

# THE HANDBOOK OF NEOLIBERALISM

Neoliberalism is easily one of the most powerful concepts to emerge within the social sciences in the last two decades, and the number of scholars who write about this dynamic and unfolding process of socio-spatial transformation is astonishing. Even more surprising is that there has, until now, not been an attempt to provide a broad volume that engages with the multiple registers in which neoliberalism has evolved.

*The Handbook of Neoliberalism* seeks to offer a wide-ranging overview of the phenomenon of neoliberalism by examining a number of ways that it has been theorized, promoted, critiqued, and put into practice in a variety of geographical locations and institutional frameworks. With contributions from over 50 leading authors working at institutions around the world, the volume's seven parts provide a systematic overview of neoliberalism's origins, political implications, social tensions, knowledge productions, spaces, natures and environments, and aftermaths in addressing ongoing and emerging debates.

The volume aims to provide the first comprehensive overview of the field and to advance the established and emergent debates in a field that has grown exponentially over the past two decades, coinciding with the meteoric rise of neoliberalism as a hegemonic ideology, state form, policy and programme, and governmentality. It includes a substantive introductory chapter and will serve as an invaluable resource for undergraduates, graduate students and professional scholars alike.

**Simon Springer** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at University of Victoria, Canada.

**Kean Birch** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Science at York University, Canada.

**Julie MacLeavy** is a Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Bristol, UK.

‘This extraordinary collection offers a comprehensive review of neoliberalism. It answers all questions you may have about neoliberalization including those you might be afraid to pose. A must read for all those who believe that a different world must be possible.’

**Erik Swyngedouw**, *MAE, Professor of Geography,  
School of Education, Environment and Development, Manchester University, UK*

‘Providing a comprehensive introduction to one of the most contentious terms in contemporary social science, this multi-disciplinary handbook draws together established scholars and new contributors. Collectively these authors offer an extraordinarily wide range of debates and perspectives, making this a landmark contribution to the field.’

**Wendy Larner**, *Provost and Professor of Human Geography,  
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand*

‘This is the most wide-ranging and multi-perspectival overview of neoliberalism available. The book is a true treasure trove where graduate students can find countless ideas for designing original research projects.’

**Henk Overbeek**, *Professor Emeritus of International Relations,  
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands*

# THE HANDBOOK OF NEOLIBERALISM

*Edited by Simon Springer,  
Kean Birch and Julie MacLeavy*

First published 2016  
by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2016 Simon Springer, Kean Birch and Julie MacLeavy

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Names: Springer, Simon, editor. | Birch, Kean, editor. | MacLeavy, Julie, editor.

Title: The handbook of neoliberalism / edited by Simon Springer, Kean Birch and Julie MacLeavy.

Description: New York, NY: Routledge, 2016.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015050383 | ISBN 9781138844001 (hardback: alk. paper) ISBN 9781315730660 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Neoliberalism.

Classification: LCC HB95 .H335 2016 | DDC 330.1–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015050383>

ISBN: 978-1-138-84400-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-73066-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by Cenveo Publisher Services, India

# CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>List of tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxvii
An introduction to neoliberalism	1
<i>Simon Springer, Kean Birch and Julie MacLeavy</i>	
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>Origins</b>	<b>15</b>
1 Historicizing the neoliberal spirit of capitalism	17
<i>Matthew Eagleton-Pierce</i>	
2 The ascendancy of Chicago neoliberalism	27
<i>Edward Nik-Khah and Robert Van Horn</i>	
3 Neoliberalism and the transnational capitalist class	39
<i>William K. Carroll and J.P. Sapinski</i>	
4 Theorizing neoliberalization	50
<i>Kim England and Kevin Ward</i>	
5 Neoliberal hegemony	61
<i>Dieter Plehwe</i>	
6 Governmentality at work in shaping a critical geographical politics	73
<i>Nick Lewis</i>	

7	Neoliberalism in question <i>Phillip O'Neill and Sally Weller</i>	84
8	Neoliberalism, accomplished and ongoing <i>Stephanie L. Mudge</i>	93
<b>PART II</b>		
	<b>Political implications</b>	<b>105</b>
9	Neoliberalism and authoritarianism <i>Ian Bruff</i>	107
10	Neoliberalism and citizenship <i>Katharyne Mitchell</i>	118
11	Development and neoliberalism <i>Douglas Hill, Nave Wald and Tess Guiney</i>	130
12	Neoliberalism and the end of democracy <i>Jason Hickel</i>	142
13	The violence of neoliberalism <i>Simon Springer</i>	153
14	Neoliberalism and the biopolitical imagination <i>Nicholas Kiersey</i>	164
15	Neoliberalism, surveillance and media convergence <i>Julie Cupples and Kevin Glynn</i>	175
16	Resilience: a right-wingers' ploy? <i>Vlad Mykhnenko</i>	190
<b>PART III</b>		
	<b>Social tensions</b>	<b>207</b>
17	Race and neoliberalism <i>David J. Roberts</i>	209
18	Gender and neoliberalism: young women as ideal neoliberal subjects <i>Christina Scharff</i>	217

19	Neoliberalizing sex, normativizing love <i>Sealing Cheng</i>	227
20	Health and the embodiment of neoliberalism: pathologies of political economy from climate change and austerity to personal responsibility <i>Matthew Sparke</i>	237
21	Neoliberalism and welfare <i>Julie MacLeavy</i>	252
22	Neoliberalism, labour and trade unionism <i>Ben Jackson</i>	262
23	The commons against neoliberalism, the commons of neoliberalism, the commons beyond neoliberalism <i>Max Haiven</i>	271
24	Retooling social reproduction for neoliberal times: the example of the social economy <i>Peter Graefe</i>	284
<b>PART IV</b>		
<b>Knowledge productions</b>		<b>295</b>
25	Education, neoliberalism, and human capital: <i>homo economicus</i> as 'entrepreneur of himself' <i>Michael A. Peters</i>	297
26	Pedagogies of neoliberalism <i>Sheila L. Macrine</i>	308
27	Financial economics and business schools: legitimating corporate monopoly, reproducing neoliberalism? <i>Kean Birch</i>	320
28	Neoliberalism everywhere: mobile neoliberal policy <i>Russell Prince</i>	331
29	Science, innovation and neoliberalism <i>David Tyfield</i>	340
30	Performing neoliberalism: practices, power and subject formation <i>Michael R. Glass</i>	351

31	Neoliberalism as austerity: the theory, practice, and purpose of fiscal restraint since the 1970s <i>Heather Whiteside</i>	361
32	The housing crisis in neoliberal Britain: free market think tanks and the production of ignorance <i>Tom Slater</i>	370
<b>PART V</b>		
<b>Spaces</b>		<b>383</b>
33	Urban neoliberalism: rolling with the changes in a globalizing world <i>Roger Keil</i>	385
34	Neoliberalism and rural change: land and capital concentration, and the precariousness of labour <i>Cristóbal Kay</i>	398
35	The heartlands of neoliberalism and the rise of the austerity state <i>Bob Jessop</i>	410
36	Peripheries of neoliberalism: impacts, resistance and retroliberalism as reincarnation <i>Warwick E. Murray and John Overton</i>	422
37	Neoliberal geopolitics <i>Susan M. Roberts</i>	433
38	In the spirit of whiteness: neoliberal re-regulation, and the simultaneous opening and hardening of national territorial boundaries <i>Joseph Nevins</i>	444
39	Housing and home: objects and technologies of neoliberal governmentalities <i>Rae Dufty-Jones</i>	453
<b>PART VI</b>		
<b>Natures and environments</b>		<b>467</b>
40	Re-regulating socioecologies under neoliberalism <i>Rosemary-Claire Collard, Jessica Dempsey and James Rowe</i>	469
41	Neoliberalism's climate <i>Larry Lohmann</i>	480

*Contents*

42	Neoliberal energies: crisis, governance and hegemony <i>Matthew Huber</i>	493
43	Neoliberalizing water <i>Alex Loftus and Jessica Budds</i>	503
44	The neoliberalization of agriculture: regimes, resistance, and resilience <i>Jamey Essex</i>	514
45	Making bodily commodities: transformations of property, object and labour in the neoliberal bioeconomy <i>Maria Fannin</i>	526
46	Rethinking the extractive/productive binary under neoliberalism <i>Sonja Killoran-McKibbin and Anna Zalik</i>	537
<b>PART VII</b>		
<b>Aftermaths</b>		<b>549</b>
47	The crisis of neoliberalism <i>Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy</i>	551
48	Regulated deregulation <i>Manuel B. Aalbers</i>	563
49	Neoliberalism version 3+ <i>James D. Sidaway and Reijer Hendrikse</i>	574
50	Postneoliberalism <i>Ulrich Brand</i>	583
51	Neoliberal gothic <i>Japhy Wilson</i>	592
52	Everyday contestations to neoliberalism: valuing and harnessing alternative work practices in a neoliberal society <i>Richard J. White and Colin C. Williams</i>	603
53	Our new arms <i>Mark Purcell</i>	613
	<i>Index</i>	623



