Introduction: Where On Earth Are We Going?



IN EARLY 2015, I was on Haleakala on the Hawaiian island of Maui. At just over ten thousand feet, it is Maui's tallest volcano. From the summit, the landscape below looked harsh and inhospitable. Bleak black lava fields stretched into the distance and there was an almost complete lack of vegetation. A biting wind sliced through the layers of warm clothing I had put on earlier that morning. In this desolate place, my attention was drawn to an endangered nēnē goose walking slowly across the trail about 50 yards in front of me. A fellow visitor also noticed the inconspicuous grey-brown bird and we struck up a conversation. After talking about the nēnē and our surroundings, he told me he was a recently retired steel worker from the east coast and this trip to Hawaii had been on his bucket list for years. Then he asked me what I did. After I told him that I taught environmental studies and sustainability, he sighed deeply and looked away as his eyes filled with tears. In a soft and sorrowful voice, he proceeded to tell me about his only son and daughter-in-law who had lost their home to Hurricane Sandy in 2012. The storm surge had destroyed

their New Jersey shoreline house and although it had been rebuilt, the young couple had not fully recovered. They had become so alarmed about climate disruption they decided not to have any children, so he will never have grandchildren. This broke his heart.

A few months later, I was teaching a class at Antioch University Seattle. The students and I were talking about recent environmental changes they had noticed. A twenty-something-year-old talked about going to Alaska every summer and noticing how much the glaciers were receding from year to year. Another spoke about the decline in salmon and steelhead populations and what it meant for his tribe. Then someone else told about her Australian friends who had decided to immigrate to the Pacific Northwest because of the now unbearable summer heat in their home country. Gradually, the conversation lapsed into silence. Then a young woman quietly said, "It's all too much. I am terrified about what's happening and I don't know where it's all going. I don't have much hope for the future." Her words tailed off as she began to cry, tears coursing down her pretty face. Some of her colleagues looked away and shuffled their papers, embarrassed by her show of emotion. Others nodded their heads in agreement because she had given voice to their unspoken thoughts.

Retired steel workers, students, and many others are beginning to express their feelings about the state of the environment. They know something is terribly wrong. Their experience is consistent with the scientific consensus that humankind is destroying the earth's ecosystems and threatening the future of life on the planet. Although scientists have been saying this for decades, what's happening now is different because ordinary people are witnessing the changes for themselves. Whether they are losing their homes to hurricanes, floods, wildfires, or rising sea levels, enduring extreme heat or cold, living with drought or getting sick from pollution, what's happening now could be a game-changer. Even many who are only affected indirectly are becoming alarmed.

Indeed, concern about climate disruption has already led hundreds of thousands of people to protest. In September 2014, about 600,000 people in more than 160 countries around the world took to the streets, including about 400,000 in New York City alone. A similar number voiced their concern just over a year later just ahead of the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. And in April 2017, over 200,000 people turned out in Washington, D.C., and tens of thousands more took part at over 370 sister marches worldwide. Even though the truth is very inconvenient, it's beginning to change the way people think, feel, and act.

The Global Eco-social Crisis and Its Impacts

It's only in the past few decades that humankind has woken up to the fact that there is an emerging global eco-social crisis. Before then, people thought about environmental problems as if they were separate from each other and contained within specific geographical boundaries. But now local issues tend to be seen in a larger context—a drought can remind us about climate disruption, the destruction of a wetland can remind us about worldwide habitat loss, dead fish in a lake can remind us about pollution's global scale. There's also a growing realization that action on any one issue won't be effective unless it is connected to actions on others. For example, you can't work on preserving biodiversity without working on habitat destruction, climate disruption, invasive species, pollution, human overpopulation, and overharvesting, and you can't work to prevent habitat destruction without working on food production, agricultural practices, lumber harvesting, housing and infrastructure development, water availability, and pollution. Perhaps most significantly, there's an increasing recognition that environmental problems cannot be treated separately from their social, cultural, and economic contexts. For instance, communities of color are often exposed to higher levels of toxic chemicals, and climate disruption affects vulnerable populations

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more than others. As John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, said "When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the Universe."¹

Because the scale of the crisis is still sinking in, there is not yet an agreed word or phrase to describe it. In this book, I use the expression "global eco-social crisis" because it underscores the systemic and interconnected nature of our problems, as well as their urgency. When I use it, I include all environmental problems and their social, cultural, and economic contexts. I believe that focusing exclusively on any single problem, even climate disruption, oversimplifies our predicament. In addition, I have chosen to use the phrase "climate disruption" rather than the more neutral "climate change" or the seemingly benign "global warming." This is because, to me, climate disruption better describes the nature of the changes that we are beginning to witness.

"Global eco-social crisis" may be appropriate but it feels over-whelming. Speaking personally, I find it impossible to fully grasp its magnitude, even though I have spent the past 35 years of my life working on eco-social problems. For starters, there's climate disruption, resource depletion, pollution, species extinction, habitat loss, water scarcity, and population growth. Then there's all their local, regional, and global manifestations. And then there's all the ways these problems intersect with other issues, such as poverty, unemployment, racism, and health. Put everything together and it's completely mind-boggling. Even if I were to try to catalogue all the evidence of harm, I suspect you would feel as overwhelmed as I do. So instead, here are just a few facts and figures to illustrate where we are and where we may be going:

 Climate disruption. Considered the largest single threat to human survival, climate disruption is already causing severe heat waves, droughts, floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, and wildfires throughout the world, as well as rising sea levels, ocean acidification, desertification, erosion, reduced food production,

