when properly measured and made visible, can act as an intrinsic constraint that guides system evolution toward sustainability. This represents a fundamental insight: repair mechanisms must be embedded in the coupling structure itself, not imposed as external regulations that can be gamed or circumvented.

2.5 The Asymmetric Propagation Law

The Claim: Dysfunction propagates automatically across N-C-E levels; improvement propagates only conditionally.

This principle explains civilizational drift, institutional decay, reform failure, and why good intentions systematically fail - without requiring conspiracy, stupidity, or moral decline.

2.5.1 The Thermodynamic Foundation

Second Law of Thermodynamics:

states that entropy (disorder) increases spontaneously unless energy is continuously input.

Applied to systems:

- **Dysfunction** = Higher entropy state (disorder, degradation)

- **Function** = Lower entropy state (order, organization)
- **Natural direction:** Toward disorder
- **Maintaining order:** Requires continuous energy input

The asymmetry derives directly from physics. Order requires:

- Energy expenditure
- Coordinated action
- Sustained maintenance
- Vigilance against decay

Disorder requires none of these. It emerges automatically from thermodynamic gradient relaxation. Entropy (disorder) increases spontaneously unless energy is continuously input.

This is not metaphor - it is the actual mechanism:

- Order → Disorder: Automatic (thermodynamically downhill, releases energy)
- Disorder → Order: Requires work (thermodynamically uphill, consumes energy)

Arising naturally from the Asymmetric Propagation Law in terms of opposite flow energetic reform is the axiom necessary for reforms meant to counter drift designed to take hold within regimes that are naturally resistant to quick recidivism back to pathological.

2.6 The Prophylactic Integrity Axiom

A system can only sustain functional order when all domains are simultaneously aligned; partial reform is inherently unstable.

Because dysfunction propagates automatically and energetically downhill across domains, effective reform must propagate deliberately and energetically uphill—sufficiently treating all domains (directly or indirectly) so that the new order becomes “sticky” enough to resist systemic drift.

This is the “opposite-flow” axiom:

- Pathology spreads without effort.
- Reform requires coordinated, multi-domain effort.
- If reform does not bind across all vertices, the system relaxes back to the higher-entropy pathological state.

This axiom is not optional—it is *forced* by the APL’s thermodynamic structure.

2.6.1 Core axiom restated

Emergent Axiom of Reform (from APL): *Effective reform must sufficiently, directly and/or indirectly, treat all NiCE domains (N, C, E), such that constitutive, causal, and enabling relationships are aligned toward function rather than pathology. Single-domain interventions are systematically pulled back toward dysfunction by uncorrected cross-domain feedbacks.*

- **Direct treatment:** A domain is explicitly targeted (e.g., new law, new infrastructure, new narrative).
- **Indirect treatment:** A domain is reshaped via its constitutive, causal, or enabling ties to another domain.

In NiCE terms:

- **Constitutive:** Changing what “counts as” the system (identities, norms, definitions).
- **Causal:** Changing what produces what (incentives, mechanisms, feedbacks).
- **Enabling:** Changing what is feasible (infrastructure, capacity, constraints).

A reform that “directly massages” one vertex can still be NiCE-compliant *if* its design explicitly harnesses these three relationships to effectively reshape the other two.

2.6.2 What a multi-domain reform model looks like in practice

A NiCE-aligned reform has at least three design features:

1. **Constitutive alignment ($C \leftrightarrow E \leftrightarrow N$):**
 - **What it does:** Redefines roles, identities, and meanings so that the new system is *experienced* as legitimate, coherent, and “who we are.”
 - **Example pattern:** Reframing climate action from “sacrifice” to “health, fairness, and community resilience” so that people see low-carbon choices as part of a valued identity, not a loss.
2. **Causal realignment ($E \rightarrow C, E \rightarrow N, C \rightarrow N$):**
 - **What it does:** Changes incentive structures, rules, and feedback loops so that the easiest behaviors are also the desired ones.
 - **Example pattern:** Pricing, regulation, and governance that make harmful behaviors costly and beneficial behaviors rewarding, while also shifting norms and expectations.
3. **Enabling infrastructure ($N \rightarrow C, N \rightarrow E$):**
 - **What it does:** Builds physical, institutional, and informational infrastructure that makes the new pattern *practically doable* and resilient over time.
 - **Example pattern:** Transit, housing, health systems, and education designed so that “doing the right thing” is the path of least resistance.

When all three are present, you get something like *thermodynamic judo*: the system's own gradients start favoring function rather than dysfunction.

2.6.3 Observational examples that approximate the axiom

These aren't labeled "NiCE," but they behave like NiCE-compliant, multi-domain reforms.

1. *Multi-solving for climate, health, and equity*

Work on "multi-solving" explicitly aims to design interventions that simultaneously advance climate resilience, health, and equity by crossing sectoral and institutional boundaries.

