The Dance with Community

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Notes

Preface


Chapter One. Introduction: The Meaning of Community


4. E.g., J. G. A. Pocock's *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975) is the founding work in the movement, though Pocock is historian more than advocate; Gordon Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: Norton, 1972) is the most influential work on republican history in our Founding period; Wood is more openly sympathetic. There are, as we shall see, a host of advocates more open than either of these Founding masters.


16. Erik Olsen’s discussions with me about the nature of community have been of great value.

Chapter Two. Present Discontents


9. Ibid., p. 197.


15. MacIntyre, After Virtue, p. 238.
17. Ibid., p. 221.
22. Barber, Strong Democracy, p. 231.
25. Bell, Cultural Contradictions, ch. 1.
27. Bloom, American Mind, p. 117.
34. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart, pp. 23–25.
38. E.g., Oldenquist, Non-Suicidal Society, ch. 15.
40. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart, ch. 3.
41. Ibid., pp. 75–81.
42. Ibid., pp. 27, 32–35.
43. Ibid., ch. 4; Bloom, American Mind, p. 122.
44. Clarke E. Cochran, Character, Community, and Politics (University: University of Alabama Press, 1982), p. 3.
67. Ibid., p. 39.
77. Cohen and Rogers, Democracy, chs. 3, 2.
79. Harrington, Politics at God's Funeral, p. 81.
82. Ibid., pp. 71–75.
85. E.g., Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World, ch. 7.
86. E.g., Bloom, American Mind, pp. 118–20, 58.
88. Bell, Cultural Contradictions, pp. 244, 77.
89. Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World, pp. 183, 189.
90. Lustig, Corporate Liberalism, pp. 234, 229.
91. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart, p. 207.
96. Peter Clecak, America's Quest for the Ideal Self: Dissent and Fulfillment in the 60s and 70s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 107, 5–9, 226, 326, and chs. 9, 12.
98. Ibid., pp. 92, 337–38, 357.
100. Boorstin, Genius of American Politics; Americans: Democratic Experience; Americans: National Experience.
103. Kristol, Two Cheers, p. 65.
Chapter Three. Rummaging through American History

17. A point made by Charles Anderson, among others. Anderson was a considerable help to me in thinking about this chapter.
19. Ibid., p. 395.
20. Ibid., pp. 120–21.
21. Ibid., ch. 2.
22. Ibid., pp. 608–12.


29. Drukman, *Community and Purpose*, ch. 5.


36. Ibid., p. 295.

37. Ibid., p. 66.

38. Ibid., p. 270.


41. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny*.


48. E.g., Russell L. Hanson, *Democratic Imagination.*
50. Drukman, *Community and Purpose*, p. 4.
51. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*, pp. 20–21, passim.
54. As developed throughout Bellah’s *Habits of the Heart*.

Chapter Four. Participatory Community

5. Pateman, in *Participation and Democratic Theory*, discussed the theory, past and modern, of participatory politics.
6. As Eric Gorham put it to me nicely.
10. Ibid., p. 173.
12. Ibid., p. 132.
16. Ibid., p. 65.
18. Marx is a case in point.
20. This is the burden of the entire second half of Pateman.
23. Ibid., p. 132.
28. Ibid., p. 295.
30. Ibid., ch. 2.
31. Ibid., ch. 4.
32. Barber, *Strong Democracy*.
33. Ibid., pp. 238–40.
34. Ibid., pp. 118, 128.
37. Ibid., p. 41.
38. Ibid., pp. 188, 404.
40. Ibid., pp. 38–39.
43. Ibid., ch. 12–14.
44. Ibid., ch. 5.
45. Ibid., pp. 26 ff.
46. Ibid., ch. 4.
47. Ibid., p. 8 and ch. 6.
50. Ibid., ch. 10.
51. Ibid., ch. 3, pp. 68–78.
55. E.g., Evans and Boyte, *Free Spaces*.
59. Harry C. Boyte, *Community Is Possible: Repairing America's Roots* (New...
York: Harper and Row, 1984), ch. 3; Boyte, Booth, and Max, Citizen Action, ch. 3.

