

THE RESILIENCE DOCTRINE: ***Disaster Cooperativism in the Climate Crisis***



Dr. ZOLTÁN GROSSMAN

**Member of the Faculty in Geography and Native Studies,
The Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington**

Climate Change and Pacific Rim Indigenous Nations Project

Founded 2006 at
The Evergreen State College

<http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz/climate.html>

*Asserting Native Resilience:
Pacific Rim Indigenous Nations
Face the Climate Crisis,*
by Zoltán Grossman & Alan Parker;
Foreword by Billy Frank Jr.
(Oregon State University Press, 2012)

ASSERTING NATIVE RESILIENCE

Pacific Rim Indigenous Nations

Face the Climate Crisis

Edited by Zoltán Grossman and Alan Parker

Catastrophe: *Community Resilience in the Face of Disaster*

Spring 2017 & Fall 2019 Evergreen program

“This program will explore the role of natural and human-made disasters—including earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes, floods, droughts, volcanic activity, landslides, wildfires, pandemics, wars, attacks, uprisings, and radioactive and toxic leaks—in shaping human society and consciousness. A central focus will be on how many of these place-based upheavals are becoming more common or intense in the climate crisis, and how communities can plan, respond, and adapt under new conditions. The program will apply the lessons from elsewhere in the world to locally in the Pacific Northwest..”



CLIMATE SUMMIT

WHAT IF IT'S
A BIG HOAX AND
WE CREATE A BETTER
WORLD FOR NOTHING?

- ENERGY INDEPENDENCE
- PRESERVE RAINFORESTS
- SUSTAINABILITY
- GREEN JOBS
- LIVABLE CITIES
- RENEWABLES
- CLEAN WATER, AIR
- HEALTHY CHILDREN
- etc. etc.



DEL
PITT

11/19 USA TODAY

Unpredictable winds

Winds shift from W-E to S-N;
along mtn. range ridgelines;
Not uplift for precipitation.

Trees toppled by December 2006
windstorm knocked out region's
power for days.



*No single weather event
can be linked to climate
change, but it is intensifying
extremes and increasing
instability.*



Skokomish



Floods & mudslides, 2007



Lacey

Winter Megastorms



Kennedy Creek



Black Lake Blvd. & Cooper Point

Winter Megastorms



Seattle cut off
from Portland
by I-5 floods in
Centralia &
Chehalis,
Lewis County,
December 2007



Evergreen



Winter Megastorms

Blizzard, December 2008

Flooding, January 2009

Ice storm, January 2012

Morton



Olympia



Spring Landslides

March 2014 Oso slide followed heavy spring rains, killed 43

Stillaguamish & Tulalip staff had warned of unstable slope, Made worse by poor logging practices.



Two tribes provided funds & shelter.





Summer Wildfires

Carlton Complex Fire 2014
largest in WA history:
200 homes burned in
Pateros, Methow Valley

