

The British Sociological Association is publishing a series of books to review the state of the discipline at the beginning of the millennium. New Horizons in Sociology also seeks to locate the contribution of British scholarship to the wider development of sociology. Sociology is taught in all the major institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom as well as throughout North America and the Europe of the former western bloc. Sociology is now establishing itself in the former eastern bloc. But it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that sociology moved from the fringes of UK academic life into the mainstream. British sociology has also provided a home for movements that have renewed and challenged the discipline; the revival of academic Marxism, the renaissance in feminist theory, the rise of cultural studies, for example. Some of these developments have become sub-disciplines whilst yet others have challenged the very basis of the sociological enterprise. Each has left their mark. Now therefore is a good time both to take stock and to scan the horizon, looking back and looking forward.

Series Editor: Bridget Fowler, *University of Glasgow*

Published titles include:

Nationalism and Social Theory

Gerard Delanty and Patrick O'Mahoney

Interactionism

Paul Atkinson and William Housley

Feminist Sociology

Sara Delamont

The New Sociology of Economic Behaviour

Ralph Fevre

The Sociology of Religion

Grace Davie

Space and Social Theory

Andrzej Zieleniec



 **SAGE**

Los Angeles • London • New Delhi • Singapore

contents

Preface	viii
Acknowledgements	xviii
Chapter 1 Karl Marx: the implicit spatiality of historical materialism	1
Chapter 2 Georg Simmel: the space of formal sociology	34
Chapter 3 Henri Lefebvre: the production of space	60
Chapter 4 David Harvey: the political economy of space	98
Chapter 5 Michel Foucault: space, knowledge and power	125
Chapter 6 Legacies and prospects: spatialising contemporary modernity	150
Bibliography	182
Index	197

four

David Harvey: the political economy of space

David Harvey's long contribution to the analysis of space now spans three decades. Few can doubt his contribution to a critical geography in which space is prioritised as a fundamental element for understanding how capitalism has survived and prospered. Harvey's 'project' was to establish a 'historico-geographical materialism' in which he sought to develop Marx's paradigm of capitalist accumulation to include the production of space in the production and reproduction of social life. As Saunders states Harvey's focus is on "the recurrent tension... between the (geographical) problem of space and the (sociological) problem of the social processes that take place within it" (Saunders, 1981: 220). This is an important contribution to the development of an inter-disciplinary analysis of space and its application for the investigation of modern society. In this, Harvey writes that Marx's original formulation needs to be enhanced to include a spatial as well as temporal analysis of the development, perpetuation and expansion of modern capitalism:

Historical materialism has to be upgraded, I insist, to historical-geographical materialism. The historical geography of capitalism has to be the object of theorising. (Harvey, 1985: xii)

Harvey's 'project', like Lefebvre's, is concerned with developing a theory of the production of space which acknowledges the role of space in the accumulation and circulation of capital as well as in the reproduction of labour power. That is, capital accumulation takes place in an historical and geographical context that engenders specific spatial forms. At the core of Harvey's analysis then is an account of space (and time) in which material processes and social relations are considered essential to the question of urbanisation. For Harvey, this question of urbanisation and what he calls 'the urban process' is a theme that runs throughout Harvey's considerable output. For Harvey,

The question 'what is space?' is replaced by the question 'how is it that different human practices create and make use of distinctive conceptualisations of space?'...

An understanding of urbanism and of the social process – spatial form theme requires that we understand how human activity creates the need for specific spatial concepts and how daily social practice solves with consummate ease seemingly deep philosophical mysteries concerning the nature of space and the relationships between social processes and spatial forms. (Harvey, 1973: 14)

For Harvey, both space and time must be considered as basic categories of human existence. They cannot be separated from material processes. To understand space (and time) then, according to Harvey, one must investigate the material processes and practices that form the basis for the reproduction of social life. Every mode of production then will produce its own conceptions of space and time. Harvey asserts that a seeming consensus now exists in that it is recognised that space and time are socially constructed. It is worth emphasising, as Harvey does, what this materialist perspective means for the analysis of the role of space and time in social life. Harvey states that

different societies produce qualitatively different conceptions of space and time [therefore]...each social formation constructs objective conceptions of space and time sufficient unto its own needs and purposes of material social reproduction and organises its material practices in accordance with those conceptions. (Harvey, 1997: 256–8)

Space then, for Harvey, is understood as produced, shaped, moulded and used within specific epochs and societies. The forms that space takes not only represent the mode of production but symbolise the cultural aspirations of a given society at a specific time as well as the existing social order. Geographical space then for Harvey should not be separated from society but must be understood as the product of social relations and historical practices, as they become embedded and internalised within spatial forms and structures. Harvey's original focus, and one that remains throughout his work, his project of historical-geographical materialism, is to analyse the role of space under industrial capitalism. More specifically to investigate:

the way in which markets conceal social (and we should add, geographical) information and relations. We have to penetrate the veil of fetishism with which we are necessarily surrounded by virtue of the system of commodity production and exchange and discover what lies behind it. (Harvey, 1997: 262–3)

Harvey's approach is fundamentally a Marxist analysis of the role of space in the processes of the accumulation and circulation of capital, of the production of the built environment and class struggle and which are manifest in the meanings and values, as well as the spatial arrangement, organisation and form of the urban landscape. That is, it is a consideration

of the spatial dimension of Marx's analysis of capitalism as a mode of production in which the built environment of the city expresses the needs of capital both for production and for the reproduction of labour power. As Smith puts it, Harvey's theoretical orientation throughout his works is rooted in a Marxist theory that:

attempts to explain the specific economic, political and social structure of society in a given period as the result not of supposedly universal forces (for example, human nature), but as a result of historically specific and contingent processes. It is not just that competition and the market, economic growth and the profit motive are historically contingent, but that the form they take changes and develops within the history of capitalism itself. A further strength of Marxist theory is its relational perspective which treats capitalist society as a coherent (if not always consistent) whole, rather than as an agglomeration of fragments. (Smith, 1984: x)

What Harvey seeks is a spatialisation of Marx through the consideration of the production of space and specifically, the creation of the built environment of the city as necessary conditions for, and the product of the processes of accumulation, circulation and consumption of capital. Harvey's project then is to develop Marx's 'paradigm of production' to include the production of space as an essential element in the production and reproduction of social life. As Harvey puts it,

Capital is a process and not a thing. It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production, in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalised rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organisation, restlessly and ceaselessly transforming the society within which it is embedded. The process masks and fetishises, achieves growth through creative destruction, creates new wants and needs, exploits the capacity for human labour and desire, transforms spaces, and speeds up the pace of life. It produces problems of over-accumulation for which there are but a limited number of possible solutions. (Harvey, 1990: 343)

In essence, Harvey attempts to provide a political economy of space under capitalism that has important insights for the analysis of the production, location and distribution of particular spaces in a specific era (industrial capitalism) and the rise to dominance of a form of spatial organisation and administration (urbanisation). It serves as a means for analysing the production of the urban environment as a social landscape in which the spaces of reproduction are necessarily shaped and moulded by class struggle and conflict. This is politically important and significant because as Harvey puts it, "[i]deas about environment, population, and resources are not neutral. They are political in origin and have political

effects" (Harvey, 1977: 237). Harvey's concern then is to investigate the production and use of the physical and social landscape of the city that is shaped and formed within the urbanising process of capital accumulation.

