This chapter describes a large number of resources for learning about progressive ideas and social change efforts. It includes books, articles, publishers, radio programs, and web sites. Those resources that are accessible on the Internet include email addresses and web references.

**Books and Articles**

This section lists a few of the books and articles used to develop the ideas in this work. Some of the references are annotated. References cited in the text include the chapter number in brackets [ ] indicating where they are cited. In addition, references include a Library of Congress catalog number to make them easier to locate in a research library.

Resources are grouped in these categories:

- **Visions of a Good Society**
  - Utopian Novels
  - Socialism

- **Critiques of Society**
  - General
  - The Power Elite
  - Corporations
  - Distribution of Wealth
  - Economics
  - The Environment
  - Communication Media
  - Hunger
  - Racism
  - Prisons
  - Suppression of Activists
  - Competition
  - Feminist Critiques
  - Children
  - Childrearing
  - Schools
  - Other Destructive Cultural Norms
  - Groupthink and Cults

- **Social Change History**
  - General
  - The Populist Movement (1870s–1890s)
  - Early Twentieth Century Efforts
  - The Labor Movement
  - Efforts in the 1950s
  - The 1960s Movements
  - Movements in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s

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The books which help you most are those which make you think the most.
— Theodore Parker
• Methods of Changing Society
  • General
  • Theory and Analysis
  • Simple Living
  • Overcoming Destructive Cultural Norms
  • Overcoming Dysfunctional Emotional Conditioning
  • Education
  • Persuasion and Lobbying
  • Building Social Change Movements
  • Community Organizing
  • Organizing Manuals and Handbooks
  • Nonviolent Struggle
  • Building Social Change Organizations
  • Cooperative Decision-Making
    • Theory and Analysis
    • Consensus Decision-Making
    • Problem Solving
    • Conflict Resolution
  • Building Activist Finances
  • Other

• Other Cited Works

Visions of a Good Society

• UTOPIAN NOVELS


In 1887, a young man falls into a trance. He awakens 113 years later in a world of peace and plenty. In this utopian society, everyone attends school until age 21, performs unskilled labor for three years, then works in a skilled career job until retirement at age 45. Housework is treated like all other work. Workers in arduous and dangerous trades work fewer hours than those performing easier tasks — the rate determined by how many people choose each profession. All people are expected to work to their ability.

Everyone in society, whether working or not, receives equal payment at the beginning of each year to spend as he/she chooses. This total economic equality among people completely eliminates poverty and greatly reduces crime. It also encourages cooperation and goodwill, ending the impetus for dishonesty, political wrangling, and war.

Workers are induced to high production by incentives of social rankings and through military-like discipline in the “industrial army” — which I find a bit objectionable. Otherwise, this socialist vision seems workable and persuasive. The system for publishing books and periodicals and for producing art is particularly innovative.


A violent and alienated man is transformed by his unexpected visit to an island inhabited by simple people who live peacefully, guided strictly by their dreams. The book begins with a violent murder, but then creates a genuinely uplifting spirit that touches one’s soul and makes the softening and socializing of a violent man seem clearly possible.


At a time in the future (1980), Washington, Oregon, and Northern California secede from the United States and create a positive, ecologically sustainable society. Twenty years later, a journalist visits Ecotopia and reports on all aspects of this attractive society.

This novel abounds with interesting and innovative ideas.


A prequel to *Ecotopia* that describes how the revolution came about. Though improbable, it offers more stimulating ideas about social change and visions of a good society.


In this utopian novel, three male adventurers stumble across an all-female society hidden high in a large valley in the mountains. Though suffering from antiquated, racist ideas and Victorian notions about sexuality and perfectionism, Gilman’s feminist and communitarian vision makes perceptive observations about sexism, classism, childrearing, education, criminality, and religion. It also offers positive alternatives.


This science fiction novel shows that it is relatively easy to overthrow a dictatorship when most vital functions of society (a penal colony underneath the surface of the moon) are run by a supercomputer that is so large it has awakened into consciousness — and this conscious computer sympathizes with the revolutionary cause.

Though completely improbable, this novel does summarize conventional ideas about organizing a violent revolution through secret cells. It also offers some interesting alternatives to nuclear families.

As recent students of utopia have articulated, vigorous utopian thinking sketches models of a peaceable kingdom, points us toward society’s repressed possibilities, enables us to see more clearly actual tendencies, both positive and negative, strengthens our grounds for rejecting existing social forms, reactivates lost dreams and longings, and encourages political action.

— Ronald Aronson


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Though completely improbable, this novel does summarize conventional ideas about organizing a violent revolution through secret cells. It also offers some interesting alternatives to nuclear families.

This novel champions Eastern religion and hallucinogenic drugs too much for my tastes, but it has several interesting ideas about education and recovery from traumatic emotional experiences.


A planet much like the Earth (called Urras) has excluded members of a nonviolent, anarchist change movement to its very desolate moon (Annares). After two hundred years of almost complete separation, a physicist from Annares travels to Urras and observes the differences between the two societies.

Urras is extremely stratified with the rich dominating the poor, men dominating women, and a few countries dominating the rest. In sharp contrast, Annares has almost no status distinctions (and hence no racism, sexism, classism, or nationalism). Everyone performs both manual and intellectual labor. Money is not used — instead each person takes what she needs and offers what she can. Still, in this attractive society, bureaucracy, rigidity, and personal fiefdoms develop and must be resisted.

This wonderfully engaging novel makes a communitarian-anarchist society seem very possible and desirable.


The morning after a Socialist League meeting in 1890, a man awakens one hundred twenty years later. He discovers that a general strike led to a successful revolution in 1952 and that society is now egalitarian and environmentally oriented.

Gender roles in this utopian vision are somewhat traditional, but otherwise it is amazingly forward looking as it explores architecture, love, work, economics, ecology, and revolution.


Held against her will in a mental hospital, a woman is visited telepathically by a woman from the year 2137 who describes her world. This novel contrasts the horrors of 1960s mental wards with the gentle egalitarianism of a future world. Though depressing overall and somewhat dated in its perspective, it presents many innovative ideas including gender-blind terminology: “person” and “per” instead of “he” and “his.”


This vision relies too much on goddess magic for my tastes, but it does provide a nice description of nonviolent resistance to armed attack.

**SOCIALISM**


Long-term Marxist philosopher and theorist Ronald Aronson persuasively argues that the Marxist Project as described by Marx has not yet and never will occur. He argues for a new, radical change project that differs from the Marxist project in several ways:

First, it will be without historical certainty...

Second, a movement aiming at significant change will be a politics of identity as well as a politics of social structures and power. . . .

Third, the theories and explanations that a new movement will draw on will have an open character, rather than being passed off as a single and certain revolutionary science. . . .

Fourth, a new radical movement will abandon the notion that it is theoretically and practically focused on a single decisive area of human oppression [class] and a single social agent who can pull the lever to transform it [the proletariat]. . . .

Finally, if there is to be a movement, it will have to become one as a coalition of groups and forces each seeking their own changes. It will be based on a plurality of needs and demands, will have to focus on changing a plurality of structures and practices and attitudes, and its various component groups will have to learn how to interact collectively and with mutual respect. Its general appeal — its unity — if it is to exist, will have to be built group by group, block by block.

In short, if there is to be a new radical project, it will scarcely resemble what we children of Marx have come to expect. (pp. 179–180)

He also argues that morality should be at the center of this new, radical project.


