Al for a Generative Economy: The Role of Intelligent Systems in Sustaining Unalienated Labor, Environment, and Society

Corresponding author:

Ron Eglash (eglash@umich.edu), Professor, School of Information, University of Michigan, 4389 North Quad, 105 S. State St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285. ORCID# 0000-0003-1354-1300

Co-authors:

Lionel P. Robert Jr.(Iprobert@umich.edu); Associate Professor, UM School of Information. ORCID# 0000-0002-1410-2601

Audrey Bennett (agbennett@umich.edu), Professor, UM School of Art and Design.

ORCID# 0000-0002-6763-2622

Kwame Porter Robinson (kwamepr@umich.edu), Graduate Student, UM School of Information. ORCID#0000-0003-2663-571X

Michael Lachney (<u>lachneym@msu.edu</u>), Assistant Professor, Michigan State University, Department of Counseling, Educational Psychology and Special Education.

ORCID# 0000- 0003-3310-8707

William Babbitt (<u>babbiw2@rpi.edu</u>), Research Associate, Rensselaer, Department of Science and Technology Studies. ORCID# 0000-0002-2684-4901

Abstract

Extractive economies pull value from a system without restoring it. Unsustainable extraction of ecological value includes over-fishing, clear-cut logging, etc. Extraction of labor value is similarly objectionable: assembly line jobs for example increase the likelyhood of cardiovascular disease, depression, suicide and other problems. Extraction of social value--vacuuming up online personal information, commodification of the public sphere, and so on-- constitutes a third form. But all three domains--ecological value, labor value, and social value--can thrive in unalienated forms if we can create a future of work that replaces extraction with generative cycles. Al is a key technology in developing these alternative economic forms. This paper describes some initial experiments with African, African American, and Native American artisans who were willing to experiment with the introduction of computational enhancements to their work. Following our report on these initial results, we map out a vision for how Al could scale up labor that sustains "heritage algorithms", ecologically situated value chains and other hybrid forms that prevent value alienation while flourishing from its robust circulation.

Keywords: human-machine collaboration; artisanal economy; generative justice; industrial symbiosis; ethnocomputing

1. Introduction

Questions such as "what jobs will remain after AI is sufficiently advanced" are implying a rather passive stance. True, the potential disruptions created by AI can cause trepidation. But they are also an opportunity for re-fashioning the future of work in ways that optimize environmental sustainability, sustain enjoyable labor, and enhance the public sphere. In the experiments described in this paper we investigate artisanal labor as the basis for such forms. Traditional cultural forms of production such as Native American wood crafting often embody all three domains: harvesting practices that are ecologically sustainable; labor practices that are deeply satisfying; and social networks in which both equity and creative expression can flourish (Ostrom and Ahn 2009; Corntassel 2012; Eglash 2016a,b; Liu et al 2018). If AI and related automation technologies can help to "translate" these forms into modes of production that fit contemporary needs and contexts, the social and environmental ills that were created by centuries of mass production—the extractive economy—could be addressed, and a generative economy—one in which value remains in an unalienated form; circulated rather than extracted—could be achieved.

In this paper we will briefly review the problems created by mass production, and the principles of generative economies in their traditional form. We then present some initial experiments with what we might term "artisanal cyborgs" -- a synthesis between traditional work practices and contemporary automation technologies. We conclude with a vision for how this research trajectory could enable the development of computational forms that merge artificial intelligence with a generative economy.

2. Social and environmental destruction in the mass production economy

Collaborative robots ("cobots"), where humans and robots work together side by side, are often proposed as a potential solution to the fear of massive job losses due to automation; the emphasis is on their ability to accomplish shared work goals (Colgate et al. 1996; Peshkin and Colgate 1999; You et al. 2018). But these goals are typically those of the mass production economy. Amplifying them with AI is not addressing the three problems that value extraction creates.

- a. Alienation of labor value: monotony, limited worker agency, and a failure to allow a sense of pride in the fruits of our activity are typical of mass production. These are correlated with cardiovascular disease (Karasek et al 1981); work-related depression (Michelsen and Bildt, 2003); suicide (Woo and Postolache 2011), and other disorders.
- b. Alienation of ecological value: millions of tons of plastic are entering the ocean annually; and heavy metals, pesticides, cleaning agents, organochlorides, and other toxins continue increasingly contaminate land and air (Kannan 1991; Jambeck et al 2015; Coccia 2017). Global warming; ocean acidification; and mass extinction (Vallero 2015; de Souza Machado, 2016; Dirzo et al 2014) are all consequences of mass production in an extractive economy.
- c. Alienation of social value: mass production creates a demand for mass consumption. Increasingly AI is applied in the development of consumption accelerating techniques: adware, spyware, targeted social media marketing, and so on. Rather than satisfying needs, purchases in this "hedonic treadmill" *increase* buying aspirations (Chancellor and Lyubomirsky 2011). Consumption-driven social media platforms are linked to loneliness and depression (Hunt et al.)

