

## TUGWELL AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

David O. Whitten

*Auburn University*

### ABSTRACT

In 1924 Rexford Guy Tugwell edited *The Trend of Economics*, a volume comprising essays by Morris Copeland, Sumner Slichter, Frank Knight, Albert Wolfe, Wesley Clair Mitchell, Paul Douglas, Frederick Mills, William Weld, Raymond Bye, John Maurice Clark, Robert Hale, George Soule, and Tugwell himself, in other words, an honor roll of social scientist-economists of the early twentieth century. Tugwell's contribution is entitled "Experimental Economics," an essay not to be confused with what in the last decades of the twentieth century became experimental economics, but an exegesis on the state of economic science in the early 1920s. "Tugwell After Eighty Years," is a critique of pertinent portions of "Experimental Economics" that reveals origins of social and economic problems of the early twenty-first century in issues Tugwell observed in 1924.

"Old soldiers never die, they just fade away;" arguably General Douglas MacArthur's (1880-1964) most memorable utterance, applies to economists too. Adam Smith, like MacArthur, remains alive and well in the hearts and minds of his venerated, but the real Smith, like the real MacArthur has disintegrated into a ghost shaped to meet the needs of twenty-first century followers. David Ricardo, Thomas Robert Malthus, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, Henry George, and John Maynard Keynes have supporters who nurture assertions of their dead mentors to reinforce their own ends. In an age where conservatives have aggressively besmirched the honor of liberalism and liberals the image of economist Rexford Guy Tugwell (1891-1979) has faded more than most. Tugwell committed the unpardonable social sin of telling society how good it could be.

Tugwell, born in Sinclairville, New York in 1891, and reared in Wilson, New York, did not follow his father into agriculture and business but chose an academic career. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, earning bachelor's (1915), master's (1916), and doctoral (1922) degrees. A liberal economist who believed in economic planning, he joined the faculty of Columbia University, New York City, in 1920. In 1932 Raymond Moley, impressed with the extensive Tugwell publications, recruited Tugwell and Adolph A. Berle, Jr., as advisors to Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign. Elected, President Roosevelt made Tugwell assistant secretary of agriculture and later undersecretary.

Tugwell's farm policy effort, underscored by his contributions to institutional machinery to contain agricultural output by paying farmers to discontinue or reduce production of specified crops, mirrored his extensive influence on New Deal economic re-

forms. Conservative critics of the New Deal found in Tugwell an apt target for their venom. "Rexford the Red" became a lightning rod for the New Deal and drew fire away from the President. Eventually Tugwell left the administration but he took the critics with him; they would disparage him and his work for the rest of his life. A determined press driven by revulsion to Tugwell and his ideas prevented what many viewed as dangerously liberal views from finding a national audience during his life and indeed in the years since.

In 1936 Tugwell left the Roosevelt administration for private business; in 1938 he became chairman of the New York City Planning Commission and in 1941 chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico. Later in 1941 Tugwell became governor of Puerto Rico. *The Stricken Land* (1946) is Tugwell's commentary on the five years he tried to better economic and social conditions in Puerto Rico as wealthy sugar planters opposed him at every turn. From 1946 to 1957, Tugwell was professor of political science at the University of Chicago and director of the Institute of Planning (1946-1957). From Chicago he became senior fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. After winning the Bancroft prize in history for *The Brains Trust* in 1968, Tugwell turned his attentions to a model for a new Constitution of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Despite nearly two-score books and hundreds of articles and book reviews, Tugwell has faded away. Perhaps one professional economist in ten has heard of him and far fewer have read anything that he wrote. In 1924 Tugwell edited *The Trend of Economics*,<sup>2</sup> a volume comprising essays by Morris Copeland, Sumner Slichter, Frank Knight, Albert Wolfe, Wesley Clair Mitchell, Paul Douglas, Frederick Mills, William Weld, Raymond Bye, John Maurice Clark, Robert Hale, George Soule, and Tugwell himself, in other words, an honor roll of social scientist-economists of the early twentieth century. The articles present in microcosm economics writing of the time. The names are big but the material is dated with modern application only by a great stretch of imagination. In contrast, Tugwell's contribution, "Experimental Economics,"<sup>3</sup> an essay not to be confused with what in the last decades of the twentieth century became experimental economics, is an exegesis on the state of economic science in the early 1920s that anticipated economic issues pertinent in the twenty-first century. "Tugwell After Eighty Years," is a critique of pertinent portions of "Experimental Economics" that reveals origins of social and economic problems of the early twenty-first century in issues Tugwell observed in 1924.

