People Before Markets

This innovative volume presents twenty comparative case studies of important global questions such as: “Where should our food come from?” “What should we do about climate change?” and “Where should innovation come from?” A variety of solutions are proposed and compared, including market-based, economic, and neoliberal approaches, as well as those determined by humane values and ethical and socially responsible perspectives. Drawing on original research, its chapters show that more responsible solutions are very often both more effective and better aligned with human values. Providing an important counterpoint to the standard capitalist thinking propounded in business-school education, People Before Markets reveals the problematic assumptions of incumbent frameworks for solving global problems and inspires the next generation of business and social science students to pursue more effective and human-centered solutions.

Daniel Souleles is an Anthropologist and Associate Professor in the Department of Management, Politics, and Philosophy, Copenhagen Business School.

Johan Gersel is an External Lecturer in the Department of Management, Politics, and Philosophy, Copenhagen Business School.

Morten Sørensen Thaning is an Associate Professor in the Department of Management, Politics, and Philosophy, Copenhagen Business School.
People Before Markets

An Alternative Casebook

Edited by

DANIEL SCOTT SOULELES
Copenhagen Business School

JOHAN GERSEL
Copenhagen Business School

MORTEN SØRENSEN THANING
Copenhagen Business School
We dedicate this book to the fact that another world is possible.
Contents

Contents by Topic  page ix
List of Authors   x

1 Introduction: Why Are You Here?  1
Daniel Souleles and Johan Gersel

2 Some Philosophical Help with “Neoliberalism”  10
Johan Gersel and Morten Sørensen Thaning

Part I Our World

3 Where Should Food Come From?  57
Hilary B. King and Andrea Rissing

4 Where Should Water Come From?  79
Sayd Randle

5 Who Gets to Own Land?  95
Douglas Bafford

6 How Should Food Be Produced?  117
Scott Freeman

7 Who Decides Where They Live?  140
Elisha Oliver

8 How Much Land Do We Need?  157
Ina Goel

9 Where Should We Park?  171
Daniel Souleles

10 How Should We Deal with Climate Change?  184
Aneil Tripathy
How Should We Make an Impact?
Matthew Archer

Part II Our Lives

Why Do Some People Want to Manage Human Fertility?
Michelle A. Rensel and Rachel A. Vaughn

How Should Childbirth Happen?
Amanda Shapiro

Who Is Responsible for Children’s Food?
Jennifer Patico

How Should We Care for the Elderly?
Amy Clotworthy

How Are People Who Take Drugs Treated?
Johannes Lenhard and Eana Meng

How Should We Design Access to a Healthcare System?
Johan Gersel, Daniel Souleles, and Morten Sørensen Thaning

Part III Our Work

What Should a Job Look Like?
Hannah Elliott

How Should Innovation Work?
Michael Scroggins

Who Should Get Investment Capital?
Melissa Beresford

Who Should Own a Business?
David Wood and Lenore Palladino

How Should the Government Decide from Whom to Buy Stuff?
Jeppe Groot

Index
Contents by Topic

Note: Numbers below refer to Chapters in this volume

Caring for Others: 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20
Colonialism and Empire: 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 20
Environment and Climate Change: 3, 4, 10, 11, 22
Food, Farming, and Agriculture: 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18
Gender: 7, 8, 12, 13, 17
Governing, Bureaucracy, and Management: 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22
Healthcare and Medicine: 12, 13, 15, 16, 17
Homo economicus: A Rational Personal Utility Maximizer with Stable Preferences: 4, 7, 16, 17, 19, 21
Human Capital Enhancement: 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20
Innovation, Invention, and Entrepreneurship: 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21
Land, Land Ownership, Land Use: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
The Neoliberal Conception of the State: 3, 5, 14, 16, 20, 22
The Neoliberal Approach to Inequality: 5, 14, 18, 20
The Neoliberal Framework for International Governance: 3, 5, 6, 11, 22
The Possibility and Necessity of Government Planning: 4, 9, 13, 14, 20
Race: 5, 7, 14, 16, 20
Authors

Matthew Archer is a lecturer in sustainability in the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of York. He has a PhD in forestry and environmental studies from Yale University, as well as postdoctoral research and teaching experience from Copenhagen Business School and the Geneva Graduate Institute.