- **Constitutive:**
 - Climate policy is framed not as a narrow environmental issue but as a shared project of health, fairness, and community resilience. This redefines who is "in the system" and what counts as success.
- **Causal:**
 - Policies and investments are chosen that create *co-benefits*—for example, urban tree planting that reduces heat, improves air quality, and lowers energy demand. The same intervention causally improves multiple vertices at once.
- **Enabling:**
 - Cross-sector coalitions (health, transport, housing, community groups) build capacity and infrastructure so that these co-benefits are actually realized and maintained over time.

This is exactly the prophylactic logic: instead of a single-vertex carbon price, you get a mesh of interventions that pre-emptively address how changes propagate through health, equity, and local economies.

2. *Sustainable health system reform*

Efforts to build "sustainable healthcare systems" emphasize long-term, cross-sector collaboration and investment that outlasts political cycles.

- **Constitutive:**
 - Health is redefined as a shared societal outcome, not just a medical service. This shifts the identity of the system from "treating illness" to "sustaining population health," pulling in actors from finance, tech, community organizations, and government.
- **Causal:**
 - Payment models, incentives, and governance are redesigned to reward prevention, continuity, and equity rather than volume of acute care. This changes what behaviors produce institutional survival and prestige.
- **Enabling:**

- Long-term investment in data systems, workforce, and infrastructure makes it feasible to coordinate across sectors and maintain reforms beyond electoral cycles.

Again, the APL logic is visible: if you only tweak payment codes (E) without changing identity (C) or capacity (N), the system drifts back to high-entropy, crisis-driven care.

3. Cross-sector transformation in education

Cross-sector education initiatives explicitly argue that education outcomes depend on health, energy, child protection, and other systems—and design reforms accordingly.

- **Constitutive:**
 - Education is reframed as “everyone’s business,” expanding the boundary of who is responsible and what counts as an educational intervention (e.g., nutrition, safety, connectivity).
- **Causal:**
 - Policies link education to health, social protection, and climate resilience, so that improvements in one sector causally support learning outcomes and vice versa.
- **Enabling:**
 - Partnerships and shared platforms allow resources, data, and infrastructure to be coordinated across ministries and organizations, making multi-domain interventions feasible.

This is NiCE in practice: you don’t try to fix “schools” in isolation; you prophylactically treat the ecosystem that constitutes, causes, and enables learning.

4. Cross-sector partnerships to address childhood adversity

Frameworks for addressing childhood adversity explicitly call for cross-sector partnerships (healthcare, social services, legal, education) to tackle structural causes and life-course impacts.

- **Constitutive:**
 - Childhood adversity is defined not just as individual trauma but as a structural, systemic phenomenon embedded in housing, policing, income, and discrimination.
- **Causal:**
 - Interventions are designed so that healthcare, legal aid, schools, and community organizations jointly alter the causal pathways that produce adversity and its long-term health effects.
- **Enabling:**
 - Shared governance, data-sharing, and funding mechanisms enable sustained collaboration and integrated service delivery.

This is prophylaxis in a deep sense: we’re not just treating symptoms in one domain; we pre-emptively alter the cross-domain machinery that generates them.

5. Cross-sector partnerships for systemic change (meta-evidence)

A systematized review of cross-sector partnerships notes that the most effective ones explicitly aim at *systemic* change rather than isolated projects, and that success depends on reconfiguring relationships, governance, and feedbacks across sectors.

- This is empirical support for our axiom's intuition: when partnerships stay narrow and single-domain, effects are local and fragile; when they rewire constitutive, causal, and enabling relationships across domains, they can shift system trajectories.

3. The Profit Inversion: Ecological Debt Mis-booked as Success

3.1 The Boundary Selection Problem

Standard accounting frameworks define profit as the difference between revenues and costs within a specified boundary. This boundary selection is not neutral; it systematically excludes costs that are diffuse, delayed, or difficult to attribute (Pigou, 1920; Kapp, 1963; Costanza et al., 2014). When costs are externalized beyond the accounting boundary—to future generations, distant populations, non-human species, or common-pool resources—they do not appear on the ledger. What results is a systematic illusion: activities that liquidate ecological capital appear profitable precisely because the true costs are invisible within the measurement frame.

Empirical research on environmental externalities documents the scale of this mis-booking. Estimates suggest that the total value of ecosystem services—including climate regulation, water purification, pollination, and nutrient cycling—substantially exceeds global GDP, yet these values are largely absent from national accounts (Costanza et al., 1997, 2014). The World Bank’s recent work on “changing wealth of nations” finds that natural capital depletion is frequently booked as income growth, masking the erosion of the asset base that makes production possible (Lange et al., 2018; Dasgupta, 2021). Studies of ecological debt document how high-income countries have accumulated massive environmental liabilities through disproportionate resource extraction and pollution absorption, creating what Martinez-Alier (2002) terms an “ecologically unequal exchange.”

3.2 The Trojan Horse Mechanism

The NiCE framework identifies a specific five-step causal pathway by which abstraction produces extractive advantage, which we term the “Trojan Horse Mechanism”:

1. Abstraction creates distance between action and consequence.
2. Distance reduces causal visibility.
3. Reduced visibility produces opacity.
4. Opacity creates exploitation opportunity.
5. Consequences arrive too late to discipline the exploiter.

