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Abstract
The premise of detailed forecasts is meteorological observation. An ominous cloud has eclipsed the global horizon of neoliberal capitalist realism. Researching cloud formations, I queried Google with the search term “clouds.” However, when using the term “cloud,” I only received results about server-based computing. Thus the cloud is singular, not plural: 100 per cent cloud cover, blanketing the sky with grey. This is not a marketing-friendly cumulus cloud, but rather a dark, sheet-like formation—what meteorologists call a pallium. Whereas curative approaches require consideration and cogitation—care—what the pallium offers instead is palliation; alleviation of symptoms without any real remedy. In accordance with the techno-utopian walled garden, opposing or divergent views are eradicated under the pallium, leaving us with an AstroTurfed landscape that is paralyzing in its uniformity. Luke Howard’s categories of tropospheric clouds parallel the multifarious manifestations of the contemporary cloud: in commercial data collection for targeted marketing, as well as in government surveillance for preemptive law enforcement. A digital meteorology of these formations—the benign cumuliform, appearing in the logos of corporate cloud-computing services; the grey, ominous stratiform; and the striated, interstellar cirriform—must be considered, in order to predict and prepare for the imminent approach of the panoptic pharmakon of the pallium, as it arrives under the guise of a swarm of cutesy cumulus clouds. Drawing from studies of panopticism, contemporary marketing practices, and the effluence tapped by Edward Snowden, this essay deploys hydrous analogies to forecast whether anything but AstroTurf can survive in the current climate.

Introduction
California is experiencing one of the most serious droughts in history. Some sources claim that it is the worst in over 1,000 years (Goldenberg 2015), with 98 per cent of the state considered to be in a drought, down from 100 per cent three months ago (Bernstein 2015). As the grounds of the California State Capitol turn brown, Governor Jerry Brown has declared a state of emergency, continually urging residents of the state to save water. Anthropogenic climate change has now caused more than 2.5 million fish and other livestock to be evacuated from their habitat. California’s native tricolored blackbird population has dropped by over 44 per cent (Audubon California 2014). In this period of extreme drought, there are rarely clouds in the sky. Every evening, I sit on a Monobloc chair on the roof of my Los Angeles apartment to watch the sun disappear behind the horizon. The city is famous for its sunsets, the diminishing light refracted through the omnipresent smog hanging over the metropolis. The clear sky is transparent; a ground upon which a figure is clearly distinguished (as the fifty-plus helicopters that fly over my house every day so frequently attest to). It is the current environmental and atmospheric climate—caused largely by human CO2 production, and resulting in steadily rising temperatures and sea levels, reductions in snow and ice, and an increase in extreme weather events, like California’s current drought—that allows for this.
There is no doubt the world is undergoing a period of climate change to a degree as yet unseen, and this is true too for the political climate we find ourselves in.

This research note that follows is premised on the understanding that the entire built world is composed of complex combinations of the natural and the artificial. Developing new metaphors is crucial to understanding that as we continue to adapt the nature of technology, we must be mindful of the fact that we are the ones who shape it, especially since the emergence of any new frontier introduces opportunities to exploit it at the same time. Today, as the battle for our physical environment lapses into one of adaptation, the cognitive landscape is now approaching a similar risk of extirpation. A significant aspect of this exploitation is surveillance, of both public and private varieties. Commercialized surveillance is now embedded into our communications infrastructure, with humans both inventing and inhabiting these environments. We still create the devices we use, but we’re beginning to be unable to protect ourselves from the impacts of those very devices. This is an attempt to reimagine that infrastructure, in order to reframe it, and ultimately, redesign it.

The premise of detailed weather forecasts is meteorological observation. In his pamphlet Capitalist Realism: Is there no alternative?, cultural climatologist Mark Fisher (2009) compellingly describes the oft-cited contemporary condition of it being easier to imagine the end of the world, than to imagine the end of capitalism. He writes that “capitalism seamlessly occupies the horizons of the thinkable” (2009: 8). An ominous cloud has eclipsed that global horizon of neoliberal capitalist realism. This is not a friendly cumulus cloud, but rather a dark, grey, sheet-like formation—what meteorologists call a pallium. The pallium envelopes political activity through palliation, and by acting parafactually as a figure of authority. The pope wears a pallium around his neck to demonstrate his supreme pastoral power. Whereas curative approaches require consideration and cogitation—care—what the pallium offers instead is palliation; alleviation of symptoms without any real remedy. Reforms occur in appearance only, their real effects masked steganographically. In the current political climate, the grey cloak of the pallium has met the opaque horizon of capitalist realism.