In "Experimental Economics" Tugwell cites industrialism as the great watershed of human history, the creator of plenty, the hope for the future, and the principle underlying cause of most social problems of the twentieth century. "This is true of all modern problems, whether we attend chiefly to the decline of the home, the decay of the church, the rise of the school, the ugliness of urbanism—or any of the similar problems that vex the minds of modern thinkers."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, "whatever the problem in whatever field of modern endeavor, the explanation of it centers in and the solution for it must be found in the fundamentally dynamic forces of our age; and it is industry that has furnished this dynamic force in the past two centuries."<sup>5</sup>

## TUGWELL AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

Tugwell's prescience is impressive: "why is it that capital tends to flow into speculative enterprise, the profit factor outweighing the safety factor[?]"<sup>6</sup> The question still rings down Wall Street when analysts try to make sense of investors' confidence in dot.com firms with records of losses quarter after quarter. But closer to home: "What is a vice in an individual will by economic legerdemain be erected into socially beneficial action. If this mystic paradox were not so tenacious, it would not deserve serious consideration [but] . . . if the untruth of it were once shown, one of the main props of the . . . profit system in industry would be completely knocked out."<sup>7</sup> After the savings and loan debacle a half-century after Tugwell penned his warning that a quest for profits may lead to antisocial results, society might have been expected to question the underlying assumption that what is good for General Motors is good for America, but the threat to the driving force of the modern economy—trust in the profit motive—survived unharmed. In fact laws enacted to protect society from greed, laws like the Glass-Steagall Act were repealed to ease the way for the Enron, Worldcom, and Xerox scandals of the early twenty-first century.

Robert Kuttner observed in 2002 the problem Tugwell cited in 1924. Kuttner finds earlier precedents for his concerns and although he does not dig as deep as Tugwell and 1924, he comes close with a reference to a Berle and Means 1932 book.<sup>8</sup> Kuttner draws a bead on the difference between what is beneficial for the men and women who run corporations and the best interest of the men and women who own the corporations, the stock holders. Corporate CEOs hold on to profits—Microsoft is offered as an outstanding example—because paying dividends, while helping stock holders, will not necessarily improve the value of options held by company executives. Kuttner also mentions the issuance of stocks to finance mergers and takeovers at excessive prices as a business practice that benefits the company officials at the expense of the owners. Regulation of corporate activity runs counter to the teaching of free-market advocates who insist that any quest for profits must benefit everyone, but Tugwell in 1924 and Kuttner in 2002 observe that profits for one group may not necessarily benefit anyone but those getting the dollars.<sup>9</sup>

Tugwell's response to the dependence on profit-seeking to keep a business society progressing is recourse to ethics. "It is impossible to see any way to separate economics from ethics; and it seems further that, even if it could be done, it would be nothing less than disastrous" for economics.<sup>10</sup> Business<sup>11</sup> "itself has no thoroughly socialized ideals. Rather, it would be fair to say, profit is the ideal of the business organizations that operate industry. But profit-seeking is a disruptive force, essentially anti-social, that leads to other goals than that of social welfare. And if the social good is to be obtained, and not just here and there the good of an individual or a group, if we are to have, in this sense, progress, it can only come from a constant reexamination of ideal and constant redirection of social forces toward their attainment."<sup>12</sup> Business "good conduct must have a flexible measure, centering about the criterion of the provision of as great quantities of the instruments of good living at as low a human cost as may be. This makes ethics an instrument of progress, not a series of inspired and permanent rules of conduct."<sup>13</sup> "All this means that economics is ethical, inescapably and rightly so."<sup>14</sup>

## ESSAYS IN ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS HISTORY (2004)

The ideals Tugwell expressed in 1924 ring true in 2003 and offer a backdrop against which to examine the seventeen social problems of America he delineated. Has modern society and economy advanced in the eight decades since Tugwell wrote "Experimental Economics"? Tugwell set out problems in four groups: problems of working life, home life, smaller group relationships, and greater group relationships. Problems of working life fall into six subsets beginning with

*a. Conditions of the working life; monotonies, dirt, noise, long hours, bad lighting; surroundings with swiftly moving machinery and ugly walls, industrial disease, intermittent work, inefficient and unsympathetic foremanship, etc.*<sup>15</sup>