2018); focus onto extrinsic rather than intrinsic goals (Kasser and Ryan 1996); and a decrease in academic achievement for consumption-obsessed youth (Bunce et al 2017).

A typical objection to proposals for a generative economy is that artisanal production--especially that tied to ecologically sustainable sources-- is incapable of generating the massive streams of consumer goods we currently produce. That is precisely the point: a generative economy, empowered by Al and other automation forms, would be decreasing social alienation, and (in a bi-directional, co-evolutionary process) decreasing consumer demand. In short: with more meaningful forms of production comes less need to find meaning in consumption.

3. The principles of generative justice

The phrase "alienated labor value" comes from Marx (1844); to fully understand that concept, we need to clarify the word "alienated". Today that is interpreted as a psychological condition, "I feel alienated". But Marx was using the word to mean "something that has been taken from you". Marx and Engles had carefully read von Helmholtz, Carnot, Boltzmann and others in the new science of thermodynamics (Bellamy and Burkett 2008), and accordingly reconceptualized work in terms of "labor power". Thus "alienation of labor value" was analogous to energy transfer in their framework: from the original source of energy generation (people) to somewhere else (capital). This labor value could then be stored (banks) and repurposed (capital investments in machines). By moving extracted value to the communist state, a utopian society would be born.

This vision for a top-down technocratic communism utterly failed, creating poverty, human rights abuse and environmental destruction to rival that of capitalism (Graham 1993; Peterson 2019). That is because both centralized communism and corporate capitalism depend on the same extractive modes of production (figure 1). Whether the "owner" is state or corporate is irrelevant. The self-generating source of value in Nature, Labor, and Social expression is reduced to "resources".

solidarity and creative expression.

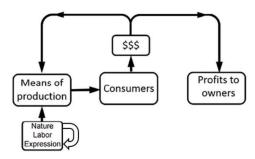


Figure 1: Extractive modes of production

Note that at bottom, the self-generating character of nature, labor and society is shown as a looping pipe. Nature attempts to sustain itself even if overharvested; labor replenishes itself at home even if the factory drains it; society maintains communication even if privacy is violated. But that value is extracted and carried off elsewhere. In contrast, Indigeous societies (figure 2) *keep value in unalienated forms*: the network is all pipe! Value generation is under control of the generators. A traditional artisan can take pride in her craft; maintain respectful two-way exchanges with nature, and relish a social network of

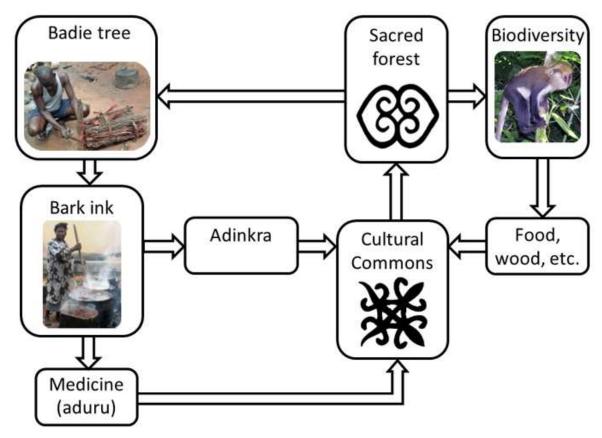


Figure 2 shows how Adinkra textile production in Ghana begins with Badie tree bark. Soaking bark in water produces an anti-dysentery medication ("aduru"), and is available in the commons to anyone. Further cooking the bark produces ink, which creates the adinkra symbols for "sharing" (two crocodiles who have the same stomach need not fight over food), and "earth in balance" (log spirals representing things in nature). Bark drained of its tannins is sent back to nature as compost. The sacred forest is small, but maintains a "hot spot" of biodiversity that feeds other areas, where the Badie tree grows. The value circulates in ways that are highly productive but have little alienation.