Clouds in the troposphere take many forms. They can be grouped into three broad categories, developed by amateur meteorologist Luke Howard in the early 1800s: cumuliform, cirriform, and the formless stratiform. To find information on these meteorological categories, I queried Google with the search term “clouds.” However, when using the term “cloud,” I only received results about server-based computing. Thus the cloud is singular, not plural; stratiform, a pallium: 100 per cent cloud cover, blanketing the pellucid sky with grey. Opposing or divergent views are eradicated, leaving us with an artificially cleansed, AstroTurfed landscape that is paralyzing in its uniformity. This totalitarity of grey is the official (un)colour of the state: the sterile shade of bureaucratic waiting rooms, websites and office buildings; the colour of the year, every year, for the built world. The standard shade for U.S. warships and military helicopters is grey, rendering them invisible at a distance, disappearing into a realm of contingency, where perception is constantly navigating indeterminacy. Grey noise is perceived as equally loud at all frequencies. Nothing is fixed in this environment; always in flux between instituting and instituted, it is the location of the new coming into being.

**Cumulus**

*[...] data services and architecture should be on servers. We call it cloud computing—they should be in a “cloud” somewhere.*

Eric Schmidt was the first to use the word *cloud* to express its contemporary definition: computing over a network, encompassing many distinct computers simultaneously using the same applications or programs. On the contemporary web, Luke Howard’s categories of *clouds* parallel the multifarious manifestations of the contemporary *cloud*, in commercial data collection for targeted marketing, as well as government surveillance for preemptive law enforcement. A digital meteorology of these cloud formations—the marketing-friendly *cumuliform*, appearing in the logos of Apple’s iCloud, Microsoft’s OneDrive, and other corporate cloud-computing services; the striated, interstellar *cirriform*; and the ominous *stratiform*—must be considered, in order to predict and prepare for the imminent approach of the panoptic pharmakon of the pallium, as it arrives under the guise of a swarm of cutesy cumulus clouds.

Though the cloud is the standard visual metaphor for server-based computing, this analogy disregards a fundamental element of clouds, and meteorology in general: rain. Clouds are only the in-between of the precipitative process. Though cumuli do not indicate rain to come, cirri signal a storm on the horizon, and the pallium accompanies a torrential storm’s arrival. Do any of these forecasts accurately analogize the precipitative process of the cloud? If so, is it a drizzle, or a downpour—or, as the NSA’s image-collection and facial recognition program was dubbed, a “WELLSPRING”? Rappers yell “make it rain” to describe their affluence. Can we reduce that flow to effluence, in order to “make it leak”?

After much debate over the origin and meaning of the cloud, The National Institute of Standards and Technology developed a standard definition in 2011. They define cloud computing as:

> a model for enabling ubiquitous, convenient, on-demand network access to a shared pool of configurable computing resources (e.g., networks, servers, storage, applications, and services) that can be rapidly provisioned and released with minimal management effort or service provider interaction.

(2011: 6)

In this model of a ubiquitous and convenient “shared pool” of resources, user data must be collected on servers. Many cloud-based companies have benefited from this model: social networking platforms like Facebook, mapping and navigation applications like Waze, and the behemoth that is Google, are only a few that come to mind. Now, these companies undoubtedly provide novel forms of social value. Not a day goes by that I do not use at least one of these cloud-based services (I am, after all, writing this on Google Drive)—but the adage “if you’re not paying for the product, you are the product,” succinctly shows how mass data collection is required for their profitability. The panopticon has been financialized, in the form of marketing’s favourite terrestrial cloud formation: cumulus. The financialized attention economies of the web are obscured by the friendly, fluffy cloud floating across the firmament.

Notoriously secretive corporations like Google and Facebook collect all their users’ information, under the auspices of providing them with more personalized, user-friendly product experiences. More importantly, they seek to collect detailed personal information in the interest of composing detailed data images of their users, to sell to advertisers, and to market to them more effectively. The revenue of these companies is rooted primarily in advertising—in 2013, Google made $50.58 billion in advertising revenue and a comparatively modest $4.9 billion in licensing and other revenues. The cloud’s mythical silver lining has turned out instead to be something even more precious: advertising makes up 91 per cent of the...
company’s profits (Google 2013). Accordingly, cumulus means “heap,” “pile,” or “surplus” in Latin, and also happens to be the root word for the term “accumulate.”

