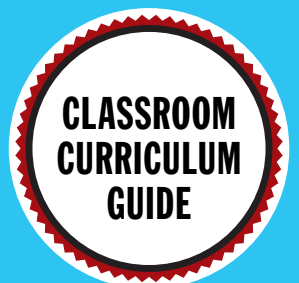


# NAOMI KLEIN

THIS CHANGES  
EVERYTHING  
CAPITALISM VS  
THE CLIMATE



In ***This Changes Everything*** Naomi Klein argues that climate change isn't just another issue to be neatly filed between taxes and health care. It's an alarm that calls us to fix an economic system that is already failing us in many ways. Klein meticulously builds the case for how massively reducing our greenhouse emissions is our best chance to simultaneously reduce gaping inequalities, re-imagine our broken democracies, and rebuild our gutted local economies. She exposes the ideological desperation of the climate-change deniers, the messianic delusions of the would-be geoengineers, and the tragic defeatism of too many mainstream green initiatives. And she demonstrates precisely why the market has not—and cannot—fix the climate crisis but will instead make things worse, with ever more extreme and ecologically damaging extraction methods, accompanied by rampant disaster capitalism.

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Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times/Redux

## NAOMI KLEIN

Naomi Klein is an award-winning journalist, syndicated columnist and author of the *New York Times* and #1 international bestseller *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Her first book, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*, was also an international bestseller, translated into over 25 languages with more than a million copies in print. The *New York Times* called it “a movement bible.” Klein is a contributing editor for *Harper's Magazine* and reporter for *Rolling Stone*, and writes a syndicated column for *The Nation* and *The Guardian*. She is a member of the board of directors of 350.org, a global grassroots movement to solve the climate crisis, a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute, and a former Miliband Fellow at the London School of Economics.

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## ABOUT THIS GUIDE

This classroom guide was created by Carolina S. Sarmiento, an Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the School of Human Ecology and an affiliate with the Department of Urban and Regional Planning. She is a graduate from both World Arts and Cultures and Urban Planning from UCLA, where she obtained her BA and MA. She received her PhD from UCI in Planning, Policy, and Design. Her research investigates the intersection between urban development, governance, and the creation and destruction of cultural spaces in working class communities of color.

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“What we’re really talking about, if we’re honest with ourselves, is transforming everything about the way we live on this planet.”

—Rebecca Tarbotton, Executive Director of the Rainforest Action Network, 1973–2012

# THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING

**THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS CURRICULUM IS TO SERVE AS A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO *THIS CHANGES EVERYTHING*.**

All of these activities require application to specific classroom contexts and student experiences. According to popular education philosophy, individuals’ own life experiences are integral to the learning environment. The classroom is a place where the student’s own knowledge and experiences are acknowledged and where they can engage with new ways of learning and information. Learning planning requires an understanding of how practice is linked to the personal and to the theoretical. The challenge is to teach skills that not only deal with the reading but can also help students become active and conscious members of a community that is not limited to geography but is historically, politically, and socially linked to larger global processes. Teaching is part of social transformation and the classroom is not a place for passivity or false consensus but rather a place to critique, discuss, and engage in new ways of learning and knowledge. Discussion questions are meant to engage the students in conversation and further exploration of concepts and ideas after reading each chapter. Essay questions require further exploration through reading, research, and analysis. Classroom activities include individual, group, and class exercises that may require more than one day. Suggested further readings are only a few suggestions to bring in new perspectives to the conversation.

“I love that smell of the emissions.” —Sarah Palin, 2011

# INTRODUCTION

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do you conceptualize the relationship between the environment, society, and nature?
2. What do you understand by the politics of austerity? How is austerity determined? How do we measure it? And who decides when a period of austerity is over? How would you/we know?
3. Why might some progressives be climate deniers besides the reasons that Klein states?
4. What do you understand is the “this” and “everything” in the title? What kind of “change” is Klein referring to?
5. What are some of the issues that intersect with climate change that move us toward a deeper understanding of climate justice?
6. What are some of the different frameworks and perspectives that might help us understand issues of climate change? What framework is Klein coming from? Are there certain perspectives that she doesn’t mention in this introduction that you think are important?
7. What are some of the distinguishing characteristics between mass movements and political transformations?
8. As climate events are related to migration, what political and economic impact do these have on nation states, citizenship, and rights? Can you provide examples of rights and protections that exist beyond the nation state either at higher scales or even locally?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. According to Klein, some mass movements have won major political victories. She includes civil rights, abolitionism, sex discrimination, and apartheid. What are some of the conditions that led to these developments? What are the necessary conditions for this transformation? What are some challenges that political movements face? Are mass movements always political?
2. What were the historical conditions that led to the Marshall Plan? What were some of the economic and political motives involved? Draw a comparison to some of those and today's political and economic conditions. Draw up a Marshall Plan for the Earth. What elements would it include? Who would be involved? How would decisions be made?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Whose problem is it? Take the climate of the classroom by measuring how urgent students think climate change really is. Create a thermometer for different issues and see what students think is important. What are some of the differences? Who thinks certain issues are important? What process should you use to determine priorities?