- shifts in species ranges, and effects on human health.² By the end of this century, global temperatures are expected to rise by between 0.3 to 4.8 degrees Celsius,³ significantly exacerbating these effects and changing life on earth as we know it.
- Water scarcity. About 700 million people living in 43 countries suffer from water scarcity. By 2015, 1.8 billion people will be living in countries or regions with absolute water scarcity, and two thirds of the world's population could be living under water stressed conditions. With the existing climate change scenario, almost half the world's population will be living in high water stress by 2030.⁴ Water scarcity is already regarded as a major threat to world security by the US intelligence community.⁵
- Species extinction. Nearly one quarter of all mammalian species and about one in eight bird species are likely to become extinct in the next 30 years. In the past 40 years, populations of vertebrate animals—such as mammals, birds, and fish—have declined by a whopping 58 percent. The current rate of biodiversity loss is between 1,000 and 10,000 times greater than the natural rate.
- Pollution. Pollution is now ubiquitous. There is nowhere on the planet that is uncontaminated. Some of the highest levels are in the Arctic, many thousands of miles away from any direct sources. The world's cities already generate about 1.3 billion metric tonnes of solid waste per year and this is expected to increase to 2.2 billion metric tonnes by 2025. Wastes pollute the air, land, and water. Between 4.8 and 12.7 million metric tonnes of plastic ends up in the oceans, where it harms wildlife and damages marine ecosystems. By 2050, the weight of plastic in the world's oceans will exceed the weight of fish. 10
- Environmental injustice. Environmental injustice is widespread and getting worse. Developed countries exploit developing countries by grabbing their natural resources, building hazardous facilities and using them as a dumping ground

for toxic waste, and coercing them into wildlife conservation measures without regard for the people who live in or close to protected areas. Within countries, including the US, racial minorities and people living in poverty are often exposed to higher levels of pollution and greater risks.¹¹

• Population growth and consumerism. The world's population is already 7.6 billion and it is expected to increase to 11.1 billion by 2100. 12 At the same time, billions in the developing world are adopting the consumer lifestyle of developed countries. These two trends are putting increasing stress on the planet's already depleted natural resources.

These facts and figures may seem remote and abstract from your daily life, but they represent very real problems with very real implications for your health and wellbeing.

We all rely on the earth's life support systems for every breath we take, every sip of water we drink, and every mouthful of food we eat. Quite simply, human existence depends on the earth. No ifs, ands, or buts. When we damage the environment, we damage ourselves. In the words widely attributed to Chief Seattle, "The earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood that unites us all. Man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever man does to the web, he does to himself." To put it succinctly, human health depends on a healthy planet or as ecotheologian Thomas Berry said, "You cannot have well humans on a sick planet."

There is very strong scientific evidence that human health and wellbeing are already affected by environmental quality. According to the World Health Organization, nearly one quarter of all human disease is due to poor environmental quality¹⁵—almost half of all asthma, about one fifth of all cancers, about one sixth of all cardiovascular disease, and one twentieth of all birth defects. The proportion is even higher for children. This burden of disease causes indescribable human pain and suffering, as well as an

untold loss of human happiness and productivity. Tragically, most of it could be prevented.

But that's not all. The damage we inflict on the environment comes back to harm us in other ways. In 1992, I was living in Canada when overfishing destroyed the North Atlantic cod fishery. The industry that had sustained the island of Newfoundland and many small mainland communities for more than 500 years suddenly vanished when the fishery crashed to about one percent of its former size. The socio-economic consequences were enormous. In the immediate aftermath, more than 35,000 fishermen and plant workers from over 400 coastal communities lost their jobs¹⁶ and a \$500 million a year industry¹⁷ disappeared virtually overnight. Many people lost the only source of income they had ever known and became dependent on hastily assembled government welfare programs. The demise of the North Atlantic cod fishery destroyed a way of life and led to a massive emigration of young people and families that devastated many towns and villages. Only now, some 25 years later, are the fish beginning to return. This example and others, including the US Dust Bowl of the 1930s, the destruction of the Amazon rainforest, and the virtual disappearance of the Aral Sea in central Asia, reveal that "environmental" disasters are never just environmental disasters. They always affect people and communities, and often entire societies.

It's true that a few societies have survived horrendous environmentally-related catastrophes. In the mid-1300s, rats carrying the Plague spread rapidly across Europe, leading to the death of somewhere between 30 and 50 percent of the human population—between 25 and 40 million people. But despite this enormous loss of life and its terrible socio-economic consequences, the Renaissance flourished. But sadly, compete social collapse is a more common consequence. Examples in this category include the people of Easter Island and the Mayan culture, who overexploited their natural resources, and the Norse of Greenland,

who destroyed fragile Northern ecosystems and failed to adapt to an increasingly harsh climate.²⁰ In these cases, entire societies perished because of an unwillingness to accept evidence of environmental deterioration and take appropriate action.

But what's happening now is not about a single society or culture. We are witnessing the onset of a global eco-social crisis that threatens the future of our species and many others. Moreover, we know this one is human-caused. Unlike earlier catastrophes, this one cannot be blamed on ignorance, vengeful gods, or other supernatural forces. We know we are responsible. These three factors—its global scale, its threat to the future of life on earth, and the knowledge that we caused it—mark this crisis as unprecedented in human history.

Psychological Impacts

Although there is a lot of scientific information about the unfolding crisis and how it will affect human health and wellbeing, we know very little about its psychological impacts. So far, few in-depth studies have been done on this important topic. One source of information is public opinion polling. Even though it is a superficial and unreliable surrogate it does indicate significant levels of concern, and that people around the world are worried. In China, about 80 percent of the population is concerned about the country's environmental problems. In Brazil, 87 percent believe that climate change is "very serious." In Australia, a survey of children reported that over half were worried about not having enough water, almost half said they were anxious about climate change, and a similar proportion said they were concerned about air and water pollution. 23

But the psychological impacts of the global eco-social crisis go far beyond concern, worry, and anxiety and include much more serious disorders. Three main types can be identified:

• Direct and acute effects associated with living through extreme weather events and other environmental disasters. These include acute and post traumatic stress disorder, depression, despair, grief, place attachment disorder, apathy, fear, somatic disorders, drug and alcohol use, and suicide.

- Indirect or vicarious effects associated with observing these events combined with uncertainty about the future. These include fear, guilt, sadness, despair, depression, anger, grief, and apathy.
- Community or large-scale psychosocial effects. These include decreased community cohesion, a disrupted sense of continuity and belonging, increased violence and crime, increased social instability, increased interpersonal and intergroup aggression, and domestic abuse.

As conditions deteriorate, these impacts are likely to become more common. In the US, one recent study predicted that two hundred million Americans will experience serious psychological impacts from climate disruption and that in many instances the distress will be severe. Even the conservative American Psychological Association, the world's largest professional association of psychologists, is warning about the mental health consequences of climate disruption. Even the consequences of climate disruption.