In a recent consumer report, global advertising agency network McCann Erickson quotes a “younger person from the US” analogizing the social web: “You put your info into a little lake, and then it goes into a river and then it goes into the ocean” (2012: 5). Advertisers tap this sea of data for targeted marketing, and in the same vein, the leaked presentation authored by Joint Threat Research Intelligence Group’s (JTRIG) head of human science refers to an individual as a composite of the Big Five personality dimensions: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism—an OCEAN (2014: 17). The cloud heaps and piles data extracted from these OCEANs, in order to create surplus value to accumulate profit.

 Though the economic, political and atmospheric climates are vastly different from the time in which Karl Marx wrote *Capital*, Karl Marx’s circuits of commodity trade nonetheless aptly illustrate the cumulus cloud’s precipitative process. Marx describes two inverted circuits: C-M-C—the circulation of commodities—and M-C-M—the circulation of money.¹ The C-M-C model “has for its ultimate end the exchange of use-values” (Marx 1981: 384)—selling only occurs in order to buy. In this kind of need-based economy, value remains constant in the process of exchange. The M-C-M circuit, conversely, is based on the accumulation of socially-generated surplus value, through buying commodities only in order to sell. By changing the “C” from “commodity” to “cloud” in this model of finance capital, we can begin to understand how and what the cloud precipitates. Marx may as well have been describing the contemporary pallium when he writes, “the circulation of money as capital is an end in itself [...] The movement of capital is therefore limitless” (1990: 253). Just as the precipitative process can be described (and admittedly simplified) as one of evaporation accumulating into visibility, producing a surplus of condensed saturation which causes the cloud to rain, the financialized attention economies of the web accumulate surplus value in order to precipitate capital. Effluence becomes affluence. This process is undoubtedly why the hydrous neoliberal metaphor of “trickle-down economics” is demonstrably subscribed to by Silicon Valley’s techno-libertarians.² This “ceaseless augmentation of value” cannot occur in the C-M-C model. Prior to the advent of Web 2.0, not only advertising, but financial interests in general, were barred from the web’s communities. Barter and trade are integral parts of web-based gift economies, in which value is traded and shared amongst a complex ecosystem—an OCEAN—rather than its surplus value being hoarded by the rain barrels of post-industrial cognitive capitalism.

**Stratus**

*I no longer love blue skies [...] in fact, I now prefer grey skies. The drones do not fly when the skies are grey.*

— 13-year-old drone attack victim Zubair Rehman testifying to a congressional oversight committee, as quoted by Tomas van Houtryve in Harper’s Magazine.

As the social web’s interests shifted from collection for usership to surveillance for targeted advertising, the place between the puffy cumulus cloud and the ominous, formless pallium was blurred. With its growth, the cloud has concomitantly come to encompass a much broader meaning: the internet, as a whole. This coincides with a concurrent shift from the social web’s *modi operandi* of data collection and aggregation, with its purposes centred on the user, towards more comprehensive forms of data

¹ Marx’s formula for finance capital is Money-Commodity-Money (Money-Money); the formula for merchant’s capital is Commodity-Money-Commodity (Commodity-Commodity).

² E.g., “Apple used technicalities in Irish and American tax law to pay little or no corporate taxes on at least $74 billion over the past four years” (Yadron, Linbaugh, and Lessin 2013).
surveillance, in the interests of prediction, preemption, and prefiguration. One of the NSA’s original internet data-collection schemes, ThinThread, actually incorporated automatic encryption for everyone surveilled—only once a threat was algorithmically identified would the data be decrypted for human investigation. But as noted by journalist Barton Gellman, the Five Eyes countries were looking for unknown conspirators, and the only way to do that is to look at everyone—a remarkably ambitious goal for those at the helm of the governmental panopticon (PBS 2014).

