PRIVATIZATION, SEGREGATION AND DISPOSSESSION IN WESTERN URBAN SPACE:
AN ANTIRACIST, MARXIST-FEMINIST READING OF DAVID HARVEY

BY

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ABSTRACT

Within the shifting geography of capitalist imperialist power, the war on the home front has become a critical line of battle. Western urban centres are more than empty landscapes for the enactment of global agendas. They actively contribute to the international ascendancy of neoliberalism and the bodies of women and people of colour within them are the front line of economic, political, social and ideological marginalization. This paper takes up the intersectionality of race, gender and class relations as they are located within, and shaped by, urban processes in the West. Looking through the lens of David Harvey's theory of the production of capitalist urban space and its conceptual links with Marx's 'primitive' accumulation in his recent work on imperialism, I present an initial proposal on the *material* basis of gender and 'race' exploitation. I further explore how this interacts with more fully elaborated theories of class in the Marxist tradition, and how together they shape and are shaped by Western urban spaces and places. Harvey's work is important, not because it speaks directly or comprehensively to racialized or gendered divisions but because it is a highly detailed Marxist theorization of urban space. I do not take Harvey's ideas simply at face value, but 'rub them' together with theoretical and historical work on racialization, imperialism, urbanism and gender. Thus I make some necessary modifications to Harvey's propositions.

It is my thesis that ongoing accumulation by dispossession as a second mode of accumulation that operates in a dialectical relationship to the system of commodity production, is the material basis of persistent racialized and gendered divisions in society as a whole and at the urban scale in particular. Accumulation by dispossession has been ideologically subordinated by capitalism as part of its triumphalist discourse of progress and freedom. But in actuality, it is the expression of patriarchal and racist imperialism within and alongside capitalism. Its ongoing coercive and violent appropriations, spatial segregation, and privatizations displace the costs of capitalist accumulation for accumulation's sake onto gendered and racialized bodies, separating them from the economic, political and social fruits of the capitalist system.

My secondary argument suggests three distinct, sometimes conflicted, yet intertwined logics of power within modern society: capitalist logic, which rests primarily on the interests of capitalist producers; territorial logic, which expresses the imperative to command space at all scales; and corporeal logic, a patriarchal and racist, bio-political and carceral drive to control and socially construct gendered and racialized bodies.

Finally, I propose that we take seriously the warnings of academics and activists who caution that the term 'neoliberalism' has become so broad and all encompassing that it is losing its incisiveness. As critical thinkers we need to analytically separate the processes of neoliberalism from neoracism, neopatriarchy, and neo imperialism. By applying an understanding of accumulation by dispossession as the ongoing basis of these latter configurations, and a renewed influence on capitalist commodity production, we can move past the polarized disciplinary landscapes of academic inquiry and segregated progressive politics that have resulted from a lack of precision in our analysis.

FOREWORD

This Major Research Paper takes up a broad range of the themes I have explored over the past two years in my work towards a Masters degree in Environmental Studies. "Locating Women of Colour in Western Cities," the area of concentration of my Plan of Study is an expression of my desire to not only map the growing presence of women of colour within western metropolitan life, but to delve deeper into the social, historical and geographical processes involved in their marginalized, erased and devalued position. It is a project inspired by my own life experiences as well as the deepening contradictions and polarizations of the current era.

Deciphering the multiple processes that produce the social location of women of colour within the organization of urban space necessitates a multidisciplinary approach that is at once theoretical, historical and geographical. It demands attentiveness to the cultural, economic, political and ideological environments of everyday life as well as the broad social structures of power that produce and are produced and reproduced by them. In developing the arguments towards an initial theoretical framework for understanding the material basis of gender and 'race' oppression, this paper covers a broad intellectual terrain by weaving together several relevant sub-themes and literatures.

David Harvey's work on urban processes and contemporary imperialism are the twin threads that run through my discussion. I set his work against that of intersectional Marxist-feminist and anti-racist thinkers, as well as geographers, urbanists, historians, sociologists, political economists and anthropologists whose analyses are based in either

Marxist, feminist, anti-imperialist or anti-racist frameworks. The arguments developed here bring together debates that otherwise rarely cross the disciplinary divisions of labour defined by academic battles and traditions. This attempt at scholarly coalition building is, in part, an appeal for progressive intellectual work to emerge from the academy and become reconnected to the collective project of social justice.

Anonymity is the big lie of a city. You're not anonymous at all. You're common, really, common like so many pebbles, so many specks of dirt, so many atoms of materiality…

There are Italian neighbourhoods and Vietnamese neighbourhoods in this city; there are Chinese ones and Ukrainian ones and Pakistani ones and Korean ones and African ones. Name a region on the planet and there's somebody from there, here. All of them sit on Ojibway land, but hardly any of them know it or care because that genealogy is willfully untraceable… These are people who are used to the earth beneath them shifting, and they all want it to stop – and if that means they must pretend to know nothing, well, that's the sacrifice they make…

How does life disappear like that? It does it all the time in a city. One moment a corner is a certain corner, gorgeous with your desires, then it disappears under the constant construction of this and that. A bank flounders into a pizza shop, then into an abandoned building with boarding and graffiti, then after weeks of you passing it by, not noticing the infinitesimal changes, it springs to life as an exclusive condo.

Dionne Brand, *What we all Long For,* 2005

Imagine a city where nothing's
Forgiven   your deed adheres
to you like a scar, a tattoo   but almost everything's
forgotten   deer flattened leaping a highway for food
the precise reason for the shaving of the confused girl's head
the small boys' punishing of the frogs
- a city memory starved but intent on retributions
Imagine the architecture   the governance
The men and women in power
- tell me if it is not true you still
          live in that city

Adrienne Rich, 'Rusted Legacy' in *Midnight Salvage,* 1999

INTRODUCTION

As a child growing up in a small border town in East Africa in the 1960s, Western cities held a special fascination for me. The cool televised images of Mod Squad and the morbid excitement of the assassination of the Kennedys were flickering representations of a far away urban world. The sense of resistance and possibility imparted by the music of Percy Sledge, James Brown, Carol King, and Peter, Paul and Mary, Elvis and Cliff Richards resonated against my segregated black, brown and white environment, the familiar but bitter legacy of a relentlessly unfinished British colonial rule. Looking out over sleepy and familiar rooftops of houses, temples, shops owned by Indians, The Barclays Bank, European social Clubs and schools teeming with brown and black children, I dreamed of the freedom to cross colour lines, break from the sexist dictates of Hindu traditions, and revel in the cultures of young people dedicated to changing the world.

Vancouver's desolate motel strip as a teenager in the early 1970s, surrounded by greasy burger shops and used car dealerships, was a far cry from my imagined deliverance. As refugees from Idi Amin's Uganda we were specimens for the press, and oddities for white Canadian suburbanites for whom Africa was little more than a jungle backdrop for Tarzan stories. My female relatives who spoke with an unbecoming twang holed up in lonely suburban homes, endlessly watching television and eating Sarah Lee cakes from the freezer of the local supermarket. Venturing into the city's core in the rain I found myself lost in the long shadows of steel and glass towers. The tailwinds of hard currency traders and business people in full flight blowing homeless, native people and

sex trade workers off their feet. In dull grey glint of this swirling light I found the excitement of discovery that lay ahead.

More than three decades later I have come to understand this paradox of desire and disappointment as a fault that runs through the very nature of Western urbanism. The explicit and regulated segregations of the post colonial, third world towns I came from are, in ways I could have never have guessed, related to the underhanded racism, sexist suburban isolation and class denials of white Canadian urban life.

The passages from Dionne Brand's novel about Toronto speak to the immigrant imaginary of wealth and anonymity in the Western city. And how it gives way to a humbling realization of commonness as the stifled dream of liberation whittles down to a simple hope of stability. What is left behind in the periphery is vividly irretrievable and the new marginality of the West is easily masked by the forgetful jingles of shopping malls, highways, gadgets and mass marketing. But as Adrienne Rich writes, amnesia is an illusion. In reality every action, humiliation and thwarted connection scars us, haunts us. And the city is not a fantasy; it is the flesh and blood expression of social powers with little love and even less care for the tender desires of the ordinary.

These contradictions saturate the landscape of Western cities with a sense of the absurd. Pierced as they are, in the present conjuncture, with social tensions, economic polarization, political conflict and cultural dissonance. The city is a social factory of both hope and despair. On the one hand its proximity brings people together across multiple

human and social divides. On the other hand, security gates and social barriers, and the increasing privatization of urban life and survival, preclude such connections and narrow the openings created by this rich multiplicity. The individualistic and abstracted greed of a Eurocentric, masculinist, capitalist ethos weighs heavily on the vibrant collectivity of a shapely and darkening urban body politic.

> The large Western city of today concentrates diversity. Its spaces are inscribed with the dominant corporate culture but also with a multiplicity of other cultures and identities. The slippage is evident: the dominant culture can encompass only part of the city. And while corporate power inscribes these cultures and identities with "otherness" thereby devaluing them, they are present everywhere. (Sassen 1998: 8)

Over the past four decades the demographic maps of large and small cities across North America, Europe and Australia have been reconfigured with rich and deepening hues of third world migrations. The noisy spectacles of carnival capitalism which increasingly co-opt these diversities into orgies of commodification cannot mask the divides and degradations of everyday life. As urban perimeters become utterly porous with residential sprawl and corporate agriculture, material and metaphoric walls are cutting through the centres of Eurocentric cities (M. Davis as cited in Harvey 2000). Old and new colonial exploits are indeed coming home to roost. In the Anglo-American Imperialism of the early 21st century, the war on the home front is as critical as overseas conquest. And it is an urban war, pulsing like an approaching drumbeat under an increasingly transparent ideological skin.

From the defiant ghettos of the Paris suburbs to tough inner cities of New York and Los Angeles, from the gentrifying waterfronts of Barcelona and Toronto to the branded Olympic competitiveness of London and Vancouver, Western cities are a study

in profound contradiction. Marketing rhetoric overlays deepening paradoxes: fear against

unprecedented security; hunger alongside plenty; loneliness versus festivity; desire

married to violence. These instabilities are the axes of an emerging territorial, economic,

political, cultural and bodily Western urban logic as elite power faces off against the

brewing threat of radical response from an exiled majority. The fires this time, as in

James Baldwin's era, are sparked by unsettled histories of oppression collapsing into

newly revived configurations of racialized, gendered and class exploitation. In the new

millennium patriarchal-religious, racist-imperialist and upper class capitalist control are

being translated into new languages of power, control and resistance.

Since World War Two and the rise of the United States (US) as a world power, a

series of mutually reinforcing shifts have occurred. Globally, there have been increasing

South to North global migrations from newly independent but economically faltering

countries to the urban economic centres of Western countries. Inside the US, a parallel

wave of massive internal movements of Black people from the rural Southern US to the

urban north for the second time since emancipation from formal slavery. Hard on the

heels of the Keynesian compromise and a crumbling Western welfare state, came the fall

of the wall in Eastern Europe and the demise of the socialist alternative. The combined

effect has been an increase in domestic and global militarization. The war-like economic

and political culture of the United States has contributed much to this equation.

Anthropologist Catherine Lutz says:

> While militarization has been shaped within innumerable states, corporations and
> localities, the United States is now the largest wellspring for this global process. A
> nation made by war, the United States was birthed not just by the revolution of 1776
> but also by wars against native Americans and the violence required to capture and

enslave many millions of African people... It has rearranged US social geography through internal migrations to the south and West for military work and has accelerated the suburbanization process and the creation of Black Bantustans in the core of older cities.... It has contributed to the making of race and gender in the United States through biases of military spending towards the whiter and more male segments of the workforce. (Lutz 2002: 724)

The rise of neoliberalism since the 1970s, a surge in anti immigrant sentiment in the 1990s, and the so-called 'war on terror' of the 21st century, have all served to justify massive Western investments in domestic and international security, surveillance, policing and military campaigns. The corresponding punitive criminal justice strategies aimed at the poor, people of colour, immigrants and refugees, and the suppression of political dissent have further carved out contours of urban inequality across Western cities of all sizes.

Residential gentrification has been an important companion to this strategy. Urban geographer Neil Smith argues that even as each city manifests a different form of gentrification, it has now become a global urban phenomenon. The resulting displacement of poor people within urban areas creates new geographies of luxury consumption, leisure, creative expression and housing for those on the 'winning side' of the 21st century social divide. Left out of this equation are de-industrialized centers, losing the inter-urban race to attract global capital investment, tourism dollars and state subsidies for spectacular international events, grandiose architectural projects and/ or urban re-development strategies. The language of urban 'regeneration', Smith points out, hides the 'social origins and goals of urban change and erases the politics of winners and losers' (Smith in Brenner & Theodore 2002: 98).

A deteriorating urban geography has resulted from the deindustrialization and unemployment so evident in the cities of the American 'rust belt' and in Britain's old industrial centres. Neoliberal economic restructuring has wreaked havoc on urban social landscapes as David Harvey writes:

> The hemorrhaging of wealth, population and power from central cities has left many of them languishing in limbo. Needy populations have been left behind as the rich and influential have moved out. Add to this the devastating loss of jobs in recent years and the parlous state of older cities becomes all too clear. Nearly 250,000 jobs have been lost in Manchester in two decades while 40,000 disappeared from Sheffield's steel industry alone… The subsequent train of events have been devastating for many. Communities built to service now-defunct manufacturing industries have been left high and dry, wracked with long-term structural unemployment…The only rational response on the part of those marginalized is urban rage, making the actual state of social and, even more emphatically race relations [] far worse now than it has been for several decades. (1996b: 39)

The events of summer 2005 were a classic expression of this perilous state of racialized tension and the racial and economic contradictions, and physical separations within contemporary Western cities. The July London transit bombings were both a response to (albeit a reactionary one) and a consequence of domestic and transnational imperialism. Behind the headlines of the US war against Iraq are the longstanding patterns of racialized disenfranchisement in cities across Britain and the Western world. The frustrated violence expressed in the race riots of earlier decades has mutated into newly intensified forms. According to British commentator Arun Kundnani, the recent race riots of Oldham and Bradford in 2001 were not only the worst seen in England since the mid 1980s. They were also the result of deindustrialization and unemployment, racialized and segregated housing and education, widespread attacks by racist gangs, and racialized criminalization of young Asian men by police and law enforcement authorities. As he puts it:

> The fires that burned across Lancashire and Yorkshire through the summer of 2001
> signaled the rage of young Pakistanis and Bangladeshis of the second and third
> generations, deprived of futures, hemmed in on all sides by racism, failed by their
> own leaders and representatives and unwilling to stand by as, first fascists, and then
> police officers, invaded their streets…. And whereas the 1981 and 1985 uprisings
> against the police in Brixton, Handsworth, Tottenham and Toxeth had been the
> violence of a community united - black and white - in its anger at the 'heavy
> hammers' of the police, the fires this time were lit by the youth of communities
> falling apart from within, as well as without: youths whose violence was, therefore
> all the more desperate. It was the violence of communities fragmented by colour
> lines, class lines and police lines. It was the violence of hopelessness. It was the
> violence of the violated. (Kundnani 2001:105)

It is no small coincidence that the suspected 2005 London suicide bombers are from Leeds, within fifty-miles of Bradford and Oldham. Leeds has a markedly bifurcated political and urban culture. The racist British National Party is well represented at city hall and it is described as 'a two track city with great disparities in quality of life between wards.' (Saunders 2005a, 2005b.)

While the public discourse of events such as the London bombings and the 2001 riots centered on the impacts and fears of the rest of the British public, the most severe effects are felt within marginalized communities themselves. As the British Government awarded police and intelligence forces with unprecedented discretionary powers, reports of racially motivated attacks against people of colour multiplied. And it is women, girls, lesbians and gay men in these communities who pay a particularly heavy and private price for this neopatriarchal resurgence. As the statement issued by the U.K. group *Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLML)* points out:

> In the immediate aftermath of the [London 2005] bombings, the potential impact on
> women's rights within Muslim communities, especially migrant communities in the
> UK, was already visible. The president of the Muslim Association of Britain was
> prompt to warn: "women in headscarves, particularly, should be vigilant and avoid

unnecessary journeys". Thus, racist violence is already being exploited to restrict women's mobility and further enforce gender segregation.

This creation of a siege mentality, along with the silencing of alternative voices, will make it all the more difficult for women within Muslim communities to speak out against patriarchal and regressive practices… Demands for separate family laws which are highly discriminatory towards women may increase under this guise. It is our experience that when politico-religious movements are legitimized in one context, this has a direct impact on the struggles for human rights in other contexts, crossing boundaries of both geography and religion. (WLML 2005)

These conditions are part of a continuum that extends from Western cities to the urban slums of third world cities. Mike Davis has argued that the disenfranchisements of slum dwellers and the political and social vacuums they create are being filled with religion rather than resistance. Unlike its earlier incarnation during the early industrial revolution, urbanization today is no longer a secularizing force, but a renewed religiosity is nurtured in the conditions of southern slums and northern ghettos. Davis writes:

Today, [] populist Islam and Pentecostal Christianity (and in Bombay, the cult of Shivaji) occupy a social space analogous to that of early 20th-century socialism and anarchism… Islamicist movements [] have become the real governments of the slums: organizing night schools, providing legal aid to victims of state abuse, buying medicine for the sick, subsidizing pilgrimages and paying for funerals…We [the left] have become embourgeoisified. We have cut ourselves off from the people. (M. Davis 2004: 30).

These insights are equally poignant and applicable to the poor and racialized enclaves of Western cities. The undeniable popularity of ultra-conservative, patriarchal, Islamic fundamentalism among British (as well as American and Canadian) born Asian and Middle-Eastern youth illustrates a dangerous distance between progressive political movements, and significant numbers of people (poor racialized groups and women) whose everyday realities of social and political banishment inside Western cities goes unaddressed. At home the impact of racism, poverty, the lack of hope for a future,

increasing levels of legalized repression and surveillance, are combining with resentment and anger over US led imperialist campaigns overseas to stoke a heady, if shallow traditionalism. As racialized youth turn to religiously fuelled, reactionary masculinism for a sense of collective power, the promise of the city as a site of social innovation and anti-systemic engagements closes into a tight patriarchal conservatism.

Gendered separation in the era of neoliberal urbanization is inextricably linked with the dynamics of racialized economic, political and social segregation. Saskia Sassen has reformulated the conflation of the interests of 'women and children' under the Fordist family wage model, into a post-Fordist equation of 'women and immigrants,' who together form a core of the flexible labour force in Global cities (Sassen 2001: 322). As upper-middle class women pursue careers, household responsibilities and reproductive labour is being farmed out to low-income immigrant and racialized women. Women of colour, a growing proportion of residents in Western cities, are a critical, unpaid, under-paid and precarious labour force in all aspects of the service sector. As gentrification changes urban and suburban configurations, poor and working class women are increasingly being pushed out of city centers and/ or public life by various combinations of household responsibility, unemployment, home-based work, racialized housing markets, lack of access to services, racism and chronic poverty among other forms of discrimination (Khosla 2003).

These inextricably racialized, gendered and classed forms of urban disenfranchisement, and the social-political trends that accompany them, can become a

broader politics of social justice. But only if the left, anti-racist and feminist initiatives struggling to survive within them are heard and supported by activists and intellectuals in more enfranchised social justice efforts. The challenge is be mindful of, and incorporate the particularities of spatial, functional, social, historical and economic inequalities, while reaching for broad solidarity across the divided terrain of social relationships. Articulating overarching analyses that simultaneously address the contradictions of capitalism, racist imperialism and patriarchy without reproducing the exclusions of cultural nationalism, class reductionism, or gender hierarchies are an important step towards this. According to Himani Bannerji, one of Canada's foremost intersectional theorists:

> If democracy is to be more than a mere form marked by various political rituals which serve to entrench the rule of capital or sprinkle holy water on existing inequalities, it must have a content of social movements and political processes that aim at popular involvement and entitlement at different levels. These social/ political movements should be able to address complex interactions and formations of social relations and forms of consciousness that mark them. They would/ should not spell into the usual coalitions formed by movements which are separately conceived and added onto each other. Nor should they stop at the door of 'new social' movements where culture and social organization/ relations are pulled apart and radical democracy can be achieved by bypassing politics in relation to capital. (Bannerji 2004)

The new politics Bannerji calls for requires a radical re-thinking of the roots of the power relationships underlying the racialized, gendered and classed divisions of the Western urban condition. Every city differs in the ways these power relations express themselves in politics, space and society, but empirical documentation of particular contexts, enlightening as they are, do not, on their own, shed light on underlying processes. This is the task of theoretical reflection.

This Major Research Paper takes up the intersectionality of race, gender and class relations as they are located within, and shaped by, urban processes in the West. I aim to present an initial proposal on the *material* basis of gender and 'race' exploitation, how this interacts with more fully elaborated theories of class in the Marxist tradition, and how together they shape and are shaped by Western urban spaces and places. While there has been a growing theoretical literature on the intersectionality of gender, race and class, few of the authors incorporate the dimension of space and how its impact on intersectionality is lived out. Feminist geographers Lise Nelson and Joni Seager point out that this is neither a trivial nor esoteric concern.

> …asking *where* is not a secondary question, an afterthought, but instead represents a crucial entree into understanding the world in which we live, particularly a world marked by difference including but not limited to gender. Asking "where" forces us to map the complex relationships between bodies, identities, places, and power…(Nelson and Seager 2004: 7).

This exploration started with the aim of sketching out a framework for theorizing the complex and multiply marginalized reality of the growing constituency of poor women of colour who are living, working, subsisting and resisting within the urban centres of Europe and North America. It soon became apparent that a wide range of social, historical and geographical processes are involved in their deceptively unacknowledged social location. The wide scope of this paper is a testament to the depth and breadth of this intellectual and political task.

There has been a great deal of work produced on questions of gender, race and class and a tenacious but marginalized group of scholar/activists have made critical contributions to understanding the intersections between them. I use the work of some of

these, most notably Angela Davis and Himani Bannerji, as touchstones for the analysis

developed here. But this paper is not a synopsis of the wide-ranging debates and

discussions amongst feminist, anti-racist thinkers. I have opted to take a different

approach by training my sights on David Harvey's geographical, Marxist urban political

economy to see what this unusual light can reveal about the relationship of racialized and

gendered structures to the global capitalist hegemony of our time.

Looking through the lens of two of David Harvey's ideas, I assess whether, and in

what ways, they are relevant to the project of developing an intersectional analysis of the

material and ideological intersections of gender, race, colonialism, class and urban

processes in the present era. To this end I analyze Harvey's contributions to a theory of

urban space and how it is produced under capitalism and its conceptual links with his

revival of Marx's writings on 'primitive' accumulation in his recent work *The New*

Imperialism.

Harvey has had a long and prolific career as a geographer and, over the years, has

produced numerous texts. I make no pretence at a detailed appraisal of all of them. Nor

am I trying to empirically verify Harvey's propositions in a particular city or place, or

conduct a substantive discourse analysis. Rather, I draw on relevant sections of just four

of Harvey's books: Social Justice and the City (1973); The Urban Experience (1989);

The New Imperialism (2003); Justice Nature and the Geography of Difference (1996). I

also reference his journal articles, speeches and interviews in order to conduct a cross-

textual reading of the parallel processes of urbanization and imperialism as he has

articulated and expanded on them.

Using an integrated anti-racist, Marxist feminist approach I look at the systemic

and deepening oppression of low-income women of colour in Western cities as the

expression of these intersections and their absence from public life and cultural discourse.

Harvey's work is important, not because it speaks directly or comprehensively to

racialized or gendered divisions but because it is a highly detailed Marxist theorization of

urban space and therefore represents an important starting point for this discussion. I do

not take Harvey's ideas simply at face value, but evaluate his concepts by 'rubbing them'

together with theoretical and historical works that take up, in various combinations,

questions of racialization, imperialism, urbanism and gender. In bringing together these

lines of thought I am following Harvey's own elaboration of Marx's idea that:

> ... [W]e can rub different conceptual blocks together to make an intellectual fire.
> Theoretical innovation so often comes out of the collision of different lines of force.
> In a friction of this kind one should never altogether give up one's starting point –
> ideas will only catch fire if the original elements are not completely absorbed by the
> new ones. (Harvey 2000b: 81)

Himani Bannerji, along with other socialist feminists (Brodie in Bakker & Gill

eds. 2003), proposes using an overarching perspective of the 'social' as the ground for

connecting analyses of class, 'race' and gender into the framework of both political-

economic and cultural-discursive analyses. She critiques traditional Marxist and

postmodern theorists alike for adding to the fragmentation of social processes into

discrete and, seemingly unrelated parts:

> The habit of separating 'race' from class and gender, or the cultural from the economic and the political, seems to generate from an unclear grasp on social ontology. In particular, 'race' – class political separation is articulated in terms of separation between economy/ structure and culture/signifying apparatus. It is assumed that 'race' for example arises on cultural grounds, while 'class' encodes 'real' fundamental social – that is, economic relations. This perception is equally shared by economic and cultural reductionists... (Bannerji 2004)

My argument follows Bannerji's framework and uses a dialectical and geographical/ historical materialist method to develop an intersectional analysis of the material, political and cultural as mutually reinforcing and constitutive aspects of an overall social whole. In choosing to write a theoretically focused research paper I am trying to bridge the divides between Marxist, feminist and post-colonial theory. In the long-term this will contribute to the elaboration of an integrated anti-racist, Marxist feminist, urban analysis based on the application of a geographical, historical and dialectical-materialist method. The search for a unifying, respectful and dynamic framework to guide intellectual and practical work for fundamental social change is pressing in the present global context of intense social, economic and political polarization and mass disenfranchisement. And it is a task well beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless the analysis presented here seeks to begin the process by building on the foundation of existing theoretical work, while at the same time, breathing new life into the effort.

David Harvey's work, in varying ways, both supports and contradicts this project.

Although his intellectual work is a brilliant illumination of the economic and political processes of capitalism, Harvey's implicit base-superstructure reading of Marxism (Hartsock 1998: Kipfer 2003) is, in my view, deeply problematic. It unduly

limits him from exploring patriarchy and white supremacy as material and systemic

forms of social organization that both pre-date, and remain integral to the capitalist

system. In this way Harvey unfortunately forecloses the possibilities and openings

created by his own work.

Harvey is a dense thinker who is something of a paradox. His work shows an

inclination towards radicalism and adventure even as it stays within a largely

conventional and conservative frame. His willingness to apply and extend Marx's

dialectical and historical materialist method to an understanding of space and geography

has pressed opened new arenas of analysis. But his tenacious insistence on the primacy of

the production process and class struggle as the overarching forces shaping social

relations has limited his ability account for the fullness of the "social" and its mutually

constitutive dimensions.

Although racialized poverty and segregation have been prominent in Harvey's

thinking since his early Marxist urban book *Social Justice and the City* (1973), his

analysis of ghetto formation and racial inequality in cities has remained curiously silent

on racism. He relies almost exclusively on political economic explanations of how the

dynamics of poverty create segregation and uneven development within and across cities.

Why or how these processes became specifically racialized is not addressed.

I am disturbed at Harvey's tendency to reduce, wholesale, the political activity of

feminists and anti-racists to the realm of 'local' politics. However, I understand and give

qualified support to Harvey's impulse to reach for Raymond Williams' notion of 'militant particularism' (1996: 19-24). . The importance of the concept, applied equally to class gender and 'race' based struggles lies in the idea of collective empowerment and transformative action ensuing from a specific location, whether geographical, economic or social, while at the same time remaining cognizant, connected and committed to parallel realities of oppression as overarching analyses for resistance and broader social transformations. This is in line with the politics of intersectionality I am supporting in this work. However, the fact remains that the difficult choice between expediency and potential victories of short-term demands versus the challenges posed by broader political struggles for fundamental social change faces social movements in all constituencies.

Over the years, Harvey has softened his stance towards women's and other urban social movements (2003) but he remains suspicious of them for a lack of commitment to an overall politics of social transformation (1996b). I find his difficulties in crediting anti-racist and feminist movements with contributing to progressive social change difficult to accept. His position has been exacerbated by his impatience with the cultural turn in feminist and anti-racist theory. However, social movements cannot, so easily, be conflated with the academic discourses that appropriate them. And their failure to effect broader social change must be evaluated as much in light of the severe backlash and sustained ideological attacks and repression of the past two decades, as in terms of their internal errors. Harvey's explicit and implicit claim that a focus on 'class' struggle provides an insurance against reformist tendencies is unsupported by the actual history of working class movements in the West. As Harvey himself acknowledges, working class

movements are just as corruptible and susceptible to ignoring broader political questions as other social movements (1996).

Nonetheless, Harvey's underlying concerns cannot, despite their problematic and paternalistic overtones, be dismissed outright. Comprehensive political action aimed at dismantling the very basis of growing inequalities and divides is becoming increasingly important in this neoliberal, neoimperialist and neopatriarchal era of privatization, segregation and dispossession. In this age of magical marketing, ideological tricks are being manipulated with new zeal, and it behooves us to look deeper than the surface symptoms, signs and symbols of oppression. Relying on a purely textual and discursive analysis that ignores underlying material relationships of power is particularly dangerous in the context of an ever-growing growing divide between rhetoric and reality.

Given this, many feminist and postcolonial intellectuals and activists are now asserting the need to re-connect with materialist analyses (Mitchell, Marston & Katz 2003; A. Davis 2003; Bannerji 2001). Through this work they are taking up the task of examining the dislocation of women's, anti-racist, third world nationalist, gay rights and environmental movements from their grounding in a politics of broader social change. A self-critique is rising amongst intersectional feminist-anti-racist activists, academics and organizations as they create new social justice movements centered on organizing among women of colour, poor, immigrant, and working class women.   Questions are being asked about the depoliticizing effects of a retreat from political work into academic and state institutional structures, and the resulting disconnection from those who are most

disenfranchised in the current imperialist, capitalist and patriarchal resurgence.[1] The early

results are being brought back into a new and more encompassing left politics.

Understanding gender, 'race', class, urbanization, capitalism, patriarchy, racism,

and imperialism, in the present and historical context of Western society, involves taking

an extraordinarily large vista on social relations. This essay, and the array of issues it

engages is a mere preview of this endeavor. There are inherent dangers in attempting to

sketch out a framework for theorizing such a wholistic approach to the "social" that

includes the productive, spatial, reproductive, ideological and bodily relations of power,

resistance, survival and human creativity. It is an undeniably foolish effort. Any work

written in this vein will appear prematurely closed off, leaving open more questions than

it addresses. But embarking on this effort is nonetheless worthwhile.

Critiques of Harvey's resistance to gender and 'race' questions remain valid even

as he appears to have softened his stance over the years. The point of this project is not to

swallow Harvey's ideas wholesale. I am focusing here on Harvey's theories of urban

process and accumulation by dispossession because I place a great deal of importance on

reviving innovative Marxist perspectives within anti-racist feminist thought. And in spite

of his shortcomings, Harvey's work has had an indisputably revolutionary impact on both

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[1] *INCITE, Women of Colour Against Violence* is explicitly addressing intersectional issues and de-linking anti-racist feminist politics from the 'non-profit industrial complex':www.incite-national.org/. Also *The Committee for Women Population and the Environment* has campaigned against racist, anti-immigrant politics in the reproductive rights and environmental movements: http://www.cwpe.org/.

Marxism and geographic thought, and has thereby opened doors for a fresh re-thinking about social dynamics and relations.