The grimy jobs of Tugwell's day have been largely replaced in 2003 with service employment in attractive work places with abundant light. Thanks to OSHA in the United States, production employees have considerably more protection from the dangers of fast moving and otherwise dangerous machinery than they did in Tugwell's day. Industrial disease has not been eliminated but government agencies stay busy working to reduce the negative effects of industrial employment on workers and the community. Inefficient and unsympathetic foremanship has surely not disappeared but has as surely been reduced from the level of national problem to that of localized nuisances by union pressure and modern personnel management techniques. Of Tugwell's first problems of working life monotony, long hours, and intermittent employment are still high on the list of social problems in industrialized societies, although they have assumed new shapes and wrinkles.

Monotony in the work place has not disappeared despite the arrival of high tech equipment and the decline of assembly line jobs. Tugwell did not anticipate the replacement of labor on the production line with electronic machinery. Monotonous assembly work has not disappeared although most employees today associate monotony in the work place with grinding mental effort confined within a tiny cubical stuffed with computers. Contact with the outside world is as close as a key click but supervisors stand ready to reprimand or replace employees bold enough to send a personal e-mail message, tune in to a radio program, or play a music CD.

Long hours remain a problem of working life in the United States as does intermittent employment. The number of hours a year worked by Americans is higher "than any other country in the world and . . . our hours are increasing while the hours in many other industrialized nations are declining . . . The average American is spending a startling 12.5 weeks more a year on the job than the average German worker and 6.5 weeks more than the average British laborer . . . A recent survey shows that 37 percent of Americans work more than 50 hours a week. We work six weeks more a year than we did 20 years ago and eight weeks more a year than the average European."<sup>16</sup>

A national unemployment count was not done when Tugwell included intermittent employment as one of his problems of working life but the newly created National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER, 1920) was crafting definitions of

## TUGWELL AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

the labor force, the employed, and the unemployed and preparing to launch systematic measurement of national employment. The first numbers appeared for 1929 and four years later, in 1933 the nation and its politicians were shocked by a 25 percent unemployment figure, a revelation that reinforced new president Franklin D. Roosevelt's call for a New Deal. Monthly unemployment counts are now a fixture in a society that emphasizes employment and expects federal intervention to keep joblessness to a minimum. Another sign of intermittent employment as a workplace problem is the Bureau of Labor Statistics observation that "the average American worker will change jobs nine times between his or her 18<sup>th</sup> and 32<sup>nd</sup> birthdays."<sup>17</sup>

*b. Incomes: the difficulties of correlation between changing standards, changing price levels and wage or salary rates.* Tugwell's second problem of the workplace is in twenty-first century America combined with the first workplace problem of long hours of work. Men and women today work multiple jobs and long hours to support a standard of living open to few in 1924. "Omar Suliman, a 28-year-old manager of a Popeye's Fried Chicken Restaurant in Alexander [Virginia] . . . works about 60 hours a week and only takes off Sunday. His long hours help support two kids, and pay for a mortgage and two cars. . . The data on American workers suggests a connection to the increasing income gap between the 'haves and have-nots.' A larger portion of the labor force is trying to remain in the middle class . . . which may cause people to have to work more."<sup>18</sup> In today's world where CEOs are paid millions by companies that pay their laborers minimum wage, the problem of allocation of income is as bad or worse than it was in Tugwell's 1924 and there are no solutions in sight.

*c. The unsuitability of modern production for the utilization of creative abilities.* In the strictest sense twenty-first century production leaves even less room for creativity than did the production modes of 1924 because actual production today is carried out mechanically with a minimum of labor. In a broader sense, because less labor is required for most manufacturing today there is more freedom of expression in modern society than there was in Tugwell's 1924. The point is doubtless open to endless speculation and debate.

*d. Conflicts involved in competition among individuals and groups.* Competitive conflicts are if anything more intense today than in 1924 if for no other reason than increased numbers. The population of 2003 United States is more than twice what it was in 1924. Increased numbers combined with the greater capacity for individual expression through electronic communication media create a nation-wide competitive arena. Tugwell, while aware of this workplace problem, would probably be surprised at today's litigious society where food sellers are sued by customers who claim the meals purchased made them obese. He might also be impressed with competition over rankings between educational institutions, hospitals, and other social service institutions manifest in rankings generated by *U.S. News & World Report*, *Business Week* and other nationally distributed publications.<sup>19</sup> Tugwell's prescience was nowhere more obvious than in his observations on social conflict.

