

The Third Class: Artisans of the world, unite?

Louis Thiemann

© Louis Thiemann 2022

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission by the author.

ISBN 978-90-6490-148-5

The Third Class: Artisans of the world, unite?

**De derde klasse: Ambachtslieden uit alle landen,
verenigt u?**

Thesis

**to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
Rector Magnificus**

Prof.dr. A.L. Bredenoord

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board
The public defence shall be held on

Thursday, 30 June 2022 at 16.00 hrs

by

Louis Thiemann
born in Oldenburg, Germany

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

The logo of Erasmus University, featuring a stylized, cursive script of the word "Erasmus" in black.

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Doctoral Committee

Doctoral dissertation supervisors

Prof. M.N. Spoor

Prof. J.D. van der Ploeg

Other members

Prof. A. Grubačić, California Institute of Integral Studies

Prof. J. Pallot, Alexanteri Institute, Finland

Prof. H. Friedmann, University of Toronto

Co-supervisor

Dr A. Visser

CONTENTS

<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>English summary</i>	ix
<i>Dutch summary</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
<i>Establishing the ideal type: artisan labor</i>	12
<i>Departing from the ideal type</i>	17
<i>Why the artisanat matters</i>	20
Chapter 1 – Conceptualizing the artisanat	25
<i>Modern memes of artisan labor</i>	28
<i>The Artisanat as a Class</i>	32
<i>The second micro-level of economy: Labor units</i>	36
<i>An antonym for dominance: Self-direction</i>	41
<i>Means of production: capital and patrimony</i>	45
<i>Degrees of autonomy</i>	53
<i>Subsumption</i>	59
<i>Changing class positions</i>	65
<i>Hierarchies</i>	72
<i>Accumulation and equilibration</i>	75
<i>Artisans and markets</i>	79
<i>Artisan-based economies: Social landscapes of autonomy</i>	82
Chapter 2 – The artisan condition throughout the modern economy	85

<i>Land-based labor</i>	85
<i>Processing and manufacturing labor</i>	100
<i>Labor of circulation</i>	107
<i>Services</i>	118
<i>Creative economies</i>	125
<i>The professions</i>	134
<i>Civil servants: ‘positions’, not workshops</i>	142
<i>Autonomy and the corporate labor unit</i>	145
<i>Consumption</i>	151
<i>Artisan-based industries?</i>	167
<i>Conclusion: An awkward class-in-itself</i>	174
 Chapter 3 – The motive(s) of work	 177
<i>Cycles of improvement: Expanded subsistence vs. profit</i>	180
<i>Materializing motivation: Assetization vs. patrimonialization</i>	197
<i>Individuality and the embedding of self-interest</i>	211
<i>A ‘balances’ approach to study motivation(s) in autonomous labor</i>	217
<i>Conclusions</i>	238
 Chapter 4: Democratic markets and dynamic equilibration	 243
<i>Competition in mixed markets</i>	244
<i>Compromise in mixed value chains</i>	254
<i>Transformation: Seizing opportunities for democratic markets</i>	258
<i>Dynamic equilibration: Effective limits to inequality?</i>	267
 Conclusions	 287
 <i>Bibliography</i>	 297
<i>Publications as part of this PhD project</i>	340
<i>About the Author</i>	341

LIST OF TABLES

1.1	Mememes associated with the term ‘artisan’ and, more broadly, the presence/possibility of autonomous labor	29
1.2	Five layers of patrimony relevant to artisan labor	50
1.3	Factors that contrive to shape the artisan character (or degree thereof) of labor.	55
1.4	Examples of contemporary trends and agendas with centripetal and centrifugal outcomes	77
2.1	The dialectics between autonomy in the generation of incomes (production labor) and autonomy in the generation of utilities (consumption labor)	153
2.2	Patterns and objectives of consumer cooperation in a mixed economy	159
3.1	Conceiving and coding objects and ideas for subsistence or exploitation: Comparing the asset and patrimony forms	209
3.2	Some of the balances in artisan labor and household organization found across sectors	219
4.1	Market ideal-types in a three-class ontology	260

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Dynamic relationships within a three-class model	11
1.2	Visualizing class trajectories	66
3.1	The expansion of subsistence raises the profit minimum	187
3.2	The artisan condition as a complex array of contextual, yet individually-struck balances at various interfaces.	235
4.1	Balance sheets of capitalist (left) and artisan (right) price formation	246

SUMMARY

This dissertation proposes a class theory of non-capitalism, aiming to connect a variety of labor formations and (re-)productive processes that have so far remained epistemically scattered and disenfranchised. In contemporary diverse economies (Gibson-Graham 2008), autonomous and semi-autonomous labor abounds, yet the concepts developed to underline its merits and potentials rarely travel across economic sectors. Here lies a significant advantage for capital in its attempts to organize and capture socio-political imaginaries. While political economists and economic anthropologists can rely on a veritable analytical arsenal to help them render particular exploitative practices intelligible in general, integrative terms, non-exploitative practices often languish – both epistemically and politically – in the particularities of their sectoral, organizational, bioregional and/or cultural expression. The integrative terms offered by class theories of capitalism, in other words, are lacking for non-capitalism, imposing unnecessary boundaries for the rich empirical insights, organizational recipes and political tactics developed by non-exploitative labor formations everywhere.

To remedy this epistemic inequality, this thesis assembles a common analytical language of non-exploitative labor. At the core lies an analysis of the *artisanat* as a general class of labor, at the level of proletariat and capital. As an antonym to the proletarian condition, and to dependency relations more generally, we analyze the *artisan condition* as the unfolding of labor processes in relative autonomy, providing *livelihoods* rather than jobs. Artisans aim at *subsistence* rather than profit or wage, and conceive of the means of production as *patrimony* rather than capital or assets. They form agglomerations (rather than accumulations) of property and rights, and rely on commons (rather than incorporation) to facilitate economies of scale. Shifts in class dynamics and degrees of exploitation are defined by accumulation and *equilibration*, respectively. Where artisan livelihoods

have proven resilient, we can speak of *dynamic equilibration* in non-capitalist markets.

In employing these concepts on a variety of sectoral and national contexts, non-capitalist experiences in both central and peripheral spaces of the world economy are connected, often bridging the boundaries of ‘development’ studies. At the same time, recent advances in the field – in particular the life-work of Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, James Scott and other scholars of the peasantry – are transposed into broader, ongoing discussions held around the concepts of degrowth, postcoloniality, distributive justice and deliberative politics.

SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift beschrijft een klassentheorie van niet-kapitalisme om een verband te leggen tussen diverse arbeidsformaties en (re-)productieve processen die tot nu toe in epistemologisch opzicht versnipperd en losgekoppeld waren. In hedendaagse ge diversifieerde economieën (Gibson-Graham 2008) is er een overvloed aan autonome en semiautonome arbeid, maar de concepten die zijn ontwikkeld om de pluspunten en het potentieel daarvan te benadrukken, worden zelden in alle economische sectoren toegepast. Het begrip kapitaal biedt veel meer mogelijkheden om sociaal-politieke denkbeelden tot uitdrukking te brengen. Politiek-economen en economisch-antropologen beschikken over een rijk analytisch arsenaal om bepaalde uitbuitingspraktijken te vertalen in algemene, allesomvattende termen. Praktijken waarbij geen sprake is van uitbuiting worden echter vaak zowel in epistemologisch als politiek opzicht slechts uitgedrukt in specifiek sectorale, organisatorische, bioregionale en/of culturele termen. De allesomvattende termen uit klassentheorieën van kapitalisme ontbreken dus voor niet-kapitalisme. Dit levert onnodige beperkingen op voor de verspreiding van de diepgaande empirische inzichten, organisatorische recepten en politieke tactieken die overal zijn ontwikkeld door arbeidsformaties waarin geen sprake is van uitbuiting.

Om deze epistemologische ongelijkheid op te heffen, is in dit proefschrift een gemeenschappelijke terminologie ontwikkeld voor arbeid waarin geen sprake is van uitbuiting. Een analyse van de *ambachtelijke sector* als een algemene arbeidsklasse, op het niveau van proletariaat en kapitaal, staat hierbij centraal. Als tegenhanger van het proletariaat, en van afhankelijkheidsrelaties in het algemeen, wordt de *ambachtelijke sector* opgevat als een plaats waarin arbeidsprocessen zich relatief autonoom ontwikkelen en die middelen van bestaan oplevert in plaats van banen.

Ambachtslieden streven eerder naar *bestaanszekerheid* dan naar winst of loon, en beschouwen productiemiddelen eerder als *erfgoed* dan als kapitaal of bezit. Zij bundelen eigendom en rechten (in plaats van die te accumuleren), en maken gebruik van gemeenschappelijk bezit (in plaats van inlijving) om schaalvoordelen te realiseren. Verschuivingen in klassendynamiek en mate van uitbuiting worden gedefinieerd door respectievelijk accumuleren en *equilibreren*. Bij ambachtelijke bestaansmiddelen die veerkrachtig zijn gebleken kunnen we spreken van *dynamisch equilibreren* in niet-kapitalistische markten.

Door deze begrippen toe te passen in diverse sectoren en landen worden niet-kapitalistische ervaringen in zowel de centrale als perifere delen van de wereldeconomie met elkaar in verband gebracht. Op deze wijze kunnen vaak de grenzen van 'ontwikkelings'onderzoek worden overbrugd. Tegelijkertijd worden recente ontwikkelingen op het vakgebied – met name het levenswerk van Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, James Scott en andere wetenschappers die onderzoek doen naar de boerenstand – in een breder kader geplaatst en opgenomen in het debat over ontgroei, postkolonialiteit, distributieve rechtvaardigheid en deliberatieve politiek.

PREFACE

Though not an empirical study in the classical sense, this thesis is very much grounded in three places: The Hague in The Netherlands, Havana in Cuba, and the North German city of Oldenburg. Each of these three sites found its own way to present me with a research problem to which I found no convincing answer in the literature. Over time, the peculiar questions raised by each place have merged into a research agenda, a first synthesis of which is presented in this thesis.

The Hague: A global peasant (movement)

The Oxford Dictionary still refers to the peasantry as “smallholders and agricultural labourers of low social status (chiefly in historical use or with reference to subsistence farming in poorer countries)” (Lexico, 2021). Though peasants constitute the largest socio-economic formation in the contemporary world, they are also the most misunderstood, belittled and neglected. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when many of the major semantic and theoretical building blocks we use to make sense of this world were published, the peasantry fielded an even more striking majority both of numbers and of pluralities of thought, little of which found its way into cosmopolitan views of the means and ends of humanity. This distance between the lived realities of peasants on the one hand, their scarce reflection (or outright misrepresentation) in the social sciences and the major political currents of the last centuries was, arguably, one of the defining choices made during the semantic construction of ‘modernity’. Undoing this marginalization of rural livelihoods, ways of being and belonging, and of the non-capitalist practice they have proudly carried on into this hyper-capitalist present, has thus become one of the key tasks in searching what may lie beyond capitalism.

Contemporary peasant and agrarian studies have taken on this difficult task of representing peasants in their own right, while existing institutionally and semantically within the urban, cosmopolitan world of the social sciences, whose very foundation depended on ‘othering’ the peasantry. It seeks to explain and compare peasants’ realities and demands in terms that could make ‘peasantness’ tangible to urban populations and policy-makers, but also as a way to connect peasant movements across languages, nation-states, cultures and other boundaries. Around the peasantry idea we now hold a maturing conceptual and epistemic toolbox to delineate how peasants work, how they internalize and adapt technologies, how they innovate, how they contest capital, how they compromise with capital, how they link ecological and social motives with economic ones, how they cooperate and agglomerate, when and why they differentiate or not, what peasant-driven rural development looks like and how it can be deepened, among other elements. Applications of that toolbox are increasingly bridging the North-South divide, thanks in large part to the synthesizing work of Jan Douwe van der Ploeg. As readers with a background in the field will be able to appreciate, this thesis in many places builds on the concepts and epistemic connections proposed by him.

It is thus unsurprising that the resolve for this PhD project was ignited and kept alive at the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, a research and graduate studies institute that has long played an important role in this project of re-signification. It houses the immensely successful *Journal of Peasant Studies* since 2009 under the direction of Saturnino “Jun” Borrás, as well as the *Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies* (ICAS) community. In 2013-2014, still during my M.A. studies at the institute, two conferences under the name *Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue*, were organized at Yale and the ISS, that assembled most of the scholars and activists (or both) that have shaped the field since the 1980s and whose work is cited here – among others the late Teodor Shanin, James Scott, Henry Bernstein, Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael, as well as many younger scholars whose courage and resolve had a great impact on my own research.

Is it not fascinating that the peasantry concept – once a tool for marginalization – is now being used to empower and synthesize the

experiences and demands of such a great diversity of people, working in a variety of sectors: small and medium farmers, fisherfolk, food processing workers, forest dwellers, as well as the many mixed rural livelihoods and their indigenous and endogenous epistemologies? That peasant movements converge as *La Via Campesina* rather than as appendices of urban movements on the left and right? Peasant studies in the last decades has accompanied the creation of a common language through which the largest, most silenced and marginalized social formation on the globe could build solidarity based on objective commonalities and across the boundaries of modernity's 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983). The peasantry project, in other words, has the scope of the working-class project of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is conceived in such a way, however, that we can apply its terms and demands only in rural and peri-urban areas. Though definitions of 'urban' vary (Angel *et al.* 2018), it is safe to say that we are seeing rapid and accelerating urbanization in most countries.

The political demands of peasant movements and their close allies now represent one of the principal clusters of radical political practice. Calls to de-assetize land through land reform touch at the heart of capital's claim to own and instrumentalize life's essentials, from healthcare and shelter to music and knowledge, water and soil. The food sovereignty agenda challenges the commodification of food and culinary culture in ways that touch the legal and epistemic roots of commodification itself: It is hard to imagine food sovereignty in the absence of a broader set of sovereignties and individual rights of access to deliberation, knowledge, energy, as well as commons construction far beyond the village green. Agroecology, in turn, may serve as a toolset for farm-level sustainability transitions, yet it is part and parcel of a broader re-conception of human-nature interactions on a landscape level. The emerging political program developed and embodied by radical rural movements thus requires the formation of lasting alliances with urban movements, for it aims at changing national and international laws and tendencies that go far beyond the confines of agriculture. In other words, their success hinges on moving from synthesizing answers to the question "What is the peasantry?" to tackling the question "What is the peasantry part of?"

In a sense, this is an exercise of theorization from the ‘margins’. When we discuss peasant livelihoods, we make daily use of a series of concepts and possibilities that are recognized much less frequently in other sectors: De- and re-peasantization denote the idea that class positions are contingent and fluid, and that non-capitalist producers can often outcompete capitalist ones in the provision of essential products and ecosystems. The ongoing study and practice of different types of land reform is one of few examples where large-scale *de*-accumulation (what I call *equilibration*, the balancing of assets among a population, which, ontologically, turns *capital* into *patrimony* – means of subsistence) has therefore remained an actionable demand for small-producer movements.

Here lies the first research problem behind this thesis: To extend the peasantry idea and analytical toolbox in non-agrarian terms and to ‘think outwards’ from the specificity of peasant production and solidarity. Can the peasantry frame of concepts be generalized, allowing us to break the confines of agriculture and the rural-urban barrier that is so central to contemporary mechanisms to divide-and-rule? If peasant movements are re-kindling ideas of peasant-driven and -led rural development and agrarian sovereignty, who else is either developing similar ideas, or might benefit from them, in other sectors?

Havana: Subversive labor and the infrapolitics of an indecipherable transition

Since 2012, Havana and Cuba’s Western provinces have been my primary ‘home’ and research site. This led to a peculiar kind of ‘split reality’. While my teachers and peers in Europe showed me how to politicize all aspects of life, to analyze critically, to consider alternatives and organize to claim them, my mind was often pre-occupied with the exact opposite conundrum: Building a life in a country where spaces for organized politics have long been closed. This political vacuum, while most visible in the many provisions made to disarm, marginalize or exile political dissent, extends to the organization of labor and markets, where it aims to prevent dissent from the economic plan. As of December 2020, 78% of the Cuban

workforce still works full time for public entities and collective farms (ONEI 2021, p. 178), while most of the self-employed remainder has far-reaching obligations to the state. Discussions about the circumstances of labor are largely quelled, as are debates on ‘who gets what’ – *the* big question of political economy. On the surface, the state is omnipresent and all-powerful, and regime continuity since 1959 is high not only on a personal level, but also on a discursive and institutional level.

Below the surface, however, everyday life, labor and exchange unfold as a constant, manifold subversion of state planning. While the state clutches to its powers to represent life in its territory, it often has strikingly little power over how that life unfolds, beyond the façade. Within the formal structures, markets and institutions scripted from above, we thus experience a complete ‘alternate reality’ of informal relations. Black markets outweigh official markets for many essential products, as do markets for access to public services, from legal representation to education and healthcare. Cubans routinely privatize assets they can access at their state jobs. The whole normative glue of society has been transformed as a result: as part of ‘la lucha’ (‘the struggle’ of living), Cuban society has widely accepted norms on when theft from the state is legitimate, and when it is not. While the state maintains stubborn control of the economy’s legal, institutional and discursive façade, its powers over economic *practice* are strikingly limited.

This resonates with findings in China and Vietnam, as well as the Soviet Union (Tria Kerkvliet 2005, Scott 1990, Katsenelinboigen 1977). In settings where formal political enunciations and struggles are usurped by a central power, work and livelihood creation take over many of their functions through unorganized, everyday resistance – Scott calls it *infrapolitics*. In the case of Cuba, we can observe how the country’s social contract is renegotiated through individual acts of labor allocation and the construction of niche markets. Cuba has been enveloped in a transition away from state planning for at least three decades, yet with the tools and terminology at hand this transition has remained largely indecipherable – it leads nowhere that we can name. Cuba may thus serve as an example where practices often resumed under ‘the margins’ – informal economy, spontaneous

privatization, labor and tax evasion – have slowly taken over much of an entire economy, while our capacity to understand them has not increased sufficiently to follow that motion and see the margins as bearers of a new, pre-legal reality.

What to make of this gridlock? In the case of Cuba, two views are applied ad nauseum: Both ‘camps’ view the bottom-up transition essentially as proto-capitalist practice. In the *New York Times*, Cubans are commended for their engagement in black markets and subversive labor, for it shows that they already think and act like capitalists – a country of micro-entrepreneurs waiting to be freed from their bureaucratic shackles (Cave 2012). Where self-directed labor emerges, in other words, it is directly associated with the motives of capitalism: competition, profit-making, exploiting workers and limiting taxation. The leading opposition newspaper *Diario de Cuba* recently heralded that self-employment, both legal and illegal, “will reinvent capitalism with the help of foreign investments, including assistance from Cuban exiles” (Álvarez Quiñones 2019). Predictably, the Cuban Communist Party preaches the opposite discourse, yet on the same grounds: Self-directed labor, be it formalized self-employment or legal informal activity, is branded as socialist society’s ‘danger zone’: A space where capital relations re-emerge, perverting minds and taking advantage of crises. Only where state enterprises and command-labor have failed repeatedly to cover essential needs, a tightly-controlled self-employment sector may be allowed to subsist: Necessary evils for a society whose supposed advance towards communism is temporarily halted by a mixture of domestic indiscipline and external threats and sanctions. In either case, autonomy is trapped between an epistemic rock and a hard place.

Here lies one of the key epistemic tasks taken on by dissidents: Finding ways to re-signify (and thus legitimize and normalize) spaces and practices of autonomous labor outside of the capital-vs.-state dichotomy. In other words: Working against state capital and the nomenklatura, while avoiding to work in favor of private capital. That predicament has been a central con-text for dissidents in all post-communist transitions. In conversations with friends in Havana and the Diaspora, it also dawned that the unclear

epistemic place of autonomy not only dictates uncertainties for Cuba's transition away from the Soviet model of governance and planning. It also allowed that model to be implemented in the first place, giving an authoritarian leader the chance to re-brand the total usurpation and militarization of political power, public space, economic resources and cultural imagination as 'constructing socialism'. Fidel Castro and other strongmen around the globe have found loopholes in the language of anti-capitalism which allowed autonomy and emancipation to be restricted rather than enhanced, postponed to an ill-defined future. These loopholes need to be filled conclusively and convincingly.

Cubans are incredibly busy 'walking the talk' in this matter. The sheer weight of their everyday resistance hints at a larger transformation in waiting, a transition-from-below that carves patrimonies and commons out of some of the state's assets, while demanding accountability on the remainder. To whoever is willing to listen, Cubans already express an undertheorized vision that goes beyond the stagnant narrative of being between a rock (state capitalism) and a hard place (private capitalism). As many of us everywhere, they want neither uniforms nor suits to exploit them. I hope that this work may offer some concepts and connections of utility in this regard.

Oldenburg: New artisans and struggles for autonomy in advanced capitalism

The third prompt for this inquiry derives from the mundane experience of growing up in – and coming to terms with – life in the quietly blooming German university town of Oldenburg. In many ways, my home town is a miniature wonderland of the absurd prosperity of the 'imperial lifestyle' (I.L.A. Kollektiv, 2017). Broadening access to consumption patterns long reserved for a small upper class has fundamentally changed the debates around anti-capitalist practice: From awe at the immense productivity of industrial capitalism – which fueled struggles to re-direct its fruits and powers over nature to better uses; to disillusion with many of these very fruits and powers. As its multiple crisis converge, capitalism seems to have

lost its acumen to inspire even many of its fiercest critics. Visions of a better future that used to build *on* the structures and achievements of capitalism, are ‘in transit’ – epistemically – to spaces and motives that lie (and perhaps always lied) outside of it.

In this context, narratives are emerging of the new ‘artisans’: a loose denominator applied to individuals and groups intending to build more autonomous livelihoods, to extricate their work processes from capital relations as much as possible. Small *Tante Emma* (grocery) stores are re-discovered and founded as an anti-thesis to faceless, corporate retail and supermarketization. Small, diversified farms, likewise, offer a productive (indeed, a work-based) way out of the corporate food regime. Repair technicians and neighborhood bicycle mechanics extend the life of existing goods, allowing their clients to avoid planned obsolescence cycles. Calls for a more inclusive city focus on reserving more spaces and privileges for these and other labor processes. A fabric of non-capitalist practices (Gibson-Graham 2008) has been spun through this city and the surrounding landscape. In this fabric, direct action strategies increasingly fuse with a more mundane, everyday world of non-capitalist labor, valuation and exchange. Like many other cities and regions, Oldenburg is buzzing with such individual and collaborative initiatives, including small and micro-businesses, cooperatives, non-profit and municipal service companies, and a significant share of the population works and exchanges largely within such non-capitalist economies. If something defines my generation’s approach to radical politics, it appears to be the recognition – and desire – to ‘take the road of labor’ to arrive at politics, to ground the exceedingly overwhelming problems we face in direct interactions between our hands and the things we touch to make a living: be it soil, fabric, wood, the face of a building, bodies in our care, or a socio-political discussion in which we intervene as knowledge intermediaries or ‘artisans of culture’.

One may find convenience in critiquing just how privileged many of these efforts are, how they benefit from citizenship capital, middle-class securities, and from unequal terms of trade. Are calls to re-artisanize labor simply expressions of the ‘new spirit of capitalism’ (Munro & O’Kane 2021, 2017), or is there more to them? In more practical terms, how do we

distinguish between ‘false’ or naive autonomies backed by systemic inequality, and ‘real’ autonomies that actually work to reduce or outmaneuver inequality? Whether or not it is successful, the discourse around labor artisanization is attempting to fill an undeniable political void. In Germany, capital and proletarian labor are largely gridlocked in a narrow struggle for dividends from an unsustainable economy, each increasingly detached from its many ‘externalities’ by international borders. Few would see this dynamic – which so thoroughly defined the 20th century – as *the* site of systemic innovation of the kind (and scope) needed in the 21st century. This means that many aspects of the ‘labor question’ beg to be reformulated: From the fruits of labor, attention has shifted to the mechanisms of labor. From autonomy in consumption, in making public and private life decisions, it shifts to autonomy in production, in making work-life decisions. From growth it shifts to sufficiency, and re-discovers ideas of subsistence – often in the context of *degrowth*. From ‘good jobs’ it shifts to ‘good work’ and sustainable livelihoods, a quest that is increasingly situated outside of capitalist firms, capital-controlled markets and capital-governed labor markets that induce mobility, flexibility, frequent workplace changes and credit-fueled education and self-improvement. From plotting different routes towards the ‘take-over’ of the means of production, it shifts to their re-conception.

As everywhere in the ‘Global North’, we can follow the twists and turns of this scramble to re-invent anti-capitalism in a post-industrial, post-proletarian context. This is an epistemological challenge as much as it is a challenge for politics. It means struggling with capital’s incursions into ever new dimensions of life and society, while at the same time imagining bits and pieces of a non-capitalist (and, on the way there, less-capitalist) life and society (Barca 2019). E. P. Thompson wrote 55 years ago that the artisan *origins* of the working class must be rescued from the ‘enormous condescension of posterity’ (1966, 12). So, what about artisan continuities and even new elements of ‘artisan labor’? They are next in line to be rescued.

What this thesis is not

This work discusses possible elements of an analytical framework (a ‘toolset’) that I hope will be of utility for the type of question(s) raised above. Its overarching idea is very simple: depart from the concepts we use every day to understand capitalism, and find a similarly concise, direct and integrated language to understand its opposite. In this regard, Chakrabarthi et al. (2016, p. 278) have posed the following questions:

One, how do we reconceptualize capital’s outside? Two, post–Hardt and Negri’s theorization in *Empire*, is there an outside anymore? Three, is precapital the outside? Or is noncapital the outside? Or is it neither?

By focusing on these questions, this text is decidedly *not* a study of contemporary capitalism. My intention in focusing on lived and potential autonomies is not to brush over or somehow counter the study of dependency. Even less is it an intent at marginalizing the experience and voices of those whose lives are most consumed, limited, or cut short, by crushing dependency relations. Rather, I believe that integrating capital and non-capital in a fluid model of class can enrich the study of capitalism, for two reasons: On the one hand, capitalism has a shape (and its varieties have different shapes in practice) that can only be precisely delineated by tracing its limits. To argue that capitalism almost completely defines peoples’ lives in multiple ways is often frighteningly correct while at the same time being remarkably imprecise and positively dispiriting. What exactly capitalism defines, and how, can be much better studied and communicated if we also ask what aspects of life remain undefined by it, and how that autonomy is achieved and reproduced. On the other hand, direct conceptual opposites within the same epistemology (e.g., exploitation and non-exploitation, accumulation and equilibration) increase the fluidity between critique and practice, between unmasking and undoing capitalism, between ‘dark anthropology’ and the ‘anthropology of the good’ (Ortner 2016). It makes little sense, in other words, to criticize capital in one conceptual universe and maintain a completely different, unrelated terminology (or even several such thought-

systems) to study alternatives to capital. The simplicity of seeing all those alternatives as ‘varieties of non-capital’ can catalyze their fusion.

Accordingly, this thesis is not directly based on any of the intellectual traditions from which it could, perhaps, be derived. The Political Ecology research group at the ISS is home to a diverse community of scholars and PhD researchers whose work expands and adds to the literature on food sovereignty and peasant agency, while also combining it with neighboring frameworks, including analytical Marxism, anarchist and autonomist traditions, degrowth and commoning, as well as decolonial and pluriversal epistemologies. All of these approaches have left a deep mark on my thinking. Notwithstanding the individual quirks of its author, most ideas in this thesis can be derived from several epistemic communities that I believe follow common ethical roots (most importantly, the will to critique and overcome *exploitation*). Tracing these possible genealogies, however, is not the object of this work. Rather than situate my argument entirely in one intellectual tradition (e.g., in the debates on reforming analytical Marxism, or as an attempt to reconcile anarchism and class), the objective was to make it readable from multiple directions. Counting the reader as a ‘knowledge artisan’ (Brew *et al.* 2018), who will presumably re-consider the problematic of this thesis from his/her own position, amending or discarding the particular approaches and terms presented here, hopefully this act of incitement will come to fruition.

Finally, the thesis is not a case study of artisan labor and politics in either of the three sites described above. The peculiarities of Cuba’s political economy, of Oldenburg’s cushioned prosperity, and of the peasant condition in an urbanizing world (in the form of empirically-based case studies), would have distracted the discussion from the broader argument this thesis attempts to make. What is needed, and presented in this thesis, is an integrated view on capital’s other, applicable and insightful in each of the three sites – and many others.

Acknowledgements

Max Spoor guided this PhD project out of his well-deserved retirement at the ISS, and he is the sole reason why I never completely lost the intention to finish it, nor the intention to start a longer commitment through it. Even when far away in Havana or Barcelona, I could count on Max to knock on my door, invite me for tea or dinner, share experiences from his colorful academic and personal trajectory, and to make sure I had the will and means to accomplish this project. During the second half of this PhD journey, Oane Visser has allowed me to weave the conditions of my personal life back into the challenges, marvels and contradictions of academia. Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, besides being the key inspiration for this thesis, also made sure to generously share his courage and imagination with me. I could not imagine a better supervisory team for this thesis.

I first pitched the idea to think outwards from the peasantry to Antonio Roman-Alcalá, in a hallway conversation between classes, in mid-2014. Antonio has continued to enrich this project with his unique mixture of practical, down-to-earth insight, coupled with the big window for utopia that he maintains open for whoever joins him in conversation and collaboration. In Julien-François Gerber, this thesis – and a growing number of exciting projects at the ISS, found an optimistic, congenial advocate. In Don Kalb, I found the passionate but always constructive critic I needed – desperately at times. It has been a great privilege to see this project through each of your eyes.

In the end, however, the potential of writing lies squarely in the agony it causes the writer. Without Beate and Dieter I would have given up long before beginning, never developing any kind of sustained interest to subject myself to that agony, let alone be kindled and sometimes entranced by it. Without Claudia, I would have lacked the mental stability to stick with a long, tedious research project, and the mental *instability* to re-engage that project in new ways, being challenged – and rightly so – on so many fronts and with rivalling stubbornness. And without Camilo, who has grown from a mere idea to a real person and whose questions and ideas

humble mine every day, these years would have been a much more spiritless affair with abstraction.

Havana, 6. April 2022

INTRODUCTION

Capital functions – and therefore *is* – only when and where it succeeds in making labor depend on it. It must create, through appeals or by force, a web of dependency relations that makes workers and consumers participate in its designs. In this quest we find the greatest force behind the overwhelming social and ecological transformations of the last centuries, and the principle around which capitalism reproduces, adapts and spreads. And we find the basic promise of political economy – to understand how and why the capital relation works in different settings, and how its advance impacts different groups of people in different places and times. Yet, what do we make of those instances where the capital relation *fails* to spread, to adapt, even to reproduce? What if a worker (or a consumer, for that matter) escapes that grand solicitation to ‘enter the ranks’ of industry, by making continual, creative use of their own agency and leeway? What do we call these subjects who resist their own in-corporation (or: *proletarianization*), and what terminology do we use to describe, in all the detail it deserves, the entirely different web of exigencies and priorities that organizes their labor? Where capital fails to engulf us in designs that ensure a flow of profit, what function or rationale is it losing ground to?

Gibson-Graham argue that the first step to making capitalism contingent (i.e., an option among many instead of an inevitable force) is precisely to make visible and palpable the many other economic modes that are already practiced beside it (1996, 2008). A “rich narrative” of diverse, differentiated economies “could undermine the capitalocentric imaginary; and [...] function as part of the imaginative infrastructure for cultivating alternative economic subjects and practices” (2003, p. 9). This embracing of contingency reverberates in many research agendas. For the Austrian rural historian Ernst Langthaler, it “nourishes doubts in the structural-functionalist (grand) narrative of [...] ‘structural change’, in which the

agency of peasant actors vis-à-vis the political-economic driving powers tends to be underexposed or simply ignored”. Rather than hypothesizing the conventional wisdom of “a crossroads between accumulation and proletarianization, between ‘growth or demise’”, Langthaler – like many others – commits to closely “follow the economic actors on their manifold trajectories” (2012, p. 279, own translation). Gibson-Graham have called this approach ‘thick description and weak theory’.¹

One outcome of this ethnographic turn is that critical scholars have indeed become more adept at “produc[ing] a discourse of economic difference” (Gibson-Graham 2008, p. 3) – “a world where many worlds fit”,² at least in theory. In this process, a variety of non-capitalist economic practices and imaginaries – many of them previously marginalized – are being included within a pluralist experiential ‘universe’ of diverse economic practices (*ibid.*, pp. 2–6, cf. Kothari *et al.* 2019, Reiter 2018). Another outcome, however, is that a discourse of *difference* – predictably – is failing to make the many contemporary answers and alternatives to capitalism coterminous/collingual, which would allow them to act concertedly. Non-capitalism is understood and practiced through a language of particularity, while capitalism itself (and our understanding of it) continues to integrate around what is very much a ‘strong theory’ to which building blocks are

¹ “[A] weak theory of diverse economies opens to [...] a myriad of other motivating forces [...] including, to name just some, trust, care, sharing, reciprocity, cooperation, divestiture, future orientation, collective agreement, coercion, bondage, thrift, guilt, love, community pressure, equity, self-exploitation, solidarity, distributive justice, stewardship, spiritual connection, and environmental and social justice. It is in the apprehension of these multiple determinations that ethnographic thick description comes into its own and leads the way toward rethinking the economy.” (Gibson-Graham 2014, p. S151). For the authors, “‘thick description’ of diverse economic practices can be combined with a weak theory of ‘large issues’, ‘epistemology’, and ‘revolution’ to produce a performative rethinking of economy centered on the well-being of people and the planet (*ibid.*, p. S147).

² One of the rallying cries of the neo-zapatista uprising in Chiapas, widely adapted by postdevelopment, degrowth, transmodern and post-capitalist movements, cf. Escobar 2015.

added over time. A vast literature records and analyses the economic and extra-economic struggles, past and present, between an analytically integral *capital*,³ following the ever-same core rationale (profit) across countries, sectors, cultures and epochs, and antagonists whose rationale and actions are described in case-specific terms and therefore seen as disperse (or *particularized*) in time and space. This epistemic choice – to fight an integrated adversary with colorful manifoldness – has arguably become a constitutive facet of contemporary anti-capitalism, as well as the critical academia that accompanies it.

When an international company trawls for fish near traditional fishing villages, or a mall threatens family-owned stores on Main Street, or farmers around growing cities are evicted to build apartment buildings, we understand that the ‘attack’ is, in its logical essence, repetitive in its variants. This understanding recurs when we study how large corporate clinics compete with small, physician-owned practices, how chemical corporations seek to make their products ‘indispensable’ to ‘food security’, when studying the institution of plantation economies through land grabs or the encroachment of platform-mediated exchanges (as ‘algorithmic capitalism’) into the domestic realm. Capital in its various forms struggles to impose a social relation that allows a surplus to be produced and appropriated, whether by economic or extra-economic means, whether by taking direct or indirect control of production, whether by suppressing competition or by beguiling it, whether by ‘opening up’ markets or by closing market participation, and so forth. Capital’s flexible strength appears to lie precisely in its ability to combine strong theory (the overarching justifications that normalize exploitation, property and inequality, entrenching them in jurisprudence and culture) *and* thick description (the pulsating ability to enact these theories in ever-changing

³ Capital as a social force is expressly and categorically defined as variations of the same function and rationale, i.e., a noun with varying adjectives, e.g., ‘finance’, ‘industrial’, ‘social’, ‘cultural’, ‘algorithmic’ or even ‘state’ capital.

variations, describing new forms of accumulation, new products and technologies, new memetic signifiers and new cooptations of resistance).

The general ontological frame of capitalism is applied in ever new ways and situations, both by capitalists and by their critics. In each of these examples, and in millions of others, we distinguish one or another variation of capital expressing its ever-same set of priorities in accordance with the specific conditions it finds (local society, cultural factors, political alliances etc.). We also distinguish one or another expression of proletarian labor – dependent workers who execute the tasks assigned to them: Manning the trawlers, stocking the malls, following treatment procedures in the clinics, overseeing machines in pesticide plants, working the fields for plantation owners and cleaning after Airbnb customers. Like capital, the working class is studied through the prism of a generalizing ontology – a set of class-innate priorities that recur across sectors and epochs. Without this allusion to an objective sameness, the working-class project would not have achieved the degree of concerted expression and action that led to revolutions and a period of class compromise throughout the 20th century. In capital and ‘the working class’ we see two actors who each follow their respective logic across a vast array of cases, and we generalize that each constitutes a class. Their complex, dynamic relationship is what we call capitalism.

Yet, there is always also a ‘third agent’ present in each study – the local fisherfolk pushed out of their traditional fishing grounds, the shop owners threatened by urban re-zoning, the peri-urban family farms displaced by exploding cities, the physicians opting for self-employment, and the peasants usurped by plantations. If we are to put them in the same room, as we often do with capitalists or proletarians from different times, places and cultures, their only commonality seems to be their opposition to becoming part of the capital relation. Other than this entirely passive

commonality (being threatened by the same historical force),⁴ we cannot generalize much about what they represent, what they want, and how they attempt to get it. Their ‘defense’ – the priorities and agendas they follow when confronting capitalism – is particularized, and we do not pursue a common language and terminology for different expressions of it. Some non-capitalist workers appear to be against globalization, others are true globalists themselves, some are indigenous or post-colonial subjects, others metropolitan citizens, some lead or yearn for traditional lives and labor, others rely extensively on modern technologies, and while some earn (and require) little money for their lifestyles, others are thoroughly embedded in the modern exchange of goods and services.

