

### PART III: TRANSFORMATIONS: PEDAGOGY, ACTIVISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF JUSTICE

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### 1. CRITICAL PEDAGOGY "AFTER THE STORM"<sup>1</sup>

Landfall is not just a physical question. Geography is always socially produced. And so every landscape can reveal sedimented and contentious histories of occupation; struggles over land use and clashes over meaning, rights of occupancy, and rights to resources. Katrina churned through historical geographies of extraordinary multiculturalism but extreme racial segregation, of amazing environmental wealth exploited rapaciously, of mythic significance in the American and even global imaginary whose celebrations masked the enduring legacies of poverty and discrimination that they fed off and opposed. (Katz, 2008, p. 16).

This edited collection is about the unfolding "dialectics of ordinary disaster" that has shaped global cultures, pedagogies and environments at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Davis, 1999). Mike Davis in his influential book *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* observed that the radical transformation of the Southern California landscape through flood and fire, understood from the perspective of the region's deep environmental history, is a relatively ordinary occurrence. For Davis, what is extraordinary about ordinary disaster is how its material production is "largely hidden from view by a way of thinking that simultaneously imposes false expectations on the environment and then explains the inevitable disappointments as proof of a malign and hostile nature" (1999, p. 9). In other words, hidden in the acute shocks of environmental catastrophe are the everyday social, economic and political dimensions that help to make it. What gets erased by media spectacles of extreme "acts of nature" is the extent to which rapacious urbanization, discriminatory housing and planning practice, and bureaucratic cost effectiveness puts vulnerable people and places in "harm's way" (Davis, 1999).

The question of what is "natural" about disaster is a crucial one because the very act of attributing catastrophe to external Nature hides the all-too-human histories of uneven development and disinvestment in poor and minority communities. After the landfall of Hurricane Katrina, the then US President George Bush commented that, "the storm didn't discriminate" (Davis, 2005). But the social and environmental injustices piling up in its long wake tell another story. Indeed, well before Katrina begun to transform into a super-storm over the Gulf of Mexico in late August 2005, it was well known that the landfall of a major hurricane in New Orleans would sweep a deadly path across communities already devastated by years of institutional neglect, decaying infrastructure and ecological stress. In the living

memory of many of the older residents of the Lower Ninth Ward in New Orleans is Hurricane Betsy, the first hurricane in the history of the United States to cost over a billion dollars in 1965 (Bullard, 2005). Betsy caused the levees in the Lower Ninth Ward to breach (it was in fact rumored at the time that the levees were breached on purpose by city officials to protect white areas), flooding houses up to the eaves and trapping people in their attics. Memories of Betsy in the community was no doubt one of the reasons why many people in the Lower Ninth Ward kept hatchets and axes in their roofs to chop their way out in the event of a flood (Bullard, 2005).

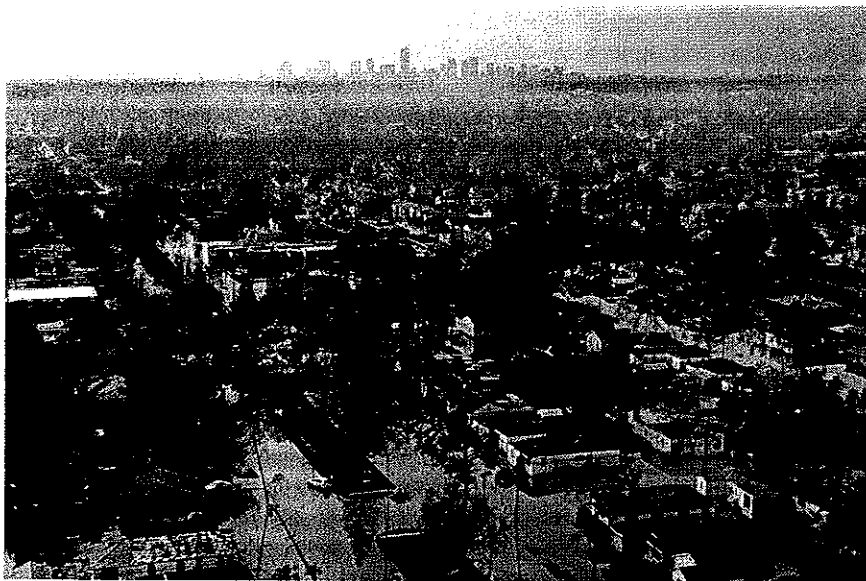


Figure 1. New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. Photograph by Win Henderson (FEMA).

