

ERS/GEOG/ECDEV 615:
Community Economic Development:
Covid, Green Politics and Post-Pandemic Economy

And 4th year SERS Special Topics **ERS 475:**

[Covid-19 and Localism EDITION: Draft]
(DRAFT May 2020)

Location: Your bedroom, kitchen, bathroom, VW microbus, Pinzgauer 6x6 prepping vehicle or anywhere else you can get yourself online

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The Covid-19 pandemic has already changed your life. Pubs, restaurants, dating, social life and universities – all the things that define your life – may have changed for ever. The world is different. There will be no going back. So, what is the new normal? What will the post-pandemic economy and society look like? And how do these changes connect with green politics and sustainability? How might economic depression and the social crisis spill over into rapid/systemic political re-alignments. Which ideologies and parties will be the winners? Which the losers? This year, the course will give you an opportunity to explore this brave new world and its' implications for local and community economic development.

If you are interested and are considering registering, please send an email to Graduate students, ERS/ECDEV/GEOG 615: Amanda Campbell:
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Overview

Over the course of human development, the connections between the provisioning of individuals and communities on the one hand, and the material and energy flows associated with particular places and ecosystems on the other, have stretched-out in space. The metabolic flows which sustain human life have become progressively more

abstract, indirect and less immediately integrated into particular places. Greater social complexity has involved intensifying patterns of functional interdependence between geographically dispersed individuals and groups. More recently the process of modernisation has been defined by the 'disembedding' of economic activity from wider social and cultural institutions. Economic growth is synonymous with accelerating this process of abstraction.

At the margins of the mainstream consumer economy, Indigenous societies are invariably presented with two stark alternatives: either [a] embrace modernity and enjoy the full suite of 'mod cons' (such as modern dentistry and antibiotics), or [b] reject the modern world and (figuratively or literally) 'live in a cave' (i.e. forgo the benefits of modern/capitalist/Promethean technological development and associated social and cultural complexity). For two hundred years, utopians of many stripes, confronting the same paradoxical 'wicked dilemma', have struggled to reconcile a vision of society that was small-scale, ecologically restrained and sensitive to the unique (ecological and social) attributes of particular places, but at the same time cosmopolitan and technologically progressive. Using the metaphor of a gravitational landscape, this course explores the notion of a local reMaker society as a *third* 'basin of attraction' and an alternative to global consumer society. From this perspective, truly sustainable community development is understood as an attempt to develop an 'indigenous modernity'.

Coming in the wake of left and right-wing populist insurrections against globalization and the over-integration of economic and social life, growing geopolitical tensions between China and the West, and against the backdrop of the ongoing black lives matter protests, the pandemic represents a moment of real contingency and structural change. At stake is the future of globalization, the nation-state system and the tenor of both progressive and conservative politics. At both ends of the spectrum, established and conventional political parties and movements are torn between the politics of 'nowhere' and that of 'somewhere' (see Goodhart's book); between local commitments to place and community and rootless, cosmopolitan commitment to universal values and globalism. Among American conservatives this tension can be seen in the tension between neo-liberals/neo-cons on the one hand, and paleo-conservative/Christian and 'National Conservatism' on the other. For greens it is evident in the problem of reconciling the neo-Malthusian 'limits to growth' assumptions of ecological economics with the defence of modern liberal society, the welfare state and progressive cosmopolitan orientation to open-borders and multiculturalism. And similarly, social democrats haemorrhage working class voters to the extent that they embrace globalization and the mobility of both labour and capital. Open borders present (perceived) threats to the integrity of working-class communities and identity; capital mobility has been associated with deindustrialization and the widespread job losses in the 'rust belt'. Thus far, using the now tried and tested formula 'left on economy, right on culture', the European and America the political right has proved more able to take advantage of this destabilised political and ideological landscape.

However, it is likely that we are only at the very beginning of this crisis of political economy. The pandemic has exposed the dangers and vulnerabilities associated

with too much connectivity and integration. And the economic response has also demonstrated enormous untapped potential for home working, for telematics to reduce the need for physical proximity. In some ways this could be positive (e.g. reducing the carbon emissions associated with commuting). In others, it could be disastrous. Together with the riots and social unrest, the pandemic has created a great driver for the emptying of the downtown core, probably accompanied by white and middleclass flight and increased race and class polarization. At the same time, technical developments associated with the 4th industrial revolution (3D printing, micro-fabrication, the Internet of Things etc.) is changing the relationship between economies of scope and economies of scale. For the first time in human history, it may be at least conceivable to reconcile technological innovation and social complexity with small scale and localized patterns of production and consumption. The post-pandemic political economy will emerge at the interstices of these issues: globalization versus localization; economies of scale versus scope; the welfare state versus family and community patterns of responsibility; sustainable development versus jobs and employment; geopolitical tensions between superpowers. With this in mind, the course is broken down into three blocks.

Block 1 [weeks 2-4] explores the tension between abstract economic *space* and social-ecological *place* in community development. We focus on the tension between the liberal and Enlightenment values and public goods associated with globally connected, science based cosmopolitan societies and the ecological costs such societies impose on the biosphere. Students are introduced to complexity theory and the metaphor of a gravitational state space as a vehicle to explore problems of resilience and radical socio-economic change.

In **Block 2** [weeks 5-8] contemporary strategies of ecological-economic relocalization, such as the Transition Town movement, are examined against the long tradition of localism stretching from the young Marx, William Morris and John Ruskin, through Peter Kropotkin, Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford, to the theory and practice of contemporary bioregionalism (e.g. Gary Snyder, John Michael Greer). This ideational tradition of Romantic localism is compared to the experience of indigenous societies struggling to reconcile recognition and equality with continuing cultural autonomy and integrity. Mainstream strategies such as place-marketing, culture-led regeneration, tourism and the knowledge economy are evaluated in relation to the tensions between place and space, resilience and connectivity, economic growth and ecological integrity.

In **Block 3** [weeks 9-11] we will explore the potential of new technologies (such as 3d printing) and open architecture forms of organisation (p2p networking; Creative Commons licensing) to reconcile cultural and technological complexity with small scale, eco-cyclical and more place-bound forms of economy. Examples will include experiments in open source fabrication, grid versus distributed energy systems, local and global food systems, the role of community and kinship in future local welfare systems, education and security/defence.

Assessment:

1. PARTICIPATION: a qualitative evaluation of contribution to group discussions on LEARN – **worth 15%**
2. GROUP WORK: Weekly group submissions – mark awarded at the end for quality of group submissions – **worth 20%**
3. ESSAY: Titles will be posted on Learn. Due (electronic submission on LEARN) 7th December 2020 – **worth 45%**
4. Viewpoint diversity (OPEN_MINDS) Exercise – **worth 5%**. This is an online exercise. You complete, download certificate and submit on learn. The marks are awarded for completing the exercise. It is not graded.
5. A BOOK REVIEW: Book review can be based on any of the full-length monograph titles in the reading list (i.e. not journal articles). Due end of 4th week; electronic submission on LEARN 16th October – **worth 15%**

Class structure, schedule & readings:

The weekly schedule will generally comprise:

1. A short lecture in the form of a narrated Powerpoint presentation;
2. Individual student reading
3. Online discussion in GROUPS. You will be enrolled into groups on LEARN. To enter the group discussion, go to CONNECT and then DISCUSSION and then choose the appropriate FORUM (one for each week's lecture) and then enter the TOPIC for your GROUP. Students can't 'see' what has been posted until they make their first post.
4. At the end of your online collaboration, the last post should be on-behalf of the whole group and be entitled '**GROUP SUMMARY**'. The evaluation of this document will be a small part of the assessment. It can take the form of a Powerpoint presentation, diagrams, written text, a poster...It doesn't have to be beautiful or polished but simply to capture the tenor of your discussions. It's a summary or digest of what the group has learned, the key take-outs, remaining questions and any areas of illuminating disagreement amongst themselves.
5. WORK GROUPS: Please familiarise yourself with your work groups. Exchange emails/phone numbers/zoom accounts – whatever you need to work effectively together.

TO RE-ITERATE: This final post should be labelled GROUP SUMMARY. You can decide among yourselves how the work should be divvied out. This should be posted in the group's Topic area but will be visible and a useful aid for students from other groups.

Please look at the detailed instructions for each class, well in advance.