The premise of this dissertation is that we can, and should, nonetheless attempt to see as many commonalities in what these ‘third actors’ do, believe, want and therefore represent, as we see in the many incarnations of capital and proletariat. Rather than studying the many forms of non-exploitation practiced in contemporary mixed economies⁵ as particular expressions of competing logics to capitalism, in other words, we should

⁴ Marxist economic anthropology has long connected expressions of ‘non-capitalism’ around this passive characteristic of ‘outsideness’, i.e., of existing (and perhaps resisting) outside the forcefully instituting present:

“[A]lthough positing the impossibility for capitalism to survive without an external world, [it] can do without the study of what lies outside capitalism itself. Other modes of production are reduced to a distant horizon of capitalism, one which is constantly pushed back by its forward march” (Rey 1973, p. 28, translated in Chevalier 1983, p. 91).

⁵ With this term we refer to economies in which several logics or modes of production not only coexist in parallel, but interlink in complex ways. In principle, this includes all contemporary economies, including countries where one economy has full backing by the State. In Cuba, for example, an ubiquitous, integrated command economy is nonetheless competing with significant black and grey markets (Thiemann & Mare 2021). What matters from a class perspective is not which actors are ‘mixing’ (e.g., state agencies, small businesses, corporations, non-profit agencies etc.) but which *logics*, most importantly to what degree profit and subsistence logics (see chapter 3) compete.

pursue a framework capable of understanding all instances of non-capitalism as an integrated whole. ‘Strong theory’ is needed more than ever make this happen, particularly so that findings and strategies communicable can travel across sectoral and cultural boundaries. This dissertation aims to conduce and provoke discussions on possible directions for such a ‘strong theory’ of non-capitalism. It argues that almost all of that ‘universe’ of non- and post-capitalist practice and theory actually rests on a common principle: Self-direction. This sphere of self-directed activities extends through distinct economies and across a multitude of institutional arrangements. While self-direction is very much present in what Shanin (1990, pp. 90–92) terms ‘expolary economies’, it is by no means restricted to ‘the margins’ of global economic activity. Rather, it can be seen in all sectors and modes of labor mobilization, though of course to varying degrees and behind many façades (cf. Frey 1997).

For roughly 150 years, the basic premise of political economy has been that the latter two antagonistic classes – capital and proletarian labor – ought to be seen and studied as the principal agents of the ‘modern’ economy. The struggle between these two class formations was proclaimed the decisive subject of study and political praxis. This text makes the argument that a third class – the *artisanat* – has been unduly neglected and marginalized. While everyone talked about the exploited and the exploiters of the world, too little attention has been given to those that neither exploit, nor are exploited, and we know too little about those parts of our economic lives that lie outside of capitalism.⁶

One academic discipline that has dealt extensively with this question is the field of rural and agrarian studies. Here, the ‘third agents’ – *peasants*, farm families and similar rural livelihoods – are ever-present in discussions on the trajectories and prospects of rural societies. Theoretical approximations, first and foremost the *peasantry* concept itself, serve to

⁶ ‘Exploitation’ refers to the ability of one individual to receive some of the fruits of another’s labor, relying on coercive or non-coercive means, and exempting pro-active and voluntary donations or assistance in solidarity.

connect millions of rural livelihoods through a single terminology across sectors of the rural economy (agriculture, animal husbandry, processing, trades, retail...), countries and cultural frames of reference. This common framework has facilitated debates on the peasantry's socioeconomic composition, its politics and potential vis-à-vis capitalism, which are held between researchers and activists from different schools of thought and political currents. Some of have argued that peasant farms are inherently non-capitalist, managed instead via a system of economic, ethical and social balances that is re-calibrated over time to adapt to changing circumstances imposed by nature, but also by markets, elites and institutions – “a script defined within and by the peasant family” itself (van der Ploeg 2013a).⁷ Seminal works by Netting and Ellis showed how this *peasant condition* produces rational and sustainable businesses, while Scott and Tria Kerkvliet made the intricate processes of social coordination and ‘everyday politics’ that connect peasant livelihoods (often across sectors) visible (Scott 1976, Ellis 1993, Netting 1993, Tria Kerkvliet 2005). They all provide evidence for a much more basic finding: Peasants, as ‘third agents’, are able to capture spaces and construct markets while distancing themselves from dependency relations. They do so by achieving control over the primary means of their production, horizontal cooperation, slow accumulation of patrimony, input substitution and reliance on the commons (van der Ploeg 2013a). In a way, given that an estimated 2.05-2.79 billion people rely on the non-wage livelihoods provided by the world’s 410-520 million family farms (Woodhill *et al.* 2020, pp. 13-14.),⁸ the re-

⁷ van der Ploeg (2013a) assembles a detailed picture of these peasant farm balances in current political and technological landscapes. See Chayanov (1966b) for the original theory, which, in the context of Soviet state-making in the 1920s, predates many of the ‘modern’ incursions of capital into the rural sphere.

⁸ The ILO estimates that 26% of the global workforce is engaged in agriculture, not counting family labour (International Labor Organization 2020). In this context, both estimates represent conservative figures: In counting only smallholders, landless labourers who use the peasantry framework to claim a self-directed farming livelihood are left out. Missing is also the informal family labor on small and medium farms that rarely makes it into employment

emergence of the peasantry as a political-economic framework has catapulted us forward roughly one-third of the way to a uniform theory of the ‘third class’.

How do these approximations of the peasantry compare with theories on the economic reasoning of small-scale non-capitalist labor units in other sectors? In the final paragraph of a paper on re-peasantization tendencies in the European periphery, van der Ploeg suggests that we “recognize that the ‘peasant principle’ operates in large domains of society – domains that stretch far beyond agriculture and the countryside”, and that we seek to make our concepts for the peasantry ‘travel’ into these sectors and collide with concepts and theories discussed there. “What I propose, then, is to drastically go beyond the artificial boundaries between town and countryside, and between agriculture and the rest of the economy. What we have to do is, I believe, to explore uncapturedness, the struggle for autonomy and the creation of non-controllability wherever they emerge” (van der Ploeg 2005, n.p.).

Indeed, as this text seeks to show, a renewed interest in ‘third agents’, who limit their exposure to exploitative relations, is visible in many research disciplines, and it forms part of broad changes in social and economic philosophy. Throughout the 20th century, the imperative of labor incorporation featured prominently in the pre-dominant ideologies of a globalizing West. It was foundational to liberal modernization theory, to communist ideals of scientific planning in proletarian economies, to corporatist ideals of the welfare state, and to the technology-based productivity ‘revolutions’ promoted in development politics and mainstream development studies (Gilman 2003, Arnason 2000, Jessop 1991, Cullather 2004). In each case, proletarianizing labor and extending the

statistics, as well as a variety of rural non-farming occupations often included in conceptualizations of the peasantry (pastoralists, artisanal food processors, fisherfolk, artisanal miners and forest-based livelihoods). Advocates of the peasantry concept have argued that it applies to 40% of the global population, living in 1.2 billion small farm households (McMichael 2012, van der Ploeg 2008).

reach of scientific and managerial direction over production processes was seen as a pre-condition for progress, achievable either through direct incorporation (wage-employment in large firms or collectives), or through the subsumption of formally-independent small businesses in larger value and information chains.

As this unholy alliance wanes, so grows, quite naturally, our antipodal interest in the determinants of resilience, adaptation and continuity in small, tightly-knit labor units. By building on the conceptual frames presented by Gibson-Graham (2008), Harvey (2006) and Polanyi (1944), as well as many other paths endogenous to specific disciplines and sectors, a growing literature analyses experiences of autonomous labor as a form of resistance to capitalism. Connections between these sectoral experiences, however, are only rarely made, resulting in parallel, but separate, lines of investigation and struggle. It is time to systematically connect these bodies of work, and to promote the ‘traveling’ of concepts, questions and answers between them. To achieve such a common language, self-directed labor must be conceived as a class-in-itself – the *artisanat*.

Much has been written about the limits of class analysis as a means to decipher and structure the increasingly complex array of economic and social conditions that shape our life-histories (Wright 1989, Kalb 1997, Gibson-Graham *et al.* 2001). Indeed, the classical capital-labor relationship of the industrial age – on which class theory was built and tested – has splintered into a broad field of diverse arrangements and greyscales. Perhaps more importantly, scholars increasingly chose to abstain from the clumsy simplifications and categorizations of Cold War social science, in favor of more multifaceted, anthropological analyses. The roots of today’s ‘crisis of class’ as an analytical and political variable, however, lie much deeper, in a conscious, political decision made by the founders of this intellectual tradition. Marx and many of his radical contemporaries believed that proletarian workers were potent political agents: intellectually and physically mobile, easily freed from traditions, from the specificities of place and the yoke of the soil. In order to underline the struggle of the proletariat, i.e., of *dependent* labor, as *the* decisive political agenda for a better future, class theorists made far-reaching choices to not

acknowledge *self-directed* labor and self-direction as an extensive reality, a widespread demand, and a potential path to emancipation.⁹ Complex socio-economic realities were forcefully distilled into a dialectic of domination (capital) and dependency ('labor'). These were essentially choices of political-linguistic strategy. In establishing the focus on capital and proletarian labor as the primary constituents of the 'modern' class system – leading to a 'binary system' of thought on class – we were always left with a fairly large residual, which was footnoted away as regressive 'remnants' of previous class systems, or as minorities that would eventually be submerged under the interests of capital. This political judgment, made and enshrined at the foundation of class theory, has limited its analytical force as a means to make sense of complex socioeconomic realities and formations. It has also dragged class theory – often quite needlessly – along the ups and downs of the proletarian socialist project,¹⁰ from its early dynamism to institutionalization and, since the mid-1950s, to a leisurely demise and the necessary opening to new ideas.

⁹ We could speak of an example of *salience bias*, wherein a theoretical representation of reality is based on occurrences that are perceived as remarkable and novel, while scarcely including other occurrences (and populations) perceived as unremarkable.

¹⁰ Though most of the revolutions that enacted interpretations of class theory during the 20th century were based on successful mobilisations of the peasantry (e.g., in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba), the project behind these revolutions was always proletarianization and central planning. Peasants were the 'muscle' that brought avantguardist parties into positions of power, but these parties did not follow a peasant logic of development (Scott 1977, 1979).

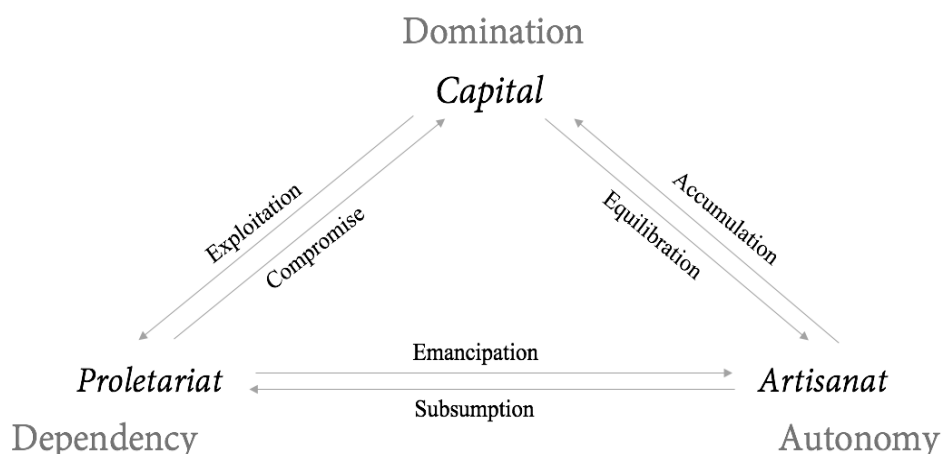


Figure 1.1: Dynamic relationships within a three-class model

Fixing the inbuilt partiality of Marxian class theory means developing the partial, antagonistic dialectics between capital and proletariat, domination and dependency, into a less normative, more anthropological ‘trialectics’ – a three-poled class system – through which the manifold experiences of dependency, autonomy and dominance that characterize, in different variations, every workplace, every ‘job’ or livelihood, every household and all social and economic constellations beyond them, become visible, structurable and universally comparable. Power, if not total (which it never is) is at any time a three-fold affair: It is applied, it impacts, and it is contested or eluded. To assess the extent and dynamics of dominance and capitalism, we need to research the extent and counter-dynamics of autonomy and artisanism. To the degree that hierarchies are incomplete, even where that degree is small, we find in these experiences of autonomy anything from valves of discontent and everyday resistance – ‘small arms fire in the class war’ (Scott 1985, p. 22) – to far-reaching alternative scripts, associations, markets and institutions. Figure 1 condenses a model of class relations that integrates a systematic interest in processes of exploitation, accumulation and subsumption with an equally systematic study of its counter-movements: Processes of equilibration, compromise and emancipation. Besides conducting accurate analysis, this three-poled understanding of class relations avails political readings of a given context,

both negatively (what dominates us and how?) and positively (what emancipates us and how?; cf. Ortner 2016). In many cases, class analysis still lacks this fluid transition from the analysis of domination to an exposition of its inverse. Class theory gave us the possibility to conceive millions of individual exploitative relations in a universal and solidarity-inducing manner – a ‘strong’ or *grand theory* of inequality, based in a categorical critique of exploitation. It has not, so far, allowed us to conceive all non-exploitative relations and labor processes as part of a common logic and class position – an equally strong theory of non-exploitation or autonomy.

Establishing the ideal type: artisan labor

At the basis of this thesis thus lies the following thought experiment: What if we conceived class not as variations and reformulations of the dialectical relationship between capital and labor, but instead as variations in a trialectics between domination, dependency *and* autonomy? Each is represented by an archetype (‘the’ capitalist, proletarian and artisan), though in practice these three ‘primary colors’ of class mix into a variety of formations. All economic relations derive from three primary motives of labor: Profit, wage and subsistence. All class positions in any given economy are thus deducible from them. Like the primary colors, they blend into an infinite number of distinct realities. While dependency imbues labor with a proletarian character, practicing dominance over others makes it capitalist (supervisory and extractive). The artisan condition of labor, in turn, rests on the possibility and necessity to self-direct one’s labor – the practice of autonomy. Individuals encounter an ever-changing variety of economic, social, technological and cultural circumstances, and in conscious and subconscious processes make decisions over how to make and maintain a living. To do so, they enter or leave relations of dependency, find new ways of dominating the labor of others and extract value from it, or follow paths that do neither – labor as/under autonomy. Although each individual experiences all three conditions over time, most are (and usually understand themselves to be) significantly subsumed under the experience and logic of one pole – either a full-time, dependent job, or some form of

capital that yields a significant profit or interest, or an artisan livelihood or business.

Positing an ‘artisan class’ aims to better represent the ‘third primary color’ of political economy: non-exploitative economic relations based on the union of property and labor.¹¹ The artisan class (or *artisanat*) is thus defined, as any other class, by its relationship to the means of production, and by how it utilizes these means to produce. If the proletariat comprises all those individuals who are excluded from control over the determinants of their labor processes – hence it can only exist with an ‘other’ of capital owners and managers – the artisan class is characterized by the inverse relationship: Artisans have control over or effective access to the means of their production and are thus in a position to self-direct their labor. The *artisan condition* thus represents the inverse of the ‘double-free’ character of proletarian labor (‘freed’ of control over the means of production, and thus ‘free’ to sell one’s labor to the highest bidder). The *artisanat* is the class which innately opposes “the process which divorces the producer from the ownership of the conditions of his own labour” (Marx 1976, p. 874) and will engage in economic and political cooperation to do so.

By comparing and combining experiences across sectors and regions, we can show that this scattered, often unassuming struggle to devise and safeguard spaces in which an *artisan mode of production* can compete and reproduce represents an important stream of anti-capitalism in the past and present. Many different occupations and currents converge in the quest to achieve a high(er) degree of control over the goals and techniques of one’s labor. Through political action, economic association as well as everyday forms of struggle, they seek to establish and safeguard economic and cultural institutions that are capable of reproducing the equality of access and the cooperative institutions needed to allow self-directed labor

¹¹ Peasant mobilizations often claim that ‘The soil belongs to those who work it’, the basic premise of any peasant-based politics of land. Recently, urban activism demanded that ‘the city belong to those who live it’ and those who make it colorful and livable, i.e., tenants, small businesses and local associations.

in small units to compete with bigger economic actors. This artisan agenda of struggle clearly diverges from any anti-capitalism that struggles to gain control over means of production with the aim of nationalizing or collectivizing them under the control of a political or technocratic vanguard. Rather, the objective of artisan politics is to place *and maintain* control in the hands of individual producers, their cooperative institutions and allies. This artisan logic “aims at and materializes as the creation and development of a self-controlled and self-managed resource base” (van der Ploeg 2008, p. 23). To do so, the artisan labor unit (usually a family business or a similar small affective unit) seeks to constantly reproduce its capability to make autonomous decisions (its response-ability) in a changing landscape.

Every economic activity can be performed in an artisan mode. From a class perspective, what matters is not how an activity is performed (e.g., the extent of machinery use), but under what class condition – What are the social relations of property, access and control that orchestrate economic activity and its remuneration? If the capitalist mode of production is fundamentally characterised by the separation of capital and labor, leading to a contradiction between their respective interests, the artisan mode of production is marked by their integration. Hence, artisan production is not materialized over time as *capital* in the Marxian sense – as surplus-seeking and commodifying. Rather, artisans see the means of production as *patrimony*, a category that seamlessly includes physical as well as social and ecological assets, as well as knowledge (van der Ploeg 2013a).¹² Correspondingly, while proletarian labor is most characteristically governed by the *exchange values* of labor (wage remuneration), artisan

¹² In agrarian studies, where the extensive co-dependency between classical ‘capital’ (machinery, irrigation works and buildings) and ecological assets (e.g., soil life, beneficial insect populations, or the genes of a good line of stallions or boars) is more visible than in other sectors, the term *patrimony* has come to signify all means of production (except for labor) that the worker or household orchestrates in order to produce. Even social assets, such as hereditary membership in an irrigation society or good standing within a cooperative or village community, is subsumed under this term.

labor both builds and depends on a variety of valuation mechanisms, expressed in a self-defined set of priorities and interests that the artisan labor unit equilibrates in constant response to external conditions.¹³

In short, the labour process, the use and development of patrimony and, especially, the relations between patrimony and labour are not governed by general capital-labour relations. They might be affected by such relations, but they are not directly shaped and reshaped ('determined') by them. The development of the production process might even go against the logics entailed in these general capital-labour relations, just as it might go against the bounded rationalities of the different arenas within which these general relations are embedded (e.g., the markets for labour [or] capital [...]) (van der Ploeg 2013a, pp. 29–31).

Individual artisan businesses that participate in markets designed and broadly controlled by bigger, corporate actors remain subject to imposed laws of exchange, even if they may 'buffer' the effects of these laws on themselves. This is the case for many contract farms, insurance agents or online marketplace vendors, among others. When they create niches, however, they begin rewriting these laws, and carving out spaces that are not solely dominated by the capitalist logic of accumulation and/or profit. In Marx's terms, they are successfully struggling against a variety of ways capital seeks to *subsume* them.

Reviving the figure of the artisan in this manner is a double attempt to bring class theory back into the anthropology of non-capitalist practices, while bringing the experiences and worldviews developed through these practices back into the broader study of class and class relations. In re-encountering self-directed work through class theory, we can better avoid moral, ethical and political judgments and juxtapositions in the debate on post-capitalist work and society. In most of the discourses that idealize

¹³ van der Ploeg uses the analogy of an ever-changing "script defined within and by" the labor unit, which underlines the fluidity and extensive agency contained in artisan decision-making (van der Ploeg 2013a, p. 25).

practices of ‘artisan economy’ or ‘craft economy’ in the de-industrializing Global North, political economy is sidelined by affective and moral concepts of ‘worthy’ work and ‘ethical’ products (Munro & McKane 2017, 2021). As a result, such discourses often confuse ‘entrepreneurs’ and ‘artisans’, and focus on techniques or even aesthetics rather than social relations. For Wallace, the movement of ‘neo-artisanship’ in metropolitan counter-cultures is driven by lifestyle identity, not class. It represents a convergence of disperse groups who each consider themselves ‘masters of craft’, among them “gin distillers, new generation barbers, butchers and cocktail bartenders” (2019, p. 955). This universe of metropolitan counter-cultural businesses is united by a ‘neo-bohemian’ (Lloyd 2010) life-style, and “provision [of] the goods and services of style, taste, and living well to urban dwellers” (Scott 2017, p. 61). In Cannon’s study of Portland’s emerging ‘artisan economy’, as in Wallace’s data from London, the analysis is restricted to high-end, low-volume products (“[t]he price set by the artisan reflects the high-quality nature of product”, Cannon 2009, p. 59; cf. Leissle 2017). Their actions, consequently, are largely geared at justifying these higher prices to the lucky few who can choose to pay them. In Cannon’s definition, “the artisan’s products are handmade and individually unique”, and their work and networks represent the “antithesis of the modern economy” (2009, p. 60).

If resumed as such, the artisan economy is framed in privilege, restrained in small middle-class, largely urban bubbles in the Global North (cf. Guthman 2003), and almost irrelevant to the broader questions of how the world’s population is/will be feeding, clothing, housing and employing itself (cf. Bernstein 2010, Woodhouse 2010). Campbell (2005) argues that craft consumption in the richest countries often acts as a post-modern form of ‘conspicuous consumption’ (Veblen 2009), a situation where unique hand-made products ‘beat’ mass-produced ones for status. These consumption choices rarely represent a profound interest in, or preference for, the life and work of artisans. Here we see parallels with what Charles Robert Ashbee, one of the founders of the Arts & Crafts movement active in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, described in hindsight as “a great social movement” turning into “a narrow and tiresome little [designers’] aristocracy working with high skill for the very rich” (Kaplan, in Krugh 2014,

p. 286). The door for capital to re-internalize contemporary critiques of alienation is wide open.

A class analysis must transcend such a moral-aesthetical (and in many ways exclusive and limiting) vision of the artisanat and by design invite the contradictions and challenges apparent in artisan labor past and present. It seeks to unravel the many positive and negative attributes attached to the term, as well as de-historicize it, in order to concentrate on an analytical core: A basic, in itself neutral, condition of labor and subsistence.

Departing from the ideal type

In doing so, it quickly dawns that the archetypal artisan worker, a 'lord of his own' who organizes his work entirely in self-direction, is as rare as the archetypal proletarian, who, if theory were correct, would be completely and utterly passive in life and labor, and the archetypal capitalist, who engages in no productive work whatsoever and never experiences dependency on other market actors, the state or even on his own workers. Class analysis inevitably takes place in the overlapping 'grey areas' where, just like the three primary colors mingle to form our visual universe, the three basic conditions of labor transform the bare physical earth into a complex social and political universe. Consequently, we cannot visualize artisan formations of labor by extracting them from the wider economy; only in their very interrelations with other economic actors can we find the mechanisms that grant and reproduce autonomy over time. Artisans maintain their class position of relative autonomy by devising changing sets of compromises, and it is precisely the processes by which they decide where, when and with whom to compromise, what market forces to submit to and which ones to resist, that express their agency and individuality. The everyday experience of autonomy is not 'doing as one pleases', but being able to pro- and react.

As a result, small labor units with a certain degree of autonomy, such as family farms, crafts and trades workshops, independent retail shops, music bands, physician's practices, independent architects, bed and breakfasts,

small food processors, truckers, taxi drivers, research groups and restaurants, are highly heterogeneous within and across political boundaries, regulatory frames as well as cultural and natural environments. Their position in social structures is constantly renegotiated through cultural and technological change, and they develop individual responses to changes in power structures that surround them. This panorama of compromises results in “a confusing and highly diversified mix” (van der Ploeg 2008, p. 18) of modes of production with varying degrees of surplus extraction – *the* characteristic of contemporary diverse economies. Much of that diversity is the direct result of the different compromises taken by semi-autonomous producers vis-à-vis capital. In adverse conditions, some artisans enter dependency relations with up- or downstream corporations, others specialize or raise quality in order to reproduce autonomy, while still others ‘expand to subsist’ on entrepreneurial paths. Instead of digging up a small number of highly autonomous producers and branding them as islands of resistance to capitalism, this dissertation seeks to show that *all of us* practice, defend, fight for, reproduce and re-imagine autonomous and self-directed labor in one or another way, to varying degrees and at different times. Autonomy and individuality in labor are deeply human endeavors, which we find in all organizational arrangements of labor – whether as an escape valve in more hierarchical labor units, or as a dearly celebrated way of life on the other end of the spectrum.

Van der Ploeg argues that the incredible variety of mechanisms that support, safeguard or augment autonomy “often exist as practices without theoretical representation” (2008, p. 19). The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, generations of political economists, when confronted with complex economies made up of a confusing mix of class relations, have tended to emphasize the menace of novel dependency mechanisms, which tend to take on a greater scale and visibility (amplified by capital’s propaganda and advertisement efforts) than the scattered mechanisms of autonomy. Capital’s agenda and potential to integrate economic realities across vast areas, its wish to represent the ‘upcoming’, the ‘modern’, the ‘most efficient’ mode of production was mirrored in how we studied modern economies. In the process, complex realities were resumed as different varieties of

capitalism or, at least, different roads to capitalism. Autonomy, on the other hand, is a timeless, extremely fractured, endogenous and often ‘quiet’, matter-of-factly practice. While capital relations (both dependency and dominance) push to disconnect economic decision-making from locality, natural environment, culture, society and aesthetics (Polanyi 1944, Habermas 1984), the practice of self-direction takes place *in the individual* and transports all of their thoughts and allegiances to the fore. The resulting heterogeneity *in practice* has deterred realizations of artisans’ commonalities *in logic* both in the political and in the academic sphere.

Secondly, besides this theoretical ‘baggage’, we also have to deal with existing colloquial images and notions associated with the term ‘artisan’, from the romanticizing to the condescending. Within the myth of modernity, memetic tropes are needed to denominate those who ‘still make things with their hands’ because they are unable or unwilling to use ‘up-to-date’ technological and organizational means. These subjects are to be found in ‘pre-modern’ landscapes marred with poverty and traditionalism, and can survive modernization only in insignificant niches as high-end producers of luxury items (Leissle 2017), and around tourist magnets, selling trivial hand-made souvenirs. In this popular view, a book about ‘artisans in the 21st century’ would be expected to tell the tales of bearded coffee-roasting hipsters, traditional blade-smiths, of ‘the last basket weaver in Devon’, and of a cluster of similar skills that vacationing members of industrial society may choose to maintain as walking museums.

Yet, the reference to artistry is not insignificant. The relative autonomy of the artisan, as well as their attachment to a particular profession and place, allows them to conduct their labor as a lifelong process of adjustment and re-invention of workflows, tools and products. Viewing peasant farmers as the most capable class to realize ‘the art of farming’ (van der Ploeg 2013a), i.e., to cultivate farming as a responsive, flexible, and thus sustainable process, corresponds to this perspective of autonomous production. And indeed, the original meaning of the term *artisan* (from the Italian *artigiano*, which again derives from the Latin *artitus*) relates it to *art*, proposing that artisans are applying artistic (as opposed to *mechanistic*) principles to

production processes, and that their occupations are commonly respected to require significant artistry.¹⁴ The origins of the *artisanat* as a delimited social formation are to be found in the rift in *skill* between laborers (typically slaves) and self-directed workers or artisans.

Why the *artisanat* matters

Whatever does not spring from a man's free choice, or is only the result of instruction and guidance, does not enter into his very being, but still remains alien to his true nature; he does not perform it with truly human energies, but merely with mechanical exactness (von Humboldt 1969, p. 28).

Proletarians may excel at their labor, yet to the degree that they rely on commands to formulate it, they are continuously stifled in their development as humans. Self-directed endeavors may take place outside of work-hours, through hobbies or sports, yet the best, and by far the widest 'arena' for the emergence of the individual as a social citizen is the workplace and its nodes of social relations with the wider world. Individual development under proletarian conditions means 'selling one's labor, then being', while under the artisan condition it means 'being through labor'. Arendt paints this emergence as a lifelong trial-and-error process of conscientization, self-assertion and the development of beliefs, skills and relationships.

In acting and speaking, men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world, while their physical identities appear without any activity of their own in the unique shape of the body and sound of the voice.

This "disclosure of 'who' in contradistinction to 'what' somebody is – his qualities, gifts, talents, and shortcomings, which he may display or hide"

¹⁴ In French, notably, the term 'artisan'/'*artisanat*' is still widely used to designate the trades in general, similar to the German 'Handwerk'.

can thrive during self-directed work, while the process is largely on hold when we engage in tasks commanded by a superior (Arendt 1998, p. 179). Organizing labor into large-scale, capital-dominated units means “utilizing [and developing] only the smallest part of man’s potential capabilities, it sentences the great majority of workers to spending their working lives in a way which contains no worthy challenge, no stimulus to self-perfection, no chance of development, no element of Beauty, Truth, Goodness” (Schumacher 1979, p. 41). In many ways, this is, to use Schumacher’s wording, the real *sentence* of capital’s destruction of environments and stratification of people: The fact that such an enormous number of workers are giving most of their life to enact it, to destroy and divide, and to anxiously waste away as humans in the process. For Arendt, “the greatness of Max Weber’s discovery about the origins of capitalism lay precisely in his demonstration that an enormous, strictly mundane activity is possible without any care for or enjoyment of the world whatsoever” (Arendt 1998, p. 254). Graeber (2018) refers to ‘bullshit jobs’, yet in the contemporary labor market – where ecologically destructive or socially repressive tasks abound – it may already be a privilege to engage in labor that is merely meaningless.

While the Marxian class-based worldview has been highly capable of provoking and catalyzing *dissent* with capital, it has failed at organizing *disengagement* from capitalism. This is because, in Marxism, the ‘Other’ of capital is also capital’s dependent, and as a matter of ‘laws of history’ must remain so. The solution, hence, lies not in diminishing the importance and reach of capital, but in accelerating that importance so far that it comes to constitute the principal social conflict on a global scale, and then resolving that conflict by ‘taking over’ the means of production neatly concentrated by capital. This premise has recently been re-affirmed around the term ‘accelerationism’ (Mackay & Aenessian 2017). Like earlier proponents of historically-deterministic models of anti-capitalism, accelerationists “insist [...] that the only radical political response to capitalism is not to protest, disrupt, or critique, nor to await its demise at the hands of its own contradictions, but to accelerate its uprooting, alienating, decoding, abstractive tendencies” (*ibid.*, p. 4). The historical force of capitalism is seen as strong enough to prevail over people’s search for non-capitalism

(‘turning back the tides of history’). Focusing on artisan economies would thus be a distraction from the greater question of how capitalism’s enormous disruptive force can be steered towards the best-possible outcomes. We may accompany capitalism’s creative-destructive path, but ought not resolve to “folk politics of localism, direct action, and relentless horizontalism” (Williams & Srnicek 2013, p. 143). Though this accelerationist current represents an extreme, more nihilist version of this premise, the contradiction between awe at the capabilities introduced by capitalism and agony at its destructiveness is broadly constituent of binary models of class.

This dissertation advocates strongly to separate class studies from determinist readings of history and politics. Class theory has some of the strongest, most far-reaching affordances in the social sciences. The exercise of class-ifying humans and their interpersonal relations and inequalities is – rightly – associated with some of the darkest hours of the 20th century. Ever present is the “deployment of Marxist categories for the vulgar purpose of suppressing freedom” by many governments and movements, and their “cynical application [...] to the twisting of minds and the breaking of bodies” (Judt 2009, p. 135). Rather than trying to ‘save’ Marx’s valuable insights into the systematic, structural nature of exploitation from the unwelcome baggage of real-socialist forms of systematic exploitation and violence, we need to find the fundamental theoretical fault that allowed his class theory to be so seamlessly exploited by cruel dictatorship, and which connects Marx’s own purges of the 1st International (most notably at the Hague Congress in 1872, when the so-called ‘mutualists’ were expelled by the ‘statists’) to the later tendency of avant-gardist governments and movements to commit to large-scale purges, social engineering and political cleansing (Mann 1999, p. 37–40). The affordance for this (mis)use of the Marxian canon (which is never conclusively resolved by its many partial detractions and revisions) lies in the fundamental decision to leave out (and thus silence) the very class which embodies equality, emancipation and structural nonviolence.

As such, this dissertation does not primarily aim to persuade the reader to advocate for artisan production. Rather, the objective is to let the artisanat

be *seen* as a third class. It presents no political program, focusing instead on an analytical program that could place artisan labor on an equal footing with the two classes (and their many variations) constitutive of capitalism. Discussions on the future of artisan production can only be held if we have a framework available to analyze its agents and their labor, and if we acknowledge a research interest in their continued presence.¹⁵ To do so, the following chapters develop a series of terms and concepts through which the many scattered experiences and expressions of the artisanat can be analyzed comparatively. This does not mean formulating a theory of artisan labor ‘from square one’. Inspired by the idea of ‘travelling concepts’ (Bal & Marx-MacDonald 2002), the dissertation travels through a variety of sectoral literatures to recover existing and hidden parts of an artisan class theory, bringing these literatures into communication in the process. The first chapter focuses on deriving a series of basic terms and definitions that serve to integrate experiences across disciplinary boundaries. In the second chapter, we move through all major sectors of contemporary economies, aiming to assemble the many economic agents that engage in artisan-like forms of production across a diverse set of sectoral and regional conditions. In doing so, we hope that the reader may acquire a condensed impression of the primary issues faced by autonomous and autonomy-seeking workers in today’s complex, mixed economies. Chapter 3 enquires about the motives of artisan labor, forms of valuation and forms of patrimony. Chapter 4, finally, looks at how artisans participate in mixed markets and value chains, and how, where possible, they (re-)design markets and institutions in favor of autonomy.

¹⁵ Of course “devoting academic attention” to non-capitalist economic practices also means “making them visible as potential objects of policy and politics” (Gibson-Graham 2008, p. 620). The opposite is true for research agendas that focus entirely on capitalism as their object of study: “their performative effect is to interfere with [...], to deny legitimacy to the diverse economies that are already here, and to close down the open futures that are waiting to be performatively enacted” (*ibid.*, pp. 619–20).

CHAPTER 1 - CONCEPTUALIZING THE ARTISANAT

The fundamental argument of this dissertation concerns the benefits of conceptualizing a third root class. A ‘root class’, in borrowing this form of classification from informatics, is a category that is not derived from another. While the critique of contemporary economic relations knows dozens of class categories, all of them are directly or indirectly derived from the capital-labor relation and the dialectical games between two basic positions: dominance and dependency, or capital and labor. A first group of class categories fills the space ‘between labor and capital’ (Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich 1979) and the paths taken by specific labor formations in order to participate in domination, improving both their share of the surplus and their indispensability to capital. These include conceptions of a managerial-professional class (*ibid.*, pp. 5–45), the white-collar salariat, the aspirational class (Currid-Halkett 2017), and discussions about new forms of laborism and labor aristocracy in global value chains (Wright 2000). A second group denotes different forms and scales of capital, from smaller, personalized holdings by the ‘petit-bourgeois’, via medium-scale family and entrepreneurial firms (e.g., in the German variety of capitalism, cf. Lehrer & Celo 2016), towards depersonalized and/or deterritorialized extractive mechanisms in finance, algorithmic and genomic capitalism (Fichtner *et al.* 2017, Srnicek 2017, Peters 2012). A third group focuses on the ‘how’ of capital, i.e., on how different capital formations extract surplus either through productive means (industrial capital), idle means (rentier class, landlord class, platform capital), extraeconomic means (vagabond capital, privatization, resource grabbing; Katz 2001, Harvey 2003, Borrás & Franco 2012), or by capturing the state and/or public spaces (nomenklatura, military-industrial complex, surveillance capitalism), among others. A fourth group focuses on capitalism’s margins and the dynamics between exclusion and reproduction: From the precariat, migrant labor and ‘gig work’, to semi-proletarians and informal workers, and finally to the ‘reserve armies’ of labor in slums and rural areas (Standing 2015, Munck 2013, Harriss 2006, Pajnik 2016). In each case,

political economists are concerned first and foremost with how relations of domination and dependency materialize across core and peripheral spaces, and how they change over time.¹⁶

Henning & Agarwala differentiate contemporary class theorists into *lumpers* and *splitters*:

How many classes are there? Where are the boundaries? As often, there are lumpers and splitters. Karl Marx boldly lumped layers of stratification together into two classes: bourgeois and proletarian. Dividing society into two megagroups (the exploiter and the exploited) creates “classes” of great heterogeneity but periodic subjective reality [...]. If giant classes are to act politically, coalitions across subgroups must be hammered out (2006, pp. 338–9).

Splitters, in turn, argue that the complexity of post-Fordist, globally-interrelated societies requires more nuanced, multisided differentiations, resulting in dozens of precisely-defined class positions and formations as expressions of multi-sided stratification. While the authors¹⁷ clearly have a point, they are missing that class theory essentially represents a two-step approach: In the first step of ‘basic research’ into class, or *class ontology*, we discuss how to view complex realities in an ethically-meaningful and congruent manner. In doing so, we devise axiomatic class positions from which to triangulate, to ‘expand inwards’: From the clearly-identifiable outliers of the class system, whose lives are most strikingly imbued with one of the three colors of class (utmost dependency, dominating wealth, and singular autonomy) towards the ‘messy middle’ where colors mix and remain in constant negotiation. We do not live in a world of proletarians, capitalists and artisans, but in a world where complex power dynamics and

¹⁶ Even Weberian critiques (and their reconciliation with Marxism in Bourdieu) rely on positioning social groups along a binary class scale – albeit using a greater number of conceptual indicators (e.g., prestige/honor, power, education, manners) to do so, and albeit developing a greater number of intermediary categories.