4. Initial experiments in artisanal cyborgs

Figure 3 shows our experiment with Ghanaian textile makers using a batik wax-resist method. The latex sponges they used were not compostable, so a trash heap of used sponges was growing. We had already created simulations of adinkra symbols, and shown statistically significant improvement for students learning math and computing through this indigenous knowledge (Babbitt et al 2015). So it was a simple matter to extend that to a 3D printed mold in which we grew mushroom-based foam. This merger of traditional artisanal practice and computational modeling is only the first step. By replacing wood fires with solar heat to produce inks and waxes; monitoring forests via GIS to prevent over-harvesting of Badie tree bark; bringing in additional sustainable and locally owned plant harvests (e.g. the coconut husk building materials in Lokko and Eglash 2017), a network of physical computing can both monitor and optimize these generative systems, leveraging traditional sustainability and equity with contemporary innovation.





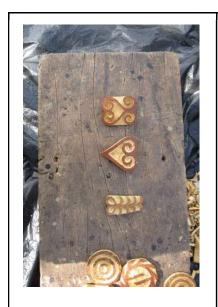




Figure 3: from Indigenous geometric form, to code, to 3D print, to mycofoam stamp

Further experiments yielded similar opportunities (Eglash et al. forthcoming; Lachney et al. forthcoming). In the case of African American braiding salons, these "heritage algorithms" were used for STEM education (Lachney et al 2018), and later rendered by 3D printing into store mannequin heads (figure 4). However the 2D patterns produced by students did not map neatly onto the heads; Al is currently being investigated as a possible means to automate what our postdocs have been doing by human expertise. Finally, in the case of Native American artisans, their use of parabolic arcs (wigwaams, canoe ribs, etc.) provided the heritage algorithm. But unlike the African American case, Native American students insisted on hand crafting the fibers to board with holes determined by the simulation they made. The African American hair stylists

went on to investigate healthier hair products, testing locally produced plant products with digital pH meters. The Native American group extended the experiments into the use of arcs to create an aquaponics system, also with computational monitoring of water, fish and plant conditions. In both cases, like the Ghanaian textiles, the potential clearly exists for using AI to help the next generation sustain and innovate with heritage algorithms, bringing value back to those who generate it, and building those computation links out into generative network with reciprocal relations to nature, labor and society.

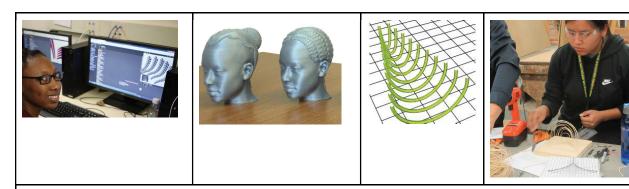


Figure 4: African American and Native American students merging traditional and computational crafting

5. Analysis

Gombolay et al (2015) conducted experiments on automating mass production. They reported that workers preferred to ceed task control to automated machines. Our experiments with African American, African, and Native American artisans in human-machine collaboration traditions (Eglash et al. forthcoming; Lachney et al. forthcoming) show distinctly different preferences depending on the context.

6. Conclusion

Artisanal labor, in a careful synthesis with AI, robotics and other automation technologies, could potentially help to democratize the economy, improve environmental sustainability, and allow lifeways that find more meaning and satisfaction in creative production than mindless consumption. AI has the potential to aid us in replacing extraction with a generative network in which value circulates in unalienated forms: hence the need for "artisanal cyborgs" that can scale up these generative alternatives.

Acknowledgement: The authors would like to acknowledge NSF grants DRL-1640014 and DGE-0947980 in support of this work.

7. References

Altieri, M. A. (2009). The Ecological Impacts of Large-Scale Agrofuel Monoculture Production Systems in the Americas. Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society, 29(3), 236–244.

Babbitt, William, Michael Lachney, Enoch Bulley, and Ron Eglash. "Adinkra Mathematics: A Study of Ethnocomputing in Ghana." Multidisciplinary Journal of Educational Research 5, no. 2 (June 15, 2015): 110–35.

Bauwens, Michel, & Pantazis, Alekos. (2018). The ecosystem of commons-based peer production and its transformative dynamics. *The Sociological Review*, 66(2), 302–319. London, England: SAGE Publications.

Bellamy Foster, J., & Burkett, P. (2008). Classical Marxism and the second law of thermodynamics: Marx/Engels, the heat death of the universe hypothesis, and the origins of ecological economics. Organization & Environment, 21(1), 3-37.