Much of Harvey's work, it will be argued, supplements and illuminates Lefebvre's thesis concerning the production of space, in particular his necessary element of 'spatial practice', but differs in that whilst Lefebvre sees urbanisation as the means by which capitalism survives through the production of new and increasingly dominant urban spatial forms, Harvey argues that the creation of space is dependent on the investment priorities and demands of industrial capital. For Harvey, the production of specific spatial forms and the spatial arrangements of urban industrial capitalism are fundamental for understanding the organisation and structuring of the necessary social relations of modern capitalist society. Thus Harvey argues that capital accumulation demands urban forms that facilitate the more effective extraction of surplus value by organising the spatial form of the urban as a production centre, as a location for consumption, as facilitating the circulation of capital and for the reproduction of labour. This then is Harvey's rationale for attempting to develop a political economy of space as a means to spatialise and upgrade Marx's analysis of capitalism to provide an explanation for how it is that the urban became the key spatial node for the social relations of modern capitalism's necessary social relations, structures and processes. How it is that the urban as particular spatial forms are the product of capitalism. Harvey thus attempts to provide an understanding of the fundamental processes underlying the spatial form and organisation of modern, industrial urban capitalism. That is,

Any general theory of the city must somehow relate the social processes in the city to the spatial form which the city assumes... We must relate social behaviour to the way in which the city assumes a certain geography, a certain spatial form. We must recognise that once a particular spatial form is created it tends to institutionalise and, in some respects, to determine the future development of social process. (Harvey, 1973: 23, 27)

THE SPACE OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

Crucially for Harvey, after Marx, the needs of industrial capital (to minimise circulation costs, but to maximise the availability of labour, access to markets and raw materials, etc.) promoted the concentration

and 'rational' location of production, and all associated activities within large urban centres. As Harvey states,

Vast concentrations of capital and labour have come together in metropolitan areas of incredible complexity, while transport and communication systems, stretched in far-flung nets around the globe, permit information and ideas as well as material goods and even labour power to move around with relative ease. Factories and fields, schools, churches, shopping centres and parks, roads and railways litter a landscape that has been indelibly and irreversibly carved out according to the dictates of capitalism. (Harvey, 1982: 373)

Industrial capitalism dominates urbanism by producing the space and the spatial structures necessary for the creation of surplus value that, concomitantly, leads to the construction of the built environment. Harvey's understanding of what he calls 'the urban process' and its importance for capitalism differs from Lefebvre in that despite both viewing the production of space as crucial for the survival and perpetuation of capitalism, Harvey does not prioritise the urban over the needs of industrial capital. As Harvey puts it:

Urbanism may be regarded as a particular form or patterning of the social process. This process unfolds in a spatially structured environment created by man. The city can therefore be regarded as a tangible, built environment – an environment which is a social product. (Harvey, 1973: 196)

Harvey's analysis of the production of space emphasises the investment logic of industrial capital as the key causal function of urbanisation in that "[i]n certain important and crucial respects industrial society and the structures which comprise it continue to dominate urbanism" (Harvey, 1973: 311). Harvey's spatialisation of Marx seeks to address how the needs and priorities of capital accumulation have consequences for investment in and creation of the physical and social infrastructure of the urban as well as in those areas directly related to the means of production. This then leads to the creation of a 'space economy'.

Urbanism entails the geographic concentration of a socially designated surplus product. This means a geographic circulation of surplus goods and services, a movement of people and, in the money economy, a circulation of investment, money and credit. The space economy so created is subject to all manner of substitutions, interruptions, breakdowns, shifts and growth paths. The reputation and significance of individual cities rests to a large degree upon their location with respect to the geographical circulation of the surplus. The qualitative attributes of urbanism will likewise be affected by the rise and fall in the total quantity of surplus as well as the degree to which the surplus is produced in concentratable form. (Harvey, 1973: 246)

For Harvey then the circulation and investment of surplus is fundamental to his analysis of the development of a space economy. However, to explore Harvey's analysis of the urban as the space of capitalism, it is necessary to address how he uses Marx's theory of accumulation.

ACCUMULATION AND CIRCUITS OF CAPITAL

Harvey, like Marx and Lefebvre, views capitalism as depending upon the concentration and circulation of surplus. The city is the product of these processes by which its spatial form and arrangements prioritise the role that the urban plays in processes of accumulation and circulation of surplus value. The built environment of the city and its spatial patterning under capitalism is the product of the needs of capital for accumulation and its confrontation with labour. Harvey makes clear that his understanding of the urban process is based on Marx's analysis theory of accumulation:

Within the framework of capitalism, I hang my interpretation of the urban process on the twin themes of accumulation and class struggle. The two themes are integral to each other and have to be regarded as different sides of the same coin – different windows from which to view the totality of capitalist activity. The class character of capitalist society means the domination of labour by capital... The essential Marxian insight, however, is that profit arises out of the domination of labour by capital and that the capitalists as a class must, if they are to reproduce themselves, continuously expand the basis for profit. We thus arrive at a conception of a society founded on the principle of "accumulation for accumulations sake, production for productions sake." (Harvey, 1978: 101, 102)

Different social, economic, technological and institutional possibilities produce potentially different combinations and therefore different roles for the city as a 'node' in the space economy. Harvey's approach is an attempt to explain the connections between the production of the built environment and the capital accumulation process.

The industrial city was a new centrepiece of accumulation. The production of surpluses through the direct exploitation of living labour in production was its trademark. This meant the geographical concentration of labour power and productive forces (epitomised in the factory system) and open access to the world market, which, in turn, meant the consolidation of money and credit. It meant, in short, the firm implantation of all those features of geographical and temporal organisation of the circulation of capital that I began by describing. The geographical patterning of labour and commodity markets, of spatial and social divisions of production and consumption, and of differentiated

socio-technical mixes within the labour process became much more pronounced within the urban landscape. Inter-capitalist competition and class struggle pushed the whole social dynamic of urbanisation toward the production of rational physical and social landscapes for capital accumulation. The search for profitable trade-offs between command over and creation of advantageous locations, coupled with adaptations in the socio-technical conditions of production, became a much more visible moving force within the urban process. (Harvey, 1985: 197)

Following Marx, Harvey argues that unregulated competition between capitalists results in crises of over-accumulation in the 'primary circuit' of capital (the industrial sector) and a downturn in the realisation of surplus value. As he puts it, "[t]oo much capital is produced in aggregate relative to the opportunities to employ that capital" (Harvey, 1981: 94). One way that these periodic crises of over-accumulation can be temporarily mediated to promote and achieve more beneficial conditions for the production of surplus value is for capital to invest or 'flow' into other circuits, the secondary and tertiary circuits of capital. Harvey's point is that investment in the secondary and tertiary circuits becomes advantageous for capital, that is for capitalists as a class, to invest in areas that have the potential for producing conditions that will aid accumulation and subsequent profits, as well as ensuring their reproduction as the dominant class in society. It is thus important to clarify how it is that Harvey defines and uses 'circuits of capital' as a means to investigate the development of the physical and social infrastructure that constitutes the built environment, the landscape of the urban under capitalism.

The primary circuit of capital for Harvey is all the means by which the capitalist seeks to capture and extract surplus value. This includes the extension of the working day or the reorganisation of work processes which increases labour's productivity. The organisation of the division of labour and investment in fixed capital items such as machinery are also included in the primary circuit of capital. The secondary circuit of capital is marked by a distinction between the 'built environment for production' of those items which function as a physical framework for production and of those commodities that act as a physical framework for consumption. The built environment is important for fixed capital (factories, offices, etc.) and for the consumption fund (housing being the best example). In both of these, the built environment represents a physical framework within which production or consumption (or both in the case of transportation facilities) is produced by geographical investment in necessary infrastructure. Investment in the physical infrastructure of the city is thus a significant feature of the secondary circuit.

