

= Fences and Windows =

Fences and Windows : Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate is a 2002 book by Canadian journalist Naomi Klein and editor Debra Ann Levy . The book is a collection of newspaper articles , mostly from *The Globe and Mail* , with a few magazine articles from *The Nation* and speech transcripts . The articles and speeches were all written by Klein in the 30 months after the publication of her first book , *No Logo* (1999) , from December 1999 to March 2002 . The articles focus upon the anti @-@ globalization movement , including protest events and responses by law enforcement . The book was published in North America and the United Kingdom in October 2002 .

The imagery of fences and windows appear throughout the work . The fences represent exclusion and barriers , while the windows are opportunities for expressing alternative ideas . The book garnered both positive and negative reviews . Two of the articles were singled out as exceptional by several reviewers : " America is not a Hamburger " discusses the US State Department 's attempt to re @-@ brand America 's image overseas ; " The Brutal Calculus of Suffering " discusses media portrayals of war .

= = Background = =

The unexpected success of her first book , *No Logo* (1999) , extended author and journalist Naomi Klein 's book tour beyond its original two @-@ week schedule . She spent the next 30 months traveling the world promoting the book as well as writing newspaper articles covering the anti @-@ globalization movement . Most of her articles were originally published in the Canadian national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* , while some were published by *The Nation* , *The New York Times* , and *The Guardian* . During this time she resisted her publisher 's urgings to write a new book , and the pressure to match *No Logo* 's success was bearing down upon her . She relented to the pressure for another publication by collecting the best of the articles and speeches she had written since *No Logo* . She did not intend this new book to be a sequel or follow @-@ up , but rather a stand alone collection of writing .

= = Content = =

The first section , entitled " Windows of Dissent " , begins with an article written for *The New York Times* , wherein she covers the 1999 Seattle protests , which she calls the coming @-@ out party of the anti @-@ globalization movement . The remaining five articles in the section come from *The Globe and Mail* , with one from *The Nation* ; they cover the World Bank , International Monetary Fund , and World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Washington , D.C. , Prague , and Toronto from April to September 2000 . She describes the protesters as hundreds of decentralized groups with various independent interests , leaderless but organized , and searching for a strategy .

The next section , " Fencing in Democracy " , consists of articles from *The Globe and Mail* and the transcript of a speech . The section is divided into two sub @-@ sections . The first explores some of the impacts that economic globalization has had on communities , focusing on Mexico and Argentina , and misconceptions that supporters of the WTO @-@ associated organizations have of the anti @-@ globalization movement . The second focuses on the co @-@ opting of the commons , such as genetics , culture , and public sector infrastructure , for private economic gains .

The third section , " Fencing in the Movement " , chronicles the escalation of security tactics to counter protesters . Klein finds that police have been removing the distinction between civil disobedience and violence and purposefully normalizing violence so it is the expected outcome , not a rare event . She matches the decline of civil liberties and freedom of speech with the rise of free speech zones , indiscriminate use of tear gas and pepper spray , plain clothes officers , surveillance , and pre @-@ emptive arrests . The fourth section , " Capitalizing on Terror " , discusses opportunism that used the September 11 attacks to further political and economic objectives . In an editorial piece for the *Los Angeles Times* , Klein argues that the US has sold its image too well as

the land of opportunity and plenty and that rising anti @-@ Americanism was the result of the US inability to share this .

The final section , " Windows to Democracy " , contains two articles written for The Nation , two for The Globe and Mail and one for The Guardian . These articles examine potential directions for the movement to take , focusing upon the World Social Forum , Mexican Zapatistas , and political parties . The final article calls upon the movement to shift from attacking symbols of globalization at protests and use the decentralized local groups to provide alternatives : define themselves as fighting for , rather than against , something .

Most of the book 's content is freely and legally available in the form of individual articles on Klein 's website . It should be noted , however , that the printed text has often been edited or reworked , in some cases very heavily .

= = Style and themes = =

The book takes the form of an anthology of news and magazine articles , along with the transcripts of several speeches , all written by Klein between December 1999 and March 2002 . With the help of Debra Ann Levy , the articles were edited to fit them better together in the book . A preface , with original writing , is used by Klein to introduce her background on how she came to write the articles , provide context for the content , and set up the themes . The two most predominant themes are the two title images , " fences " and " windows " . The fences represent exclusion and are portrayed , both literally and metaphorically , as the barriers that keep protesters away from the economic meetings , the walls between factories and neighbouring impoverished communities , and the restrictions on intellectual property or the commons . The windows are opportunities where dissenting or alternative voices and ideas can be expressed .

= = Publication and reception = =

Fences and Windows was published as a trade paperback by Picador in the US , Vintage Canada in Canada , and Flamingo in the UK . It was released in October 2002 with little promotion . The resulting sales were lower than expected . A portion of the book 's proceeds was given to a legal defense fund for activists and for education concerning global democracy . Just after the book 's release , a debate on the topic of globalblization was held between Klein and The Economist journalist Sameena Ahmad in New York .

Reception to the book was mixed . Reviewers found that the collection of re @-@ printed journalistic articles made the book sometimes repetitive , lacking details , historical context and analysis of its subjects . Some reviewers criticized the book 's silence on alternatives to globalization or the democracy that lead to globalization . The writing was variously described as choppy , colourful , engaging , and straightforward . Singled out as being exceptionally well done was Klein 's Los Angeles Times article " America is not a Hamburger " , which described the American attempt to re @-@ brand itself by believing that the escalating anti @-@ Americanism was a misunderstanding rather than a reaction to American policy directions . Klein 's October 2001 speech at a journalism conference in Stockholm was also singled out as being very well done . Entitled " The Brutal Calculus of Suffering " , it contrasted the media depictions of American versus non @-@ American deaths .

The reviewer for the feminist magazine Herizons wrote , " Fences and Windows was written to be read and shared and talked about and carried around in your bag . It is a book that begs you to write in the margins , and highlight relevant quotes because it 's filled with stories , insights , shocking statistics , inspiring anecdotes and refreshing critiques . It 's small , it 's smart and it 's jammed with information and ideas that inspire hope and motivate action . " Similarly , reviewing for The Guardian , Stuart Christie wrote , " This is a book to be savoured and referred to every so often , even if just to recharge one 's moral batteries . " In The Globe and Mail , Stan Persky wrote , " What I like about Klein 's reflections on the nascent movement that she both participates in and analyzes is that she indulges in minimal rhetorical rah @-@ rah . Nor does she fudge the shortcomings and screwups of

the fledgling activists . "

The reviews in *The Economist* and *Books in Canada* , the latter written by Shane Neilson , were very negative . Neilson called the work " idiocy " , " intellectual sloppiness that approaches dishonesty " , maintaining that " the ideological failure of this book is total . " He argued that Klein assumed , rather than proved , that the international organizations which were being protested against were guilty of the protesters ' charges . *The Economist* 's review criticized Klein for ignoring the benefits of globalization , like " lifting people out of poverty " , and for failing to present a coherent alternative . The reviewer called Klein " an angry adolescent " and opined that her reporting was assisting " a cause that can only harm the people she claims to care most about " .