#### SEDIMENTED INEQUITIES AND ORDINARY CRISES

There are other legacies from Betsy too. Debris from the storm was dumped in a black neighborhood at the Agriculture Street landfill, which is now a Superfund site. And as environmental justice scholar Robert Bullard observes, this particular history of toxic dumping in African American communities raises serious concerns about where the debris from hurricane Katrina will ultimately end up (Bullard, 2005). Indeed, environmental catastrophe in poor communities of color in Louisiana has been a lived reality in the region for decades. The stretch of the Mississippi River between New Orleans to Baton Rouge is the site of a massive petrochemical industrial corridor where over a hundred chemical and oil plants manufacture plastics, paints, fertilizers and gasoline (Pezzullo, 2003). Local residents (most of

whom are working class and people of color) call this industrial corridor "cancer alley" and tell stories about an accumulative local history of epidemiological disorder in both adults and children living near industrial and Toxic Release Inventory sites. Since the collapse of the sugar and cotton plantations, toxic industries along the Mississippi River flourished during the later part of the twentieth century in a climate of convenience and cheap labor. However, recent years have seen a decline in petrochemical production and weakened the regional economy, leaving in its wake contaminated land and water and nearly twenty-five percent of the city's population living in poverty (Comfort, 2006). This is an all too familiar story for localities and regions that suffer the predations of environmental racism and injustice that, as Bullard (2001) argues:

...institutionalizes unequal [environmental] enforcement, trades human health for profit, places the burden of proof on the 'victims' rather than the polluters, legitimizes exposure to harmful chemicals, pesticides and harmful substances, promotes "risky" technologies, exploits the vulnerability of economic and politically disenfranchised communities, subsidizes ecological destruction, creates an industry around risk assessment, delays clean-up actions and fails to develop pollution prevention and precaution processes as the overarching and dominant strategy. (p. iii)

Along with bearing the brunt of the toxic burden of the environmental injustices of cancer alley, poor and working class black people in New Orleans have been particularly vulnerable to the effects of flooding – a result of the confluence of canal and levee construction, the development of heavy industries, wholesale wetland destruction, urban sprawl and governmental neglect at all scales. In the lower Mississippi Delta, over 15000 kilometers of canals have been dredged for drainage, logging, and for oil and gas development (Day Jr et al, 2007). This has radically altered the hydrology of the region and accelerated the destruction of its wetlands (that act as an ecological buffer to flooding) by saltwater intrusion (Day Jr et al, 2007). In this regard, the "ordinary crisis" of environmental injustice in New Orleans has been considerably worsened by Katrina, which wreaked havoc in areas that have already paid a heavy social and ecological debt in terms of health, livelihood and wellbeing. As Cindy Katz (2008) observes "the hurricane hit at a nadir of a three decades-long deterioration in the social wage; a combination of social relations and policies at the national, state, and municipal scales that eroded virtually every aspect of social reproduction, except those associated with militarism and policing" (p. 17).

Such tangible declines in social and economic wellbeing before and after Katrina starkly revealed the "disposability" of poor and minority people and the places where they work and live (see Henry Giroux, Chapter 3). This disposability was made glaringly visible through racist reporting in the media in Katrina's aftermath (see Doug Kellner, Chapter 2). But lying beneath the media spectacle that further victimized the city's most vulnerable populations, resides a pervasive social geography of "organized abandonment" (Lipsitz, 2006). The organized abandonment of New Orleans' working class people of color has been the result of what George

Lipsitz calls a "hostile social warrant of privatism" propelled by neoliberal economies and cultures (2006). Neoliberalism, he argues, produces a hostile warrant of "competitive consumer citizenship" that threatens to replace forms of citizenship concerned with the public good that emerged out of the civil rights movement. The social warrant of privatism cultivates subjects of self-care and places individual rights and needs over those of the whole social collective. Using the example of education, Lipsitz (2006) explains it this way:

When the social warrant of the civil rights movement secured widespread credibility, support for education increased. If one thinks as a citizen or as a community member, then the more educated people there are, the better it is for everyone. However, if one thinks as an accumulator and as a consumer competing with others for scarce resources, educating other people's children might place your own in a competitive disadvantage. This approach creates massive inefficiency and misallocation of resources at the societal level. Direct discrimination costs the gross national product from two to four percent a year in lost productivity and waste. Yet what is disastrous at the societal level can be advantageous at the level of the household – at least in the short run. (p. 455)