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. Pantheon: New York.

Harvey, David. 2008. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review*.

Norgaard, Kari Marie. 2011. *Living in Denial: Climate change, Emotions and Everyday Life*. MIT Press: Cambridge.

# 1 | THE RIGHT IS RIGHT: THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF CLIMATE CHANGE

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Pinpoint how and why worldviews and political beliefs shape attitudes toward global warming. How important are attitudes in making change? How do attitudes change?
2. What did you understand by cultural cognition and how does this inform your own preferred vision for the good society? How does this relate to questions of objectivity when discussing research and solutions to global climate change?
3. Where does the right and capacity of humankind to establish a mastery over nature come from? What are some of the mechanisms that help sustain and reproduce these perspectives?
4. What role and responsibility do researchers have in managing the political consequences of research and scientific findings? Who is ultimately responsible for how the research is used?
5. We often use “egalitarian” and “communitarian” as political concepts and discussions. Does this change when cultural cognition studies vindicate them as laws of nature? Does this challenge the division between nature and politics?
6. Klein argues that “adaptation” is not enough. Do you agree with this argument?
7. What are some values that can be considered outside of capitalism? What are some spaces that express these values? Are spaces “outside of capitalism” even possible?
8. How would you measure global equity and how would you know when you see it? What different methodologies would you use to study global equity?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Identify distinct visions and worldviews of the good society. What are the values included in each? How does the way in which information is filtered shape these visions and plans?

2. Provide examples of “gentle market mechanisms” versus “heavy duty interventions.” What are the different discourses and what are the intended consequences of each?
3. Draw connections among seemingly disparate struggles. What are the histories behind these struggles and what current conditions are significant in bringing them together (e.g., police brutality, wages, health care, gun reform, and the climate)?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Review newspapers and make an inventory of when and how the environment is mentioned. Describe when and how it is mentioned and for what purpose. What type of article is it about? What is the tone?
2. Divide the class into groups. Have each group examine a cultural narrative about what people are doing here on earth, such as a creation story about our purpose here on earth. How do these relate to the narrative behind a policy or community based movement?
3. Follow the money for a policy. Identify the political actors, the campaign contributors, and the discourse behind each of the policies. As part of the activity, keep track of some of the barriers to following the money. What information is available? What skills are necessary (Freedom of Information Act requests)?

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Friedmann, John. 1979. *The Good Society*. MIT Press: Cambridge.

Friedmann, John. 2000. “The Good City: In Defense of Utopian Thinking.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24(2): 460–72.

Boykoff, M. and D. Crow. Eds. 2014. *Culture, Politics and Climate change*. Routledge Press: London.

Sinclair, Upton, 1935. *I, Candidate for Governor: And How I Got Licked*.

McCright and Riley Dunlap. 2011. “Cool Dudes: The Denial of climate change Among Conservative White Males in the United States.” *Global Environmental Change* 21: 1167–1171.

Solnit, Rebecca. 2009. *Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary communities that Arise in Disaster*. Penguin: New York.

Gudeman, S. and A. Rivera. 1998. “Sustaining Community, Resisting the Market: Guatemalan Perspectives” in J.F. Richards (ed.), *Land, Property and the Environment*, 86–118. ICS Press: Oakland.

# 2 | HOT MONEY: HOW FREE MARKET FUNDAMENTALISM HELPED OVERHEAT THE PLANET

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are some examples of policies that require governments to not make distinctions between goods produced by local companies and goods produced by foreign firms?
2. What does the hierarchy between trade and climate agreements imply about our political values?
3. What are the connections between trade agreements, pollution, and labor exploitation?
4. What implications does localizing our economies have on climate change? Are there some negative consequences?
5. What are some of the dangers of solely considering economic development as economic growth?
6. What is deindustrialization and how can green industry serve as a response? Or can it?
7. What are some of the deterrents to the free market argument that consumers need the cheapest products so that the green transition can happen as quickly as possible?
8. Explain how the structure of food systems drives climate change.



## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What is the history of NAFTA and what is the connection between pollution and labor exploitation? How does this set a low precedent for new trade agreements? Give a more current example.
2. Read the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and document the most obvious trade implications. What are some climate implications of trade agreements?
3. Describe two of the policy pillars of the neoliberal age and provide contemporary examples and impacts on everyday life. Provide a comprehensive policy or program that makes low carbon choices easy but would also present a challenge to one of these pillars.
4. What are some examples of how the political trumps the legal and vice versa?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Create a timeline that draws the parallels between climate and trade negotiations post 1989. Include different mass mobilizations and sites of resistance.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Bluestone, B. and B. Harrison. 1982. "Capital vs. Community". *The Deindustrialization of America*. 3–21.

