

FOR FURTHER READING

Readers new to issues taken up in this book may find the following introductory readings of interest. Further references can be found in the notes for each chapter.

Diverse treatments of the deepening political-economic problems both of the United States and of post-welfare state systems in general include: Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy* (New York: Broadway Books, 2002); William Ophuls, *Requiem for Modern Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Bertram Gross, *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 1998); Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith, *The Case Against the Global Economy* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996); William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Robert Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Russell Jacoby's *The End of Utopia: Politics and Culture in an Age of Apathy* (New York: Basic Books, 1999) defines the challenge to modern intellectuals. Marcus G. Raskin's *Liberalism: The Genius of American Ideals* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003) attempts a far-ranging critique. A much neglected but important perspective is L.S. Stavrianos, *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1976). Still useful contributions to understanding the political-ideological crisis are Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936), and Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957)

Important analyses of specific underlying factors include: Michael Goldfield, *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Michael

Goldfield, *The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1997); and Thomas Byrne Edsall with Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1991); Dani Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997); and David C. Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World*, (San Francisco: Kumarian and Berrett-Koehler, 2001). For an analysis of the “American exceptionalism” thesis, see Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, *It Didn't Happen Here* (New York: Norton, 2000).

Basic information on inequality can be found in: Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein and Heather Boushey, *State of Working America: 2002-03* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2003); Eugene Smolensky et al in the *Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, Vol. III, *The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Frank Levy, *New Dollars and Dreams* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998). On wealth distribution, see: Chuck Collins, Betsy Leondar-Wright, and Holly Sklar, *Shifting Fortunes* (Boston: United for a Fair Economy, 1999); and Edward Wolff, *Top Heavy* (New York: New Press, 2002). On the racial wealth gap, see Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

Classic conservative treatments of liberty include Henry C. Simons, *Economic Policy for a Free Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (London: Routledge, 1944); and Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974). Liberal and other treatments include: David Cole and James X. Dempsey, *Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security* (New

York: The New Press, 2002); Nat Hentoff, *The War on the Bill of Rights and the Gathering Resistance* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003); Alan Ryan, *Property* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); Stephen Holmes and Cass R. Sunstein, *The Cost of Rights: Why Liberty Depends on Taxes* (New York: Norton, 1999); G.A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998). Also important are Robert Nisbet's *The Quest for Community* (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1990) and Philippe Van Parijs, *Real Freedom for All* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Studies of the relationship of time to liberty and to individual fulfillment include: Juliet B. Schor, *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Sebastian de Grazia, *Of Time, Work, and Leisure* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1962); Andre Gorz, *Reclaiming Work: Beyond the Wage Based Society*, trans. Chris Turner, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); Frithjof Bergmann, *On Being Free* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977); Karl Hinrichs, William Roche, and Carmen Sirianni (eds.), *Working Time in Transition: The Political Economy of Working Hours in Industrial Nations* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); and Jerome M. Segal, *Graceful Simplicity: Toward a Philosophy and Politics of Simple Living* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999).

Recent discussions of civil society issues begin with Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) and *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). Other important studies include: Eric Uslaner, *The Moral Foundations of Trust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robert K. Fullinwider, ed., *Civil Society, Democracy, and Civic Renewal* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman

& Littlefield, 1999); and Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina, (eds.), *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999). An instructive over-view and clarification of the field is Michael Edwards, *Civil Society*, (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press, 2004).

On issues of democracy in general, good points of departure include: see Jane J. Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy* (New York: Basic Books, 1980); Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Stephen L. Elkin, *City and Regime in the American Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1996); Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); C.B. McPherson, *The Real World of Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); C. Douglas Lummis, *Radical Democracy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); and Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

A helpful historical overview of environmental issues is J. R McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York: Norton, 2000). Of the vast literature on environmental questions of particular relevance to the argument of this book are Ronald Inglehart, *Modemization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Fred Hirsch, *Social Limits to Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976). Juliet Schor, *The Overspent American* (New York: Basic Books, 1998); Robert Frank, *Luxury Fever* (New York: Free Press, 1999); and Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., *For the Common Good* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989). Important data sources include: WorldWatch's *State of the World* and *Vital*

Signs; the World Resource Institute's *World Resources*; and the OECD's *Environmental Outlook*.