*e. The struggle toward cooperation and coordination of industrial individuals and groups.* In this workplace problem Tugwell anticipated the Wagner Act and ensuing competition between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The severity of that conflict led to the Taft-Hartley Act that reduced the conflict at the cost of also reducing the potential of organized labor. This is one of a few of Tugwell's cited problems of 1924 that is no longer on the first list of social issues in 2003.

*f. The continual changing of the natural resources and supplies of power depended upon by industry.* Two decades after Tugwell's "Experimental Economics" the world was at war over just the resources he cites in this, his sixth problem of working life. Japan became a world industrial power using its abundant coal reserves but petroleum surpassed coal as the essential industrial and military fuel and Japan had to import oil. When Western Allies threatened to cut access to the essential resource, Japan went to war to get it. In the 1990 Gulf War the United States went to war to guarantee oil supplies. Tugwell's sixth workplace problem is arguably the most cogent of his list of 17 problems facing industrial society in 1924 in that it was a problem then and continues to plague society eighty years later.

#### Problems of the Home Life.

*a. The passing of rural cultural, the growth of urban culture, the consequent destruction of the old home life and the struggle toward a new basis for family grouping.*

*b. The relations between husband and wife and between parents and children under the new conditions.*

*c. The struggle to raise living levels and to meet the conditions of new ideals of life all of which involve enlarged consumption.*

The three problems of home life Tugwell cites in 1924 can be examined better as a single statement when looking at home life in 2003. The problems have not changed and they have not been solved, but they have come together perhaps because the old home life Tugwell sets as the stability-lost has disappeared in time and hardly serves twenty-first century Americans as any kind of model for reference and imitation. The loss of a viable family model and the search for a new one have become so desperate that politicians embrace family values in their campaign slogans. High divorce rates are evidence of an ongoing search for a workable family model in modern America.<sup>20</sup>

Because households where both adults are in the labor force were rare in 1924 but common in 2003, workplace problems may be more closely aligned with home life now than they were early in the twentieth century. Tugwell's acknowledgment of enlarged consumption as a household issue in 1924 ties directly into the long hours of work in America in 2003. The consumer goods given high priority in the modern United States are not essential to survival—cell phones, automobiles, computers, DVD players, VCRs, camcorders, television receivers— but are essential to membership in the middle class, the great playing field of the nation. Long hours are not endured for food and shelter, but for

## TUGWELL AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

the trappings of life, equipment without which a household cannot participate in the American way of life.

### Problems of Smaller Group Relationships.

*a. The decline of the old religion and the longing for a new religious experience with a recognizable relationship to daily secular experience.* In the decline of the old religion Tugwell isolates yet another social issue of 1924 that remains one in 2003. The search for a religion comfortable with the consumer-goods-rich American life style is perhaps more frantic today than it was when Tugwell cited it as a problem of smaller group relationships. The rise of televangelism is an outgrowth of the desire of many Americans for a comfortable religion. Perhaps the twenty-first century churches that offer martial arts classes, exercise facilities, and around-the-clock support and entertainment for family members who subscribe (contract to pay a negotiated portion of their incomes, usually automatically withdrawn from their pay checks) are getting close to the holy grail of modern households in search of religion that fits.

“According to the most recent survey of U.S religious institutions, Minnesota is home to Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Hindus, Taoists, and Zoroastrians.” From 1990 to 2000, “that bastion of conservative Americans, has seen double digit percentage increases for Jews and the Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and for the first time Muslims were counted in significant numbers.” Minnesota, like the rest of the United States, supports evangelicals, “They are acutely market conscious. They understand they have to cater to their consumers, and they do it.”<sup>21</sup> “Americans’ confidence in religious institutions is at a 30-year low, tumbling to just 45 percent, according to an annual Gallup Poll.”<sup>22</sup>

*b. The effort to build a new morality for social rather than individual control; the enforcement of morality by the smallest social groups.* The effort continues and may be more evident today than it was when Tugwell wrote in 1924. Political correctness is one manifestation of small-group social control over individual expression and demands for diversity in education and social institutions is another.<sup>23</sup>

*c. The movement of educational responsibility out of the home and into the schools.* Public schools have assumed responsibility for instruction of the three r’s, social morality, sex education, and political consciousness with such thoroughness that society in 2003 faults teachers for failing to socialize children and leaves households blameless. Moreover, the movement to public educational responsibility that Tugwell saw taking shape in 1924 was so complete by the 1990s that home schooling became a newsworthy development. “According to a 1999 survey by the U.S. Department of Education, there are 850,000 home-schooled children, about 1.7 percent of the school-age population nationwide. But some believe the students are under reported, and the number is closer to 2 million.”<sup>24</sup>