Douglas Bafford is a cultural anthropologist whose work centers on the spread of conservative religious movements in southern Africa. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Johannesburg from 2017 to 2019, he has written about tensions and debates within evangelical Christian approaches to racism and post-apartheid inequality in South Africa. This research addresses the question of what transformations are happening within ostensibly conservative spaces that complicate understandings of religious and political mobilization around the globe. An extension of this work to be undertaken over the years ahead will consider the transnational dimensions of evangelical thought across southern Africa. His earlier project examined how young-earth creationists and other conservative Christians in the United States mediate competing epistemological and social demands, including the intersection of religious and scientific authority in knowledge production. He received his master’s degree in anthropology from Brandeis University in Waltham, MA, USA, where he is currently finishing his doctoral thesis. While not writing or conducting fieldwork, he teaches courses in anthropology and social science at Babson College in Wellesley, MA, USA, and plies the art of long-distance running.

Melissa Beresford is an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at San José State University. She received her PhD in anthropology at Arizona State University, her MA in social science from the University of Chicago, and her BA in urban studies and
planning from the University of California, San Diego. As an economic anthropologist, Dr. Beresford’s research investigates how people respond to economic inequality and resource insecurity. Her work has examined the cultural politics of entrepreneurship and economic development initiatives, informal and diverse urban economies, and urban water insecurity. She is also an anthropological methodologist, focused on researching and innovating methods for qualitative data analysis. She conducts fieldwork in the USA and South Africa, and collaborates on fieldwork based in Latin America and other cross-cultural contexts.

Amy Clotworthy is an assistant professor at the Center for Healthy Aging (CEHA) and the Department of Public Health at the University of Copenhagen (UCPH). With a PhD in ethnology and a master’s degree (cand.mag.) in applied cultural analysis, both from UCPH, she specializes in studying health systems, public-health policies, medical education and training, and the sociocultural implications of health practices. In particular, her research focuses on studying people’s experiences of ageing and health in relation to national and municipal social, health, and eldercare policies, particularly home-based health initiatives. Her work elucidates the relationship between citizens, health professionals, and politicians in everyday life and suggests how governments, the healthcare sector, and municipal authorities can design and implement services and programs that integrate a person-centered, autonomy-compatible approach. Originally from California and Connecticut in the USA, she received a bachelor’s degree from George Washington University in Washington, DC, and worked for a lobbying organization for many years before embarking on a career in editing, publishing, and corporate communications. Clotworthy decided to chuck it all to pursue the idealistic life of an academic in Denmark, where she has lived since 2008.

Hannah Elliott is an anthropologist and postdoc at the Copenhagen Business School. She holds a PhD in African studies from the University of Copenhagen and master’s and bachelor’s degrees in anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS, University of London) and the University of Manchester. Her research uses ethnographic and historical approaches to examine
economic and political transformations on the peripheries of contemporary capitalism. Her latest research has examined the upstream production of certified sustainable Kenyan tea.

Scott Freeman holds a PhD in Anthropology and is a faculty member at the School of International Service at American University in Washington DC. Through a lens of critical political ecology, he has conducted ethnographic fieldwork on aid projects, soil conservation, essential oil production, agricultural labor, and coffee cooperatives in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. He has examined the political economy and imaginary of the vetiver essential oil industry in Haiti, arguing for a critical understanding of the production of ignorance as a facet of extractive global industries. He is also interested in aid projects and the regimes of labor that support aid projects. His work has been featured in World Development, the Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, and he is the co-editor of Who Owns Haiti: People, Power, and Sovereignty (University Press of Florida). His book manuscript is an analysis of how aid projects have come to organize and orient aid practice, and the ways that it affects agricultural and environmental aid in particular. He teaches courses on international development, the politics of conservation, and theorizing bureaucracy.

