

# **FUTURE WORK:**

## **Jobs, self-employment and leisure after the industrial age**

by

**James Robertson**

### **Section 3**

This section contains Part 4, including Chapters 11 & 12, the Conclusion, Appendices 1 & 2, the Notes and References, and the Publications, Name & Subject Indexes.

Sections 1 and 2 containing all the other chapters can be downloaded from <http://www.jamesrobertson.com/books.htm>

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James Robertson  
The Old Bakehouse  
Cholsey  
OXON  
OX10 9NU

Email: [james@jamesrobertson.com](mailto:james@jamesrobertson.com)

Web: [www.jamesrobertson.com](http://www.jamesrobertson.com)

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## PART 4

### PRACTICALITIES OF THE TRANSITION

The transition to ownwork has already begun. Chapter 11 shows that many practical responses to the unemployment crisis in the last few years can be seen as steps in this direction.

As more people come to see things this way, the pace of transition will speed up. But some people will not see things this way, and some - especially in positions of power and influence based on the status quo - will positively resist the change. So the transition will not be planned and managed systematically from above. It will rather be an organic process of transformation from below, as the old way of organising work as employment continues to break down, and new ways of organising it as ownwork continue to break through.

An ownwork agenda is outlined in Chapter 12. Although this may suggest some planks for a political platform of the conventional kind, its main aims are rather different: first, to encourage sympathetic readers to take part in creating a better future for work, as they decide on their own initiative without waiting for politicians and governments to give a lead; and, second, to enable readers who are less committed but nonetheless interested in the future, to understand the kinds of things that a transition to ownwork would involve if it should come about.

## 11

### **The Shift to Ownwork Has Already Begun**

Much of the response to the unemployment crisis so far has been based on the assumption that conventional employment will remain the norm and that full employment is still a feasible goal. This is true of individual people, employers, and agencies of local and central government, as well as trade unions and the education and planning professions, not to mention other institutions and professions like finance and the law which are hardly aware that important changes in patterns of work may be taking place. So in the mid-1980s most people still feel they should continue to look for jobs; progressive employers still try to find new jobs for their redundant employees, and to support schemes to create new job opportunities in areas badly affected by their redundancies; increasing numbers of local authorities are adopting policies aimed at creating local jobs; central government still continues to give out large sums of money to employers with the aim of creating new jobs; and Manpower Service Commission schemes aim to provide people with something to do until they can find a job, and to give young people the kind of work experience and training that will prepare them eventually to get a job.

But although conventional employment has remained the theoretical goal, in practice much of what has been happening points towards a new future in which personal and local ownwork will play an increasingly important part. When future historians look back from the mid-21st century in 60 or 70 years' time, they will see that there had already taken place by the mid-1980s the first, hesitant, largely unconscious phase of the shift to a new post-industrial work order in which personal and local ownwork eventually became no longer marginal alternatives to conventional employment, but themselves came to occupy centre stage.

*Personal Ownwork*

The last few years have seen a growth of initiatives on the part of individual people, aiming to achieve greater personal autonomy in their work. Sometimes these initiatives are taken by choice, and sometimes they are due to compulsion — as a result of losing or not being able to get a job. They often happen from a mixture of choice and compulsion. An increasing number of people, sometimes only half-consciously, wish to make the kind of change in their way of living and working that will allow them to be less dependent on employment, but — whether because of family obligations or the psychic investment they have already put into their job or, more simply, because of timidity and lack of energy and will — they are reluctant to make the change on their own decision and responsibility. As I know from my own experience ten years ago, they do not feel strong enough to take the initiative themselves or sufficiently justified in making the change until it is forced upon them. When it is forced upon them, for example by redundancy or because of conflict with their employer, they find it possible to accept what has happened, and sometimes even to welcome it as giving them an opportunity to branch out on their own.

At present these may only be the fortunate few. But as public discussion and debate have continued to mount about the future of work, and as people have talked to one another about their own work problems and aspirations, a consciousness-raising process has been taking place. People, especially unemployed people, who have hitherto assumed they were powerless to decide and define the purposes of their work, have discovered — as they have shared their hopes and their fears and their time with one another that they have much more power in this respect than they thought. They have discovered self-organised activities that are worth doing, and they have begun to seek information, advice and counselling about possible openings for activities of that kind. They have begun to look for conditions of employment (e.g. part-time work or early retirement) which will leave them with more time and energy for projects of their own. People have been increasingly helped to do this by the example, and often by the more direct assistance, of other individuals and groups who



have already made the change from unsatisfactory employment (or unemployment) to valuable and rewarding ownwork.<sup>1</sup>

One example of the shift to ownwork at the personal level is the rise in self-employment. In Britain self-employment is now growing at a rate of about 5% a year. A growing number of courses for prospective entrepreneurs is being provided by such organisations as the Manchester Business School and URBED (Urban Economic Development). There is a growing demand for books and publications which help and encourage people to set themselves up in business. The Manpower Services Commission has a scheme which helps unemployed people to start up in business on their own by, in effect, paying them a salary for a start-up period, provided that they have a good business idea and can raise £1000 capital.

The entrepreneurial way of work attracts a number of different kinds of people. There are conventional capitalist entrepreneurs who are attracted by the prospect of building up a conventional business and making a lot of money for themselves. There are lifestyle entrepreneurs who are attracted by the prospect of freedom and the opportunity to do their own thing. And there are social entrepreneurs whose flair and drive and commitment are attracted by the new local ownwork initiatives discussed below.<sup>2</sup>

Other signs of the shift to personal ownwork are: the rise in part-time jobs, now nearly 20% of the total number of jobs, which enable people — men, as well as women — to have more time to devote to their families and to projects of their own; the increasing number of men and women who retire from employment early, and involve themselves in voluntary work of their own choice; the increasing number of men who are deciding to work at home as househusbands, while their wives take on the task of breadwinner going out to work; and the increasing number of people who are adopting a rather more self-sufficient lifestyle, substituting their own unpaid work to provide for some of their own needs in place of earning money to spend on meeting those needs by working in paid employment.

The sense of personal powerlessness and futility experienced by many unemployed people is one of the most damaging effects of the present crisis of work. A vital part in counteracting this is now being played by unemployment centres and groups of local

voluntary associations which have come into existence in many parts of countries like Britain in the last few years. Among other things, they are helping unemployed people to get together and organise work for themselves. Thereby they are helping to establish the new kinds of small local enterprise in which increasing numbers of people are likely to work as the post-industrial transition to ownwork gathers pace. This takes us across the broad, rather blurred dividing line between personal and local ownwork.

### *Local Ownwork*

Tremendous changes have taken place over the last 10 or 15 years in our perceptions of local enterprise and the local economy. At every level the importance of local employment initiatives is now accepted, to an extent that would have been unthinkable as recently as the 1960s. Voluntary associations, businesses, local authorities, agencies of central government, and supranational organisations such as the European Economic Commission (EEC) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), are all now deeply involved.

Local voluntary initiatives to counteract unemployment have sprung up in many places in countries like Britain in the last few years. They include self-help groups of unemployed managers and professionals, centres for unemployed people set up by the trade union movement, similar centres set up by the churches and by co-operative associations of local voluntary groups, and a wide variety of relatively autonomous skill exchanges and other groups of unemployed people who have come together for mutual support. They have been backed nationally by an increasing number of organisations such as the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), the British Unemployment Resource Network (BURN), Church Action With The Unemployed (CAWTU), The Volunteer Centre, and the Unemployment Initiatives Service of the Scottish Community Education Centre and its newspaper, *SCAN*.

One of the most significant outcomes of the growing voluntary response to local unemployment has been the rise of community businesses and community enterprises. This new approach to

economic self-help in areas of high unemployment which are unattractive to conventional profit-making businesses recognises a threefold objective: to run an economically viable enterprise; to provide local work; and to provide goods and services to meet local needs. In helping to formulate this new approach, the Gulbenkian Foundation, in two 1982 reports on 'Whose Business Is Business?' and 'Community Business Works', saw community business ventures as having the potential to develop into a third arm of enterprise alongside private enterprise and public enterprise, in the way that non-profit housing associations form a third arm of housing alongside the private housing sector and the public housing sector.

Among outstanding examples of community enterprises have been the Craigmillar Festival Society in Edinburgh and the Easterhouse Festival Society in Glasgow, both of which have developed into community conglomerates, not only organising festivals and other cultural and sporting events but also shops, construction teams, workshops, and other business endeavours that serve the local community. The Pleck Community in Walsall is another community conglomerate, embracing community housing management, toy manufacturing, vehicle repair, and food-growing among its wide range of activities. The community conglomerate is likely to be an important part of the pattern for the future. But at the same time many specific types of community businesses will continue to spring up, such as community farms, community workshops, community shops, and community services of all kinds.

The rise of community businesses has been paralleled by the growing interest in common ownerships and cooperatives over the last 10 or 15 years. Co-operatives and common ownerships are owned and controlled by the people who work in them, whereas community businesses are not necessarily structured that way. For the future, two points have to be taken into account. First, it has to be accepted that much of the interest in co-operatives that surfaced in the 1970s was backward-looking — a politically motivated interest or, in some cases, a theoretical academic interest in the conversion to worker ownership of inefficient and often bankrupt concerns which had never been set up with the aim of meeting local community needs, whose products and objectives therefore failed to engage the full

commitment of the workers and their families and neighbours, and which therefore seemed artificially contrived. Second, it has to be recognised that the co-operative or common ownership structure will not always be suitable for community businesses, especially in the early stages of their existence. Many of the existing community businesses are, in fact, companies limited by guarantee with charitable status. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the co-operative or common ownership structure is likely to prove a suitable structure for many community businesses once they are established on an economically viable footing.

Community businesses, co-operatives and common ownerships are just three specific examples of many different forms of enterprise structure found among local concerns, ranging from the wholly commercial small business to the wholly charitable activity or to the public service agency wholly funded by the taxpayer. At other intermediate points are many different types of enterprises with social and amenity objectives (including conservation and preservation), as well as economic and commercial objectives. As local initiatives develop further and local economies take on a larger role, it will become increasingly important to clarify which legal and financial structures are best suited to which kinds of enterprise at which particular stages of their development. To take just one illustrative example, the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust is the organisation which runs the industrial history and industrial archaeology museums at and near the famous Iron Bridge over the river Severn in Shropshire — the first iron bridge ever built (in 1779) and now a symbol of the industrial revolution. Those museums are staffed by a range of different types of people, including full-time professional employees, part-time employees, unemployed people working on Manpower Service Commission projects, and 'friends' who man the museum exhibits as volunteers and act as guides for visitors. The museums are financed from a similarly wide range of sources, including individual subscriptions, visitors' entrance fees, sales in the museum shops, grants from central and local government, and funds raised from business and industry. One of the questions for the future for this and many comparable organisations playing a significant part in local economies is: what patterns of staffing and financing should they develop? What mix of the different types of people and what mix of the

different sources of funds will be best for them to adopt? Putting the same question more broadly, what kinds of organisation should they try to develop into? How should they define their role as part of the local economies in which they operate?

In support of community business and other forms of local enterprise, there have grown up in the last five or ten years various kinds of local development agencies. In some cases these are specific to the type of enterprise which they support, like Co-operative Development Agencies or the Industrial Common Ownership Movement in Britain. In other cases they are local development agencies in a more general sense, like Local Enterprise Trusts in Britain and Boutiques de Gestion in France. In either case they exist to provide advice and services, in particular in the spheres of staffing and finance, to enterprises calling on them for support. A number of other advisory centres have also sprung up, such as the Centre for Employment Initiatives in London, and Strathclyde Community Business and the Planning Exchange and its Local Economic Development Information Service (LEDIS), both of which are in the Glasgow area. Many of these organisations are supported by local government, and big companies, and other big business organisations such as banks.