¹⁷ As well as Grusky & Sørensen (1998), who criticize ‘the big class assumption’.

institutions place people unequally in each of the three positions, or parts thereof, over the course of their life - and indeed their everyday. Only by making axiomatic distinctions are we primed to move purposefully in that overwhelming reality - to dissect with a purpose. This second step is where axioms are replaced by concrete analysis, resulting in a second layer of class often referred to as *class analysis*. Without class ontology we cannot practice meaningful class analysis; without lumping there are no meaningful axes along which to split. The main weight of this dissertation lies in the former sphere. In exploring changes to class ontology, new paths are opened for class analysis that dissects reality in accordance with a new purpose - inclusion of experiences and demands of autonomy.

The third root class, in order to connect to a rich historical (and largely dormant) thread of its study and representation, is referred to as the *artisanry* or *artisanat*. This chapter introduces a conceptual framework through which the continuity and adaptation of self-directed labor can be analyzed. It lays out a string of basic terms and definitions to which the later chapters refer and add nuance. In doing so, the idea is not to dissect complex societies directly into artisans, proletarians and capitalists, but to expand the surface on which they are dissected, from a two-dimensional to a three-dimensional panel.¹⁸ As ideal types, the three classes are ontological signposts between which messy realities can be oriented in order to relate them to/around an ethical axiom - in the case of class: The fundamental meaning and nature of exploitation. The *artisanat* is not a previously unseen 'third reality' - an exercise of analytical lumping, but a third pole from which unseen aspects of reality (including particular class positions more or less close to the artisan ideal type) can be triangulated.

¹⁸ The distinction between *basic* and *applied* research into social relations may be useful here; cf. Gulbrandsen & Kyvik 2010.

Modern memes of artisan labor

Before moving towards an understanding of the artisanat as a class, it is necessary to look at the baggage we may be carrying along with us. Artisans are extensively Othered in modern economic theories and conceptions of development, but only rarely studied *as themselves*. As a result, normative conceptions of artisan labor abound even in the absence of a comprehensive theory of the artisanat. To be open and curious about such a theory, we must thus understand, and dispose of, a number of a priori assumptions about the term ‘artisan’.

A neutral treatment of contemporary artisan labor is generally obstructed by entrenched ‘memes’ about what non-capitalist or artisan labor supposedly looks like. Memes refer to ‘units of cultural transmission’ by way of imitation (Dawkins 1989, p. 192). They are bits of information that, although once born as rational abstractions within a specific context, continue to be passed on from one generation to the next, and one context to the other, long after their original context has ceased to be relevant. Memes, though “initially shaped by the mind” as a response to life-experiences, quickly “turn around and begin to shape minds” in how to respond to experiences they have not made yet (Csikszentmihalyi 1993, p. 120). The study of memes thus seeks to capture the relative inertia of ideas and conceptualizations which, in the absence of a conscious thought-effort on the part of the incoming generation, are carried on by simple imitation.

In the case of artisan labor, this inertia concerns what Brenner called “the suffocating orthodoxies of Marxist evolutionary theory” (1977, p. 90), and the equally suffocating “stages of growth” of modernization theory (Rostow 1960). Both of these interrelated systems of historical determination permeated academic and public ontologies over many decades and in so profound ways that even extensive critiques in the last decades have not completely undone their inertia (Callinicos 1985). Most of our ideas about the artisanat, in other words, derive directly or indirectly from theoretical and political currents intent on minimizing its presence and/or importance.

<i>Meme</i>	<i>Effect</i>
Artisans as 'traditional'/'pre-modern' workers	Replicates the dichotomy of modernity and traditionalism, of the 'ways of the past' and those of the future. The effect of this meme is to render the ambit of artisan labor insignificant both in economic and in cultural terms.
Artisans as 'petit-bourgeois'	Here, artisan labor is rendered <i>politically</i> insignificant and – with one word – reduced to an add-on to the capitalist development process.
Artisans as 'entrepreneurs'	From a very different angle, we here find the most important way to subsume artisans under the 'naturalness' of capitalist logic.
Artisans as 'dying out'	Applies the above dichotomy and linearizes history, carrying this marginalization of artisan labor into our expectations of the future. Why engage in, or study, or advocate for, activities and communities that are bound to disappear <i>anyway</i> ?
Artisans as occupants of 'residual spaces'	Argues that artisans occupy primarily spaces with so little profitability that capital simply has no interest in outcompeting them. Hides instances where artisan labor competes successfully.
Artisans as sub-contractors of capital	Frames dependency relations as absolute rather than relative/gradual in order to make complex realities fit simpler class theories. Usually, these refer to capitalism as an all-encompassing reality within which no meaningful autonomy can be observed. ¹⁹
Artisans as high-end, low-volume niche producers	Greatly reduces the area of sight, leaving us with a smaller sub-group of independent activity that is easily held of scarce importance for the 'general economy'.

Table 1.1: Memes associated with the term 'artisan' and, more broadly, the presence/possibility of autonomous labor

Each of these classifications of independent labor emerged within the thought-systems developed in response to the rapid expansion of capitalism and mass social dynamics during the second half of the 'long 19th century' (1848 to 1914).²⁰ Within these thought-systems they constituted rational, logically consistent parts-and-parcels of critique, and elements of juxtaposition against which passionate hopes and ambitions for change were arranged. Independent labor in this context could hardly be understood to constitute one of the three root classes of political economy, for its perceived importance in relation to the other two, and the capital relation binding them together, was indeed minuscule. In this time of great hopes and ideals, conceding the artisanat an equal position in class systems (which are none other than qualified *classificatory* abstractions) would have been outlandish. As these thought-systems reached unprecedented dominance over the intellectual and political life of the 'short twentieth century' (1914 to 1989, Hobsbawm 1994), a serious revisiting of artisan labor remained implausible. The memetic generalizations that reduced autonomous labor to a position of insignificance and backwardness could be *inferred* from the predominant ideologies in East, West and South, and they could, at the same time, be *deduced* from the far-reaching economic and social changes that occurred as these ideologies began to determine powerful state's policies and abstentions (e.g., reductions in the number of small farms, firms and shops, capital-induced economic growth, rural decline, and proud proletarianism in the welfare-state's burgeoning cities). Even scholars or activists who painted a rare positive picture of artisan labor and communities navigated within the established dichotomy

¹⁹ At a recent conference, the author asked a crowd of political economists – all of whom hold professional livelihoods and intellectual lives that certainly transcend the logic of capitalism – whether they figured their lives to be *largely* or *completely* determined by capital. Many confidently choose the latter adverb, despite being (with significant pride, one may add) living examples of the limits to capitalist economy, participants in the exercise of non-capitalist motives and modes of labor organisation.

²⁰ Term coined by Hobsbawm (1962, 1975, 1987) in reference to the Soviet historian Ilya Ehrenburg.

between ‘modernity’ on the one hand and ‘pre-modern’ agents and customs that ought to be ‘restored’ to benefit it (e.g., Bernstein 1899, Wrench 1939).

When the demise of communism and the emergence of themes such as sustainability, individuality and ‘the good life’ led a wider public to question these thought-systems, the figure of the artisan had already been minimized for various generations, allowing much of this memetic baggage to persist *in general*, even as it was now more routinely challenged and replaced *in particular*. In other words, today there is great interest in artisan-like ways of working in each particular sector, but this has not resulted in a general re-appraisal or re-conceptualization across sectors. As a result, many of the sectoral research agendas and political campaigns are stuck in a semantics of class that works to confuse and obstruct the very messages about independent producers they have developed, while others believe to have ‘moved on’ from class altogether.

The contemporary literature on entrepreneurship, which emerged in the 1980s on the basis of Austrian School economics, seeks to portray small business as the perpetual nursery of new capitalist trends and waves of commodification. To achieve this, it re-packages the whole artisan class ambit under a new (and equally foreign) framework derived from pro-capitalist economic theory and values. More importantly than this academic classification is the fact that ‘entrepreneurialism’ seeks to induce a self-perception of being ‘nascent capitalists’ in small business owners and farmers, and thereby strip (or ‘liberate’) them of all non-capitalist tendencies and balances through which they may conceive their work and their social position. In principle, the entrepreneurship literature is aware of the “observed dichotomy of growth- and independence-oriented new ventures” (Douglas 2013, p. 633), i.e., divergent ambitions of growth and autonomy, yet it fails to meet these two ambitions on an equal footing. Schoar (2010) and Sridharan *et al.* (2014) take this fallacy one step further when introducing terms like ‘subsistence entrepreneur’ and ‘transformative subsistence entrepreneur’. The entrepreneurship literature shows little interest for autonomy-inclined small businesses that contradict its findings. It studies small businesses not for what they are, but for what their owners (in some cases) aspire to become. Finally, it does

not problematize the fact that one individual's 'successful' entrepreneurship minimizes another's 'successful' autonomy.

The Artisanat as a Class

Can autonomy be studied from a class angle – the very angle through which its expressions have long been relegated to the margins of political economy? Or, conversely: Why does class remain a worthy choice as *the* fundamental angle of analysis when looking at the complex social interactions and aspirations of the 21st century? Undeniably, the retreat of communist and radical socialist politics over the last decades has augmented skepticism of class theory, many aspects of which are associated with this multi-faceted failure. Here, however, lies a chance to re-capture class from the ideological, and to test a priori assertions made in support of a bygone era of proletarian-vanguardism (Bottero 2004).²¹ The aim of various authors has been to re-establish class as a politically neutral concept that contributes to anthropological nuance as much as it allows for generalization and solidarity. According to Kalb (1997, p. 3), this perception and relevance of class

[...] presupposes that human interests (broadly conceived) simply and realistically begin with the ways in which people (of both sexes)

²¹ As Arendt writes, “the end of a tradition does not necessarily mean that traditional concepts have lost their power over the minds of men. On the contrary, it sometimes seems that this power of well-worn notions and categories becomes more tyrannical as the tradition loses its living force and as the memory of its beginning recedes” (1961, p. 26). Rather than seeing contemporary social critique as having outgrown its origins in a two-class eschatology, as having overcome the limitations of basing each and every theme on the explicit conception of modernity as capitalist-proletarian dialectics, this original dialectical frame remains in the collective subconscious of unquestioned rituals and notions. Undeniably, Marx's original two-class theory forms a crucial part of the 'childhood memory' of political economy and social activism. Its original choices are very much intact in our increasingly complex re-conceptualizations.

try to secure their livelihoods by performing their daily work. It emphatically claims that work is never just the act of earning a living, but rather the social and cultural crux around which whole ways of life become organized and maintained. Class, in addition, assumes that work, survival, and reproduction are what bring people together in the first place. It argues that from the daily necessity to secure a living arise specific and complex patterns of social labor, which in turn underpin – and are maintained by – specific forms of civilization and appropriation. [...] Class points, at the same moment, to people's intentional efforts to make the best of their world as well as to their unchosen need to find the friction-ridden alignments to do so. Thus, it dynamizes culture and deinstitutionalizes power.

The study of class has thus made an anthropological turn, enabling us to move more freely between the macro-politics of class formations and the everyday and micro-politics that propel them (Tria Kerkvliet 2009, Hobson & Seabrooke 2007). At the same time, more versatile conceptions of class have resulted from the cultural/sociological turn, which widens the scope of class frameworks from the economic realm (ownership of means of production, workplace relations, formal subsumption etc.) into all processes of social hierarchy. Bourdieu's theory of stratification sharpens our perception of class by making the concept itself travel across disciplines and sectors – from the study of workplace and market relations into inquiries on education, taste, and other social spheres that all constitute “different areas of practice” within a grand game of socio-economic advancement and loss (Bourdieu 1984, p. 175). Class, then, is the outcome of the individual's efforts to obtain and combine different forms of property – ownership of labor-enhancing machinery, educational titles, gender, experiences and skills, membership of institutions and clubs, criminal history (or lack thereof), determination, social reputation, beauty, citizenship, ethnicity, credit score etc. All of these properties and qualities (and combinations thereof) can act as capital, that is, they can be the reason(s) that enable their holder to exploit others. Class, if it were to be quantified, would in all cases be a complex array of different properties and qualities held by an individual, and never a reduced measurement of only one property or quality (e.g., financial resources). It is the combination of

these properties and qualities that “define[s ...] agents’ objective location within a social structure, which in turn generate[s] a set of interests that govern those agents’ social action” (Chibber 2017, p. 29-30).

Autonomy refers to a position of self-sufficiency – not in the sense that the artisan produces what she²² consumes (*private* or *autarchic self-sufficiency*), but in the sense that through her particular way of participating in society and economy, she produces as much value as she ends up obtaining (*reciprocal self-sufficiency*).²³ In the three-class framework, there are two possible ideal-type scenarios at which non-exploitation occurs on such a wide scale that it comes to define a society: (1) A utopia where positions of dominance are reformed in a way that they renounce exploitation, or are inhibited from practicing it by the dependent class (equal outcomes *despite* unequal resource access); and (2) a utopia where dominance and exploitation are resolved (equal outcomes *grounded in* equal resource access). In both cases, exploitation is absent, but class is not. In fact, class relations in each scenario are highly organized and dynamic. In the first scenario, ever-evolving practices are required to maintain the promised benevolence of a capital-holding elite (typically based on state monopolies of power), which will tend to seek opportunities

²² Throughout the text, male, female and nonbinary pronouns are used at random. With few exceptions (most notably capitalists), the populations and mechanisms referred to are gender-neutral.

²³ In a further step, other parts of nature would have to be included into this calculation. The problem, of course, is that while we have well-developed theories of human equality – that is, the worth of all humans is equal – we have no such theory that attempts to assign relative values to different sub-sectors of nature: humans, trees, mammals, small invertebrates, climatic conditions, soil, water, and so forth. Some variables with this logic are already in use, such as ‘footprint’ values for specific foods, ‘virtual water’ values for products ranging from a t-shirt to a household appliance or car, and the increasingly complex system of carbon measurements and valuation. See Burdon (2010, 2011) for a bold attempt at weighing different sub-sectors of nature in jurisprudence.

to use its capital for personal and limited interests.²⁴ In the second scenario, artisan individuals and groups will never cease to coordinate, build institutions and reform them such that they continually override the tendency for differentiation.

Where does the artisanat stand in relation to the ‘working class’? From the three-class model, two answers to this question can be proposed: First, that the ‘working class’ refers to the proletariat alone, in which case it would miss a very significant cross-section of those members of society who can only afford subsistence by working. Historically, many proletarian-vanguardist parties and intellectuals have taken this path, leading to political backlash from artisans, a type of class conflict that always plays into the hands of capital. More recently, important attempts have been made to re-connect this conception of ‘the working class’ – which appears to have lost its vanguardist acumen – with other parts of ‘the working classes’, or the ‘classes of labor’ (Bernstein 2010). A second, very different, answer results if ‘the working class’ is conceived as composing both proletarians and artisans in a kind of solidarity-from-below against exploitation. Workers-as-artisans and workers-as-proletarians have more

²⁴ Leopold Kohr’s “power theory of aggression” (Kohr 1978, pp. 25–54), though initially confined to international relations, describes this tendency in its simplest form. Kohr wrote his seminal *The Breakdown of Nations* in the post-war era (it was first published in 1957), when intellectuals tried to make sense of the convergence of extreme violence across the ideological spectrum. For Kohr, violence (including, in our case, economic violence, i.e., ‘exploitation’) happens first and foremost ‘because it can’: Where significant power differential exist between one individual and another, one group and another, or one state and another, they make the use of violence possible and, in Kohr’s argument, statistically likely. That some individuals, groups or states make less use of their power than others is, in that sense, already an observation of secondary importance. In each individual case (be it the likelihood of violence in a marital relation or the likelihood of war or subjection between two states), behavioral variance is certainly significant. Depending on the mindset of the partners/state leaders involved, power differentials may be rescinded or capitalized on. The more of these observations are added over time, however, the more the scale of power differentials and the scale of applied violence will tend to converge.

in common – as a class, not as individuals – than either has with capital owners. Their struggles are complementary and mutually-beneficial: The more proletarians fight for higher pay and better benefits, the more they help their artisan counterparts outcompete capitalist firms. In practice, this alliance can, of course, only be fruitful if mechanisms exist to directly convert jobs in capitalist firms into artisan livelihoods. Blocking such conversions (see section on *equilibration*) is thus a central component of pro-capitalist institutions and policies, and a central feature of capital's divide-and-rule.

The second micro-level of economy: Labor units

The artisanat forms a richly-textured associational layer between the individual on the one hand, and meso-scale institutions and markets on the other. With the term 'labor unit', we refer to the social nodes at which one or various individuals bundle their work processes, resources and expectations in order to achieve certain productive or reproductive objectives. Both businesses and households can thus be studied as labor units. In some cases, their members and objectives overlap so far that a productive business and a household form a combined labor unit, rather than two separate ones. In others, we find a pronounced division between the objectives, strategies and identities of labor within the household unit, and of marketed labor that supports that household. Furthermore, individuals often participate in various labor units at a time, which may include secondary businesses, civil society associations, religious communities, extended family/clan commitments or even seasonal units such as the military reserves.²⁵ Some of these are long-lasting, others are

²⁵ Though we could focus on *units of production*, it is preferable to take a step back and focus on *labor* and labor units more broadly. Reproductive labor, as well as labor that is non-productive or destructive yet nonetheless influences social relations and norms, are thus included. One example of non-productive labor are honorific societies, which serve to distribute what Bourdieu calls the capital of 'distinction' that upholds certain sectoral as well as broader societal hierarchies. Examples of destructive labor are found in inter-human conflict

created on an ad hoc, short-term, basis (e.g., volunteer work groups for specific projects). From a class perspective, nonetheless, it is clear that some labor units (and the arrangements therein) have a vastly greater impact on our lives than others, and that the two central functions of labor across cultures are making a living (*livelihood*) and house-holding. The time and effort spent in relation to these two primary functions tend to strongly outweigh that spent on other (secondary) functions. Other parts and sites of human life tend to refer back to the respective individuals' conditions of livelihood and household. This dissertation thus focuses on these two functions, while referring more briefly to a number of secondary functions and the struggles between dependency and autonomy that take place around them. It also touches on some sectors, such as the performing arts, where artisan livelihoods tend to be based on various labor units at once, many of them project-based and short-term.

The 'labor unit' concept – and, more generally, the ontological focus on this second micro-level of analysis that mediates between individual and wider economy – was introduced by Alexander Chayanov in *On the theory of non-capitalist systems* (1966a). His aim was to describe the social bond that defines “peasant and artisan family labour units” without recurring to the “conceptual systems of an economics adapted to capitalist society”: Wage, capital, commodity market and profit (*ibid.*, p. 5). He argued that an application of such concepts to whole societies – rather than specific markets and sectors – would unavoidably lead to misrepresentations of those markets, production units and products in which at least one of these foundational concepts is lacking, be it the wage nature of labor, a profit expectation in its application, the commodity form of the product or service created, simple exchange valuation in its market, or the separation of capital and labor.

Labor units are the immediate socio-economic molecules whose composition, bonds, decisions and actions embody the possibilities and

and war (e.g., Lüdtke 2006), as well as labor that destroys certain ecosystems in order to make resources more accessible for human exploitation.

tendencies of the wider social-economic system in which they find themselves. Labor units thus represent the threshold at which an *inner dynamic*, made up of the practices, expectations, disagreements, resources, values and skills of workers as individual humans, meets an *outer dynamic* of social norms, economic systematics (most importantly the price of different goods and resources), and natural landscapes and constraints. This confrontation takes place as negotiation, rather than determination, and labor units self-govern within, and in relation to, the constraints they face.²⁶ To do so, they employ the resources, skills and ideas they own or have access to. The size and productivity of this portfolio of autonomously held resources, skills and ideas is the principal factor determining each labor unit's insertion within the wider economy, i.e., its place in the three-class model.

What mobilizes and ties labor together in such units? Capitalist labor units are based on an exploitative compromise (Wright 2000) – typically the sale of labor against some form of remuneration. Artisan labor units are affective; their members congregate for motives beyond a wage (or more broadly: beyond a commodified expression of value). These motives can include long-term ties like family or friendship, but also professional appreciation, common experiences and struggles, in short: Labor units are formed based on social, political and/or cultural agreements over the meaning and place of labor. Though early theories (including Chayanov's) focused on the empirically prevalent family ties, recent literature has extended the definition of the peasant labor unit to include small non-family collectives of various formats. Some of these labor unit formats are rather popular within contemporary peasant movements in the North (Meyerhoff *et al.* 2012) and South (Wittman 2009, Wolford 2005).

²⁶ This approach as *negotiation* rather than *determination* is owed to van der Ploeg's treatise of the Chayanovian approach to peasant studies, which he frames around this very question: "Central to the Chayanovian approach is the observation that although the peasant unit of production is conditioned and affected by the capitalist context in which it is operating, it is not directly governed by it" (2013a, p. 5).

Instead of relying on traditional idea(l)s of the blood-tie as the primordial bond behind the social organization of artisan labor, an inclusive view is needed to understand and conceptually integrate the many analogues to ‘the family’: the small collective of friends or business partners, the unit formed by master-apprentice relations, and the one-person ‘self-employed’ labor unit, to name the most important examples. New as well as continuing non-family forms of collective labor mobilization, such as bottom-up collectives (Pulfer & Lips 2010, Leder *et al.* 2019), villages (Wittman 2009), and clans (Dietler & Herbach 2001) are brought back to our attention. Each labor unit design holds advantages and disadvantages for its members both with regard to the unfolding of internal dynamics (e.g., bundling skills and resources among more partners, juxtaposed with greater flexibility for single-worker units) and in the way that it translates external relations to which the labor unit is subaltern (e.g., taxation regimes, ability to sell a greater variety of goods/greater batches, stability against threats). These designs are highly sector-specific and will be treated in more detail in the next chapter.

In the artisan sphere, each individual’s principal social and economic units (the household and the business) are intensely intertwined²⁷ – if not physically, then in terms of the balances and objectives individuals maintain for both their ‘private’ and ‘professional’ lives. These interrelations between the social and the economic, however, can take on many forms, depending on the labor unit’s membership and its priorities. Artisan labor units are the instruments of their workers, who seek to materialize their ideals through labor, under the circumstances given. What these ideals are, and how the worker(s) at hand pursue them differ as much as humans themselves differ.

²⁷ One anecdotal case where this interrelation becomes very apparent is the treatment of unplanned closing days of family-run stores. On one occasion, the author found a shop owner’s handwritten note that taped to the establishment’s door, announcing that “the store remains closed today because I am cremating my mother”.

The reader familiar with Chayanov's work will have found that we use his concept here with a number of adaptations and additions, owed to more recent debates not foretold by his publications in the early 1920s:

1. Labor units are not necessarily family-based, and the intricate combination of business and family should not be defined as archetype or norm of artisan economy.
2. The molecular form of labor, i.e., labor units as more or less dynamic (and more or less autonomous) intermediaries between the individual work/mind and the broader economy and society, continue to exist in all economic systems and spaces, including capitalist relations (Gibson-Graham 2008). This is because relations of dominance and dependency are at all times incomplete, and that degree of incompleteness is mirrored in concrete negotiations within and around the labor unit.
3. The social relations within labor units can themselves contain capitalist elements, such as patriarchic decision-making patterns, alongside horizontal relations or non-capitalist hierarchies based on skill, seniority or respect.²⁸

When we study labor units, we approach class relations at an anthropological scale, acknowledging the significance of bottom-up, subaltern agency.²⁹ The sheer diversity of intentions and arrangements found at this scale must force class theory out of its roots in determinism. For Leszek Kołakowski, part of the appeal of Marx's dialectical straightjacket was (and continues to be) the sensation of intellect-power that comes with "having one key to open all doors, one universally applicable explanation for everything, an instrument that makes it possible to master all of history and economics without actually having to study either" (2002: 45). From a researcher's perspective, the central commitment

²⁸ See section on *Hierarchies* below.

²⁹ Ayooob (2002) refers to this perspective as 'subaltern realism', following Spivak's call for social scientists to 'learn from below' (1988).

is thus to show genuine interest in labor units as comparatively small but plentiful and diverse socio-economic nodes as significant sources of gravity and spaces of negotiation, while maintaining the study and critique of wider social and economic relations and the enormous gravity they exert on all individuals.

An antonym for dominance: Self-direction

The classic Marxist typology of labor and labor units focuses on a critical study of surplus value. It tracks where the value created through labor accrues, who organizes that chain of value distribution and appropriation (and how), and who influences the process of valuation itself (price, as well as the tilts, obstacles and subsidies of the playing field on which they develop). It thus explains the labor process from the outside in: Beginning with data on social relations that *surround* labor, and moving inwards (usually by deduction) into analyses of the labor processes that unfold under these circumstances. Though not always intended, this directionality establishes a cause-effect relationship, with broad observations and interpretations, most of them at the national and increasingly also global level, being translated into people's concrete lives in a manner that privileges deduction over induction. This mixture between a 'strong theory' of dominance and comparatively 'weak theories' of autonomy thus paved a 'fast lane' for meta-structural determinism, often replacing the meta-physical determinism of competing ontologies. It informs us, first and foremost, about the *dominance* that certain out-of-reach processes exert within our lives, and in the process relegates many attempts at understanding existing and potential alternatives – with the exception of revolutionary (meta-structural) change.

The three-class model affirms the study of structural and top-down factors that severely reduce the leeway that individual workers or labor units have when organizing their labor. Yet it recognizes an equally omnipresent (and at all times significant) subject of study in the bottom-up processes of labor *self-direction*, the realm of economic decision-making through which workers counteract or at least negotiate broader trends and influences. The

focus of political economy research thus shifts (or rather: extends) from determination to negotiation, and from dominance to (unequal) compromise and everyday resistance – a shift we believe has already been produced in many disciplines that study specific economic sectors (Wright 2000, White & Wijaya 2021, Bernstein 2010). Autonomy – this perpetually ‘awkward’ remainder of political economy – is thus included as a constituent element of all its objects of study. Of course, this is far from prescribing a unidirectional focus on autonomous action and bottom-up dynamics, as is the case in some right-libertarian theories that affirm capitalism (or libertarian anarchism) as a systematic expression of individual autonomy (Chartier & Johnson 2021). Nor should it lead to similarly unconvincing attempts to overlay utopian theories of classlessness – and the primacy of direct action over organization – onto complex realities which clearly require both. Our way forward lies in finding an ontological balance between dependency and autonomy that adequately represents their relationships in people’s lives, while making (or at least offering) amends that could elicit everyday as well as more organized, long-term struggles to increase the latter.

After this anticipation of misuse, let us define the realm of self-direction over the labor process, and see what limits and what completes it. With *self-direction* or *autonomous activity*, we refer to the human mind’s potential to generate a constant flow of objectives, methods and propulsion for the activities performed by the body, as well as to find, review, adapt and thereby ameliorate such objectives, methods and propulsion in its relationships with others and the world. For Sennett (2008, p. 9), this process unfolds as “a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking”, between direction and execution (‘trial and error’), which establishes “a rhythm between problem solving and problem finding”. Autonomy is not a state, but a continual practice, a process through which individuals adapt to the natural and social conditions of their life.³⁰ It differs from the most

³⁰ Kant reserves the concept of autonomy for actions (and lives) that are based on a high moral standard (Shell 2009, Sensen 2012). Frankfurt, in turn, argues that humans are autonomous only if and when our ‘essential character’ succeeds in imprinting itself into our actions (1999, p. 132). Autonomy as

common notion of ‘freedom’ (as *unconstrained* agency) in that autonomous practice (‘self-direction’) acknowledges the constraints of nature and society, yet operates as a countermovement to exploitative hierarchies between individuals.

It is through the practice of self-direction that artisan labor has profound effects on those who perform it. The need to make frequent, informed and significant decisions about how to shape one’s work process, what markets to engage and how, and how to collaborate, make self-directed labor an act (or at least attempt) of individual evolution. Here we are thus looking at the primary mechanism that “cultivate[s] different [...] economic subjects—subjects of capacity rather than debility, subjects whose range of economic identifications exceeds the capitalist order” (Gibson-Graham 2003, p. 58).

Conceptualizing autonomy in this broad way, it also becomes clear that simple self-employment as defined by today’s tax agencies can, as a legalistic binary measure, only hint at the extent of actual artisan labor. The World Bank found 29% of the world’s workforce to be self-employed either alone, with a small number of partners, or in a cooperative (Gindling & Newhouse 2014), while the ILO estimates that “around 45 per cent of employed persons worldwide are own-account workers or contributing family workers, with men much more likely to be among the former and women among the latter” (Gomis *et al.* 2020, p. 34). However, part of this number is so-called ‘dependent self-employment’, from contract farmers to freelancers who depend primarily on a single client – a system of labor

referred to here, however, is not a moral quality in the Kantian sense, nor does it have to spring from the willpower wielded by a person’s ‘true self’ – the utopian, elusive concepts humans have of their ‘better selves’ (Bittner 2002, pp. 216–220, 225). We do not contend that all autonomous action is inherently superior, or closer to the agent’s ‘heart’ or ‘soul’. The business of murder, for example, can be practiced in an autonomous manner (by lone wolf assassins), it can take place in grey areas (as in the semi-hierarchical practices of criminal and mercenary gangs), and it can take place as heavily proletarianized labor (military labor, see Lüdtke 2006).

organization often instituted by companies to circumvent labor laws and collective bargaining, as well as re-order risk and debt in the value chain (Román *et al.* 2011, McMichael 2013). In that sense, the legally self-employed are found all over the typology, from positions of strong subsumption to capital to positions of proud artisanship. Attempts to measure or otherwise abstract autonomy must focus on the objective conditions of labor, not its formal inscription or subjective perception.

Autonomous spaces may be crafted proactively, inspired by the ideals of those who craft them. In these cases, workers can “think of their businesses as laboratories of ideas and new practices, spaces where they are [primarily] creative and innovative” (Boldrini *et al.* 2011, p. 25). More often, however, their creation is motivated by artisans’ (and aspiring artisans’) maneuvering against economic, ecological and social circumstances and changes that threaten to impose dependency relations on them.³¹ These maneuvers and innovations are not necessarily re-active *in time*, as threats are often perceived long before they materialize. They are, however, re-active in that they reflect on conditions imposed by a bigger power, and seek ways to anticipate the consequences, redesign their livelihood to evade them, or at least ameliorate their impact through compromise. Whether in a specific situation that ‘bigger power’ is a comprehensive shift in the market, a change in social relations, a new law by the central state or a change in climate – the procedure is the same. Most artisans are in a constant inner conversation through which they digest and adapt to the various circumstantial developments (from climate change to tax law change) that provide the ever-changing context for their livelihoods.

Social scenes wherein labor is predominantly self-directed are thus characterized by a blurring of the boundaries between ‘work’ and ‘life’. It is harder to distinguish in time between work and leisure, spatially between workplace and home, intellectually between the ‘work mind’ (instrumental

³¹ For van der Ploeg, “[...] the struggle for autonomy [...] takes place in a context characterized by dependency relations, marginalization and deprivation.” (2008, p. 23)

thought) and the individual's 'private mind' (ideals, values, but also quirks and mental idiosyncrasies), qualitatively between work and play, and instrumentally between professional identity and politics. In many cases, such distinctions are altogether dismissed, and replaced by elements of artisan culture (symbols, motives, virtues etc.) that cherish the fluidity between work and life.

Self-direction is the common mechanism – the mode of decision-making – through which a never-ending plurality of artisan and semi-artisan labor processes can be understood as *homologous* – as unfolding as expressions of the same (social) position. Artisans make frequent decisions about their work, some in individual autonomy, others in the ambit of interdependence and shared autonomy within labor units. To make these decisions, they rely on understanding their work (and that of others they interact with) through a complex set of values, incentives and necessities that form a web of intrinsic, use and exchange values fine-tuned by the worker. Chapter 4 delves into how these different modes of valuation interact to form the personal motives for artisan work.

Means of production: capital vs. patrimony

Autonomy, once achieved, is neither guarded in a vault, nor does it evaporate into thin air, which leaves us with the question of how a potential for autonomous labor materializes, how such a potential is maintained over time, and how it contracts or expands. Autonomy is neither a financeable asset like capital, nor is it an experiential, momentary and thus fleeting episode or string of episodes. It materializes in the resource base that an artisan labor unit controls and operates (van der Ploeg 2008, p. 23), and it develops and decays with that resource base as well as the workers' talent and knowledge in using it.

The artisan condition creates, and is sustained by, two unique forms of property: Property at the individual and labor-unit level (patrimony) and property at the communal or societal level (commons). We define

patrimony³² as the means and spaces of production over which individual artisans hold long-term property or usufruct rights,³³ while the commons are auxiliary means and spaces of production held and managed in support of artisan labor, either by groups of associated artisans or by institutions organized as stewards. Both of these forms of property cannot exist unless there is artisan labor defining and creating it, reproducing it over time both in its physical shape and its social meaning and organization, and requiring it for its subsistence. While each individual's relative access to capital is what positions them on the dominance-dependency scale, access to patrimony and commons is the game-changing capability that allows us to leave that scale and build positions of relative autonomy. The antonym of capital, in other words, is not 'no capital' or 'socialized/state capital', but either patrimony or commons, or (more commonly) a mixture of these two categories. A long-term utopian concept such as the 'dissolution of property' relations is not necessary to think of an antonym for capital, nor is it representative of contemporary and historical instances and spaces of non-capitalist property, or property that fulfills a social function.

³² Chayanov refers to the private share of peasants' resource base as 'family capital', but van der Ploeg (2013a, pp. 24–32) proposes to distinguish its terminology more categorically from the economics of capitalism, using the term 'patrimony' instead. This resonates with Marxist political economy, which reserves the term 'capital' for profit-seeking ownership of resources. As said above, it is also necessary to depart from a family-focused view of peasant and artisan production which would marginalize other relations of affection and mutuality that are foundational to artisan labor units.

³³ An example of a livelihood-defining usufruct right in urban settings is given by Batréau & Bonnet's study of street food vendors in Bangkok's Soi Rangnam street (2016, p. 37): "Since the monthly fee is negligible and revenue potential is high, vending spots are extremely profitable. Vendors have a strong incentive to keep a registered location as long as they can, and to pass it to their kin. When vendors retire, they look for someone in the family to take over the business. A couple selling grilled meat explained that they had given up their factory jobs when their aging aunt could not work in the street anymore. Her spot was so valuable that it was enough to motivate a radical career change for the couple."

In addition to the primary material means of production (land, buildings, tools), artisans rely heavily on social means (often more so than larger enterprises), including physical commons, legal-administrative commons and cultural-technological commons.³⁴ These social means, together with the indivisible secondary material means of production, such as air and water, are the reason why artisans are, and have always been, strongly engaged in associational and political action. Access to these social means, which by their very constitution require coordination between many producers and users, is the Achilles heel of artisanism. Water, air and climate cycles are, with few exceptions, too large in scale for individual labor units to guarantee their own access individually (Fleischman *et al.* 2014). The same is true for knowledge and innovation, as well as land- and cityscapes (Radywyl & Biggs 2013) and public goods such as infrastructure, public trust in product safety, and security. Resilience to negative eventualities (such as environmental catastrophes, but also personal tragedies such as fires and accidents) are another group of productive means that require extensive coordination – insurance and redistributive schemes, or the maintenance of reciprocal moralities.

Social means of production can be privately-held and -commodified, or they can be organized as commons, with state entities oscillating between the two ideal types depending on the power dynamics enshrined in concrete regulatory practices.³⁵ A large part of the challenge of artisan production is thus associational rather than private in nature: Governing the commons required to maintain spaces of autonomy (Ostrom 2010, 1990). The push for a re-invigoration of the commons should be

³⁴ C. H. Douglas argued that this ‘common cultural heritage’ of techniques, practices and knowledges (which represents the labor of previous generations) constitutes a crucial and inherently *social* factor of production (Burkitt & Hutchinson 1994, p. 21).

³⁵ If an artisan unit spends half of its labor time engaging in or paying others to file its tax and insurance forms, write grant requests or provide accountancy to please state agencies or insurance companies (as is common for contemporary self-employed in medicine or culture), this time largely discounts from its artisan character.

understood as the wish to maintain the very conditions for present and future artisan labor and production. The commons' broader significance thus lies the fact that they encourage the artisan characteristics of production processes, by organizing the provision of social means of production that artisan units cannot control themselves. Many farmers now need to make more money to access the privatized (or nationalized) commons (seeds, water, patented agronomic and engineering knowledge, land) as means of production than is required for their household's reproduction. Artisanism would see these cases as an artificial bloating of the economy, which reflects the theory that peasants practice "a form of self-sufficiency (or self-provisioning) that is not related (...) to the family consumption of food, but to the operation of the farm unit as a whole" (van der Ploeg 2008, p. 30) onto the artisan class in general. On a conceptual level, terms like 'social patrimony' or 'associational patrimony' should be used to distinguish collective and associational arrangements that protect artisan livelihoods from other arrangements that protect members' profits – social capital.³⁶

The factors of production in artisan economy (and its analogies in capitalist economics) are thus as follows: Patrimony (analogue to *capital goods* and including *land*), artisan labor (analogue to *entrepreneurship* and *human capital*), commons (analogue to *infrastructure*), and hired labor as part of demographic and learning cycles (analogue to *labor*). At the pivotal moment where a value is created or made available through labor, we find the classical Marxian categories of *nature* (from which all value is derived), labor power (through which all value is transformed into useful forms and objects), and two categories yielded by the worker in order to expand or specialize her labor power: tools and skill.