The eighteen papers in this collection outline the basic philosophy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, their criticism of capitalism, and their vision of a socialist transformation. This anthology includes The Communist Manifesto and excerpts from Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.


Harrington reviews the history of socialism and argues for democratic socialism.

**ANARCHISM**


Anarchism, often maligned as promoting chaos, destruction, and bloodshed, actually promotes cooperation and personal responsibility. The thirty-four essays in this collection describe contemporary anarchist theory and practice, particularly anar-
chafeminism, worker self-management, liberatory culture, self-liberation, and the process of building an anarchist society.


In this autobiography, anarchist Goldman (1869–1940) describes how she fought for the poor and oppressed, and then how the United States deported her to the Soviet Union in 1919. There, she discovered the dark side of the Bolshevik Revolution and began speaking out against leftist oppression as well as capitalist oppression.


The fifty-seven essays in this collection look at anarchism from a variety of perspectives. The collection includes articles by Peter Kropotkin, Michael Bakunin, Leo Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Max Stirner, George Woodcock, Bertrand Russell, Paul Goodman, Colin Ward, and many others.


At the time when capitalist ideas of unfettered competition were coming to dominate society, Kropotkin focused on developing a workable anarchist society — one based on mutual aid, reciprocity, and cooperation. This collection of his writings presents his practical ideas for reshaping all aspects of society.


Ward explores the ways that people organize themselves when they are not restricted by government or other coercive structures.

**• OTHER VISIONS**


In these essays from his *New Options* magazine, Satin describes a variety of innovative ideas developed and promoted by various nonprofit organizations. Though some of the ideas seem naïve or misguided, many are fascinating.


Shuman proposes a new economics based primarily on the support of local communities. Specifically, he makes a convincing case for for-profit businesses whose shareholders are required to be local residents of a community. He argues these corporations would be more likely to be socially responsible than global corporations, perhaps even more than nonprofits, cooperatives, or public enterprises.

He provides an excellent critique of multinational corporations and global trade and offers a variety of sensible policy initiatives that would strengthen communities and make them more responsive to the people who live in them. These include:

• Investing in locally owned businesses like credit unions, municipally owned utilities, community land-trusts, community development corporations, cooperatives, small worker-owned companies, and especially local shareholder-owned companies.

• Developing local industries that can conserve or produce essential items such as food, energy, and natural resources that are typically imported instead of encouraging and enticing industries oriented towards export.

• Changing tax and trade laws that disempower communities or that subsidize irresponsibility.

**Critiques of Society**

Note: There are thousands of excellent books offering progressive critiques of society. Listed here are a few that provide an overview, some that are particularly relevant to the thesis of this book, and a few with particularly interesting perspectives. Consult the catalogs of the progressive publishers listed at the end of this chapter for more comprehensive lists of recent books. Especially noteworthy, are the many works by Noam Chomsky and Michael Parenti.

**• GENERAL**


This dictionary provides a useful guide to political ideas in the twentieth century. Each of the 174 entries includes a short biography of the individual profiled, his or her main ideas, commentary on the ideas, and a short bibliography.


This valuable reference has 350 entries covering both political philosophies and the people who conceived and promoted them. Each entry includes commentary and a short bibliography.


This valuable reference focuses on recent social philosophies.
The Power Elite


Based on their articles in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Barlett and Steele describe how elite interests in Washington and on Wall Street have changed the rules to benefit the privileged, the powerful, and the influential at the expense of everyone else.


Domhoff explores various characteristics of the upper class. He also demonstrates a variety of research methods for analyzing this group, which is difficult to study using the usual methods.

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Domhoff reveals how the owners and managers of large banks and corporations obtain special tax breaks, subsidies, and other economic favors from the government. He also examines the way they dominate government regulatory policy, foreign policy, economic development programs, and the candidate selection process.

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Domhoff presents systematic, empirical evidence that elite interests dominate the American economy and government. In this most recent edition, he uses a variety of terms — “the power elite,” “the power structure,” “the corporate community,” “the powers that be,” “the higher circles,” “the corporate rich,” “the corporate-conservative coalition,” and “the dominant class” — to describe the various elements and aspects of the elite.


In this funny and accessible book, populist Hightower details the class war being waged by the power elite and corporations against the rest of us.

• **Distribution of Wealth**


Barlett and Steele show how tax policy targets the poor and the middle-class and benefits corporations and the rich.


This small book provides an excellent overview of the gap in wealth between the rich and poor in the United States. It includes eighteen tables of recent data.


Phillips, a Republican campaign strategist, describes the decline of the middle-class in the 1980s.


Phillips shows how President Reagan’s tax policies shifted money from the poor to the rich.


Pizzigati traces the history of U.S. tax policy and the many popular struggles to limit the incomes of the very wealthy. He argues for new federal income tax rates calibrated to the minimum wage that would tax away the excess income of the richest one percent and provide a hefty tax reduction for everyone else.


In this short book, Zepezauer and Naiman enumerate the various subsidies, handouts, tax breaks, loopholes, and scams given to corporations and wealthy individuals that totaled at least $448 billion in 1996.

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• **Economics**


Albert and Hahnel propose a practical and humane economic system based on equitable consumption, participatory planning, and self-management organized efficiently and productively without hierarchical control.


Unlike most economics textbooks that promote neoclassical mythology, this one describes economic reality. It explores three kinds of economic relationships: (1) voluntary exchange and competition among relative equals in marketplaces — the ideal economy that most conventional economics texts cover, (2) unequal relationships in which one actor has the power to impose costs on another or to control the information that another receives — including monopolies, government regulation, manager/subordinate relationships, advertising-induced demand, and hostile takeovers, and (3) the changes that an economic system goes through over time. The book analyzes the efficiency of various economic systems and discusses how fair and democratic they are.


Through stories, charts, graphs, short descriptions, and cartoons, this book presents a clear and accessible overview of the economy and how it affects a variety of people.


Economist Henderson argues that the global economy is based on shortsighted, narrow economic policies. She demonstrates that — because of its negative effects on employees, families, communities, and the ecosystem — it is unsustainable.


Kuttner shows how the implementation of free market ideology has retarded economic growth, increased income inequality, undermined democracy, and restricted access to health care and other important social provisions. He documents market failure in a variety of sectors including medicine, banking, securities, telecommunications, air travel, sports, and electric power. Kuttner explains that the call for “pure markets” — free of government regulation — is really a corporate plea to avoid responsibility for community and society well being.

Kuttner calls for a mixed economy with strong government regulation of the private sector. He would also have the government administer basic social programs like health care and pension benefits. He argues that government should provide incentives to corporations that treat their employees in a socially responsible manner. Moreover, Kuttner advocates for a more progressive tax system that could redistribute economic and political power. To keep markets in their place, he believes Americans must actively participate in civic affairs and maintain a strong democracy.

The 43 essays in this collection, by leading economic, environmental, agricultural, and cultural experts, charge that free trade and economic globalization are producing exactly the opposite results from what has been promised. They argue instead for an international system based on revitalized democracy, local self-sufficiency, and ecological health.


Morrison describes the forty-year history of the Mondragon cooperative network in Spain, which consists of 170 worker-owned-and-operated cooperatives serving over 100,000 people and providing over 21,000 secure and well-paid jobs.


Schumacher argues for a human-oriented and human-sized economic system with products designed to be understood, built, and repaired by regular people.


Sklar explains how and why Americans, working harder than ever these days, still cannot achieve their dreams.