In contrast with this ad hoc growth of local economic enterprises and support agencies like Local Enterprise Trusts, not very much has been done so far to work out a systematic approach to the redevelopment of local economies and the regeneration of local work. There are one or two local voluntary groups now, for example at Newport and Nevern in Wales, that have come into existence specifically to promote greater local economic self-reliance in energy, by identifying ways in which local work could make a greater contribution to meeting local energy needs; and these are backed by support units set up by such organisations as the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) and the NCVO. But there is still a lot to be done to provide local areas in general with the kind of guidance they will need to identify ways in which local work could be used to meet local needs, and thus to clarify the context in which new local enterprises are likely to find a successful role.

### *Business and Industry*

Those who direct and manage business and industry do not yet, on the whole, share the perspective of this book — that a shift of historic significance has already begun that will take us from the age of employment into the age of ownwork. There are a few business leaders who have publicly recognised that conventional full employment will not return, and who have lent their authority to programmes of research and consultation on the consequences of this. But, by and large, most businesspeople and industrialists do not have a vision of a future in which people will work for themselves.

Nonetheless, the actions of business and industry in recent years have encouraged the shift towards ownwork in a number of ways.

There has been the straightforward matter of developing a market for the new small-scale technologies and equipments, and DIY materials and products of all kinds that are already helping to revive economic activity in small concerns at the local level, and to expand informal productive activity in the household. Home-brewing and home-computing are two examples among many that have come to the fore in recent years. But, in general, there have been important developments of this kind in: food-growing and food-processing; health monitoring and maintenance; energy for heating, light and power; waste-disposal and recycling; clothing; building, carpentry, plumbing, electrics, and interior decorating; and repair, maintenance and servicing of all kinds. A recent series of reports identified brewing, printing, brick-making, wool textiles, plastics and other recycling industries, and garage repairs and servicing, as types of business which new small-scale technologies and equipments now make economically possible to run on a small, local scale.<sup>3</sup> For the future, the scope for businesses to develop this market for small-scale equipments and easy-to-use materials is very great.

Then there is the employment role of business and industry. As employers, many large businesses have taken steps in recent years which have contributed to the shift towards ownwork. For example, there is the growing trend for professional employees

and salespeople to work from their own homes instead of the company office, relying on the telephone and (increasingly) the computer to keep them in touch. There is also the trend for large companies to hive off activities previously carried out by employees, such as catering, cleaning, printing, or gardening, by converting employees to independent workers under contract. There are many cases of large companies, such as Dunlop or ICI, making new arrangements of this kind by setting their former employees up in business to work on their own account and giving them a guaranteed contract of work for an initial period of time. Perhaps the best publicised example of this kind of thing in Britain has been the Rank Xerox scheme, under which a number of senior Rank Xerox staff were converted from being full-time employees to being independent free-lance consultants, given a part-time contract with the company to continue working for it for a specified period, set up in good new office accommodation of their own, and encouraged to develop additional business with other clients. The saving in office space and the other overheads that go with employing senior staff was said to be one of the main reasons why Rank Xerox decided to make this change.

Further examples of the trend towards ownwork in the organisation of big company work are to be found in the general tendency towards decentralisation that is now evident. In both Sweden and the United States the terms 'intrapreneur' and 'intrapreneurship' have been used in recent years to refer to the development of entrepreneurial ways of working within large companies. A more fashionable term for the same thing is 'skunkworks'. This seems to have more appeal than 'intrapreneur' to the transatlantic business mind.

Some employers have also begun to accept more flexible conditions of work for their employees, which reduce the amount of time they work in their job and give them more time for work of their own, such as looking after their families. Already a shift is beginning to be apparent towards more part-time jobs, including job-sharing, and early retirement is increasing. Paternity leave, as well as maternity leave, is becoming customary in some countries, though not in others. Like all changes, the widespread introduction of part-time work will continue to meet some resistance from managements and trade unions, even though increasing numbers of employees will

welcome it. But the first steps towards it have already been taken.

More generally, the reduction of the time worked by employees in full-time jobs, that has taken place over the last century or more, has been continuing in recent years. But progress here has been fairly slow. This is because employers have insisted that shorter working hours must be accompanied by corresponding improvements in productivity or reductions in pay, while trade unions have insisted that they must not. There are signs in attitude surveys and opinion surveys that some employees, especially but not only in the older age groups, are becoming readier to trade money for time, in other words to accept some reduction in pay for having more time of their own. But it will probably take some significant change in circumstance, such as the introduction of a Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI) to create a substantial breakthrough here.

Another way in which employers have encouraged individual employees to move into ownwork is as a response to redundancy. A number of companies — including such well-known names as ICI, Rank Xerox, Pilkingtons, and Whitbreads — which have been faced with the need to reduce their workforce, including their managerial and professional staff, have resettled redundant managers who opted for it in self-employed work. In carrying out these changes, a number of companies have found that many of their employees value secure full-time employment less highly than was previously assumed; for example, more employees than expected already have small businesses of their own on the side, and are glad to have the opportunity to put more time into these. As part of the resettlement package, their employer may be able to provide them with various forms of technical and financial advice, with access to investment funds on favourable terms, and — in some cases — with office accommodation and equipment

Those, then, are some of the ways in which business organisations, as employers, have been helping individual employees to move towards ownwork. They have also been helping to create opportunities for small-scale local employment. In principle, this help has taken two distinct forms. First, a number of large employers like the British Steel Corporation



which have had to close major works in particular localities like Corby, thereby creating high levels of local unemployment, have taken direct action to provide facilities and workshop space to enable former employees to set up their own businesses. Second, many large companies have helped to sponsor Local Enterprise Trusts, mentioned earlier in this chapter, with the aim of encouraging new local enterprise and local employment. In practice, the dividing line between these two approaches is blurred. For example, the St. Helens Trust was set up primarily in response to local unemployment created by redundancies at Pilkingtons, the glass company which dominated the town of St. Helens. But it took a form in which other companies, a trade union, one of the big banks, the local authority and the local chamber of commerce all played a part.

By the end of 1984, about 170 Local Enterprise Trusts had been set up in Britain, and more were being formed or were under discussion. The biggest is the London Enterprise Agency. A co-ordinating organisation called Business in the Community was set up in 1981. It is estimated that over 1,000 British companies are now involved in sponsoring Local Enterprise Trusts and similar local enterprise agencies. Many of these companies have seconded managers from among their own staff to set up and run them.

It might be wrong to suggest that business involvement in the shift towards personal and local ownwork in the ways I have briefly outlined has been due to altruism or to any kind of philosophical conviction that the main path of economic development for the future must lead generally in the direction of personal and local self-reliance.<sup>4</sup> Hitherto, at least, business involvement is best understood as simply one aspect of the management of contraction. It is a response to the business problems arising from the need of many big businesses to reduce their workforce and to avoid the public relations damage which this could cause. But, whatever the motivation at this stage, the fact is that what big business has been doing in this respect in the last five years or so, has been an important contribution to the process by which employment in big impersonal organisations is beginning to be replaced by work in small, personal and local units.

### *Local Government*

One of the biggest changes in the last ten years has been the acceptance of responsibility for the local economy and local employment by local authorities, which were traditionally regarded as responsible mainly for social and environmental services. This has happened in response to the collapse of local economies and local employment, especially in towns and districts which had become dependent on one or more big industries, such as steel or shipbuilding, in which heavy cutbacks have been made in the workforce.

The response of local authorities has taken many forms. At the orthodox end of the spectrum action has been taken to make particular localities more attractive to potential employers, for example by investing in industrial and commercial facilities and by removing existing obstacles to industrial and commercial development. At the other end of the spectrum local authorities have channelled resources directly to particular groups of residents who, because of their deprived circumstances, need special assistance to find work or to survive long periods of unemployment. Many local authorities are now among the sponsors of Local Enterprise Trusts, and have directly provided resources to private employers and voluntary sector groups to organise projects which will attract funding from Manpower Service Commission programmes such as the Youth Training Scheme or the Community Programme. Many have undertaken their own local programmes, for example to restore derelict land and create new parklands (as the Greater Manchester Council have done), and have been able to use Manpower Service Commission money to employ local unemployed people on these programmes. Metropolitan authorities in the West Midlands, Greater London, Merseyside and elsewhere have set up their own Enterprise Boards and Development Corporations to foster new local economic activity and jobs. Some councils, as in South Yorkshire, have begun to use their own employment policies and their own purchasing policies as instruments for encouraging new, more flexible patterns of employment and local work to produce goods and services that are locally needed.

It is true that much of the response by local authorities, as by business and industry, to the unemployment crisis has been aimed at the creation of conventional jobs or at providing

palliatives for people who are unemployed. It is also generally true that local government is at present too centralised and too remote from the communities in which people actually live and work. Nonetheless, the very fact that local responsibility for employment and other aspects of the local economy is now accepted can be seen as a pointer in the direction of ownwork. Real progress will not be made until increasing numbers of local residents and local workers begin to take more direct control over the self-management of local housing, local neighbourhood services, and local productive activities. But the encouragement already given by some local authorities to community housing associations, community enterprises and local co-operatives already points in this direction. Two relevant recent initiatives by new town development corporations are the Lightmoor project at Telford and the Greentown project at Milton Keynes, where potential residents of new communities have been encouraged to come together in advance, so that they themselves can plan and develop the community they will live in.

#### *Central Government and International Government Agencies*

In so far as central governments and international agencies like the EEC and OECD have directly concerned themselves with work and employment, the main aim of their policies has been to create new jobs. Many different kinds of incentives have been given to employers and potential employers to invest in new plant and equipment, especially in selected regions and enterprise zones, and to provide jobs or training places for the long-term unemployed and the young unemployed. These policies have not, in general, been very successful. They have been costly. Their main effects have been to accelerate the replacement of existing jobs in some firms by the creation of new jobs in others, and the replacement of existing jobs in unselected regions and zones by the creation of new jobs in selected regions or zones; and to give new jobs to people who qualify under the schemes instead of people who do not.

Some of the measures that have been introduced to provide work and training for unemployed people, and especially the young unemployed and the long-term unemployed, have however pointed broadly in the direction of ownwork. They may, in the course of time, turn out to have provided stepping-stones

to it. I am referring particularly to some of the Manpower Service Commission schemes in Britain. One of these is the Enterprise Allowance Scheme already mentioned, which helps unemployed people to start up in business on their own. The Community Programme is another. It provides funds for projects that are of benefit to the community, and makes it possible for 'managing agencies' representing community interests to provide work for groups of unemployed people. In many cases it should eventually be possible to build up those groups of workers to the point where they become viable as small co-operatives or community enterprises. The main difficulty so far has been that these schemes have been designed as short-term palliatives. The length of time that unemployed people may stay on them is strictly limited and they are hedged about with constraints intended to prevent people working on them from competing for work with unionised labour employed in conventional jobs. This has limited the ability of local groups operating the schemes to use them to launch local people in sustainable enterprises of their own.

But, as time has passed and the unemployment crisis has grown worse, the value and the potential of unconventional local employment initiatives of this kind have been more fully appreciated and understood. In particular, both the EEC and J the OECD have launched major programmes in the last two or three years, to study the part played by local employment initiatives, and to give guidelines to member countries on how to encourage them.

### *Other Institutions*

Among those who have begun to be concerned about the future of work, and about the change that will be necessary in their own role and function if full employment is not going to return, are some leading trade unionists, a growing number of teachers and others in the educational profession, and a certain number of planners.

As we have seen in Chapter 8, Clive Jenkins and Barrie Sherman are two leading trade unionists who argue that the 'collapse of work' must be faced and that trade unions must prepare to meet the 'leisure shock'. It is true that the trade union

movement as a whole has not yet begun to recognise that something of this kind may be happening. Its main energies in the last few years have been channelled into what it still sees as the fight for jobs. After all, the trade unions originally came into existence to represent the interests of employed people. Their main goals have been to preserve employment, and to improve the pay and conditions attaching to it. They have never campaigned for part-time employment for people who wanted it; Nor have they concerned themselves directly with the interests of people not in employment. It has certainly never been their aim to enable people to undertake useful and rewarding work outside employment. Indeed, they have understandably seen all forms of ownwork as open to exploitation by unscrupulous employers and therefore as a threat to their own members. But, although there is little sign in the activities of the trade unions so far that the shift to ownwork is now under way, the new thinking has at least begun.