Organized abandonment thus speaks to the pathology of the free market system that has reigned supreme over the past several decades. In this regard, the hostile social warrant of privatism haunts the future of New Orleans as much as it haunts the past. The deepening economic crisis both in the United States and globally has registered the fragile and ephemeral nature of the neoliberal social contract. But the fundamental question remains: *what ought to be done?* And as George Lipsitz asks, what can we learn from New Orleans? Now, more than ever, these questions are important to the task of transforming social and environmental injustice. Hurricane Katrina is a poignant reminder of the escalating toxic crisis and the very real problem of climate change. The stories that emerged from the environmental crisis in New Orleans and its aftermath amplify the urgent need for educators, community members and activists to rethink how humans and their everyday environments are intimately interconnected.

#### LEARNING FROM ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

The uneven and wounded terrains of environmental crisis are the debt of consumer capitalism lurking on the historical horizon. Walter Benjamin, though writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, famously captured this debt in the figure of the "angel of history." With its eyes turned to the past, Benjamin's (1968) angel sees "one single catastrophe" of accumulated threats, consequences and liabilities - everywhere - "in front of his feet" (p. 257). For Benjamin, progress is a storm that "keeps piling wreckage on wreckage" as it "irresistibly propels" us into an unforeseeable future (Benjamin, 1968, pp. 257, 258). Catastrophe is the ongoing crisis of capitalist progress that presses relentlessly forward. This crisis is occasionally interrupted by turbulence and counter-flows, when higher than

expected storm surges whipped up by the winds of Paradise hurl debris at our feet. The economic, political and climatic shocks of the first decade of the twenty-first century have certainly precipitated such turbulence. There is a rising tide of recognition that climate and environmental change is exacerbated by human activities such as the burning of fossil fuels, declining biodiversity as a result of development, and unsustainable patterns of production and consumption amongst the planet's wealthiest populations. Mining, drilling, agribusiness and construction are all driving this activity, which is further supported by anti-environmental government policies that provide enormous subsidies to these industries (Dirty Metals, 2004). All this while the rich countries attempt to blame developing countries for failing to take action to cut carbon emissions.

But not all is doom and gloom. Shifting through the debris, fragments and wreckage, Benjamin's angel of history desires to "reassemble" and "make whole what has been smashed" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 257). Moving beyond the disorientating or "shock" effects of catastrophe and the desire to cushion its impact, Benjamin (1968) emphasized the productive potential for actualizing critical awareness and the radical struggle to transform the everyday. Located as we are within the modern corporate university, we argue that this implies a break from the traditional distinction between professionalism and activism. Acting as a high pressure brake on that impetus is the growth of neo-liberal discourses of professionalism or competence that set the limits of the "knowing" subject as well as the form and spatial scale of community engagement (Maxey, 2004, p. 159). As the plug is pulled on state funding, an entrepreneurial spirit is emerging at the individual and group level that is freighted toward market based research and strategies driven by competitive funding and a corporate research culture. This insidious barrier to social activism has led to efforts to reconceptualise professional identity, toward "a new form of professionalism and [activist] engagement" (Sachs, 1999). Groundwater-Smith and Sachs (2002) write, "first and foremost an activist professional is concerned to reduce or eliminate exploitation, inequality and oppression. Accordingly the development of this identity is deeply rooted in principles of equity and social justice" (p. 352). But strong disincentives and risks exist for developing this kind of activist identity, particularly given the rise of a surveillance and audit culture designed to enhance "performance" in higher education (Peters, 2007). Stepping outside of our comfort zone of institutional privilege and using it to support wider struggles for social justice can also result in our teaching and research being labelled ideologically biased or too partisan, and even subjected to administrative censure or prosecution. Despite operating under difficult contextual conditions, we believe that activist scholars ought to develop a more critically reflexive and engaged orientation toward community to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

This is the grist of Alain Touraine's argument (see Tapio Litmanen, Chapter 14), who holds that it is important for scholars to be "close to the action" in order to engage in the production of knowledges and practices that are socially useful for collective action. Picking up on this point, we argue that it is political for "trouble making" elements in the academy to act independent of the corporate interests of

the university and to reach out in solidarity to social movements and other civil society actors in order to integrate their collective demands and concerns into their work and the wider struggle for environmental and social justice. Unfortunately, in the reified world of academia, Fuller and Kitchin (2004) lament that:

critical praxis seems to consist of little else beyond pedagogy and academic writing. Potentially it might consist of calling for changes in policy. It may consist of research praxis that aims to become reflexive or emancipatory or empowering (changing the conditions of the research process but rarely seeking wider social change). But it rarely consists of a marriage between academic and activist roles, in which one's private and professional attempts to change the world are not divided into distinct and separable roles and tasks. (p. 6)