In this construction, abstraction is not inherently pathological. Its pathology emerges when symbolic layers reliably allow agents to extract value during the window of opacity and exit before the costs come due. The longer and more complex the supply chain, the greater the distance between action and consequence, and the more opportunity for extraction to masquerade as value creation (Hornborg, 2012; Patel & Moore, 2017).

This mechanism explains why the competitive selection pressure operates so reliably: whoever can convert ecological substrate into symbolic claims fastest—while exporting consequences into distance, opacity, and delay—achieves competitive dominance in any environment where the accounting boundary excludes these costs. The system does not require widespread malice to converge on extraction. It only requires that the Environment (E) consistently reward actions whose consequences are deferred, distributed, or obscured.

3.3 Why This is a Triadic Failure

The NiCE framework sharpens this diagnosis by revealing the inversion as a cross-domain failure mode rather than a single-vertex problem. In the profit-sign regime ($\sigma = +1$):

N→N pathway: Ecosystems are treated as free inputs and free sinks; biophysical stocks are drawn down faster than they regenerate. Empirical evidence documents declining soil fertility, aquifer depletion, fisheries collapse, and biodiversity loss as predictable outcomes of this pathway (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; IPBES, 2019).

N→C pathway: Degraded environments drive chronic stress, resource insecurity, and shortened time horizons. Research on scarcity psychology demonstrates that resource constraints narrow attention and cognitive bandwidth, producing behaviors that appear irrational but reflect optimal adaptation to degraded conditions (Shah et al., 2012; Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013).

C→C pathway: Identity and status competitions bind to accumulation; “more” becomes moralized as “better.” Research on materialism and well-being consistently finds that extrinsic, materialistic goals are associated with lower well-being even when achieved, suggesting a misalignment between what status signals reward and what produces genuine welfare (Kasser, 2002; Dittmar et al., 2014).

E→E pathway: The system self-reinforces toward overshoot through credit expansion, growth targets, and symbolic success metrics. Research on financial instability documents how debt cycles and leverage can buffer overshoot, “pulling future capacity into the present” until the abstraction layer fails (Minsky, 1986; Keen, 2011).

The critical insight is that these pathways interact and reinforce each other. When the Environment’s dominant symbols detach from Nature’s constraints, Consciousness adapts to the new reward landscape. The system then becomes increasingly capable of maximizing abstractions while eroding the conditions that make any civilization possible. In this sense, “profit-from-harm” is not an accidental side effect; it is the expected output of a triad in which (i) the material base is slow to punish, (ii) the symbolic layer can move quickly, and (iii) psychological adaptation privileges what is immediately rewarded.

4. The Sign-Flip Solution: Engineering Constructive Gravity

4.1 The Design Challenge

The NiCE framework implies that civilizational reform cannot be reduced to better exhortation, improved goodwill, or narrower regulation. Symbolic systems are too easily captured, gamed, and redirected; any intervention that does not change the default gradient will be outcompeted by the existing drift. The deeper requirement is a *sign-flip*: redesign the Environment’s abstractions such that the default gradient—the “gravity” of ordinary incentives—pulls behavior toward outcomes that remain viable under Nature’s constraints.

Operationally, this sign-flip has a single criterion: ecological debt must no longer be misrepresentable as profit. If extraction can still be booked as success while restoration is treated as a cost, the system will continue to select for extraction—because it is the locally rational strategy in a mispriced environment. Conversely, when symbols are engineered so that liquidation reliably increases obligation and regeneration reliably retires obligation, extraction ceases to be a winning strategy and restoration becomes the dominant pathway to solvency and legitimacy.

4.2 Currency as Ecological Debt

A minimal, high-leverage reform consistent with the NiCE diagnosis is to redefine the unit of symbolic value itself. Instead of treating currency as a token of entitlement—an abstract claim that can be accumulated as “wealth”—the symbol is reframed as a meter of ecological debt and responsibility. In this arrangement, a unit of currency does not signify “how much value has been gained” but rather how much ecological capacity has been obligated.

This single inversion directly targets the civilizational error identified above: the misrepresentation of ecological debt as profit. If the symbol system is designed so that accumulation corresponds to obligation, then the default meaning of “more” flips from aspiration to burden. The behavioral implications are immediate and profound:

- **More is worse, not better.** Accumulating currency signifies that one has consumed more ecological budget, produced more irreversible waste, or drawn more heavily on shared sinks and substrates.
- **The dominant incentive becomes minimization, not maximization.** Rational agents optimize for the lowest net position, because the lowest score represents the smallest claim on future repair.
- **Being “broke” becomes being debt-free.** Under an ecological-debt currency, insolvency is the moral and operational signal of having no outstanding ecological obligations—a condition of freedom rather than failure.

- **The extraction attractor loses its payoff.** The fastest extractor no longer “wins” by converting substrate into symbol. Extraction merely increases visible obligation. Competitive advantage shifts toward the fastest restorer.