³⁶ Such a distinction would have helped during the critical debates over social capital theory held in several disciplines in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which arguably were driven by confusion between the two forms of socially-held property and rights. From a class perspective, 'social capital' appears to be a great misnomer that, in itself, invites much of the confusion it ended up generating.

The size and composition of individually-controlled patrimonies are strongly connected to the life cycle of their owners. Phases in a worker's life, such as the various forms and sequences of learning (tertiary education, apprenticeship, internships etc.), interstices between work- and family life (e.g., parenthood, investment in household home), the demographic cycles that define key home-workplace workflows, responsibilities and the availability of family labor, and finally different orders given to later life, from the zenith of skill and experience to retirement and the renewal of commitment to a patrimony by the incoming generation, all affect the patrimonies controlled by individuals and labor units in a variety of ways. These two central layers of patrimony construction, and the struggle to maintain and adapt the economic potential contained on these layers, are thus characterized by a degree of volatility that broader patrimonies (associational, societal and universal) aim to soften. Their sustainability depends on the careful transmission of skill, knowledge and rights between generations. Approaches such as Nussbaum and Sen's *capabilities* concept (Nussbaum 2003) or the *sustainable livelihoods* paradigm (Chambers & Conway 1992) are useful to understanding how patrimonies at the 'core' of artisan activity – small-scale, independent individuals and the labor units they congregate in – are maintained and constructed.

	Layers of patrimony	Layers of assets
1. <i>individual</i>	Skills; capabilities; intra-household equalities	Rent-or dividend-generating property; scarce titles and memberships; class-specific <i>habitus</i> ; intra-household hierarchies
2. <i>labor-unit</i>	Most physical means of production (land, machinery, workshops, homes)	Machinery; patents; access to exclusive markets
3. <i>associational</i>	Democratic market institutions and skill regimes; cooperatives; local commons	Capital market institutions; lobbying access of industrial associations; industrial skill regimes
4. <i>socialized</i>	State guarantees and programs for equal individual capabilities; equality-enhancing infrastructures	Exclusive citizenship rights; legal codes of capital and executive guarantees to enforce them; ‘infrastructures of empire’ (Cowen 2020, Aouragh & Chakravartty 2016)
5. <i>universalized</i>	Open knowledge and data; global commons	Legal codes of capital in international courts of arbitration (Pistor 2020)

Table 1.2: Five layers of patrimony relevant to artisan labor

Patrimonies on each of the five layers are, of course, highly interdependent, marking the need for structural approaches in political economy to complement the focus on individual capabilities and livelihoods proposed by Nussbaum and others. For a market gardener to maintain the (seemingly simple) capability to put the same tomato seed in the ground year after year, access to that seed must at the same time be universalized (absence of patents), socialized (common cultivar descriptions), and it must be reinforced by associational action to produce and exchange the seeds, while forming and maintaining markets on which the resulting

tomato fruit may be sold at a price that warrants planting it in the first place. Meanwhile, labor-unit level access to the land and tools for cultivation must be maintained. On the level of the individual gardener, knowledge about the cultivar, growing conditions, seed treatment, etc. must be maintained, improved and, if necessary, transferred, as must the broader context of mental and physical health. Only if all these conditions are met by the existence of appropriate patrimonies on each layer, planting the seed is feasible in an economic context (hobby gardening of course has fewer requirements).

In the study of means of artisan production, three major axes are of interest: A resource base's depth or quality, its resilience, and its agglomeration in space. With 'depth' we refer to how a specific resource base primes the labor utilizing it: How many external dependencies are 'programmed' into the resource base, and how do these dependencies impact the potential for self-direction? A deep, secure resource base allows a labor unit to operate on/with it in radical autonomy, while a more narrow, uncertain resource base will lead to relatively less autonomy and more time and effort spent on maintaining, and paying for, access to additional production factors. In various sectors we find the idea of a 'minimum quantity' of patrimony and commons that – as long as it is used wisely – allows a household's sustenance through relatively self-directed labor. This approach is also contained in the term 'livelihood'³⁷ and the livelihoods approach to development.

In human rights law, these concepts have been picked up and are leading to debates around how to institutionalize the so-called 'second generation' of human rights (rights to housing, food, health care, social security and

³⁷ In Chambers and Conway's classic definition, "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living". In addition, they coined the qualitative concept of sustainable livelihoods, which refers to a combination of patrimony and commons which, in addition to the above, "can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation" (1992, p. 6).

fair employment). While the responsibility for the implementation of these rights has long been connected with the overall performance of capital-driven economic growth, as well as the regulatory and redistributive efforts of the nation state, international development cooperation and charity, the systematic failure to implement some of these rights thusly has led to renewed interest, from a legal perspective, in auxiliary rights that distribute spaces, not outcomes, of development and focus on the household's self-propulsion. During his tenure as UN Special Rapporteur for the Right to Food (2008–2014), Olivier de Schutter has called to implement the basic human right to food not through food aid, but via a *right to land* (agrarian reform) and ambitious farming support and extension programs, given that 70% of the world's hungry are land-poor peasants and landless agricultural workers (2010, pp. 304–306). At least in the rural setting, this comes very close to a *livelihood right*, or a right to obtain the inputs for a dignified life from one's own autonomous labor.

The resilience dimension of patrimony and commons is equally important. A sustainable or cross-generational resource base represents an array of resources (buildings, machines, knowledges, client relationships, recipes, memberships, social reputations etc.) that combine to reproduce and adapt an autonomous work process over a long time period, and which is eventually handed down or sold to the next owner/steward. Where the reproduction of artisan livelihoods is threatened, we often search for fragilities vis-a-vis natural disasters or market fluctuations. Since the 19th century, however, livelihood resilience is primarily limited by socio-cultural factors and expectations, which constitute what we may call capital-induced 'disruptive progress' (vis-a-vis evolutionary progress). With disruptive progress we refer to technological and social changes that are fast and massive enough to outpace the means and efforts of artisans or semi-artisans to adapt or 'update' their resource bases – buying new machines, entering new markets, developing new recipes and learning new skills. A central argument from an artisan perspective is that most of this perceived progress – and the indicators commonly used to measure it – are essentially self-referential: Where capital aims to disrupt existing forms of labor in order to incorporate them into capitalist relations, progress (such as GDP growth and material consumption) will be measured as identical

with capitalist incorporation and commodification. Chapter 3 will investigate these themes historically.

Finally, the number of patrimonies sustained in a given economic and social space (a village, an economic sector in a defined region, or a whole country) directly correlates with the number of positions of autonomy that are available for its population. For the most part, positions of autonomy are built into specific physical and legal landscapes in specific numbers, even though thrifty individuals may develop additional artisan livelihoods. If a national law mandates a minimum of 20 hours of obligatory, one-on-one driving instruction, and employing some other publicly-available data, one can calculate the potential number of livelihoods provided for driving instructors in that country. Similarly, a mathematical approach is possible to understand how a projected landscape transformation will affect the number of potential livelihoods engrained in it, as in shifts from dairy farming to orchards and market gardens. To approach landscapes as an element of social design, the basic question is not only how much labor a landscape sustains, but also how the landscape co-defines (and is itself defined by) the social nature of that labor, including its artisan or proletarian character.

Degrees of autonomy

Until now, this chapter has focused on creating a framework of ideal-typical definitions. The following sections begin to colonize the grey areas between ideal class types and the mixed class relations where almost all 'actually-existing' economic relations are located. The study (and practice) of autonomy requires continuous, seamless interrelation of objective conditions (structuralism) with that of subjective negotiation and agency (the realm of *personality* and interpersonal variance).

A labor unit's objective potential for artisanness is the degree to which the means of production, including auxiliary and supporting means such as knowledge, legal liberties and infrastructure, can objectively be accessed and combined by the labor unit. This need not be through direct control

by ownership; instead, it can in part be operationalized as effective access to commons or usufruct resources. What matters is not ownership on paper, but effective access, as well as the power to maintain that access over time (which may or may not be furthered by on-paper ownership of the resource, see Ribot & Peluso 2003).

Yet, humans do not simply perform (or even recognize) their objective potential for self-directed labor. Some leave parts of it at the roadside for a variety of reasons, while many of those who do develop a self-direction potential over time do so ‘against the odds’ and/or ‘against the grain’. There are subjective processes that allow individuals, over time, to create or ameliorate objective conditions. A vision of contemporary Man as a largely passive inhabitant of ‘capitalist societies’ cannot account for this variance, nor can it comprehensively elicit people to search for it in their own lives through the activation of individual and collective agency. Intrinsic and extrinsic capabilities (agency and structure) come together wherever artisan units succeed in shaping their production processes responsively and artistically. Table 1.3 groups the factors that shape the class condition of labor processes, accounting for both objective conditions and subjective, personal characteristics and efforts through which each worker (and each labor unit) negotiate their objective surroundings over time.

	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Subjective</i>
<i>Nature</i>	Resource scarcity and abundance, landscape elements, climate/weather	Conceptions of nature and landscape, adaptation to/of nature
<i>Society</i>	Norms, property structures, legal-administrative conditions	Conceptions of society, expected projections; Abilities and will to transcend/rebel against norms
<i>Personality</i>	Relevant skills & experience, imposed/accepted identities	Chosen identities & interpersonal variance: Problem-solving abilities, imagination, audacity, self-confidence, responsibility (or lack thereof)

Table 1.3: Factors that contrive to shape the artisan character (or degree thereof) of labor.

This also means that every structural (objective) potential for self-direction – for example a sufficient endowment of space, tools and licenses to perform a specific self-directed livelihood – must be ‘activated’ by the individual holding it, who must summon and maintain sufficient will to self-direct and take responsibility over their work in order to ‘trump’ proletarian options for subsistence (i.e., selling one’s labor rather than directing it). Labor units that access most or all means of their production may, nonetheless, decide to delegate many tasks of structuring their internal work processes to corporations or states. This results in a situation where labor self-direction is obstructed for personal and cultural reasons, even though material conditions for it exist. Capital can orchestrate the subsumption of decision-making power, as in many contract farming arrangements, or in the imposition of highly specific product standards by corporate buyers (McMichael 2013). The resulting subject represents an ideal-type contractor, whose labor is completely subsumed under capital, while the means of his production (and the associated loans, risks etc.) are

the worker's responsibility. Such forms of subsumption are, in one or another form, found in all sectors (see next section).

Yet, also sheer poverty can effectively eliminate a worker's choices altogether, thus making his nominal capability to self-direct meaningless. Such a labor unit's operations may just as well be controlled by 'dull compulsion' (Marx's shorthand description of the economic life of proletarians).³⁸ Whether that 'dull compulsion' originates in a capital-controlled market structure is secondary from the position of the worker, though of course it is consequential for political strategies. Here also lies the main difference between our concept of artisan labor as removed from such compulsion (be it induced by nature or by society) and the entrenched archetype of the peasant as constantly besieged by famine, or "permanently up to the neck in water" due to a mixture of low productivity and exploitation (Tawney 1966, endorsed in Scott 1976, pp. 1–7).³⁹ In fact, the more the threat of famine or bankruptcy defines the operation of a farm or another artisan unit,⁴⁰ the less its workers find themselves in the 'artisan condition', and the more they will do to rebound to it. During the agrarian colonization of Ireland after the 1801 Acts of Union, Irish tenant farmers and sharecroppers were relegated to ever smaller parcels, over which they enjoyed progressively less tenure security and paid higher rents. Autonomy plummeted as poverty conditions rose, epitomized by the fact that cultivational diversity was reduced until only one choice was left to most

³⁸ Some translations of *Capital*, Volume 1, use the adjective *dull*, others *silent*: "The silent compulsion of economic relations sets the seal on the domination of the capitalist over the worker. Direct extra-economic force is still of course used, but only in exceptional cases. In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the 'natural laws of production', i.e., it is possible to rely on his dependence on capital, which springs from the conditions of production themselves, and is guaranteed in perpetuity by them" (Marx 1990, p. 899).

³⁹ Bernstein carries this line on in Marxist terms when proposing that "the term 'peasant' usually signifies household farming organized for simple reproduction, notably to supply its own food ('subsistence')" (2010, p. 3 emphasis added).

⁴⁰ i.e., of X options to produce all but one would lead to hunger or bankruptcy.

tenants: the potato. The degree of peasantness both of Irish agriculture as a whole, and of most individual rural households in particular, decreased as a result, a process that culminated in the Great Famine in 1845-52 and a century-long period of mass emigration and rural decline. British capital and its intermediaries were thus responsible for two interlocking limitations to peasant autonomy: Growing surplus extraction through rent increases (capitalist dynamics proper), and the broader construction of poverty that accompanied them (Handy 2009, Vanhaute 2011).

In such extreme cases, the labor unit operates on a script written by external conditions, which overwrites whatever formal procedural autonomy it may hold. Instead of defining poverty in terms of exchange value (money earned/available per day or month), an artisan perspective sees poverty as the condition where missing patrimony and savings as well as the existence of negative feedback loops practically eliminate a worker's leeway to self-direct her labor. This perspective has suited peasant theory, and suits artisan theory. Without leeway, self-direction is empty. *Gaining* leeway, then, is the perpetual quest that forms the core of the 'artisan principle' of emancipation.

As we said above, the artisan's unrestrictedness is never complete, but significant enough to define her outlook. Limited wage labor practices may exist within artisan labor units without challenging the unit's fundamentally artisan character, and limited labor markets are present in all artisan-based economies. On the one hand this may take place as livelihood diversification on the part of artisans engaging in secondary occupations, on the other as contracting outside (typically *wage*) labor for some tasks. In an artisan labor unit, however, a clear emphasis is on labor by those who control the enterprise. Chayanov makes a similar argument for peasant agriculture, *within* which "we can distinguish between the family labor farm type and the half-labor farm (farmer unit), which uses paid labor in addition to family labor power, but not to such an extent as to give the farm a capitalist character" (Chayanov 1966a, p. 22). As artisan sectors develop and require more complex skill horizons, this limited presence of wage labor is often institutionalized within cycles of knowledge transmission. Apprenticeship is but the first of these institutions – in many

sectors a three- or four-year stint as an apprentice is insufficient to confidently found a self-directed enterprise, hence journeymen set out to refine and broaden their skills. Where wage labor is seen as a permanent solution, however, the artisan unit tends towards a petit-bourgeois position – labor exploitation is institutionalized, albeit on a small scale.

This discussion corresponds to the idea that there are ‘degrees of peasantness’, a concept first proposed by Toledo (1995) and further developed by van der Ploeg:

In ideal-typical terms, there are clear and fundamental differences; but in real-life situations there are – alongside clear empirical expressions of these ideal types – extended grey zones that link such expressions and at the same time demonstrate the gradual nature of these linkages. In these grey zones one encounters degrees of peasantness that are far from being theoretically irrelevant. Indeed, they characterize arenas in which, over time, important fluctuations occur with respect to de- and repeasantization (2008, pp. 36, cf. 137–8).

Finally, while we must recognize the partial nature and constant re-negotiation of all artisan and semi-artisan livelihoods, the same is true for all other forms of labor. We always see instances and degrees of artisan labor and self-sufficiency in the reality of all workers whose primary condition is proletarian. For these workers who are in a dependent position within capitalism for most of their productive time, the presence of a residual of artisan labor is often vital to cope with this capitalist presence in their lives. Some well-documented spheres of self-direction in proletarian communities include food self-provisioning, self-repairing, voluntary and charitable labor, and the labor and social relations involved in hobbies. These activities are increasingly referred to as ‘quiet’ practices of autonomy or sovereignty, which may or may not interlink with more organized quests (Smith & Jehlička 2013, Visser *et al.* 2015, Jehlička *et al.* 2019). Visser (2021) refers to ‘subtle peasantness’.

It should be noted that this is not a *normative* typology, and that autonomous labor is an ideal type, not necessarily an ideal. Increases in

individual control over the means of production and self-direction are not always a positive change. The ideal-type that enjoys complete sovereignty over its production most likely does not exist, and most likely should not exist. Hygienic regulations and quality standards, for example, limit the options of producers. There is a complex politics surrounding each of these limitations, but arguments in favor of specific restrictions at times outweigh those against. The artisan class is not situated at the extreme point of the scale, but within a range of positions of significant individual or small collective sovereignty; enough for workers to creatively navigate existing restrictions and pressures, rather than succumbing to them. Economic lives, across the class spectrum, are always complex realities of negotiation that escape Manichean worldviews.

Subsumption

This leads us to another theoretical background in the study of artisan labor – Marx’s theory of subsumption. Subsumption refers to “the processes through which labour is incorporated into capitalist development projects” (London 1997, p. 269), or more generally the ways through which capital subordinates labor without, or besides, the use of direct violence. Marx considered four major forms of subsumption: *Formal* subsumption refers to the establishment of wage-labor relations in labor units whose means of production are owned by someone other than the worker(s). *Real* subsumption considers how after a certain point, the establishment of many particular (‘firm-level’) wage-labor relations lead to a general (sectoral or ‘society-level’) compulsion to enter into such labor contracts – one may call this the shift from particular experiences of exploitation to a societal experience of exploitation, as expressed by a nation-wide expected rate of profit (Marx 1990, pp. 1020–39). *Hybrid* subsumption refers to the extraction of surplus from formally independent producers, either in commercial relations (‘capital margins’ in commercial transactions between a capital-controlled entity and an artisan producer) or in loan/debt relations (Szadkowski 2016, pp. 20–21). *Ideal* subsumption describes how nominally independent producers in so-called ‘capitalist societies’ mimic the dominant categories of value and organize their work

in ways that lead to their incorporation in capital-controlled metabolisms (*ibid.*, pp. 22–23).

The interplay between formal and real subsumption is both fairly straightforward, and of little interest in the study of artisan labor. The concepts of hybrid and ideal subsumption, however, are both a key instrument and – at times – a potent menace to such research. Both remind us that there are indirect ways that “the work of these [artisan] producers is productive for capital” (Cruz Meléndez 2011, p. 9), the former in exchange-economic terms, and the latter in cultural terms. Yet, theories of subsumption have also served as a signifier for the supposedly all-encompassing nature of contemporary capitalist relations. Already the word ‘subsumed’ paints a vivid picture of powerlessness, lack of agency, and thus insignificance, and even adding ‘partial’ or ‘incomplete’ serves little to de-mystify that implicit message. If we are all subsumed under the interests of capital in one or another way, why place emphasis on the study of autonomy?

At the same time, most research in political economy has completely reserved the discursive power to ‘subsume’ to the supposedly all-powerful current of capitalist development, while all other economies are reduced to the ability to ‘resist’. We never speak of the ways that capital itself is ‘subsumed’ under the agendas of other economic actors or formations, or the fact that many of its activities are driven by a frantic resistance to adverse conditions, fierce competition from other modes of production, and the negative effects of market and regulatory changes; in short, by the same set of external determinants that artisans face. Where this set of determinants favors capitalist over artisan production, we can recognize a design that is historically, regionally and sectorally *specific*, not a *generalizable* pattern.

In that sense, the discussion of subsumption crystallizes the discussion on whether significant artisan relations of production continue to exist, but holds that discussion from the hypothesis that they do not. The quest to prove that hypothesis has resulted in generalizations based on selective data. If the theory of subsumption is employed in an a priori manner, it

represents one of the very mechanisms by which artisan labor is rendered insignificant as an independent agent in political economy. The outcome of such memetic treatment is that works on specific formations of independent producers often state in their introduction, i.e., before discussing any empirical findings, that as a general rule “direct producers [artisans and peasants], who own the objective and subjective conditions of their labor, immersed in capitalist society adopt (and behave based on) a rationality that is not product of their own work process, but which corresponds to the logic of the capitalist work process” (Cruz Meléndez 2011, p. 11). Where subsumption takes place, it is never complete, and to call it the defining factor behind an artisans’ work process will always mask the complexity of decision-making and work culture in, and between, artisan labor units. Hence the power of subsumption theory to induce prejudiced looks at artisan labor.

If, however, subsumption is researched carefully and with an open mind, it represents a valuable tool for understanding how artisans negotiate, and are affected by, adverse conditions. This is an endeavor that necessarily takes place in anthropological dimensions, where we can trace artisan dependencies beyond formal structures and price differentials, and into the complex field of culture. In doing so lies a great chance, and a great danger: While allowing class analysis to understand the better-hidden dependency relations, as well as the cultural instruments used to impose and maintain them, anthropological studies of subsumption dynamics can also lead to more partial, localized and subjective evidence on what constitutes dependency, and what autonomy. It is impossible to comprehensively grasp the innumerable ways in which we *depend* on norms, traditions, rituals, languages and codes that impose patterns on our actions, to understand how each of these norms are formed, who benefits from them and how, and to draw exact lines between what actions constitute agency, and what constitute repetition.

This fact, and the need to accept it with a degree of humility, makes it difficult and ill-advised to seek an a priori exclusion of *entrepreneurial*

small businesses from the broad sphere of artisan activity.⁴¹ Van der Ploeg urges that on the same conceptual level where peasants are separated from proletarians and capitalist farmers, “we need a strategic way of distinguishing the peasant from the agricultural entrepreneur”. The aim is to ascertain that there is a

theoretical difference perceived [and] attributed, for example, to a Brazilian *poseiro* family composed of father, three sons and two uncles, owning and working 1500 hectares of highly mechanized soya, and another, probably neighbouring, *sem terra* family of father, mother and three children who work 15ha of poor land with fruits, vegetables and some cows in a settlement on recently occupied land (2008, p. 22).

Yet, it is only by simplifying the *poseiro*, by stating that their actions are ‘completely guided by the market’, that they can be seamlessly censored away as subordinates and abettors of capital. More often than not, this censorship masks the fact that the real inequalities between artisans are also an internal matter – a failure of (semi-)artisans to equilibrate their access to key resources, typically based on deep rifts between different social formations of artisans in the same sector. In the case of the *poseiro* and *sem terra*, the tragedy lies in unequal land access between (semi-)artisans, a state of affairs that accentuates the richer peasants’ entrepreneurial outlook (the tendency to subsume their operations under capital-driven agricultural input and output markets), as well as their poorer neighbors’ choice of more diverse crops and markets.

The same is true for rifts between better- and worse-off proletarians, with a historically-proven potential to sabotage collective bargaining and solidarity. The factory foreman, who trades better pay for additional responsibility and pressure, does not overcome her proletarian condition – she negotiates it. So does the entrepreneurial farmer, who navigates the

⁴¹ See Niska *et al.* (2012) for a dedicated analyses of how this debate is held in rural studies and in reference to the policy environment of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Union.

sweeping changes in down- and upstream markets by giving up a part of her autonomy, taking on credit for machinery, renting additional land and applying techniques and chemical packages that make such a farming style possible. However politically strategic it may be to distinguish between a corporatized ‘proletarian aristocracy’ and a ‘real working class’, or between ‘subsumed entrepreneurs’ and ‘real artisans’, this path inhibits the fundamental transformative potential of class: to create solidarity between formations of workers whom circumstances disorient or pit against each other, but who, in essence, find themselves in varieties of the same condition. Instead, existing and potential divisions should be acknowledged as internal as much as external matters – as different strategies in dealing with a hostile environment that have as much to do with good and bad luck than with predisposition and culture, and that are better bridged by cooperation than deepened by hostility.

In another article, van der Ploeg makes a more neutral distinction which focuses on the circumstances of production, thus distinguishing between *capitalist agriculture* (“all the resources, including the labour force, are commodified”), *entrepreneurial agriculture* (“far-reaching commoditization of the main resources, but not of the labour force”), and *peasant agriculture* (“low levels of commoditization of the main resources”) (van der Ploeg 2014, p. 1004). In other words, the adoption of entrepreneurial styles by artisan labor units takes them further into grey areas or transitional stages between classes. This is the case when entrepreneurial small businesses earn a premium from their privileged inclusion in value chains that run on exploiting labor downstream. Yet, entrepreneurship is not in itself a term grounded in class relations, and much of the literature defines it in class-inclusive terms: as “the creation of new enterprise” (be it small or large), “carrying out new combinations”, or business foundation “driven by perception of opportunity, rather than resources currently controlled” (Low & MacMillan 1988, p. 140–141). These are of course practices and processes which have taken place in the artisanry forever. Even if we see entrepreneurship as an individual’s ‘road to capital’, attesting thus that the individual innovates only in order to satisfy her wish to create a product or labor process which could catapult her into a position of dominance over the labor of others, we have to

consider that most self-styled entrepreneurial activity (and most of those styled as entrepreneurs by the literature) will remain small, largely artisan businesses, and most that grow do so primarily because of the circumstances they face (incentives to growth, precarities of staying small) rather than some innate entrepreneurial trait.

Entrepreneurial interpretations of a given artisan condition tend to look to compromises rather than self-sufficiencies. This strategic outlook may certainly yield from disinterest in the negative effects of the production processes and value chains that entrepreneurial small businesses adopt. In other situations, however, it may simply boil down to a realistic evaluation of the business's circumstances, perhaps dotted with a lack of boldness and courage to search for alternative solutions. This tendency often leads to semi-artisan positions in which dependency on input or product market actors is accentuated, while the labor unit internalizes a greater degree of capital and market-based logics in its internal dynamics (ideal subsumption); among others specialization, externalization of costs, expansion on credit, mechanization and manipulative advertisement. Success of such units often leads not to relaxation, but to expansion which, eventually, can see the unit drift out of the artisan sphere altogether. In other cases, however, compromises and an increase in dependency. This is especially the case when the effects can be foreseen and are stable, as is the case with low-interest bank loans taken on by artisans in stable economies – do not alter the general orbit of the labor unit.

Schumpeter, in *The Theory of Economic Development*, makes sure to always distinguish between *capitalist* and *entrepreneurial* qualities and intentions behind the formation of a new business. He insists on this differentiation even for cases of entrepreneurship by capitalists, i.e., when the two qualities and intentions were united in the same individual or board. In most cases, however, capital takes a passive part in entrepreneurship, typically by lending/investing money (banks, shareholders) to the actual entrepreneur (Schumpeter 1949, pp. 137–8). Capital, in other words, seeks to extract a rent/surplus from entrepreneurial activity in much the same ways it seeks to exploit other forms or moments of labor. *Artisan entrepreneurship* – the confluence of autonomy and innovation – could

thus be defined as the successful attempt to avoid capital's attempt to obtain an interest from innovative labor. Gerber (2014) highlights the role of credit relations in the ideal subsumption of nominally independent producers, including in the world system's periphery. Where capital obtains this interest by acting as a risk-bearer for the entrepreneur (or any business founder) – the road for artisan entrepreneurship is (and has been for millennia) to find alternative risk-bearers who do not claim a material interest in the business. This is achieved by using community resources and state/institutional lending and incentive programs (Mazzucato 2013), as well as relying on family and friends for interest-free loans. Likewise, the risk must be minimized to levels that can be stemmed by these non-capitalist risk-bearers. Pooling the risk of many ventures – the practice of non-profit banks and credit unions – will result in what we might call *non-capitalist credit* and define as the institutionalized service of risk-bearing, sold at rates that directly mirror the risk itself.

Changing class positions

Though broader, cumulative class structures tend to be rigid and slow to change, at the ethnographic scale of economic atoms and molecules changes in class position are both frequent and significant. The three-class model thus serves not only to distinguish class *positions*, but also offers a way to visualize class *trajectories*, both as life histories and as future projections. Objective changes in the regulatory environment, market conditions and prices around the labor unit on the one hand, and the unit's responses, expectations and pro-actions on the other, will draw a unique class trajectory. We may follow, for example, the class position of a small farm unit (x), controlling some means of production (land, water) but dependent on the corporate buyer for others (fertilizers, seed), as the price of its primary product increases from a low point (x_1). While price pressure loosens, the farm unit gains capabilities to move from a single-market-determined farm operation (using all land and time for the primary, standardized cash crop) towards using some of its resources autonomously (to diversify production, cut the working day etc. (x_2)). With some of those

freed resources, the unit might invest in lowering input dependency and thus improve its position against the buyer, gaining power to self-direct (x_3). The farm unit hereby develops significantly from a subsumed position within capitalism towards an artisan condition of significant autonomy.

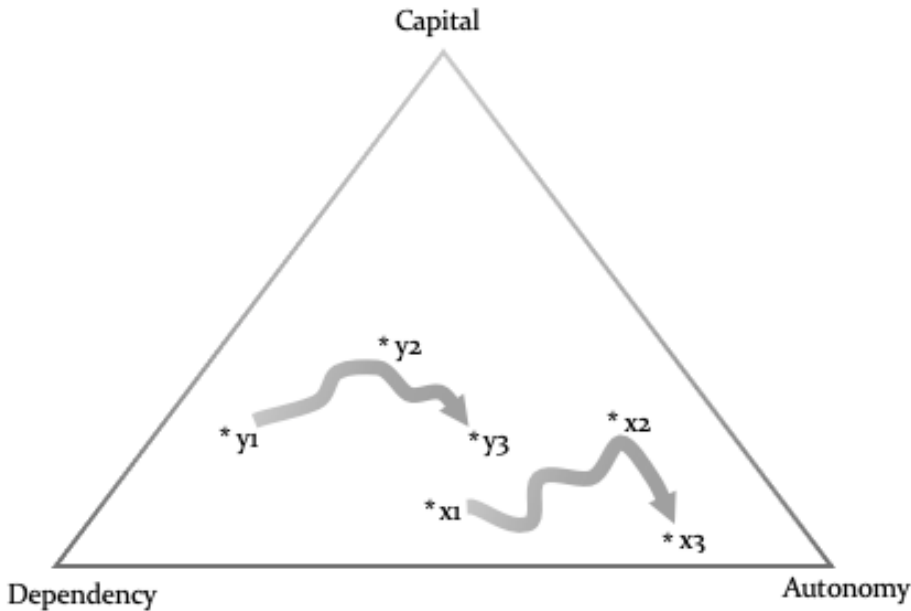


Figure 1.2: Visualizing class trajectories

Similarly, the trajectory drawn by a proletarian worker's reduction of the work week from 40 hours (y_1) to 25 hours (y_2) can be visualized. As wage work decreases, self-directed work processes in the household, hobbies, clubs etc. become more prominent parts of the work week, which is reflected in a shift in class position. Although these additional work processes likely rely on self-controlled means of production, the worker's subsistence still depends primarily on her first job and the dependency relation it entails. In many contemporary cases of work week reduction in post-industrial countries, however, workers also make use of the benefits of 'citizenship capital' (Bauder 2008). The opportunity to obtain a rich material lifestyle on ever fewer working hours is, at least in part, enabled by what we might call a 'personal dividend' from inter-national asymmetries. Higher wages in the richest economies are not only the

product of higher productivity, but also the result disadvantaging terms of trade (Kalm 2020).⁴² This has led to a more or less far-reaching *embourgeoisement* of both proletarian and artisan class positions in core countries, accompanied by the proletarianization of artisan labor on the periphery. The opportunity for some groups of workers in the capitalist world system to decrease their work week, yet maintain a relatively high level of consumption, is thus an expression of ‘participatory domination’ over labor performed elsewhere *as much as* it is a push for autonomy. From a non-class angle, the benefits obtained from the former often look the same as the benefits obtained through the latter. Sometimes, the word ‘autonomy’ is mis-used in this context, referring to the often-immense personal gains and privileges capitalism offers some formations of skilled workers. While in itself misleading, this use of the term also opens the doors for an even more preposterous reading of the ‘autonomies’ capitalism

⁴² Not to be confused with Milanovic’s concept of ‘citizenship rent’, which looks at the *privilege* of being born or established in one or another country (2015). The difference between *exploitation* and *privilege* is that the latter does not in and of itself entail a loss on someone else’s part. Many of the life conditions that are commonly framed as privilege(s) indeed rely on continual exploitation, or accumulated past exploitation, yet others are the result of the dedication, hard work and intelligent design of individuals who bequeathed them onto their children (personal heritage) or compatriots (societal heritage). When researching the causalities behind a privilege, we typically face a more or less inextricable mixture of legitimate and illegitimate factors. Not surprisingly, any past attempt to eradicate privileges in a wholesale fashion – without making efforts to extricate illegitimate privileges from legitimate ones – has resulted in lamentable as well as agreeable losses. On the one hand, the destruction of institutions and practices that ensured the functioning of social spaces and services, even though they were not yet enjoyed by all. On the other, the destruction of institutions that sustained privilege by exploitation. Confounding the two has, more often than not, led to a *socialization of poverty*. This contrasts with more surgical, ‘evolutionary’ attempts to socialize capabilities that were once a privilege of few: In other words, the *socialization of privilege*, and the search for solutions that prove capable of decoupling a privilege (be it the opportunity to go to university, to own one’s home, to be treated as equal by all members of society, etc.) from the need to exploit in order to obtain it.

affords the holders of capital. Autonomy, if it is to have any meaning for political economists, must refer not to the outcomes of socio-economic relations, but to the conditions under which they unfold (or not). While holding capital, individually or collectively, produces monetary *dividends* and/or non-monetary *privileges*, these are extracted from others: Apples that fall away from the tree. Only where apples land underneath the tree that grows them can we call the kinetic conditions surrounding the fruit's fall 'autonomy'.

An equally (perhaps more) significant shift would thus occur, from a class perspective, if the worker who reduced his work week were to also reduce his material consumption of goods provided by exploitative value chains, and re-direct the remaining consumption towards alternative markets based on a more equitable distribution of value among value chain participants (y3). A semi-proletarian working 25-hour workweeks would thus present us with very different class positions, depending on how he spends the remaining time and money. As an even simpler example of cause and effect, imagine a worker who quits smoking (a consumption item that in most countries is exclusively sold by capitalist conglomerates), perceives that this saves him 2 hours/week in wages, and decides to cut two hours/week of (over-)work. These connections between labor and household economies are theorized in the sub-section 'Consumption' in the next chapter.

Visualizing the artisan and capitalist characters of economic activity as such also allows us to more easily locate and compare different hybrid structures. We hope that this may assist in the prioritization of class hybridity (grey areas of class) both in research and in discourse, especially vis-à-vis dichotomic lenses. Chayanov's family farming economics were built on the ideal-type situation where labor is fixed (by family size and composition), while the objective of organization is to bring "all other factors of production in an optimal relationship to this fixed element" (Chayanov 1966b, p. 92). The question today, however, is usually about the relative extent and conditions of dependent labor, of 'time sold' and employed according to the buyer's priorities, versus the extent and conditions of artisan labor, or 'time kept' and employed according to our

own or collaborative priorities. The terms of competition between the two forms are constantly re-negotiated. In his critical appraisal of Chayanov, Netting notes that a certain hybridity of the Chayanovian ideal-type, influenced by labor hiring as well as wage-earning opportunities, would be a more adequate empirical basis for theory-building (Netting 1993). The same holds true in all sectors of artisan activity: Many artisans will hire a limited amount of labor from outside their labor unit, and while this can certainly shift them towards a petty-capitalist approach to production, there are also a variety of 'normal' moments of labor hiring within an artisan mode of production. Even individuals who project their life around a perceived opportunity to build a self-directed small business will initially prefer working as dependent laborers while they acquire the necessary skills and contacts for self-directed work (apprenticeship). They will found or take over a patrimony only when they are ready to manage it sustainably.

In small business formations it is common for a dependent journeyman, young doctor or cook in a trade, medical or food service business to consider opening their own to become an artisan. And, of course, for that artisan to then weigh different strategies, some of which might effectively make them contract-bound 'self-employed proletarians'. At the same time, someone who started a cafe as an artisan owner may contemplate using a good year's propulsion to become a small capitalist, by employing some people to do most of the work and collect a half-absentee profit. There is more fluidity, second jobs, changing incomes, frequent hiring and being hired, frequent negotiation over dependency/autonomy-creating arrangements, and even small regulatory changes can have immense importance at this ethnographic scale. Even a restaurant's menu changes can significantly change its class relations by having to shift suppliers, buy (or avoid buying) new machinery on credit, and so forth.

The lethargy of class relations and immobility between being 'on top' and 'at the bottom', naturally tends to be more pronounced in economies or sectors characterized by greater inequality and larger business size. Small-scale capitalism, or anything that would closely fit this ideal type, on the other hand, is a relatively rare phenomenon. Where capitals are small, compromises between autonomy and dependency abound. Roseberry

argues that the class position(s) of small farm households shift constantly with trends in down- and upstream markets, new state policies, farming styles, knowledge, access to resources, social contacts and, rather importantly: the weather. For him, “peasant and proletarian are ever changing qualities” (1989, p. 69). To a degree, most artisans do exploit, just like most capitalists do work, and most proletarians self-direct (cf. Frey 1997):

1. Artisans become capitalists with the degree, and the conditions under which, they employ others. They become proletarians with the degree that they are dominated by other market actors, who in doing so become capitalist.
2. Proletarians become artisans with the degree of autonomy from capital they enjoy. They become capitalists with the degree that they outcompete artisans with their labor, i.e., they are using for their personal good (employment, wage increases) the dominant position of the company that exploits them. The firm, besides being a capital of its owners, thus takes on a function as jointly-held capital of its workforce – an organizational and material structure that permits both owners and workers to enjoy privilege vis-a-vis other market actors, or other markets.
3. Capitalists become proletarians with their degree of embeddedness in the market, and rising inevitability of ‘going with the market’ that thereby envelopes their decisions. Usually, higher-up capitalists benefit from the creation of such markets, leading to an effective subsumption of small and medium capitals by bigger capitals with a market-organizing or gatekeeping position, using a mixture of subcontracting, price-squeezing and debt-interest mechanisms. On the other hand, capitalists become artisans with the degree of autonomy their employees enjoy: Think of higher administrators in universities who are officially power-holders over rather large enterprises, yet face very effective limits to this power due to the high degree of autonomy safeguarded by academic regulations. Directors of cooperatives may serve as another example. To the degree that group (self-)regulations undermine their capabilities to

make decisions over their workers and apprehend the value they produce, the labor of direction becomes just another gear in a collaborative effort. In this sense, workers' rights laws and regulations, where effectively implemented, work to limit the capitalist character of firms, even if they remain in private hands.

