

Organizational alternatives after shareholder capitalism

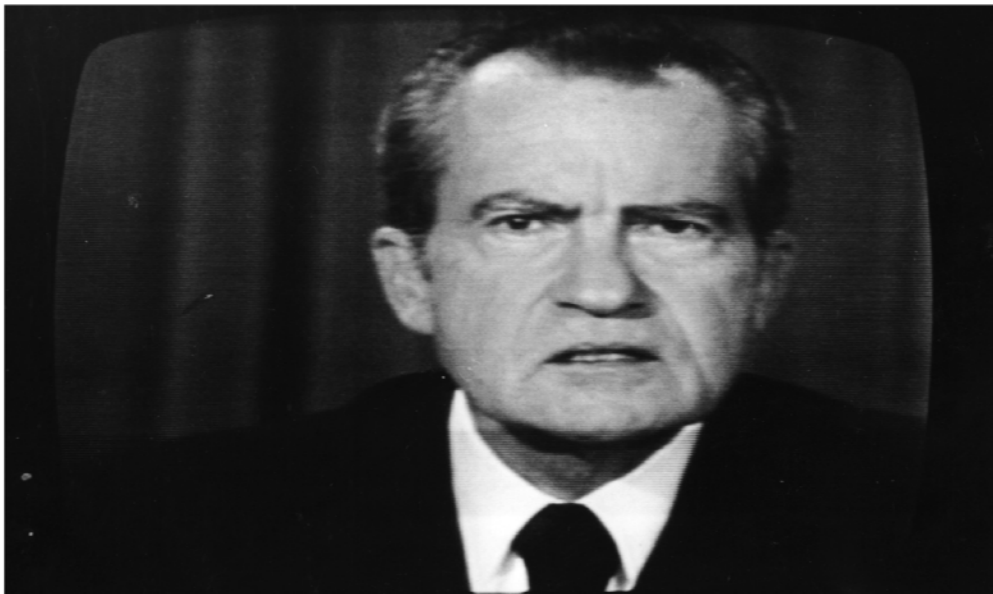
Jerry Davis
 "Economic Utopias and Dystopias"
 ASA, August 20, 2011



Roadmap

- The ascendant corporate sector, ca. 1974
- The collapse of the corporation as a social institution after 1980
- Collateral damage: the shredding of the corporate-sponsored social welfare system in the US under shareholder capitalism
- An inventory of the ruins left by shareholder capitalism
- A role for sociology?

Remember 1974?



A few giant corporations dominated the economy



The 30 "blue chips," 1974

Allied Chemical	Eastman Kodak	Owens-Illinois Glass
Alcoa	Exxon	Procter & Gamble
American Can	GE	Sears Roebuck
AT&T	General Foods	Swift & Co
American Tobacco	GM	Texaco
Anaconda Copper	Goodyear	Union Carbide
Bethlehem Steel	International Harvester	United Technologies
Chevron	International Nickel	U.S. Steel
Chrysler	International Paper	Westinghouse Electric
Du Pont	Johns-Manville	Woolworth

10% of the private workforce labored at 25 firms

COMPANY	EMPLOYEES (thousands)
GM	810.92
AT&T	798.934
FORD	474.318
SEARS ROEBUCK	439.493
ITT	438
GE	388
IBM	274.108
CHRYSLER	273.254
JC PENNEY	200
GTE	196
WESTINGHOUSE	194.1
US STEEL	184.794
GOODYEAR	155.4
EXXON	137
RCA	126
KMART	125
SINGER	122
EASTMAN KODAK	120.7
DU PONT	118.423
BETHLEHEM STEEL	118
SAFeway	117.221
A&P	113.8
UNION CARBIDE	109.417
INTL HARVESTER	107.89
LITTON INDUSTRIES	105.4