4.3 Formalizing the Ecological Debt Variable

To reverse default motion, the system must carry a real, accumulating constraint that binds the symbol layer to the substrate. We define a single scalar ecological debt variable $D(t) \geq 0$ that accrues whenever human activity violates biophysical budgets:

$$\frac{dD}{dt} = \alpha[\max(0, X(t) - R(t))] + \beta[\max(0, W(t) - S(t))] + \gamma\Pi(t) - \rho G(t)$$

Where:

- $X(t)$ is extraction throughput,
- $R(t)$ is regeneration capacity,
- $W(t)$ is waste emission (especially persistent stocks),
- $S(t)$ is sink-assimilation capacity,
- $\Pi(t)$ is the opacity/distance penalty term (the Trojan Horse factor), and
- $G(t)$ is verified regeneration work.

The parameters α , β , γ , and ρ weight the relative contributions of each component.

The opacity term $\Pi(t)$ is critical because opacity is what allows extraction to remain profitable in the first place. Debt must therefore rise not only with mass-balance violations but also with causal invisibility.

This directly encodes the Trojan Horse mechanism into the accounting:

Distance is never free.

The final term, $-\rho G(t)$, represents debt retirement through verified restoration. This is the central sign-flip: the only way to restore freedom is to restore function. No “paper offsets” without substrate repair; the symbol is incapable of improvement without reality improving.

4.4 Six Non-Gameable Design Rules

If ecological debt is to be intrinsic and operatively constraining, it must obey the following rules. For parsimony, these are deliberately minimal—each rule an intrinsic principle that exists to prevent a specific failure mode identified by the framework (Goodhart drift, abstraction opacity, timescale mismatch).

Rule 1: Automatic accrual from throughput and persistence. Debt must be computed from physical flows (energy/material extraction) and persistent stock outputs (non-degradable pollutants). If it can be negotiated, it will be captured. This prevents “ecological debt as a narrative overlay” (Strathern, 1997).

Rule 2: Opacity penalty (distance is never free). Abstraction layers increase debt unless causal responsibility remains traceable and reversible. This directly encodes the Trojan Horse mechanism into the accounting, collapsing the distance → opacity → exploitation pathway (Hornborg, 2012).

Rule 3: Debt retirement requires verified restoration. The only way to reduce $D(t)$ is to measurably rebuild regenerative capacity or sink function. No paper offsets without substrate repair. This makes the symbol incapable of improvement without reality improving—the anti-Goodhart condition (Muller, 2018).

Rule 4: Hard constraint gating (debt must bite). Above thresholds, access to scarce inputs is restricted automatically. Debt must be a governor, not a dashboard. This enforces the requirement that improvement is conditional and must overcome downhill drift (Rockström et al., 2009; Steffen et al., 2015).

Rule 5: Anti-substitution (class-based hazard accounting). Persistent toxic classes carry escalating debt regardless of “new formulation” substitutions. This prevents regrettable substitution patterns observed in chemical regulation, where banning one compound simply shifts production to structurally similar alternatives (Cousins et al., 2019).

Rule 6: Goodhart immunization (dual measurement). Every key debt component must be measured with at least two independent proxies (e.g., mass-balance plus biological effect proxy), because single targets get gamed. This keeps the outcome more real than the metric (Campbell, 1979; Manheim & Garrabrant, 2018).

5. The Nine-Pathway Sign-Flip: A Comprehensive Analysis

The power of the ecological debt intervention lies in its capacity to reverse coupling direction across all nine N–C–E pathways simultaneously. Table 1 presents a comprehensive comparison of how each pathway transforms under the sign-flip from profit-sign ($\sigma = +1$) to debt-sign ($\sigma = -1$). The table is organized by source domain (Nature, Consciousness, Environment), with each row showing the pathway identifier, mechanism name, behavior under each regime, and supporting citation.

Table 1. *NiCE 9-Pathway Coupling Matrix: The Profit/Debt Sign-Flip*

Pathway	Mechanism	$\sigma = +1$ (Profit-Sign)	$\sigma = -1$ (Debt-Sign)	Citation
NATURE (N)				
N→N	<i>Nature Self-Dynamics</i>	Ecosystems treated as free inputs/sinks; stocks depleted faster than regeneration	Extraction registers as obligation; system stays within regeneration rates; degradation self-limiting	<i>Rockström et al., 2009</i>
N→C	<i>Nature Shapes Consciousness</i>	Degraded environments drive chronic stress, insecurity, shortened time horizons	Stabilizing N reduces volatility; cognition operates with longer horizons; bandwidth tax eliminated	<i>Shah et al., 2012</i>
N→E	<i>Nature Constrains Environment</i>	Limits treated as price signals to outsmart; extraction until catastrophic correction	Limits encoded as immediate obligation; no buying out of physics; constraint-respecting	<i>Steffen et al., 2015</i>
CONSCIOUSNESS (C)				
C→N	<i>Consciousness Shapes Nature</i>	Locally rational gain pursued even when degrading carrying capacity	Success = lower obligation; decisions shift toward repair; C becomes viability regulator	<i>Kasser, 2002</i>
C→C	<i>Consciousness Self-Dynamics</i>	Identity/status bind to accumulation; "more" moralized as "better"	Accumulation = visible burden; stewardship high-status; conspicuous indebtedness	<i>Dittmar et al., 2014</i>
C→E	<i>Consciousness Shapes Environment</i>	Institutions maximize throughput; minimize visible cost	Institutions maximize signal fidelity; design shifts to reuse/repair; low-friction good behavior	<i>Thaler & Sunstein, 2008</i>
ENVIRONMENT (E)				
E→N	<i>Environment Shapes Nature</i>	Default outputs: pollution, fragmentation, sink overrun (cheapest pathway)	Dumping = intolerable debt multiplier; closed-loop systems; persistent pollution deselected	<i>Cousins et al., 2019</i>
E→C	<i>Environment Shapes Consciousness</i>	Opacity + complexity produce helplessness and polarization	Visible causal pathways restore agency; causality legible; responsibility feasible	<i>Ryan & Deci, 2000</i>
E→E	<i>Environment Self-Dynamics</i>	Self-reinforces toward overshoot: credit expansion, growth targets, extraction	Self-reinforces toward repair: debt constrains, not fuels; runaway → stabilizing loop	<i>Minsky, 1986; Keen, 2011</i>

