'Greening work' in Lean Times: The Amalgamated Transit Union and Public Transit

Jeffrey Carey[1] and Steven Tufts[2]

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the Amalgamated Transit Union's (ATU) discussion of environmental issues since the mid 1980s. We explore the trialectic relationship between capital, labour and nature in Canada's public transit unions, primarily through the lens of labour geography. In a review of union documents and Canadian newspapers we find the state uses the environment as a wedge issue in its 'war or position' with unions, representing workers' strike actions as harmful to the environment and the community. The state's positioning of ATU members as crucial to both the functioning of communities and environmental sustainability lends itself to counter-hegemonic campaign strategies. We examine a recent campaign by Toronto's ATU Local 113 entitled "Protecting What Matters" as a local union's community and environmental strategies during a period of austerity. The paper concludes with lessons learned from a labour geography perspective and calls for a more community based approach to resistance.

INTRODUCTION

A marginal issue in labour studies until recently, climate change mitigation and adaptation are increasingly important processes in the examination of work, workers and workplaces (Lipsig-Mummé, 2013). For workers and their organizations, environmental or 'green' issues present both potential opportunities and challenges in workplace and broader regulatory disputes. It is perhaps to be expected then that union responses to the long-run crisis of climate change have been highly var-

1 Jeffrey Carey is a PhD student at the Department of Geography, York University.
2 Steven Tufts is Associate Professor and Chair at the Department of Geography, York University. This paper was supported by the SSHRC-funded Work in a Warming World (W3) CURA. The authors would like to acknowledge the helpful comments on an earlier draft of the article provided by members of W3 during a recent workshop. We also would very much like to thank the AR reviewers. The responsibility for the content rests with the authors.

iegated with some adopting hard-line responses and others attempting to find some form of middle-ground between jobs and the environment. Rather than conforming to a single coherent discursive policy and action plan on the environment, economic actors routinely adopt different discursive strategies influenced by a number structural-economic and political-ideological factors. Labour's response to climate change is further complicated by the variable strategies adopted by capital and the state.

This paper presents a case study of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) as an example of how labour utilizes environmental discourse to further its objectives while capital and the state simultaneously adopt similar discourses on the environment to discipline and fragment workers. For some workers, the long-term impacts of climate change and the mitigation strategies in response to impacts present opportunities in bargaining and organizing new workers. A union that would appear positioned to benefit from adaptation and mitigation efforts is the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), a union representing 190,000 public transit workers in Canada and the US. Increasing public concern over unsustainable North America automobile transportation systems, increased ridership throughout large urban public transit systems, decaying public and private infrastructure associated with transit use, and the potential identification of the transit worker as an 'essential green worker', place the ATU at the crux of nature-economy and 'green-job' debates. In theory, the union is well positioned in terms of potential coalition building on environmental issues in the short and long terms. In the short term, this position should serve as a strategic advantage in collective bargaining disputes with capital and the state as the union seeks broader support within the community on transit issues, such as increased public funding of services and the 'greening' of transportation systems. In the longer term, climate change should also potentially serve as the issue which defines the ATU as a progressive actor in union-community (or union-environmental) alliances with the goal of developing alternative transportation planning solutions mediating society-nature relations.

At the same time, however, the current age of austerity following the global financial crisis presents real material challenges to public transit workers. In the United States, a high profile budget showdown in Congress over the funding of a long-term transportation bill (eventually signed into law as H.R. 4281) in March 2012 highlighted the contentious nature of transportation planning in the current economic and political climate (Plungis, 2012). In Canada, austerity budgets at lower levels

of government, have entailed warnings of further cut-backs in investment for public transportation, privatization of services, and in some instances the passage of essential service legislation to limit the collective bargaining strength of workers (see recent report by Gilligan and Stolarick (2013) in the Toronto case). In some instances, this has entailed the invocation of a 'green' agenda on the part of the state to discipline workers. This is evidenced most recently in collective bargaining disputes in Ottawa and Toronto as the state has employed discourses on the environment and climate change to discipline workers and increase public discontent towards the ATU (*Globe and Mail*, 2006; Rupert, 2009; *Ottawa Citizen*, 2009).

These recent events, specifically those in Canada, highlight the complicated role of the state in defining and defending green issues in collective bargaining disputes with public transportation workers. The state is not only in many cases the employer of public transit workers but also the regulatory and disciplinary power over all workers as it reproduces capitalist relations through labour laws, collective agreements and cultural norms. In an intensified neoliberal regulatory environment, this has entailed significant roll-backs in workers' rights (specifically collective bargaining rights,) macro-economic regulations, and the public service more generally (Amin, 1994; Peck, 2001; Jessop, 2003; Panitch & Swartz, 2003). More specific to public transportation workers, this changing regulatory environment has entailed moves to privatize services, and more recently, the legislative clawing back of collective bargaining rights through the passage of essential service legislation. Discourses on the environment – specifically those geared towards mitigating climate change, decreasing congestion, and reducing pollution – remain a relatively marginal issue in recent efforts to remove these rights, but they have been utilized by the state to discipline workers in other collective bargaining disputes, opening ground to represent transportation workers as both essential to the economy and the environment.

Given the complicated context and messy character of what is referred to as a 'capital-labour-nature' trialectic, this paper looks to uncover the ways in which the ATU has adopted climate change mitigation and adaptation discourses into its collective bargaining and organizing strategies, and broader campaign strategies for transit regulation and public funding. We also examine, however, the ways in which 'green' issues have been adopted by the state to discipline workers and produce cleavages between the union and the broader community. We find that the union employed environmental discourses more shrewdly

during periods of economic crisis and its' ability to develop lasting coalitions strengthened. Yet these efforts were countered by the state and the ATU's efforts were limited in several jurisdictions in Canada. The development of medium to long-term strategies to engage the public in labour-friendly public transit development remains uneven, leaving some questions as to the success of the union's community and environmental agenda for the future.

This paper begins with a brief conceptual discussion of the capital-labour-nature trialectic. Particular emphasis will be placed on integrating literatures in ways that highlight how *both* labour and capital are implicated in the production of nature and conversely how nature confers limits upon both capital and labour. However, we feel that an emergent 'labour geography' can both contribute to this discussion and gain from a deeper consideration of nature. The paper discusses the results of an analysis of the Canadian ATU's language on the environment in print media between 1986 and 2012. Of particular concern is the extent to which the Canadian ATU mobilized workers around climate change and the ways by which they sought to include mitigation and adaptation strategies into immediate changes in the workplace (such as through bargaining more immediate health and safety regulations in the workplace) or proposing more long-term changes to transportation systems. We detail the ways by which the ATU has attempted to implement such strategies, specifically the 'types' of coalitions they have been forged with outside groups and potential points of cleavage that employers have exploited in the past. The third section reviews two recent campaigns: a case is identified in which the union successfully tied union practices to environmental issues and social justice issues more broadly and a less successful attempt is reviewed in which the union failed to draw explicit links between transit workers and the environment. We conclude with a discussion of how capital-labour-nature read through labour geography informs some normative recommendations for union-environmental practices in the public transportation sector.