Stern, Nicholas. 2012. *The Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Vermeulen, Sonja J. Bruce M. Campbell and John SI Ingram. 2012. "Climate Change and Food Systems." *Annual Review of Environment 37*: 195.

Jackson, Tim. 2009. *Prosperity without Growth: Economics for a Finite Planet*. Earthscan: London.

Agyeman, Julian and Tom Evans. 2003. "Toward Just Sustainability in Urban Communities: Building Equity Rights with Sustainable Solutions," *ANNALS* 590 November.

Bell, Michael. 2009. "The Problem of the Original Capitalist." *Environment and Planning*: 1–16.

# 3 | PUBLIC AND PAID FOR: OVERCOMING THE IDEOLOGICAL BLOCKS TO THE NEXT ECONOMY

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are some examples of privatization that impacts us everyday? What would reversing privatization look like?
2. What is the logic of austerity? Who is responsible and what are some of the most often-proposed austerity solutions?
3. What makes natural disasters unnatural? What else besides disasters could help surface that “something” that Klein argues is “uncovered”?
4. Is the idea of rationing American? Are examples of companies who have paid for their pollution (forced to do so by law) American?
5. What different forms of public can we think of (space, services, places)? Does any of this make a difference in terms of privatization?
6. Can you construct a more populist critique of American consumerism? Is consumerism a form of populism?
7. What are some of the forms of governance at different scales that can impact climate change? Is one scale inherently more or less democratic?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Define the concept of public. Where does this concept come from and what different theoretical frameworks can we use to understand what the public means? Are there implied values? How has the concept of the public changed most recently?
2. Investigate one of Klein’s options for equitably coming up with the funds to prepare for storms while also radically lowering our emissions. Are these realistic? Cite research to backup your argument.
3. Take a feminist perspective on the public. How does this overlap with ecological perspectives? What new insights could you provide policy-makers when including these perspectives?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Create an activity that examines conceptions of fairness in the classroom. Is fairness simply when one set of rules applies to players both big and small? One side of the room is fair and the other extremely unfair. Read different policies and regulations and have students physically move from one end to the other end of the classroom depending if they think the policy is fair or unfair. Have individuals on each end explain why they chose that position. Have statements become progressively more polemic (example, move from failing for cheating to rationing).

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Dye, Jerel. *Food Chain Avengers: A Food Justice and Worker Justice Comic Book*. FoodChainworkers.org. <<http://foodchainworkers.org/?p=3605>>

Hayden, Dolores. 1995. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*.

Davis, Mike. 1990. *City of Quartz*. Verso: London.

Jacobson, Mark Z. and Mark A. Delucchi. 2009. "A Plan to Power 100 Percent of the Planet with Renewables." *Scientific American*: 58–59.

# 4 | PLANNING AND BANNING: SLAPPING THE INVISIBLE HAND, BUILDING A MOVEMENT

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. This chapter considers the crisis of 2008 as a chance to change. What stops politicians from seizing these political moments? What determines what is politically possible and politically impossible? Have you seen what is possible change in your lifetime?
2. What is the role of social movements in shaping political opportunities?
3. What is the role of planning in allowing the market to determine the future? Who are planners and whom are they working for? Does the market have planners as well? Is long term national planning a departure from neoliberal orthodoxy?
4. How are the political and economic interests behind certain “bridge fuels” linked to preventing us from making a full switch to zero carbon sources of energy? Who are the local actors and players who can become renewable energy providers?
5. What is the role of labor in transition to good jobs in clean sectors? Who is labor? Who isn't?
6. Who are the actors determining local policies? Who are the experts? What is the role of local communities in determining policies?
7. What is the climate movement and what are the politics of reconnection?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Describe a core battle of ideas to democratically determine what kind of economy we need. What role do different actors play? What values guide certain decisions? What priority do questions of participation, transparency, and accountability have? Is there a role between power decentralization and successful climate action?
2. Provide two examples and examine if and how the climate movement considers questions of class and race within its strategies.
3. What are some battles that have brought labor with community groups together

around sustainability issues? What are some of the barriers that impede these groups from working together?

4. What different types of models exist for governance? Research theories on how economic relations shape individual relationships and the ways in which organizations govern. Provide two examples of different organizations.

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Define and map the alternative projects in your area, including cooperatives, community gardens, and sustainable projects and do some participant observation to see who does and doesn't participate.
2. Create an interview guide and interview a local cooperative ownership model. What are some of the pros and cons of this model?

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Bakker, Karen. 2007. "The 'Commons' Versus the 'Commodity': Alter-globalization, Anti-privatization and the Human Right to Water in the Global South." *Antipode* <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/1/13/worker-run-cooperatives.html>

Pickerill, Jenny and Paul Chatterton. 2006. "Notes Towards Autonomous Geographies: Creation, Resistance and Self-Management as Survival Tactics." *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (6): 730–746.