BOOKS AND READINGS

We live in strange times. I have tried to ensure that most of the readings are available online. If you can't find something ferret out a substitute or just do one of the other group readings. Very often things are available online. One thing you can try is **Z Library (google it)**. I'm not sure how it works but it sends you a mobi file straight to kindle or epub for your e-reader. **They have pretty well every book on the planet.** I have no idea what the copyright status is. I imagine it is absolutely fine for the older books (anything from nineteenth century or older) that come up towards the middle and end of the course. I use it a great deal for this kind of material and I love it (I got the complete works of Aristotle yesterday and every text from the early Christian fathers covering a period of 600 years). For newer stuff, you will have to find out and make your own decision

DETAILED SCHEDULE

WEEK 1: Introduction and overview

Listen to Lecture 1: Narrated presentation on LEARN

In your groups, engage in the Lecture 1 discussion with your colleagues. At the end of your online collaboration, the last post should be on-behalf of the whole group and be entitled '**GROUP SUMMARY**'. The evaluation of this document will be a small part of the assessment. It can take the form of a Powerpoint presentation, diagrams, written text, a poster...It doesn't have to be beautiful or polished but simply to capture the tenor of your discussions. It's a summary or digest of what the group has learned, the key take-outs, remaining questions and any areas of illuminating disagreement amongst themselves.

BLOCK 1: ENTROPY AND SOCIAL COMPLEXITY THROUGH THE MACROSCOPE

WEEK 2: Complexity, Energy and Civilization

Overview of topic

In week 2 we will develop an overview of the relationship between energy and social complexity, which frames the subsequent consideration of place, community and economic development. The purpose of this introductory session is not to become expert or well-read with regard to these broad literatures, but rather to gain a useful

first sketch of the intellectual tools which underpin the course. The seminar will be organized around a fast-paced exploration of five related topics – each with an associated reading. Teams of students will summarize each topic in turn. Your summaries will be available for all students to view and learn from.

Instructions

Listen to Lecture 2: Narrated presentation on LEARN

In your groups, engage in the Lecture 2 discussion with your colleagues. At the end of your online collaboration, the last post should be on-behalf of the whole group and be entitled '**GROUP SUMMARY**'.

Group Discussion Topics:

For all groups consider the following: How might the concepts of entropy and complexity inform our understanding of the nature of local economic development and community structure? Hint: think about the 'social division of labour'. What is a necessary prerequisite for a more complex and differentiated society? Are modern settlements more or less complex than, say, a century ago? In what ways? What bearing do these factors have on the process of modernization?

GROUP A: The entropic cost of social complexity:

- David Christian (2005) *Maps of Time* Chapters 1-2.
- Odum, HT (1988) 'Self-Organization, Transformity, and Information' *Science*, New Series, Vol. 242, No. 4882 (Nov. 25, 1988), pp. 1132-1139

GROUP B: Energy and human development: the expanding anthroposphere

- David Christian (2005) *Maps of Time* Chapters 1-2.
- Goudsblom (2002) 'Introduction: The Expanding Anthroposphere' in Goudsblom and de Vries (2002) *Mappae Mundi: Humans and their habitats in long term socio-ecological perspective; myths maps and models*.

GROUP C: A couple of tools and heuristics from complexity/resilience theory

- David Christian (2005) *Maps of Time* Chapters 1-2.
- Stockholm Resilience Centre Insight 1: Transformations
- SRC Insight 2: Regime Shifts

GROUP D: Critical transitions

- David Christian (2005) *Maps of Time* Chapters 1-2.
- Scheffer, Marten (2009) *Critical transitions in nature and society* (Princeton, N.J : Princeton University Press c2009). Chapter 2

WEEK 3

Place versus Space: Modernity and the 'disembedding' of the economy

Overview:

Alongside Karl Marx and Max Weber, Karl Polanyi is widely acknowledged to have provided one of the most compelling accounts of modernity. In *The Great Transformation* (1944) and subsequent essays in economic anthropology, Polanyi's account of modernization centered on the disembedding of economic activity and markets from the wider institutions of culture and social life. This untethering of market rationality engendered a growing tension between place and space – between the imperatives of social interaction in the context of close-knit, place-bound communities tied to specific, local ecosystems on the one hand, and mobile, cosmopolitan and relatively rootless patterns of interdependency across abstract economic space, on the other. The logic of the self-regulating market was, however always politically and socially untenable, engendering counter movements for societal protection. But in the twentieth century, such counter-movements were dominated by redistributive mechanisms at the level of the state. This session centers on a close reading of two of Polanyi's essays. Using Polanyi's concepts of house-holding, reciprocal, symmetrical and redistributive forms of economic integration, we will focus on the dependence of local economic development on both growth and the national state.

Reading:

Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation* (Beacon)

Polanyi, K. (1968) *Primitive, archaic and modern economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* Ed G Dalton –

- a) INTRO,
- b) Aristotle discovers the economy
- c) The place of economies in societies
- d) The economy as instituted process

Polanyi, K (1977) *The Livelihood of Man* (Studies in social discontinuity)(Academic Pr; New Ed edition (November 1977) Ed. Harry Pearson

- CHAPTERS 2, 3, 4

Dale, G. (2011) *Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market* (Polity Press)

Hart, Keith. "Karl Polanyi's Legacy: Legacies: Karl Polanyi." *Development and change* 39.6 (2008): 1135–1143. Web.

Hann, Chris, and Keith Hart. *Market and Society: The Great Transformation Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Web.

Instructions

Listen to Lecture 3: Narrated presentation on LEARN

In your groups, engage in the Lecture 3 discussion with your colleagues. At the end of your online collaboration, the last post should be on-behalf of the whole group and be entitled '**GROUP SUMMARY**' (d4see below)

Individual work

Everyone should prepare a short 2 paragraph summary of Polanyi's argument in *The Great Transformation* – read the book and do some detective work online.

Group discussion topics

Working in your groups (navigate to CONNECT, DISCUSSIONS) think about the following questions:

- What was 'the Great Transformation'? How does Polanyi understand the process of modernization and the nature of modernity?
- What does Polanyi mean by the 'disembedding' of economic life?
- What are the forms of economic integration and what is their historical significance?
- What is the significance of these forms of integration for local economic development?

Thought experiment: Design an economic strategy around one of Polanyi's forms of economic integration. Think about the circumstances in which such a scenario is thinkable. Trace out some of the concomitant changes in the realms of culture, society, family life, technological innovation and metabolic/ecological impacts.

Groups should then submit (as the last post on their topic page) a short digest/Powerpoint/word document speaking to this thought experiment. It should be entitled **GROUP SUMMARY**

WEEK 4: Energy and civilization: some constraints on our collective future

Overview

The social complexity that defines modern society depends on energy throughput – a one off bounty of fossil fuel, which has driven economic development since the eighteenth century. Limits to growth present a severe challenge to liberal democratic societies and conventional understandings of local economic development. In this session we explore the possible political and economic consequences of degrowth. The seminar will center on a close reading of Ophuls' (2011) book *Plato's Revenge*.

Reading

- Ophuls, W. (2011) *Plato's revenge politics in the age of ecology* (Cambridge, Mass.:MIT Press)
- Quilley, S. (2011a), 'Entropy, the anthroposphere and the ecology of civilization: An essay on the problem of "liberalism in one village" in the long view', *Sociological Review*, 59:65–90. doi:10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.01979.x. **[EVERYONE]**
- Quilley, S (2012) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp 261-285. **[EVERYONE]**
- Homer-Dixon, T (2007) *The Upside of Down: Catastrophe, Creativity and the Renewal of Civilization* (Vintage)
- Odum, HT and Odum E.C. (2008) *A Prosperous Way Down: Principles and Policies (Jul 31 2008)* (University Press of Colorado). The book is good, but the argument is summarized in a useful way, here <http://prosperouswaydown.com>
- Odum, Howard T. (Howard Thomas). *Environment, Power, and Society for the Twenty-First Century : the Hierarchy of Energy* . New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Print.
- Tainter, J. 1988 *The Collapse of Complex Societies*

Instructions

Listen to Lecture 4: Narrated presentation on LEARN

In your groups, engage in the Lecture 4 discussion with your colleagues. At the end of your online collaboration, the last post should be on-behalf of the whole group and be entitled '**GROUP SUMMARY**' (see below)

Working in your groups, discuss the Ophuls book, chapter by chapter. Compare Ophuls' diagnosis and prognosis with that of Quilley, Odum and Homer-Dixon as indicated below.

GROUP A: Quilley 2012, 2011 + Ophuls;

GROUP B: Quilley 2011, 2012 + Ophuls;

GROUP C: Odum & Odum 2008 + OPhuls

GROUP D: Homer-Dixon + Ophuls

Those interested in the energy/complexity connection, it is WELL worth looking at Odum's magnum opus (2007) also. I can't tell you how brilliant this book is.