Many small businesses can thus be more adequately described as semi-artisan, semi-capitalist. To paint a common example in the construction trades: A roofing company with two owners who each work 50 hours, only 10 of which are 'unproductive' supervision of other employees, and 40 are actual roofing work. Meanwhile they also employ three journeymen and two apprentices for 40 hours each. Some of them can expect reasonably to become a master-owner during the first decade of their careers, but at least one will likely remain a dependent employee until retirement. What do we make of this? To codify cases in these extensive grey areas, in other words to understand and contrast the degree and dynamics of exploitation, dependency and autonomy of the individual workers, we can follow a number of lead questions, which represent the discussions on fairness and exploitation that are commonly held in semi-artisan units:

- a. How different are the earnings, and do they correspond to differences in risk?
- b. Is the income difference justified by experience and the transaction costs of skill transfer?
- c. To what degree are wage-earning employees really dependent workers in this constellation? Do they make independent decisions frequently? Are there long-term friendships that imbue the relationship between workers more than formal positions as owners and workers?
- d. To what degree may this really be a cooperative business in which each worker's productivity (based on skills, licenses, seniority etc.) determines her share of earnings?

Where available, quantitative data on incomes and work hours can also give insights into the labor unit's class structure:

- a. A simple coefficient of formal labor *types*: Hours of wage labor + hours of supervision labor, divided by hours of autonomous labor. In the above example, the outcome is a value of $110/40 = 2,75$.
- b. An overview of incomes/hour, and possible explanatory variables, such as differences in labor productivity explained by skill and experience, but also responsibility for the labor unit and financial risk.

Hierarchies

Freedom, for Hannah Arendt, should be understood

negatively as not being ruled or ruling, and positively as a space [...] in which each man moves among his peers. Without those who are my equals, there is no freedom, which is why the man who rules over others—and for that very reason is different from them on principle—is indeed a happier and more enviable man than those over whom he rules, but he is not one whit freer. He too moves in a sphere in which there is no freedom whatever (Arendt 2005: 117–8).

Throughout the following chapters we show that the difference between artisan and capitalist conditions of labor is strongly correlated to a business's size (the number of worker-hours performed within it). At the same time, we find considerable variation within size groups. Autonomy, in other words, should not be predicted from the size of a labor unit, or as a direct outcome of 'human scale' economics (Schumacher 1973). While big businesses are almost inevitably based primarily on a capital relation (larger cooperatives and non-profit firms being potential, albeit partial exceptions), small businesses can be just as exploitative. Even the archetypal affection-based labor unit, the two-person, marriage-based household labor unit, can be exploitative if a culture of unequal power relations within the marriage have allowed rights and responsibilities over both persons' labor to accumulate in the hands of one partner. Patriarchal

norms limit, to the degree that they actualize an accumulation of decision-making powers in the hands of one member of the labor unit, the business's artisan character (Friedmann 1986). The crucial question to ask here is not whether one or another household overcomes the potential inequalities between partners through some higher equalizing source (love, solidarity or the more powerful partner's wish to be 'a good partner' and not abuse of unequal power endowments), but whether the economic designs and cultural patterns applied throughout thousands or millions of households create or prevent such power differentials in the first place. This includes: Legal ownership of household patrimony, decision-making patterns in intra-household labor processes, power over household surpluses and incomes, and the social projection and participation of household members in institutions. Nzegwu's study of women's rights in traditional Igbo society, for example, shows that it is the effective design of each household into male and female patrimonies and labor processes that work together (or not) like a cooperative of autonomous units. This cultural arrangement safeguards women's autonomy over incomes and purchases, as well as their active participation in social processes and politics (Nzegwu 1995, cf. Deere & Doss 2006).

Of course, different types of hierarchy should be distinguished here. A worker may cede power voluntarily to another, as when an inexperienced worker cedes it to another whose skills she respects and seeks to learn from, or when two workers decide to each concentrate and/or specialize in one aspect of their common venture. In the latter case, each is ceding decision-making power over the respective others' 'department' while also continuing to 'help out' in the other's department under her instructions. Sennett defines this social space (which he terms the *workshop*) as follows:

[A] productive space in which people deal face-to-face with issues of authority. This austere definition focuses not only on who commands and who obeys in work but also on skills as a source of the legitimacy of command or the dignity of obedience. In a workshop, the skills of the master can earn him or her the right to command, and learning from and absorbing those skills can dignify the apprentice or journeyman's obedience. [...] In craftsmanship there must be a

superior who sets standards and who trains. In the workshop, inequalities of skill and experience become face-to-face issues. The successful workshop will establish legitimate authority in the flesh, not in rights or duties set down on paper (2008, p. 54).

Though it captures the ambivalence of hierarchy, Sennett's definition does not get to what, from a class perspective, would be the grain of distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' hierarchies: Good hierarchies are constructed under the final objective of increasing the workers' autonomy, either by following a temporal division of labor ('You lead the business today, while I learn how to do it tomorrow') or by instituting a spatial division of labor ('You concentrate on the animals, while I concentrate on the cheesemaking'). Of course, the details of such informal contracts are important: The relative size and drudgery of each worker's part, the position it gives him with respect to other parts, and so on.

When considering economic freedoms, the most momentous of these freedoms is quite certainly the freedom to freely exercise a craft or profession upon having learnt it. Master-journeyman relations and the contextual factors that shape them are thus the principal arena of variation and struggle in the anthropology of economics. This is the case independent of whether the titles 'master' and 'journeyman' are used (in most contemporary economies they are not). The question to be asked is whether a worker who holds the skill and experience necessary to independently produce and market a good or service can realistically establish an independent business based on that aptitude. In other words: Does a social process override personal aptitude, thus pushing some workers towards proletarian employment rather than self-directed work? Capitalism comes about when certain masters (or others who hold neither the skill nor the experience to make a product) accomplish the complex feat of perpetuating journeymanhood for some of their contemporaries. While apprenticeships often represent a period of significant sacrifice, they end relatively quickly and are broadly justified by the importance of knowledge transfer. Journeyman-master relations, however, are extremely variable. In many contexts and sectors, most journeymen have no chance of becoming masters in their own right.

Hierarchies within economic units are primarily conditioned by whether the wider economy affords journeymen (whether they are salaried physicians or agricultural laborers) the opportunity to start on their own. If that opportunity is omnipresent, masters or other capital-holders are structurally inhibited in their attempts to exploit dependent labor – to a degree that labor laws can complement, but hardly reproduce. Sectors where this is the case are still characterized by the lowest rates of formal subsumption observable in contemporary economies (examples in the following chapter). Capital relations based on formal dependent employment are, in these cases, reduced or nearly absent.

Accumulation and equilibration

The main requirement for maintaining non-capitalist economies in a given sector or territory is the establishment of protections from social differentiation, i.e., the inhibition of accumulatory mechanisms. Governance that dynamically reproduces an artisan mode of production is thus essentially a ‘governance of size’. The political logic of the artisan class and its allies is to counteract and, where necessary, reverse accumulation of power over the means of production. Analogous to capital’s premise of accumulation, with its infinite manifestations from patriarchy to corporate economy and national culture thus lies a second root premise of *equilibration*. Equilibration aims to achieve and reproduce a resilient fabric of balanced powers. Through a process that is at times agonistic, at times compromising, at times institutional, in other words through eclectic means of negotiation and struggle, an equilibrational agenda attempts to increase the autonomy of individuals and of those small-scale collectives they choose to congregate in (households, small labor units, collectives etc.). This resembles the ‘peasant principle’ of radical agrarian populism, which van der Ploeg defines as the “active and goal-oriented involvement [through which] the peasant condition will progressively unfold” as a “many sided negation of Empire” (van der Ploeg 2008, p. 276).

Nonetheless, with ever-mounting interest in ‘accumulation by dispossession’, new forms of ‘primitive accumulation’, critiques of ‘socialist accumulation’ and

‘global capitalist accumulation’,⁴³ much less effort has been expended to analyze the different forms of equilibration. The more systematic the study of trends of accumulation has become, the less we acknowledge counteracting trends, projects and agendas of equilibration. We might call this the ‘Stockholm syndrome’ of political economy: the more political economists have studied, with a mixture of awe and critique, the powerful processes of capitalist accumulation, the less we have been capable of perceiving, theorizing and imagining livelihoods that are not utterly controlled (or otherwise doomed) by it, and cultural and political processes that might sustain such uncapturedness. Yet, trends of accumulation and social differentiation always face a counter-project. The nature of these counter-movements (Polanyi 1944) tends to broadly combine three strategies: a) open and covert resistance to accumulation projects and processes where they take place (i.e., land grabs, entrance of supermarket chains, corporate housing developments etc.); b) equilibration, i.e., carving artisan units out of capitalist ones or developing new niches (land reform, squatting etc.); and c) the installation of norms and institutions that impede bottom-up social differentiation.

⁴³ Bernstein (2013, p. 18) asks: “Is there any busier notion at the moment [in critical development studies] than that of primitive accumulation (and its analogues and extensions)?”

	<i>equilibration</i>	<i>accumulation</i>
<i>primitive ...</i>	<i>Resistance of the 3rd kind</i> : Creating new niches and markets for the products of self-directed labor (Ye <i>et al.</i> 2019)	Deskilling and replacement of household labor by purchased products and services
<i>... by dispossession</i>	Dispossession of latifundio estates, designation of commons	Land grabbing (Borras & Franco 2012); intellectual property rights (Kloppenburger 2012); carbon economies (Böhm <i>et al.</i> 2012); green/blue grabbing (Benjaminsen & Bryceson 2012)
<i>... by institutionalization</i>	Institutionalized privileges for small/local labor units	Excessive market entry standards/regulations for SMEs Institutionalized privileges for (multinational) corporations
<i>socialist ...</i>	Worker-controlled nationalization; Dismantling trusts and other structures of unfair competition; Dissolution of patents and privileges	Centralizing nationalization; <i>Primitive socialist accumulation</i> and command economy (Lebowitz 2012); Bureaucratic control (Guattari & Negri 2010)
<i>post-communist ...</i>	Mass giveaway privatization; Privatization into the commons	Privatization within elites
<i>... by incorporation</i>	Improving labor conditions and benefits in large, unionized firms;	Control of local SMEs by national/global capital flows or hedge funds
<i>... by expansion/growth</i>	Expanded reproduction of artisan labor units	Capital-driven economic growth

<i>equilibration</i>		<i>accumulation</i>
... by division of labor	(Economic) cell division, often accompanied by agglomeration; Specialization driven by deepening skills and knowledge	Labor deskilling; Subjection of labor to the rhythm of robots/automated workflows
nationalist/globalist ...	Backing for economic and social rights/capabilities by/within international institutions; Global public goods (Deneulin & Townsend 2007)	Erosion of local economies Unequal international capital flows, taxation and jurisdiction (Pistor 2020)
... by localization/human-scale ...	Maintenance/reinvigoration of local small businesses (Bloemmen <i>et al</i> 2015, Blanchard <i>et al.</i> 2012); Deliberative democracy	Maintenance/reinvigoration of feudal hierarchies and locally-institutionalized inequalities
platform ...	Market commons as cooperative monopolies (Scholz & Schneider 2016, Borkin 2019)	Platform capitalism (Langley & Leyshon 2017, Srnicek 2017, Birch & Muniesa 2020)
illegal ...	Crimes of everyday resistance (Tria Kerkvliet 2005; Software piracy etc. that broaden internet and telecomm. access	Organized crime networks; Capture of electoral politics and representative institutions
unproductive ...	Low labor productivity of some traditional artisan work processes (e.g., Haberl <i>et al.</i> 2011, p. 5, on the impossibility of a 'return to traditional agriculture'); Traditional producers' resistance to new environmental standards	Growth & supremacy of unproductive labor in contemporary U.S. economy (Rotta 2018, Mohun 2014)

Table 1.4: Examples of contemporary trends and agendas with centripetal and centrifugal outcomes

The work of Teodor Shanin (1972, 1990) represents an intriguing opening in this ontological direction. Shanin makes a case to more closely connect the study of what he calls ‘centripetal’ and ‘centrifugal’ power shifts, respectively. Centrifugal trends and forces work to distribute capabilities outwards, from (power) centers to margins and peripheries, while centripetal forces accumulate them inwards. Processes of technological or social change, hence, have certain innate centripetal or centrifugal affordances, but their ultimate impact on power (im)balances depends on the concrete dynamics of implementation.

Finally, while accumulation may take place as a single, identifiable act or process, it often develops a dynamic of its own, wherein various interlinked processes (changes in regulation, techniques, culture, marketing, factor prices etc.) combine to form self-referential loops of capitalization of patrimonies and commons, commodification of products and services, and proletarianization of labor. In such cases, we refer to the *dynamics of accumulation*, or dynamic accumulation. Similarly, equilibration may constitute a one-time act or a single process, such as a land reform or the breaking of a monopoly trust. Yet, it may also be dynamic, whenever cultural, social, political and legal institutions, as well as skill regimes, production techniques, ecological and geographical patterns, and property relations, work together to maintain a relative balance between economic agents. Chapter 4 develops these concepts further and provides evidence for different equilibration regimes and institutions, many of which go largely unnoticed in discussions that look at accumulation as a one-way street.

Artisans and markets

Is there a particular way markets are engaged by workers subjected to the artisan condition? Understanding artisans’ behavior towards and within markets requires that we follow two fundamental shifts in the framing of markets themselves. First, market exchange as a basic human activity must be separated and relocated from theories that equate markets with capitalism. This allows us to see markets in the true plural, not as manifold

adaptations of capitalism, but as expressions of any motive humans might hold for impersonal exchange – including reciprocity and solidarity. As Ellen Meiksins Wood writes, capitalism is portrayed “at the very least [as] a natural extension of the acts of exchange on which human communities have relied since time immemorial to supply the necessities they cannot produce for themselves. All that is needed to bring about capitalism, apparently, is for such processes of exchange to expand [...]. Yet, looked at more closely, capitalism [...] is a very specific social form”, a specific form of exchange, and a specific social organization of markets (2012, p. 49). Instead of universalistic attempts to define *the* (archetypical/ideal) ‘capitalist market’, we increasingly study specific subsets of market design principles that enable a relative expansion of the capital relation and the two classes implicated in it *within* markets populated, in most cases, by multiple agents with divergent interests. To the degree that capital dominates markets, the social and economic interactions in and around these markets enact “a double exclusion, the exclusiveness of property rights and the exclusion of a large part of the population from property” (Therborn 1987, p. 240).

Second, we must break out of the dichotomy between market exchange and ‘market societies’ on the one hand, and non-market associational life on the other. Rather than conceptualizing markets as contradictory and dialectical with ‘non-market factors’, sustainable practices of resource and labor allocation tend to proceed through dynamic links between both spheres. Where these bonds are broken (which was, in large part, the aim of both epoch-defining projects of the 20th century – state-administered socialism⁴⁴ and limited-liability capitalism), feedback loops decay and resources begin to be misdirected. Contemporary capital accumulation indeed largely takes place in the vacuum left by missing bonds between practices of social deliberation and the markets where they might be

⁴⁴ While Communist Parties in power severed many of these bonds in their societies, they unwillingly instituted pervasive ‘alternative’ markets for loyalty and positions within the totalitarian state, as well as omnipresent black and grey markets for scarce goods and services.

applied. Polanyi understood this state as the *disembedded* unfolding of markets, contrasting it with a theory of socially-*embedded* markets that are structured through social deliberation rather than vested interest (Polanyi 1944, Meiksins Wood 1995, ch. 1).

Artisan life and labor takes place at this market-society nexus, and is both protected and transformed through it. Artisans participate in existing markets, in the creation of new markets and products, and in debates and actions over how markets could be reformed in their favor. They negotiate sales and service contracts with other market actors, a process that overwhelmingly takes place in a context of ‘economic liberties’: Choosing between suppliers and/or buyers, locating, moving, processing and branding goods independently, as long as public regulations are respected. In this context, their primary (objective) concern as a class is in power relations within markets, not the ‘overcoming’ of markets and the market mechanism overall. In that sense, the question to what degree peasants and other artisan formations ‘depend on markets’ is important, but less so than the question what kind of markets they depend on. The former question – i.e., whether a peasant family has “the ability to withdraw from the market and take advantage of the use value of land and its products” (Vergara-Camus & Kay 2017, p. 246) – is increasingly irrelevant in societies with complex divisions of labor. Yet even in (now largely historical) settings where peasants may have directly produced the majority of the value they consumed, they always also rely on markets formed within villages, and between peasants and artisans in other sectors. What matters is the socio-institutional design of these markets, as well as the cultural dynamics at play (which are often cast into written or unwritten laws). whether exchanges taking place in these specific markets adds to, or subtracts from, the autonomy generated by a worker’s own patrimony and labor.

While artisans are almost never simply self-sufficient as individuals, and the focus on ‘community’ self-sufficiency tends to mask inequalities of access (i.e., capital relations) within communities, the degree of an individual’s self-sufficiency in the production and maintenance of key reproductive functions (shelter, food, basic furniture, cooking and heating fuel etc.) nonetheless has a significant impact on how artisans participate

in markets in their quest to fulfill other functions. When artisans work towards higher levels of self-sufficiency, e.g., by building their own shelter, growing own food, fixing their own tools or doing their own accounting, or when they diversify their labor into various productive processes aimed at different markets, the fundamental economic aim pursued is ‘selective market engagement’ (Kay 2008, pp. 928–30). This consists of dynamizing the position of the small production unit in order to circumvent, or at least complement, exploitative relations as larger powers form and decay in different value chains, and while public agencies and institutions in- or decrease their effectiveness (and will) in curbing such powers. Practices of self-sufficiency should thus be understood as intimately entangled with practices of production for markets, not as ontologically separate from them. All artisans – and to varying degrees all of us – develop practices of self-sufficiency (limiting exposure to certain markets) that increase their autonomy when participating in other product and labor markets. Cooking meals or washing clothes at home, in that sense, follows the same principle of selective (or *curated*) market engagement as more ‘radical’ exhibitions such as self-manufacturing tools, building one’s own home, or homesteading for food.

Artisan-based economies: Social landscapes of autonomy

Before delving into the specificities of different sectors, one last broader definition must be added to our framework. This definition deals precisely with situations where public institutions and/or cultural dynamics have successfully curbed the formation of capital relations in a definable area – be it a specific sector of economic activity in a given area, or the interplay of various sectors. Where many economic units with the above broad characteristics of ‘artisanness’ exist side by side and interact socially and economically in a complex and creative manner, we can speak of *artisan-based economies*. ‘Economies’, in this case, refer not to complete national economic systems, but to sub-systems in specific sectors and markets, following Gibson-Graham’s ‘diverse economies’ framework (2008, pp. 614–18). Chapter 2 provides a variety of examples.

Artisan-based economies are defined by a relative subordination of motives and practices of domination under practices and motives of autonomy. We should expect this to be based on intention, rather than accident. Typically, artisan-based economies are the outcome of decades or even centuries of accrued political deliberation, action and regulation. Where a significant number of artisan labor units interact in a way that their respective position of autonomy is safeguarded and evolved, we can speak of an artisan ‘class-for-itself’, and of a proper artisan form(at) of politics.

An artisan-based economy does not refer to a state of universal self-employment, with as many labor units as working-age individuals. In most cases, we find one such unit for every 5-10 population, depending on the dependency ratio, the workforce employed by public entities (based on the principle of *subsidiarity*⁴⁵), the ratio of people opting out of the responsibility to (co-)lead a labor unit, the amount and drudgery of learning required to (co-)lead an artisan business,⁴⁶ the seasonality of labor, technological complexity of work processes and, finally, the dominant type of labor units (individual, family or small collective). The latter determine the number of owners per business, ranging from one (individual) to ten or more (small collectives). Of course, the manageability of collective businesses decreases with their size, leading sooner or later to the internal differentiation of essentially capitalist and proletarian roles.⁴⁷ In the coming chapters, many examples of (semi-)artisan economies are discussed and we hope that commonalities between such cases will become clear.

⁴⁵ The subsidiarity principle holds that larger units should only perform social and economic functions that cannot be effectively performed by smaller ones.

⁴⁶ Medical students, for example, often refer to significant parts of their education as ‘drudgery’. The drudgery-benefit equilibrium, and the fact that each individual will navigate it distinctly, is also a fixture in skill formation.

⁴⁷ See Meyers (2005) for a differentiated perspective on the potentials of medium-sized collective labor units to maintain an equitable distribution of power, and Weitzman (1985) for a utopian model of a ‘profit-sharing economy’ of equitable remuneration in large units.

While it is impossible to give a number of artisan workers in today's global economies, primarily because it is hard to agree on where exactly to draw the line between artisan, proletarian and capitalist realities of labor, at least 40 to 60 per cent of the global working population find themselves within the ambit of micro-contestation between autonomy and its others, i.e., in the grey areas of class sketched above. Those firmly entrenched in a proletarian or capitalist position may well be in the minority. Most of that contestation, however, takes place in mixed economies: Capitalist enterprise always co-habits, to various degrees, with other forms and motives of labor performed by households, public agencies, volunteers, non-capitalist businesses participating in a variety of personal, communal, national and even global schemes to provide specific goods and services without profit (Gibson-Graham 2008, p. 616).

Capital relations affect most artisan labor in a variety of ways, and proper 'sanctuaries' for artisan activity are uncommon. Though examples of such sanctuaries could be used to define the 'artisan condition' in utopian terms, doing so tends to drain theories of autonomy of practical relevance. The 'normal' artisan condition is indeed to be found in a more or less uninterrupted struggle with greater powers, with relative gains and relative losses. That struggle, we propose, is a significant everyday experience for most of the human population today, and at any time in history we may study. In line with Gibson-Graham's call to understand class as *process* rather than definitive *groupings* (1992, pp. 113–114), we propose to see different variants and degrees of non-exploitative/artisan production as inter-connected parts of an encompassing process of non-exploitation. Processes of autonomy (or 'artisanness') co-create complex socio-economic relations through unique mixtures with a second fundamental set of processes: the processes of creating, reproducing and profiting from capital. The image of 'the artisan' employed in this theory, hence, is meant to be taken both literally – as concrete individuals whose socio-economic relations embody the artisan condition – and figuratively as an image we may attach to a positive theory of labor that connects and emboldens us in new ways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aarhaug, Jørgen, and Kåre Skollerud. 2013. "Taxi: Different Solutions in Different Segments." 41st European Transport Conference, Frankfurt, 30. September – 2. October.
- Abbing, Hans. 2002. *Why Are Artists Poor: The Exceptional Economy of the Arts*. Amsterdam UP.
- Abbott, Andrew. 1988. *The System of Professions*. University of Chicago Press.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and David Autor. 2011. "Skills, Tasks and Technologies: Implications for Employment and Earnings." In *Handbook of Labor Economics*, edited by David Card and Orley Ashenfelter, (4): 1043–1171. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Adam, Cécile J.M., Christian P.M. Ducrot, Mathilde C. Paul, and Nicolas Fortané. 2017. "Autonomy under Contract: The Case of Traditional Free-Range Poultry Farmers." *Review of Agricultural, Food and Environmental Studies* 98 (1): 55–74.
- Adaman, Fikret, Pat Devine, and Begum Ozkaynak. 2003. "Reinstituting the Economic Process:(Re) Embedding the Economy in Society and Nature." *International Review of Sociology* 13 (2): 357–74.
- Adams, Timothy, Jean-David Gerber, Michèle Amacker, and Tobias Haller. 2018. "Who Gains from Contract Farming? Dependencies, Power Relations, and Institutional Change." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46 (7): 1435–57.
- AG Kino. 2021. "70 Jahre Leidenschaft für das Kino." 2021. <http://www.agkino.de/ueber-uns/>.
- Agarwal, Bina. 2014. "Food Sovereignty, Food Security and Democratic Choice: Critical Contradictions, Difficult Conciliations." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (6): 1247–68.
- Agyeman, Julian, Caitlin Matthews, and Hannah Sobel. 2017. *Food Trucks, Cultural Identity, and Social Justice: From Loncheras to Lobsta Love*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Aldrich, Howard E., Mara Brumana, Giovanna Campopiano, and Tommaso Minola. 2021. "Embedded but Not Asleep: Entrepreneurship and Family Business Research in the 21st Century." *Journal of Family Business Strategy* 12 (1): 100390.
- Aldrich, Howard E, and Jennifer E Cliff. 2003. "The Pervasive Effects of Family on Entrepreneurship: Toward a Family Embeddedness Perspective." *Journal of Business Venturing* 18 (5): 573–96.
- Allen, Darcy, and Jason Potts. 2016. "How Innovation Commons Contribute to Discovering and Developing New Technologies." *International Journal of the Commons* 10 (2): 1035–54.

- Allen, Jessica, Reuben Balfour, Ruth Bell, and Michael Marmot. 2014. "Social Determinants of Mental Health." *International Review of Psychiatry* 26 (4): 392–407.
- Allmendinger, Jutta, J. Richard Hackman, and Erin V. Lehman. 1996. "Life and Work in Symphony Orchestras." *The Musical Quarterly* 80 (2): 194–219.
- Almekinders, Connie J. M., Niels P. Louwaars, and G. H. De Bruijn. 1994. "Local Seed Systems and Their Importance for an Improved Seed Supply in Developing Countries." *Euphytica* 78 (3): 207–16.
- Andersen, Birgitte. 2004. "If 'Intellectual Property Rights' Is the Answer, What Is the Question? Revisiting the Patent Controversies." *Economics of Innovation and New Technology* 13 (5): 417–42.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, Chris. 2007. *The Long Tail: How Endless Choice Is Creating Unlimited Demand*. New York: Random House.
- Anderson, Elizabeth. 2015. "Liberty, Equality, and Private Government." *Tanner Lectures in Human Values*, 61–122.
- . 2017. *Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk about It)*. Princeton UP.
- Andor, Mark A., Andreas Gerster, Kenneth T. Gillingham, and Marco Horvath. 2020. "Running a Car Costs Much More than People Think—Stalling the Uptake of Green Travel." *Nature* 580: 453–55.
- Angel, Sergio, Claudia González, María Matienzo Puerto, Ana Paula López, Nelson Alvarez, Louis Thiemann, and Alejandra Suárez. 2021. *Formas de Sobrevivencia En Cuba: "Resistencias Cotidianas" En La Habana, Matanzas y Sagua La Grande*. Bogotá: Universidad Sergio Arboleda & Civil Rights Defenders.
- Aouragh, Miriyam, and Paula Chakravartty. 2016. "Infrastructures of Empire: Towards a Critical Geopolitics of Media and Information Studies." *Media, Culture & Society* 38 (4): 559–75.
- Appelgren, Staffan, and Anna Bohlin. 2015. "Introduction: Circulating Stuff on Second-Hand, Vintage and Retro Markets." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research* 7 (1): 3–11.
- Archer, Louise. 2008. "The New Neoliberal Subjects? Young/Er Academics' Constructions of Professional Identity." *Journal of Education Policy* 23 (3): 265–85.
- Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme and United Nations Environmental Programme Chemicals Branch. 2013. "Technical Background Report for the Global Mercury Assessment." Oslo/Geneva.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1961. *Between Past and Future*. New York: Viking Press.
- . 1998. *The Human Condition*. University of Chicago Press.
- . 2005. *The Promise of Politics*. New York: Schocken.
- Arévalo, Alfonso Rebollo. 2003. "El papel de los mercados municipales en la vertebración de las tramas urbanas (1)." *Distribución y Consumo* 13 (69): 38–41.

- Artisanal Gold Council. 2017. "Our Approach." Vancouver.
www.artisanalgold.org/our-approach/.
- Association of Lodging Professionals. 2020. "About the Industry." Wwww.Paii.Com.
 2020. <http://www.paii.com/About-the-Industry>.
- Australian Competition & Consumer Commission (ACCC). 2018. "Determination A91587. Application for authorisation lodged by Independent Cinemas Australia in respect of information sharing and collective bargaining." Canberra: ACCC.
- Ayoob, Mohammed. 2002. "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism." *International Studies Review* 4 (3): 27–48.
- Babones, Salvatore J. 2009. *Social Inequality and Public Health*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Back, Les, and Shamser Sinha. 2016. "Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37 (5): 517–32.
- Bacon, Christopher M. 2010. "Who Decides What Is Fair in Fair Trade? The Agri-Environmental Governance of Standards, Access, and Price." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 37 (1): 111–47.
- Bagolin, Izete, and Flavio Comim. 2008. "Human Development Index (HDI) and Its Family of Indexes: An Evolving Critical Review." *Revista de Economia* 34 (2): 7–28.
- Baidis, Samaher, Albert N. Greco, Michael D. Kontolios, Molly McCullen, Nan Rittenhouse, and Robert M. Wharton. 2019. "Creating Competitive Advantage: The Growth of Independent Bookstores in the US 2009–2018." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 35 (4): 670–84.
- Baird, Ian G. 2013. "'Indigenous Peoples' and Land: Comparing Communal Land Titling and Its Implications in Cambodia and Laos." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 54 (3): 269–81.
- Bal, Mieke, and Sherry Marx-MacDonald. 2002. *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. University of Toronto Press.
- Baltruschat, Doris, and Mary P. Erickson. 2015. *Independent Filmmaking around the Globe*. University of Toronto Press.
- Bandeira, Pablo, José María Sumpsi, and Cesar Falconi. 2010. "Evaluating Land Administration Systems: A Comparative Method with an Application to Peru and Honduras." *Land Use Policy* 27 (2): 351–63.
- Barbakoff, Audrey. 2010. "Libraries Build Autonomy: A Philosophical Perspective on the Social Role of Libraries and Librarians." *Library Philosophy and Practice* 463.
- Barca, Stefania. 2019. "The Labor(s) of Degrowth." *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 30 (2): 207–16.
- Barnett, Vincent L. 2019. "Hierarchies of Attraction: Evaluating the Popularity and Quantity of US Pornography Studios." *Porn Studies* 6 (2): 193–211.
- Barton, Jo, Rachel Hine, and Jules Pretty. 2009. "The Health Benefits of Walking in Greenspaces of High Natural and Heritage Value." *Journal of Integrative Environmental Sciences* 6 (4): 261–78.
- Bassett, Ellen M. 2005. "Tinkering with Tenure: The Community Land Trust Experiment in Voi, Kenya." *Habitat International* 29 (3): 375–98.

- Bastakis, Constantinos, Dimitrios Buhalis, and Richard Butler. 2004. "The Perception of Small and Medium Sized Tourism Accommodation Providers on the Impacts of the Tour Operators' Power in Eastern Mediterranean." *Tourism Management* 25 (2): 151–70.
- Basu, Sanjay, Jason Andrews, Sandeep Kishore, Rajesh Panjabi, and David Stuckler. 2012. "Comparative Performance of Private and Public Healthcare Systems in Low-and Middle-Income Countries: A Systematic Review." *PLoS Medicine* 9 (6): e1001244.
- Batréau, Quentin, and Francois Bonnet. 2016. "Managed Informality: Regulating Street Vendors in Bangkok." *City & Community* 15 (1): 29–43.
- Bauder, Harald. 2003. "'Brain Abuse', or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada." *Antipode* 35 (4): 699–717.
- . 2008. "Citizenship as Capital: The Distinction of Migrant Labor." *Alternatives* 33 (3): 315–33.
- . 2017. *Migration Borders Freedom*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Baumann, Megan D., Karl S. Zimmerer, and Jacob van Etten. 2020. "Participatory Seed Projects and Agroecological Landscape Knowledge in Central America." *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability* 18 (4): 300–318.
- Baumeister, Roy F. 1982. "A Self-Presentational View of Social Phenomena." *Psychological Bulletin* 91 (1): 3.
- Baumeister, Roy F., Erin A. Sparks, Tyler F. Stillman, and Kathleen D. Vohs. 2008. "Free Will in Consumer Behavior: Self-Control, Ego Depletion, and Choice." *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 18 (1): 4–13.
- Bayly, C. A. 1983. *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770–1870*. New Delhi: Oxford UP.
- Becchetti, Leonardo, Riccardo Massari, and Paolo Naticchioni. 2014. "The Drivers of Happiness Inequality: Suggestions for Promoting Social Cohesion." *Oxford Economic Papers* 66 (2): 419–42.
- Beckert, Jens. 2009. "The Social Order of Markets." *Theory and Society* 38 (3): 245–69.
- . 2016. *Imagined Futures: Fictional Expectations and Capitalist Dynamics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.
- Benda-Beckmann, Franz von, Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, and Melanie Wiber. 2006. *Changing Properties of Property*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Bengtsson, Erik. 2014. "Do Unions Redistribute Income from Capital to Labour? Union Density and Wage Shares since 1960." *Industrial Relations Journal* 45 (5): 389–408.
- Benjaminsen, Tor A., and Ian Bryceson. 2012. "Conservation, Green/Blue Grabbing and Accumulation by Dispossession in Tanzania." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39 (2): 335–55.
- Berg, Heather, and Constance Penley. 2016. "Creative Precarity in the Adult Film Industry." In *Precarious Creativity: Global Media, Local Labor*, edited by Michael Curtin and Kevin Sanson, 159–71. University of California Press.
- Berg, Maggie, and Barbara Seeber. 2016. *The Slow Professor: Challenging the Culture of Speed in the Academy*. University of Toronto Press.

- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. 1996. *La Construction Sociale de La Réalité*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Berger, Sebastian. 2008. "Karl Polanyi's and Karl William Kapp's Substantive Economics: Important Insights from the Kapp–Polanyi Correspondence." *Review of Social Economy* 66 (3): 381–96.
- Bergh, Jeroen van den. 2009. "The GDP Paradox." *Journal of Economic Psychology* 30 (2): 117–35.
- . 2011. "Environment versus Growth—A Criticism of 'Degrowth' and a Plea for 'a-Growth'." *Ecological Economics* 70 (5): 881–90.
- Bernstein, Eduard (1899) *The preconditions of socialism*. Stuttgart: Dietz.
- Bernstein, Henry. 2003. "Farewells to the Peasantry." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 52 (1): 1–19.
- . 2004. "'Changing before Our Very Eyes': Agrarian Questions and the Politics of Land in Capitalism Today." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4 (1–2): 190–225.
- . 2010. *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Winnipeg: Fernwood.
- . 2013. "Primitive Accumulation: What's in a Term?" Presentation at the Workers and Punks University May Day School, Ljubljana, May 26.
- . 2014. "Food Sovereignty via the 'Peasant Way': A Sceptical View." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (6): 1031–63.
- Berry, David. 2008. *Copy, Rip, Burn: The Politics of Copyleft and Open Source*. London: Pluto Press.
- Berry, Wendell. 1977. *The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.
- Bhowmik, Sharit. 2010. "Legal Protection for Street Vendors." *Economic and Political Weekly* 45 (51): 12–15.
- Biberman, Jerry, and Michael Whitty. 1997. "A Postmodern Spiritual Future for Work." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 10 (2): 130–38.
- Bijman, Jos. 2018. "Exploring the Sustainability of the Cooperative Model in Dairy: The Case of The Netherlands." *Sustainability* 10 (7): 2498.
- Bijman, Jos, and Constantine Iliopoulos. 2014. "Farmers' Cooperatives in the EU: Policies, Strategies and Organization." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 85 (4): 497–508.
- Binkley, Sam. 2008. "Liquid Consumption: Anti-Consumerism and the Fetishized de-Fetishization of Commodities." *Cultural Studies* 22 (5): 599–623.
- Birch, Kean. 2017. "Rethinking Value in the Bio-Economy: Finance, Assetization, and the Management of Value." *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 42 (3): 460–90.
- Birch, Kean, and Fabian Muniesa. 2020. *Assetization: Turning Things into Assets in Technoscientific Capitalism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Birdsall, Nancy, and Juan Luis Londoño. 1997. "Asset Inequality Matters: An Assessment of the World Bank's Approach to Poverty Reduction." *American Economic Review* 87 (2): 32–37.
- Bittner, Rüdiger. 2002. "Autonomy, and Then." *Philosophical Explorations* 5 (3): 217–28.