# FIGURES

15.1	Tweeting the love for White Dee	183
15.2	Social media smackdown on Clintons	184
15.3	Exposing tax evasion on Twitter	185
15.4	Tory attack on the poor	186
15.5	Facebooking protest against banksters	186
16.1	Number of articles and proceedings papers published annually on the topics of resilience, sustainable development, and competitiveness	198
16.2	Articles and proceedings papers published on resilience	199
16.3	A Word Cloud of publications with the title on Resilien	201
16.4	Papers published annually in English on the topic of ‘big society’	202
33.1	Frankfurt’s Mayor Wolfram Bruck, Horstmar Stauber, head of the Fairgrounds Corporation “Messe Frankfurt”, and Jerry Speyer, President of Tishman-Speyer Properties, check out the model of the planned Messeturm highrise building designed by Murphy/Jahn, on March 21, 1988, in Frankfurt/Main	386
47.1	Average yearly income per household in seven fractiles	553
47.2	A diagrammatic representation	554
47.3	Share in GDP of nonresidential investment	556



# TABLES

16.1	Representative definitions of resilience across disciplines	192
26.1	Neoliberal pedagogies and corresponding trends	314
27.1	Phases of capitalism	323
32.1	Key traits of free market think tank argumentation	377
39.1	Neoliberalization of housing	456
43.1	Allocation of key responsibilities for private sector participation in water supply and sewerage	505
44.1	Food regimes	517
52.1	Allocation of working time in western economies	606
52.2	Household work practices: UK localities studied	607
52.3	Indicative list of material tasks investigated in the questionnaire	607
52.4	Participation rates in different labour practices	608
52.5	Typology of forms of community engagement in the total social organization of labour	609



# CONTRIBUTORS

**Manuel B. Aalbers**, a human geographer, sociologist and urban planner, is Associate Professor of Geography at KU Leuven/University of Leuven, Belgium, where he leads an ERC project and research group on the intersection of real estate, finance and states [<http://ees.kuleuven.be/refcom>]. Previously, he was at the University of Amsterdam and Columbia University. He has published on financialization, redlining, social and financial exclusion, neoliberalism, mortgage markets, the privatization of social housing, neighbourhood decline, gentrification and the Anglo-American hegemony in academic research and writing. He is the author of *Place, Exclusion, and Mortgage Markets* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) and *The Financialization of Housing: A Political Economy Approach* (Routledge, 2016) and the editor of *Subprime Cities: The Political Economy of Mortgage Markets* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012). He is also the associate editor of the *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies* (Sage, 2010) and of geography journal *TESG*, and has served as the guest editor for seven different journals.

**Kean Birch** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Science at York University, Canada. His research focuses on the changing political economy of science, innovation and environment. His book *We Have Never Been Neoliberal* was published by Zero in 2015. His website can be found at <http://www.keanbirch.net/>.

**Ulrich Brand** teaches and does research as Professor of International Politics at the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna, Austria. His interests lie in critical state and governance studies, regulation and hegemony theory, political ecology, international resource and environmental politics, and social-ecological transformation; his regional focus is Latin America. He has published in journals like *Review of International Political Economy*, *Antipode*, *Geoforum*, *Law, Environment and Development Journal*, *Austrian Journal of Development Studies*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, *Prokla*, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* and recently co-edited books on regulation theory, political ecology and Latin America. He received his PhD at Frankfurt am Main University, Germany, and his habilitation at Kassel University, Germany ([www.univie.ac.at/intpol](http://www.univie.ac.at/intpol)).

**Ian Bruff** is Lecturer in European Politics at the University of Manchester, UK. He has published widely on capitalist diversity, neoliberalism, and social theory. He recently completed a large

cross-country project on the diversity of contemporary capitalism(s) with Matthias Ebenau, Christian May and Andreas Nölke, which produced two German-language collections in 2013 (with Westfälisches Dampfboot and the journal *Peripherie*), plus an English-language special issue in 2014 (the journal *Capital & Class*) and an English-language volume in 2015 (with Palgrave Macmillan). He is currently researching the political economy of authoritarian neoliberalism in Europe, and is the Managing Editor of the Transforming Capitalism book series published by Rowman & Littlefield International.

**Jessica Budds** is Senior Lecturer in Geography and International Development at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK. Her research examines the political economy of access to water among low-income groups in the global South, focusing on the application of economic and market principles to water management, as well as the effects of the expansion of water-related economic sectors, including agribusiness, mining and hydropower.

**William K. Carroll's** research interests are in the areas of the political economy of corporate capitalism, social movements and social change, and critical social theory and method. A member of the Sociology Department at the University of Victoria since 1981, he established the Interdisciplinary Program in Social Justice Studies at the University of Victoria in 2008 and served as its director from 2008 to 2012. His books include *The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class*, *Corporate Power in a Globalizing World*, *Corporate Power and Canadian Capitalism*, *Remaking Media* (with Bob Hackett), *Critical Strategies for Social Research*, *Challenges and Perils: Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times* (with R.S. Ratner) and *Organizing Dissent*. His current project, 'Mapping the power of the carbon-extractive corporate resource sector', is an interdisciplinary partnership of several universities and civil-society organizations, tracing modalities of corporate power within the global political economy, and focusing particularly on carboniferous capitalism in western Canada.

**Sealing Cheng** is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Before that, she was Associate Professor in Women's and Gender Studies at Wellesley College, USA. Her research is focused on sexuality with reference to sex work, migration, asylum-seeking, and human trafficking. Her book, *On the Move for Love: Migrant Entertainers and the US Military in South Korea* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) received the Distinguished Book Award of the Sexualities Section of the American Sociological Association in 2012.

**Rosemary-Claire Collard** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography, Planning and Environment at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. Her main research interest is in the relationship between capitalism and biological – especially animal – life. She is co-editor of *Critical Animal Geographies* (Routledge, 2015) and is working on her own book *Zoo-fetishism and the Politics of Commodity Life in the Global Exotic Pet Trade* (under contract with Duke University Press).

**Julie Cupples** is Reader in Human Geography and Co-director of the Global Development Academy at the University of Edinburgh, UK. She is the author of *Latin American Development* (Routledge, 2013), the co-editor of *Mediated Geographies and Geographies of Media* (Springer, 2015) and the co-author of *Media/Communications/Geographies* (forthcoming, Routledge). Her work has appeared in journals such as *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *Antipode*, *Feminist Media Studies*, *Gender, Place and Culture*, *Television and New Media* and *Transactions of the*

*Institute of British Geographers*. She is a principal investigator on a research project entitled Geographies of Media Convergence, funded by the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of the New Zealand. For the past few years, she has been working with indigenous and Afro-descendant broadcasters in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Central America and exploring the geopolitical dimensions of entertainment television within a rapidly changing media environment.

**Jessica Dempsey** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of British Columbia, Canada. Her research focuses on the political ecologies of biodiversity conservation and her book *Enterprising Nature* is forthcoming from the *Antipode* book series (Wiley-Blackwell).

**Rae Dufty-Jones** is a Senior Lecturer in Geography and Urban Studies at Western Sydney University. Rae is an economic and social geographer who researches mobility, housing, neoliberal governance and urban and regional development. Her work includes the 2015 edited collection *Housing in 21st Century Australia* (Ashgate) and articles in *Housing Studies* and *Dialogues in Human Geography*.

**G rard Dum nil** was born in 1942. He graduated from the  cole des Hautes  tudes Commerciale (HEC) and has a PhD in Economics; he was formerly Research Director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. He is the author of *Le concept de loi  conomique dans 'Le Capital', avant-propos de L. Althusser* (Maspero, 1978). With Dominique L vy: *The Economics of the Profit Rate: Competition, Crises, and Historical Tendencies in Capitalism* (Edward Elgar, 1993); *Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution* (2004) and *The Crisis of Neoliberalism* (2011, both Harvard University Press). With Jacques Bidet: *Altermarxisme: Un autre marxisme pour un autre monde* (Presses Universitaires de France, 2007). With Micha l L wy and Emmanuel Renault: *Lire Marx* and *Les cent mots du marxisme* (both Presses Universitaires de France, 2009).