Note. Under profit-sign ($\sigma = +1$), dysfunction propagates automatically; extraction = success; harm externalized into opacity. Under debt-sign ($\sigma = -1$), improvement propagates automatically; restoration = success; harm becomes visible constraint. The sign parameter σ reverses coupling direction across all nine pathways simultaneously.

5.1 Cross-Pathway Integration

The table reveals a consistent pattern across all nine pathways: the sign-flip transforms each coupling from a degradation-amplifying dynamic to a restoration-amplifying dynamic. Several integrative observations emerge from this analysis:

First, the Nature pathways ($N \rightarrow N$, $N \rightarrow C$, $N \rightarrow E$) demonstrate how stabilizing biophysical stocks under debt-sign creates positive spillovers for cognition (reduced stress, longer time horizons) and institutions (constraint-respecting rather than constraint-evading design). The asymmetry is striking: under profit-sign, nature degradation compounds through all three pathways; under debt-sign, nature stabilization compounds similarly.

Second, the Consciousness pathways ($C \rightarrow N$, $C \rightarrow C$, $C \rightarrow E$) reveal how the sign-flip transforms the meaning of success itself. When status attaches to debt minimization rather than accumulation, identity and aspiration become aligned with ecological viability. This is not merely behavioral change but meaning change—the substrate of motivation is rewired.

Third, the Environment pathways ($E \rightarrow N$, $E \rightarrow C$, $E \rightarrow E$) show how institutional self-reinforcement can work for repair rather than overshoot. The critical insight is that the same feedback mechanisms that currently amplify extraction can be redirected toward restoration by changing what the dominant symbol rewards.

5.1 How the Sign-Flip Propagates Across Nine Pathways

The power of the ecological debt intervention lies in its capacity to reverse coupling direction across all nine $N-C-E$ pathways simultaneously. Below we trace how each pathway transforms under the sign-flip from profit-sign ($\sigma = +1$) to debt-sign ($\sigma = -1$).

5.1.1 Nature Pathways

$N \rightarrow N$ (Nature self-dynamics): Under profit-sign, ecosystems are treated as free inputs and free sinks; N is drawn down faster than it recovers. Under debt-sign, extraction automatically registers as obligation; the system is driven toward staying within regeneration rates, so N stabilizes and begins compounding upward. Soil fertility becomes an asset that cannot be liquidated without immediately raising one's debt load. Degradation becomes self-limiting; restoration becomes compounding (Rockström et al., 2009).

$N \rightarrow C$ (Nature shapes Consciousness): Under profit-sign, degraded environments drive chronic stress, insecurity, and narrowing time horizons. Under debt-sign, stabilizing N reduces baseline volatility; cognition can operate with longer horizons and higher coherence. Stable resource access widens attention and reduces the “survival bandwidth tax” documented in scarcity psychology (Shah et al., 2012; Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013).

N→E (Nature constrains Environment): Under profit-sign, E treats limits as “price signals to outsmart” and pushes extraction until reality forces correction (often catastrophically). Under debt-sign, limits are encoded as immediate obligation, preventing the system from “buying its way out of physics.” Water drawdown produces an immediately rising debt cost, stopping aquifer liquidation from being treated as a growth strategy (Steffen et al., 2015).

5.1.2 Consciousness Pathways

C→N (Consciousness shapes Nature): Under profit-sign, people pursue locally rational gain even when it degrades carrying capacity. Under debt-sign, personal success is defined as lower net obligation—so decisions shift toward repair and restraint. “Being broke” becomes being debt-free, so cultural pride aligns with minimal ecological burden. C stops functioning as a demand amplifier and becomes a viability regulator (Kasser, 2002).

