The Job Guarantee:

An Institutional Adjustment towards an Inclusive Provisioning Process.

This inquiry seeks to establish that a job guarantee (JG) would animate the non-invidious recreation of community, challenge the hierarchy which permeates social and economic relations, and facilitate an institutional adjustment towards a more inclusive provisioning process. In so doing, the analysis commences by revealing how the current institutional structure fails to provide a non-invidious provision of the material means of life. The first section demonstrates that the institution of ownership and the price system serve as the animating forces which create the inegalitarian power structure effecting unemployment, an inequitable distribution, and hierarchy. After describing the social problem and institutional structure, the analysis considers and extends Hyman Minsky's proposal for a public employment program. The second section focuses on the institutional implications encouraged by the implementation of a JG, emphasizing the interrelated nature of employment and community and their role in facilitating institutional. In drawing on the theory of institutional adjustment, it becomes lucid that community remains integral to the adjustment process, providing space for organizing across historical divisions while encouraging an increased recognition of the interdependence necessary for change. The analysis draws to a close by considering how a JG challenges the dominant and problematic institutions. The ultimate objective of the final section remains illuminating the role of a JG in facilitating a transition towards an inclusive provisioning process: the creation of an institutional structure that reduces hierarchy and domination and promotes equality, diversity, and autonomy, enabling all members of the community to participate in the social provisioning process.

Social Problems and the Institutional Structure

This analysis begins with a powerful statement made by John Maynard Keynes [1936] (1964, p. 372): it remains the inability to provide full employment and an equitable distribution of wealth that persists as the greatest problems plaguing our capitalist system. Adding to Keynes's insight, Julie Mathaei and Teresa Amott (1997) assert that the current institutional structure and core economic processes reinforce an economic hierarchy which motivates domination and exploitation of one group over others, extending to nationality, race, gender, and class. Mathaei (1992) suggests that this hierarchy transpires on multiple levels, assumes many forms, and operates through numerous processes. Under the current institutional structure, money has emerged as a primary mechanism which renders power over things, other humans, and nature. Money has become the ultimate symbol of invidious distinction, functioning in accordance with a value system which equates worth with personal attributes and achievements.

The hierarchal power structure pervading society generates an invidious restriction of the material means of life, afflicting large segments of the community. Data from the American Community Survey for the year 2013 confirms that women and historically disadvantaged minorities suffer disproportionately. The reported median income in 2013 for minorities ranges from approximately 0.63-0.74 of Whites, while females median income was approximately 0.74 of males. And, unemployment for Black or African American males over the age of 16 remains double that of their White counterpart. The hierarchal power structure does not restrict its animus to only women and minorities; according to Pavlina Tcherneva (2015, p. 2), over the period of 2009-2012, the top one percent received 95 per-cent of all economic growth, while the top one-tenth of one percent seized 32 per-cent.

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¹ Median income for historically disadvantaged minorities was calculated using data for Black/African American, Latino/Hispanic, and Native American populations.

The problems of unemployment, an inequitable distribution, and hierarchy remain best understood in terms of social relations permeated by an inegalitarian power structure. Recognizing this structure leads to an acknowledgement that those who suffer from these problems live in subservience. If society choses to reject this domination, it must consider how to move towards a greater degree of autonomy: what will serve as the catalyst, initiating the non-invidious re-creation of community. According to Murray Bookchin (1971, p. 46), this process must facilitate assembly and community; moreover, it must seek the dissolution of power and hierarchy.

This inquiry now seeks to distinguish the driving forces generating the power structure and hierarchy that plagues society. In so doing, two key institutions require consideration:

Thorstein Veblen's 'price system' and private ownership. The price system represents the hegemonic power exercised by business over society: the structure and processes which reinforce hierarchy through the creation of inegalitarian social and economic relations.

Whereas, the institution of ownership forms the foundation for the ethical consent which justifies the price system's stranglehold over society and the associated employment and distributional ills.

It was during the rise of the machine era, according to Veblen (1904, p. 66), that the institution of ownership experienced a great change. This change of circumstance permitted the institution of ownership to extend to the public stock of knowledge, most importantly, technology embodied in capital goods. Veblen (1904, p. 77; 1923, pp. 66-67) states that this extension, considered a natural right, vests the owner unqualified power of discretionary idleness: the ability to restrict the community's access to the material means of life. It remains this 'conscientious withdrawal' that, Veblen (1921, pp. 1-7) asserts, ensures business receives a satisfactory income in money terms for the employment of its property in the capitalist production process.