Rightly or wrongly, the assumption on which many teachers used to operate was that, if pupils and students did reasonably well, they had a good chance of getting a decent job. Teachers were able to tell their pupils correctly that if they worked hard at their studies they would be rewarded that way. Now that is no longer the case. What are teachers to do about it? Many are beginning to recognise that the problem goes very deep. If full employment has gone for ever, what does this imply for the curriculum? What should pupils and students learn, to prepare them for a life in which there may be no jobs for them? And how and where should they learn? Teachers and educationalists like Philip Toogood and Tony Watts<sup>5</sup> are facing up to these questions. There is a chance that some of the training which will be funded under the Youth Training Scheme by the Manpower Services Commission will prove relevant for life without employment. And there has been some public discussion about the possible desirability of extending schemes like Community Service Volunteers, which enable young people to learn from the experience of community service.<sup>6</sup> So, even if on the whole it cannot yet be said that the education profession has seriously begun to come to terms with the prospect of the transition from employment to ownwork, the ground for this has now begun to be prepared.

So far as the planning profession is concerned, there is growing unease in the profession about the unsuitability of most of the houses provided under public housing programmes for the more economical and self-reliant lifestyles that many people will have to adopt if full employment does not return. Most of these houses are expensive on energy and maintenance costs, and provide no facilities for people to do any work for themselves, paid or unpaid, in and around their home. The lay-out of recently-planned towns, based on the assumption that most people will go to an employer's premises in an industrial zone to work, and will have access to convenient transport to take them from their residential zone to do their shopping, to take their children to and from school, to get to the hospital, and so on, is also a cause for concern in the profession. The Town and Country Planning Association has been playing a prominent part in articulating these concerns and - for example, by promoting the Greentown and Lightmoor projects mentioned above - in helping to prepare the way for the development of more self-reliant, self-managed communities and for the enabling role which this will require of the planning profession.<sup>7</sup>

It is still possible, for people who see things that way, to argue that the recent developments outlined in this chapter do not necessarily show that a significant change has begun to take place in the dominant pattern of work. It is not yet possible to convince them that the recent rise in personal and local ownwork will, in the long run, amount to more than a marginal alternative to conventional employment. But, at the same time, those who do believe in the possibility of a shift away from dependent employment to more self-reliant ownwork, can interpret much that has started to happen in the last few years as the first halting steps in that direction.<sup>8</sup>

## 12

### **The Ownwork Agenda**

In this chapter we look at some of the changes that will have to be made in order to facilitate the further expansion of personal and local ownwork. They include changes in how people get their money incomes; easier personal access to the workspace, land and capital needed for ownwork; the development of the personal skills needed for ownwork, including the ability to organise the use of one's own money, time and space; and changes needed to facilitate more self-reliant local economic development, including the investment of local resources and local money in local work to meet local needs.

#### *Personal Incomes*

We have touched already, in Chapters 4 and 9, on the need to loosen the link between money incomes and paid employment. As citizens of late industrial societies, we already accept that all citizens should receive a basic subsistence income, and we accept collective responsibility for providing such an income to our fellow-citizens who cannot provide one for themselves. But we still make the assumption that the proper and normal thing is for people to earn a sufficient income for themselves and their dependants out of paid employment. This assumption is based on other assumptions which are now no longer valid — for example: that almost all paid jobs will provide an adequate subsistence income; that full-time formal employment from 16 to 65 will remain the norm, at least for men; that married women can continue to be treated as financial dependants of their husbands; and that people who cannot support themselves and their dependants by their earnings from paid employment will be so few as to be an easily manageable exception to the general rule.<sup>1</sup>

This means that those who cannot provide themselves with enough income from work, either because they are unemployed or because they are low paid, are treated as second-class citizens who have failed to meet the norm. They have to register and submit themselves to bureaucratic scrutiny and approval in order to receive unemployment and social security benefits; this often involves harassment and snooping into their private lives. The administration of these benefits requires an expensive and complex bureaucracy. Their receipt is subject to conditions which severely limit the recipients' freedom to commit themselves to useful activities, including training and voluntary work (since they must keep themselves 'available' to take up a paid job, if one should offer itself), and which prevent them from trying to build up paid work on their own account. The assumption is that a conventional job is still the norm, and that people who don't have a job can do no work.

This present method of guaranteeing a basic income for all is clearly now out of date, in the light of the high unemployment levels that are in prospect for the next 10 or 15 years, and — to put it no higher — the possibility that conventional full employment will never be restored. At the very least, the conditions governing the receipt of benefits must be relaxed so that people receiving them are enabled to spend their time usefully, and to build up new ways of earning an income for themselves. The Enterprise Allowance Scheme mentioned in the last chapter is one small example of this. Such arrangements for liberating people from the 'poverty trap' will have to be extended.

However, simply to relax the existing conditions on which benefits are received will, in fact, do no more than tinker with the problem. The real problem is the false perception of the realities of work and incomes in late industrial society as it has developed over the last 40 years. The time has come to disentangle the obligation to provide all citizens with an adequate basic income from the out-of-date prescription that the normal way for most people to get such an income must be to earn it in a job. In other words, it is time to introduce an unconditional Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI) under which all citizens, rich and poor, men and women, old and young, will automatically receive a weekly basic income from the state.



Increasingly serious discussion of this idea has been taking place in a number of countries in recent years.<sup>2</sup> In Britain, a proposed scheme has been considered by a Select Committee of Parliament, and a Working Party to explore the practical possibilities has been set up by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO). Broadly speaking, what is proposed is a consolidation of personal income tax and personal benefits, allowances and grants on the following lines:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) All citizens will be paid a weekly personal basic income into their bank or giro account, geared to a minimum living standard. Special rates will apply to children, pensioners and the disabled. This unconditional basic income will replace most existing benefits, grants and tax allowances. It will not be taxable.
- (2) All citizens will be free to undertake paid work to add to their basic income. All income over and above the basic income will be taxed.
- (3) Receipts from the tax on incomes, plus savings from the abolition of existing tax allowances, grants and benefits, and from the reduction in the cost of administering them, together perhaps with some increase in expenditure taxes such as Value Added Tax (VAT), will finance the basic income.

The underlying principle of such a scheme is simple. The precise details of how it would work and how it would be funded are complex. I do not propose to go into these here. Detailed discussion of the various options will be found in the publications referred to in Note (2) to this chapter. But some further discussion of the arguments for and against a GBI is necessary. The arguments for it include the following:

- (1) Citizens will no longer be divided into two classes: those in well-paid employment, and those who have to apply for state benefits because they are unemployed or in low-paid jobs. Everyone will receive their basic income equally as of right. The GBI will thus have a socially equalising effect.
- (2) The poverty trap will automatically be abolished. No one who earns money for themselves will have their benefits withdrawn and incur a liability to tax in such a way that, as happens often now, they are left worse off than they were before. The incentive

for poorer people to find useful work and to better their own situation by their own efforts will be much improved.

(3) This means that much activity of the kind we now call black economy, involving the concealment of earnings so that benefits may continue to be received, will legitimised. People who are in receipt of their basic income from the state will no longer be forbidden to add to it by taking on paid work.

(4) Greater equality will be created between men and women. In fact, one way of thinking of the basic income is as wages for housework for all citizens. The basic income will make it easier for men, as well as for women, to spend more time on the informal work of looking after the home and family; and to choose whether or not to seek paid employment outside the home. It will make it easier for men and women alike, regardless of their age, to look for part-time paid work which leaves them free for part-time unpaid work in the home and the family.

(5) It will become easier for many more people than today to spend some of their time on local activities of a voluntary or semi-voluntary nature, and thus to contribute directly to the welfare and amenity of themselves, their families their fellow-citizens, and reduce the dependence of people in their locality generally on the services of the welfare state.

(6) Finally, in addition to all these primarily social advantages the GBI will have economic advantages from the point of view of employers, workers, and the community as a whole. It will make it possible to re-establish a free market in labour. Employers will no longer be responsible for paying their employees' basic income and will therefore be free to pay them as much or as little as they think they afford. Employees, on the other hand, will already receiving their basic income from the state, and will be to accept as much or as little pay as they may decide. Employers and employees will both be freed from many of the constraints imposed by the present employment relationship. The GBI will thus have an economically liberating effect all round. On the one hand, it will reduce the wages and salaries paid for many kinds of work, and by excluding the basic subsistence element in work incomes from employers' costs on wages and salaries will encourage economic competitiveness. On the other hand, by reducing the present degree of dependence of poorer workers on unpleasant, menial work, it will probably make it necessary to increase the wages now paid for doing such work. Both these effects will be welcome.

To sum up the arguments in favour, the GBI will lead to a liberation of work, helping to remove the existing divisions between people who are employed and people who are unemployed, between people of working age and people who are retired, and between men's work and women's work. In place of these divisions it will open up a wide range of equally valid work options for all, including: no paid work but plenty of informal, voluntary work and productive leisure; irregular paid work; a regular part-time job; a full-time job; and even, for some eager spirits, more than one full-time job. As well as providing all citizens with a basic income without loss of dignity, it will create opportunities for rewarding work in the formal and informal economy alike, it will contribute to greater economic efficiency, and it will enable much necessary work to be done that cannot be economically done at all so long as conventional employment continues to be treated as the norm.

On the other side of the account, the following are the main arguments brought against the GBI:

(1) If the basic income paid to every citizen is high enough for the poorest and least capable to live on, the rates of tax needed to finance it will be too high. For example, it has been calculated that if all the money required for distribution as basic income were raised from taxes on personal incomes, a uniform tax rate of 50% on all personal incomes above the basic income level would have to be brought in. On the other hand, if all the money were raised by VAT, a VAT rate of 100% would have to be imposed. In the first case, it is argued, the 50% income tax would discourage people from taking paid work. In the second, a VAT rate of 100% would be much too regressive, bearing very heavily on the poor in comparison with the rich.

(2) People's personal circumstances vary so widely that the level of an adequate subsistence income is correspondingly bound to vary widely between different people. To take two extreme examples, people who own their own houses outright, who have gardens in which they can grow their own food, and who live in the country where they can supplement their diet from the fields and hedgerows, pick up firewood in the woods, and enjoy inexpensive outdoor leisure pursuits, will need a lower basic income than people who live in rented energy-expensive flats in tower blocks in city centres. It would be unfair if the state were

to pay the same basic income to people in such different circumstances as these. An adequate income for people in the first category would be inadequate for those in the second, whereas an adequate income for the latter would be unnecessarily high for the former.

These arguments cannot be ignored. But closer examination shows them to be less conclusive than might appear at first sight.

Against the first of the arguments, the most important thing to point out is that there cannot be any fundamental problem about finding the money to pay everyone a basic income, because everyone receives a basic income already. The GBI would merely change the mechanics for doing this. It would provide an administratively simpler and cheaper way of achieving what is already done — that is, guaranteeing everyone a basic income and taxing what they receive over and above it.

What the first argument is actually saying is that many people, on receiving an unconditional basic income from the state, will be unwilling to continue working to top up the basic income, and will relax into featherbedded idleness. But what most people actually do now, whether they are among those receiving benefits from the state or among those who earn their income from paid employment, provides no evidence in support of this. On the contrary, most people today — whether they are employed or not — want an income higher than the basic subsistence level; they work for it if they can, openly if they are in employment, in the black economy if they are receiving benefits. On balance, it is much more likely that the introduction of a GBI will result in people looking for and finding paid work who are not allowed to do so today, than in people deciding to drop out of paid work who are in it now.