These psychological effects are to be expected. Like other animals, human beings get extremely frightened whenever our survival is threatened. However, this crisis isn't just about our individual survival, it's about our collective survival. Ecopsychologist Joanna Macy calls this realization "the pivotal psychological reality of our time." She says, "Every generation throughout history lived with the tacit certainty that there would be generations to follow. Each assumed, without questioning, that its children and children's children would walk the same earth, under the same sky. Hardships, failures, and personal death were encompassed in that vaster assurance of continuity. That certainty is now lost to us, whatever our politics. That loss, unmeasured and immeasurable, is the pivotal psychological reality of our time." ²⁶

This terrifying reality is more difficult to accept because we don't talk about it. When we fail to acknowledge our feelings about the future, they don't go away. Exactly the opposite happens—they fester in our unconscious and get worse. And the more we avoid talking about our feelings, the more isolated and alone we feel, and the more we can think that our feelings are abnormal or unfounded. But these emotions are very natural. Indeed, from an evolutionary perspective, they have been hardwired into us as a survival mechanism, constituting an internal early warning system. We ignore them at our peril. Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh calls them "the bells of mindfulness." He says "[t]he bells of mindfulness are calling out to us, trying to wake us up, reminding us to look deeply at our impact on the planet."27 However unpleasant or unwanted, these feelings are telling us that we urgently need to change our ways. Indeed, unless we heed them and wake up, we may not survive.

We can hear Thich Nhat Hanh's bells of mindfulness and feel the earth's suffering because we are part of her. It's as if we are the cells of her body and can feel the trauma she is experiencing. No one is isolated or separate from her so it is only natural that everyone is affected by what's happening to the environment—whether we acknowledge it or not. If we see an oil-covered pelican struggling for its life, the raw stumps of a clear-cut forest, or a smokestack belching pollution into the atmosphere, we feel sad. We experience these feelings because we are connected to the earth—not just physically but at the deepest levels of our humanity.

The Psychological Context

It would be easier if we could separate our feelings about the global eco-social crisis from our feelings about everything else that's happening. But life isn't like that. The pain we feel about the destruction of the environment is amplified by the pain we feel about other things. Speaking personally, my sadness about the global eco-social crisis is exacerbated by sadness about all the wars,

aggression, bigotry, and injustice in the world. As well as the damage we are inflicting on the earth, there has never been so much violence and the number of armed conflicts between and within countries continues to increase. Many national economies are in crisis, social welfare programs are being cut, corruption is increasing, and the disparity between rich and poor keeps getting larger. A new wave of racism, intolerance, isolationism, and competitive individualism is sweeping across North America and Europe, to say nothing about what's happening in the Middle East, parts of Africa, and Russia. Given all of this, it's easy for me to feel hopeless.

Meanwhile, at an individual level many people feel their lives are becoming more stressful. Anxiety and depression are reaching epidemic proportions in many countries. In the US, forty million people suffer from anxiety²⁹ and almost 13 percent are on antidepressants.30 In the UK, it's a similar story, with about one in five adults affected by anxiety or depression.³¹ It seems as if life is spinning out of control. There's less and less time and more and more to do. People feel overscheduled, overcommitted, and overextended. Ask someone how they are and they will likely answer "super busy," "crazy busy," or "insanely busy." There's no time to relax, talk with friends and neighbors, go for a walk, read a book, or simply do nothing at all. From dawn to dusk and beyond, many of us rush from task to task and as soon as there's any pause in the action we are busy checking email, texting, or tweeting. I don't have to go into detail about all the sources of stress and anxiety in everyday life. Chances are, you experience them for yourself.

So with all of this as background, where on earth are we going?

Where On Earth Are We Going?

Given the growing severity of the global eco-social crisis and its impacts, one place we seem to be heading is towards becoming a hopelessness society. Ordinary people are feeling increasingly pessimistic about the future of life on earth, humankind's future, and their own personal futures. Expectations that tomorrow will

be better than today no longer seem realistic and the hope that everything will turn out OK seems increasingly naïve.

Many people still hope that new technology will save us. It's easy to see why. Over the past 200 years, technology has improved the quality and quantity of human life enormously. Immunization has saved countless children from early death. Pasteurization, refrigeration, and other food processing techniques have made the food supply much safer and more reliable. Drinking water chlorination and sewage treatment have dramatically reduced the rates of many waterborne diseases. In the past 20 years, there have been amazing advances in renewable energy, green building, seawater desalination, phyto- and microbial remediation, and green chemistry.

Even though these and other recent innovations are making a difference, it is becoming clear they aren't enough to prevent the crisis on their own. There are several reasons for this. First, history tells us that solving problems takes idealism, determination, and political will, as well as the technology to fix what's wrong. So unless we can imagine a better world, have the fortitude to act, and leaders to steer the way, it is unlikely we will succeed. Second, technological solutions often have unanticipated consequences. They solve one problem only to cause others. For instance, although drinking water chlorination has saved countless lives, it increases the risk of cancer. Similarly, although the construction of taller smokestacks has reduced local air pollution, it distributes pollutants over much larger areas, leading to more widespread contamination.

The third and most important reason why technology alone cannot solve the global eco-social crisis is that the problems we face are not just technological problems. Fundamentally, they are human problems and their roots lie in our core beliefs about our relationship with the environment—especially beliefs that we are the most important species and have the right to exploit all others and the earth itself. Only when we understand that we are all part

of the web of life, and act accordingly, will we be able to avert disaster. Technological advances may buy us some time and slow down the process of decline, but they will not stop it unless we recognize the simple truth of our dependence on the earth and each other, and change our ways.

As it becomes obvious that we cannot count on technology to avert disaster, people's hopelessness is likely to intensify. But the more hopeless we become, the more likely it is that all the predictions of ecological disaster will come true. Hopelessness leads to paralysis and inaction, guaranteeing that things will continue to get worse. To stop this downward spiral, we urgently need to uncover a realistic sense of hope and find ways to nurture it. Indeed, I believe this is one of the most important tasks of our time.

Uncovering and nurturing a realistic sense of hope is very challenging because it means we must stay open to both the unthinkable—a future that seems too terrifying to contemplate—and what may be impossible—preventing global eco-social disaster. Even though navigating a course between this Scylla and Charybdis is extremely daunting, I believe it can be done. By having the courage to face our fears, we can move forward. By being willing to let go of our expectations and beliefs, we can take the next step. When we understand that "the frontiers of the possible are not determined by the limits of the actual" 32 we can uncover and nurture a realistic sense of hope.