Harvey emphasises that

fixed capital in the built environment is immobile in space in the sense that the value incorporated in it cannot be moved without being destroyed. Investment in the built environment therefore entails the creation of a whole physical landscape for purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. We will call the capital flows into fixed asset and consumption fund formation the *secondary circuit of capital*. (Harvey, 1978: 106. Italics in original)

The tertiary circuit of capital for Harvey

comprises, first, investment in science and technology (the purposes of which is to harness science to production and thereby to contribute to the processes which continuously revolutionise the productive forces in society) and second, a wide range of social expenditures which relate primarily to the processes of reproduction of labour power. The latter can usefully be divided into investments directed towards the qualitative improvement of labour power from the standpoint of capital (investment in education and health by means of which the capacity of the labourers to engage in the work process will be enhanced) and investment in the co-optation, integration and repression of labour by ideological, military and other means. (Harvey, 1978: 108)

It is Harvey's thesis that the flow of capital from one circuit to another is conditional on crises of accumulation in the primary sector due to unregulated competition between capitalists. Thus 'capitalists as a class' will invest in the secondary and tertiary circuits in the hope that conditions more favourable to accumulation will result. Harvey argues then that it is the needs and desires of industrial capital that produces the built environment of the city as a means to achieve more efficient and effective accumulation. However, this is not without contradictions and difficulties, as Harvey explains:

Capital represents itself in the form of the physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital. The geographical landscape which results is the crowning glory of past capitalist development. But at the same time it expresses the power of dead labour over living labour and as such it imprisons and inhibits the accumulation process within a set of specific physical constraints. And these can be removed only slowly unless there is substantial devaluation of the exchange value locked up in the creation of these physical assets. Capitalist development has therefore to negotiate a knife-edge path between preserving the exchange values of past capital investments in the built environment and destroying the value of these investments in order to open up fresh room for accumulation. Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent point in time. (Harvey, 1978: 124)

These crises of accumulation result in the need to create a built environment that opens up the potential for future accumulation. However, the physical landscape created by past crises may hinder or impede future accumulation. This then is Harvey's analysis and explanation for the cyclical redevelopment, redesign and regeneration of the urban landscape. In this, Harvey is explicit in emphasising how the Marxist theory of accumulation should be used for understanding the production of features of the urban landscape:

The understanding that I have to offer of the urban process under capitalism comes from seeing it in relation to the theory of accumulation... Whatever else it may entail, the urban process implies the creation of a material physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption... The reproduction of labour power is essential and requires certain kinds of social expenditures and the creation of a consumption fund. The flows we have sketched, in so far as they portray capital movements into the built environment (for both production and consumption) and the laying out of social expenditure for the reproduction of labour power, provide us, then with the structural links we need to understand the urban process under capitalism. (Harvey, 1978: 113-14)

It is on the creation of the space of industrial capitalism that Harvey focuses when he turns his attention to the built environment.

106

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF THE CITY AND THE URBAN

The Marxist method of analysis applied to that of the urban is encapsulated in Harvey's assertion that "Urbanism involves the concentration of surplus (however designated) in some version of the city (whether it be walled enclave or the sprawling metropolis of the present day)" (Harvey, 1973: 237). Harvey defines the city as an urban system that "contains a geographical distribution of created resources of great economic, social, psychological and symbolic significance" (Harvey, 1973: 69). Capitalism then for Harvey creates a physical landscape, it produces space, a material, physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption, in its own image through the urbanisation of capital whilst social relations simultaneously become increasingly urbanised to meet the needs of capital. Harvey puts it thus

the urbanisation of capital is primarily concerned with how labour, working under capitalist control, creates a "second nature" of built environments with particular kinds of spatial configurations... [it is]... an objectification in the landscape of that intersection between the productive force of capital investment and the social relations required to reproduce an increasingly urbanised capitalism. (Harvey, 1985: xv-xvi)

Capitalist society then according to Harvey must create a physical landscape, specifically the 'built environment', for the purposes of production and reproduction of capital and the social relations of capital. This is fundamental for the continual expansion of capitalism and the extraction of more surplus value. This is a key and repeated theme in Harvey's long analysis of the urban process and is emphasised in much of his work.¹ For Harvey, the built environment is the product of the needs of capitalism to create the most effective conditions and environment for accumulation. Thus Harvey makes the point that

The studies on the urbanisation of capital are primarily concerned with how labour, working under capitalist control, creates a "second nature" of built environments with particular kinds of spatial configurations. I am primarily concerned with how capitalism creates a physical landscape of roads, houses, factories, schools, shops and so forth in its own image and what the contradictions are that arise out of such processes of producing space... The study of urbanisation is a study of that process as it unfolds through the production of physical and social landscapes and the production of consciousness. The study of urbanisation is not the study of a legal political entity or of a physical artefact. It is concerned with processes of capital circulation; the shifting flows of labour power, commodities, and money capital; the spatial organisation of production and the transformation of space relations; movements of information and geopolitical conflicts between territorially-based class alliances, and so on. (Harvey, 1985: xv-xvi)

107

It is the ways and means by which this creation of the built environment of the city is achieved that Harvey seeks to investigate in his analysis of the space economy. In this there is a need to understand how command over space is required for the development of a market in land.

COMMAND OVER SPACE AND THE MARKET IN LAND

It is not just those features or elements associated directly with production but the whole of the urban environment that Harvey considers essential for the success of capitalist accumulation. The built environment of the city then is viewed by Harvey as a physical framework within which production or consumption (or in some cases – such as transport facilities – both) takes place. This is, as Harvey emphasises, significant for understanding the spatiality of capitalism, how a distinct spatial form materialises as a result of the rise of industrial capitalism and the demands of accumulation that structures the landscape of the city. These structures are fixed and immobile and may act eventually as spatial barriers to the further expansion of the process of capital accumulation.



However, exchange value and use value in relation to land take on their meaning in special circumstances. Dominant institutions and individuals use space hierarchically and symbolically in that space is created, organised and manipulated to emphasise and reflect status, prestige and social relationships. However, Harvey is explicit in stressing that the city is not to be thought of as only being a human constructed spatial system that is directed at increasing capital accumulation. Whilst this, it may be argued, is its function and the built environment is the direct product of this process, it also has other affects and consequences as a social environment through and in which we live our lives and attempt to glean meaning from it. As Harvey writes,

I think it is far more satisfactory to regard the city as a gigantic resource system, most of which is man-made. It is also an areally localised resource system in the sense that most of the resources we make use of in the city system are not ubiquitous and their availability, therefore, depends upon accessibility and proximity. The urban system thus contains a geographical distribution of created resources of great economic, social, psychological and symbolic significance... The signs, symbols and signals that surround us in the urban environment are powerful influences (particularly among the young). We fashion our sensibilities, extract our sense of wants and needs and locate our aspirations with respect to a geographical environment that is in large part created... Neither the activity of space creation nor the final product of created space appear to be within our individual or collective control but fashioned by forces alien to us. (Harvey, 1973: 68–9, 310)

108

These hierarchical structures of authority, status and privilege are transmitted through forms of spatial organisation and the symbols and meanings attached to them:

