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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-

SANTA BARBARA

La Mafia Global:

Global Capitalism and the Struggle against Hyper-Incarceration

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

OSCAR FABIAN SOTO

Committee in charge:

Professor WILLIAM I. ROBINSON, Chair

Professor GEORGE LIPSITZ

Professor DYLAN RODRÍGUEZ

Professor BEN V. OLGUÍN

JUNE 2023

The dissertation of OSCAR FABIAN SOTO is approved.

Dr. George Lipsitz

Dr. Dylan Rodriguez

Dr. Ben V. Olguin

Dr. William I. Robinson, Committee Chair

MAY 2023

LA MAFIA GLOBAL:

GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HYPER-INCARCERATION

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by

OSCAR FABIAN SOTO

This dissertation is dedicated to

My supportive partner, my beautiful kids, the entire Soto familia,

the community that watched me grow, and the proletariat

and lumpen-proletariat fighting against the juggernaut of global capitalism!

La Lucha Continua!

Hasta La Victoria Siempre!

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF COLLECTIVE
INTELLECTUAL LABOR

Intellectual labor, for this project, is collective and part of the social process of learning. Intellectuals like myself and others that have the privilege of being in academia are able to study the world and reflect theoretically on it only because the masses of working-class people are producing the food, clothing, and shelter that allow us to withdraw from laboring to produce these basic necessities of life. Beyond the masses of working-class families and communities, the more immediate collective labor behind this study includes hundreds, if not thousands, of people that have contributed to my own intellectual and political development since I entered academia in the early twenty-first century. I thank both past and present persons as we learn from historical processes to change the world. But the most I can do here is to acknowledge the people who most directly and personally provided me with invaluable encouragement and support in the development of my ideas on *La Mafia Global* over the past years, who supported my career, and who assisted in my research during this time, and those I had the privilege of mentoring.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my partner, Brandy Denise Torres. Thank you for the constant sleepless nights reading my work while taking care of our little family. Thanks for constantly keeping me on my toes and reminding me that I had a dissertation to write. I almost dropped out of the PhD program, but you insisted that I finish, not only for our family, but to liberate our communities. *A mi cría,* Paloma Yamileth Sahaira Soto-Torres, Gadiel Ocelotl Soto-Torres, and Emiliano Soto-Torres, *échenle ganas y nunca dejen que nadie les impida realizar sus sueños.* Next, I want to honor my creators and the two individuals who pushed me into continuing my education, even after my bumps on the road. To *mi jefita* Maria Reyes Soto and *mi jefito* Martin Soto Becerra, thank you for always pushing me and supporting my path even if it has not always been education. *Perdón por todo el daño que les he causado. Espero que con este título pueda reponer todo el mal que les hice pasar durante mi niñez y juventud.* I learned to hustle, persevere, and not take "shit" from anyone because of you moms and pops. Know that your struggle made all this possible, *jefes*. I also want to recognize my lovely brothers and sister, Martin Soto, Miguel Soto, and Marta Soto. Thank you for always being there for me *en las buenas y en las malas.* My cousins, uncles, aunt and the entire Soto *familia*, you all paved the way for this incredible achievement. All of you **offered me the support I needed to keep me moving forward. Finally, *a mis abuelitos, los quiero mucho.***

A proper acknowledgment here would involve three levels in reference to the more immediate collective labor behind this work. First and foremost are those who have contributed directly by providing feedback and other forms of encouragement. Here I would like to thank my committee. A distinct and special thank you goes to my chair, mentor, friend, and now *colega* Dr. William I. Robinson. Thank you for expanding my political intellect and pushing me to be more than just a scholar, but an activist-scholar, a Xicano Marxist, and a revolutionary. Hope you never assign another 100+ book and article comprehensive exam ever again. I truly am grateful and love you, *Profe*. Dr. George Lipsitz, what can I say? Thank you for always pushing me to think critically and allowing me to obtain my Black studies emphasis for my degree. I also send a special and warm thanks to the other two members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Dylan Rodriguez and Dr. Ben V. Olguin. Dr. Dylan Rodriguez, because of you I will continue my studies at University of California, Irvine. If it wasn't for your letter, as well as *Profe* Robinson's letter, I would have never received the Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellowship. *Profe* Olguin, thank you for pushing me to think beyond the US system and to push my work globally. Thank you for helping me critically think even within our inner-circles, *muchas gracias.*

I would secondly like to thank those who have contributed to my ideas or helped in one way or another in recent years, during which I have been researching and writing on the themes taken up on the present work, in particular, on global capitalism, crisis, radical criminology, global political economy, and abolition. Here I would like to thank past writers who have influenced my political thinking and education in one way or another. Writers like Karl Marx, Fredrich Engels, Antonio Gramsci, Vladimir Lenin, Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Rosa Luxemburg, George Jackson, Huey Newton, the Black Panther Party, and Subcomandante Marcos, among others. Current writers in the struggle against global capitalism and the push for prison abolition include William I. Robinson, Ben V. Olguin, Cedric Johnson, Adolph and Toure Reed, the Zapatistas, all Political Prisoners, and *Unión del Barrio* – one of the few organizations fighting for self-determination for working-class communities.

Third are the many people who over the years have contributed to my intellectual and political development and to the output of my publications. This latter category involves literally hundreds of people, a list too infinite to take up here. Many among these friends, comrades, and colleagues have been mentioned elsewhere. At present, all I can do is mention some of the people who contributed more immediately to the current work through support and comments. In alphabetical order, these are: Allison Adelman Christopher Bickel, Martin Leyva, Sebastian Ortega, and Xuan Santos. Anyone I forgot I truly apologize but I am thankful.

I also wish to thank my inspirational students from California State University San Marcos, California State University Long Beach, San Francisco State, University of California, Santa Barbara, and Allan Hancock Community College. You all motivated me through your stories, struggles, and ambitions. Your affirmations and yearly evaluations helped guide and improve my teaching. It was your beautiful minds that helped push me across the finish line. It is for these reasons that I am Xicano Marxist and unafraid!