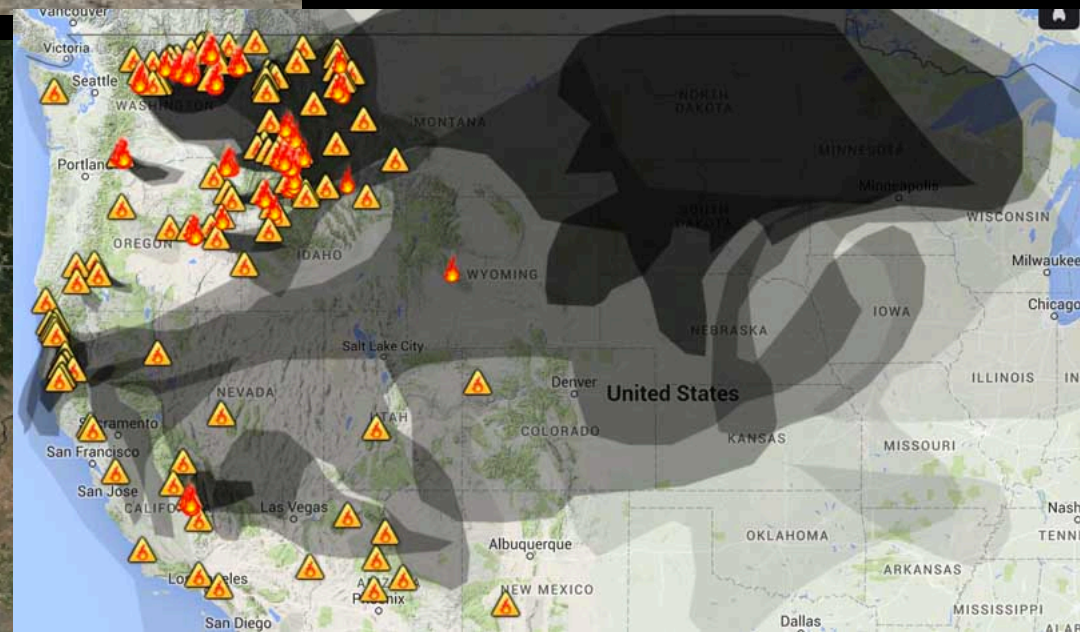
Wenatchee blaze destroys
30 homes, 2015



Summer Wildfires

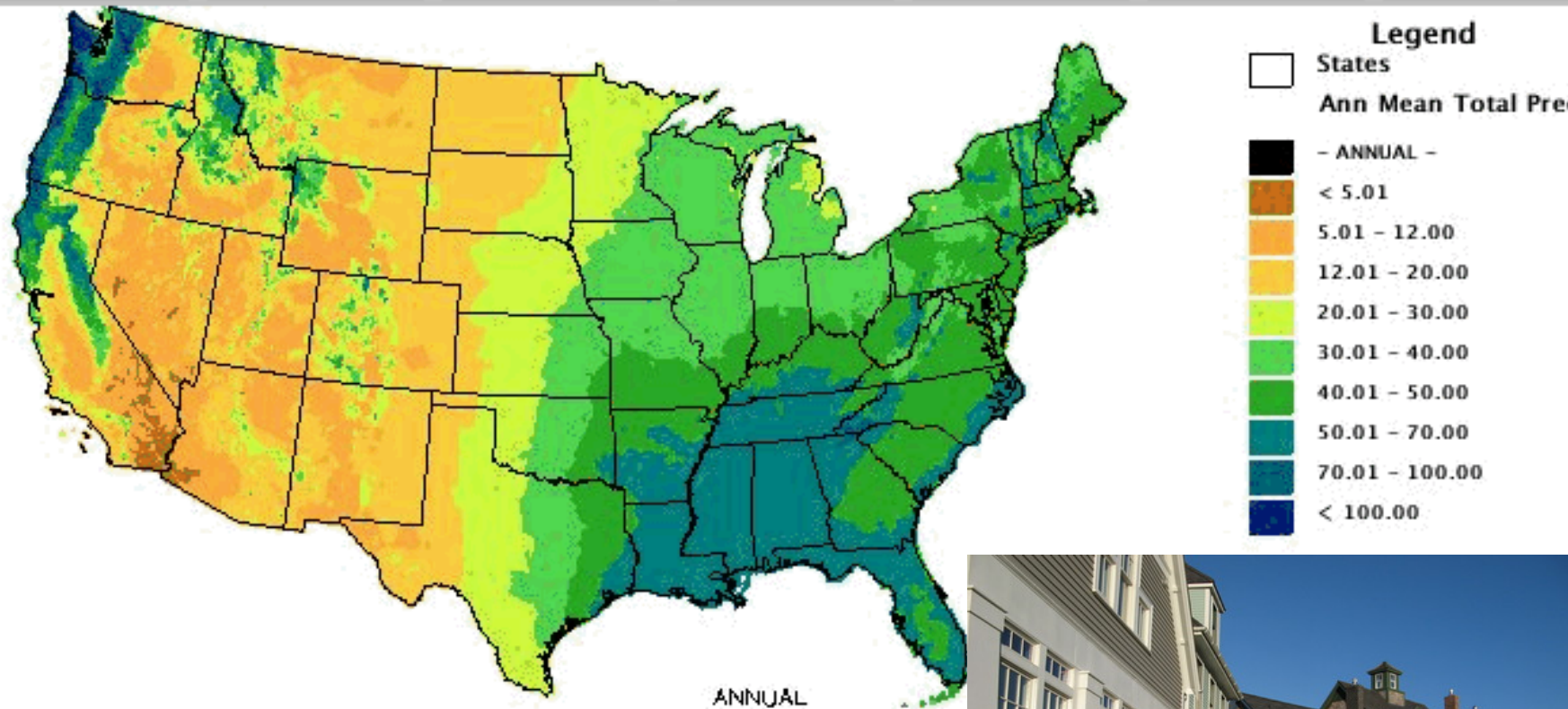
Coastal rainforest burned
near Quinault, and on
Vancouver Island, 2015

Smoke map, Aug. 2015



Climate change refugees?