Patel, Raj. 2007. *Stuffed and Starved*. Portobello Book: London.

J. DeFilippis, "Alternatives to the 'New Urban Politics': Finding Locality and Autonomy in Local Economic Development," *Political Geography* 18 (1999): 973–990.

Ostrom, E. et al. 1999. "Revisiting the Commons: Local Lessons, Global Challenges." *Science* 284 (5412): 278–282.

Harvey, David 1998. "Marxism, metaphors and ecological politics." *Monthly Review*, April, 94(11): 17.

Marcuse, P. 1998. "Sustainability Is Not Enough." *Environment and Urbanization*, 10: 103–111.

Bollier, David. 2014. *Think Like a Commoner: A Short Introduction to the Life of the Commons*. New Society Publishers: Vancouver.

Bland, William and Michael Bell. 2007. "A Holon Approach to Agroecology." *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability* (5): 280–29.

Merchant, Carolyn. 2003. "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History." *Environmental History* 8(3): 380–394.

# 5 | BEYOND EXTRACTIVISM: CONFRONTING THE CLIMATE DENIER WITHIN

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do you relate questions of history and memory to symptoms of “solastagia” (Albrecht)? Do you personally relate to this symptom?
2. Extractivism is a nonreciprocal, dominance-based relationship. What different form of power does this entail when reducing life into objects for the use of others? The production and power in spite of nature (example of the steam engine) is based on the right to conquer nature. Does this also include human beings?
3. Has the difficulty of recognizing that the power relation between humans and the earth is reverse changed in the past couple of generations?
4. Some of the revolts against privatizing communal lands are based on the idea of “communal.” How is this concept developing in our society? What communal lands would you be willing to defend?
5. “Progressive extractivism” is evident in Latin America. Is this type of redistribution enough? Can the road out of poverty lead to a road of climate justice?
6. What are some contemporary urban strategies that often work to eliminate poor and not poverty? What are some policies that help avoid this type of outcome?
7. What are natural sinks, and how is the need for more natural sinks one of the most powerful part of limiting growth? Does this impact our understanding of the effectiveness of greener strategies such as recycling?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. How does extractivism link to notions of imperialism, colonialism, and development and modernization theory? And how does this history relate to contemporary examples of extractivist or sacrifice zones? Provide examples and ground each in theory and current practice.
2. Provide a feminist ecological critique to the extractivist relationship to the earth.

3. Explore the division between populist and environmentalist movements; include the ideas that were influential in their evolution and provide historic examples.

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Divide the class into various groups: the company, the community organized to respond to the day-to-day impacts of pollution (services), and the part of the community willing to organize to address the company directly. With what different strategies do each community team come up? Some should address the daily needs of survival while the others should come up with how to address the company directly. What does the company owner decide to do? What kind of negotiating strategies can they use?
2. Design a feminist city that responds to climate change. What different uses would be included? What would public and private space look like? What would public transportation look like? Design in different teams and then discuss how elements could be combined.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Banerjee, Subhabrata Bobby. 2003. "Who Sustains Whose Development? Sustainable Development and the Reinvention of Nature." *Organization Studies* 24(1).

Galeano, Eduardo. 1971. *Open Veins of Latin America*. Monthly Review Press: New York.

Escobar, Arturo. 1997. *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Chapter 2: The Problemization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and Development.

Kincaid, Jamaica. *A Small Place*.

Leopold, Aldo. 1953. *A Sand County Almanac*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Fried, M. 1966. "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation." *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy*. Edited by James Q. Wilson. MIT Press: Cambridge. 359–379.

Davis, Mike. 2001. *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nino Famines and the Making of the Third World*. Verso: London.

Fanon, Frantz. 2004. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove: New York.

Lubitow, Amy and Thaddeus R. Miller. 2013. "Contesting Sustainability: Bikes, Race, and Politics in Portlandia." *Environmental Justice* 6(4): 121.

# 6 | FRUITS, NOT ROOTS: THE DISASTROUS MERGER OF BIG BUSINESS AND BIG GREEN

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Does the end justify the means? Why does it matter where funds come from? What are the central dangers of the merge between the environmental movement and the economic interests behind soaring emissions? What might be other unintended consequences?
2. Why can't market-based climate solutions deal with the root cause? Is this really inherently impossible? What other problems have we tried to address through market mechanisms?
3. What would be the "low hanging fruit" in other social movements? Is this always problematic or can it be strategic?
4. How does environmental justice provide a different frame for understanding environmentalism? Who are the actors involved? And what do these wins look like versus other environmental victories?
5. Getting the polluter to pay for the clean up has measurable and real world results. Is this the ultimate goal? What other strategies have these same measurable results?
6. What does Klein mean by "insider and outsider environmentalism" and how do we distinguish their strategies, relationships, power, and options?
7. What are some of the barriers to form a unified front against public sector cutbacks and joining greens with a coalition of unions, civil rights groups, and pensioners who are also facing attacks?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Identify an environmental organization with funding and policy prohibiting from investing in certain companies, for example, fossil fuel companies. How did this policy come about? Why did it change? And what were some of the factors that contributed to this change?