On changing immigration and ethnicity patterns, see: Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand and Nolan J. Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002); Mike Davis, *Magical Urbanism: Latinos Reinvent the U.S. Big City* (New York: Verso, 2000); and Victor M. Valle and Rodolfo D. Torres, *Latino Metropolis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). The Center for Immigration Studies offers a number of studies on the political impact of continuing immigration, including, for instance; James G. Gimpel and Karen Kaufmann, "Impossible Dream or Distant Reality? Republican Efforts to Attract Latino Voters" (Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies, August 2001).

On the political-economics of parenting, gender and caregiving, see Ann Crittenden, *The Price of Motherhood: Why the Most Important Job in the World Is Still the Least Valued* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001); Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift* (New York: Avon Books, 1989); Suzanne W. Helburn and Barbara R. Bergmann, *America's Childcare Problem: The Way Out* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002); Nancy Folbre, *The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values* (New York: The New Press, 2001); and Joan Williams, *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict, and What to Do About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

On gender and the spatial organization of the city, see *Women and the American City*, ed. Catherine R. Stimpson, Elsa Dixler, Martha J. Nelson, and Kathryn B. Yatrakis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), in particular the essays by Ann Markusen ("City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work, and National Urban Policy") and Dolores Hayden ("What Would A Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work").

Important critical examinations of fiscal matters and tax policies are: James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Steven R. Weisman, *The Great Tax Wars* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002); David Cay Johnston, *Perfectly Legal* (New York, Portfolio, 2003); and William Gates Sr. and Chuck Collins, *Wealth and Our Commonwealth: Why America Should Tax Accumulated Fortunes* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003).

Overviews of new wealth-related alternatives include: Louis Putterman, John E. Roemer, and Joaquim Silvestre, "Does Egalitarianism Have a Future?" *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1998), pp. 861-902; Richard B. Freeman, "Solving the New Inequality," in *The New Inequality: Creating Solutions for Poor America*, ed. Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999); and William Greider, *The Soul of Capitalism: Opening Paths to a Moral Economy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003). Important related statements and major proposals are: Louis Kelso and Mortimer Adler, *The Capitalist Manifesto* (New York: Random House, 1958); J.E. Meade, *Liberty, Equality, and Efficiency* (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 1993); and John E. Roemer, *Equal Shares: Making Market Socialism Work* (New York, Verso, 1996).

Significant wealth-related proposals in specific areas can be found in: Michael Sherraden, *Assets and the Poor* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1991); Bruce Ackerman and Anne Alstott, *The Stakeholder Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Seymour Melman, *After Capitalism* (New York: Knopf, 2001); Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer, *Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 1980s* (White Plains, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1980); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Recasting Egalitarianism* (New York: Verso, 1998); Jeff Gates, *The Ownership Solution*

(Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1998); Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Economic Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Henry B. Hansmann, *The Ownership of Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1996); John Logue and Jacquelyn Yates, *The Real World of Employee Ownership* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2001); and the work of former World Bank economist David Ellerman, some of which is online at www.ellerman.org. The National Center for Employee Ownership <<http://www.nceo.org>> collects studies of the efficiency and other benefits of employee ownership: see www.nceo.org. The website of the Basic Income European Network, <http://www.basicincome.org>, www.bien.be, is the starting point for research on basic income proposals and theory.

Little comprehensive research has been done on municipal enterprise. One source is Adria Scharf with Thad Williamson, Alex Campbell and Jeff Pope, *Municipal Enterprise: A Strategy for Job Creation and Stabilization*, ed. Sondra Myers, (Washington, D.C.: The Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland and the National Center for Economic and Security Alternatives, 2003). David Osborne and Ted Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1992) remains a useful introduction. On related issues of privatization, see Elliot D. Sclar, *You Don't Always Get What You Pay For* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Community development corporation experience is reviewed in: Paul S. Grogan and Tony Proscio, *Comeback Cities* (New York: Westview, 2000); Neal R. Peirce and Carol F. Steinbach, *Corrective Capitalism: The Rise of America's Community Development Corporations* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1987); Christopher Walker and Mark Weinheimer, *Community Development in the 1990s* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1998); and surveys by the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED); the most recent of which is *Coming*

of Age—Trends and Achievements of Community-based Development Organizations (Washington, D.C.: NCCED, 1998). An important in-depth study is Avis C. Vidal, “Rebuilding Communities: A National Study of Urban Community Development Corporations” (New York: Community Development Research Center, New School for Social Research, 1992).