BLOCK 2: ROMANTIC LOCALISM: SMALLNESS AND BEAUTY FROM THE YOUNG MARX TO TRANSITION TOWNS

WEEK 5: Sustainable local development in the 'rust belt'?

Overview

In the 19th century, as local economies were knitted into the integrated economic space of national societies, the economic fortunes of communities became tied to flows of investment and within nation-states and increasingly trade between them. During the 20th century, market flows were supplemented by discretionary investments and patterns of redistribution orchestrated by the state – under the aegis of regional policy, strategic regulation of particular economic sectors and also the redistributive flow of resources associated with Keynesian social compacts. Although very different regimes emerged in different countries, the goals of state intervention were usually (i) to ameliorate class inequality and secure a welfare safety net and (ii) to even out the business cycle and particularly its uneven impact on different sectors and geographical areas. Such policies were moderately successful in the postwar period but began to falter as economic growth rates declined during the 1970s. Declining growth rates undermined the social democratic model leading to a re-emergence of neo-liberal politics, particularly in Britain and the United States. This renewed emphasis on free-markets facilitated the subsequent process of 'globalization' – i.e. geographical dispersal combined with the functional integration of economic activity – that has defined economic development imperatives and priorities everywhere, for three decades. The increasingly footloose and mobile character of capital investment had enormous consequences for particular places and communities that could no longer rely on the loyalty or embedded connection of 'local' businesses. Many experienced disinvestment and profound economic crisis. In Britain and North America the 'rust –belt' of traditional manufacturing centers lost entire industries, as textiles, ship building, iron and steel, car assembly moved off shore. Increasingly exposed to the free-wheeling global markets, local places and communities – from small towns to whole city regions -- were forced take responsibility for their own economic futures. 'Urban entrepreneurialism' (Harvey 1989) became the default position of local policy makers who sought to assemble 'public-private partnerships' and 'growth coalitions' (Logan and Molotch 1987). The strategic imperative was everywhere the same: 'place-marketing' to attract capital flows to 'this' (rather than 'that') node in the global economy. Local strategies focused on the need to make places vibrant, cosmopolitan and 'liveable' in order to attract an increasingly mobile middle class of managers, professionals and entrepreneurs. Arts, culture, heritage and property-based regeneration provided a rationale for the gentrification of old warehouses and waterways (think 'Manhattan Lofts' – Sharon Zukin's *Loft Living* [1987]). Multicultural cosmopolitan values – exemplified by 'Gay

Villages', arts quarters, world cuisine, street markets, ethnic festivals, China Towns – were mobilized in support of this script. The now famous book-town strategy of Hay-on-Wye on the English-Welsh border is an example of place-marketing at the level of a very small market town.

In this seminar we will explore the parameters of local economic strategy in an era of globalization, focusing in particular in the tension between the dynamics of place and space. To this end we will watch Michael Moore's short documentary *Roger & Me* about the plight of Flint Michigan in the 1980s. We will go onto consider the case of Hay-on-Wye and the proliferating 'book town' strategy. Finally we will look at the way in which sustainability has become an important dimension of the supply-side strategy of 'selling the city'. But this highlights a glaring contradiction. Conventional local economic development has become ever more dependent on external flows of people, resources and capital. Building on the previous discussion of Polanyi, the debate will focus on what sustainable development really implies for local economies.

READING:

Roger & Me – Michael Moore -VIDEO Ask in library or rent on iTunes. Absolutely fantastic documentary. Very funny, poignant

**Quilley, S. (2000a) 'Manchester First: From Municipal Socialism to the Entrepreneurial City' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (IJURR), Sept. Vol. 24(3): 601-615. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2427.00267. AVAILABLE ONLINE

** Harvey, D. (1989) 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism' *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 1989, Vol.71(1), pp.3-17 AVAILABLE ONLINE

Seaton, A.V. (1996) Hay on Wye, the mouse that roared: book towns and rural tourism *Tourism Management*, 1996, Vol.17(5), pp.379-382 AVAILABLE ONLINE

Maheshwari, Vishwas; Vandewalle, Ian; Bamber, David (2011) Place branding's role in sustainable development' *Journal of Place Management and Development* 4.2 (2011): 198-213.

Thomas Niedomysl; Mikael Jonasson (2012) *Towards a theory of place marketing* *Journal of Place Management and Development*, Vol.5(3), p.223-230

Other reading:

Nyseth, Torill & Viken, Arvid (2009) *Place Reinvention: Northern Perspectives* (Ashgate: Farnham)

Harvey, J. and Young R. (Eds) (2012) *Image-building in Canadian municipalities* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press)

Govers, Robert. Go, Frank M. (2009) *Place branding: glocal, virtual and physical identities, constructed, imagined and experienced* (Basingstoke: Palgrave)

Lorentzen, Anne.; Heur, Bas van (2011) *Cultural political economy of small cities* (New York: Routledge)

J. Eyles. "Tourism In The Rust Belt: Using The Past As An Economic Development Strategy." *WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment* 115 (2008): n. pag. Web.

Stephen Ward. *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850-2000*. Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2005. Web.

INSTRUCTIONS

- c) Listen to Lecture 5: narrated presentation on LEARN
- d) PREPARATORY TASK: In addition to the reading, everyone should do some basic research on the concept of the 'book town' as a vehicle for local development. START HERE: <http://www.booktown.net/>
- e) Group discussions:
 - (a) Think about the following questions:
 - How do such strategies relate to the process of globalization?
 - How relevant might it be to small towns in Ontario or across Canada
 - What are the limitations of this kind of development?
 - How does it depend on economic growth? [what kind of growth?]
 - What are the underlying assumptions in terms of development /modernization? i.e. what kind of demographic/lifestyle/familial processes?
 - (b) In your groups, do a close reading of these readings and boil them down to a few essential propositions.

GROUP A: Quilley

GROUP B: Harvey

GROUP C: Seaton

GROUP D: Niedomysl & Jonasson

- (c) Create a place-marketing/niche development for a small town's relation to (i) a business as usual scenario and (ii) a energy constrained/economic shock scenario.
- (d) **Post very concise results of your deliberations in relation to (b) and (c) as your last post on your group TOPIC area with the title 'GROUP SUMMARY'**

WEEK 6: Alternative modernities: radical visions and paths not taken (yet)

Overview

Through the 20th century socialism and capitalism vied to become the default political-economic models of modernity. Social democracy and the Keynesian welfare state represented some kind of compromise. Across Left and Right, it was assumed that this binary opposition between state and market was the whole story. Socialists might have disagreed vehemently with the diagnosis in Hayek's *Road to Serfdom (1944)* but they accepted the underlying notion that there were only two ways of organizing production and consumption in modern societies. However, this binary discourse excluded, and indeed made invisible, any consideration of the *metabolism* of modernity. The dominant forms of socialism and social democracy, relying as they did on the expansion of the state, shared with liberal capitalism a high-throughput version of industrial modernity, which depended on continual growth and an expanding throughput of energy and materials. At the same time, the emergence of modern welfare state squeezed out a range of alternative visions for a much more decentralized process of modernization. Rather than yoking the worker to the machine, these radical visions of local, community development involved harnessing new technologies to the skills of empowered artisans. Such a trajectory would have involved more self-sufficient communities, polyvalent and multi-skilled workers, small-scale and multi-functional machinery and a reMaker rather than consumer society. This vision was shared variously by anarchists such as Kropotkin & Reclus, , guild socialists in the tradition of William Morris and GDH Cole, and decentrist planners such as Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford. The attractions of this 'path not taken' are self-evident: empowered community, self-sufficiency, 'appropriate technology' and less alienated workers involved in more diverse and fulfilling creative activity. What about the downsides? Are technological innovation or liberal cosmopolitan values compatible with a more rooted, reciprocative and place-bound form of society?

Core Reading

- a) Kevin Carson (2010) *The Homebrew Industrial Revolution: A Low-Overhead Manifesto* Free download available:
<http://homebrewindustrialrevolution.wordpress.com>

Ch1-3

- b) Quilley S., (2012) 'System Innovation and a new "Great Transformation": Re-embedding Economic Life in the Context of De-Growth' *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship* 2012, vol. 3, issue 2, pp. 206-229
- c) Peter Hall (1996) *Cities of Tomorrow* (Blackwell) Ch 1, 3,4,5

Other reading

- d) Karl Marx: Utopian vision of unalienated labour in *The German Ideology*.

He writes

'...in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic. This fixation of social activity, this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into an objective power above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to naught our calculations, is one of the chief factors in historical development up till now.'