Bunce, L., Amy Baird, A., and Jones, S. (2017) The student-as-consumer approach in higher education and its effects on academic performance, Studies in Higher Education, 42:11, 1958-1978, DOI: 10.1080/03075079.2015.1127908

Burawoy M. 2006. "Antinomian Marxist". In The Disobedient Generation: Social Theorists in the Sixties, ed. A Sica, S Turner, pp. 48–71. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Callahan, B. R., Hathaway, C., & Krishnamoorthy, M. (2016). Quantitative Metrics for Generative Justice: Graphing the value of diversity. *Teknokultura*, 13(2), 567-586.

Carr, C., & Gibson, C. (2016). Geographies of making: Rethinking materials and skills for volatile futures. Progress in Human Geography, 40(3), 297–315. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515578775

Chancellor, Joseph, and Sonja Lyubomirsky. "Happiness and Thrift: When (Spending) Less Is (Hedonically) More." *Journal of Consumer Psychology* 21, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): 131–38. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2011.02.004.

Cimatti, B., Campana, G., & Carluccio, L. (2017). Eco Design and Sustainable Manufacturing in Fashion: A Case Study in the Luxury Personal Accessories Industry. *Procedia Manufacturing*, 8, 393-400.

Cobble, D. S. (2016). Worker mutualism in an age of entrepreneurial capitalism. *Labour & Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work*, *26*(3), 179-189.

Coccia, M. (2017). Global Negative Effects of the Technological Change on Human Health: The High Incidence of Cancers in the Anthropocene.

Coleman, E. Gabriella. *Coding freedom: The ethics and aesthetics of hacking*. Princeton University Press, 2012.

Corntassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: indigeneity, education & society,* 1(1).

de Souza Machado, A. A. (2016). Coastal and marine pollution in the Anthropocene: Identifying contaminants and processes. Coastal pollution of aquatic systems, 17.

- Diez, T., & Posada, A. (2013, February). The fab and the smart city: the use of machines and technology for the city production by its citizens. In *Proceedings of the 7th international conference on tangible, embedded and embodied interaction* (pp. 447-454). ACM.
- Dirzo, R., Young, H. S., Galetti, M., Ceballos, G., Isaac, N. J., & Collen, B. (2014). Defaunation in the Anthropocene. science, 345(6195), 401-406.
- Drazan, J. F., Loya, A. K., Horne, B. D., & Eglash, R. (2017). From Sports to Science: Using Basketball Analytics to Broaden the Appeal of Math and Science Among Youth. MIT Sloan Sports Analytics Conference 2017.
- Eckert, S. Collaborative robot market set for phenomenal growth. Oct 11, 2016. Retrieved from https://www.rethinkrobotics.com/blog/collaborative-robot-market-growth/ January 1, 2019.
- Eglash, R., Bennett, A., O'donnell, C., Jennings, S., & Cintorino, M. (2006). Culturally situated design tools: Ethnocomputing from field site to classroom. *American anthropologist*, *108*(2), 347-362.
- Eglash, R and Bennett, A. (2009). Teaching with Hidden Capital: Agency in Children's Computational Explorations of Cornrow Hairstyles. *Children, Youth and Environments* pp. 58-74, 19 (1) 2009.
- Eglash, R., Krishnamoorthy, M., Sanchez, J., and Woodbridge, A. (2011). Fractal simulations of African design in pre-college computing education. *ACM Transactions on Computing Education*, v11 n3 Article 17 Oct 2011.
- Eglash, R., Lachney, M., Babbitt, W., Bennett, A., Reinhardt, M., Davis. J. (forthr). Decolonizing Education with Anishinaabe Arcs: Generative STEM as a Path to Indigenous Futurity.
- Eglash, R. (2016). Of marx and makers: An historical perspective on generative justice. *Teknokultura*, *13*(1), 245-269.
- Esim, S., & Katajamaki, W. (2017). Rediscovering worker cooperatives in a changing world. lusLabor, (1).
- Fox, S., Ulgado, R. R., & Rosner, D. (2015). Hacking culture, not devices: Access and recognition in feminist hackerspaces. In Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (pp. 56–68). CSCW '15. New York, NY: Association for Computing Machinery. doi: 10.1145/2675133.2675223
- Gallegos, J. E., Boyer, C., Pauwels, E., Kaplan, W. A., & Peccoud, J. (2018). The Open Insulin Project: A Case Study for 'Biohacked' Medicines. *Trends in biotechnology*.
- Gershenfeld, N., Gershenfeld, A., & Cutcher-Gershenfeld, J. (2017). *Designing reality: How to survive and thrive in the third digital revolution*. Basic Books.
- Gombolay, M. C., Gutierrez, R. A., Clarke, S. G., Sturla, G. F., & Shah, J. A. (2015). Decision-making authority, team efficiency and human worker satisfaction in mixed human–robot teams. *Autonomous Robots*, *39*(3), 293-312.