The land market sorts spaces to functions on the basis of land prices and does so not only on the basis of ability to pay, which, though clearly differentiated, is by no means differentiated enough to etch clear class and social distinctions into the social spaces of the city. The response is for each and every stratum in society to use whatever powers of domination it can command (money, political influence, even violence) to try and seal itself off (or seal off others judged undesirable) in fragments of space within which processes of reproduction of social distinctions can be jealously guarded. (Harvey, 1985: 14)

It is this 'sorting of space' under capitalism that creates the necessity for the development of 'a space economy', a market in land that Harvey considers as essential to understanding the way in which capitalism has survived and prospered and by which divisions in space and specific spatial forms widen and deepen class distinctions. Capitalism, for Harvey as for Lefebvre, required not only the production of space but also the means to have command over it. The geographic concentration

of the processes of accumulation demanded the spatial ordering of the means of production and necessitated the creation of an extensive space economy in which land and the improvements on it become commodities.² Harvey details his understanding of how this space economy came to be:

The conquest of space first required that it be conceived as something usable, malleable, and therefore capable of domination through human action... Builders, engineers, and architects for their part showed how abstract representations of objective space could be combined with exploration of the concrete, malleable properties of materials in space. But these were all just islands of practice, light chronological nets thrown over a totality of social practices in which all manner of other conceptions of place and space – sacred and profane, symbolic, personal, animistic – could continue to function undisturbed. It took something more to consolidate space as universal, homogenous, objective and abstract in most social practices. That 'something' was the buying and selling of space as a commodity. The effect was then to bring all space under the single measuring rod of money value. (Harvey, 1985a: 13)

The production of space is therefore both political and economic and, as such, cannot be considered independently of social relations. The market in land and what is built upon it become crucial means by which the processes of capital accumulation develop, organise and create specific spatial forms. That is:

109

Space can be overcome only through the production of space, of systems of communication and physical infrastructures embedded in the land. Natural landscapes are replaced by the built landscapes shaped through competition to the requirements of accelerating accumulation. The 'pulverisation' and fragmentation necessary to homogenise space have to take definite forms. (Harvey, 1985: 27–8)

Space, homogenised by its 'pulverisation' into pieces to be bought and sold on the market, as real estate, as private property, operates as a commodity but one that has special features. It is a container of social power but also the framework through which power is organised and maintained. It creates a tension between ownership and use of space for private or collective purposes, and the domination of space by the state, class or social power. Thus there is the potential for conflict between the appropriation of land by individuals or by groups for social purposes and the domination of land as private property, by the state, class or power interests. Harvey is clear that command over space is fundamental in the operation of power in different spheres and for different purposes.

Command over space, as every general and geo-politician knows, is of the utmost strategic significance in any power struggle... This value of space lies at

the root of land rent. But spatial competition is always monopolistic competition, simply because two functions cannot occupy exactly the same location. Capture of strategic spaces within the overall space can confer much more than its aliquot share of control... Control over strategic land parcels within the urban matrix confers immense power over the whole pattern of development. And although the liberation of space and the annihilation of space by time erodes any permanent power that may attach to control of strategic spaces, the monopolistic element is always recreated afresh. Indeed control over the production of spatial organisation then becomes fundamental to the creation of new spatial monopolies. (Harvey, 1985a: 22)

For Harvey, the analysis of the role of space in the accumulation process, the creation of the specific spatial form of the modern city, spatial structures and arrangements and investment in the built environment reveals the means by which capitalism has survived and prospered.³ As Harvey writes:

110

Capitalism has to urbanise in order to reproduce itself. But the urbanisation of capital creates contradictions. The social and physical landscape of an urbanised capitalism is far more, therefore, than a mute testimony to the transforming powers of capitalist growth and technological change. Capitalist urbanisation has its own distinctive logic and its own distinctive forms of contradiction... But urbanisation means a certain mode of human organisation in space and time that can somehow embrace all of these conflicting forces, not necessarily to harmonise them, but to channel them into so many possibilities of both creative and destructive social transformation... Capitalism has survived not only through the production of space, as Lefebvre insists, but also through superior command over space – and that truth prevails as much within urban regions as over the global space of capitalist endeavour. (Harvey, 1985: 222, 226)

But Harvey argues that the need to create specific spatial urban forms and arrangements can lead to contradictions when the changing demands of capital for the realisation and circulation of surplus requires new arrangements. Thus previous investment in the built environment can lead to the creation of 'spatial barriers' to future capital accumulation. This is represented in attempts at the wide-scale redevelopment of cities to secure a more favourable disposition to capital. For example, industrial cities fashioned in the nineteenth century predominantly for manufacturing may find their spatial form and arrangements unsuitable to capital seeking to invest in new technologies, finance, leisure or retail in the twenty-first century. Harvey argues that this is a fundamental feature of how capitalism works and how it has been perpetuated:

The elimination of spatial barriers and the struggle to 'annihilate space by time' is essential to the whole dynamic of capital accumulation and becomes particularly acute in crises of capital over-accumulation... A revolution in temporal and

spatial relations often entails, therefore, not only the destruction of ways of life and social practices built around preceding time-space systems, but the 'creative destruction' of a wide range of physical assets embedded in the landscape... The Marxian theory of capital accumulation permits theoretical insights in to the contradictory changes that have occurred in the dimensionality of space and time in Western capitalism. (Harvey, 1997: 266)

Harvey's analysis of space is clearly located in a Marxist perspective that needs must also consider class struggle and conflict over the meanings and (use versus exchange) values associated with it.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND CONFLICT IN AND OVER SPACE

The dynamic of capital investment in the different circuits is not a one-way process. Urban processes themselves can have reciprocal effects on primary circuit investment and activity as well as wider social, economic and political activity. Thus, the modern city is created by the needs of capital but there are inherent conflicts and contradictions in the process. However, the dynamics of the market and the needs of industrial capital can produce the uneven development of the built environment as well as unintended and, for some, extremely negative consequences. Harvey writes that:

111

The evolution of the urban system, whether we like it or not, can lead to large scale sensory deprivation with respect to certain phenomena (such as clean air, wilderness, etc.) and over-exposure to others (such as suburban vistas, air pollution, etc.). (Harvey, 1973: 85)

Harvey then considers urban struggles as a form of class struggle in that the nature of the built environment involves issues and questions that relate to capital investment as a form of surplus value extraction, but also to concerns within labour for a redistribution of income, resources and quality of life. Harvey identifies how these struggles occur and what these struggles are over:

Public facilities, recreational opportunities, amenities, transportation access, and so on are all subjects of contention. But underlying these immediate concerns is a deeper struggle over the very meaning of the built environment as a set of use values for labour... Capital in general and its faction that produces the built environment seek to define the quality of life for labour in terms of the commodities which they can profitably produce in certain locations. Labour, on the other hand, defines quality of life solely in use-value terms and, in the process, may appeal to some underlying and fundamental conception of what it is to be human. Production for profit and production for use are often inconsistent.



The survival of capitalism therefore requires that capital dominate not simply in the work process, but with respect to the very definition of the quality of life in the consumption sphere. (Harvey, 1978a: 14)

Crises of capital over-accumulation provided the impetus for investment in the built environment to ensure the efficient organisation and control of the physical and social infrastructure in the industrial city for the purposes of production, circulation, exchange and consumption. However, the produced space of capitalism is also the space of social reproduction, and therefore control over the production and organisation of space is a crucial factor for the reproduction of labour and of power relations. The state, urban developers, financiers or landowners etc. often mask their power over the processes of social reproduction behind the seeming neutrality of space. Whilst the urbanisation of capital is seen as an essential condition for its reproduction, it creates its own contradictions. Urbanisation, as the human organisation of space and time, somehow has to accommodate all the conflicting forces to maximise the transformative potential of new forms and structures in the spatial organisation of the city.

