

10/28 Haraway notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

This piece is trying to address the issue of human exceptionalism and the environmental destruction in the age of the Anthropocene, what Haraway defines as the age of humanity after the Holocene in which human society advanced so fast that it created a mark on Earth/Gaia/Terra so profound that it can be seen ecologically and will be permanently visible as every other ecological era is defined. This theory also mentions the Cthulucene and SF, two closely linked concepts from my understanding. I understood the Cthulucene to be a co-occurring state against the Anthropocene that the oddkin of the earth participate in, a tentacular state that the earth perpetuates as it fights back against humanity and tries to survive. The Cthulucene is oddkin's answer to the Anthropocene.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

"What happens when human exceptionalism and the utilitarian individualism of classical political economics become unthinkable in the best sciences across the disciplines and interdisciplines? Seriously unthinkable: not available to think with. Why is it that the epochal name of the Anthropos imposed itself at just the time when understandings and knowledge practices about and within symbiogenesis and sympleiatics are wildly and wonderfully available and generative in all the humusities, including noncolonizing arts, sciences, and politics? What if the doleful doings of the Anthropocene and the unworldings of the Capitalocene are the last gasps of the sky gods, not guarantors of the finished future, game over? It matters which thoughts think thoughts. We must think!" (Pg 57).

Cthulucene

"The chthonic powers of Terra infuse its tissues everywhere, despite the civilizing efforts of the agents of sky gods to astralize them and set up chief Singletons and their tame committees of multiples or subgods, the One and the Many. Making a small change in the biolochthulu I propose a name for an elsewhere and elsewhen that was, still is, and might yet be: the Chthulucene. I remember that tentacle comes from the Latin tentaculum, meaning "feeler," and tentare, meaning "to feel" and "to try"; and I know that my leggy spider has many-armed allies. Myriad tentacles will be needed to tell the story of the Chthulucene." (Pg 31.)

"The Chthulucene does not close in on itself; it does not round off; its contact zones are ubiquitous and continuously spin out loopy tendrils." Pg 33.

"His Earthbound will have to trek into the Chthulucene to entangle with the ongoing, snaky, unheroic, tentacular, dreadful ones, the ones which/who craft material-semiotic netbags of little use in trials of strength but of great use in bringing home and sharing the means of living and dying well, perhaps even the means of ecological recuperation for human and more-than-human critters alike." (Pg 43.)

Staying with the trouble / the trouble

"In urgent times, many of us are tempted to address trouble in terms of making an imagined future safe, of stopping something from happening that looms in the future, of clearing away the present and the past in order to make futures for coming generations. Staying with the trouble does not require such a relationship to times called the future. In fact, staying with the trouble requires learning to be truly present, not as a vanishing pivot between awful or edenic pasts and apocalyptic or salvific futures, but as mortal critters entwined in myriad unfinished configurations of places, times, matters, meanings." (Pg 1.)

Chthonic ones

"Chthonic ones are beings of the earth, both ancient and up-to-the-minute. I imagine chthonic ones as replete with tentacles, feelers, digits, cords, whiptails, spider legs, and very unruly hair. Chthonic ones romp in multicritter humus but have no truck with sky-gazing Homo. Chthonic ones are monsters in the best sense; they demonstrate and perform the material meaningfulness of earth processes and critters. They also demonstrate and perform consequences. Chthonic ones are not safe; they have no truck with ideologues; they belong to no one; they writhe and luxuriate in manifold forms and manifold names in all the airs, waters, and places of earth. They make and unmake; they are made and unmade. They are who are." (Pg. 2)

Anthropocene

(header is titled Anthropocene) "Anthropogenic changes signaled by the mid-eighteenth-century steam engine and the planet-changing exploding use of coal were evident in the airs, waters, and rocks. Evidence was mounting that the acidification and warming of the oceans are rapidly decomposing coral reef ecosystems, resulting in huge ghostly white skeletons of bleached and dead or dying coral." (P. 45)

SF

"An ubiquitous figure in this book is SF: science fiction, speculative fabulation, string figures, speculative feminism, science fact, so far. [...] I try to follow the threads where they lead in order to track them and find their tangles and patterns crucial for staying with the trouble in real and particular places and times. In that sense, SF is a method of tracing, of following a thread in the dark, in a dangerous true tale of adventure, where who lives and who dies and how might become clearer for the cultivating of multispecies justice." (Pg. 2)

Alignment

"Alignment" is a rich metaphor for wayfarers, for the Earthbound, and does not as easily as "decision" carry the tones of modernist liberal choice discourse, at least in the United States. Further, the refusal of the modernist category of belief is also crucial to my effort to persuade us to take up the Chthulucene and its tentacular tasks. (Pg. 41-42).

Authority and Science

"Anything not decided in the presence of the Authority is war; Science (singular and capitalized) is the Authority; the Authority conducts police actions. In contrast, sciences (always rooted in practices) are war. Therefore, in Latour's passionate speculative fabulation, such war is our only hope for real politics. The past is as much the contested zone as the present or future." (Pg. 42.)

The Earthbound

"Those who tell Gaia stories or geostories are the "Earthbound," those who eschew the dubious pleasures of transcendent plots of modernity and the purifying division of society and nature. Latour argues that we face a stark divide: "Some are readying themselves to live as Earthbound in the Anthropocene; others decided to remain as Humans in the Holocene." (Pg. 41).

Tentacularity

"Tentacularity is about life lived along lines—and such a wealth of lines—not at points, not in spheres. "The inhabitants of the world, creatures of all kinds, human and non-human, are wayfarers"; generations are like "a series of interlaced trails."? String figures all." (Pg. 32.)