**12. Resources**

**• THE ENVIRONMENT**


Bookchin argues that today’s global ecological crisis stems from social hierarchy and domination. He calls for “an ecological society based on nonhierarchical relationships, decentralized democratic communities, and eco-technologies like solar power, organic agriculture, and humanly scaled industries.”


This annual survey offers a comprehensive analysis of negative environmental trends and a guide to emerging solutions.


Milbrath provides a detailed summary of the Green perspective. He argues that our current dominator culture is not sustainable and advocates a paradigm shift in thinking toward a learning society, one that (p. 95–112):

- Utilizes a wealth of information
- Finds good ways to disseminate and utilize information
- Emphasizes integrative (holistic) and probabilistic thinking
- Emphasizes values as much as facts (and examines its values)
- Is critical of new technology
- Combines theory with practice
- Is consciously anticipatory
- Believes that change is possible
- Examines outcomes to learn from them
- Develops institutions to foster systemic and futures thinking
- Institutionalizes a practice of analyzing future impacts
- Re-orients education toward social learning
- Supports research
- Maintains openness and encourages citizen participation


**• COMMUNICATION MEDIA**


Based on a six-year study, these two political scientists establish a link between negative political advertising and low voter turnout.


Bagdikian provides a detailed analysis of the growing concentration of the major communications media. In the original 1984 edition of this book, Bagdikian found that fifty corporations dominated control of daily newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books, and movies. With greater consolidation, he now finds that “in 1996 the number of media corporations with dominant power in society is closer to ten.” These ten, with some of their most prominent holdings, are: Disney (ABC, America On-Line), Westinghouse (CBS), General Electric (NBC), Murdoch’s News Corporation Limited (Fox, TV Guide), Time Warner (Time, People, Sports Illustrated, Warner Brothers, HBO, CNN, TNT), Viacom, Sony, Tele-Communications, Inc. (TCI), Seagram, and Gannett. Bagdikian also points out that the Telecommunications Act of 1996 has allowed these corporations to own a share of each other and develop strategic partnerships with each other, thus eliminating most competition.


Fallow, Washington editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* charges the U.S. media with arrogance, irresponsibility, and negativism. Instead of providing useful facts and engaging the public in debate about vital issues, he argues the media provide celebrity-based entertainment and endless scare-stories about a world out of control.
• HUNGER


In this meticulously documented book, Herman and Chomsky show how the marketplace and the economics of publishing — as well as an underlying elite consensus — shape the news. They reveal how issues are framed and topics chosen to manufacture public consent for elite policies.


McChesney describes the contradiction “between a for-profit, highly concentrated, advertising-saturated, corporate media system and the communication requirements of a democratic society.” He calls for vigorous antitrust litigation against media conglomerates, robust regulation of corporate broadcasters, and government subsidies for nonprofit journalism.


Parry, a former reporter for the Associated Press and *Newsweek* details the opinion-shaping process in the United States.

• RACISM


Hale examines the social construction of whiteness and the “culture of segregation.”


In the 19th century, “whiteness” was reserved for Anglo-Saxons. Slowly, the concept of whiteness evolved to include the Irish, Northern Europeans, and Scandinavians, then other white gentiles, then Jews. Jacobson investigates the reasons for this change.


Kivel offers concrete examples of the day-to-day privileges provided to white people (European Americans) and shows that even well intentioned white people unknowingly act in ways that promote injustice. He offers suggestions for how white people can work toward equity and equality for everyone.


In this collection of essays, West points out the limits of the intellectual frameworks used by whites, blacks, liberals, and conservatives in discussing race in the United States. He vigorously criticizes racism, but also challenges black conservatives, black anti-Semitism, and our market-driven culture that devastates those at the bottom.


Woodward examines the Jim Crow segregation laws in the post-Civil War South. He discovers that the imposition of strict segregation did not immediately follow the War. He also finds that the adoption of Jim Crow laws was not due simply to racism — political factors played a major role.

• PRISONS


Abu-Jamal, an award-winning radio reporter and prisoner awaiting the death penalty, excoriates the brutality of prisons and criticizes the racism and political bias in the American judicial system that, he argues, led to his own wrongful conviction.
It is dangerous to be right when the government is wrong. — Voltaire

**Suppression of Activists**


This book looks at the history of police forces and their use in maintaining political control, finding that the police have always been used to thwart progressive change efforts.


Donner traces the emergence of the “intelligence” establishment from its modest origins to its present position as a massive, oppressive institution for enforcing social control.


Glick summarizes the many ways in which the government’s COINTELPRO program waged covert action against activists in the 1960s and how similar efforts were directed against activists working in the 1980s to end oppression in Central America.


In this comprehensive study of government attacks on dissenters in the past century, Goldstein shows that repression has been a consistent instrument of government policy, frequently altering the course of history.


Drawing on the 1976 Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities report and many other official public sources, this book devastatingly and undeniably describes the vast scope of government surveillance and harassment of activists carried out by the CIA, FBI, National Security Agency (NSA), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), military intelligence agencies, and grand juries. It focuses particularly on the 1960s and early 1970s.


Helvarg describes current violence and terrorism directed at environmentalists.


This book contains interviews with 34 U.S. activists who were attacked and repressed in the twentieth century. It includes an annotated bibliography of other books on repression.

**Competition**


Social scientists have often employed the Prisoner’s Dilemma game to study behavior. In the Prisoner’s Dilemma, two players must decide — without conferring — to cooperate with each other or to defect. If they both decide to cooperate, they achieve a certain amount of benefit (say having a value of 3). If one tries to cooperate, but the other defects, then the cooperator gains nothing, but the defector achieves even more benefit (say of value 5). If they both defect, then they both gain only minimally (say of value 1). This game is fascinating because it explores the tension between cooperation and selfishness. If one player can defect while enticing the other to try to cooperate, then that player can win big. However, if both cooperate, they both do better than if they both defect.

Using a computer simulation, Axelrod shows that in an environment in which the game is played repeatedly, one of the most productive and stable strategies is the one known as “Tit for Tat.” Tit for Tat is the policy of cooperating in the first round and then doing whatever the other player did in the last round. Tit for Tat cooperates well with other cooperative strategies, thus achieving a fairly large payoff. However, when confronted with an uncooperative strategy, it is not exploited. It is a “nice” strategy (always trying to cooperate at first), one that is provoked by a defection from the other player, and yet is very forgiving (it only retaliates once). It encourages other players to cooperate and never attempts to exploit another player.

Taking an ecological approach, Axelrod created an environment with many players that used a variety of strategies (as posed by other game theorists) and pitted them against each other. Then he calculated what would happen if each of the strategies were submitted to the next round in proportion to its success in the previous round. This process was repeated for many rounds and Tit For Tat ended up displacing all the other strategies: it was the most robust and stable strategy. By cooperating with other cooperative strategies, it was able to increase its strength enough to outpace the non-cooperative strategies.

Axelrod also points out that, even in an environment dominated by “mean” strategies (ones that always defect), a cluster of Tit For Tat players can cooperate enough with each other that they can eventually build themselves up and outdistance the others. This suggests a possibly promising approach for progressive change activists.

Kohn convincingly condemns the kind of competition that requires the failure of another for one’s own success. Backing his arguments with extensive citations from social science research, he demolishes four myths:

- Competition is an inherent part of “human nature.”
- Competition motivates us to do our best.
- Contests provide the best way to have a good time.
- Competition builds character and self-confidence.