Source: Compustat Annual Industrials


90 white men each served on 5+ corporate boards

ADAMS, CHARLES F.	HARDER, HOWARD C.	MORGENS, HOWARD J.
AYERS, THOMAS G.	HARPER, JOHN D.	MUNROE, GEORGE B.
BENNETT, GEORGE F.	HAUGE, GABRIEL	NYROP, DONALD W.
BERCHER, HARRY O.	HEINEMAN, BEN W.	OELMAN, ROBERT S.
BINGER, JAMES H.	HENLEY, HENRY H., JR.	PALMER, EDWARD L.
BROWN, CHARLES L.	HILLMAN, HENRY L.	PEARSON, NATHAN W.
BROWN, COURTNEY C.	HOLLAND, JEROME H.	PETERKIN, DEWITT, JR.
BROWN, R. MANNING, JR.	HUMPHREY, GILBERT W.	PHALEN, CLIFTON W.
CARLSON, EDWARD E.	JOHNSON, HOWARD W.	POTTER, KEITH R.
CHAMBERS, M.R.	JOHNSON, WILLIAM B.	PROCKNOW, DONALD E.
CHAMPION, GEORGE	KAISER, EDGAR F.	PYNE, EBEN W.
CISLER, WALKER L.	KARNES, WILLIAM G.	ROMNES, H.I.
CONNOR, JOHN T.	LAFORCE, ARNOLD R.	RUSSELL, GEORGE
COOLEY, RICHARD P.	LAPHAM, LEWIS A.	SCHOENHOFEN, LEO H.
COWLES, GARDNER	LAY, HERMAN W.	SIVAGE, GERALD A.
COX, EDWIN L.	LEARSON, T. VINCENT	SMILEY, DONALD B.
CUMMINGS, TILDEN	LEITHEAD, BARRY T.	STANTON, FRANK
CUNNINGHAM, HARRY B.	LEVY, GUSTAVE L.	STEWART, ROBERT H., III
DAMON, ROGER C.	LILLEY, ROBERT D.	STUART, ROBERT D., JR.
DONNELLEY, GAYLORD	LUKE, HUGH D.	THOMAS, FRANKLIN A.
ETHERINGTON, EDWIN D.	MARKS, HARRY T.	THOMAS, JOSEPH A.
FINLEY, JAMES D.	MCCORMICK, BROOKS	TYSON, CHARLES R.
FREEMAN, GAYLORD	MEESE, WILLIAM G.	VENEMA, MAYNARD P.
FUNSTON, G. KEITH	MENK, LOUIS W.	WASSON, E. HORNSBY
GATES, THOMAS S.	MEWHORT, ROLAND A.	WATLINGTON, JOHN F., JR.
GOLDSTON, ELI	MEYER, JOHN M., JR.	WILLIAMS, ALBERT L.
GRAHAM, DONALD M.	MILLER, ARJAY	WILSON, KENDRICK R., JR.
GRAHAM, WILLIAM B.	MITCHELL, DON G.	WORTHINGTON, LESLIE B.
GRAY, JOHN D.	MITCHELL, HAMILTON B.	WRIGHT, JAMES O.
GWINN, ROBERT P.	MORGAN, GRAHAM J.	WRISTON, WALTER B.

(And probably met at the Bohemian Grove)



(And probably hatched unspeakable conspiracies)



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT

Church Report

Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973.

94th Congress 1st Session COMMITTEE PRINT

COVERT ACTION IN CHILE 1963-1973

Staff Report of the Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities

UNITED STATES SENATE

December 18, 1975

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 63-372

Washington: 1975

Note: Since the December 4, 1975 hearing the Select Committee has, in the course of its continuing investigation received new information which supplements the following sections of the Staff Report on Covert Action in Chile: Section III.A.4, the Role of Multinational Corporations; Section IV.B.1.e, Intelligence Estimates and Covert Action; and Section IV.C, Congressional Oversight. All pertinent information on the above will be reflected in the Select Committee's Final Report to the Senate.


SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

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Envisioning real utopias, ca. 1974

To do list

- Break up powerful corporations to operate at a more human scale
- Disperse ownership of the means of production among the people
- Eliminate the corporate elite (or populate it with women and people of color)
- Elect Shirley Chisholm president



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LIVING THE DREAM

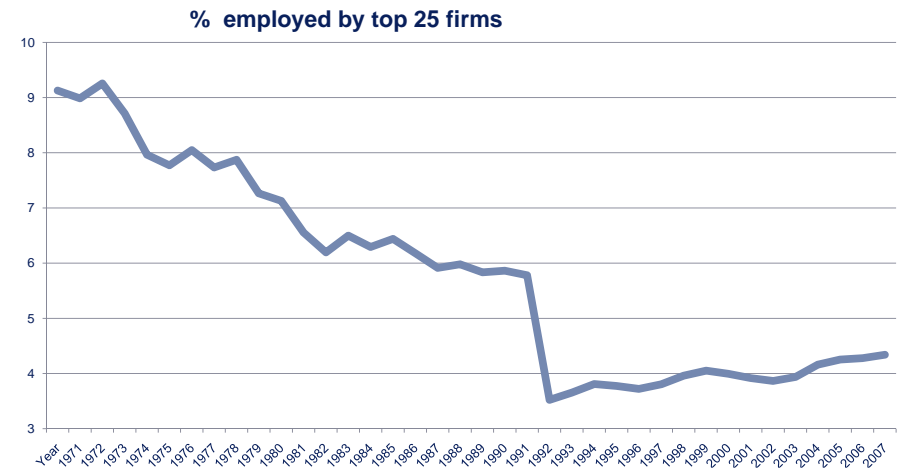
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About those dominant corporations...

Allied Chemical	Eastman Kodak	Owens-Illinois Glass
Alcoa	Exxon	Procter & Gamble
American Can	GE	Sears Roebuck
AT&T	General Foods	Swift & Co
American Tobacco	GM	Texaco
Anaconda Copper	Goodyear	Union Carbide
Bethlehem Steel	International Harvester	United Technologies
Chevron	International Nickel	U.S. Steel
Chrysler	International Paper	Westinghouse Electric
Du Pont	Johns-Manville	Woolworth

~~_____~~ = gone by 2009 _____ = really "SBC"

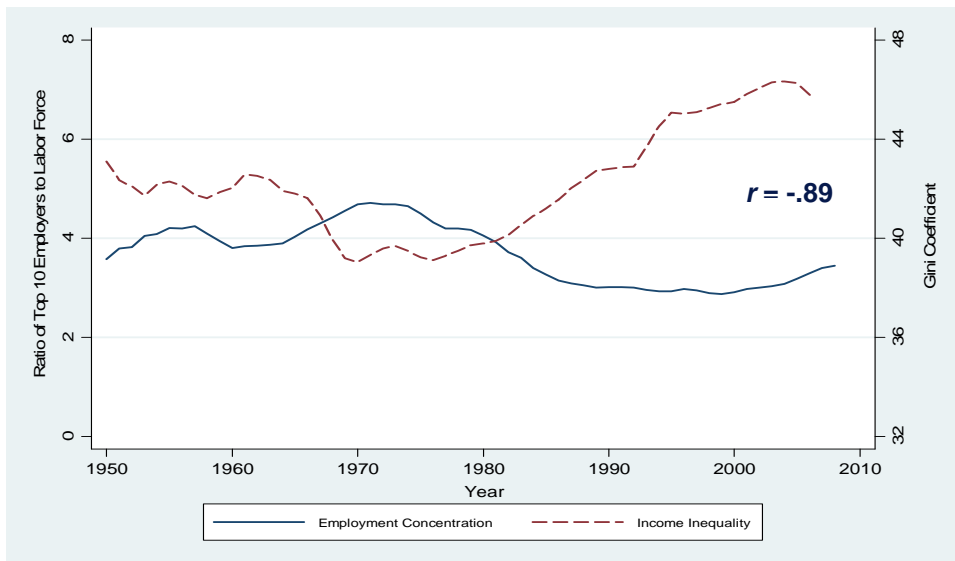
Bust-up takeovers, spinoffs, layoffs, and outsourcing have shrunk the largest US corporations



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics; Compustat Annual Industrials

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Declining employment concentration corresponds almost perfectly to increasing income inequality



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The largest US employers have shifted from manufacturing to retail and other services

10 Largest US Corporate Employers, 1960-2010

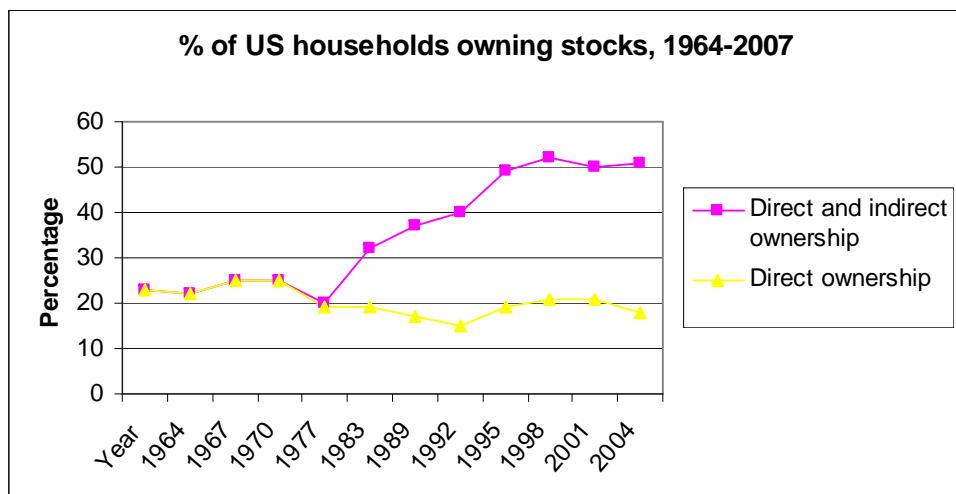
1960	1980	2010
GM	AT&T	WAL-MART
AT&T	GM	TARGET
FORD	FORD	UPS
GE	GE	KROGER
US STEEL	SEARS	SEARS HLDGS
SEARS	IBM	"AT&T"
A&P	ITT	HOME DEPOT
EXXON	KMART	WALGREEN
BETH. STEEL	MOBIL	VERIZON
ITT	GTE	SUPERVALU

Manufacturing Oil Services

Wal-Mart now employs roughly as many Americans as the 20 largest manufacturers combined

14

Most households are now invested in the stock market through 401(k)s and mutual funds

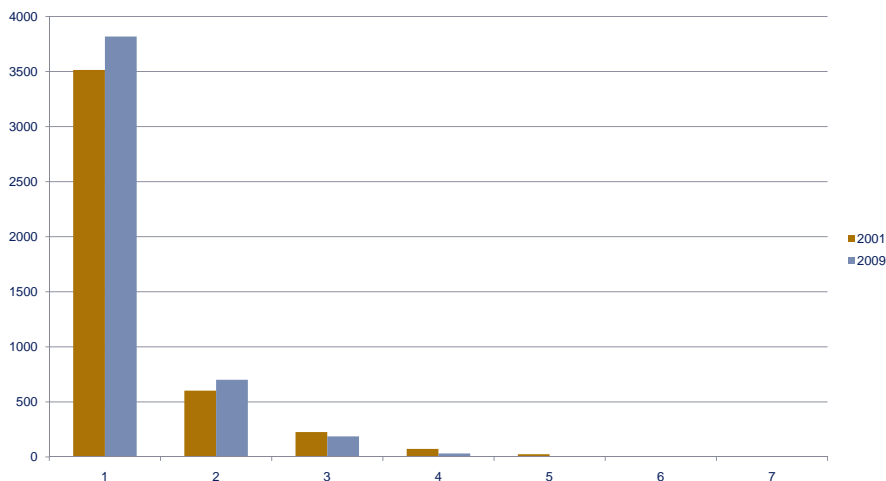


Source: Federal Reserve Survey of Consumer Finances (various years)



Our Stockholders

About that inner circle: by 2009, only *four* directors served on 5 or more S&P500 boards



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What happened to the inner circle? Sarbanes-Oxley



Corporate Governance America's Most Overworked Directors

Lisa DiCarlo, 08.06.02, 12:00 PM ET

In the debates about executive accountability and prevention of U.S. corporate malfeasance, the independence of board directors has become a hot-button issue. But the question should be whether independent directors are stretched too thin.

We looked at all the companies on the S&P 500 index to determine how many people sit on five or more boards. The issue is whether these busy people can devote the hours necessary to govern the many companies with which they are associated.

For some there doesn't appear to be enough hours in the day. Shirley Jackson is a case in point. Jackson, an accomplished theoretical physicist, sits on the board of eight major companies, all while tending to her day job as president of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Vernon Jordan manages to sit on six boards (more if you look beyond S&P 500 companies), while holding down the job of senior managing partner of the investment bank Lazard Freres.

One expert doubts that people with multiple board appointments and full-time jobs can give the companies the amount of attention and due diligence they require.

"It is physically impossible to be on more than [a small handful] of boards if you really understand what's required today to be a director of a public company," says Roger Raber, president of the National Association of Corporate Directors (NACD). "There should be a limit [on the number of boards people are on], especially if you're doing something else."

United States Steel (*nyse: X - news - people*) has five directors, including its own chairman and chief executive, **Thomas Usher**, who sit on five or more boards. The company says they may be busy, but they are effective.

"In considering new board members, we certainly take into account any time constraints that serving on other boards might create, among many other considerations," says U.S. Steel spokesman Michael Dixon. "But we have not observed any problems with any of our directors' attendance records or level of participation."

A survey of NACD members shows they spend an average of 175 to 200 hours annually, per board, on company business. But the actual national average may very well be lower. Consider that NACD members, just by virtue of the fact that they belong to such an organization, may be inherently more engaged.

One of the directors near the top of our list says that board work keeps him busy, but that he was much more consumed when he ran a company. "When I was a CEO, I worked some or all of 365 days a year," says **Michael Miles**, the retired chairman of **Philip Morris** (*nyse: MO - news - people*) who sits on six S&P 500 boards. (Of the five busiest directors William H. Gray II declined to comment on this article; Franklin A. Thomas was on vacation. Jackson and Jordan did not return calls for comment.)

Raber says that chief executives, who are no doubt busy enough running their own companies, should be limited to one outside board membership. Indeed shareholders should demand that executives limit outside directorships. While the new corporate governance rules proposed by the New York Stock Exchange and the Nasdaq Stock Market both push for more independent directors on corporate boards, neither seeks to limit the number of boards on which these directors serve.

For some, directorships can be very lucrative. According to proxy statements, Franklin A. Thomas received more than \$400,000 in cash retainers last year and additional compensation in stock from the boards on which he serves. **Alcoa** (*nyse: AA - news - people*), **Avaya** (*nyse: AV - news - people*), **Citigroup** (*nyse: C - news - people*), **Conoco** (*nyse: CO - news - people*), **Cummins** (*nyse: CUM - news - people*), **PepsiCo** (*nyse: PEP - news - people*) and **Lucent Technologies** (*nyse: LU - news - people*)—which are some of the most generous. Franklin is also chairman of the September 11th Fund and a consultant of the TFF Study Group, a non-profit that assists South Africa.

TREADING THE BOARDS

AMERICA'S MOST OVERWORKED DIRECTORS

Part One:

- Top Five Overworked Directors Site Show
- 15 Directors, So Many Companies

Part Two:

- Diversity Without Diversity

Related Content:

- Overworked Directors Discussion Board
- Overworked Directors Post
- More on Corporate Governance
- The Corporate Scandal Show

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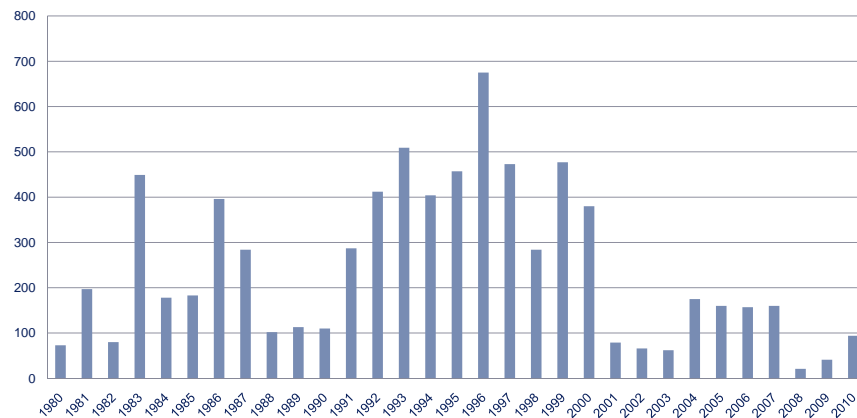
Who were the top 5 inner circle directors?



Source: Forbes (2002)

The "going public" fad of the 1990s is long gone

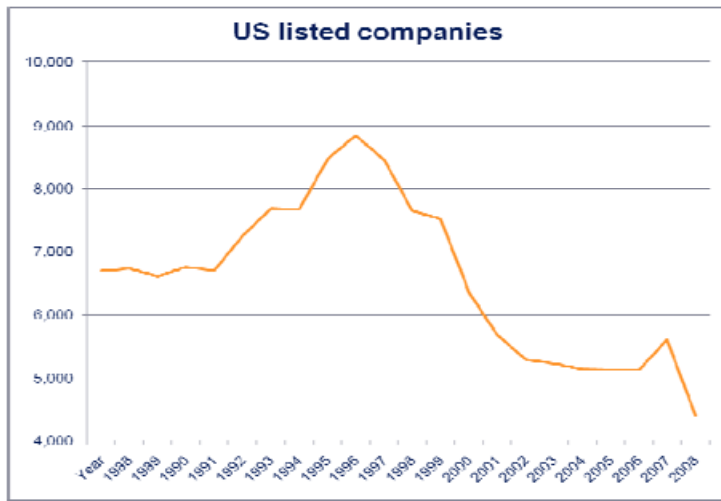
IPOs per year in the US



Source: Jay Ritter, University of Florida

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As a result, the number of public corporations in the US has dropped by over *half* since 1997



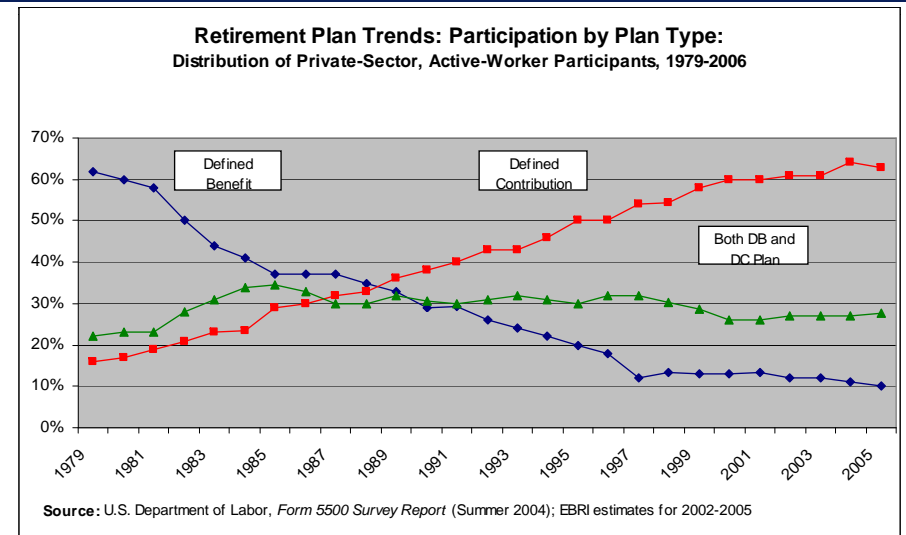
Source: World Bank World Development Indicators 2010

Mission accomplished?

To do list

- Break up powerful corporations to operate at a more human scale
- Disperse ownership of the means of production among the people
- Eliminate the corporate elite (or populate it with women and people of color)
- Elect Shirley Chisholm president ?

Most employers have abandoned traditional company pensions in favor of relatively portable 401(k) plans



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Form 5500 Survey Report (Summer 2004); EBRI estimates for 2002-2005

REAL UTOPIA REVISITED
THE COLLAPSE OF THE CORPORATE-SPONSORED SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM

Most have also abandoned their retirees



July 2008

Dear Salaried Retiree or Surviving Spouse:

Since the first of this year, U.S. market and economic conditions have become significantly more difficult. These conditions, along with the rapid change in automotive industry sales mix, require us to take further actions that will position GM for sustainable profitability and growth. As a result, GM is announcing a change to the *General Motors Salaried Health Care Program*.

Effective January 1, 2009, GM is canceling health care coverage for salaried retirees and their dependents age 65 or older. Instead, eligible salaried retirees and surviving spouses over age 65 will receive a monthly pension increase of \$300. This pension increase is designed to help offset some of your health care costs in retirement.

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Welcome to the "ownership society"!



February 28, 2005

PAGE ONE

New Contract

In Bush's 'Ownership Society,' Citizens Would Take More Risk Beyond Social Security Moves, His Vision Encompasses Health Care and Housing Shrinking the Safety Net

By JACKIE CALMES
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
February 28, 2005; Page A1

WASHINGTON -- President Bush's campaign to revamp Social Security is just the boldest stroke in a much broader effort: To rewrite the government's social contract with citizens that was born of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and expanded by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

Though the president says he sees a continued role for Social Security, Democrats insist his goal is complete privatization and fear a partisan motive as well. Conservative activist and White House ally Grover Norquist, for example, says more stock owners would mean more Republicans, making the party "a true and permanent national majority." He adds: "Obviously Social Security is the key to getting this done."

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401(k)s for the military?

August 19, 2011 9:08 AM

Pentagon pension idea sparks worry among ranks

WASHINGTON - It sounds like a pretty good deal: Retire at age 38 after 20 years of work and get a monthly pension of half your salary for the rest of your life. All you have to do is join the military. As the nation tightens its budget belt, the century-old military retirement system has come under attack as unaffordable, unfair to some who serve and overly generous compared with civilian benefits.

That very notion, laid out in a Pentagon-ordered study, sent a wave of fear and anger through the ranks of current and retired military members when it was reported in the news media this month. CBS News investigative correspondent Sharyl Attkisson was among the first to report on the study. Advocates say a new system would not only save \$250 billion over 20 years, but it would also be fairer. It would give benefits to those who serve less than 20 years -- right now, they walk away with nothing -- and it would give more money to those in combat or high risk situations, Attkisson reports.

On Tuesday, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta suggested during a forum at the National Defense University in Washington that current service members might be spared from the possible deep cuts.

Current military may be spared pension cuts
Radical overhaul of military retirement eyed
Video: Pentagon may scrap traditional military pensions

If pensions are to be cut, Congress should go first, one person said on the Internet.

"Obviously, we're concerned about it," said retired Gen. Gordon Sullivan, an Army chief of staff in the 1990s who heads the nonprofit educational group Association of the United States Army.

The Defense Department put out a statement this week stressing that it was only a proposal and no changes will be made anytime soon.

"While the military retirement system, as with all other compensation, is a fair subject of review for effectiveness and efficiency, no changes to the current retirement system have been approved," Eileen Lainez, a Pentagon spokeswoman, said. "And no changes will be made without careful consideration for both the current force and the future force."

The upset was sparked by a nonbinding recommendation from the Defense Business Board, the Pentagon's private sector advisory panel. A July 21 draft report that could be finalized this month recommended pensions be scrapped and replaced with a 401(k)-type defined contribution plan.

The board members are from big businesses -- experts, the Pentagon says, in executive management, corporate governance, audit and finance, human resources, economics, technology and health care.

Their report was strictly about dollars and cents, part of a review of Pentagon spending started under Panetta's predecessor, Robert Gates.

It didn't mention intangibles: Would such a change make military jobs less desirable? Is it possible to compare military and civilian employment? How much does a grateful nation feel it owes to the less than 1 percent of the population that volunteers to fight America's wars?

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Thankfully, markets always go up...eventually...

New York 82°/68°
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S&P 500 Index 9:48 am 08/19/2011 ET
 VIEW OTHER INDEXES Select & hit Draw Chart

LAST	CHANGE	% CHANGE	OPEN	HIGH	LOW	52-WEEK HIGH	52-WEEK LOW
1134.40	-6.25	-0.55%	1,146.47	1,140.47	1,130.57	1,370.58 (05/02/2011)	1,039.70 (08/27/2010)

Dynamic Charting Standard Charting

General Chart Controls:
 Time: Custom Dates | Frequency: Daily | DRAW CHART | SAVE CHART SETTINGS | PRINT CHART
 01/01/00 | 8/19/11

Also see: Historical Quotes

Upper Chart Controls:
 Price Display: LINE (Line)
 Compare: Select an index
 Enter a symbol
 Moving Average: SMA | 100

S&P500
1/3/00:
\$1469.25
Yesterday:
\$1123.53

\$100,000 invested in the market in January 2000 would be worth \$76,586 today

THE RUINS OF SHAREHOLDER CAPITALISM: AN INVENTORY

Disaggregated production networks (“Nikefication”)

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WSJ.com

GADGETS & GAMES | JANUARY 29, 2010

Analysts Expect iPad to Give lift to Asian Suppliers

By AARON BACK, JUNG-AH LEE And CHARMIAN KOK

Apple Inc.'s iPad device may significantly increase demand for components such as touch screens and memory chips, especially if it succeeds in treating a new product category and spawning competitors, according to industry analysts.

Apple suppliers in Asia

NAND flash memory:

- Samsung Electronics (South Korea)
- Toshiba (Japan)

LCD displays:

- LG Display (South Korea)
- Innolux Display (Taiwan)

Assembler:

- Hon Hai Precision Industry (Taiwan)

Touch-screen technology:

- Wintek (Taiwan)
- Sintek Photronic (Taiwan)

Source: Analysts

Analysts say that would be a boon to Asian suppliers, including display makers such as LG Display Co.; chip makers such as Samsung Electronics Co. and Toshiba Corp.; touch-screen makers Wintek Corp. and Sintek Photronic Corp.; and assemblers such as Hon Hai Precision Industry Co., which uses the trade name Foxconn. Shares of these companies all rose Thursday in Asia.

Apple hasn't identified its iPad suppliers and an Apple spokeswoman declined to comment.

Like many technology brands, Apple doesn't actually manufacture most of its products. It hires manufacturing specialists—mainly Taiwanese companies that have extensive operations in China—to assemble its gadgets based on Apple's designs. They, in turn, use parts from large and small manufacturers many in Taiwan, Japan and Korea.

The iPod and iPhone devices have already been a boon to component manufacturers in Asia, and many are hoping for a repeat performance.

The true component mix won't be known until Apple begins shipping the device and third-party analysts can

“Lego enterprises” can scale very quickly

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WSJ.com

LEADER (U.S.) | APRIL 15, 2008
PICTURE SHIFT

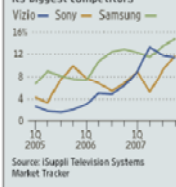
U.S. Upstart Takes On TV Giants in Price War

By CHRISTOPHER LAWTON in San Francisco, YUKARI IWATANI KANE in Tokyo and JASON DEAN in Beijing

But one upstart, Irvine, Calif.-based Vizio Inc., has largely surfed past the industry's woes. Its single focus: churning out low-priced flat-panel TVs.

Big Leagues

Vizio's market share vs. two of its biggest competitors



Source: iSuppli Television Systems Market Tracker

Vizio is a fraction the size of Sony and Samsung Electronics Co., both leading brands in the U.S. flat-panel market. Yet Vizio shipped 12.4% of North America's liquid-crystal display, or LCD, TVs in the last quarter of 2007. That's just behind Sony's 12.5% share and Samsung's 14.2%, according to research firm iSuppli Corp. Overall, Vizio's sales have multiplied to just under \$2 billion last year, up from \$700 million in 2006 and \$142 million in 2005, according to the closely held company.

The California company's success illustrates the rise of a new business model in the fast-changing TV industry. Big Korean and Japanese consumer-electronics makers spent huge sums developing and marketing their own technology, creating a high barrier to entry for newcomers. They also built many key components in-house, including the all-important LCD and plasma display panels.

But panel technology is becoming ever more commoditized, meaning big brands aren't the only ones controlling the field. The shift has allowed nimble players like Vizio, which handles the design and marketing, to hook up with contract manufacturers and produce their own cheap TVs. At the same time, discount retailers such as Wal-Mart Stores Inc. are increasing their sales in the electronics category, slashing prices in the process.

Disaggregation allows evanescent organization forms

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April 12, 2011

For Flip Video Camera, Four Years From Hot Start-Up to Obsolete

By SAM GRUBART and EVELYN M. RUSLI

It was one of the great tech start-up success stories of the last decade.

The Flip video camera, conceived by a few entrepreneurs in an office above Gump's department store in San Francisco, went on sale in 2007, and quickly dominated the camcorder market.

The start-up sold two million of the pocket-size, easy-to-use cameras in the first two years. Then, in 2009, the founders cashed out and sold to Cisco Systems, the computer networking giant, for \$590 million.

On Tuesday, Cisco announced it was shutting down its Flip video camera division.

Even in the life cycle of the tech world, this is fast.

From the outset, the acquisition was an odd fit for Cisco, which is known for its enterprise networking services. To some analysts, the decision to shutter Flip was an admission by Cisco that it made a mistake.

"Cisco was swayed by the sexiness of selling to the consumer," said Mo Koyfman, a principal at Spark Capital, a Boston venture capital firm. "They're not wired to do it themselves, so they do it by acquisition. Flip was one of the most visible targets out there. But it's really hard to turn an elephant into a horse. Cisco's an elephant."

But the rapid rise, and now demise, of Flip is also a vivid illustration of the ferocious metabolism of the consumer marketplace and of the smartphone's power to destroy other gadgets.

"It was unusually fast," said Brent Bracelin, an analyst with Pacific Crest Securities. "It's a testament to the pace of innovation in consumer electronics and smartphone technology. More and more functionality is being integrated into smartphones."

The rapid innovation of smartphones, he said, is "one of the most disruptive trends we've seen."

As newer and faster technologies beget newer and faster technologies, consumers move on to the next big thing with alacrity. In four years, Flip has gone from start-up, to dominant camcorder maker, to defunct. It took I.B.M. about four years just to reach dominance with its PC in the early 1980s. The iPad is only one year old.



Dramatically cheaper small-scale capital goods enable locavore production

MakerBot INDUSTRIES

PRODUCTS COMMUNITY SUPPORT BLOG

What's new at MakerBot?



MakerBot Thing-O-Matic
 Fully Automatic
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 • Higher Quality
 • Easier to Use

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Gen4 Interface Kit
 • Open-Source Component-Free
 • Live Build Monitoring
 • Easy to Assemble
 • Completely Open Source

LEARN MORE



New Plastics
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 • 1.75mm and 3mm Sizes
 • Awesome New Colors
 • Factory Sealed with Desiccant

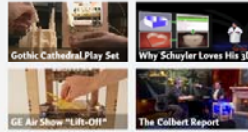
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What is a MakerBot and what will you do with it?



Business Unusual : MakerBot

Join Chris Hardwick as he ventures into the "Botcave" to uncover the story—and vision—behind MakerBot's mission to democratize personal manufacturing.



MakerBot Ring
 Design Race: Maple Seed Helicopter
 Printable V8 motor by smakesalor
 Knife, Spoon, & Fork by Sean...
 4 cylinder motor by smakesalor
 From Kinect to MakerBot Guide at Make: Projects



Something Awesome from Thingiverse
Bobbiehead *Sta
 The infamous Gargita super sized and ready to accept infinite variations of mashups with mildly amusing bobbing heads. Uses Pin Connectors V2 thingiverse.com/thing:10041 to assemble the sections together. Nameplate uses OpenSCAD Bitmap Fonts Module thingiverse.com/thing:2084. Model by m0bbly-bobbly head action: youtube.com/watch?v=CF19GKneU...

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Ubiquitous ICTs enable large-scale collective action (e.g., "The World Says No to War")

Up to 10 million citizens on every continent (including Antarctica) marched in protest on the same day (2/15/03) against the imminent US invasion of Iraq



Or, the Tea Party movement

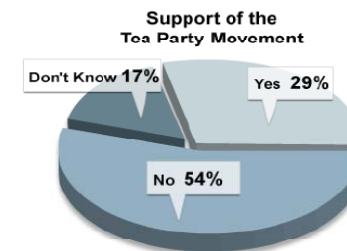
CBSNEWS

Political Hotsheet

August 26, 2010 6:30 PM

Poll: Nearly 3 in 10 Support Tea Party

Posted by Stephanie Condon



CBS News Poll analysis by the CBS News Polling Unit: Sarah Dutton, Jennifer De Pinto, Fred Backus and Anthony Salvanto.

Ahead of a rally in Washington this weekend that some say will test the strength of the Tea Party, a new CBS News poll finds that 29 percent of Americans say they are supporters of the movement.

Fifty-four percent say they do not support the Tea Party. The survey results are similar to last month's but show more support for the Tea Party than in April of this year.

Or, the Arab Spring

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Mohammed Bouazizi the Tunisian HERO

January 21 at 7:08am · Share

An uprising in Tunisia
www.boston.com

Beginning in December of last year, a series of ongoing protests in the streets of Tunisia escalated to the point where President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali - who had ruled the country for 23 years - at first declared he would not seek re-election, then fled the country on January 14th. An interim govt.

Heriem Lkhallil la laha ila lah mohamad rasoul lah
January 21 at 9:13am · Flag

France24 - Entre tristesse et colère, Sidi Bouzid enterne Mohamed Bouazizi
www.youtube.com
05-01-2011

January 14 at 2:15pm · Share

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Or, riots in the UK

The New York Times
The Lede
Blogging the News With Robert Mackay

AUGUST 8, 2011, 12:52 PM

Private Messaging Network Is Said to Link London Rioters

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

The authorities in London arrested scores of people late Sunday and early Monday in hopes of heading off further violence after this weekend's street riots, as evidence emerged suggesting that the unrest had been organized, at least in part, over private online messaging networks.

Many, including the police, looked initially to Twitter and Facebook to find participants and organizers of the violence. But Jonathan Akvue, a media strategist in London, was among the first to write about the possible role BlackBerry Messenger, commonly known as BBM, played in organizing rioters.

As he explained on his blog, there are good reasons the service may have been adopted by those on London's margins:

BBM as it is known, is an instant messenger system that has become popular for three main reasons: it's fast (naturally), it's virtually free, and unlike Twitter or Facebook, it's private.

BlackBerry recognized the appeal of their products to the urban market and has had a long association with Jay-Z in the States. In the U.K., they recently hosted a "secret gig" in Shoreditch Town Hall featuring Tinie Tempah, Wretch 32 and Devlin.

BBM is prevalent enough, according to the British Daily Telegraph, that the last message sent by Mark Duggan, whose deadly shooting by police set off Saturday's unrest, was sent using the service. "The Feds are following me," he wrote to his girlfriend, the paper reported.

Mr. Akvue also points out that it would not be the first time that the private communications allowed by BBM, which are not easily intercepted by police, have been connected to criminality.

In an interview with the BBC, a senior police officer said online tools were responsible for the violence on Sunday, though he did not name any service in particular: "Social media and other methods have been used to organize these levels of greed and criminality," said Deputy Assistant Commissioner Steve Kavanagh.

Mr. Akvue's post was quickly picked up by the technology blog Tech Crunch and the British media, though early in the day, none had provided the actual content of the BBM messages supposedly rocketing around the private network.

Later, however, The Guardian's Paul Lewis produced the lengthy text of what he said was "the main message that was being shared" by would-be looters and sympathizers on Sunday. "Everyone in edmonton enfield woodgreen everywhere in north link up at enfield town station 4 o'clock sharp!!!!" the message, which runs well over 140 characters, read in part. "Keep sending this around to bare man, make sure no snitch boys get dis!!! What ever ends your from put your ballys on link up and cause havic, just rob everything. Police can't stop it. Dead the fires though!! Rebroadcast!!!!!!" [Typos and British slang in original.]

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The story so far:

- 20th century corporate-centered social organization has largely collapsed in the US
 - The corporate-based social welfare system has been abandoned
 - The "ownership society" was a short-lived (and implausible) alternative relying on financial markets
- We are left with a fancy set of tools
 - Disaggregated organization of production
 - Cheap and locavore-friendly production technologies
 - Ubiquitous ICTs
- Climate change: Las Vegas is our future

The challenge for sociologists: praxis, not just critique

- How can we build on legal and technological changes to enable more "rooted" non-corporate organizations?
 - Legal changes
 - L3C enabling laws
 - B corporation laws
 - Technological changes
 - ICTs and new methods of coordinated action
- The goal: the iPhone "workplace democracy app" that turns GM into a kibbutz