[<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01a.htm>]

[For a useful short essay on Marx's views about the division of labour in society, see http://www.fee.org/the_freeman/detail/marxs-view-of-the-division-of-labor#axzz2bJP2i58L]

- e) Peter Kropotkin (1985 [1899]) *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* (Freedom Press)
- f) Mumford, Lewis (1961) *The City in History* and (1934) *Technics and Civilization* [available through library online] - especially Chapter 5, 'The Neotechnic Phase'
- g) Geddes, Patrick – see chapters in Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow...and also* Volker M Welter (2002) *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*
- h) Bradley J. Macdonald (2004) 'William Morris and the vision of ecosocialism' *Contemporary Justice Review: Issues in Criminal, Social, and Restorative Justice*, 7:3, 287-304
To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1028258042000266013>

- i) Morris, William and the arts and craft movement
(1886) *The Dream of John Bull*
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1886/johnball/johnball.htm>

(1890) *News from Nowhere*

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1890/nowhere/nowhere.htm>

INSTRUCTIONS

- a) Listen to Lecture 6: Narrated presentation on LEARN
- b) Working in groups, discuss the following readings and provide a 1 page summary of the key propositions. Discuss the intellectual and political /social context in which the authors were writing. What problems were they addressing? Who were their influences? Who did they influence?

GROUP A: Peter Kropotkin [and Ernest Reclus]

GROUP B: William Morris and the municipal socialists

GROUP C: Lewis Mumford and the concept of the 'neo-technic'

GROUP D: Patrick Geddes and the notion of 'the region'

- c) Spend time working together, discussing and created a detailed intellectual map of Kevin Carson's *Home-Brew Industrial Revolution*. In your deliberations consider the following questions:
- What could local economic development have looked like without the emergence of state sanctioned monopolies and infrastructural subsidies?
 - How might new technologies transform the dynamics of globalization?
 - What are the prospects for a relocalization of economic activity?
 - What are the barriers?
 - What are the possible dangers associated with this trajectory?
 - What would the 20th century have looked like, with more neo-technical development?

Combine a short digest of your group deliberations from (b) and (c) and submit as the last post in your TOPIC area under the title of **GROUP SUMMARY**.

WEEK 7: Bioregionalism and the Transition Town movement

In this seminar we will explore the Transition Towns movement in relation to the much older tradition of bioregionalism. This will involve tracing the history and historiography of some of the main ideas and principles.

READING

Peak oil and collapse (GROUP A)

Quilley, S (2012) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp 261-285.

[EVERYONE]

James Kunstler (2005) *The Long Emergency* (London Atlantic Books)

Richard Heinberg (2005) *The Party's Over* (Clairview)

John Michael Greer (2009) *The Ecotechnic Future: Envisioning a post Peak oil World* (New Society)

- How do these books envisage community and society in the future?
- What are the drivers?
- Are they positive?
- What are the implications for policy makers or local activists?

Bioregionalism: (GROUP B)

Quilley, S (2012) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp 261-285.

McGinnis, Michael Vincent (1999) *Bioregionalism* (London: Routledge)

Scott Cato, Molly (2013) *The bioregional economy: land, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*

Sale, Kirkpatrick (1985) 'Bioregionalism - a sense of place. (new environmentalist theory)' *The Nation*, Oct 12, 1985, Vol.241, p.336(4) – AVAILABLE ONLINE

Lockyer, Joshua; Veteto, James R. (2013) *Environmental anthropology engaging ecotopia; bioregionalism, permaculture, and ecovillages* 1st ed.(New York: Berghahn Books)

- Where does the bioregional tradition come from? Sketch the historiography. Who is writing what, when...and why?
- How does bioregionalism relate to the development of ecological thought more generally?
- What are the essential propositions?
- Is bioregionalism compatible with science-based, connected, technological societies?

Novels: (GROUP C)

Quilley, S (2012) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp 261-285.

[EVERYONE]

Kunstler, J H (2009) *World Made by Hand* (Atlantic Monthly Press) and the sequel *The Witch of Hebron* (2011)

Ernest Callenbach (1990) *Ecotopia : the notebooks and reports of William Weston* (New York : Bantam Books 1990)

Robert Charles Wilson (2009) *Julian Comstock. A story of 22nd Century America* (Tor)

SEE ALSO <http://www.resilience.org/stories/2008-11-24/post-oil-novel-revisited>

<http://www.resilience.org/stories/2010-12-03/interview-james-howard-kunstler>

- How do these novels portray the future?
- What are the tensions that play out in scenarios of relocalization?

Transition [Group D]

Quilley, S (2012) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp 261-285.

[EVERYONE]

Your main resource is <http://www.transitionnetwork.org>

AND

<http://www.resilience.org>

North, Peter (2010) Eco-localisation as a progressive response to peak oil and climate change – A sympathetic critique

Geoforum, 2010, Vol.41(4), pp.585-594

Rob Hopkins (2008) *The Transition Handbook* (Green Books)

Quilley, S. and Barry, J. (2008) 'Transition Towns: Survival, Resilience and the Elusive Paradigm Shift in Sustainable Living' *Eco-Politics Online*, Vol. 1(2): 12-31.

Trainer, Ted (2010) Thoughts on the transition to a sustainable society
Synthesis/Regeneration, Wntr, 2010, Issue 51, p.17(3)

Peak Oil and Transition Towns.(Report) *Architectural Design*, July-August, 2012, Vol.82(4), p.72(6)

Power, Clare (2012) Engaging with complexity: the transition network.(Report)
Third Sector Review, Jan, 2012, Vol.18(1), p.99(21)

Westley, Frances ; Olsson, Per ; et al (2011) 'Tipping Toward Sustainability: Emerging Pathways of Transformation' *AMBIO*, 2011, Vol.40(7), pp.762-780

- How does Transition envisage the process of social change?
- What are the 'wicked' or paradoxical questions that arise in relation to the strategy of relocalization?
- To what extent are these recognized among Transition activists?
- What is the potential for economic development in the present on the back of Transition-related strategy and activity?
- Is Transition credible?

INSTRUCTIONS

- a) Listen to Lecture 7: Narrated presentation on LEARN
- b) Working in groups, discuss the readings indicated for each group above. As well as the questions indicated for each group, Discuss the intellectual and political /social context in which the authors were writing. What problems were they addressing? Who were their influences? Who did they influence?
- c) Each group should post, as the last submission on their group TOPIC discussion area, a short commentary on the politics of relocalization. Once again you can use Powerpoint or just a word document or a series of narrated videos. I'm looking for a considered response to the material you have read – not a simple regurgitation of that material. The submission should be entitled GROUP SUMMARY. All students will have access to it.

BLOCK 3: AN 'INDIGENOUS MODERNITY' (?) AND THE reMAKER SOCIETY AS A THIRD 'BASIN OF ATTRACTION':

WEEK 8: Wikinomics, P2P and the Third (or 4th) Industrial Revolution

This session will consider the disruptive potential – positive and negative – of technical change – developments that have been dubbed the 3rd (Rifkin) and even 4th (Schwab) industrial revolution.

Reading:

** Kostakis, Vasilis, and Michel Bauwens. *Network Society and Future Scenarios for a Collaborative Economy*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ;: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Print.

Tapscott, D. and Williams, A.D., (2006) *Wikinomics: how mass collaboration changes everything* (New York : Portfolio)

Rifkin, J., (2011) *The Third Industrial Revolution: How Lateral Power is Transforming Energy, the Economy and the World* (Palgrave)

Schwab, K 2017 Fourth Industrial Revolution (https://www.amazon.ca/Fourth-Industrial-Revolution-Klaus-Schwab/dp/1524758868/ref=sr_1_1?crid=BIUJFWUWD973&dchild=1&keywords=4th+industrial+revolution&qid=1596489513&srefix=4th+indus%2Caps%2C185&sr=8-1)

**** Rifkin, J. *Zero Marginal Cost Society*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MBIWEOHqdOU> https://www.amazon.ca/Zero-Marginal-Cost-Society-Collaborative-ebook/dp/B00HY09XGQ/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=zero+marginal+cost&qid=1596488977&sr=8-1
)

Steel, RD (2012) *Open Source Everything Manifesto* (Evolver Editions)
(https://www.amazon.ca/Open-Source-Everything-Manifesto-Transparency-Truth-ebook/dp/B005MU3VKO/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=open+source+everything&qid=1596489262&sr=8-1)

Moore P and Karatzogianni A (eds) (2009) 'Parallel Visions of P2P production: Governance, Organization and the New Economies'
Special issue, *Capital and Class* No. 97
<http://www.cseweb.org.uk/issue.shtml?x=563477>