2. Classify the distinct strategies and tools with which the environmental movement has won its greatest set of victories. Identify the actors, the strategies, the tactics, and the wins. Describe the political moment of each of these victories and struggles.
3. How do the principles adopted at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in October 1991 compare to some other principles used today?
4. What are some underlining theories and principles that serve as the foundation to the cap and trade approach? What are some practical implications that either have been ignored or not accounted for? How would you improve this approach, if at all?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Ask students to come up with new ways or include existing ways in making the school more “green.” Then analyze those responses that focus on consumption rather than the development of political actors. Have a discussion regarding collective consumption, such as public transportation and where the agency lies.
2. In different groups, analyze separate companies’ partnerships with environmental organizations. Look at Walmart, McDonalds, FedEx, and AT&T. Collect different types of advertisements and articles, and analyze their framing strategies, but also the specific outcomes of these partnerships.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. 2009. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. South End Press: Brooklyn.

Dowie, Mark. 1996. *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century*. MIT Press: Cambridge.

Fox, Josh. *Gasland*. Film.

Skocpol, Theda. 2003. *Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, Oklahoma.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. 1978. *Poor People's Movements*. Random House: New York.

# 7 | NO MESSIAHS: THE GREEN BILLIONAIRES WON'T SAVE US

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How would you differentiate the planet savior persona versus regulatory action in other related movements? If this is a spectrum then where do different actors and strategies fit?
2. What is the role of big businesses and powerful people or the “green billionaires” in the climate movement if not to save us?
3. How is the idea that technology is going to save us from the effects of our actions based on both fact and fiction? How does this affect our actions?
4. Who are some local messiahs? How does this idea of messiahs influence the way we see change in other social movements as well? How does this idea relate to our own power and agency and citizenship? How does this connect to questions of democracy?
5. What does it mean when capitalism, and only capitalism, can save the world from crisis created by capitalism? What are some examples of how this belief plays out in real life?
6. Do we believe more in technology than our own power to change? What shapes this belief?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. There's an old discussion about structure versus agency. Where does agency lie in our society? How has technology shifted or influenced this discussion? Present various theories in relation to the environmental movement.
2. What other forms of magical thinking does culture reproduce besides technology? Compare magical thinking to magical realism. Write two different stories to illustrate the strategy of each in relation to global climate change.

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Framing exercise. Find pictures of certain climate disasters and only highlight certain parts of the picture. Notice the different stories this specific frame provides when only certain parts of the story are told. Also, find different pictures for the same event that tell different parts of the story. Link pictures to the words individuals use to describe the picture.
2. Magical realism can help reveal the truth behind magical thinking. Create a poster, a story, or a graphic that reveals local messiahs or technologies that we put our faith in, or what we put our faith in.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Center for Story based strategy

<http://www.storybasedstrategy.org>

Reinsborough, Patrick and Doyle Canning. 2010. *Re:Imagining Change—How to Use Story-Based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World*. PM Press: Oakland.

Payne, Charles. 1989. "Ella Baker and Models of Social Change." *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (14)4: 885–898.

Smith, Ron. 2005. "Magical Realism and Theatre of the Oppressed in Taiwan: Rectifying Unbalanced Realities with Chung Chiao's Assignment Theatre." *Asian Theatre Journal*. (22)1.

# 8 | DIMMING THE SUN: THE SOLUTION TO POLLUTION IS... POLLUTION?

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand the term “geoengineering” to mean?
2. What did you understand about the Solar Radiation Management Governance Initiative?
3. Who is responsible for regulating SRM? Are the individuals who gave us the climate crisis capable of properly regulating SRM?
4. How does the idea of technological advance put us in further danger of perpetuating the view that the earth can be manipulated in our interests? Or does it have to?
5. How are these decisions being made? By who? Where? Are these spaces where decisions get made part of ensuring the knowledge doesn't go out or is it purposefully keeping certain lessons from coming in? Is this “geoclique” part of keeping power in, or keeping power out?
6. Failure of foresight is also part of a failure to plan for the future. Do you think it is part of a societal dilemma? How much do we focus on individual planning vs. collective planning?
7. What do you think about the finding that older respondents are more amenable to geoengineering than younger ones? Is this a generational difference? Access to information? Faith in technology?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What are “alternative” forms of governance (for example, indigenous communities, cooperatives) that stand in contrast to more hierarchical systems? Explain how decision-making takes place, by who, and how and why this matters.
2. Ed Ayres in *God's Last Offer* distinguishes between building rockets and building communities. What does building community and community development mean? What is the meaning of community sustainability in the face of these adversities?

3. Compare and contrast two Hollywood action movie narratives on the earth where human beings attempt to save themselves. Provide the political context when they were released and discuss the relationship between the narrative and the politics.