Johan Gersel is a philosopher, educated at Copenhagen University, University College London, and Warwick University. He is currently an external lecturer at Copenhagen Business School. His research centers around normative questions concerning reasons and rationality. He has published several academic articles on how we must conceive of perception, action, and reasoning if truth is to function as an objective guide in human thought and action. He has recently begun applying this research to management questions as well, focusing on questions such as: “How can we ensure that organizational structures facilitate rational decision-making?” and “How do we develop a normatively adequate conception of strategy?” His research takes its central inspiration from the works of Plato, Kant, and Frege, as well as their modern interpreters.

Ina Goel is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the founder of The Hijra
List of Authors

Project, a digital archive to spread awareness about hijras, a third-gender minority community of South Asia. A former INLAKS and DAAD scholar, Ina is a qualified social worker who gained their MPhil in Social Medicine and Community Health from Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. Ina has also worked in various capacities with FHI 360 (a non-profit human development organization), UNICEF, the National AIDS Control Organization in India, the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, and the humanitarian organization Plan International. A list of publications can be found here: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1991-1675.

Jeppe Groot holds an MSc degree in Philosophy and Business Administration from Copenhagen Business School, Denmark. He has worked with innovation, professional judgment, and value creation in the public sector, in particular with the clinical side of value-based healthcare in collaboration with general practitioners in the primary health sector. From 2015 to 2016 he was the managing editor of Foucault Studies. From 2016–2020 he worked with public procurement policy in the Agency for Public Finance and Management in the Danish Ministry of Finance, and is currently working at the Secretariat for the Methodology for Assessing Procurement Systems (MAPS) housed at the OECD.

Hilary B. King is an applied cultural anthropologist and sustainable food systems advocate. She is assistant director of Emory University’s Master’s in Development Practice (MDP) and Director of Special Projects at Community Farmers Markets (CFM), a farmers market umbrella organization in Atlanta, Georgia, USA. King combines work teaching at Emory with applied work on evaluation and program development at CFM. She teaches courses on international development, anthropology, and food systems. For the past fifteen years she has worked with farmers and food businesses across Latin America, East Africa, and the US, testing out ways for farmers to earn more money and eaters to learn about what they eat and how it got to them. In addition to academic publications, Dr. King’s research has helped to identify and build connections leading to innovative new food system initiatives. Examples include the development of weekly fresh produce markets at public transit stations in Atlanta and direct trade relationships between farmers in the Dominican Republic and consumers in
Dr Johannes Lenhard is an ethnographer of homelessness and technology venture capital investors. He has since 2011 focused on understanding people sleeping rough and begging in London, Paris and Cambridge. His monograph Making Better Lives was published in 2022. For his second research project, Johannes has since becoming the Centre Coordinator of the Max Planck Cambridge Centre for Ethics, Economy and Social Change in Cambridge in 2017, focused on venture capital investors. Based on intermittent fieldwork between Silicon Valley, New York, London and Berlin, he is currently writing his second monograph explaining VCs’ investment ethics. He writes regularly for journalistic outlets such as Sifted, Prospect and Techcrunch and is the co-author of Better Venture, a trade book on diversity and inclusion in tech and VC. Johannes is committed to translating his research findings into direct policy application and has recently co-founded CHIRN (Cambridge Homelessness Impact and Research Network) to facilitate impacting homeless policy and VentureESG to support the integration of Environment, Social and Governance principles in the VC ecosystem. Find him on Twitter or email him directly at jfl37@cam.ac.uk.

Eana Meng is a historian of medicine and a physician in training. She is currently a researcher at the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University, and is a MD-PhD candidate at Harvard Medical School and the Department of History of Science. Her research has traced the lesser-known histories of the use of acupuncture by American activists (including those in the Black revolutionary movement) since the 1970s and the legacies that have emerged from them, which include a five-point ear acupuncture protocol currently used around the world for substance use and behavior health conditions. She is interested in the histories that sit at the intersection of radical politics of health, integrative/alternative healing modalities, community healthcare, the opioid crisis and pain, and crucial dimensions of race, gender, and class. She runs a blog at ofpartandparcel.com. Find her Twitter @Eanam38.