Benkler Y (2006) *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)

Open source everything Foundation
https://tmp2.fandom.com/wiki/Open_Source_Everything_Project

<https://vimeo.com/32038568> P2P economy for after the melt down

<https://p2pfoundation.net>

<https://jimruttsow.blubbry.net/michel-bauwens/>

<https://duckduckgo.com/?q=P2P+bauwens&t=osx&ia=web&iai=https%3A%2F%2Fvimeo.com%2F32038568&pn=1>

INSTRUCTIONS

- a) Listen to lecture 8: narrated presentation on LEARN
- b) Peruse the materials choosing any interesting texts for close reading. You should try to read Rifkin's Zero Cost book, skim Schwab (if you can find it – it's on order) and look at the P2P materials/videos – especially relating to Bauwens.
- c) In your groups, take it in turn to describe what you have been reading to other group members. Try to integrate your insights. Organize among yourselves a discussion of the politics of the 'Third/4th Industrial Revolution'. What does it mean? What will be the likely consequences of such technical change – for politics, sustainability, geo-political relations, world trade, the consumer society, for jobs, family life and communities? What is the path to relocalization that might emerge from such change? What are the dangers of this trajectory?
- d) **Your last post in your group TOPIC AREA (entitled 'GROUP SUMMARY')** should be a systems map tracing through some of the likely changes that will ripple through economy and society – the prospects/possibilities that strike you as most interesting

WEEK 9: 3D Printing and the 'Homebrew Revolution'

This week we will be looking, in more detail, at the possibilities for decentralization inherent in new technologies such as 3d printing, and what Carson calls 'low overhead production' (i.e. people using their domestic means of production, kitchen sink/cooker/table, shed, garage etc)

Reading:

Powell, Alison (2012) 'Democratizing production through open source knowledge: from open software to open hardware' *Media, Culture & Society*, 2012, Vol.34 (6), pp.691-708

1. Open source ecology:

Moritz, Manuel et al. "Value Creation in Open-Source Hardware Communities: Case Study of Open Source Ecology." Portland International Conference on Management of Engineering and Technology, Inc, 2016. 2368–2375. Web.

Thomson, Cameron Colby, and Marcin Jakubowski. "Toward an Open Source Civilization: (Innovations Case Narrative: Open Source Ecology)." *Innovations (Cambridge, Mass.)* 7.3 (2012): 53–70. Web.

Camero, CT. and M. Jakubowski (2012) 'Toward an Open Source Civilization: Innovations Case Narrative: Open Source Ecology' *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization*, Volume 7, Number 3, 2012, pp. 53-70

<http://opensourceecology.org/>

2. Anarchist (counter-factual) & science fictional futures

Kevin Carson (2010) *The Homebrew Industrial Revolution: A Low-Overhead Manifesto*

Free download available: <http://homebrewindustrialrevolution.wordpress.com>

- from Chapter 4 (we already covered earlier chapters)

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TcrGh1ukfEY>

Cory Doctorow (2009) *MAKERS* (Harper Voyager) - download for free (or a donation if you think it is good) <http://craphound.com/makers/download/>

3. 'Conventional' disruptive technology perspectives

Lipson, H. and Kurman, M. (2013) *Fabricated. The New World of 3D Printing* (London: John Wiley and Sons)

Gershenfeld, N., (2005) *FAB. The Coming Revolution on Your Desktop – From Personal Computers to Personal Fabrication* (NYC: Basic Books)

4. Craft, artisan creativity and technology

Sennett, R., (2008) *The Craftsman* (Yale University Press)

Gauntlett D (2010) *Making is Connecting: The Social Meaning of Creativity, from DIY and Knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0* (London: Polity Press)

Crawford, Matthew B. *Shop Class as Soulcraft : an Inquiry into the Value of Work* . New York: Penguin Press, 2010. Print.

Ingold, Tim. *Making : Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* . London ;: Routledge, 2013. Print.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Listen to Lecture 9: narrated presentation on LEARN

2. PREPARATORY TASK: Read/skim as much of the reading list as you can.

3. Group discussions:

- **GROUP A:** The meaning of creativity: Sennett + Gauntlet + Crawford + Ingold (which ever are available)

What is the meaning of creativity? How does it relate to human nature and human evolution? What does philosophy tell us about craft and creativity? How does capitalism and/or modern organization of production transform craft and creativity? Who benefits and who loses?

- **GROUP B:** Anarchist/science-fiction futures: Carson+ the future according to Cory Doctorow

How do anarchist and science fiction writers envisage the future of production and craft? Have their imagined scenarios been borne out? What do suggest about the options facing us in a post-pandemic world?

- **GROUP C:** Mainstream' perspectives: Lipson + Gershenfeld + Schwab (from last week) + anything else you can find on 3d printing and additive manufacturing and micro-fabrication. Look for survey articles.

Survey the technologies involved? How are they likely to change the economy? How are they likely to integrate with existing technologies? How are mainstream corporate actors likely to adapt and react to these new industries

- **GROUP D:** Case-study: Open Source Ecology ... Camero, CT. and M. Jakubowski Jakubowski

Survey the history, successes and failures of this experiment in Missouri. Start with the TED talks. Is it feasible? What more general model of political economy does this intimate? Can you trace out a systems model as to what would happen if this was generalized? It would amount to the 'informalisation' of economic activity. What does this mean for the state, for the welfare state, for the tax-base, for unemployment? For the social/spatial mobility of individuals? For the importance of the family and community? Who would be the winners and who the losers? etc

Your last post in each group's TOPIC area should be a digest of your 'take aways' from the discussion – what the other groups need to know. You can use diagrams, posters,

text, power-points.....whatever you want. Doesn't need to be fancy or finished....just a marker for where you were at in your discussion. Label this post 'GROUP SUMMARY.

WEEK 10: Distributism

This week we will be looking in greater detail at the social-catholic theory of distributism as the original 'third way' between socialism and capitalism.

Distributism 101

<http://distributistreview.com/mag/test-2/>

http://www.secondspring.co.uk/uploads/articles_8_1467315950.pdf

<http://distributistreview.com/mag/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/What-is-Distributism.pdf>

Burke, Vincent Colin. "A Defence of Distributism." *Catholic Insight* 22.5 (2014): 21 *

Bryant, David W. "Michael Hickey, Catholic Social Teaching and Distributism: Toward a New Economy." *The Catholic social science review* 24 (2019): 210–212. Web. *

Gill, Richard. "Oikos and Logos: Chesterton's Vision of Distributism." *Logos (Saint Paul, Minn.)* 10.3 (2007): 64–90. Web.

Gene Callahan. "Distributism Is the Future." *American Conservative* 15.2 (2016): 26–. Print.

Classic texts

Belloc, Hilaire, (1913) **The servile state**
3d ed., with a new preface. 1870-1953. London, Constable, 1927.

GK Chesterton – What's Wrong with the world
https://archive.org/details/whats_wrong_chesterton_librivox

GK Chesterton – An outline of sanity <http://www.ihspress.com/outline.htm>

Arthur Penty: The restoration of the guild system
<https://archive.org/details/restorationgild00pentgoog>

EF Schumacher (1975) Small is Beautiful
<http://www.harpercollins.com/books/9780061997761>

Contemporary Texts

Storck, Thomas. "Capitalism and Distributism: two systems at war," in *Beyond Capitalism & Socialism*. Tobias J. Lanz, ed. IHS Press, 2008. p. 75

<http://anamnesisjournal.com/2011/12/thomas-storck-2/>

John Medaille (****) Towards a Truly Free market – <http://www.amazon.ca/Toward-Truly-Free-Market-Distributist/dp/161017027X> [NOT IN LIBRARY]

Distributism and Local Food

<http://distributistreview.com/mag/2012/12/distributism-and-the-local-organic-food-movement/>

<http://distributistreview.com/mag/2012/08/how-to-eat-like-a-hobbit/>

Distributism and Pope Francis

<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/pope-francis-needs-distributism/>

<http://catholicozarks.blogspot.ca/2013/11/pope-francis-is-distributist.html>

<http://www.onreligion.co.uk/neither-capitalism-nor-communism-distributism/>

Pope Francis Environmental Encyclical – Laudato Si

http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_ enciclica-laudato-si.html

Commentary: <http://www.catholic.com/blog/jimmy-akin/pope-francis's-environmental-encyclical-13-things-to-know-and-share>