In this paper I try to tap into some of the possibilities Harvey creates but does not himself utilize. In doing so, I draw on the work of scholars who have theorized and documented the history of patriarchy, racism, imperialism, and capitalism. As well I turn to those scholars whose work recognizes the importance of linking the gendered, racialized and class dimensions of economic, social, cultural, political and ideological imperatives using a dialectical materialist approach. My theoretical proposals take a new perspective on the geographies of domination in urban organization, and empire as it operates on the 'home front' inside the West: the "empire at home".

In chapter one, I introduce Harvey's work on the production of capitalist urban space and how it lends itself to links with feminist and anti-racist work. By the end of the chapter I demonstrate how Marx's concept of 'original' accumulation, viewed as an ongoing feature of capitalism, can help us to explain the value generated by racist imperialism and patriarchal domination in capitalist urban circuits. Harvey has not made this theoretical leap at the urban scale, but he has subsequently advocated a similar move at the global scale.

Accordingly in chapter two, I examine how Harvey extends Marx's analysis of the original' form of accumulation in early, pre-industrial capitalism, into *accumulation by dispossession,* and his hypothesis that this has remained an ongoing feature of

capitalist imperialism. Bringing in other theorists who have applied feminist and anti-colonial analyses to this same concept, I explore how accumulation by dispossession illuminates the links between capitalism, patriarchy, and racist-imperialism. I make the connection between Harvey's work on imperialism and how the US led imperialism functions at home in US cities. The second half of this chapter looks at how these concepts are implicated in the intertwined and layered processes of privatization, segregation, criminalization and differential citizenship which, in spite of variances from place to place, are becoming the hallmarks of Western cities in the present era.

Finally I conclude with a discussion of my main hypothesis that accumulation by dispossession constitutes the material basis of gendered and racist/ imperialist oppression and thereby mediates and drives processes of white supremacist and patriarchal oppression. I contend that this form of accumulation did not die with the advent of capitalist industrialization even as it was eclipsed and obscured into a 'privatized' status by the discursive primacy accorded to the 'public' realm of the money economy. Rather, accumulation by dispossession can be understood as running parallel to the system of capitalist production as an essential and constitutive feature of the ideological, material and symbolic structures of the capitalist, patriarchal and racist/imperialist order. How the links between the two systems of accumulation operate cannot be detailed here, but I will discuss a few of the theoretical and political implications of my proposals on the operations of intersectionality, as well as implications for future research and action.

CHAPTER ONE: HARVEY AND URBANISM

Harvey's Ideas – Controversies and Critiques

David Harvey is credited with being one of the first thinkers to introduce Marxist analysis into the field of geography, which had hitherto been a discipline dominated by positivist thinking. He has also influenced Marxism, although considerably more slowly, by articulating a spatial dimension to Marx's theories of capital (Harvey 2000b). His theory of the urban as a critical scale of analysis and action has had an unparalleled impact on urban studies. Without artificially privileging the urban over the nation-state, the international or other scales of social relations, Harvey's elaboration of the urban process under capitalism has laid the foundations for detailed understandings of how capitalism "unfolds through the production of social and physical landscapes" (Harvey 1989:6).

Prior to 2003, Harvey's focus was on the commodity production process as the center of the capitalist system. In his latest book *The New Imperialism* he takes up the title question by proposing that 'original' accumulation, which Marx described as the pre-industrial mode of accumulation in early capitalism, is an ongoing reality. Extending the work of Rosa Luxemburg, he hypothesizes that the violent processes of dispossession involved in this method of accumulation are behind the current US-led Western Imperialist war in Iraq. It is unclear whether the thesis he is now advancing has disturbed the hierarchical views of social relations implied in his previous works.

Marx's concept of 'original accumulation,' along with Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg's extensions of it, underlies Harvey's analyses of urbanization and imperialism alike. In Marx's work, 'original' or 'primitive' accumulation was dominant in the era immediately prior to industrial capitalism (1400 – 1800). Through looting, plundering, theft and forcible separation of people from their land, resources and livelihoods, this violent form of accumulation created an unprecedented concentration of wealth from which the industrial revolution arose. In his work on urbanization, Harvey explains how accumulation by dispossession generated the surpluses to finance the construction of new industrial cities, and created the mechanisms of violence and social control needed to affect a takeover of older medieval cities. In his more recent work, Harvey says the process, and the brutal uprooting and forcible displacements it involves, has remained active throughout capitalism to the present era. Renaming it "accumulation by dispossession" he argues that it is also the driving force of the US-led imperialist wars presently dominating the world stage. The driving forces are a US thirst for oil to feed its hyper-consumptive lifestyle and economy, and a desire to control global oil supplies to maintain global strategic advantage against the rising economies of China and Europe. Harvey's assertion is that capitalist crises are the triggers for both urbanization and imperialist expansion. These economic dynamics, along with political considerations are therefore the common denominators in Harvey's understanding of accumulation by dispossession and the urban process. The profit-motivated drive of capitalist accumulation, the circulation of capital through the built environment, social institutions, along with capitalism's inevitable contradictions, crises of overaccumulation, and the

political struggles they precipitate are central concepts in Harvey's theorization of both urbanization and imperialism.

Harvey does not think economic flows are the sole force of history. Class contradictions and politics play an equally important role in his analysis of capitalism. For Harvey accumulation is the not just about profit, it is also about how the capitalist class reproduces itself *as a class*, and how it maintains its domination over labour. Since labour is the basis of surplus value in a Marxist formulation of capitalism, the exploited but central position of the working class within capitalist production can create collective resistance and threaten the basis of the system. Therefore exploitation and accumulation cannot be isolated from class struggle. (Harvey 1989: 59) The theme of class struggle as the pivotal and most important of arena of political agency and social change emerges repeatedly though his work. (Harvey 1973; 1989; 2003; & 1996).

And although his work has become more nuanced over the years, Harvey has remained faithful to this class-based view in the face of numerous challenges from a range of critics. Perhaps the most direct challenge was posed by Doreen Massey, a feminist and contemporary of Harvey's in the field of geography. In her article *Flexible Sexism* (1994), she challenged Harvey's lack of attention to gender and his 'denial…of feminism and the contributions it recently made." Harvey's response was defensive (1992). For all the innovations in his thinking, his analysis has remained remarkably resistant to gender and 'race' questions. Harvey has positioned gender and race as

identity categories which are therefore, in his view, ideological rather than material constructions (1996).

The debate between Massey and Harvey took place against a backdrop of harsh academic debates and political splits between postmodernists and Marxists through the 1980s and 90's. Postmodernists, who were focused on the racialized and gendered construction of identities, discourse, text and culture, charged Marxism with being positivist, totalizing and authoritarian in its reproduction of a master narrative. Marxists in turn charged postmodernists with liberal pluralism, relativism, and the destruction of the left through fragmentation and dispersal of a unified political project. Harvey was openly impatient with postmodern fashions. He also argued vociferously against their undermining of a social 'totality' (1996). In his 1996 work *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* his commitment to a class-based politics was etched even deeper as he developed elaborate and extensive arguments to make his case.

Although I tend to agree with his underlying critique of postmodernism, it does not erase the reality that Harvey has resolutely neglected to incorporate feminist perspectives into his elaboration of urban social processes and imperialism. His core political economic analysis remains decidedly gender neutral. Where women are mentioned, they appear as part of a largely under theorized secondary workforce as in the reserve army of labour (1989), or their experiences of oppression and subordinate social status are dealt with as by-products of economic and political processes (1996: 64).

Harvey's discussions of racism, though more frequent than his scant references to sexism, similarly frame it as a secondary effect of capitalist processes. This is unavoidably apparent in the submersion of 'race' as a significant factor in his discussions of the new Imperialism (2003). But it is surprising given that urban racism in America made a deep impression on him. Having moved from his native England at the end of the 1960s to take a job at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Harvey found himself in city where southern US style racism was dominant even as the vast majority of the population was African-American. The stark conditions of inequality played a role in provoking his interest in deciphering the dynamics of the city. Harvey remembers:

> Baltimore itself intrigued me from the start, it was a terrific place to do empirical work. I quickly became involved in studies of discrimination in housing projects, and ever since the city has formed a backdrop to much of my thinking. (Harvey 2000b: 79)

And Johns Hopkins University, for all its conservatism, was also to be the place where Harvey would become radicalized and ultimately take up Marxism as his operative theoretical and political frame. His engagements with the university's student and anti-war movements, and the desire of his students to learn about Marx, propelled him into becoming a faculty facilitator for a reading group on Capital. The engagement was to become a long and fruitful one. To this day Harvey teaches an annual course on Marx's Capital.

Can Harvey's ideas about the production of urban space, accumulation, class struggle and urban politics can be useful in helping understand the material basis of persistent, and intensifying racialized and gendered separations in Western cities? In

answering this, it is important to acknowledge that there are many 'empty rooms' in

Harvey's theoretical account. In his more polemical writings on cities Harvey is

passionate and eloquent about the class and, to some extent racialized injustices that are

the features of cities in the current era as the following passage demonstrates:

> Free markets are not necessarily fair. `There is', the old saying goes, `nothing more
> unequal than the equal treatment of unequals.' This is what the market does. The rich
> grow richer and the poor get poorer through the egalitarianism of exchange. No
> wonder those of wealth and power support such rights. Class divisions widen. Cities
> become more ghettoized as the rich seal themselves off for protection while the poor
> become ghettoized by default. And if racial, religious and ethnic divisions cross-cut,
> as they so often do, with struggles to acquire class and income position, then we
> quickly find cities divided in the bitter ways we know only too well. (Harvey 2003:
> 940)

But in his largely political-economic detailing of the urban process under

capitalism (Kipfer 2003: 71) social relations such as 'race' are rarely addressed. And

mention of gender divisions are even more scant in either his polemical or political-

economic work. It is fair to say that 'race' and gender do not figure as prominent factors

in Harvey's urban analysis.

Even in his analysis of ghetto formation, Harvey remains remarkably race-neutral.

His explanations rest largely on an economic analysis of the urban poor. Although he

does supplement this analysis with occasional suggestions that practices of discrimination

reinforce the economic dynamics of the urban land market, he does not explore how

racism as a social force shapes urban space and society.

But neglect is not the only issue with Harvey's approach to 'race' dynamics.

There is also a murkiness in his analysis of racialization. This becomes obvious when he

positions racism as a hangover from the internal social relations in 'traditional' societies brought into modern world through the process of colonization. He then proceeds to classify racism as a 'residual form of class structuration' similar to how some resonances of feudal relations carried forward after the transition from feudalism to capitalism (1989:112-3).

> The geographical expansion of capitalism into a global system has also created residuals. The patterns of dominance and subservience associated with colonialism and neocolonialism are products of the intersection between the forces of class structuration in a dominant capitalist society and forms of social differentiation in subordinate traditional societies. (Harvey 1989: 113)

While I have no argument with the idea that racism structures class relations, there is a problematic blame-the-victim message implicit in his comment, which turns racialization into a discovery of the colonizers in the course of their exploits. This deflects the responsibility of racism from the colonizer to the colonized and thus discounts the naturalized notions of racialized superiority that both motivated and justified European colonial conquest. But more to the point, for Harvey it is a small side comment that allows him to bypass the significance of racialization in Western history and reposition class as the overarching and fundamental division in the last instance.

Similarly, women are either ignored or gender divisions are consistently rendered secondary in his analysis of the spatial structure of cities. In spite of extensive feminist work in Harvey's own discipline of geography on gendered divisions of labour, income, space, and power within urban spaces, Harvey remains mute on sexism and patriarchy as influential forces of urban organization. His treatment of social reproduction is largely gender neutral, and focused either on the reproduction of capitalism as a system, or on the

reproduction of labour power for the capitalist production process. Even as he incorporates biological and social reproduction into his overall schematic there is no questioning of *why* this task falls to women. As such, Harvey falls into a *defacto* naturalization of women's reproductive role. The gender and 'race' neutrality of Harvey's urban theory is not significantly altered by his periodic references to the segmented status of people of colour and women in the paid labour market, nor by his passing allusions to sexist and racist discrimination (1989: 52).

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to mirror Harvey's errors and shortcomings by giving political economic and urban processes the short shrift he allots to gender and 'race'. In my view Harvey's contributions in these areas, and the incisiveness of his Marxist analysis is important for feminists, anti-racist/ anti-imperialists and intersectional thinkers as we develop a comprehensive ideological/ materialist framework for our intellectual and political efforts.

What's more I believe it is important to address a central misconception in Harvey's work. I share some of Harvey's concerns about the depoliticization which resulted from the emphasis on discourse in the academy. However, I cannot agree with Harvey's reductive implications that the material lies in the realm of the economic. In this respect I am in agreement with Doreen Massey in her acerbic (and sometimes unfair) critique of Harvey from the early 1990s:

> … I am absolutely in favour of thinking through issues of gender 'within the overall frame of materialist enquiry'… [H]owever, we have to be sure what that means. Materialism is far wider than an 'emphasis on the power of money and capital circulation.' This is less materialism than economism... yes - we need to think

through ways of constructing 'the unity of the emancipatory struggle' but [] this cannot be achieved by forcing all struggles under 'the overall frame of… class politics.' What Harvey's position means is a unity enforced through the tutelage of one group over all others. (Massey 1994: 243)

Harvey places the locus of agency and social change ultimately, though not exclusively within capitalist production and the class relations that arise from it (Harvey 1996: 113). But he is a complex thinker and well aware of the gaps and limitations of Marxist theory. He cites these himself, even as he quickly springboards back into his original stance:

> Above all, the single minded pursuit of class questions does not allow of a proper consideration of other important historical oppressions on the basis of gender, sexual preference, lifestyle, racial, ethnic or religious identities or affiliations, geographical region, cultural configuration and the like. There are certain truths to all of these objections and many circumstances in which the intertwining of, say, racial, gender, geographical and class issues creates all sorts of complexities that make it imperative for several sets of oppressions to be addressed.
>
> But the converse complaint must also be registered: those who reject Marx's political commitment and the notion of class agency that necessarily attaches to it in effect turn their backs on his depiction of the human destitution, degradation and denial that lie at capitalism's door and become complicitous as historical agents with the reproduction of the particular set of permanences that capitalism has tightly fashioned out of otherwise open, fluid, and dynamic social processes. (1996: 108)

Harvey's position here is reflective of a widespread trend among Western Marxists in the 1990s to attribute the failure of the left to those who strayed from the centrality of class and capitalism. While I disagree with this stance unequivocally, I am concerned that it is legitimized by the lack of a broad and developed materialist theory of intersectionality. In spite of many attempts and strong desires on the part of Marxist, feminist and anti-racist, anti-colonial theorists alike, efforts in this area have remained partial. Even after decades of intellectual and political struggle by anti-racist feminists within feminism and the academy, a dialectical and historical materialist analysis of

gender and 'race' oppressions and their historical and geographical trajectory within capitalism remains under-specified.

Essential ground has been broken in a range of disciplines such as feminist geography (as noted in Domosh & Seager 2001); sociology and post-colonial theory (Bannerji 2004; 2001; 2000; 1995; Razak 2002) Women's Studies (Mohanty 2004 - among others) but the rollback of gains by feminist and anti-racist struggles in the West, and the ever-pressing need for political action has made the task much more difficult. Social theorist Angela Davis, for instance, is focused on writing specifically in support of political campaigns on the US prison industrial complex. Still others have been diverted by the cultural turn, or have retreated from theory to emphasize empirical research. This is evident in the plethora of documentary research on the manifestations of racialized urban segregation. And the issues raised by early 1980s socialist-feminist debate on the connection between patriarchy and capitalism symbolized by Heidi Hartmann and Iris Marion Young have long since fallen by the wayside. There are still marked separations between anti-racist and feminist thinkers. Some Euro-American feminists are attentive to the materiality of gender oppression but many treat 'race' analysis as an afterthought.

Capitalism is clearly the visibly hegemonic system of our time. As such, our theorizations must take into account how the logic and processes of profit making, commodity production and labour exploitation are privileged over all other forms of social interaction. But capitalism also relies on pre-existing social hierarchies of patriarchy and racist imperialism which it has submerged but not dismantled. Social

wealth and value is created in more ways than capitalists concede. Labour, production, reproduction, culture, and social relations outside the direct pursuit of profit through commodity production are equally critical to the accumulation process and the human survival it depends on.

The tendency amongst European and masculinist readings of Marx to reproduce these capitalist occlusions and ideological subordinations is a form of willful avoidance. It keeps Marxists bound to economics and industrial production as the determinant of social formation, and precludes serious consideration of the oppressions and possibilities contained in the daily lives and activities of a majority of the world's population who are exiled, marginalized or disconnected from a role in the formal economy. Ignoring the value generated in informal and privatized arenas sabotages the possibility of creating a vision of alternative paths for society.

By leaving intact the divisions which capitalism has created and exacerbated, we lose sight of the historical process by which people have been, and continue to be separated from their means of survival, and from each other, and how this in turn makes capitalist hegemony possible. Ignoring historically and geographically etched segregations, or insisting on the materiality of one manifestation, while reducing others to being cultural artifacts, only serves to deepen the ideological obscuring of the full picture of social relations. Re-linking people and arenas of life displaced from each other is a political act of resistance. For all of Harvey's insistence on the importance of maintaining

a perspective on the 'totality' of society (1996: 63-68), his selective emphasis on class

and political economy ultimately serve to undermine it.

I would argue that, as twin preconditions of capitalism's dominance, racism and

patriarchy are equally important sites of its undoing. In this, the economic dynamics of

Harvey's urban analysis, detangled from its class chauvinism, is one important pillar on

which to build an intersectional theory. His dialectical, historical and geographic

materialist approach opens the door to understanding how space anchors social relations

and shapes them. The applications of Harvey's ideas go far beyond the boundaries of his

own work.

Harvey's Contribution to Urban Marxism

While he was in Baltimore in the early 1970s, Harvey began the task of

constructing an analysis of urban space using Marx's theories of capitalist accumulation.

In the two decades between the publication of *Social Justice and the City*, his first book

incorporating Marx into an analysis of cities, and his work in *The Urban Experience* in

the late 1980s, Harvey honed his urban theory. Through numerous articles and texts he

explored the relationships between urban social processes, urban development in the built

environment and ideas on the capitalist production process. As well as his reading of

Marx, he drew on his schooling in neoclassical economics and location theories, as well

as the Marxist urbanist ideas of Henri Lefebvre. The result is detailed Marxist political-

economic analysis of urban space.

Harvey was by no means the first, or for that matter, the only intellectual to attempt a marriage of Marxism and theories of space and urban development, but his work has achieved an unmatched level of detail, complexity and influence. As Lefebvre scholar Stefan Kipfer, puts it:

> Harvey's major contribution is to have put Lefebvre's more narrow, specifically political economic hypotheses on a more sophisticated footing. (Kipfer 2003: 72)

Andy Merrifield, a former student of Harvey's and author of *MetroMarxism,* concurs:

> Harvey has made an incredible contribution to Marxist theory here, and to geography and urban studies… He had woven space and space-time relations into Marx's historical materialist cannon while at the same time giving it an urban bent, adding political and economic clout to urban geography and Marxian political economy respectively. (Merrifield 2002: 144)

Harvey appears to have affected a double manoeuvre in his urban theoretical work. He has extended and evolved the work Marx began in Capital Volumes One, Two and Three, by bringing the dimension of space and geography to Marx's historical and time-based analysis of capitalism and social development, while, at the same time remaining squarely within the Marxist tradition. Others, such as Manuel Castells, who began with a Marxist analysis of urban processes at the same time as Harvey (Merrifield 2002: 133), have long-since pulled up the Marxist anchor and sailed into new analytical territory. But Harvey has remained quintessentially Marxian (Merrifield 2004: 145). He does not however, see Marx's work as theoretically complete. As he says:

> In my case I turned to Marxist meta-theory in the early 1970s in part because I found (and still find) it the most powerful of all the explanatory schemas available. It had the potentiality - largely unrealized in actual work – to get at matters as diverse as built environment formation and architectural design, street culture and micro-politics, urban economy and politics as well as the role of urbanization in the rich

and complex historical geography of capitalism. (Harvey 1989: 3)

In his quest to fill in the 'empty boxes' of Marxist theory (1989: 4) Harvey has been intellectually innovative, but he has never departed from Marx's understanding of accumulation and class struggle as the twin driving forces of the capitalist system (1989: 59).

By forwarding a materialist analysis of urban land use patterns Harvey played an important role in counteracting the social Darwinist assumptions of the urban ecologists of the Chicago school (Park et. al. 1925). This group of urban theorists saw ghettos as formed by cultural preference, and thereby naturalized the racialized divisions emerging in American cities (Harvey 1973: 130-1). Harvey used the approach developed by Engels in *The Condition of the English Working Class in 1844*, which in his view "is far more consistent with hard economic and social realities than was the essentially cultural approach of Park and Burgess"(1973: 133). Far from a matter of choice, ghettos are formed because poor people are subject to competitive bidding in the land market, exclusive zoning, lack of transportation access, and the lifestyle preferences of the rich. All of these factors conspire to force poor, immigrant and racialized into untenable choices and ultimately, into costly and/or overcrowded living conditions. Whether these communities are in the city centre or periphery depends on the history of the particular city or nation, but in either instance the poor pay a high price for housing and transportation.

Consistent with his overall approach, Harvey emphasized economic forces as the root causes of ghetto formation noting that, "…although all serious analysts concede the seriousness of the ghetto problem, few call into question the forces which rule the very heart of our economic system" (144). His account is based on Engels' key insight that ghettoized housing conditions do not get solved in the capitalist city, they simply get shunted from one place to another.

> In reality the bourgeoisie has only one method of solving the housing question after its fashion - that is to say, of solving it in such a way that the solution continually reproduces the question anew... The scandalous alleys disappear to the accompaniment of lavish self-praise from the bourgeoisie on account of this tremendous success, but they appear again immediately somewhere else and often in the immediate neighborhood! The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere! The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place produces them in the next place also. (Engels as cited in Harvey 2000: 14)

Of course, by relying almost exclusively on economic theory, Harvey reduces the history of ghetto formation into a class question and thereby leaves the role of racism largely unexplained.

In the next section, I outline Harvey's theory of the production of urban space with a view to assessing its relevance to racialized and gendered divisions in Western urban space. This discussion may appear unduly abstracted but the intention is to unravel the mechanisms that produce the complex bundle of relationships of contemporary urbanism. This is necessary for an intellectual and, ultimately, political quest to transform cities into arenas of equality and hope.
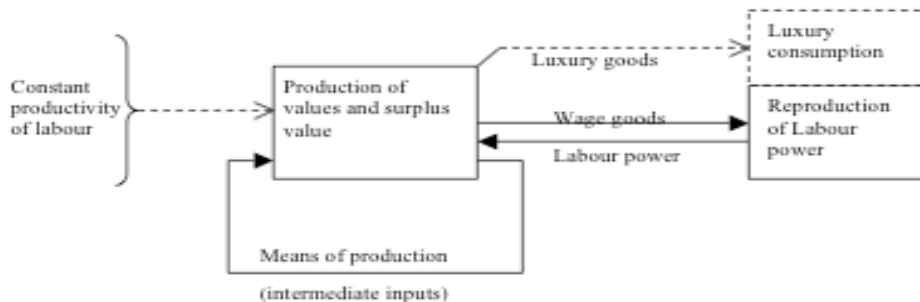
Harvey's Theory of Urban Space Production

> Capital, Marx insists, must be conceived of as a process not reified as a thing. The study of urbanization is the study of that process as it unfolds through the production of physical and social landscapes and the production of distinctive ways of thinking and acting among people who live in towns and cities. The study of urbanization is not the study of a legal, political entity or of a physical artifact. It should be concerned with processes of capital circulation; the shifting flows of labour power, commodities, and capital; the spatial organization of production and the transformation of time-space relations; movements of information; geopolitical conflicts between territorially-based class alliances; and so on. (Harvey 1989: 6)

Harvey's analysis of the production of urban space revolves around the movement of capital through circuits that produce, distribute, and reproduce capital surpluses in various forms. In line with Marx, Harvey places the production of commodities at the heart of the system as the primary circuit of capitalist accumulation and profit generation. The production process is, in Marxist theory, the main engine of capitalism. Surplus value is generated through the expropriation of labour power in combination with money, equipment, raw materials, energy etc., in the process of creating commodities for exchange in the market (Harvey 1989: 17-18).

In this industrially centered model the labor time of workers is the critical factor in creating profits. These are, in turn, re-invested to reproduce the production cycle and ensure its continued expansion. Regular improvements that increase productivity through refinements in divisions of labour and changes in the work process, constant upgrades to machinery, and other technological innovations are also a crucial part of capitalism's growth cycle. Time, as Marx pointed out, is a central feature in this growth as ever-faster turnover of production produces greater rates of profit in a given year, creating ever-

increasing levels of wealth through perpetual growth (Harvey 1989: 17-18). Harvey

sketches a diagram (figure 1) to show the elements of the primary circuit of capital as

Marx described in the second volume of Capital:

Fig.1.
The relations considered in Marx's representation of "reproduction on and expanded scale" from Capital Vol. 2
(Source: David Harvey 1989: 63)

In Harvey's view, the way capital circulates is as critical to its growth cycle as the

fact that surpluses are generated in the first place. He enlarges the circulation from

Marx's *primary circuit* to incorporate the dimension of space. In doing so he

demonstrates how the built environment of cities produces and is produced within capital

production and reproduction processes (1989: 59-89). Harvey adds *secondary and*

tertiary circuits to Marx's model to spell out the role of long term investments in urban

space, physical and industrial infrastructure, buildings, scientific innovation, as well as

reproduction in the system of capital circulation. This makes visible the links between

industrial production and non-industrial processes in cities, and uncovers how they work

together to ensure the continued viability of the system, through the organization of time,

space, classes and social relationships.

The second circuit of capital accumulation is where Harvey locates capital that is fixed through urban investments which serve industrial and domestic cycles: land, housing, and buildings, as well as all-important infrastructure such as transportation and communication. These ensure that capital can speed up in time and be mobile and expansionary in space. This aspect of Harvey's thesis is a direct extension of Lefebvre's idea:

> Real estate functions as a second sector, a circuit that runs parallel to that of industrial production, which serves the non-durable assets market, or at least those that are less durable than buildings. This second sector serves as a buffer. It is where capital flows in the event of a depression, although enormous profits soon slow to a trickle. In this sector there are few 'multipliers', few spin-offs. Capital is tied up in real estate. Although the overall economy (so-called domestic economy) soon begins to suffer, the role and function of this continue to grow. As the principal circuit – current industrial production and the moveable property that results – begins to slow down, capital shifts to the second sector, real estate. (Lefebvre 2003: 159-60)

Lefebvre located *urbanism* at the intersection of the first and second circuits of capital saying that, even though its role has been obscured by virtue of this position, the *second circuit* is poised to become the dominant form of accumulation after industrial capitalism. Writing in 1970, he noted that capital investments in the built environment are fast becoming the most important means of surplus/profit generation, eclipsing industrial commodity production and shifting *urbanism* with all its contradictions, instabilities and possibilities, into the centre of the system (Lefebvre 2003). But Harvey departs company with Lefebvre here. Kipfer describes Harvey's relationship to Lefebvre's thesis:

> Harvey was intrigued by Lefebvre's notion that in the process of urbanization, a secondary circuit of real estate investment becomes increasingly important, producing distinct patterns of spatial homogenization and differentiation so characteristic of postwar metropolitan areas. However, Harvey conceived the ascendance of this secondary circuit not as a secular trend (overtaking the primary, industrial circuit in importance, as Lefebvre suggested) but as a cyclical process of expansion and contraction synchronized with industrial dynamics of growth and
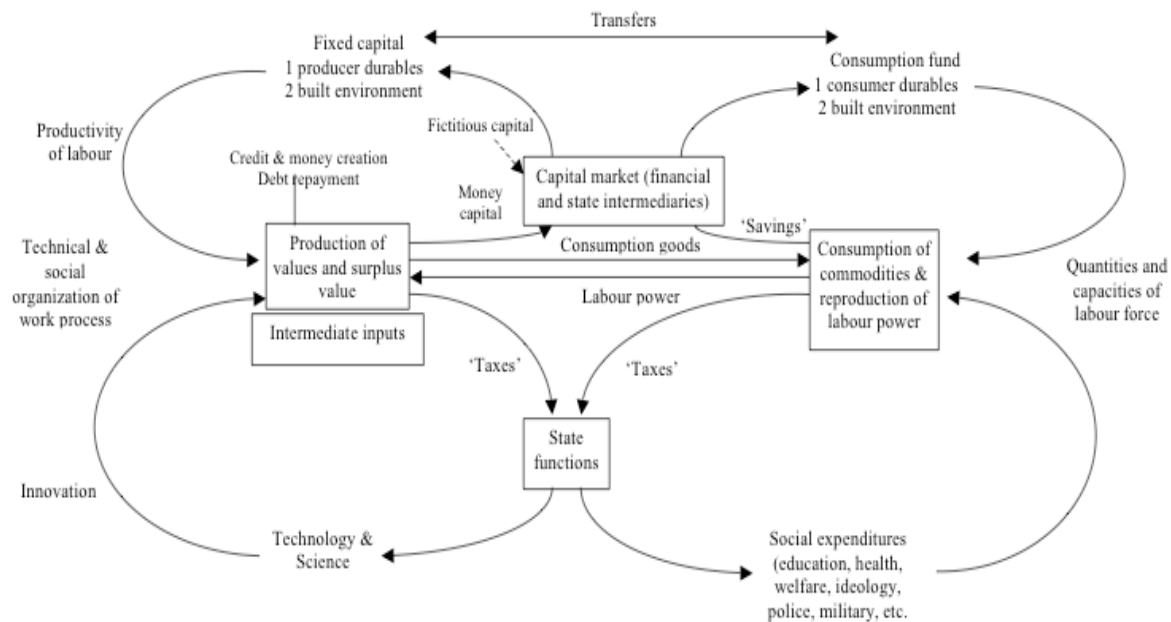
crisis. (Kipfer 2003: 66-7)

Rejecting Lefebvre's idea that there is a shift towards a new mode of accumulation positioned in urbanism, Harvey nonetheless elaborates the role of the built environment while retaining Marx's focus on production as the main vehicle for capitalist accumulation. However, whether or not one agrees with Harvey's stance in this regard, he cannot be viewed as a simplistic or reductionist Marxist, fixated only on production. Harvey has challenged orthodox Marxism to go beyond its limited frame. Expanding Marxist ideas of the reproduction of capital to take account of distribution, and its role and function within the overall circulation and accumulation of capital has been a centerpiece of Harvey's argument for a broader view of capital's field of operation. It is through this extension that Harvey eloquently incorporates patterns of consumption into the urban process.

> The spatial division of consumption is as important to the urban process as is the spatial division of labour – the qualities of New York, Paris and Rome as well as the internal organization of these and other cities could not be understood without consideration of such phenomena. This is, however, a theme that remains under-explored in Marxian theory, in part because of the tendency to focus exclusively on production because it is the hegemonic moment in the circulation of capital. (Harvey 1989: 21)

To get a bird's eye view of Harvey's system of capital circulation we can look to Harvey's diagram of this process (see figure 2 on page 46). Conceding that his two-dimensional representation may look 'highly 'functionalist' and perhaps overly simple in structure (1989: 61), Harvey argues it nonetheless provides a useful overall picture of his arguments on the movement of capital, and of the mechanisms which facilitate and support accumulation.