Strip away all the assumptions about what competition is supposed to do, all the claims in its behalf that we accept and repeat reflexively. What you have left is the essence of the concept: mutually exclusive goal attainment (MEGA). One person succeeds only if another does not. From this uncluttered perspective, it seems clear right away that something is drastically wrong with such an arrangement. How can we do our best when we are spending our energies trying to make others lose — and fearing that they will make us lose? Can this sort of struggle really be the best way to have a good time? What happens to our self-esteem when it becomes dependent on how much better we do than the next person? Most striking of all is the impact of this arrangement on human relationship: a structural incentive to see other people lose cannot help but drive a wedge between us and invite hostility. . . .

All of these conclusions seem to flow from the very nature of competition. As it happens, they also are corroborated by the evidence — what we see around us and what scores of studies have been finding. . . .

I have become convinced that competition is an inherently undesirable arrangement, that the phrase healthy competition is actually a contradiction in terms. This is nothing short of heresy because only two positions on the question are normally recognized: enthusiastic support and qualified support. . . .

I believe that the case against competition is so compelling that parenthetical qualifications to the effect that competing can sometimes be constructive would be incongruous and unwarranted. (p. 9)


Taylor explores whether people would cooperate with each other without the intervention of government. He argues that Hobbes’ *Leviathan* and Hume’s *Treatise for Government* describe the human situation in a way that can be modeled by an iterated Prisoner’s Dilemma game. He then shows that despite the precariousness of the mutual cooperation situation in this iterated game, it is still rational under some circumstances for the players to cooperate, even if they only pursue their own self-interest.

**Feminist Critiques**


In this classic feminist analysis, Brownmiller systematically identifies and dispels the many myths about rape.


Ehrenreich and English present a clear analysis of the ways in which “expert” professionals, especially doctors, have treated women.


This classic collection of essays presents the new ideas of the second wave of feminism developed in the 1960s and early 1970s.

**Children**


**Childrearing**


This research study by historian Greven focuses on Christians’ use of Biblical texts to justify corporal punishment. He analyzes the destructive effects this punishment has on our culture.


Karr-Morse and Wiley present evidence that violent behavior is fundamentally linked to abuse and neglect in the first two years of life (from conception to 18 months of age). They describe recent research that shows how trust, empathy, conscience, and lifelong learning (or alternatively, a predisposition to violent behavior) are “hardwired” into the brain during pregnancy and infancy.


These three doctors review the neurological literature and argue that affection, communication, and play are essential for the proper development of children. They call for more cuddling and for babies to sleep with their parents.

Through analyzing a variety of case studies, German psychotherapist Alice Miller contends that when children’s vital needs for love, respect, and protection are frustrated and they are instead exploited, beaten, punished, manipulated, neglected, or deceived — without the intervention of any witness — then their psyches will be severely damaged. If, further, they are prevented from expressing their natural anger, pain, and fear, they will often completely suppress their feelings, repress their memories of the trauma, and sometimes even idealize those who abused them. Later, these intense, repressed feelings are likely to be directed towards others as criminal behavior or against themselves as drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, mental illness, or suicide. If these battered children grow up to become parents, they often direct their repressed anger towards their own children.

She explores the cultural and religious ideas used to justify beating, manipulating, or humiliating children that drives the willfulness and joy out of them. She shows how this “poisonous pedagogy” leads to adults who are docile, servile, and unfeeling and thus ripe for exploitation by dictators like Adolph Hitler.


Anthropologist Meredith Small summarizes a variety of academic studies that examine parenting behavior. She discovers that numerous studies show babies cry less (are more content) when they are (1) attended to immediately when they cry, (2) fed as needed rather than on a schedule, and (3) spend most of their time being held or in body contact with their mothers or other caretakers.

She points out that throughout human history babies have spent most of their time being held in close contact by their mothers in slings and being breastfed whenever they want. Biologically that is what babies require and that is what they get in most of the world. However, babies in the western world spend a tremendous amount of time alone, isolated from their mothers’ bodies in chairs, car seats, cribs, and walkers. Most western babies also sleep alone, typically isolated in their own rooms.

**SCHOOLS**


In this classic book, Holt describes his experience as a young teacher in “above average” schools working with “bright” students. He describes the mind-crippling malaise induced by typical educational methods and offers positive alternatives.

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**OTHER DESTRUCTIVE CULTURAL NORMS**


Reviewing the archaeology literature, Eisler argues provocatively that for many thousands of years in prehistoric times humans lived in societies that were not violent, hierarchic, or dominated by men. She suggests these gentle and cooperative societies were eventually conquered by violent outsiders. She argues that we could, once again, choose a gentle partnership model of society based on caring, compassion, and nonviolence instead of a dominator model based on competition and war.


Psychoanalyst Fromm convincingly makes the case that we live in an insane society. He champions communitarian socialism as a healthy alternative.


Lieutenant Colonel Grossman describes how modern armies, using Pavlovian and operant conditioning, have developed ways to overcome humans’ natural aversion to killing people. He argues this conditioning is responsible for the increase in post-traumatic stress syndrome. He further asserts that contemporary society, especially the media, has replicated the army’s conditioning techniques, leading to a more violent society and rising murder rates.

Schaef argues that society acts like an addict, exhibiting and promoting such dysfunctional behavior as self-centeredness, repression, dishonesty, shame, greed, obsessions, confusion, denial, perfectionism, judgmentalism, forgetfulness, dependency, zero-sum orientation, negativism, cynicism, defensiveness, tunnel vision, blame, irresponsibility, arrogance, and fear.


Lakoff, a cognitive scientist, offers a groundbreaking analysis of the concepts of “conservative” and “liberal” in our society. He finds they correlate with two very different moral worldviews based on two distinct childrearing philosophies.

He argues that conservative thought is based on Strict Father morality and Authoritarian childrearing which assign high moral value to absolutist ideas, authority, strength, self-discipline, reward and punishment, and a moral hierarchy with God above men, men above women, adults above children, and humans above animals and the natural environment. In contrast, liberal thought is based on Nurturant Parent morality and Authoritative or Harmonious childrearing that assign high moral value to empathy, fairness, protection of those who need it, and nurturance.

In exploring these conflicting perspectives, Lakoff finds that Nurturant Parent morality reflects actual reality and is self-correcting. In contrast, Strict Father morality makes erroneous assumptions about how humans behave and so often produces faulty analyses and poor results.


Putnam explores the phenomenon of Americans’ reduced engagement in civic and community life. He tracks the decline in participation in public clubs like the Elks and Shriners and social gatherings like family dinners and poker playing. He finds that many religious organizations now tend only to the needs of church members and ignore the larger society. Using statistics and time diaries, he plots various indicators of civic engagement, and finds that it peaked in the early 1960s and then declined.

As civic engagement declines, people have fewer relationships with other people. This means they have fewer people they can rely on for help with simple chores or for more extensive support during hard times.

Putnam finds several causes of the decline in civic engagement: television, the entrance of women into the workforce, high levels of divorce, and urban sprawl.

This book has stimulated a controversy explored in the articles listed here: <http://www.epn.org/issues/civilsociety.html>


Sale argues that our society operates at a level beyond the capacity of humans to understand or control and calls for institutions that are more human-sized.

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**GROUPTHINK AND CULTS**


Janis discusses the tendency of insular groups self-righteously to assume their perspectives are correct, which leads them to make poor decisions. He outlines several means for preventing groupthink.