Elisha Oliver is a biocultural anthropologist and visual ethnographer. Her research explores the intersections of space and place, health, and
gendered language in rural and urban communities with a focus on women’s biopsychosocial health. Currently, she is exploring the following: Graffiti as Political Resistance and Social Justice Activism, Archaeological Memoryscapes of All Black Towns in Northwest Oklahoma, and Infant Mortality in Urban African American Communities. Elisha is an advocate for anthropology as art with the purpose of reaching broad audiences outside academia. Elisha is an adjunct professor at OSUOKC and OCCC. She is a STEM mentor for a national organization and is a founding partner at Paideia Research and Consulting. Elisha earned her PhD in Biocultural Anthropology from the University of Oklahoma. Currently she splits her time between rural Oklahoma and Dallas, Texas.

**Lenore Palladino** is assistant professor of economics and public policy at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She holds a PhD in economics from the New School for Social Research, and a JD from Fordham Law School. Lenore’s research centers on corporate power, stakeholder corporations, shareholder primacy, and the relationship between corporate governance and the labor market. She has also written on financial transaction taxes, employee ownership, and the rise of fintech. She has published in the *Yale Journal of Regulation* and *Fordham Journal of Corporate and Financial Law*, as well as the *Financial Times* and *State Tax Notes*. Lenore frequently works with policymakers, media, and advocates on corporate and financial policy.

**Jennifer Patico** is a sociocultural anthropologist and Chair of Anthropology at Georgia State University. She holds a PhD in sociocultural anthropology from New York University and has conducted ethnographic research in both Russia and the United States. She is the author of *Consumption and Social Change in a Post-Soviet Middle Class* (Stanford University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2008) and *The Trouble with Snack Time: Children’s Food and the Politics of Parenting* (NYU Press 2020). Her work has been published in journals including *Slavic Review, American Ethnologist, Ethnos, Critique of Anthropology,* and *Gastronomica*. Her research interests center around the themes of middle classness, consumption, and conceptions of selfhood and care, with special attention to (implicit or explicit) comparisons of neoliberal capitalist and socialist/postsocialist settings.
List of Authors

Sayd Randle is a S.V. Ciriacy-Wantrup postdoctoral fellow at the University of California Berkeley. Her research focuses on urban climate adaptation and resource conflicts in the US West. She holds a PhD from Yale University’s combined degree program in Anthropology and Forestry & Environmental Studies.

Michelle A. Rensel is an assistant adjunct professor in the Institute for Society and Genetics at the University of California, Los Angeles. She received a PhD in Biology from the University of Memphis, where she conducted field and laboratory research on the behavioral endocrinology of cooperatively breeding Florida scrub-jays. As a postdoctoral scholar at the University of California, Los Angeles, she explored estrogen-mediated regulation of spatial memory in songbirds and the molecular basis of stress hormone metabolism in the avian brain. Her more recent research interests include the history of endocrine science, particularly understandings of estrogen as an endogenous hormone and as pharmaceutical intervention, as well as the ways in which the science of hormones is used to reinforce or disrupt sex and gender stereotypes. While dedicated to these research aims, her primary interest and passion is for teaching undergraduates about the intersections between science and society.

Andrea Rissing is a cultural anthropologist whose scholarship seeks to understand the social, political, and economic contexts in which agroecological livelihoods can thrive. Her research and teaching interests include sustainable food systems, alternative economies, critical agrarian studies, and political ecology. She is currently a President’s Postdoctoral Scholar in the School of Environment and Natural Resources (SENR) at The Ohio State University. Rissing has also worked on dozens of vegetable and livestock farms in Iowa and New Zealand and as a farm-to-school local food coordinator at the University of Northern Iowa.