10/28 Garrouette notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

This piece is trying to provide a framework for Radical Indigenism in American Indian Identity, speaking in a broad sense by not making any specific prescriptive notion of how it should be as it varies by tribe and group how every issue and framework is handled. It attempts to synthesize a framework of commonalities to some degree that can be used across a variety of Indigenous groups that can be tweaked as needed to fit the needs of each individual group/tribe.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

In this chapter I develop these ideas [radical indigenism] by applying them to the issue of American Indian identity. I consider some assumptions that might frame such an inquiry, and I explore the implications of that framing: how and where these assumptions might direct us in the search for answers. Although it is not a task appropriate to an individual to assert claims about the identity definitions proper to tribal communities, I speculatively offer some ideas about the sorts of definitions that might emerge from collective deliberations framed in this manner. I consider the ways that the answers produced through such processes might differ from those typically produced in academic contexts and the implications for subsequent discussions about identity in both academic and indigenous communities. What follows is not meant as a prescription for how tribes should think about identity issues; rather, it is a suggestive exploration of a place from which they might begin to work out their own definitions of identity with the participation of all their members. or is what follows intended as a definitive scholarly analysis; rather, it is an illustration of a different way to pose and pursue a question.

Radical Indigenism

Radical Indigenism is centered on the assumption that American Indian (and other indigenous) philosophies of knowledge are rational, articulable, coherent logics for ordering and knowing the world. It pushes beyond that assumption to argue that indigenous philosophies of knowledge, and the models of inquiry they imply, have a place in the academy. This position invites an understanding of these philosophies not merely as objects of curiosity (unusual things that people have believed) but as tools for the discovery and generation of knowledge.

Assumptions for inquiry

"Knowledge requires a network of knowers, or more accurately, of actors. Knowledge is something you do; not a preexisting tool independent of the person holding it, nor of the uses to which it might be put." 3 A second assumption characteristic of American Indian philosophies is their attentiveness to the distinctly spiritual dimensions of inquiry. There is frequently an unwillingness to separate "the search for knowledge from sacred learning or 'religious' training."

"These two assumptions, specifying both a practical and a spiritual orientation in the quest for knowledge, guide our inquiry in some specific directions."

Original Instructions

These "Original Instructions" (sometimes called "First Instructions," or a similar variant) usually concern coming into relationship ,with other beings - human and nonhuman - in the natural world in particular ways: "We are indigenous people because of our relationship to the earth and the understanding of the natural law."5 Or, as Dakota scholar Vme Deloria, Jr., writes, "The task of tribal religion . . . is to determine the proper relationship that the people of the tribe must have ,with other living things and to develop the self-discipline within the tribal community so that man acts harmoniously with other creatures."

Looking Backwards

"A common assumption of American Indian knowledge pursuits is that the seeker always looks backward. As Pawnee/Otoe poet and author Anna Lee Walters writes, "It is in remembering that our power lies/and our future comes/This is the Indian way.» As Indian people, we look to our traditions for guidance."

Kinship - Relationship to Ancestry

"Scholar of Native American literature Elizabeth Cook-Lynn explains this genealogical preoccupation:

"One cannot be a Lakota unless one is related by the Lineage (blood) rules of the tiospaye [tribal community]. While it is true that the narrow definition of biology was not accepted by the Lakotas, since they are also related to the animal world, spirit world, and everything else in the world, biology is never dismissed categorically."

"Julie M. describes the significance of family relationship at greater length: In Cherokee culture, it [relationship to a lineage] is very important It's all- important in Cherokee culture. Without it, it's like you're a person without a ... country. It's actually even worse than that. . . . I think Cherokee culture operated on that [principle] from ancient times, and it still does to this day. Because of the clan system and because of the extended family It's part of being Cherokee. It's what we're about. "

Essentialism (and Blood Quantum)

Statements such as these, which highlight and privilege the importance of physical relationship as a means of determining tribal belonging, have received scornful treatment in the scholarly literature, where they are frequently discussed (and dismissed) under the rubric of "primordialism" or "essentialism." Some of the most prominent postcolonial theorists, for instance, argue that essentialist ideas are colonial impositions.

"The less critical can be led to believe that the "ethnic feeling" is a primordial, essential dimension of every human being, that it is inborn in the blood, that one can almost feel it physically, that one must fight to safeguard this "high value," that one is indebted to the ancestors from whom one has received life and "everything." Political leaders can create stereotypes that give almost religious exaltedness to ethnic identity and, via stereotypes, lead to economic and cultural wars with other groups and even to genocide."

Kinship - Reciprocity

"As interview respondent Melvin B. commented: "To me, having a [CDIB] card doesn't necessarily make you an Indian As far as acting like one - a card don't make you do that If he's an Indian, he will help his brother.'"

"It is likewise suggested by Christopher Jocks when he writes of the "ability to participate in kinship" (original emphasis). He regards kinship as an ongoing practice or skill, an active relationship that must be maintained and that is not invariably tied to one's genealogical connections: "In every Indian community I am aware of there are a few non-Indians who have gained [enjoyed] kinship relations] Generosity of time and spirit, respect and politeness, willingness to help out, and openness to learn, are what our elders seem to value most; and all of us who pursue this work [in American Indian studies] know non-Indians who have succeeded in it." The same logic, he notes, also works in reverse: "There are full-blood Indians who have lost this ability to participate in kinship.'"

Tradition

"What then is tradition? Respondent Joyce J. makes a significant distinction:

Nowadays we [Indian people] have "culture" and we have "tradition," and they can be separate. . . Culture has to do with outward things that let other people see that you are Indian: what we eat, what we wear, the things we make. Those can be part of our teachings from the past; some parts of culture come from spiritual teachings. But some things that have become a part of culture might even be bad.

By contrast, she says, tradition is what is passed on orally, and it tells you the way you are supposed to be. It has to give us good. It has to give us growth. It is the lessons that were taught us by the ancient ones and the elders to help [each of] us be a better person, and closer to the Creator. And we have to use it in the way it is intended ... It's spiritual."

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

Duhn & Galvez are trying to answer the question of how can tentacularity and the “intrusion of Gaia” be contended with in the Capitalocene, and how can humans learn to coexist in a state of turmoil that the Earth is currently in? They use post-observational methods to study tentacularity in an Australian kindergarten and the teaching practices that reinforce the separation between the earth and humanity, studying the “matter-energies” of children in this setting as they learn to explore the environment around them, seeing how they are taught to interact with the environment around them.

Brief comment on the terms or concepts you see the strongest connection to from the original theories.

There are many connections to Haraway’s original theory - the strongest is “the trouble”, the temporal and geological states of the Cthulucene, Capitalocene, and Anthropocene, and of course Tentacularity, seen throughout much of the article as the basis for most of the conceptual framework.