CAPITAL-LABOUR-NATURE

Working in the tradition of Marx, there has been a considerable output of literature detailing the ways capital and labour represent and produce nature as well as the ways nature confers limits upon capital and labour. We argue a potentially rich understanding can be developed through a cross-fertilization of ideas between two literatures: debates on the production of nature and labour geography. Exploring this syn-

thesis, the remainder of this section moves from the abstract production of nature thesis to the more concrete debates within 'labour geography'.

The production of nature debates were pioneered by Smith (1984) in his spatialization of Marx's Capital in *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. With respect to nature, Smith's (1984) argument is twofold: first, nature is understood as a socially produced phenomena – discursively and materially –under capitalism; and, second capitalist nature is reproduced throughout society through production, circulation and capitalist social relations. As Castree (2000) notes, Smith's production of nature thesis is notable in its dialectical materialist treatment of the society-nature relation. Rather than treat nature and society as distinct entities Smith (1984) draws explicitly on Marxist philosophy to identify how nature is transformed (through productive relations) into a 'second nature'.

Smith (1984) constructs his argument through an analysis of the labour process from pre- to post-capitalist socio-economic forms. In early, pre-class based societies he notes a metabolism or relation between society and nature. The relation to nature was governed through use-values as people produced differentiated goods from nature and through labour. Later, capitalism opened a rift or division between society and nature as (1) the development of post-agrarian class-based societies formed, and (2) through the usurpation of use-value by exchange values in the governance of society-nature relations. Indeed, the disjuncture between exchange and use values is at the heart of eco-socialist critique (see Burkett, 1999). Smith (1984) argues further that this rift is reproduced through both structural-economic and political-ideological factors as ruling ideologies of nature pre-figure society-nature relations, presenting nature as external and distinct from society.

More recently, Smith (2007) elaborated on how shifts in productive practices have informed shifts in ideological discourses of an externalized and instrumental nature at lower levels of abstraction. In particular, he notes processes such as the deepening of finance capital into the wetland credit trade and its reproduction in mitigation discourses. He further clarifies his production of nature thesis with respect to the dialectical relation between society and nature arguing that just as capital produces nature, nature produces or presents limits to capital noting the production of nature can create "accidental, unintended and even counter-effective results vis-à-vis nature" (Smith, 2007, p.10). Similarly, the production of nature is never entirely under the control of capital; control over nature is variegated, contradictory and spatially and tem-

porally negotiated despite the increasing centrality of nature to accumulation strategies (e.g., biotechnology, ecotourism, carbon credits) (see Castree, 2005). This relation between capital-nature is clearly dialectic, a fundamental element of the production of nature thesis.

Labour, however, is also implicated in this process. Explicit explorations of labour's embedded role in the production of nature are offered by Prudham (2005; 2007), Nugent (2011), and Hrynyshyn & Ross (2011). In his analysis of the "owl wars" in the Douglas-Fir region – a region spanning the west coast of the United States and Southwestern Canada – Prudham (2005) explores the dialectical relationship between nature and local logging communities. Drawing on Polanyi (1944), he argues that nature confers 'limits' upon capitalist accumulation through eco-regulation. Capital's creeping commodification of nature results in a form of push back, or eco-socialization, by which new regulations are struggled for (or against) producing new social modes of regulation. Workers are involved in this process in contradictory ways as they contest government regulations and environmentalist action that threatens economic livelihoods as is the case in Prudham's (2005) study of forestry workers and logging communities. In a later study, he notes the historical cleavages within the labour movement over environmental management and relates the divisions to Cold War ideological conflicts (Prudham, 2007).

Nugent (2011) similarly notes the emergence of divergent strategies within the labour movement on the environment in response to the dual crises of the great recession and climate change. In his analysis of the contrasting environmental strategies employed by the United Steelworkers (USW) and Canadian Autoworkers (CAW) in response to the general manufacturing crisis of the early 2000s, Nugent (2011) argues that the USW effectively resisted dominant neoliberal discourses of ecological modernization. This was largely achieved through partnerships with outside groups and the formation of Blue-Green coalitions. Together they forged a counter hegemonic discourse; one that he terms 'Green New Dealism', predicated on an expanded role for the state in mitigating greenhouse gas emissions and tripartite economic planning. Conversely, he argues, the CAW responded to the general manufacturing crisis of the early 2000s through militant particularism, adopting a corporatist and eco-liberalist stance towards environmental issues. He explains the divergent strategies through attention to the different crises facing steel and auto.

Focusing more explicitly on the CAW, specifically the effect of the general manufacturing crisis on union discourses on the environment,

Hrynyshyn & Ross (2011) echo Nugent's (2011) findings. Similarly, they argue that the union became increasingly defensive and isolationist in response to the crisis, leaving little room for coalition building with environmental groups and adopting a similar discourse to the employer on North American automobility. This, they argue, conflicts with popular representations of the CAW as a "sword of justice" and representative of idealized forms of social unionism. It further evidences the temporal and contextual character of the labour-nature dialectic under capitalism; that is, macro-processes and structures such as the global economy or regulatory environment can and do shift labour's discursive and material practices on environmental issues.

It is here where labour geography does have the potential to add to debates on capital-labour-nature relations. Nugent (2011) is an early attempt to bring a labour geography sentiment to eco-socialist approaches. Labour geography as called for by Herod (1997; 1998; 2001) attempts to centre labour in the analysis of the production of economic landscapes. Several recent critiques and commentaries have addresses the strengths and limitations on an approach that attempts to look at the agency of workers within the constraints of a capitalist system (Castree, 2007; Lier, 2007; Tufts & Savage, 2009; Coe & Lier ,2011; Rutherford, 2010; Herod, 2010). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to detail all of the current debates within labour geography, there are four main areas of contention: agency, the role of the state, scale and class. Consideration of nature has not been central to these debates, but each of these issues can be enriched by a placing nature within capital-labour relations.