Having opted for independent action, we propose that activist scholars engage in a genuine dialogue with those social collectives struggling to enact, sustain, and inspire substantial change in place-based community contexts. For Freire (1972), dialogue is not mere communication, talk or "verbalism" (p. 75). Rather, it is a relational encounter, based in attentively listening to and learning "with" the oppressed, that is enacted through a diverse set of age-old and evolving practices including storytelling, music, dance, community arts, street theatre, digital networking and new multi-media productions (p. 33). Here, dialogue creates the pedagogical conditions for a critical place-based consciousness that has the power to "name the world" in order to transform it (p. 76). Such a place-based approach to learning through the mutual sharing, challenging and questioning of stories, ideas and meaning offers, from the ground up, the possibility of creating pedagogic spaces for cross border participation, debate and action, including the development of perspectives and strategies amongst a wide range of activists, intellectuals, First Nation groups, NGOs, alternative schools, social movements, the labour movement and green-left political organisations. This expansion of arenas and the links it establishes combined with a corresponding shift in activities and priorities, feeds into an activist agenda that makes political sense, as it is educational, personally satisfying, and politically relevant. We believe that taking a stand together means, to put it colloquially, "walking the talk." Breaking down the false division between scholarship and activism, this form of praxis intervention engages with the issues of different communities and movements by asserting the importance of collective knowledge and resistance, and as such, constitutes an activist form of "public sociology" (Burawoy, 2004, 2005) or "public pedagogy" (Giroux, 2004). Although often not well defined, such concepts are mobilized to acknowledge the subjective potential for academic and extra-academic audiences to engage public issues and problems as sites of transformative learning and action.

Given the effects of what Benjamin (1968) refers to as a history of permanent "catastrophe" that hangs over the whole globe including recent economic, environmental and political events, this politically driven agenda for academic activism constitutes a call for academics to be more socially relevant and to make a contribution to the real world struggles of real world victims (p. 257). What

matters here, for Benjamin, is that "The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency" in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight" (p. 257). This requires an embodied and engaged approach to pedagogy, where academics are not afraid to get dirt under their fingernails. We believe that it is incumbent upon politically committed scholars to find positions for themselves within the various grassroots groups, networks and coalitions, social movements, NGOs, and political parties that have arisen as a defensive reflex against the horrors of environmental destruction and human misery (Moss, 2004). "In this [sort of] situation," as Joe Kincheloe (2008) recently wrote, "we have been touched by Walter Benjamin's Angel of History in a way that forever changes us, the knowledge we generate, and the reasons we produce it in the first place" (p. 8). The focus here is not on the appropriate degree of immersion or participation but rather on engaging in dialogue, solidarity and praxis with social movements and other groups that are so often out of reach. Such pedagogies are attuned to the histories and activities of those communities that have been marginalized by the onward trajectory of industrial progress and who keep the presence of alternatives alive through their networks of exchange and interconnection.

At a time where contemporary "matters of concern" (to borrow a phrase from Bruno Latour) encompass a whole range of environmental and place-based issues, educational institutions such as universities ought to be deeply involved in this effort. This includes collaborating across disciplinary borders, as well as identifying and analyzing the adverse effects of public policies and other interventions across the nature-society interface. To be effective, a coordinated, principled, multi-level and multi-pronged approach in all these key areas ought to be tied to efforts to raise civic engagement through different forms of community organizing, whereby schools, local communities, and other sites of public pedagogy could serve as catalysts for substantial revitalization. With an emphasis on material empowerment and imaginative transformation, we need to reinvest our purpose with criticality and hope. Here, every ingredient in the political and civic cauldron works to bring about the desired forces of change.

A popular refrain from the recently inaugurated US president Barack Obama is that change is always possible but that it won't be easy or quick. Even as we might take a moment to reflect on the turbulent storms that have recently passed, new clouds gather on the horizon. The question of how fundamental change might be enacted as a response to what Naomi Klein (2007) calls "disaster capitalism" remains a deeply fraught issue (see also Doug Kellner, Chapter 2). With an overstretched hand, free market ideologues—with some help from the state—have cleverly exploited the mayhem, fear and trauma of crisis (terrorist attacks, wars, disasters and other "shocks") to sell the need for economic reforms that are potentially unpopular and painful. A prime example of this is when Milton Friedman, the ideological Godfather of neoliberalism and free market solutions, argued that the "tragedy" of Katrina, which left "Most New Orleans schools...in ruins" also afforded "an opportunity to radically reform the education system" via a voucher system (pp. 4–5). Yet, as Klein writes, numerous instances exist of "real challenges"

to the neoliberal agenda at different geographical locations and scales (p. 448). And this “backlash”—which has unleashed some reactionary as well as hopeful forces—points to the limits or reversibility of the neoliberal “shock doctrine” of development (p. 448).