_____. “Groupthink.” *Psychology Today* (Nov. 1971): 43–46, 74–76. [Chap. 3]


<http://www.shassan.com> [Chap. 3]

Hassan, a former member of the Moonie cult, describes the methods of mind control used by cults.

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**Social Change History**

**GENERAL**


Bacon recounts the story of the Society of Friends in the United States, showing that Quakers generally were honest and respectful in their dealings with native Americans, that they refused to participate in war, and that they pioneered efforts for penal reform, racial justice, women’s rights, and nonviolent action.


This pictorial encyclopedia of nonviolent action includes over 300 photographs and explanatory text. It covers peace churches and early secular peace organizations, the women’s rights movement, the anti-slavery movement, the labor movement, conscientious objectors to war, nuclear pacifism, the Civil Rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the environmental movement, and women’s peace encampments.


Diggins describes the rise of four leftists movements in this century: the Lyrical Left of the First World War years, the Old Left during the Great Depression, the New Left of the 1960s, and the Academic Left of the 1990s.

Loewen relates various fallacies found in U.S. history textbooks, showing how social issues are misreported and ideas are misrepresented.


In this excellent alternative history book, Zinn looks at history from the perspective of those who have been exploited politically or economically.

**THE POPULIST MOVEMENT (1870s–1890s)**


In this doctoral dissertation, historian Burns investigates the rise and fall of the Populist Movement. He argues that to bring about true reform of society, social change movements in the United States should combine various aspects of grassroots democracy — especially direct action, political education, and the creation of new institutions and ideologies — with traditional forms of electoral-representative democracy.


Goodwyn provides the definitive history of the Populist movement.

**EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY EFFORTS**


Weinstein describes the history of the Socialist Party during a crucial time when it shrank drastically in size and power.

**THE LABOR MOVEMENT**


Brecher narrates the history of the U.S. labor movement from the point of view of rank-and-file workers.


Renshaw tells the story of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the revolutionary labor union founded in Chicago in 1905. The IWW sought to organize the American working class — and eventually workers all over the world — into one big labor union with a syndicalist philosophy.

**EFFORTS IN THE 1950s**


Isserman describes the period between World War II and the 1960s when the American Left was at a low point. He shows that — contrary to the common understanding — lessons learned by the Old Left were passed on to the New Left.


Tracy tells the story of a small group of radical pacifists who were incarcerated during World War II as conscientious objectors and then became major players in the Civil Rights, anti-war, and anti-nuclear movements in the 1950s and 1960s.

**THE 1960s MOVEMENTS**


Burns explores four main social movements of the 1960s — the black freedom movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the “counterculture,” and the feminist movement — and describes lessons that can be learned for future efforts.


Carson recounts the progression of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from its early days when it was focused on assimilation of Blacks into White society, through its militant period when its leaders demanded more radical change, through its separatist period when “Black Power” was the primary goal, and then back again into conventional politics.

Cluster, Dick, ed. *They Should Have Served that Cup of Coffee: Seven Radicals Remember the ‘60s.* Boston: South End Press, 1979, HN90 .R3 T47.

This is a very readable collection of essays by and interviews with activists involved in the civil rights, Black Power, women’s, and anti-Vietnam War movements.

Pacifist Dellinger describes his role in the anti-war movement of the 1960s and points out that the movement was much more powerful than its participants knew or its detractors would admit.


Gitlin, an early president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), recounts the history of the social movements of the 1960s.


Gitlin describes how the mass media first ignored the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s, then selected and emphasized aspects of the story in a way that distorted and destroyed it. He shows how the media turned movement leaders into celebrities and inflated revolutionary rhetoric and militancy. He argues that the media do not conspire to disparage social change movements, but editors and reporters assume the social order is legitimate and that demonstrations of political opposition are simply noisy complaints by disaffected whiners. So their reports rely on official interpretations of reality and treat political dissent as either a peculiar oddity or a crime.


Rexroth investigates the 1960s protest movements and argues that the rejection of the “technocracy” — the regime of corporate and technological experts that dominate industrial society — spawned both anti-war activism and the development of the counterculture.


Sale presents a comprehensive history of the national office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the main New Left and anti-Vietnam War organization of the 1960s. [Chap. 9]


Walls describes in detail more than one hundred groups working for change — most of them progressive.

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Methods of Changing Society

• **THEORY AND ANALYSIS**

  — Also see the Competition section above.


  Analyzing the prospects for change in Australia, Altman argues that both grassroots cultural change (new social movements) and political change (working through the Australian Labor Party) are necessary to achieve a more humane, egalitarian, and free society.

In this very accessible book, Chong uses the Civil Rights Movement to illustrate the dynamics of public-spirited collective action. Applying rational choice theory, Chong argues that collective action can best be viewed as an assurance game in which activists must coordinate their activity and convince enough people to take action simultaneously.

He emphasizes the crucial role that leaders play in assuring others that an action will take place and will be successful. He also points out that people often feel compelled to engage in public action to maintain their reputations as champions of positive values.


Cook divides all political philosophers into four camps based on two criteria: whether they identify with the rich or the poor and whether they believe in limiting wants to fit within ecological limitations or they believe in trying to overcome scarcity through technological growth. The four resulting categories are: Capitalists (identify with the rich, expand limits), Socialists (identify with the poor, expand limits), Aristocrats (identify with the rich, fit within limits), and Saints (identify with the poor, fit within limits).


Based on their study of the anti-slavery struggle, the populist movement, the women’s movement, the labor movement, and the civil rights movement, Evans and Boyte argue that democratic movements need “free spaces” — public places deeply rooted in the life and traditions of the community where individuals can gain self-confidence and develop a larger sense of the common good. Free spaces are settings between private lives and large-scale institutions where citizens can learn citizenship — a place where they can develop and practice democratic and communitarian skills, values, and aspirations. These spaces are typically voluntary forms of association like religious organizations, clubs, self-help and mutual aid societies, reform groups, neighborhood groups, civic organizations, ethnic groups, and other community associations.


Flacks, a founder and early leader of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and now a sociologist, looks at the potential for revitalizing the left tradition of grassroots democracy in the United States. He points out that most Americans have a strong “commitment to everyday life” and their participation in politics is usually directed to preserving their rights and their opportu-

nity for self-determination. He hopes for a society in which daily life and making history are integrated.


Originally titled, *Revolution: Quaker Prescription for a Sick Society,* this book uses a medical metaphor to describe the ills of society and how we might heal it through a nonviolent revolution. Written by members of the Philadelphia-based and Quaker-influenced Movement for a New Society (MNS), it critically examines U.S.-Third World relations, U.S. domestic policy, and the environmental crisis.


Schindler and Lapid of Project Victory seek to create win/win dialogues for resolving world conflicts. They describe the changes we must go through individually and as a society to become skilled in the art of dialogue.


• *Simple Living*


The Simple Living Collective shares its practical suggestions for living simply and changing the world.

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• OVERCOMING DESTRUCTIVE CULTURAL NORMS


This book is based on the premise that many of today’s pressing societal and personal needs can be met by a systematic, humanistic, people-involving change process, one which focuses on the culture and makes use of the power of the culture to bring about improvement in the human condition. The key hypotheses we present are these:

• The cultures in which we live have an immense impact on each of us as individuals and on our institutions, without our being fully aware of what is happening to us.
• Our cultures are much more changeable, for better or worse, than most of us realize.
• By using a planned, systematic, people-involved strategy for change, we can consciously transform our environments and in that way re-create ourselves. (p. vii)


Eisler and Loye detail a program for shifting to “a partnership way” in which human relations are based on equality, non-violence, and harmony with nature.