Fingers, hands, legs, and feet became unbound outside, and the children’s tentacularity intensified as limbs and digits moved fast, always in search of encounters, reaching out, entangling, and disentangling with matter-energies to form contingent alliances.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

Referring to Haraway’s concept of tentacularity, this article embarks on a curious research practice-inspired speculative journey to think with material tentacular becomings in an Australian kindergarten. Some of the questions that guided our curious research practice asked: How does curious practice as a postqualitative methodology enable us, as researchers, to cultivate a presence that creates the conditions for these research encounters and events to be perceived? What becomes possible for generative relational diverse learning with matter-energies if we accept that there is no rational explanation at hand? What worlds come into being if we speculate instead of rationalize? How do children animate, and are animated relationally, in particular worlds and not in others? How do we, as researchers, become entangled within children’s ways of perceiving and naming encounters? We experimented with Haraway’s notion of tentacularity as our navigational tool to map four entangled territories in this article.

[...]

We have been curious about the co-emergence of practices that name and care for the world. Some of the questions that guided our curious practices asked: What nonverbal forms of naming the world are possible, and who does the naming? How do children animate, and are animated relationally, in particular worlds and not in others? How do we, as researchers, become entangled within children’s ways of naming through movement and storytelling? How does a postqualitative methodology enable us, as researchers, to cultivate a presence that creates the conditions for these events to be perceived? In Victoria, we experimented with Haraway’s (2016) notion of tentacularity as our navigational tool to map these entangled territories.

Any key terms the reading introduces with quotes that define or explain the terms.

Turmoil and the Anthropocene and Capitalocene

We are curious about matter-energies and the possible relationships between them. What might be relevant for environmental education by relationally considering such diverse matter as a small woodlouse (a slater), an egg, children’s bodies, the Moon, and the air? This article pursues this question to explore what becomes possible when thinking about children’s learning with the world at a time when more attentive relationships with all life forms are called for, as children are now being born into a world experiencing Anthropocene-induced turmoil. ‘Turmoil’ is a mild-mannered attempt to be alerted to a wide range of disturbances such as the disappearance of species, languages, microbial life, the loss of biodiversity, and the ever-increasing presence of extreme weather events (Kolbert 2014, Stengers 2015). To help with this exploration, we draw on findings from an Australian multi-site study, with a focus on literacy and sustainable learning in kindergartens, to map the intensities of human, non-human, and more-than-human encounters. We are curious about the possibilities of learning how to become with-the-

world among tumultuous change, and how to re-imagine being human in either the Anthropocene or/and the Capitalocene, or/and the Chthulucene (Haraway 2016). However, this turmoil is named, learning to become with-the-world in new ways seems an urgent challenge that involves imagining and living ethically, sustainably, and differently with worlds-to-come.

Moreover, Haraway's speculative Chthulucene is not a geological era anymore, but becomes a boundary event, a probe into a different world that is animated into being by imagining, thinking, and doing as iterative practices. The processes of naming use material semiotics, and therefore, are material discursive practices that change the stories that matter in particular times and particular places.

Tumultuous world/Turmoil

What are the possibilities of tentacular becomings across matter-energies for livable futures and flourishing ecologies (Cuomo 2011)? What are the possibilities for sustainable, vibrantly mattered pedagogies that emerge in these encounters? This article explores how paying artful attention to the conditions that enable multi-species/vibrant matter encounters supports the emergence of differences and diffractions, and enables practices of sustainable ethics (Barad 2014). We suggest that learning to create conditions for flourishing differences and diversity might be a key capacity for children born into a tumultuous world.

Tentacularity

The idea of thinking relationally as tentacular becomings plays with Haraway's (2016) affinity for tentacular beings. She contemplates tentacular beings of all kinds as matter-energies that resist classical categorization. Yet there is something that they all have in common. These matter-energies are shaped through tentacularity as life's desire to reach out and become entangled, and to disentangle and reach out again; life itself is always on the move toward becoming. Tentacularity is about curiosity, movement in all directions, and diversity across species, states of being, and matter of all kind.

...

The shared tentacularity between these diverse tentacular entities consists in reaching out and as a movement that is neither limited to linearity nor circularity, neither forward nor backward, but always in relation to other matter-energies. The search for tentacular becomings is as much a search for the ways out of a linear point-to-point, or circular repetition, and the thinking and doing in educational research, as it is an experiment with the cultivation of tentacular perception and the thinking with the world.

Key concept – "Data"

The 'data' comes from a kindergarten on the south eastern outskirts of Melbourne where matter-energies were assembled and phenom- ena emerged and were perceived as moments in time, while other possible assemblages and phenomena came and went unnoticed and unrecorded. 'Data' co-emerged and intra-acted with the perception of it (Duhn 2017; Nordstrom 2018). There is no egg, and there is no hen—no question of 'what came first'. There is, however, a curiosity about the egg, the hen, and the rooster, here, now. Curious practices and the cultivation of tentacular perception means that it is not the 'data' itself that provides evidence of material-discursive practices such as children's learning of sustainability. 'Data' is what lets itself be captured because it happened on a scale and in a moment that enabled human matter-energies to perceive these data as phenomena.

Key concept – Destabilization in the Cthulucene/Capitalocene

The children's presence in the kindergarten was a materialization of this political tentacularity, where an Australian kindergarten becomes a momentary place of both stability and new destabilization. It is stabilizing because it offers safety, routines, and systems that are meant to support children's learning and wellbeing, and destabilizing because being 'different' in Australia is still a marker of otherness that creates exclusions and supports cultural and political practices of non-remembering (Hamm 2015). Being unfamiliar with the kindergarten language and the ways of being and doing, many of the children appeared to look for alliances both with other living creatures, including other children, but also with stones, trees, and plastic toys.

Key concept – Curious practices and living in harmony, and how to teach that, and Gaia's Intrusion

The feast on the tree stump wants to become more elaborate, and expand and pull everything and everyone into its magnetic force field. What if this was permitted to continue over a day, a week? What if everything and everyone in the kindergarten became part of it, if only for a moment? How do we learn to attune ethically? How do we learn together about the differences that emerge, if we allow ourselves to perceive speculatively? What if the kindergarten teacher sits with the children on the stump, and then on a living tree to experiment with differences in perception? What if learning together means imagining together, knowing together, doing Together?