The concentration of ownership, a marked characteristic of modern society, affords business exclusive control over the production process. Veblen (1904, pp. 1-3) notes that through this control the businessman acts as "the only large self-directing economic factor" and hence, "controls the exigencies of life under which the community lives." The businessman's enslavement to pecuniary animus spawns his disregard for community while openly pursuing predatory coercion. And, it remains the hegemonic position of the price system that facilitates these acts of coercion. Relying upon the Veblenian processes of contamination, emulation, subordination, and mystification, William Dugger (1989) perspicaciously sketches the concomitant process of the emerging corporate hegemony and the hollowing of non-corporate institutions. This control, however, represents a profound dichotomy as there exists a dissociation between the interests of business, narrowly focused on pecuniary gain, and community. Business's command over industry, with its singular focus on pecuniary gain, expedited the organization of society on the price system.

Coinciding with the rise of the machine and the previously mentioned extension of ownership to the public stock of knowledge, the putative earning capacity, derived from ownership, emerged as the ultimate goal of the price system. Veblen (1921, pp. 4-9 & p. 17) states that realizing the maintenance of reasonable prices relies upon a habitual restriction of the community's access to the material means of life. Given that business commands industry, it follows that business principles dictate the rate and volume of output without concern for the community. In Veblen's words, "price is the essence of the case, livelihood is not." Not only does the price system determine access to the material means of life, but, according to Max Lerner (Veblen & Lerner, 1948, p. 26), the price system also dictates social values and furnishes the "cash nexus," facilitating the association of personal attributes and worth with the ultimate symbol and value of a pecuniary social system.

As the machine process proliferated, there emerged an increasingly important role for business relations to maintain the functioning of the interrelated subsystems that constitute the economic process. This new agency for the owners of the sub-processes allows them to induce a differential advantage, achieved with an alteration of values, through manipulation of relations and transactions. Of particular interest remains the continuation, albeit in a transformed manner, of inegalitarian power relations based on gender, race, nationality, and social standing. According to Matthaei (1999, p. 598), a new form of hierarchy has emerged which no longer remains characterized by rigid divisions, particularly along gender lines. However, traditionally masculine activities, although now more freely accepting of women (especially those with class and/or race privilege) continues to receive higher valuation than traditionally feminine activities. At the core of these processes remains a struggle to dominate others in the economic hierarchy.

When the institutional structure, according to Paul Bush (1987, p. 158), fails to provide a non-invidious provision of the material means of life to the community, social problems arise. And, solutions to social problems rely on progressive institutional change, change which contributes to the continuity of life. Marc Tool (1979, p. 293) adds that progressive institutional change facilitates the non-invidious re-creation of community. Thus, progressive institutional change does not accept the equating of worth with personal attributes and achievements: progressive institutional change rejects hierarchy and promotes inclusion throughout the community.

Employment and Community

According to J. Fagg Foster [1948] (1981, p. 930), addressing social problems, like those described in the first section, necessarily involves an institutional adjustment. Foster's theory of institutional change operates within an institutionally defined space, requires deliberate choice by members of the community, and must not displace non-problematic institutions. In

what follows, the analysis seeks to establish that a JG would not only address unemployment and distributional problems, but would serve to restore community. Community exists as the institutional space that will promote a recognized interdependence and create social relations capable of subverting the price system's hierarchal structure, facilitating a transition towards a more inclusive provisioning process.

Minsky (1965, 1973, [1986] 2008) emphasized the need for a JG to effectively combat poverty, sustain effective demand, and to constrain economic instability. Minsky's proposal contains four key features: exogenously determined compensation, no means test for employment, permanent status with voluntary participation, and federally funded while locally implemented (*i.e.* a decentralized administration). David Brady (2003, p. 392) and Isabel Sawhill (1988, pp. 1110-1112) both find evidence that unemployment serves as a primary cause of poverty. William Mitchell and Joan Muysken (2008) come to the palpable conclusion that the best approach to alleviating unemployment involves increasing employment rather than addressing supply-side issues. By simply offering a job to anyone willing and able to work, the greatest structural challenge— a shortage of jobs— in confronting poverty would cease to exist. And, according to Minsky (1965), targeted spending through direct job creation facilitates the greatest primary and secondary effects in combating poverty.