Finally, I want to thank and identify all the people who took part in this study. Your stories living in Southern California have taught me the true meaning of struggle. I thank you for re-humbling me. To the proletariat, the lumpenproletariat, and the working class, this is for you.

CURRICULUM VITAE

OSCAR FABIAN SOTO

Ph. D Candidate

Department of Sociology
University of California – Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, CA 93106
Phone: 760-807-0262
Email: ofsoto@ucsb.edu

EDUCATION

2016 – 2023

Ph.D., Sociology emphasis in Global Studies and Black Studies
Concentration: Globalization, Global Political Economy and Radical Criminology
University of California – Santa Barbara
Dissertation Title: ***La Mafia Global: Global Capitalism and the Struggle against Super-Incarceration***
Chair: William I. Robinson, **Committee:** George Lipsitz, Dylan Rodriguez, and Ben V. Olguin

M.A in Sociology
University of California – Santa Barbara
Thesis: ***On the Outs: Reentry and the Social Consequences of Coming Home***

2014 – 2016

M. A. in Sociological Practice
Concentration: Criminology and Reentry
California State University San Marcos
Thesis: ***On the Outs: Reentry and the Social Consequences of Coming Home***

2010 – 2013

B. A. Psychology
California State University San Marcos

2007 – 2010

A. A. Mathematics and Science
Palomar Community College

CURRENT ACADEMIC POSITIONS

2021 – ***Lecturer*** in Chicano & Latino Studies at California State University, Long Beach – Long Beach, CA.

2021 – ***Lecturer*** in Race and Resistance Studies at San Francisco State University – San Francisco, CA.

2019 – ***Lecturer*** in Sociology and Criminology & Justice Studies at California State University San Marcos – San Marcos, CA.

2018 – ***Teaching Associate*** in Sociology at University of California, Santa Barbara – Santa Barbara, CA.

PRIOR ACADEMIC POSITIONS

2017 – 2019 ***Adjunct Professor*** in Sociology at Allan Hancock Community College – Lompoc, CA.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXPERTISE

Education Inequality
Marxism & Marxist Sociology
Revolutionary Pedagogy and Theory
Urban Studies
Black Studies (Race and Class)
Cultural Studies and Theory
Global Capitalism
Public Sociology
Critical Perspective on Prisons and Corrections
Radical and Barrio Criminology
Barrio Pedagogy
Sociological & Critical Theory
Critical Ethnography
Prison Pedagogy
Transnational Migration
Global Political Economy
Critical Globalization Studies

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

Forthcoming "Beyond Race Reductionism: Global Capitalism, Gang Injunctions, and the Spatial Social Control in Poor Barrios," ***Manifesto for Abolition: A Journal of Insurgent Politics***

Forthcoming "Policing in La Jaula de Oro: Global Capitalism, Crisis, and Immigrant Policing." ***Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order***

2022 "On the Outs: Global Capitalism and Transcarceration," ***Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order, 48*(1) : 53 - 78**

2021 Far from a Revolution: The need for a Critique of Global Capitalism in Prison Higher Education. ***Journal of Higher Education in Prison, 1*(1): 14 – 17.**

2021 "Can the Panthers Still Save Us? From Street Actions to Non-Profit Factions and the Non-Movement Against the Criminal Injustice System." ***St. Anthony's International Review 16*(2): 88 – 114.**

2020	"'We Will Leave the Light on for You': Political Education and the Push for a Revival of Radical Criminology from a Formerly Incarcerated Chicano Activist Scholar." ***Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice, 20*****(16): 119 – 127.**
2020	"Passive Revolution and the Movement against Mass Incarceration: From Prison Abolition to Redemption Script," ***Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order*****,** ***46*****(4): 121 -129** (co-authored with William I. Robinson).

Book Chapters

In Press	"Barrio Criminology: Chicanx and Latinx Prison Abolition" in ***Abolish Criminology.*** Abingdon, UK: Routledge (co-authored with Xuan Santos, Juan Martin Leyva and Christopher Bickel.
2018	"Coming Home: The Social and Educational Consequences of being a Formerly Incarcerated Chicano Convict Criminologist" In ***Gumbo for the Soul II: Males of Color Share Their Stories, Mediations, Affirmations, and Inspirations.*** Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Blogs

2022	"On the Outs: Global Capitalism and Transcarceration" ***Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order.***
2019	"Passive Revolution and the Movement Against Mass Incarceration: From Prison Abolition to Redemption Scripts" http://www.socialjusticejournal.org/from-prison-abolition-to-redemption-script/ ***Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict & World Order.*** Published May 9, 2019 (co-authored with William I. Robinson).

Thesis

2016	"On the Outs: Reentry and the Social Consequences of Coming Home" ***Scholar Works at California State University San Marcos***

SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS

2022	Paper Presentation. "Policing in La Jaula de Oro: Global Capitalism, Crisis and Immigrant Policing." *American Society of Criminology*. Atlanta, GA – November 16-19, 2022.
2022	Paper Presentation. "Policing in La Jaula de Oro: Global Capitalism, Crisis and Immigrant Policing." *American Sociological Association*. Los Angeles, CA – August 5-9, 2022.
2021	Paper Presentation. "Politicking in Higher Education: Political Education, Revolution and a Critique of Global Capitalism from a Formerly Incarcerated Xicano Activist-Scholar." ***California Sociological***

Association. Radical Sociology: Challenging Multiple Pandemics. Online Via Zoom. November 12 – November 13, 2021.

2021 Student Panel. "From Confinement to a Doctorate." ***California Sociological Association. Radical Sociology: Challenging Multiple Pandemics.*** Online Via Zoom. November 12 – November 13, 2021.

2021 Paper Presentation. "Barrio Criminology: An Introduction to Chicanx and Latinx Prison Abolition from Below." ***Pacific Sociological Association***. Online Via Zoom at San Diego, CA – March 18 – March 21.

2021 Paper Presentation. "On the Outs: Global Capitalism and Transcarceration." ***Pacific Sociological Association.*** Online via Zoom at San Diego, CA – March 18 – March 21.