In practice, what happens will depend to a certain extent on the levels set for the basic income and the taxes needed to finance it. The higher the basic income and the higher the level of personal tax, the greater the disincentive to take on paid work. Setting these levels will become a central political issue, with a general tendency for those on the right to favour low levels with a lower redistribution of incomes from the rich to the

poor, and for those on the left to favour higher levels with a higher redistributive effect

So far as the suggested rates of a 50% tax on personal incomes or 100% VAT are concerned, the picture is not so daunting as might be supposed at first sight. Keith Roberts<sup>2</sup> has estimated that businesses will be paying wages, salaries and other costs at about half their present level (because the cost of the basic income of everyone in paid work will no longer be included in their wages and salaries), and that prices of goods and services in the shops (before VAT) will therefore be about half their present level. If that is correct, a 50% tax on earned incomes would mean that the actual purchasing power of what a paid worker receives will be more or less the same as it would have been if prices had been twice as high and if there had been no tax on income. Similarly, a 100% rate of VAT would restore the actual prices paid by purchasers for goods and services to more or less what they would have been as matters are arranged today.

But, of course, the 50% tax on personal incomes and a 100% rate of VAT are just figures that have been brought into the discussion for illustrative purposes, to indicate broadly the scale on which money will have to be raised to finance a GBI. In practice, basic incomes will probably be funded, at least initially, by combining a progressive tax on incomes above the basic level with a rate of VAT lower than 100%. For practical purposes this seems the most sensible basis on which preparations should now be made for phasing in the introduction of the GBI, perhaps over a ten-year transition period.<sup>4</sup>

However, at least two other potential new sources of some of the money needed to pay basic incomes may be available, to be brought in as partial substitutes for personal income tax and vat in due course. The first is to do with the way new purchasing power is created. The second is a tax on land.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that new purchasing power is continually being created and injected into the economy is not in dispute. New money and credit is now created by the banks lending money to

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<sup>1</sup> Over the past 20 years I have concluded that this is, in fact, the right approach. See the 2006 Preface at the beginning of the book, before the Contents.

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their customers, including the government; the customers then either deposit this money in the banking system or pay it to other people who deposit it there; in either case the supply of money deposited with the banks has been increased. As an aspect of monetary policy governments can exercise some control over the amount of new credit created by the banks and thus over the amount by which the money supply is increased. But this control is fairly hit-or-miss. Moreover, why should increases in the money supply be channelled, according to criteria which the banks decide, in the form of loans to a selected category of people (and organisations), namely credit-worthy bank customers who want to borrow money? Might it not be better from every point of view, except for the effect on bank profits, if whatever increase in the money supply is thought to be desirable from time to time were created directly by the government, and injected into the economy in the first instance in the form of an equal distribution to all citizens as part of their basic income?

This proposal is related to the ideas put forward by C.H. Douglas and the Social Credit movement after the First World War.<sup>5</sup> They have always been successfully resisted by the banks, however, and it therefore may not be realistic to look forward to the introduction of anything on these lines until the banking system itself faces a serious possibility of collapse — which may not be many years away (see Chapter 9). The time has certainly come to dust off the idea that the distribution of new money and credit regularly to all citizens by the state might be a better way to create new money and credit than the way it is done today, and to examine its practical details. It could be a relevant response to the weakening of the link between work and money incomes, and the transition from employment to ownwork.

So far as land taxation is concerned, no figure is available for the total unimproved annual rental value of all the land in Britain. But clearly, if that sum were distributed annually in equal parts to all citizens, it too would make a useful contribution to the financing of the annual basic income. However there are other important arguments in favour of land taxation, and it will be more appropriate to discuss it in the next section of this chapter.

To conclude our discussion of personal incomes, the

introduction of the GBI will be a historical milestone of the first importance. By officially disconnecting subsistence from paid employment it will mark the transition to the post-employment age, as surely as the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 marked the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society. It will start reversing the process that began several hundred years ago, when the common people were deprived of access to land and the wherewithal to provide their own subsistence, and so became dependent on paid labour.

### *Access to Workspace, Land and Capital*

As we saw in Chapter 4, the houses and the cities, towns and villages in which we live today have taken shape around the assumption that most people will be working for employers. Architects have designed houses, especially houses provided by the public sector for people in the less well-off section of society, to be places of consumption and leisure, not to be places of work and production. Planners have divided cities, towns and villages into zones, imposing a physical separation on the activities of living, working, shopping, and so on. Few people have had access to land for productive purposes on their own account. The assumption has been that employers will own and provide the land and buildings where people work. The prices of land in most industrialised countries are now so high that few people can afford to buy it and work on it for themselves. Another assumption has been that most people will not need the capital necessary to support their work and that employers will supply it. So, while redistribution of income has always been high on the agenda for progressive politicians, the possibilities for redistributing capital have not. Even institutional changes such as the conversion of commercial firms into a co-operative form and the wider spread of share ownership have received lukewarm attention; and, of course, the nationalisation of railways, coalmining, electricity, broadcasting, and so on, has never meant nor been intended to mean the kind of redistribution of capital which would enable more people to finance their own work and provide themselves with their own means of production.

The transition from the age of employment to the age of ownwork will require big changes in all these respects.

Architects and planners will increasingly have to recognise that a post-employment society will use physical space in distinctly different ways from a society organised around employment, and that these new patterns of use will imply a distinctly different approach to both architecture and planning than the one that has been dominant in the last half century or more. There will be exciting new opportunities here for those architects and planners who can grasp them. One expanding role for their professions will be to enable increasing numbers of people not in full-time employment to design and build (or part-build) their own homes, and - as in the Greentown and Lightmoor projects mentioned in Chapter 11 - to plan and build (or part-build) their own communities.

So far as access to land is concerned, we saw in Chapter 9 that a decline in the capital values of land and property would be likely to follow any significant decline in the cash flows — and expectation of future cash flows — on which existing values depend. In the case of agricultural land, such a decline in value would follow a reduction in the level of financial support for agriculture provided at present by national and international policies such as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Community. It would also be caused by a shift to less intensive agricultural practices, either for economic reasons because of the rising costs of fuel, fertilisers, pesticides and anti-pollution safeguards, or for physical reasons owing to the deterioration of soils subjected to intensive farming methods over the long term.<sup>6</sup>

Any such decline in agricultural and, for that matter, urban land values will tend to make it easier to find land on which to work and live for individuals and groups of people without large sums of existing capital. But more positive measures will have to be introduced as well. They may include land taxation. They will certainly include new forms of land tenure and new procedures for acquiring land by people with no existing capital and no regular income or other security on which to borrow.

The best-known advocate of land taxation has been Henry George. In *Progress and Poverty*,<sup>7</sup> first published in 1879, he argued strongly for the taxation of land, to replace other taxes:

To shift the burden of taxation from production and exchange



to the value or rent of land would be not merely to give new stimulus to the production of wealth; it would be to open new opportunities. For under this system no one would care to hold land unless to use it, and land now withheld from use would everywhere be thrown open to improvement. And it must be remembered that this would apply not merely to agricultural land but to all land. Mineral land would be thrown open to use as would agricultural land; and in the heart of a city no one could afford to keep land from its most profitable use, or on the outskirts to demand more for it than would be warranted by the use to which it could be put at the time.

Whoever planted an orchard, or sowed a field, or built a house, or erected a manufactory, no matter how costly, would have no more to pay in taxes than if he kept so much land idle. The owner of a vacant city lot would have to pay as much for the privilege of keeping other people off it until he wanted to use it as his neighbour who has a fine house upon his lot. It would cost as much to keep a row of tumble-down shanties upon valuable land as it would were the land covered with a grand hotel or a pile of great warehouses filled with costly goods.

The selling price of land would fall; land speculation would receive its death-blow; land monopolisation would no longer pay. Thus there would disappear the premium which, wherever labour is most productive, must now be paid before labour can be exerted. The farmer would not have to pay out half his means, or mortgage his labour for years, in order to obtain land to cultivate. The company that proposed to erect a manufactory would not have to expend a great part of its capital for a site.

Henry George, like Adam Smith 100 years before — see Chapter 7 — assumed that all economic activity was limited to the formal economy, and that all economic agents fell into the three categories of landholder, capitalist or labourer, receiving money returns in the form of rent, profit (and interest), and wages for their respective contributions to the economic process. He also assumed that, if land were taxed, all other taxes could be removed. He thus defended land taxation against its opponents on the following grounds:

When it is first proposed to put all taxes upon the value of land and thus to confiscate rent, there will not be wanting appeals to the fears of small farm and homestead owners, who will be told that this is a proposition to rob them of their hard-earned property. But a moment's reflection will show that this

proposition should commend itself to all whose interests as landholders do not largely exceed their interests as labourers or capitalists, or both.

Take the case of the mechanic, shopkeeper or professional man who has secured himself a house and plot where he lives and which he contemplates with satisfaction as a place from which his family cannot be ejected in case of his death. Although he will have taxes to pay upon his land, he will be released from taxes upon his house and improvements, upon his furniture and personal property, upon all that he and his family eat, drink and wear, while his earnings will be largely increased by the rise of wages, the constant employment, and the increased briskness of trade.

And so with the farmer. I speak not of the farmer who never touches the handles of a plough, but of the working farmer who holds a small farm which he cultivates with the aid of his sons and perhaps some hired help. He would be a great gainer by the substitution of a single tax upon the value of land for all the taxes now imposed on commodities, because the taxation of land values rests only on the value of land, which is low in agricultural districts as compared with towns and cities, where it is high. Acre for acre, the improved and cultivated farm with its buildings, fences, orchard, crops and stock, would be taxed no more than unused land of equal quality. For taxes, being levied upon the value of the land alone, would fall with equal incidence upon unimproved as upon improved land.

George's most important arguments in favour of land taxation are valid for us today. It will bring down the price of land. It will make land more accessible for those who want to use it. It will encourage the use of land, as opposed to its retention unused in the hope that its capital value will appreciate. It will also ensure that increases in the value of unimproved land, which arise out of the activities of the community around it, accrue to the community and not to the owner who has done nothing to create the increase in value. But our context today differs from George's in two important respects. First, it would be unreasonable for us 100 years later than George to expect that land taxation will altogether replace other taxes. Second, we are concerned not only, as he was, to liberate formal work i.e. work that brings in a money return and contributes to conventionally measured economic growth. We are concerned also to open up new

opportunities for informal work, and to revive the informal economy. To be more specific, our concern is that people should be enabled to occupy and use land, not only for money-earning work, but also for work and activities that contribute to their own needs and the needs of others, without necessarily bringing in a money income or at least without bringing in the full commercial return that might be attainable from their piece of land. A question that must be asked therefore is whether, when a GBI and a land tax have both been introduced, people who earn no additional income but who live and work informally on their own piece of land should be liable to pay land tax. In principle, the answer should be Yes. In practice, this will have to be examined as part of the detailed study of the precise forms and levels both of basic income and of land taxation that will be needed in response to the decline of employment.

New forms of land tenure and land purchase which enable people without capital of their own to have access to land are already being developed, though on a small scale as yet. Land trusts, community land trusts, community development trusts and community land banks are among the structures now being set up in Britain and North America for this purpose.<sup>8</sup> Even from existing financial institutions, these trusts can often raise finance, for purchase and development of land, against the security of the land itself. However, the end of the employment age will require the development of new channels of investment in small-scale local activities generally, to provide the capital they need, not only for land acquisition but for other purposes too.

### *Local Economic Development*

Three particular items come on to the ownwork agenda under this heading. The first is a cultivation of awareness in the minds of people that their local economy belongs to them as participants in it. The second is systematic analysis of the ways in which local economies can be strengthened. The third is the development of local economic institutional structures.

Many people today are hardly aware of being participants in the local economy; they work elsewhere and invest their savings elsewhere; many even do their shopping elsewhere, in hypermarkets and supermarkets that stock no local products.

Many who *are* conscious of being participants in the local economy perceive themselves as passively dependent on local economic events outside their own control. Many people perceive local economic life as almost wholly dependent on national and international policies and contingencies over which they have no influence at all. I noticed recently in discussions about the future of work, how little aware many metropolitan councillors (elected representatives) seemed to be that the inhabitants of their big conurbation might have scope to meet local needs through local work. The councillors were more concerned to criticise the national government for its policies, than to respond with constructive local action. A top priority is to help people in every walk of life to become aware of themselves as participants in the local economy, of the extent to which they can expand it or diminish it by their own economic behaviour, and of all the various ways in which they could — if they so decided — help to make it more flourishing.