What is increasingly apparent, then, is the need to develop new energetic capacities and strategies for engaging in what Klein calls “peoples’ reconstruction” (p. 443). Such collective strategies for reconstruction actively produce strong alternatives to disaster capitalism and create spaces where people forge relationships with each other and with nonhuman nature that recognize the complex material worlds that we all inhabit. Practically, this means working in areas traditionally placed “outside” of educational practice and cultural reproduction. Linked to a wide variety of sites and struggles, what we are advocating is an *enlarged* pedagogy that engages politically with historical and material registers in contemporary everyday life. Echoing the words of Walter Benjamin, this requires what Giroux (1994) terms “...a discourse of imagination and hope that pushes history against the grain” (p. 42). Benjamin’s angel offers the possibility for redemption amongst the ruins of neoliberalism, carbon-based industrialism and hyper-consumption. It offers the hope and possibility for social and environmental alternatives for living in and sustaining a world shared with others.

This book, we hope, offers a step in this direction. Rather than advocating any particular theoretical approach, the eclectic nature of the chapters included in this volume are intended to demonstrate a diversity of perspectives that shape understandings of the relationalities between pedagogy, publics, politics and environment. In other words, this book works towards an enlarged pedagogy that brings together a diverse set of ontologies and knowledges that share a political commitment to a collective project of transformation and justice.

The chapters in the first part of the book titled “Havoc: Katrina and the Crisis of Capital” highlight the failure of neoliberal ‘free market’ ideology’ and reveal how race, class, policy and place still matter. The systemic failure at all levels of government to address long term environmental, economic, social and political problems is an example of how public policy renders poor people and people of color ‘invisible’ and vulnerable to environmental injustice and environmental racism. Clearly, there is a geography to neoliberalism and its effects are uneven. On this point, Katrina was a showcase of national humiliation and abandonment, from the destruction of coastal wetlands and the antiquated levee system to the resulting evacuations and institutionalised neglect and vilification of the storm’s victims. But it also meant that there was a resurgence of interest in environmental racism and environmental justice providing the impetus for a number of projects and activities.

The first essay by Douglas Kellner discusses the media spectacle of Katrina that revealed the political cronyism of the Bush Administration and the failure of the neoliberal state to plan and respond to the predicted disaster. Despite a massive White House PR effort, the spectacle of destruction, suffering and despair that followed in the awful wake of Katrina “put on display the glaring inequities of race and class that define the U.S. in the new millennium” (p. 26). Symptomatic of

a larger problem with neoliberal globalization, Giroux argues further that all the Katrina generated debris made visible a new and pernicious form of biopolitics that marks entire populations as disposable. He writes, “The disposable populations serve as an unwelcome reminder that the once vaunted social state no longer exists, the living dead now an apt personification of the death of the social contract in the United States” (p. 42). McLaren and Jaramillo offer a critique of the Bush administration’s response to Katrina and the catastrophic effects of US imperialism (e.g., the War in Iraq) on the domestic front. Ville Lähde, a Finnish researcher and activist, makes the case that an autonomous conception of “Nature” is often used to depoliticise disasters such as Hurricane Katrina and the 2004 South Asian Tsunami. With a focus on strategies for change, he argues that “*adaptation* [is] a vital political issue” that offers the possibility of reshaping political consciousness and human nature relations (p. 75). In summary, what all these pieces on the politics of Hurricane Katrina reveal is that contemporary ecological and social crises have a common historical origin and global character.