2020 Paper Presentation. "On the Outs: Global Capitalism and Transcarceration." ***California Sociological Association.*** Online via Zoom at Riverside, CA – Nov. 6-7.

2019 Conference Panel. "Beyond the Prison to School Pipeline: The Art of Contentious Politics." ***National Conference for Higher Education in Prison.*** St. Louis, Missouri.

2019 Conference Panel. "Latina/o/x Criminology Panel 2: Envisioning Abolition through Coalition: Xicanx/Latinx, Black and Indigenous Voices on Carcerality." ***American Society of Criminology.*** San Francisco, CA.

- Paper Presentation."Chale con Ustedes: Passive Revolution, Global Capitalism, and the Discourse Shift from Prison Abolition to Prison Reform in the 21st Century."

2019 Conference Panel. "Teachers Don't Look Like Us or Think Like Us: Fostering Liberation through Revolutionary Pedagogy." ***Pacific Sociological Association.*** Oakland, California.

- Paper presentation, "*Barrio* Pedagogy: The Forgotten Voices of Academia."

2018 Conference Paper. "The Revolving Door Incarceration System: Reentry, Global Capitalism, and the Institutional Mechanisms of Social Control" ***The American Society of Criminology.*** Atlanta, Georgia – November 17th

2018 Conference Panel. "'You can take the *homie* out of the *barrio*, but you can't take the *barrio* out of the *homie*': *Barrio* Criminology a New Way of Thinking about Convict Criminology," ***The America Society of Criminology.*** Atlanta Georgia – November 14th

2018 Conference Panel. "*Barrio* Criminology: Acknowledging Formerly Confined People of Colors Narratives." ***National Conference for Higher Education in Prison***. Indianapolis, Indiana – November 10th

2018 Conference Paper. "Education after Incarceration" ***Pacific Sociological Association***. Long Beach, California – March 28th

2017 Conference paper. "Education after Incarceration" ***Alliance for Higher Education in Prison***. Arlington, Texas.

2017 Conference paper. "Barrio Criminology: Looking at the Limitations of Convict Criminology" ***Alliance for Higher Education in Prison***. Arlington, Texas – November 4th

2017 Conference Paper. "On the Outs: Reentry and the Social Consequences of Coming Home." ***National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies***, Irvine, California – November 24th

2015 Motivational Speaker and Police Training. "How to Deal with At-Promise Youth." Nez Perce, Idaho. ***Nez Perce High School, Nez Perce Correctional Department***

2015 Facilitator. "Feminine Masculinity" ***California State University San Marcos***. USU Ball Room.

2013 Conference Paper. "Community Art: Different Racial Perceptions of their Lower and Higher Socioeconomic Communities" ***California State University San Marcos-Symposium,*** San Marcos, CA – March 6th

2012 Conference Paper. "Parenting styles effects on intimate relationships between different ethnic groups" ***California State University-San Marcos-Research Fair***, San Marcos, CA.

PUBLIC SPEAKING PRESENTATIONS/PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

2022 ***Mass Incarceration Political Education***
Student Committee on Racial Equity (S.C.O.R.E)
University of California, Santa Barbara, Monday April 18th

2021 ***Decolonize Justice: A Latino Justice Documentary Series –*** *Film: Bad Hombres*
CPP Project Rebound and ASI, Virtual Event
Cal Poly Pomona, Thursday April 29th

2021 ***Taller Informativo: Conozca Sus Derechos***
Project Rebound CSUSM, Virtual Event

California State University San Marcos, Thursday February 25th

2021 ***Know Your Rights Workshop***
Project Rebound CSUSM, Virtual Event
California State University San Marcos, Thursday February 25th

2020 ***Bad Hombres: From Colonization to Incarceration***
Department of Sociology and Criminology & Justice Studies, Virtual Event
California State University San Marcos, Monday October 26th

2020 ***Shared my Story***
Department of Sociology and Criminology & Justice Studies, Virtual Event
California State University San Marcos (SOC 322), Tuesday October 14th

2020 ***Decolonize Justice: A Latino Justice Documentary Series FILM 1: BAD HOMBRES –***
Department of Sociology and Criminology & Justice Studies, Virtual Event
California State University San Marcos, Thursday May 7th.

2020 ***Aprender a Dudar es Aprender a Pensar: Colonialism, Imperialism and Militarism in Latin American Migration***
Underground Scholars Santa Barbara, ***Political Education Series***
Virtual Event
University of California – Santa Barbara, Friday May 1st.

2020 ***A Discussion of Ideology and the Carceral Matrix of Power and Counter-Power –***
Underground Scholars Santa Barbara, ***Political Education Series***
Virtual Event
University of California Santa Barbara, Friday April 17th.

2019 ***Community over Prisons and Policing Abolition: Imagining our Futures***
University of California – Santa Barbara, Wednesday February 12th.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2018 – **University of California, Santa Barbara**
Researcher: Critical ethnography, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews. Also, analysis if existing data and literature.
Dissertation: ***La Mafia Global: Global Capitalism and the Struggle against Hyper-incarceration***

2014 – 2016 **California State University San Marcos**
Researcher: Ethnography, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews.

Thesis: ***On the Outs: Reentry and the Social Consequences of Coming Home***

2015 ***Research Assistant,*** "School-to-Prison-Pipeline" ***California State University San Marcos***. Lead Agency: Dr. Alicia Gonzales. Independent Research. The objective of this research study is to look at the current trends involving the high dropout rate of students of color, from various socio-economic status regions.

2013 ***Research Assistant***, "Community Art: Different Racial perceptions of Their Lower and Higher Socioeconomic Communities" ***California State University San Marcos.***
Lead Agency: Dr. Xuan Santos- Independent Research. The objective of this study was for students to draw their perspectives and perceptions of their communities, from different socioeconomic status communities.

2013 ***Research Assistant***, "The Perception of Different Words and Their Effect on Short Term Memory" ***California State University-San Marcos.***
Lead Agency: Dr. Roger Morrissette-Research paper. The objective of this study was to have students memorize different words then recall them to see which perception of words they recalled greater.