The current approach to generating employment relies upon inducing investment through the special treatment of capital income. Not only, Minsky (1973) notes, does this special treatment amplify instability, but according to a Congressional Research Service report by Thomas Hungerford (2011), the rising share of capital income served as the greatest contributor to the increasing inequality over the first decade of the 21st century. Utilizing direct job creation would allow policy makers to abandon the special treatment that capital income currently receives. The public employment strategy would increase stability while simultaneously reducing a key component stimulating inequality.

Extending Minsky's analysis provides additional insight into the role of a JG in animating a transition towards a more inclusive provisioning process. Drawing on the ideas of inclusive democracy as developed by Takis Fotopoulos (1997), participatory economics as presented by Robin Hahnel (2012) and Michael Albert (2003), and the feminist economic ideas of Matthaei (1999) leads to a vision of society that rejects hierarchy and aims at the elimination of domination through the creation of an institutional structure that promotes equality, diversity, autonomy, and strives to include all members of the community in the social provisioning process.

The potential impact to the community of a JG extends beyond the provision of employment; in fact, Minsky's proposal allows for great secondary impacts to propagate throughout the community. A JG affords opportunities which coincide directly with key community building concepts as put forward by Gar Alperovitz, David Imbroscio, and Thad Willamson in their 2002 book *Making Place for Community*. By taking workers where they are and as they are, a JG ensures a strong economic presence in underdeveloped communities plagued by unemployment. This presence acts as a form of anchoring; according to Alperovitz, Imbroscio, and Willamson (2002, p. 68), anchored communities tend to display greater stability. Long term stability in JG anchored communities derives from a decreased reliance on private investment to drive economic development. While in the short term, stability arises from the support provided to local businesses, encouraging the development of local linkages. The decentralized administration of a JG would further stimulate local linkages as a community based decision making process should enhance support of local firms and cooperatives. It follows that a JG would greatly diminish the community's dependence on the exigencies of the market in pursuit of the material means of life.

In accordance with Veblen, John Curl (2012, pp. 2-3, p. 246, p. 354) states that, coinciding with the rise of the machine, there began a transformation that forced the "free" population

into wage slavery. Utilizing a JG to support development of cooperatives (co-ops) would contribute to a reversal of that transformation, aiding restoration of community and reducing hierarchy. According to Curl, cooperatives offer an alternative to wage slavery through facilitating a re-organization of life on a different basis, subverting the typical hierarchal structure and precarious employment generated under the price system. Moreover, a JG can empower co-ops to provide public works and services that benefit the locality. The organizational structure of co-ops promotes a bottom-up inclusive process in both work and community, directly contradicting the top-down structure of the price system which marginalizes those who do not fit. Indubitably, this bottom-up process remains better suited to provide for the needs of people.

The impact of community economic stability contains grand implications. Alperovitz, Imbroscio, and Willamson (2002, pp. 2-7) note that a robust economic foundation enhances the communities social capital, bolsters cultural worth, and affords social validation.

Additionally, an economically vigorous community will foster inclusiveness of diverse political interests, especially at the local level, animating a tendency towards a great social leveling.

Developing stable geographic communities would provide space for organizing across historical divisions. Moreover this space, in accordance with Foster's (1981, p. 933) principles of institutional adjustment, would increase a recognition of the interdependence of community members, facilitating a transition away from the price system.

Returning to Dugger's analysis, illuminates how a JG would not only end unemployment, but also serve to restore the hollowing institution of community: a JG would provide substance by engaging individuals in activities which surpass the mere pursuit of pecuniary gain. A JG would not only serve to restore community, but simultaneously facilitate resistance to hegemony. Restoring community would strengthen and protect its independent functioning, a key component of promoting a pluralist culture. According to Dugger (1989, pp. 1-5), a

pluralist culture consists of a multitude of independent institutions, serving to promote a synthesis of values and beliefs. The diversity involved in a pluralist culture creates individual will and strengthens character. Pluralism animates the process of freedom– the freedom from conformity and the freedom to stimulate individual maturity. Hence, a JG affords great potential in restoring the institution of community, encouraging resistance to corporate hegemony.

In a 2010 article, Jon Wisman (p. 46) suggests that the hollowing out of the institution of community leads to increased withdrawal from social activities. Further reinforcing this argument, Amartya Sen (1997, p. 161) adopts a broad view of poverty, facilitating an understanding of the nature of deprivation resulting from unemployment. Sen states that unemployment predisposes people to social exclusion. This marginalization encompasses economic activities as well as participation in community life and political processes.