Graham, L. R. (1993). The ghost of the executed engineer: Technology and the fall of the Soviet Union (No. 87). Harvard University Press.

Grauel, J. (2016). Being authentic or being responsible? Food consumption, morality and the presentation of self. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 16(3), 852-869.

Gultepe, E., Conturo, T. E., & Makrehchi, M. (2018). Predicting and grouping digitized paintings by style using unsupervised feature learning. *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 31, 13-23.

Haro-Zea, K., Haro-Zea, Y., Roblero-Mazariegos, G., & Sánchez, S. (2018, January). Chiapaneca Handicraft as a Driver of Sustainable Local Development. In *Global Conference on Business and Finance Proceedings* (Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 89-97).

Jambeck, Jenna R., Roland Geyer, Chris Wilcox, Theodore R. Siegler, Miriam Perryman, Anthony Andrady, Ramani Narayan, and Kara Lavender Law. "Plastic Waste Inputs from Land into the Ocean." *Science* 347, no. 6223 (February 13, 2015): 768–71. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1260352.

Johnston, H., & Land-Kazlauskas, C. (2018). Organizing on-demand: Representation, voice, and collective bargaining in the gig economy. *Conditions of work and employment series*, 94.

Kannan, K. (1991). Fundamentals of environmental pollution. S. Chand & Company.

Karasek, R. (1979). Job Demands, Job Decision Latitude, and Mental Strain: Implications for Job Redesign. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(2), 285-308. doi:10.2307/2392498

Karasek, R., Baker, D., Marxer, F., Ahlbom, A., & Theorell, T. (1981). Job decision latitude, job demands, and cardiovascular disease: a prospective study of Swedish men. *American journal of* public health, 71(7), 694-705.

Kiess, C. "The McDonaldization of UX". Available at https://uxdesign.cc/the-mcdonaldization-of-ux-705438fea958 (accessed April 30, 2019).

Kneese, T., & Rosenblat, A. (2014). Technologically Mediated Artisanal Production. Open Society Foundations' Future of Work Commissioned Research Papers.

Kostakis, V., Niaros, V., Dafermos, G., & Bauwens, M. (2015). Design global, manufacture local: Exploring the contours of an emerging productive model. Futures, 73, 126-135.

Kousis, M., Kalogeraki, S., & Cristancho, C. (2018). Alternative Action Organizations During Hard Economic Times: A Comparative European Perspective. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62(6), 733–738. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218768845

Kuhn, K. M., & Galloway, T. L. (2015, May). With a little help from my competitors: peer networking among artisan entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 39(3), 571

Lanham, R. A. (2006). *The economics of attention: Style and substance in the age of information*. University of Chicago Press.

Lewis, J. (2015). Barriers to women's involvement in hackspaces and makerspaces. Access as spaces. Available at: http://access-space.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Barriers-to-womens-involvement-in-hackspaces-and-makerspaces. pdf (accessed 10 May 2016).

Lewis, T., & Potter, E. (2013). Ethical consumption: A critical introduction. Routledge.

Lindtner, S., Bardzell, S., & Bardzell, J. (2016, May). Reconstituting the utopian vision of making: HCl after technosolutionism. In Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (pp. 1390-1402). ACM.

Liu, S., Min, Q., Jiao, W., Liu, C., & Yin, J. (2018). Integrated Emergy and Economic Evaluation of Huzhou Mulberry-Dyke and Fish-Pond Systems. *Sustainability*, *10*(11), 3860.

Lokko, M. and Eglash, R. <u>Transforming the poor man's building block: value creation, translation and circulation for upcycled indigenous building materials</u>. FOLIO: Journal of African Architecture, Vol. 1, May 2017 pp 237-249.

Marsden, T., & Smith, E. (2005). Ecological entrepreneurship: sustainable development in local communities through quality food production and local branding. Geoforum, 36(4), 440–451.

McLain, R. J., Hurley, P. T., Emery, M. R., & Poe, M. R. (2014). Gathering "wild" food in the city: rethinking the role of foraging in urban ecosystem planning and management. Local Environment, 19(2), 220-240.