2012 ***Research Assistant***, "Parenting Styles Effects on Intimate Relationships between Different Ethnic Groups" ***California State University-San Marcos***.
Lead Agency: Dr. Maureen Fitzpatrick-Independent Research. The object of this research is to identify the different parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive) and the effects it has on intimate relationships in different ethnic groups.

2012 ***Research Assistant***, "Parenting Styles Effects on Self-esteem Levels in Different Ethnic Groups" ***California State University-San Marcos.***
Lead Agency: Dr. Maureen Fitzpatrick-Independent Research. The objective of this research is to identify the different parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian, permissive) and the effect they have on self-esteem levels in different ethnic backgrounds.

TEACHING EXPERIENNCE

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIFERSITY, LONG BEACH
Instructor
2021 - **Street Gangs** (CHLS 421), *Professor for this course*

SAN FRANSISCO STATE UNIVERSITY

Instructor

2021 - **Beyond Bars and Borders: Race and the Carceral State** (RRS 252), *Professor for this Course*

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SAN MARCOS

Instructor

2021 - **Analysis of the Justice System and Criminal Law** (SOC 442). *Professor for this course*

2020 - **Criminology** (SOC 325) *Professor for this Course*

2020 - **Sociological Theory** (SOC 320) *Professor for this Course*

2020 - **Sociology of Law** (SOC 443), *Professor for this course*

2020 - **Perspectives on Corrections and Penology** (SOC 444), *Professor for this course*

2020 - **Internship in Criminology and Justice Studies** (SOC 494), *Professor for this course*

2019 - **Juvenile Delinquency** (SOC 323), *Professor for this course*

2019 - **Latina/o/x Communities** (SOC 345), *Professor for this course*

2019 - **Perspectives on Corrections and Penology** (SOC 444), *Professor for this course*

Teaching Assistant

2015 **Graduate Quantitative Research Methods** (SOC 620), *Graded.*

2015 **Critical Perspective on Gangs** (SOC 322), *Graded.*

2015 **Internship in Criminology and Justice Studies** (SOC 294-5), *Graded.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-SANTA BARBARA

Instructor

2021 **The Chicano Community** (SOC 144), *Professor for this course.*

2020 -2018 **Social Deviance** (SOC 170), *Professor for this course.*

2019 **The Chicano Community** (SOC 144), *Professor for this course.*

2020 -2018 **Social Inequalities** (SOC 145), *Professor for this course.*

2018 **Introduction to Sociology** (SOC 1), *Professor for this course..*

Teaching Assistant

2022 **Globalization and Resistance** (SOC 130 GR), *Responsible for Leading Discussion Sections.*

2021 **Development and Social Change in Latin America** SOC 130LA), *Responsible for Leading Discussion Sections.*

2020 **Globalization and Resistance** (SOC 130 GR), *Responsible for Leading Discussion Sections.*

2020 **Social Inequalities** (SOC 145), *Responsible for grading and leading lectures.*

2020 **Development and Social Change in Latin America** SOC 130LA), *Responsible for Leading Discussion Sections.*

2019 **Globalization and Resistance** (SOC 130 GR), *Responsible for Leading Discussion Sections.*

2018 **Introduction to Sociology** (SOC 1), *Responsible for leading three sections*

2018 **Global Inequality** (SOC 122GI), *Graded and lead sections*

2017 **Chicano Community** (SOC 144), *Graded and lead sections*

2017 **Introduction to Sociology** (SOC 1), *Responsible for leading three sections.*

ALLAN HANCOCK COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Instructor

2018 **Introduction to Marriage and Family** (SOC 110), *Professor for this course.*

2018 **Introduction to Sociology** (SOC 101), *Professor for this course.*

SKILLS PROGRAM

Instructor

2017 **School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society** (LING 292), *Professor for this course*

INVITED LECTURES, KEYNOTES, AND PRESENTATIONS

2021 "Can the Panthers Still Save Us? Revitalizing Political Education and the Importance of Class Analysis in American Prisons and Universities" ***Keynote Speaker*** – Rise Up: A Conference to Liberate Higher Education During and After Prison

2020 "Chicanx and Latinx Graduation" ***Keynote Speaker*** – University of California, Santa Barbara

2015 **"Diversity in the Educational System"** California State University, San Marcos, CA. Educational Department

2014 **"Immigration and Gangs"** California State University San Marcos, CA. Sociology of Gangs (SOC 322)

2013 **"How Gangs Change the Perspective of a Community."** (SOC 322), California State University San Marcos, San Marcos, CA

2012 **"How Deportation Destroys Families and Homes."** (SOC 495), California State University-San Marcos, CA.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES AND POSITIONS

2021 National Conference on Higher Education in Prison Conference **(Reviewer)** – Denver, Colorado

2021 **Conference Committee Member,** "Penal Abolition Conference"

2020 – Member of Editorial Board, ***The Abolitionist***

2020 – Member of Editorial Board, ***Journal of Higher Education in Prison***

2019 National Conference on Higher Education in Prison Conference **(Reviewer)** - St Louis, Missouri

2019 **Conference Committee Member,**
"Outlaw(ed) Intellectuals: Critiquing Structures of Power from Within"
University of California, Santa Barbara. January 23, 2019

2015 **Conference Coordinator,**
"Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity" keynote William I. Robinson
California State University San Marcos. Wednesday, October 23, 2015

ACCEPTED MEDIA COVERAGE

2021 "Episode 5: Abolition in Ending the School to Prison Pipeline & Poverty." Podcast titled ***Abolition is for Everybody*** with ***Initiative Justice***

2020 "San Marcos Chicano Activist, Educator Says Mentors are the Way Out." Published by ***NBC San Diego*** on November 12 at https://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/voices-for-justice/csu-san-marcos-mentor-changes-lives-of-students-in-underserved-communities/2442299/

2015 "Preparing the Next Generation of Diverse and Passionate CSU Professors." Published by ***CSUSM News Center*** on August 2018 at https://news.csusm.edu/preparing-the-next-generation-of-diverse-and-passionate-csu-professors/