The second item stems directly from this. Virtually no systematic analysis has yet been done of the various measures which local people might take in the mid-1980s, in order to meet a greater proportion of local needs with local work. Such analysis is urgently necessary. It should cover all the most important needs of local people for food, energy, housing, clothing, other goods of all kinds, commercial services and social services.<sup>9</sup> Ideally, it may be found, analyses of this kind will be needed for localities of three different population sizes: up to, say, five thousand; up to, say, a hundred thousand; and up to, say, two million. But these figures should be taken as no more than an indication of the general nature of what is required. Without at this stage pre-supposing that existing local boundaries will provide the most practical basis for the move towards greater local economic self-sufficiency, we need to examine the possible ways in which local people can try to achieve it at what we now broadly think of as parish, district and conurbation levels.

Local authorities, local enterprise trusts, and local universities, polytechnics and other centres of higher education and research should themselves carry out such studies, and provide resources, help and advice to local groups who want to do the same. At the national level, bodies like the Institute of Local Government and the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (both attached to

Birmingham University), and the School for Advanced Urban Studies (attached to Bristol University), research bodies such as the Policy Studies Institute, university faculties of economics, and consultancy organisations specialising in the subject of work and economic development, should be encouraged to clarify the practical implications of adopting self-reliance as a main principle of local economic development. They should aim to offer generally applicable guidance and help, and to suggest a systematic approach to local authorities and local groups wishing to explore the specific possibilities for their own local area.

New local economic institutions will be needed to reflect and to facilitate the transition from local dependence on externally organised employment to local reliance on locally directed ownwork. Local enterprise trusts and unemployment centres will no doubt prove to be among the forerunners of these new institutions, as may be the new departments in local government authorities that have been set up to deal with local unemployment and economic problems. The development of community enterprises and co-operatives, and community development agencies, on a widening scale will call for banking and credit institutions to support them. These may include new institutions, such as co-operative land banks, local credit unions, and local investment trusts, as well as decentralised adaptations of today's centralised banking and financial institutions. Even the possibility of developing local currencies as a strand in local economic revival should not be ignored.

The actual process of developing the required new institutional structures can be foreseen as an iterative process. A variety of practical local responses to specific local needs will provide material for more general analyses of such local experiences, and for more systematic studies of the functions that new local economic institutions should undertake. In turn, these general and systematic studies will provide information and help to local people, enabling them to set up more effective arrangements specific to the development needs of their own localities.

### *Technology*

The demand for small-scale technologies will continue to grow and market forces will increasingly push scientists, engineers and

industrialists into inventions, innovations and product developments which will meet this growing demand. Those who fail to establish themselves in the expanding new fields of technology which support personal and local ownwork, will be overtaken by their competitors.

A useful criterion, which business strategists can use to judge whether a new technological development is consistent with the ownwork agenda, is to ask whether the new material, or equipment, or process, or system is likely to enlarge the range of competence, control and initiative of the people who will be affected by it; or whether it is more likely to subordinate them to more powerful people and organisations, and make them dependent on bureaucracies and machines which they cannot themselves control.

But it is not only business strategists, scientists and engineers who will be involved in this approach. Government agencies and universities will have a role too. For, as long as the assumption remains at all widely accepted that it is for organisations — and for large organisations at that — to provide the technology to support people's work and not for people to provide it for themselves, the power to purchase and therefore to specify new technologies will tend to remain centralised in large organisations. This means that there will continue to be a tendency to retard the development of new small-scale technologies. To illustrate this with an obvious example from the immediate past, infinitely more resources have been channelled into the development of nuclear power, a technology which makes the whole population depend for energy supplies on the employees of large centralised organisations, than into the development of domestic heat-pumps or local combined-heat-and-power (CHP) systems, which enable people in their own households and localities to contribute to their own energy needs.

The inertia of the status quo thus tends to retard the development of new small-scale technologies. This creates an artificial time-lag which, if not corrected, will delay unnecessarily the successful introduction of the more decentralised working patterns and lifestyles which will help to solve the crisis of unemployment. This means that government research and

development (R and D) has an important part of its own to play in the ownwork agenda.

What is needed first is a systematic survey of fields such as agriculture and food, energy, transport, industrial manufacturing, recycling, repair and maintenance, housing, health, education, information and communication, to establish what existing or new small-scale technologies could be further developed, which will expand the opportunities for personal and local ownwork in those fields.<sup>10</sup> Then, until commercially financed research is willing to take up the projects identified in this way, government R and D establishments and publicly funded contractors should be asked to take them forward. In time, of course, as the shift from employment to ownwork gathers increasing momentum, the emphasis may be expected to shift from large to small new technologies in commercial R and D as well as in R and D which is publicly funded.

It will be seen that the ownwork agenda for technology goes beyond technology assessment, as technology assessment has normally been understood and practised hitherto. The concern underlying technology assessment has generally been a negative concern. The intention has been to avoid the social and environmental side-effects which might be harmful, dangerous or otherwise undesirable, of technologies which businesses or governments proposed to introduce for other reasons. Environmental impact assessments and social impact assessments have been among the techniques most commonly used. The ownwork agenda requires a more positive approach, involving the systematic identification of technological gaps and of new technologies or new uses of existing technologies that will fill them. In other words, it involves the development and use of technologies that are positively benign, in the sense of meeting needs not already met, not just the avoidance and prohibition of technologies that have undesired effects. There is a parallel to this in the field of financial investment. The phrase 'ethical investment' has hitherto tended to be negatively used to refer to the avoidance of investment in countries and businesses considered undesirable, such as South Africa, the arms trade, drugs, alcohol and tobacco. But new ethical investment funds now being set up aim to fill a hitherto unmet need, by giving positive opportunities for investment in businesses and in

projects which investors actively wish to support, such as small local businesses or solar energy projects.<sup>11</sup>

It is no doubt unrealistic to hope that governments will put in hand the kind of systematic survey of technological needs that I have mentioned, at least for a year or two longer, until the shift from employment to ownwork has become almost universally accepted. Until that time, a top priority will be for alternative technology and research groups<sup>12</sup> to continue with their work, and for activist groups in the agriculture, energy, transport and other fields to continue to press for resources to be switched away from big technologies to small.

### *Education, Training, Leisure*

The ownwork agenda requires a shift of emphasis in education, training and leisure, so that all these will involve practical skills, self-directed activities, and participation in activities of the local community, to a greater extent than at present. The shift from employment to ownwork will also mean that the distinctions between education and work, training and work, and leisure and work, become less sharp. More education and training will take place than today in the context of work; and people will often find it difficult to say whether they regard some particular activity as work or leisure or a mixture of the two. In these ways learning and leisure will both contribute to satisfying and rewarding ways of living that are more self-reliant, less dependent on employment, and more fully integrated in their local communities, than many people's lives today.

By practical skills I do not mean only the capacity to use small-scale technologies, e.g. for plumbing, electrical work, food-growing, cooking, computing or any other of the hundred and one different technical activities that ownwork may involve. Learning to use a range of these technologies will, indeed, be an important aspect of education and training for ownwork in the post-employment age. By practical skills I also refer to less technical capabilities, like self-confidence and initiative and other personal and interpersonal skills which will rate higher in a life of co-operative self-reliance than in a life based on employment. There are, for example, skills in the use of time, space, and money, which the employee culture of late industrial society has



largely been able to ignore. In an employment-based society most people, as employees, have had no need to acquire the habits and skills of planning and organising their own space and time at work, nor of planning and managing cash-flows and financial outlays in connection with their work. Their employer has done all this for them. However, as the shift to ownwork gathers pace, it may be skills like these, even more than specific practical skills of a technical kind, that will prove most necessary and, perhaps, for many people the most difficult to pick up. And there can be no doubt that many existing schools and many existing members of the teaching profession will find them difficult to handle.

What will eventually be needed here, in education, training and leisure, as in other fields, will be a systematic analysis of the changes both in content and context which the shift to ownwork implies, and a systematic reorientation to ownwork of much of what is now provided by way of education, training and leisure for an employment-based society. But again, given that the professions and organisations most deeply involved are rooted in the status quo, it is probably not realistic to expect this to happen until the shift to ownwork is further advanced.

Meanwhile, it will be a top priority for alternative centres<sup>13</sup> of education and training and leisure activity, for such local bodies as Unemployment Centres and Local Enterprise Trusts, and even for official bodies like the Manpower Services Commission — which, being more recently established — are less deeply rooted in the old approach, to press ahead with the development of education, training and leisure facilities appropriate to the post-employment age.

### *Economics, Social Sciences, Management Sciences*

Economics and other social sciences, including management sciences, are based today on the assumption that work means employment. With the shift from employment to ownwork that assumption will have to be abandoned. In Chapter 7 we saw that this implies important changes in the concepts of macro-economics. New indicators of economic performance and social wellbeing will have to be developed, no longer based on the assumption that all paid work has value and all unpaid work does

not This needs to be put in hand urgently, as an important feature of 'the new economies'. At the same time, we have to bear in mind that the age of economics has coincided with the age of employment and more generally with the industrial age. We should be aware of the possibility that economics might not survive the transition to the post-employment, post-industrial age, at least in its present form.

Throughout the social sciences it will be necessary to question whether work should continue to be taken as meaning employment. As in other fields, a systematic review of the implications of this is called for. However, in parallel with other fields, academic inertia and academic vested interests in the status quo make such a systematic review unlikely until the shift from employment to ownwork has become more commonplace. So meanwhile, in parallel with other items on the ownwork agenda, it will be a top priority for pioneers of alternative thinking to open up the field.<sup>14</sup>

A specific example of a subject where this applies is 'quality of working life' (QWL).<sup>15</sup> The academics and consultants who have been active in this field have hitherto limited their interest to the QWL for people in employment — so that, for example, QWL is now closely associated with the field of research and consultancy known as 'organisation development' or OD. It is probably too cynical to say that this is because employers are the only people willing to pay academics and consultants to look at QWL. The underlying reason is because it has been generally assumed that employment is the only kind of working life that matters. But now, as the shift to ownwork proceeds, interest in QWL will have to shift away from situations in which employees work, to those in which work is organised in other, more self-directed ways.

### *Key Institutions*

The response of the institutions most closely affected by the ownwork agenda will help to determine whether the worldwide crisis of unemployment is successfully surmounted, and whether the transition to a post-employment age is accomplished in reasonably good order. Those institutions are: employing organisations; government departments and agencies; financial institutions; trade unions; and the professions, such as

architecture, planning, and education, which directly influence the context for work and people's capabilities for doing it. The practical question is not so much about the extent to which these institutions may be expected to take positive initiatives to accelerate the shift to ownwork. More importantly, it is about the extent to which they will prove willing and able to remove the huge variety of obstacles with which they now hinder the spread of ownwork, for example by giving tax depreciation allowances and investment grants to employing organisations but not to self-organised workers, by administering personal taxes and benefits in such a way that the poverty trap is created, by designing the built environment to suit an employment-based society, by imposing criteria of educational success which discourage practical self-reliance, or by insisting that certain kinds of work have to be done by certified or unionised employees.

In general, *employing organisations* will probably continue to encourage the trend towards ownwork, as they have done in the last few years. They will continue to reduce the numbers of their full-time employees, partly by using machines instead of labour, partly by employing more part-time workers, and partly by contracting work out instead of doing it in-house. Managerial inertia and gut resistance to change will no doubt slow things down a bit. For a time, top managers and other key workers will probably continue to be employed full-time, and to regard themselves as the core, and other workers as the periphery, of the business they are in. This may apply a kind of cultural brake to progress for a while. But this will probably soon be offset by the spread of the new cultural values, centred around the principle of personal autonomy, which ownwork will represent. All in all, I expect large employers and the representative organisations of employers to play an increasingly positive part in removing existing obstacles to the wider spread of ownwork. The challenge to business management will be one which many managers will welcome, as they begin to explore more systematically than hitherto the scope for a larger role for ownwork in their own businesses, the obstacles to moving in that direction, and how those obstacles might be removed.