Uncovering and Nurturing Hope

This book is based on what I have learned about hope. Like my previous book, *The Rise of the U.S. Environmental Health Movement* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), it draws on my experience of working on environmental and related health and social issues over the past 35 years. Over that time, I have worked in several settings. In the early 1980s, I launched my career in the City of Toronto in Canada, where I established and later managed its Environmental Protection Office, the first local government

environmental office in Canada. In the 1990s, I moved to Ottawa and ran a successful environmental policy consulting company, providing services to the Canadian federal government and international agencies. In 2000, I went back to school to do a masters' degree in cultural anthropology and social transformation focusing on eco-social issues, so that I could better understand how change happens in societies, organizations, and groups. Then in 2002, I moved to the Pacific Northwest to teach at Antioch University Seattle in its Center for Creative Change. I left the University in 2016.

My work has often left me feeling afraid, angry, and very, very sad. Because of this, I have thought a lot about hope. Supported by my Quaker and Buddhist faiths—yes, I am a Quaker and a Buddhist—I have studied what hope can mean in these troubled times and how it can be sustained. This book is the result.

In it, I propose the idea of "intrinsic hope." Intrinsic hope is different from conventional hope because it is not based on the expectation that life will give us what we hope for. Instead, intrinsic hope is a deep, abiding trust in whatever happens and in the human capacity to respond to it positively. It accepts life just as it is and works with it, whether or not it's what we want. As one of my students said, "It's about making the best of any situation and never, ever giving up."

In contrast, conventional hope—in this book I call it "extrinsic hope"—is based on the naïve expectation that life will give us whatever we hope for. In other words, extrinsic hope is about anticipating improvements in our external circumstances. But life doesn't always give us what we hope for, and when it doesn't we can feel disappointed, sad, and angry. Intrinsic hope does not come with this limitation because it doesn't depend on the expectation that life will conform with our wishes.

Intrinsic hope is not something we need to find or create because it is already inside us. Indeed, it is inherent in all life. We may not experience it much in everyday life because our extrinsic hopes are so strong, but it is still there and we can uncover it and nurture it whenever we want.

Based on my experience, the first step in uncovering intrinsic hope is to name our feelings about the global eco-social crisis. Paradoxically, by acknowledging our fear, disappointment, anger, frustration, guilt, sadness, despair, grief, and other similar feelings, the more hopeful we can become. Conversely, the more we ignore them, the more hopeless we will feel. So in Chapter One, I identify and explore some common feelings about the global eco-social crisis.

The second step is to develop a firm foundation for intrinsic hope that can replace the wishful thinking of extrinsic hope. Even though we are all born with intrinsic hope, we still need a rationale to keep going. So in Chapter Two, I outline ten reasons that have helped me to be hopeful. The third step, described in Chapter Three, is to understand the nature of intrinsic and extrinsic hope in more detail.

The second part of this book examines how intrinsic hope can be nurtured. Over my career, I have thought a lot about this and Chapters Four to Nine outline what I have learned so far. In these chapters, I propose six "habits of hope"—intentional practices that have helped me foster intrinsic hope. They are: being present, expressing gratitude, loving the world, accepting what is, taking action, and persevering for the long haul. I have dedicated a chapter to each of these topics and at the end of each one I include a few suggestions about how to nurture the habit in a text box called "Try This." To wrap up the book, I have written a short concluding chapter that draws on the myth of Pandora's box. Although she is widely blamed for releasing pain, suffering, and evil into the world, could it be that Pandora also gave us the gift of intrinsic hope?

Although this book focuses on the global eco-social crisis, the ideas in it can be applied to anything. We all have extrinsic hopes and feel disappointment, sadness, and anger when we don't get what we hope for, and we can all uncover and nurture intrinsic

hope as a constructive alternative. So I encourage you not to limit your thinking about hope to the unfolding crisis, but to see it more broadly in the context of your entire life.

Although intrinsic and extrinsic hope may be new phrases, they are ways of thinking that have been around for millennia. Today, they can help us respond positively to the global eco-social crisis, just as they have helped humankind respond to death, disasters, and tragedies through the ages. It seems that the best wisdom for facing the global eco-social crisis is no different than the best wisdom for facing any other type of personal or collective crisis.

Uncovering and nurturing intrinsic hope is a journey that is both challenging and inspiring. It helps us to look at our fears about the future and enables us to keep going no matter what happens. It challenges our assumptions about ourselves and what we believe is possible. And it gives us a reason to live at a time of gathering darkness. Most of all, uncovering and nurturing intrinsic hope is an ongoing journey. It is not somewhere we arrive or something we can get and keep. Uncovering and nurturing intrinsic hope requires ongoing effort because it is constantly eroded by the harm that human beings continue to inflict on the environment and on each other. Indeed, as the global eco-social crisis worsens, I believe that the need for intrinsic hope will increase. With this in mind, I sincerely "hope" that you find this book useful. May it restore your hope and help you to live courageously in these troubled times.

Uncovering Intrinsic Hope



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CHAPTER 1

Naming Our Feelings about the Global Eco-social Crisis



Naming things, breaking through taboos and denial is the most dangerous, terrifying and crucial work. This has to happen in spite of political climates or coercions, in spite of careers being won or lost, in spite of the fear of being criticized, outcast or disliked. I believe freedom begins with naming things. Humanity is preserved by it.

– Eve Ensler, The Power and Mystery of Naming Things \dashv

Naming our feelings about the global eco-social crisis is the first step in uncovering intrinsic hope because if we do not name them, we can't do anything about them. It's similar to psychotherapy. As anyone who has ever been in therapy knows, you start by talking about what's bothering you. Only then can you understand yourself and work with your situation. This is because identifying our feelings decreases the emotional charge that accompanies them. In other words, to name our feelings is to tame them.

Furthermore, when we express our feelings about the state of the world to others, we create the space for them to talk about theirs. We make it OK for them to open up to us. And when this happens, we often realize our feelings are similar and that we are not alone. This is very comforting and supportive. Sharing our feelings with others can also be a powerful political act. For example, the women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s was born when women got together in consciousness-raising groups to talk about their shared experiences of discrimination. From these meetings, they developed and launched a program of social action. As social activist Starhawk says, "When we express our feelings... the fog rolls away.... We can take action to hold accountable those who have and do hurt us."