COMMUNITY SERVICE

2019 – ***Critical Resistance.*** A national grassroots organization building a movement to abolish the prison industrial complex (PIC). We think of the PIC as the system of surveillance, policing, and imprisonment that government, industry and their interests use as solutions to economic, social, and political problems.
Los Angeles, California

2019 – ***Union del Barrio Escondido Chapter.*** an independent political organization operating with a volunteer membership base and entirely self-financed through membership dues, community contributions, and local fundraising.
Escondido, California

2014 – 2016 ***Amity Foundation.*** This organization helps former incarcerated individual deal with drug addiction and assimilation back into society. The programs involve one on one counseling, group

therapy, circles of trust, and different activities that help with addiction needs. Two Days- Three Hours/Day.
Vista, California, Coordinator: Jaime

2013 – 2016 — ***Pala Youth Group.*** This organization helps at risk youth prevail and look for other alternatives rather than gang involvement. The program involves working together to form discipline through parish involvement, service, fellowship, and prayer. Three Days- Three Hours/Day.
Mission San Antonio de Pala, Coordinator: Jazmin Hernandez

2011 — ***Stepping Up! Youth Academic Mentoring.*** This organization helps mentor low-income minority groups with after school mentoring and helping with homework. The goal is to prevent delinquency, antisocial behaviors and coach the youth through the process of discovering and embracing the mind. Two Days- Three Hours/Day
Escondido, CA. Coordinator: Josephine Jones

COURSES TAUGHT

California State University Long Beach
CHLS 421 – **Street Gangs in Comparative Perspective**
San Francisco State University
RRS 252 – **Beyond Bars and Borders: Race and the Carceral State**
California State University San Marcos
SOC 320 – **Sociological Theory**
SOC 323 – **Juvenile Delinquency**
SOC 325 – **Criminology**
SOC 345 – **Latino Communities**
SOC 442 – **Analysis of the Justice System and Criminal Law**
SOC 443 – **Sociology of Law**
SOC 444 – **Perspectives on Corrections and Penology**
SOC 494 – **Internship in Criminology and Justice Studies**

University of California – Santa Barbara
SOC 1 – **Introduction to Sociology**
SOC 139RN – **Race, Ethnicity, and Nation**
SOC 130SG – **Sociology of Globalization**
SOC 144 – **The Chicano Community**
SOC 145 – **Social Inequalities**
SOC 170 – **Sociology of Deviance Behavior**

Allan Hancock Community College
SOC 101 – **Introduction to Sociology**
SOC 110 – **Introduction to Marriage & Family**

HONORS AND AWARDS

2022 ***Arp, Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund III*** – University of California, Santa Barbara Department of Sociology ($7000 Grant)

2022 ***Arp, Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund III*** – University of California, Santa Barbara Department of Sociology ($14000 Grant)

2021 ***Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act Grant*** – University of California, Santa Barbara Department of Sociology. ($7000 fellowship)

2020 ***GSA Excellence in Teaching Award*** **-** The GSA Excellence in Teaching Award (ETA) recognizes graduate students who have shown excellence and gone above and beyond as teachers at UC Santa Barbara ($350)

2015 ***Arts and Lectures Grant***. Funded project called *"Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity"* by William I Robinson at California State University San Marcos ($2000).

2013 ***Project Gear Up Outstanding Mentor***. Escondido, CA.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2023 ***Chancellors Postdoctoral Fellowship*** – University of California, Irvine. Department of Criminology, Law and Society.
Project: Digitalized Warfare: Global Capitalism, Digitalization, and the Spatial Social Control in Poor Barrios

2021 ***Dissertation Research and Writing Fellowship*** **–** University of California, Santa Barbara Department of Sociology. ($6000 stipend plus payment of in-state tuition and UC SHIP health insurance for one quarter)

2019 ***Interdisciplinary Humanities Center – Graduate Collaborative Award***. Funded the project titled *"Outlaw(ed) Intellectuals: Critiquing Structures of Power while Working within Them"* at University of California – Santa Barbara ($1500)

2016 ***Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship***. I was awarded the Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship four-year funding at UC-Merced (Declined)

2016 ***Hein Family Fellowship***. I was awarded the Hein Family Fellowship to continue my graduate studies at California State University San Marcos ($1000)

2015 ***Sally Casanova Scholarship***. I was awarded the Pre-Doctoral Scholarship to advance my academic career to visit other PhD granting institutions ($3000)

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Society of Criminology (ASC)
Pacific Sociological Association (PSA)
California Sociological Association (CSA)
National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS)
American Sociological Association (ASA)
National Conference for Higher Education in Prison (NCHEP)
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA)
Stand Together As oNe Dream (S.T.A.N.D)
Educational Opportunity Program (EOP)

GROUP AFFILIATIONS

Barrio Criminology (Co-founder)
Convict Criminology
Formerly Incarcerated College Graduates Network
Underground Scholars Santa Barbara (Co-founder)
Union del Barrio – Escondido Chapter
Project Rebound CSUSM Chapter

LANGUAGES

* Fluent reading and writing Spanish and English

* Translating/Interpreting Spanish-English, English-Spanish

REFERENCES

Dr. William I. Robinson
Professor
Department of Sociology
University of California – Santa Barbara
wirobins@soc.ucsb.edu

Dr. George Lipsitz
Professor
Department of Sociology and Black Studies
University of California – Santa Barbara
glipsitz@blackstudies.ucsb.edu

Dr. Dylan Rodriguez
Professor
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ABSTRACT

LA MAFIA GLOBAL:

GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HYPER-INCARCERATION

By

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This dissertation focuses on the links between global capitalism, the hyper-incarceration of poor and racialized working-class communities, and surplus humanity. It explores the social control mechanisms used against poor communities in Southern California. In an effort to draw out the links between the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of analysis, I undertake a macro-analysis of the crisis of global capitalism by examining existing data and then turn to 37 interviews with self-identified activists, immigrants, homeless individuals, formerly incarcerated and system-impacted people, and street vendors, all as part of a three-year ethnographic approach. I show how the above participants are part of a social control mechanism of surveillance, policing, and criminalization – systems that funnel people into the prison system and that form part of what Robinson calls the global police state. Specifically, I look at Robinson's (2020) *militarized accumulation* and *accumulation by repression* in an effort to show how transnational capital is more and more dependent on hyper-incarceration as a means of capital accumulation worldwide. The dissertation calls for a systemic upheaval and a revolution that rallies for the abolition of the prison–industrial complex and the criminal injustice system. In addition, the final chapter provides a strong critique of identitarian paradigms and argues that these paradigms lack a critique of and struggle against global capitalism.