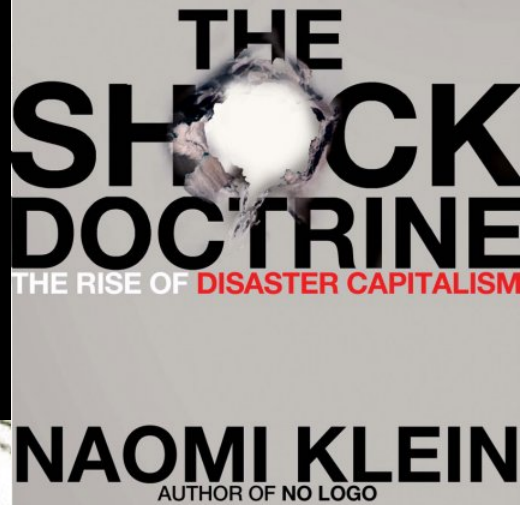
Lower 48 Mean Total Precipitation



This map was created by NOAA's National Climatic Data Center (NCDC), Asheville, NC, USA

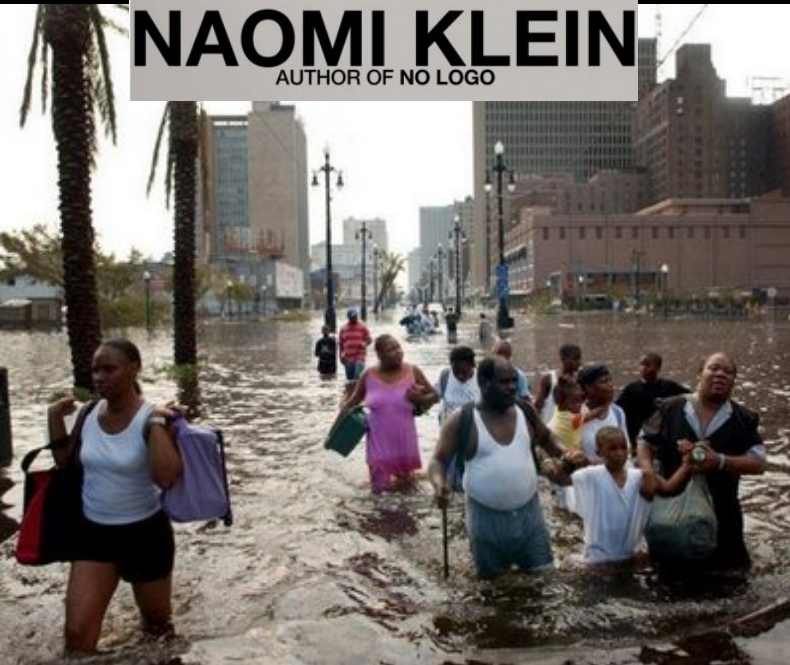


The Shock Doctrine



After the “shock” of natural or human disasters, corporate interests move in to privatize the economy, institute the “shock” of austerity, and repress those who resist.

Disasters increasingly ‘provide windows into a cruel ‘and ruthlessly divided future in which money and race buy survival.’ (Naomi Klein, 2007, p. 522)



Post-Katrina New Orleans, 2005

Hurricane Sandy



Emergency

=

e- (opposite)

+

mergere (submerge in liquid)

[Latin]



Hurricane Sandy



Catastrophe

=

kata (down)