Holt argues that parents should treat children like real people, not as pets or slaves. In particular, he contends children should have all the rights and responsibilities specified in the U.S. Bill of Rights.

• OVERCOMING DYSFUNCTIONAL EMOTIONAL CONDITIONING


Berne describes 33 dysfunctional games that people often play in what he calls Transactional Analysis and contrasts them with behavior that is free of game playing.


Bradshaw describes how past experiences create destructive patterns and how we can open ourselves to the soul-building work of real love.


Bradshaw describes how toxic shame, typically induced by abusive parents and teachers, produces feelings of deep inadequacy and can lead to a lifetime of compulsions, co-dependencies, addictions, and the drive to superachieve. He describes the signs of toxic shame and how to overcome it.


We have studied parents and children in very detailed laboratory studies and followed the children as they developed. After a decade of research in my laboratory my research team encountered a group of parents who did five very simple things with their children when the children were emotional. We call these five things ‘Emotion Coaching.’ We discovered that the children who had Emotion-Coaching parents were on an entirely different developmental trajectory than the children of other parents.

The Emotion-Coaching parents had children who later became what Daniel Goleman calls “emotionally intelligent” people. These coached children simply had more general abilities in the area of their own emotions than children who were not coached by their parents. (p. 16)

The parents:
1. become aware of the child’s emotion;
2. recognize the emotion as an opportunity for intimacy and teaching;
3. listen empathetically, validating the child’s feelings;
4. help the child find words to label the emotion he is having; and
5. set limits while exploring strategies to solve the problem at hand. (p. 24)


Harris describes the consequences of a person thinking herself to be OK or not OK and thinking that others are OK or not OK.


Hendrix presents a clear summary of the understanding of humans developed by psychologists over the past century. He also presents sixteen exercises that people can use to help themselves change so that their behavior is conscious and deliberate, rather than reactive and based on unconscious fears and suppressed needs from childhood. The exercises are designed for married couples, but could easily be adapted to any close relationship. They are simple and positive — designed to foster understanding of and love for oneself and one’s partner.

Ten Characteristics of a Conscious Marriage (from pp. 90–92):

1. You realize that your love relationship has a hidden purpose — the healing of childhood wounds.
2. You create a more accurate image of your partner.
3. You take responsibility for communicating your needs and desires to your partner.
4. You become more intentional in your interactions.
5. You learn to value your partner’s needs and wishes as highly as you value your own.
6. You embrace the dark side of your personality.
7. You learn new techniques to satisfy your basic needs and desires.
8. You search within yourself for the strengths and abilities you are lacking.
9. You become more aware of your drive to be loving and whole and united with the universe.
10. You accept the difficulty of creating a good marriage.

One of the deep secrets of life is that all that is really worth doing is what we do for others. — Lewis Carroll


Jackins, founder and leader of Re-evaluation Counseling, Inc., argues that human beings are naturally smart, strong, loving, cooperative, and zestful, but when hurt, especially as children, they act out dysfunctional behavior. He argues that by providing a safe environment in which people can discharge emotions (by crying, shaking in fear, laughing, and so on), they can recover their full potential.


Based on the ideas he first formulated with Parent Effectiveness Training (PET), Gordon describes positive methods for listening to people (active listening), saying things to change another person using "I-messages," and coming to a win-win solution using a 6-step problem solving method.

- **EDUCATION**


Adams describes the history of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. Myles Horton founded it in 1932 to teach adults how to solve problems and conflicts by tapping their own experience and awareness.


Freire argues that real education should be liberating and subversive — teaching people to think for themselves. He promotes educational methods that pose the question “Why?” about all aspects of students’ lives and their society.


Holt calls for massive reform of the educational system to make it learner-directed, non-coercive, and focused on interest-inspired learning.


Horton’s autobiography tells the history of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.


This book describes how to set up and run a self-run study group. It includes a number of exercises useful for envisioning a good society and examining critical issues.

- **PERSUASION AND LOBBYING**


Based on what he learned as Apple Computer’s original software evangelist for the Macintosh, Kawasaki describes how to convince people to believe passionately in a product or project by projecting one’s fervor and zeal.


Snyder describes the honest and ethical lobbying carried out by the Quaker organization Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) in Washington, DC.


Some people are influential in shaping the opinions of those around them. Weimann reviews 3,900 studies on these influential people and opinion leaders. He finds that opinion leaders generally are gregarious, socially connected, and knowledgeable.

- **BUILDING SOCIAL CHANGE MOVEMENTS**


Olmosk, Kurt E. “Seven Pure Strategies of Change.” *The 1972 Annual Handbook for Group Facilitators*. 163–172. [Fig. 7.4]

Oppenheimer, Martin. *The Urban Guerrilla*. Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1969, JC491 .O6. [Fig. 7.5]


Rejai provides an excellent summary of the scholarly literature on revolutionary strategy.

Rogers, Everett M. *Diffusion of Innovations*, 3rd ed. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1983, HM101 .R57 1983. [Chap. 9] Rogers summarizes the results of over 3,000 studies that analyze the process of diffusing new ideas and practices throughout society. He describes what is necessary to communicate new ideas to people and various ways to encourage people to adopt them.

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZING**


Piven and Cloward study four protest movements in the twentieth century carried out by poor people. They explore the successes and failures of mass defiance and disruption as compared with conventional electoral politics.


Based on her experience organizing the innovative and multi-racial Piedmont Peace Project in a poor, rural area of North Carolina, Stout offers several outstanding ideas about how to build powerful social change organizations. She argues against traditional hierarchical leadership dominated by a single top leader and argues in favor of a shared model in which everyone is encouraged to take leadership. She also promotes ongoing training in diversity and leadership. Furthermore, she urges groups to develop strategic plans, develop budgets and marketing plans, provide good benefits to group staffmembers, find effective ways to work with the news media, and communicate honestly with foundations about the true costs of good organizing.

**ORGANIZING MANUALS AND HANDBOOKS**


In these two classic books, Alinsky describes some of the organizing techniques for which he is famous.


This organizing manual for students includes essays and many success stories.


This excellent manual, oriented towards community organizing, is based on the curriculum of the Midwest Academy, a Chicago-based organizing school associated with Citizen Action.


This book is an excellent general resource guide for those seeking fundamental social change through nonviolence. It was written by members of Movement for a New Society (MNS) who helped create the nonviolent direct action anti-nuclear power movement of the 1970s. It includes sections on strategizing, group dynamics, meeting facilitation, decision-making, conflict resolution, training, and organizing.


This valuable resource manual has four chapters describing different political perspectives (nonviolence, socialism, anarchism, and feminism), fourteen chapters explaining different organizing techniques, eight focusing on different constituencies, five on different methods of literature production, nine on various aspects of nonviolent direct action, and four on more conventional political work (lawsuits, elections, lobbying, and the media).


Isaac presents short histories of five social change movements: the civil rights movement, the labor movement, the women’s rights movement, the consumer movement, and the environmental movement. Then she describes how to use public
education, research, direct action, lobbying, and the courts to bring about positive change. She concludes with activities for students to get involved.


Kahn covers all facets of community and union organizing.


MacEachern describes most aspects of community organizing, especially fundraising, communications, and lobbying. She provides examples of ordinary people organizing winning campaigns.