Considering the extent of the deprivation initiated by unemployment, it becomes lucid that the restorative ability of a JG to the community extends beyond the mere provision of employment.

Drawing on the ideas of Bookchin (1993, pp. 48-50) and his portrayal of community under Confederalism illustrates the importance of community in challenging the existing power structure. For Bookchin, communities compromise a local, interdependent public space which facilitates active participation in social processes. Active participation encourages an inclusive, bottom-up power structure that, according to James Scott (2012, p. xii & p.19), promotes cooperation without hierarchy. This structure involves "informal, self-organized, and transient networks of neighborhood, work, and family that lie outside the formal institutions of politics."

Experiences from previous public employment programs serves to illustrate the actual impact beyond the provision of employment to the community. The New Deal Programs

influenced community life through the arts and provision of a host of public goods and necessities. The numerous alphabet programs of the New Deal served to engage community and individuals outside the realm of the price system. An example provided by Curl (2012, pp. 315-322) describes the formation of new and assistance to existing co-ops. Moreover, Curl depicts how New Deal programs actually went beyond influencing community, directly creating 99 new communities, housing approximately 50,000 residents with the New Deal homestead colony program. While, according to Tcherneva & L. Randall Wray (2007), the Jefes program in Argentina included projects specifically designed to address community needs, including construction of new or renovation of existing community centers, and provision of imperative services like food kitchens, family attention centers, and health promotion programs. Furthermore, reliance on a decentralized administration facilitated the Jefes program to address the most pressing needs of communities. Beyond providing needed services to communities, Jefes greatly enhanced civic participation, drawing people from a broad range of social strata into political processes. Although these programs were historically specific, it remains clear that there exists huge potential for a JG to contribute to the restoration of the community, enhancing community life and social cohesion.

Tcherneva & Wray (2007, pp. 24-25) note another very interesting result from the *Jefes* experience, the contribution towards redefining the meaning of work. A principal accomplishment in challenging the price system and the associated patriarchal processes emerged with the vitiation of the preconception that traditionally unpaid activities (typically associated with feminine roles) are unproductive. This bias clearly stems from the subordination of society to the primacy of the price system, the contamination by pecuniary values, and the continued existence of patriarchal institutions. The provision of paid employment for "unproductive work" not only challenges historic patriarchal tendencies and the primacy of the price system, but serves to strengthen community. According to John Budd

(2011, Chs. 7-8), the prevailing conceptualization of work derives from social institutions and the associated power nexus. Thus, redefining work in and of itself serves as a challenge to dominant institutions. However, when considering that this work often entails community oriented goals and/or traditionally feminine activities, it becomes cogent that extending the conceptualization of work into this sphere provides additional substance, meaning, and value—key sources of institutional resistance—to community, inciting a challenge to the hegemony and hierarchy which marks the current institutional structure.

Mathew Forstater (2013, Ch. 6) describes how Municipal Confederalism can serve as a framework for a JG. In so doing, Forstater posits the importance of work for human development, claiming it exists as an integral component of human experience. Indubitably, unemployment denies this opportunity; whereas, Albert (2003, p. 104) notes that the hierarchal organization under the price system disparately empowers a select few, further reinforcing hierarchy through class, gender, and racial divisions. Both Forstater and Albert contend that the organization of work can serve to serve to balance this integral component of human experience. A JG, through its capacity to operate outside the realm of the price system, can organize work so that it empowers all, regardless of any demarcation, equally.

Ownership and the Price System

Dugger (1989, pp. 53-54) states that the hegemonic culture encourages whatever means necessary to achieve a given end, emphasizing ends over means. Within the current institutional structure, a shortsighted, narrow view of profit maximization dominates. Not only does this approach serve to hollow out the non-corporate institutions (family, school, union, church, community, state, and mass media), but, according to Forstater (1999, pp. 7-8), requires maintaining flexibility—an ability to adapt to changing circumstances. The permanence of unemployed resources, including most notably labor power, enables maintenance of the desired flexibility. Forstater states that system flexibility facilitates an

expansion of capital accumulation by attenuating structural rigidities. Indubitably, this flexibility benefits the businessman and corporation at the expense of the community.