60. Evans and Boyte, Free Spaces, p. viii.


63. Boyte, Booth, and Max, Citizen Action, ch. 2; Boyte, Community Is Possible, ch. 5.


68. Evans and Boyte, Free Spaces, p. 186.


70. Carey McWilliams raised this issue most pointedly with me. For two perspectives, see McLaughlin and Davidson, Builders of the Dawn, pp. 62-66; and Barber, Strong Democracy, p. 249.

71. E.g., Tinder Community, p. 71.

72. Barber, Strong Democracy; Bowles and Gintis, Democracy and Capitalism, ch. 4.

73. Compare Barber with Pateman.

74. Two examples of those who take it that the really contested issue is not normative but practical/empirical: Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory; and Robert Dahl, A Preface to Economic Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

75. Mansbridge, Beyond Adversary Democracy, pp. 4-5, 147-48, 276-77, ch. 20, passim.

76. Ibid., pp. 230-95.

77. See Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory; and Barber, Strong Democracy, ch. 10.

78. Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory, pp. 102, 111; contrast with John Witte, Democracy, Authority, and Alienation in Work: Workers' Participation in an American Corporation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

79. Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory, ch. 5.


84. Unger, Passion, pp. 193, 258.

85. Unger, Passion, pp. 246, 96, 211.

86. Unger, Knowledge and Politics, pp. 272-74; idem, Passion, p. 76.

87. Unger, Knowledge and Politics p. 266.

88. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
94. Ibid., p. 37.
95. A point my colleague Eric Gorham made to me.
104. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 33.
115. Ibid., ch. 2.
116. Ibid., p. 29.
119. Ibid., ch. 21.
120. Ibid., chs. 21–23.
123. As my colleague Eric Gorham puts the argument.
126. Ibid., ch. 1.
127. Ibid., chs. 8, 7, 3, 4, 2.
128. Ibid., ch. 1.
130. Ibid., ch. 13 and p. 310.
131. Ibid., p. 319.

Chapter Five. The Republican Community

8. Ibid., p. 291.
10. Ibid., pp. 545–46.
11. Ibid., pp. 546–47.
12. Ibid., pp. 526–27. I read Pocock as having this view but grant there are other readings which downplay his analysis as having a normative tinge.
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25. This is Erik Olsen’s argument in his soon-to-be-completed Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.


29. E.g., Sullivan, Reconstructing Public Philosophy.

30. Ibid., p. 90.

31. Ibid., p. 35.

32. Lustig, Corporate Liberalism, ch. 9; Sullivan, Reconstructing Public Philosophy, p. 158.


34. Ibid., ch. 7. Compare Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart, with Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, On Democracy (New York: Penguin, 1983).

35. Peter Clecak, America’s Quest for the Ideal Self: Dissent and Fulfillment

36. Hanson, Democratic Imagination. Ch. 12 is a good case by way of illustration but Bellah or Sullivan might serve just as well.


41. Diggins, Lost Soul, ch. 1.

42. Ibid., ch. 2.

43. Ibid., Conclusion and p. 16.

44. McDonald, Novus Ordo Seclorum, p. viii.

45. Pangle, Modern Republicanism, p. 28.

46. Ibid., p. 35.

47. Ibid., p. 30.

48. Ibid., pp. 73, 61, 47, and ch. 8.

49. Ibid. p. 35.

50. Ibid., pp. 21–24.


52. Pangle, Modern Republicanism, pp. 25–27.


57. Ibid., p. 151.


60. Ibid.

61. Diggins, Lost Soul, pp. 332–33.


64. In truth, we need to know much, much more here.
66. Ibid., p. 34.
67. Ibid., p. 569.
68. Ibid., p. 621.
69. Ibid., p. 355.
71. Erik Olsen has educated me over and over on this and other topics.
72. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart.

Chapter Six. Community and Roots

4. Buckley, American Conservative Thought, ch. 5 and pp. xv–xxi.
6. Ibid., pp. 49, 47.
13. E.g., ibid.; and Kirk, Program for Conservatives, p. 76.
22. Ibid., pp. 64–65.
23. Ibid., p. 64.
25. Ibid., ch. 10.
33. Ibid., p. 85.
34. Ibid., pp. 167–72.
35. Ibid., p. 58.
36. Ibid., pp. 126–27.
37. Ibid., pp. 118–20.
38. Ibid., p. 51.
40. Ibid., p. 37.
41. Ibid.
45. Ibid., p. 73.
46. Ibid., p. 81.
47. Ibid., p. 41.