*d. The decline of individual arts and the attempt to create industrial and social arts.* The anticipation of industrial and social arts overwhelming individual efforts may

be Tugwell's most obvious misreading of problems of his time. In fact as the twentieth century progressed businesses and governments (industry and society in Tugwell's terms) financed and nurtured private painting, music, film, and nearly every other form of artistic expression. "The Arts/Industry program of the John Michael Kohler Arts Center has proven over the years that even cast iron can be cool, elegant and evocative. . . . For 28 years, the Arts Center has collaborated with Kohler Company to give artists two-to-six-month residencies to utilize industrial technologies to create work impossible to achieve anywhere else. The program, which gives artists the option to work in either the pottery, iron and brass foundries, enamel shop, or research and development department, is recognized as one of the most unusual ongoing collaborations between art and industry in the country."<sup>25</sup>

### Problems of Greater Group Relationships.

*a. The slow struggle toward a recreation on a functional basis of governmental structure.* Tugwell understood the need of a democracy to be dynamic to survive and that governments at every level, local, state, and federal would forever be restructuring to meet the needs of a changing society. The Clinton administration reported frequently on its efforts to reinvent government, and the George W. Bush administration is striving to reinvent it around what the president calls faith-based initiatives. The recreation of government in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union is one of the most stunning governmental revolutions of all times and certainly it is the outstanding example of Tugwell's observation since he made it.

Government restructuring comes under international pressures as well as domestic ones. "The World Summit for Sustainable Development . . . [addresses] the need to protect Earth from ecological devastation. . . . Earth-hostile behavior will not change significantly until our values change."<sup>26</sup> International organizations of governments like the World Trade Organization, United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund work to bring a better life to people all over the globe and one of their greatest challenges is the environmental destruction that accompanies the consumer-goods production associated with modern industrial societies. The first group relationship issue connects with the second in ways not envisioned by Tugwell.

*b. The relations and inter-relations between producing and consuming groups.* In 1924 the conflict between producing and consuming groups was largely confined to workers seeking bargaining power to deal with employers who claimed to be keeping wages down and working conditions harsh so that consumers would enjoy low prices. Exorbitant profits were not considered. Tugwell anticipated the advance of unionism that came with section VII A of NIRA and then the Wagner Act. Although unionism and modern personnel management has reduced the conflict between producing and consuming groups within the United States, Tugwell's observation remains vital because the conflict continues in global markets. Consumers in



## TUGWELL AFTER EIGHTY YEARS

America want high quality products at low prices but they do not want the foreign producers to violate human rights or compromise the environment to provide those goods. So the problem cited in 1924 remains a problem today though in a different milieu.<sup>27</sup>

*c. Problems of war and peace and the resolution of the conflicts that lead to international wars.* Tugwell set out his list of problems in the immediate post World War I period when World War II was already brewing. The League of Nations had little probability of success because the United States refused to join so problems had little likelihood of solution free of war. Of course the rise of the Nazi state in Germany was not thwarted and eventually had to be conquered at immense expenditure of life and treasure. Shortly thereafter conflict was again addressed with arms in Korea. It might be said that Tugwell identified a problem that will never be solved especially considering the current conflict in the Middle East, international terrorism, and conflicts between the United States and Iraq and North Korea. Nevertheless, were Tugwell alive in 2003 he would be impressed with the number of conflicts the world has solved free of battle. He would also observe that effort to prevent wars must be on going and cannot cease so long as the earth is inhabited by human beings.

*d. Problems raised by the modern mixtures of different races and cultures brought about by modern migrations in search of higher living standards.* The last of the social problems cited by Tugwell in 1924 could hardly be surpassed in prescience. In fact it could be argued that this very issue is predominate in 2003 United States and is the heart of the national struggle with global terrorism. Tugwell's four problems of greater group relationships are as important in 2003 as they were in 1924 and they are likely to be just as significant in 3003.<sup>28</sup>

Tugwell would probably be surprised at the merger of workplace and home place problems as electronic communications make it possible and even essential for men and women (and he would probably be surprised at the twenty-first century labor force participation rate of women) to remain in perpetual contact with each other and with their jobs with beepers, cell telephones, and computers. Because the world is a smaller place in 2003 than it was in 1924 the social problems Tugwell identified in 1924 are in 2003 more problems of the world than problems of a nation. Although Tugwell would be surprised at how fast national problems became international ones he would probably not be surprised that they did.