In accordance with Veblen (1904, pp. 286-287) and Dugger (1989, p. 8) who both observed that the state serves as an instrument of domination, Forstater (1999, p. 8) asserts that flexibility, maintained through politically forced unemployment, occasions unnecessary and unacceptable economic and social costs to the community. The narrow criteria dictating economic decisions in the private sector does not harmonize with the broader well-being of the community. And, only the government, through its ability to divorce the employment decision from the profit constraint, possesses the unique capacity to place means in their proper relationship to ends in the social-economic processes of a capitalist system. A monetarily sovereign government possesses the means; what the state lacks, however, remains the will.

In Veblen's analysis, the state acts chiefly to represent the interests of business and, according to Dowd (1966, p. 132-134), state power remains the expression of those dominant interests. Furthermore, Veblen (1904, pp. 286-287) notes that this subservience to business interests remains unchallenged as the community naïvely believes that their material welfare coincides with the pecuniary pursuits of business. And, according to Colin Ward (1973, p. 12) it remains this subscription to business values by the community that allows the unchallenged domination of business over society. The subreption of business values, Dowd (1966, p.105 & p. 134) states, has gone so far as to become accepted unthinkingly. Yet, social wellbeing does not necessarily parallel business propositions. Dowd expands upon this discord by considering the propensity for emulation, stating that a virtual enshrinement of businessmen substantiates the fashioning of politics in their image. This fashioning undoubtedly contributed to the price system emerging as a dominant influence in the socio-economic process. In the concluding pages of *Absentee Ownership*, Veblen (1923, pp. 442-445) reaffirms the primacy

of the price system and its subreption of the state, asserting that the state remains a predatory fraternity with a reverence for applying business principles to socio-economic problems. And, in Veblen's (1904, p. 379) own words, "[t]he question, therefore, remains, on the whole, a question of what businessmen may be expected to do for cultural growth on the motive of profits."

Regardless of the dominance assumed by the price system, according to Lerner (Veblen & Lerner, 1948, p. 27), Veblen's theory of power stresses that it remains the community which exhibits the disposition for slaughter. It follows that there exists a recognized interdependence in the institutional adjustment brought about by implementing a JG. This interdependence, according to Foster (1981, p. 933), implies that a deliberate choice must be made by those who are to break with previous behaviors. This break will first require a recognition on the part of the community that the inalienable rights of pecuniary obligation and ownership as defined during the eighteenth century no longer, as Veblen [1919] (2002, p. 112) observed, safeguard the "rule of Live and Let Live." And secondly, the ensuing institutional adjustment, according to Marc R. Tool (2000, p. 202), must be readily adapted into the existing institutional structure, only displacing the non-instrumental functions of problematic structures. A JG would not completely displace the price system, nor the market where it conducts its business. Rather, implementing a JG functions in accordance with Foster's principal of minimal dislocation; as Minsky (2008, p. 112) noted, the market mechanism suffices in making unimportant social decisions (i.e. decisions like those regarding ice cream flavors). However, Minsky asserts that the market consistently yields undesirable results on important issues, most notably: maintaining economic stability, capital development, and education and training.

A JG serves as an initial step toward the realization of an inclusive provisioning process. According to Veblen (2002, pp. 111-114), this realization requires displacing the vested interests legitimate right in "getting something for nothing." While a JG does not completely

dispose of this feature, it does present a formidable challenge to the interpretation of the principal 'inalienable right' which motivates it— ownership. Ownership, specifically of the means of production and the technology embodied within it, confers the right to the vested interests to control economic activity: to restrict the community's access to the material means of life.

Through decentralized administration, a JG places a portion of the means of production under demotic control of the community, initiating a re-appropriation of the material means of life. This re-appropriation of the means of production, however, does not result in a redistribution of ownership as understood under the price system. Rather, the re-appropriation affords the community the power to determine user rights. Drawing from the work of Hahnel (2012, pp. 21-32 & p. 46) enables this analysis to consider how communal "ownership" of the means of production promotes an egalitarian outcome. First, communal ownership maximizes the benefit afforded to the community via the power to decide which tasks are undertaken: it transfers power to community, facilitating the community to meet its most pressing needs uninhibited by pecuniary motives. Second, a JG would address a grave flaw in the contribution based maxim underlying the current distributional structure- the punishment of those whom remain unable to find employment (i.e. unable to contribute) due to a lack of jobs. The redistribution of ownership and improved distributional structure serve to increase economic justice- moving towards a distribution of economic benefit more closely paralleling the degree of effort and personal sacrifice expended.