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Chapter One
Global Capitalism, Crisis, and Social Justice

> "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."
>
> \- Karl Marx (1845), *Theses on Feuerbach*

> "The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old way is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."
>
> \- Antonio Gramsci (1971), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*

At a recent conference that brought together academics, activists, and organizers from the movement against mass incarceration, I sat through several presentations on the state of the prison reform movement and the direction of future research and activism. However, entirely and painstakingly absent from the proceedings was a radical leftist prison abolition agenda, including a critique of global capitalism. As Clint Terrell (2022:1) points out, "prison abolitionism has been absorbed into the latest manifestation of discursive red scare currents which can be read through the academic disciplining of its discourse and the political insulation it has found in the logic of 'carceral reductionism.'" As he points out, presenters adopted redemption scripts rather than pushing forth a revolutionary critique of the prison system. In these scripts, the foundations and institutions of the corporate order fund researchers and activists to focus on the redemption of those incarcerated in place of a radical critique of the juggernaut, that is, the prison–industrial complex, a concept that I will highlight later in the following chapters. Without a single exception, participants failed to critique – or even mention – the system of global capitalism that has produced surplus humanity, a term used by many sociologists and that I will define in Chapter 2, and used hyper-incarceration as a mechanism to control this population. Instead, the majority of the speakers focused on reform and, in particular, on providing captives and the formerly incarcerated with the opportunity for higher education. "Education not Incarceration" seemed to

be the dominant mantra. What follows is an outline of the historical process of capitalism, its epochal shifts, and an analysis of why we should link hyper-incarceration to global capitalism.

All social hierarchies and our lived reality are in an ongoing historical process of change, development, and transformation. Global capitalism, the dominant system of our time, is no different. It is the most influential and dynamic system benefiting the few, while, simultaneously, a plague and catastrophic system for the global working and precarious classes. Karl Marx (1867) in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1* said it best, "if money comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek," he wrote, then "capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt" (p. 926). Through this quote, Karl Marx, in a nutshell, explains the inner-dynamics of the capitalist system that have survived over the centuries. Since its birthplace in Western Europe, capitalism's endless drive to accumulate vast amounts of capital (to maximize profit) and the constant need to expand outward, through colonialism and imperialism, has come to consume the entire globe. Even though the inner dynamics of the capitalist system have not changed, what has changed over the decades are the social and political arrangements through which capitalism operates. But now global capitalism is on the verge of another catastrophic crisis. Can the system endure it? More importantly, will humanity survive the consequences of global capitalism? It is true that capitalism has survived countless previous crises and has been (re-)built with new social formations and class relations. Inevitably, in response to crises, capitalism undergoes a new round of social transformations, involving new waves of social control and authoritarianism, in addition to new waves of resistance and opposition to the new world order. Therefore, it is absolutely imperative that we study these new social relations and transformations and their relations to hyper-incarceration.

Throughout history to continue expanding, capitalism has undergone a considerable number of transformations, with its latest epoch being globalization or global capitalism, two

concepts that I will return to later in this chapter. Accordingly, Robinson (2004) developed a concept called "periodization" to study the process of transformation and historical development. Thus, it is not the case that capitalism has disappeared throughout the centuries; instead, the system has gradually evolved from within. Here we will use Robinson's (2004) *theory of global capitalism* to highlight this evolution that occurs over four stages. The first stage, which saw the birth of capitalism from Europe and its expansion outward, began during the bloody conquest of the Americas, Africa, and Asian nations. In Asia, murder and occupation began in the 1500s and continued well into the twentieth century, as they did in the Middle East between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries (Stavrianos 1981). These periods of colonialism and imperialism involved genocide, conquest, annexation, and subjugation by European powers of Indigenous populations throughout the world. This was the epoch of mercantilism and primitive accumulation, terms which I will return to in the following pages, or what Marx referred to as the "rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." Entire civilizations were broken up and integrated into the world market, the colonial system, and the new trade system between the East and the West. The second epoch, competitive or classical capitalism, was distinct in that it began in the mid-eighteenth century during the birth of the Industrial Revolution, the dawn of the bourgeoisie as the dominant class, and the genesis of the present-day nation-state. Eric Hobsbawn (1996a, 1996b, 1989) labels this epoch in his classical historical writings as the ages of revolution, capital, and empire. The third epoch is that of national "monopoly" capitalism. This epoch brought new waves of imperialistic expansion, the unification of a true world market, and the growth of national financial and industrial corporations. During this epoch, wars among dominant powers intensified and engulfed the world while, simultaneously, a socialist alternative loomed, *The Age of Extremes*, to quote Hobsbawm (1996c). To summarize, the first epoch extended from the symbolic years of

1492 to 1789, followed by the second epoch, which ran through the nineteenth century, and then the third, which lasted until the 1970s.

The fourth epoch, and the epoch I focus on in this study, is globalization. For Robinson (2004, 2008, 2014, 2018), the conception of globalization stands as an epochal shift in world capitalism dating back to the world economic crisis of the 1970s, followed by the restructuring that took shape in the decades that followed. The 1970s were decades of instability, and many scholars would agree that it was during this period that world capitalism began its restructuring (Castells 2010; Robinson 2004). Robinson argues that global capitalism is in a qualitatively new epoch in the world capitalist system that involves the rise of truly transnational capital and the incorporation of every nation into a globally integrated production and finance system under the control of a new transnational capitalist class (TCC), a group grounded in new global markets and circuits of accumulation as opposed to national markets and circuits. Undoubtedly, capitalism has always been a world system, a system not restricted to national or regional borders. It expanded from its dawning in Western Europe, ultimately spreading to the rest of the world, and developing into a system of worldwide trading. It is during this stage for which I would like to draw out the links between global capitalism, hyper-incarceration, and resistance; I will discuss these more in depth in Chapter 2, after first highlighting my theoretical framework.