Shaw, a housing activist in San Francisco, describes various ways to strategize, challenge elected officials, work in coalitions, promote ballot initiatives, work with the media, work with lawyers, and engage in direct action.


[Chap. 6]

**Action Handbooks**


**Nonviolent Struggle**


Ackerman and Kruegler analyze sixty-two-century nonviolent campaigns and delineate twelve strategic principles that enhance the prospects for success.


Bondurant provides an excellent introduction to Gandhi’s political thought and the operation of Satyagraha in specific campaigns.


Burrowes integrates the strategic theories of military battle developed by Carl von Clausewitz with those of nonviolent struggle developed by Mohandas Gandhi.


In this small book, Cummings explains the dynamics of a nonviolent campaign and how it can effectively bring about positive change.


[Chap. 5]

This short essay provides an excellent response to those who assume that powerful, radical struggle must necessarily be violent and maintain that nonviolence is meek, moralistic, or suicidal. Deming argues that nonviolent struggle can be as bold, powerful, and radical as armed struggle.


In this short pamphlet, Irwin and Gordon summarize the history, theory, and practice of nonviolent action.


In these classic papers, King explains his philosophy of nonviolent action.


Lakey proposes a five-stage strategy for nonviolent revolution. His comprehensive approach focuses on social empowerment and grassroots organizations.


Bill Moyer (not to be confused with television journalist Bill Moyers) worked on the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference’s Poor People’s Campaign and co-founded the Movement for a New Society and its Philadelphia Life Center.
He was involved with the movements working against the Vietnam War, against nuclear energy and weapons, for European nuclear disarmament, and against intervention in Central America.

In this pamphlet, Moyer describes the eight stages through which social change movements typically progress. For each stage, he describes the role of change activists, powerholders, and the public, then sketches appropriate goals for activists, and finally describes the pitfalls activists may encounter.

Moyer points out that successful nonviolent campaigns “aim to educate and win over an increasingly larger majority of the public, and to mobilize the majority public into an effective force that brings about social change.” When the campaign grows large enough, it severely undercuts support for the powerholders. Without the tacit support of most people in society, powerholders are then forced to make changes or to turn over their authority to those who will.


In this pamphlet, Moyer expands his analysis of the Movement Action Plan (MAP). He describes its strategic assumptions and discusses four particular roles of an activist: as a citizen, reformer, rebel, and change agent.


Sharp explores the workings of Gandhi’s social change efforts and their moral basis.


In this classic treatise, Sharp describes a comprehensive theory of nonviolent action. Volume 1 argues that the general public can restrict or sever the power wielded by societal leaders by withdrawing its support of and cooperation with those leaders. Volume 2 describes 198 specific techniques of nonviolent struggle and illustrates each one with examples. Volume 3 examines the dynamics of nonviolent action used against a violent, repressive opponent.

• **BUILDING SOCIAL CHANGE ORGANIZATIONS**


This directory, published periodically, lists over 600 intentional communities with detailed cross-references. It also includes 31 articles on communitarian issues.


Downton and Wehr interviewed thirty long-term activists in Colorado and identified the factors that led them to continue to work for peace even as others stopped their efforts.


This valuable book offers three practical means to support friends and colleagues in making difficult decisions and sustaining their commitments. It describes how to provide ongoing, mutual sustenance through support groups, how to assist individuals to make wise decisions using clearness groups, and how to unearth a person’s dreams and insight, even when buried beneath fear and helplessness, through the process of strategic questioning.


This book provides a practical toolkit for leaders to deal creatively and concretely with organizational issues including strategy, structure, diversity, meetings, morale, gossip, and conflict.


Shaffer and Annundsen describe a variety of supportive groups: workplace teams, shared residences, social clubs, ritual groups, support groups, neighborhood associations, intellectual salons, spiritual communities, and electronic networks. They show how to set up these groups and how to make them work well.


Shields provides a wide variety of practical methods for sustaining and enjoying social action.

• **COOPERATIVE DECISION-MAKING**

**Theory and Analysis**


Barber argues for a strong, participatory democracy.

**Consensus Decision-Making**


Butler and Rothstein codify “Formal Consensus” — a highly structured procedure based on presenting a proposal and then modifying it in response to concerns. They seek to codify consensus decision-making the same way that Robert’s Rules of Order codifies parliamentary procedure.

This book reviews a variety of practical methods for making consensus decision-making work.


This manual provides a variety of ideas about communication, planning, creative problem solving, conflict resolution, and moving groups toward their goals.


Doyle and Straus provide an excellent introduction to win/win decision-making including an adaptation of the consensus process for business groups with a manager who finally approves all decisions. They show how a facilitator, recorder, and a group memory (wall chart) help achieve good decisions, and they explain how to develop agendas, how to arrange meeting rooms, and how to deal with sixteen types of problem people.


Gastil describes the essential elements required for democracy in a small group and spells out when democratic methods should be used.


This handbook presents a non-directive approach to teaching consensus decision-making based on exercises that encourage self-initiation and responsibility. It emphasizes problem solving skills and working together.

**Problem Solving**


Adams discusses various impediments to solving problems and presents approaches for overcoming them.


De Bono contrasts “vertical thinking” (careful, logical analysis and problem solving based on the available data) with “lateral thinking” in which one uses different viewpoints and unusual approaches to come up with fresh ideas. Other books by de Bono describe ways to encourage this creative lateral thinking.

**Conflict Resolution**


This resource book provides a flexible methodology for conflict resolution. It describes each of the steps of an effective mediation.


Bramson presents a six-step plan for effectively dealing with seven types of difficult people.


Filley discusses and integrates various studies on the handling of conflict.


Fisher and Ury argue against positional bargaining of either the soft type (participants see themselves as friends trying to agree) or hard type (participants see themselves as adversaries trying to win a victory) and argue for a negotiation process in which the participants see themselves as mutual problem solvers. Their method of principled negotiation — negotiating in a fair manner based on the merits of each position — produces good results for both sides. It relies on four techniques: separating the people from the problem; focusing on interests, not positions; inventing options that provide mutual gain; and insisting on using objective criteria.

**Building Activist Finances**


Domínguez and Robin offer a nine-step program for gaining financial independence by tracking and acknowledging how you spend money, reducing your expenditures for things that provide little satisfaction, increasing your income, and investing your savings in safe long-term, income-producing investments.


Everett provides a ten-step program for finding or creating socially responsible work.


Mogil and Slepian relate the stories of sixteen wealthy people who have given away much of their material wealth to help create a more livable world. These provocative stories encourage us to reconsider the role of money in our lives, culture, and economy.
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Orum, Anthony M. Introduction to Political Sociology: The Social Anatomy of the Body Politic. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983, JA76 .O78 1983. [Fig. 5.3]


PEN, the People’s Education Network. <http://www.penpress.org> [Chap. 1, 2]


Schumaker, Paul D. “Policy Responsiveness to Protest-Group Demands.” Journal of Politics 37 (May 1975): 494–495. [Fig. 7.6]


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12. Resources


Based on a telephone survey of 15,053 people and 2,517 long personal interviews, the authors analyze citizen participation in politics. They show that both the motivation and the capacity to take part in politics are rooted in the non-political institutions of their lives — family and school in the early years and then affiliations on the job, in non-political organizations, and in religious organizations. Their model of the participatory process — the Civic Voluntarism Model — shows how some of the factors that foster political activity (like money, education, and civic skills) are stockpiled over the course of a lifetime, frequently conferring additional advantage on those already privileged.