112

The formation of physical and social infrastructures adequate to support the reproduction of both capital and labour power while serving as efficient frameworks for the organisation of production, consumption, and exchange surged to the forefront of political and managerial concerns. Such problems had to be approached with an eye to efficiency and economy because that was the way to assure growth, accumulation, innovation, and efficiency in interurban competition. Public investments also had to be organised on an increasing scale and on more and more long-term basis and in such a way as to compensate for individual capitalists under-producing collective infrastructures. (Harvey, 1985: 198)

Harvey's fundamental proposition is that urban struggles are a form of class struggles over resources and conditions. However, not all struggles between capital and labour necessarily result in conflict. The possibility for alliances between them results when the demands of the working class coincide with the economic needs and political interest of fractions of the capital class, if not the class as a whole. For example, demands for affordable housing by the working class may be supported by capitalists if lower rents lead to lesser demand for wage increases. Similarly, demands for resources such as schools, health and child care, and leisure and recreation facilities may strengthen the capitalist class if they can be sold as commodities or enhance a sense of well-being and contentment. As Harvey eloquently puts it:

Capital, in short, seeks to draw labour into a Faustian bargain: accept a packaged relation to nature in the living place as just and adequate compensation for an

alienating and degrading relation to nature in the work place. And if labour refuses to be drawn in in spite of seduction, blandishment and dominant ideology mobilised by the bourgeoisie, then capital must impose it because the landscape of capitalist society must, in the final analysis respond to the accumulation needs of capital, rather than to the real, human requirements of labour. (Harvey, 1978a: 29)

Harvey therefore argues that struggles over the production and use of the built environment, whether houses, factories, roads, parks, cultural and educational institutions, etc. is one that is replete with contradictions and conflicts. Capital will invest in such features and facilities if it enhances accumulation whether directly in the production process or indirectly by improving the means by which the reproduction of labour produces more efficient, willing, docile and able workers. Harvey puts it this way:

Labour needs living space. Land is therefore a condition of living for labour in much the same way that it is a condition of production for capital... Apart from space as a basic condition of living, we are concerned here with housing, transportation (to jobs and facilities), amenities, facilities, and a whole bundle of resources which contribute to the total living environment for labour... The cost and quality of these items affect labour's standard of living. Labour, in seeking to protect and enhance its standard of living, engages, in the living place, in a series of running battles over a variety of issues which relate to the creation, management, and use of the built environment. (Harvey, 1978a: 11)

113

However, investment and interventions in the built environment that produce forms and arrangements that promote the reproduction of labour and which may result in class conflict or further the accumulation process is not necessarily carried on by individual capitalists or by capitalists acting as a class. It is the role of the state in the creation, organisation and maintenance of the spaces of production and reproduction that Harvey considers as an essential condition of the urban process. It is the state who are responsible for the creation, organisation and control of the space of the urban.

HEGEMONY, THE STATE AND THE SPACES OF PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION

It is the state, viewed in classical Marxist analysis "as a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx and Engels, 1848/1975: 35) and particularly the local state, which plays



a prominent role in mediating struggles over the built environment by intervening on behalf of capital. Harvey echoes this perspective:

One overwhelming feature does cry out for special attention. The state provides the single most important channel for flows of value into social infrastructures... State involvement arises in part because collective means have to be found to do what individual capitalist cannot reasonably do and in part because class struggle requires the mediations of the state apparatus if any kind of investment is to be made at all in socially sensitive areas. The involvement took on a new shape when it was recognised that such investments could be both productive (in the sense of improving the social conditions for surplus value creation) and stabilising (in the sense of managing effective demand over a long period). (Harvey, 1982: 404)

114

Therefore, the state rationalises the production of the built environment in "the interest of keeping the costs of reproduction of labour power at a minimum, the capitalist class, as a whole, may seek collective means to intervene in the processes of investment and appropriation in the built environment" (Harvey, 1978a: 14, 17). It is the state that assumes the mantle of fashioning the built environment by taking an active role in the appropriation of space. It does so by "planning the location of industry and population, of housing and public facilities, of transport and communications, of land uses, and so on, [it] creates an overall spatial frame to contain and facilitate the innumerable and fragmented decisions that otherwise shape urban developments" (Harvey, 1985: 31). Investment in those fundamental features of the built environment necessary for the reproduction of labour and for the more efficient accumulation of profit is pursued through the state and allows capitalists to distance themselves from direct involvement in such services. At root, according to Harvey, as a crucial factor in this process was the potential for enhancing capital accumulation:

Individual capitalists find it hard to make such investments as individuals, no matter how desirable they may regard them. Once again, capitalists are forced to some degree to constitute themselves as a class – usually through the agency of the state – and thereby to find ways to channel investment into research and development and into the quantitative and qualitative improvement of labour power. We should recognise that capitalists often need to make such investments in order to fashion an adequate social basis for further accumulation. But with regard to social expenditures, the investment flows are very strongly affected by the state of class struggle. (Harvey, 1978a: 108)

Two themes related to Harvey's analysis of the dominating influence of industrial capital in the production of space in century city require mention. The first concerns the transformation of the 'bourgeois public

sphere' from a mediating influence between society and the state. Secondly, and intimately connected to this transformation, is the role of the urban bourgeoisie as primary agents for the hegemonic interest of industrial capital. An analysis of the role and function of Habermas' 'literate bourgeois public', "as a specific domain – the public domain versus the private... specifically a part of 'civil society'" (Habermas, 1992: 2–3) provides a basis for understanding the significance of the role of the production of public space and the built environment in the city of the nineteenth century. The private sphere is composed of the family and the necessary relations for their reproduction whilst the public sphere was the space of participation, debate, informed and influential opinion formation and became a dominant conceptual division for understanding the growth and influence of the emergent urban bourgeoisie and modern industrial capitalism.⁴ The distinction between private and public spheres became significant when an increasingly powerful, educated and literate urban gentry, critical of aristocratic power and privilege, used their ability to represent public opinion as their own in an era of enormous socio-economic change. As Habermas puts it:

The bourgeois public sphere arose historically in conjunction with a society separated from the state. The 'social' could be constituted as its own sphere to the degree that on one hand the reproduction of life took on private form, while on the other hand the private realm as a whole assumed public relevance. The general rules that governed interaction among people now became a public concern, in which private people soon enough became engaged with the public authority, the bourgeois public sphere attained its political function. Private people gathering to constitute a public turned the political sanctioning of society as a private sphere into a public topic. (Habermas, 1992: 127)

115

Historically, the bourgeois public sphere emerged in the late eighteenth century with the widening of political participation and the development of ideals of citizenship.⁵ That is, the rise of the bourgeois public sphere reflected the need to represent the moral and critical authority of an emergent and economically important fraction of power in urban and industrial society. The local character of state power and the local 'provincial' basis of industry, and the inter-relationships between the two, form the basis for understanding the development of processes of urban spatial formation in which the roles of the 'urban gentry' were crucial. This reflects Gramsci's understanding of hegemonic power as "the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'" (Gramsci, 1971: 57–8). The development of self-conscious and organised bourgeois strata involved in a number of voluntary associations, societies and philanthropic endeavours was transmitted into the organisation and

administration of the local state. Thus the local state, charged with addressing the problems of urbanisation and industrialisation through interventions in the built environment to produce better conditions and arrangements in the urban landscape conducive to business and 'good order' was often run by the same people whose business interests would benefit.⁶ Thus the bourgeois public sphere developed its influence in civil society, as a realm of wider social relations and public participation and constituted an arena of considerable influence in the development of the ethos of municipal administration and, concomitantly, infrastructural investment in the physical and social environment of the city. The adherence of the municipal elites, those elected representatives as well as officials, throughout much of the period was based on the principle of public service, sound and prudent administration and a commitment to providing for the 'common good'. As Gramsci put it, they were "an elite of men of culture, who have the function of providing leadership of a cultural and general ideological nature for a great movement of interrelated parties (which in reality are fractions of one and the same organic party)" (Gramsci, 1971: 149–50). Therefore, the urban bourgeoisie were implicated in the organisation and administration of the local state as well as in public sphere associations in that "hegemony over its historical development belongs to private forces, to civil society – which is 'State' too" (Gramsci, 1971: 261), and among these 'private forces' industrial capital dominated in the expanding urban areas.