At some point every day, I stream content from the internet. This is also the metaphor deployed to describe how the cumulus cloud’s data evaporates into the pallium. Governments gather human intelligence from the OCEANs of individuals’ data, in both directions: upstream and downstream. Upstream data collection is deployed by Special Source Operations (SSO), using programs like PRISM. In these schemes, telecommunications and internet service providers supply the NSA with communications conducted within their cloud. The flow of communications is filtered using what they call “strong” or “soft” selectors. Soft selectors are broad searches primarily based on keywords found in the content of messages. Strong selectors target all communications associated with a particular individual, using email addresses, phone numbers, and names.3 Downstream collection, on the other hand, intercepts the flow of OCEANic communications at the internal links connecting companies’ data centres. The strategy behind these programs—MUSCULAR, Tempora, TURMOIL, and others—is to collect all communications. Michel Foucault defines the position of the quintessential panoptic surveillant as “[seeing] everything without ever being seen” (1977: 202; emphasis added). It’s no surprise then that Barton Gellman and Glenn Greenwald, among others, have reported former NSA chief Keith B. Alexander’s personal motto and mission as: “Collect it all.” Similarly, when asked to provide a list of all those surveilled to The Guardian, GCHQ lawyers conceded: “This would be an infinite list which we couldn’t manage” (MacAskill et al. 2013).

The pallium manages to get away with this by incorporating what the GCHQ outlines as their “five Ds”: destroy, deny, degrade, disrupt, and deceive (GCHQ and JTRIG 2014: 2). Not only does the contemporary surveillance apparatus collect data from commercial cloud companies, but it also adopts their marketing techniques as strategy. The aforementioned leaked JTRIG presentation, inundated by stock photos and computer-generated illustrations, succinctly slogans this appropriated tactic: “Hide the real, show the false” (JTRIG 2014: 17). This is the crux of branding, and the presentation accordingly echoes many similar displays in today’s advertising world—in fact, images of Whole Foods, Coca-Cola, and other exemplary brands appear throughout the 50-page document. As if they were advertising agency employees, GCHQ operatives are tutored in social creativity and message delivery methods, and educated on “managing attention,” in order to entrap their political opponents. By clouding transparency with opacity, the cloud covers the clear sky.

The agenda of the pallium is succinctly outlined by John Adams, Major General of Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC): “We want to master the Internet” (Parliament of Canada 2007, emphasis added). Accordingly, any reduction in the size of the pallium is carefully controlled, exemplified in the Chinese government’s infamous attempts at cloud busting in preparation for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Cloud seeding is a technique used by governments to change the amount or type of precipitation that falls from clouds, either to increase rainfall, or to suppress fog. This is accomplished by seeding the clouds with silver iodide or dry ice, that simulate cloud condensation. There have been recent reports of cloud seeding by drones in Nevada. The NSA program TURBINE engages too in a form of "cloud seeding," implanting intercepts into the cloud, in order to attain automated management and control of a global network.4 This objective is nearly identical to Jeremy Bentham’s panoptic vision of “a

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3 A more detailed description can be found in Chapter 3 of Glenn Greenwald’s (2014) No place to hide: Edward Snowden, the NSA, and the U.S. surveillance state.

4 English singer Kate Bush unwittingly alludes to this surveillance tactic in her 1985 song Cloudbusting: “Every time it rains, you’re here in my head.”
network of mechanisms that would be everywhere and always alert, running through society without interruption in space or in time” (Foucault 1977: 206).

While the contemporary surveillance apparatus has appropriated the strategies underlying the advertising industry’s “five Ds”, the advertising industry too has learned to follow the lead of the contemporary surveillance apparatus. In recent months, both Google and Facebook have acquired pilotless-drone manufacturers. In the past two years, Google has acquired at least eight significant robotics companies and the London-based artificial intelligence firm Deepmind. Though one could read some insidious intent into these acquisitions, a more likely motive is their commitment to increasing the reach of the pallium: as there is already 100 per cent cloud cover over the developed world, any further accumulation has to come from the more than 5 billion people still without the cloud hovering over them.

Clouds become visible due to two processes: cooling of the air and/or adding water vapour. A major cause of cloud formation is a cold front, which moves quickly, and foments harsh meteorological changes in its wake. While the front passes, a pallium emerges. In legal parlance, “chilling effect” is used to describe an interference or deterrence of the exercise of natural and legal rights by the threat of legal sanction. Journalist Jane Mayer adds some much-appreciated rhetorical flourish: “It’s a huge impediment to reporting, and so chilling isn’t quite strong enough, it’s more like freezing the whole process into a standstill” (Redden 2013).