Naming and expressing our feelings about what's happening takes courage because it requires facing some distressing emotions. Indeed, one of my friends who reviewed a draft of this chapter suggested that I put a warning sign at the beginning because it discusses feelings that can be difficult to talk about. However, this is the only truly hopeful way forward because ignoring painful feelings doesn't make them go away, as I mentioned in the Introduction.

Sometimes it is challenging to find the right words because emotions resist being put into rigid verbal shapes. They are often impossible to pin down and refuse to be contained, spilling over the edges of vocabulary into formless and ill-defined puddles on the floor. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that there have not been any words to describe feelings associated with the global eco-social crisis until recently. Only now are psychologists and linguists beginning to fill this etymological void by creating phrases such as solastalgia (the distress caused by environmental change), environmental melancholia, eco-angst, and ecosystem distress syndrome. But naming them is essential to uncover a realistic sense of hope. So here are some of mine, as best as I can express them:

The first and most predominant one is an intense panicky fear that we will not succeed in preventing the crisis and that the earth will become barren and inhospitable to life. This is accompanied by unpleasant bodily sensations, including a rapid heart rate, shortness of breath, clamminess, and nausea. I also feel constriction and tightness throughout my body, as if something was gripping me from the inside.

Also, at an emotional level, I feel profound disappointment about how little has been done so far, despite all the promises made by governments, international agencies, and corporations. This is usually followed by self-righteous anger and frustration directed at the same governments, international agencies, and corporations. Then I often feel some shame and guilt about my personal lifestyle and that I am not doing enough to stop the crisis. In addition to these feelings are profound sadness, despair, and, most of all, grief. Most often, they all come together, feeding off each other and making me feel hopeless about the future. I try to see them as Thich Nhat Hanh's bells of mindfulness—life's way of waking me up to the reality of the mess we're in.

Now that I have revealed my feelings, I invite you to take a few minutes to tune into yours. So put down this book for a moment close your eyes, and relax. Take three deep breaths and ask yourself what you feel about the state of the world. As you reflect on this question, notice what feelings come up in your mind and what sensations arise in your body. Try to observe them and let them be. Try not to get caught up in following them, judging them, or pushing them away. Just hold them gently and lovingly in your heart. Then without forcing anything, try to name them. Writing them down can help. This exercise can be difficult but I encourage you to try it. If you feel overwhelmed and can't stay with your feelings, please don't worry. This is quite normal. Just let yourself experience whatever comes up and be with it in your heart.

When I think about what's happening I often feel as if I am drowning in a tsunami of emotions. I feel overwhelmed, helpless, and defeated, and I usually react in one of two ways. Either I try to deny or minimize what is happening, or I fall into apathy and

do nothing at all. Denial and apathy about our situation are quite normal, just like the other feelings I have mentioned. But they are a bit different because they serve to protect us from emotional overload and breakdown. In other words, sometimes the bells of mindfulness are so deafening that we need some ear protection. By helping us to hold ourselves together in tough times, denial and apathy enable us to cope with too many destabilizing emotions. In the short term, these coping mechanisms are essential, but in the long term they don't serve us well.

Your feelings may not be exactly the same as mine, but chances are they are similar. So let's take a look at them in more detail.

Fear

As much as we try to avoid it, fear is one of the most common feelings. Looking back, I can see how much it has dominated my life. Growing up in the 1960s, I remember being terrified about nuclear war. I believed that everyone and everything I loved would be destroyed in an instant, including me. Then as a teenager in the 1970s, I read Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* and became frightened about the dangers of toxic chemicals. Then in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I became deeply alarmed about climate disruption and its consequences. Today, all of these fears, as well as others, still live in me.

Fear is not all bad, however. It can be a motivating force and rouse us out of complacency. It's only when it drags us down and we can't see a way forward that it becomes unhealthy and debilitating. When fear becomes an overwhelming and paralyzing state of dread, it controls our thoughts and emotions and prevents us from taking action.

One day, when I felt curious and courageous, I decided to name my fears about the state of the world. This is what I wrote:

I am afraid of the future. I am afraid about what we are leaving to our children and all future generations. I am afraid there will not be enough food and water to support human

beings, let alone other species. I am afraid the earth will overheat and increasingly severe weather will make life difficult or impossible for billions of people, especially the poor and vulnerable. I am afraid of the wars, violence, and civil unrest that will be triggered by resource scarcity and by the millions of environmental refugees who will be looking for somewhere hospitable to live. I am afraid of ever-worsening pollution and all the health problems it will cause. Most of all, I am afraid humankind has already passed the tipping point and it is too late—our species has doomed itself and countless other species to extinction or at the very least, a vastly diminished existence.

I also noticed another type of fear: the fear of acknowledging and expressing these fears. Like the first type, this one has several dimensions: I am scared that if I really acknowledge my fears, even to myself, they will engulf me. I will lose control and get mired down in hopelessness and despair. I am also afraid that if I express my fears to others, they will think I am crazy. And finally I am afraid of inflicting my fears on others because I don't want them to feel awkward or embarrassed.

This second type of fear is fed by cultural values that regard expressing fear as a sign of weakness. As children, we are taught to be optimistic, cheerful, and upbeat. To disclose we are afraid is frowned on. Fear is an extremely uncomfortable topic of conversation that is usually avoided at all costs. Like sex, money, and religion, people don't talk about their fears in polite society. It's like farting in public.

These two types of fear—fears of the global eco-social crisis and fears of expressing our fears—are a double whammy. Our fears about our fears keep us trapped in a conspiracy of silence that makes us feel even more hopeless.

There's a third type of fear I'd like to mention: economic fear. I have not experienced it personally, but I know people who have. This type of fear is widespread in towns dependent on polluting

industries. Places like Hayden, Arizona, which depends on the ASARCO copper smelter, Libby, Montana, which relied on asbestos mining, and Gary, Indiana, which was built by the US Steel Corporation. In these places, employees can be afraid to speak out about pollution or hazardous working conditions because they may lose their jobs. Similarly, people in these communities can be afraid to say anything in case the company leaves town or closes down. These worries are very understandable but it is tragic when people put their fears ahead of their own health and the health of the environment.