What makes this new epoch different than prior capitalist periods? As British historian Eric Hobsbawn (1996c) highlights in the *Age of Extremes:*

> The world economy in the Golden Age remained *international* rather than *transnational*. Countries traded with each other to an ever greater extent ... though the industrial economies increasingly bought and sold each others' production, the bulk of their economic activity remained home-centered. Nevertheless, an increasingly *transnational* economy began to emerge, especially from the 1960s on, that is to say, a system of economic activity for which state territories and state frontiers are not the basic framework, but merely complicating factors ... and which sets limits to what even the economies of the very large and powerful states can do. Some time in the early 1970s such a transnational economy became an effective global force. (P. 277)

This new phase of capitalism encompasses a transformation from a *world economy*, where countries and regions are connected to each other via trade and financial flow in an integrated international market, to a new *global economy*, where nations are connected through the transnationalization of the processes of production, finance, and circuits of capital accumulation (Robinson 2020). The term circuits of accumulation refers to the process by which the production of goods and services is first planned and financed by the capitalist class, followed by attaining and then mixing together the component parts (labor, land, raw materials, buildings, machinery, etc.) in production sequences, before the marketing of the final product. At the end of this process, capitalists recover their initial investment as well as their profit, which is the "accumulated" capital. Karl Marx refers to this process as the "circuit of capital." Thus, in this current globalized economy the production process breaks down and functionally integrates what were previously *national* circuits into new *global* circuits of accumulation. The underlying distinction between a world and global economy is the globalization production process, or the rise of globalized circuits of production and accumulation. Since the late twentieth century, transnational capital has allowed for the decentralization and, simultaneously, the integration around the globe of vast chains of production and distribution. Yet, despite this, there has been an unprecedented concentration and centralization of global management, control, and power in transnational capital and its agents.

Capital responded to the structural crisis of the 1970s by going global. The restructuring of capitalism in the late twentieth century, especially with the introduction of new technologies, including computer and information technologies (CIT), allowed capital to achieve global mobility. This restructuring was a response by capitalists to the crisis of overaccumulation, declining rates of profit, and the social upheavals of a well-organized working class in the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, to continue to maximize their profit and further repress the working classes worldwide, capitalists began reorganizing production processes globally in the later years of the

twentieth century. According to Robinson (2018), "these technologies allowed capital to go global and also allowed it to reorganize the workplace, reduce dependence on masses of concentrated and well-organized workers, to outsource and make flexible workers, and thus to forge a more favorable capital-labor relations" (pp. 3–4). With these changes came a new wave of repression of the working and popular classes worldwide. As a result, capitalists developed a globally integrated production and financial system organized through vast networks of subcontracting and outsourcing that engulfed the globe (Castells 2010). As national production systems ruptured, these same systems integrated into the new globalized circuits of accumulation.

To give an example of how national companies subcontract and outsource globally, we can look at the automobile industry in the later twentieth century. By the late 1970s, the US and Canadian automobile industries were fully integrated into the global economy due to the 1965 Automobile Pact, a selective trade liberalization agreement. In 1988, the Canada–US Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) decentralized the national circuits of accumulation and fragmented car production into dozens of different dispersed production phases across the globe. In 1994, the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a free trade agreement between the US, Canada, and Mexico, incorporated Mexico's lower production cost. Prior to the 1980s, the automobile production system was dominated by US producers. Now, individual parts are manufactured and produced in different countries, assembled overseas or locally, and management is coordinated from a central computer terminal unconnected to the central production plant or dominant nation-state (Dickens 2015). From the mid-1980s and on, significant waves of foreign investment from Japan, Germany, and Mexico occurred.

The new global economy that emerged after the restructuring of the 1970s involved the birth of the global assembly line and the emergence of the exploitative and gruesome sweatshops in free trade zones at the global level. In addition, the new global economy involves a modern and

evolving digitalized global financial system through which money smoothly and instantaneously crosses borders. All of this is pushed forth by what Robinson (2020) calls "a global capitalist culture of corporate brands, consumerism, and narcissistic individualism" (p. 11). In contemporary times, many types of services, for example, telecommunication, digital services, and health care, have also experienced outsourcing caused by this new shift in the global economy. With this new global economy comes a more organic integration of social, political, and economic life worldwide. Even the most secluded and distant communities can be linked to the new circuits of accumulation of the global economy and society through limitless decentralized networks of production and distribution, as well as by global communications and other integrative technologies.

The Global Bourgeoisie: The Transnational Capitalist Class and Transnational State Apparatuses

As Karl Marx (1867) famously said, "…the miser is merely a capitalist gone mad, but the capitalist is a rational miser" (p. 334). From the latter part of the twentieth century, the transnational capitalist class (TCC) surfaced and took control of global capitalist relations (Robinson 2004, 2014, 2018, 2020; Robinson and Sprague 2019). Since the 1970s, a new phase of capitalism has emerged in which transnational corporations (TNCs) and the TCC have become the vehicles for accumulation of capital across national borders. Its main interest is to promote a global culture of consumerism, circuits of accumulation, and a global market, instead of dealing with the constraints of national markets. This does not mean that national markets vanish; on the contrary, there is continued competition within local, national, and global markets within the nation-state. The TCC is what Robinson (2020) calls "the hegemonic fraction of capital on a world scale," consisting of the managers of giant transnational corporations, or TNCs, and the financial markets that drive the global economy. The capitalist core of the TCC consists of global giant directors who know each other, attend the annual World Economic Forum, and give presentations by serving on panels (Phillips 2018).