- Bandiera, Troy C., and Todd L. Matthews. 2007. "Retail Concentration, Food Deserts, and Food-Disadvantaged Communities in Rural America." In *Remaking the North American Food System: Strategies for Sustainability*, edited by Clare Hinrichs and Thomas Lyson, 201–15. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Blanchard, Troy C., Charles Tolbert, and Carson Mencken. 2012. "The Health and Wealth of US Counties: How the Small Business Environment Impacts Alternative Measures of Development." *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 5 (1): 149–62.
- Bloemmen, Marjolijn, Roxana Bobulescu, Nhu Tuyen Le, and Claudio Vitari. 2015. "Microeconomic Degrowth: The Case of Community Supported Agriculture." *Ecological Economics* 112: 110–15.
- Boboc, Cristina, Valentina Vasile, and Daniela Todose. 2012. "Vulnerabilities Associated to Migration Trajectories from Romania to EU Countries." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 62: 352–59.
- Bocci, Riccardo. 2014. "Seeds between Freedom and Rights." *Scienze Del Territorio* 2: 115–22.
- Böhm, Steffen, Maria Ceci Misoczky, and Sandra Moog. 2012. "Greening Capitalism? A Marxist Critique of Carbon Markets." *Organization Studies* 33 (11): 1617–38.
- Boldrini, Jean-Claude, Hélène Journé-Michel, and Emmanuel Chené. 2011. "L'innovation Des Entreprises Artisanales." *Revue Française de Gestion* 37 (213): 25–41.
- Bollier, David, and Silke Helfrich, eds. 2015. *Patterns of Commoning*. Commons Strategy Group and Off the Common Press.
- Boltanski, Luc, and Ève Chiapello. 1999. *Le Nouvel Esprit Du Capitalisme*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Bonilla-Moheno, Martha, Daniel J. Redo, T. Mitchell Aide, Matthew L. Clark, and H. Ricardo Grau. 2013. "Vegetation Change and Land Tenure in Mexico: A Country-Wide Analysis." *Land Use Policy* 30 (1): 355–64.
- Bonoli, Giuliano, and Patrick Emmenegger. 2021. "The Limits of Decentralized Cooperation: Promoting Inclusiveness in Collective Skill Formation Systems?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (2): 229–47.
- Borkin, Simon. 2019. "Platform Co-Operatives – Solving the Capital Conundrum." Nesta and Co-operatives UK.
- Borras, Saturnino M. 2016. "Land Politics, Agrarian Movements and Scholar-Activism." Inaugural Lecture. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 14. April.
- Borras, Saturnino M., and Jennifer C. Franco. 2012. "Global Land Grabbing and Trajectories of Agrarian Change: A Preliminary Analysis." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 12 (1): 34–59.
- Borras, Saturnino M., Philip McMichael, and Ian Scoones. 2010. "The Politics of Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Change: Editors' Introduction." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 37 (4): 575–92.
- Borsatto, Ricardo Serra, Miguel A. Altieri, Henrique Carmona Duval, and Julian Perez-Cassarino. 2020. "Public Procurement as Strategy to Foster Organic Transition: Insights from the Brazilian Experience." *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems* 35 (6): 688–96.

- Boserup, Ester. 1965. *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Bottero, Wendy. 2004. "Class identities and the identity of class." *Sociology* 38 (5): 985–1003.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge Kegan & Paul.
- . 1989. "The Corporatism of the Universal: The Role of Intellectuals in the Modern World." *Telos* 1989 (81): 99–110.
- . 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.
- Bovenkerk, Frank, and Loes Ruland. 1992. "Artisan Entrepreneurs: Two Centuries of Italian Immigration to the Netherlands." *International Migration Review* 26 (3): 927–39.
- Bowen, Sarah J., and Ian D. Graham. 2013. "From Knowledge Translation to Engaged Scholarship: Promoting Research Relevance and Utilization." *Archives of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation* 94 (1): S3–8.
- Bowie, Katherine A. 1992. "Unraveling the Myth of the Subsistence Economy: Textile Production in Nineteenth-Century Northern Thailand." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (4): 797–823.
- Brass, Tom. 1997. "The Agrarian Myth, the 'New' Populism and the 'New' Right." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 24 (4): 201–45.
- Brazil, Presidency of the Republic of. 2006. *Política Nacional Da Agricultura Familiar e Empreendimentos Familiares Rurais*. Lei nº 11326, 24. July.
- Brenner, R. 1977. "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism." *New Left Review*, no. 104.
- Brenni, Mick de. 2018. "Victorians' Vote on Rental Reform a Good Guide for Queensland." Queensland Government. <https://statements.qld.gov.au/statements/86222>.
- Brew, Angela, David Boud, Lisa Lucas, and Karin Crawford. 2018. "Academic Artisans in the Research University." *Higher Education* 76 (1): 115–27.
- Brewers Association. 2020. "National Beer Sales & Production Data." 2020. <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics-and-data/national-beer-stats/>.
- Brida, Juan Gabriel, and Sandra Zapata. 2009. "Cruise Tourism: Economic, Socio-Cultural and Environmental Impacts." *International Journal of Leisure and Tourism Marketing* 1 (3): 205–26.
- Bridge, Gavin, and Andrew Wood. 2010. "Less Is More: Spectres of Scarcity and the Politics of Resource Access in the Upstream Oil Sector." *Geoforum* 41 (4): 565–76.
- Briscoe, Robert, and Michael Ward. 2006. "Is Small Both Beautiful and Competitive? A Case Study of Irish Dairy Cooperatives." *Journal of Rural Cooperation* 34 (2): 113.
- Bromley, Ray. 2000. "Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 20 (1/2): 1–28.
- Brown, Alison Margaret Braithwaite. 2006. *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space, and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*. Rugby, UK: Practical Action.

- Brown, Phil, Brian Mayer, Stephen Zavestoski, Theo Luebke, Joshua Mandelbaum, and Sabrina McCormick. 2003. "The Health Politics of Asthma: Environmental Justice and Collective Illness Experience in the United States." *Social Science & Medicine* 57 (3): 453–64.
- Bruhn, Miriam, and Jan Loeprick. 2016. "Small Business Tax Policy and Informality: Evidence from Georgia." *International Tax and Public Finance* 23 (5): 834–53.
- Bryceson, D. F. 2002. "The Scramble in Africa: Reorienting Rural Livelihoods." *World Development* 30 (5): 725–39.
- Buckley, Mary. 1994. "Krest'yanskaya Gazeta and Rural Stakhanovism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 46 (8): 1387–1407.
- Bunce, Susannah. 2016. "Pursuing Urban Commons: Politics and Alliances in Community Land Trust Activism in East London." *Antipode* 48 (1): 134–50.
- Bundesärztekammer. 2019. "Ärztet Statistik." Berlin.
- Bundesverband der Systemgastronomie. 2017. "Jahresbericht Systemgastronomie." München.
- Bundeszahnärztekammer-Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Deutschen Zahnärztekammern. 2019. "Statistisches Jahrbuch 2018-2019." Berlin.
- Burdon, Peter. 2011. *Exploring Wild Law: The Philosophy of Earth Jurisprudence*. Cambridge, MA: Wakefield Press.
- . 2010. "The Rights of Nature: Reconsidered." *Australian Humanities Review* 49: 69–90.
- Bureau, Marie-Christine, Marc Perrenoud, and Roberta Shapiro, eds. 2009. *L'artiste Pluriel: Démultiplier l'activité Pour Vivre de Son Art*. Lille: Septentrion Presses Universitaires.
- Burkett, Paul. 2004. "Marx's Reproduction Schemes and the Environment." *Ecological Economics* 49 (4): 457–67.
- Burkitt, Brian, and Frances Hutchinson. 1994. "Major Douglas' Proposals for a National Dividend: A Logical Successor to the Wage." *International Journal of Social Economics* 21 (1): 19–28.
- Burman, Anders. 2018. "Are Anthropologists Monsters? An Andean Dystopian Critique of Extractivist Ethnography and Anglophone-Centric Anthropology." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 8 (1–2): 48–64.
- Burnett, Kim, and Sophia Murphy. 2014. "What Place for International Trade in Food Sovereignty?" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (6): 1065–84.
- Büscher, Bram, and Veronica Davidov. 2013. *The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus: Political Economies and Rural Realities of (Un) Comfortable Bedfellows*. London: Routledge.
- Büscher, Bram, and Robert Fletcher. 2017. "Destructive Creation: Capital Accumulation and the Structural Violence of Tourism." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25 (5): 651–67.
- Büscher, Bram, Robert Fletcher, Dan Brockington, Chris Sandbrook, William M. Adams, Lisa Campbell, Catherine Corson, et al. 2017. "Half-Earth or Whole Earth? Radical Ideas for Conservation, and Their Implications." *Oryx* 51 (3): 407–10.

- Bush, Evelyn. 2010. "Explaining Religious Market Failure: A Gendered Critique of the Religious Economies Model." *Sociological Theory* 28 (3): 304–25.
- Bustos, María Ángeles González. 2017. "Incidencia de La Ley 27/2013, de 27 de Diciembre, de Racionalización y Sostenibilidad de La Administración Local En Las Competencias Municipales En Materia de Mercado de Abastos." *Revista de Estudios de La Administración Local y Autonómica*, no. 6: 79–91.
- Buxmann, Peter, Jochen Strube, and Gerrit Pohl. 2006. "Cooperative Pricing in Digital Value Chains—the Case of Online Music." *Journal of Electronic Commerce Research*, 8 (1): 32–40.
- Byres, Terence J. 1977. "Agrarian Transition and the Agrarian Question." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 4 (3): 258–74.
- Cabiddu, Francesca, Tsz-Wai Lui, and Gabriele Piccoli. 2016. "IT-Enabled Value Co-Creation in a Tourism Context: The Portale Sardegna Case." In *Open Tourism: Open Innovation, Crowdsourcing and Co-Creation Challenging the Tourism Industry*, edited by Roman Egger, Igor Gula, and Walcher, Dominik, 47–60. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer.
- Cai, Liping A. 2002. "Cooperative Branding for Rural Destinations." *Annals of Tourism Research* 29 (3): 720–42.
- Callinicos, Alex. 1985. "Postmodernism, Post-Structuralism, Post-Marxism?" *Theory, Culture & Society* 2 (3): 85–101.
- Calvário, Rita. 2017. "Food Sovereignty and New Peasantries: On Re-Peasantization and Counter-Hegemonic Contestations in the Basque Territory." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44 (2): 402–20.
- Campbell, Colin. 2005. "The Craft Consumer: Culture, Craft and Consumption in a Postmodern Society." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5 (1): 23–42.
- Campbell, John L., Jean Ramsay, and Judith Green. 2001. "Practice Size: Impact on Consultation Length, Workload, and Patient Assessment of Care." *British Journal of General Practice* 51 (469): 644–50.
- Canaan, Joyce E., and Wesley Shumar. 2008. *Structure and Agency in the Neoliberal University*. London: Routledge.
- Canetti, Elias. 1978. "Voices of Marrakesh." *Encounter* 26 (6): 15–23.
- Cannon, Melissa. 2009. "Portland's Artisan Economy: The Arts and Crafts Sector." *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal* 3 (1): 56–105.
- Carmichael, Patrick. 2019. "Refusal of Work, Liberation of Time and the Convivial University." In *Education and Technological Unemployment*, edited by Peters, Michael A., Petar Jandrić, and Alexander J. Means, 263–78. Singapore: Springer.
- Carré, Francoise, Pat Horn, and Chris Bonner. 2018. "Collective Bargaining by Informal Workers in the Global South: Where and How It Takes Place." WIEGO Working Paper 38. Manchester: WIEGO.
- Caulkins, Jonathan P., Yilun Bao, Steve Davenport, Imane Fahli, Yutian Guo, Krista Kinnard, Mary Najewicz, Lauren Renaud, and Beau Kilmer. 2018. "Big Data on a Big New Market: Insights from Washington State's Legal Cannabis Market." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 57: 86–94.
- Chalofsky, Neal. 2003. "An Emerging Construct for Meaningful Work." *Human Resource Development International* 6 (1): 69–83.

- Chambers, Robert, and Gordon Conway. 1992. *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Chan, Hoy-Yen, Saffa B. Riffat, and Jie Zhu. 2010. "Review of Passive Solar Heating and Cooling Technologies." *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 14 (2): 781–89.
- Chang, Ha-Joon. 2007. *Bad Samaritans: The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret History of Capitalism*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Chang, Young-Tae, Suhjung Lee, and Hyosoo Kevin Park. 2017. "Efficiency Analysis of Major Cruise Lines." *Tourism Management* 58: 78–88.
- Chayanov, Alexander V. 1991. *The Theory of Peasant Co-Operatives*. London: IB Tauris.
- . 1966a. "On the Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems." In *A.V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy*, edited by D. Thorner, B. Kerblay, and R.E.F. Smith, 1–28. Homewood, Illinois: American Economic Association.
- . 1966b. "Peasant Farm Organization." In *A.V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy*, edited by D. Thorner, B. Kerblay, and R.E.F. Smith, 29–269. Homewood, Illinois: American Economic Association.
- Che, Deborah, Ann Veeck, and Gregory Veeck. 2005. "Sustaining Production and Strengthening the Agritourism Product: Linkages among Michigan Agritourism Destinations." *Agriculture and Human Values* 22 (2): 225–34.
- Chevalier, Jacques. 1983. "There Is Nothing Simple About Simple Commodity Production." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 10 (4): 89–124.
- Chibber, Vivek. 2017. "Rescuing Class from the Cultural Turn." *Catalyst* 1 (1): 27–55.
- Chmielewska, Danuta, and Darana Souza. 2010. "Market Alternatives for Smallholder Farmers in Food Security Initiatives: Lessons from the Brazilian Food Acquisition Programme." IPC-IG Working Paper 64. Brasilia: International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth.
- Christensen, Tom. 1991. "Bureaucratic Roles: Political Loyalty and Professional Autonomy." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 14 (4): 303–20.
- Cleaver, Harry. 2002. "Work Is Still the Central Issue! New Words for New Worlds." In *The Labour Debate: An Investigation into the Theory and Reality of Capitalist Work*, edited by Ana Cecilia Dinerstein and Michael Neary, 135–48. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Clegg, Sue. 2008. "Academic Identities under Threat?" *British Educational Research Journal* 34 (3): 329–45.
- Cohen, Gerald A. 1989. "On the Currency of Egalitarian Justice." *Ethics* 99 (4): 906–44.
- Cole, A. 2008. "BMA Meeting: Doctors Vote to Limit Number of Medical Students." *British Medical Journal* 337: a748.
- Commons, John R. 1936. "Institutional Economics." *American Economic Review* 26 (1): 237–49.
- Conen, Wieteke, Joop Schippers, and Karin Schulze Buschoff. 2016. *Self-Employed without Personnel between Freedom and Insecurity*. Berlin: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung.

- Conley, Dalton, and Brian Gifford. 2006. "Home Ownership, Social Insurance, and the Welfare State." *Sociological Forum* 21 (1): 55–82.
- Conte, Jack. 2014. "Pomplamoose 2014 Tour Profits (or Lack Thereof)." *Medium*, 24. November. <https://tinyurl.com/53dsx9tk>.
- Cook, Linda J. 1993. *The Soviet Social Contract and Why It Failed: Welfare Policy and Workers' Politics from Brezhnev to Yeltsin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.
- Cooper, James, Ray Mundy, and John Nelson. 2010. *Taxi!: Urban Economies and the Social and Transport Impacts of the Taxicab*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Cooper, Nigel, Emily Brady, Helen Steen, and Rosalind Bryce. 2016. "Aesthetic and Spiritual Values of Ecosystems: Recognising the Ontological and Axiological Plurality of Cultural Ecosystem 'Services.'" *Ecosystem Services* 21: 218–29.
- Cooperativa 'Daniele Manin' fra Gondolieri di Venezia. 2011. "Storia." <https://tinyurl.com/pzucj4an>.
- Cornia, Giovanni Andrea. 1985. "Farm Size, Land Yields and the Agricultural Production Function: An Analysis for Fifteen Developing Countries." *World Development* 13 (4): 513–34.
- Côté, James E., and Charles G. Levine. 2002. *Identity, Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cousins, Ben. 2010. "The Politics of Communal Tenure Reform: A South African Case Study." In *The Struggle over Land in Africa: Conflicts, Politics and Change*, edited by Ward Anseeuw and Chris Alden, 55–70. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Cowen, Deborah. 2020. "Following the Infrastructures of Empire: Notes on Cities, Settler Colonialism, and Method." *Urban Geography* 41 (4): 469–86.
- Crisp, Roger. 1987. "Persuasive Advertising, Autonomy, and the Creation of Desire." *Journal of Business Ethics* 6 (5): 413–18.
- Cruz Meléndez, Carlos Eduardo. 2011. "La Subsunción Ideal y La Subordinación Real Del Trabajo En El Capital." *Revista ABRA* 31 (42): 7–26.
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. 1993. *The Evolving Self: A Psychology for the Third Millennium*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Culkin, John M. 1967. "A Schoolman's Guide to Marshall McLuhan." *Saturday Review*, March 18.
- Cumming, Graeme S. 2011. *Spatial Resilience in Social-Ecological Systems*. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer.
- Currid-Halkett, E. (2017). *The Sum of Small Things: A Theory of the Aspirational Class*. Princeton UP.
- Dale, Peter, and John McLaughlin. 1999. *Land Administration*. Oxford UP.
- Daly, Herman E. 1972. "In Defense of a Steady-State Economy." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 54 (5): 945–54.
- Daly, Herman E., and John B. Cobb Jr. 1994. *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*. San Francisco: Beacon Press.

- Darden, Paul M., Walton Ector, Colleen Moran, and Thomas G. Quattlebaum. 2001. "Comparison of Continuity in a Resident versus Private Practice." *Pediatrics* 108 (6): 1263–68.
- Datta, Rekha. 2003. "From Development to Empowerment: The Self-Employed Women's Association in India." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 16 (3): 351–68.
- Davidsson, Per. 1989. "Entrepreneurship—and after? A Study of Growth Willingness in Small Firms." *Journal of Business Venturing* 4 (3): 211–26.
- Dawkins, Richard. 1989. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford UP.
- De Soto, Hernando. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. London: Bantam Press.
- Dean, Jodi. 2016. "Big Data: Accumulation and Enclosure." *Theory & Event* 19 (3).
- Deci, Edward L., and Richard M. Ryan. 2008. "Self-Determination Theory: A Macrotheory of Human Motivation, Development, and Health." *Canadian Psychology* 49 (3): 182–85.
- Deere, Carmen Diana. 2000. "Towards a Reconstruction of Cuba's Agrarian Transformation: Peasantization, De-Peasantization and Re-Peasantization'." In *Disappearing Peasantries? Rural Labour in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, edited by D. F. Bryceson, C. Kay, and J. Mooij, 139–58. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Deere, Carmen Diana, and Cheryl R. Doss. 2006. "The Gender Asset Gap: What Do We Know and Why Does It Matter?" *Feminist Economics* 12 (1–2): 1–50.
- Degryse, Annelies. 2008. "The Sovereign and the Social, Arendt's Understanding of Hobbes." *Ethical Perspectives* 15 (2): 239–58.
- DeLind, Laura B. 2002. "Place, Work, and Civic Agriculture: Common Fields for Cultivation." *Agriculture and Human Values* 19 (3): 217–24.
- Deneulin, Séverine, and Nicholas Townsend. 2007. "Public Goods, Global Public Goods and the Common Good." *International Journal of Social Economics* 34 (1/2): 19–36.
- Desmarais, Annette-Aurélien. 2002. "The Vía Campesina: Consolidating an International Peasant and Farm Movement." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 29 (2): 91–124.
- DesRoches, Davina. 2015. "The Marketized Museum: New Museology in a Corporatized World." *The Political Economy of Communication* 3 (1): 2–24.
- Devitt, Camilla. 2011. "Varieties of Capitalism, Variation in Labour Immigration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (4): 579–96.
- Devlin, Ryan Thomas. 2011. "'An Area That Governs Itself': Informality, Uncertainty and the Management of Street Vending in New York City." *Planning Theory* 10 (1): 53–65.
- Dickerson, Chad. 2013. "Notes from Chad." *Etsy News* (blog). 1. October. <http://tinyurl.com/27v354am>.
- Dickinson, Janet, and Les Lumsdon. 2010. *Slow Travel and Tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Dietler, Michael, and Ingrid Herbich. 2001. "Feasts and Labor Mobilization: Dissecting a Fundamental Economic Practice." In *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic*

- Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, edited by Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, 240–64. Birmingham, AL: University of Alabama Press.
- Diogenes Laertius. 2018. *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Edited by James Miller. Oxford UP.
- Dombrowski, Simon. 2019. *Die Organisierte Hand Des Marktes: Verbandliche Koordination Auf Den Deutschen Märkten Für Biologische Lebensmittel*. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer.
- Dondeyne, Stefaan, and Eduardo Ndunguru. 2014. “Artisanal Gold Mining and Rural Development Policies in Mozambique: Perspectives for the Future.” *Futures* 62: 120–27.
- Donelan, Karen, Robert J. Blendon, John Benson, Robert Leitman, and Humphrey Taylor. 1996. “All Payer, Single Payer, Managed Care, No Payer: Patients’ Perspectives in Three Nations.” *Health Affairs* 15 (2): 254–65.
- Doss, Cheryl R., Carmen Diana Deere, Abena D. Oduro, Hema Swaminathan, Zachary Catanzarite, and J. Y. Suchitra. 2019. “Gendered Paths to Asset Accumulation? Markets, Savings, and Credit in Developing Countries.” *Feminist Economics* 25 (2): 36–66.
- Douglas, Evan J. 2013. “Reconstructing Entrepreneurial Intentions to Identify Predisposition for Growth.” *Journal of Business Venturing* 28 (5): 633–51.
- Drouot S.A. 2021. “Les Maisons de Ventes de Drouot.” Paris: Drouot.
<https://tinyurl.com/2phbd4ss>.
- Duncan, Carol. 1983. “Who Rules the Art World.” *Socialist Review*, no. 70: 99–119.
- DuPuis, E. Melanie, Jill Lindsey Harrison, and David Goodman. 2011. “Just Food.” In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 283–307. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald. 2002. *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality*. Harvard UP.
- Dwyer, Rachel E. 2009. “Making a Habit of It: Positional Consumption, Conventional Action and the Standard of Living.” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 9 (3): 328–47.
- Dyer-Witheford, Nick, and Greig De Peuter. 2009. *Games of Empire: Global Capitalism and Video Games*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Egger, Roman, Igor Gula, and Dominik Walcher, eds. 2014. *Open Tourism: Open Innovation, Crowdsourcing and Co-Creation Challenging the Tourism Industry*. Berlin & Heidelberg: Springer.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, and John Ehrenreich. 1979. “The Professional-Managerial Class.” In *Between Labor and Capital*, by Pat Walker, ed. Boston: South End Press: 5–45.
- Ekholm, Kajsia, and Jonathan Friedman. 1982. “‘Capital’ Imperialism and Exploitation in Ancient World-Systems.” *Fernand Braudel Center Review* 6 (1): 87–109.
- Ekumankama, Ogbuagu, Abel Ezeoha, and Chibuike Uche. 2020. “The Role of Multinational Corporations in Local Dairy Value Chain Development: Case of Friesland Campina WAMCO (FCW) in Nigeria.” *International Food and Agribusiness Management Review* 23 (1030-2020–237): 55–70.
- Ellis, Frank. 1993. *Peasant Economics: Farm Households in Agrarian Development*. Cambridge UP.

- Emanuel, Ezekiel J., and Steven D. Pearson. 2012. "Physician Autonomy and Health Care Reform." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 307 (4): 367–68.
- Engels, Friedrich. 1973. "Die Entwicklung Des Sozialismus von Der Utopie Zur Wissenschaft." In *Werke*, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 4. Edition, 19: 177–228. Berlin: Dietz. www.mlwerke.de/me/me19/me19_177.htm.
- Erikson, Erik H. 1968. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: WW Norton.
- Escobar, Arturo. 2012. "Más Allá Del Desarrollo: Postdesarrollo y Transiciones Hacia El Pluriverso." *Revista de Antropología Social* 21: 23–62.
- . 2015. "Degrowth, Postdevelopment, and Transitions: A Preliminary Conversation." *Sustainability Science* 10 (3): 451–62.
- Esteva, Gustavo. 2014. "Commoning in the New Society." *Community Development Journal* 49 (suppl 1): i144–59.
- Etsy Inc. 2019b. "2018 Annual Report." New York: Etsy.
- . 2019a. "Third Quarter 2019 Financial Results." New York: Etsy.
- Etzioni, Amitai. 1961. *Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- European Commission. 2015. "Mutual Evaluation of Regulated Professions - Overview of the Regulatory Framework in the Transport Sector by Using the Example of Driving Instructors." Brussels.
- European Parliament. 1998. "Health Care Systems in the EU: A Comparative Study." Public Health and Consumer Protection Series Working Paper. Luxemburg.
- Fanselow, Frank S. 1990. "The Bazaar Economy or How Bizarre Is the Bazaar Really?" *Man* 25 (2): 250–65.
- Feldman, Shelley, and Stephen Biggs. 2012. "The Politics of International Assessments: The IAASTD Process, Reception and Significance." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 12 (1): 144–69.
- Fichtner, Jan, Eelke M. Heemskerk, and Javier Garcia-Bernardo. 2017. "Hidden Power of the Big Three? Passive Index Funds, Re-Concentration of Corporate Ownership, and New Financial Risk." *Business and Politics* 19 (2): 298–326.
- Figge, Frank, William Young, and Ralf Barkemeyer. 2014. "Sufficiency or Efficiency to Achieve Lower Resource Consumption and Emissions? The Role of the Rebound Effect." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 69: 216–24.
- Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 1988. "Religious Economies and Sacred Canopies: Religious Mobilization in American Cities, 1906." *American Sociological Review* 53 (1): 41–49.
- Finn, C. P. 2001. "Autonomy: An Important Component for Nurses' Job Satisfaction." *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 38 (3): 349–57.
- Fischer-Kowalski, Marina. 2011. "Analyzing Sustainability Transitions as a Shift between Socio-Metabolic Regimes." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 1 (1): 152–59.
- Fleischman, Forrest, Natalie Ban, Louisa Evans, Graham Epstein, Gustavo Garcia-Lopez, and Sergio Villamayor-Tomas. 2014. "Governing Large-Scale Social-Ecological Systems: Lessons from Five Cases." *International Journal of the Commons* 8 (2): 428–56.

- Fleming, Peter, and Andrew Sturdy. 2009. "'Just Be Yourself!' Towards Neo-Normative Control in Organisations?" *Employee Relations* 31 (6): 569–83.
- Foramitti, Joël, Angelos Varvarousis, and Giorgos Kallis. 2020. "Transition within a Transition: How Cooperative Platforms Want to Change the Sharing Economy." *Sustainability Science* 15 (4): 1185–97.
- Foster, Sheila R., and Christian Iaione. 2015. "The City as a Commons." *Yale Law & Policy Review* 34 (2): 281–350.
- Fourie, Carina, and Annette Rid. 2017. *What Is Enough?: Sufficiency, Justice, and Health*. Oxford UP.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. 1996. "The Underdevelopment of Development." In *The Underdevelopment of Development: Essays in Honor of Andre Gunder Frank*, edited by S. Chew and R. Denemark, 17–55. London: Sage.
- Frank, Joshua, and Saeyoon Sohn. 2011. "A Behavioral Economic Analysis of Excess Entry in Arts Labor Markets." *Journal of Socio-Economics* 40 (3): 265–73.
- Frankfurt, Harry G. 1987. "Equality as a Moral Ideal." *Ethics* 98 (1): 21–43.
- . 1999. *Necessity, Volition, and Love*. Cambridge UP.
- Frey, Bruno S. 1997. *Not Just for the Money*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Friedman, Milton. 1980. *Free to Choose*. New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. <https://tinyurl.com/5jk5m877>.
- Friedmann, Harriet. 1986. "Patriarchy and Property: A Reply to Goodman and Redclift." *Sociologia Ruralis* 26 (2): 186–93.
- Frielingsdorf, O. 2009. "Praktische Tipps: Zukunftschancen Nutzen Im Ärztehaus." *Ärztepost* 7 (2): 16–17.
- Fuchsgruber, Lukas. 2017. "The Hôtel Drouot as the Stock Exchange for Art. Financialization of Art Auctions in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal for Art Market Studies* 1 (1): 34–46.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.
- Furtak, Erin Marie, and Mareike Kunter. 2012. "Effects of Autonomy-Supportive Teaching on Student Learning and Motivation." *Journal of Experimental Education* 80 (3): 284–316.
- Gabriel, Satyananda. 1990. "Ancients: A Marxian Theory of Self-Exploitation." *Rethinking Marxism* 3 (1): 85–106.
- Gago, Verónica, and Sandro Mezzadra. 2017. "A Critique of the Extractive Operations of Capital: Toward an Expanded Concept of Extractivism." *Rethinking Marxism* 29 (4): 574–91.
- Galeano, Eduardo. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Garzon Jimenez, Juan David. 2015. "The European Hard Rock and Heavy Metal Live Music Market: A Closer Look at the Development of Emerging Bands through Live Performing." MA thesis, University of Agder.
- Geenen, Sara, and Ben Radley. 2014. "In the Face of Reform: What Future for ASM in the Eastern DRC?" *Futures* 62: 58–66.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1963. *Peddlers and Princes. Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns*. University of Chicago Press.

- . 1978. "The Bazaar Economy: Information and Search in Peasant Marketing." *American Economic Review* 68 (2): 28–32.
- Geilinger, Ulrich, Chandra P. Leo, Emil Bujak, and Nora Schweizer. 2017. "Trends in US New Drug Approvals." Zug, Switzerland: HBM Partners.
- Gemmill-Herren, Barbara, Lauren E. Baker, and Paula A. Daniels. 2021. *True Cost Accounting for Food: Balancing the Scale*. London: Earthscan.
- Gerber, Julien-François. 2014. "The Role of Rural Indebtedness in the Evolution of Capitalism." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (5): 729–47.
- Gerber, Julien-François, and Rolf Steppacher. 2017. "Basic Principles of Possession-Based Economies." *Anthropological Theory* 17 (2): 217–38.
- Gereffi, Gary. 1994. "The Organization of Buyer-Driven Global Commodity Chains: How US Retailers Shape Overseas Production Networks." In *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*, edited by Gereffi, Gary and Miguel Korzeniewicz, 95–122. Westport, CT & London: Praeger.
- . 1999. "A Commodity Chains Framework for Analyzing Global Industries." *Institute of Development Studies* 8 (12): 1–9.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. 1992. "Rethinking Class in Industrial Geography: Creating a Space for an Alternative Politics of Class." *Economic Geography* 68 (2): 109–27.
- . 1996. *The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 2003. "An Ethics of the Local." *Rethinking Marxism* 15 (1): 49–74.
- . 2008. "Diverse Economies: Performative Practices for Other Worlds." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (5): 613–32.
- . 2014. "Rethinking the Economy with Thick Description and Weak Theory." *Current Anthropology* 55 (S9): S147–53.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K., Ann Hill, and Lisa Law. 2016. "Re-Embedding Economies in Ecologies: Resilience Building in More than Human Communities." *Building Research & Information* 44 (7): 703–16.
- Gill, M. S., J. P. Singh, and K. S. Gangwar. 2009. "Integrated Farming System and Agriculture Sustainability." *Indian Journal of Agronomy* 54 (2): 128–39.
- Gindling, Thomas H., and David Newhouse. 2014. "Self-Employment in the Developing World." *World Development* 56: 313–31.
- Giotitsas, Chris. 2019. *Open Source Agriculture: Grassroots Technology in the Digital Era*. Cham: Springer Nature.
- Girard, Luigi Fusco, and Peter Nijkamp, eds. 2009. *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Glassman, Michael, and Rikki Patton. 2014. "Capability through Participatory Democracy: Sen, Freire, and Dewey." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 46 (12): 1353–65.
- Goldschmidt, Walter Rochs. 1947. *As You Sow: Three Studies in the Social Consequences of Agribusiness*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gomez, Georgina M. 2008. "Do Micro-Enterprises Promote Equity or Growth?" Gorinchem, The Netherlands: Woord en Daad.

- Gomis, Roger, Steven Kapsos, Stefan Kühn, and Hannah Liepmann. 2020. *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2020*. Geneva: International Labor Organization.
- González Marrero, Claudia. 2021. *Literatura, Política y Sociedad: Cuatro Representaciones de Imaginarios En La Revolución Cubana*. Madrid: Hypermedia.
- Gorge, Hélène, Maud Herbert, Nil Özçağlar-Toulouse, and Isabelle Robert. 2015. "What Do We Really Need? Questioning Consumption through Sufficiency." *Journal of Macromarketing* 35 (1): 11–22.
- Gorz, André. 1999. *Reclaiming Work: Beyond the Wage-Based Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Graeber, David. 2018. *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gray, Rob, and Jan Bebbington. 2001. *Accounting for the Environment*. London: Sage.
- Green, Nile. 2015. *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam*. Oxford UP.
- Gregory, Susan, and Deborah Breiter. 2001. "Leveling the Playing Field: E-Marketing's Impact on Lodging Operations." *Journal of Hospitality & Leisure Marketing* 7 (4): 45–60.
- Griffin, Keith, Azizur Rahman Khan, and Amy Ickowitz. 2002. "Poverty and the Distribution of Land." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2 (3): 279–330.
- Groenewoudt, Aleid C., Henny A. Romijn, and Floor Alkemade. 2020. "From Fake Solar to Full Service: An Empirical Analysis of the Solar Home Systems Market in Uganda." *Energy for Sustainable Development* 58: 100–111.
- Grossi, Mauro Eduardo Del, and Vicente P.M. Marques. 2010. "Family Farming in the Agricultural Census of 2006: The Legal Mark and the Options for Their Identification." *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura* 18 (1): 127–57.
- Grover, Dr Chris. 2003. "'New Labour', Welfare Reform and the Reserve Army of Labour." *Capital & Class* 27 (1): 17–23.
- Grusky, David B., and Jesper B. Sørensen. 1998. "Can class analysis be salvaged?" *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (5): 1187–1234.
- Guattari, Félix, and Antonio Negri. 2010. *New Lines of Alliance, Spaces of Liberty*. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia.
- Gudeman, Stephen F. 1986. *Economics as Culture: Models and Metaphors of Livelihood*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Gulbrandsen, M., and S. Kyvik. 2010. "Are the concepts basic research, applied research and experimental development still useful? An empirical investigation among Norwegian academics." *Science and Public Policy* 37 (5): 343–353.
- Guillaumin, Paul. 1987. *Drouot Hier et Aujourd'hui*. Paris: Auteur.
- Guiot, Denis, and Dominique Roux. 2010. "A Second-Hand Shoppers' Motivation Scale: Antecedents, Consequences, and Implications for Retailers." *Journal of Retailing* 86 (4): 355–71.
- Gupta, Anil K., Riya Sinha, Dileep Koradia, Rajnikant Patel, M. Parmar, P. Rohit, H. Patel, K. Patel, V. S. Chand, and T. J. James. 2003. "Mobilizing Grassroots'

- Technological Innovations and Traditional Knowledge, Values and Institutions: Articulating Social and Ethical Capital." *Futures* 35 (9): 975–87.
- Gupta, Clare. 2014. "The Co-Operative Model as a 'Living Experiment in Democracy.'" *Journal of Co-Operative Organization and Management* 2 (2): 98–107.
- Gürel, Burak. 2019. "The Role of Collective Mobilization in the Divergent Performance of the Rural Economies of China and India (1950–2005)." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46 (5): 1021–46.
- Guthman, Julie. 2003. "Fast Food/Organic Food: Reflexive Tastes and the Making of 'Yuppie Chow.'" *Social & Cultural Geography* 4 (1): 45–58.
- Gutman, Graciela. 2002. "Impact of the Rapid Rise of Supermarkets on Dairy Products Systems in Argentina." *Development Policy Review* 20 (4): 409–27.
- Gwilliam, Kenneth M. 2005. "Regulation of Taxi Markets in Developing Countries: Issues and Options." Transport Note No. TRN-3. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Haberl, Helmut, Marina Fischer-Kowalski, Fridolin Krausmann, Joan Martinez-Alier, and Verena Winiwarter. 2011. "A Socio-Metabolic Transition towards Sustainability? Challenges for Another Great Transformation: A Socio-Metabolic Transition towards Sustainability?" *Sustainable Development* 19 (1): 1–14.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hall, Derek. 2013. "Primitive Accumulation, Accumulation by Dispossession and the Global Land Grab." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (9): 1582–1604.
- Handy, Jim. 2009. "'Almost Idiotic Wretchedness': A Long History of Blaming Peasants." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (2): 325–44.
- Harris, Gardiner. 2010. "More Doctors Giving up Private Practices." *New York Times*, March 25. <https://tinyurl.com/yuctmtss>.
- Harrison, Mark. 1977. "The Peasant Mode of Production in the Work of AV Chayanov." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 4 (4): 323–36.
- Harrison, Stephen, and Waqar I. U. Ahmad. 2000. "Medical Autonomy and the UK State 1975 to 2025." *Sociology* 34 (1): 129–46.
- Harriss, John. 2006. "Middle-Class Activism and the Politics of the Informal Working Class: A Perspective on Class Relations and Civil Society in Indian Cities." *Critical Asian Studies* 38 (4): 445–65.
- Harvey, David. 1974. "Population, Resources, and the Ideology of Science." *Economic Geography* 50 (3): 256–77.
- . 1978. "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2 (1–3): 101–31.
- . 2005. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford UP.
- . 2006. *The Limits to Capital*. London: Verso.
- Hassink, Jan, Angela Moriggi, Saverio Senni, Elisabeth Hense, and Dries de Moor. 2020. "Caring Agricultural and Food Practices." In *Routledge Handbook of Sustainable and Regenerative Food Systems*, edited by Jessica Duncan, Michael Carolan, and Wiskerke, Johannes S.C., 126–40. London: Routledge.