C→C (Consciousness self-dynamics): Under profit-sign, identity and status bind to accumulation; “more” becomes moralized as “better.” Under debt-sign, accumulation becomes visible burden; status migrates to competence in lowering obligation—stewardship becomes the high-ranking phenotype. Prestige attaches to durability, repair mastery, and net-negative restoration. Conspicuous consumption becomes conspicuous indebtedness (Veblen, 1899/1994; Dittmar et al., 2014).

C→E (Consciousness shapes Environment): Under profit-sign, institutions are built to maximize throughput and minimize visible cost. Under debt-sign, institutions are built to maximize signal fidelity and debt-retirement throughput. Product design shifts toward reuse and repair because “waste” is now a permanent liability, not an externality. Policy becomes less about moral pleading and more about engineering low-friction good behavior (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008).

5.1.3 Environment Pathways

E→N (Environment shapes Nature): Under profit-sign, E’s default outputs are pollution, fragmentation, and sink overrun, because dumping is the cheapest pathway. Under debt-sign, dumping and persistence become intolerable debt multipliers, driving closed-loop systems. Persistent-stock pollution stops being selected because it carries infinite obligation tail, not a one-time sales margin (Cousins et al., 2019).

E→C (Environment shapes Consciousness): Under profit-sign, opacity plus complexity produce helplessness and polarization. Under debt-sign, visible causal pathways (“your actions raise/lower debt”) restore agency and coherence. People can see the consequences of choices through a single unified variable—obligation—rather than a thousand hidden harms. Responsibility becomes psychologically feasible because causality becomes legible (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

E→E (Environment self-dynamics): Under profit-sign, the system self-reinforces toward overshoot: credit expansion, growth targets, symbolic success metrics, and extraction. Under debt-sign, the system self-reinforces toward repair: debt is not fuel for expansion but a constraint that

tightens with liquidation. Financial instruments are redesigned around obligation retirement rather than future-capacity foreclosure. The “runaway” loop becomes a stabilizing loop (Minsky, 1986; Keen, 2011).

6. Discussion

6.1 Theoretical Contributions

This paper makes three primary theoretical contributions:

First, it reframes the ecological crisis not as a collection of isolated environmental problems but as a systematic misalignment between symbolic systems and biophysical substrates—a misalignment that can be analyzed using the tools of systems theory, institutional economics, and motivation science. This reframing operatively shifts attention naturally from piecemeal regulation to the architecture of incentive systems themselves.

Second, it formalizes the ecological debt variable $D(t)$ as a state variable that can be integrated into dynamical models of social-ecological systems. This formalization makes explicit what is often left implicit in discussions of sustainability: that ecological violations must accumulate as constraint, not merely as narrative concern. The explicit inclusion of an opacity penalty term (Π) addresses a gap in existing approaches that focus solely on mass-balance accounting without addressing the information asymmetries that enable extraction.

Third, it identifies a uniquely high-leverage intervention point: the sign of the dominant symbolic coordination system. By changing whether the system's primary abstraction rewards accumulation or retirement, the entire 3×3 matrix of N–C–E couplings can be reversed in direction. This represents a more parsimonious intervention strategy than attempting to correct each of the nine pathways independently.

6.2 Empirical Grounding and Limitations

The theoretical framework developed here draws on extensive empirical literatures, including research on Goodhart dynamics in institutional settings (Bevan & Hood, 2006; Mannion & Braithwaite, 2012), motivation crowding effects (Deci et al., 1999; Bowles & Polanía-Reyes, 2012), externality accounting in environmental economics (Pigou, 1920; Costanza et al., 2014), and ecological economics (Martinez-Alier, 2002; Dasgupta, 2021). However, the specific proposal—currency redesigned as ecological debt—has not been empirically tested at scale.

Several limitations should be acknowledged:

First, the transition dynamics from a profit-sign to a debt-sign regime remain underspecified. Real-world implementation would face coordination problems, political resistance, and potential for gaming during transition periods.

Second, the measurement infrastructure required for real-time ecological debt accounting—tracking extraction, regeneration, waste, and sink capacity across supply chains—does not currently exist at the required resolution, though advances in remote sensing, material flow

analysis, and blockchain-based tracking are moving in this direction (Steffen et al., 2015; Häyhä et al., 2016).

Third, the analysis assumes that symbolic systems *can* be redesigned through deliberate intervention, which may underestimate the path dependencies and power structures that maintain the current regime (Hornborg, 2012).

These limitations notwithstanding, the purpose of this paper is to elucidate the natural principles currently in operation and to show how they function as forms of natural programming that generate predictable outcomes, including systemic pathology. The design implications of these insights—while essential guidance for future work—fall outside the scope of the present analysis.

6.3 Implications for Governance

The framework has several implications for governance and policy design. Most fundamentally, it suggests that attempts to address ecological crises through piecemeal regulation or behavioral nudges—while potentially valuable at the margin—cannot overcome the fundamental selection pressure created by a profit-sign regime. As long as ecological debt can be booked as profit, the system will continue to select for extraction.

This does not mean that all existing policy tools are worthless. Carbon pricing, ecosystem payments, and extended producer responsibility schemes can all be understood as partial implementations of the ecological debt principle—attempts to make visible costs that are currently invisible. The framework suggests that these tools will be most effective when they move toward intrinsic accounting (automatic accrual from physical flows) rather than negotiated pricing, and when they include hard constraint gating rather than merely providing price signals.