Humans living under the doctrine of late capitalism are perhaps characterized by their disconnection to matter's liveliness. If severely infected, late capitalist humans invade, colonize, and exploit, with little regard for what is disturbed or killed by invasion. What if we were to become perceptive to how it feels to be invaded? What happens when we think of the egg, the slater, and the Moon as Gaia's intrusion?

Curious practices and attentive listening allows awe inspiring glimpses of complete otherness that is incomprehensible to anthropocentric minds and brains who take human intrusion and never-ending expansion as a given right. Gaia's intrusion has one aim. Life wants to live and to find new niches for more extravagance, more experimentation, more excess. What if we, the human species, play along? Instead of calling pest control to get rid of a woodlice infestation, what if the colony gets a woodlice habitat? What worlds become possible? How can we learn to share worlds both ethically and sustainably? What are the boundaries, what is the porosity of boundaries, and what happens if boundaries are breached? Slaters do not like day light. That boundary will hold, for now. A slater habitat could be an easy first attempt at tentacular pedagogical practices with children. The slaters might learn to love a tree stump. The slaters probably already have a place that they love.

11/4 Omi and Winant notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

This piece is trying to answer the question of how and why racial projects inform social structures, particularly in America. The authors argue this lies at hegemony and subjugation along with essentialist and color-blind racism ideologies in the American context. The general argument here is that in America, racial projects are derived from hegemonic ways of thinking and racial dictatorship within America, especially during the founding of America, and have continued as such, and that to continue with such actions even in a colorblind sense is perpetuating a racist racial project even if not intentionally because of the social structures at play. They also break up the groups into liberal and conservative racial projects, along with many other groups that vary based on political standpoints as to how they approach racial formation and racial projects.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

1: *How, for example, does race articulate with other axes of oppression and difference — most importantly class and gender — along which politics is organized today? The answer, we believe, lies in the concept of hegemony. Antonio Gramsci — the Italian communist who placed this concept at the center of his life's work — understood it as the conditions necessary, in a given society, for the achievement and consolidation of rule. He argued that hegemony was always constituted by a combination of coercion and consent. Although rule can be obtained by force, it cannot be secured and maintained, especially in modern society, without the element of consent. Gramsci conceived of consent as far more than merely the legitimization of authority.*

[...]

Gramsci's treatment of hegemony went even farther: he argued that in order to consolidate their hegemony, ruling groups must elaborate and maintain a popular system of ideas and practices — through education, the media, religion, folk wisdom, etc. — which he called 'common sense.' It is through its production and its adherence to this 'common sense,' this ideology (in the broadest sense of the term), that a society gives its consent to the way in which it is ruled. These provocative concepts can be extended and applied to an understanding of racial rule.

2: *A racial project can be defined as racist if and only if it creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race. Such a definition recognizes the importance of locating racism within a fluid and contested history of racially based social structures and discourses. Thus there can be no timeless and absolute standard for what constitutes racism, for social structures change and discourses are subject to rearticulation. Our definition therefore focuses instead on the 'work' essentialism does for domination, and the 'need' domination displays to essentialize the subordinated*

Race

With this in mind, let us propose a definition: race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called 'phenotypes'), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process.

Racial formation & hegemony

We define racial formation as the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. Our attempt to elaborate a theory of racial formation will proceed in two steps. First, we argue that racial formation is a process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized. Next we link racial formation to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled.

Racial project

A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganise and redistribute resources along particular racial lines. Racial projects connect

what race means in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organized, based upon that meaning.

Social Structure & color-blind racism

Conversely, to recognize the racial dimension in social structure is to interpret the meaning of race. Consider the following statement by the late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall on minority 'set-aside' programs:

"A profound difference separates governmental actions that themselves are racist, and governmental actions that seek to remedy the effects of prior racism or to prevent neutral government activity from perpetuating the effects of such racism."

Here the focus is on the racial dimensions of social structure - in this case of state activity and policy. The argument is that state actions in the past and present have treated people in very different ways according to their race, and thus the government cannot retreat from its policy responsibilities in this area. It cannot suddenly declare itself 'color-blind' without in fact perpetuating the same type of differential, racist treatment. Thus, race continues to signify difference and structure inequality.

Liberal and Conservative racial projects

Here, racialized social structure is immediately linked to an interpretation of the meaning of race. This example too can be classified as a particular type of racial project in the present-day U.S. — a 'liberal' one. To be sure, such political labels as 'neoconservative' or 'liberal' cannot fully capture the complexity of racial projects, for these are always multiply determined politically contested, and deeply shaped by their historical context.

11/4 Pellow notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

This piece is trying to answer how critical environmental justice can be interwoven with the Black Lives Matter and Black Liberation movements, and discusses how they are heavily connected even though the two subjects are treated as separate. It connects the concepts of environmental racism and the study of place, environment, and more to the concept of critical race theory, discussing how race is connected to many of these factors because these factors are taken into account, not simply ignored. Environmental racism is deeply entrenched in modern-day society, as this reading details.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

The research questions I pose here are (a) how might the scourge of police violence directed at African Americans be more effectively understood and challenged through an environmental justice framework, and (b) how might an environmental justice framework be enhanced by addressing the scourge of police violence directed at African American communities? I explore these questions through examining the logic of institutional racist violence (which includes both state-based and corporate-driven practices and policies) and how this social phenomenon undergirds the Black Lives Matter cause and the seemingly unrelated problem of environmental racism.

...

Since Black Lives Matter's aim is to confront state-sanctioned racist violence, I believe it would be productive to link this movement to the challenge of environmental racism. Like police brutality, environmental racism is often a form of state-sanctioned violence that occurs when government agencies and state-regulated firms target communities of color with pollution and other environmental impacts. For that reason, BLM could broaden its appeal and reach by extending its focus to this topic.