*Departments and agencies of central and local government* are likely, in general, to be less flexible in their response. In their case, managerial inertia and gut resistance to change will tend to

be reinforced by the political context in which they operate. In principle, the shift from employment to ownwork will imply a general shift of emphasis towards measures that enable people and localities to meet more of their needs for themselves. As we saw in Chapter 10, the prospect of such a shift is experienced as a threat by most of today's power structures, including all mainstream political parties.<sup>16</sup> This means that, even if government managers want to introduce enabling policies in place of dependency-creating policies or policies of neglect, they will often find difficulty in getting political support for them. Nonetheless, I expect increasing numbers of government officials to become sympathetic to the ownwork agenda, and supportive of it, in the next few years. This will be partly because they are pushed in that direction by the pressure of events, partly because they themselves see that the future lies that way, and partly because the ownwork agenda and the development and implementation of enabling policies will — paradoxically — open up a wide range of new opportunities for career achievement in every branch of the public service. The policy implications of the shift from employment to ownwork will offer a new lease of life to policy researchers, and to institutes like (in Britain) the Royal Institute of Public Administration and the Policy Studies Institute.

In general, *financial institutions* may be less sympathetic to the ownwork agenda than employers or public servants. There is an underlying conflict between the idea of a society based on the money-making ethos of financial institutions and the idea of a society based on the principles of ownwork. This is bound to reinforce the normal inertia and gut resistance to change among the majority of people managing financial businesses. Moreover, people who gravitate into the management of financial institutions tend to be less responsive to social issues and to impending social change than people who manage other, less abstract types of manufacturing and service industries.

Fortunately, however, there are many exceptions to this generalisation. And — paradoxically again — the shift to ownwork will, as we saw in Chapter 9, offer a widening range of new opportunities for profitable investment to the alert financial managers who have a nose for what is happening. There is bound to be a growing demand for financial business analysts to identify growth points for new financial opportunities of this kind.

Systematic analyses of the whole range of ownwork projects, personal and local, may be needed, to identify what new ways of providing finance for these projects will have to be developed.

Of all the institutions affected by the shift to ownwork, the *trade unions* may find it most difficult to respond in positive ways. As we saw in Chapter 8, they are locked firmly into a defensive pattern of response. However, there are trade union leaders who are beginning to realise that this must change. For example, Clive Jenkins and Barrie Sherman argue that unemployed people should be helped to make good use of their leisure. They see trade unions representing the unemployed, and spending more time than at present on non-wage bargaining. They think the trade unions should also be prepared to bargain on behalf of the sick and the disabled, the new co-operatives, and single-parent families, all at both national and local levels. Their suggestion that unions should represent the interest of those in receipt of the 'social wage' raises the possibility of the trade union movement eventually negotiating on behalf of all citizens about the level of the Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI). But leaving that aside, recognition by the trade union movement that it has responsibilities to people outside employment, as well as in it, seems bound to grow. Pressing the claims of such people to adequate financial provision from the state will be one way of exercising these responsibilities, but by itself it will not be enough.

It will be necessary for the trade union movement to accept the inevitable contraction of formal employment, and to strive to ensure it takes place on terms that are favourable to affected employees. This will involve the negotiation of terms for flexible work patterns, including part-time work, early retirement, sabbaticals, etc, as well as terms for redundancy. It will also involve more active representation of the interests of part-time workers than has been customary, and more active support for people who are looking for part-time jobs.

Moreover, in a further extension of their present role, trade unions might be able to represent the interests of people working outside formal employment, and give assistance to people trying to organise their ownwork. Trade unions might provide technical and legal support and advice for such people. Perhaps they might

regulate the qualifications of independent workers (as the old guilds used to do), and so provide potential customers with an assurance of the standard of work on offer. Trade unions could press for changes in government policy and regulations (for example on taxation and social security and on planning) that discourage or hinder people working on their own account. They could press for land and resources to be made more readily available for people who want to do such things as grow their own food, build their own homes, or start their own co-operative and community enterprises.

Somewhere in the trade union movement today there may be young, energetic men and women who are aware of these possibilities and who are thinking them out. If so, they will lead the trade union movement into the 21st century. If not, the role of trade unions seems certain to dwindle, as the shift from employment to ownwork gathers pace. The passing away of employment as the dominant mode of work will then be like a tide going out. It will leave the trade union movement stranded on the shore of history.

As we have seen in Chapters 4 and 11, the ownwork agenda will pose a challenge to many of the *professions*, such as architecture, planning and teaching whose practices have become firmly rooted in the needs of an employment-based society. The pattern of response will tend to repeat itself from one of these professions to another: first, automatic resistance to change among most of the older and more established members, accompanied by an upsurge of interest among younger, more thoughtful, more energetic members; second, practical demonstrations that professional knowhow can be effectively applied to the new needs, and that the shift to ownwork is actually opening up new opportunities for the profession; third, acceptance by the profession that ownwork is a fact of life and that they can handle it; fourth, claims by the profession that enabling people to work for themselves has, in fact, always been one of their main aims. We are at present somewhere near the beginning of the second of these stages. In other words, an exciting new future is just opening up for architects, planners and teachers who can grasp what ownwork involves and can create their own new agenda around it.

## Conclusion

What work has been done, and how work has been organised, have differed from one historical period to another. But work, whatever its form, and however organised, has always been a central activity in most people's lives.

For the future two things seem certain. First, we are moving out of one historical period into another. This will bring great changes in what people do as work and in how work is organised. The age in which employment has been the dominant form of work is coming to an end. Second, many people — probably most — will continue to want to work. They will want their lives to be centred around activity that is valuable and useful, and meets needs — their own and other people's. So, although there will no doubt continue to be many jobs, and although many people will no doubt enjoy more leisure than in the past, the real challenge is to move — as understandingly and with as little disruption and distress as we can — to new kinds of work and new ways of organising work.

The key is to understand this as a move to ownwork — to forms of work, paid and unpaid, which people organise and control for themselves; in order to achieve purposes which they perceive as their own; as individuals, in groups, and in the localities in which they live. This transition from employment to ownwork can be seen as the next stage in the progression towards freedom, responsibility, and fuller participation in the life of society, that was marked at earlier historical times by the transitions from slavery to serfdom, and then from serfdom to employment. It can also be seen, by those who look at things this way, as one aspect of the next step towards fuller personal participation by human beings in the universal process of evolution.

But, as I said at the outset, effective responses to the unemployment crisis must be practical, as well as visionary. In Part 4 I have touched on some of the practicalities of the transition to ownwork. I hope that readers will have found it

helpful to have had these practicalities placed in the historical and political context outlined in Parts 2 and 3. I hope also that the Ownwork Checklist at Appendix 2 will help readers, whether they agree with the idea of ownwork or not, to think about the practical implications of a move towards it, either for themselves personally or for society as a whole.

However, let me make it plain that neither I nor anyone else at this point can see in detail how the ownwork agenda will be carried out. We cannot now describe precisely what new arrangements should be brought in across the board - as aspects of the transition to ownwork— for enabling people to receive incomes, to have access to land, and so on. The fact is that the transition will not be achieved by vast numbers of us carrying out en masse a single comprehensive plan laid down in advance as if by a single super-employer; rather, it will be achieved by means appropriate to the end. In other words, it will be achieved by more and more people deciding to do their own thing, finding ways to do it, and thereby helping to move things in the right direction.

There is a well-known saying 'Think globally, act locally'. In the present context this means that we should try to understand the crisis of work globally. We should see it as a symptom of the decline of a historical era in which the employment way of organising work has been one of the forms of dependency created by a dependency-creating society. We should thus understand it as a historic opportunity for a liberation of work. Then, informed by this understanding, we should find practical ways to act that are consistent with it, and that we ourselves are capable of initiating and carrying through.

The new work order will not be brought in by mass action, responding to the requirements of a bureaucratic programme and reflecting the factory mentality of the employment age. It will come in as growing numbers of people, conscious of sharing the same vision of the future of work and of travelling the same journey towards it, find new ways of organising work for themselves and enabling one another to do the same.



## APPENDIX 1

**A Note on Paradigm Shifts**

A paradigm shift is the change that takes place from time to time in a basic belief or assumption (or in a constellation of basic beliefs or assumptions) underlying our perceptions and actions. It can be seen as the cultural equivalent of an evolutionary leap. A well-known example is the shift, which took place in the 16th and 17th centuries and is associated with the names of Copernicus and Galileo, from the view that the sun goes round the earth to the view that the earth goes round the sun.

The concept of a paradigm shift arose from studies of the history of science. It was given currency by T.S. Kuhn in his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.<sup>1</sup> Kuhn examined

the major turning points in scientific development associated with the names of Copernicus, Newton, Lavoisier, and Einstein. More clearly than most other episodes in the history of at least the physical sciences, these display what all scientific revolutions are about. Each of them necessitated the community's rejection of one time-honoured scientific theory in favour of another incompatible with it. Each produced a consequent shift in the problems available for scientific scrutiny and in the standards by which the profession determined what should count as an admissible problem or as a legitimate problem-solution. And each transformed the scientific imagination in ways that we shall ultimately need to describe as a transformation of the world within which scientific work was done. Such changes, together with the controversies that almost always accompany them, are the defining characteristics of scientific revolutions.

Kuhn concluded that

the successive transition from one paradigm to another via revolution is the actual developmental pattern of mature science . . . . When an individual or group first produces a synthesis able to attract most of the next generation's practitioners, the older

schools gradually disappear. In part, their disappearance is caused by their members' conversion to the new paradigm. But there are always some men who cling to one or another of the old views, and they are simply read out of the profession which thereafter ignores their work.

The prevailing paradigm provides the agenda for all the ongoing activities of routine practitioners of science. As the paradigm shift occurs, those activities change their direction in accordance with the new paradigm.

In very much the same way as Kuhn described for science, prevailing paradigms provide the context for routine activity in non-scientific affairs, and shifts take place from one paradigm to another. For example, human beings can see themselves as outside nature, whence they can observe it, dominate it and exploit it; or, by contrast, they can feel themselves to be an integral part of nature. One aspect of the change of direction to the SHE future will be a shift from the first of these two paradigms to the second, i.e. from a scientific and economic view of nature to an ecological and spiritual view. Again, the dominant paradigm in economic affairs may be one of maximising and expansion; or it may be one of sufficiency and balance. A shift from the first to the second of these two paradigms will also be part of the transition to the SHE future.

## APPENDIX 2

## **An Ownwork Checklist**

### **Twenty Questions for Discussion and Further Exploration**

*Personal*

1. How might I find ways of:

- working
- managing my money, time, space, resources
- acquiring skills and experience
- changing my lifestyle

that would enable me to call my life my own and participate actively in my local economy?

2. What kinds of help, advice and support would I need for this, and where should I look for them?

*Local*

3. As people belonging to a particular locality, how could we find ways of:

- working
- managing our money and resources

that would enable us to meet a greater proportion of our own local needs by using our own local work and our own local money and resources?

4. What kinds of help, advice and support would we need for this, and where should we look for them?

*Financial*

5. How could a Guaranteed Basic Income (GBI) be financed?

6. What interim changes in personal benefits and taxation, short of a GBI could be introduced, in order to relax the poverty trap and enable recipients of benefits to do useful work for themselves?

7. (a) Should a land tax be introduced, in order to:
- bring down the price of land
  - make land more easily available for people who need it for work
  - bring unused land into productive use?
- (b) If so, what form should it take?
8. Government grants and tax allowances now paid to employers discriminate in favour of corporate production and against production in the informal economy, in favour of employment and against ownwork. How could this discrimination be removed?
9. What changes could be made in the existing financial system, in order to:
- distribute newly created money and credit to all citizens as part of their basic income
  - provide new channels for investment in local projects and the local economy
  - provide new ways of financing the purchase of land
  - encourage people to become less, rather than more, dependent on money and credit
  - safeguard against the worst consequences of a possible financial collapse in the next ten years?