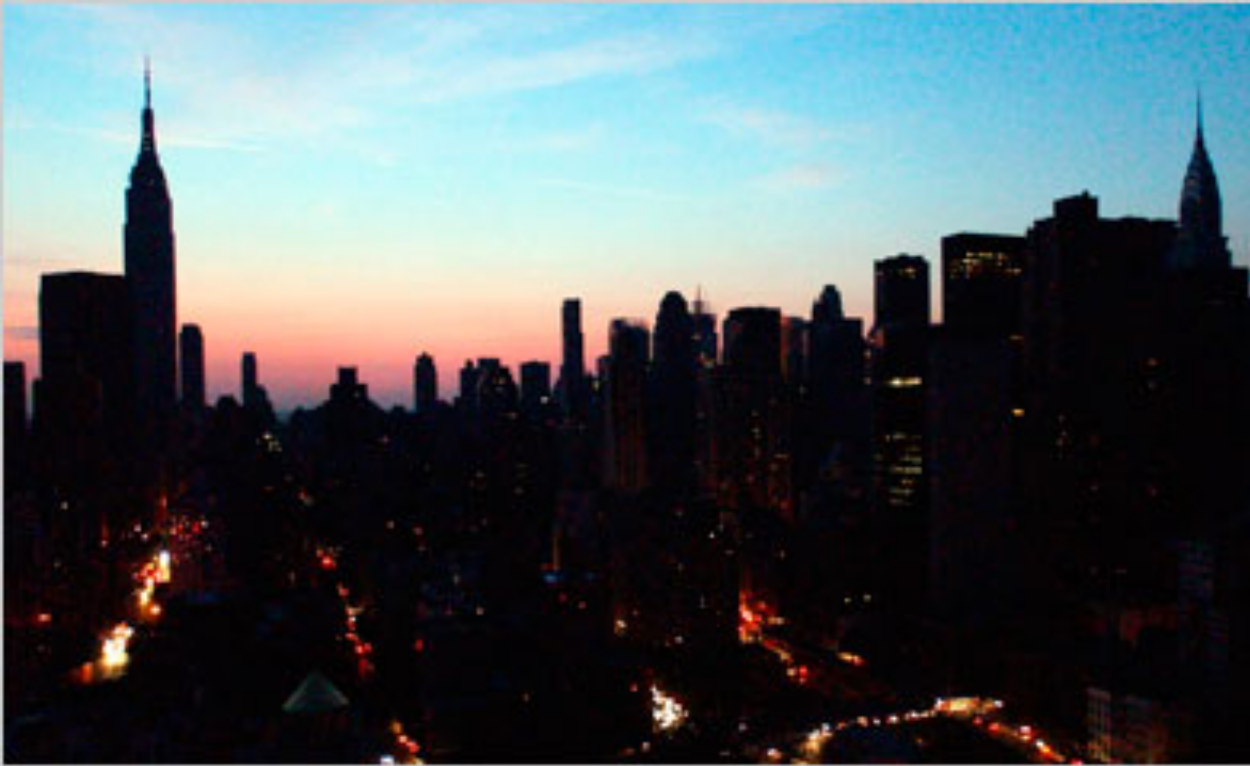
+

streiphen (turning over)

[Greek]



Hurricane Sandy



Disaster

=

dis- (without)

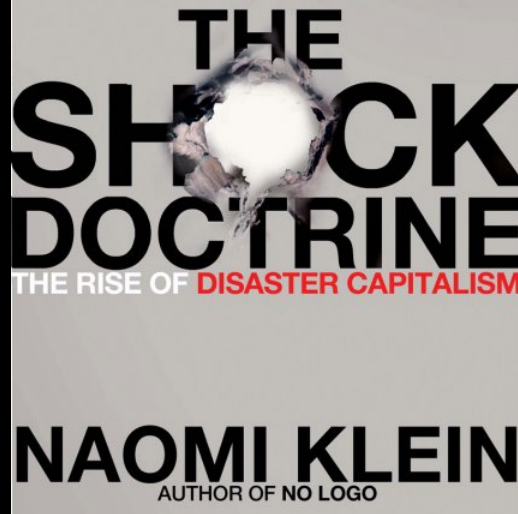
+

astro (star)

[Latin]



The Rise of Disaster Capitalism



Disaster capitalism:

Taking advantage of a major disaster to adopt economic austerity policies that a distracted and desperate population would be less likely to accept under normal circumstances.



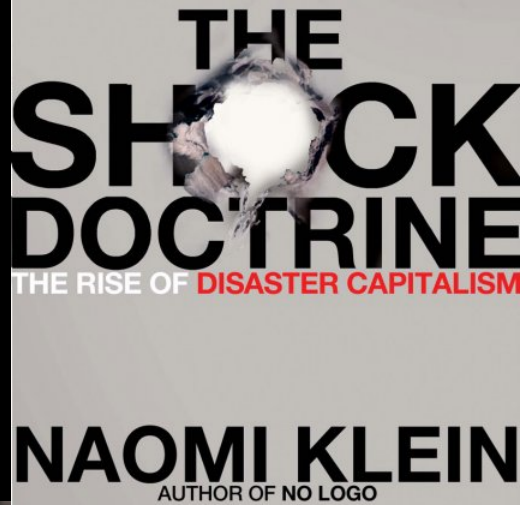
**Blackwater security contractors
from Iraq, in New Orleans, 2005**

“With resource scarcity and climate change providing a steadily increasing flow of new disasters, responding to emergencies is simply too hot an emerging market to be left to the nonprofits.” (p. 16)

Flip side: **People's Renewal**

“The best way to recover from helplessness turns out to be helping—having the right to be part of a communal recovery....