In terms of perhaps the defining 'analytical boundary' of labour geography, 'agency' remains a contested issue. Some feel that Herod (1997) perhaps overstated the 'capital-centrism' of much radical economic geography (Peck, 2013). But a more pointed critique is perhaps how inserting agency obscures the domination of capitalism as a system of exploitation. Mitchell (2011, p.567), for example, has specifically challenged the limits of overemphasizing labour's agency:

> "....I would like to suggest, any labor geography must be tempered with a sober, materialist assessment of labor's geography—the world "as it really is". That is, as we seek to see how workers create economic spaces and landscapes we must also closely examine those spaces and landscapes that they have not made, at least in any basic sense, but in which they find themselves and must live—those landscapes that are, through struggles and the exercise of power, produced not for them but for others, those

landscape that make "a new kind of community" all but impossible".

In an even more stinging critique, Das (2012, p.21) argues that "agency has often been used as a quasi-empirical category: a tool to describe how labor is making a difference to the spatial organization of capitalism, here and there. Agency is opposition to capital's own existence, agency in collaboration with capital, and agency involved in gaining concessions, without challenging capitalist class relations, are all problematically put together".

Even Herod (2010) concedes that 'agency' has been under theorized; Coe and Lier (2011, p.14) dismissed this concern and continue to focus on "developing more precise concepts for describing the politics of work". Here the goal is to theorize agency more rigorously, and they turn to Cindi Katz's (2004) typology of agency (resilience (adaptive, getting by), reworking (shifting distribution systems) and resistance (changing the forces of production, balance of power) (see also Cumbers *et al*., 2010).

As we insert nature into a trialectic, agency becomes even more complicated as we consider how non-human objects and process impact social systems (Latour, 2005). However, labour geographers have begun to look at how climate change is indeed 'acting' on systems of reproduction. In sector analysis, geographers have looked at the responses of workers to climate change in tourism (Tufts, 2013), forestry (Holmes, 2013) and auto production (Holmes & Hracs, 2013). Exactly how nature acts within these processes has only begun to be theorized in labour geography.

Labour geographies important contribution is its understanding of how worker action can best mobilize labour against increasingly mobile capital, a topic that continues to inspire Herod (2011). As Sadler (2000, p.148) notes, study "of labour geographies suggests there is further potential in focusing on the precise ways in which labour strategies are bound in place and give rise to particular scales of action, and what potential there is for changing that scale of engagement." It has been noted that labour geographers have focused on the workplace, communities, cities, regions, nations and global (Lier, 2007; Tufts, 2007). Some debate remains among scholars as to which scale (e.g., the workplace, local, national, global) is the most practical means of achieving greater power for workers and the ways in which different scales of organization conflict and compliment one other. Indeed, a multiscalar analysis and strategy is deemed most appropriate when dealing with labour's relation to capital. (Wills, 2002; Sadler, 2004; Sadler & Fagan, 2004; Tufts, 2007).

Castree *et al*. (2004) emphasize the challenges to organizing at

international scales as local labour inevitably confronts a 'geographical dilemma' as workers compete in a global economy for investment and jobs in their communities. And this is perhaps the most contentious point for critics such a Das (2012) who see labour geography as a largely localist project that picks its case studies, largely from advanced capitalist regions and fails for focus on the demands of a universal working class. The result is research that romanticizes militant particularism (Harvey, 1996) at the expense of broader working class alliances. While Das is absolutely correct that labour geography's empirical base is narrow, he misses the point of much labour geography research, which is to document the processes in which labour produces scale in order to normatively work toward a global fight against capital.

And this is exactly what labour confronts when dealing with climate change. How can workers express unity in the midst of a global climate crisis, when uneven development remains integral to capitalism? How can workers produce a scale of organizational power to confront such challenges? Indeed, here the concept of 'scaling-up' power and the contradictions of beginning with localized action becomes even more apparent. Will workers in areas that benefit from longer growing seasons mitigate climate change in cooperation with workers in drought-ridden areas?

There is also the question of the role of the state within labour geography research, argued to be a largely forgotten institution (Herod, 2010). Castree (2007) notes that labour geographers have demoted the state relative to other institutions and relationships. The state, while not being ignored by labour geographers, has paid less attention to the role of labour law in structuring action. Questions range from how the nation state must be included in projects looking to 'scale-up' labour law (Rutherford, 2013). Lier (2012) has also argued that public sector workers have also been relatively neglected as an empirical focus.

Again, this is not surprising given that the study of labour action within neoliberal attacks have perhaps rendered the state as an implicit antagonist – and therefore of no longer any excitement. Extra-state strategies of labour as unions attempted to out maneuver neoliberal governments drew attention. Further, transnational corporate responsibility agreements (Wills, 2002) appeared to outflank states, at least temporarily. Labour geographers have begun to explore the variety of ways workers engage with local, regional and national governments in order to shape economic space (Tufts, 2010). In an era of intensified austerity, however, further attention to the state will become paramount.

The state is also primary regulator of the environment and must be taken seriously in the capital-labour-nature trialectic. It would not be without merit to suggest that perhaps a labour-capital-nature-state 'quadrialectic' is required. How labour geographies are affected through the state's engagement with natural processes will remain a fertile ground for research. In terms of climate change, much remains both theoretically and politically unpredictable. As Wainwright & Mann (2012) have recently argued there are many adaptation possibilities to climate change ranging from 'climate Leviathan' strong-states to market-focused governance to more experimental, decentralized democratic approaches.

Last, a central area for debate is the issue of class in the labour geography project. Rutherford (2010) offers a sympathetic critique, warning labour geographers against decentering class from analysis in lieu of other identity formations among workers and a trend toward intersectional analysis. He is also concerned with the trend toward moving analysis away from the workplace and struggles over the labour process. Similarly, Mitchell (2005) has argued for a larger consideration of working-class studies in geography. Labour geography's concept of 'class' is the primary target of Das' critique. His main argument is that

> "It is time to move from the labour geography type approach, whose dominant and narrowly defined agency-oriented concerns include social-democratic manipulation of landscapes of capitalism, to a dialectical-materialist class analysis of social-geographical issues, which has more radical ambitions and which will encompass a less voluntarist and more radical labor geography" (Das, 2012, p.19).

Das points to two mistakes within labour geography. First, labour is conflated with class when class is a much broader category and second, class is an anti-essential category subordinated to differences of race and gender. What labour geographer's lack is a theory that encompasses the "unity that defines class" (Das, 2012, p.23). Das is correct, much recent work in labour geography does explore the differences among workers that complicate class struggle, especially in cosmopolitan global cities (McDowell *et al.*, 2008). But there is work that centres the question of the reserve army of labour in the context of abundant local and international supplies of workers (Wills *et al.*, 2010). For many labour geographers, the question of working-class formation is how to operationalize a class politics in a context where capitalism fragments class through daily practices.

