

Analytical Table of Contents

Preface

Chapter 1. Introduction: Why Real Utopias?

Chapter 2: The Tasks of Emancipatory Social Science

DIAGNOSIS AND CRITIQUE

Social Justice

Political Justice

VIABLE ALTERNATIVES

Desirability

Viability

Achievability

TRANSFORMATION

A theory of social reproduction

A theory of the limits, gaps and contradictions within the process of reproduction

A theory of the underlying dynamics and trajectory of unintended social change

A theory of collective actors, strategies, and struggles

PART I. DIAGNOSIS AND CRITIQUE

Chapter 3: What's so Bad about Capitalism?

DEFINING CAPITALISM: A BRIEF EXPOSITION

ELEVEN CRITICISMS OF CAPITALISM

1. *Capitalist class relations perpetuate eliminable forms of human suffering.*
 1. Exploitation
 2. Technological change
 3. Profit-maximizing competition
2. *Capitalism blocks the universalization of conditions for expansive human flourishing.*
 1. Material inequality and flourishing
 2. Work
 3. Destructive competition
3. *Capitalism perpetuates eliminable deficits in individual freedom and autonomy.*
4. *Capitalism violates liberal egalitarian principles of social justice.*
5. *Capitalism is inefficient in certain crucial respects.*
 1. Public Goods
 2. Under-pricing and over-consumption of natural resources
 3. Negative externalities
 4. Monitoring and enforcing market contracts and private property
 5. Intellectual property rights
 6. The costs of inequality
6. *Capitalism has a systematic bias towards consumerism*
7. *Capitalism is environmentally destructive*
8. *Capitalist commodification threatens important values*
9. *Capitalism, in a world of nation states, fuels militarism and imperialism*
10. *Capitalism corrodes community*
11. *Capitalism limits democracy*

PART II. ALTERNATIVES

Chapter 4: Thinking about Alternatives to Capitalism

MARX'S THEORY OF ALTERNATIVES TO CAPITALISM: THE THEORY OF HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY

Thesis 1. The long-term nonsustainability of capitalism thesis

Thesis 2. The intensification of anticapitalist class struggle thesis.

Thesis 3. The revolutionary transformation thesis.

Thesis 4. The transition to socialism thesis

Thesis 5. The Communism Destination Thesis.

INADEQUACIES IN MARX'S THEORY OF CAPITALISM'S FUTURE

The theory of crisis intensification

The theory of proletarianization

The theory of ruptural transformation

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

Chapter 5: The Socialist Compass

TAKING THE "SOCIAL" IN SOCIALISM SERIOUSLY

CLARIFICATIONS OF A CONCEPTUAL VOCABULARY

Power

Ownership

Three domains of power and interaction: the state, economy, and civil society

A typology of economic structures: Capitalism, Statism, and Socialism

Hybrids

THE SOCIALIST COMPASS: PATHWAYS TO SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

1. Statist Socialism

2. Social Democratic Statist Economic Regulation

3. Associational Democracy

4. Social Capitalism

6. Cooperative market economy

7. Participatory socialism: statist socialism with empowered participation

CONCLUSION: THREE SKEPTICAL NOTES

Civil society and social power

Institutional elaboration

Achievability

Chapter 6: Real Utopias I: Social Empowerment and the State

THREE INSTITUTIONAL FORMS OF DEMOCRACY

DIRECT DEMOCRACY: NEW FORMS OF EMPOWERED PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

An Example: Municipal Participatory Budgeting

General principles of institutional design: Empowered Participatory Governance

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY: SKETCHES OF TWO PROPOSALS

Egalitarian public financing of electoral campaigns

Random Selection Citizens Assemblies

ASSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY

DEEPENING DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Chapter 7. Real Utopias II: Social Empowerment and the Economy

THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

Wikipedia

Institutional Design

Criticisms of Wikipedia

The Quebec Social Economy

Elements of institutional design for a vibrant social economy

1. *State subsidies targeted to the social economy.*
2. *Development of social economy investment funds.*
3. *Governance through associational democracy.*
4. *Participatory Democratic forms of organization.*

Potential Problems

Exclusionary associations

Capitalism and the social economy

UNCONDITIONAL BASIC INCOME

The basic mechanism

The rationale

Problems

SOCIAL CAPITALISM

Labor controlled solidarity funds

Share-levy wage earner funds

COOPERATIVE MARKET ECONOMY

The basic properties of worker-owned cooperatives

Mondragón

TWO MODELS OF COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM ALTERNATIVES

Market Socialism

The institutional design

Rationale

Potential problems

Parecon: a non-market participatory democratic economy

Institutional design

The problem of viability

CONCLUSION: AN EXPANSIVE AGENDA OF SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

PART III. TRANSFORMATION

Chapter 8: Elements of a Theory of Transformation

SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Coercion

Institutional rules

Ideology and culture

Material interests

Despotic and Hegemonic Reproduction

LIMITS, GAPS, AND CONTRADICTIONS

1. Complexity and inconsistent requirement for social reproduction
2. Strategic Intentionality and its ramifications.
3. Institutional rigidities and path dependency
4. Contingency and unpredictability

THE UNDERLYING DYNAMICS AND TRAJECTORY OF UNINTENDED SOCIAL CHANGE

STRATEGIES OF TRANSFORMATION

Vision of trajectory of systemic transformation.

Pivotal collective actors for transformation.

Strategic logic with respect to the state.

Strategic logic with respect to the capitalist class.

Metaphors of success in the process of transformation.

Chapter 9: Ruptural Transformation

THE KEY QUESTION AND UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

RUPTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND TRANSITION TROUGHS

REJOINDERS

Chapter 10: Interstitial Transformation

WHAT IS AN INTERSTITIAL STRATEGY?

HOW INTERSTITIAL STRATEGIES CAN CONTRIBUTE TO EMANCIPATORY SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

PAVING THE ROUTE TO RUPTURE

ERODING THE BINDING LIMITS OF CAPITALISM

INTERSTITIAL STRATEGIES AND THE STATE

Chapter 11: Symbiotic Transformation

CLASS COMPROMISE

Mechanisms underlying the reverse-J relation

The sphere of exchange

The sphere of production

The sphere of politics

Making the model more complex: extending the theoretical domain of variation

Zones of Unattainability

THE LOGIC OF SYMBIOTIC STRATEGIES

SYMBIOTIC TRANSFORMATIONS BEYOND CAPITALISM?

CONCLUSION

Chapter 12: Making Utopias Real