49. Bloom, American Mind, p. 82.

50. Ibid., pp. 132-34.

51. Ibid., pp. 228-29.

52. Ibid., pp. 61-99.

53. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

54. Ibid., p. 34.


56. Bloom, American Mind, p. 381 and the chapter "From Socrates' Apology ... ."


58. Though Suzanne Jacobitti, who helped me enormously in thinking about the Straussians, disagrees.


62. MacIntyre, After Virtue, ch. 4.


64. MacIntyre, After Virtue, p. 252.


66. MacIntyre, After Virtue, pp. 204-5.

67. Ibid., p. 263.

68. Ibid., pp. 216-20.

69. MacIntyre, Whose Justice?

70. Ibid., p. 156.

71. Ibid., p. 253.

72. This is obvious in MacIntyre's Whose Justice?; see also MacIntyre, After Virtue, p. 259.


78. E.g., MacIntyre, After Virtue, p. 276.


80. Ibid., pp. 387-88, 364.


82. MacIntyre, After Virtue, p. 263.


84. Charles Taylor, "Hegel, History and Politics," in Liberalism and Its
180 Notes to Pages 94–99


87. Daniel Bell, Cultural Contradictions, ch. 6.
89. Ibid., p. 174.
92. Ibid., pp. 11, 31, 52, passim.
93. Ibid., p. 147.
94. Ibid., p. 57.
95. Ibid., p. 23.
98. Ibid., p. 122.
99. Ibid., p. 123.
100. Ibid., p. 105.


103. Nicholson, Gender and History.


108. Ibid., ch. 2.


111. Ibid., ch. 6.
112. Eisenstein, Feminism and Sexual Equality, ch. 8.


116. Ibid., p. 500.

117. Ibid., p. 1.

118. Ibid., p. 497.

119. Ibid., p. 1.

120. Ibid., p. 499.

121. Ibid., p. 497.

122. Ibid., p. 500.


125. Ibid., p. 51.

126. Ibid.


128. Ibid., ch. 8, “Afterword.”


130. Ibid., p. 42.

131. Ibid., ch. 3.

132. Ibid., p. 17.

133. Ibid., ch. 2 and p. 15.

134. Ibid., p. 171, chs. 7 and 8.


Chapter Seven. Survival and Community


10. Ibid., p. 148.


15. Ibid., p. ix.


18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p. 4.


23. Ibid., p. 197.


27. Sale, *Human Scale*.


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., pp. 5, 3.


41. Meadows et al., *Limits to Growth*, ch. 2; Ophuls, *Ecology*, p. 11.
42. Schell, *Fate*, pp. 174–75, ch. 3.
43. Ibid., ch. 1.
46. As Joe Bowersox argued in his “Moral and Spiritual Potential of Environmentalism.”
49. Ibid., chs. 2 and 3. In this discussion and elsewhere in this chapter Adolph Kirst-Gunderson has been of great help to me.
54. Ibid., p. 7.
57. Schell, *Fate*, p. 111.
61. Ibid., p. 120.
63. Bowersox is especially good here; see his “Moral and Spiritual Potential of Environmentalism”; Nash, *Rights of Nature*, ch. 4.
67. Ibid., pp. 17–18.
68. See, for example, Hwa Yol Jung, "A Note on Habits of the Heart: An Eco-Criticism," *Soundings* 72 (Summer/Fall 1989): 473–76.
69. Ibid., pp. 68–69.
75. Bowerson's analysis is excellent; see his "Moral and Spiritual Potential of Environmentalism"; Nash, *Rights of Nature*, chs. 5, 6.
77. Johnson, *Muddling toward Frugality*.
81. Ibid., p. 1.
83. Ibid., ch. 13.
85. Ibid., ch. 13.
86. Ibid., p. 334.