Figure 2. David Harvey's structure of the relations between the primary, secondary, and tertiary circuits of capital
(Source: Harvey 1989: 67)

For Harvey, capital accumulation is based in the flow of labour, finance and commodities through three circuits. Functioning together, these circuits ensure both the continued reproduction of the capitalist system on an ever-expanding scale, and its ability to survive cyclical crises. Capital switches in and out of the primary circuit of production and flows into investments in land, buildings and infrastructure, as well as social institutions and systems of coercion and control, and science and innovation. The triggers for these switches are habitual crises caused by overaccumulation of capital with no viable outlet for productive investment. According to Marx these crises are endemic within capitalism because of inherent contradictions within the capitalist class. The perpetual tension between the goal of individual capitalists to make a maximum profit in

the shortest time, with the fewest barriers, ultimately undermines the need of the capitalist class to safeguard and reproduce the system as a whole.

Left to their own devices, individual capitalists will engage in ever-accelerating profit-making avoiding any diversions of time or capital into the infrastructures, landscapes and social control mechanisms that support production and the reproduction of labour and importantly, protect the class from rebellion and dissent. As Harvey points out "individual capitalists tend to overaccumulate in the first circuit and under-invest in the secondary circuit" (1989: 65).

Overaccumulation of capital becomes a crisis because of the system's tendency to generate more surpluses than there are profitable sites for their productive investment. Left uncorrected, this will cause a slowdown in production, and create overaccumulation of labour in the form of mass unemployment or underemployment. This in turn jeopardizes the cycle as the population's buying power goes down thus lowering the demand for the commodities, which pile up, overaccumulate, and become devalued in the marketplace.

To keep the growth curve turned perpetually upwards capital must constantly find fresh sites for productive investment. Deferring the problem through geographical expansion into new locations expands the cycle, and investments in the built environment, infrastructure, and machinery spreads capital out over space and time. As Harvey says:

> Much of the history of capitalism can be written around this theme of the production and absorption of capital and labour surpluses…the tendency towards overaccumulation poses the problem of how to absorb or dispose of these surpluses without the devaluation or destruction of capital and labour power. This tension between the need to produce and to absorb surpluses of both capital and labour power lies at the root of capitalism's dynamic. It also provides a powerful link to the history of capitalist urbanization. (Harvey 1989: 23)

The compulsion towards capitalist growth is so strong that, if threatened through a piling up of any one element of the process, the entire system threatens to fold back into itself and collapse. Urban investments in physical and social infrastructures are crucial to the ability of capitalism to survive its crises.

> Investment in the built environment therefore entails the creation of a whole physical landscape for purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. (Harvey 1989: 64)

But capitalism has proven itself to be remarkably resilient and cities have been a vital part of the system's ability to boost itself forward. Built structures and things that have relatively long use-value such as durable goods, hard infrastructure and the commercial and residential buildings that make up urban environments, displace overaccumulated capital so that it finds a productive outlet without immediate return which would only exacerbate the overaccumulation problem. But the 'fix' that capital creates for its cyclical crises, by storing itself in time and space, is a temporary one. Harvey points out spatio-temporal fixes and fixed investments are antithetical to the mobility capital depends on for its circulation (1989: 41, 144), and over time they become obstacles in the path of accumulation. Since buildings and other urban infrastructures can't be moved without destroying their value they are forcibly devalued to clear the path for fresh accumulation. Harvey draws here from the conservative economist Joseph

Schumpeter who coined the term *creative destruction* in the forties in his analysis of capital as necessarily a dynamic and innovative process.

In Figure 2 (page 46) the upper half of the diagram represents Harvey's articulation of the *second circuit* of capital. This second circuit is divided into two aspects – *fixed Capital* on the left and the *consumption fund* on the right. Fixed capital is that which is used in production as in factory buildings and machinery used in the accumulation process, while the consumption fund is made up of houses and domestic equipment such as washing machines, stoves etc. Transportation, communications and other aspects of urban infrastructure are used for both production and consumption.

The third or 'tertiary' circuit of capital is represented in two rings of the lower half of figure 2. The left side shows how investments in innovations through science and technology circle back to increase the productivity of machinery, technical inputs and labour organization in the primary circuit. Social spending that ensures the reproduction and capacity of the labour force as well as the maintenance of social control is represented on the right. It is in this arena of social expenditures that Harvey locates public institutions, and these have two roles. First, they are geared towards social control aimed at the cooptation and/ or repression of social dissent through various combinations of ideological and repressive force. Secondly, social and public institutions also improve the quality and skills of the labour force by educating, training, providing healthcare and/or other necessary social services.

Capital switches from one circuit to another with the help of the state, the capital market, finance capital and developers. Each player has its own character and interests, but they work in tandem as managers of capital flows.

> A general condition for the flow of capital into the secondary circuit is, therefore, the existence of a functioning capital market, and perhaps, a state willing to finance and guarantee long-term, large-scale projects with respect to the creation of the built environment… This switch of resources cannot be accomplished without a money supply and credit system that creates fictitious capital in advance of actual production and consumption…Since the production of money and credit is a relatively autonomous process, we have to conceive of the financial and state institutions controlling the process as a kind of collective nerve center governing and mediating the relations between the primary and secondary circuits of capital. (Harvey 1989: 65)

Although Harvey concedes a relative autonomy for financial systems he does not see them as capable of generating value. In his theory of land rents, rentiers and landowners do not generate capital value independent of the production system. As per Marx's theory land is a pure financial asset in which labour is the element that gives land its value after rent managers bring it into the productive process. Like any other form of credit or fictitious capital, Harvey argues that land value lies in the promise of gains through its future application in the labour-production process (1989: 92). This inscribes a hierarchical relationship between the first and second circuits (1989: 97). And it appears to be key to Harvey's disagreement with Lefebvre's thesis that urbanism, as the next form of accumulation after industrialism, lies in the space between the first and second circuit. Harvey says the wealth accumulation based on land and the relative autonomy of rentiers and landowners ended with the rise of capitalism (1989: 104). I will return to this point and its significance in the latter part of this paper.

The state directs public revenues into investments in both the second and tertiary circuits. As well as financing and underwriting large-scale investments into transportation infrastructures, public buildings and housing in the second sector, the state has been central in construction of the educational, health and welfare, ideological, social and law enforcement institutions of the tertiary circuit. The extent and nature of investments into the tertiary circuit of fields of social control and reproduction, however, is far from mechanical or automatic. Again Harvey sees this sector as having a relative autonomy in so far as the particular mix of investments in social welfare, direct repression and coercion is determined by the history, politics and social dynamics of a given urban region.

> Since the state can become a field of active class struggle, the mediations that are accomplished by no means fit exactly with the requirements of the capitalist class. The role of the state requires careful theoretical and historical elaboration in relation to the organization of capital flows into the tertiary circuit. (Harvey 1989: 66)

The local state is therefore not a simple reflection of the interests of the ruling class. Accordingly, the nature and patterning of cities and city space is based as much on urban socio-political tensions as on economic imperatives. Harvey sees urban politics as relatively porous and, by definition, subject to local multi-class alliances which form to create and maintain the 'structured coherence' within any given urban region.

> At the heart of that coherence lies a particular technological mix – understood not simply as hardware but as organizational forms – and a dominant set of social relations. Together these define models of consumption as well as of the labour process. The coherence embraces the standard of living, the qualities and styles of life, work satisfactions (or lack thereof), social hierarchies [], and whole set of sociological and psychological attitudes towards, working, living, enjoying and the like…. coherence also spawns a distinctive urban politics. (Harvey 1989: 140)

Structured coherence of urban space in Harvey's view is a tense equilibrium of production, consumption, and reproduction relations in any given urban region. Urban class alliances with a wide range of actors are a necessary part of urban politics. These alliances are inherently unstable since the participants can, and often do, pull in different directions to pursue their conflicting self-interests (1989: 150). But a relative balance is maintained by a mutual desire among all to create a viable urban region that can survive the ravages of interurban competition. The underlying tensions do however prevent a simple one-way transfer of political power and decision-making and this is crucial to the relative openness of urban politics to cross-class participation and contestation.

> [Class] alliances, like the structured coherence they reflect, are unstable because competition, accumulation and technological change disrupt on the one hand what they tend to produce on the other. Here lies a space within which a relative autonomous urban politics can arise. That relative autonomy fits only too well into the geographical dynamics of accumulation and class struggle. (Harvey 1989: 126).

Harvey is not, however, suggesting that urban politics transcend the divides created by structured access to power. On the contrary, his view is that inequalities are created by, and reproduced within, the uneven terrain of local contests over social, economic and political advantages.

> The way in which the spatial form of an urban system changes [] will partly be a function of the way in which groups form, bargain with each other and take collective action over the positioning of the various externality fields which will affect their real income… The realities of political power being what they are, the rich groups will probably thereby grow richer and the poor groups will thereby be deprived. It seems that the current real income distribution in a city system must be viewed as the 'predictable outcome of the political process'. Any attempt to understand the mechanisms generating inequalities in income must, therefore involve an understanding of the political processes which operate in a city. (1973: 72-73)

Harvey's ideas of economic imperatives and their relationship to spatial and social circuits, and politics in urban regions are much more detailed and complex than this necessarily short précis can reflect. I have tried here to highlight the relevant aspects of his core ideas so as to provide a ground for looking at how Harvey's political economic analysis of capitalist urban dynamics is related to, and imbricated with patriarchal and racial imperialist processes.

The next part of the chapter will be devoted to introducing some of the gender, 'race' and class dimensions into these urban circuits. Despite Harvey's inattention to these, I will show that they are both embedded in, and actively structure, the lived reality of the urban process. I will look at how they, and the patriarchal and racist-imperialist processes in which they are anchored, make and are in turn made by, the urban landscape. I also discuss the players and mechanisms of accumulation through the production process, the process of accumulation by dispossession and the gendered and racialized contours of Harvey's urban circuits through a reformulated, non-hierarchical perspective.

Mapping Gender and Race onto Harvey's Circuits of Capital

Following the ontology proposed by Bannerji, I take the view that the individual circuits elaborated by Harvey are mutually constitutive components of a 'social' whole. This forms the ground for the following discussion. As Bannerji says:

> I assume 'the social' to be an overall complex of socio-historical and cultural formation brought into being through finite and specific social relations, organizations and institutions. These are not mechanical relations/ structures but are mediated, articulated, expressive forms of consciousness. Here signifying and communicative practices are intrinsic moments of social ontology. (Bannerji 2001)

In reformulating Harvey's diagram to address the 'social' I unmask some of the patriarchal, racist/imperialist and capitalist historical processes which flow through all circuits in inextricable combinations of money, labour, resources, political power, bodies and discourses.

Harvey's recent discussion of capitalist imperialism cites Arrighi's definition of two distinct but intertwined logics at play within the system: *capitalist* logic, and *territorial* logic. The former is ruled by the profit motive of individual capitalists, and the state's collective territorial interests shaped by politicians and other public leaders drive the latter:

> The fundamental point is to see the territorial and the capitalist logics of power as distinct from one another. Yet it is also undeniable that the two logics intertwine in complex and sometimes contradictory ways (Harvey 2003: 27-36).

Harvey is specifically referring here to the political logic of imperialism versus the economic logic of capitalist accumulation. However, my reformulation goes beyond this dual paradigm. I argue that the concept of territorial logic should be extended in two ways. First, by acknowledging that finance capitalists, and not just nation-states are the purveyors of this logic. In no small way, the interests of banking and finance capital are directly implicated in the drive for state and political territorial expansion as is evident in the economic globalization of recent decades. Second, and more important for this discussion, I propose that territorial logic also encompasses the spatial dimension of social relations, on which Harvey's own theorization of the urban process rests.

Territorial logic can therefore be understood as operating on multiple scales, and for our purposes here, specifically the urban. This also helps to clarify the link between urban processes of Harvey's urban second circuit, and the geographic expansion involved in imperialism. Although this is not a view advanced by Harvey, I see this as an extension of his argument that cities and colonies are both spatio-temporal fixes as well as geographical sites for the diffusion of capitalist surpluses (1989: 33). Historian Carl Nightingale traces the resonances between urban and colonial processes in both the North and South. These are explored at greater length in the discussion of the racialized dimensions of the second circuit later in chapter.

Finally, I submit that there is a crucial third logic centered on the human body, which accounts for the subjugation of whole physical, emotional and cultural personhood, and social being of racialized and gendered subjects within a racist patriarchal order. We can provisionally call this a *corporeal* logic enforced by the state, organized religion and heads of families (Seccombe 1992: 24). This logic does not rest on a biological or essentialist notion of the body. Rather I am using the term corporeal in line with Michel Foucault's argument that "a 'natural' body does not exist even as biological attributes are socially constructed..." (McDowell 1999: 49). Feminist political scientist Iris Marion Young locates this corporeality in a socio-historical frame and calls it "the mechanism of cultural imperialism" that

> … constructs dominant and inferior groups. Bodily distinctions are crucially important in the production of inferiority as dominated groups are defined as nothing but their bodies, and seen as imprisoned in an undesirable body, whereas the dominant groups occupy an unmarked neutral, universal and disembodied position, which is white and masculine by default. (McDowell 1999: 48)

Politicians, governments and, social service professionals in the masculinist public realm control and regulate social and biological reproduction, the criminal justice system, the military, and the movements, expressions, desires and needs of bodies in social space. Men bolstered by religious and family institutions enforce this logic in the private realms of home and community. And entrepreneurs enforce a corporeal logic in the economic realm as they market the body through various forms of human commodification, trafficking (Domosh & Seager 2001) and biopiracy (Harvey 2003).

It is my contention that these *capitalist*, *territorial*, and *corporeal* logics, dialectically constitute the hegemony of a patriarchal, white supremacist, imperialist urban capitalism. Locating these processes within the circuits of capital is undeniably complex. And it is important to resist the temptation to simplify the task by creating artificial and reified separations between their spheres of operation. In this regard I agree with Bannerji's previously cited critique of such practices.

> [I]n spite of the lip service paid to the need for reflexive social theorization… we have a thriving theory industry among both Marxists and neo-Marxists which ruptures the integrity of the social organization, considering the social to be a sum of differently constructed and regulated parts. (Bannerji 2001)

In contrast to this tendency, I will excavate these logics of power and the ways they, to various degrees, are active in all three circuits. Similarly, the state, industrial capitalists, landed capital, financial capital, male family authorities, religious and social institutions form an ensemble of forces regulating, organizing and coordinating these logics within the unpredictability of everyday social relations. Accordingly, the configuration of these relations is distinct and varies with the history of the specific time

and place in question. In this sense the underlying terrain of control and the particularities

of resistance and difference are as inseparable as they are distinct. Harvey makes sense of

this apparent contradiction by applying quantum theory to his discussion of the dialectical

process:

> Quantum theory, for example, has the same entity (e.g. an electron) behaving under
> one set of circumstances as a wave, and in another set of circumstances as a particle
> []. Since matter and energy are interchangeable, neither one nor the other can be
> prioritized as an exclusive focus of enquiry. (Harvey 1996: 50)

In light of this, we can acknowledge that capitalist logic is most directly

operationalized in the primary circuit of capital, while territorial and spatial organization

is specifically facilitated through the secondary circuit, and gendered and racialized

corporeal control is largely organized through the tertiary circuit, without losing sight of

their mutual embeddedness. In lived reality, the circuits that Harvey has identified can be

more accurately described as 'social' as in Bannerji's usage of the term, rather than solely

as paths of 'capital' flows.

Similarly, distinct forms of urbanism across the Euro-American world have social

circuits anchored in both production and dispossession as underlying modes of

accumulation. When crises in capitalist production escalate, they in turn heighten and

highlight the role of accumulation by dispossession in Western urbanism, where

predatory forms of accumulation are becoming central to capitalist growth under

neoliberalism. The rising prominence of land grabs, financial speculation and real estate

'bubbles,' is shifting the weight of accumulation to the second circuit. Indeed 21st century

Western societies may well be unfolding according to Lefebvre's prediction of an urban

revolution, but it is a far more gendered, racialized and imperialist urbanism than he articulated.

The Primary Circuit – Racial and Gendered Organization of Labour

Harvey's primary circuit is based on Marx's elaboration of the trajectory of capital through the production process. In this mode surpluses or profits are derived from the application of living labour power to machinery, technology and resources for the production of commodities. The class formations and relations that arise from this process create ongoing tensions based in the fundamental conflict between the differing interests of capitalists and workers as well as the unequal power relationships between them. This arena of class struggle, located within the system of commodity production is, in Marxist terms, the heart of capitalism as the hegemonic social system since the industrial revolution.

But class is not homogenous. It is mediated by forces of history and geography and is internally structured by processes of patriarchy and racist imperialism. Bannerji addresses the tendency among Marxists to render class in essentialist terms:

> …let us try to imagine "class" or class politics without these forms and content. This would amount to understanding class as solely an abstraction, without the constituting particularities of gender and 'race.' One could also fall into the danger of treating it as an essential form of identity separate from gender and race… But a concrete organization of class is impossible minus historical, cultural, sexual and political relations. Without these social mediations, formative moments, or converging determinations, the concrete organization of class as a historical and social form would not be possible. Marx points this out in *Grundrisse* when he speaks of the concrete as the convergence of many determinations. (Bannerji 1995: 30-31)

Harvey acknowledges that class is not an undifferentiated category. He spells out social divisions along three lines: the relations between capital and labour – which he designates as primary; divisions of labour and specialization of functions as in consumption patterns, life-style, authority relations – which he regards as secondary; and the leftover divides from previous social formations and imperialist conquests, he classifies as tertiary. Not only are these categorizations hierarchically organized, they are rendered in gender-neutral terms. Racialization is discussed but in very limited ways. It is either positioned as an ideological force that serves to depoliticize and divide the working class (1989: 116-7), or as a residual hangover of outmoded social arrangements:

> Residual elements may disappear with time or be so transformed that they are unrecognizable. But they can also persist… Landlordism, preserved in capitalist form, or a group subjected to neocolonial domination and transformed into a relatively permanent underclass (blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos in the United States for example) are the kinds of features in a social configuration that have to be explained in terms of the residual forces of class structuration. (Harvey 1989:113)

Harvey's acknowledgement of colonization as the root of modern day racialization is unfortunately eclipsed by his consignment of racism to the status of an echo. The obvious implication is that it is of more relevance to past, rather than present, social configurations. This double intellectual shuffle allows him to retain a fundamentally generic view of the industrial proletariat and circumvent the question of why racialization has such persistent power and presence. His discussion of occupational segregation and discrimination in the organization of urban labour markets takes a similar tone:

> Segmentations may exist in which certain kids of jobs are reserved for certain kinds of workers (white males, women, racial minorities, recent immigrants, ethnic groups, etc)…. Internal adjustments in patterns of segmentation (the tightening or relaxation of discriminatory barriers between the races and sexes)... can also give

greater flexibility to urban labour markets. (Harvey 1998: 128, 130)

Analyzing discriminatory segmentation within the organization of labour in the primary circuit without exploring why and how race and gender divisions become the social cleavages of choice, in effect represses a critical line of inquiry. But Harvey is not alone in this. Mainstream feminist labour economists too, have had extensive discussions of the institutional structure of dual or segmented labour markets arising from gender and race discrimination, but their approach largely stops at documentation and description. This lack of theorization leaves unexplained the reasons why large numbers of women and racialized people are the ones who end up in the secondary labour force (McDowell 1999: 131).

So how is class structured by race and gender and how are these divides manifested in the primary circuit of urban capitalism? I briefly outline out three main divisions raised by feminist and anti-racist scholars: 1) segmentation of the labour market; 2) the reserve army of labour; and 3) the rise of a flexible, contingent and increasingly exiled labour force.

Labour market segmentation along race and gender lines is an empirically verified reality of Western cities (Domosh & Seager 2001; Khosla 2003; McDowell 1999; Sassen 2001). Occupational segregation, wage differentials, hours of work; security of tenure, and conditions of employment are among the deeply etched divides within paid work.

According to critical race scholar Randolph Persaud slavery, indentureship, and modern labour migration show how the creation of surplus labour power has been tied to racialization. His analysis reveals that the capitalist logic of labour exploitation is jointly driven by the territorial and corporeal logics of racist imperialism and patriarchy:

> …the cultural history of the modern global division of labour and of specific social formations within the world system has constructed labour market hierarchies which are essentially defined by race and ethnicity. Race and ethnicity combined with gender, therefore, are *generative* of the patterns of labour practice, that is to say, who does what, where, the rewards that appertain, and the worth conferred on particular kinds of labour activity. (Persaud in Bakker & Gill eds. 2003: 129)

The gendered and racialized nature of the reserve army of labour is another means by which women and people of colour are factored into the control of labour supplies in the primary circuit. Marxist feminists have long argued that women are consigned to reserve army status within the labour force (McDowell 1999:132). Marx himself made a reference to the use of women as replacement labour in his description of the industrial reserve army (Marx in Tucker 1978: 425). Thus in early feminist theorizations women were identified as the 'last hired and first fired' from paid work.

The massive influx of large numbers of white Western women into wartime industries during the forties that prefaced their subsequent forced retirement to suburban homes in the 1950s is a stark historical illustration of this phenomenon. Women of colour have always been active as workers, but the overall female labour force has steadily grown to represent nearly half of the paid workforce over the past fifty years. However, the relationship for many remains a precarious one as the flexible economy once again reduces many to precarious, contingent, part-time and low wage work.

In Harvey's recent discussion on imperialism, the reserve army, and the massive unemployment it involves, operates as an effective 'outside' force which capitalism depends on to depress wages and cheapen inputs in the productive system. Where the territorial logic of power seeks spatio temporal fixes to diffuse crises of capital overaccumulation, the capitalist logic of power stimulates the use of low cost labour from the reserve army to keep the production system profitable in times of stagnant demand. In this way it becomes a bridge for accumulation by dispossession to overlap into the centre of commodity production (Harvey 2003: 138-141).

Persaud distinguishes the reserve army as surplus labour that is concentrated in close geographic proximity to potential work opportunities. It is also differentiated from the rest of the labour force by its limited access to social citizenship and its precarious economic status:

> In this instance there is an *immigrant pool* of labourers who constitute a flexible reserve of labour, living close to the places where their services are usually required. The immigrant pool may be delineated also on the basis of their conditions of entry, stability of residence, legal status, property ownership and political representation. (Persaud in Bakker & Gill eds. 2003: 132)

This spatial dimension makes the reserve army thesis particularly important in the understanding of inequalities within the labour structures of Western urban regions.

Marx saw the industrial reserve army as a "condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production… that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost" (Marx in Tucker 1978: 423). In some cities, large sections of this reserve

pool are effectively pushed out of any formal relationship to the paid labour force. As

Harvey points out, Marx's notion of capital breeding its own reserve army is fast

becoming a reality through the growing expulsion of workers through technologically

induced unemployment:

> …capitalism does indeed require something 'outside itself' to accumulate. but in the
> last case it actually throws workers out of the system at one point in order to have
> them to hand for purposes of accumulation at a later point in time….we might say
> capitalism necessarily and always creates its own 'other'. (Harvey 2003: 141)

Although Harvey does not identify it as such, this 'other' is as race-based and

gendered as the term implies. Unemployment and underemployment rates among women

and people of colour in the West are far above those of men of European backgrounds

(Khosla 2003; Bakker & Gill 2003: Koffman 1995; Fincher & Jacobs 1998).

With the advent of neoliberalism, a third and more pernicious gendered and

racialized relationship to the production process has emerged – the creation of a flexible

and contingent labour force. Persaud notes that racialized and gendered divisions of

labour are increasing in the present era as immigrant and female labour is used to afford

capitalists greater control over the labour process, as well as ensure a steady supply of

ultra low-wage and flexible labour (Bakker & Gill eds. 2003: 125-6). As intersectional

feminist Chandra Mohanty argues:

> Women workers of a particular caste/class, race, and economic status are necessary
> to the operation of the capitalist global economy. Women are not only the preferred
> candidates for particular jobs, but particular kinds of women – poor, One Third and
> Two-thirds World, working class, and immigrant/migrant women- are the preferred
> workers in these global "flexible" temporary job markets. The documented increase

in the migration of poor One Third/ Two-Thirds World[2] women in search of labour across national borders has led to a rise in the international "maid trade" [] and in international sex trafficking and tourism. (Mohanty 2003: 245-6)

All of these go to show that so-called 'residual' social relationships of race and gender that concretize class divisions are not ghosts of past eras or social forms. They are defining features of the continued active operation of accumulation by dispossession within the heart of capitalist production. The secondary status, segregation and expulsion of women and people of colour in the 'free' labour economy are hence not chance or natural occurrences, but rather the expression of mutually embedded racist-imperialist and patriarchal social divisions. They are also created by insidious territorial and corporeal logics of power in their interplay with the more obvious capitalist logic of the primary circuit.

Following from Harvey's notion of the reserve army as an 'outside' force linking commodity production and accumulation by dispossession, I argue that the gendered and racialized divisions of the labour market, flexible labour, other forms of segmentation, and the reserve army, all bridge the processes of capitalist production and ongoing 'primitive' accumulation. This exposes another fundamental contradiction alongside the classic Marxist formulation of the divided interests of capitalists and 'free labour'. In this case it is a life and death struggle for both economic survival and human sovereignty on the part of a poor and largely racialized and gendered populace. On one hand capitalism

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[2] Mohanty derives the use of "One Third/Two-Thirds Worlds" from Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash and they represent "social minorities and social majorities" in both the North and South. Mohanty says that the advantage of using these terms instead of the more common North/South or Western/Third world is "that they move away from misleading geographical and ideological binarisms" (Mohanty 2003: 227).

is becoming dependent on these forms of super-exploitation,[3] while a widening gap

between the profit motives of capitalism and the subsistence needs of people threatens the

sustainability of the system on the other. The detachment of ever-larger numbers of

people from capitalist wage labour can therefore be understood as a form of accumulation

by dispossession[4] (Bakker & Gill 2003: 4).

The Secondary Circuit – Segregation of Urban space

Finance capital, landlords and the state are the main mediating forces of the

secondary circuit. It is in this trajectory that capital is tied up in physical infrastructure,

the built environment and equipment for industrial production and domestic

consumption. This path then represents the organization of the urban environment for

everyday life, work and leisure, as well as transportation and communications networks

cutting across the space-time relationships within and between urban regions. According

to Harvey's schematic (Figure 2), activity in this circuit is triggered by overaccumulation

of capital in the primary circuit. The search for a productive outlet in which surplus value

can be invested, with returns delayed over time, make industrial equipment, durable

goods, urban infrastructure and the built environment vital sites for the displacement of

capitalist crises.

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[3] I recognize that my postulation of super-exploitation as a manifestation of accumulation by dispossession has implications for the debate about the nature and role of super-exploitation within capitalism. This is a separate issue that merits further consideration but is outside of the scope of this paper.

[4] I am expanding Harvey's notion beyond the framework of imperialism here. For a fuller discussion of this see chapter 2 on *Accumulation by Dispossession* in this paper.

In *Social Justice and the City*, Harvey hypothesized that the dynamics of urban land markets in the second circuit create an expanding spiral of inequality in cities. Because the best locations in a city command the highest land values they become favored for housing, infrastructure and industrial investment. The immobility of the poor limits their access to this cheaper land and locations, and they are forced into crowded, high rental housing in poorly serviced areas. This sets in motion a ghettoization in which polarization and income inequalities become self-perpetuating features of urban spatial structure (1973: 134-136).

Separations of urban populations have long been a feature of Western cities, and the crisscrossing realities of functional, gendered, class and racialized segregation are tangible demonstrations of the links between racist imperialism, patriarchy and capitalist urbanization. Irrespective of whether these ghettos, neighbourhoods or tracts are in the urban core, the suburbs or the inner rings within them, class, race and gender divisions are a material part of how urban landscapes are constituted.

Harvey's articulation of this capitalist logic of ghettoization creates an important opening for the discussion of segregation as a material aspect of the dynamics of capitalist cities (McDowell 1999: 98). As previously noted, his insight derived from Engels, debunked the popular social Darwinist urban ecology of Chicago school thinkers who had influentially attributed racialized divisions to cultural factors, thus implying that ghettoization was a matter of choice or group preference. Despite the importance of this intervention, Harvey's market-based explanation may have inadvertently thrown the baby

out with the bathwater by overemphasizing economic dynamics. This obscures the

material effects of state and other actors. It also discounts the ongoing effects of white

supremacist territorial and corporeal logics of segregation, conquest, slavery, pillage,

colonialism and genocides.

As geographer Jim Blaut spells out, white supremacist ideals have been, and

remain a formative part of European and American history:

> Racism is most fundamentally a practice: the practice of discrimation at all levels
> from personal abuse to colonial oppression. Racism is a form of practice which has
> been tremendously important in European society for several hundred years.,
> important in the sense that it is an essential part of the way the European capitalist
> system maintains itself. (Blaut 1992: 289)

Blaut argues that three predominant racist theories (or belief systems) have

unfolded in succession since the advent of industrial capitalism. These have served as the

foundation for the ongoing practice of racism as in the religious, or biblical racism of

early 19th century, biological racism based in the pseudo-scientific arguments that held

sway between 1840 and 1950; and the cultural racism predominant today. According to

Blaut, in contrast with the blunt inferiority theories of the past, the present phase of

racism relies on denying the historical relevance of race. And, he notes, this ideological

trick is most commonly used in the Academy (1992: 290). In some of his more polemical

works on the city (Harvey 1996b; 2000a) Harvey does make direct reference to racism as

a basis of urban inequality but there is little elaboration of this in his theories of the urban

process.

Once again, Harvey is not alone in this omission. With notable exceptions, such as the work of colonial city scholar Anthony King, much of the literature on Western urban planning, architecture and theory makes only passing references, if at all, to the social segregation of urban space. This is particularly the case with both urban racial segregation and gender separation. Where functional or racial segregation is acknowledged as a reality or consequence of a planning strategy, it is rarely elaborated beyond brief description or passing reference. Where the social dynamics of segregation are noted in any detail, they are presented as a largely domestic class question. Rapid and concentrated urbanization has been an important part of capitalist history and control over workers was a driving force behind planning. But the lack of attention to race distinctions and social disparities in the historical accounts of metropolitan development presents a glaring gap in the analysis.

Historical evidence shows that in the European settler colonies of the US, Canada and Australia, urban development and colonial expansion was a deeply racialized affair (A. Davis 2003; Nightingale 2001a; 2001b; 2003). Slavery, race wars against native people to take control over land and territory, and the super-exploitation of workers of colour were pre-requisites for white settler expansion and the establishment of towns and cities by settler colonists.

Through segregated planning, cities were built as physical and ideological symbols of the political and military strength, social primacy, and economic latitude of the European bourgeoisie. Streets, buildings, segregated neighbourhoods and, in the

colonies, split cities, became signifiers of economic, social and political citizenship -

implicitly and explicitly separating citizen from subject, owner from worker, European

from person of colour, and men from women in the stratified urban structures of

modernist democracy.