Their study reports on the factors that foster three kinds of political activity: voting, time-based activities (like working on a political campaign, lobbying public officials, serving on a community board, attending protest demonstrations, and working with an informal community group), and monetary contributions to political campaigns. They find that voting is most strongly fostered by people’s strong interest in politics, high levels of knowledge about political ideas, strong support for a particular political party, and to a lesser extent, high levels of church attendance. The factors that foster time-based activities are a high level of civic skill and strong interest in politics. Factors that have some effect are high levels of education, large amounts of free time, strong interest in politics, and strong be-
lies in the effectiveness of their efforts. The factor that fosters money contributions most strongly is a high family income. A strong interest in politics also has some effect.


<http://www.ncjrs.org/txtfiles/fs000204.txt> [Chap. 3]

________. “Self-Reports of Early Childhood Victimization Among Incarcerated Adult Male Felons.” Journal of Interpersonal Violence 13, no. 3 (June 1998): 346–361. [Chap. 3]


<http://www.ncjrs.org/pdffiles/abuse.pdf> [Chap. 3]


<http://www.aap.org/advocacy/washing/brfeed.htm> [Chap. 2]

<http://www.zerototthree.org/2000poll-results.html> [Chap. 9]

BOOK PUBLISHERS

The books and magazines produced by these progressive publishers provide up-to-date critiques of society as well as reports on the efforts to bring about progressive change.

SOUTH END PRESS

7 Brookline Street, Suite 1, Cambridge, MA 02139, (617) 547-4002, (800) 533-8478, southend@igc.org
<http://www.lbbs.org/sep/sep.htm>

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<http://www.monthlyreview.org/mrpress.htm>

ZED PRESS

7 Cynthia Street, London N1 9JE, +44 (0)207 837 4014, <http://www.zedbooks.demon.co.uk/>

BLACK ROSE BOOKS

<http://www.web.net/~blakrose/index.htm>

If there is a book you really want to read but it hasn’t been written yet, then you must write it.
— Toni Morrison
MAGAZINES

Here are a few general interest magazines:

**THE NATION**
Founded: 1865. Published: 47 times per year.  
This is the oldest progressive magazine in the United States. It has articles, columns, investigatory articles, and book reviews.

**IN THESE TIMES**
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (773) 772-0100, itt@igc.org, <http://www.inthesetimes.com>  
Founded: 1976. Published: 24 times per year.  
“Independent News and Views.” This magazine has regular columns on labor, African-Americans, media, and political campaigns as well as in-depth articles on general topics, investigatory articles, and book reviews.

**Z MAGAZINE**
18 Millfield St., Woods Hole, MA 02543, (508) 548-9063, Lydiasargent@zmag.org, <http://www.zmag.org>  
Founded: 1987. Published: 11 times per year.  
This magazine covers political, cultural, social, and economic life in the U.S. and activist efforts to create a better future. It has regular articles by Noam Chomsky, Edward S. Herman, Brian Tokar, Lydia Sargent, and several others as well as articles on general topics and book reviews.

**THE PROGRESSIVE**
409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703, (608) 257-4626, editorial@progressive.org or circ@progressive.org <http://www.progressive.org>  
Founded: 1909. Published: 12 times per year.  
This magazine has articles, interviews, columns, poems, art, and political humor about peace and social justice in America.

**MOTHER JONES**
Founded: 1976. Published: 6 times per year.  
This colorful magazine includes general and investigatory articles on a variety of progressive issues.

**EXTRA!**
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), 130 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10001, (212) 633-6700, <http://www.fair.org>  
Founded: 1986. Published: 6 times per year.  
FAIR is a national media watch group that offers well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship.

**LABOR NOTES**
Labor Notes, 7435 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210, (313) 842-6262, labornotes@labornotes.org, <http://www.labornotes.org>  
Founded: 1979. Published: 12 times per year.  
This magazine offers the voices of union activists who want to “put the movement back in the labor movement” through rank and file democracy. It covers important labor news from a progressive perspective.

**DOLLARS AND SENSE: WHAT’S LEFT IN ECONOMICS**
The Economic Affairs Bureau, Inc., 740 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02141-1401, (617) 876-2434, dollars@igc.org, <http://www.dollarsandsense.org>  
Founded: 1974. Published: 6 times per year.  
Published by a collective, this magazine provides “left perspectives on current economic affairs” with articles by journalists, activists, and scholars on a broad range of topics including the economy, housing, union reform, government regulation, unemployment, the environment, urban conflict and activism.

**THE NONVIOLENT ACTIVIST**
Founded: 1983. Published: 6 times per year.  
Articles about the WRL and its national and local pacifist organizing as well as articles on nonviolent change and general topics.

**PEACEWORK**
The New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 661-6130, pwork@igc.org, <http://www.afsc.org/peacewrk.htm>  
Founded: 1972. Published: 11 times per year.  
Serves the movements for nonviolent social change, particularly in the Northeast, by covering social justice and peace issues and linking grassroots work with national and international perspectives.

**YES! A JOURNAL OF POSITIVE FUTURES**
Positive Futures Network, P. O. Box 10818, Bainbridge Island, WA 98110, (206) 842-0216, yes@futurenet.org, <http://www.futurenet.org>  
Founded: 1996. Published: 4 times per year.  
Combines analysis of important problems with news about actions people are taking in the United States and around the world to create a more positive future.
Inciting Democracy

12. Resources

Earth Island Journal
Founded: 1982. Published: 4 times per year.
Often on the cutting edge of the environmental movement.

Utne Reader
Founded: 1984. Published: 6 times per year.
Reprints selected articles from over 2,000 alternative media sources plus summarizes articles on emerging issues.

Whole Earth
Point Foundation, 1408 Mission Avenue, San Rafael, CA 94901, (415) 256-2800, info@wholeearthmag.com, <http://www.wholeearthmag.com>
Founded: 1974. Published: 4 times per year.
Has eclectic articles and book reviews on a variety of progressive and counter-culture issues.

Radio Programs

Democracy Now
This excellent one-hour show, broadcast every weekday, is hosted by Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzalez and is carried by about 65 stations.
<http://www.democracynow.org>
<http://www.pacifica.org>

Making Contact
The International Radio Project — whose motto is “Radio that activates!” — produces this half-hour show that is heard on over 150 stations each week. “Making Contact” airs voices not usually heard on the radio.
<http://www.radioproject.org>

Alternative Radio
David Barsamian produces this one-hour show that is heard on over 100 stations each week.
<http://www.alternativeradio.org>

Radio Nation
Marc Cooper interviews authors of recent articles in The Nation magazine each week in two half-hour shows broadcast on over 100 stations.
<http://www.radionation.org>

Web Sites

Common Dreams Newscenter
“News & Views for the Progressive Community”
<http://www.commondreams.org>

Institute for Global Communications (IGC)

ZNet
“A community of people concerned about social change” (associated with Z Magazine). <http://www.lbbs.org>

Independent Media Center
A collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage — a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth.
<http://www.indymedia.org/>

Working for Change

Co-op America
Social change information and action for consumers and investors. <http://www.coopamerica.org/>

The Nonviolent Web
<http://www.nonviolence.org>

The Vernal Project
This site includes information about this book and the Vernal Project, the papers used in the workshops that I facilitate on nonviolent direct action and cooperative decision-making, and links to a large number of progressive organizations. <http://www.vernalproject.org>

Notes for Chapter 12