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Provide the students with signs that say “promote,” “regulate,” or “prohibit.” Call out different sets of practices and ask the students to raise their individual signs as part of voting for each. Increasingly get more polemic with the suggestions. For example, some practices would include fracking, drilling, and also driving, bioengineering, etc. Then, gather up the votes and try and introduce new practices or policy for each category.
2. Earth timeline. Provide different pictures of the earth to separate groups of students and ask each group several questions about the perception of the earth. What do the pictures say about the earth changing, our interconnectedness, and the role of humans? Create a visual timeline with the images of the earth and link them to environmental policies and change. Discuss their connections and the political moment of each.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Robock, Alan. 2008. “20 Reasons Why Geoengineering May Be a Bad Idea” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 64: 14–18.

Burns, Wil C.G. and Andrew L. Strauss. 2013. *Climate Change Geoengineering: Philosophical Perspectives, Legal Issues and Governance Frameworks*. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Ayres, Ed. 1999. *Gods last Offer*. Four Walls Eight Windows: New York.

Gaston and Kennedy. 1987. “Capital Investment or Community Development? The Struggle for Land Control by Boston’s Black and Latino Community” *Antipode* 12(2): 178–209.

Liverman, Diana. 2004. “Who Governs, at What Scale and at What Price? Geography, Environmental Governance, and the Commodification of Nature.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*: 94.

Sarmiento and Beard. 2013. “Traversing the Border: Community-Based Planning and Transnational Migrants.” *Journal of Planning, Education and Research* 80(2): 168.

# 9 | BLOCKADIA: THE NEW CLIMATE WARRIORS

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Klein presents the control over resources as critical to collective survival, but how does this link to a deeper form of democracy?
2. What do you think are some of the most significant achievements of grassroots environmental activism? What is the relationship between grassroots organizing, movement building, and policy work?
3. The role of the military in responding to environmental action represents a very specific type of power. What other daily illustrations of this power do we see or experience? Are these related? How is this power expressed at different scales?
4. Klein presents the argument that we are all in sacrifice zones, yet we do see different rates of state violence and displacement in low-income communities of color. How do these stark forms of state violence place different pressures on certain communities to participate in different ways?
5. We're caught in a catch-22 when the fossil fuel economy weakens other economic drivers and makes fossil fuel companies the only game in town. Are we really stuck? What could be a way out in these communities?
6. What is the connection between research, moments of political awakening, and finding nonnegotiables for movements? Who is considered a researcher and what would be an example of a nonnegotiable?
7. What did you understand by the author's use of "culture of ethnical failure" (page 334)—whose culture is that? What practices are involved in this culture and how are they reproduced? Is it correct to call it a culture?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Does place matter? What are some common characteristics and strategies of some of the successful fights at the front line? Where is the front line? How does place distinguish these struggles and why does it matter? Distinguish places like Cornell, Richmond, etc.
2. What are cross current economic development strategies? Take the examples of south France, the residents of the Department of Var. How are these related to local economic development strategies? Or are they working in opposite directions? What new actors should be involved in building a local economy and environmental resistance?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Global Blockadia. Draw a global, national, or local map describing sites of Blockadia and pinpointing key wins and struggles.
2. Simulate a coalition building exercise in class and have students represent the interests of trade unions, community groups, neighborhood residents, developers, and factory workers. Use a local struggle to figure out the politics of building coalitions and developing local policies. What are some of the challenges of building alliances and coalitions?

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# 10 I LOVE WILL SAVE THIS PLACE: DEMOCRACY, DIVESTMENT, AND THE WINS SO FAR

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What love is Klein referring to? Love as a collective felt expression for the world? That cannot be bought? Linked to collective action? How does this challenge our conception of love today?
2. Our practices around health and identity are tied to our forebears. Food is an easy example. How is food tied to who we are? What traditions around food do we have? How is this tied to our identity as family, people, and communities?
3. Klein mentions survival practices that workers use to help separate themselves from the environment. What are some other practices of denial that we use to avoid reality? And are these based on any truth or just simply conflicting interests?
4. How does funding shape fracking bans and moratoriums? How does it shape any policy making process?
5. What is the media's role in accounting for victory and failure? How important is this for movement building? What other strategies exist to tell our stories?
6. Pollution can be a unifying element but can it really be a catalyst for power building?
7. How are trade agreements exemplifying the corrupted state of our political systems?
8. Who is ultimately responsible for classifying activists as terrorists and the increased levels of resident surveillance? Do we have a choice? How does this impact the public's perception on strategies such as civil disobedience?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What are particularities of the local scale (e.g., Bella Bella's case and the spills on the Kalamazoo River) that make local politics as important sites of resistance? Is the local always dependent on national and global politics? What role do community engagement and planning meetings have? What are some



ingredients of resilience?