#### *New Legal and Financial Structures*

10. What new forms of co-operative and community-based enterprises and trusts could be developed as vehicles for:
- local socio-economic activities
  - land purchase and land tenure for such activities?

#### *Employers*

11. What range of strategies are available to employers:
- to become less dependent on employees for getting work done
  - to reorientate existing employees towards ownwork?

#### *Technologies*

12. What action can businesses take to establish themselves in the growing market for small technologies that cater for personal and local ownwork?

13. What action could government agencies take to ensure that the required small technologies are researched and developed in good time?

*Physical Design and Planning*

14. How could architects and planners be encouraged to design and plan physical space and the built environment, to cater for ownwork rather than for patterns of living based on employment?

*Education, Training and Leisure*

15. What changes could be made by the professions and authorities responsible for education and training and for providing facilities for leisure, to recognise the growing importance of ownwork in people's lives?

*Central Government*

16. What changes would be needed in central government policies of all kinds to facilitate the shift to ownwork and reduce people's dependence on employment?

*Local Government*

17. As Question 16, but for local government.

*Trade Unions*

18. Could trade unions contribute positively to the shift from employment to ownwork? If so, in what particular ways?

*Research and Consultancy*

19. What new openings for research and consultancy arise out of the previous questions, and also out of the new thinking in the economic and social sciences required by the concept of work as ownwork rather than as employment?

*Public and Political Discussion*

20. What could I do to raise public and political awareness of the key importance of ownwork as a response to the unemployment crisis, and as the basis for a better future for work?

## Notes and References

### Introduction

- (1) Reported in the United Nations publication *Development Forum*, November 1982.
- (2) The concept of 'another development' was articulated in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report *What Now? Another Development*; in *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies*, ed. Marc Nerfin, 1977; and in subsequent issues of *Development Dialogue*; all published by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden. Regular issues of the *IFDA Dossier* from the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, Nyon, Switzerland, have encouraged wide international participation in the discussion.
- (3) In particular, the outcome of two Turning Point meetings in 1980 was published as Turning Point Paper No. 1 on 'The Redistribution of Work'. Major contributions were made by Charles Handy (then Warden of St. George's House, Windsor Castle) and Sheila Rothwell (Director of Employment Studies, Henley). I recommend Charles Handy's subsequent book, *The Future of Work*, Basil Blackwell, 1984. (Turning Point is an international network of people who share a common understanding that humankind is at a historical turning point. Address: The Old Bakehouse, Cholsey, Near Wallingford, Oxfordshire OX10 9NU).

The Woodbrooke College conference on the future of work in September 1982 led to the publication of *Turn A New Leaf: Six Essays On Work*, Friends House, London, 1983. Among the contributors was Guy Dauncey, whose two books *The Unemployment Handbook*, 1981, and *Nice Work If You Can Get It*, 1983 — both published by the National Extension College — I also recommend.

- (4) James Robertson, *The Sane Alternative: A Choice of Futures*, rev. ed., Robertson, 1983. As I said there, Gurth Higgin's 'Scarcity, Abundance and Depletion: The Challenge to Continuing Management Education', Inaugural Lecture, Loughborough University of Technology, 1975, provided an important stimulus to my thinking about the future of work.

### **Chapter 1**

- (1) Detailed references are given in *The Sane Alternative*, see Introduction, Note (4) above.
- (2) For example, David Bleakley, *Work: The Shadow and the Substance*, SCM Press, 1983, argues for alternative approaches to employment and unemployment which will transcend the conventional work ethic.
- (3) Amory Lovins, *Soft Energy Paths*, Penguin, 1977.

### **Chapter 2**

- (1) This four-sector model emerged from an international discussion at Windsor Castle in 1979 on the future of business management. See my report on 'The Changing Expectations Of Society' in *Management for the 21st Century*, Kluwer Nijhoff, 1982.
- (2) Tom Stonier, *The Wealth of Information: A Profile of the Post-Industrial Economy*, Thames Methuen, 1983. Stonier says that in 25 years "it will take no more than 10% of the labour force to provide us with all our material needs".
- (3) "There was virtual unanimity that full employment has gone for good." From the report on 'The Future of Work' by OPUS (10 Golders Rise, London NW4), after the Work and Society 'Talkabout' in West Yorkshire in October/November 1983.
- (4) For a readable account of Kondratieff cycles see Robert Beckman, *Down-wave: Surviving the Second Great Depression*, Pan, 1983. Also see Christopher Freeman's 'Science, Technology and Unemployment', Paper No. 1 in Science, Technology and Public Policy, from Science Policy Research Unit, Sussex University, 1982.
- (5) See the references to slavery in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Karl Marx's *Capital*.

### Chapter 3

- (1) Useful background on the work of the household and community in pre-industrial society will be found in Edward Shorter's *The Making Of The Modern Family*, Fontana, 1977; and Peter Laslett's *The World We Have Lost*, Methuen, 1971.
- (2) Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality*, Calder and Boyars, 1973.
- (3) "The self-made man was the ideal entrepreneur, the man without any initial property or patronage, no education other than self-education, or any advantage other than native talent, who by self-help and force of character made his way to wealth and status." Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, RKP, 1969.
- (4) "From one end of Europe to the other, young unmarried women in the 19th century were rejecting traditional occupations in favour of paid employment. . . Young women in particular who left home to accept work in London were not so much responding to economic opportunity as to a means of independence from the often severe restraints on behaviour inherent in rural family life, dominated by the Victorian paterfamilias." E. Shorter, *Making of the Modern Family*.
- (5) Disraeli, *Sybil; Or The Two Nations*, OUP World Classic, 1981 (first pub. 1845). Also see Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*, Beacon, 1957.
- (6) Christopher Hill, *Reformation To Industrial Revolution*, Penguin, 1969.
- (7) All quotations in this paragraph are from C Hill, *Reformation*.
- (8) E. P. Thompson, *The Making Of The English Working Class*, Penguin, 1968.
- (9) Examples of brutality will be found in E.P. Thompson, *Making of the E.W.C.*
- (10) Graham Marshall, *The Best Years Of Their Lives: Schooling, Work And Unemployment In Oldfield*, William Temple Foundation, Manchester Business School, 1980.
- (11) Studs Terkel, *Working*, Penguin, 1977.
- (12) 'Work in America', Special Task Force Report to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, quoted by Harry Braverman, *Labor And Monopoly Capital: The Degradation Of Work In The 20th Century*, Monthly Review Press, 1974.



## Chapter 4

- (1) Daniel Deudney and Christopher Flavin, *Renewable Energy: The Power To Choose*, Norton/Worldwatch, 1983.
- (2) Humanistic psychology and other 'new age' thinking about personal growth emphasises the importance of unblocking people's psychic energies and releasing them into creative channels. See, for example, the index references to 'energies' in Roberto Assagioli's *Psychosynthesis*, Turnstone, 1975.
- (3) Further reading on technology 'as if people matter' is in E.F. Schumacher's *Good Work*, Cape, 1979; and George McRobie's *Small Is Possible*, Cape, 1981.
- (4) Marion Shoard, *The Theft of the Countryside*, Temple Smith, 1980.
- (5) *The Global 2000 Report to the President: Entering the 21st Century*, Penguin, 1982, concluded that "if present trends continue, the world in 2000 will be more crowded, more polluted, less stable ecologically, and more vulnerable to disruption than the world we live in now", and that "prompt and vigorous changes in public policy are needed to avoid or minimise these problems before they become unmanageable".
- (6) The Town and Country Planning Association (17 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AS) and its journal, *Town and Country Planning*, are a valuable source of information and ideas. So are John Turner, author of *Housing by People*, Marion Boyars, 1976, and his colleagues at AHAS (PO Box 397, London E8 1BA). Also see John Adams' *Transport Planning: Vision and Practice*, RKP, 1981.
- (7) Leisure studies, including academic research and business consultancy, have mushroomed in recent years. See, for example, Stanley Parker's *Leisure and Work*, Allen and Unwin, 1983. I have learned much from W.H. Martin and S. Mason, whose *Leisure and Work: The Choices for 1991 and 2001*, Leisure Consultants, 1982, provides a good overview for readers from businesses and other organisations.

## Chapter 5

- (1) Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Unwin, 1930.
- (2) R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Penguin, 1938.
- (3) Quoted in M. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*.
- (4) E.P. Thompson, *Making of the E.W.C.*
- (5) Quotations in this paragraph and the next are from M. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*.
- (6) A good short account of Cartesian dualism is in Fritjof Capra's *The Turning Point*, Wildwood House, 1982. References to Cartesian dualism in the context of economics will be found in Hazel Henderson's *The Politics of the Solar Age: Alternatives to Economics*, Anchor Doubleday, 1981; and Guy Dauncey's *Nice Work If You Can Get It*, National Extension College, 1983. In brief, Descartes founded modern science and philosophy on the assumption that reality consisted of two separate realms — mind (*res cogitans*) and matter (*res extensa*). His method involved the application of mathematical reasoning to indubitable observations. Later scientists came to assume that scientific knowledge must be based on the use of this method in the study of matter, and expelled other insights, including moral, spiritual and intuitive understanding, from the realm of knowledge. Following this pattern, economists have studied only the formal economy, and have relegated the informal economy to the realm of superstition, hearsay and old wives' tales.
- (7) Quotations in this paragraph and the next are from R.H. Tawney, *Religion*.
- (8) Quotations in this paragraph and the next are from M. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*.
- (9) *Laborem Exercens*, Encyclical Letter of The Supreme Pontiff John Paul II on Human Work, Catholic Truth Society, 1981.
- (10) Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Penguin, 1976.
- (11) Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet*, Heinemann, 1926. The prophet is here responding to a ploughman's request, 'Speak to us of Work.'
- (12) William Morris, 'Useful Work Versus Useless Toil', 1885, reprinted in *William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs*, ed. Asa Briggs, Penguin, 1962.
- (13) E.F. Schumacher, *Good Work*.

- (14) Bertrand Russell, 'In Praise of Idleness', 1932, reprinted in *Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society*, ed. Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, 1983.
- (15) A Haitian proverb quoted by Clive Jenkins and Barrie Sherman in *The Collapse of Work*, Eyre Methuen, 1979, and in *The Leisure Shock*, Eyre Methuen, 1981.
- (16) Marx described his vision of communism as follows: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Communist Manifesto, 1848.

## Chapter 6

- (1) Jacques Monod, *Chance and Necessity*, Collins, 1972.
- (2) J.E. Lovelock, *Gaia: A new look at life on Earth*, OUP, 1979.
- (3) Chief Seattle's oration is quoted in Duane Elgin's *Voluntary Simplicity*, Morrow, 1981.
- (4) Fritjof Capra, *The Tao of Physics*, Wildwood House, 1975.
- (5) For example, Manfred Max-Neef, *From The Outside Looking In: Experiences in Barefoot Economics*, Dag Harnmarskjold Foundation, Uppsala, 1982.
- (6) For a balanced discussion of the possibilities, see the chapter on participatory democracy in C. B. Macpherson's *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*, OUP, 1977. Also see the chapter on 'Politics' in Kirkpatrick Sale's *Human Scale*, Secker and Warburg, 1980.
- (7) For an overview, see Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, Tarcher, 1980. Also see Brian Inglis's *Natural Medicine*, Collins, 1979.
- (8) The word 'cosmogogenesis' is used by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin in *The Phenomenon of Man*, Collins, 1959, and other works, to describe the process by which the universe evolves out of matter into life and consciousness and on towards superconsciousness and divinity.
- (9) A good account of this is in Peter Russell's *The Awakening Earth: Our Next Evolutionary Leap*, RKP, 1982.
- (10) A good discussion of 'the conviction that the human species should and will conquer nature through the progress of modern science and technology' is in William Leiss's *The Limits To*

*Satisfaction*, Marion Boyars, 1978. A well-known advocate of human mastery over nature for the 'relief of the inconvenience of man's estate' was Francis Bacon in the early 17th century.