(Critical) Environmental Justice and Environmental Racism

I have studied the relationship between social inequality and environmental quality, zeroing in on the myriad ways in which communities that are already marginalized because of their social status are also much more likely to face additional threats from environmental harm associated with industrial and government activities (Bullard, 2000; Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright, 2007; Bullard & Wright, 2012). These threats include health risks associated with living in proximity to landfills, waste incinerators, oil refineries, mining operations, flood plains, and highways; contaminated water, air, and land; lack of access to healthy and affordable food; and greater vulnerability to the drivers and impacts of anthropogenic climate change (Taylor, 2000, 2009).

Expanding social categories

As BLM co-founder Alicia Garza (2014) writes, "Black Lives Matter affirms the lives of Black queer and trans folks, disabled folks, Black-undocumented folks, folks with records, women and all Black lives along the gender spectrum. It centers those that have been marginalized within Black liberation movements. It is a tactic to (re)build the Black liberation movement." Even so, I find that both BLM and environmental justice studies could be more expansive and embrace an analysis of species and the roles they play in shaping the lives of both humans and nonhumans facing threats of institutional violence.

Power of Scale

The second pillar of critical environmental justice studies applies multiscalar methodological and theoretical approaches to studying environmental justice issues in order to better comprehend the complex spatial and temporal causes, consequences, and possible resolutions of environmental justice struggles. Environmental justice studies scholarship is characterized largely by a focus on just one scale (for example, a local case study, or a citywide or national study), so a critical environmental justice studies framework would explore how environmental justice struggles function at multiple spatial/geographic and temporal scales. For example, we are interested in how environmental justice struggles manifest at the

microscale of the body and in interpersonal interactions in a single family or community, on up to the global scale.

Entrenched inequalities and institutional power

The third pillar of critical environmental justice studies is the view that social inequalities are not aberrations or abstractions but rather are deeply embedded in society and reinforced by entrenched institutional power. Therefore, the current social order stands as a fundamental obstacle to social and environmental justice.

[...]

BLM activists and environmental justice scholars might then be encouraged to envision practices that could result in environmental justice for communities beyond the state, or at least by minimizing our reliance on state institutions. In fact, some BLM activists urge us to think about how to make our communities safe "beyond policing" (Tometi, 2015), which is a good start.

Expendability

Many ethnic studies scholars today argue that because many people of color are viewed as threats to white supremacy and cultural purity, they are deemed expendable by the state and the legal system. Concretely, that means that members of these populations are frequently targeted with institutional violence as a means of achieving racial dominance (Gilmore, 2007; Marquez, 2014). This "racial expendability" undergirds and supports antiblack police brutality and environmental racism. It is also closely related to "ecological expendability," which deems nonhuman species, spaces, and ecosystems either as threats to human dominance or as a means of enabling it, so that control over, or the consumption and destruction of, nonhuman bodies and habitats is necessary for the maintenance of human supremacy or "dominionism."

Indispensability

"A critical environmental justice studies perspective responds to these dominant cultural and institutional orientations with an understanding that in opposition to white and human supremacy-humans, nonhumans, and ecosystems (particularly those on the receiving end of exclusion, marginalization, and othering) should be seen not as expendable but rather as indispensable to our collective futures. This is what I term racial indispensability (when referring to people of color) and socio-ecological indispensability (when referring to broader communities within and across the human/more-than human spectrum)"

"Indispensability is a challenge to the logic of expendability because it responds to the brutality of such an idea by calling for multi-racial, intersectional solidarities and a vision that insists that our collective futures must include all of us or none."

C 11/11 Coulthard notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

This piece is focusing on the politics of recognition and its ineffectiveness in Indigenous relations with colonizer states, how "recognition" lacks positive effects for Indigenous peoples in settler colonial states such as Canada. It promises mutual recognition and a reciprocal relationship, but does not provide such a benefit for a large variety of reasons, including exploitation, violence, and prejudice.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

Over the last forty years, the self-determination efforts and objectives of Indigenous peoples in Canada have increasingly been cast in the language of "recognition." [...] When considered from the vantage point of these important developments, it would certainly appear that "recognition" has emerged as the dominant expression of self-determination within the Aboriginal rights movement in Canada.

...

In the following chapters I critically engage a multiplicity of diverse imperialist traditions and practices to challenge the increasingly commonplace idea that the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state can be adequately transformed via such a politics of recognition. I take "politics of recognition" to refer to the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to "reconcile" Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler state sovereignty via the accommodation of indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state. 9 Although these models tend to vary in both theory and practice} most call for the delegation of land capital} and political power from the state to Indigenous communities through a combination of land claim settlements} economic development initiatives} and self-government agreements. These are subsequently the three broad contexts through which I examine the theory and practice of Indigenous recognition politics in the following chapters. Against this variant of the recognition approach} I argue that instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of reciprocity or mutual recognition} the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist} racist} patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend.

Any key terms the reading introduces with quotes that define or explain the terms.

Colonization through economic relations and land relations

Stated bluntly, the theory and practice of Indigenous anticolonialism, including Indigenous anticapitalism, is best understood as a struggle primarily inspired by and oriented around the question of land- a struggle not only for land in the material sense, but also deeply informed by what the land as system of reciprocal relations and obligations can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms-and less around our emergent status as "rightless proletarians:" 54 I call this place-based foundation of Indigenous decolonial thought and practice grounded normativity, by which I mean the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time.

...

Although it is beyond question that the predatory nature of capitalism continues to play a vital role in facilitating the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples in Canada, it is necessary to recognize that it only does so in relation to or in concert with axes of exploitation and domination configured along racial, gender, and state lines. Given the resilience of these equally devastating modalities of power, I argue that any strategy geared toward authentic decolonization must directly confront more than mere economic relations; it has to account for the multifarious ways in which capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and the totalizing character of state power interact with one another to form the constellation of power relations that sustain colonial patterns of behavior, structures, and relationships.