Michelsen, H., & Bildt, C. (2003). Psychosocial conditions on and off the job and psychological ill health: depressive symptoms, impaired psychological wellbeing, heavy consumption of alcohol. *Occupational and environmental medicine*, 60(7), 489-496.

Morell, M. F., & Espelt, R. (2018, August). How Much are Digital Platforms Based on Open Collaboration?: An analysis of technological and knowledge practices and their implications for the platform governance of a sample of 100 cases of collaborative digital platforms in Barcelona. In Proceedings of the 14th International Symposium on Open Collaboration (p. 26). ACM.

Morrison, P. D., Roberts, J. H., & Midgley, D. F. (2004). The nature of lead users and measurement of leading edge status. Research policy, 33(2), 351-362.

Lachney, M. (2017). Computational communities: African-American cultural capital in computer science education. *Computer Science Education*, 27(3-4), 175-196.

Lachney, M., Babbitt, W., Bennett, A., Eglash, R. (Forthcoming). Generative Computing: African-American Cosmetology as a Link Between Computing Education and Community Wealth. *Interactive Learning Environments*.

Luckman, S. (2015). Craft and the creative economy. Springer.

Ocejo, R. E. (2017). *Masters of Craft: Old Jobs in the New Urban Economy*. Princeton University Press.

Ostrom, E., & Ahn, T. K. (2009). The meaning of social capital and its link to collective action. Handbook of social capital: The troika of sociology, political science and economics, 17-35.

Papadaki, M., & Kalogeraki, S. (2018). Exploring Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) during the Greek Economic Crisis. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 11(1), 38-69.

Peterson, D. J. (2019). Troubled lands: The legacy of Soviet environmental destruction. Routledge.

Ramsay, M. (2015). Resisting Alienated Labour Through Hacking: The Case of Free and Open Source Software (Doctoral dissertation).

Rüthschilling, E. A. (2019). Sunshine on a Cloudy Day. In A. Gwilt, A. Payne, and E. Rüthschilling, Global Perspectives on Sustainable Fashion, (pp. 2-12), New York: Bloomsbury.

Saner, R., Yiu L., Filadoro, M. (2012), "Cooperatives for inclusive growth", CSEND Policy. Brief, n. 10. ISSN 2235 8048, Geneva.

Savic, S., & Wuschitz, S. Feminist Hackerspace as a Place of Infrastructure Production. *Ada* issue 13, 2018.

Scrase, T. J. (2003). Precarious production: globalisation and artisan labour in the Third World. *Third World Quarterly*, 24(3), 449-461.

Sennett, R. (2008). The Craftsman, Yale University Press.

Scholz, T., & Schneider, N. (Eds.). (2017). Ours to hack and to own: The rise of platform cooperativism, a new vision for the future of work and a fairer internet. OR books.

Story, M., & French, S. (2004). Food Advertising and Marketing Directed at Children and Adolescents in the US. The international journal of behavioral nutrition and physical activity, 1(1), 3. doi:10.1186/1479-5868-1-3.

Tabuchi, H. (2015). Etsy's Success Gives Rise to Problems of Credibility and Scale. *The New York Times* (March 15).

Tanenbaum, Laura. (2014). "My Brooklyn, Not Yours." *Jacobin*, 13. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/01/my-brooklyn-not-yours/

Thompson, D. (2015). A world without work. The Atlantic, 316(1), 50-61.

Thomas, L., & Samuel, K. (2017). Characteristics of Open Source Business Models. In ISPIM Conference Proceedings(pp. 1-15). *The International Society for Professional Innovation Management*.

Thorlakson, T., de Zegher, J., & Lambin, Eric (2018) Companies' contribution to sustainability through global supply chains. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences Feb 2018, 115 (9) 2072-2077; DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1716695115

Vallero, D. A. (2014). Fundamentals of air pollution. Academic press.

World Bank. 2018. Tech startup ecosystem in West Bank and Gaza: findings and recommendations (English). Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/715581526049753145/Tech-startup-ecosystem-in-West-Bank-and-Gaza-findings-and-recommendations

Woo, J. & Postolache, T. (2011). The impact of work environment on mood disorders and suicide: Evidence and implications. International Journal on Disability and Human Development, 7(2), pp. 185-200.

Wojtkowski, Paul A. (2006) Introduction to Agroecology: Principles and Practices. Haworth Press, Binghamton, NY.