I concur with King (1990) and historian Carl Nightingale (2001a&b) who argue

that European imperial cities were laboratories for the testing of planning ideas. In the

establishment of segregated, or 'split' cities of the Third World, 'black towns' were

marginalized or destroyed to make way for the cities that served colonial aims. These

centers were often bases for colonial military and administrative control over the

occupied territory and peoples and laid the groundwork for the emergence of

segregationist urban planning as a formal profession.

Both in Western metropolitan cities of Europe and North America, and the urban

seats of colonial administration in the third world, cities have developed on a spatial grid-

like structure of racial, class and gender separation. As King says:

> The central social fact of colonial planning was segregation, principally, though not
> only, along racial lines. The segregated city not only resulted from, but in many
> cases, created the segregated society. (King 1990: 57)

Carl Nightingale calls the phenomenon *racial urbanism* (Nightingale 2001a;

2001b; 2003) pointing out that:

> Cities across the world have always been split up in unequal ways and segregation
> based on some notion of colour or race has been present in many places across the
> world since European conquests and urban settlement began. (2003: 268)

King (1990) sees the split cities of South Asia as the earliest experiments in colonial urban segregation, but Nightingale points out that the roots of urban segregation reach much farther back into the period of mercantile capitalism and the conquest of the Americas:

> From the 16th century on, Spanish Authorities in the Americas had built cookie cutter segregated colonial towns across their New-World empire. They forced Amerindian peoples into barrios outside grid streeted Spanish settlements, they often allowed Indian caciques and a whole spectrum of mixed race castes and black slaves to live in the town. In this case, such racial porosity would erode any lines of strict segregation by the 19th century at the latest. (2001a: 13)

But against these selective and uneven practices of segregation in the Americas of the 1500's, racial segregation in South Asia was indeed a more wholesale, robust and resilient affair. The social division, architectural destruction and reshaping of South Asian urban landscape in the image and interests of their British colonizers began as early as the 17th and 18th centuries (Nightingale 2001a: 1) and subsequently became the model for city building throughout the colonies. Anthony King notes that segregation was central to the colonial strategy for recasting South Asian colonial cities and that in "India an explicit apartheid based on economic and cultural criteria governing occupation of residential areas was practiced" (King 1990: 57). Nightingale's account of India's 'split cities' also shows that they were explicit projects of racist social control and white supremacist physical division based on skin colour:

> Already by the turn of the 18th century British East India Company officials had founded India's 'white towns' in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, separating them from the black towns that developed nearby with fortifications and military and sanitary cordons such as Calcutta's Maidan. (2001a: 12)

Baron Haussman's ideas about the use of wide boulevards to control worker dissent by cutting a swath through the thick network of Parisian streets and neighbourhoods in the mid 1800's were applied by early military planners in the segregation and control of colonial cities. The transfer of urban planning ideas was a two-way street and the dynamic was controlled in both directions by the colonial powers. Throughout the late 19th century and well into the late 20th century, segregationist and racialized urbanist ideas such as Haussmann's were tried, tested and transferred back and forth between the colonies, Europe and North America.

Racial Urbanism in North America, as Nightingale dubs it, was deeply implicated in the history of Black slavery, the genocidal campaign of conquest of the West against native people, and the exploitation of Asian workers on the West coast. Even after the emancipation of slaves, 'Jim Crow' segregation replaced the system of formal slavery through the US judiciary's repeal of the Civil Rights Act and endorsement of a 'separate but equal' doctrine in the 1890's. Angela Davis argues that this was linked to the rise of a new era of European and American imperialism.

> The last decade of the 19th century was a critical moment in the development of modern racism – its major institutional supports as well as its attendant ideological justifications. This was also the period of imperialist expansion into the Philippines, Hawaii, Cuba and Puerto Rico. The same forces that sought to subjugate the peoples of these countries were responsible for the worsening plight of Black people and the entire US working class. Racism nourished those imperialist ventures and was likewise conditioned by imperialism's strategies and apologetics. (A. Davis 1981: 117)

Clearly racial urbanism was not solely a domestic project for the United States.

Their colonial territories were also used as testing grounds for urban ideas. As

Nightingale states:

> Like French and British urban planners, American social reformers saw the
> American colonies like Cuba and the Philippines (not to mention Trans-Mississippi
> West) as laboratories for top-down social reform in a more propitious climate.
> (Nightingale 2001a: 23)

As Nightingale and King both point out "the most significant gap in our

knowledge" of colonial cities is "the impact of colonialism on urbanism and urbanization

in the metropoles themselves." (King in Nightingale 2001a: 17). King sees class-based

urban strategies used in the United Kingdom such as the slum clearance programs of the

late 1800's as extensions of the Imperial practice of demolishing black towns in Calcutta

and Madras (King as quoted in Nightingale 2001: 17). Nightingale cites Gwendolyn

Wright whose work shows the extent to which the professionalization of urban planning

in France was ultimately tied up with imperial expansion. He notes that,

> [European colonial] architects and planners saw colonial cities as places where they
> could put their grand schemes into practice, far from meddlesome constraints like
> carping property owners and the democratic obligations to which they were bound at
> home... (Nightingale 2001a: 14)

He sums up the emergence of urban segregation as a worldwide phenomenon:

> During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the number of cities residentially
> segregated by race grew dramatically in the world. They multiplied in places where
> they had long existed, such as India, and they appeared for the first time in still
> many other places, across the rest of Asia, Africa, the United States, the Caribbean,
> and even in Canada and Europe. This expansion crested in the1930's and 40's.
> During those decades, the work of a whole profession of European imperial urban
> planners culminated in the French imperial regime's divided layout of Rabat and
> Algiers, and the British Architect Edward Lutyens' elaborately segregated New
> Delhi. At the same time, locally run South African segregation gave way to
> nationally sponsored urban apartheid, and the 'first' ghettos of the United States gave

way to the federally-promoted 'second ghetto.' Chinatowns grew up across North America; Halifax, Nova Scotia's historically black district around Campbell Road was renamed Africville symbolizing its greater exclusion and neglect; and Kingston and other Caribbean cities became more segregated by race during the same time (Nightingale 2001a: 6).

The inextricable historical interplay of racialized and class segregation, within and between metropolitan and colonial cities, demonstrates that territorial logics of power and control advanced through state and military forces in the form of urban planning policies and practices. And indeed it is a feature of both imperialism and urbanism. It also reveals the continuities between racial urbanism as both an imperial and domestic project of European and American nation-states. This interplay goes some way towards supporting my earlier arguments that first territorial logic of power, as defined by Harvey in his work on imperialism, is also at play in the urban process; and second that urban and imperial expansion are both expressed in, and linked through, the second circuit of capital. And finally, that along with the capitalist logic of the spatio temporal fix, the corporeal logic of 'race' is a co-constitutive factor driving the processes of both domestic and colonial urbanism. As Satyananda Gabriel and Evgenia Todorova argue:

> … while racism, as a distinct cultural process, is shaped by political *and* economic processes, including capitalist exploitation; it also shapes these other social processes. Racism is therefore not a mere epiphenomenon of the political, economic, or the natural. Racism (and all other cultural processes), politics and economics exist as a result of the combined effort of all the social and natural processes comprising the social formation at any given moment. (Gabriel and Todorova 2003: 31)

Gendered Segregation and the Second Circuit

Harvey's understanding of the forces that determine urban land use also sidesteps the gendered separations that mark out the allocation of land uses in modern cities and the role these played in the confinement of women's bodies and sexuality within the

privatized spheres of household and family. In particular reference to the secondary

circuit, this has been accomplished through a deliberate patterning of urban space. The

gendered division of labour, a similarly important question arising from this, will be

addressed in more detail in my discussion of the tertiary circuit in the next section.

There is an extensive body of feminist literature on the public and private divide

and the subsequent sequestering of women into the privatized realm of the home outside

the civic life of capitalist cities. The roots of this occurrence are traceable to changes in

the relationship between households and work embedded in the urbanism of the early

capitalist period. As Domosh and Seager write:

> We know that prior to the 16th Century in Europe this separation [of work and
> home] was not complete. In medieval Europe for example, most people were
> engaged in some form of agriculture, and their houses served as both living spaces
> and workspaces…
>
> …Massive socioeconomic and geographical changes occurred in Europe throughout
> the fifteenth, sixteenth, and 17th centuries. These centuries saw the transition into
> the modern period, marked in part by the emergence of capitalism... One of the most
> significant of these changes is that work spaces and living spaces became separate
> This certainly did not happen all at once, nor in all cases but the rise of urban life,
> the consolidation of capitalism as a dominant economic system, and the increase in
> local and long-distance trading during this period led to the removal of jobs from the
> home. (Domosh & Seager 2001: 2-3)

The separation of workspaces away from living spaces marked the shift in

attention and value from reproductive to 'productive' labour. This divide became even

more pronounced in the mid 19th and early 20th centuries as the Victorian cult of

feminized domesticity became a prevailing ideology in Europe and America. Important

as this ideology was however, the actual implementation of its ideals was highly uneven

and did not necessarily reflect the situation of women of color, poor and working class

women:

> The division of home and work that developed in industrial societies in the 19th
> century, and women's seclusion in the former sphere, was never complete, however -
> over a third of all women were involved in some form of waged labour in Britain for
> the hundred years between 1850 and 1950. (McDowell 1999: 75)

Regardless of its partial nature, the feminization of leisure, consumption, and the

home had a powerful material impact on women of all classes. Not only did it entrench

the separation of homes from paid workplaces in the patterning of European and

American cities in the 18th and nineteenth century, it was also closely related to the

creation of exclusive upper-class urban enclaves (Domosh and Seager 2001: 5).

The corporeal logic of gendered separations is also rooted in the long-standing

equation of masculinity with the rationality of urban space. Citing feminist urbanist

Elizabeth Wilson, Domosh and Seager point out that this phenomenon emerged in the

early commercial capitalist period of the Renaissance (1400-1650).

> During the Renaissance the city was envisioned as an arena where the ideals of the
> mind – coded as masculine – could be expressed literally and symbolically.
> Renaissance urban thinkers and designers thought of the city as a unified urban
> whole, that should reflect rational, geometric principles… Other qualities of life, for
> example, those that pertain to the body and to the organic, were assigned to the
> female sphere. The countryside [] and the older medieval city were seen as the realm
> of the feminine. This association of the city with the masculine and the rational
> served to align the power of the new city with men. (Domosh & Seager 2001: 69-70)

As cities multiplied and grew in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the gendered

separation of urban space came to be most vividly evident in the emergence of suburbs.

The impact of suburbanization varies according to the particulars of each place, and by

the class and 'race' of the women involved. Nonetheless, the development of housing on

the outer rings of Western cities can be broadly linked to gendered social divisions.

> The most significant urban spatial development of the first half of the 20th century was the degree to which most American Cities became suburbanized. For middle class women, life in the suburbs was significantly different from what they had experienced in the city. Most importantly, they were now living distant from the city - they were spatially removed from the public spaces of the city. This spatial isolation contributed to, and reinforced a renewed ideal of domesticity for women. (Domosh & Seager 2001: 95)

Urbanist Dolores Hayden marks out seven distinct phases of American suburban

growth between the early 1800's and the present in her detailed work *Building Suburbia*

(2003). Even as the realities have not always worked according to plan, her work shows

how racialized exclusions, gendered ideals, and the subversion of class dissent have been

key components of the white suburban dream of home ownership from the start:

> In 2003, when most Americans live in suburban cities, many of the spatial conventions and social expectations of the 19th and early 20th centuries remain tangled in memory and manners. Change is difficult when suburban houses and yards are infused with the pieties of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish 'family values' and also contain the purchases of a society inundated with advertising and consumer culture. Long ago Catherine Beecher promoted the 'heaven devised plan of the family state' with a Gothic cottage. In the 1950's Elizabeth Gordon championed 'the architecture that will encourage the development of individualism' in *House Beautiful*, calling modern family houses and private gardens a bulwark against communism. Both saw private housing as a stage for middle-class consumption, and consumption as the route to economic prosperity, a view they shared with developers, manufacturers, and utilities. (Hayden 2003: 17)

This scenario clearly shows the links between suburban housing, the consumption

of fixed capital goods, the relegation of women to the domestic sphere through the

second circuit. Also evident is the importance of women's role as consumers of the

products of industrial capitalism. Hayden also alludes here to the role of home ownership

in diffusing the potential for left-wing resistance by the working classes. Feminist

geographers Liz Bondi and Linda Peake have however argued that urban theorists such as Manuel Castells have overstated the equation of women with consumption saying it obscures the extent to which men are consumers and women are also producers within cities (Bondi & Peake in Little et al. 1988: 25).

Despite its mythological dimensions, the ideology of a feminized domestic sphere has had a powerful material effect on the lives of women across classes. As Linda McDowell writes, the double workday for women is not simply a post World War Two phenomenon, it has been a reality for working class women for more than a century.

> The ideology that 'woman's place was in the home', however, became dominant across all social classes in Britain in the 19th century and exercised a vital hold on the lives and minds of all women. It meant that for working class women who went 'out to work', it was still their lot in life to do housework as well. (Mc Dowell 1999: 79)

In cultural and territorial terms however, the mannered ideals of America's rich enclaves and suburbs were financially and socially inaccessible to the working poor, immigrant women and people of colour. They did however become a source of paid work and it was in the capacity of domestic servants that poor and racialized women breached the ramparts of race and class separating them from their mistress employers.

The practice of importing racialized domestic labour from the colonies into Europe and America goes back to the early days of the slave trade. Slave women worked in the fields and the households of their owners, and as Angela Davis writes 'freedom' from slavery and a move to cities did not significantly change or improve the occupational or living conditions of either black women or men.

> When Black people began to migrate northward, men and women alike discovered
> that their white employers outside the south were not fundamentally different from
> their former owners in their attitudes about the occupational potentials of the newly
> freed slaves. They also believed, it seemed, that *"Negroes are servants, and servants
> are Negroes."* (A. Davis 1981: 93)

It is not an overstatement to say that these domestic jobs were a practical

extension of conditions under slavery. Citing press accounts from that era, Davis

describes how the very organization of urban domestic labour markets echoed the old

slave mode:

> Even in the 1940's, there were street corner markets in New York and other large
> cities – modern versions of slavery's auction block – inviting white women to take
> their pick from the crowds of black women seeking work… New York could claim
> about two hundred of these "slave markets." Many of them located in the Bronx,
> where "almost any corner above 167th Street" was a gathering point for Black
> women seeking work. In a 1938 article published in *The Nation*, "Our Feudal
> Housewives," as the piece was entitled, were said to work some seventy-two hours a
> week, receiving the lowest wages of all occupations. (A. Davis 1981: 95)

Domestic labour remained the main source of employment for Black women in

America until the second world war, when the demand for female labour meant large

numbers of women of colour were freed from domestic work and became a part of the

manufacturing sector (1983: 98). The stark picture of women of colour at major

intersections of New York waiting for the chance to perform arduous and underpaid work

is resurfacing in the present context. The August 15th, 2005 edition of the New York

Times reports on a modern day versions of this domestic 'slave' market operating at

Eighth Avenue and 37th Street in New York, and the Brooklyn-Queen's overpass in New

York City:

> There, the work at stake is $8-an-hour housecleaning, and those vying for a day's
> scrubbing, mainly for Hasidic homemakers, stand in a crude ascending hierarchy of

> employer preference: Mexican and Central American women in their 30's at the back, Polish immigrant women in their 50's and 60's in the middle, and young Polish students with a command of English at the head of the line. (Berenstein 2005)

The history and present picture of the domestic labour force reveals how the work of poor and racialized women cuts across the spatial and social divides between paid work in the public sphere and consumption and leisure in the private sphere. It also reveals the degree to which commodity-based labour of the primary circuit (in this case the commodity is personal service), the individualism embedded in segregated and privatized domestic spaces in the secondary circuit (home-based work is not publicly monitored or regulated), and invisibility of reproductive labour in the tertiary circuit (its consignment as an extension of women's biological reproductive capacity) are enmeshed together in the everyday lives of racialized and marginalized women.

The Tertiary Circuit – Reproduction and Repression

In Harvey's schematic the tertiary circuit is where a part of the capital surplus from production is used to "fashion an adequate social basis for further accumulation" (1989: 66) and thereby guarantee the interests of the capitalist class. This circuit involves social investments in scientific and technological advancements to support the constant revolutionizing of the productive forces (the primary circuit), the reproduction of labour power, and ideological and direct forms of social control. Harvey separates social reproduction into investments that either make improvements to the capacity and skills of the labour force (such as education and healthcare), or those that ensure effective social control of the population through "investments in cooptation, integration, and repression of the labour force by ideological, military, and other means (Harvey 1989: 66).

Reproduction

Social reproduction is perhaps the arena where feminists, across academic disciplines, have most vigorously contested Marxist assumptions about social processes and the driving forces of history and politics. Their very different usage of the word 'reproduction' reveals the extent of the schism. Marxists most often use the term 'reproduction' to refer to expanded reproduction of capital – a process in which the *system of capital reproduces itself* through the reproduction of labour, cooptation of broader social relations, and the establishment of social institutions. They see the process as largely facilitated through the state. Feminist theorists on the other hand use reproduction to refer to an explicitly gendered process through which human life and society in their myriad dimensions are reproduced through the bodies, unpaid and low-paid labour of women and subordinated groups.

Feminist political economist Isabella Bakker, for example, argues that reproduction is socially regulated in both the public and private spheres. Most feminist literature in this area is centered on three main arenas: "biological reproduction; reproduction of labour power; and social practices connected to caring, socialization and the fulfillment of human needs" (Bakker & Gill 2003: 3). Biological reproduction is associated with a range of processes including motherhood, the maintenance and continuity of labour power, social survival, education and training, and caring and provision of human needs. These are provided and regulated in both the public and private forms of family, the state, civil society and the market (Bakker & Gill 2003: 32).

This view of social reproduction is not the one most commonly adopted by Marxist political economists whose focus is on the state and capital as the main purveyors of the 'expanded reproduction of capital.' Harvey recognizes that the advent of industrial capitalism had an impact on the role of women, both in the household and in the labour market. But his description focuses on the reproduction of labour power and the amelioration of class tensions.

> …social reproduction processes had to incorporate mechanisms directed toward the production of labour supply with the right qualities and in the right quantities… Bourgeois surveillance of the family and interventions in the cultural, political, and social milieu of the working classes began in earnest. Above all, the ruling class alliance had to find ways to invent a new tradition of community that could counter or absorb the antagonisms of class. This it did in part by accepting responsibility for various facets of social reproduction of the working class (health, education, welfare, and even housing provision)… (Harvey 1989: 31)

Doreen Massey's work takes issue with the assumption that capitalism converted the family into an instrument of purely capitalist logic. Her historical review of women workers in 19th century England reveals that women's involvement in wage labour threatened patriarchal power across classes. Women's organizing and struggles over issues such as the 'family wage,' and voting rights for women resisted the cult of domesticity, the establishment of a gendered division of labour across classes, and the effective expulsion of women from the public arena.

Proposals to pay men a higher 'family wage' were advanced by bourgeois and working class men alike. Massey says these were triggered by a growing resentment among the men of this era about women's work in the factories of Lancashire. Arguments for the payment of a higher wage to men that was sufficient to meet the subsistence needs

of the whole family pressed for a reinstatement of male authority and women's labour within a privatized family. This ideological and material campaign was also aimed at securing an uncontested primary role for white men in the Western industrial labour force. Even Frederick Engels, a prominent critic of capitalism who subsequently wrote about the oppression of women in the family, expressed sympathy with this project:

> In many cases the family is not wholly dissolved by the employment of the wife but, turned upside down. The wife supports the family, the husband sits at home, tends to the children, sweeps the room and cooks. This case happens very frequently: in Manchester alone, many hundred such men could be cited, condemned to domestic occupations. It is easy to imagine the wrath aroused among the working class men by this reversal of all relations within the family, while other social conditions remain unchanged. (Engels as cited in Massey 1994: 196)

Massey sets her discussion of women's paid work in the rag trade in London and the factories of the cotton towns of Lancashire against a description of the unpaid domestic drudgery of women in the coal mining areas of England. She shows patriarchy and capitalism worked together as twin forces enforcing the gendered public-private divide on both economic and social fronts. Even as the manifestations of this divide differed between them, the issue of patriarchal control created a material opposition between the interests of working class women and men. The *spatial* organization of women's work and the kind of jobs women did also roused pro-patriarchal reactions to women's paid work:

> It wasn't so much 'work' as 'going out to' work that threatened the patriarchal order. And this in two ways: it threatened the ability of women adequately to perform their domestic role as homemaker for men and children, and it gave them an entry into public life, mixed company a life not defined by family and husband… (Massey 1994: 198)

It was also far less threatening to the stability of patriarchal relationships in Victorian England if women work in domestically related occupations rather than those involving machinery and factory labour (Massey 1994: 198). Clearly the question of whether women should work was less of an issue than the carving out of distinct male and female spheres.

Proponents of the family wage and the gendered division of labour won their battle even though many working class women remained in the workforce. The result was a naturalized equation of womanhood with biological procreation, the education, cultivation and daily maintenance of husbands and families in the household, and the physical and emotional nurturing of families and communities. The hegemonic view of a masculine working class and a feminized private sphere meant women's work simultaneously expanded and became secondary, unrecognized, and poorly compensated in both public and private spheres.

State and private regulation, expression, organization and marketized sale of gendered and racialized bodies and sexuality have been equally important aspects of the establishment of racist norms within social reproduction.

When the slave trade (but not slavery) was outlawed in Britain and the US in 1808, black women's reproductive capacity became a prized commodity because it became the main way for slave owners to ensure an ongoing supply of slave labour. Women were pressed and encouraged to have children to such an extent that in just fifty

years the overall slave population in America tripled from 1.2 million to nearly 4 million

in 1860. Angela Davis points out that this did not however, mean that black women's

motherhood was promoted. On the contrary

> ... in the eyes of slaveholders slave women were not mothers at all; they were simply instruments guaranteeing the growth of the slave labour force. They were 'breeders' - animals, whose monetary value could be precisely calculated in terms of their ability to multiply their numbers...One year after the importation of Africans was halted, a South Carolina court ruled that female slaves had no legal claims to their children... they could be sold away from their mothers at any age... (A. Davis 1981: 7)

The reproductive capacities of Black, Latina and Native American women have

been targeted for social control since the founding of America. Jael Silliman and

Anannya Bhattacharjee show that control over the fertility of women, by denying them

the right to bear children or via enforced childbearing has remained relatively constant.

Eugenicist forced sterlization campaigns, religious pressure against women's access to

abortions, criminalization of black single mothers, first nations women, immigration

controls on Latino women and children, and state apprehension of the children of poor

women are all instruments of white supremacist control over the bodies of women of

colour (Silliman & Bhattacharjee 2002).

The extent of control over the bodies and sexuality of women within the family

were embedded in campaigns to domesticate women, control their reproductive capacity,

particularly that of women of colour, and restrict homosexuality. This varied according to

the time, place and degree of contestation. Elizabeth Wilson, in her work on women and

cities, describes the gendered tension between sexual opportunity and social menace in

her discussion of the early industrial city.

…many writers more definitely and clearly posed the presence of women as a
problem of order, partly because their presence symbolized the promise of sexual
adventure. This promise was converted into a general moral and political threat.
Wilson 1991: 6)

Powerful patterns of masculinist sexual, white supremacist and middle-class

forms of social normativity have been inscribed into the historical patterning of physical

space and social relations within Western cities. Wilson points out that in late 19th

century Europe capitalist and male fears about losing control over cities propelled the

anti-urbanism of the town planning movement. She says the planning movement, which

emerged to regain control of cities, amounted to

… an organized campaign to exclude women and children, along with other
disruptive elements such as the working class, the poor, and minorities – from this
infernal urban space altogether (Wilson 1991: 6).

Rape and sexual violence have been instruments of patriarchal domination and

control used against women of all races and classes. But they have also been used against

poor women and women of colour to assert racial and class domination. In the United

States, slave women were regularly raped by their masters while black men were

constructed as rapists of white women (A. Davis 1981: 173 – 201). These corporeal

expressions of power persist as devices of social control and accumulation of social and

economic wealth to the present day. The racialized, class and underground nature of

global sex trafficking have perpetuated the theft, devaluation and commodification of

women's bodies (Domosh & Seager 2001: 136-9).

The introduction of the Western welfare state in the aftermath of World War II was followed by a massive influx of women into the labour market starting in the 1960s. As social services and reproductive functions became socialized through state creation of public institutions and services, women's occupations remained largely segregated into the institutions of the tertiary circuit. The dramatic growth of jobs in helping professions such as teaching, nursing, social work and other social services did not fundamentally change their feminized nature. Occupational segregation into reproductive and service jobs has remained a marked feature of the female labour force through to the present.

A number of feminists have shown that entry into the labour force and the socialization of reproductive functions by the welfare state did not liberate women from their gendered roles. Bondi and Peake cite the work of Elizabeth Wilson:

> Wilson [] has argued, the growth of the welfare state did not relieve women of their primary responsibility for domestic life; rather it increased the role of the state in perpetuating gender divisions. For example, after the Second World War, state provision for young children was almost entirely withdrawn...(Bondi & Peake in Little et al 1988: 26)

Political Scientist Janine Brodie says that even as the welfare state is most often portrayed as a capital-labour compromise to offset the market failures and devastating social effects of the great depression, it also addressed the inability of the family to cope with industrialization:

> The new industrialism of the early 20th century generated social costs that surpassed the capacity of the *lasissez faire* state that assigned the weight of responsibility for social reproduction to women, the family, church and community []. The welfare state rested on a reconfigured gender order, which remodeled the reinforcing interrelationships between capitalist accumulation and social reproduction as well as between the workplace and the home.

In recent years this has intensified even further. Isa Bakker says one effect of the economic, political and social shifts we are now undergoing is that "the family wage, the cornerstone of the post-war economy and gender order has been shrinking" (Bakker & Gill 2003: 78). The demise of the social wage through the dismantling of state funded institutions that collectivized public responsibility for social reproduction also shifts the burden back onto individual women. This adds a third layer of unpaid responsibility onto their double shift as wage earners and nurturers. I will return to this theme of privatization of state functions later.

Women, people of colour, immigrants and undocumented workers are disproportionately over-represented in the front-line of domestic work, industrial cleaning, health, education, social welfare supports, personal services, as well as private security and military jobs. The nightlife of downtown office buildings in Western cities are a sharp illustration of this as a workforce of immigrant and racialized women clean and haul garbage alongside private security guards who are mostly people of colour and unemployed industrial workers. Saskia Sassen notes that the increase in racialized and gendered job ghettos has been accompanied by their sharp devaluation in the discourse of the globalized economy:

> What we are seeing is a dynamic of valorization which has sharply increased the distance between the valorized, indeed over-valorized sectors of the economy and the de-valorized sectors even when the latter are part of leading global industries. This de-valorization of growing sectors of the economy has been embedded in a massive demographic transition towards a growing presence of women, African-Americans and third world immigrants in the urban workforce. (Sassen 1998: 4)

As noted in the discussion of the secondary circuit, women of colour bear a double domestic burden of paid work in the homes of middle class women and the unpaid work of caring for their own families. The global 'maid trade' is not only rooted in the racialization of slavery but in the uneven power relationship between Western and third world countries. According to Domosh and Seager the "racial and gender fine-tuning of labor migration by governments and commercial interests is common." It goes back to the highly controlled migration of Chinese workers in the 19th century when women were restricted from entering in order to avoid permanent settlement of what was intended to be a temporary workforce (Domosh & Seager 129-30). Today's migrant domestics are mostly Asian women from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Indonesia who are valued as much for their docility as their cheap labour (ibid. 132-3).

The vulnerability of these women of colour is underscored by their precarious legal and social position in Western societies (Domosh and Seager 2001; McDowell 1999; Bakker and Gill 2003). The bodies of racialized women in reproductive work are on the line in a number of ways. The privatized and unregulated nature of the workplace and their often casual or undocumented status mean they are particularly vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse. "Rape, sexual harassment and intimidation of women domestic servants is common" (Domosh and Seager 2001: 133).

Feminist geographers (Little et al. 1988; McDowell 1999) have long taken issue with the lack of attention among urban theorists to the gendered nature of social reproduction. Marxist urbanists have (as with Marxists in Engels' day) remained largely

fixated on cities as sites of men's jobs in industrial production and of class conflict as a

tacitly male-defined struggle. Manuel Castells, writing in the same era as Harvey's

earliest Marxist theorization of the city, was among the first of these theorists to position

the city as a space of reproduction.

> In his early work on cities, Manuel Castells suggested that struggles over urban
> goods and resources - what he termed collective consumption goods - were the
> distinguishing feature of a specifically urban sociology (McDowell 1999: 115)

McDowell remarks that Castells recognized the role of women in making cities

work in so far as they bridge the spatially separated services in cities with their time and

labour ferrying kids and family members over the divides, as well as traveling to and

from work with multiple critical stops in between. But his state and class centered views

of reproduction neglected the important role of women in 'collective consumption.' He

failed to see that the lines between state and women's responsibilities for collective

provision are fluid and change as the ideological conception of the state changes (1999:

115). Peake and Bondi add that Castells ignores that "many of the processes that ensure

the reproduction of labour power occur in the home or in the community rather than at

the workplace" (1988: 22). In their assessment, Castells is operating within the gender-

neutral contours of the field of urban theory as a whole.

> [A]lthough 'urban politics' was redefined by Castells as the politics of the
> reproduction of labour power, in practice attention has focused almost entirely upon
> those aspects of the reproduction of labour power that are provided, at least in part,
> by the state... we argue that [his] omission of other aspects of reproduction is closely
> associated with the failure of urban theorists to consider the significance of gender
> divisions. (Bondi & Peake in Little et al 1988: 22)

The cultural turn of the 1990s along with a desire of feminists to press ahead in spite of the deficiencies of existing urban research, put this reproduction debate on the back burner for the better part of the decade. But in recent years, the importance of understanding the shifts that have taken place in the feminized sphere of reproduction over the latter part of the 20th century, and the need to incorporate these into understandings of the emerging economic and social order, have revived the discussion (Katz 2001; Mitchell et al 2003).

In a recent review of reproduction in the context of the new 'vagabond capitalism,' Cindi Katz argues that in its current incarnation social reproduction, like globalization, "has political economic, cultural and environmental aspects" (Katz 2001: 711). She points out that the marketization of some aspects of social reproduction through the sale of prepared foods, domestic help, and childcare "may lessen household work for some, and 'free' some women's labour time for participation in the paid labor force or other activities. However these things do not alter the gendered divisions of labour or the social relations of production and reproduction…" (Katz 2001: 712).

The success of the powerful women's movement of the past fifty years has made changes for some women. But in the growing polarization of wealth and poverty that marks the current era, there is an increasing division among women along the contours of 'race' and class (Bakker & Gill 2003). I elaborate further on the discussion of the present urban context in the chapter two.

There are many more dimensions and complexities to history of social reproduction, the gendered division of labour, and the ways it is racialized and shaped by class relationships than I have discussed here. It is not my intention, in this outline, to provide an exhaustive picture of these or their many permutations and contradictory manifestations in Western societies over the past two hundred years. Rather, I have tried to highlight some aspects within each of the three arenas of social reproduction defined by Bakker, to show their deeply gendered and racialized underpinnings. It is evident in this discussion that the purely capitalist logic portrayed in Harvey's circuits of urbanization does not permit either an elaboration, or an analysis of the sequestering of women into the domestic realm, the gendered division of labour and the promotion of a masculinist working class. Nor does it expose or explain why the bodies of women of colour and poor women are doubly and triply bound up in the violence and naturalization of this process.