- Haupt, Andreas. 2012. "(Un)Gleichheit Durch Soziale Schließung: Effekte Offener Und Geschlossener Teilarbeitsmärkte Auf Die Lohnverteilung in Deutschland." *Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie* 64 (4): 729–53.
- Hauser, Oliver P, and Michael I Norton. 2017. "(Mis)Perceptions of Inequality." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 18: 21–25.
- Haverkamp, Katarzyna, and Kaja Fredriksen. 2018. *Lohnstrukturen Im Handwerk*. Berlin: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung.
- Hawkins, Timothy, Michael Gravier, and Wesley S. Randall. 2018. "Socio-Economic Sourcing: Benefits of Small Business Set-Asides in Public Procurement." *Journal of Public Procurement* 18 (3): 217–39.
- Hayes, Shannon. 2010. *Radical Homemakers: Reclaiming Domesticity from a Consumer Culture*. Richmondville, NY: Left to Write Press Richmondville, NY.
- Healy, Noel, Jennie C. Stephens, and Stephanie A. Malin. 2019. "Embodied Energy Injustices: Unveiling and Politicizing the Transboundary Harms of Fossil Fuel Extractivism and Fossil Fuel Supply Chains." *Energy Research & Social Science* 48: 219–34.
- Heikkinen, Tiina. 2015. "(De)Growth and Welfare in an Equilibrium Model with Heterogeneous Consumers." *Ecological Economics* 116: 330–40.
- Heinsohn, Gunnar, Otto Steiger, and Frank Decker. 2013. *Ownership Economics: On the Foundations of Interest, Money, Markets, Business Cycles and Economic Development*. London: Routledge.
- Heise, Michael. 2016. "The Impossible Question: How Much Inequality Is Too Much?" World Economic Forum. 14. December. <https://tinyurl.com/47kbskud>.
- Henry, Colette, Sarah Baillie, and Jonathan Rushton. 2012. "Exploring the Future Sustainability of Farm Animal Veterinary Practice." Working Paper. London: Royal Veterinary College.
- Hermwille, Lukas. 2016. "The Role of Narratives in Socio-Technical Transitions: Fukushima and the Energy Regimes of Japan, Germany, and the United Kingdom." *Energy Research & Social Science* 11: 237–46.
- Herring, Ronald J., and Rina Agarwala. 2006. "Introduction: Restoring Agency to Class: Puzzles from the Subcontinent." *Critical Asian Studies* 38 (4): 323–56.
- Hesmondhalgh, David. 2008. "Towards a Critical Understanding of Music, Emotion and Self-Identity." *Consumption, Markets and Culture* 11 (4): 329–43.
- Hickel, Jason. 2020. "What Does Degrowth Mean? A Few Points of Clarification." *Globalizations*, 1–7.
- Higgins, Chris. 2010. "Labour, Work, and Action: Arendt's Phenomenology of Practical Life." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 44 (2–3): 275–300.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, Freya. 2009. *Capitalist Globalisation, Corporated Tourism and Their Alternatives*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- High Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition. 2013. "Investing in Smallholder Agriculture for Food Security." Rome: Committee on World Food Security.
- Hilgard, Ernest R. 1980. "The Trilogy of Mind: Cognition, Affection, and Conation." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 16 (2): 107–17.

- Hill, Melvyn A., ed. 1979. *Hannah Arendt, the Recovery of the Public World*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hills, Joshua R., and Grant Cairncross. 2011. "How Small Regional Accommodation Providers View and Respond to Online Intermediaries." *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 17 (4): 249–62.
- Hilson, Gavin. 2016. "Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining and Agriculture: Exploring Their Links in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa." London: IIED.
- . (ed.). 2003. *The Socio-Economic Impact of Small Scale Mining in Developing Countries*. Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.
- Hippel, Eric, and Georg von Krogh. 2003. "Open Source Software and the 'Private Collective' Innovational Model." *Organization Science* 14 (2): 209–33.
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1928. *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1962. *Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- . 1975. *Age of Capital: 1848-1875*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- . 1984. *Workers: Worlds of Labour*. London: Pantheon Books.
- . 1987. *Age of Empire: 1875-1914*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- . 1994. *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century*. London: Abacus.
- Hobson, John M., and Leonard Seabrooke, eds. 2007. *Everyday Politics of the World Economy*. Cambridge UP.
- Hodgkinson, Tom. 2007. *How to Be Free*. London: Penguin Books.
- Hofstede, Geert. 2001. *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Höhn, Hilmar. 2019. "Bauen Für Eine Demokratische Stadt." Berlin: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung.
- Holloway, John. 2005. "Change the world without taking power." *Capital & Class* 29 (1): 39–42.
- Holt-Giménez, Eric, and Annie Shattuck. 2011. "Food Crises, Food Regimes and Food Movements: Rumbblings of Reform or Tides of Transformation?" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (1): 109–44.
- Hopkins, Ed, and Tatiana Kornienko. 2004. "Running to Keep in the Same Place: Consumer Choice as a Game of Status." *American Economic Review* 94 (4): 1085–1107.
- Hracs, Brian J. 2012. "A Creative Industry in Transition: The Rise of Digitally Driven Independent Music Production: The Rise of Independent Music Production." *Growth and Change* 43 (3): 442–61.
- Huang, Philip CC, Gao Yuan, and Yusheng Peng. 2012. "Capitalization without Proletarianization in China's Agricultural Development." *Modern China* 38 (2): 139–73.
- Huber, Matthew T. 2011. "Enforcing Scarcity: Oil, Violence, and the Making of the Market." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101 (4): 816–26.
- Hulme, Alison. 2019. *A Brief History of Thrift*. Manchester UP.

- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1969. *The Limits of State Action*. Edited by J.W. Burrow. Cambridge UP.
- Huta, Veronika, and Alan S. Waterman. 2014. "Eudaimonia and Its Distinction from Hedonia: Developing a Classification and Terminology for Understanding Conceptual and Operational Definitions." *Journal of Happiness Studies* 15 (6): 1425–56.
- Iaione, Christian. 2016. "The CO-City: Sharing, Collaborating, Cooperating, and Commoning in the City." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 75 (2): 415–55.
- Illich, Ivan. 1973. *Tools for Conviviality*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Ingold, Tim. 2002. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
- Institut Municipal de Mercats de Barcelona. 2012. "The Markets of the Mediterranean." Barcelona.
- International Confederation of Midwives. n.d. "Vision and Mission." <https://tinyurl.com/3swcu69z>.
- International Labor Organization. 2020. "World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2020." Geneva: ILO.
- Iordanova, Dina. 2002. "Feature Filmmaking within the New Europe: Moving Funds and Images across the East-West Divide." *Media, Culture & Society* 24 (4): 517–36.
- Ioris, Antonio A R. 2016. "Water Scarcity and the Exclusionary City: The Struggle for Water Justice in Lima, Peru." *Water International* 41 (1): 125–39.
- Ip, Kenneth, and Andrew Miller. 2009. "Thermal Behaviour of an Earth-Sheltered Autonomous Building—The Brighton Earthship." *Renewable Energy* 34 (9): 2037–43.
- Ireland, Paddy, and Gaofeng Meng. 2017. "Post-Capitalist Property." *Economy and Society* 46 (3–4): 369–97.
- Jakle, John A., and Keith A. Sculle. 2004. *Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Jansen, Kees. 2015. "The Debate on Food Sovereignty Theory: Agrarian Capitalism, Dispossession and Agroecology." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 42 (1): 213–32.
- Jehlička, Petr, Petr Daněk, and Jan Vávra. 2019. "Rethinking Resilience: Home Gardening, Food Sharing and Everyday Resistance." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 40 (4): 511–27.
- Johansson, Anders W. 2004. "Narrating the Entrepreneur." *International Small Business Journal* 22 (3): 273–93.
- Johns, Michael ME, Dianne Miller Wolman, and Cheryl Ulmer. 2009. *Resident Duty Hours: Enhancing Sleep, Supervision, and Safety*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.
- Joose, Sofie, and Ann Grubbström. 2017. "Continuity in Farming - Not Just Family Business." *Journal of Rural Studies* 50: 198–208.
- Judt, Tony. 2009. *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. London: Vintage Books.

- Kaiserfeld, Thomas. 2015. *Beyond Innovation: Technology, Institution and Change as Categories for Social Analysis*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kalb, Don. 1997. *Expanding Class: Power and Everyday Politics in Industrial Communities, The Netherlands, 1850-1950*. Durham, NC: Duke UP.
- Kallis, Giorgos. 2011. "In Defence of Degrowth." *Ecological Economics* 70 (5): 873–80.
- Kalm, Sara. 2020. "Citizenship Capital." *Global Society* 34 (4): 528–51.
- Kam, Cindy D. 2007. "Implicit Attitudes, Explicit Choices: When Subliminal Priming Predicts Candidate Preference." *Political Behavior* 29 (3): 343–67.
- Kanbur, Ravi, and Hillel Rapoport. 2005. "Migration Selectivity and the Evolution of Spatial Inequality." *Journal of Economic Geography* 5 (1): 43–57.
- Kaplan, Rachel. 1993. "The Role of Nature in the Context of the Workplace." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 26 (1–4): 193–201.
- Kapner, Suzanne. 2015. "How Etsy Crafted a Tax Strategy in Ireland." *Wall Street Journal*, 16. August. <https://tinyurl.com/y5cpkbpX>.
- Kapp, Karl William. 1963. *Social Costs of Business Enterprise*. London: Asia Publishing House.
- Karakas, Fahri. 2010. "Spirituality and Performance in Organizations: A Literature Review." *Journal of Business Ethics* 94 (1): 89–106.
- Katz, Cindi. 2001. "Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction." *Antipode* 33 (4): 709–28.
- Katz, Lawrence F. 1999. "Changes in the Wage Structure and Earnings Inequality." In *Handbook of Labor Economics*, edited by Ashenfelter, Orley and David Card, 3:1463–1555. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Kaul, Inge, I. Grunberg, and Marc A. Stern, eds. 1999. *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century*. London: Oxford UP.
- Kay, Cristóbal. 2008. "Reflections on Latin American Rural Studies in the Neoliberal Globalization Period: A New Rurality?" *Development and Change* 39 (6): 915–43.
- Keep, William W., and Peter J. Vander Nat. 2014. "Multilevel Marketing and Pyramid Schemes in the United States: An Historical Analysis." *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 6 (2): 188–210.
- Kennedy, Peter. 2015. "The Contradictions of Capitalist Healthcare Systems." *Critique* 43 (2): 211–31.
- Keshavarzian, Arang. 2007. *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace*. Cambridge UP.
- Kinsella, Jim, Susan Wilson, Floor de Jong, and Henk Renting. 2000. "Pluriactivity as a Livelihood Strategy in Irish Farm Households and Its Role in Rural Development." *Sociologia Ruralis* 40 (4): 481–96.
- Kloppenborg, Jack. 2010. "Impeding Dispossession, Enabling Repossession: Biological Open Source and the Recovery of Seed Sovereignty." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10 (3): 367–88.
- . 2014. "Re-Purposing the Master's Tools: The Open Source Seed Initiative and the Struggle for Seed Sovereignty." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (6): 1225–46.

- Knierim, Andrea, Pierre Labarthe, Catherine Laurent, Katrin Prager, Jozef Kania, Livia Madureira, and Tim Hycenth Ndah. 2017. "Pluralism of Agricultural Advisory Service Providers – Facts and Insights from Europe." *Journal of Rural Studies* 55: 45–58.
- Knight, Carl. 2009. *Luck Egalitarianism: Equality, Responsibility, and Justice*. Edinburgh UP.
- Knorringa, Peter, Iva Peša, André Leliveld, and Cees van Beers. 2016. "Frugal Innovation and Development: Aides or Adversaries?" *European Journal of Development Research* 28 (2): 143–53.
- Koehn, Daryl. 2001. "Ethical Issues Connected with Multi-Level Marketing Schemes." *Journal of Business Ethics* 29 (1–2): 153–60.
- Kogstad, Ragnfrid Eline, T.-J. Ekeland, and Jan Kaare Hummelvoll. 2011. "In Defence of a Humanistic Approach to Mental Health Care: Recovery Processes Investigated with the Help of Clients' Narratives on Turning Points and Processes of Gradual Change." *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing* 18 (6): 479–86.
- Kohr, Leopold. 1970. "The Academic Inn." *Resurgence* 3 (4): 21–23.
- . 1978. *The Breakdown of Nations*. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Kolakowski, Leszek. 2002. "What Is Left of Socialism." *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* 13 (10): 42–47.
- Kothari, Ashish, Ariel Salleh, Arturo Escobar, Federico Demaria, and Alberto Acosta, eds. 2019. *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*. New Delhi: Tulika Books and Authorsupfront.
- Kotiswaran, Prabha. 2011. *Dangerous Sex, Invisible Labor: Sex Work and the Law in India*. Princeton UP.
- Kotschi, Johannes, and Bernd Horneburg. 2018. "The Open Source Seed Licence: A Novel Approach to Safeguarding Access to Plant Germplasm." *PLoS Biology* 16 (10): e3000023.
- Kozan, M. Kamil, Dolun Oksoy, and Onur Ozsoy. 2012. "Owner Sacrifice and Small Business Growth." *Journal of World Business* 47 (3): 409–19.
- Kriegel, Lara. 2007. *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*. Durham, NC: Duke UP.
- Krige, Detlev. 2012. "Fields of Dreams, Fields of Schemes: Ponzi Finance and Multi-Level Marketing in South Africa." *Africa* 82 (1): 69–92.
- Kristjansson, Elizabeth, William Hogg, Simone Dahrouge, Meltem Tuna, Liesha Mayo-Bruinsma, and Goshu Gebremichael. 2013. "Predictors of Relational Continuity in Primary Care: Patient, Provider and Practice Factors." *BMC Family Practice* 14 (1): 72.
- Krugh, Michele. 2014. "Joy in Labour: The Politicization of Craft from the Arts and Crafts Movement to Etsy." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 44 (2): 281–301.
- Krzywoszyńska, Anna. 2019. "Caring for Soil Life in the Anthropocene: The Role of Attentiveness in More-than-Human Ethics." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 44 (4): 661–75.

- Kunda, Gideon. 1992. *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP.
- Küsgen, Wilhelm, Paul Gerbeth, Heinrich Herzog, Laurenz Schneider, and Gerhard Raabe. 2013. *Handwörterbuch des Postwesens*. Berlin: Springer.
- Lambert, Yves. 1999. "Religion in Modernity as a New Axial Age: Secularization or New Religious Forms?" *Sociology of Religion* 60 (3): 303–33.
- Lang, Richard, and Andreas Novy. 2011. "Housing Cooperatives and Social Capital: The Case of Vienna." SRE - Discussion Papers, 2011/02. WU Vienna University of Economics and Business.
- Langley, Paul. 2020. "Assets and Assetization in Financialized Capitalism." *Review of International Political Economy* 28 (2): 382–93.
- Langley, Paul, and Andrew Leyshon. 2017. "Platform Capitalism: The Intermediation and Capitalisation of Digital Economic Circulation." *Finance and Society* 3 (1): 11–31.
- Langthaler, Ernst. 2012. "Wirtschaften Mit Stil: Historisch-Anthropologische Perspektiven Zum Agrarstrukturwandel Als Praxis." *Historische Anthropologie* 20 (3): 276–96.
- Lazar, Sian. 2006. "El Alto, Ciudad Rebelde: Organisational Bases for Revolt." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25 (2): 183–99.
- Leavitt, Jacqueline, and Gary Blasi. 2009. "The Los Angeles Taxi Workers Alliance." Berkeley: University of California Transportation Center.
- Lebowitz, Fran. 1978. *Metropolitan Life*. New York: Fawcett.
- Lebowitz, Michael A. 2012. *The Contradictions of "Real Socialism": The Conductor and the Conducted*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Leder, Stephanie, Fraser Sugden, Manita Raut, Dhananjay Ray, and Panchali Saikia. 2019. "Ambivalences of Collective Farming." *International Journal of the Commons* 13 (1): 105–29.
- Lee, Jiz, and Rebecca Sullivan. 2016. "Porn and Labour: The Labour of Porn Studies." *Porn Studies* 3 (2): 104–6.
- Lehmann, Bernard. 2002. *L'orchestre Dans Tous Ses Éclats: Ethnographie Des Formations Symphoniques*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Lehrer, Mark, and Sokol Celso. 2016. "German Family Capitalism in the 21st Century: Patient Capital between Bifurcation and Symbiosis." *Socio-Economic Review* 14 (4): 729–50.
- Leissle, Kristy. 2017. "'Artisan' as Brand: Adding Value In A Craft Chocolate Community." *Food, Culture & Society* 20 (1): 37–57.
- Lepore, Jill. 2021. "What's Wrong with the Way We Work." *New Yorker*, January 18. <https://tinyurl.com/56s8ue8f>.
- Levitsky, David A., and Carly R. Pacanowski. 2012. "Free Will and the Obesity Epidemic." *Public Health Nutrition* 15 (1): 126–41.
- Lian, Huiwen, D. Lance Ferris, and Douglas J. Brown. 2012. "Does Power Distance Exacerbate or Mitigate the Effects of Abusive Supervision? It Depends on the Outcome." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 97 (1): 107–23.

- Lipovetsky, Gilles, and Jean Serroy. 2016. *L'esthétisation Du Monde. Vivre à l'âge Du Capitalisme Artiste*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Lipton, Michael. 2009. *Land Reform in Developing Countries: Property Rights and Property Wrongs*. London: Routledge.
- . 2017. "Staples Production: Efficient 'Subsistence' Smallholders Are Key to Poverty Reduction, Development, and Trade." In *Agriculture and Rural Development in a Globalizing World*, edited by Prabhu Pingali and Gershon Feder, 82–102. London: Routledge.
- Little, Brian R. 2014. "Well-Doing: Personal Projects and the Quality of Lives." *Theory and Research in Education* 12 (3): 329–46.
- Locke, Richard M. 2003. "The Promise and Perils of Globalization: The Case of Nike." MIT Industrial Performance Center Working Paper 02-008. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- London, Christopher E. 1997. "Class Relations and Capitalist Development: Subsumption in the Colombian Coffee Industry, 1928–92." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 24 (4): 269–95.
- Lordon, Frédéric. 2014. *Willing Slaves of Capital: Spinoza and Marx on Desire*. London: Verso.
- Losch, Bruno. 2004. "Debating the Multifunctionality of Agriculture: From Trade Negotiations to Development Policies by the South." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4 (3): 336–60.
- Low, Murray B., and Ian C. MacMillan. 1988. "Entrepreneurship: Past Research and Future Challenges." *Journal of Management* 14 (2): 139–61.
- Lucassen, Jan, Tine De Moor, and Jan Luiten van Zanden. 2008. "The Return of the Guilds: Towards a Global History of the Guilds in Pre-Industrial Times." *International Review of Social History* 53 (S16): 5–18.
- Luckman, Susan. 2013. "The Aura of the Analogue in a Digital Age: Women's Crafts, Creative Markets and Home-Based Labour after Etsy." *Cultural Studies Review* 19 (1): 249.
- Lüdtke, Alf. 2006. "War as Work. Aspects of Soldiering in Twentieth Century Wars." In *No Man's Land of Violence. Extreme Wars in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Alf Lüdtke and Bernd Weisbrod, 127–51. Göttingen: Wallstein.
- Luke, Timothy W. 2002. *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition*. Minneapolis, MA: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lumsdon, Les, Paul Downward, and Andy Cope. 2004. "Monitoring of Cycle Tourism on Long Distance Trails: The North Sea Cycle Route." *Journal of Transport Geography* 12 (1): 13–22.
- Machaqueiro, Raquel. 2017. "The Semiotics of Carbon: Atmospheric Space, Fungibility, and the Production of Scarcity: Semiotics of Carbon." *Economic Anthropology* 4 (1): 82–93.
- Mackay, Robin, and Armen Anessian, eds. 2017. *Accelerate: The Accelerationist Reader*. Falmouth, UK: Urbanomic Media.
- Mackintosh, Maureen. 1990. "Abstract Markets and Real Needs." In *The Food Question: Profits versus People*, edited by Henry Bernstein, Ben Crow, Maureen Mackintosh, and Charlotte Martin, 43–53. London: Earthscan.

- Maizes, Victoria, David Rakel, and Catherine Niemiec. 2009. "Integrative Medicine and Patient-Centered Care." *Explore* 5 (5): 277–89.
- Mancini, Anthony D. 2008. "Self-Determination Theory: A Framework for the Recovery Paradigm." *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment* 14 (5): 358–65.
- Mann, Michael. 1999. "The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing." *New Left Review* 235: 18–45.
- Manning, Alan. 2003. "The Real Thin Theory: Monopsony in Modern Labour Markets." *Labour Economics* 10 (2): 105–31.
- Mansbridge, Jane, James Bohman, Simone Chambers, David Estlund, Andreas Få, llesdal, Archon Fung, Cristina Lafont, Bernard Manin, and Jos   Luis Mart  . 2010. "The Place of Self-Interest and the Role of Power in Deliberative Democracy*." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18 (1): 64–100.
- Manyika, James, J. Mischke, J. Bughin, J. Woetzel, M. Krishnan, and S. Cudre. 2019. "A New Look at the Declining Labor Share of Income in the United States." New York: McKinsey Global Institute.
- Marino, Stefania, Magdalena Bernaciak, Adam Mrozowicki, and Valeria Pulignano. 2019. "Unions for Whom? Union Democracy and Precarious Workers in Poland and Italy." *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 40 (1): 111–31.
- Marques, Joan F. 2006. "The Spiritual Worker: An Examination of the Ripple Effect That Enhances Quality of Life in-and Outside the Work Environment." *Journal of Management Development* 25 (9): 884–95.
- Marquet, Oriol, and Carme Miralles-Guasch. 2015. "The Walkable City and the Importance of the Proximity Environments for Barcelona's Everyday Mobility." *Cities* 42: 258–66.
- Marraffino, Joe. 2009. "The Replication of Arizmendi Bakery: A Model of the Democratic Worker Cooperative Movement." *Grassroots Economic Organizing (GEO) Newsletter* 2 (3). <http://www.geo.coop/node/365>.
- Marsden, Terry. 1990. "Towards the Political Economy of Pluriactivity." *Journal of Rural Studies* 6 (4): 375–82.
- Marsden, Terry, and Roberta Sonnino. 2008. "Rural Development and the Regional State: Denying Multifunctional Agriculture in the UK." *Journal of Rural Studies* 42: 422–31.
- Martin, Nina. 2014. "Food Fight! Immigrant Street Vendors, Gourmet Food Trucks and the Differential Valuation of Creative Producers in C Hicago." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (5): 1867–83.
- Mart  nez Alier, Joan. 1995. "In Praise of Smallholders." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 23 (1): 140–48.
- Mart  nez Alier, Joan, Giuseppe Munda, and John O'Neill. 1998. "Weak Comparability of Values as a Foundation for Ecological Economics." *Ecological Economics* 26: 277–86.
- Marx, Karl. 1959. *Capital Volume III*. New York: International Publishers.
- . 1969. *Value, Price and Profit*. New York: International Co.
- . 1970. "Critique of the Gotha Program." Moscow: Progress Publishers.

- . 1990. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Marx, Paris. 2020. "Nationalize Amazon." *Jacobin*, March 29. <https://tinyurl.com/4x5v3hky>.
- Matchar, Emily. 2013. *Homeward Bound: Why Women Are Embracing the New Domesticity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Mateo-Babiano, Iderlina. 2016. "Indigeneity of Transport in Developing Cities." *International Planning Studies* 21 (2): 132–47.
- Matthews, Anne, P. Anne Scott, Pamela Gallagher, and Melissa A. Corbally. 2006. "An Exploratory Study of the Conditions Important in Facilitating the Empowerment of Midwives." *Midwifery* 22 (2): 181–91.
- Mazoyer, Marcel, and Laurence Roudart. 2006. *A History of World Agriculture: From the Neolithic Age to the Current Crisis*. New York UP.
- Mazzucato, Mariana. 2013. *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths*. New York: Anthem Press.
- McCallum, Jamie K. 2020. *Worked Over: How Round-the-Clock Work Is Killing the American Dream*. New York: Basic Books.
- McCarthy, Kevin F., Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje, Arthur Brooks, and Andras Szanto. 2005. *A Portrait of the Visual Arts: Meeting the Challenges of a New Era*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
- McGettigan, Andrew. 2013. *The Great University Gamble: Money, Markets and the Future of Higher Education*. London: Pluto.
- McGowan, Pauric, Caroline Lewis Redeker, Sarah Y Cooper, and Kate Greenan. 2012. "Female Entrepreneurship and the Management of Business and Domestic Roles: Motivations, Expectations." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 24 (1–2): 53–72.
- McKee, Alan. 2016. "Pornography as a Creative Industry: Challenging the Exceptionalist Approach to Pornography." *Porn Studies* 3 (2): 107–19.
- McKillop, Donal, Declan French, Barry Quinn, Anna L. Sobiech, and John OS Wilson. 2020. "Cooperative Financial Institutions: A Review of the Literature." *International Review of Financial Analysis* 71: 101520.
- McKillop, Donal, and John OS Wilson. 2011. "Credit Unions: A Theoretical and Empirical Overview." *Financial Markets, Institutions & Instruments* 20 (3): 79–123.
- McKinnon, Andrew M. 2013. "Ideology and the Market Metaphor in Rational Choice Theory of Religion: A Rhetorical Critique of 'Religious Economies.'" *Critical Sociology* 39 (4): 529–43.
- McMichael, Philip. 2009. "A Food Regime Genealogy." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (1): 139–69.
- . 2012. "Depeasantization." In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*, edited by George Ritzer, n.p. London: Blackwell.
- . 2013. "Value-Chain Agriculture and Debt Relations: Contradictory Outcomes." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (4): 671–90.

- McMullen, Jeffery S., and Dimo Dimov. 2013. "Time and the Entrepreneurial Journey: The Problems and Promise of Studying Entrepreneurship as a Process." *Journal of Management Studies* 50 (8): 1481–1512.
- McQueen, Robert J., and Zhaowen Yin. 2014. "Perceptions of Entrepreneurs about Their Zero Employee Web Enabled Businesses." *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development* 21 (1): 26–48.
- McStotts, Jennifer Cohoon. 2004. "Dwelling Together: Using Cooperative Housing to Abate the Affordable Housing Shortage in Canada and the United States." *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 32 (1): 131–66.
- Medved, Primož. 2016. "A Contribution to the Structural Model of Autonomous Sustainable Neighbourhoods: New Socio-Economical Basis for Sustainable Urban Planning." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 120: 21–30.
- Mehta, Lyla, Amber Huff, and Jeremy Allouche. 2019. "The New Politics and Geographies of Scarcity." *Geoforum* 101: 222–30.
- Meier, Leslie M., and Vincent R. Manzerolle. 2019. "Rising Tides? Data Capture, Platform Accumulation, and New Monopolies in the Digital Music Economy." *New Media & Society* 21 (3): 543–61.
- Meiksins Wood, Ellen. 1995. *Democracy Against Capitalism. Renewing Historical Materialism*. Cambridge UP.
- . 2012. "Peasants and the Market Imperative: The Origins of Capitalism." In *Peasants and Globalization*, edited by Akram-Lodhi, Haroon and Kay, Cristóbal, 49–68. London: Routledge.
- Menger, Pierre-Michel. 2002. *Portrait de l'artiste En Travailleur: Métamorphoses Du Capitalisme*. Paris: La République des Idées.
- Menjívar, Cecilia, and Leisy Abrego. 2012. "Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 117 (5): 1380–1421.
- Mesa-Lago, Carmelo. 1969. "Economic Significance of Unpaid Labor in Socialist Cuba." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 22 (3): 339–57.
- Meyerhoff, Hanke Carsten, Torsten Siegmeier, and Detlev Möller. 2012. "Weder Familienbetrieb Noch Hofgemeinschaft – Eine Explorative Studie Zur Organisation In 'Gemeinschaftshöfen'." 52. Jahrestagung der GEWISOLA, Hohenheim, 26.–28. September.
- Meyers, Joan SM. 2005. "Workplace Democracy Comes of Age: Economic Stability, Growth, and Workforce Diversity." In *Worker Participation: Current Research and Future Trends*, edited by V. Smith, 205–37. Bingley, UK: Emerald.
- Miele, Mara, and Jonathan Murdoch. 2002. "The Practical Aesthetics of Traditional Cuisines: Slow Food in Tuscany." *Sociologia Ruralis* 42 (4): 312–28.
- Mies, Maria, and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen. 2000. *Subsistence Perspective*. London: Zed Books.
- Mignolo, Walter D. 2018. "Foreword. On Pluriversality and Multipolarity." In *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge*, edited by Bernd Reiter, ix–xvi. Durham, NC: Duke UP.
- Mignot-Lefebvre, Yvonne, and Michel Lefebvre. 1995. *Les Patrimoines Du Futur: Les Sociétés Aux Prises Avec La Mondialisation*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

- Milagro Nuñez-Solis, Maria del, Christopher Rosin, and Nazmun Ratna. 2020. "Coffee Micro-Mills in Costa Rica: A Non-Cooperative Path to Regenerative Agriculture?" In *Routledge Handbook of Sustainable and Regenerative Food Systems*, edited by Jessica Duncan, Carolan, Michael, and Wiskerke, Johannes S.C., 248–61. London: Earthscan.
- Milanovic, Branko. 2015. "Global Inequality of Opportunity: How Much of Our Income Is Determined by Where We Live?" *Review of Economics and Statistics* 97 (2): 452–60.
- Miller, Kent D. 2002. "Competitive Strategies of Religious Organizations." *Strategic Management Journal* 23 (5): 435–56.
- Miller, Peter, and Nikolas Rose. 1990. "Governing Economic Life." *Economy and Society* 19 (1): 1–31.
- Miner, Annie. 2016. "Etsy Manufacturing: Making Connections Through Projects." *Etsy Seller Handbook* (blog). 1. August. <https://tinyurl.com/2b9rc96r>.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2009. "Carbon Democracy." *Economy and Society* 38 (3): 399–432.
- Mohun, Simon. 2014. "Unproductive Labor in the US Economy 1964–2010." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 46 (3): 355–79.
- Molesworth, Mike, Richard Scullion, and Elizabeth Nixon. 2010. *The Marketisation of Higher Education*. London: Routledge.
- Morales, Alfonso. 2000. "Peddling Policy: Street Vending in Historical and Contemporary Contest." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 20 (3/4): 76–98.
- . 2009. "Public Markets as Community Development Tools." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28 (4): 426–40.
- Moriggi, Angela, Katriina Soini, Bettina B. Bock, and Dirk Roep. 2020. "Caring in, for, and with Nature: An Integrative Framework to Understand Green Care Practices." *Sustainability* 12 (8): 3361.
- Morrow, Marina, and Julia Weisser. 2012. "Towards a Social Justice Framework of Mental Health Recovery." *Studies in Social Justice* 6 (1): 27–43.
- Mostashari, Farzad. 2016. "The Paradox of Size: How Small, Independent Practices Can Thrive in Value-Based Care." *Annals of Family Medicine* 14 (1): 5–7.
- Mugion, Roberta Guglielmetti, Martina Toni, Hendry Raharjo, Laura Di Pietro, and Samuel Petros Sebatu. 2018. "Does the Service Quality of Urban Public Transport Enhance Sustainable Mobility?" *Journal of Cleaner Production* 174: 1566–87.
- Mullen, Caroline, and Greg Marsden. 2016. "Mobility Justice in Low Carbon Energy Transitions." *Energy Research & Social Science* 18: 109–17.
- Munck, Ronaldo. 2013. "The Precariat: A View from the South." *Third World Quarterly* 34 (5): 747–62.
- Munro, Kirstin, and Chris O'Kane. 2017. "Autonomy and Creativity in the Artisan Economy and the New Spirit of Capitalism." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 49 (4): 582–90.
- . 2021. "The Artisan Economy and the New Spirit of Capitalism." *Critical Sociology*, 1–17.

- Muraca, Barbara. 2012a. "Towards a Fair Degrowth-Society: Justice and the Right to a 'Good Life' beyond Growth." *Futures* 44 (6): 535–45.
- Murali, Vijaya, and Femi Oyeboade. 2004. "Poverty, Social Inequality and Mental Health." *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment* 10 (3): 216–24.
- Nading, Alex M. 2013. "'Love Isn't There in Your Stomach' A Moral Economy of Medical Citizenship among Nicaraguan Community Health Workers." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 27 (1): 84–102.
- Netting, Robert McC. 1976. "What Alpine Peasants Have in Common: Observations on Communal Tenure in a Swiss Village." *Human Ecology* 4 (2): 135–46.
- . 1993. *Smallholders, Householders: Farm Families and the Ecology of Intensive, Sustainable Agriculture*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford UP.
- Newman, Daniel. 2016. "The Car and the Commons." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 48 (1): 53–65.
- Newman, Lenore Lauri, and Katherine Burnett. 2013. "Street Food and Vibrant Urban Spaces: Lessons from Portland, Oregon." *Local Environment* 18 (2): 233–48.
- Nicolaus, T. 2019. "The Platformization of the Music Industry-A Case Study of Bandcamp." Master's Thesis, Utrecht University.
- Nicolle, Emmanuelle, and Imke Mathauer. 2010. "Administrative Costs of Health Insurance Schemes: Exploring the Reasons for Their Variability." Geneva: World Health Organization.
- Niekerk, Jaci van, and Rachel Wynberg. 2017. "Traditional Seed and Exchange Systems Cement Social Relations and Provide a Safety Net: A Case Study from KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa." *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems* 41 (9–10): 1099–1123.
- Niemiec, Christopher P., and Richard M. Ryan. 2009. "Autonomy, Competence, and Relatedness in the Classroom: Applying Self-Determination Theory to Educational Practice." *Theory and Research in Education* 7 (2): 133–44.
- Niezen, Gerrit, Parisa Eslambolchilar, and Harold Thimbleby. 2016. "Open-Source Hardware for Medical Devices." *British Medical Journal Innovations* 2 (2): 78–83.
- Nigh, Ronald, and Alma Amalia González Cabañas. 2015. "Reflexive Consumer Markets as Opportunities for New Peasant Farmers in Mexico and France: Constructing Food Sovereignty through Alternative Food Networks." *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems* 39 (3): 317–41.
- Niska, Miira, Hannu T. Vesala, and Kari Mikko Vesala. 2012. "Peasantry and Entrepreneurship as Frames for Farming: Reflections on Farmers' Values and Agricultural Policy Discourses." *Sociologia Ruralis* 52 (4): 453–69.
- Nørgård, Jørgen S. 2013. "Happy Degrowth through More Amateur Economy." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 38: 61–70.
- Norton, Anne. 2004. *95 Theses on Politics, Culture, and Method*. Yale UP.
- Norton, Emma K. 2014. "'True Handmade': Exploring the Negotiations over the Subcultural Ideology of Authenticity within the Etsy Community." Master's Thesis, Utrecht University.
- Norton, Michael I., and Dan Ariely. 2011. "Building a Better America—One Wealth Quintile at a Time." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 6 (1): 9–12.

- Nussbaum, Martha. 2003. "Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice." *Feminist Economics* 9 (2–3): 33–59.
- Nzegwu, Nkiru. 1995. "Recovering Igbo Traditions: A Case for Indigenous Women's Organizations in Development." In *Women, Culture, and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities*, edited by Martha Nussbaum and Jonathan Clover, 444–66. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- O'Flaherty, Michael. 1998. "Communal Tenure in Zimbabwe: Divergent Models of Collective Land Holding in the Communal Areas." *Africa* 68 (4): 537–57.
- Ohlert, Clemens. 2016. "Establishment Heterogeneity, Rent Sharing And The Rise of Wage Inequality in Germany." *International Journal of Manpower* 37 (2): 210–28.
- Olson, Daniel V. A. 2003. "Competing Notions of Religious Competition and Conflict in Theories of Religious Economies." In *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism*, edited by Ted E. Jelen, 133–66. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Olssen, Mark, and Michael A. Peters. 2005. "Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy: From the Free Market to Knowledge Capitalism." *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (3): 313–45.
- Omroep West. 2016. "Goudse Moslims Willen Donaties Voor Supermoskee Terug." Omroep West. June 28. <https://tinyurl.com/dn79fz25>.
- Ore-Monago, Tilsa, and José Távora. 2018. "Milking the Milkers: A Study on Buyer Power in the Dairy Market of Peru." American Economic Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, 5.–7. January.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 2016. "Dark Anthropology and Its Others: Theory since the Eighties." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (1): 47–73.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge UP.
- . 2010. "Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems." *American Economic Review* 100 (3): 641–72.
- Ouma, Stefan. 2016. "From Financialization to Operations of Capital: Historicizing and Disentangling the Finance–Farmland–Nexus." *Geoforum* 72: 82–93.
- Page, Leigh. 2013. "The Rise and Further Rise of Concierge Medicine." *British Medical Journal* 347: f6465.
- Pajnik, Mojca. 2016. "'Wasted Precariat': Migrant Work in European Societies." *Progress in Development Studies* 16 (2): 159–72.
- Pang, Laikwan. 2009. "The Labor Factor in the Creative Economy A Marxist Reading." *Social Text* 27 (2): 55–76.
- Pansera, Mario, and Soumodip Sarkar. 2016. "Crafting Sustainable Development Solutions: Frugal Innovations of Grassroots Entrepreneurs." *Sustainability* 8 (1): 51.
- Parry, Jonathan. 1986. "The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'." *Man* 21 (3): 453–73.
- Pasquale, Frank. 2016. "Two Narratives of Platform Capitalism." *Yale Law and Policy Review* 35: 309–19.