Much of the critique of labour geography stems from a more general

confusion over poorly defined levels of abstraction. First, labour geographers spend less time abstracting labour as a commodity that has been separated from natural forces (e.g., land) necessary for social production. Instead, labour is immediately read as a 'pseudo-commodity', that is to say workers are only temporarily a commodity (during the working day), are living beings with agency, and are in a social relationship with capital (Castree *et al*, 2004, p.29). Second, there is concern that many contemporary geographical studies of unions conflate institutional labour with the entire *working-class*. The critique is that labour unions are hardly the beginning and the end of working-class agency. In fact, they are creatures of capitalism that fail to represent (directly in any case) much of the globally fragmented working-class which is still in search of unity. As a result, labour geography's focus on organized labour creates theoretical challenges with respect to issues of agency, class, struggles with the state, and the production of scale from the outset.

Labour geographers are no doubt guilty of such conflation. Herod's (1997) initial intervention, however, called for only a minor correction to economic geography that failed to see any active agency in workers. What has evolved since then has been a study of labour firmly within a capitalist system and its role in shaping capitalist economic landscapes (often through the power of labour unions). There were never any claims that labour was producing non-capitalist landscapes.

It is here where we can draw some connections to debates over the last two decades on Marx's theorization of nature. Burkett (1999; 2003), for example, has countered critiques of Marxism as an anthropocentric theory view of 'nature' as limitless and subject to forces of production. Instead, he argues that Marx was aware of the inherent contradictions of both labour and the natural limits to capital. In other words, capitalism takes place in the 'natural' world and as much as it might attempt a complete subsumption of labour and nature, the contradictions inevitably lead to economic and ecological crisis.

What Burkett underemphasizes is the role that labour plays in both its own and nature's subsumption to social relations of production, but unevenly so. As a sectarian agent representing narrow material interests, labour unions in some sectors (e.g., forestry) have historically come into conflict with activist communities, fragmenting the broader working-class. The process of how environmental issues disrupt class unity and disciplines specific classes must be integrated into analysis. We are simply too far removed at the current juncture from a class-based ecological revolution that would supplant capitalist ownership of nature with

a system of social use values for nature as advocated by eco-socialists (Magdoff & Bellamy-Foster 2011, p.137). It is, however, appropriate and worthwhile to look at how labour 'produces nature' within the confines of capitalism and how ecological crisis influences processes of labour's deeper subsumption.

Labour geography provides a rich lens for examining how the production of nature intersects with labour and capital's production of economic landscapes within a capitalist system. Issues of agency, scale, the role of the state, and class fragmentation within labour geography are informed with a consideration of nature. Such a perspective informs the analysis of environmental issues and the ATU.

THE AMALGAMATED TRANSIT UNION AND ECO-SOCIALIZATION: CANADIAN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

This section details the major findings from two primary 'grey literatures' reviewing the ATU's language on the environment, specifically with relation to climate change and the union's positioning on issues relating to mitigation and adaptation. These included literature published by the ATU – specifically *In Transit*, the union's primary publication disseminated to workers and newspaper articles spanning the period of 1986 to 2012. As noted in the introduction, particular concern was placed in understanding when and how environmental issues were leveraged by the union in contract and broader regulatory disputes in media and their own propaganda. Further, we attempted to identity how the employer (often the state) used similar rhetoric as a means to discipline workers. Admittedly, this is a brief snapshot of how environmental issues are implicated in transit industrial relations, but content analysis of documents and media remains a powerful unobtrusive research method (Forbes, 2000; Babbie & Benaquisto, 2002). In the case of the ATU, where battles with public employers are often fought in the media, it was determined that examination of such documentation is one acceptable method.

Established in 1892, the ATU is now the largest union representing transit workers in the USA and Canada. The ATU represents more than simply bus drivers but also related services including, para-transit, light rail, subway, streetcar, ferry boat operators, mechanics, clerks, baggage handlers, and municipal employees. The Canadian branch of the ATU was formally established by the international union in 1982. Reviewing union publications, it appears that the Canadian branch has

remained dependent upon its ties with the international union, with the majority of the research and educational capacities remaining within the United States. A brief review of *In Transit* publications for the past five years revealed only two Canadian specific issues (ATU, April 2012 and December 2011). In other editions of the publication, Canadian content is limited, generally appearing under the regular headline "The Canadian Agenda" wherein local transit issues were discussed rather than more broad national transit issues (as is more common in the sections detailing events in the United States.)

At the local scale, the ATU has taken part in coalitions with transit users in order to improve access supporting the Bus Riders Union in Los Angeles and other urban transit movements (Averill, 2010). However, participation with community transit activists is uneven across North American jurisdictions. In Toronto, the current leadership of ATU Local 113 has not particularly embraced any serious coalition strategy with riders or environmentalists seeking to expand public transit. Ian MacDonald (2013) notes in his critique of recent 'tactical errors' by the ATU in Toronto (including a late Friday night walkout which left riders stranded), the union has to date failed to advocate for any significant alternative transit policy aimed at servicing poor neighbourhoods. Toronto transit workers and the union continue to struggle with building a positive relationship with the public.

Indeed, the ATU has played a minor role in the larger struggles to build a 'greener' economy at either the national or municipal level. Blue-Green Canada, for example, is an alliance largely driven by the United Steelworkers (USW). In Toronto, ATU Local 113 did co-sponsor a large Good Green Jobs for All Conference in 2009, but the content of that event was largely focussed on transition to green manufacturing and infrastructure renewal. The conference primarily organized by the local labour council drew its inspiration from the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) and its ongoing efforts to advocate for economic growth through public transit expansion and local procurement strategies (Willis-Aronowitz, 2013). Local 113 is largely absent from more recent transit development community campaigns. It is not an active part of the Toronto Community Benefits Network, a coalition attempting to secure a community benefits agreement with Metrolinx, the Greater Toronto Area's authority overseeing $8.4 billion of transit expansion. The union did sponsor a series of town halls in 2010 to hear rider concerns, but this followed an intense period of media demonization of transit workers (*CBC*, 2010).

With regards to environmental issues, the ATU presents few explicit ties to climate change mitigation and adaptation in its internal (union-members) publications. Where issues are discussed, such as in a February 2008 issue entitled "Going Green", individual solutions are presented in the way of retrofitting workers homes and encouraging environmental stewardship amongst workers (both within Canada and the United States, see Figure 1).

Although the union has remained quiet on environmental issues internally, they have addressed issues of climate change and drawn explicit links between transit workers and mitigating climate change in the popular press. The remainder of this section details the primary findings of a review of Canadian newspapers between 1986 and 2012. Here, discourses on the environment have been utilized by both the employer and the union with two major points emerging.