As opposed to Harvey's emphasis on production as the primary force of social relations I support Bakker and Gill's view that "an expanded notion of labour is required to understand the nexus between production and social reproduction" (2003: 6). The intersections of patriarchy, racist imperialism and capitalism are evident when the picture of the tertiary circuit is taken beyond abstracted capitalist language and ideology, and state function. Although the state has played an important role, female and racialized bodies and labour have been the consistent, though under-theorized, force that keeps the private, public and commercial aspects of social reproduction in motion. Patriarchal and racist corporeal logic is foundational in this aspect of social relations. The

conceptualization of this logic provides a firm material ground from which to spell out the physical and cultural survival and biological reproduction of people within the dehumanization of capitalist racist patriarchy.

I hold that racialized and gendered divisions of labour, and institutionally sanctioned masculine control of women's bodies, are anchored in, and produced by the primarily corporeal logics of social reproduction. But these processes are inseparable from the territorial logic of racialized and gendered urban segregation detailed in the discussion of the secondary circuit. And the tertiary circuit is also where the reproduction of the system is ensured through social infrastructure. Therefore the intersections of gender, race and class visible in the occupational ghettos of social institutions overlap with the capitalist logic of the primary circuit since paid labour is active within, and crosses over both circuits.

Hegemony and Repression

A second dimension of Harvey's tertiary circuit is repression and cooptation of the population and effective social control through both ideological and direct forms of repression. This is a rich ground for understanding how urban divisions of race and gender are created, patrolled as well as their constitutive effects on the organization of space, relations of production and reproduction. An outline of these is not possible here. Instead I will make some initial observations with the hope that they contribute to a fuller discussion in the future.

Harvey says that, in addition to the state provision of health, education, welfare and housing, the other critical aspects of social reproduction involved

> … mobilizing sometimes brutal and sometimes subtle means of social cooptation and control – police, limited democratization, control of ideology via the churches or through the newly emerging organs of mass communication, and the manipulation of space as a form of social power. (Harvey 1989: 31)

Social citizenship and social and political rights have been prime instruments in creating a hegemonic consensus within Western populations. While universal access to the franchise and other rights associated with citizenship are touted as superior characteristics of Western societies, the practice has been highly uneven, and mediated by overt and covert considerations based on gender, race, and class. And it is deteriorating further in the present context as policing, surveillance, and control emerge as the favoured social policies for enforcement of growing social divides (A, Davis 1981; 2003; M. Davis 2000; Silliman & Bhattacharjee 2003).

> Advanced capitalist states, in particular, have been rolled back on the terrain of the social, specifically with respect to universal programs and universal social citizenship rights. The post-war view of the state as protector or insulator is being rapidly erased from popular discourse and from historical memory []. At the same time, state capacity has been rolled forward with respect to institutionalizing the new governing order in the form of privatization, deregulation, and capital-friendly taxation policies, as well as with respect to policing, surveillance, border and population controls. Indeed policing and criminalization are all too familiar responses to problems that were previously considered as remedial through social policies. (Brodie in Bakker & Gill 2003: 58)

Urbanist Elizabeth Wilson cautions however, that these restrictions on citizenship have never been straightforward processes of unmitigated marginalization.

> For although women, along with minorities, children, the poor, are still not full citizens in the sense that they have ever been granted full and free access to the streets, industrial life still drew them into public life, and they have survived and

flourished at the interstices of the city, negotiating the contradictions of the city in their particular way. (Wilson 1991: 8)

Nonetheless, an undeniable and unprecedented degree of domestic militarization has been unleashed within Western countries over the past few decades. Harsh and repressive laws, surveillance, policing and immigration detentions, and deportations have become commonplace (M. Davis, 2000; Lutz, 2002; Silliman & Bhattacharjee 2003). In the US this is most evident with the steep rise of what Angela Davis calls the 'prison industrial complex' (A. Davis, 2003), in which large numbers of poor Black, Native American, and Latino men and women, as well as undocumented workers, refugees and asylum seekers are being incarcerated in the growing prison system. It is a pattern that is being replicated and exported across Western states in the form of neo-liberal social policy.

This model has been honed over a long trajectory of racist-imperialism within the US. It is widely known that America was founded on a genocidal quest for European territorial expansion. Entire communities of First Nations peoples were killed and their histories wiped out in the massacres that followed Columbus' arrival to the Americas in 1492, and lasted until the final conquest of the western United States in 1890. But this violent and genocidal campaign didn't generate the labour needed to build America. For this the settler colonialists imported nearly 4 million enslaved Africans between 1619 and 1860. The violent and racist displacement and plunder of both Native American and African people shows the degree to which the United States is founded on a bloody and bodily form of accumulation by dispossession.

As Angela Davis writes, the targeting and criminalization of people of colour did not end with the abolition of slavery:

> Particularly in the United States, race has always played a central role in constructing presumptions of criminality. After the abolition of slavery former slave states passed new legislation revising the Slave Codes in order to regulate the behaviour of free blacks in ways similar to those that had existed during slavery. The new Black Codes prescribed a range of actions – such as vagrancy, absence from work, breach of job contracts, the possession of firearms, and insulting gestures or acts – that were criminalized only when the person was black (A. Davis 2003: 28)

In considering the core values of social control dominant in the history of the United States, Hannah Arendt's contention that tyranny at home is a component of empire abroad (Harvey, 2003:193) holds as true for the present era, as it did for the past. Over the last three decades the US state has shed social responsibilities while increasing its investments in a program of internal repression. The marked shift from (an admittedly limited) social welfare state to a repressive law and order state, initiated in the early 1970s, was accelerated in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, as the US embarked on a "war on terror." This has served as a pretext for an explicit imperialist campaign in West Asia and an unprecedented program of domestic securitization (Silliman and Bhattacharjee 2003: xiii).

This domestic side of the current American-led Western imperialism has notable similarities with the imperialist push of the late 19th century, when European societies were deeply polarized along class lines. The label of "dangerous classes" given to the (then largely white) poor and working classes of Europe, has been shifted, in the present day, onto poor and working people of colour, immigrants - legal and illegal, refugees and asylum seekers. This sweeping disenfranchisement of large sectors of the population has

been accompanied by a massive growth of the prison system. Chandra Mohanty sees this

as part of a global disciplinary system that has a disproportionate impact on women.

> Just as the factories and workplaces of global corporations seek and discipline the
> labor of poor, Third World/South, immigrant/migrant women, the prisons of Europe
> and the United States incarcerate disproportionately large numbers of women of
> colour, immigrants and noncitizens of African, Asian, and Latin American descent.
> (Mohanty 2003: 246)

Sociologist Loic Waquant suggests that the prisons in the US are an extension of

racialized ghettos. He sees the present wave of incarceration as directly arising from the

racialized trajectory of American history including: the period of slavery of the early 17th

to mid 19th centuries; one hundred years of Jim Crow until the mid 1960s; the rise of the

urban ghetto in 1915; and finally the advent of the "hyperghetto" and prison from 1968 to

the present (Waquant 2002: 41-43).

Since the 1960s, the number of people imprisoned in America has grown tenfold.

As of 2003 more than two million people were in some form of detention (A. Davis

2003: 11). Geographer Ruth Wilson Gilmore sees the massive investment in prisons as a

domestic spatio-temporal fix. She says:

> In my view the expansion of prison constitutes a geographical solution to socio-
> economic problems, politically organized by the state which is itself in the process
> of radical restructuring. This view brings the complexities and contradictions of
> globalization home, by showing how already existing social, political and economic
> relations constitute the conditions of possibility (but not inevitability) for ways to
> solve major problems. In the present analysis "major problems" appear materially
> and ideologically, as surpluses of finance capital, land, labour and state capacity that
> have accumulated from a series of overlapping and interlocking crises stretching
> across three decades. (Gilmore 1998: 172)

But she qualifies this with a reminder that there is nothing inevitable or mechanically automatic about the economy that determines the degree of public spending in the prison system. In Gilmore's opinion responsibility for the decisions that gave rise to the US prison industrial complex lie firmly within the political arena (Gilmore 1998: 172).

Across the country the likelihood of imprisonment is just four percent for whites, as compared to sixteen percent for Latinos, and nearly thirty percent for blacks (Waquant 2002: 41-43). Waquant says this represents a *re-racialization* of the prison population similar to what took place after the emancipation of slaves in the late 1800's.

> The ethnic composition of the inmate population of the United States has been virtually inverted in the last half century, going from about 70% (Anglo) white at the mid-century point to less than 30% today. Contrary to common perception the predominance of blacks behind bars is not a long standing pattern but a novel and recent phenomenon, with 1988 as the turning point: it is the year when then vice president George Bush ran his infamous "Willie Horton" advertisement during the presidential campaign, featuring sinister images of the black rapist of a white woman as emblematic of the contemporary "crime problem", as well as the year after which African American men supply a majority of prison admissions for the country as a whole. (A. Davis 2002: 43)

Angela Davis emphasizes the increasingly gendered as well as racialized dimension of this new wave of incarceration, noting that women are the fastest growing group of prisoners in the United States and a majority of them are women of colour. And there is an ominous post-feminist ideological discourse used to obscure increasing levels of institutionalized racial and gender violence against incarcerated women. Repression, isolation, chaining and sensory deprivation of women prisoners are justified under the guise of 'equal treatment' with men (A. Davis 2003: 76-77).

Immigration detentions, practices of racial profiling in all aspects of the criminal justice system and drug related incarceration have all contributed to this scenario of increased repression of poor immigrants, people of colour and women. This criminalization has been supported by legal changes reclassifying poverty, drug and immigration offenses as felonies. The passage of draconian immigration legislation in 1996; 'three strikes and you're out' laws that impose automatic life imprisonment on those convicted of three felonies; and child welfare legislation that targets people of colour and single mothers, have also been instrumental in creating the mirage that crime is rampant even as the rate of violent crimes have been dropping nation-wide.

Domestic and international militarizations are both rationalized as legitimate responses to fear and insecurity. Catherine Lutz notes that some commentators rightly liken the state to a "kind of protection racket, raising armies from violent threats that they pretend to see, provoke themselves, or wreak on their own people." As well "many historians have noted the United States' especially intimate relationship to war, that US violence is centered on the idea of race and, moreover has contributed to the making of races." (Lutz: 2002:726). The discourse of national security is rooted in coded and pernicious forms of racism. Blacks and Latinos recruited for the military are pitted against South and West Asians even as they are both bearing the worst losses of the present war.

The excluded racialized and gendered population warehoused in the prison system is also produced by entwined racist-capitalist imperatives. The massive US prison building project initiated in the 1980s has soaked up large amounts of stagnant capital in the construction of new prisons. And it has created a new kind of "skin trade" through the growing involvement of private corporations such as the Corrections Corporation of America, Wackenhut and others whose profit margin depends on a steady growth in the number of prisoners entering the system (A. Davis, 2003: 84-93). Angela Davis points out how the present scenario resonated with the Jim Crow era:

> In arrangements reminiscent of the convict lease system, federal, state and county governments pay private companies a fee for each inmate, which means that private companies have a stake in retaining prisoners as long as possible and in keeping their facilities filled. (2003:95)

There is also growing evidence of a link between imprisonment of growing 'surplus' populations of people of colour, and the appropriation of prison labour by private capital. In and of itself the incarceration of millions of unemployed people can be read as a form of the spatio-temporal fix according to Harvey's definition:

> One of the prime functions of state interventions and international institutions is to orchestrate devaluations in ways that permit accumulation by dispossession to occur without sparking a general collapse. (Harvey 2003: 151)

In this instance it addresses the overaccumulation of labour power in the US economy caused by massive deindustrialization and the jobless recoveries of the 1990's. Managed and facilitated by the state, this renewed emphasis on repression has perilous implications for the already precarious position of poor women and people of colour living in American cities.

Marxist urbanist Neil Smith says that the 'zero tolerance' system of policing developed in New York under Mayor Rudolph Guiliani has become a template which has spread with "lightening speed" across the Western world (2001: 70). Smith argues that there has been a breakdown in liberal Western urban policy since the 1970s and the rise of zero tolerance policing is a component of the new urban order. And he likens the shift to the 'revanchist' campaigns of late 19th century Paris:

> *Revanche* is French for revenge, and the revanchists of the late 19th Century comprised a reactionary, nationalist movement seeking revenge against the perceived liberalism of the Second Empire and the proletariat uprising of the Paris Commune. They sought to reassert a sense of traditional decency against the incivility of the mob, workers and foreigners and the decadence of the monarchy. Today's new revanchists are rewriting urban and social policy in the wake of 20th century American liberalism. (Smith 2001: 69)

He explains that zero tolerance is popular, partly because it sweeps socially 'undesirable' residents out of land that is targeted for "urban regeneration or the wholesale gentrification of central urban landscapes". It is also a clearly racialized plan that uses the "language of decency and civility," similar to that used in the slum clearance campaigns of the late 19th century, to advance the interests, identities and ambitions of today's suburban white middle class (2003: 70).

This trend is "part of a wider and more visceral class, race, and gender, revenge for the 1960s, for feminist and civil rights movements, for immigration, erstwhile union power, and much more" (2003: 72). Ironically, women who live with multiple marginalization fall through the cracks of gender, race and class definitions. They are

often the last candidates for support and advocacy and bear an undue share of this

revanchist burden. As Anne Hendrickson writes in *Policing the National Body:*

> Young welfare moms of color are the female counterpart to the "suprepredator" man
> of colour. While "superpreadators" threaten violence, Black teen welfare moms are
> held responsible for 'poverty, school drop outs, child abuse and neglect, welfare
> dependence, despair, and crime'. (Silliman & Bhattacharjee 2002:253)

This new era of racist and sexist institutional, media, political, police, military,

and right wing stigmatization, harassment, criminalization and violence against poor

women and people of colour goes beyond the violation of the rights of the individuals

involved. Discourses and practices of crime, security, disorder are creating a new urban

racial and gender order in which those who have little or no access to capitalist, white or

male power are marked as non-citizens. This 'outside' status is irrespective of formal

citizenship rights and is being used to deny and strip poor and racialized people of their

humanity and the right to social protections afforded to more 'worthy' residents of

metropolitan cities.

Enclosure and expulsion of poor, racialized and gendered bodies involves a

corporeal logic of discipline and punishment. This aspect of social reproduction also

involves a territorial logic by ensuring a spatio-temporal fix for capital through avenues

such as the massive US prison building campaign and the appropriation of valuable inner

city land from residents of the ghetto. The people rendered social 'surplus' and their

availability as unskilled and low-paid labour in the shift to a casual labour force, are also

used as a disciplining threat to the workers in the primary circuit. The Western urban

model of social reproduction in the post Fordist era is an exceedingly segregated and

vindictive project, in which the state is being pressed hard from the political right to patrol and institutionalize race, class and gender inequalities rather than bridge, ameliorate or abolish them.

I now take a step back from the individual circuits in Harvey's schematic and reassess the historical and theoretical premise on which it is based. Specifically, I re-think Harvey's contention that 'original' accumulation, the precondition for the establishment of the physical and social infrastructures of capitalist urbanization, was reversed once the capitalist production got underway. In doing so I will present the possibility of an alternative hypothesis that has the potential to uproot Harvey's hierarchical structure and retrieve gender and 'race' from their status as secondary 'effects' of the circulation of capital. This discussion opens an avenue through which Harvey's work on urbanization, and his more recent assertions about imperialism, are connected through a process of ongoing 'primitive' accumulation. This in turn sheds new light on patriarchy and the racist aspects of capitalist imperialism, so they can be understood as co-constitutive with a Marxist analysis of Capitalism within the process Harvey now calls accumulation by dispossession.

Disrupting the Hierarchical Implications of Harvey's Circuits

Harvey's reading of Marxism and his diagram of primary, secondary and tertiary circuits depicts an inherently hierarchical relationship within which the primary circuit is the central hub and final determinant of the urban process. However, it must be acknowledged that Harvey's work also challenges orthodox Marxists for the unthinking

primacy they, too often, accord to the dynamics of production (2001: 281). As we have seen, an important part of Harvey's contribution lies is his theorization that the way capitalist surpluses are distributed is as important as how they are produced (Harvey 1989: 21). Harvey's spatial theory is his greatest contribution to Marxist urbanism. It creates openings to extend this work into gendered and racialized analyses of urbanism. But Harvey's analysis of the birth and subsequent trajectory of capitalist urbanization is a reminder that he is still, in Merrifield's words, a "classically Marxian Marxist" who gravitates back to capitalist accumulation as the centre of 'social' relations (2002: 143).

Capitalist urbanism, Harvey notes, required that a built environment be put in place *before* capitalism's ascendancy. The state and its infrastructures of social control also had to create labour markets for capitalism to win control over production and consumption. In other words the secondary and tertiary circuits not only existed prior to the advent of industrial capitalism they were the *preconditions* for its emergence (Harvey 1989: 24). This is the reverse of the schematic of capital circulation that Harvey says is now in effect where the secondary and tertiary circuits of the built environment and social institutions arise out of overaccumulation of capital surpluses from the production cycle.

The question then arises, where did the surplus needed to re-configure existing cities, build new ones, or create social infrastructures come from if not from surpluses out of the labour-production process? How was the capital needed for accumulation generated if not through the extraction of labour power through production? Harvey

anchors his answer to this question in Marx's description of 'original' accumulation[5] as

the operative mode of accumulation in the early years of European mercantilist capitalism

(1400 - 1800). In this period prior to the rise of industrial capitalism, violence, looting,

displacement and theft were the main mode of accumulating wealth. Harvey cites the

influence of Fernand Braudel in his interpretation of how this process was tied to

urbanization:

> The violent expropriation of the means of production through primitive
> accumulation or more subtle maneuvers of appropriation put capital surpluses in the
> hands of the few while the many were forced to become wage laborers in order to
> live. …The appropriation, mobilization, and geographical concentration of these
> surpluses of capital and labour power in commodity form was a vital moment in
> capitalism's history in which urbanization played a key role (Harvey 1989: 23)

A massive expansion of cities through primitive accumulation was therefore, an

indispensable prior condition for commodity capitalism to emerge. Merchants, the

church, and the state used a variety of methods to achieve this concentration of people

and capital out of the countryside and into cities. According to Harvey these included,

among other things, robbery, unfair exchange, taxes, the transformation of land into a

commodity for creating urban-based wealth, and the extraction of money from the

countryside.

> The use of these surpluses to build physical infrastructures, communications
> systems, and market centers formed a potential basis for capital circulation at the
> same time as the assembly of commodity use values (including wage laborers) in the
> urban centers, created the prior conditions under which the circulation of capital
> could be more easily launched. (Harvey 1989: 24)

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[5] Marx wrote about this form of accumulation in part 8 of Capital Volume 1. In German it is
'ursprungliche Akkumulation' which translates "original accumulation" but many writers use
the term 'primitive' accumulation. Although this has disturbing connotations, I here use both
'primitive' and 'original' in quotations along with Harvey's recent reformulation *accumulation
by dispossession* to describe the process.

Harvey also says that this amassing of wealth was not, in and of itself, enough to ensure that it would be used in a capitalist fashion. This is where the other part of the equation of capitalist hegemony came in - the forcible separation of workers from their means of survival and the introduction of private property. The resulting privatization of public and commonly held land meant mass displacement and starvation among peasants, turning them into a huge pool of wage labourers ready to work for any price to survive (1989: 25, 26).

There is a noticeable lack of mention in Harvey's account of capitalist urbanization of the role of European state-supported colonial conquests which deployed racist ideology to justify the looting of gold, silver, slaves, indentured workers, and other resources form Africa, Asia and the Americas. In this context Harvey's discussion of the state's role in 'original' accumulation lacks any mention of European imperialism as a source of capital to facilitate urbanization. As we shall see in the next chapter, Harvey now sees Imperialism as having an important role within modern capitalism through an ongoing process of accumulation by dispossession. But, as with his description of the secondary and tertiary circuits of capitalist urbanization, he sees it as a way of distributing capital surpluses, not a means of generating them. Marx, on the other hand, although not specifying the use of these for urban expansion, wrote:

> The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. (Marx in Tucker 1978: 435)

Also bypassed in Harvey's account is the role of patriarchal violence and domination of women sanctioned by the church and state in this period. The conversion of women's productive and craft-based work into privatized forms of free labour and the annexation, by church and state, of their sovereignty over their bodies and procreative capacities, are well documented in numerous feminist accounts (Mies 1986: 70). This amassing of institutionalized social power was as much of a precondition to the advent of capitalist urbanization as other physical, social and economic infrastructures.

Family historian Wally Seccombe documents how patriarchal norms underwent a massive shake-up with the demise of the household as the centre of commodity production (Seccombe 1992: 243). But this did not, as some family historians have claimed, result in the end of patriarchal control. While patriarchy described strictly as 'the rule of the father' over the household economy may have been lessened with the centrality of production shifting out of the home, this did not diminish male control over women. Rather, Seccombe argues that in spite of some of the liberatory effects of capitalism, it meant a real overall deterioration in the position of women in relationship to men "especially in marriage" (1992: 245).

Harvey's oversight on these counts leaves him flat-footed and out of step with a broad range of Marxist feminist, and anti-racist/ anti-imperialist thinkers. I will return to this point later in the next chapter but suffice to say for the moment that this omission seriously skews Harvey's subsequent assertions.

In Harvey's urban analysis, 'original' accumulation, which created the physical, social and political conditions for capitalism, lost its initiating role as the industrial capitalist production process was established and took over as the more dominant force. As he puts it:

> The maturation of capitalism rested on a process of gradual and sometimes revolutionary role reversal in which political processes; class alliances; the categories of rent, interest, merchants' profit, and taxation, and the assets of physical and social infrastructures were converted from interdependent though interlinked preconditions and determinants of political-economic processes into pure servants of capital accumulation. The role of the urban process, as well as the mechanisms of its development, shifted dramatically with this reversal. (Harvey 1989: 24)

Harvey's contention that a reversal took place in which the primacy of 'original' accumulation was supplanted by capitalist production is supported by Marx's writings on the rise of industrial capitalism. But it potentially contradicts his more recent assertions in *The New Imperialism* where he hypothesizes that modes of 'original' accumulation have remained active and parallel to the production processes of capitalism. Harvey now says original accumulation is an ongoing process which involves devaluation, destruction, and robbery of a range of social resources. As we shall see in the next chapter, he sees these processes as triggered by overaccumulation of capital (2003: 137-182).

In this Harvey is broadly following the lead of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg who challenged Marx's idea that the rise of industrial capitalism meant the demise of the mode of dispossession. But their arguments are largely geared towards explaining various aspects of imperialism and Harvey does not appear to notice that it also has the effect of throwing his assertion of a reversal of these processes in the urban sphere into question.

There is little doubt that commercial capitalism did qualitatively change with the rise and establishment of industrial capitalism, or that this had an impact on capitalist accumulation strategies. But in my view the wholesale replacement of accumulation by dispossession by the production process was more discursive than real. A triumphalist bourgeois discourse trumpets the idea of accumulation for accumulation's sake as a 'natural' feature of human competition for survival. It also obscures its ongoing dependency on the plunder of the bodies, sexuality, cultures, labours and resources of women and colonized people. And it hides their contribution to the overall 'social' process in the arenas of reproduction and survival - particularly among those people discarded by capitalism as superfluous to its logic.

Marx recognizes that erasure is an embedded part of 'original' accumulation and notes that its invisibility is a feature of capitalist accumulation. Accordingly, one section of Capital Volume One is appropriately titled "The Secret of Primitive Accumulation" (Marx in Tucker 1978: 431). Classical political economists have however kept this 'secret' over the course of capitalist history (Perelman 2002), and so too have traditional Marxists. In spite of these denials, there is real wealth produced through this otherwise violent and destructive process. It is used as production inputs, or 'means of production' in the form of low-cost or free labour, resources and for seizing land ownership. It is also a means of reproducing life and limb essential in the continuation of social existence. As Seccombe writes:

> By confining the productive forces to a narrow conception of tools and technology, orthodox Marxists have fostered a bilateral reduction: on the one side the effective omission of labour-power as humanity's first productive force; on the other the marginalization of raw materials supplied by nature. (Seccombe 1992: 13)

Let me be clear, I am *not* saying capitalist production and the process of class formation is irrelevant or even secondary to either capitalism or urbanization. I am however proposing that the transformation that took place with the advent of industrial capitalism depended on the colonization of forces which it continuously renders as 'outside' of the very market processes it seeks naturalize as the goal of accumulation for accumulation's sake. Ongoing colonization and its roots in racist slavery, patriarchy and Western white supremacy remain evident in its features to this day. These implicate corporeal and territorial logics of power rooted in patriarchal and racialist-imperialist forms of violence, looting, theft and disconnection of women and people of colour from their social, economic and bodily sense of worth and means of subsistence.

This conception of the mode of production and social existence as constituted by the mutual interaction of two forms of accumulation, each with distinct, but interdependent material bases, can begin to fill in some of the "empty rooms" in Harvey's theory of urbanization. It opens up an understanding of racialized, gendered and other forms of dispossession as intrinsic to the process. 'Use values' attached to land, natural resources, biological and social reproduction, the body, and unpaid, underpaid or underutilized labour are involved in both the production and consumption of surplus/ wealth. Therefore social and capital flows can be understood as multi-directional rather than simply emanating from, and feeding back into, the primary circuit. The doors in Harvey's circulation schematic swing both ways.

Accumulation by dispossession can be understood as the systemic basis of the appropriations of these dehumanized, 'naturalized', and 'free' goods, as well as their social devaluation through coercion and violence. Understanding this process as central, rather than relegating it to a series of incidental and secondary effects of production lifts Harvey's diagram of circuits out of its flat 'functionality' and political economic straightjacket. It opens up a third dimension in which gendered and racialized bodies, and their deployment in the realm of real human needs, can become integrated into a new definition of living labour which brings a broader range of social relationships into the heart of Marxist theory.

Within this picture, cities are historical and geographic expressions of an assemblage of social relations based not only in capitalist, but also patriarchal and racist-imperialist forms of power and capital. The conflicting, crisscrossing and interaction of accumulation modes, labour, bodies, cultures, creative expressions, and dreams across urban space opens up a line of theoretical and political reasoning worthy of deeper pursuit.[6] This potentially takes intellectual and political work beyond the impasse between limited political-economic hierarchies, and the discursive relativisms of postmodern feminism and postcolonialism.

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[6] I am aware that the above proposals resonate into a number of Marxist, feminist, and anti-racist-imperialist debates. Given the initial nature of this hypothesis, an exploration of these is not possible here.

CHAPTER TWO: ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION

In this chapter I sketch out Harvey's perspective on accumulation by dispossession, consider its gendered and racialized dynamics, and examine how it reframes Marxist understandings of Western urban social relations. I start by laying out David Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession as expressed in his analysis of the US led imperialism of the twenty-first century. This is followed by an assessment of how gendered and racialized social relations are conceptually and historically linked to processes of accumulation by dispossession. Beginning with a retracing of the early Marxist feminist debate between Hartmann and Young on the relationship of patriarchy and capitalism, I explore the early work of Maria Mies and her colleagues who theorize that ongoing 'primitive' accumulation is the basis of both gendered and colonial oppression. Finally, I end with a discussion of Gabriel and Todorova's more recent thinking on the relationship between racism and capitalism. Himani Bannerji's point of view remains a touchstone throughout.

A brief examination of some of the integrated expressions of urbanization and imperialism serves as a précis to a longer consideration of the current context of Western cities. I follow Harvey's lead looking through the prism of privatization as the cutting edge of accumulation by dispossession, and extend the analysis by connecting the enclosure of urban space, life, politics and governance with the reinforcement of urban re-segregation, and their gendered and racialized attributes. The chapter ends by rethinking neoliberalism and proposing that we shift the lens to tease out the ways in which we can identify neo-patriarchy, neo-racism and neoliberalism as analytically

distinct, but simultaneous and cross pollinating processes that work together to create the current world-wide social conjuncture.

Harvey, Imperialism and Accumulation by Dispossession

Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession arises out of his analysis of the new US led imperialism of the 21st century. He declares at the start of *The New Imperialism* (2003) that his "aim is to look at the current condition of global capitalism and the role that a 'new' imperialism might be playing within it" (Harvey 2003: 1). To this end Harvey is theorizing imperialism in the context of an expose of the motivations for the US led campaign in Iraq. But the particulars of these motivations need not detain us here. More relevant for this paper is Harvey's thesis that modern capitalist imperialism is anchored in a mode of "accumulation by dispossession."

Harvey's analysis of imperialism is in many ways an extension of his work on urban processes. As he wrote a few years ago in his book *Spaces of Capital*:

> The interaction of capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production within circulation creates interdependencies. The circulation of value within the capitalist system becomes dependent on the continued contribution of products and money from non-capitalist societies – to this extent the capitalist mode of production is conditional on modes of production lying outside of its own stage of development. (Harvey 2001: 251)

The framework for Harvey's analysis of imperialism is the circulation of capital by the same schematic, triggers and mechanisms that produce urban space. Specifically, Harvey positions imperialism as another form of the spatio-temporal fix for capitalist crises and argues it is also driven primarily by a *capitalist logic of power* spurred by an

individualistic quest for capitalist profits (2003: 33). This logic works in a dialectical

relationship with a sometimes conflicting, but not necessarily hostile, *territorial logic of*

power, motivated by the collective political ambitions of the ruling elites expressed

through the nation-state (Harvey 2003: 27-31). It is, however, a fluid relationship and

Harvey allows that there are moments when the territorial logic becomes dominant within

the dynamics of imperialism:

> At any given historical-geographic moment, one or another of the logics may
> dominate. The accumulation of control over territory as an end in itself plainly has
> economic consequences. What sets imperialism of the capitalist sort apart from other
> conceptions of empire is that it is the capitalist logic that typically predominates,
> though, as we shall see, there are times in which the territorial logic comes to the
> fore. (Harvey 2003: 33)

Again, Harvey is simultaneously innovative and conservative. He proposes a new

Marxist reading of imperialism but, as with his theory of urbanization, he remains faithful

to the idea that capitalist accumulation is, in most cases, the determining force. And, as

with his spatial analysis, Harvey's contribution in this arena represents a breakthrough in

Marxist thought. In this instance he directly takes up Marx's idea of 'original'

accumulation:

> Critical engagement over the years with Marx's account of primitive accumulation –
> which in any case had the quality of a sketch rather than a systematic exploration –
> suggests some lacunae that need to be remedied. (Harvey 2003: 145)

Harvey's re-interpretation and extension of this concept is linked to the historical

and current particulars of US hegemony, as well as the theoretical work of Marxists and

philosophers such as Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Hannah Arendt. Over the course of the

20th century, these (and other) thinkers linked the social and economic dynamics of

'primitive accumulation' in the period of commercial capitalism with modern colonial

campaigns.