The governance implications extend beyond environmental policy to the design of institutional metrics more broadly. The Goodhart dynamics documented across education, healthcare, and research suggest that any high-stakes metric will be subject to gaming pressures. The dual measurement principle (Rule 6) offers a general-purpose defense: whenever possible, triangulate key outcomes using independent proxies that are difficult to game simultaneously (Manheim & Garrabrant, 2018).

6.4 Toward a Science of Civilizational Reform

The analysis presented here represents one contribution to what might be called a science of civilizational reform: systematic inquiry into how large-scale human systems can be intentionally redesigned to remain viable under physical constraints while supporting human flourishing. Such a science would integrate insights from systems dynamics, institutional economics, motivation

psychology, and ecological economics into a unified framework for analyzing and intervening in social-ecological systems.

The central message of this paper is both stark and constructive. The problem is not that civilization runs on symbols; symbolic coordination is arguably humanity's greatest adaptive innovation. The problem is that its dominant symbols have become consequence-evading instruments. The reform task is to rebuild them as consequence-restoring instruments—so that what is easiest to do, easiest to justify, and most rewarded is not the fastest conversion of substrate into claims, but the fastest restoration of the substrate that makes any claims meaningful.

References

- Baumeister, R. F., & Tierney, J. (2011). *Willpower: Rediscovering the greatest human strength*. Penguin Press.
- Bennett, K. (2017). *Making things up*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199682683.001.0001>
- Bevan, G., & Hood, C. (2006). What's measured is what matters: Targets and gaming in the English public health care system. *Public Administration*, 84(3), 517–538. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2006.00600.x>
- Biagioli, M., & Lippman, A. (Eds.). (2020). *Gaming the metrics: Misconduct and manipulation in academic research*. MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/11087.001.0001>
- Bowles, S., & Polanía-Reyes, S. (2012). Economic incentives and social preferences: Substitutes or complements? *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(2), 368–425. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.50.2.368>
- Campbell, D. T. (1979). Assessing the impact of planned social change. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 2(1), 67–90. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7189\(79\)90048-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0149-7189(79)90048-X)
- Chrystal, K. A., & Mizen, P. D. (2003). Goodhart's Law: Its origins, meaning and implications for monetary policy. In P. Mizen (Ed.), *Central banking, monetary theory and practice: Essays in honour of Charles Goodhart* (Vol. 1, pp. 221–243). Edward Elgar.
- Costanza, R., d'Arge, R., de Groot, R., Farber, S., Grasso, M., Hannon, B., ... & van den Belt, M. (1997). The value of the world's ecosystem services and natural capital. *Nature*, 387(6630), 253–260. <https://doi.org/10.1038/387253a0>
- Costanza, R., de Groot, R., Sutton, P., van der Ploeg, S., Anderson, S. J., Kubiszewski, I., ... & Turner, R. K. (2014). Changes in the global value of ecosystem services. *Global Environmental Change*, 26, 152–158. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2014.04.002>
- Cousins, I. T., Goldenman, G., Herzke, D., Lohmann, R., Miller, M., Patton, C. A., ... & DeWitt, J. C. (2019). The concept of essential use for determining when uses of PFASs can be phased out. *Environmental Science: Processes & Impacts*, 21(11), 1803–1815. <https://doi.org/10.1039/C9EM00163H>
- Dasgupta, P. (2021). *The economics of biodiversity: The Dasgupta review*. HM Treasury. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2021.1971249>

- Deci, E. L., Koestner, R., & Ryan, R. M. (1999). A meta-analytic review of experiments examining the effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(6), 627–668. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.125.6.627>
- Di Paolo, E. A., Buhrmann, T., & Barandiaran, X. E. (2017). *Sensorimotor life: An enactive proposal*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198786849.001.0001>
- Dittmar, H., Bond, R., Hurst, M., & Kasser, T. (2014). The relationship between materialism and personal well-being: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 107(5), 879–924. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037409>
- Fire, M., & Guestrin, C. (2018). Over-optimization of academic publishing metrics: Observing Goodhart's Law in action. *GigaScience*, 8(6), giz053. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gigascience/giz053>
- Frey, B. S., & Oberholzer-Gee, F. (1997). The cost of price incentives: An empirical analysis of motivation crowding-out. *American Economic Review*, 87(4), 746–755. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2951373>
- Gallagher, S. (2017). *Enactivist interventions: Rethinking the mind*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198794325.001.0001>
- Gibson, J. J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Houghton Mifflin.
- Gneezy, U., & Rustichini, A. (2000). A fine is a price. *The Journal of Legal Studies*, 29(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1086/468061>
- Goodhart, C. A. E. (1975). Problems of monetary management: The U.K. experience. In A. S. Courakis (Ed.), *Inflation, depression, and economic policy in the West* (pp. 111–146). Mansell.
- Häyhä, T., Lucas, P. L., van Vuuren, D. P., Cornell, S. E., & Hoff, H. (2016). From Planetary Boundaries to national fair shares of the global safe operating space. *Global Environmental Change*, 40, 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2016.06.008>
- Holmstrom, B., & Milgrom, P. (1991). Multitask principal-agent analyses: Incentive contracts, asset ownership, and job design. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 7, 24–52. https://doi.org/10.1093/jleo/7.special_issue.24
- Hornborg, A. (2012). *Global ecology and unequal exchange: Fetishism in a zero-sum world*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203107355>
- IPBES. (2019). *Global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services*. IPBES Secretariat. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3831673>