Offloading responsibility, and absolving guilt via politics of recognition

In Simpson's view, the state's approach to reconciliation serves to neutralize the legitimacy of Indigenous justice claims by offering statements of regret and apology for harms narrowly conceived of as occurring in the past, thus off-loading 'Canada's responsibility to address structural injustices that continue to inform our settler-colonial present. In doing so the state can claim "that the historical 'wrong' has been 'righted' and further transformation is not needed:

Optics of recognition and reconciliation

The optics of recognition and reconciliation can also have a colonial impact on Indigenous subjects. For both Alfred and Simpson, settler-colonial rule is a form of governmentality: a relatively diffuse set of governing relations that operate through a circumscribed mode of recognition that structurally ensures continued access to Indigenous peoples' lands and resources by producing neocolonial subjectivities that coopt Indigenous people into becoming instruments of their own dispossession.

Gender-based violence against Indigenous women

The demand, rather, is that society, including Indigenous society and particularly Indigenous men, stop collectively conducting ourselves in a manner that denigrates, degrades, and devalues the lives and worth of Indigenous women in such a way that epidemic levels of violence are the norm in too many of their lives. Of course, this violence must be stopped in its overt forms, but we must also stop practicing it in its more subtle expressions-in our daily relationships and practices in the home, workplaces, band offices, governance institutions, and, crucially, in our practices of cultural resurgence. Until this happens we have reconciled ourselves with defeat.

The final product should be the type of thing we would have discussed in class and could be used as a study guide later. For the extension pieces please also include a brief comment on the terms or concepts you see the strongest connection to from the original theories.

11/13 spencer Extension notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

The issue this paper is broaching is the politics of recognition of Indigenous peoples in colonialist states, and how recognition from above does not always meaningfully benefit Indigenous peoples, even if supposedly beneficial. This reading connects to Coulthard's theory of recognition strongly, as Coulthard theorizes on the fallibility of "recognition from above" (in Spencer's terms) in Indigenous-Colonizer relations and in the fallibility of recognition politics in general.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

Intro

I propose, rather than rejecting the politics of recognition outright (Markell 2003; Simpson 2014; Balaton-Chrimes and Stead 2017),² or confining it to self-recognition (Coulthard 2014a, 2014b), it is crucial to attend to the diverse forms of "recognition from above" and "recognition from below" that can exist and, at times, interact.³ In particular, I argue that the case of Australia's First Nations shows how self-recognition can be facilitated by some forms of state recognition. "Recognition from below" can also lead to the transformation of "recognition from above" toward more substantive forms, which can potentially increase Indigenous freedom

...

Conclusion

The solution to the problems often associated with official state recognition does not therefore lie in a rejection of the politics of recognition per se, but in attending to the nuances of different forms of recognition. Refusal or resistance, as Coulthard (2014b) argues, still involves in-group recognition, that is, "recognition from below." Not all forms of "recognition from above" in a postcolonial state will be a positive force. It does not follow, however, that state recognition is always inappropriate or should be rejected because it is based on asymmetrical power relations as Coulthard's critique suggests. No constitutional change can occur in Australia without government approval for a referendum. Australia's First Nations also seek concrete and genuine recognition from the majority of the population to obtain the formal dispersal of power that will enable them to contribute to the formation of policies affecting their lives. As Michael Seymour (2014) argues, state recognition remains essential if internal self-determination for nations within states is to occur. In accepting this structural reality, Australia's First Nations are not, however, always devoid of agency in the face of a hegemonic colonial state.

Any key terms the reading introduces with quotes that define or explain the terms.

Recognition, Misrecognition and Nonrecognition wrt indigenous freedom

This paper examines the case of Australia's First Nations' rejection of the federal government's desire to provide symbolic, formal recognition of their original habitation in the Australian Constitution. In a number of respects, this case exemplifies the point made by North American Indigenous scholars Audra Simpson and Glen Coulthard that, in the particular circumstances of colonialism, recognition—as opposed to misrecognition or nonrecognition—can lessen, rather than increase, Indigenous freedom.

Recognition from Above and Below

Australia's First Nations have effectively transformed the terms of the debate and put substantive recognition from the state on the table for the first time in Australian political history. Thus, rather than rejecting the politics of recognition or replacing "recognition from above" with "recognition from below," I argue it is necessary to attend to the different forms of "recognition from above" and "recognition from below" that exist and often interact.

The Statement from the Heart

The Convention, the Regional Dialogues, and the Referendum Council were funded by the then Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull's Liberal government. The Council's (2017, 3, 44–45) terms of reference required it to lead national consultations about constitutional recognition that would be Indigenous

designed and led, and to recommend proposals to change the Australian Constitution through a nation-wide referendum.

However, on the final day of the Convention, the delegates issued the Statement from the Heart, which departed significantly from the recommendations in these reports. First, it declared that the First Nations of Australia never relinquished sovereignty. Second, it contained a wholesale rejection of mere symbolic recognition in the Constitution of the existence of Australia's First Nations as the original inhabitants of Australia. Third, it proposed a constitutional enshrinement of a First Nations' voice to the Federal Parliament. Fourth, it supported a process of treaty-making, and finally, it proposed a truth-telling process about the history of the First Nations since the invasion of their land (Constitutional Convention 2017).

Recognition

The Australian case therefore raises a number of issues for the theoretical literature on recognition. Simpson (2014) and Coulthard (2014a, 2014b) in questioning the normative value of recognition from the state, reject the importance of recognition from the "Other" in favor of members of subaltern groups focusing on in-group solidarity, what Simpson (2014) refers to as "refusal(s)" and a rejection of the politics of recognition, and Coulthard (2014a, 2014b) calls self-recognition. Freedom exists not in recognition from the state that exists in an asymmetrical power relation with Indigenous peoples, but from a refusal of recognition from a state that is colonial at its foundation.

Dependency on recognition from the colonizing master results in alienation, not in self-realization. The insight Fanon ([1952] 2008, 45, 202) believes he contributes, which Hegel failed to consider, was that the slave wishes to become the master, so the desire of the subjugated black man is to become white. Rather than attempting to achieve the "Other's" acceptance, acknowledgment, and/or recognition, he argues that freedom is therefore achieved by instead turning away from the "Other's" approval. For Coulthard (2014b), the rejection of the state as a source of recognition is accompanied by a focus on one's self and the development of in-group solidarity as a means of self-recognition.