Rosa Luxemburg, a German revolutionary leader and socialist theorist, saw 19th century European colonialism as a form of renewed 'original' accumulation. She held that capitalism perpetually needs an 'outside' to colonize and market its products to. 'Original' accumulation, she says, didn't die away with the advent of industrial capitalism as Marx thought. Rather it re-emerged in the later decades of the 19th century with the carving up of the international map between the European capitalist powers. Imperialist expansion, and the 'original' accumulation that accompanies it, was a survival strategy for European capitalism in response to the deep recession and crisis that hit European industries in the mid 1800's. Harvey has referenced aspects of Luxemburg's work in the past (1989), but here he draws on her thesis that within capitalism, there is not a single, but a dual process of accumulation. In Luxemburg's words:

> One concerns the commodity market and the place where surplus value is produced - the factory, the mine, the agricultural estate. Regarded in this light accumulation is a purely economic process, with its most important phase between the capitalist and wage labourer...The other aspect of the accumulation of capital concern the relations between capitalism and non-capitalist modes of production which start making their appearance on the international stage. Its predominant methods are colonial policy, an international loan system - a policy of spheres of interest - and war. Force, fraud, oppression, looting are openly displayed without any attempt at concealment, and it requires an effort to discover within this tangle of political violence and contests of power the stern laws of the economic process. (Luxemburg as quoted in Harvey 2003: 137)

Luxemburg thought that the exploitation of distinctly non-capitalist territories 'on the international stage' was critical to the survival of European capitalism. Disentangling it from imperialist violence and its bloody methods, she argued that late 19th century European imperialism rescued capitalism from its mid-century recession by expanding markets for capitalist goods outside Europe's borders. This pacified the inherent volatility

of overproduction and lack of adequate demand within Europe created by the capitalist

obsession with accumulation for accumulation's sake.

Harvey agrees that capitalist crises are central to imperialist expansions, and that

accumulation by dispossession is an ongoing process. But he disagrees with Luxemburg's

notion that the trigger is overproduction and low effective demand. He argues, as he did

in his theorization of the urban process, that overaccumulated capital (in the form of

money and/ or labour) seeks out spatial and temporal fixes to diffuse overaccumulation

on an international scale (2003: 138-140). He expressly disagrees with Luxemburg's idea

that there is anything 'outside' capitalism, sticking to his view that capitalism influences

all social relations and these processes therefore lie within its orbit (2003:144). However

as urban sociologist Bob Jessop (2004: 3) points out, Harvey is inconsistent on this

question both within *The New Imperialism* and across the body of his work.

Harvey cites post World War two German political philosopher Hannah Arendt in

advancing the idea that the resurgence of primitive accumulation was not just a

temporarily revival within late 19th century imperialism, but has been, and remains, a

continuing part of capitalism's historical geography. He proposes that a "general

reevaluation of the continuous role and persistence of the predatory practices of

'primitive' or 'original ' accumulation' [are] therefore very much in order" (2003: 144).

To clarify this enduring quality he renames the process *accumulation by dispossession*

saying it is organically connected to the structure of capital's expanded reproduction

centered on the production and distribution of commodities (Harvey 2003: 142-143).

Even as I center on Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession, it is evident that the extension of Marx's views on 'primitive' accumulation is not uncharted theoretical territory. A number of other contemporary thinkers, in a variety of fields, also hypothesize 'original' or 'primitive' accumulation as an ongoing feature of capitalist society. World systems theorist Immanuel Wallerstein has linked ongoing primitive accumulation with the world capitalist system (cited in De Angelis 1999). German feminists Maria Mies, Claudia Werlhof and Veronika Bennholdt-Thompson expanded 'original' accumulation from Marx and Luxemburg to explain the material basis of gender and colonial relations (Mies 1986; Mies et al. 1988; Werlhof 2000). Michael Perelman uses the concept in his work on ecological economics (Perelman 2001). And Massimo De Angelis argues that the persistence of 'primitive' accumulation underlies the rise of neoliberalism (De Angelis 1999). Harvey makes mention of Perelman and De Angelis' work but does not reference the feminist formulations of Mies, Werlhof, or Bennholdt-Thompson. A full consideration of all of these worthy contributions is not possible within this account, but I do consider Mies work in the upcoming section on gender, 'race' and accumulation by dispossession. Regardless, it is important, that further assessments of accumulation by dispossession take these (and other) analyses of contemporary forms of 'original' accumulation into proper consideration.

Marx corralled a broad range of social, political, and economic processes into the concept of 'original' accumulation and Harvey says these "features of primitive

accumulation… have remained powerfully present within capitalism's historical

geography up until now" (2003: 145). They include:

> ...the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of
> peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights into
> exclusive private property rights; the suppression of the rights to the commons; the
> commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous)
> forms of production and consumption; colonial, neocolonial, and imperial processes
> of appropriation of assets; the monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of
> land; the slave trade; and usury, the national debt, and ultimately the credit system as
> a means of primitive accumulation. The state, with its monopoly on violence and
> definitions of legality plays a crucial role in both backing and promoting these
> processes...(Harvey, 2003: 145)

In making the connections between imperialism, accumulation by dispossession,

and capital circulation, Harvey lays out his circulation diagram as the basis of capitalist

logic and argues that imperialist geographic expansions are spatio-temporal fixes for

overaccumulated capital when the domestic economy is saturated. In this rendering of the

schematic, Harvey says overaccumulation is not only a function of the primary circuit,

but can take place in the secondary circuit of fixed capital and the built environment, as

well as in the social reproduction and control functions of the tertiary circuit. The crises

that result from these multiple forms of overaccumulation mean that social, physical and

labour assets have to be devalued to open up fresh arenas of accumulation. As he puts it:

> But overaccumulation in the secondary and tertiary circuits can also occur in which
> case there will be surpluses of housing, office space, factory, and port facilities, as
> well as excess capacity in, say, the educational system. In this case assets will end
> up devalued within the secondary or tertiary circuits themselves. (Harvey 2003: 112)

While Harvey now acknowledges that the dynamics of either of the circuits can

trigger general crises, his specification of the secondary and tertiary circuits remain

devoid of social dynamics such as those of patriarchy and racism. In light of the gendered

and racialized processes I have described in the secondary and tertiary circuits (chapter

1), this analysis helps us to understand the regular bouts of devaluation visited on women,

people of colour and the poor and the attendant reduction of social costs as parallel to the

devaluation of labour and the lower costs of production that accompany it.

The continuity of Harvey's schematic remains intact in his view that the state and

finance are the key mechanisms for redirection of capital flows towards imperialist

ventures based on accumulation by dispossession:

> The umbilical cord that ties together accumulation by dispossession and expanded
> reproduction is that given by finance capital and the institutions of credit, backed, as
> ever, by state powers. (Harvey 2003: 152)

The globalization of production and Western de-industrialization of recent

decades has given finance, banking, and landed capital an increasingly central role in

Western economies. Finance capitalists, unlike industrial capitalists who rely on

extraction of surplus labour to make their profits, are deeply imbricated with processes of

accumulation by dispossession. Land and money traders, developers and bankers create

their surpluses through even less savory means. Harvey traces this from the early days of

capitalism through to the present:

> Some of the mechanisms of primitive accumulation that Marx identified have been
> fine-tuned to play an even stronger role now than in the past. The credit system and
> finance capital became, as Lenin, Hilferding, and Luxemburg all remarked at the
> beginning of the 20th century, major levers of predation, fraud and thievery. The
> strong wave of financialization that set in after 1973 has been every bit as
> spectacular for its speculative and predatory style. (Harvey 2003: 147)

The state is the political side of the equation in this process. It has a critical role in the devaluation of assets, labour and other resources through austerity programs, the credit system, interest rates and law and order campaigns. In this way it creates, manages and controls the devaluation crises which clear the path for accumulation by dispossession. Harvey describes the interwoven capitalist and territorial logic of this process:

> Crises may be orchestrated, managed and controlled to rationalize the system… Limited crises may be imposed by external force upon one sector upon a territory or a whole territorial complex of capitalist activity… The result is a stock of devalued, and in many cases, undervalued assets in some parts of the world, which can be put to profitable use by the capital surpluses that lack opportunities elsewhere… Valuable assets are thrown out of capital circulation and devalued. They lie fallow and dormant until surplus capital seizes upon them to breathe new life into capital accumulation. The danger however is that such crises might spin out of control, or that the 'othering' will provoke a revolt against the system that creates it. One of the prime functions of state intervention and of international institutions is to orchestrate devaluations in ways that permit accumulation by dispossession to occur without sparking a general collapse. (Harvey 2003: 150-1)

Accumulation by dispossession therefore can be used to pre-empt any slowdown in capitalist growth. Fictitious crises are used by the state as a premise to facilitate devaluations in a range of areas so that social, public, natural and money "assets (including labour power) at very low cost (and in some instances zero cost)" can be used to ensure increasing capitalist profits. For Marx this process amounted to an enclosure of the commons, which cleared the path for capitalist industrialization in the first place by impoverishing and starving people, creating the system of private property, generating the wealth and creating the proletariat (Harvey 2003: 149). In the present context, it is privatization of public and natural assets that, in Harvey's view, constitutes the 'cutting edge' of accumulation by dispossession (2003: 157).

> The rise in importance of accumulation by dispossession as an answer, symbolized by the rise of an international politics of neo-liberalism and privatization, correlates with the visitation of periodic bouts of predatory devaluation assets in one part of the world or another. And this seems to be at the heart of what contemporary imperialist practice is about. (Harvey 2003: 181-2)

But Harvey's view of capital circulation is not as formulaic as it seems. And there is nothing, as Harvey himself points out, robotic or inevitable about these dynamics. He describes how the US for example, could decide not to pursue the imperialist course at the present moment and invest surplus capitals into long-term industrial, physical and social infrastructures that would bridge the rising tide of inequality and deteriorating quality of life within the country (2003: 75). This would collectivize the burden of debt and social expenditure through higher taxes to the state but

> ..this is precisely what the dominant class interests within the US adamantly refuse to even contemplate; any politician who proposes such a package will almost certainly be howled down by the capitalist press and their ideologists, and just as certainly lose any election in the face of overwhelming money power. (Harvey 2003: 76).

There is clearly more at stake for the dominant class than a purely economic logic. A number of commentators have noted that the current stance of Western elites can be understood, at least in part, as political revenge for the gains of women's, civil rights, third world independence, and working class movements in the 60's and 70's (Panitch & Gindin 2004: 21). According to political economists Gerard Dumenil and Dominique Levy:

> Since World War II, the one percent richest fraction of households in the US used to hold more than 30% of the total wealth in the country; during the first half of the 1970s, this percentage had fallen to 22%. Neo-liberalism was a political coup aimed at the restoration of these privileges. In this sense it was highly successful. (Dumenil & Levy 2003: 2)

Even as these are important and necessary understandings of the present

conjuncture, political economic arguments, in my view, only tell one part of the story.

Harvey's assertion that accumulation by dispossession is a second and parallel system of

accumulation within capitalist history has far-reaching connotations when extended to the

broader sphere of social relations. But as Bob Jessop says, Harvey's conceptualization of

the spatio temporal fix effectively reduces social relations to economic processes:

> Harvey's analysis of temporal and spatial fixes is primarily value-theoretical. There
> is little explicit concern with the explanatory limitations of economic categories …
> …An adequate account of such spatio-temporal fixes must consider their extra-
> economic as well as their value-theoretical dimensions. Without the former the
> analysis of spatio-temporal fixes would degenerate into a reified and largely
> economistic analysis of the logic of capital; without the latter, it would degenerate
> into a 'soft' economic and political sociology. (Jessop 2004: 12-13)

Jessop notes that Harvey's introduction of a territorial logic of power opens the

door to understanding society as more than the sum of its economic parts, but he

describes Harvey's formulation of this logic as 'pre theoretical'. He suggests "an

alternative account of spatio-temporal fixes and the introduction of arguments about the

tendential ecological dominance of the logic of capital can help redress his one-sided

emphasis on the value-theoretical analysis of capitalism" (Jessop 2004: 14-15).

In this vein, I contend that bodily brutalities and dehumanizations are as much

part of the terrain of accumulation by dispossession as state-centered politics, the

predations of finance capital and the profit motive of industrial capitalists. These

processes strip those who are expelled from the social, political and economic arenas of

Western dominated society of their societal, cultural, intellectual, and material lives and

livelihoods in the devaluation processes of accumulation by dispossession. They are

mobilized through the levers of state and finance capital in the ways Harvey describes as

well as through gendered and racialized labour market hierarchies, segregations, social

reproduction work and institutionalized social control elaborated in the previous chapter.

To a greater or lesser degree, depending on the geographical and historical specifics of

any given situation, they are also reinforced by a broader range of social institutions such

as organized religion, ideological instruments such as the media, and increasingly by a

segment of "civil society" made up of private interests organized as 'community'

coalitions unwilling to disturb the capitalist, patriarchal, racist and imperialist status quo.

In the lived reality of social history, corporeal, capitalist, and territorial logics are

inseparable. While their conflicting strategic priorities can be exploited at any given

moment, in the long run, they serve, to reinforce and strengthen each other. One of the

oldest historical expressions of this relationship is found in racialized and patriarchal

slavery. Marx was emphatic on their centrality in capitalist development:

> Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England, it gave in the United
> States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery,
> into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact the veiled slavery of the wage
> workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new
> world. (Marx in Tucker 1978: 435)

The racialized and gendered corporeal logic underlying slavery, the capitalist

logic of wage labour, and the territorial logic of European hegemony are mutually

constitutive of each other in this progression. Harvey writes that the ongoing global sex

trade tells us that "slavery has not disappeared" (2003: 146). But more detailed attention

is needed to account for the ways in which the sexualities, bodies, cultures, collective and

intellectual property, and unrecognized social labour of women and racialized people are both integral to, and distinct from, capitalist and territorial power.

The 1994 Rwanda genocide and the violent rapes of women that were part of it are a most powerful illustration of the limits of purely political-economic explanations. Harvey's narrative of capitalist crises, or state-led territorial logics of power cannot capture or explain the brutal legacy of colonial racism and sexism that played out in that country or, for that matter are currently taking place in Sudan, or the Congo. There are no clearer examples of how ideologies of "race" and gender, grounded in colonization and patriarchy, have murderously material consequences for the bodily integrity of women and racialized peoples.

Accumulation by dispossession is not simply driven by economic or big 'P' political drives. It is the basis for the continued, yet changing, influence of patriarchy and European supremacist colonialism within a purportedly post-colonial and post-patriarchal capitalism. These historical relationships have been, and remain, a potent undercurrent creating overt and covert forms of masculinism and racism at both global and urban scales.

A deeper acknowledgement that raises these processes from obscurity is needed to give them the appropriate theoretical and political force. This is not a project of the past, but of the present and future. As anti-globalization as activist Vandana Shiva affirms:

> We thought we had put slavery, holocausts and apartheid behind us - that humanity would never again allow dehumanizing and violent systems to shape the rules by which we live and die. Yet globalization is giving rise to new slavery, new holocausts and new apartheid. It is war against nature, women, children and the poor. A war that is transforming every community and home into a war zone. (Shiva 2002)

In the next section I will elaborate briefly how gendered and racialized oppression are materially tied to accumulation by dispossession. Following this, I explore some of the links between urbanization, imperialism and accumulation by dispossession. The chapter wraps up with a picture of how gendered, racialized and class-based privatization, re-privatization and re-segregation are recreating the urban landscape in the image of ruling elites. My aim is to show that imperialism, as Harvey has described it, also operates on the home front, and that accumulation by dispossession creates an unacknowledged internal border dividing economically, racially and sexually designated 'insiders' from rejected and expelled 'outsiders' within the public life of Western cities.

Gender, 'Race,' Capitalism and Accumulation by Dispossession

Harvey's conception of accumulation by dispossession needs to be 'rubbed together' with feminist and anti-racist work to reveal the openings it creates for analyses of the parallel and integrated nature of class, race and gender social divisions. There is a rich anti-racist, anti-colonial and feminist literature addressing the relationship between racism, imperialism, gender oppression and capitalism. In particular, Marxists and World Systems theorists[7] have debated whether racism originates within primitive accumulation

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[7] Eric Williams' 1944 book "Capitalism and Slavery" has been the basis of much subsequent debate. World systems scholar Immanuel Wallerstein's 1979 book "The Capitalist World-

or has some other historical trajectory. Addressing the depth and breadth of this work would require a much more exhaustive treatment than I can give here. Given this, the following discussion should be regarded as a small window on much larger transnational debates. While I do comment briefly on the anti-racist perspectives towards the end of the argument, my primary vantage point is largely situated in Marxist feminist discussions.

There has been a long debate among Marxist Feminists about how to understand the relationship between Marxism and Feminism. And while contours have shifted and changed over the decades since the 1960s, the fundamental questions raised in the 1980s remain largely unresolved. This is, at least in part due to the limited framework within which Marxist feminists have taken up the question. As Himani Bannerji says:

> [T]he 'Marxism' or class analysis of Marxist feminism is mainly a certain version of Marx's idea of 'political economy.' Sharing with their male counterparts the agenda of a 'scientific' social analysis, feminist political economy is largely an attempt to situate women and the sexual division of labour in capitalist production. Feminists also equate Marxism mainly with political economy and use the same positivist method for reading *Capital,* though in retaliation against the sexism and gender blindness of male practitioners... That racism and sexism are necessary social relations for the organization of colonial or modern imperialist capitalism in the West seems to figure as an afterthought in the recent writings. (Bannerji 1995:75-76

Bannerji's charge against Marxist feminism is amply demonstrated in the oft-cited Hartmann-Young debate. In the 1980s Heidi Hartmann published a landmark essay *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism,* challenging fellow socialist feminists who accepted the primacy of capitalism as a framework for understanding women's

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Economy" is a frequently cited source in discussions about the ongoing nature of 'primitive' accumulation.

oppression. She proposed instead that patriarchy constitutes a second, separate system

running parallel to capitalism. As she famously said:

> The 'marriage of Marxism and feminism has been like the marriage of husband and
> wife depicted in English common law: Marxism and feminism are one and that one
> is Marxism. Recent attempts to integrate Marxism and feminism are unsatisfactory
> to us feminists because they subsume the feminist struggle into the 'larger' struggle
> against capital. To continue our simile further, either we need a healthier marriage or
> we need a divorce. (Hartmann in Sargent 1986: 2)

The original Marxist formulation on women's oppression was proposed by

Frederick Engels who wrote at the turn of the 20th century that women's relegation to the

family sphere was based on the advent of private property and the associated need to

trace lineage to ensure the transfer of property from one generation to the other. Engels

was surprisingly clear about the foundational nature of gender divisions as the original

form of class oppression:

> The first division of labour is that between man and woman for child breeding. And
> today I can add: The first class antagonism which appeared in history coincides with
> the development of the antagonism between man and woman in the monogamian
> marriage, and the first class oppression was that of the female sex by the male.
> (Engels in Tucker 1978: 739)

But in Engels' mind, capitalism would emancipate women by turning them into a

proletariat and thereby destroying the sexual division of labour underlying women's

oppression. History has shown otherwise. In spite of women's entry into the production

process and the paid labour market, particularly in the post World War Two era, Engels'

prediction has been proven inaccurate. Here Hartmann tackles the conventional Marxist

idea that patriarchy is rendered obsolete within capitalism:

> Patriarchal relations, far from being atavistic leftovers, rapidly outmoded by
> capitalism, as the early Marxists suggested, have survived and thrived alongside it.

> And since capital and private property do not cause the oppression of women as *women*, their end alone will not result in the end of women's oppression. (Hartmann in Sargent 1986: 5)

Hartmann went on to outline the differences between her position and those of other theorists. Contemporary Marxists and Marxist-feminists, she noted, now agree that women's oppression didn't begin with capitalism, instead the hard separations capitalism has created between the domestic private sphere and the productive public sphere have intensified women's subjugation. Going beyond Marxist orthodoxy, Marxist feminists see women's work in the home as a critical input into the capitalist production process. In their view, privatization of housework hides the fact that women's household labour produces surplus for capital by making it seem that they work for individual men. Accordingly, the remedy is to end the separation of the two spheres and redefine capitalist production to include women's domestic labour. (Hartmann in Sargent 1986: 4,5)

In contrast to these attempts to stuff women's position and experiences into the economic logic of capitalism and thereby neutralize gendered social differences, Hartmann argued that both racism and sexism were and still are crucial preconditions for capitalism:

> Capital accumulation encounters pre-existing social forms, and both destroys them and adapts to them. The adaptation of capital can be seen as a reflection of the *strength* of these pre-existing forms to persevere in new environments. Yet even as they persevere they are not unchanged. The ideology with which race and sex are understood today, for example, is strongly shaped by the particular ways racial and sexual divisions are reinforced in the accumulation process. (Hartmann in Sargent 1986: 24)

Hartmann did not elaborate on the processes of racism even as she acknowledged white supremacy as a central form of oppression in her comment that "it might be most accurate to refer to our societies not as, for example, simply capitalist but as patriarchal capitalist white supremacist" (1986: 18). Her focus remained almost exclusively on women's oppression, patriarchy and its distinctness from capitalism despite the relationship between them.

In Hartmann's view one reason for the dominance of Marxist theory over feminist analysis was that patriarchy remains under-theorized in comparison to Marx's elaborate work on capital. Acknowledging that capitalism and patriarchy are deeply entangled and difficult to detach from each other, she maintained that separating them is critical if we are to tease out important and unanswered questions about the ways patriarchy divides the working class. She rejected the notion of patriarchy as a purely ideological phenomenon espoused by early Marxist feminists such as Juliet Mitchell. For Hartmann, one of the key tasks of Marxist feminists is to uncover the *material* basis of patriarchy.

Iris Marion Young's *Beyond The Unhappy Marriage: A Critique of Dual Systems Theory* was a response to both Hartmann and "the majority" of Marxist feminists who she saw as advancing a version of *dual systems theory* in which patriarchy and capitalism are viewed as two separate systems operating in tandem. Rather than formulating a theory based on the respective weaknesses of traditional Marxism and radical feminism, Young argued for "a single theory out of the best insights of Marxism and radical feminism. One that understands patriarchal capitalism as a single system in which women's

oppression is a *core* attribute." (Young in Sargent 1986: 44) Hartmann's two-systems

analysis, she said, dangerously perpetuates the capitalist separation of public and private

spheres:

> "One of the defining characteristics of capitalism is the separation of productive
> activity from kinship relations, and thereby the creation of two spheres of social life.
> Making this point, and showing how this separation has created a historically unique
> situation for women, has been one of the main achievements of socialist feminist
> analysis. The model of separate spheres presupposed by many dual systems theorists
> tends to hypostasize this division between family and economy specific to capitalism
> into a universal form." (1986:48)

Where Hartmann saw control over labour power as the material basis of

patriarchy, Young held that this has the effect of collapsing patriarchy and making its

central feature indistinguishable from capitalism. Marxist analysis, she argued, needs be

extended past gender-blind concepts of class and labour power as the basis of all value.

This requires broadening and prioritizing the concept of a *sexual division of labour*. For

Young, leaving the Marxist ideas of what constitutes the *material* unchallenged amounted

to an endorsement of the absence of women's oppression in Marxist analysis:

> As long as feminists are willing to cede the theory of material social relations arising
> out of labouring activity to traditional Marxism, the marriage between feminism and
> Marxism cannot be happy. If as Hartmann claims, patriarchy's base is a control over
> women's labour that excludes women from access to productive resources, then,
> patriarchal relations are internally related to production relations as a whole. Thus
> traditional Marxian theory will continue to dominate feminism as long as feminism
> does not challenge the adequacy of the traditional theory of production relations
> itself. If traditional Marxism has no place for analysis of gender relations and the
> oppression of women, then that theory is an inadequate theory of production
> relations." (1986:49)

Noting that Marx himself relied as much on the analysis of the division of labour

as he did on class divisions she says:

"Gender division of labour analysis may provide a way of regarding gender relations as not merely a central aspect of relations of production, but as fundamental to their structure. For the gender division of labour is the first division of labour, and in so-called primitive societies, it is the only institutionalized division of labour." (Young in Sargent 1986:53)

The Hartmann-Young impasse evolved into critiques of the use of patriarchy and the development of new terms such as 'gender regime' and 'gender order' among some Marxist-feminists. The notion of a *gender order* is used by feminist political economists in place of patriarchy, which has been criticized for being too general a conception to account for the multiple processes that work together to constitute the oppression of women (McDowell 1999: 16,17). Since patriarchy literally means the 'rule of the father' and describes a pre-capitalist form of male domination (Seccombe 1992), it implicitly diminishes the importance of male dominance through other avenues such as husbands, sons, the state, capitalist employers, and masculinist cultural, legal and social institutions (Mies 1986: 37). Feminist theorist Silvia Walby uses the double concept of public and domestic *gender regimes* as the expression of gender domination in industrial societies (McDowell 1999: 17). Bakker uses *gender order* to refer to the combined gendered power relationships of social reproduction in its three aspects - biological, labour power, and provisioning/ caring.

As Bannerji points out and these debates illustrate, the consideration of racism, colonization or imperialism in its historical or modern manifestations among Western Marxist feminists has been, at best, cursory. Bannerji's work shows that feminist analyses will not move past their impasses and contradictions unless they are willing to address gender in light of other historically constituted social relationships of power. This lack of

perspective obscures the ways in which some social divisions can serve to perpetuate

others at key points in history:

> Decontexting 'patriarchy' or gender from history and social organization - which is structured by both cooperative and antagonistic social relations - obscures the real way in which power works. Using this framework we cannot conceptualize a reality in which women are complicit and 'gender' is implicated in, both creating and maintaining class and racist domination. Nor can we see the cooperative engendering of the social space of classes, or the simultaneity of this cooperation with the necessary subordination of women within the dominant and subordinate classes. Through this theorization we cannot speak of women's experiences in relation to class and race (in the West). (Bannerji 1995:69)

A partial exception to the limited feminist frameworks Bannerji criticizes can be

found in the early work of Maria Mies. Her book *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a*

World Scale (1986) is based on collaborations with German feminists Claudia Werlhof

and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen with whom she published *Women the Last Colony*

(1988). I say partial because I find Mies' political focus on middle-class Western

'housewives' as the locus of social change entirely untenable. But her discussion of

'primitive' accumulation as the common basis of women's and colonial oppression is,

nonetheless, a powerful theoretical breakthrough for Marxist feminism.

Mies and her colleagues are greatly influenced by Rosa Luxemburg's thesis of the

role of colonialism. As Mies says:

> Colonialism for Rosa Luxemburg is therefore not only the last stage of capitalism [], but its constant necessary condition. In other words, without colonies, capital accumulation or extended reproduction of capital would come to a stop… what her work opened up for our feminist analysis of women's labour worldwide was a perspective which went beyond the limited horizon of industrialized societies and the housewives in these countries. It further helped to transcend theoretically the various artificial divisions of labour created by capital, particularly the sexual division of labour and the international division of labour by which precisely those areas are made invisible which are to be exploited in non-wage labour relations and

where the rules and regulations governing wage-labour are suspended. (Mies 1986: 34)

Thus Mies' early work detailed the explicit links between ongoing colonization as expressed in the international division of labour, the oppression of women as expressed in the sexual division of labour, and the concept of 'original' accumulation as articulated by Luxemburg. In doing this she went to the heart of the Hartmann-Young debate about how to understand the sexual division of labour.

> It is thus necessary, regarding the concept of the *productivity of labour*, to reject its narrow definition and to show that labour can only be productive in the sense of producing surplus value as long as it can tap, extract, exploit and appropriate labour which is spent in the *production of life,* or *subsistence production* [] which is largely non-wage labour mainly done by women. As this *production of life* is the perennial precondition of all other historical forms of productive labour, including that under conditions of capitalist accumulation, it has to be defined as *work* and not as unconscious natural activity. (Mies 1986: 47)

Mies' historical sketch shows how the European witch-hunt during the latter part of the so-called dark ages, along with the European colonial conquests that began shortly thereafter, assigned this crucial but naturalized subsistence role to women and colonized peoples (1996: 78-100)

> It is my thesis that the general production of life, or subsistence production – mainly performed through the non-wage labour of women and other non-wage labourers as slaves, contract workers and peasants in the colonies – constitutes the perennial basis upon which 'capitalist productive labour' can be built up and exploited. (Mies 1986: 48)

This position bridges the schism between Hartmann and Young by supporting both their views. Young's assertion of the centrality of the sexual division of labour is reinforced, as is Hartmann's perspective that there is a separate, second and parallel source of social wealth involved in the production and reproduction of life. Mies links the

two tracks by arguing that the work involved in the production of life is an ongoing

precondition of capitalist production. In this way she centralizes the work and resources

of women and colonized people under capitalism without collapsing them into the

capitalist production process. Mies describes the relationship between the two forms of

labour:

> In contrast to Marx, I consider the capitalist production process as one which comprises both: the *superexploitation* of non-wage labourers (women, colonies, peasants) upon which wage labour exploitation then is possible. I define their exploitation as superexploitation because it is not based on the appropriation (by the capitalist) of the time and labour over and above the 'necessary' labour time, the *surplus* labour, but of the time and labour *necessary* for people's own survival or subsistence production. It is not compensated for by a wage, the size of which is calculated on the 'necessary' reproduction costs of the labourer, but is mainly determined by force or coercive institutions. (Mies 1986: 48)

The process involved in the establishment of the sexual and colonial division of

labour, Mies writes, was far from the 'natural' or evolutionary process that Engels,

among others, described. The bloody brutality associated with 'primitive' accumulation is

inseparable from gendered and colonial oppressions etched into the terrain of early

capitalist history (1986: 74).

Mies' review and analysis of the European witch-hunt reveals the intertwined

corporeal, capitalist and territorial logics that propelled it into becoming "a new alchemy

which made gold out of human blood" (1986: 87). The hunting, legal prosecution and

burning of as many as 10 million women (1986: 110, note 2), and the confiscation of

their property boosted the economic position of many institutions and individuals.

Through the violent targeting of witches and the appropriation and destruction of their

knowledge of birth control and women's procreation, control over women's bodies was

transferred from women to the church and state. As well, the sheer number of witch trials

supported the rapid development of the judicial system, and the confiscation of witches'

property contributed the coffers of the state and urban princes of the period. Together

these misappropriations created the population base (through increased childbirth), the

state infrastructure and the wealth needed to finance wars and conquests, expand cities

and support the feudal and urban bourgeois classes 'in the face of their ruined

economies" (Mies 1986: 83-88). But as Mies shows, it did not stop there:

> Apart from the big bloodsuckers – the religious authorities, the worldly
> governments, the feudal class, the urban authorities, the fraternity of jurists, the
> executioners – there grew up a whole army of smaller fry who made a living out of
> the burning of witches… The hope of financial gains can be seen as one of the main
> reasons why the witch hysteria spread and why hardly any people were acquitted.
> The witch-hunt was business. (Mies 1996: 86, 87)

The rise of modern science was also caught up with the misogynist violence. Mies

cites Carolyn Merchant's research which discovered how the fathers of modern science

advocated sadistic forms of mechanical interrogation, violation, and torture against the

witches in order to both subdue them and forcibly extract their accumulated wisdom

about natural medicine and women's reproductive processes (1986: 87, 88).

Mies also describes the ruthlessness of European conquest and "primitive

accumulation' in the process of colonization during the 16th and 17th centuries. Imperialist

expansion reaped money, slaves, and commodities such as spices as European trading

companies vied with each other and used 'brute force, outright robbery and looting'

(1986: 90) to gain control over the people, regions and resources of Asia, Africa and the

Americas. As with the witch-hunts, the Christian church worked alongside the urban

bourgeoisie and Monarchy of Europe, as key perpetrators, ideologues, and beneficiaries of this process.