First, the Canadian ATU employed its discourse on the environment more explicitly during periods of contraction in the public sector. They did so primarily through advocating for an expanded public transportation system; making connections between reducing traffic congestion and minimizing greenhouse gas emissions. As early as 1991, amid talks of contraction of transit services throughout the Greater Toronto Area, Local 1587 of the ATU proposed the expansion of regional transportation lines, specifically an expansion of GO Transit bus operations into new regions including Niagara, Brantford, and Haldimand-Norfolk (Hamilton Spectator, 1992). It should be noted that in this early example, the union's position was couched primarily in terms of increasing membership and ensuring job security. It was the government, specifically then Transportation Minister Gilles Pouliot, that drew the most explicit ties to the environment: "In the vicinity of the Greater Toronto Area we do have the responsibility to move people...it's friendly to the environment, especially on rail" (Hamilton Spectator, 1992). In a later example, the ATU made more direct links between increasing transit ridership and decreased greenhouse gas emissions in their partnership with other unions including the Hotel Employees, Restaurant Employees International Union Local 75 (HERE, now Unite-HERE) to secure employer subsidized transit passes (Canadian NewsWire, 2001). Similar to earlier efforts, this came at a time when the City of Toronto and the TTC were facing a significant budgetary crisis. In this instance, an expanded public transportation system, specifically through employer subsidized transit passes, was framed by the partnership as having broader implications on the environment, workers lives and livelihoods, and the long-term sustainability of industries outside of transit. This link is identified strongly by Paul Clifford, then President of HERE Local 75: "The employer subsidized transit pass is good for all - for

workers, for the environment, for the citizens of Toronto and for the long-term health of the tourism industry" (Canadian NewsWire, 2001).

Second, ties to the environment were most commonly made by the state, particularly during job actions and prolonged strikes. This was most prominent post-2000 when the state made direct links between transit disruptions, traffic congestion, and environmental degradation. For instance, during a 2006 wildcat strike in Toronto, then Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) Vice-Chair, Adam Giambrone, urged Toronto residents to avoid driving when questioned about the environmental harm that an ATU strike had on the environment.

> "It's been a long time since the last system-wide shutdown. As an aside, I hope that our first instinct when we need an alternative to transit is to bike or walk, not take the car. Not only does it help our air quality, but it helps ease traffic congestion." (Giambrone quoted in *Globe and Mail*, 2006).

Similarly, during an extended strike in Ottawa in 2008 through early 2009, city officials encouraged residents to ease congestion through car-pooling, biking and walking during the duration of the strike (Ottawa Citizen, 2009; Rupert, 2009). Again in Toronto, perhaps the most brazen example of eco-discipline came from Brad Duguid in 2008 when in the course of the Ontario government's legislating TTC workers back to work he noted that transit strikes meant "higher pollution levels, with the related health effects and impact on our environment" (MacDonald, 2013, p.30). In all three cases, the environment, specifically climate change and greenhouse gas emissions were utilized in a nuanced way to divide ties between the union and the community. All three instances would appear to be a form of reverse job blackmail or a classist representation of the issue through an attempt to refocus community dissatisfaction on workers as a means to diminish bargaining strength. Striking workers were painted as taking actions that were damaging to the community and the environment and could be further interpreted as a troubling inroad to the future representation of the transit worker as an 'essential green worker'. As Tufts (2011) identifies, if used more explicitly environmental issues could serve as a means to further diminish workers collective bargaining rights. The passage of a 2011 bill that designated the TTC an essential service evidenced that the province (with the city's backing) was prepared to diminish workers' rights citing the economy as a central issue (CBC, 2011; Schein, 2011). As these examples demonstrate and recent events would dictate, it is not difficult to envision a scenario in

which a government utilizes the environment as a wedge issue to further limit workers' rights in collective bargaining.

'GREENING WORK' IN LEAN TIMES: THE DUAL CRISES OF CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE GREAT RECESSION

Perhaps the most explicit ties between environmental issues, job security and workers lives and livelihoods from the union have come recently with the International ATU taking the lead in promoting the 'greening' of transportation systems in the United States and Canada. However explicit, on the ground responses have been highly fractured across space and time with a significant diversity of responses between and within the International ATU and Canadian locals. The twin crises of climate change and the Great Recession have prompted creative proposals from the International ATU with respect to the eco-socialization of North American transportation systems. Perhaps sensitive to some diminished strength on the part of the state in both the United States and Canada to regulate these crises, the International ATU has seized some ground couching its calls for the expansion of public transportation in terms of environmental sustainability, climate change mitigation, and the 'greening' of work more generally. This is evidenced in the International ATU's recent coalition with unions and environmental groups in the Blue-Green Alliance in addition to its sustained efforts to fight development of the Keystone Pipeline (Associated Press, 2011). Cynically, there is a point to be made that restricting the supply of cheap oil for cars by limiting pipeline capacity will perhaps force more people to use public transit. Nevertheless, International President, Lawrence Hanley had made the union's ties to the environment and transit workers position in a 'green' economy explicit: "...we have to convince people that green jobs matter, and that transit is the greenest job you're going to find" (BlueGreen Alliance, 2012).

Although explicit ties have been drawn by the International union, this commitment has not always trickled down to lower scales as recent Canadian campaigns demonstrate. On the one hand the union has hit back at government calls to reduce funding for public transportation citing the importance of public transportation to the community and the environment. At the same time, recent campaigns in Toronto have been notable in their complete neglect of environmental issues. The remainder of this section highlights the fractured quality of 'green' activism in the Canadian ATU reviewing (1) the response of Local 113 to the City of

Toronto's calls for cut backs to the TTC and (2) its' later neglect of environmental issues in a recent advertising campaign entitled Protecting What Matters.

In 2011, leaving the recommendations from a KPMG report largely unchanged, the City of Toronto released its core services review calling for a roll-back of TTC services including cuts to night buses, accessibility services for the disabled, and increased crowding standards on existing routes. The review immediately drew a heated response from the President of ATU Local 113, Bob Kinnear: "This is a war on commuters, low-wage workers, the disabled and the environment" (Canadian NewsWire, 2011). He further cautioned that, "(this) will drive people away from transit, creating more pollution, more road congestion and more anger about inadequate TTC service." (Canadian NewsWire, 2011). The union's response drew immediate links between environmental justice and increased transit ridership, specifically with respect to transit representing a viable solution to the environmental harms associated with traditional forms of North American automobility and the need for increased funding of transit projects and services to increase 'buy-in' from the public. Furthermore, the ATU drew links between environmental justice and social justice in the community. Further to presenting transit expansion as good for transit workers, the ATU identified the maintenance of a robust public transportation system as fundamental for *all* workers. This is identified by Kinnear in his response to the core services review, "At a time when pollution levels are at record highs and Toronto's road congestion is the worst in North America, recommendations to reduce TTC services are delusional." He adds, "What this report says is: 'Let's punish low wage night shift workers who cannot afford cars and let's cram more commuters into already intolerably-crowded rush hour vehicles" (Canadian NewsWire, 2011).