11/18 Hochschild Exploring the managed heart 8 & 9 notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

The key question and key concept this piece is trying to answer is what is emotional labor and how does the workforce experience it? Hochschild theorizes that emotional labor is a key part of up to 1/3 of the workforce's experience, and states that this creates alienation from labor in general, and stress on the worker. That is the key point: alienation and struggle on the part of the worker from the tax of the emotional labor.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

For the flight attendant, the smiles are a part of her work, a part that requires her to coordinate self and feeling so that the work seems to be effortless. To show that the enjoyment takes effort is to do the job poorly. Similarly, part of the job is to disguise fatigue and irritation, for otherwise the labor would show in an unseemly way, and the product - passenger contentment - would be damaged. Because it is easier to disguise fatigue and irritation if they can be banished altogether, at least for brief periods, this feat calls for emotional labor.*

...

Those who perform emotional labor in the course of giving service are like those who perform physical labor in the course of making things: both are subject to the rules of mass production. But when the product-the thing to be engineered, mass-produced, and subjected to speed-up and slowdown-is a smile, a mood, a feeling, or a relationship, it comes to belong more to the organization and less to the self. And so in the country that most publicly celebrates the individual, more people privately wonder, without tracing the question to its deepest social root: What do I really feel?

Any key terms the reading introduces with quotes that define or explain the terms.

Emotional labor

For the flight attendant, the smiles are a part of her work, a part that requires her to coordinate self and feeling so that the work seems to be effortless. To show that the enjoyment takes effort is to do the job poorly. Similarly, part of the job is to disguise fatigue and irritation, for otherwise the labor would show in an unseemly way, and the product - passenger contentment - would be damaged. Because it is easier to disguise fatigue and irritation if they can be banished altogether, at least for brief periods, this feat calls for emotional labor.*

By my estimate, roughly one-third of American workers today have jobs that subject them to substantial demands for emotional labor. Moreover, of all women working, roughly one-half have jobs that call for emotional labor.

Transmutation

What happens when the emotional display that one person owes another reflects a certain inherent inequality? The airline passenger may choose not to smile, but the flight attendant is obliged not only to smile but to try to work up some warmth behind it. What happens, in other words, when there is a transmutation of the private ways we use feeling? One sometimes needs a grand word to point out a coherent pattern between occurrences that would otherwise seem totally unconnected. My word is "transmutation." When I speak of the transmutation of an emotional system, I mean to point out a link between a private act, such as attempting to enjoy a party, and a public act, such as summoning up good feeling for a customer.

Crimes of the heart

"Crimes of the heart" have long been recognized because proscriptions have long guarded the "reactions" of the heart; the Bible says not to covet your neighbor's wife, not simply to avoid acting on that feeling. What is new in our time is an increasingly prevalent instrumental stance toward our native capacity to play, wittingly and actively, upon a range of feelings for a private purpose and the way in which that stance is engineered and administered by large organizations.

Rousseau's noble savage and spontaneity

In general, lower-class and working-class people tend to work more with things, and middle-class and upper-class people tend to work more with people. More working women than men deal with people as a job. Thus, there are both gender patterns and class patterns to the civic and commercial use of human feeling. That is the social point. We may well be seeing a response to all this in the rising approval of the unmanaged heart, the greater virtue now attached to what is "natural" or spontaneous. Ironically, the person like Rousseau's Noble Savage, who only smiles "naturally," without ulterior purpose, is a poor prospect for the job of waiter, hotel manager, or flight attendant. The high regard for "natural feeling," then, may coincide with the culturally imposed need to develop the precise opposite—an instrumental stance toward feeling. We treat spontaneous feeling, for this reason, as if it were scarce and precious; we raise it up as a virtue. It may not be too much to suggest that we are witnessing a call for the conservation of "inner resources," a call to save another wilderness from corporate use and keep it "forever wild."

The Search For Authenticity - Hochschild

Key terms

The managed heart

Estrangement from display, from feeling, and from what feelings can tell us is not simply the occupational hazard of a few. It has firmly established itself in the culture as permanently imaginable. All of us who know the commercialization of human feeling at one remove—as witness, consumer, or critic—have become adept at recognizing and discounting commercialized feeling: "Oh, they have to be friendly, that's their job." This enables us to ferret out the remaining gestures of a private gift exchange: "Now that smile she really meant just for me." We subtract the commercial motive and collect the personal remainders matter-of-factly, almost automatically, so ordinary has the commercialization of human feeling become. In the second case, I think the same principle has been at work: the value placed on authentic or "natural" feeling has increased dramatically with the full emergence of its opposite—the managed heart.

...

Coping with the costs of emotional labor calls for great inventiveness. Among themselves, flight attendants build up an alternative way of experiencing a smile or the word "girl"—a way that involves anger and joking and mutual support on the job. And in their private lives—driving back home on the freeway, talking quietly with a loved one, sorting it out in the occasional intimacy of a worker-to-worker talk—they separate the company's meaning of anger from their own meaning, the company rules of feeling from their own. They try to reclaim the managed heart.

The unmanaged heart, or sincerity/authenticity/honesty

The sincere, "honest soul" came to denote a "simple person, unsophisticated, a bit on the dumb side."⁷ It was considered "dumb" because the art of surface acting was increasingly understood as a useful tool. When mobility became a fact of urban life, so did the art of guile, and the very interest in sincerity as a virtue declined.* Modern audiences, in contrast to nineteenth-century ones, became bored with duplicity as a literary theme.

...

What seems to have replaced our interest in sincerity is an interest in authenticity.⁹ In both the rise and the fall of sincerity as a virtue, the feeling of sincerity "underneath" was assumed to be something solid and permanent, whether one was true to it or betrayed it. Placing a value on guile amounted to placing a value on detachment from that solid something underneath. The present-day value on "authentic" or "natural" feeling may also be a cultural response to a social occurrence, but the occurrence is different. It is not the rise of individual mobility and the individual use of guile in pleasing a greater variety of people. It is the rise of the corporate use of guile and the organized training of feeling to sustain it. The more the heart is managed, the more we value the unmanaged heart.