Such people's reconstruction efforts represent the antithesis of the disaster capitalism complex's ethos.... These are movements that do not seek to start from scratch but rather from scrap, from the rubble that is all around...(p. 589).



**Common Ground Collective
in New Orleans, 2005**

Disaster Cooperativism



Responding to a major disaster with cooperative, community-based ways to ensure immediate survival, and engaging people in exploring social and environmental solutions that they would be less likely to accept under normal, apathetic circumstances.



“Rooted in the communities where they live, these men and women see themselves as mere repair people...fixing it...making it better and more equal. Most of all, they are building in resilience – for when the next shock hits” (Klein, p. 589).



Capitalism vs. the Climate

Typhoon Haiyan hits
the Philippines, 2013

**NAOMI
KLEIN
THIS
CHANGES
EVERYTHING**

During good times, it's easy to deride "big government" and talk about the inevitability of cutbacks. But during disasters, most everyone loses their free market religion and wants to know that their government has their backs. And if there is one thing we can be sure of, it's that extreme weather events like Superstorm Sandy, Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, and the British floods—disasters that, combined, pummeled coastlines beyond recognition, ravaged millions of homes, and killed many thousands—are going to keep coming.

Over the course of the 1970s, there were 660 reported disasters around the world, including droughts, floods, extreme temperature events, wildfires, and storms. In the 2000s, there were 3,322—a fivefold boost. That is a staggering increase in just over thirty years, and clearly global warming cannot be said to have "caused" all of it. But the climate signal is also clear.

Greensburg Tornado in Kansas, 2007



Nicaraguan Revolution



Somoza dictatorship relief failure
after Managua earthquake, 1972



Sandinista Revolution takes
Managua, 1979

Collapse of Soviet Union



Chernobyl nuclear disaster in Ukraine exposes state secrecy, 1986



Soviet Union divides into 15 countries, 1991

Chile and Argentina uprisings



Olla común (collective cooking pot)
feeds urban poor before uprising
against Chilean military regime, 1989



Workers' cooperatives lead
popular rebellion against
austerity in Argentina, 2001

Iraq and Lebanon invasions

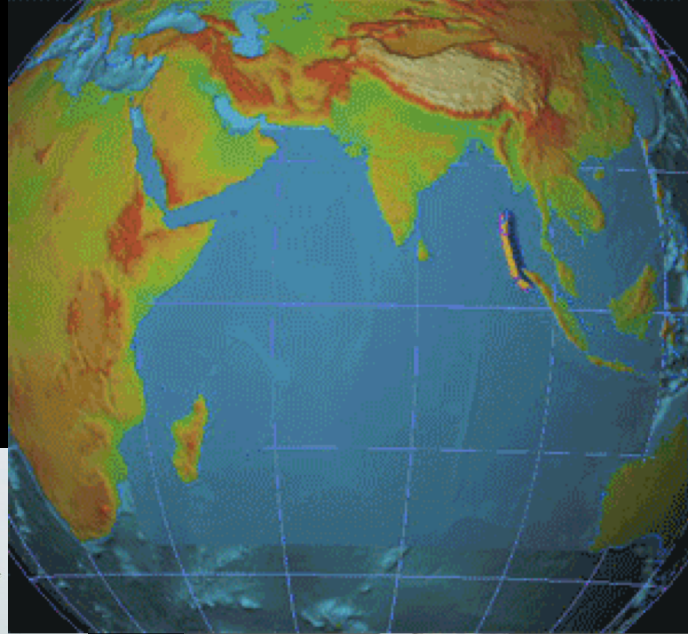


Shi'a Hawza seminaries coordinate food relief after U.S. invasion of Iraq, 2003; later won elections



Shi'a party's relief efforts after Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 2006; later won elections

Indian Ocean Tsunami, 2004

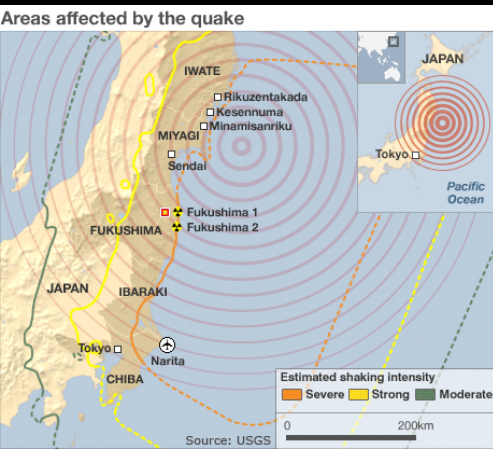


Quake and tsunami devastate
Aceh province in Indonesia, 2004



Peace agreement with Aceh
separatist rebels, 2005
(not same effect in Sri Lanka)