- (11) These findings on 'The New Consumer Values' were communicated by Paul E. Shay to the Annual Conference of the British Advertising Association in April 1978. A fuller account is in Arnold Mitchell's *Who We Are: The Values and Lifestyles of Americans*, Macmillan, 1983.
- (12) D. Elgin, *Voluntary Simplicity*.
- (13) Daniel Yankelovich, *New Rules: Searching for Self-Fulfilment in a World Turned Upside Down*, 1982; and *Work and Human Values: An International Report on Jobs in the 1980s and 1990s*, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Stockholm, 1983.
- (14) Erich Fromm, *The Sane Society*, RKP, 1963.
- (15) Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, *The Imperial Animal*, Paladin, 1974.
- (16) Virginia Woolf, *A Room Of One's Own*, Penguin, 1945.
- (17) Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, Tavistock, 1974. Sahlins is quoting from a study by Richard Lee.
- (18) See E. Shorter, *Making of the Modern Family*.
- (19) For the relative degradation of women's work brought about by industrialisation see Ivan Illich's *Shadow Work and Gender*, Marion Boyars, 1981 and 1983. The same process is accelerating in third world countries today. See, for example, Valentina Borremans' *Technique and Women's Toil*, Tecnopolitica (Apdo. 479, Cuernavaca, Mexico), 1982.
- (20) *Women, Work and Family in the Soviet Union*, ed. Gail W. Lapidus, Sharpe, 1982.
- (21) Kathleen Newland, *The Sisterhood of Man*, Norton, 1979.
- (22) Andre Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class; An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism*, Pluto Press, 1982.
- (23) Virginia Novarra, *Women's Work, Men's Work*, Marion Boyars, 1980. See also the chapters on work in Sheila Rowbotham's *Woman's Consciousness: Man's World*, Penguin, 1973.
- (24) I owe this point to Sheila Rothwell, 'Flexible Working Patterns for the Future'. Information about this and other papers given at The Other Economic Summits in June 1984 and April 1985 is available from TOES, 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW11 4DU.

## Chapter 7

- (1) The quotations in this paragraph and the next two are from R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.
- (2) John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*.
- (3) Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Penguin, 1970.
- (4) K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1.
- (5) John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Longmans Green, 1926. (I owe this reference, and reference (7) below, to William J. Barber's useful *A History of Economic Thought*, Penguin, 1967.)
- (6) *Laborem Exercens*, see Chapter 5, Note (9).
- (7) This and the following quotation are from Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, Vol. 1, Macmillan, 1961.
- (8) Aubrey Jones, *The New Inflation: The Politics of Prices and Incomes*, Andre Deutsch, 1973.

## Chapter 8

- (1) E. P. Thompson, *Making of the E. W. C.*
- (2) H. Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.
- (3) Mike Cooley, *Architect or Bee, The Human Technology Relationship*, Langley Technical Services, 1980.
- (4) I. Illich, *Shadow Work*.
- (5) Hilary Wainwright and Dave Elliott, *The Lucas Plan: A New Trade Unionism in the Making?*, Allison and Busby, 1982.
- (6) M. Cooley, *Architect or Bee*.
- (7) Robert Jungk, *The Everyman Project: Resources for a Humane Future*, Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- (8) A. Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class*.
- (9) Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Vol. 2, OUP, 1978.
- (10) Jeremy Seabrook, *Unemployment*, Paladin, 1982.

## Chapter 9

- (1) Existing examples include: Mercury Provident Society, Orlingbury House, Lewes Road, Forest Row, Sussex RH18 5AA; Calvert Social Investment Fund, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington DC 20006, USA.

- (2) David Cadman: 'Towards An Ecology Of Finance', *Town and Country Planning*, September, 1983. Bob Swann's (Box 76, RD3 Great Barrington, MA 01230, USA) 'Bookshelf' includes useful material on 'community banking'. URBED (Urban Economic Development, 99 Southwark Street, London SE1 OJF) and the Foundation for Alternatives (The Rookery, Adderbury, Banbury, Oxfordshire) are both concerned with new ways of financing local initiatives.
- (3) David Cadman and James Robertson, 'Before the dinosaur became extinct. . .', *The Guardian*, 2 December 1982.
- (4) No lasting solution to the international financial crisis, highlighted in the past few years by the debt problems of countries such as Poland, Mexico and Brazil, is in sight. Current agricultural land values are artificially high owing to agricultural support policies (such as the Common Agricultural Policy in the EEC) which are financially and politically unsustainable, and also owing to farming practices which are likely to be scientifically and economically unsustainable in the long run — see, for example, Richard Body's *Agriculture: The Triumph and the Shame* and *Farming in the Clouds*, both published by Temple Smith, 1982 and 1984.
- (5) James Robertson, *Profit Or People? The New Social Role of Money*, Calder and Boyars, 1974.

## Chapter 10

- (1) This new class exists in communist as well as capitalist countries, as the Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas was one of the first to point out in his books, *The New Class and The Unperfect Society: Beyond The New Class*, Unwin, 1972.
- (2) Notable examples of this trend are the activities of Ralph Nader in the United States, and in the United Kingdom of Des Wilson, who has in recent years led successful pressure groups on housing, the environment and open government.
- (3) Already the question of how far to operate through the existing political processes and how far to withdraw from them has arisen among supporters of the Green Party in Germany and the Ecology Party in Britain. See Jonathon Porritt: *Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained*, Blackwell, 1984; and Fritjof Capra

and Charlene Spretnak, *Green Politics: The Global Promise* (British ed.), Hutchinson, 1984.

- (4) See, for example, the account of the Reform Bill crisis of 1832 in E.P. Thompson, *Making of the E. W. C.* For a good account of the process of social, economic and political change in 19th-century Britain see H. Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society*.

## Chapter 11

- (1) A useful source of information is BURN (British Unemployment Resources Network, c/o Birmingham Settlement, 318 Summer Lane, Birmingham B19 6RL). Also Guy Dauncey's two books — see Introduction, Note (3). Professor Denis Pym of the London Business School has suggested, e.g. in a recent paper on 'The Case for the Bricoleur', that a new ethic of resourcefulness reflects a growing awareness that, in matters of personal responsibility, dignity and control over our own affairs, the status of self-employment is now preferable to employment.
- (2) The Briarpatch Network in San Francisco is an interesting example of co-operation and mutual support between small local enterprises established by lifestyle and social entrepreneurs.
- (3) Alan Bollard, *An Alternative Industrial Framework for the UK*, Intermediate Technology Publications (9 King Street, London WC2), 1983.
- (4) However, there are signs that leading business managers may be moving in this direction. See, for example, Francis Kinsman's report in 'The New Agenda', Spencer Stuart Management Consultants, London, 1983, of conversations with 30 leading business people.
- (5) Philip Toogood, *The Head's Tale*, Dialogue Publications, 1984; and A.G. Watts, *Education, Unemployment and the Future of Work*, Open University, 1983.
- (6) In Britain this has been initiated by Alec Dickson and Nicholas Stacey of Youth Call (c/o Social Services Department, Springfield, Maidstone, Kent).
- (7) See Chapter 4, Note (6).
- (8) For a fuller account of the developments mentioned in this chapter see Charles Handy *The Future of Work*. Relevant information is also published in the Work and Society newsletter

(56 Britton Street, London EC1M 5NA); in the newsletter of the European Centre for Work and Society (PO Box 3073, 6202 NB Maastricht, Holland); and in various publications from Jobs and Society (Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Stockholm).

## Chapter 12

- (1) These were the assumptions underlying the Beveridge Report of 1942, on which the post-war welfare state in Britain has been based.
- (2) Useful references are: Minutes of Evidence (pp. 420 and 424) to the House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee, Session 1982-83, Third Special Report, 'The Structure of Personal Income Taxation and Income Support', pub. December 1982 by HMSO; Keith Roberts's *Automation, Unemployment and the Distribution of Income*, European Centre for Work and Society — see Chapter 11, Note (8) — 1982; Anne Miller's 'The Economic Implications of Basic Income Schemes', paper for The Other Economic Summit, 1984 — see Chapter 6, Note (24); Robert Theobald's *An Alternative Future for America*, Chicago, 1968; and Professor Willem Albeda's 'Reflections on the future of full employment', *Labour and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1983.
- (3) The guaranteed basic income scheme is not the same as, but has some features in common with, Social Credit. An up-to-date introduction to Social Credit is Eric de Mare's 'A Matter of Life or Debt' (available from The Old House, Middle Duntisbourne, Near Cirencester, Glos GL7 7AR), 1983.
- (4) A ten-year transition period is proposed by Keith Roberts — see Note (2) above.
- (5) See Note (3) above.
- (6) See Chapter 9, Note (4).
- (7) Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, Hogarth Press, 1966.
- (8) Information on land trusts and community land banks is available from Bob Swann in North America and from the Foundation for Alternatives in Britain — see Chapter 9, Note (2). Also from Shann Turnbull (MAI Ltd., 33 Bligh Street, Sydney, Australia).
- (9) In the United States, The Rocky Mountain Institute (Drawer 248, Old Snowmass, Colorado 81654) is developing an Economic Renewal Project to provide a model for sustainable, locally-



based, economic development on these lines.

- (10) This was one of the proposals put forward at a conference on 'Technology Choice and the Future of Work', jointly organised by the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Intermediate Technology Development Group on 22 November 1978 in London.
- (11) See Chapter 9, Note (1) for two existing examples.
- (12) Two examples are: The Centre for Alternative Technology at Machynlleth in Wales; and The Network for Alternative Technology and Technology Assessment (NATTA), based at the Open University.
- (13) A wide variety of small initiatives already ranges from computer-skill centres to community farms for young unemployed people in cities, from small new community-organised schools and 'education otherwise' (home-based education) to appropriate technology courses in university engineering faculties, from farming courses on small-holdings to holidays devoted to study tours in rural development.
- (14) Recent examples include: Hazel Henderson, *The Politics of the Solar Age: Alternatives to Economics*, Anchor Doubleday, 1981; and *Creating Alternative Futures: The End of Economics*, Berkley Windhover, 1978; Herman Daly, *Steady State Economics*, Freeman, 1977; Paul Hawken, *The Next Economy*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983; Mark Lutz and Kenneth Lux, *The Challenge of Humanistic Economics*, Benjamin Cummings, 1979; Scott Burns, *The Household Economy*, Beacon, 1975; Jonathan Gershuny, *After Industrial Society: The Emerging Self-Service Economy*, Macmillan, 1978; Joseph Huber (ed.), *Anders Arbeiten – Anders Wirtschaften*, Fischer Alternativ, Frankfurt, 1979; Graeme Shankland, *Our Secret Economy: The Response of the Informal Economy to the Rise of Mass Unemployment*, Anglo-German Foundation, London, 1980; William M. Nicholls and William A. Dyson, *The Informal Economy*, Vanier Institute of the Family, Ottawa, 1983; Ray Pahl, *Divisions of Labour*, Basil Blackwell, 1984; Hilda Scott: *Working Your Way to the Bottom: The Feminisation of Poverty*; Pandora, 1984; Andre Gorz: *Paths to Paradise: on the Liberation of Work*, Pluto, 1985; and Sean Cooney, *Work For All*, Inforecast, Dublin, 1985.
- (15) A good short introduction to QWL will be found in Eric Trist's

article 'Adapting to a Changing World' in the *Labour Gazette*, January 1978.

- (16) This is well brought out by Anna Christensen, *Wage Labour as Social Order and Ideology*, Futures Studies Secretariat, Stockholm, 1984; and by Eric Miller, *Work and Creativity*, Tavistock Institute, London, Occasional Paper No. 6, 1983.

## **APPENDIX 1**

- (1) T.S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, University of Chicago Press, 1970.

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