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Listen to Lecture 10: narrated presentation on LEARN
 2. PREPARATORY TASK: Read/skim as much of the reading list as you can. Research the topic area for your group so you can bring as much as possible to the table. Be generous.
 3. Group discussions: As usual, go to CONNECT on LEARN, navigate to the relevant FORUM (LECTURE 10) and enter your group's topic area.
- **GROUP A:** What is Catholic about Distributism?
 - **GROUP B:** Explore the cross-over between distributism and the guild socialism and the ideas of people such as Penty or William Morris

- **GROUP C:** Explore the overlap between Green ideas of decentralism and more embedded markets and distributism (start with Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* and perhaps look also at the sequel to that book written by his daughter with Joseph Pearce [look him up on YouTube]). Look also at Pope Francis
- **GROUP D:** Review contemporary versions – Storck and MEdaille in particular – and applications (to say food).
- **ALL GROUPS:** *Does it have to be Catholic or religious or grounded in ritual? Does it require face-to-face communities who share, for the most part, a largely unconscious, cosmologically grounded and ritually-reproduced set of values? What are the problems with establishing such values in the modern world? Is that what sanity/sustainability requires? Is that what parts of the Green movement are about? Are other parts against it? Why?*

Your last post in each group's TOPIC area should be a digest of your 'take aways' from the discussion – what the other groups need to know. You can use diagrams, posters, text, power-points.....whatever you want. Doesn't need to be fancy or finished....just a marker for where you were at in your discussion. **Label this post 'GROUP SUMMARY.**

WEEK 11: Conservatism, libertarianism and communitarianism: non-leftist approaches to taming the market

In this session we will look at conservative and 'right wing' approaches to taming the market – and conservative 'anti-capitalism'. What we call right wing, has always been an amalgam of conservative, traditionalist ideas that were skeptical about progress and modernity per se (in the spirit of Edmund Burke, viewing with horror the chaos and destruction of the French revolution) and liberal/market progressivism rooted in free trade, comparative advantage, individualism and the political economy of people like Adam Smith (in the 19th century this was referred to as ' liberalism'). Right now this coalition of conservative and liberal ideas that has become so close as to be indivisible , is breaking apart (to the chagrin and dismay of many on the right who were not clearly aware of their two root traditions). Conservatism in this sense if not anti-capitalist, is certainly compatible with taming, re-embedding the market. It is also potentially 'green' which is evident in the root of the word ('conserve'). The question is 'what should be conserved? And how?.

READING

Deneen, P (2019) *Why Liberalism Failed* Yale University Press

Dreher, Rob (2017) *The Benedict Option. A Strategy for Christians in a Post-Christian Nation* (Sentinel)

Dreher, Rod. "The Idea of a Christian Village.(excerpt from 'The Benedict Option')(Excerpt)." *Christianity Today* 61.2 (2017): n. pag. Print. *

Reno, R.R. "Return of the Strong Gods: The Postwar Era Is Ending, Argues R.R. Reno, and with It the Imperative of disenchantment.(Essay)." *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* 273 (2017): *

RR Reno (2019) [Return of the Strong Gods: Nationalism, Populism, and the Future of the West](#) (Gateway)

Mitchell, M. Peters, J (2019) [Localism in the Mass Age: A Front Porch Republic Manifesto](#) (Front Porch Republic Books)

Scruton, Roger. *Green Philosophy : How to Think Seriously About the Planet* . London: Atlantic, 2012. Print.

Scruton, R (2019) *How to be a conservative* (London Bloomsbury)

David Goodhart (2020) [The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics](#) (Oxford)

Roger Scruton on [being a reluctant capitalist](#).

INSTRUCTIONS

- (a) Listen to the Lecture 11 on LEARN: narrated Powerpoint presentation
- (b) Background: skim all the readings. Use Wikipedia. Get a sense of the landscape. Read as many of the texts as you can, in full. Start with the youtube and magazine article resources below under 'post-liberalism' (esp. Giles Fraser's article on post-liberal reading list). Follow your nose.
- (c) GROUP WORK: In your groups on LEARN (CONNECT, DISCUSSION, LECTURE 11, TOPIC GROUPS) consider and debate the following topics. In each case, you should be attempting to delineate the conservative and post-liberal case AGAINST capitalism and the consumer society. What are the tensions between conservatism and (classic, neo-) liberalism with respect to the market? How do these overlap with Green and Polanyian critiques? What is their relation to the 'state' and the over-extension of the state? How do these critiques relate to the tension within the left and among greens between state-centred political economies dependent on growth, and more family-community centred localisms?

Group A: Edmund Burke and modern conservatism; Roger Scruton's Green Philosophy (use Scruton's two books and youtube presentations of which there are many – search for them)

Group B: Reno's on the 'The Return of Strong Gods';

Group C: Patrick Deneen on the failures of liberalism

Group D: Goodhart on populism and the tension between the 'somewheres' and the 'nowheres'

- (d) As usual your final collective post in your group discussions (in your group's TOPIC area in the DISCUSSION on LEARN) should be some kind of digest of your deliberations (take aways, key findings, important unresolved questions, conclusions) – in whatever form you like....This will be visible to all students and should be designed to be useful to everyone. It should be titled **GROUP SUMMARY**

WEEK 12: Family, community and state in relation to localist and green politics
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In this last session, we will consider the relation between family, community and state, and family on the other. Conservative politics seeks to defend and establish the nuclear or 'natural' family as the basis of civil society and mutual support. Human evolution and development entail a potential for many forms of family (Tucker). Western/modern society predicated on individualism (and individual rights) was predicated on the breaking of extended familial clan society in favour of the 'natural' nuclear family (Zimmerman; Weiner). Progressives would push this process to its natural conclusion and seek a society of socially-spatially mobile individuals deracinated from clan and place-bound community (Willey), but this process of disembedding has consequences (see Polanyi). At the very least it is predicated on a level social complexity that requires high energy and material throughput, and an elaborate structure of state intervention – all of which is not compatible with limits to growth (Quilley). Commitments and priorities with respect to family, marriage and the context for the reproduction of children, are thus consequential for green politics. The logic of this is apparent in Ophuls' *Revenge of Plato*; in a more benign way perhaps it is also evident in the cross-over between conservative of post-liberal forms of localism and green politics (e.g. Front Porch Republic; Mitchell and Peters 2019).

Reading

Weiner, M **** *Rule of the Clan* If book not available look at this (although book worth buying) Weiner, Mark. "The Paradox of Individualism." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2013): n/a. Web.

Mitchell, M. Peters, J (2019) [Localism in the Mass Age: A Front Porch Republic Manifesto](#) (Front Porch Republic Books)

Tucker, William. *Marriage and Civilization: How Monogamy Made Us Human*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2014.

Good comprehensive statement of the conservative perspective – in this case rooted in evolutionary biology, history and anthropology

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Family and Civilization*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2008. Print.
Classic historical study

Willey, A. 2016. *Undoing Monogamy. The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology* (Duke) [Radical extension of feminist/queer agenda of Harroway, Butler etc. to destroy 'natural family' as a matter of policy] – counterpose to Tucker and Zimmerman.

Chambers, Clare. "Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology, by Angela Willey." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3 July 2017: 407–409. Web. [Review of Willey]

Ophuls, W. (2011). *Plato's revenge: Politics in the age of ecology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press *

Quilley, S (2013) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp. 261-285

Quilley S., (2012) 'System Innovation and a new "Great Transformation": Re-embedding Economic Life in the Context of De-Growth' *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship* 2012, vol. 3, issue 2, pp. 206-229

Quilley, S (2017) "Navigating the Anthropocene: Environmental politics and complexity in an era of limits." PP 439-470 In *Handbook on Growth and Sustainability* Edited by Peter A. Victor, Brett Dolter. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

INSTRUCTIONS

- (a) Listen to the Lecture 12 on LEARN: narrated Powerpoint presentation
- (b) Background: skim all the readings. Use Wikipedia. Get a sense of the landscape. Read as many of the texts as you can, in full. Follow your nose.
- (c) GROUP WORK: In your groups on LEARN (CONNECT, DISCUSSION, LECTURE 12) TOPIC GROUPS) consider and debate the following topics. In each case, you should be attempting to delineate the tensions between normative structures of

family and marriage, the scale of state and economy, and the possibility of decentralism. If progressives want greater individual choice and mobility in the interests of gender justice, what does that require of green politics and political economy? For conservatives, what are the tensions between the foundational idea of the Judeo-Christian sacramental individual and market-liberal imperatives relating to free trade, comparative advantage and the 'invisible hand' on the one hand, and marriage and the nuclear family, on the other?