**Matthew Eagleton-Pierce** is a Lecturer (Assistant Professor) in International Political Economy at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. His primary research interests concern the history and contemporary analysis of neoliberalism, and the political economy of world trade. Such research has a particular focus on the relations between power and processes of legitimation in capitalism. He is the author of *Neoliberalism: The Key Concepts* (Routledge, 2016) and *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization* (Oxford, 2013). His journal publications have featured in *New Political Economy* and *Millennium*. He has taught at the University of Oxford, the London School of Economics, and the University of Exeter. He holds a DPhil (PhD) in International Relations from the University of Oxford.

**Kim England** is Professor of Geography and Adjunct Professor of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies at the University of Washington. She is an urban, social and feminist geographer whose research focuses on care work, critical social policy analysis, economic restructuring, and urban inequalities, primarily in North America.

**Jamey Essex** is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Windsor, in Windsor, Ontario, Canada. His research examines the geopolitics and geoeconomics of development, focusing on official development institutions and aid strategies; the political and economic geographies of globalization, focusing on changes in governance and the state; and the restructuring of agriculture and food systems at multiple scales, focusing on food security and hunger.

**Maria Fannin** is Senior Lecturer in Human Geography in the School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol, UK. Her research focuses on the social and economic dimensions of health, medicine and technology, particularly in relation to reproduction. She has conducted research on the use of contracts in commercial cord blood banking and theories of hoarding in relation to the human tissue economy. Her most recent project examined the creation and maintenance of a regional placenta biobank in the UK. Her work has appeared in *Body & Society*, *Feminist Theory* and *New Genetics & Society*.

**Michael R. Glass** is a Lecturer in the Urban Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA. His research focuses on city-region development and neighbourhood change. He is co-editor of *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space*, published with Routledge in 2014, and co-author of *Priced Out: Stuyvesant Town and the Loss of Middle-Class Neighborhoods*, published with NYU Press in 2016.

**Kevin Glynn** teaches Media Studies at Massey University in Wellington, New Zealand. He is author of *Tabloid Culture: Trash Taste, Poplar Power and the Transformation of American Television* (Duke University Press, 2000) and co-author of *Communications/Media/Geographies* (Routledge, 2015). His work has also appeared in anthologies and many leading international journals, including *Cultural Studies*, *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture and Media Studies*, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Television and New Media*, *Gender, Place and Culture*, *Comparative American Studies*, *Antipode*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, and others. He is a principal investigator on a research project entitled 'Geographies of Media Convergence', which is funded by the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of the New Zealand. His recent publications have examined television and media convergence; decolonial struggles in the new media environment; and intersections between popular culture, politics, cultural citizenship and the media.

**Peter Graefe** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University, Canada. His research seeks to apply political economy analysis to the study of social development policies in Canada, and to the study of Quebec nationalism.

**Tess Guiney**, PhD, is a graduate of the Geography and Tourism Departments of the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Her research focuses on untangling perceptions of place, the popularization of particular humanitarian forms, impacts on host communities, and resistance to these development trends. Her doctoral research utilized orphanage tourism in Cambodia to unravel these issues within a specific setting.

**Max Haiven** is a writer, teacher, organizer, and Assistant Professor in the Division of Art History and Critical Studies at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design in K'jipuktuk in Mi'kma'ki (Halifax, Canada). He is author of the books *Crises of Imagination*, *Crises of Power: Capitalism, Creativity and the Commons* (Zed Books, 2014), *The Radical Imagination: Social Movement Research in the Age of Austerity* (with Alex Khasnabish, Zed Books, 2014) and *Cultures of Financialization: Fictitious Capital in Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

**Reijer Hendrikse** is a researcher based at the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies at the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. His interests include the linkages between neoliberalization and financialization, and the intricacies constituting what David Harvey labels 'the state-finance nexus'. His PhD (University of

Amsterdam, 2015) was entitled ‘The long arm of finance’. It explored the relatively neglected financialization of governments, public institutions (including universities) and the state itself. His most recent work focuses on the financialization of Apple Inc. (with Rodrigo Fernandez). Working on the duplicitous liberal divide between states and markets, he is currently exploring and theorizing the global ascent of financialized corporations couched in sovereign powers.

**Jason Hickel** is an anthropologist at the London School of Economics, UK. He specializes in democracy, development, globalization, and finance, and his work has been supported by grants from Fulbright-Hays, the National Science Foundation, and the Leverhulme Trust. He has published two books, including *Democracy as Death: The Moral Order of Anti-Liberal Politics in South Africa* (University of California Press, 2015). In addition to his academic work, Jason contributes regularly to the *Guardian*, Al Jazeera, and other outlets.

**Douglas Hill**, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer in Development Studies in the Geography Department of the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. He has published widely on development issues related to India and elsewhere in Asia, including issues related to migrant labour and urban restructuring, India politics, rural development and environmental management. His most recent work is concerned with transboundary water resources in South Asia.

**Matthew Huber** is Associate Professor of Geography at Syracuse University, New York. He teaches on energy, environment and the political economy of capitalism. His research looks at the relationship between energy systems and the larger social, cultural and political forces. His 2013 book *Lifblood: Oil, Freedom and the Forces of Capital* (University of Minnesota Press) examines the role of oil in shaping suburbanization and the rightward turn of American politics in the 1970s and beyond.

**Ben Jackson** is Associate Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, UK, and a Fellow of University College. He is the author of *Equality and the British Left* (Manchester University Press, 2007) and co-editor of *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). He is currently working on the intellectual history of neoliberalism, on the dissemination of neoliberal ideas into British politics, and on the history and politics of Scottish nationalism.

**Bob Jessop** is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Co-Director of the Cultural Political Economy Research Centre, Lancaster University, UK. He is best known for his contributions to state theory, critical political economy, and, most recently, cultural political economy. He has been critiquing neoliberalism since the 1980s and this has interacted with the development of his broader theoretical approach. His latest book is *The State: Past, Present, Future* (Polity, 2015) and his personal archive is at [www.bobjessop.org](http://www.bobjessop.org).

**Cristóbal Kay** is Emeritus Professor in the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) of Erasmus University Rotterdam in The Hague, Netherlands; Professorial Research Associate in the Department of Development Studies of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and Visiting Professor at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Quito, Ecuador. He is an editor of the *Journal of Agrarian Change* and a member of the international advisory board of the *Journal of Peasant Studies*.

**Roger Keil** is York Research Chair in Global Sub/Urban Studies in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University in Toronto, Canada. A former director of York University's City

*Contributors*

Institute, he researches global suburbanization, urban political ecology, cities and infectious disease, and regional governance, and is Principal Investigator of a major collaborative research initiative on 'Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century' (2010–17). He is the editor of *Suburban Constellations* (Jovis, 2013) and co-editor (with Pierre Hamel) of *Suburban Governance: A Global View* (University of Toronto Press, 2015).

**Nicholas Kiersey** is Associate Professor in Political Science at Ohio University, USA. His work focuses on the place of subjectivity and crisis in the reproduction of capitalist power. Recently published articles of his can be found in the *Journal of Critical Globalization Studies*, *Global Society*, and *Global Discourse*. He recently co-edited the volume *Battlestar Galactica and International Relations* with Iver Neumann (Routledge, 2013). His current book project, entitled *Negotiating Crisis: Neoliberal Power in Austerity Ireland*, is set to be published by Rowman & Littlefield in 2016.

**Sonja Killoran-McKibbin** is a PhD student in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, Canada.

**Nick Lewis** is an Associate Professor in the School of Geography, Geology and Environmental Science at the University of Auckland, New Zealand.

**Dominique Lévy** was born in 1945. He graduated from the École Polytechnique and has a PhD in Physics; he was formerly Research Director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. With Gérard Duménil, he is the author of *The Economics of the Profit Rate: Competition, Crises, and Historical Tendencies in Capitalism* (Edward Elgar, 1993); *Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution* (2004) and *The Crisis of Neoliberalism* (2011, both Harvard University Press).

**Alex Loftus** teaches and researches in the Department of Geography at King's College London. He is the author of *Everyday Environmentalism: Creating an Urban Political Ecology* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012) and co-editor of *Gramsci: Space, Nature, Politics* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

**Larry Lohmann** is an activist working with The Corner House, a research and advocacy organization based in the UK. He has contributed to scholarly journals in sociology, politics, development, science studies, law, social policy, environment, accounting and Asian studies. His last book was *Mercados de Carbono: La Neoliberalización del Clima* (Quito, 2012).

**Julie MacLeavy** is a Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at the University of Bristol, UK. Her research contributes to the study of neoliberalism as real-world phenomena and as a theoretical object by providing empirically grounded and critically engaged analysis of labour market regulation, welfare provision and urban renewal in the UK and elsewhere. She has published in a number of scholarly journals including *Environment and Planning A*, *Geoforum*, *Urban Studies*, *Cambridge Review of Regions*, *Economy and Society* and *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. She is the lead editor of a special issue of *Antipode* on new state spatialities and has recently co-edited a special issue of *Social Politics* on gendered transformations of governance, economy and citizenship.

**Sheila L. Macrine**, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, USA. Her research focuses on two areas: (1) connecting the cultural, political, and institutional contexts of pedagogy as they relate to the public sphere, democratic education and social

*Contributors*

imagination and (2) developing alternative assessments for students with differences, including the culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) population. She has published numerous articles and a number of books on critical pedagogy.

**Katharyne Mitchell** is a Professor of Geography at the University of Washington, USA, specializing in transnationalism, humanitarianism, and urban governance. She has published over 75 refereed articles and chapters and authored or edited nine books and guest edited journals, including *Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis* (Temple University Press, 2004), and *Practising Public Scholarship: Experiences and Possibilities Beyond the Academy* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2008). Mitchell served as Simpson Professor of the Public Humanities at the University of Washington from 2004–7 and Department Chair from 2008–13. She is the recipient of grants from the MacArthur Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, and the National Science Foundation.

**Stephanie L. Mudge** is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California-Davis, USA, who specializes in the study of western politics and expertise. Her work has appeared in journals including *Socio-economic Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Annual Review of Sociology* and *European Journal of Sociology*. Her chapter updates and expands on her previous work on neoliberalism, drawing partly from a manuscript-in-process that is tentatively titled *Neoliberal Politics*.

**Warwick E. Murray** is Professor of Human Geography and Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has held university positions in the UK and Fiji and has been a visiting professor at universities in Europe and South America. He is President of the Australasian Iberian and Latin American Studies Association. He has served as editor on a number of journals including *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* and *Journal of Rural Studies*. His regional expertise covers the Pacific Islands, Oceania, and Latin America.

**Vlad Mykhnenko** is a Lecturer in Human Geography (Urban Adaptation and Resilience), School of Geography, Earth, and Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham, UK. Previous appointments were at the University of Nottingham, a Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, and an International Policy Fellow at the Centre for Policy Studies at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. His research interests are economic geography, political geography, and qualitative comparative analysis, including currently the study of urban and regional economies; local government finance, fiscal federalism, and devolution; regional development, spatial policy and governance; and geopolitics and critical cartography.

**Joseph Nevins** is an associate professor in the Department of Earth Science and Geography at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, USA. His research interests include socio-territorial boundaries and mobility, violence and inequality, and political ecology. Among his books are *Operation Gatekeeper and Beyond: The War On 'Illegals' and the Remaking of the US-Mexico Boundary* (Routledge, 2010); *Taking Southeast Asia to Market: Commodities, Nature, and People in the Neoliberal Age* (co-edited with Nancy Peluso, Cornell University Press, 2008); and *A Not-so-distant Horror: Mass Violence in East Timor* (Cornell University Press, 2005).

**Edward Nik-Khah** is an Associate Professor of Economics at Roanoke College, New York, USA. He has completed research on interactions between the Chicago School of Economics, the pharmaceutical industry, and pharmaceutical science; the neoliberal origins of economics

imperialism; the distinctive role of George Stigler as architect of the Chicago School; and the tensions emerging from economists' assumption of a professional identity as designers of markets. His forthcoming book on the history of knowledge and information in economics (with Philip Mirowski) is entitled *The Knowledge We Have Lost in Information*.

**Phillip O'Neill** is Professorial Research Fellow in Economic Geography at the Western Sydney University, Australia. He is also the Director of its Centre for Western Sydney. The Centre is the university's portal for policy and research dissemination for the Western Sydney region. Phillip's current research focus is on infrastructure, its privatization, and the implications of private financing for the functioning of cities. His research historically has focused on the regional impacts of industrial change, the role of the state in economic transitions, and the relationships between corporate capital and productive investment.

**John Overton** is Professor of Development Studies and Human Geography at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has held university positions at four other institutions including the Australian National University. He is past President of the New Zealand Geographical Society and former Director of the Commonwealth Geographical Bureau. He has served as an editor for a range of journals including *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*. His regional expertise covers the Pacific Islands, Oceania, South East Asia, and Southern Africa.

**Michael A. Peters** is Professor of Education at the University of Waikato, New Zealand, and Emeritus at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. His is Executive Editor of *Educational Philosophy and Theory* and the author of *Neoliberalism and After? Education, Social Policy, and the Crisis of Western Capitalism* (Peter Lang, 2011) and editor of *The Global Financial Crisis and Educational Restructuring* (Peter Lang, 2015) with T. Besley and J. Paraskeva.

**Dieter Plehwe** is a Senior Fellow in the Department Inequality and Social Policy at the Berlin Social Science Center. His research is located at the interface of comparative capitalism, political sociology, and intellectual history. He co-edited *The Road from Mont Pèlerin* with Philip Mirowski (Harvard University Press, 2009), is a member of the editorial board of *Critical Policy Studies*, and started the think tank network research initiative ([www.thinktanknetworkresearch.net](http://www.thinktanknetworkresearch.net)). More information can be found on his website: <https://www.wzb.eu/de/personen/dieter-plehwe>

**Russell Prince** is Senior Lecturer in Human Geography at Massey University in New Zealand. His research focuses on policy formation and mobility and the geography of expertise. His work has been published in *Transactions of the Institute of Human Geographers, Sociology, and Environment and Planning A*. His website can be found at: [http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Russell\\_Prince](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Russell_Prince)

**Mark Purcell** is a Professor in the Department of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, USA, where he studies cities, political theory, and democracy. He is the author of *Recapturing Democracy* (Routledge, 2008), *The Down-Deep Delight of Democracy* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), and numerous articles in journals including *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Urban Geography, Antipode, Urban Studies, and Planning Theory*. His blog can be found at <http://pathtothepossible.wordpress.com>, and his professional webpage at <http://faculty.washington.edu/mpurcell>

**David J. Roberts** is an Assistant Professor, Teaching Stream in the Urban Studies Program at the University of Toronto, Canada. His interests include the study of race and geography,

mega-events, urban infrastructure and public-private partnerships, and popular culture. His recent scholarship includes articles published in the journals *Dialogues in Human Geography*, *Environment and Planning C*, *Sport in Society*, and *Antipode*.

**Susan M. Roberts** is Associate Dean for International Affairs in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky, USA, where she is also Director of the International Studies Program and Professor of Geography. She is interested in political economy, feminist thought, and questions of inequality and development. Sue's recently published research includes papers on the rise of development contractors executing development assistance projects for USAID, and the political economy of geospatial intelligence. She teaches economic and political geography as well as courses on neoliberalism and development thinking.

**James Rowe** is an Assistant Professor in the School of Environmental Studies at the University of Victoria, Canada. His research is currently centred on the role of micropolitics in macropolitical change, with a particular focus on mind/body practices. His website can be found at: <http://www.jameskrowe.com/>

**J.P. Sapinski**, University of Oregon, USA. He earned his PhD from the University of Victoria, BC. His research maps out the relations between the global corporate elite and the field of climate politics, with a special focus on policy-planning organizations located at the interface between corporations and politics. His most recent project looks at climate geoengineering in the context of the relationship between the state, scientific knowledge, and the reproduction of global capitalism through the climate crisis. He also did work on global networks of corporate power and on counter-hegemonic networks of knowledge production and mobilization.

**Christina Scharff** is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries, King's College London, UK. Her research interests include gender, media and culture and she is author of *Repudiating Feminism: Young Women in a Neoliberal World* (Ashgate, 2012) and, with Rosalind Gill, co-editor of *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). She has researched engagements with feminism in Germany and Britain and her publications have appeared in various international journals, including *Theory, Culture & Society*, *Sociology, Feminism & Psychology*, *Feminist Media Studies*, and *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. She is currently holding an ESRC Future Research Leaders grant to conduct research on gender, cultural work and entrepreneurial subjectivities. Her second monograph *Music, Gender and Entrepreneurialism* is forthcoming with Routledge.

**James D. Sidaway** is Professor of Political Geography at the National University of Singapore. His recent fieldwork and publications have been on security and space in Cambodia, Iraqi Kurdistan and Mozambique (with Till Paasche), the geography of diplomacy (with Virginie Mamadouh and other colleagues in Amsterdam) and about migrant lives in Persian Gulf cities (with Robina Mohammad). His most recent book is a seventh edition of *Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Human Geography since 1945* (with Ron Johnston, Taylor & Francis, 2015).

**Tom Slater**, PhD is Reader in Urban Geography at the University of Edinburgh. His research centres on the relations between market processes and state structures in producing and reinforcing urban inequalities. He has written extensively on gentrification (notably the co-authored books, *Gentrification*, 2008, and *The Gentrification Reader*, 2010, both Routledge),

displacement from urban space, territorial stigmatization, welfare reform, and social movements. He is currently working on a long-term study of the role of free market think tanks in manufacturing ignorance of the causes of urban inequalities. For more information, including many downloadable papers, see: <http://www.geos.ed.ac.uk/homes/tslater>

**Matthew Sparke** is Professor of Geography, International Studies and Global Health at the University of Washington, USA, where he also serves as the Director of Integrated Social Sciences. He is the author of *Introducing Globalization: Ties, Tensions and Uneven Integration* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), and *In the Space of Theory: Post-foundational Geographies of the Nation-State* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005). Based on grants from the National Science Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and other foundations, his research is focused on the uneven geographies of globalization, including, most recently, the epidemiologies of inequality embodied in global biological citizenship and its others.

**Simon Springer** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Victoria, Canada. His research agenda explores the political, social, and geographical exclusions that neoliberalization has engendered in post-transitional Cambodia, emphasizing the spatialities of violence and power. He cultivates a cutting-edge theoretical approach to his scholarship by foregrounding both poststructuralist critique and a radical revival of anarchist philosophy. Simon's books include *The Discourse of Neoliberalism: An Anatomy of a Powerful Idea* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), *The Anarchist Roots of Geography: Towards Spatial Emancipation* (University of Minnesota Press, 2016), *Violent Neoliberalism: Development, Discourse and Dispossession in Cambodia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), and *Cambodia's Neoliberal Order: Violence, Authoritarianism, and the Contestation of Public Space* (Routledge, 2010). Simon serves as an editor of *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* and the Transforming Capitalism book series published by Rowman & Littlefield. His website can be found at: <http://uvic.academia.edu/SimonSpringer>.

**David Tyfield** is a Reader in the Lancaster Environment Centre at Lancaster University, UK, and Director of the International Research and Innovation Centre for the Environment, Guangzhou, China. His research focuses on the interaction of political economy, social change and developments in science, technology and innovation. His book *The Economics of Science* (2 volumes) was published by Routledge in 2012.

**Robert Van Horn** is Associate Professor of Economics at University of Rhode Island, USA. His research has primarily focused on the history of the post-war Chicago School. He is co-editor of *Building Chicago Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). *History of Political Economy* and *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, among others, have published his work. More information can be found at: <http://www.uri.edu/faculty/vanhorn/index.htm>.

**Nave Wald**, PhD, is a graduate of the Geography Department of the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. His work focuses on issues of rural development, food politics, radical politics and civil society. His doctoral research focused on grassroots peasant-indigenous organizations in northwest Argentina, the challenges they face and their responses.

**Kevin Ward** is a Professor in Human Geography in the School of Education, Environment and Development and Director of [cities@manchester](http://www.cities.manchester.ac.uk) ([www.cities.manchester.ac.uk](http://www.cities.manchester.ac.uk)) at the University of Manchester. He is a geographical political economist by training, with interests in

*Contributors*

comparative urbanism, economic and social governance, the financing of infrastructure and urban politics and policy.

**Sally Weller** is an economic geographer and an Australian Research Council Future Fellow at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. Her research, which focuses on developing a spatialized interpretation of the ongoing restructuring of the Australian economy, includes studies of labour market and industrial restructuring, cultural industries, regional economies, globalization and the processes of socio-economic change. Her Fellowship project (2012–16) is a comparative study of the politics of transition in two vulnerable regions.

**Richard J. White** is a Reader in Human Geography at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. Greatly influenced by anarchism and anarchist geographies, Richard's main research and teaching interests address a range of ethical and economic landscapes rooted in the context of social justice and total liberation movements. His research has been published in key international interdisciplinary journals, and he has recently co-edited *Anarchism and Animal Liberation* (McFarland Press, 2015) and contributed chapters to *Critical Animal Geographies* (Routledge, 2014) and *Defining Critical Animal Studies* (Peter Lang, 2014).

**Heather Whiteside** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo and Fellow at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Canada. Her research interests centre on the political economy of privatization, financialization, and fiscal austerity. She has published on these themes in journals such as *Economic Geography*, *Studies in Political Economy* and *Health Sociology Review*, in her latest book *Purchase for Profit: Public–Private Partnerships and Canada's Public Health Care System* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), and in her 2011 co-authored book *Private Affluence, Public Austerity: Economic Crisis and Democratic Malaise in Canada* (with Stephen McBride, Fernwood).

**Colin C. Williams**, Professor, is Director of the Centre for Regional Economic and Enterprise Development (CREED) in the Management School at the University of Sheffield, UK. His research interests are in work organization, the informal economy and post-capitalist economic practices, subjects on which he has published some 20 books and 350 journal articles over the past 25 years.

**Japhy Wilson**, University of Manchester, UK. He is Research Coordinator at the National Strategic Centre for the Right to Territory (CENEDET), a research institute directed by David Harvey and based in Quito, Ecuador. His research explores the relationship between space, power and ideology in the politics of development. He is the author of *Jeffrey Sachs: the Strange Case of Dr Shock and Mr Aid* (Verso, 2014), and co-editor (with Erik Swyngedouw) of *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

**Anna Zalik** is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. Her research concerns the political economy and ecology of extraction. More information on her work is available at: <http://azalik.apps01.yorku.ca/publications/blog/>.



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Simon, Kean and Julie would like to acknowledge the following people for their help and support in the development, writing and production of this volume. Andrew Mould at Routledge for approaching Simon with the idea and correctly believing he, Kean and Julie were gullible enough to take on the challenge of bringing *The Handbook of Neoliberalism* to fruition! Sarah Gilkes for negotiating the use of the brilliant artwork by Tony Taylor on the cover and, together with Egle Zigaite, providing editorial assistance for the duration of this project. All of the authors who contributed to this volume and inspired us by writing lots of cool stuff, which was fun to read. Huge thanks are due to Jennifer Mateer for being a sucker for punishment and fearlessly taking on the job of formatting this massive volume on our behalf.

We would also like to pay tribute to our families for their unwavering support and encouragement. Simon would like to thank his partner, Marni, and their kids for their patience in letting him send a billion and one emails at all hours of the day and night to get things organized! Kean would like to thank Sheila and Maple for making his evenings and his life generally that much more fulfilling. And Julie would like to thank Columba, Cillian, Darragh and Aisling for allowing her the time and space to work on this project as well as providing a ready source of light relief.



## 53

# OUR NEW ARMS

*Mark Purcell*

This chapter is supposed to be about ‘protest and resistance to neoliberalism’, but I’m not going to write about any of those things. I think that the Left today, and particularly Left scholars who write for and read a book like this, are suffering from a serious illness. Our illness, which after Nietzsche I will call *ressentiment*, is our obsession with neoliberalism. *Ressentiment* has atrophied our imagination to the point where we are only able to think in terms of *negating* neoliberalism. As theorists we can only sing in the key of critique. We meticulously record and discuss the crimes and contradictions of neoliberalism. When we imagine the world we want instead, we can only speak in terms of not-neoliberalism, of cancelling out the current political-economic regime. When we act, we can only act in the register of protest, resistance, contestation, and refusal – of struggle *against* neoliberalism. We turn our faces and our bodies towards neoliberalism, it occupies the entirety of our vision and our imagination, we bathe in its dark light, and we can think only of blocking it, disrupting it, and, one day, in our fondest dreams, causing it to collapse.

But we don’t have to be sick. There is another way to think, another way to be. We can become obsessed with ourselves instead. What do we want to create? What are we capable of producing? Who are we capable of becoming, together? What worlds, what ways of life have we already started to build, and how can we help them grow, spread, and flourish?

### **We are sick**

It’s all Marx’s fault. He is obsessed with negating capitalism. Obviously, *Capital* is Exhibit A, and it is here that both his brilliance and his unhealthy obsession are most fully on display. Page after page, volume after volume of meticulous analysis of capitalism: its productive power, its contradictions, its pitiless domination. He is by turns admiring, outraged, and resentful. But he is always fully absorbed in the project that consumes everything: a critique of (capitalist) political economy.

The young Marx is much better, but he suffers too. The ‘Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts’ are mostly a critique of alienation and private property. Most of the text is taken up by a brilliant and utterly convincing analysis of why they are destructive, and why we must try to invent a world without them (1994: 58–68). The text offers much less discussion of what that other world would be like. He does give it a name – communism – and he devotes some pages

Mark Purcell

to it. But he conceives of communism entirely negatively. He defines it as the overcoming or cancellation (*aufgehoben*) of private property. Communism is not narrated as the positive mobilization of our productive capacities; it is, rather, the negation of capitalism's central relation. Even when Marx does focus on the question of communism, he spends much of his time negating the versions of communism he does *not* want (e.g. crude communism where property rights are extended to everyone), and relatively less time describing the communism we *do* want. Only near the end of the section on 'Private Property and Communism' do we get a very brief (though tantalizing) glimpse of ourselves in communism, in which we are restored to ourselves as social beings, beings who are capable of producing freely and in common (1994: 71–9). This is Marx at his best, at his most useful. It is a Marx we rarely see.

Or consider 'On the Jewish Question'. Here Marx entirely dismantles the insidious oppression of the liberal-democratic state, and he shows how its strict separation between public and private spheres actively guarantees that capital will be left free to accumulate profit and immiserate the working class. He develops at length and with great force his argument for why such 'political emancipation' is inadequate and even counterproductive. He says that we must aspire instead to 'human emancipation'. But it is not until the final, dense, thrilling last paragraph of the first section that we get a glimpse of what this might mean:

Only when the actual, individual man has taken back into himself the abstract citizen and in his everyday life, his individual work, and his individual relationships has become a *species-being*, only when he has recognized and organized his own powers as *social* powers, so that social force is no longer separated from him as *political* power, only then is human emancipation complete.

(1994: 21, *emphasis added*)

So much is going on here, so much that needs to be unpacked. But Marx leaves it latent, unelaborated. He gives us a patient and detailed critique of what is wrong, and really just this single, final, tantalizing sentence to indicate what we should create instead.

Even in 'The Civil War in France' (1871) a series of addresses *to* workers about the most extraordinary attempt *by* workers, perhaps ever, to create a new society beyond capitalism, Marx says far more about the machinations of the powers that be than he does about the innovative new practices that workers in the Commune created. He goes on at length about the treachery of the Thiers government and the barbarism of the Prussians. He seems to have a real taste for the sourness of it all. But his descriptions of the Commune are fleeting, vague, and almost, at times, obfuscating, as though he is trying actively *not* to investigate the details too closely. Of course this was all composed in the moment, during and after the fall of the Commune, and so we should not expect a comprehensive historical account. But yet, still, he is gregarious and painstaking on the details of Thiers, and almost evasive when it comes to the Commune.

Perhaps the text most obsessed with negation is *The Communist Manifesto*. It isn't really about communism at all. It is mostly a screed against the exploitation and domination of capitalism, and, secondarily, against all the false socialisms threatening the anti-capitalist movement. The communists in the *Manifesto* are not members of an association producing freely, rather they are a Communist Party vanguard that sees more clearly than the proletariat and has the resolve to take the necessary action (1994: 169ff). The action that is necessary, of course, is negation. Negate private property, negate class, negate the pillars of the capitalist political economy. Marx and Engels are so absorbed in their will to negate that they seem to have neglected to think seriously about how this negation should be carried out, or who should do it. And so, in the

*Manifesto*, we get the disastrous plan: the proletariat will form into a class and organize itself into a party, which will seize the state, use the state to abolish private property and therefore capitalist class relations, and then allow the state to wither, at which point we will all witness the emergence of another world, a communist world. Today, of course, it is easy to look back on that program and see the folly.

But, even at the time, Bakunin saw the folly quite clearly. He insisted, loudly, that we are fools if we think we can use coercive state power and dictatorship to free ourselves. He said such a dictatorship, once in power, would not wither away but grow ever stronger. He said we would have a new ruling class of workers-party officials who would dominate society no less disastrously than our current capitalist masters (1972: 330ff). He said that we need to create another way of life not by negating the present one, but by directly creating the new one. And he reminded us that we already possess, within ourselves, the capacity to organize our lives in common, in a functioning society without capitalism and without the state (1973a: 148–9; 1973b: 128–30). Bakunin’s wisdom was available to us then, and it is available to us now. We need to heed it.

And, in fact, this wisdom is there in Marx too. To be fair, we can see him struggling, here and there, against his own will to negate. It’s probably more Hegel’s fault than it is Marx’s. Despite Marx’s energetic and explicit attempts to critique and move beyond Hegel (e.g. the second half of the ‘Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts’, 1994: 79–97), the latter’s habits of thought were deeply imprinted. Marx often seems trapped, despite himself, in the assumption that negation is productive, that creation can only proceed by way of destruction. And perhaps that is the right way to look at Marx: there are many Marxes, some of whom accept the gospel of negation, and others searching for another way to think and act in the world.<sup>1</sup> So, to be fair, the ‘Marx’ I have been complaining about is really those Marxes who think in terms of negation. It is entirely possible, and indeed I think we should, re-discover and learn from those other Marxes, those minor Marxes who are able to think beyond or without negation.<sup>2</sup>

The problem is that the Marxes of negation have become the major Marxes, the ones who dominate our contemporary imagination. We think only (or overwhelmingly) with those Marxes, and we ignore the others. As a result, we have become enthralled by neoliberalism.<sup>3</sup> We are utterly fascinated by it, tracking its every move, cataloging its many sins, grudgingly admiring its power to maintain its domination. We write brief histories (Harvey 2005) and primers (Chomsky 1999), we map its geographies (Brenner and Theodore 2003), we dissect its logics (Peck 2010), we chart its spread to other parts of the world (Park *et al.* 2012), we document the way it destroys the environment (Heynen *et al.* 2007), we show how it lurks behind natural disasters (Johnson 2011), how it persists even after the crisis of 2008 (Mirowski 2013), and we examine it up close with every method in our arsenal, both quantitative (Dumenil and Levy 2013) and qualitative (Greenhouse 2012). We are relentless. We are obsessed. And, like Marx in the wake of the Commune, we have developed a taste for this sour discourse. Lewis Hyde once complained about irony that it:

has only emergency use. Carried over time, it is the voice of the trapped who have come to enjoy their cage. That is why it is so tiresome. People who have found a route to power based on their misery – who don’t want to give it up though it would free them – they become ironic.

(1986: 16)

We have carried our irony over time, and we have come to enjoy our cage.

Mark Purcell

### ***Nietzsche: Ressentiment***

It turns out that Nietzsche diagnosed our problem before the fact, in his work on morality. What we have been enmeshed in, under the sway of Hegel's negative Marxes, is what Nietzsche called *ressentiment*. *Ressentiment*, he says, is a bad humour, a bitter resentment that has plagued Judeo-Christian civilization throughout its long history. *Ressentiment* arises when those in a society who are oppressed become consumed by thoughts of their oppressors. The oppressed cannot change the conditions of their oppression, and so they console themselves by stoking and stewing in their hatred for their oppressors. They make sense of their world by developing what Nietzsche calls a 'slave morality', a morality that defines the actions and values of the oppressors to be 'evil'. Good is then defined, negatively, as whatever is not evil. So the oppressed are defined as good, but not because of some positive goodness they possess. They are only good because they are *not* the oppressors. The entire logic of this morality revolves around the oppressors. The oppressed are consumed by bitter thoughts of their oppressors, and they rarely consider themselves.

Clearly, *ressentiment* is a destructive rather than a creative energy. The only action it can think to propose is to resist evil. It urges the oppressed to destroy their oppressors, or, at the very least, to cancel their power. In most circumstances this action remains merely a fantasy for the oppressed. But, even in the unlikely event they are able to revolt and seize power from their oppressors, they will have nothing to offer in place of the old society. They lack any positive idea of the good. The only real resource they possess is their meticulous catalogue of the strategies their now-former oppressors used to subordinate them. All they could be expected to do is to systematically negate everything in the catalogue, hoping that this will give rise to the good. Obviously, this story maps right onto the experience of actually existing socialism: seize state power and cancel out the bourgeoisie's primary strategy of oppression (private property) so that the good (communism, which is nothing more than 'private property overcome') can emerge. The acute dangers of *ressentiment's* destructive energy, and its inability to create anything new, should be abundantly clear.

But Nietzsche suggests there is a related and equally important problem with *ressentiment*, which is that it orients the oppressed in the wrong direction. It focuses their attention on the wrong subject. All of their energy is spent thinking about their oppressors. They understand very well their oppressors' excellence, power, and intelligence. But they *fail to examine themselves*. They never attend to their own excellence, power, and intelligence. They have no idea what they are capable of. They do not know what worlds, what other ways of life, they might already have the power to create together.

### **We can get well**

And so we are working away, sourly, in this rotten groundwork: a stubbornly persistent Hegelian phantasy of creation-through-negation sitting on top of a deeper civilizational predilection for *ressentiment*. It is a dank basement full of foul air. We need a new groundwork, an entirely different way to think about and be in the world. We need to train ourselves to think not in terms of negating what exists, but in terms of producing what we desire. We need to be attentive to and discover our excellence, our power, our ability to imagine and create new objects, new relations, and new forms of life. To steal a line from Henry Miller (1965: 429–30), we need to:

cease pouring it out like a sewer, however melodious it may sound to our ears, and rise up on our own two legs and sing with our own God-given voice. To confess, to whine, to complain, to commiserate, always demands a toll. To sing it doesn't cost us a penny.

***Deleuze and Guattari, just to take one example***

The good news is that the new groundwork we need isn't new at all. We have already invented it. It has existed as a minor current in our thought throughout our long march in the wilderness of Hegelian negation. In the modern era, particularly intense manifestations of this current are to be found in the work of writers like Machiavelli, Spinoza, Nietzsche, Bergson, and Deleuze and Guattari. In this section I will focus on Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative work, but that work should be understood as part of this larger flow that is not obsessed with negation but is focused on our power to produce, to create, and to affect the world around us.

Right from the beginning (1977[1972]), Deleuze and Guattari train their attention on what they call 'desiring-production', which they say is the only force in the world that is capable of creating new things. Most of the powers that be – capital, the state, the family, Oedipus – are secondary, derivative; the only thing they can do is to capture or channel the originary power of desiring-production. These 'apparatuses of capture', as Deleuze and Guattari (1987[1980]) call them, cannot themselves produce anything new. They are wholly dependent on the creative power of desiring-production. Capital, for example, cannot create value. It is a system for organizing the value that is created by living labour.<sup>4</sup> The state, similarly, cannot generate political power. It merely organizes the political power that people choose to surrender to it.<sup>5</sup>

Given this ontological starting point, Deleuze and Guattari don't see any reason to focus our attention on capital, the state, or any of the apparatuses that confine us. Our imperative must be to understand desiring-production, to know how it works, and what it can do. There is a scene in *Anti-Oedipus* (1977[1972]: 45) that crystallizes the problem. The psychoanalyst fails because he insists that the patient accept the Oedipal diagnosis, accept that his troubles (and the solution to them) are contained in the triangle of daddy–mommy–me. The analyst, therefore, never gets at what matters, he never 'says to the patient: "Tell me a little bit about your desiring-machines, won't you?"' For Deleuze and Guattari, it is our desiring-machines that hold the key. They are what is capable of generating new forms of life, new ways of being together. They have not been the focus of our enquiry, but they should be.

I am, perhaps, being a bit too stark. Deleuze and Guattari do not call for us to *entirely* re-orient our attention towards desiring-production, to pay no attention at all to the apparatuses. Rather we need to pay *some* attention to them because they currently imprison desiring-production and prevent it from producing on its own terms. To escape this confinement, desiring-production must invent what Deleuze and Guattari call 'lines of flight', fugitive acts whereby desiring-production frees itself from the apparatuses and begins to create according to its own volition. To launch these escapes, Deleuze and Guattari admit, it is helpful to be attentive to the structure of the apparatuses (which they call 'strata' here).

This is how it should be done: Lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movements of deterritorialization, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce flow conjunctions here and there... have a small plot of new land at all times. It is through a meticulous relation with the strata that one succeeds in freeing lines of flight.

(1987[1980]: 161)

So we need to have relations with the strata, with the apparatuses of capture. And these relations should be thoughtful; we should take care in learning the contours of the apparatuses. But, at the same time, our concern with them is contingent and fleeting. They are only of interest for now, because they are currently capturing our desire. We must pay attention to them only for

Mark Purcell

as long as it takes to escape. The goal is not to destroy the apparatuses, they are none of our concern. Our concern is with ourselves, with our desiring-machines. Our goal is to flee so that they will be able to create as they will.

If we were to mobilize Deleuze and Guattari's more general imagination here in the context of the concrete political economy, we would have no desire to resent capitalist social relations and no taste for their destruction. We would be concerned, instead, to leave, to flee those relations. And we would do so only as part of the main project, which is to discover our *own* capacities for economic production, and learn more about how we might use those capacities effectively in common. Similarly, we would have no interest in smashing the state. The state is not important. Instead, we would be interested in our desire to govern ourselves, to learn our capacity for democracy, and practise using it together wisely.<sup>6</sup>

There is little point in resisting neoliberalism or protesting austerity. It is not necessary to negate them in order to create something new. We need only to flee and set about producing the world we want instead. And so: enough about neoliberalism. We need to stop talking about it now. We have droned on far too long. We need to let go of our obsession with it, turn our face away from it, and move purposefully in another direction. We need to become obsessed with ourselves instead, with the myriad other forms of life we are already capable of creating. We don't need a *Handbook of Neoliberalism*. We don't need any more books about exploitation, injustice, alienation, domination, privatization, enclosure, marketization, or financialization. Instead, we need books (upon books) about the other lives people are already creating instead. We need a *Handbook of Care*, a *Handbook of Democracy*, a *Handbook of the Common*. We don't need to think in terms of struggle, resistance, refusal, protest, and contestation. We need to think in terms of creation, production, innovation, desire, invention, and we need to eagerly begin the project of building another life together.

### **¡Democracia real YA!**

That shift will not be easy because we are not in the habit. We are too steeped in *ressentiment*. And so, in this section, I am going to hold up the wave of movements in 2011, 2012, and 2013 as an example, as an inspiration that can spark our imagination. But I want to do so cautiously, because it is very hard to make generalizations about those events as a whole. It is not possible to reduce them to one desire, one guiding idea. There were many different movements, in many different places with different histories and systems of rule and cultural traditions. Tunis was not the same as Madrid, which was not the same as Tel Aviv, which was not the same as Oakland. To intensify the problem, each movement itself was also multiple, both in terms of the different desires of the different people who participated, and in terms of how each movement changed as it unfolded in time. It is misguided to try to reduce this multiplicity to a single logic, to make claims about what the 'true soul' of the movements was, to make an argument about the right way to understand the movements. In every movement, there were *both* clear desires to protest and negate the current system, *and* clear desires to flee and create a different way of being together. What I want to do is only to pick out a cluster of desires that were, in fact, present, to a greater or lesser degree, in every uprising, and give them pride of place in my narrative. I will focus mainly on Spain, not because it is representative of the whole, or because its participants exhibited a greater desire to flee, but simply because it is the case with which I am the most familiar. I am suggesting that we should look for these desires *wherever* they exist, be attentive to them, learn more about them, and discover how we can help them flourish.

Clearly, in all of these movements there was a sense that lots of things were wrong with the current state of affairs. In Spain and Greece, for example, there was an explicit animating emotion of 'indignation' at the way the political elites had fused with the banking elites to promote

financialization and austerity (Oikonomakis and Roos 2015). This emotion was strong enough that participants took on the moniker *indignados* (Spain) and *Aganaktisménon-Politón* (Greece). Certainly, there was the desire to march against this political-financial elite, and to *negate* their policy agenda. The slogan in Spain, *no nos representan* ('they do not represent us'), refused the idea that the representatives in the Spanish government effectively represented the Spanish people. And the even stronger hope *que se vayan todos* ('get rid of them all'<sup>7</sup>) expressed a wish that the *whole* of the current regime – both parties of the Spanish state as well as the financial elites in the European Union, European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund – should exit the political stage. Even the call for *¡Democracia real YA!* ('Real Democracy Now!'), is in part a rejection; it denies that the current political system, liberal democracy, is *real* democracy. It argues that liberal democracy is false democracy, a broken system that needs to be replaced.

But, despite this desire to negate, the *indignados* were never consumed by it. They did express these negative desires, but they did not spend all their time marching on parliament and demanding that the powers that be govern differently. Much of what they did, instead, was to turn *away* from parliament, away from the broken system, and turn towards each other instead. They set about the work of actually creating a different way to live together. Thus, the cry of *¡Democracia real YA!* was not only or even primarily an implicit critique of the existing liberal-democratic system, it was also an explicit declaration by the *indignados* that they intended to begin – now – the work of imagining and practising real democracy instead. And so they experimented, extensively, with ways of being together (Oikonomakis and Roos 2013). They established institutions (for food distribution, information/communication, education, first-aid, sanitation, etc.), shared information, discussed key issues, set meeting agendas and schedules, facilitated discussions, negotiated disagreement, and made decisions collectively. They drew on and reinvigorated methods like general assemblies, consensus processes, *acampadas* (encampments), and *encuentros* (encounters) in order to both discuss what kind of world they wanted instead, and begin the work of actually building that world, now. They decided they favoured a leaderless and horizontal community, and so they worked on how to prevent the emergence of hierarchy and centralization in their midst. They aspired to make decisions by consensus so that the majority did not outvote and alienate the minority, but they struggled with what to do when many diverse values made consensus difficult.<sup>8</sup> None of what they created was ideal, and there were many mistakes made. But that is precisely what one should expect from people who have not practised. The important point is that these activities to produce another way of life were what preoccupied participants, and they were, in the main, less interested in protest, resistance, and opposition. Throughout the long hours of meetings, discussion, and deliberation, they were not turned towards the state or the European financial powers. They were turned towards each other, literally, and they struggled to learn together what they wanted, what they were capable of, and who they wanted to be.<sup>9</sup>

This orientation was reinforced by the much-discussed tendency among most of the movements in 2011 not to make any demands. They tended to eschew the typical model whereby a movement draws enough people and makes enough noise to get the attention of the authorities, and then demands certain changes in how those authorities govern. In many places – Greece, Spain, New York – there was a palpable sense that the current order was a lost cause, that there is no point in trying to fix it, and so there is no reason to demand changes in the way it governs. The most spectacular example of this turning away from power was when the Mayor of Denver decided Occupy Denver had become significant enough that he should meet with their leaders and hear their demands. Occupy Denver agreed to the meeting, but they sent a border collie named Shelby to represent them.

Mark Purcell

The same kind of orientation could be seen in the much-discussed tactic of occupation. In almost every case in 2011, movements occupied and inhabited an important and central urban space, usually for a period of weeks or even months. But the occupations were not military. They were not done to confront the state or engage it in a test of strength. Occupation was done to acquire and hold a space in order to *use* it, in order that participants could set about the work of creating another society, the work of governing themselves. They were occupying the *agora* of the *polis*,<sup>10</sup> and they did what citizens of the *polis* are supposed to do there: they governed themselves. In the state's mind, of course, these occupations *were* military, territorial seizures that directly challenged the state's sovereignty, and so they had to be cleared. In every case, the state sent police and/or military forces to clear the square, usually violently. But the response by the occupiers was typically *not* military; they did not engage in a violent struggle with the state. In Spain, confronted by lines of heavily armed police in riot gear, occupiers raised both hands in the air and chanted *estas son nuestras armas*, 'these are our arms'. They blocked entry into the square, tried to hold the square as long as they could, but not really in order to confront or defeat the state. They occupied the square in order to have a space in which they could govern themselves. They did not hope the state would notice them so much as they hoped the state would leave them alone so they could get on with their work.

## Conclusion

There is much more to say about the movements of 2011 and after, of course, but I hope the point is clear that they were strongly marked not only by a conviction that the current state of affairs is broken, but also by a strong desire to get started producing a different way of living together. And they not only expressed that desire, they actually began the work of creating that new way of life. The movements of 2011 are, therefore, one promising model of what we might be like if we were to get well, if we were to wean ourselves off of our *ressentiment* and move beyond our debilitating obsession with negating neoliberalism. We have developed so many tools of negation, and we are so practised at using them, that it would be natural to feel a fair amount of apprehension, and even fear, at giving them up. The good news is that we already *also* have considerable tools for producing another way of life, even if we are not as experienced at using them. We are skilled at negating, but we will need to practise before we feel confident in our ability to create instead. So we need to start practising, and we need to start now. We need to turn away from neoliberalism and towards ourselves, to begin the difficult – but also joyous – work of managing our affairs for ourselves. Negation, critique, protest, resistance, struggle – we have been using the wrong tools. They are making us sick. What we need instead are invention, desire, production, creation, delight, joy. *Estas son nuestras armas*.

## Notes

- 1 These latter Marxes, for example, are attracted to Feuerbach's critique of Hegel, and the former's insistence that thought must begin from 'the self-subsistent positive positively grounded on itself' (Marx 1994: 80).
- 2 Good examples of how to do this really well, I think, are Miguel Abensour (2011) and Deleuze and Guattari (1977[1972]).
- 3 And its follow-on mutations, like austerity and precarity.
- 4 Marx draws on David Ricardo (1817) to make this point in *Capital* (1993[1867]: Chapter 10, Section 1).
- 5 This is absolutely clear in Hobbes, who writes *Leviathan* as a passionate attempt to convince us that we must *continue* to surrender our originary political power to the state, which will keep the peace by terrorizing us into obedience.

*Our new arms*

- 6 Clearly, this project, which I have narrated in the language of Deleuze and Guattari, has much overlap with an anarchist idea of prefigurative politics, stemming from classical sources (e.g. Bakunin 1972; Kropotkin 1972[1902]; Proudhon 2005[1864]), modern ones (e.g. May 1994; Bey 2003; Day 2005; Graeber 2009; Newman 2010), and the ongoing project to take up that work in radical geography by authors like Springer (2012) and Ince (2012).
- 7 Literally: 'would that they all go'. The Spanish is in the subjunctive, and so it is expressing a desire for a state of affairs that is not currently actual. The English rendering I have given is in the imperative mood, and it doesn't quite capture that subjunctive longing.
- 8 Marianne Maeckelbergh (2012) offers an excellent account of the nuances of these practices, as well as how they were similar to and different from the practices of the alterglobalization movement.
- 9 Most of the practices in this paragraph were also present in the movement in Athens, the various Occupy movements in the USA and UK, and the movement in Turkey in 2013, to name only a few examples.
- 10 Quite literally, in the case of Syntagma Square in Athens.

## References

- Abensour, M. 2011. *Democracy Against the State: Marx and the Machiavellian Moment*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.
- Bakunin, M. 1972. Critique of the Marxist Theory of the State, in Dolgoff, S., trans and ed. *Bakunin on Anarchy*. New York: Knopf.
- . 1973a. State and Society, in Lehning, A., ed. *Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- . 1973b. God and the State, in Lehning, A., ed. *Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Bey, H. 2003. *TAZ: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia.
- Brenner, N., and Theodore, N. eds. 2003. *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Chomsky, N. 1999. *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Day, R. 2005. *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*. London: Pluto.
- Deleuze, G., and Guattari, F. 1977[1972]. *Anti-Oedipus*. New York: Penguin.
- . 1987[1980] *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dumenil, G., and Levy, D. 2013. *The Crisis of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Graeber, D. 2009. *Direct Action: An Ethnography*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Greenhouse, C., ed. 2012. *Ethnographies of Neoliberalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heynen, N., McCarthy, J., Prudham, S., and Robbins, P. eds. 2007. *Neoliberal Environments: False Promises and Unnatural Consequences*. New York: Routledge.
- Hyde, L. 1986. *Alcohol and Poetry: John Berryman and the Booze Talking*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture.
- Ince, A. 2012. In the Shell of the Old: Anarchist Geographies of Territorialisation. *Antipode*, 44.5: 1645–66.
- Johnson, C., ed. 2011. *The Neoliberal Deluge: Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kropotkin, P. 1972[1902]. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. New York: New York University Press.
- Maeckelbergh, M. 2012. Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, 4.1: 207–34.
- Marx, K. 1871. *The Civil War in France*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1871/civil-war-france>
- . 1993[1867]. *Capital, Volume 1*. New York: Penguin.
- . 1994. *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*. Simon, L., ed. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett.
- May, T. 1994. *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Miller, H. 1965. *Sexus*. New York: Grove Press.
- Mirowski, P. 2013. *Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown*. New York: Verso.

Mark Purcell

- Newman, S. 2010. *The Politics of Postanarchism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Oikonomakis, L. and J. Roos, 2013. We Are Everywhere! The Autonomous Roots of the Real Democracy Movement. Paper for the 7th Annual European Consortium for Political Research Conference, Bordeaux, September.
- . 2015. A Global Movement for Real Democracy? The Resonance of Anti-Austerity Protest from Spain and Greece to Occupy Wall Street, in Angelovici, M., Dufour, P., and Nez, H., eds. *Street Politics in the Age of Austerity: From the Indignad@s to Occupy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Park, B, Hill, R., and Saito, A. eds. 2012. *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberalizing Spaces in Developmental States*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Peck, J. 2010. *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Proudhon, P. 2005[1864]. Manifesto of Sixty Workers from the Seine Department, in Guerin, D., ed. *No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press: 103–10.
- Ricardo, D. 1817. *On The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/economics/ricardo/tax/index.htm>
- Springer, S. 2012. Anarchism! What Geography Still Ought to Be. *Antipode*, 44.5: 1605–24.