It has been established that a JG challenges the price system by engaging people outside of its realm. According to Hahnel (2012, pp. 13-15), there exist four fundamental activities within any organization of the provisioning process; thus, any transition away from the current organization towards a more inclusive process must address these four key components. The inquiry now seeks to establish how a JG addresses these components, while also promoting

key elements of citizenship, which, according to Fotopoulos (1997, pp. 216-217), remain integral in achieving an inclusive provisioning process.

The first two aspects, both restricted by the profit constraint and dictated by the price system, concerns decisions regarding the organization of work and production. Furthermore, Joan Acker (2006, p. 441) states that a great deal of the economic and social inequality originates with the organizing and daily activities of work. In contrast, decisions defining the organization of work and production inside the JG transpire independent of the profit constraint and outside the realm of the price system. Thus, organization under a JG can place means in the proper relations to ends, considering the impact to community while specifically designing jobs and projects to reduce hierarchy. Distribution, traditionally based on the contribution maxim, would no longer exclude the unemployed as a JG ensures anyone who is willing and able to work has the opportunity to do so. Moreover, a JG presents a serious challenge to the institution of ownership which serves to substantiate this maxim. The exogenously determined compensation can ensure satisfaction of basic needs, a critical component of social citizenship. The gradual shift of control over the means of production would benefit the community; specifically, it would afford community greater autonomy over the material means of life. This structure of demotic ownership serves as an integral component of economic citizenship uninhibited by inegalitarian power relations. Finally, with concern to the allocation of resources-the distribution of burden and benefits- a JG would increase participation across a broad spectrum of society in the allocation decision through its decentralized administration. This increased participation would grant the community greater influence over allocation and represents the final element of Fotopoulos's (1997) economic citizenship.

It follows that a JG addresses the four key activities while engaging individuals outside the realm of the price system and promoting active citizenship, thus facilitating an increased

space for autonomy and expression while reducing marginalization. According to Hahnel (2012, pp. 90-91), this increased autonomy would animate a transition towards a more participatory process. However, the need for a broader view of the ultimate goals of the transition process and contributions from a JG requires further explication. Under the current institutional structure, hierarchy (including class, racial, and gender demarcations) stems principally from the institution of ownership. In accordance with Hahnel (2012, pp. 13-19), an ultimate goal of a JG driven transition towards an inclusive provisioning process remains the creation of a non-hierarchal community. However, Ward (1973, p. 24) notes that the concentration of power, stemming from the hegemony of the price system and the institution of ownership, serves as the primary obstacle to progressive social change. In challenging the price system, a JG directly contests the foundation of hierarchy and the ultimate obstacle to progressive social change- the institution of ownership. Furthermore, a JG affords greater economic democracy: a JG extends decision making power to those affected to a greater degree. An emphasis on communization of the economic process and development of local linkages will indubitably parallel a rise in solidarity-concern for the well-being of others. And ultimately, a JG would facilitate greater economic justice as economic reward would no longer exclude the members of the population for which no jobs exist.

Conclusion

This inquiry has sought to establish that a JG would animate a non-invidious re-creation of community, challenge the hierarchy which penetrates society on many levels, and facilitate an institutional adjustment towards a more inclusive provisioning process. In so doing, the analysis depicted how the current institutional structure fails to provide a non-invidious provision of the material means of life. The first section established that the institution of ownership and the price system serve as the driving forces behind the inegalitarian power structure that propagates unemployment, an inequitable distribution, and hierarchy. After

describing the social problem and institutional structure, the analysis considered and extended Hyman Minsky's proposal for a public employment program. The second section focused on the institutional implications brought about by the implementation of a JG, emphasizing the restoration of community and its role in subverting the dominant and problematic institutions. In drawing on Foster's theory of institutional adjustment, it became lucid that community and work exist as integral elements in the adjustment process, providing space for alternative social relations and encouraging a recognized interdependence. The analysis drew to a close by considering challenges presented by a JG to the institution of ownership and the price system. The final section illuminated the role of a JG in transition towards an inclusive provisioning process: the creation of an institutional structure that reduces hierarchy and domination and promotes equality, diversity, and autonomy, providing opportunity for all members of the community to participate in the social provisioning process.

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