### Notes

1. Michael V. Namorato, *Rexford G. Tugwell, A Biography* (New York: Praeger, 1988); editor, *The Diary of Rexford G. Tugwell: The New Deal, 1932-1935* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992).
2. Rexford Guy Tugwell, editor, *The Trend of Economics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924).
3. *Ibid.*, 371-422.

## ESSAYS IN ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS HISTORY (2004)

4. "Experimental Economics," 375.
5. *Ibid.*, 382.
6. *Ibid.*, 404.
7. *Ibid.*, 408.
8. Adolf Augustus Berle and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).
9. Robert Kuttner, "The Case of the Disappearing Dividend," *Business Week* (September 9, 2002): 28.
10. "Experimental Economics," 420.
11. Tugwell's references are to industry and industrial society. Writing today he probably would have broadened his terminology to accommodate the information revolution—third industrial revolution?—and have, accordingly, used business where he specifies industry and business society where he employs industrial society.
12. "Experimental Economics," 421.
13. *Ibid.*, 417.
14. *Ibid.*, 419.
15. The seventeen "Social Problems of America" are set out on page 377 of "Experimental Economics."
16. Lee Scheier, "Call It a Day, America, Some Think It's Time We Quit Working So Hard and Starting Playing a Little More," *Chicago [Illinois] Tribune* (May 5, 2002), 1.
17. Dustin Block, "Working Measuring Up To the Rest of the World," *The [Racine, Wisconsin] Journal Times* (September 2, 2001).
18. Cynthia L. Webb, "U.S. Workers Putting In Long Hours, Report Says America Tops Industrialized World," *The Washington [DC] Post* (September 4, 2001). E1.
19. See, for example, "America's Best Colleges," *U.S. News & World Report* (September 30, 2002), 60-112.
20. Kathryn Marchocki, "Priorities in Order: Increases Seen in Marriages, Important Decisions As People Take On New Sense of Responsibility," *The [Manchester, New Hampshire] Union Leader* (November 23, 2001); Rochelle Riley, "Culture Shocked: Sex and Violence Fill Today's Movies, Music and TV Shows," *Detroit [Michigan] Free Press* (May 12, 2002).
21. Martha Sawyer Allen, "Religion Survey Notes Shift in State: Churchgoing Drops Slightly; New Demoninations Take Hold," *Star Tribune: Newspaper of the Twin Cities [Minneapolis/Saint Paul, Minnesota]* (September 22, 2002), 1B.
22. Larry Witham, "Poll Finds Religion Lost Esteem Over Past Year," *The Washington [DC] Times* (July 16, 2002), A08.
23. David Lightman, "Morality Becomes an Issue—And A Tactic," *The Hartford [Connecticut] Courant* (October 20, 2000), A1.
24. Holly Yettick, "Home Schooling On Growth Spurt: Parents Choosing To Educate Their Kids Themselves," *Rocky Mountain News [Colorado]* (September 2, 2002), 28A; Nicole Sweeney, "U.S. Home-Schooling Market Opens Up," *The [Columbia, South Carolina] State* (September 8, 2002), B1.
25. "Explore the Possibilities When Art Meets Industry," *The Sheboygan [Wisconsin] Press* (September 8, 2002), 05C.
26. Relma Hargus, "Religion Provides Ways To Save the Earth: World Summit Being Held To Address Ways To Save Environment," *The [Baton Rouge, Louisiana] Advocate* (August 31, 2002), 1F.
27. Lisa M. Krieger, "Over Consumption the Latest Menace To Humanity, Author Says," *San Jose [California] Mercury News* (October 4, 1998); Philip Gold, "You Are What You Buy: A Scholar's Defense of Consumer Culture," *The Washington [DC] Times* (May 30, 1999), B8; "Report Reveals Industrialized Countries Consuming More, Enjoying It Less," *Environmental News Network [Sun Valley, Idaho]* (May 31, 2002); "Humans Consume More Than Earth Can Replace, Study Says," *Los Angeles [California] Times* (June 25, 2002).
28. Patrick Connors, "Culture Clash," *[Lewiston, Maine] Sun Journal* (October 13, 2002).