Earthquake in Japan, 2011



Japanese drew from experience of mutual aid societies after 1995 Kobe earthquake

Tsunami in Japan



Fukushima Nuclear Meltdown

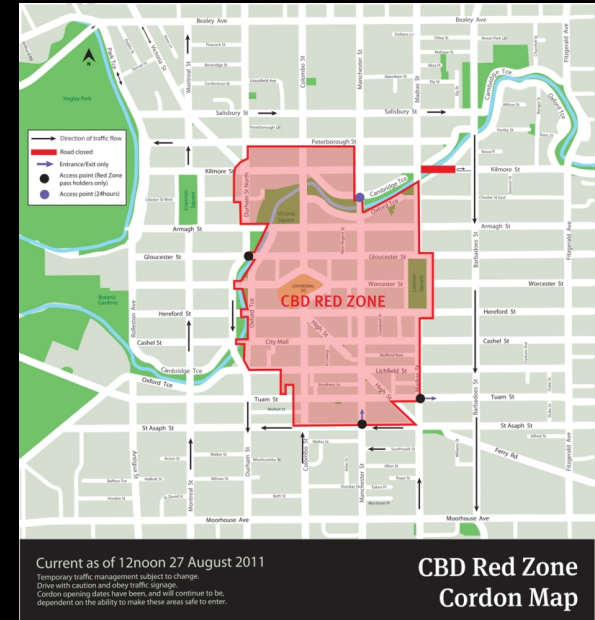


Fukushima Aftermath



Rapid rebuilding of
tsunami-damaged area;
Temporary ban
on nuclear power

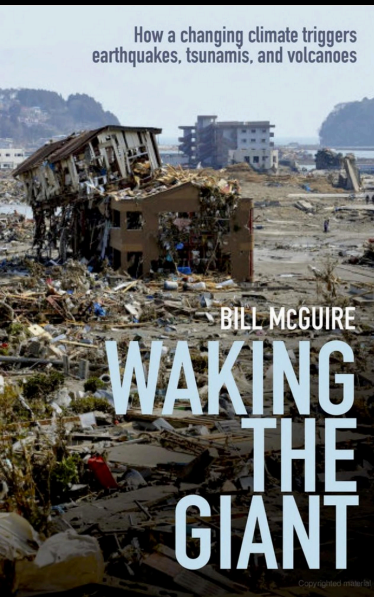
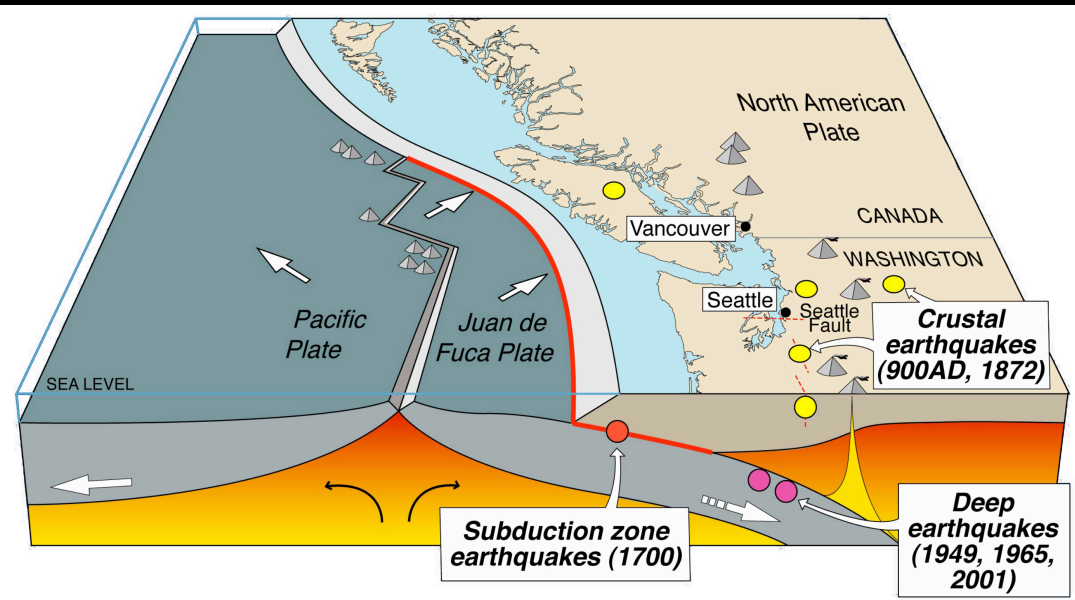
Christchurch NZ quakes, 2010-11