Michael Scroggins is a postdoctoral researcher at the Center for Knowledge Infrastructures at the University of California, Los Angeles. He holds a PhD in Anthropology and Education from Teachers College, Columbia University. His scholarly interests include: labor, public education and the education of the public, governance,
List of Authors

and the productive side of ignorance and failure. At the Center for Knowledge Infrastructures he works on issues of the maintenance and repair of digital infrastructure, invisible labor in data-intensive science, and the political economy of science. Currently, he is conducting fieldwork with astronomers, investigating the role data quality (as opposed to data quantity) plays in establishing, forming, and continuing long-term scientific collaborations. His next project will interrogate how Agtech and data-intensive farm management are refiguring agricultural labor, taking the evolution of the farm tractor as physical, and now, digital infrastructure as the point of departure.

Amanda Shapiro is a PhD candidate at the University of Copenhagen Faculty of Law. Her research focuses on the implications of emerging technologies in health for the rights of women and marginalized communities. Before beginning her doctorate, she earned her JD from Brooklyn Law School. As an attorney, she clerked for a judge and worked in the general counsel’s office of a large labor union. She has specialized in civil rights, reproductive rights, the rights of women, the rights of working people, and the rights of people in poverty. Before becoming an attorney, she was a public school teacher in New York City.

Daniel Souleles is an Anthropologist and Associate Professor at the Copenhagen Business School. He holds a PhD in Applied Anthropology from Columbia University. He has performed field research on Catholic hermit monks, private equity investors, employee-owned companies, and computerized stock trading. He writes academic articles on finance, wealth, inequality, and research methods. He has also written a book, Songs of Profit, Songs of Loss: Private Equity, Wealth, and Inequality (Nebraska 2019). Sometimes, Daniel plays the banjo.

Morten Sørensen Thaning is a philosopher. He holds a PhD from Aarhus university and a dual Masters in Philosophy and Classical Greek from Roskilde and Copenhagen University. He is currently associate professor of philosophy at the Copenhagen Business School. Sørensen Thaning builds upon the work of neo-Hegelian, contemporary philosophers, the tradition of phenomenology and hermeneutics, as well as upon ancient philosophy in order to understand
List of Authors

the connection between freedom, rationality, and human existence. Thaning’s current research within organization studies uses concepts and arguments from these philosophical traditions to clarify the nature of decision-making, learning, work, and power.

Aneil Tripathy is an economic anthropologist and climate finance practitioner. His research examines the worldview of climate finance practitioners and the projects they assess and finance. He has published in *Economic Anthropology*, *Anthropology News*, and the *Journal of Environmental Investing*. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Bologna on the ERC consolidator grant no. 772544 funded Impact Hau project. He has been a visiting researcher at Bayes Business School and Lancaster University, as well as an associate of the Centre for the Anthropology of Sustainability at University College London.

Rachel A. Vaughn is lecturer in the UCLA Cluster Program, and formerly served as the 2018–2019 Oral Historian in Residence at the UCLA Center for the Study of Women. Vaughn’s research engages the intersections of food politics, discard studies, and feminist science & technology studies. She is the author of multiple articles about food, waste, and sanitation politics; and is co-editor of *Edible Feminisms: On Discard, Waste & Metabolism (Food, Culture & Society)*. Her monographs on the politics of food and waste are both under contract with the University of Nebraska Press and the Ohio State University.

David Wood is an adjunct lecturer in public policy and the director of the Initiative for Responsible Investment (IRI) at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations. Current projects range from work with pension fund trustees on responsible investment policies, mission investment by foundation endowments, research on the changing nature of the supply for and capacity to receive capital for community investment in the US, and a global survey of the relationship between public policy and impact investment. Recent work has included publication of the *Handbook on Responsible Investment Across Asset Classes* (Boston College 2007); the development of a Responsible Property Investing Center; field definition in sustainable emerging market SME
List of Authors

investment; and research into the investor use of corporate reporting on non-financial information. He was elected in 2008 to the Board of the Social Investment Forum. Before he came to the IRI, he taught the history of ethics, including the history of economic thought at Boston University. He received his PhD in History from the Johns Hopkins University.