More recently, the Canadian ATU's 'green' advocacy has been more tempered or starkly absent. This is perhaps best exemplified in a recent advertising campaign by the union entitled Protecting What Matters. Responding to TTC plans to contract out maintenance services, Local 113 launched a reportedly $1 million print and video campaign in October 2012. Reaching a broad audience, advertising spots were purchased at Cineplex theatres throughout the city of Toronto (ATU 113, 2012). Campaign videos begin asking "what is the lifeblood of a city" pointing to the essential service that transit workers supply to the city and its residents. In the campaign video explicit ties are drawn between maintenance workers and the daily functioning of the system: "For over a million riders each

day, we're who you don't see. We repair, restore, rebuild every streetcar, bus and train. We get you to school and work; get you home, (and) keep you safe. We work for this city, we're a part of this city, we're Toronto transit workers" (ATU 113 Protecting What Matters, 2012). The union's language is curious given recent actions by the provincial government to declare the TTC an essential service. It is perhaps unsurprising given these recent moves that the TTC has been quick in co-opting this message and using it against the union. TTC Commissioner, Karen Stintz, notes that she "agrees with the union that the TTC is the lifeblood of the city" (Toronto Sun, 2012). She continues, "That's why we have to work together to make it sustainable. We need to work together to improve our customer service and deliver our service more cost effectively. That's why I support contracting out" (Toronto Sun, 2012).

Further to its curious use of language, the union's most recent campaign appears to cede ground on certain issues, most notably the importance of *all* transit workers to the environment. Indeed, frontline workers were largely absent in the campaign as 'behind the scenes' workers were featured. This is understandable on two fronts. First, frontline workers such as fare collectors and bus drivers are the subject to most of the abuse by transit users. Second, it is maintenance and cleaning workers that are most vulnerable to sub-contracting by the TTC as reiterated above by Karen Stintz.

Less understandable is the removal of the environment from the message. In print and video ads, no references are made to the importance of the TTC and TTC workers in general in mitigating climate change. The campaign slogan "Protecting What Matters" (see Figure 2) opens ground for connecting transit workers to numerous causes. However, the campaign maintains a more narrow and short-term focus on economic and community issues. This is somewhat curious given other locals success in defining and defending green issues in past campaigns. The campaign takes a more narrow focus on pressing economic issues focussing on how some workers (specifically maintenance workers) are essential to the functioning of the system and not others (e.g., front of line staff).

CONCLUSION

As this paper has explored, the ATU has employed language on the environment to further their position in collective bargaining disputes and the longer range expansion of public transportation systems. Successful campaigns have generally sought to make connections between

economic justice and environmental sustainability through alliances with outside groups. While framing public transit as essential to both the environment and the community and warning against cutbacks *could* serve as a central issue in the development of enduring coalitions between labour, environmental and community groups, Local 113's most recent campaign demonstrates the limited and fractured nature of environmental advocacy in the Canadian branch of the union.

Lessons from labour geography infused with a capital-labour-nature trialectic may assist in the understanding the limits of the ATU's implementation of environmental rhetoric. First, in terms of labour agency, the ATU has been able to exercise some power in dealing with state employers, but the importance of public transit to contemporary metropolitan economies combined with states that have systematically reduced their revenue streams through low taxation have admittedly reduced the power of public transit unions. In the case of Toronto, the city has lagged behind in terms of public transit investment (Gilligan & Stolarick, 2013). In order to maintain public transit costs, the state has disciplined labour with legislation that effectively removes the right to strike (Schein, 2011).

In rudimentary Gramscian terms, ATU Local 113 simply lost the war of maneuver as workers were designated essential by the a heavy handed Ontario government and was forced to make a transition to a war of position (Hoare & Smith, 2010, p.108-110). The TTC seems to also be leading in the war of position as current campaigns and media offensives that paint ATU members as lazy, corrupt, mean, yet essential public 'servants' to economic circulation and competitiveness. The ATU seems to be consistently outflanked in the war of position as claims of environmental importance have been appropriated by state as a means to discipline dissent. While the media campaign by the ATU seems to demonstrate resistance, it is too early to see if there are any material gains for members.

The second issue central to a labour geography perspective is scale. Here, the breakdown between the International and Canadian branch points to the need for the development of more wide-ranging research and planning capacity in Canada. Although the International ATU positions itself at the crux of the nature-economy dialectic, the fragmented nature of Canadian locals have created challenges in the development of a coherent message aimed at local, provincial and national governments. Furthermore, the lack of a coordinated response on the environment has led to some locals assuming a militant particularist stance on

the environment, placing jobs over environmental issues and short-term economic gains over medium to long-term strategies in the eco-socialization of public transportation systems. The development of these capacities would seem crucial to the development of more enduring and multiscalar solutions in the eco-socialization of Canadian transportation systems, specifically in the way of pressuring government for increased funding for public transportation projects. Fully understanding the limits of the ATU's ability to exercise power in capital-labour-nature relations due to the specific scale of its organization and strategies will require further analysis. In the interim, increased local or regional research and campaign capacity may prove beneficial.

In the end, employing a coherent message on the environment may not be enough for the ATU to achieve gains as the state too employs language on the environment to rally public support against workers. This should prompt significant concern within the ATU (and public sector unions more broadly) as the state can forcibly push a 'green' agenda as a means to further fragment and discipline workers. The case of public transit demonstrates how the state and its role in hegemonic processes remain pivotal. It is here where the role of the state must be considered by labour geographers who have neglected regulation and focused more directly on capital-labour relations.

Debates within labour geography on the fragmentation of class are also paramount. The ATU has attempted to build class unity in its campaign but largely in reference to its own members' jobs. Class unity, however, requires that workers reach out and build coalitions which transcend difference be they gender, race, and geography. There are campaigns which have encouraged the ATU to support a 'free and accessible transit' strategy (Schein, 2011) as a means of building community resistance to neoliberal transit policy. And it is here where the ATU may find that its future strategy in dealing with the state may in fact lie in building a meaningful broad working-class coalition rather than expending resources in a media focused hegemonic battle with a modern capitalist state. A transition toward community based strategies with an orientation to social movement unionism may be the better long-term strategy to 'protect what really matters'.