2. What is the relationship between sovereignty, autonomy, and collective action?
3. Provide the political and historical context for disinvestment strategies and campaigns particularly for environmental struggles. What are some common principles and what other implications do these strategies have on the role of public interest institutions? What role does deligitimization play in this scenario?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. What is popular education? Create a popular education tool to engage students in learning about environmental issues. A game board, an activity, a comic book, a play, etc. Make it fun and accessible.
2. Map a resource and the communities linked to this collective good, like a local lake, a river, an ocean, or a park. How are communities linked to the space? How is this collective good maintained? Who is responsible?
3. What types of equity assessment tools exist? Create your own version of an equity assessment tool for your school and present it to the students, department, and then the school.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Darder, Antonia. 2002. *Reinventing Paulo Freire: Pedagogy of Love*. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado.

White, M. M. 2011. "D-Town Farm: African American Resistance to Food Insecurity and the Transformation of Detroit." *Environmental Practice* 13(4): 406–417.

Pickerill, Jenny and Paul Chatterton. 2006. "Notes Towards Autonomous Geographies: Creation, Resistance and Self-Management as Survival Tactics." *Progress in Human Geography* 30(6): 730–746.

# 11 | YOU AND WHAT ARMY? INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND THE POWER OF KEEPING OUR WORD

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What does it mean if the last line of defense is the law? Where is the last site of struggle then? What are the roles of nation states in a time of globalization? What about global and international law, treaties, and rights?
2. What other types of rights exist that are not protected by law? At different levels, what does it mean to not be allowed to practice those rights even when they are protected by law? Who is ultimately responsible?
3. What does it mean when the water systems are neglected in terms of strengthening collective action? Does collective action around the commons require that the commons be in good health and worth fighting for?
4. Is the lack of alternatives linked to a lack of power? Who has access to alternatives or the possibility of alternatives?
5. What is the relationship between movements fought in courtrooms and those fought in the streets?
6. What was the old trap line? Compare it to some benefits of the oil sands.
7. As non-native communities reach out to native communities saying “we need help,” what does this say about the way we see coalition building?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Klein suggests that the last line of defense are legal rights. What does this mean when a community’s legal right to pursue their avocations is threatened by pollution? What do legalities have to do with enforcing rights and citizenship? What different types of citizenship exist?
2. What is the history of Idle No More and the Zapatista movement and what different ways of understanding the environmental movement have emerged from these movements?
3. Mark the important court decisions designed to test the limits of aboriginal titles (page 370).

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Create an alternative map of your school that includes the history of people of color on campus (e.g., important struggles, wins, original landmarks, significant events, and people). Take a group of students on this tour of the school with this map and create a handout for future reference. How does this history connect to the understanding of our environment?
2. Create a timeline of both wins and losses for different indigenous communities in your area. Include other struggles for different communities, and include your own community. Include pictures and callouts.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Mora, Mariana. 2007. "Zapatista Anticapitalist Politics and the 'Other Campaign': Learning from the Struggle for Indigenous Rights and Autonomy." *Latin American Perspectives* 34(2): 64–77.

Mary Harris Jones. *Autobiography of Mother Jones*. Dover: Mineola, New York.

Peet, Richard and Michael Watts, eds. 1996. *In Liberation Ecologies*.

Irazabal, Clara and Anita Punja. 2009. "Cultivating Just Planning and Legal Institutions: A Critical Assessment of the South Central Farm Struggle in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 31.1: 1–23.

# 12 | SHARING THE SKY: THE ATMOSPHERIC COMMONS AND THE POWER OF PAYING OUR DEBTS

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. In Cheyenne the word for water is the same as the word for “life.” What kind of impact does losing resources linked to customs and traditions have?
2. What is the “partnership ethic” and how does it go beyond the idea of collaboration or most partnerships?
3. Part of the climate movement makes a strong case that communities who have suffered most from unjust resource relationships should be first to be supported in their efforts to build an alternative economy. How would this idea translate to the local scale?
4. Jobs and steady revenues for impacted communities rather than one-off payments and temporary employment is part of making lasting change. What makes the first so much more difficult than the latter? Is there a relationship between both?
5. Is there a real dichotomy between environmental protections and jobs? What would be a “transformative yes” (page 400) in this case to help build blocks for our next economy?
6. The argument for new reparations is that it’s the right thing and that our collective survival depends on moving to a low emission economy. What worldviews, experiences, and beliefs make this reality difficult to understand?
7. If the shock doctrine is linked to a radically shrinking public sphere, how can we connect it to the building of an environmental movement?
8. Natural disasters serve to dramatically push and educate the public. Do we have any examples of disaster response that is different than the top-down model of the shock doctrine which has led to radical change and soul searching?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Drawing on the battle over the EPA’s highest quality classification in 1977, what do we need to obtain the highest level standards and regulations versus only

symbolic wins? What type of critical planning does this entail?