- (d) All GROUPS: Engage in a discussion of these issues in your groups. Allocate one or two texts per person and argue the case as would a barrister (i.e. make the case; don't argue your own political position). This is a Socratic exercise. The goal is to uncover tensions in all the positions and to reveal underlying logics (perhaps of your own ideas) which may not be apparent - not least when most of your friends and daily interlocutors share your ideas and assumptions. Be as generous as you can to ideas that you don't like. This is called 'steel manning' (as opposed to straw manning). Create the strongest possible case for the opposition and see how it stands up to scrutiny. Subject your own ideas to the most rigorous critique possible. As usual submit your last post under the title '**Group SUMMARY**' – a digest of your deliberations in any form you choose.

MISC READING AND RESOURCES

BRAEDLEY, S., & LUXTON, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Neoliberalism*. Montreal; Kingston; London; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press. Retrieved May 31, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt80k9r *

Deneen, P (2019) *Why Liberalism Failed* Yale University Press

Dreher, Rob (2017) *The Benedict Option. A Strategy for Christians in a Post-Christian Nation* (Sentinel)

Dreher, Rod. "The Idea of a Christian Village.(excerpt from 'The Benedict Option')(Excerpt)." *Christianity Today* 61.2 (2017): n. pag. Print. *

Dreher, Rod. "Benedict Option." *American Conservative* 12.6 (2013): 16–19. Web. *

David Goodhart (2020) [*The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics*](#) (Oxford)

Goodwin, Matthew, and Eric Kaufmann. "Where the Left Goes Wrong on National Populism: A Reply to Jon Bloomfield." *Political Quarterly* 91.1 (2020): 98–101. Web. *

Goodwin, Matthew. "The National Populist Moment: Why Those Yearning for a New Liberal Centrist Politics Will Be disappointed.(Cover Story)." *New Statesman* 147.5439 (2018): n. pag. Print. *

Kish, K. and Quilley, S. (2019). 'Livelihood and the Individual: New Ecological Economic Development Goals'. In: *BSIA-10: Reflections on the Sustainable Development Goals*. By: Dalby, S. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, ON.

Kish, K. and Quilley, S. (2017). Wicked Dilemmas of Scale and Complexity in the Politics of Degrowth. *Ecological Economics*, 142: 306-317.

Kish, K. and Quilley, S. (2019). Labour and Regenerative Production. In: *A Research Agenda for Ecological Economics*. By: Costanza, B., Farley, J., and Kubiszewski, I. Edward Elgar: New York, NY.

Milbank, J., & Pabst, A. (2016). *The politics of virtue: Post-liberalism and the human future* (Future perfect : images of the time to come in philosophy, politics and cultural studies). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield International. *

Mitchell, M. Peters, J (2019) [Localism in the Mass Age: A Front Porch Republic Manifesto](#) (Front Porch Republic Books)

Ophuls, W. (2011). *Plato's revenge: Politics in the age of ecology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press *

Pearce, Joseph. "Democracy Takes a Village." *American Conservative* 5.23 (2006): 25–28. Web. *

Polanyi, K. (1964). *The great transformation* (Beacon paperback; 45). Boston: Beacon Press.

Quilley, S. and Zywert, K. (2019) 'Livelihood, market and state: What does a political economy predicated on the 'individual-in-group-in-place' actually look like?' in the 30th anniversary issue of *Ecological Economics* on the future of the discipline Ed. Kish, K. and Farley, J.

Quilley, S. (2019) 'Liberty in the Near Anthropocene: State, Market and Livelihood. What the changing I/We balance means for feminism, nationalism, liberalism, socialism and

conservatism' in in *Liberty and the Ecological Crisis Freedom on a Finite Planet*, 1st Edition Edited by Christopher J. Orr, Kaitlin Kish, Bruce Jennings (London Routledge)

Quilley, S. (2019) 'Liberty in the (Long) Anthropocene: The 'I' and the 'We' in the Longue Duree ' in *Liberty and the Ecological Crisis Freedom on a Finite Planet*, 1st Edition Edited by Christopher J. Orr, Kaitlin Kish, Bruce Jennings (London Routledge)

Quilley, S, Hawreliak, J. and K. Kish (2016) 'Finding An Alternate Route: Towards Open, Eco-Cyclical, And Distributed Production' *Journal of Peer Production*, No. 9. Sept 2016, Special Issue Eds. Eds. Félix Tréguer, Panayotis Antoniadis, Johan Söderberg

Quilley, S (2013) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalization, and the limits to low energy cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values*, 2013 (22), pp. 261-285

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Quilley, S (2017) "Navigating the Anthropocene: Environmental politics and complexity in an era of limits." PP 439-470 In *Handbook on Growth and Sustainability* Edited by Peter A. Victor, Brett Dolter. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Quilley. S. (2018). 'Individual or Community as a Frame of Reference for Health in Modernity and in the Anthropocene' In *Health in the Anthropocene: Living well on a finite planet*. By Quilley, S. and Zywert, K. (eds) Toronto University Press (Accepted)

Quilley, S. (2012) 'System Innovation and a New 'Great Transformation': Re-embedding Economic Life in the Context of 'De-Growth'' *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 3(2), 206-229. * **ON LEARN ALSO**

— (2013) 'De-Growth Is Not a Liberal Agenda: Relocalisation and the Limits to Low Energy Cosmopolitanism' *Environmental Values* 22(2): 261–85. * **ON LEARN ALSO**

-- (2014) Resilience Through Relocalization: Ecocultures of Transition in Böhm, S., Bharucha, Z. P., & Pretty, J. (Eds.) (2014) *Ecocultures: blueprints for sustainable communities*, London: Routledge. * **ON LEARN ALSO**

Reno, R.R. "Return of the Strong Gods: The Postwar Era Is Ending, Argues R.R. Reno, and with It the Imperative of disenchantment.(Essay)." *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* 273 (2017): *

RR Reno (2019) *Return of the Strong Gods: Nationalism, Populism, and the Future of the West* (Gateway)

Schumacher, E. (1989 [1975]). *Small is beautiful: Economics as if people mattered*. San Bernardino, Calif.: Borgo Press.

Weiner, M. (2013). *The rule of the clan: What an ancient form of social organization reveals about the future of individual freedom* (First ed.). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

If book not available look at this (although book worth buying) Weiner, Mark. "The Paradox of Individualism." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2013): n/a. Web.

Zywert, K & Quilley, S (2017) Health systems in an era of biophysical limits: the wicked dilemmas of modernity. *Social Theory & Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41285-017-0051-4>

Resources for Particular Topics

1. Conservative feminism, household and family

Tucker, William. *Marriage and Civilization: How Monogamy Made Us Human*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2014.

Good comprehensive statement of the conservative perspective – in this case rooted in evolutionary biology, history and anthropology

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Family and Civilization*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2008. Print.

Classic historical study

Willey, A. 2016. *Undoing Monogamy. The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology* (Duke) [Radical extension of feminist/queer agenda of Harroway, Butler etc. to destroy 'natural family' as a matter of policy] – counterpose to Tucker and Zimmerman.

Mary Harrington writes great post-liberal feminist articles in Unherd – very short, very useful, like this: [Why Liberal Feminists Don't Care](#)

Sax, L. (2017) *Why Gender Matters* (Harmony) – critique of feminism/child development

Sommers, Christina Hoff. *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Policies Are Harming Our Young Men*. New and Revised Edition. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013. Print.

Schreiber, Ronnee. *Righting Feminism: Conservative Women and American Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

Beattie, Tina. *New Catholic Feminism: Theology and Theory*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Dillard, Angela. "Adventures in Conservative Feminism." *Society* 42.3 (2005): 25–27. Web.

Santorum, Rick. *It Takes a Family: Conservatism and the Common Good*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2005. Print.

Schreiber, Ronnee. "Is There a Conservative Feminism? An Empirical Account." 14.1 (2018): 56–79. Web.