Although staying silent about our fears does not serve us, it does serve people in positions of political and economic power—the power-holders—because it enables them to control us more easily. Think about what happened in the US after the events of 9/11. The Republican White House intentionally manufactured a climate of fear to silence dissent, so it could declare the so-called War on Terror. Although terrorism did, and still does, pose a real threat to US national security, the dangers were deliberately exaggerated so Congress could be persuaded to ride roughshod over individual rights and pass the *Homeland Security Act*. The power-holders know that fearful, silent people are easy to manipulate and control.

Disappointment

Like many people who work on environmental and social issues, I have experienced a lot of disappointments. In my twenties, my hopes that the government would shut down polluting industries and clean up toxic waste dumps were disappointed. In my thirties, my hopes for sustainable development—a concept popularized by the 1987 report *Our Common Future*² and the 1992 Earth Summit—were disappointed. Then in my forties and fifties, my hopes for strong and effective international action on climate disruption were disappointed.

Disappointment is what we experience when life does not conform to our wishes and our hopes are unfulfilled. We hope to stop environmental destruction, put an end to poverty, and build a just, peaceful, and sustainable world, but we're not having much success, so it's only natural to feel disappointment. It's a feeling of unhappiness, dissatisfaction, and displeasure all rolled into one. It is a setback, a bummer, and a letdown. And it often leads to some of the other feelings I describe later in this chapter, especially self-righteous anger, frustration, sadness, despair, and grief.

Over the years, I have found it helpful to acknowledge my disappointment and put it in a larger perspective. I try to remember that whatever I am feeling disappointed about probably isn't the end of the world—even if it is a step closer to it. I also try to remember to feel grateful for all the gifts of life I have received. These things help.

Self-Righteous Anger and Frustration

Of all my feelings about the global eco-social crisis, my self-righteous anger and frustration bother me most. I do not consider myself an aggressive person, but I get mad when I hear about corporate greed, political dishonesty, starving children, or the latest environmental "accident." Politicians who deny climate disruption drive me especially crazy. In these moments, I become a different person. Although I rarely get angry in public, my internal frustration boils over and I want to strike out against those I identify as the enemy. In an instant, I have acted as prosecutor, judge, and jury and forever condemned those I consider guilty.

As just one example, a few years ago, I got very angry at then Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper because his Conservative government weakened or eliminated many of the policies and programs I had worked on in the 1990s. During that time, I helped to strengthen the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, the Fisheries Act, the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, and the Species at Risk Act. This legislation improved environmental protection in Canada and I felt a sense of pride at having been involved. Imagine my fury when these acts were systemically dismantled in the name of economic growth. Over the time he was

Prime Minister (2006–15), Harper took all these environmental protections apart by removing safeguards, diluting enforcement, siding with corporate polluters, and withdrawing from international agreements. He even destroyed a lot of historical environmental information.

Like me, many people are angry and frustrated about what is happening. They are justifiably upset. It all seems so black and white. We are the good guys and "they"—whoever they are—are the bad guys. We have God and the angels on our side and "they" are the devil incarnate. There is no middle ground because self-righteous anger offers the clarity of a simple dualism—right or wrong. It comes with thoughts of outrage and indignation that say, "I'm better than you because I'm right and you're a bad person because you are wrong." In doing so, it sets a moral standard and then judges everyone by it. Claiming the high ground, self-righteous anger makes itself superior, and everyone else, especially polluters and politicians, inferior.

Self-righteous anger and frustration blame others for whatever we think is wrong. But in doing so they confuse the accused's actions with their identity. They conflate the doer with the deed and fail to recognize that everyone is more than what they do or say. Do you define yourself solely in terms of your actions? Probably not. Let's look at it another way. If I watch a TV show and I don't like it, I don't get angry at the TV. It simply aired the show. Similarly, we don't have to get angry or frustrated at people when they behave a certain way, even if we believe their actions are wrong. In other words, we can respect everyone, whether we like their behavior or not. Mohandas Gandhi was an expert at this. He was unfailingly courteous and polite to the British overlords who ruled India, at the same time as he opposed their oppressive policies and struggled for his country's independence. Although Gandhi was outraged about the unjust political and economic systems imposed by the British, his anger and frustration were not self-righteous or directed at individuals.

So why do we get so angry and frustrated?

Most importantly, anger and frustration make us feel good about ourselves. Righteousness and goodness are very closely allied with each other, so we think that if we are right we will automatically be good. And we all want to be good, don't we? In this way, righteousness and goodness say it's OK to feel angry or frustrated at someone because they are bad or wrong and we are good and right.

But self-righteous anger inevitably alienates the objects of its rage and make them angry at us. As well, it can be a big turn-off for people who are not sure where they stand on an issue, because they think they could be judged next. I know I have felt judged by self-righteous activists on many occasions. In these ways, self-righteous anger and frustration shut down the possibility of constructive dialogue and prevent the peaceful resolution of differences. As one of my colleagues used to ask our students, "Do you want to be right or do you want to be effective?" This is an interesting question to consider.

That said, anger and frustration at the global eco-social crisis can be helpful if they are not self-righteous or directed at individuals. By uniting people against a common cause, they can motivate social change. Priest and social activist William Sloane Coffin put it this way, "A capacity for anger is very important because if you don't have anger, you will begin to tolerate the intolerable... If you are not angry, you are probably a cynic. And if you lower your quotient of anger at oppression, you will lower your quotient of compassion for the oppressed. I see anger and love as very related." So by all means, hold onto your anger and frustration, but please make sure they are not self-righteous.

Shame and Guilt

When I think about the global eco-social crisis, I often feel shame and guilt. I know my lifestyle contributes to it and I feel I am not doing enough to stop it. I eat food that has been transported thousands of miles to reach my dinner plate, drive a car, and occasionally travel by airplane. Even though I try to live modestly by North American standards, my ecological footprint is far greater than the earth's capacity to support me. My lifestyle and the lifestyles of more than a billion other affluent people mean that future generations will not have the same opportunities that I enjoy.

Intellectually, I know that some people bear much more responsibility than I do. Ordinary folks like you and me may be complicit, but the power-holders got us into this mess. They created and maintain the political and economic systems that are destroying the planet; the public is mostly an unwitting participant. But despite this, I still feel that whatever I do isn't enough.

A while ago, I taught a student who had served two tours as a combat medic in Iraq, providing front-line care to horribly wounded and dying soldiers. His descriptions of what he had witnessed were graphic and profoundly disturbing. Not surprisingly, he was diagnosed with PTSD and eventually discharged. When I knew him, he was still suffering from PTSD but his guilt and shame troubled him much more.