REFERENCES

Amalgamated Transit Union. (2008). *In Transit: ATU going green.* Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.atu.org/in-transit-pdfs/JF_IT08.pdf.

Amalgamated Transit Union. (2011). *In Transit: The year in review, 2011*. Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.atu.org/in-transit-pdfs/ND_ITCanPRESSWeb.pdf.

Amalgamated Transit Union. (2012). *In Transit: Public transit under siege*. Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.atu.org/in-transit-pdfs/MA_IT12CAN_WEB.pdf.

Amalgamated Transit Union. (2012). *Protecting what matters*. Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.protectingwhatmatters.ca/

Amin, A. (1994). *Post-Fordism: A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Averill, L. (2010). Drivers and riders unite! Fare hikes, layoffs, and service cuts decimate public transit. *The Bullet, Socialist Project • E-Bulletin No. 424, October 27, 2010*. Retrieved from http://www.socialistproject.ca/bullet/424.php

Babbie, E., & Benaquisto, L. (2002). *Fundamentals of social research, first Canadian edition*. Scarborough: Thomson/Nelson.

Burkett, P. (1999). *Marx and nature: A red and green perspective*. New York: St. Martin's

Burkett, P. (2006). *Marxism and ecological economics: Toward a red and green political economy*. Boston: Brill.

Casella, E. (1992, May 28). Go transit could come to Niagara. *The Hamilton Spectator*, pp. B4.

Castree, N., Coe, N., Ward, K., & Samers, M. (2004). *Spaces of work: Global capitalism and geographies of labour*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Castree N. (2007). Labour geography: A work in progress. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *31*, 853–862.

Coe, N., & Lier, D. (2011). Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labour. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*, 211–233.

Cumbers, A., Helms, G., & Swanson, K. (2010). Class, agency and resistance in the old industrial city. *Antipode*, *42*, 46–73.

Daly, M. (2011, August 19). American labour unions take opposing view on proposed oil pipeline from Canada to Texas. *Associated Press*.

Das, R. (2012). From labor geography to class geography: Reasserting the Marxist theory of class. *Human Geography*, *5,* 19-35.

Forbes, D. (2000). Reading texts and writing geography. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 122-143). London: Oxford.

Gilligan, S., & Stolarick, K. (2013). *You can't get there from here: Ontario's transportation funding gap*. Toronto: Martin Prosperity Institute.

Globe and Mail. (2006, May 29). *Did strike catch you off guard?* pp. A1

Hanley, L. (2012). *BlueGreen Alliance members, Amalgamated Transit Union*. Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.bluegreenalliance.org/members/atu.

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature & the geography of difference*. London: Blackwell Publishing.

Herod, A. (1997). From a geography of labor to a labor geography: Labor's spatial fix and the geography of capitalism. *Antipode*, *29*, 1–31.

Herod, A. (1998). The spatiality of labor unionism: A review essay. In A. Herod (Ed.), *Organizing the landscape: Geographical perspectives on labor unionism* (pp. 1-36). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Herod, A. (2001). *Labor geographies: Workers and the landscapes of capitalism*. New York: Guilford Press.

Herod, A. (2011). *Scale*. London: Routledge.

Herod, A. (2010). Labour geography: Where have we been? Where should we go? In A. Cecilie Bergene, S.B. Endresen, & H. Merete (Eds.), *Missing links in labour geographies* (pp. 15-28). Surrey: Ashgate.

Hoare, Q., & Smith, G.N., (Eds.). (1991). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.

Holmes, J. (2013). The forestry industry. In C. Lipsig-Mummé (Ed.), *Climate@Work* (pp. 124-137). Halifax: Fernwood.

Holmes, J., & Hracs, A. (2013). The transportation equipment industry. In C. Lipsig-Mummé (Ed.), *Climate@Work* (pp. 105-113). Halifax: Fernwood.

Hrynyshyn, D., & Ross, S. (2011). Canadian autoworkers, the climate crisis, and the contradictions of social unionism. *Labour Studies Journal*, *36*, 5-36.

Jessop, B. (2003). *The future of the capitalist state*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Katz, C. (1998). Whose nature, whose culture? Private productions of space and the "Preservation" of nature. In B. Braun & N. Castree (Eds.), *Remaking reality: Nature at the millennium* (pp. 45-62). Florence: Routledge.

Katz, C. (2004). *Growing up global: Economic restructuring and children's everyday lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Labour and environmental activists "Launch Rocket" as part of Earth Week activities. (2001, April 19). *Canada NewsWire.*

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford.

Lier, D. (2007). Places of work, scales of organizing: A review of labour geography. *Geography Compass, 1*, 813–833.

Lier, D. (2012). The geographies of community-oriented unionism: Scales, targets, sites and domains of union renewal in South Africa and beyond. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, *38*, 36-49.

Lipsig-Mummé, C. (2013). Climate, work and labour: The international context. In C. Lipsig-Mummé (Ed.), *Climate@Work* (pp. 21-40). Halifax: Fernwood.

MacDonald, I. (2013). What emergency? An assessment of Toronto's 2008 transit strike. In *Free transit, socialist interventions pamphlet series No. 12* (pp. 27-32). Toronto: Socialist Project.

Magdoff, F., & Bellamy-Foster, J. (2010). *What every environmentalist needs to know about capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review.

McDowell, L. (2008). Thinking through work: Complex inequalities, constructions of difference and trans-national migrants. *Progress in Human Geography,* 32(4), 491-507.

Mitchell, D. (2005). Working-class geographies: Capital, space and place. In: J. Russo & S.L. Linkon (Eds.), *New working-class studies* (pp. 78-97). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Mitchell, D. (2011). Labor's geography: Capital, violence, guestworkers and the post-world War II landscape. *Antipode*, *43*, 563–595.

Nugent, J. (2011). Changing the climate: Ecoliberalism, green new dealism, and the struggle over green jobs in Canada. *Labour Studies Journal*, *36*, 58-82.

Peat, D. (2012). TTC union set to launch PR campaign. *Toronto Sun*. Retrieved October 1, 2013, from http://www.torontosun.com/2012/09/13/ttc-union-set-to-launch-pr-campaign.

Peck, J. (2013). Making space for labour. In D. Featherstone & J. Painter (Eds.), *Spatial politics: essays for Doreen Massey* (pp. 99-114). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Peck, J. (2001). *Workfare states*. New York: Guilford Publications, Inc.