Jerry Boschee, *The Social Enterprise Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Northland Institute, 2001) profiles a number of successful locally-based nonprofits which have ventured into business (available online at: www.northlandinst.org.) See also the Partnership on Nonprofit Ventures: www.ventures.yale.edu. Two collections outline major questions facing the ‘third sector’: *To Profit Or Not to Profit*, ed. Burton J. Weisbrod (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and *Private Action and the Public Good*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Elisabeth S. Clemens (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). The Stanford Center for Social Innovation has a good collection of links to resources at www.gsb.stanford.edu/csi/SE_resources.html.

Several recent books discuss European cooperative experience and the potential for co-operatives in the United States, including: *From Community Economic Development and Ethnic Entrepreneurship to Economic Democracy: The Cooperative Alternative*, ed. Jonathan Michael Feldman and Jessica Gordon Nembhard (Umea, Sweden: Partnership for Multiethnic Inclusion, 2002); Greg MacLeod, *From Mondragon to America: Experiments in Community Economic Development* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University of Cape Breton Press, 1997); Race Mathews, *Jobs of Our Own: Building a Stake-Holder Society* (London: Pluto Press, 1999); and *Co-operative Markets: Co-operative Principles*, ed. José Luis Monzón Campos (Liège, Belgium: International Center of Research and Information on the Public and Co-operative Economy, 1996). See also Sharryn Kasmir, *The Myth of Mondragon: Cooperatives, Politics, and Working Class*

Life in a Basque Town (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1996).

On the potential for greater community stability in a service dominated economy, see Thomas Michael Power, *Lost Landscapes and Failed Economies* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1996); see also Wim Wiewel and Joseph Persky, “The Growing Localness of the Global City” (*Economic Geography*, Vol. 70, No. 2, April 1994). For a review of a wide range of federal, state and local policies to support community stability, see Thad Williamson, David Imbroscio, and Gar Alperovitz, *Making A Place for Community* (New York: Routledge, 2002). For an introduction to “rooted” or anchored institutions, see Michael Shuman, *Going Local: Creating Self-Reliant Communities in a Global Age* (New York: The Free Press, 1998).

One of the first modern works to suggest the larger implications of public pension fund investment was Peter Drucker’s, *The Unseen Revolution: How Pension Fund Socialism Came to America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). See also Jeremy Rifkin and Randy Barber, *The North Will Rise Again: Pensions, Politics and Power in the 1980s* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978) and Gordon L. Clark, *Pension Fund Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a related proposal based in part on the Swedish ‘Meidner Plan’, see Robin Blackburn, *Banking on Death* (New York: Verso, 2002). For a review of current state pension investment policies, see Nicholas Greifer, “Pension Investment Policies: The State of the Art,” *Governance Finance Review* (February 2002), www.sso.org/nasra/pension2.pdf. The Heartland Labor Capital Network attempt to help direct labor pension investments in a manner supportive of labor’s larger interests. *Working Capital: The Power of Labor's Pensions*, ed. Archon Fung, Tessa Hebb, and Joel Rogers (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) addresses many of the issues in this emerging field.

For an overview of civil society organizational development and institution-building, see

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland, *Civic Innovation in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Mark R. Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Lisbeth B. Schorr, *Common Purpose* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997); and Kristin Rusch, *The Emerging New Society* (College Park, Md.: The Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland, 2001). See also Harry C. Boyte, *Everyday Politics*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

For neighborhood governance structures, see Jeffrey M. Berry, Kent E. Portney, and Ken Thompson, *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (Brookings Institution: Washington D.C., 1993); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: The Modern Library, 1969); and Milton Kotler, *Neighborhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969). On localism from a radical “social ecology” perspective, see Murray Bookchin, *The Rise of Urbanization And the Loss of Citizenship* (Sierra Club Books, 1987); for a conservative localist perspective, see Frank Bryan and John J. McLaughry, *The Vermont Papers* (Chelsea, Vt.: Chelsea Green Publishers, 1989). Two related classics are: Percival and Paul Goodman, *Communitas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960); and Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).