He felt guilty and ashamed because he had participated in a war which he believed was based on America's desire to control Iraqi oil and had nothing to do with terrorism. In tears, he told me about the poverty, hunger, and child labor he had seen while he was driving around in a heated Humvee, with food in his stomach, warm clothes on his back, and the knowledge that his family was safe at home. He could not live with the awareness that he was participating in a war to satisfy America's addiction to oil—a war that was killing many innocent Iraqi citizens and would likely rob them of their natural resources. Thankfully, with counseling and support, he has since been able to come to terms with his feelings.

Shame (the feeling that I am a bad person) and guilt (the feeling that I have harmed others) are similar to anger because they are about blame. The difference is that when we are angry, we

blame others and when we feel shame or guilt we blame ourselves. Shame and guilt are self-inflicted wounds that makes us feel like failures—no-good, worthless people who ought to do better. They tell us that we don't deserve joy, happiness, or anything positive in our lives and they are a guarantee of hopelessness.

Unlike shame, guilt can be a useful emotion because it can help us take responsibility for our actions and change our behavior. But it can also make us take too much responsibility. This is unhelpful for two reasons. First, although guilt can lead to positive change, too much of it can lead to apathy. If we feel personally responsible for the entire crisis, we will probably feel disheartened and depressed. Second, taking too much responsibility can take it away from those who are more responsible than we are. If we feel guilty about things we cannot control, we allow those who are responsible to avoid taking ownership for their actions. This is why the power-holders want ordinary people to feel guilty about our environmental and social problems. The more they can make us feel bad about them, the less responsibility they have to take. So although ordinary folks bear some responsibility, it is important to put the majority of it where it belongs—on the shoulders of the power-holders.

If we can get clear about what is our responsibility and what is not, we can begin to work with our feelings and decide what to do about them. For instance, if you feel guilty about your contribution to climate disruption, you can take public transit whenever you can, buy a hybrid/electric car, limit the number of airplane flights you take, or become a vegetarian. Although these actions may not make you feel entirely guiltless or shame-free, they will help.

Sadness and Despair

I feel tremendous sadness and despair about the global eco-social crisis. To me, these two feelings are on a continuum. At one extreme, there is an aching sadness about the harm humankind is inflicting on the earth and each other and, at the other, there is the

pain of complete despair. The difference is that when you feel sad, there's still a little hope left. But when you despair, you don't have any hope at all. Indeed, "despair" comes from the Latin *de-sperare*, meaning to be without hope.

If you experience sadness and despair, I encourage you to pause and reflect on where you are on this continuum right now. Just as I invited you to tune into your feelings about the state of the world earlier in this chapter, now I invite you to look specifically at your sadness and despair. So take three deep breaths and then check in with yourself. What is the predominant feeling in your heart in this moment? Is it sadness or despair or a combination? Where are you on the continuum? You could try to rate your feelings on a one-to-ten scale, with one being a subtle sadness and ten being complete despair.

Most of the time, I live with moderate sadness—somewhere between a three and a four. But I have experienced complete despair. One of my worst bouts was when I was working for the City of Toronto in the early 1980s. One gloomy fall day, I was on a tour of the leaking toxic waste dump in Love Canal, New York, with government officials from Canada and the US. By then, all the residents had been evacuated and there was a high chainlink fence surrounding the site with large red warning signs every hundred yards proclaiming: "DANGER: HAZARDOUS WASTE AREA. UNAUTHORIZED PERSONNEL KEEP OUT." in bold red and black capital letters.

Looking through the fence I could see rows of boarded-up houses and empty streets. The silence was palpable and I felt overwhelmed as I looked at the poisoned ground. The knowledge that children were the most seriously affected, with reports of seizures, learning problems, skin rashes, and hyperactivity, as well as birth defects and miscarriages, became too much to bear. Furthermore, I knew that Love Canal was only one of hundreds of abandoned dump sites in the area, many of which were leaking toxic chemicals and polluting the Niagara River and Lake Ontario—the source of

drinking water for about 40 million Americans and Canadians. Despair engulfed me.

Environmental sadness and despair are different from the personal sadness and despair people feel during difficult periods in their lives. Personal sadness and despair are usually connected with specific events, so they often dissipate over time. But environmental sadness and despair don't go away because humankind continues to harm the environment. In addition, they are less about what is happening to us as individuals and more about what is happening to the entire planet. These two factors—their persistence and their scale—make environmental sadness and despair more challenging than personal sadness and despair.

Environmental sadness is not as overwhelming as environmental despair. When we experience sadness, we may be able to detach ourselves sufficiently to explore it. The emotional heaviness of despair makes this more difficult, as I found at Love Canal. So I recommend working with environmental sadness first. In my experience, it always has something to teach me, if I am willing to learn. By holding it gently in my heart and inquiring into its causes, I have learned about my environmental values and ideals, my sense of connection to other people, and, most of all, my love for the earth.

Working with environmental despair is more challenging because it is an overpowering emotion. Deep despair refutes any possibility that our situation is workable or may improve. To work with despair, I find it necessary to be extremely patient and tender with myself, spend time in a healing environment, and surround myself with loving and supportive friends.

Grief

When I think about my environmental grief, there are several types, including:

I. Grief for what we know has been lost. I grieve for the mammoths, passenger pigeons, auks, and all the other species we

know humankind has driven to extinction. I grieve for oldgrowth forests that have been deliberately cut down, I grieve the loss of clean air and water, and I grieve for the loss of the natural landscapes of my childhood that have been built on or paved over.

- 2. Grief for what we do not know has been lost. Although we know some of what humankind has destroyed, we do not know the full consequences of our actions. I grieve for the things we have lost without anyone knowing or caring. I grieve for our species' ignorance and lack of awareness.
- 3. Grief for what future generations will have lost. I grieve for what our children and their children will have lost. They will never see a Tasmanian tiger, a golden toad, a Caribbean monk seal, or a Pyrenean ibex—all species that have gone extinct in the past 30 years. They will never see the full majesty of the world's glaciers or the complete size of the Aral Sea. They will never see many wondrous things that my generation has been privileged to see.