> The whole brutal onslaught on the peoples of Africa, Asian and America was justified as a *civilizing mission* of the Christian nations. Here we see the connection between the 'civilizing' process by which poor European women were persecuted and 'disciplined' during the witch-hunt, and the 'civilizing' of the 'barbarian' peoples in the colonies. Both are defined as uncontrolled, dangerous, savage 'nature', and both have to be subdued by force and torture to break their resistance to robbery, expropriation and exploitation. (Mies 1986: 90)

Mies traces the extension of this brutal rise of sexism and white supremacy through the establishment of capitalism and into the present, and likens the family under capitalism to a colony. Her discussion of the emergence of the gendered divide between the public and private spheres reveals an interesting link. Malthus, whose thesis that population growth is unsustainable within the earth's capacity has informed the racist eugenicist ideas of the late 19th and 20th centuries, as well as population control advocates and environmentalists in recent years, was one of the early advocates of the separation of the spheres:

> Malthus, one of the important theoreticians of the rising bourgeoisie, saw clearly that capitalism needed a different type of woman. The poor should curb their sexual 'instincts' otherwise they would breed too many poor for the scarce food supply. …Then Malthus paints a rosy picture of a decent bourgeois home in which 'love' does not express itself in sexual activity, but in which the domesticated wife sublimates the sexual 'instinct' in order to create a cosy home for the hard-working breadwinner who has to struggle for money in a competitive and hostile world 'outside' (Mies 1986: 104)

Mies also makes the connection between 'primitive' accumulation and male violence against women. Arguing against the attribution of this violence to the 'natural' or biological urges of men, she calls instead for a historical materialist approach which links the trajectory of masculinist violence from the witch-hunts to the present. It is an

ongoing 'primitive' accumulation in that it produces an alienation of women from their

bodies.

> Women's first and last 'means of production' is their own body. The worldwide increase in violence against women is basically concentrated on this territory…dominance is not only based on narrowly defined economic considerations, although these play an important role, but the economic motives are intrinsically woven with political ones, with questions of power and control. (Mies 1986: 170)

In a recent application of this analysis to the Multilateral Agreement on

Investment, Claudia Werlhof notes that is not just European women but Third World

women who are particularly and repeatedly stripped of their corporeal integrity:

> The extension of [original accumulation] helps to recognize the extent to which modern political economy, up to the present, builds upon the producers', men's, and even more so women's, permanent worldwide expropriation and deprivation of power. They have not only historically been robbed by 'original accumulation,' they are still robbed again and again. The process of capital accumulation still depends on 'primitive accumulation' which therefore, cannot only – as Marx did – be understood as earlier or preceding accumulation, but must always be simultaneously seen as a necessary part of ongoing accumulation…a component of capitalist accumulation is always 'original accumulation.' (Werlhof 2000: 731)

The analysis developed by Mies, Werlhof and Bendolt-Thomsen is compelling. It

shows how the historical trajectory of accumulation by dispossession has been centered

on specifically gendered and colonial processes. In articulating ongoing 'primitive'

accumulation as the basis of this process, it transcends the deadlock of Marxist feminism

by revealing that this process is simultaneously separate and inextricable with capitalist

production. Bannerji's objection that feminist approaches separate inter-constituted social

relationships, or leave history and colonization out of the equation appears to have been

addressed. But their discussion of colonization and racism still begs the question: can

racism be conflated with colonialism?

Gabriel and Todorova think not. In their recent article *Racism and Capitalist*

Accumulation: An Overdetermined Nexus (2003) on the relationship between racialized

consciousness and capitalist exploitation, they argue that racism has a long distinct

history as a cultural process. They outline the differing ontologies of 'race' among anti-

racist scholars and, in spite of the long-standing debate, the extent to which the question

remains unresolved.

Gabriel and Todorova disagree both with Marxist perspectives that treat racism

as an 'epiphenomenon of the *economic*', and the Michel Omi and Howard Winant school

which views racism as a quintessentially *political* phenomenon.

> We [] take seriously the project of making sense of racism as a process within which
> racialized subjectivity is generated, not as an expression of political projects or
> activities (as in Omi and Winant) or of economic projects (as in Oliver Cox and the
> many economic determinists that follow his lead), but as a social process with its
> own effects upon the social formation in question. (Gabriel & Todorova 2003:
> 31,32)

Racism is not, they say, a creation of capitalist colonialism. White supremacy is a

form of racism particular to the colonial/ slave era but this is an evolution from an earlier

European aristocratic racism based on feudal hierarchies. The establishment of a 'white

race' based on phenotypes facilitated conquest in the mercantilist period when phenotype

was developed as "a proxy for a wide range of exclusions and inclusions necessary for

the slave and colonial projects" (2003: 38). And they correctly point out that white

supremacist phenotypes based in ideas of darkness and incivility, have been

'extraordinarily flexible about who is and is not excluded and included from the transcendental white race" (2003: 39).

In their search for a way to articulate the relationship between capitalist accumulation and the social process of racism, these contemporary anti-racist thinkers are concerned that those who look to primitive accumulation as an explanation of the material basis of racism assume "an inevitability to the rise of capitalism and secondly, that racism is born of capitalism" (Gabriel & Todorova 2003: 35). Their main uneasiness is that the idea of 'primitive' accumulation' places the specific historical/ cultural relations that create racism *under* the umbrella of capitalist economics. They are also concerned that the relationship between racism and capitalism not be viewed as mechanically induced by capitalist dynamics.

Overall, I support Gabriel & Todorova's desire to identify the particular trajectory of racist ideologies, and the nexus of capitalist economic logic and racist cultural logic. And I agree with their conclusions that racism affects all aspects of social relationships and that there is a mutually constitutive relationship between capitalist and racist logic:

> Our position is that the existence of racism alters the logic of capitalist accumulation and vice versa. This is not to say however, that we view either as the condition of existence of the other. The struggle to end racism is not collapsible to the end of capitalist exploitation. Nor is the reverse the case. (2003: 44)

But in bringing forward the importance of the ideological construction of race, their apparent denial of its materiality in economic, spatial and social processes seems to support a false and unnecessary binary.

Gabriel and Todorova's formulation begs the question of how these processes produce the lived and ultimately inseparable social reality. As it stands, their formulations appear to be based on erroneous assumptions that are too often repeated among those who take a culturalist view of racism. Principal among these is the acceptance that class is a purely economic category and that culture/ ideology is positioned in opposition to it. I hold that ideologies and material realities are mutually constituted in a variety of ways that change in space and time. Through historically entrenched patriarchal and racist practices, the ideological also becomes material. White supremacist ideologies take on enduring and material economic, spatial, social and physical patterns. Phenotypes of whiteness and darkness, flexible as they may be, continue to underlie racialization. Just as women's bodies become material expressions of gendered power relations, so too racism literally marks the bodies of racialized subjects (Domosh & Seager 2001: 111; McDowell 1999: 48-50).

In addition, Gabriel and Todorova base their objections to linking racism to accumulation on an acceptance of 'primitive' accumulation as a one-time phenomenon through which industrial capitalism was born. But when the concept is expanded into accumulation by dispossession using both Harvey's and Mies' understandings of its ongoing nature, and its broad applicability to the gender oppression and imperialism, their objections have much less force.

Nevertheless, they are correct in their assessment that Western racism cannot be entirely collapsed into its expression as early colonial conquests, or for that matter, subsequent forms of imperialism. Neither Mies nor Harvey's work adequately takes up racism as a basic organizing principle of Western society, let alone its engagement with accumulation by dispossession. This requires a historical and geographical re-thinking of Western racism within the metropoles, in the frame of accumulation by dispossession, that remains sensitive to its cultural, economic, political, territorial, bodily and economic facets and variations. Suffice to say for the moment that white supremacy, as Gabriel and Todorova describe it, empowered the forced appropriation of racialized bodies and their social and natural resources. As described elsewhere in this paper, it arose in tandem with gendered forms of accumulation by dispossession as the basis for Western colonial conquests. These persist into the present in the form of modern Western imperialisms, as well as the deeply racialized divisions, commodification, alienation, and hyper-exploitations that saturate the life of Western metropolitan societies. The socially constructed bodies of people of colour within the empire are critical sites for these persistent forms of dispossession.

As we have seen from Mies work, gendered social relations have a similar dynamic. The bodies and sexuality of women are effectively colonized through alienation, commodification, and their perpetual consumption in the service of a socially aggrandized masculinist body politic. Gabriel and Todorova, like too many other anti-racist theorists, make no mention of gendered relationships, or the impact of patriarchal relationships in defining a nexus of capitalism and racism. But, as with the gender and

race absences in Harvey's work, the political economism of some Marxist feminism, and the political shortcomings of Mies, this does not so much undermine their arguments as render them incomplete.

In my view, the ongoing nature of racist, colonial and patriarchal relations necessitate *economic*, *spatial*, *social* and *physical* devaluation, separation and dispossession of women and racialized people. These ideologically naturalized and masked processes make political and economic forms of power possible and profitable for Western ruling elites. They are a continuation of the violent alienation of people from their lives and livelihoods Marx described in his specification of 'original' accumulation. And they demonstrate the necessity of the continuance of patriarchal and racist-imperialist relations as powerful ongoing preconditions for capitalist hegemony.

There is a corporeal logic of power, as I dubbed it in the previous chapter, involved in these devaluations which drives the economic, political and social annexation of selected human bodies in their physical, cultural, and emotional fullness. Gabriel and Todorova are right to emphasize the cultural but I feel their formulation of it does not go far enough. If a bodily logic, understood as a social/ cultural rather than biological construction, is acknowledged as operating in a historically and geographically dialectical relationship with territorial and capitalist logics of power, their distinctness and interdependence, as well as their contingent forms can be understood and engaged.

Racism and sexism are the historically and geographically entrenched power relations of the corporeal logic of power. In the present context, the patriarchal family, early European territorial conquests, slavery, and genocide have become displaced and diffused into everyday sexisms and racisms which insidiously inform the political economies of Western societies (Nightingale 2001b). As feminists working against violence against women have long argued, masculinist power and control are at the heart of male violence. Similarly, historical white supremacy is at the core of racist violence. These unequal relationships and practices have become fixed within Western urban life through hierarchies and segregations within labour markets, built environments, social institutions, family forms, differential citizenship, politics, policing, and everyday life.

Urbanization and Accumulation by Dispossession

Harvey focuses on imperialism in his development of the concept of accumulation by dispossession. But it is also evident that he sees it as more than a Third World process:

> While I do not think that accumulation by dispossession is exclusively to the periphery, it is certainly the case that some of its most vicious and inhumane manifestations are in the most vulnerable and degraded regions within uneven geographical development. Struggles over dispossession occur, however on a variety of scales. (2003: 173)

The current US led imperialist push into Iraq, in Harvey's view, aside from being a war for geopolitical position, is also a way to tame a domestic civil society that has, over the 1990s become "far from civil." Urban racial riots, social and economic polarization, predatory capitalism, political scandals, mass shootings throughout the

1990s, he says, have bred a hunger for a new morality. The war on Iraq is filling this void

in American society. More than just a distraction from domestic problems it has been

> "…a grand opportunity to impose a new sense of order and bring the commonwealth
> to heel. Criticism was silenced as unpatriotic. The evil enemy without became the
> prime force through which to exorcise or tame the devils lurking within. (Harvey
> 2003: 17)

And it is not just new territories and processes that are targeted for accumulation

by dispossession. Pre-existing social forms and relationships are equally cannibalized in

the process:

> In some instances the pre-existing structures have to be violently repressed as
> inconsistent with labour under capitalism, but multiple accounts now exist to suggest
> that they are just as likely to be co-opted in an attempt to forge some consensual as
> opposed to coercive basis for working class formation. Primitive accumulation in
> short involves appropriation and cooptation of pre-existing cultural and social
> achievements as well as confrontation and supersession… (Harvey 2003: 146)

Harvey's description of accumulation by dispossession cuts across urban, national

and international scales. He cites the collapse of Enron, speculative raiding by hedge

funds, biopiracy and the patenting of genetic material, depletion of the air, water, and

land that make up the commons, the commodification of nature, privatization,

deregulation, the rollback of state heath and welfare supports, and the privatization of

social housing, as just some of the ways in which accumulation by dispossession is being

mobilized in the present context (2003: 147, 148).

The extension of accumulation by dispossession to the urban process within the

West is therefore, not entirely out of line with Harvey's thinking. But there is no explicit

connection between imperialism and urban processes in *The New Imperialism.* He says

only that "sub-national political entities such as metropolitan or regional governments become critically engaged with this process [imperialist expansion]" and while there is some justification to talk of internal colonialism within countries, Harvey's own preference is to "reserve the term imperialism, *pro tem* at least, for a property of inter-state relations and flows of power within a global system of capital accumulation" (2003: 32, 33). But as Chandra Mohanty points out, the geographical distinctions between the West and the Third World are less than clear in the current re-ordering of global relationships:

> With the United States, The European Community and Japan as the nodes of capitalist power in the early twenty-first century, the increasing proliferation of Third and Fourth Worlds within the national borders of these very countries, as well as the rising visibility and struggles for sovereignty by First Nations/ indigenous peoples around the world, "Western" and "Third World" explain much less than the categorizations "North/South" or "One Third/ Two-Thirds Worlds."[8]…
> … While these terms are meant to loosely distinguish the northern and southern hemispheres, affluent and marginal nations and communities obviously do not line up neatly within this geographic frame. (Mohanty 2003: 226)

In earlier writings Harvey said imperialism and urbanization are organically linked and imperialist capital investment sometimes "spawned industrial development in far-off lands." This has forced urban industrialism onto societies going along different paths bringing them into "a system of urban places through movements of money, capital, commodities, productive capacity and labour power" (1989: 33). Harvey links industrial urbanization as spreading through imperialism and indicates that global inter-urban competition makes cities fundamentally imperialist as they link to the political and military power needed to succeed within the game.

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[8] See note #6 for an explanation of the terms "One Third Worlds" and "Two Thirds Worlds.

> The industrial city had to be, therefore, an imperialist city. And if it wanted to retain its hegemonic competitive position within a proliferating world market it had to be prepared to conjoin political and military imperialism with an economic imperialism… (Harvey 1989: 34)

Catherine Lutz shows how one aspect of this militarization works inside the US In the American tradition of entrepreneurial cities, an intimate link is forged between "the 640 US communities with large military bases." This is particularly propitious for realtors and low-wage retail sectors as military bases create demand for housing and shopping centres for soldiers and their families. She cites the example of Fayetteville, North Carolina where feminized retail labour predominates and is a major source of jobs. But the labour market is also flooded with a 'reserve army' of soldiers wives looking for work and the overall result is that wage rates in Fayetteville are lower than in any North Carolina city. In addition, its demographic and cultural contours are centrally informed by the militarism, racism and imperialism entrenched in its history (2002: 726):

> The long history of race and war is encapsulated in Fayetteville's annual International Folk Festival. It begins with a parade down the city's main street led by a contingent of the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, a militia begun in the slave era, and still in existence, though more as a social club than armed force. The soldiers in archaic dress costume are followed by a march of war refugee nations from Puerto Ricans and Okinawans to Koreans and Vietnamese who have made the city home. (2002: 726).

This absurd but compelling image resonates with the complexity of masculinist militarism, racist imperialism and segregated urban life inside the US. But racialized and imperial history and militarism are not the only links between metropolitan urbanism and imperialism. Within Harvey's theories they are linked in other important ways.

Imperialism and urbanization both diffuse capitalist crises through spatio temporal fixes. The devaluations so central to accumulation by dispossession are also present on the urban scale. World systems theorist Giovanni Arrighi notes that these go far beyond the 'creative destruction' of physical structures:

> …both meanings of spatial fix have an inescapable social aspect. The literal fixing of capital in the form of ports, roads, airports, factories, schools etc., in and on the land, creates something more than a geographical landscape facilitating the accumulation of capital. It also brings into being a particular human habitat of social interaction and reproduction. And conversely, the metaphorical spatial fix for overaccumulation crises involves much more than a devaluation of the capital fixed in land that is made obsolete by the creation of a new geographical landscape. It also involves a devastation of the human habitat embedded in the obsolescent landscape of capital accumulation. (Arrighi 2005: 31, 32)

This habitat and its spatial and social forms are, as I have shown, marked by gendered and racialized divisions. Accordingly, the devaluations and subsequent accumulation by dispossession visited on Western urban landscapes are felt most keenly in the bodies and lives of women and people of colour. We shall now turn to how this process is taking place in new and emerging forms of Western urban social relations.

Re-privatization, Re-segregation and Western Cities Today

Cities in the West today are undergoing massive changes. Over the past three decades of global neoliberal and neoconservative restructuring, there has been a rescaling of economic, social and political life away from the absolute centrality of national production, the nation-state and collective social responsibility. The massively increased flows of production, finance, goods, information, and people around the world have been paralleled with simultaneous shifts in scales of governance as well as the nature of work

and everyday life (Swyngedouw 2003: 13; Smith in Brenner & Theodore 2002: 82).

Roles and functions that were the domain of national governments have been distributed

upwards to the supra national, downwards to the sub-national and outwards into the

private sector and private life (Swyngedouw 2000). These shifts have increased the

importance of urban space and urban life in the constitution of the global system.

Western cities, city-regions, and their inhabitants are forced to be far more independent

and flexible than ever before.

     The economic basis of cities in the West has undergone a marked change. De-

industrialization caused by the internationalization of production has meant that, for the

most part, they are no longer the pre-eminent sites of international industrial production

(Smith 2002: 87; Harvey 2000: 8). That function has shifted to factories in the

industrializing centers of the Third World. Instead, the cities of Europe and North

America are increasingly management and service centers for globalized production and

international capital in its rapid movements around the globe (Sassen 2001: 87-89).

     The racial composition of cities has also been transformed. The urban centers of

Europe and North America now feature a wide diversity of people of non-European

origin. While racialized divisions have been active geographical and social signposts in

Western cities since the days of slavery and earlier European imperialisms, the massive

demographic shifts and cumulative effects of the movement of subjects of former

colonies into the urban centers of their former colonial masters, along with the sheer

volume of migration resulting from displacements caused by recent waves of global

integration, are re-creating the cultural and social landscape of Western cities. As David

Harvey says:

> The massive forced and unforced migrations of peoples now taking place in the
> world, a movement that seems unstoppable no matter how hard countries strive to
> enact stringent immigration controls, will have as much if not greater significance in
> shaping urbanization in the twenty-first century as the powerful dynamic of
> unrestrained capital mobility and accumulation. (Harvey 2000: 25).

Reproduction relations and the hard ideological, if not always practical, lines

between domestic and productive spheres put in place in the late 19th century are being

blurred (Domosh & Seager 2001: 4). But this does not represent a trend towards greater

equality or access to public life for most women. The entry of large numbers of women

into the paid urban labour force over the past fifty years has been followed with an

equally intense restructuring of work over the past two decades. Women, immigrants, and

people of colour largely occupy this new flexible workforce (Sassen 2001: 289-292).

Elenore Koffman writes that the:

> …restructuring of capitalism expels the middle strata from the city and leads, on the
> one hand, to the expansion of higher-level professional and managerial classes and,
> on the other, to increasingly precarious and informal activities at the lower end,
> filled disproportionately by women and immigrants. The processes are instrumental
> in increasing segregation within such global cities. (Koffman 1998: 279)

As part-time, low-paid, contingent, and piece work becomes the norm, homes are

turning into privatized workplaces which atomize women even further from each other.

And as the state retreats from the provision of critical services, households become

further transformed into makeshift hospitals, child and elder care centers. It is largely

women who are forced to fill these the resulting social gaps with their labour and intimate

ministrations. Far from reversing the gendered inequalities of the public-private split, this

has the ironic and harsh effect of isolating women by pushing them back into the domestic sphere even as they remain active in the labour market and work harder than ever before. Neil Smith points out that this trend is part of a backlash against the public organization of social reproduction:

> …the new revanchist urbanism that replaces liberal urban policy in cities of the advanced capitalist world increasingly expresses the impulses of capitalist production rather than social reproduction. (Smith 2002: 80)

Privatization of urban space and governance plays an important role in reasserting race, gender and class divisions within Western cities. Privatization as a form of accumulation by dispossession is re-segregating cities and citizenship and creating two distinct classes of urban belonging and alienation. The criminalization of poverty, the rise of the law-and-order state and the re-privatization of social supports and services are means to code the new regulatory agenda which splits society into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' citizens with the undeserving increasingly made of racialized residents, women, poor and working class people. This materially *and* discursively constructed differential citizenship is having profound effects on the urban social landscape. In spite of this it either remains unaddressed or, at best, is a peripheral consideration within urban political-economic discussion.

Many writers make gestures towards acknowledging either the growing social, political or economic polarization within Western urban centers as a feature of the post-Fordist neoliberal order. But theories of urban politics do not, by and large, account for, or explore in any great depth, the simultaneously racialized, gendered and class nature of effectively bifurcated social citizenship. Specifically, the ways race, gender and class

contours mirror and recreate the old, uneven, social, political, and economic geographies of imperialist relationships *inside* the boundaries of Western societies via the organization of cities and city regions are largely ignored. Spatial, occupational and functional segregation, by race, class and gender are not part of political debates despite increasing evidence of their re-emergence, albeit in new disguises. Stefan Kipfer and Roger Keil underline the centrality of segregation in the emerging urban order created by gentrification, interurban competition for investments, and repression:

> Often implemented through law-and-order campaigns and racialized moral panics that stimulate fear about crime and deviance, the revanchist city signals a shift from the "integrative" growth machines of the Fordist city to the "exclusionary" growth machines of the competitive city, which are characterized by sharper forms of sociospatial segregation and much more visibly coercive forms of social control. The exclusionary forms of social control have now become essential ingredients in a competitive race among cities to make urban space safe, clean, and secure for investors, real-estate capital, and the new urban middle classes. (Kipfer & Keil 2002)

Where gender, class, or 'race' inequalities are addressed, they are too often taken as separate and distinct phenomenon rather than as forces that work together to compound political disenfranchisement of urban dwellers living at the intersections of multiple social disadvantages. And, even where interventions by feminist and anti-racist theorists are taken up by urban theorists the focus is still, too often, on class as the primary and overarching contradiction. Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs note that this is particularly so in discussions of social polarization:

> In the case of North American and European cities, these economic (class) disparities are often noted to have specific ethnic, racial, or gender characteristics…. These accounts of social polarization in contemporary cities do offer a specific register of difference. They demonstrate how, in class terms especially, certain differences are actually being exacerbated in contemporary First World cities. They also indicate how class differences are complexly intertwined with race, ethnicity and gender. (Fincher and Jacobs 1998: 11)

But they also point out the need to go further than simply gesturing towards gender and 'race' complexities and ask more specific questions to get to the changing shape of our cityscapes.

> What are the multiply articulated processes by which disadvantage is made and remade? As Gans [] argues, it is necessary not only to understand that there is a new urban poor but also to understand how "the poor," in all their internal diversity, are "chosen for victimization, how and by whom." (Fincher & Jacobs 1998: 12)

The economic and political powers within Western cities are in paradoxically close geographical proximity to the growing mass of people being rendered surplus on a social and economic level, and thus becoming increasingly distant from a tightening political-economic circle of increasingly privatized public decision-making. The de-facto erasure of ever-larger numbers of urban inhabitants from the arena of civic discourse means that new forms of urban governance are being built atop deepening fault-lines. Understanding the material basis of these racialized, gendered and class-based contradictions, their relationship to modes of capital accumulation, urban form and spatial organization, as well as social, cultural and discursive constructions of the city in the post-Fordist era is critical to defining the ground and operation of urban politics. Jonas and Wilson acknowledge the absence of this analysis in their introduction to *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*:

> Thus an emerging issue is not simply why certain individuals and groups (e.g. poor working women, racialized groups, unions, etc.) have been marginalized from formal institutions and local politics but also why knowledge of those individuals and groups, and of their actions, has been excluded from academic texts. (Jonas & Wilson 1999: 11)

Polarization within: Women, People of Colour and Labour

A significant and very real material shift has taken place over the neoliberal period that must be accounted for in any historical materialist efforts to conceptualize the dynamic of gender, 'race' and class and their intersection within the present era. Simply put, the growing gaps of the past few decades have created a sharp polarization both between and within the categories of women, workers, people of colour, immigrants, lesbians and gay men, with the implication that there is now significant divergence of interests among groups who otherwise share a structurally common basis of oppression based on their gender, race, class or sexual preference.

Harvey refers to how this phenomenon affects workers in his discussion of how some privileged workers in the West are invested in the shift to the mode of accumulation by dispossession that marks the current US imperialist expansion, since their jobs, wage levels and standards of living are dependent on it. The result, he points out, is that over twenty years of economic crisis and restructuring 'much of the labour movement in the advanced capitalist countries fell into the trap of acting as an aristocracy to preserve its own privileges, by imperialism if necessary' (Harvey 2003: 171).

Similarly, women are increasingly polarized internally between the minority who have the class and/or white privilege to allow them to reap the benefits of the so-called emancipation of women on the one hand, and the largely racialized, immigrant and poor women who are either relegated to the low-wage service sectors of the economy or unable to secure employment at all (Bakker & Gill eds. 2003). Too often, perceptions and

descriptions of the Western norm are based on experiences and rights of the few winners rather than the growing numbers who find themselves rapidly losing ground in the newly configured gender and racialized order.

Likewise there are people of colour whose privileged status affords them a place in the elite strata of society. Their visibility and active promotion within the ideological channels of bourgeois institutions does not however mitigate or change the growing material reality of a neo-racist offensive which is deepening racialized poverty and segregation for increasing numbers of people of non-European origin. In Canada, for example, the urban poverty rates for people of colour are now at least double those of people of European backgrounds (Lee 2000).

While some might try to conclude that these internal rifts are evidence of the declining importance of class, gender and 'race' distinctions, I argue that they speak to the pressing need for a comprehensive, integrated theoretical perspective that speaks to the interconnections between contemporary forms of capitalism, patriarchy and racist imperialism. A theory that simultaneously clarifies the overarching and universal picture of current urban realities, while also addressing the culturally, historically and geographically contingent particulars which are its constitutive elements. Using an expanded concept of accumulation by dispossession helps us to develop this in ways that encompass the economic, social, political, cultural, and discursive aspects of race, gender and class oppression as they function separately and together, and as they are played out

in the bodies and lives of people living multiple marginalization within segregated geographic/ urban spaces.

Re-privatization of Reproduction and the Retreat of the State

Feminized and racialized poverty and marginalization have deepened in the contemporary neoliberal era and a heightened dependence on accumulation by dispossession of the bodies, resources, political rights, civil liberties, and labors of the poor, women, and people of colour is a marked feature of Western cities. Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill elaborate on the labour and economic dimensions of this growing phenomenon:

> [T]he primitive labour market mode is not only increasingly prevalent in the Third World, but also within the leading capitalist societies, and it is often articulated in transnational circuits of labour supply and control. In the urban centers, workers such as these, are also often located in the informal sector that provides cheap and disposable services (for example as maids to professional women, or as manual day labourers). (Bakker & Gill 2003: 6)

As the state downloads social responsibilities onto overburdened municipal tax bases, or sheds them in the name of fiscal crisis, the resulting re-privatization of social reproduction means an inordinate share of the cost is borne by those who are most disenfranchised in the first place. Some services are commodified through transfer to the private sector where they are sold as high-priced goods to those in a position to pay for them. This creates a dynamic whereby the rich career woman hires (at the lowest wage negotiable) a poor woman of colour to perform those functions that the state has discarded. (Bakker and Gill 2003: 81). The low-income woman of colour who has no way of purchasing such services must also pick up these responsibilities for her own

household. Little wonder that overwork, stress, ill health due to overwhelming responsibilities are increasingly common complaints among women of colour (Khosla 2003).

Privatization also takes place *within* the public realm, as local governments mimic corporatist values and implement cost recovery goals which commercialize services through imposition of increasing fares, fines and user fees which amount to a second tax on publicly-funded programs. This further privatizes access to public services and amenities through a perverse dynamic in which the poorest taxpayers are subsidizing social benefits for those who can afford to pay the second fee to access such services. User fees are openly acknowledged by right wing think tanks as a way of narrowing demand for public services (Khosla 2003).

Privatization of Public Space

As well, the privatization of public space through gentrification, commercialization, stepped up policing and authoritarian surveillance is intensifying the segregation of urban space in the creation of poor, working class and racialized enclaves and ghettos (Nightingale 2001b) which are also home to large numbers of single mothers with few housing options. Across the cities of the West, the language of urban decline is mobilized to justify 'urban re-generation' or 'revitalization' projects that expel poor and working class inhabitants from the centers of Western cities (Smith in Brenner & Theodore 2002: 93). Although the traditional forms and patterns of segregation are

changing, they are equally, if not more vindictive than before. In the words of

Swyngedouw and Kaika:

> [C]orporate power, bureaucratic domination, hidden mechanisms of redistribution,
> and processes of segregation and exclusion rampage through our metropolitan
> spaces as cities and regions attempt to re-position themselves in the competitive
> world order. (Swyngedouw & Kaika 2003:16)

Critical in the enforcement of these segregations and processes of dispossession is

the emergence of law-and-order as the new social policy of the state and its diffusion into

the everyday urban cultures. Along with the so-called 'war on terror', a heightened

rhetoric of fear and blame justifies the criminalization of poor people, people of colour

and single women and mothers as the sources of urban violence, social disorder and

moral and physical decay, as well as painting them as thieves of the public purse and the

cause of the fiscal crisis of the state. Racial profiling as a law enforcement practice is

being challenged and exposed over the weak but well reported denials of Police leaders

and policy makers. David Harvey describes this culture:

> Those in power rush to blame the victims, the police powers move in (often
> insensitively) and the politician-media complex has a field day stigmatizing and
> stereotyping an underclass of idle wrong doers, irresponsible single parents and
> feckless fathers, debasement of family values, welfare junkies and much worse. If
> those marginalized happen to be an ethnic or racially marked minority (particularly
> of immigrants), as is all too often the case, then the stigmatization amounts to a
> barely concealed racial bigotry coupled with the kind of xenophobia that has Turkish
> immigrants in Berlin physically controlled out of much of the central city. (2000: 9)

The line of assumed criminality, linked to racist, gendered and class phenotypes,

is a critical determinant of who is excluded from the right to social citizenship. While

formal citizenship rights are eroded at National scales, the local state and quasi-state

actors are literally policing the social/political lines of urban belonging and thus shrinking

the right to the street and the city to those who are ideologically, socially and economically marked as the "deserving". The dispossession of these rights for large numbers of urban residents based on combinations of race, gender and class location represents a shift in the urban political geography of Western capitalism. Empire and imperialism, with all their attendant racialized economic and social hierarchies, are not external or geographically distant phenomenon; they have made and are still remaking the cities of Europe and North America.

Imperialism inside the cities of the West

The key features of early colonial cities (Nightingale 2001a) include white supremacist, and segregationist physical and social planning models, authoritarian modes of governance, erasures, eroticization and suspicion of racialized women, privatized economic access, and hierarchical and differential citizenship rights. These are being reproduced inside the urban seats of the old European and new American-led empire. As with the racially split colonial cities of 17th and 18th century colonial India, present-day Western urban centres are becoming dangerously divided into separate and parallel spheres of life and modes of survival between people of colour and those of Western European background, women and men, rich and poor. As these gaps grow to unprecedented levels, an atmosphere of racialized and gendered poverty and mistrust becomes etched into the Western urban landscape. Permanent full-time jobs and a stable connection with productive economic activities are increasingly the purview of the privileged minority.