A reconsideration of W.E.B. DuBois’ emphasis on local economic institution building is James B. Stewart, “Building a Cooperative Economy: Lessons from the Black Experience,” *Review of Social Economics*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (December 1984). See also: *Race, Politics and Economic Development*, ed. James Jennings (Verso: New York, 1992); Sigmund C. Shipp, “The Road Not Taken: Alternative Strategies for Black Economic Development in the United States,” *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1996); and Jessica Gordon Nembhard,

“Entering the New City as Men and Women, Not Mules,” in *The Black Urban Community*, ed. Randolph and Tate (forthcoming).

On “New Urbanist” strategies, see: Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2000); and Peter Calthorpe, *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993). Still highly relevant is Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1965).

Robert A. Dahl and Edward R. Tufte, *Size and Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973) is a useful introduction to the problem of scale; see also Kirkpatrick Sale, *Human Scale* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1980). Michael Steiner and Clarence Mondale, *Region and Regionalism in the United States: A Source Book for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988) traces the development of twentieth century American regionalism. Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993) is more narrowly focused on cultural and literary aspects. For the Regional Planning movement, see Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938); Mark Luccarelli, *Lewis Mumford and the Ecological Region: The Politics of Planning* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995).

Full-blown arguments for constitutional regional reapportionment can be found in the work of two anti-New Deal conservatives: William Yandell Elliott, *The Need for Constitutional Reform: A Program for National Security* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1935); and William Bennett Munro, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Macmillan, 1928). New Deal regional thinking is

illustrated by David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (New York; Pocket Books, 1945); and by Arthur E. Morgan, *The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Community Service Inc, 1984).

See also Peter J. Katzenstein, *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Mark C. Gordon, *Democracy's New Challenge: Globalization, Governance, and the Future of American Federalism* (New York: Demos, 2001); Martha Derthick, *Between State and Nation: Regional Organizations of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1974); Ann R. Markusen, *Regions: The Economics and Politics of Territory* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987); Thomas H. Naylor and William H. Willimon, *Downsizing the U.S.A.* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997); Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981); and Robert Goodman, *The Last Entrepreneurs: America's Regional Wars for Jobs and Dollars* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979).

For global regional trends, see: *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, ed. Michael Keating and John Loughlin (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1997); Henry J. Aaron, Ralph C. Bryant, Susan M. Collins and Robert Z. Lawrence, *Regionalism, Multilateralism, and Deeper Integration* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1996); *Government for the Future: Unification, Fragmentation, and Regionalism*, ed. Ake K. Andersson, Bjorn Harsman, and John M. Quigley, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1997); and Michael Niemann, *A Spatial Approach to Regionalisms in the Global Economy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

A range of general proposals for systemic reconstruction are reported in the annotated bibliography prepared by Thad Williamson, *What Comes Next?* (Washington, D.C.: National

Center for Economic and Security Alternatives, 1998). A much debated early modern study was E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). See also my own, “Notes Toward a Pluralist Commonwealth,” in Staughton Lynd and Gar Alperovitz, *Strategy and Program* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973). The work of the ‘Real Utopias’ project led by Erik Olin Wright includes a number of important efforts, including: Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, *Associations and Democracy* (New York, Verso, 1995); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Recasting Egalitarianism: New Rules for Communities, States and Markets* (New York, Verso, 1999); Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (New York, Verso, 2003); and the previously cited work by John E. Roemer, *Equal Shares: Making Market Socialism Work* (New York, Verso, 1996). For a useful overview of the Market Socialist debate see Bertell Ollman (ed.), *Market Socialism: The Debate Among Socialists* (New York: Routledge, 1998). See also: Immanuel Wallerstein, *After Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 1995); Immanuel Wallerstein, *Utopistics* (New York: The New Press, 1998); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The End of the World As We Know It* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Roberto Mangabeira Unger, *Democracy Realized* (New York: Verso, 1998); and John Cavanagh and Jerry Mander, et al., *Alternatives to Economic Globalization, A Report of the International Forum on Globalization* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2002).

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