Contents

Acknowledgments: An Incomplete Catalog of Gushing Praise and Profuse Thanks xiii

A Gradual Social Reckoning xvi
Action Is Contagious Too xvii
Getting to the Point xviii

1. We’re All Climate Hypocrites Now 1
   What Does ‘Hypocrite’ Even Mean? 2
   Rational Choice Is No Choice At All 4
   Undermining the Messenger 4
   A Convenient Mistruth 6
   Eco-Moralism Runs Deep 7
   Nothing’s Ever Easy 8
   The Limits of Personal Responsibility 10
   Why Individual Action Still Matters 11

2. Wants and Needs 13
   Voting and Shopping Are Not the Same Thing 14
   The Irrational Consumer 15
   Behavior Is About Design 16
   The Roles We Play 18
   Abstinence Is Still Individualism 19
   Finding a Bigger Political Canvas 20
3. How “Green” Lost Its Groove .......................... 23
   Dilution of a Movement ................................ 24
   A Missed Opportunity .................................. 25
   The Rise of Eco-Individualism ......................... 27
   The Real Value of Lifestyle Activism ............... 29
   Exposing the Challenges ............................... 31

4. Enough Already ........................................ 33
   The Emergence of a Movement ....................... 36
   Identifying the Culprits .............................. 37
   The Rebels Are Angry ................................ 38
   Who Is Holding Us Back? ............................. 39
   The Personal Is Political (As Long As You Make It So) .. 40
   A Latent Force ....................................... 41

5. Guilt Trip ............................................... 43
   Eating Our Own ..................................... 44
   Undermining a Hero .................................. 45
   The Power of Shaming ................................ 47
   Shaping Cultural Norms .............................. 49
   Preserving a Formidable Tool ....................... 51
   The New Pariahs ..................................... 52
   Peer Pressure for the Win ........................... 53
   Guilt Is Good? ....................................... 54
   Values Are a Moving Target ....................... 56

6. Big Oil Wants to Talk About Your Carbon Footprint ...... 59
   Some Are More Responsible Than Others ............ 60
   The Tobacco Playbook ................................ 62
   They’ve Never Been the Good Guys ................. 63
   Deflating the Carbon Bubble ....................... 64
   Can Big Oil “Go Green”? ............................ 66
   A Missed Opportunity ................................ 67
   Balancing on the High Wire ......................... 69
## Contents

Coal as the Canary                  70  
A Tenacious Grip on Power          73  

7. Corporate “Citizenship” Reimagined 75  
   “Responsible” Versus “Sustainable”    76  
   Corporate Citizenship—For Real       77  
   A Different Kind of Insurance        78  
   Beyond Corporate Responsibility     79  
   A Different Type of Shareholder Primacy? 81  
   Benefit Corporations Step Up         82  
   The Power of Corporate Activism      83  
   Beware the Benign Benefactor         84  
   Capitalists Against Unbridled Capitalism? 85  

8. Swimming Upstream               87  
   “You Are Definitely Going to Die”    87  
   Meeting People Where They Are       89  
   Changing the Direction of the Current 90  
   Modeling What’s Possible            91  
   Subsidizing the Incumbents          95  
   The Destructive as the Default      96  
   Writing a Different Story           97  
   A More Interesting Conversation     99  

9. Focus, Goddammit               101  
   An Effective Exercise in Distraction 102  
   Attention Is a Limited Resource     102  
   First Things First                  103  
   The Beginning of the End of Coal    104  
   Being “Better”                      106  
   Meat Eaters and Vegetarians Unite    108  
   The System Responds                 110  
   The Cheapest Way to Fry             111  
   The Growth of Flygskam              112  
   An Inclusive Conversation?          112
Contents

10. What Difference Does It Make? ......................................................... 115
    Organized Resistance ................................................................. 117
    Historical Serendipity ............................................................... 117
    The Real Power of the Individual ............................................... 121
    A Reckoning on Race ................................................................... 122
    It’s Not About Me (Or You) ......................................................... 122
    The Lure of Agency ...................................................................... 123
    How Change Actually Happens .................................................. 125
    What’s My Duty? ......................................................................... 127
    Shifting Our Collective Values .................................................... 129

11. Climate Hypocrites Unite! ................................................................. 133
    A False Dawn ............................................................................... 134
    The Power of Imperfection .......................................................... 135
    Finding Our Place ......................................................................... 141

    Coda: The Journey Down, Together ............................................. 145

What Next? Resources, Organizations, and Actions ....................... 147
    Knowledge Is Power ................................................................. 147
    Get Organized ............................................................................. 149
    Rethink Your Mobility ............................................................... 150
    Eat Smarter ................................................................................ 152
    Good Energy ............................................................................... 153
    Money Matters .......................................................................... 154

    Notes .......................................................................................... 157
    Index ............................................................................................ 163
    About the Author ....................................................................... 171
    About New Society Publishers .................................................... 172