The gendered and racialized geography of privatized reproduction weighs heavily on multiply marginalized women who are relegated to overwork, isolation and low-wage or no wage labour. They also pay the social and physical cost of repressive social control which is not only the brutal companion to the destitution and dislocation of the laissez faire economy, but becomes internalized into the lifestyles of men and young people reaching for power in the face of powerlessness.

In spite of this bleak picture, cities remain the places where streets are paved with gold in the imagination of the world's oppressed and disenfranchised majorities. Urbanization is a rapidly increasing phenomenon around the world and in contrast with the early days of capitalism it is not linked with industrial expansion. As Harvey notes:

> But the flood of people into developing country cities is not fundamentally tied to the pulls of employment attached to capital accumulation or even to the pushes of a reorganising agrarian capitalism destructive of traditional peasantries…
>
> …It is a far more populist search to take advantage of capitalist produced possibilities no matter whether capital accumulation is going on or not, and often in the face of economic conditions that are just as, if not more appalling than those left behind. And while one of the effects may be to create vast "informal economies" which operate both as proto-capitalist sectors and as feeding grounds for more conventional forms of capitalist exploitation and accumulation [], the explanation of the movement in itself can hardly be attributed to the machinations of some organised capitalist class action. (Harvey 2000: 24-5)

Even as the national borders of the Western world close in an effort to turn Europe and America into secure imperial fortresses, similar processes are taking place within the internal borders emerging *inside* Western cities. Harvey continues:

> The continuing flow of Asiatic and African populations into European countries and the Asiatic and Latino flows into North America exhibit similar qualities producing some wonderfully instructive contrasts right in the heart of capitalist cities…

…the industrial reserve army that such migratory movements create may become an active vehicle for capital accumulation by lowering wages but the migratory movement itself, while it may indeed have been initiated by capital looking for labour reserves (as with guest workers and migrant streams from the European periphery), has surely taken on a life of its own. (Harvey 2000: 25)

In spite of the conditions they find themselves in, there is an incredible and life affirming pro urbanism among the urban poor, people of colour and women. Their cultural, social and economic contributions in the midst of their accelerating marginalization are perversely used as marketing ploys in the game of interurban competition. Notwithstanding the cynicism of this, their social strength is a testament to the overlooked political potential of these constituencies. As Carl Nightingale points out in his discussion of the widespread celebration of the ghetto in hip hop music:

Segregation, after all, is ultimately the result of political struggle over urban space, and control over space figures importantly in inner city youth culture. Meanwhile, in the face of pressures to militarize and close off both real and virtual urban public squares and other spaces of encounter and struggle, the dance halls, public parks, railroad yards, and abandoned property so plentiful in ghettos and elsewhere in the city have become places for oppositional cultures to grow. (Nightingale 2001a)

But the pressure of a neoliberal social agenda is decidedly individualistic and aims directly at replacing public commitments to collective consumption with a social Darwinist ethos of survival-of-the fittest. The erosion of the politics of solidarity in everyday life and culture is further fuelled by the suspicion and fear generated by law-and-order public policy makers as they justify massive shifts in public expenditures away from social redistribution programs to policing and military spending.

Mark Purcell argues that Lefebvre's notion of the 'right to the city' can become a way of mobilizing response to urban disenfranchisement. However he calls for an important modification of the original way in which it was conceived:

> Lefebvre's conception of urban space under the right to the city is very clearly anti-capitalist insofar as space should meet the needs of urban inhabitants rather than the needs of capital. But Lefebvre conceives of inhabitants' needs mostly in terms of their class position. Inhabitants' needs with respect to urban space also involve struggles against racism, patriarchy, and heteronormativity, among other forms of domination. (Purcell 2004: 4)

I concur with Purcell that the obsession with class and the system of commodity production as the singular and pre-eminent point of contradiction within the capitalist, imperialist patriarchy is incomplete. Residents of the segregated enclaves and ghettos of Western cities are eager and hungry for the opportunity to engage in the process of public life and movements for progressive social change (Khosla 2003). Nightingale further underlines this:

> Even as such powerful political forces constrain their lives, ghetto residents also continually create world history themselves. The ghetto is home, after all, to a political constituency whose power has never been fully realized. Still, marshalling their numbers, imaginations, votes, leadership, and often their willingness to take to the streets, ghetto residents have long been critical to the successes of egalitarian movements for a redistributive role for the state, civil rights, labour rights, open housing, educational equity, community reinvestment, more accountable policing, and alternatives to imprisonment. In so doing they have both inspired and taken courage from similar actions in growing urban communities of colour elsewhere. (Nightingale 2000: 33)

Enfranchisement, both formal and informal, is a critical precondition for effective political membership and engagement. The fact that this is being sharply curtailed and circumscribed through combinations of gendered and racialized spatial separations, economic exploitation, cultural commodification, social and linguistic marginalization

and deprivation of political status for growing segments of Western urban populations,

can only have an explosive effect on urban politics. Brenner and Theodore note that there

is no guarantee that the outcome of the current tensions will be a progressive one:

> At the present time it remains to be seen whether the powerful contradictions
> inherent within the current urbanized formation of roll-out neoliberalism will
> provide openings for more progressive, radical, democratic re-appropriations of city
> space, or whether by contrast, neoliberal agendas will be entrenched still further
> within the underlying institutional structures of urban governance. Should this latter
> outcome occur, we have every reason to anticipate the crystallization of still leaner
> and meaner urban geographies in which cities engage aggressively in mutually
> destructive place-marketing policies, in which transnational capital is permitted to
> opt out from supporting local social reproduction, and in which the power of urban
> citizens to influence the basic conditions of their everyday lives in increasingly
> undermined. (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 29)

Connecting the concept of accumulation by dispossession with theories of gender,

race and class intersectionality as per the work of anti-racist feminist Marxists such as

Angela Davis, Himani Bannerji, and Chandra Mohanty, becomes critical as a foundation

for a renewed, integrated politics of resistance. The use of a dialectical, historical

materialist analysis to unravel, document and explore the interconnections of oppressions

in the lives of the poor, women, and people of colour being relegated surplus in the

current international urban order in both the North and the South, allows us to go beyond

the polarized divides and esoteric debates between postmodern and Marxist thought.

Thus we can unearth the material, symbolic, cultural and economic histories which reveal

the long standing overlapping oppressions over the five hundred years of the advent of an

enmeshed capitalist, imperialist, patriarchal and slave system.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore's work gives this intersectional approach an all-important

spatial and geographic grounding. As she points out, the dismissal of many racist realities

by geographers and social scientists, is based on a tendency to 'over-blow the threat of

essentialism' noting that even "If race has no essence, racism does" (Gilmore 2002: 16).

Her explicit anti-racist stance doesn't, however, privilege 'race' over other social

divisions or oppressions:

> [My] focus on race neither fixes nor asserts its primacy… The political geography of race entails investigating space, place and location as simultaneously produced by gender, class and scale. By centering attention on those most vulnerable to the fatal couplings of power and difference signified by *racism*, we will develop richer analyses of how it is that radical activism might productively exploit crises for liberatory ends. (Gilmore 2002: 22)

Neoliberalism, Neoracism, Neoimperialism & Neopatriarchy

The latter part of the 20th century has been a truly dynamic and conflicted one.

The post-war period was one of accelerated industrialism, economic growth and

prosperity facilitated by the Bretton Woods system. The challenges of the cold war

propelled a global arms race and anti-colonial movements in the third world emerged as a

third force in the geopolitical arena. Together these opened up the possibilities for a

dramatic re-ordering of the world political map, an unprecedented expansion in the social

and economic role of the nation-state, and a new era of labour capital compromise in the

West. By the 1960s national movements worldwide were imagining and pressing for new

forms of society, new moralities, ethics and values, and above all a transformation of the

economic, social and political relations between classes, races, genders and countries.

The effects on the Western urban landscape were dramatic. In the first three

decades after the war large numbers of third world immigrants moved to seek out new

lives and possibilities in the imperial heartlands. Theirs was a quintessentially urban

quest for education, expanded possibilities and modes of survival, and freedom. Women

sought metropolitan refuge from patriarchal dictates and struggled to create new patterns

of everyday life in which they could be fully humanized. Students, social justice

advocates and left movements turned city streets into sites of resistance to war and

capital. An air of promise and optimism was evident in the streets of cities from Paris to

London to Chicago. Lively intellectual and political exchanges between anti-colonial

thinkers and activists of the third world and European left scholars and organizers added

to the creative atmosphere.

All of this abruptly changed with the oil shocks of 1973, which rocked the

capitalist economies of the West and effectively paved the way for the defeat of the

Keynesian project by its long-time rival – the 'free-market' laissez faire thinking of the

Chicago school. Ideas of reducing the state's role in the economy by de-regulating

markets, labour costs and conditions, and dismantling the equalizing provisions and

programs of the welfare system became prominent in public discourse. A new naked

capitalism, desperate to keep growing and chasing profits regardless of the human and

planetary cost steadily became the order of the day. By the fall of the Berlin wall and the

end of Soviet socialism in the late 1980s the global neoliberal project was well underway.

As Erik Swyngedouw writes:

> The 'Schumpeterian Workfare State' [] which combines a drive towards competitive
> innovation with an erosion of traditional re-distributional welfare systems, has
> abolished a series of institutionalized regulatory procedures to leave them open to
> the market and, consequently by the power of money. At the same time, other forms
> of governmental intervention are replaced by more local ('local' can take a variety
> of forms from local constituencies, cities or entire regions) institutional and

regulatory forms. For example, the restructuring of, and often outright, attack on national welfare regimes, erodes national schemes of redistribution, while privatization permits a highly socially exclusive form of protection shielding the bodies of the powerful while leaving the bodies of the poor to their own devices. (Swyngedouw 2000)

David Harvey argues that the present era of neoliberalism -cum-neoconservativism can be understood as the result of capitalism's perpetual state of crisis since the early 1970s. The growing gap between rich and poor, and haves and have-nots within and across nations is now a well-documented reality. But all too often this polarization, and the resistance to it, is understood in terms of the uneven relations between core and peripheral countries. While there is no denying the real and devastating effects of the deepening disconnection of large parts of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America from the core of the world economic system, the geography of social, political and economic imperialism and marginalization now extends to a significant extent into the urban centers of the Western world. Race, gender and class intersections in the economic, political and social lives and bodies of women, people of colour and immigrants are largely unacknowledged as constitutive of this dispossession.

A notable feature of so-called 'free-market' neoliberalism is that it is presented ideologically as a natural and inevitable process, particularly in light of the demise of the socialist experiments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. But (as previously discussed in this chapter), neoliberalism is both an explicit economic *and* political strategy mobilized by civic and social elites to regain their dominance (Dumenil & Levy 2003: 2). Beyond restoring their inordinate share of the economic pie, the political aim is to roll back the economic, social and political gains of the civil rights, anti-colonial, anti-

racist, feminist, democratic, student and social justice movements of the post World War

II period (Panitch & Leys 2003: 21; Smith in Brenner & Theodore 2002: 86).

I see race and gender divisions as deeply intertwined with, but not the same as the

neoliberal political-economic project to roll back labour rights and assert 'free-market'

principles for the economy. In his discussion of the re-racialization of cities in the present

era Nightingale refers to the *neoracist offensive*. He writes:

> Racial beliefs, white privilege, racial segregation, and racial discrimination need to
> be thought of as independent global phenomenon equal in importance to corporate
> dominance and its undergirding neoliberal projects. Constituencies other than
> corporate capital are crucial to mobilizing beliefs in white supremacy and
> institutions that guarantee white privilege. These constituencies also include
> government officials, the police, ordinary real estate speculators, white suburbanites,
> workers and grassroots hate groups. Projects of racial mobilization and projects of
> mobilizing corporate power should be seen as both mutually enhancing and
> sometimes in conflict, mobilizing sometimes similar and sometimes different
> constituencies. (Nightingale 2000: 24)

To Nightingale's conception of neoracism and its inter-relationship with

neoliberalism, I add the third pillar of *neopatriarchy,* which can be applied to the re-

inscription of both women's oppression and the resurgence of dominant heterosexual

norms such as the right wing push for a return to 'family values.' Nightingale himself

calls for his analysis to be extended in this way in a number of arenas, pointing out they

are particularly relevant to the structuring and re-structuring of cities (2000: 24).

Neoliberalism, neoracism and neopatriarchy can be understood as ideological as well as

historically and geographically constituted material, economic and social processes. In

different ways they are all implicated in racialized and gendered accumulation by

dispossession as well as the system of commodity production. But they are not

predictable, inevitable or irresistible. They are subject to contestation, subversion and/or cooptation and mutation depending on the particular conditions and forces within which they are being advanced.

Although I share some of the misgivings about the use of the term patriarchy outlined in the discussion of Marxist feminism, I continue to use the term, not in its literal sense, nor as a reified social distinction that can be separated out from the broader field of social relations, but as an analytical and political distinction. The idea of gender regimes appears to subsume all aspects of social relations under a gender umbrella implying the primacy of gender over other processes. While Bakker's notion of a gender order clarifies the elements of the reproductive aspects of social relations and I find these analytically useful, I remain uncertain about the implications of their packaging.

Maria Mies makes mention of *neo-patriarchy* (1986: 38) to indicate the changed forms patriarchy has taken under capitalism. As I have said, I find Mies conception of capitalist-patriarchy interesting in that it acknowledges the process of colonization as a parallel to patriarchy and capitalism. However in my reading Mies, by not exploring the specific processes of racialization that underpin colonization, defaults to seeing race as a territorial logic of power. Her designation of "capitalist patriarchy" also privileges social constructions of gender and class over 'race'. Mies' work was an important step towards understanding race, gender and class and its links to accumulation by dispossession, but is limited both by its lack of clarity about racialization and its political conclusions. I use *neopatriarchy* as a counterpart to neoliberalism and neoracism/ imperialism in the post

Fordist period to specify the new forms of specifically gendered relations which permeate through the broader field economic, political, spatial, bodily, social and cultural spheres.

　　My proposal is one that seeks not so much to reify *neoracism* or *neopatriarchy* as much as to use them to identify the specificities of race and gender oppression, their relationship and entanglement, as well as their difference and autonomy, from the neoliberalism, capitalism, class conflict, and each other. Over the past two decades, the polarized intellectual battles between post-structuralists and Marxists have made this task difficult. They have had the unfortunate effect of creating a virtual wall between the study of race and gender on the one hand and class analysis on the other. This, at a time when the harsh realities of neoliberalism, racist right wing nationalism, and misogynist and homophobic violence are all rising sharply.

　　In an attempt to expose this divide and begin a rapprochement, Harvey critiques both camps (2003). In doing so he concedes that many on the traditional left have relied too heavily on the notion of capitalism as purely defined by the production process and class struggle:

> Attempts, for example, to incorporate urban social movements into the agenda of the left broadly failed. …The politics deriving from the workplace and the point of production dominated the politics of the living space. Social movements such as feminism and environmentalism remained outside the purview of the traditional left… Struggles against *accumulation by dispossession* were considered irrelevant. This single-minded concentration of much of the Marxist and communist inspired left on proletarian struggles to the exclusion of all else was a fatal mistake. (Harvey 2003: 170, 171)

Conversely, he points out that movements against accumulation by dispossession have been similarly limited and disempowered by falling into postmodern ideas, as with some aspects of the anti-globalization movement. These dismiss efforts to work inside the state as 'illusory diversion,' and see trade union movements as 'a closed modernist, reactionary and oppressive forms of organization'. He also cautions against seeing all movements against accumulation by dispossession as necessarily progressive, warning that:

> A danger lurks that a politics of nostalgia for that which has been lost will supercede the search for better ways to meet the material needs of impoverished and repressed populations (Harvey 2003: 177)

Against these competitive tendencies, Harvey argues that the relationship between struggles against accumulation by dispossession and the class struggles arising from the economic system of commodity production should be seen as a dialectical one. He says:

> On this latter plane Luxemburg's formulation stands as extremely helpful. Capital accumulation indeed has a dual character. But the two aspects of expanded reproduction and accumulation by dispossession are organically linked, dialectically intertwined. It therefore follows that the struggles within the field of expanded reproduction (that the traditional left placed so much emphasis upon) have to be seen in dialectical relationship with the struggles against accumulation by dispossession that the social movements coalescing within the anti- and alternative globalization movements are focusing upon. (Harvey 2003: 176)

While Harvey is arguing in the context of the anti-globalization movement, I contend that the analysis is applicable to the struggles and contestations taking place within cities. In particular, these urban struggles include the largely separate and segregated movements of women, people of colour and working class people responding to the effects of the privatizing dynamics of neoliberal, neoracist, and neopatriarchal offensives. Consistent with a geographical, historical materialist analysis that also takes

the material impact of ideology and discourse seriously, I see these offensives as fluid, contingent and in constant flux as they interrelate with each other, the particular environments they operate in, and the unexpected forces and counter-movements of popular and institutional resistance.

CONCLUSION

> So we non-white women who seek not only to express but to end our oppression, need reliable knowledge which allows us to be actors in history. This knowledge cannot be produced in the context of ruling but only in conscious resistance to it. (Bannerji 1995: 82)

This paper has taken on the character of an Indian classical Raga. Starting with David Harvey's ideas as the whole notes, I have taken the liberty to incorporate the tonal contributions of other thinkers and thereby re-jig Harvey's arrangements by revealing and playing the sounds between the notes. Inserting my own insights has also bent the tones into a flexible and nuanced series of dissonant progressions. The resulting time-shifted sequences and rearranged beats break past the standard rhythms of Harvey's work. And from this wide-ranging intellectual meditation emerges a modified semi-tonal melody - a hopeful morning raga, breaking ground for the day ahead.

In expanding, developing and rubbing Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession and his theories of urban space in the light of feminist, Marxist and anti-racist thinkers, the ideas developed here seek to create a fire that throws fresh light onto, and contribute towards, the important political and intellectual project of creating the 'reliable' knowledge which Bannerji calls for. I have relied on Harvey, not as a wholesale endorsement of his views, but because his work represents an important extension of Marxist ideas. His innovations in bringing spatial analysis to bear on Marx's historical and dialectical materialism, materialist unraveling of the urban development process, and his revival of Luxemburg's and Arendt's work on the ongoing nature of 'original'

accumulation, reveal that Harvey is not only timely and incisive, but an original thinker whose body of work deserves to be expanded to its fullest potential.

In spite of the bitter, and sometimes entertaining, debates of previous decades, the days when class, race and gender can be treated as conceptually or politically competing and mutually exclusive divisions are long gone. The stark and polarized realities of the 21st century call for a more integrated view. As we have seen, women, racialized, and working people are all targets of a new and more pernicious predatory, militarized, corporate, masculinist and white Western elite, seeking to maintain its advantage at the cost of the majority of the world's population. Civil rights and public life are becoming restricted to a selected stock of people while a powerful assault strips the humanity of those who are already doubly and triply vulnerable due to combinations of gendered, racialized, colonial, and class-based disadvantage. At the present moment a vengeful backlash is directed at women's anti-racist, and working class movements in a bid to roll back any advances made by social movements since World War II. Around the world these strategies are mobilized through overt and covert means. Whether in the form of imperialist wars and neo-colonial controls by Western nation-states, or as the coercive and ideological manipulations of state, financial, non-governmental institutions and the media, Western powers are forcing and enforcing their will as never before.

> Globalization is not the fulfillment of the illusions of progress. On the contrary it is the rapid and brutal disposal of the social advances made from the beginning of the industrial revolution until now. There are already eighteen million people unemployed in Europe, child labour amounts to one and half million, and in England the 'state of labour conditions' and 'wage differences' mimic the figures of 1886. (Werlhof 2000:736)

The so-called globalization of the world economy is not a new phenomenon. Worldwide imperialist campaigns and territorial expansions have been an ongoing feature of the Western-dominated capitalist system since its inception. The shift toward globalized industrial production has powerful repercussions within the cities of the West as their economies shift from production to tourism, service, finance, real estate and other speculative forms of accumulation by dispossession.

Within the shifting geographical landscapes of capitalist imperialist power, the war on the home front has become a critical line of battle. Western urban centres are more than empty landscapes for the enactment of global agendas. They actively contribute to the global ascendancy of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002: 28), and the bodies of women and people of colour within them are the front line of economic, political, social and ideological marginalization. Understanding these multi-faceted gendered, racialized, Western urban realities is no simple task within the polarized disciplinary landscapes of academic inquiry and segregated progressive politics.

The old arguments about identity versus class politics, ideology and culture against economics and politics need to be retired in favour of a new, but not artificial, synthesis. Within the integrity of the social whole and the indivisibility of everyday life and bodily realities, people encounter and enact cultural, discursive, economic, political and social influences structured along lines of power and powerlessness. This is not rhetorical conjecture. The complex of material and ideological, physical and emotional, economic and cultural relationships that make up the 'social' are shaped by forces that

change and mutate in relationship to each other, as well as in the context of time and space. Asking how and why race and gender are mobilized, separately and together, in what way these are related to class and economic status, and the relevance of historical and locational patterns, is important in mapping the terrain of everyday life, resistance and proactive social change. We cannot unlock the gates of separation, inequalities, injustices or the hold they have on our imagination, without first finding the doors and decoding the exact combinations needed to open them.

Accumulation by dispossession, as Harvey has begun to lay it out, is a deceptively simple but surprisingly pregnant concept in this regard, particularly when put together with feminist arguments that 'primitive' accumulation is the long-standing mode of gender oppression, and with anti-racist feminist work on the trajectory of state violence against women and people of colour. Viewed in light of the historical and geographic urban organization of gendered and racialized dispossession, this concept has the potential to explain the paradox of marginalized centrality which has branded racialized and gendered bodies with indelible marks of animality.

By way of illustration I have, in this paper, applied accumulation by dispossession to an updated analysis of spatial patterns, political-economics, social reproduction and securitization in Western cities. These are, I have argued, expressions of imperialism on the domestic front. The work of Carl Nightingale supports this argument in so far as it traces a direct historical correlation between this racial urbanism and white supremacist colonial rule. The bloody legacy and continued patterns of cultural and material theft first

established under racist colonial rule, are silently etched into the paving stones, streets, architectural monuments, and nostalgic histories of cities around the world.

Black, brown and poor people are also spatio-temporal fixes for the overaccumulation of labour that has resulted from the neoliberal restructuring of the past three decades. The promotion of authoritarian patriarchal cultures of misogyny and violence, upon and within racialized communities, comes in many forms. Whether in the form of gangsta rap music and videos, racial profiling, mass incarceration, border and immigration controls, securitization, cultivation of conservative religious community representatives, or the sale of guns and drugs, the devastation, destruction and devaluation of the racialized, especially the racialized *and* gendered body, is epidemic in proportion.

The privatization of womanhood into a discrete European gentility is a cynical facade for a misogynist history of religious murder and public shaming of millions of women in the witch-hunts, the callous dehumanization involved in the auctioning, rape and daily cruelty of black women as slaves, and the trafficking of women's sexuality, labour and children.

Women's bodies too, are a spatio-temporal fix for the displaced social responsibilities and imperialist ambitions of Western states at all scales. The re-privatization of reproduction and renewed imperialist wars are facilitated by lies of women's liberation. Social policies which construct women, especially poor women and

women of colour as 'natural' nurturers, homemakers, mothers, wives, sex objects mean triple duty for women work for little or no pay, take care of households, and now must pick up health and elder care, as well as the added responsibility of maintaining and underwriting home-based workspaces. Coerced marriage through welfare laws, increased rates of criminalization and incarceration for petty fraud and theft, the proposed introduction of Sharia laws, along with renewed attempts to control their fertility through erosion of abortion rights and sterilization are just some of the ways women's bodies are turned into 'shock absorbers' for the economic and social structural adjustments. Their devaluation, destruction and devastation comes, as ever, in the form of daily marketing degradations, commodification, sexual and domestic violence, overwork, exhaustion, imprisonment, social invisibility, political erasure and as easy targets of blame for a whole host of social ills.

This small glimpse of the picture of gendered and racialized accumulation by dispossession Western urban space does not begin to tell the story of loss of body, culture, subsistence, access to public life, sense of belonging, and the enduring loneliness that figure into the less quantifiable, but equally visceral aspects of this equation.

If the losers in these scenarios are kept out of the public eye, the winners are even more elusive. The accumulation of state, masculinist, religious, class, financial, authoritarian and European powers and resources that results from these processes are completely eclipsed by the naturalized, cultural, and biological explanations of these actually social phenomenon propagated in public discourse. As the purveyors of power

step into the limelight on a global scale, they are less and less identifiable in the

molecular workings of everyday life. An advertising rhetoric of sexual, consumer,

religious, and racial 'freedom' twists realities beyond recognition. Straw men stand in for

the real enemies *and* allies of the dispossessed.   As long-time Egyptian feminist Nawal

El Sadaawi says:

> In this war women are besieged by a double pincer assault that of "corporate
> consumerism" and a "free market" on the one hand and "religious political
> fundamentalism" on the other ostensibly at odds but actually combining to maintain
> the subjugation of women, to control their minds and their bodies by patriarchal
> imprisonment, veiling, domestication and subjugation where fear and obedience
> become prime movers, or by a pseudo freedom built on sexual commercialization of
> their bodies and various forms or degrees of prostitution, by transforming them into
> cheap labour in the informal or sweat sector or in free trade areas, or in services. ((El
> Saadawi 2004: 5)

Emphasizing the role of religion in this mental colonization, she also points to the

campaign among schoolgirls to preserve their right to wear the veil in France in 2004:

> Strangest of all however was the spectacle of young women in the streets of Paris
> and Cairo and other cities demonstrating against the French government's
> announcement in defense of their right to wear the veil, and of God's divine
> commandments in defense of this symbol of their servitude. This is a signal
> example of how "false consciousness" makes women enemies of their freedom,
> enemies of themselves, an example of how they are used in the political game being
> played by the Islamic fundamentalist movement in its bid for power.

The powers and mechanisms that mobilize economic, political, cultural, bodily

and ideological dispossessions are specific and identifiable. The punitive state, as in the

US prison industrial complex, the resurgent ambitions of fundamentalist religious leaders,

the predatory credit and rentier activity of banking and finance capital, the expulsions and

exploitations of industrial and corporate capital, authoritarian controls of police and

military forces, the eviction of people from the public life and space in cities by land

developers, as well as increasingly bloodthirsty cultural and media industries all have a stake in modes of accumulation by dispossession.

In this paper I have used David Harvey's schematic of the urban process under capitalism as the jumping off point for a wider exploration of the circulation of wealth and value that goes beyond the terrain of political economy without losing sight of its power. My aim in articulating a broader "social" understanding of Harvey's circuits of capital is to use the insights of geographical and historical Marxist urbanism to bring into focus a specific and distinct process by which women and racialized people are used to accumulate money, and political power, but also cultural and social wealth, and use values that are mutually reinforcing throughout the three circuits which Harvey details in his analysis of urban capitalism.

In doing this I have made some fundamental modifications to Harvey's propositions. I question Harvey's argument that the process of 'original' accumulation was displaced with the advent of industrial urban society. Instead of accepting Harvey's notion that the primacy of 'original' accumulation processes was reversed with the rise of commodity production, I use his more recent argument about the ongoing nature of accumulation by dispossession as the basis of imperialism to show that these processes are also vital and proactive at the urban scale. This is not just an esoteric theoretical proposition. It has the potential to extend our understanding of capitalist accumulation from the singular focus on commodity production described in Marx's writings. Allowing that a second, ideologically subordinated, but equally material process of accumulation

by dispossession has remained an ongoing precondition of capitalism opens up a new way of understanding the non-economistic aspects of spatial and social organization of power.

It is my thesis that accumulation by dispossession is embedded within the circuits of urban capital and that this process involves the cooptation and ongoing coercive and violent appropriations, spatial segregation, and separation of gendered and racialized bodies from the economic, political and social fruits of the capitalist system. This, necessary part of the capitalist process has been subordinated by capitalism, and also by simplistic Marxist perspectives that reproduce the notion of industrial capitalism, and its primacy, as the basis of human progress and freedom.

This dual scenario of material social relations is, in my view, functionally non-hierarchical and inseparable. Nonetheless, the ideological and cultural centrality of capitalist production creates a real imbalance of power between those with access to commodity production and its surpluses, and those who are expelled and relegated to the 'outside' or periphery of society. Harvey notes that this is particularly acute in the present context.

> If there is any real qualitative trend it is toward the reassertion of early 19th century laissez faire capital backed by state repression of opposition, coupled with a twenty first century penchant for pulling everyone and everything that can be exchanged into the orbit of capital. The effect is to render ever larger segments of the world's population permanently redundant in relation to capital accumulation while severing them from alternative means of support. (Harvey 2000a: 51)

The socially constructed hierarchy of power between those with the ability to access the productive systems of capital accumulation and those relegated to the depredations of accumulation by dispossession has important implications for the formation of political resistance. While a full exploration of these is not possible here it is important to point out that intersectional approaches such as those of the anti-racist, Marxist feminists cited here hold more promise in this regard than the fictitious notions of unitary class resistance Marxists continue to rely on to their own detriment.

Within the analysis developed here, I have also forwarded a secondary argument for understanding the conflicting and mutually reinforcing interests of elite actors as mobilized through distinct yet intertwined logics of power. My formulation arises out of the capitalist and territorial logics Harvey uses to describe the dynamics between capitalists and nation-states in the imperialist mobilizations. I take Harvey's understanding of territorial logic and rub it against his spatial analysis to extend the notion of territorial power into urban politics. I also bring in the work of feminists and anti-racists to suggest a third logic of corporeal control. Capitalists, states, religious leaders, family patriarchs as well as masculinist and white supremacist popular movements exercise the politics of the socially constructed body through ideological offensives as well as socially sanctioned violence against women and people of colour.

Finally, I propose that we take seriously the warnings of academics and activists who caution that the use of the term 'neoliberalism' has become so broad and all encompassing that it is losing its incisiveness. Instead I suggest that we analytically

separate the processes of neoliberalism from neoracism and neopatriarchy, as well as neo

imperialism. By doing this we can bring a halt to the misconception that gendered and

racialized differences have become less relevant in the face of the overwhelming tide of

capitalist power sweeping the globe. Rather, I assert that the coded nature of racialized

and gendered separations and the ideological appropriation of women's liberation and

black empowerment in current US led imperialist and military campaigns are cynical

distortions of the growing reality of gendered and racialized realities of marginalization

The underside of capitalist vengeance, strength and expansion is a profound

instability and vulnerability. The contradictions of marginalized centrality in the lives of

women of colour inside Western cities create fresh possibilities for a powerful collective

political response. Mohanty asks

> So in this context, what would an economically and socially just feminist politics
> look like? It would require a clear understanding that being a woman has political
> consequences in the world we live in; that there can be unjust and unfair effects on
> women depending on our economic and social marginality and/ or privilege. It
> would require recognizing that sexism, racism, misogyny, and heterosexism underlie
> and fuel social and political institutions of rule and thus often lead to hatred of
> women" (Mohanty 2003:2-3)

The analysis developed in this paper is just a beginning. There is still much to

explore, critique and develop within the initial framework presented here.

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