Chapter Eight. Varieties of Religious Community

3. One example of a broad interpretation is Richard Neuhaus's *The Naked Public Square* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1984); he also illustrates a self-conscious awareness of the larger stakes.
5. This chapter offers a discussion of several examples.


12. Ibid., p. 48.


15. Ibid., ch. 2.

16. Ibid.


19. Curry, *First Freedoms*.

20. Ibid., p. 222.

21. Ibid., pp. 209–13, 133, 175, passim.


25. Ibid., p. 23.

28. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America."
31. Ibid., pp. 21, 59, 64, passim.
35. Ibid., pp. 311–23.
36. Ibid. See the long discussion of Roger Williams.
37. Neuhaus, *Naked Public Square*.
38. Bell, *Cultural Contradictions*, pp. 30, 166, xxix, passim.
42. Diggins, *Lost Soul*; Tinder, *Community*.
44. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*, ch. 9.
48. Ibid., pp. 2, 74 and chs. 2 and 3.
49. Ibid., p. 73.
50. Ibid., pp. 11, 10.
51. Ibid., p. 86.
52. Ibid., p. 101.
53. Ibid., pp. 98, 18.
54. Ibid., p. 12.
55. Ibid., pp. 219, 106–7, 75–76.
56. Ibid., chs. 7, 8.
57. Ibid., pp. 2–3.
63. Wallis, *Agenda*, pp. 6, 10, 12.
67. Wallis, *Call to Conversion*, pp. xi, xii.
74. Palmer, *Company of Strangers*, ch. 8, p. 70.
75. Ibid., ch. 9.
76. Ibid., ch. 9.
77. Wallis, *Call to Conversion*; Palmer, *Company of Strangers*.
81. Virtually every issue of the monthly Confessing Synod Ministries Newsletter echoes these similar themes. For these purposes, see the issue of March 1990.

82. Ibid.


84. Ibid., chs. 2-4.

85. Ibid., chs. 3-4.

86. Ibid., ch. 1; the remark about the NCC comes from a talk made by CSM activists and thinkers, David and Bert Honeywell, Madison, Wisconsin, June 17, 1990.


90. Ferguson, Aquarian Conspiracy, ch. 11.


95. Ferguson, Aquarian Conspiracy, p. 279.

96. Ibid., p. 196.

97. Groothuis, Unmasking the New Age, pp. 18–31 and ch. 3; Friedrich, “New Age Harmonies,” p. 69.

98. McLaughlin and Davidson, Builders of the Dawn, ch. 9.

99. Ferguson, Aquarian Conspiracy, p. 316 and ch. 3.

100. Ibid., p. 196.


102. Ferguson, Aquarian Conspiracy, ch. 7; Blow, “Moronic Convergence,” p. 24; Groothuis, Unmasking the New Age, ch. 2.

103. Blow, Moronic Convergence,” p. 27.

104. Groothuis, Unmasking the New Age, ch. 6.


107. Groothuis, Unmasking the New Age, ch. 4.

Chapter Nine. Reflections


12. Ibid.


15. As Joe Bowersox pointed out to me.


17. Ibid., pp. 183–89.


28. The burden of Rosenblum's interesting book; Another Liberalism.
31. Walzer, Spheres of Justice.
35. See ch. 7 of this book.
41. E.g., Clarke Cochran, "Thin Theory."
42. See Glenn Tinder, "Can We Be Good without God?" Atlantic Monthly, December 1989, pp. 69–85.
44. Kathy Sell first suggested the connections here with Martin Buber.
46. Ibid., p. 71.
48. Ibid., p. 227.
49. Ibid., p. 113.
50. Ibid.
53. Ibid., pp. xii, 30.
54. Ibid., pp. viii–x, 6, 109.
55. Rosenblum, Another Liberalism.
56. Clarke E. Cochran, Character, Community, and Politics (University: University of Alabama Press, 1982).
57. Ibid., p. 41.
59. Ibid., p. 468.
60. Glenn Tinder, *Community*, p. 5.
63. Ibid., ch. 3.
64. Ibid., p. 2.
65. Ibid.
67. Ibid., pp. 118–21.
68. Ibid., p. 155.
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