Living Like Kings

<https://vimeo.com/96458672>

Cascadia Subduction Zone



Nisqually 6.8 quake damage in downtown Olympia, 2001

Ghost Forest near Copalis Beach from 1700 earthquake/tsunami

A Paradise Built in Hell



“The ability of disasters to topple old orders and open up new possibilities.” (Rebecca Solnit, 2010, p. 16)

Extraordinary Communities That Arise in Disaster



**San Francisco
earthquakes,
1906 and 1989**

In many disasters, “strangers become friends and collaborators, goods are shared freely, people improvise new roles for themselves. Imagine a society where money plays little or no role, where people rescue each other and then care for each other, where food is given away... where the old divides between people seem to have fallen away” (p. 17).





“Everybody woke up the next morning and everything was different. There was no electricity, all the stores were closed, no one had access to media. The consequence was that everyone poured out into the street to bear witness. Not quite a street party, but everyone out at once—it was a sense of happiness to see everybody even though we didn’t know each other.”

—Man in Halifax, Nova Scotia, after a 2003 hurricane (Solnit, p. 4)

Alleviating Disaster in Everyday Life

“The history of disaster demonstrates that most of us are social animals, hungry for connection, as well as for purpose and meaning. It also suggests that if this is who we are, then everyday life in most places is a disaster that disruptions sometimes give us a chance to change” (p. 305).



**Black Panther free breakfast program
for Oakland children, 1960s**



Camp Quixote in Olympia, 2010s



REASON TRIBE



FAITH TRIBE





Thinking in an Emergency

THINKING
IN AN
EMERGENCY



ELAINE
SCARRY

“One of the things that has seduced people into giving up on their own actions is the claim of emergency—the government will often make the spurious claim that because certain things require very fast action, there is no time for ordinary processes of deliberation and thinking....I find exactly the opposite to be the case. Thinking and emergency action are deeply compatible. Sometimes that thinking takes the form of very recognizable deliberative processes, and many other timeswe build all the deliberation into...protocols.”

([Scarry interview](#))

Elite Panic

Sociologists have documented that ordinary people are usually calm and rarely panic in emergencies. But elites perceive a threat from out-of-control and unruly “mobs,” so create a myth of social panic that shapes their actions, and they panic as a result. *Elite panic reinforces an assumption that human nature is greedy and animalistic, and an upending of their social order can only lead to chaos.*

“Hierarchies and institutions are inadequate to these circumstances; they are often what fails in such crises. Civil society is what succeeds, not only in an emotional demonstration of altruism and mutual aid but also in a practical mustering of creativity and resources to meet the challenges....” (Solnit, p. 305).



President Bush, Mayor Nagin, Gov. Blanco issue orders to shoot

Myths about post-Katrina chaos

New Orleans gang members were not murdering people in the Superdome, but “they were the ones getting juice for the babies. They were the ones getting clothes for the people who had walked through that water. They were the ones fanning the old people, because that’s what moved the gangster guys the most, the plight of the old people.” – Denise Moore (Solnit, p. 244)



Hurricane Katrina, 2005

Common Ground clinics, mobile medics, soup kitchens, tool-lending stations, distributing goods languishing in Red Cross warehouses

“People on both sides of the old racial divides went away with changed perceptions. The volunteers mitigated the racial violence and demonization of the first days after the storm” (Solnit, p. 293)



Hurricane Katrina, 2005



Residential Structural Damage in New Orleans, La
Caused by Hurricane Katrina and the
Levee Failure Induced Flooding, August 2005