Many studies have been conducted on the effects of the cold fronts of ubiquitous surveillance on journalists’ communications, and the general public’s internet search habits. The first of these, “The Chilling Effects of Surveillance,” was carried out decades ago, in 1975, by Gregory White and Philip Zimbardo. The clairvoyant impetus for their study was, eerily, the public’s increasing concerns over government surveillance. In the study, participants were asked to give their views on the legalization of marijuana under varying levels of surveillance. The subset of participants treated as “threatened” subjects were told that their statements were to be shared with police “for training purposes.” This subject group was, unsurprisingly, far more likely to uphold prevalent social norms—only 44 per cent of those under surveillance advocated for marijuana's legalization, compared to 77 per cent of those not subject to the threat of surveillance (Office of Naval Research 1975). The title of a report released in November 2013 by the PEN American Center unabashedly corroborates White and Zimbardo’s findings: “Chilling Effects: NSA Surveillance Drives U.S. Writers to Self-Censor.” PEN America found that after the Snowden revelations, 24 per cent of journalists observed deliberately avoided certain contentious topics in phone or email correspondence. Another study authored by Alex Mathews and Catherine Tucker (2014) found measurable shifts in the general public’s internet search habits after the PRISM revelations were made public, in both overall volume and content. Users were less likely to search for not only potentially tendentious topics, but also personally embarrassing ones. These studies signal the aftershock of a critical compromise of the private realm, a crucial element of public debate in a democratic society.

The “chilling effects” of the pallium’s ubiquitous surveillance are a cold front in the current climate, not only freezing political action and discussion, but also snowing in the surveillance agencies collecting the data. Well before the emergence of big data, Gilles Deleuze famously wrote that “Individuals have become ‘dividuals,’ and masses, samples, data, markets, or ‘banks’” (1992: 5, emphasis in original). A standard response by defenders of the Five Eyes surveillance dragnet is that some level of surveillance is always necessary. Even if this were the case, Edward Snowden’s revelations have revealed that the surveillance agencies concerned are, indeed, snowed in. Under the pallium, the snowbanks of dividuals’ data have become so prohibitively large that they preclude any meaningful surveillance of worthwhile targets. The surveillance apparatus’s posture of “collect it all” only serves to fog its lenses.

The pallium’s primary effect is obscuring any alternatives to capitalist realism, through commercial data collection, the data-surveillance dragnet, and drones, including their use in predictive and preemptive
policing. In the process of the pallium’s atmospheric accumulation, palliative cloud-seeding may take place, but it is also where collective data-fictions can occur, through exploiting automated predictive analytic tools by pandering to their algorithms.

Cirrus

It may well be doubted whether human ingenuity can construct an enigma of the kind which human ingenuity may not, by proper application, resolve.

– Edgar Allen Poe, The Gold Bug

Both the cloud and clouds exhibit contradictory elements: though meteorological events often arrive in the destructive form of a cyclone or hurricane, they also play a vital role in nurturing the earth’s flora and fauna. Similarly, the very same protocols that are used to financialize our everyday communications are the same ones that helped mobilize Occupy, the Arab Spring, and other major protest movements. Humans rely on clouds to engender fecundity, but are also subject to their destruction, and the panoptic cloud is similarly what Bernard Stiegler calls a pharmakon: a medicine that can function as both poison and cure. Even with the omnipresent shadow of government surveillance and financialization over the digital spaces in which we interact, the pallium also presents the option of obfuscation from these forces. Satellite imagery is useless when there happens to be 100 per cent cloud cover, so human operators are forced to conduct more conspicuous forms of surveillance. In a recent television documentary (KQED and The Center for Investigative Reporting 2014), police departments and private companies contracted by law enforcement agencies outline how the surveillance landscape is shifting: California police departments now have the ability to track the movements of entire cities in real time. But as noted by Eyal Weizman in a recent lecture, privacy laws still require a level of pixelation so that human subjects remain indistinguishable to satellite surveillants. Like the helicopters that fly day and night over my house in Los Angeles, human operators must conduct more obvious forms of surveillance in order to procure higher resolution images than those available in satellite imagery. This too, however, has its dark side. Weizman outlines the use of delayed-fuse Viper missiles in U.S. targeted drone strikes, producing miniscule (150 cm²) “drone holes,” that are invisible to satellite. These murderous acts “hide within the pixel” of the digital image (Weizman 2014).