Scientists can document these and other losses, but grief about the destruction of life on earth cannot be described with facts and figures alone. It's a different kind of knowing—a knowing that goes beyond the rational mind and lives in the heart. Environmental grief always comes as a shock, even when it is anticipated. Suddenly we realize that something has been irreparably damaged or doesn't exist anymore, and this creates a distressing void in our lives. Moreover, like environmental sadness and despair, environmental grief is on a much larger scale than personal grief, because it is about what we have lost collectively and because human beings continue to destroy the earth. As long as humankind carries on its ecocidal rampage, people will continue to experience environmental grief.

What makes it worse is that this type of grief is not culturally accepted or acknowledged, so there aren't any social support

systems to help. Unlike the grief counseling and therapy available to those mourning the death of a loved one, there are no systems in place for those grieving the death of life on earth, unless you happen to come across the work of Joanna Macy and others like her.

This may be because environmental grief is a relatively new phenomenon. Naturalist Aldo Leopold was one of the first people to describe it. He wrote: "For one species to mourn the death of another is a new thing under the sun." He goes on: "The Cro-Magnon who slew the last mammoth thought only of steaks. The sportsman who shot the last (passenger) pigeon thought only of his own prowess. The sailor who clubbed the last auk thought of nothing at all." In other words, they were completely unaware of what they were losing so they did not grieve it. In contrast, we know what we are doing and this knowledge causes untold and immeasurable grief.

But there's something else about environmental destruction that intensifies the grief I experience—the awareness of so much loss reminds me of my own death. Whenever I reflect on the demise of a species, a landscape, or a way of life, I feel afraid of my mortality. In this way, the global eco-social crisis isn't just something scary happening in the external world, it evokes a deep-seated and visceral dread of my personal death. You might consider if this is true for you too.

There are two small islands of solace in my ocean of environmental grief. The first is that grief understands that something has gone and can never be fully restored. It recognizes that this is not what we wanted or what we planned, but it is what we have. Although very painful, this awareness is the beginning of acceptance (see Chapter Seven). Although I don't believe it is possible to completely accept the scale of environmental death and loss, we can begin to accept our feelings about it. The second is the realization that death and loss are necessary for life. Without them, the new cannot be born. So however much grief we feel, death and loss open up the possibility of creation. Just as the phoenix rises from

the ashes, perhaps we can make meaning of our environmental grief by working to give birth to a just, peaceful, and sustainable world.

Now that I have named and explored some of my feelings about the global eco-social crisis, I'd like to look at the emotions that come up when these feelings overwhelm me and it all feels too much. For me, these secondary feelings include denial and apathy.

Denial and Apathy

Sometimes when I feel overwhelmed by my feelings about the global eco-social crisis, I want to deny what's happening. I want to shout out, "This cannot be true" or, "I don't believe it." In this way, denial tries to refute reality. Wanting to improve my understanding, I made a list of some different types of denial I have experienced or seen in others.

- 1. Denying the scientific facts. This is the most obvious form of denial and it's easiest to see in those who refute climate disruption. Some reject that it's happening and others don't believe it is caused by human actions. In 2016, 12 percent of Americans did not believe in global warming and 32 percent blamed naturally occurring changes in the atmosphere. This, despite the fact that more than 99 percent of climate scientists agree that climate disruption is real and more than 97 percent agree that human beings are causing it. Although there has never been a stronger scientific consensus about an environmental problem, many still deny the scientific facts.
- 2. Denying personal experiences of the global eco-social crisis. Sometimes, victims of floods, droughts, hurricanes, and severe storms don't want to blame climate disruption or accept it is real. They regard extreme weather events as isolated, freak occurrences rather than part of a larger pattern. Why don't they make the connections? Perhaps it's too scary to admit we are facing a global catastrophe. Unless people have the emotional

- and psychological equipment to hold such a terrifying prospect in their minds, they resort to denying their own experience.
- 3. Denying the seriousness of the situation. Even if people do not deny the science or their own experience, some refuse to accept the gravity of the situation. This type of denial believes that everything will somehow be OK. Technology or God will save us.
- 4. Denying the global eco-social crisis could affect one's personal health and wellbeing. Some acknowledge what's happening but deny it could affect them. For instance, 58 percent of Americans believe that global warming will affect people in the US, but only 40 percent think it will harm them personally.⁸
- 5. Denying any personal responsibility whatsoever. This type of denial passes the buck to someone else, who can then pass it onto others. It is the opposite of taking too much responsibility. There is always someone else to blame—the government, corporations, our neighbors. But the truth is we all share responsibility even though some are more accountable than others.
- 6. Denying that positive change is possible. This type of denial acknowledges there is an unprecedented crisis but it refuses to believe that we can do anything about it. It is deeply pessimistic and predicts failure for any positive or constructive actions. This is the most dangerous type of denial because it is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

After I wrote this list, I could better understand why some people are in complete denial of the global eco-social crisis and I'd like to think that this has made me more compassionate towards them.

Other times that I feel overwhelmed by my feelings, I experience apathy. I want to roll up into a ball with a blanket over my head and do nothing. I feel lethargic and lazy. I can't be bothered. Unlike denial, apathy is passive and seems to be a lack of concern or indifference. But when I looked at it more carefully, I realized it

isn't about not having any feelings; it's about being overwhelmed by too many and not being able to cope. Apathy says, "It's all too much," "I don't want to feel anything," and "I feel helpless." Similar to psychic numbing apathy is a natural tendency to dissociate from a painful reality when life is too overwhelming. As T. S. Eliot said "Humankind cannot bear very much reality." But bear it, we must.

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I have named and expressed my feelings about the global eco-social crisis and encouraged you to do the same. In my experience, this is very empowering work because we discover pieces of ourselves that we have previously avoided or ignored. Identifying them restores parts of our humanity, making us whole. For me, it was as if I recovered my heart. However, it can be uncomfortable and a bit scary at first. So please be gentle with yourself. Don't push or force yourself to describe your feelings. Instead, just invite them into your mind and hold them for as long as you can. Eventually they will name themselves.

This chapter may have been difficult for you to read. It was certainly difficult for me to write. It brought me face-to-face with my own feelings about the state of the world and made me look at how I try to ignore them. As I tried to understand my own fears, disappointment, anger, frustration, guilt, shame, sadness, despair, and grief, as well as my denial and apathy, I became even more aware of the need to have a solid foundation for hope. And this is the subject of the next chapter.