The second part of this book explores the theme of “Resilience: Indigenous Pedagogies and the Critique of Neo-colonialism.” The focus shifts to understanding how contemporary social and environmental crises continue to carry the weight of colonial histories, epistemologies and pedagogies. The injustices of colonial history and the Indigenous and local ecological knowledges developed, shared and passed on from one generation to the next in response to the complexities of colonialism or imperialism are often overlooked, if not ignored. This is not just a matter of abstract academic concern and the praxis of the following is to open up spaces for intercultural dialogue, debate and political action as an alternative relational geography. In the wake of Katrina, Grande surveys the real, material effects of the colonial project on Indigenous peoples and lays the epistemological groundwork for a Red Pedagogy that is place-based and promotes decolonization. Although it is not officially recognised in Australian universities or schools, Sheehan, Dunleavy Cohen and Mitchell use Indigenous Knowledge (IK) to track the “relational movements” of predatory colonialism (p. 107). Within the context of social dominance and racism, they propose an Indigenous Knowledge Pedagogy (IKP) that “adopts a [structural] approach to educating for social wellness (p. 113). Writing in the Australian context, Kerwin provides a stinging critique of changes to environmental and cultural heritage policies and the new paternalism of economic rationalism (neoliberalism). Certainly, this is no time for subtlety. Regardless of political party, in Kerwin’s view, “The major problem for Aboriginal peoples around the country is the inability of the political machinery to accept Aboriginal knowledges and beliefs” (p. 125). Woods and Martin provide a discourse analysis of former Australian Prime Minister John Howard’s policy speech on Aboriginal reconciliation to the Sydney Institute. They argue that Howard’s so-called “new statement of reconciliation” pointed to the dominant position of the white majority in Australia, as well as the structural benefits of Whiteness and institutionalised racism. Here, reconciliation is predicated upon an extremely narrow and limiting conception of the nation and responsibility for historical injustices. This is an example of how white sovereignty in settler societies such as Australia remains

invisible, normal, and unmarked. On this point, Sammel a "white middle class girl growing up in urban Australia" (p. 159) and Pete "a First Nations woman from Saskatchewan" (p. 158) share their personal stories of teaching about racism and White privilege in both Australia and Canada.

The final part of the book under the theme "Transformations: Pedagogy, Activism and the Environment of Justice," explores questions of what ought to be done? Drawing on the historical legacy of the 1960s and its significance for revolutionary praxis, Moisio, FitzSimmons and Suoranta identify the importance of critical education in creating "weather persons" who "have the skills to dissect and to explain the direction in which the wind is actually blowing" (p. 180). Aspects of that contested legacy are highly controversial, as exemplified by William Ayers, a former leader of the US radical group the Weathermen, who became a political liability to Obama in the US Presidential race in 2008. However, it also offers a number of theoretical and practical insights, particularly for critical pedagogy. And as the storm clouds gather, they argue that radical educators have a role in "set[ting] forth curricula for new possibilities and actions that actively involve people in transforming their social and ecological environments with a firm belief in the possibility to effect change by their own direct intervention in social and economic settings and practices" (p. 187).

Taking a non-deterministic approach to history and the uneven and unpredictable dynamic of human action, Tammilehto explores the potential of informal relational structures and tactics for articulating demands for social change. In a similar vein, Latensach and Latensach identify the complicity of higher education in the global environmental crisis. To counter this state of affairs, they argue for an educational program of curriculum reform that challenges ideologies of progress and anthropocentrism. To the degree that the global crisis is a world crisis for both human and nonhuman beings, a pedagogy of liberation or critical pedagogy must refocus its myopic lens in order to address anthropocentrism. Indeed, rethinking the central role of humans in critical pedagogy also re-energises issues of ontological diversity and difference across political, ecological and historical borders. Finally, Litmanen argues for the academic and political significance of Alain Touraine's work. Given the poverty of university specific activism, Touraine's methods are particularly revealing for scholars who are interested in actively intervening in processes of social struggle and historical transformation.

What all the contributing chapters in this book demonstrate, are many far-reaching lessons to be learnt from Katrina and the media and political frenzy that emerged in its aftermath. The larger story that emerges from this edited collection is that the confluence of poverty, racism and environmental crisis in the first decades of the twenty-first century so viscerally manifested by Katrina, also converge on deeper histories of imperialism, uneven capitalist development and the profound alienation from nonhuman nature that these practices attend. At the same time, the current global financial crisis and economic downturn have prompted a critical re-examination of economic ideas and policy agendas. In this climate, it appears that we are now at a critical crossroads. The contributors to this book point

to the substantive ways in which the often disparate but always collective projects of critical pedagogy can be enlarged to address the material and affective relations of social and environmental justice.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Title inspired by Mike Davis' chapter 'Los Angeles After the Storm: A Dialectics of Ordinary Disaster' in *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster*. New York: Vintage Books.

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## PART I: HAVOC: KATRINA AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITAL