



# LAKEWOOD: TRUE NORTH ON THE NEW POLITICAL COMPASS

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“We acknowledge that there is no corporation or other large institution that will take care of us – that we are truly on our own.” – Richard Florida

## Macro Economic and Social Trends, 1990-present

- Organic world is vaporware
- Globalization with people and institutions overwhelmed by pressures

Providing the underlying ideological beat for the processes of white-collar outsourcing is the motif of market fundamentalism in the service of a corporate neo-colonialism. Richard Petrella has noted that six tenets of neo-liberalism have been so fervently and frequently articulated and defended that they have become the mantra of market fundamentalism, a corporatist/secular version of the Ten Commandments:

Thou shalt globalize.

Thou shalt incessantly strive for technological innovation.

Thou shalt drive thy competitors out of business, since otherwise they'll do it to you.

Thou shalt liberalize thy market.

Thou shalt not countenance state intervention in economic life.

Thou shalt privatize. [\[22\]](#)

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

- Anti-globalization resentment
- Rise of the virtual state – emancipation from land
- Deregulation of industries, utilities
- Privatization of public assets

Notions of collective action, in support of the public commons or a public good became stigmatized, and discredited as a dishonest, mystifying set of rhetorical tricks deployed by an anti-American intellectual elite.

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

A fervent belief in an ideology of personal choice and market deregulation became the preferred solution. Neo-liberal discourse promoted a marketplace framework where risk was redistributed from the collective to the individual. Government was no longer to be the guarantor of security. It was redefined as a partner in individual risk assessment and management. Within this econometric universe, people succeed or fail based solely on their own assessments of risk, and level of personal responsibility and merit.

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

- Transfer of government functions to for-profit companies, some located overseas
  - Elimination/reduction of transfer payments, e.g.. “welfare reform”
  - “Starve the beast” tax strategies
  - Outsourcing human resources
- Ironically, U.S. knowledge workers have been displaced via one their own instrumentalities, the construction of high-speed communication networks. For them, the global unemployment line is replacing the imagined glories of the global village.

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

With recent and dramatic reductions in the cost of telecommunications and computers, it's apparent that key elites have decided to iterate and extend the cost cutting strategies of the 1970s and 80s by moving not only manufacturing jobs, but customer service, software and chip research and development, financial services, back office support, and other "symbolic knowledge worker" positions permanently off shore. The following chart, adapted from a February 3, 2003 Business Week article, and from a webpage for the PBS current events magazine NOW, draws the contours of this trend:

Table One: Globalization and the Projected Exodus of White Collar Jobs from the U.S.

Field	2005	2015
Architecture	32,000	184,000
Art & Design	6,000	30,000
Business Operations	61,000	348,000
Computer	109,000	473,000
Legal	14,000	75,000
Life Sciences	3,700	37,000
Management	37,000	288,000
Office support/Sales	295,000	1,700,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>588,000</b>	<b>3,300,000</b>

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

Given the increased supply of competent intellectual labor, and the reduced cost of salaries and infrastructure in the developing world, the same work can be done in Bangalore, Budapest, Shanghai or San Jose, Costa Rica, for sixty-to-eighty percent less than similar labor in the U.S. Table Three provides some comparative salaries between the U.S. and India, for similar professional occupations:

Table Three: Comparative Salaries

	U.S.	India
<b>Software Programmer</b>	\$66,000	\$10,000
<b>Mechanical Engineer</b>	\$55,600	\$5900
<b>IT Manager</b>	\$55,000	\$8500
<b>Accountant</b>	\$41,000	\$5000
<b>Financial Operations</b>	\$37,625	\$5500

Since the Bush administration entered the White House, almost one in six manufacturing jobs has disappeared. The number of industrial workers in America has fallen from 17.3m to 14.6m. Unlike previous recessions, when factories downsized and then rehired, many now are closing their doors for good, either going bust or moving production to the developing world where costs are far lower. Economists agree it will be difficult to slow the decline let alone reverse it.

From: [Jobs Migration: Buffalo Moves Closer to Extinction By Guardian Newspapers, 11/19/2003](#)

- Loss of faith in free markets
- "Limited government" initiatives
- Reductions in estate taxes and capital gains taxes
- Reductions in company benefits (e.g., health care) and pension funds
- Deflating pension plan values, both public and private
- US dollar devaluation; rise of the Euro
- Dramatic decreases in spending for higher education

As U.S. states suffer from revenue shortfalls, and burgeoning college and university enrollments, large tuition increases are often bundled with escalations in class size, reduced course availability, and shrinking financial and infrastructural resources. Combined with the concurrent neo-liberal political redefinition of higher education as a private rather than a public good, "sticker shock" one-year increases (of up to thirty-nine percent at the three public universities in Arizona, forty percent in the California State System, and thirty-two percent in the University of Texas System) may well signify that elites are no longer willing to subsidize American public higher education, once they have gained global access, via digital communication networks, to cheap and competent intellectual labor.

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

- Squeezing of the middle class and potential re-stratification of American class system
- Rapidly expanding underclass and widening inequalities

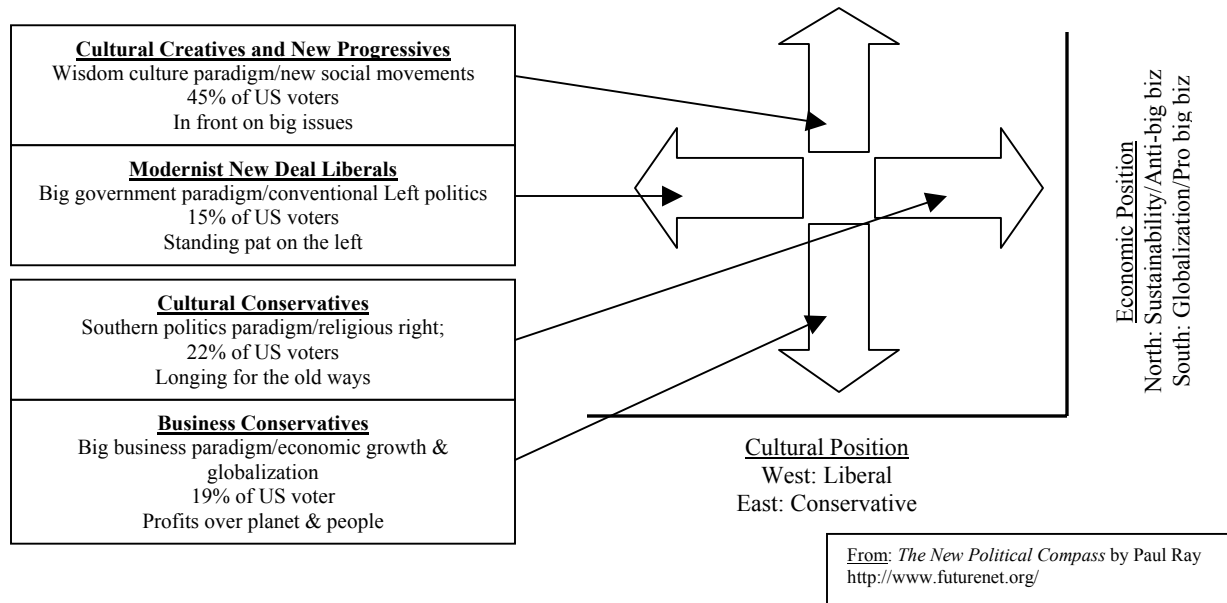
Drucker, Reich and their legions of adherents make the oft-repeated point that they expected an outsourcing of routine production activities. Here's how one disciple, Ian Angell, a libertarian at the London School of Economics, characterized these events in 1995:  
 The future is inequality; at the very bottom of the heap, western societies are already witnessing the emergence of a rapidly expanding underclass.

From: [The Digital Death Rattle of the American Middle Class: A Cautionary Tale by Dion Dennis, Ctheory, November 18, 2003](#)

- Reduction in both industrial economy manufacturing and information economy “knowledge work”
- Federal Reserve floods liquidity into markets to support asset values
- Total US credit skyrockets by \$5.7 trillion the 2001-2003 recession
- Cultural, political, economic polarization increasing
- World stage: Rise of nationalism in Europe; migration of Muslims (“clash of civilizations”)
- New federal entitlement: \$4 billion Medicare expansion for meds (medicate the “starving beast”)

### The New Political Compass

As envisioned by Paul Ray, author of *Cultural Creatives*



## Six Dimensions of Wave Change Analysis

Ideological indicators of New Progressives and Cultural Creatives

- Anti-materialism – against success-driven behavior, materialistic displays, over-consumption.
- Pro-civil liberties and anti-traditionalism – backlash against authoritarianism, intolerance and bigotries of social conservatives.
- Ecological sustainability – proactive environmentalism with an emphasis on activism and real-life solutions.
- Person-centered – concerns for relationships, altruism and idealism.
- Futurist, planetary progressive – concerns for long-term effects of today’s actions, with an emphasis on global concerns.
- Neither left nor right – fed up with the traditional political parties’ sameness.

## Assets that Attract the “Creative Class”

- Technology
- Gay/lesbian tolerance
- International/gourmet foods
- Access to natural resources
- Access to culture & arts

## Lakewood’s Meme Maps

Meme types as described through the model of Spiral Dynamics

<p><b>Green Meme</b></p> <p><i>We-centered</i></p> <p><i>Consensus decision-making</i></p> <p><i>Community and unity</i></p>	<b><i>Positions</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Against big centralized bureaucracy, transnational business conglomerates, large scale environmentally destructive technologies</li> </ul>
	<b><i>Cultural identifiers, symbols, beliefs</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ New Age</li> <li>▪ The People vs. the Powerful</li> <li>▪ Sexual liberation – living together, domestic partnerships, gay rights</li> <li>▪ Ecological sustainability</li> <li>▪ Companies are all about profits; Money is Mammon</li> <li>▪ Unimpressed by semi-Marxist class injustice rhetoric</li> <li>▪ National health care</li> <li>▪ Sharing resources</li> </ul>
	<b><i>Politics</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Non-alignment with two-party, corporate/militarist assumptions</li> <li>▪ Dennis Kucinich and the Tradition of Progressive Internationalism</li> <li>▪ Roots in Robert LaFollette, Wisc. senator who ran for president in 1924 (Anti-war, opposed to US imperialist intervention)</li> <li>▪ Win-win propositions</li> <li>▪ Regionalization</li> </ul>
	<b><i>Lakewood Markers</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ “Raise the Rainbow Flag”</li> <li>▪ Ed FitzGerald: Politics of reconciliation and healing</li> <li>▪ Denis Dunn: Green building policy</li> <li>▪ “Third places”: Phoenix coffee shop; alternative culture retailers</li> </ul>

<p><b>Orange Meme</b> I-centered</p> <p>Competition</p> <p>Progress through rationalization</p>	<b>Positions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Wanting to be number one; calculating self-interest</li> <li>▪ Strive for autonomy and independence</li> <li>▪ Enhanced living through planning, science and technology</li> </ul>
	<b>Cultural identifiers, symbols, beliefs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Yuppie boomers: car, job, money, music, self-referential culture, lack of self-awareness, hypocritical moralizing causes resentment above and below; “uppity &amp; yuppity”</li> <li>▪ Getting big fast</li> <li>▪ Relentless determination</li> <li>▪ Putting the customer first</li> <li>▪ Creating brand recognition</li> <li>▪ Hard work and sacrifice</li> <li>▪ Civil liberties</li> <li>▪ Corporate “neo-colonialism”</li> <li>▪ Welfare reform</li> <li>▪ Privatization of public functions: e.g., charter schools</li> </ul>
	<b>Politics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Independent Republican; Libertarian; Neo-conservative</li> </ul>
	<b>Lakewood Markers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Non-partisan elections</li> <li>▪ West End development issues</li> <li>▪ “Third places”: Shoppes at the West End</li> </ul>

<p><b>Blue Meme</b> We-centered</p> <p>Moral compasses</p> <p>Authoritarian structures</p>	<b>Positions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Bring order and stability to all things</li> <li>▪ Sacrifice self for deferred good</li> <li>▪ Enforce principles of righteous living</li> </ul>
	<b>Cultural identifiers, symbols, beliefs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Good order vs. chaos of the market</li> <li>▪ Traditional nuclear family</li> <li>▪ 3 monoliths that support order/indoctrination: Family, Church, School</li> <li>▪ Working class economics as a reaction to market insecurities: pooling, gifting, lending, mooching</li> <li>▪ Parish life as organic relations</li> </ul>
	<b>Politics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ New Deal liberals (back to the nineteen-thirties)</li> <li>▪ Marxism</li> <li>▪ Bush-style imperialism</li> <li>▪ Evangelical determinism and Natural Law Catholic politics</li> </ul>
	<b>Lakewood Markers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Political backlash to rise of Green memes</li> <li>▪ Thomas George: “Stand up for Lakewood”</li> <li>▪ Lakewood roots in Catholic immigration: Irish, German and the collective memory of the Medieval Village (what is the future of Lakewood’s parish schools?)</li> <li>▪ “Rip up the Rainbow Flag”</li> <li>▪ The Cain Mutiny</li> <li>▪ “Third Places”: Schools, Churches (“donut Sundays” after church service)</li> </ul>

<b>Red Meme</b> <i>I-centered</i>  <i>power-centered leadership approach</i>	<b>Positions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ “In a world of haves and have-nots, it’s good to be a have”</li> </ul>
	<b>Cultural identifiers, symbols, beliefs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Avoid shame, defend reputation, be respected</li> <li>▪ Gratify impulses and senses immediately</li> <li>▪ Fight remorselessly and without guilt to break constraints</li> <li>▪ Don’t worry about consequences that may not come</li> </ul>
	<b>Politics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Empire building politics</li> <li>▪ Power chiefs</li> </ul>
	<b>Lakewood Markers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Violence in the economic and political system:</li> <li>▪ Transgression of sacred symbols – flag, fireman and home</li> <li>▪ Eminent domain</li> <li>▪ Perceptions of ruling class misbehavior (“Fight Bogus Blight”; <i>60 Minutes</i> “I will fight tooth and nail”)</li> <li>▪ Blame/shame game (political attack ads on the new American “heroes”, e.g., “Why is this man smiling?” literature)</li> </ul>

### Lakewood Response to Current Macro-economic and Social Realities

- Contending memes and generational cultures indicate new perceptions about Lakewood’s economics, identity, social order and social conscience are in play. Expect pushback. Who am I? What are we?
- Remember that to feel in the center of the action is sometimes a symptom of mental illness. Take a cleansing breath.
- Lakewood is evolving. Respect Lakewood’s diverse memes.
- Lakewood – Third Place Gen X Mecca:

Social condensers" -- the place where citizens of a community or neighborhood meet to develop friendships, discuss issues, and interact with others -- have always been an important way in which the community developed and retained cohesion and a sense of identity.

Ray Oldenburg (1989), in The Great Good Place, calls these locations "third places." (The first being the home and the second being work.) These third places are crucial to a community for a number of reasons, according to Oldenburg. They are distinctive informal gathering places, they make the citizen feel at home, they nourish relationships and a diversity of human contact, they help create a sense of place and community, they invoke a sense of civic pride, they provide numerous opportunities for serendipity, they promote companionship, they allow people to relax and unwind after a long day at work, they are socially binding, they encourage sociability instead of isolation, they make life more colorful, and they enrich public life and democracy.

There are essential ingredients to a well-functioning third place. They must be free or quite inexpensive to enter and purchase food and drink within. They must be highly accessible to neighborhoods so that people find it easy to make the place a regular part of their routine -- in other words, a lot of people should be able to comfortably walk to the place from their home. They should be a place where a number of people regularly go on a daily basis. It should be a place where the person feels welcome and comfortable, and where it is easy to enter into conversation. And a person who goes there should be able to expect to find both old and new friends each time she or he goes there.

- Low rent/low mortgage = more disposable income for Lakewood’s many “third places”
- “A college town without a college”
- Home alone in the age of corporate globalization, American de-industrialization, and alibis for the creative economy
- Falling out of competition?
- Regressive memories stimulate germ of conservative past
- Gen X “nones” and the impact on Lakewood’s churches

- What's up with Cleveland? Richard Rosecrance in *The Rise of the Virtual State* tells us that there are “head” nations and “body” nations, which do the manufacturing. The analogy applies to cities and regions. Has Cleveland lost its “legs”? Does Cleveland have a “head”? Is regionalization the way to compensate for missing “body parts”? Does regionalization have legs?
- Visionary thinker Terence McKenna describes the evolution of human society over time as a dialectic between habit and novelty. Novelty is creative and disjunctive, and habit is conservative and repetitious.
- Life is always a struggle: Opportunity for survival increases with diversity.