2. As Favianna Rodriguez's art piece states, green is not white. How can we ensure that renewable and development projects do not replicate colonial patterns? Provide historic examples and identify specific strategies such as proper consultation and ethical agreements that keep profits from going to outsiders. Provide examples at both the global and local level.

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Dreaming the impossible. Develop a transition plan for a low-income employment sector that would be greatly impacted by the transition to a life-base economy (e.g., gardeners). How can we finance the transition to the kind of healthy alternatives we need?
2. Create a UN environmental summit. Provide different groups of students a county to represent and review the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992. What would each country propose? Each team must take the political role of the country they represent. Dispute climate debt, responsibility, emissions, etc.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Merchant, Carolyn. *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World*. Routledge: New York.

McAfee, Kathleen and Elizabeth Shapiro. 2010. "Payments for Ecosystem Services in Mexico: Nature, Neoliberalism, Social Movements, and the State." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100(3): 579–599.

Sivan Kartha, Tom Athanasiou, and Paul Baer. 2012. "The North-South Divide, Equity and Development—the Need for Trust-Building for Emergency Mobilisation." *Development Dialogue* (61): 62.

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Solomon, Susan, et al. 2010. "Persistence of Climate Changes Due to a Range of Greenhouse Gases." *Proceeding of the National Academy of Sciences* 107(43): 18355

# 13 | THE RIGHT TO REGENERATE: MOVING FROM EXTRACTION TO RENEWAL

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Klein compares her experience with infertility to the earth facing a great many fertility challenges of her own. What did you draw from this comparison?
2. How does turning to high risk technologies at the first sign of trouble in facing different social and environmental issues link to the failure of addressing the root causes and fundamental questions?
3. Klein says that she included her own experience with infertility in part to be honest. What kind of honesty is she referring to? Do you think this type of honesty is helpful?
4. Clusters of infertility and infant illness are first warning signs of a broader health crisis. How have these realities been treated individually versus collectively? As a national versus as a global problem?
5. Displacement is an important result of climate change. Is fleeing pollution or a climate-related disaster different than other forms of displacement linked to development?
6. Is ignoring questions of infertility related to the way we treat women and the jobs traditionally associated with women?
7. Climate change has direct impacts on reproduction and endangers the youngest members of a species. How does this impact the way we understand the politics of evolution and the development of our communities?
8. If one of the most essential survival tools is the ability to create new life and carry on genetic life, what does this mean for the role of bio-genetics?
9. Why does Klein argue that human resilience and the capacity for adaptation can be misleading when trying to build the environmental movement?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What makes a community resilient? What are different theories of resistance versus resilience and subsistence (e.g., the Zapatista's *Resistencia*)? How are culture and customs linked to these different theories?
2. What specific role have youth played in Blockadia and what new perspectives do they provide to planning and organizing?

## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. What images do we link to the idea of life? Water? Earth? Mother? Bring images to class and discuss how gender is associated to the environment and our priorities. Where does life-generating fit into our priorities?
2. Divide the class into groups and have each group research the politics behind the reproduction of a specific species. Have each draw up the reproductive system and add the political elements that intersect at different moments (for example, the impact of drilling on an ecosystem and the actors and interests involved).

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Jackson, Wes. 2010. *Consulting the Genius of the Place. An Ecological Approach of a New Agriculture*. Counterpoint: Berkeley.

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# CONCLUSION | THE LEAP YEARS: JUST ENOUGH TIME FOR IMPOSSIBLE

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you consider a radical revolution of values? Are we moving to a “person-oriented society” and what would this look like?
2. Does this huge “block in the road” clear a path for alternatives or is it not changing anything? Where do you see hope?
3. Where and what do you consider “real wins” that can not be purchased at “bargain rates”? How are “bargain rates” barriers to “real wins”? How do you know when you’ve accomplished a “real win”? What would be some of the characteristics?
4. What do you consider a transformative movement?
5. How are we still experiencing the cost of the dependency of the US economy on slave labor? How does this connect to climate justice?
6. How are anti-colonialism, the redistribution of wealth, and liberation linked to climate justice?
7. How do we reproduce this division between “activists” and “regular people” and how does this division impact our ability to change society?

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Closely examine historic movements when an economic shift that Klein is referring to has taken place. What kind of changes did this require in society? How did these changes take place? What were some of the conditions necessary for this type of shift to happen?
2. What are some feminist challenges to the free market that go beyond equal pay for equal work? Consider different movements throughout the globe. How have third world ecological movements helped push the feminist movement forward?



## CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

1. Have each student reflect on how they can incorporate activism as a normal activity, in everyday spaces, and not just part of a certain group. Then come together and discuss the necessary spaces to continue these discussions and join other students in the discussion. Come up with various proposals and organize a school event to present these proposals.

## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Robles, Wilder. 2001. "The Landless Rural Workers Movements (MST) in Brazil." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 28(2): 146–161.

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*NEW SCIENTIST*

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