Opponents of oppressive orders also have the ability to shroud their dissenting disclosures within the digital image. A demonstration of this steganographic capability can be found on China’s version of Twitter, Sina Weibo. Algorithms are programmed to automatically detect and delete dispatches tagged as disruptive, but human censors are required to probe the popular microblogging service to find images deemed unacceptable by the ruling regime. Images are imperceptible to the censorship algorithm, so employing the machine-unreadable .jpg format to broadcast messages was quickly realized to be a useful strategy for activists and dissidents. The non-profit independent news agency ProPublica has collected some of this inflammatory imagery (2013), the majority falling under the category of “political speech.” Though many of the images depict visibly politically sensitive iconography—most prominently, the unnamed man that confronted the tanks invading Tiananmen Square in 1989—many of the images are actually text-based, only masquerading as imagery in order to avoid algorithmic censorship. The trap of panoptic visibility can be thwarted by sabotaging its automatic functioning. When human perception is needed to police the pallium, the panopticon is flattened by the digital image. By bypassing the machine, interaction and debate becomes possible, allowing politics to emerge through the numeric fog of a Rancièrean technological police state.

5 Tiananmen translates, literally, to “Gate of Peaceful Skies,” in another unwitting allusion to the “blue sky days” that terrify Zubair Rehman and other victims of drone attacks.
In the current climate, the *walled gardens* of the contemporary web are quickly becoming fortresses. Online communities emerge through complex ecosystems of socially-generated value; of relationships and contribution. In file sharing communities, a *seed* refers to a machine possessing some part of the data. A peer only becomes a seed by sharing content. Every one of the now-dominant platforms on which these interactions occur—Facebook, Twitter, and so forth—only initially grew from seed as an organic *grassroots* effort. This metaphor corresponds to the techno-utopian *walled garden*, redolent of the surroundings of Silicon Valley; an idyllic fantasy of surging rivers flowing into lush valleys, with profits raining from plush cumulus clouds. *AstroTurfing*, in contrast, is a practice intended to give credibility to messages or organizations, by obscuring the financial interests behind a message. Industrially-produced *AstroTurf* needs no seeds—the blades are inorganic polypropylene, rubber, and silicone. This vision is more realistic: of silicon leaking downstream, into the AstroTurf lawns of drought-affected citizens, presided over by the portentous shadow of the pallium. Are the seeds of online communities nurtured by the imminent precipitation of the cloud? Can they “tear a hole in the grey curtain of reaction which [marks] the horizons of possibility” under the pallium (Fisher 2009: 81)? Or, in the current climate, can only AstroTurf survive?

But even despite the pervasiveness of this horizon, there are still *blurry places*, zones of indeterminacy, that ebb and flow into and out of visibility—between what machines can feel and what humans can do; between tacit conventions and legal definitions; between existing and emergent orders. In the previously mentioned JTRIG presentation, after outlining the vulnerabilities in the OCEAN of individual communications, the question “Can I game this?” appears in a playfully menacing image of a black cloud. Anyone concerned with the consequences of financialized surveillance should be asking the same question, in order to identify these places to illuminate their contradictions, and allow the political value of tricking the machine to reach the human to become evident—an essential task when the pallium of digital surveillance precludes the existence of any meaningful public sphere. These are the spaces in which civil disobedience thrives in catalyzing legislation; pushing laws to their breaking point, in the haze between codification and social adjudication. Only by forcing these spaces into visibility does the ability to dispel the pallium emerge onto the horizon of possibility.

Environments are shaped by what is discussed and by whom and by how we choose to discuss it—democracy being what we have provisionally constructed to satisfy these requirements—and it is our task to bring to light these paradoxes in order to sculpt our environment, beginning with initiating change in our current climate. *Chilling effects*, a term normally used pejoratively, can be repurposed to resist the familiar pattern of resource exhaustion triggering contamination of the current climate. We can still reverse this process and conserve our environment by integrating resistance into our adaptations to it. Alongside proof of humans irreversibly changing the (environmental) climate, reconstructing the (political) climate is undeniably possible. Through masquerading, falsifying, and hiding in plain sight—bringing blurry places into focus—it becomes possible to sustain vital elements of a democratic society, even with the omnipresence of the pallium above.

**References**