Arlie Hochschild (2018) [Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right](#) (New Press)

To get a feel for conservative thinking and innovation in relation to family, feminism, capitalism – look at *The Imaginative Conservative* magazine website and also [Front Porch Republic](#), and use the search function. Here is a selection: Search also for homeschooling, agrarianism, and monogamy

- Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (2012) 'Severing the Ties That Bind: Feminism, Women, the Family, and Social Institutions', in [The Imaginative Conservative](#).
- Rieth, Peter 2014 [Benedict XVI: Feminist The Imaginative Conservative](#), Sept 14th.
- Nisbet R 2014 Has the Modern Family Failed us. [The Imaginative Conservative](#)
- Devine, D. (2017) [Is Capitalism the Enemy of the Family?](#)
- Allan Carlson 1013 [Agrarianism Reborn: On the Curious Return of the Small Family Farm](#)

2. Post-liberalism

UNHERD magazine is a great resource- loads of short articles

Steiner, MT 2019, 'Post-liberal politics: left, right and centre' in [Quillette](#) July 2019

Giles Fraser – a [post-liberal reading list](#)

John Gray (2007) [Enlightenment's Wake](#) (Routledge)

Deneen, P. [Why liberalism failed](#)

Phillip Blond (2007) [Red Tory: How the left and the right have broken Britain and how we can fix it](#) (Polity)

Wendell Berry 1977. [The Unsettling of America. Culture and Agriculture](#). (Counterpoint)

Social Democratic Party, UK [A New Declaration](#)

Gray, John, and John Gray. *Post-Liberalism: Studies in Political Thought*. New York ;; Routledge, 1993. Print.

Misc. Other Videos:

1. P2P and Commons

- Michael Bauwens on [the commons and p2P economy](#)

2. Family/feminism

- [TJ Vance on family instability](#)

3. Post-liberalism

- John Gray on the pandemic as apocalypse in [UNHERD](#)
- David Goodhart on [post-liberalism](#)
- David Goodhart on [multiculturalism](#)
- Patrick Deneen on [‘after liberalism’](#)
- New Statesman discussion – [post-liberalism](#)
- Two conservative responses to the [post-liberal left](#)

4. Ecological economics

- Hermany Daly on [ecological economics](#)

5. Populism

- Stephen K. Bannon [Interview with Red Scare](#). Gives a sense of how Bannon thinks 2020 election will go – and the centrality of a conflict with China. You can see if he’s right. However, listen to the discussion of basic income and healthcare. This is an example of political entrepreneurship – he’s ripping up the right wing ‘rule book’ to take advantage of what he sees as the changing landscape. From his perspective, Alexandria Ocasio Cortez and Bernie Sanders are trying to do the same thing from the left – but failing for various reasons. Are there any greens trying to effect the same kind of change? What would it take for them to break through in the way that populists did in 2016?

6. National conservatism; one nation conservatism

- Roger Scruton on [being a reluctant capitalist](#).
- Tucker Carlson (Fox News): [Big Business Hates Your Family](#)
- TJ Vance (Hill Billie Elegy) – Conservatism against [libertarianism](#) and becoming market-skeptical
- Vance on [Trump’s relation to rural America](#)
- Hazony – [Nationalism as a virtue](#).

COURSE POLICIES

REFERENCING: All written work should use the standard APA/Harvard referencing system.

SPELLING, STYLE, GRAMMAR, COMPOSITION: I take this seriously and so should you.

ELECTRONIC SUBMISSIONS: When submitting files, please use user-friendly and descriptive file names (e.g. SMITH 328-ESSAY2.doc).

NOTES FOR PERSONS WITH RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND /OR DISABILITIES: Please let me know of any accommodations etc – see below for more detail.

◆ Intellectual Property:

Students should be aware that this course contains the intellectual property of their instructor, TA, and/or the University of Waterloo. Intellectual property includes items such as:

- Lecture content, spoken and written (and any audio/video recording thereof);
- Lecture handouts, presentations, and other materials prepared for the course (e.g., PowerPoint slides);
- Questions or solution sets from various types of assessments (e.g., assignments, quizzes, tests, final exams); and
- Work protected by copyright (e.g., any work authored by the instructor or TA or used by the instructor or TA with permission of the copyright owner).

Course materials and the intellectual property contained therein, are used to enhance a student's educational experience. However, sharing this intellectual property without the intellectual property owner's permission is a violation of intellectual property rights. For this reason, it is necessary to ask the instructor, TA and/or the University of Waterloo for permission before uploading and sharing the intellectual property of others online (e.g., to an online repository).

Permission from an instructor, TA or the University is also necessary before sharing the intellectual property of others from completed courses with students taking the same/similar courses in subsequent terms/years. In many cases, instructors might be happy to allow distribution of certain materials. However, doing so without expressed permission is considered a violation of intellectual property rights.

Please alert the instructor if you become aware of intellectual property belonging to others (past or present) circulating, either through the student body or online. The intellectual property rights owner deserves to know (and may have already given their consent).

See Guidelines for Faculty, Staff and Students Entering Relationships with External Organizations Offering Access to Course Materials,
<https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/faculty-staff-and-students-entering-relationships-external>)

◆ Academic Integrity:

In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo community are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility. The

University's guiding principles on academic integrity can be found here: <http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity>. ENV students are strongly encouraged to review the material provided by the university's Academic Integrity office specifically for students: <http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/Students/index.html>

Students are also expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offenses, and to take responsibility for their actions. Students who are unsure whether an action constitutes an offense, or who need help in learning how to avoid offenses (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. Students may also complete the following tutorial:

<https://uwaterloo.ca/library/get-assignment-and-research-help/academic-integrity/academic-integrity-tutorial>

When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline:

<https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat-general-counsel/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-71>. Students who believe that they have been wrongfully or unjustly penalized have the right to grieve; refer to Policy #70, Student Grievance:

<https://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat-general-counsel/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-70>

◆ **Note for students with disabilities:** [AccessAbility Services](#), located in Needles Hall, Room 1401, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with [AccessAbility Services](#) at the beginning of each academic term.

◆ **Mental Health:** The University of Waterloo, the Faculty of Environment and our Departments/Schools consider students' well-being to be extremely important. We recognize that throughout the term students may face health challenges - physical and / or emotional. **Please note that help is available.** Mental health is a serious issue for everyone and can affect your ability to do your best work. Counselling Services <http://www.uwaterloo.ca/counselling-services> is an inclusive, non-judgmental, and confidential space for anyone to seek support. They offer confidential counselling for a variety of areas including anxiety, stress management, depression, grief, substance use, sexuality, relationship issues, and much more.

◆ **Religious Observances:** Students need to inform the instructor at the beginning of term if special accommodation needs to be made for religious observances that are not otherwise accounted for in the scheduling of classes and assignments.

◆ **Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. See Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm. When in doubt please contact your Undergraduate Advisor for details.

◆ **Appeals:** A decision made or penalty imposed under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than a petition) or Policy 71 – (Student Discipline) may be appealed if there is a ground. A student who believes he/she has a ground for an appeal should refer to Policy 72 (Student Appeals) www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm

◆ **Unclaimed assignments:**

Unclaimed assignments will be retained until one month after term grades become official in quest. After that time, they will be destroyed in compliance with UW's [confidential shredding procedures](#).

◆ **Communications with Instructor and Teaching Assistants:**

All communication with students must be through either the student's University of Waterloo email account or via Learn. If a student emails the instructor or TA from a personal account they will be requested to resend the email using their personal University of Waterloo email account.

◆ **Research Ethics:**

The University of Waterloo requires all research conducted by its students, staff, and faculty that involves humans as participants to undergo prior ethics review and clearance through the Director, Office of Human Research and Animal Care (Office). The ethics review and clearance processes are intended to ensure that projects comply with the Office's Guidelines for Research with Human Participants (Guidelines) as well as those of provincial and federal agencies, and that the safety, rights and welfare of participants are adequately protected. The Guidelines inform researchers about ethical issues and procedures that are of concern when conducting research with humans (e.g., confidentiality, risks and benefits, informed consent process, etc.). If the development of your research proposal consists of research that involves humans as participants, please contact the course instructor for guidance and see <https://uwaterloo.ca/research/office-research-ethics>. Information specific to ERS 317 ethics approval are included in the ERS 317 Learn site.

● **Categories other than plagiarism (defined as varieties of cheating):**

- Submission of work not written and prepared by you'
- Copying or stealing the work of another student;
- Paying for the creation of work by a commercial service or by an acquaintance to be submitted by you;
- Using an essay for submission by you, which was found, on one of the free internet essay sites;
- Writing a paper for course submission by another student;
- "Recycling" or submitting an essay, report, or assignment when a major portion has been previously submitted for another course without the expressed permission of all instructors involved.

◆ **Recording lectures:**

- Use of recording devices during lectures is only allowed with explicit permission of the instructor of the course.
- If allowed, video recordings may only include images of the instructor and not fellow classmates.

Posting of videos or links to the video to any website, including but not limited to social media sites such as: facebook, twitter, etc., is strictly pro

YOU CANNOT TAKE ANY MATERIAL FROM THIS
COURSE AND USE OR DISTRIBUTE IN ANY WAY
OUTSIDE OF THE LEARN ENVIRONMENT OR THE
UNIVERSITY