Ironically, people read a book like *Born to Win* in order to learn how to try to be a natural, authentic winner. Spontaneity is now cast as something to be recovered; the individual learns how to treat feeling as a recoverable object, with ego as the instrument of recovery. In the course of "getting in touch with our feelings;" we make feelings more subject to command and manipulation, more amenable to various forms of management. 14

True self and false self

Both psychoanalysts and actors, from different perspectives, have spoken about a "false self," which is a disbelieved, unclaimed self, a part of "me" that is not "really me." To the psychoanalyst, the false self embodies our acceptance of early parental requirements that we act so as to please others, at the expense of our own needs and desires. This sociocentric, other-directed self comes to live a separate existence from the self we claim.

Organizations do this in hopes of having the worker's true self come to work. They hope to make this private resource a company asset. Yet the more the company offers the worker's true self for sale, the more that self risks seeming false to the individual worker, and the more difficult it becomes for him or her to know which territory of self to claim.

C 11/18 Hochschild Strangers in their own land notes

What question or issue is this particular piece trying to answer?

The question this piece is trying to answer is what do Tea Party/conservative Americans feel in America that makes them struggle to empathize with others in modern day America? It tackles the issue of why White American conservatives feel they don't "get their own" and that other groups have an "unfair advantage" over them in the US. It focuses on the concepts of the "line" and the American Dream - the idea that all Americans are in a line to get access to the American Dream, (this is how Tea Partiers see it) and that some minority groups get preferential access despite "not doing" things that make them deserving as such. This "deep story" as Hochschild puts it is relatable to many conservatives in the US as they feel it represents the experiences of many of their lives.

A quote that you think comes the closest to indicating what the question / answer is.

Question/answer and key term - Line Cutters

Look! You see people cutting in line ahead of you! You're following the rules. They aren't. As they cut in, it feels like you are being moved back. How can they just do that? Who are they? Some are black. Through affirmative action plans, pushed by the federal government, they are being given preference for places in colleges and universities, apprenticeships, jobs, welfare payments, and free lunches, and they hold a certain secret place in people's minds, as we see below. Women, immigrants, refugees, public sector workers— where will it end? Your money is running through a liberal sympathy sieve you don't control or agree with. These are opportunities you'd have loved to have had in your day—and either you should have had them when you were young or the young shouldn't be getting them now. It's not fair.

Any key terms the reading introduces with quotes that define or explain the terms.

Deep Story

A deep story is a feels-as-if story—it's the story feelings tell, in the language of symbols. It removes judgment. It removes fact. It tells us how things feel. Such a story permits those on both sides of the political spectrum to stand back and explore the subjective prism through which the party on the other side sees the world. And I don't believe we understand anyone's politics, right or left, without it. For we all have a deep story.

The Line and the American Dream

You are patiently standing in a long line leading up a hill, as in a pilgrimage. You are situated in the middle of this line, along with others who are also white, older, Christian, and predominantly male, some with college degrees. Some not. Just over the brow of the hill is the American Dream, the goal of one waiting in line. Many in the back of the line are people of color—poor, young and old, mainly without college degrees. It's scary to look back; there are so many behind you, and in principle you wish them well. Still, you've waited a long time, worked hard, and the line is barely moving. You deserve to move forward a little faster. You're patient but weary. You focus ahead, especially on those at the very top of the hill.

Why Tea Partiers feel betrayed

Then you become suspicious. If people are cutting in line ahead of you, someone must be helping them. Who? A man is monitoring the line, walking up and down it, ensuring that the line is orderly and that access to the Dream is fair. His name is President Barack Hussein Obama. But—hey—you see him waving to the line cutters. He's helping them. He feels extra sympathy for them that he doesn't feel for you. He's on their side. He's telling you that these line cutters deserve special treatment, that they've had a harder time than you've had. You don't live near the line cutters or have close friends in most categories of the line cutters, but from what you can see or hear on Fox News, the real story doesn't correspond to his story about the line cutters, which celebrates so many black people, women, and immigrants. The supervisor wants you to sympathize with the line cutters but you don't want to. It's not fair. In fact, the president and his wife are line cutters themselves.

Fading honor

You turn to your workplace for respect—but wages are flat and jobs insecure. So you look to other sources of honor. You get no extra points for your race. You look to gender, but if you're a man, you get

no extra points for that either. If you are straight you are proud to be a married, heterosexual male, but that pride is now seen as a potential sign of homophobia—a source of dishonor. Regional honor? Not that either. You are often disparaged for the place you call home. As for the church, many look down on it, and the proportion of Americans outside any denomination has risen. You are old, but in America, attention is trained on the young. People like you—white, Christian, working and middle class—suffer this sense of fading honor demographically too, as this very group has declined in numbers.

Racial dynamics

When the topic of blacks did arise, many explained that they felt accused by "the North" of being racist—which, by their own definition, they clearly were not. They defined as racist a person who used the "N" word or who "hates" blacks. [...] They defined as racist a person who used the "N" word or who "hates" blacks.

As I and others use the term, however, racism refers to the belief in a natural hierarchy that places blacks at the bottom, and the tendency of whites to judge their own worth by distance from that bottom. By that definition, many Americans, north and south, are racist. And racism appears not simply in personal attitudes but in structural arrangements—as when polluting industries move closer to black neighborhoods than to white.

Gender dynamics

Gender, too, lay behind the disorientation, fear, and resentment evoked by the deep story. All the women I talked to worked, used to work, or were about to return to work. But their political feelings seemed based on their role as wives and mothers—and they wanted to be wives to high-earning men and to enjoy the luxury, as one woman put it, of being a homemaker.

Unfairness in benefits

For the right today, the main theater of conflict is neither the factory floor nor an Occupy protest. The theater of conflict—at the heart of the deep story—is the local welfare office and the mailbox where undeserved disability checks and SNAP stamps arrive. Government checks for the listless and idle—this seems most unfair. If unfairness in Occupy is expressed in the moral vocabulary of a "fair share" of resources and a properly proportioned society, unfairness in the right's deep story is found in the language of makers" and "takers." For the left, the flashpoint is up the class ladder (between the very top and the rest); for the right, it is down between the middle class and the poor. For the left, the flashpoint is centered in the private sector; for the right, in the public sector. Ironically, both call for an honest day's pay for an honest day's work.