Plungis, J. (2012). Highway bill hinges on resolving disputes on spending. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved October 1, 2013, from http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-30/highway-bill-hinges-on-resolving-disp utes-on-spending.html.

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press Books.

Prudham, S. (2005). *Knock on wood: Nature as commodity in douglas-fir county*. New York: Routledge.

Prudham, S. (2007). Sustaining sustained yield: Class, politics, and post-war forest regulation in British Columbia. *Environment and Planning D*, *25*, 258-283.

Rupert, J. (2009, January 3). Officials brace for greater gridlock; More parking regulations relaxed as city heads back to work, school without buses. *Ottawa Citizen*, pp. A1.

Rutherford, T. (2010). De/re-centering work and class? A review and critique of labour geography. *Geography Compass*, 4, 768–777.

Rutherford, T. (2013). Scaling up by law? Canadian labour law, the nation-state and the case of the British Columbia health employees union. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, 38, 25-35.

Sadler, D. (2000). Organizing European labour: Governance, production, trade unions and the question of scale. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *25*, 135-152.

Sadler, D. (2004). Trade unions, coalitions and communities: Construction, forestry, mining and energy union and the international stakeholder campaign against Rio Tinto. *Geoforum, 35*, 35-46.

Sadler, D., & Fagan, B. (2004). Australian trade unions and the politics of scale: Reconstructing the spatiality of industrial relations. *Economic Geography*, *80*, 23-43.

Schein, R. (2011). Free transit and social movement infrastructure: Assessing the political potential of Toronto's nascent free transit campaign. *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research*, 22, 115-122.

Smith, N. (1984). *Uneven development: Nature, capital, and the production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Smith, N. (2007). Nature as accumulation strategy. *Socialist Register*, 43, 19-41.

Transit must be reliable. (2009, February 4). *Ottawa Citizen,* pp. C4.

Transit union head slams city manager's TTC cut recommendations as "A war on commuters, low-wage workers, the disabled and the environment". (2011, September 12). *Canada NewsWire.* Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.newswire.ca/en/releases/archive/September2011/12/c2370.html.

TTC essential service legislation passes. (2012, March 30) *CBC News.* Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2011/03/30/ttc-essential-service682.html.

TTC workers hear riders' frustrations. (2010, April 12). CBC News. Retreived October 29, 2013, from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ttc-workers-hear-riders-frustrations-1.958363

Tufts, S. (1998). Community unionism in Canada and labour's (re) organization of space. *Antipode*, 30, 327-350.

Tufts, S. (2007). Emerging labour strategies in Toronto's hotel sector: Toward a spatial circuit of union renewal. *Environment and Planning A*, *39*, 2383–2404.

Tufts, S. (2007). World cities and union renewal. *Geography Compass*, *1*, 673-694.

Tufts, S., & Savage, L. (2009). Labouring geography: Negotiating scales, strategies and future directions. *Geoforum*, *40*, 945–948.

Tufts, S. (2010). Schumpeterian unionism and 'High-Road' dreams in Toronto's hospitality sector. In A. Cecilie Bergene, S.B. Endresen & H. Merete (Eds.), *Missing links in labour geographies* (pp. 83-97). Surrey: Ashgate.

Tufts, S. (2011). Greening work in an age of uncertainty: Is there something worse than climate change denial? Retrieved July 1, 2012, from http://www.socialistproject.ca/bullet/579.php.

Tufts, S. (2013). Tourism, climate change and the missing worker: Uneven impacts, institutions and response. In C. Lipsig-Mummé (Ed.) *Climate@ Work* (pp. 141-160). Halifax: Fernwood.

Wainwright, J., & Mann, G. (2012). Climate leviathan. *Antipode*, *45*, 1-22.

Willis Aronowitz, N. (2013, October 28). Money train: A new labor movement built around Transit Next City. *Next City*. Retrieved October 29, 2013, from http://nextcity.org/forefront/view/money-train#.Um7-WZPqdEc.twitter

Wills, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., May, J., & McIlwaine, C. (2010). *Global cities at work: New migrant divisions of labour*. London: Pluto Press.

Wills, J. (2002). Bargaining for the space to organise in the global economy: A review of the Accor-IUF trade union rights agreement. *Review of International Political Economy*, *9*, 675-700.

Figure 1: ATU guide to "Going Green" (Source: http://www.atu.org/in-transit-pdfs/JF_IT08.pdf).

- **PURCHASE A LOW-FLOW SHOWER HEAD:** Replacing an outdated shower head with a new, water-efficient shower head can save you hundreds of dollars each year, and save countless gallons of water. Additionally, you'll save on the power used to heat the water! Installation is easy and can be done in minutes.

- **SWITCH TO COMPACT FLUORESCENT LIGHT-BULBS:** Making the switch to CFLs is cheaper than ever, as the average bulb now costs about $2. Drawing significantly less energy than a standard incandescent bulb, CFLs also last an average of ten times longer. According to the Environmental Protection Agency, if every American household switched just one bulb to a CFL, we would save enough energy in one year to power 2.5 million homes.

- **MONITOR REFRIGERATOR AND FREEZER TEMPERATURES:** Refrigerators and freezers use more power than any other household appliance. Maximize efficiency by setting the refrigerator temperature to 37°F and the freezer temperature to 0°F.

- **BUY LOCAL PRODUCE:** Shop at your local farmers' market. Though the offerings can be more expensive, you can generally count on a higher quality product - and the entire purchase price goes directly to the farmer. Buying any goods produced locally saves energy by reducing the fossil fuels needed to transport food and other items across the country and around the globe.

- **UTILIZE THE SUN.** Open blinds or drapes to let in natural solar heat on cold days, then close them once the sun sets, and you can reduce your heating bills by 10 percent. You can also cut your cooling costs by up to 33 percent in the summer by blocking out sunlight with exterior blinds, shutters, or awnings.

- **GO FROM SCALDING TO JUST HOT.** Turn your water heater's temperature setting down from the standard 140 degrees F to 120 degrees. Not only will this save you some bucks, it'll also slow down mineral buildup and corrosion, prolonging the life of your tank. Since a new water heater costs about $900 installed, each additional year of use saves you money as well.

- **LOSE THE LAWNMOWER.** Everyone wants a putting-green perfect lawn. But constant mowing, watering and fertilizing is a bore, as well as a burden on the environment. A two-stroke, gasoline-powered lawnmower releases as many hydrocarbonds into the atmosphere in 30 minutes as a card does in 90 minutes. Switch to an electric mower, which costs $8 to $10 a year to operate.

Figure 2: "Protecting What Matters" advertisement (Source: http://www.protectingwhatmatters.ca/)