- Pasquinelli, Matteo, and Vladan Joler. 2020. "The Nooscope Manifested: AI as Instrument of Knowledge Extractivism." *AI & Society*.
- Patnaik, Utsa. 1976. "Class Differentiation within the Peasantry: An Approach to Analysis of Indian Agriculture." *Economic and Political Weekly* 11 (39): A82–101.
- Pauly, Mark, and Michael Redisch. 1973. "The Not-For-Profit Hospital as a Physicians' Cooperative." *American Economic Review* 63 (1): 87–99.
- Pedersen, John Martin. 2010. "Properties of Property: A Jurisprudential Analysis." *The Commoner* 14: 137–210.
- Perrenoud, Marc. 2007. *Les Musicos: Enquête Sur Des Musiciens Ordinaires*. Paris: La Découverte.
- . 2008. "Les Musicos Au Miroir Des Artisans Du Bâtiment." *Ethnologie Française* 38 (1): 101–6.
- Peters, Michael 2012. "Bio-Informational Capitalism." *Thesis Eleven* 110 (1): 98–111.
- Peters, Thomas J., and Robert H. Waterman. 1982. *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Petruzzi, Marina A., Catarina Marques, and Valerie Sheppard. 2021. "To Share or to Exchange: An Analysis of the Sharing Economy Characteristics of Airbnb and Fairbnb.Coop." *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 92: 102724.
- Pink, Sarah, and Lisa J. Servon. 2013. "Sensory Global Towns: An Experiential Approach to the Growth of the Slow City Movement." *Environment and Planning* 45 (2): 451–66.
- Pistor, Katharina. 2020. *The Code of Capital: How the Law Creates Wealth and Inequality*. Princeton UP.
- Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: Economic and Political Origins of Our Time*. New York: Rinehart.
- . 1977. *Livelihood of Man*. Edited by Harry W. Pearson. New York: Academic Press.
- Poort, Joost, and Nico van Eijk. 2017. "Digital Fixation: The Law and Economics of a Fixed e-Book Price." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23 (4): 464–81.
- Potter, Wendell. 2013. "Producing Public Opinion: How the Insurance Industry Shaped US Health Care." In *Health Care Reform and Globalisation: The US, China and Europe in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Peggy Watson, 15–38. London: Routledge.
- Pretty, Jules N. 1997. "The Sustainable Intensification of Agriculture." *Natural Resources Forum* 21 (4): 247–56.
- . 2004. "How Nature Contributes to Mental and Physical Health." *Spirituality and Health International* 5 (2): 68–78.
- Preuss, Lutz. 2011. "On the Contribution of Public Procurement to Entrepreneurship and Small Business Policy." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 23 (9–10): 787–814.
- Pulfer, Iris, and Markus Lips. 2010. "Success Factors for Farming Collectives." *Journal of Socio-Economics in Agriculture* 3 (1): 231–54.

- Qi, Jiaqi, Xiaoyong Zheng, and Hongdong Guo. 2019. "The Formation of Taobao Villages in China." *China Economic Review* 53: 106–27.
- Quilley, Stephen. 2012. "System Innovation and a New 'Great Transformation': Re-Embedding Economic Life in the Context of 'De-Growth.'" *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship* 3 (2): 206–29.
- Radley, Ben. 2020. "A Distributional Analysis of Artisanal and Industrial Wage Levels and Expenditure in the Congolese Mining Sector." *The Journal of Development Studies* 56 (10): 1964–79.
- Radywyl, Natalia, and Che Biggs. 2013. "Reclaiming the Commons for Urban Transformation." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 50: 159–70.
- Rakowski, Eric. 1991. *Equal Justice*. Oxford UP.
- Raley, Yvonne. 2006. "Food Advertising, Education, and the Erosion of Autonomy." *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* 20 (1): 67–79.
- Randall, Amy E. 2000. "Revolutionary Bolshevik Work: Stakhanovism in Retail Trade." *The Russian Review* 59 (3): 425–41.
- Ratcliff, Jessica. 2016. "The East India Company, the Company's Museum, and the Political Economy of Natural History in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Isis* 107 (3): 495–517.
- Raventós, Daniel. 2007. *Basic Income: The Material Conditions of Freedom*. London: Pluto Press.
- Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard UP.
- Raymond, Eric. 1999. "The Cathedral and the Bazaar." *Knowledge, Technology & Policy* 12 (3): 23–49.
- Read, Herbert. 1963. *To Hell with Culture*. Hoboken, NJ: Routledge.
- Redclift, Michael. 1980. "Agrarian Populism in Mexico—the 'via Campesina'." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 7 (4): 492–502.
- Reij, Chris, and Ann Waters-Bayer. 2014. *Farmer Innovation in Africa: A Source of Inspiration for Agricultural Development*. London: Routledge.
- Reiter, Bernd, ed. 2018. *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge*. Duke UP.
- Renz, Thomas, and Maximilian Körner. 2016. "Jazzstudie 2016." Universität Hildesheim.
- Rey, Terry. 2004. "Marketing the Goods of Salvation: Bourdieu on Religion." *Religion* 34 (4): 331–43.
- Ribot, Jesse C., and Nancy Lee Peluso. 2003. "A Theory of Access." *Rural Sociology* 68 (2): 153–81.
- Richter, Barbara, and Jon H. Hanf. 2021. "Cooperatives in the Wine Industry: Sustainable Management Practices and Digitalisation." *Sustainability* 13 (10): 5543.
- Richter, Fernando. 2013. "La Agricultura Urbana y El Cultivo de Sí. Los Huertos de Ocio a La Luz de Las Dinámicas Neorrurales." *Encrucijadas* 6: 129–45.
- Ringstad, Vidar. 2004. "On the Cultural Blessings of Fixed Book Prices: Facts or Fiction?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10 (3): 351–65.

- Ríos Núñez, Sandra, and Daniel Coq Huelva. 2010. "El Poder de La Gran Distribución En El Sistema Agroalimentario Actual: El Caso de Los Lácteos En Chile." *Estudios Sociales* 18 (36): 57–75.
- Robertson, Kirsty, and Buszek, Maria Elena. 2011. "Rebellious Doilies and Subversive Stitches: Writing a Craftivist History." In *Extra/Ordinary: Craft and Contemporary Art*, 184–203. Durham, NC: Duke UP.
- Rodrigue, Jean-Paul, and Theo Notteboom. 2013. "The Geography of Cruises: Itineraries, Not Destinations." *Applied Geography* 38: 31–42.
- Rodriguez, E. 2015. "Ed Rodriguez (Deerhoof) Talks Teaching the New York Times How Bands Do SXSW, DIY-Style." *Talkhouse* (blog). March 23. <https://tinyurl.com/364fhdbj>.
- Roever, Sally, and Caroline Skinner. 2016. "Street Vendors and Cities." *Environment and Urbanization* 28 (2): 359–74.
- Román, Concepción, Emilio Congregado, and José María Millán. 2011. "Dependent Self-Employment as a Way to Evade Employment Protection Legislation." *Small Business Economics* 37 (3): 363–92.
- Romberg, Raquel. 2003. *Witchcraft and Welfare: Spiritual Capital and the Business of Magic in Modern Puerto Rico*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Rompay, Thomas J.L. van, and Tineke Jol. 2016. "Wild and Free: Unpredictability and Spaciousness as Predictors of Creative Performance." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 48: 140–48.
- Roncaglia, Sara. 2013. *Feeding the City: Work and Food Culture of the Mumbai Dabbawalas*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.
- Roseberry, William. 1976. "Rent, Differentiation, and the Development of Capitalism among Peasants." *American Anthropologist* 78 (1): 45–58.
- . 1989. "Peasants and the World." In *Economic Anthropology*, edited by S. Plattner, 108–26. Stanford UP.
- Rosset, Peter M., and Maria Elena Martínez-Torres. 2012. "Rural Social Movements and Agroecology: Context, Theory, and Process." *Ecology and Society* 17 (3): 17.
- Rostow, Walt W. 1960. *The Stages of Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge UP.
- Rotta, Tomás N. 2018. "Unproductive Accumulation in the USA: A New Analytical Framework." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 42 (5): 1367–92.
- Routledge, Paul, and Kate Driscoll Derickson. 2015. "Situated Solidarities and the Practice of Scholar-Activism." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33 (3): 391–407.
- Roy, Ananya. 2005. "Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71 (2): 147–58.
- Ruccio, David F. 2008. *Economic Representations: Academic and Everyday*. London: Routledge.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. 2004. "The Quality of Democracy: Addressing Inequality." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4): 76–90.

- Ruggiero, Vincenzo, and Nigel South. 1997. "The Late-Modern City as a Bazaar: Drug Markets, Illegal Enterprise and the 'Barricades.'" *British Journal of Sociology* 48 (1): 54–70.
- Ruston, Annmarie, Orla Shortall, Martin Green, Marnie Brennan, Wendela Wapenaar, and Jasmeet Kaler. 2016. "Challenges Facing the Farm Animal Veterinary Profession in England: A Qualitative Study of Veterinarians' Perceptions and Responses." *Preventive Veterinary Medicine* 127: 84–93.
- Rutten, Rosanne. 1990. *Artisans and Entrepreneurs in the Rural Philippines: Making a Living and Gaining Wealth in Two Commercialized Crafts*. Amsterdam: VU Press.
- Ryan, Anne B. 2018. "Contemporary Discourses of Working, Earning and Spending: Acceptance, Critique and the Bigger Picture." In *The End of Irish History?*, edited by Colin Coulter and Steve Coleman, 155–74. Manchester UP.
- Ryan, Catherine O., William D. Browning, Joseph O. Clancy, Scott L. Andrews, and Namita B. Kallianpurkar. 2014. "Biophilic Design Patterns: Emerging Nature-Based Parameters for Health and Well-Being in the Built Environment." *International Journal of Architectural Research* 8 (2): 62.
- Ryan, Richard M., and Edward L. Deci. 2001. "On Happiness and Human Potentials: A Review of Research on Hedonic and Eudaimonic Well-Being." *Annual Review of Psychology* 52 (1): 141–66.
- Ryff, Carol D. 2019. "Entrepreneurship and Eudaimonic Well-Being: Five Venues for New Science." *Journal of Business Venturing* 34 (4): 646–63.
- Salleh, Ariel. 2009. *Eco-Sufficiency & Global Justice: Women Write Political Ecology*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sandlin, Jennifer A., and Jennifer L. Milam. 2008. "'Mixing Pop (Culture) and Politics': Cultural Resistance, Culture Jamming, and Anti-Consumption Activism as Critical Public Pedagogy." *Curriculum Inquiry* 38 (3): 323–50.
- Santocildes, Marta Enciso, Aitziber Mugarra Elorriaga, Iratxe Muñecas Izaguirre, and Aingeru Ruíz Martínez. 2019. "Economía Colaborativa vs Economía de Plataforma: El Caso Fairbnb y Sus Principios Inspiradores Desde La Economía de Cooperación." *Boletín de Estudios Económicos* 74 (227): 259–83.
- Sayer, Andrew. 2003. "(De) Commodification, Consumer Culture, and Moral Economy." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21 (3): 341–57.
- Schaller, Bruce. 2007. "Entry Controls in Taxi Regulation: Implications of US and Canadian Experience for Taxi Regulation and Deregulation." *Transport Policy* 14 (6): 490–506.
- Sharma, L. 1989. Sodan Singh Etc. Etc. vs New Delhi Municipal Committee. Supreme Court of India. 1989 SCR (3)1038.
- Schmid, Eva Dorothee. 2011. "Interview mit dem Erfinder des Döner." *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20. September. <https://tinyurl.com/mrvbzwxx>.
- Schmitzberger, I., Th. Wrba, B. Steurer, G. Aschenbrenner, J. Peterseil, and H. G. Zechmeister. 2005. "How Farming Styles Influence Biodiversity Maintenance in Austrian Agricultural Landscapes." *Agriculture, Ecosystems & Environment* 108 (3): 274–90.

- Schneider, Mindi. 2017. "Dragon Head Enterprises and the State of Agribusiness in China." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17 (1): 3–21.
- Schoar, Antoinette. 2010. "The Divide between Subsistence and Transformational Entrepreneurship." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* 10 (1): 57–81.
- Schoenmakers, Yvette MM, Bo Bremmers, and Edward R. Kleemans. 2013. "Strategic versus Emergent Crime Groups: The Case of Vietnamese Cannabis Cultivation in the Netherlands." *Global Crime* 14 (4): 321–40.
- Scholz, Trebor, and Nathan Schneider, eds. 2016. *Ours to Hack and to Own: The Rise of Platform Cooperativism, a New Vision for the Future of Work and a Fairer Internet*. New York: OR Books.
- Schoneboom, Abigail. 2015. "The Romance of the Lowly Clerk: Recognizing the Tradition of Office Intellectualism." *Organization* 22 (6): 832–46.
- Schumacher, Ernst Friedrich. 1973. *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered*. New York: Harper & Row.
- . 1979. *Good Work*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Schumann, Sarah, and Seth Macinko. 2007. "Subsistence in Coastal Fisheries Policy: What's in a Word?" *Marine Policy* 31 (6): 706–18.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1949. *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.
- Schutter, Olivier de. 2010. "The Emerging Human Right to Land." *International Community Law Review* 12 (3): 303–34.
- Scoones, Ian. 2009. "Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (1): 171–96.
- Scott, Christian D. 1984. "Transnational Corporations and Asymmetries in the Latin American Food System." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3 (1): 63–80.
- Scott, James C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT & London: Yale UP.
- . 1977. "Hegemony and the Peasantry." *Politics & Society* 7 (3): 267–96.
- . 1979. "Revolution in the Revolution." *Theory and Society* 7 (1–2): 97–134.
- . 1989. "Everyday Forms of Resistance." *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 4 (89): 33–33.
- . 1998. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP.
- Segreto, Luciano, Carles Manera, and Manfred Pohl. 2009. *Europe at the Seaside: The Economic History of Mass Tourism in the Mediterranean*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Sennett, Richard. 2008. *The Craftsman*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP.
- Sensen, Oliver. 2012. *Kant on Moral Autonomy*. Cambridge UP.
- Seyfang, Gill, and Adrian Smith. 2007. "Grassroots Innovations for Sustainable Development: Towards a New Research and Policy Agenda." *Environmental Politics* 16 (4): 584–603.

- Shanin, Teodor. 1972. *The Awkward Class. Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society Russia 1910-1925*. London & Oxford: Clarendon Press & Oxford UP.
- . 1990. "Expolary Economies: A Political Economy of Margins." In *Defining Peasants, Essays Concerning Rural Societies, Expolary Economies, and Learning from Them in the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- . 2014. "Keynote Lecture." Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue, The Hague, 24. January.
- Sharif, Mohammed. 2003. "A Behavioural Analysis of the Subsistence Standard of Living." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 27: 191–207.
- Sharma, L. 1989. Sodan Singh Etc. Etc. vs New Delhi Municipal Committee. Supreme Court of India.
- Shell, Susan Meld. 2009. *Kant and the Limits of Autonomy*. Harvard UP.
- Sherry Jr, John F. 1990. "A Sociocultural Analysis of a Midwestern American Flea Market." *Journal of Consumer Research* 17 (1): 13–30.
- Siegelbaum, Lewis H. 1990. *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935-1941*. Cambridge UP.
- Sippel, Sarah Ruth, Nicolette Larder, and Geoffrey Lawrence. 2017. "Grounding the Financialization of Farmland: Perspectives on Financial Actors as New Land Owners in Rural Australia." *Agriculture and Human Values* 34 (2): 251–65.
- Sippel, Sarah Ruth, and Oane Visser. 2021. "Introduction to Symposium 'Reimagining Land: Materiality, Affect and the Uneven Trajectories of Land Transformation.'" *Agriculture and Human Values* 38 (1): 271–82.
- Sisay, Dawit Tsegaye, Frans JHM Verhees, and Hans CM van Trijp. 2017. "Seed Producer Cooperatives in the Ethiopian Seed Sector and Their Role in Seed Supply Improvement: A Review." *Journal of Crop Improvement* 31 (3): 323–55.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1982. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society* 11 (3): 265–83.
- Slaughter, Sheila, and Larry L. Leslie. 1997. *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*. Baltimore, MD: Hopkins UP.
- Smith, Joe, and Petr Jehlička. 2013. "Quiet Sustainability: Fertile Lessons from Europe's Productive Gardeners." *Journal of Rural Studies* 32: 148–57.
- Smith, Neil. 1987. "Gentrification and the Rent Gap." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (3): 462–65.
- Soga, Masashi, and Kevin J. Gaston. 2016. "Extinction of Experience: The Loss of Human–Nature Interactions." *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 14 (2): 94–101.
- Soleri, Daniela. 2018. "Civic Seeds: New Institutions for Seed Systems and Communities—a 2016 Survey of California Seed Libraries." *Agriculture and Human Values* 35 (2): 331–47.
- Somers, Margaret, and Fred Block. 2014. "The Return of Karl Polanyi." *Dissent* 61 (2): 30–33.
- Spengler, Laura. 2016. "Two Types of 'Enough': Sufficiency as Minimum and Maximum." *Environmental Politics* 25 (5): 921–40.

- Spicer, André, Mats Alvesson, and Dan Kärreman. 2009. "Critical Performativity: The Unfinished Business of Critical Management Studies." *Human Relations* 62 (4): 537–60.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography." In *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, 197–221. London & New York: Routledge.
- Spoor, Max. 2012. "Agrarian Reform and Transition: What Can We Learn from 'the East'?" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 39 (1): 175–94.
- Sridharan, Srinivas, Elliot Maltz, Madhubalan Viswanathan, and Samir Gupta. 2014. "Transformative Subsistence Entrepreneurship: A Study in India." *Journal of Macromarketing* 34 (4): 486–504.
- Srnicek, Nick. 2017. *Platform Capitalism*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- St. Martin, Kevin. 2007. "The Difference That Class Makes: Neoliberalization and Non-Capitalism in the Fishing Industry of New England." *Antipode* 39 (3): 527–49.
- Staab, Philipp, and Oliver Nachtwey. 2016. "Market and Labour Control in Digital Capitalism." *TripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique* 14 (2): 457–74.
- Staley, Louise. 2007. "Why Do Governments Hate Bed and Breakfasts?" *Institute of Public Affairs Review* 59 (1): 33.
- Standing, Guy. 2015. "The Precariat and Class Struggle." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais Annual Review* 7.
- Starmans, Christina, Mark Sheskin, and Paul Bloom. 2017. "Why People Prefer Unequal Societies." *Nature Human Behaviour* 1 (4): 0082.
- Stavrides, Stavros. 2015. "Common Space as Threshold Space: Urban Commoning in Struggles to Re-Appropriate Public Space." *Footprint* 16: 9–20.
- Strange, M. 2008. *Family Farming: A New Economic Vision*. Lincoln, London & San Francisco: University of Nebraska & Institute for Food and Development Policy.
- Suess-Reyes, Julia, and Elena Fuetsch. 2016. "The Future of Family Farming: A Literature Review on Innovative, Sustainable and Succession-Oriented Strategies." *Journal of Rural Studies* 47: 117–40.
- Sundaram-Stukel, Reka, and Steven C. Deller. 2009. "Farmer Health Insurance Cooperatives: An Innovative Solution for Other Americans?" *Choices: The Magazine of Food, Farm, and Resource Issues* 24 (4): 1–6.
- Svampa, Maristella. 2015. "Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (1): 65–82.
- Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation. 2011. "SDC Experiences with Formalization and Responsible Environmental Practices in Artisanal and Small-Scale Gold Mining in Latin America and Asia (Mongolia)." Bern: SDC.
- Szadkowski, Krystian. 2016. "Towards an Orthodox Marxian Reading of Subsumption (s) of Academic Labour under Capital." *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor*, no. 28.
- Tanzmann, Stig, and Bernd Voß. 2018. "Digitalisierung Der Landwirtschaft." In *Der Kritische Agrarbericht*, edited by AgrarBündnis, 112–18. Hamm: ABL-Verlag.
- Tawney, Richard Henry. 1966. *Land and Labor in China*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Telmer, Kevin, and A. Persaud. 2013. "Historical and Modern Government Responses to Artisanal and Small Scale Gold Mining." Presented at the Rocky Mountain Mineral Law Foundation (RMMLF) and the International Bar Association, Special Institute on International Mining and Oil & Gas Law, Development, and Investment, Cartagena, April 22.
- Temple, John. 2014. "Resident Duty Hours around the Globe: Where Are We Now?" *BMC Medical Education* 14 (S1): S8.
- Thatcher, Jim, David O'Sullivan, and Dillon Mahmoudi. 2016. "Data Colonialism through Accumulation by Dispossession: New Metaphors for Daily Data." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34 (6): 990–1006.
- Therborn, Göran. 1987. "Welfare States and Capitalist Markets." *Acta Sociologica* 30 (3–4): 237–54.
- Thiemann, Louis, and Claudia Mare. 2020. "Economías Múltiples y Resistencia Cotidiana En Cuba: Una Transición Desde Abajo." *Foro Europa-Cuba Working Paper*, no. 15.
- Thiemann, Louis, and Antonio Roman-Alcalá. 2019. "Fast Food Sovereignty: Contradiction in Terms or Logical Next Step?" *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 32: 813–34.
- Thiemann, Louis, and Max Spoor. 2019. "Beyond the 'Special Period': Land Reform, Supermarkets and the Prospects for Peasant-Driven Food Sovereignty in Post-Socialist Cuba (2008–2017)." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 40 (4): 546–63.
- Thompson, Edward Palmer. 1967. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." *Past & Present* 38: 56–97.
- . 1980. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin.
- Tietze, Tad. 2015. "Peter Sedgwick: Mental Health as Radical Politics." *Critical and Radical Social Work* 3 (1): 103–17.
- Tilzey, Mark. 2019. "Authoritarian Populism and Neo-Extractivism in Bolivia and Ecuador: The Unresolved Agrarian Question and the Prospects for Food Sovereignty as Counter-Hegemony." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46 (3): 626–52.
- Timms, Duncan. 1971. *The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation*. 2. Cambridge UP.
- Tobin, Renée M., and William G. Graziano. 2010. "Delay of Gratification: A Review of Fifty Years of Regulation Research." In *Handbook of Personality and Self-Regulation*, edited by R. H. Hoyle, 47–63. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Toledo, Víctor M. 1995. "Campesinidad, Agroindustrialidad, Sostenibilidad: Los Fundamentos Ecológicos e Históricos Del Desarrollo Rural." México D.F.: Grupo Interamericano para el Desarrollo Sostenible de la Agricultura y los Recursos Naturales.
- Trauger, Amy, Carolyn Sachs, Mary Barbercheck, Kathy Brasier, and Nancy Ellen Kiernan. 2010. "'Our Market Is Our Community': Women Farmers and Civic Agriculture in Pennsylvania, USA." *Agriculture and Human Values* 27 (1): 43–55.
- Treisch, Corinna. 2005. "Taxable Treatment of the Subsistence Level of Income in German Natural Law." *Accounting, Business & Financial History* 15 (3): 255–78.

- Tremblay, Victor J., and Carol Horton Tremblay. 2005. *The US Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Tria Kerkvliet, Benedict J. 2005. *The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP.
- . 2009. "Everyday Politics in Peasant Societies (and Ours)." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (1): 227–43.
- Turner, Sarah, Annuska Derks, and Ngô Thúy Hạnh. 2019. "Flex Crops or Flex Livelihoods? The Story of a Volatile Commodity Chain in Upland Northern Vietnam." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46 (2): 276–96.
- Tyner, James A. 2016. *Violence in Capitalism: Devaluing Life in an Age of Responsibility*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Ungar, Michael. 2008. "Resilience across Cultures." *British Journal of Social Work* 38 (2): 218–35.
- Vallacher, Robin R., and Daniel M. Wegner. 1987. "What Do People Think They're Doing? Action Identification and Human Behavior." *Psychological Review* 94 (1): 3.
- Van der Ploeg, Jan Douwe. 1992. "Styles of Farming: An Introductory Note on Concepts and Methodology." In *Endogenous Regional Development in Europe*, edited by H. J. de Haan and Van Der Ploeg, Jan Douwe, 7–31. Brussels: European Commission.
- . 2005. "Empire and the Peasant Principle." XXI Congress of the European Society for Rural Sociology, Keszthely, Hungary. 22.–26. August.
- . 2008. *The New Peasantries: Struggles for Autonomy and Sustainability in an Era of Empire and Globalization*. London: Routledge.
- . 2013. *Peasants and the Art of Farming: A Chayanovian Manifesto*. Winnipeg: Fernwood.
- . 2014. "Peasant-Driven Agricultural Growth and Food Sovereignty." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (6): 999–1030.
- . 2018a. "Differentiation: Old Controversies, New Insights." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 45 (3): 489–524.
- . 2018b. "From De-to Repeasantization: The Modernization of Agriculture Revisited." *Journal of Rural Studies* 61: 236–43.
- . 2013b. "Ten Qualities of Family Farming." *Farming Matters* 29 (4): 8–11.
- Van der Ploeg, Jan Douwe, Dominique Barjolle, Janneke Bruil, Gianluca Brunori, Livia Maria Costa Madureira, Joost Dessein, Zbigniew Drąg, et al. 2019. "The Economic Potential of Agroecology: Empirical Evidence from Europe." *Journal of Rural Studies* 71: 46–61.
- Van Doorn, Niels, and Adam Badger. 2020. "Platform Capitalism's Hidden Abode: Producing Data Assets in the Gig Economy." *Antipode* 52 (5): 1475–95.
- Vander Venet, Bert, Sergio Schneider, and Joost Dessein. 2016. "Different Farming Styles behind the Homogenous Soy Production in Southern Brazil." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 43 (2): 396–418.
- Vanhaute, Eric. 2011. "From Famine to Food Crisis: What History Can Teach Us about Local and Global Subsistence Crises." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (1): 47–65.

- Veblen, Thorstein. 2009. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Oxford UP.
- Vergara-Camus, Leandro, and Cristóbal Kay. 2017. "Agribusiness, Peasants, Left-Wing Governments, and the State in Latin America: An Overview and Theoretical Reflections." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17 (2): 239–57.
- Verter, Bradford. 2003. "Spiritual Capital: Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu." *Sociological Theory* 21 (2): 150–74.
- Vía Campesina. 2009. "Declaration of Rights of Peasants, Women and Men." Jakarta: Via Campesina.
- Vía, Elisa da. 2012. "Seed Diversity, Farmers' Rights, and the Politics of Repeasantization." *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture & Food* 19 (2): 229–42.
- Visser, Oane, Brian Kuns, and Petr Jehlička. 2021. "Beyond Confrontation: Silent Growers, Symbiosis and Subtle Peasantness in Post-Socialist Eurasia." In *Handbook of Critical Agrarian Studies*, edited by Haroon Akram-Lodhi, Kristina Dietz, Bettina Engels, and Ben M. McKay, 305–15. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Visser, Oane, Natalia Mamonova, Max Spoor, and Alexander Nikulin. 2015. "'Quiet Food Sovereignty' as Food Sovereignty without a Movement? Insights from Post-Socialist Russia." *Globalizations* 12 (4): 513–28.
- Vrousalis, Nicholas. 2013. "Exploitation, Vulnerability, and Social Domination: Exploitation, Vulnerability, and Social Domination." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41 (2): 131–57.
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2013. "Symbolic Power and Group-Making: On Pierre Bourdieu's Reframing of Class." *Journal of Classical Sociology* 13 (2): 274–91.
- Wade, Robert. 1990. *Governing the Market*. Princeton UP.
- Waitzkin, Howard. 2000. *The Second Sickness: Contradictions of Capitalist Health Care*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. 2001. *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP.
- Warich, Bert. 2011. "Umstrukturierung Im Lebensmitteleinzelhandel Am Beispiel Der Handelskonzerne REWE Und EDEKA." Berlin: Böckler-Stiftung.
- Weber, Johanna. 2018. "Die Regeln Sind Einfach Schlecht." *Konkret* 18 (4): 3.
- Weber, Max. 2001. *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Wehr, Kevin. 2012. *DIY: The Search for Control and Self-Reliance in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Weis, Tony. 2010. "The Accelerating Biophysical Contradictions of Industrial Capitalist Agriculture." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10 (3): 315–41.
- Weitzman, Martin L. 1985. "The Simple Macroeconomics of Profit Sharing." *The American Economic Review* 75 (5): 937–53.
- Welsh, John. 2017. "Governing Academics: The Historical Transformation from Discipline to Control." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 30 (1): 83–106.

- . 2020. "Subjectivising Academics: The Ranking Apparatus, Social Transformation, and a 'crisis of Subjectivity'." *Subjectivity* 13: 153–78.
- Wendt, Alexander. 2003. "Why a World State Is Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (4): 491–542.
- Westen, Drew, Joel Weinberger, and Rebekah Bradley. 2007. "Motivation, Decision Making, and Consciousness: From Psychodynamics to Subliminal Priming and Emotional Constraint Satisfaction." In *Cambridge Handbook of Consciousness*, edited by P. D. Zelazo, M. Moscovich, and E. Thompson, 673–702. Cambridge UP.
- Weston, Richard, Nick Davies, P. M. Peeters, E. Eijgelaar, L. Lumsdon, P. McGrath, and P. C. Picket. 2012. "The European Cycle Route Network EuroVelo: Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Tourism. Update of the 2009 Study." Brussels: European Parliament.
- Wettergren, Åsa. 2009. "Fun and Laughter: Culture Jamming and the Emotional Regime of Late Capitalism." *Social Movement Studies* 8 (1): 1–16.
- Whang, Edward E, Alexander Perez, Hiromichi Ito, Michelle M Mello, Stanley W Ashley, and Michael J Zinner. 2003. "Work Hours Reform: Perceptions and Desires of Contemporary Surgical Residents." *Journal of the American College of Surgeons* 197 (4): 624–30.
- White, Ben, and Hanny Wijaya. 2021. "What Kind of Labour Regime Is Contract Farming? Contracting and Sharecropping in Java Compared." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 22 (1): 19–35.
- Wichterich, Christa. 2019. "Care Extractivism and the Reconfiguration of Social Reproduction in Post-Fordist Economies." ICDD Working Paper 25. Universität Kassel.
- Wilding, Adrian. 2008. "Max Weber and the 'Faustian Universality of Man'." *Journal of Classical Sociology* 8 (1): 67–87.
- Williams, Mark, and Nick Srnicek. 2013. "#Accelerate: Manifesto for an Accelerationist Politics." In *Dark Trajectories: Politics of the Outside*, by J. Johnson (ed.), 135–55. Miami: Name Publications.
- Willmott, Hugh. 1993. "Strength Is Ignorance; Slavery Is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organizations." *Journal of Management Studies* 30 (4): 515–52.
- Wilson, R. Mark, Jeannie Gaines, and Ronald Paul Hill. 2008. "Neuromarketing and Consumer Free Will." *Journal of Consumer Affairs* 42 (3): 389–410.
- Winn, Joss. 2015. "The Co-Operative University: Labour, Property and Pedagogy." *Power and Education* 7 (1): 39–55.
- Witcombe, John R., Arun Joshi, Krishna D. Joshi, and B. R. Sthapit. 1996. "Farmer Participatory Crop Improvement. I. Varietal Selection and Breeding Methods and Their Impact on Biodiversity." *Experimental Agriculture* 32 (4): 445–60.
- Witkowski, Terrence H. 2010. "A Brief History of Frugality Discourses in the United States." *Consumption Markets & Culture* 13 (3): 235–58.
- Wittman, Hannah. 2009. "Reframing Agrarian Citizenship: Land, Life and Power in Brazil." *Journal of Rural Studies* 25 (1): 120–30.

- Wolford, Wendy. 2005. "Agrarian Moral Economies and Neoliberalism in Brazil: Competing Worldviews and the State in the Struggle for Land." *Environment and Planning A* 37 (2): 241–61.
- Wood, Robert E. 2007. "Cruise Ships: Deterritorialized Destinations." In *Tourism and Transport*, edited by Les M. Lumsdon and Stephen J. Page, 148–61. London: Routledge.
- Woodhill, Jim, Saher Hasnain, and Alison Griffith. 2020. "Farmers and Food Systems: What Future for Small-Scale Agriculture?" Oxford: Environmental Change Institute, University of Oxford.
- Woodhouse, Philip. 2010. "Beyond Industrial Agriculture? Some Questions about Farm Size, Productivity and Sustainability." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10 (3): 437–53.
- World Bank. 2010. "DRC: Growth with Governance in the Mineral Sector." Washington: World Bank.
- Wortmann, Michael. 2016. "The Institutions of German Retailing within the German Variety of Capitalism." Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics Conference, Berkeley, CA, 26. June.
- Wrench, Guy Theodore. 1939. *Restoration of the Peasantries*. London: C. W. Daniel.
- Wright, Erik Olin. 2000. "Working-Class Power, Capitalist-Class Interests, and Class Compromise." *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (4): 957–1002.
- Wright, Robert. 2000. "'I'd Sell You Suicide': Pop Music and Moral Panic in the Age of Marilyn Manson." *Popular Music* 19 (3): 365–85.
- Xue, Desheng, and Gengzhi Huang. 2015. "Informality and the State's Ambivalence in the Regulation of Street Vending in Transforming Guangzhou, China." *Geoforum* 62: 156–65.
- Ye, Jingzhong, Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, Sergio Schneider, and Teodor Shanin. 2020. "The Incursions of Extractivism: Moving from Dispersed Places to Global Capitalism." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 47 (1): 155–83.
- Yoo, Taeyoung, and Soo Hee Lee. 2009. "In Search of Social Capital in State-Activist Capitalism: Elite Networks in France and Korea." *Organization Studies* 30 (5): 529–47.
- Young, Alwyn. 2013. "Inequality, the Urban-Rural Gap, and Migration." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128 (4): 1727–85.
- Zdatny, Steven M. 1990. *The Politics of Survival: Artisans in Twentieth-Century France*. Oxford UP.
- ZDH. 2021. "Entwicklung der Betriebsbestände im Handwerk: Erstes Halbjahr 2021." Berlin: Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks e.V. <https://archive.fo/sQ98G>.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 1997. "Multiculturalism, or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism." *New Left Review* 225: 28–51.
- Zmolek, Michael Andrew. 2013. *Rethinking the Industrial Revolution: Five Centuries of Transition from Agrarian to Industrial Capitalism in England*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Zuberi, Dan, and Ariel Judith Taylor. 2017. *(Re)Generating Inclusive Cities: Poverty and Planning in Urban North America*. London: Routledge.

PUBLICATIONS AS PART OF THIS PHD PROJECT

- “Conditional freedoms: Non-state labor in Cuba between institutional de-legitimization and civic recognition.” (with Claudia Mare, 2022). *Journal of Latin American Studies*, forthcoming.
- “Economías Múltiples y Resistencia Cotidiana En Cuba: Una Transición Desde Abajo.” (with Claudia Mare, 2021). Pp. 200–223 in *Políticas sociales y reforma institucional en la Cuba pos-COVID*, edited by B. Hoffmann. Opladen, Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich.
- “Imprecision farming? Examining the (in) accuracy and risks of digital agriculture” (with Oane Visser and Sarah Ruth Sippel, 2021). *Journal of Rural Studies* 86: 623-632.
- “Multiple Economies and Everyday Resistance in Cuba: A Bottom-up Transition.” (with Claudia Mare, 2021). Pp. 183–206 in *Social Policies and Institutional Reform in Post-COVID Cuba*, edited by B. Hoffmann. Opladen, Berlin & Toronto: Barbara Budrich.
- Formas de sobrevivencia en Cuba: “Resistencias cotidianas” en la habana, matanzas y sagua la grande.* (with Sergio Angel, Claudia González, María Matienzo Puerto, Ana Paula López, Nelson Álvarez, and Alejandra Suárez, 2020). Civil Rights Defenders.
- “Fast Food Sovereignty: Contradiction in Terms or Logical Next Step?” (with Antonio Roman-Alcalá, 2019). *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics* 32:813–34.
- “Beyond the ‘Special Period’: Land Reform, Supermarkets and the Prospects for Peasant-Driven Food Sovereignty in Post-Socialist Cuba (2008–2017)” (with Max Spoor 2019). *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 40(4):546–63.
- “Subversión y Resistencia Diaria En La Economía Cubana” (with Claudia Mare, 2019). *Boletín Foro Cubano* 2(7): 5–6.
- “Operationalising Food Sovereignty through an Investment Lens: How Agro-Ecology Is Putting ‘Big Push Theory’ Back on the Table” (2015). *Third World Quarterly* 36(3):544–62.
- “How to Frame Work After Capitalism? Marxist Proletarianism, the Radical” (2014). . In *Perspectives in Development: An Exercise in Worldmaking*, pp. 13-19. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Louis Thiemann studied International Politics, History and Development Studies, at Jacobs University Bremen and the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. My research converses between alternative and subaltern development practices in the ‚South‘ and post-capitalist politics in the ‚North‘.



Since 2012, a large part of my work has focused on making sense of post-socialist Cuba, and the multiple transitions taking place within in. With Claudia Mare, I write about the many forms of resistance woven into the subaltern fabric of Cubans' everyday life and work. With Max Spoor, I follow Cuba's staggering food import dependency into the concrete limitations faced by peasant farms. Through initiatives such as the *Foro Cubano* (based at Sergio Arboleda University, Bogotá) and the *Food Monitor Programme* (a critical food sovereignty watchdog), I participate in the many important discussions held in Cuba's civil society. More recently, my work has interrogated the coloniality of international academic discussions on Cuba and the lives Cubans lead. To this end, I contributed a chapter on „Greenwashing the Revolution” to a forthcoming book on the *Mythology of the Cuban Revolution* (edited by Sergio Angel & Claudia Mare).

When in Europe, my interests revolve around socio-ecological transitions, post-growth and cooperativism. In this context, my aim is to locate (and connect) existing practices, principles and discourses of non-capitalist labor, some of which tend to be overlooked. Inspired by the work of Leopold Kohr, as well as the Cuban experience of regressive power being rooted in progressive discourses, I am interested in multi-polar, distributive and diverse pathways, institutions and cultures.