- Jacob, B. A., & Levitt, S. D. (2003). Rotten apples: An investigation of the prevalence and predictors of teacher cheating. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 118(3), 843–877. <https://doi.org/10.1162/00335530360698441>
- Jernelöv, A., & Edenmark, A. (1992). *Miljöskulden: En rapport om miljöskuldens storlek och sammansättning* [The environmental debt]. Swedish Environmental Advisory Council.
- Kapp, K. W. (1963). *Social costs of business enterprise* (2nd ed.). Asia Publishing House.
- Kasser, T. (2002). *The high price of materialism*. MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/3501.001.0001>
- Kauffman, S. A. (1993). *The origins of order: Self-organization and selection in evolution*. Oxford University Press.
- Keen, S. (2011). *Debunking economics: The naked emperor dethroned?* (Rev. ed.). Zed Books.
- Koretz, D. (2017). *The testing charade: Pretending to make schools better*. University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226408866.001.0001>
- Laland, K. N., Odling-Smee, J., & Feldman, M. W. (2000). Niche construction, biological evolution, and cultural change. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 23(1), 131–146. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X00002417>
- Lange, G. M., Wodon, Q., & Carey, K. (Eds.). (2018). *The changing wealth of nations 2018: Building a sustainable future*. World Bank. <https://doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-1046-6>
- Manheim, D., & Garrabrant, S. (2018). Categorizing variants of Goodhart’s Law. *arXiv preprint*, arXiv:1803.04585. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1803.04585>
- Mannion, R., & Braithwaite, J. (2012). Unintended consequences of performance measurement in healthcare: 20 salutary lessons from the English National Health Service. *Internal Medicine Journal*, 42(5), 569–574. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1445-5994.2012.02766.x>
- Martinez-Alier, J. (2002). *The environmentalism of the poor: A study of ecological conflicts and valuation*. Edward Elgar. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781843765486>
- McEwen, B. S. (1998). Protective and damaging effects of stress mediators. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 338(3), 171–179. <https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJM199801153380307>
- Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. (2005). *Ecosystems and human well-being: Synthesis*. Island Press.
- Minsky, H. P. (1986). *Stabilizing an unstable economy*. Yale University Press.

- Muller, J. Z. (2018). *The tyranny of metrics*. Princeton University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc77h85>
- Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2013). *Scarcity: Why having too little means so much*. Times Books.
- Norman, D. A. (1988). *The psychology of everyday things*. Basic Books.
- Patel, R., & Moore, J. W. (2017). *A history of the world in seven cheap things: A guide to capitalism, nature, and the future of the planet*. University of California Press.
- Pigou, A. C. (1920). *The economics of welfare*. Macmillan.
- Prigogine, I., & Stengers, I. (1984). *Order out of chaos: Man's new dialogue with nature*. Bantam Books.
- Rockström, J., Steffen, W., Noone, K., Persson, Å., Chapin, F. S., Lambin, E. F., ... & Foley, J. A. (2009). A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature*, 461(7263), 472–475.
<https://doi.org/10.1038/461472a>
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68–78.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.68>
- Shah, A. K., Mullainathan, S., & Shafir, E. (2012). Some consequences of having too little. *Science*, 338(6107), 682–685. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1222426>
- Simmel, G. (1978). *The philosophy of money* (T. Bottomore & D. Frisby, Trans.). Routledge. (Original work published 1907)
- Steffen, W., Richardson, K., Rockström, J., Cornell, S. E., Fetzer, I., Bennett, E. M., ... & Sörlin, S. (2015). Planetary boundaries: Guiding human development on a changing planet. *Science*, 347(6223), 1259855. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1259855>
- Strathern, M. (1997). 'Improving ratings': Audit in the British university system. *European Review*, 5(3), 305–321. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1234-981X\(199707\)5:3<305::AID-EURO184>3.0.CO;2-4](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1234-981X(199707)5:3<305::AID-EURO184>3.0.CO;2-4)
- Thaler, R. H., & Sunstein, C. R. (2008). *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness*. Yale University Press.
- Thompson, E. (2007). *Mind in life: Biology, phenomenology, and the sciences of mind*. Harvard University Press.
- Varela, F. J., Thompson, E., & Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. MIT Press.

Veblen, T. (1994). *The theory of the leisure class*. Penguin Books. (Original work published 1899)

Zelizer, V. A. (1994). *The social meaning of money: Pin money, paychecks, poor relief, and other currencies*. Basic Books.