There is then a clear connection between Harvey's thesis concerning the dominance of industrial capital in producing spatial forms and structures appropriate to the accumulation of capital and the transformation of an urban bourgeois public sphere into agents of the hegemonic organisation and administration of the city. However, it is also necessary to be mindful that the bourgeois public sphere did not exist in isolation or without pressure from other sections of the population.⁷ It is in this context of competing publics that the production of the new spaces of the industrial city must be viewed. It was not just those infrastructural requirements for housing, production, consumption and circulation that need to be considered in this respect but the streets, public squares and parks, the theatres, cinemas and leisure facilities in the modern city that provided arenas for contest and conflict over cultural and ideological forms, representations and uses and provided the background for the democratisation of power.⁸

State involvement in the organisation and provision of necessary services and amenities (such as housing, health care, education, sanitation, etc.) was in part a response to campaigns for the amelioration of the moral, physical and medical dangers perceived as having potentially

revolutionary consequences in the new industrial city as well as a means for making labour a more efficient, virtuous, willing and able workforce. There was an attempt to use moral persuasion through philanthropic and municipal enterprises, or as Marx puts it, to "raise the condition of the labourer by an improvement of his mental and moral powers and to make a rational consumer of him" (Marx, 1978: 516). For Harvey, after Marx,

the 'rational' consumption of commodities in relation to accumulation of capital implies a certain balance between market purchases and household work. The struggle to substitute the former for the latter is significant because its outcome defines the very meaning of 'use values' and the 'standard of living' for labour in its commodity aspects. The construction of the built environment has to be seen, therefore, in the context of the struggle over a whole way of living and being... The bundle of resources which comprise it – streets and sidewalks, drains and sewer systems, parks and playgrounds – contains many elements which are collectively consumed. The public provision of these public goods is a 'natural' form of collective consumption, which capital can easily colonise through the agency of the state... [therefore]... The built environment requires collective management and control, and it is therefore almost certain to be a primary field of struggle between capital and labour over what is good for people and what is good for accumulation. (Harvey, 1978a: 19, 20)

Thus Harvey recognises that the built environment also includes struggle between classes who sometimes act in opposition but also sometimes in coalition to provide not only for the material necessities of life but also those required for the reproduction of labour in general. Again for Harvey it is the needs of capital that are prioritised.

The socialisation and training of labour – the management of 'human capital' as it is usually called in the bourgeois literature – cannot be left to chance. Capital therefore reaches out to dominate the living process – the reproduction of labour power – and it does so because it must. (Harvey, 1978: 126)

The possibility for alliances between labour and capital exist in that consumption demands by the working class, for example for affordable housing, which may coincide with the economic and political interests of capital. Saunders makes clear the point that:

Working class demands for a variety of consumption provisions may also be consistent with the interest of capital so long as the resources in question (schooling or health care for example) can be made available in the commodity form, and even struggles over questions concerning 'community' and the 'quality of life' may reinforce capitalist domination by attempting to re-establish in the sphere of consumption some spurious relation to nature (as in municipal parks) that the very process of capitalist production has torn asunder. (Saunders, 1981: 227)

There are elements of environmental determinism evident in some of these strategies: for example, better housing makes better workers; a better environment in the city makes healthier workers, etc. Thus the 'spatial environmental determinism' of city planners, designers and administrators was a recognition that the spatial form of a city may act on human behaviour and thus on social processes. The manipulation of the spatial environment of the city was an attempt to inhibit or destroy those activities, behaviours or processes deemed negative to an efficient capitalist accumulation process. This was done on a large scale most famously by Hausmann's reorganisation of Paris.⁹ Capital therefore attempts to discipline labour in the work place and in the times and places where workers live and play, to instil the work ethic and civilising bourgeois values over all spheres of life. To this extent, Harvey's concern with explaining the production of the built environment of the city as a product of the needs of industrial capital provides an insight into how the production of social spaces in the city, that serve no immediate production, circulation or exchange end, but have a function as part of the consumption fund that is intimately involved in the process of the reproduction of labour. In this Harvey is clear that in modernity:

118

The social spaces of distraction and display become as vital to urban culture as the spaces of working and living. Social competition with respect to life-style and command over space, always important for upper segments of the bourgeoisie, became more and more important within the mass culture of urbanisation, sometimes even masking the role of community in processes of class reproduction. (Harvey, 1985: 256-7)

The production of amenities and artefacts in the city, that is the social and physical infrastructure of the built environment, was coupled with another, not necessarily antagonistic element in the urbanisation of capital and the creation of the urban environment of the industrial city. The principle of 'gilding the ghetto' involved "a commitment to community improvement and a commitment to those institutions, such as the church and civil government, capable of forging community spirit" (Harvey, 1978: 128). Thus, a newly empowered bourgeoisie, along with architects, planners and social theorists sought rational solutions to the problems that threatened the health, order, economy etc. of the new industrial metropolises:

[A]ll rode forth as saviours of the modern city, bursting with ideas as to what it might mean to the needs of efficiency, cleanliness, and, at least in some respects, to human needs... it is undeniable that the aggregate effect was to make cities work better, to improve the lot not only of urban elites but also of urban masses, to radically improve basic infrastructures (such as water and

energy supply, housing, sewage, and air quality) as well as to liberate urban spaces for fresh rounds of organised capital accumulation in ways that lasted for much of the nineteenth century. Compared to the best of the 'gas and water municipal socialism' of those days, one would have to say that the contemporary blasé attitude (to borrow a phrase of Simmel's concerning one of the most powerful mental attitudes to modern urban life) towards the degeneration of our cities leaves much to be desired. (Harvey, 1996: 406)

Harvey makes clear his admiration and appreciation of what was achieved in the nineteenth century by a mix of moral reform, civic solidarity and municipal organisation to improve the quality of life in the urban environment.

Was it not, after all, a central aim in the work of Olmsted and Howard, to try to bring together the country and the city in a productive tension and to cultivate an aesthetic sensibility that could bridge the chronic ills of urbanised industrialism and the supposedly healthier pursuits of country life? It would be churlish to deny real achievements on this front. The marks of what were done in those years – the park systems, the garden cities and suburbs, the tree-lined streets – are now part of a living tradition that define certain qualities of urban living that many (and not only the bourgeoisie) can and do still appreciate. But it [is] also undeniable that this ecological vision, noble and innovative though it was at the time, was predominantly aesthetic (and very bourgeois) in its orientation and was easily co-opted and routinised into real-estate development practices for the middle classes. (Harvey, 1996: 427)

119

Harvey is unambiguous in his analysis of the built environment as the product of the needs for capital to expand and enhance accumulation. However, the role of the state as well as class struggles over demands for better housing, recreational and leisure amenities, created a commitment to the provision of an urban, social and physical infrastructure that was more holistic and widespread than much of what is evident in modern investment strategies in the redevelopment of the contemporary urban environment.

CONCLUSION

Harvey's project to spatialise Marx through an emphasis on historical-geographical materialism results in the analysis of the urban through a political-economy of space. Harvey's focus on the political-economic imperatives for the production of space, and particularly the creation, organisation and administration of the built environment as part of the process of capital accumulation and class struggle, is a significant contribution to the analysis of the role of space

in capitalist urban modernity. It also offers a corrective to the 'human ecology' model of urban growth promulgated by the Chicago School in their explanation of the city. Domination by powerful individuals, groups, classes or fractions, who organise and produce space to exercise or control its use value or the activities that occur there entails the means by which new systems of land use, transportation, communication and organisation arise with and through the development of a market in land. These dimensions are not mutually exclusive of each other but exist in a relationship of dynamic inter-dependence. Harvey's argument, which he attributes to the work and ideas of Lefebvre, is that command over space is one fundamental element in an interconnecting nexus of sources of social power that also includes money and time. Therefore, whoever defines the meanings, forms and material practices of space and time (as well as money) has power over the fundamental operation of the social, political and economic conditions, organisation and operation of society. This is a point that Harvey emphasises in that:

ideological and political hegemony in any society depends on the ability to control the material context of personal and social experience. For this reason, the materialisations and meanings given to money, time and space have more than a little significance for the maintenance of political power. (Harvey, 1990: 227)

120

Therefore, spatial and temporal practices and discourses become established that serve to achieve, preserve, perpetuate and expand the distribution of social, political and economic power. However, these practices and discourses are not unchallenged or unproblematic. Social and political struggle can, over time, alter the meaning, value and power inherent in spatial configurations, forms and structures, and thus effect social change. Harvey returns again and again to what may be called a *leitmotif* in his work: that is, the consideration of the social construction of space and time and their relationship to the social construction of place:

Political struggles over the meaning and manner of such representations of place and identity abound, most particularly over the way in which places, their inhabitants and their social functions get located, named and discursively represented... The assignment of place within some socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action and access to power. Locating things (both physically and metaphorically) is fundamental to activities of valuing social development, social control, and empowerment in any social order. The processes of place construction therefore interrelate... with the social construction of space and time. (Harvey, 1996: 265)

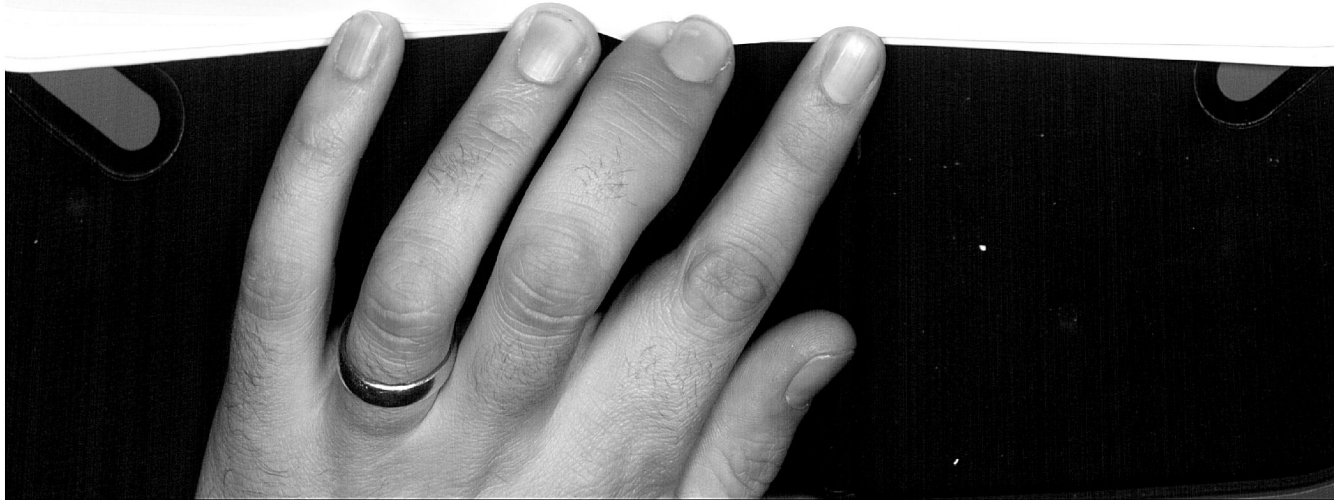
Place in this context can be defined simply as a position or location, a geographically delineated area. It can also be considered as a thing, an object or entity that solidifies relationships of space and time in that it is the institutionalised objectification of social relations of space and time, as material practices, as forms of power and discourses that come to be embedded in the landscape. The social construction of particular places then may be considered as relatively permanent physical and social structures within the social, cultural and physical landscape. That is, they become fixed capital entities embedded in the landscape as configurations of organised social relations. However, as Harvey has pointed out places with meanings and values to people and groups may be threatened by new imperatives of capital and become transformed or destroyed in the process.

The incentive to create the world market, to reduce spatial barriers, and to annihilate space through time is omni-present, as is the incentive to rationalise spatial organisation into efficient configurations of production (serial organisation of the detail division of labour, factory systems, and assembly line, territorial division of labour and agglomeration in large towns), circulation networks (transport and communication systems) and consumption (household and domestic layout, community organisation, and residential differentiation, collective consumption in cities)... But here, too, capitalism encounters multiple contradictions. Spatial barriers can be reduced only through the production of particular spaces... The production, restructuring, and growth of spatial organisation is a highly problematic and very expensive affair, held back by vast investments in physical infrastructures that cannot be moved, and social infrastructures that are always slow to change. (Harvey, 1990: 232)

121

In Harvey's later books (*Spaces of Hope*, 2000 and *The New Imperialism*, 2005) he reasserts the central thesis of his Marxist analysis, that the spatial relations of capitalism are not neutral, to engage with the idea of how neo-liberal globalising capitalism and the labour process are dialectically linked. He argues that all is not lost and that alternatives to the domination and command of space by free market global capital do exist. He offers some hope that in struggles against the inequities of the distinctions and dominant universality of capitalism's structuring of the spaces and places of labour, life and leisure, there is the potential for new social and spatial forms and relations to develop. In this he points to the possibilities of transforming urban landscapes by enlightened and radicalised architects, planners and designers in a more positive and perhaps a utopian direction as opposed to those urban transformations, often under the guise of regeneration, of the dictates of capital that are all too familiar in the present.

Harvey's contribution to the analysis of space is one that presents an understanding and explanation of how the modern urban landscape has



been and continues to be formed under capitalism. It applies a consistent critical awareness of the importance of space, in spatial forms and arrangements, of structures and artefacts of the development of the urban for social relations. His continuing historical-geographical materialist project to upgrade Marx's paradigm of production provides a means to analyse and investigate the continuing urban processes under global capitalism that continue to influence and structure urban development and experience in the twenty-first century. The various urban regeneration schemes in cities throughout the world that provide a means for the 'gentrification' of disused industrial areas, the redevelopment of dockside and waterfronts for commercial, residential and leisure functions etc. represents an opportunity to apply Harvey's political economy of space to the problematics of contemporary cityscapes.

NOTES

1 Harvey provides a definition and description of the built environment created by the urban process:

122 the totality of physical structures: houses, roads, factories, offices, sewage systems, parks, cultural institutions, educational facilities, and so on...fixed capital items to be used in production (factories, highways, railroads, offices, and so on) and consumption fund items to be used in consumption (houses, roads, parks, sidewalks, and the like). (Harvey, 1978a: 9-10)

This description and definition is emphasised elsewhere by Harvey:

The built environment comprises a whole host of diverse elements: factories, dams, offices, shops, warehouses, roads, railways, docks, power stations, water supply and sewage disposal systems, schools, hospitals, parks, cinemas, restaurants - the list is endless... The whole question of the spatial ordering of the built environment has then to be considered; the decision where to put one element cannot be divorced from the 'where' of others. The built environment has to be regarded, then as a geographically ordered, complex, composite commodity. The production, ordering, maintenance, renewal, and transformation of such a commodity poses serious dilemmas. The production of individual elements - houses, factories, shops, schools, roads, etc. - has to be co-ordinated, both in time and space, in such a way as to allow the composite commodity to assume an appropriate configuration. (Harvey, 1982: 233)

2 Harvey considers the creation of a space economy as a necessary development of the circulation of surplus as a product of capitalism as a mode of production:

A space economy has to be created and maintained if urbanism is to survive as a social form. Expanded reproduction and changing scale in urbanism also

require an expanding (geographically) or intensifying space economy. The flow of goods and services throughout this space economy are a tangible expression of that process which circulates surplus value in order to concentrate more of it. (Harvey, 1973: 237-8)

3 In language reminiscent of Lefebvre, Harvey highlights the importance of urbanisation both for the survival of capitalism and for the creation of a new form of consciousness and relationship to nature.

We know that capitalism has survived into the 20th century in part through the production of an increasingly urbanised space. The result has been a particular kind of urban experience, radically different quantitatively and qualitatively from anything that preceded it in world history. Capitalism has produced a 'second nature' through urbanisation and the creation of the built environment of extraordinary breadth and intricacy. It has also produced a new kind of human nature through the urbanisation of human consciousness and the production of social spaces and a particular structure of inter-relations between the different loci of consciousness formation... The urban process then appears as both fundamental to the perpetuation of capitalism and a primary expression of its inner contradictions now expressed as external constraints. (Harvey, 1985: 273)

4 Habermas provides some details of the distinction between the public and private spheres:

12 Included in the private realm was the authentic 'public sphere', for it was a public sphere constituted by private people... The private sphere comprised civil society in the narrower sense, that is to say, the realm of commodity exchange and of social labour; imbedded in it was the family with its interior domain (Intimsphere). The public sphere in the political realm evolved from the public sphere in the world of letters; through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society. (Habermas, 1992: 30-1)

5 Howell gives some clarification of the historical origins and development as well as the political context for the rise and role of the public sphere:

The public sphere is a sphere which mediates between society and the state, in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion. It has its origins in the late 18th century ideals of citizenship and of a wider, informed and educated public, of representative and participatory government, and above all in the new forms of political action that these enshrined. Historically then the public sphere is particular and specific to a time and a place, and also to certain social transformations. It is linked to the demand for political reform, principally on the part of an emergent but increasingly self-confident bourgeoisie, and it depended on and presumed the prior transformation of social relations, their condensation into new political arrangements and the generation of new social, cultural and political discourse around this changing environment. (Howell, 1993: 309)

6 This is a point that Gray emphasises in his analysis of the links between the local state and an increasingly dominant bourgeois public sphere. In this, for Gray, ruling class intellectuals were

[p]articularly concerned with the administrative and ideological organisation of society, they were to be found as members of statistical societies and Royal Commissions, writers and readers of the quarterly press, organisers of charity and social discipline... They played a crucial role in the organisation of hegemony... The industrial bourgeoisie constituted the *hegemonic fraction* within the power bloc – whose interests preponderate in the exercise of state power, and whose particular social relations figure in dominant ideological representations... Various overlapping intellectual and literary cadres strongly committed to utilitarianism and free trade, staffed key new branches of the State apparatus. Moreover 'divinity and economics' ran together and the laws of political economy were closely entangled with moral, and often religiously sanctioned, norms of 'rational conduct'. (Gray, 1981: 237, 239)

7 Ely stresses Habermas was at pains to recognise this point:

It is important to acknowledge the existence of competing publics not just later in the nineteenth century... but at every stage in the history of the public sphere and, indeed, from the very beginning... The emergence of the bourgeois public was never defined solely by the struggle against absolutism and traditional authority. Also, it necessarily addressed the problem of popular containment as well... Consequently, the public sphere makes more sense as the structured setting where cultural and ideological contest or negotiation among the variety of publics takes place, rather than as the spontaneous and class-specific achievement of the bourgeoisie in some sufficient sense. (Ely, 1992: 306)

8 As Habermas writes:

Laws passed under the 'pressure of the street' could hardly be understood any longer as embodying the reasonable consensus of publicly debating private persons... The competitive order no longer lent sufficient credibility to its promise that, along with the alleged equality of opportunity to accumulate private property, it also maintained open access to the public sphere in the political realm. The principle of the latter, rather, demanded the direct admittance of the labouring classes, of the uneducated masses without property – precisely through the extension of equal political rights. Electoral reform was the topic of the nineteenth century: no longer the principle of publicity as such, as had been true in the eighteenth century, but of the enlargement of the public. (Habermas, 1992, 132–3)

9 See Chapter 3 in Harvey (1985) and also Harvey (2003), Paris: capital of modernity, for a detailed study of the redevelopment of the space of Paris as a means to organise and control the population as well as represent the national prestige and imperial status of the capital and of France.

five

Michel Foucault: space, knowledge and power

Michel Foucault did not propose a general theory of space or of power. However, his well-known proposition of the emergence through a number of interrelated professions and activities in the nineteenth century of a 'disciplinary society', provides the opportunity for investigating both his use of the concept of power/knowledge and the importance of the spatial dimension in his understanding of social relations. What will be explored and given particular emphasis here are those 'disciplinary discourses' that illuminate the dispersed practices of power operative and inherent in representations of forms of space that are an integral part of Foucault's social theory. These discourses are pertinent to an appreciation of the historical origins and development of modern, predominantly urban society, in which 'disciplinary spaces' are created through the application of knowledge/power for the cultivation, instillation and propagation of 'civilised', bourgeois values. They are an important feature of Foucault's analysis of modern socio-spatial forms and the social relations of power. In particular, Foucault's assertion of the role of the medical professions as 'the first specialists of space' will be analysed to investigate the power of disciplinary discourses in the production, representation and use of space in the development of a planned, managed, policed urban society. In this, the role of space and spatial forms will be considered in relation to Foucault's understanding of what he terms the two aspects of 'bio-power': the creation of 'docile bodies' and the policing of the 'species body'. The following necessarily selective usage of Foucault's array of concepts and works is one that heeds Foucault's own advice for the treatment of 'original' thinkers:

The only valid tribute to thought such as Nietzsche's is precisely to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest. And if commentators then say that I am being unfaithful to Nietzsche, that is of absolutely no interest to me. (Foucault, 1980: 53–4)

The following then is my attempt not to make Foucault (or the reader) groan and protest but to illuminate the spatiality of Foucault's analysis