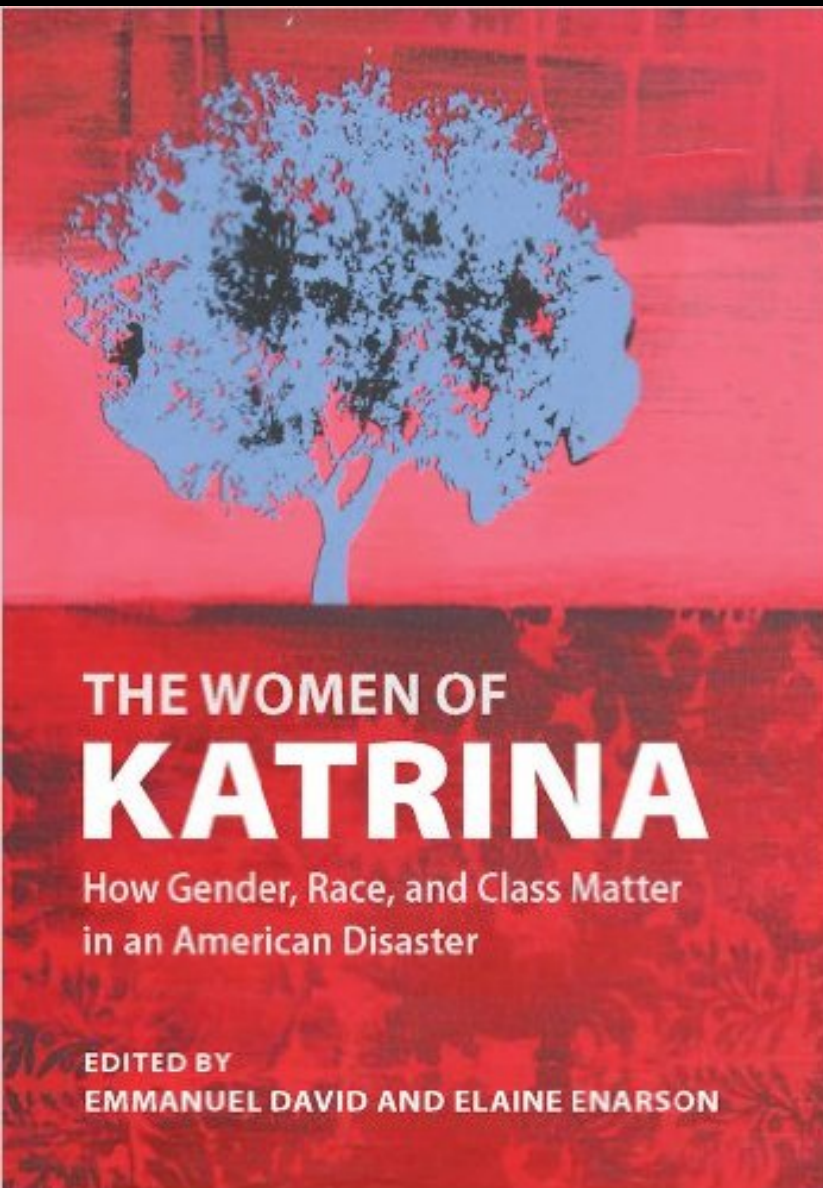


“Disasters are, most basically, terrible, tragic, grievous, and no matter what positive side effects and possibilities they produce, they are not to be desired. But by the same measure, those side effects should not be ignored because they arise amid devastation. Most social change is chosen—you want to belong to a co-op, you believe in social safety nets or community supported agriculture. But disaster doesn’t sort us out by preferences; it drags us into emergencies that require we act, and act altruistically, bravely, and with initiative in order to survive or save the neighbors...” (p. 6)



“One reason that disasters are threatening to elites is that power devolves to the people on the ground in many ways: it is the neighbors who are the first responders and who assemble the impromptu kitchens and networks to rebuild. And it demonstrates the viability of a dispersed, decentralized system of decision-making. Citizens themselves in these moments constitute the government – the acting decision-making body – as democracy has always promised and rarely delivered. Thus disasters often unfold as though a revolution has already taken place” (p. 305).

Disaster and Gender



FEMA and the Red Cross “were incompetent and ineffective. I don’t know where we would be without the volunteers. Our people have language barriers and education barriers; 47 percent of the adult population has less than a high school education”

--Brenda Dardar Robichaux (Houma)

Robichaux and her husband canoed to homes with food, housed, and held cultural workshops for volunteers.

Climate Change Through an Intersectional Lens: Gendered Vulnerability and Resilience in Indigenous Communities in the United States

Kirsten Vinyeta, Kyle Powys Whyte, and Kathy Lynn



Forest
Service

Pacific Northwest
Research Station

General Technical Report
PMW-GTR-423

December
2015

Disaster and Gender

"Women make an important contribution to disaster reduction, often informally through participating in disaster management and acting as agents of social change. Their resilience and their networks are critical in household and community recovery."

--Intergovernmental Panel on
Climate Change (2007)

Cited by Debra McNutt, "Effects of Climate Change on Women's and Children's Health," In *Asserting Native Resilience: Pacific Rim Indigenous Nations Face the Climate Crisis* (OSU Press, 2012).