Wealth is now concentrated in the hands of a few extremely powerful corporations led by even more powerful members of the TCC; they have come to represent the interests of several hundred thousand millionaires and billionaires who comprise the wealthiest one percent of humanity. According to Robinson (2020), "the TNCs have internalized markets within their networks across national and regional frontiers, making themselves independent of their states of origin and their territories" (p. 12). Free from the nation-state's constraints, the TCC emerged from European and American capitalists but has evolved into a global ruling class with sectors on every continent and country across the globe. Shadow elites, according to Scott (2014), are the deep national security organizations in connection with international drug cartels and paramilitary groups that extract 8,000 tons of opium from United States war zones across the globe—followed by laundering 500 billion dollars through transnational banks, half of which are based in the United States. As we shall see in the later chapters the TCC and global corporations have become extremely interested in the utility of the global police state to control and repress surplus humanity, including the use of mechanisms like hyper-incarceration.

The annual World Economic Forum meeting at Davos, hosting personnel from the top one thousand global corporations, has, since 1972, around the birth of globalization, exuded capitalists' hegemonic power and their power over major world issues. Similarly, the San Francisco Bohemian Club's annual summer encampment hosts thousands of elites to hear selected guest speakers' presentations on current major socioeconomic topics. Each event makes policy recommendations or sets specific agendas for global governance considerations. But in January 16–20, 2023, uncertainty over their ability to maintain control (considering massive upheaval from below), to restabilize global capitalism on the cusp of crisis, and to rebuild fractured consensus in the wake of hegemonic decay was on full display (Robinson 2023). How does the TCC organize toward achieving their class interests worldwide? How do the class and social relations of global

capitalism become hegemonic? In austere worlds, this happens through the generation of a vast amount of profit and the social control of the working and popular classes. Capitalism requires the state to continue its dominance. During the latter part of the twentieth century, two broad approaches emerged for understanding how the capitalist class can ensure that the state represents and reproduces capitalism. One theory, according to Robinson (2020), "held that the state was 'instrumentalized' directly by the dominant groups in order to shape policies in their interests" (p. 12). For example, the capitalist class placed their agents in government positions, or financed election campaigns. The second approach, in contrast to the instrumentalized approach, held that dominant groups used the structure of capitalist society to force the state to carry out policies that advanced global capitalists' interests. Here the state is structurally dependent on capital; for example, the state requires capital to invest in the economy in order to generate employment and revenue, and the state must then administer policies that guarantee a favorable environment for capitalists' investments.

Both approaches are at the center of global capitalist development. Thus, the TCC directly instrumentalizes states around the world, and at the same time, every country and the whole global economy is structurally dependent on transnational capital. The nation-states have to generate the conditions for transnational capital accumulation within the borders of each country, which means: (1) assuring favorable conditions for maximizing profit, and (2) suppressing any threat to the rule of global capitalism. The latter will be essential when we analyze the warehousing of surplus humanity in Chapter 2. For now, it is important to understand the relationship of the state to transnational capital.

The TCC attempts to put into place what Robinson (2004) calls transnational state apparatuses as instruments to convert the structural power of the global economy into a supranational political authority and to exercise its class power. The transnational state (TNS) is

an analytical abstraction that helps us make sense of contemporary global relations. Robinson (2004) defines the TNS as "a particular constellation of class forces and relations bound up with capitalist globalization and the rise of a TCC embodied in a diverse set of political institutions. These institutions are transformed nation-states and diverse supranational institutions that serve to institutionalize the domination of this class as the hegemonic fraction of capital worldwide (p. 99). Thus, TNS apparatuses function to organize the conditions around the world for transnational accumulation – that is, colonialism followed by the formation of a state, imperialism, and labor opportunities around the world for transnational corporate devastation. The TNS is formed of institutionalized networks around the world through which the global elite, managers, and agents attempt to create and reproduce the conditions of global capital accumulation. To reiterate, nation-states do not disappear but are subordinated to the imperatives of global capitalism accumulation while they must also secure their legitimation through the "nation."

The data shows grotesque global inequalities between the global proletariat and the top one percent of humanity. Oxfam International (2016) reported that 62 people hold as much wealth as half of the world, and more shockingly, in 2017, Oxfam (2017) reported that only eight men owned half of the world's wealth. The top six billionaires in 2017 included Bill Gates (US, $88.8 billion), Amancio Ortega (Spain, $84.6 billion), Jeff Bezos (US, $82.2 billion), Warren Buffett (US, $76.2 billion), Mark Zuckerberg (US, $56 billion), and Carlos Slim Helu (Mexico/$54.5 billion). *Forbes'* billionaire list consisted of 2,047 people in 2017 (Kroll and Dolan 2017). During the pandemic, the wealthy one percent got even richer. The top six richest people in the world in 2022 include Elon Musk (US, $219 billion), Jeff Bezos (US, $171 billion), Bernard Arnault & Family (France, $158 billion), Bill Gates (US, $129 billion), Warren Buffet (US, $118 billion), and Larry Page (US, $111 billion). The *Forbes* billionaire list rose to include 2,668, with more than 600 new billionaires since 2017 (Kroll and Peterson-Withorn 2022).

A 2011 report by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology found that among 43,000 transnational corporations, a core of 1,318 companies with interlocking ownership dominated. In turn, each had ties to two or more companies; on average, they were connected to 20 other companies. In addition, these 1,318 transnational corporations, which represent 20 percent of global operating revenues, collectively own the majority of the world's blue-chip and manufacturing firms, representing a further 60 percent of global revenues – for a total of 80 percent of the world's revenue (Vitali, Glattfelder, and Battiston 2011). More disturbing yet, these 1,318 companies tracked back to 147 even more tightly knit companies, which represent just one percent of the global corporate stock that controls 40 percent of the total wealth of the network. Thus, we can see that the worldwide mesh of TNCs, with global financial institutions at the top, has its tentacles in every corner of the global economy, touching the lives of every person worldwide. As we shall see, these corporations are deeply invested in the social control of the working class, including their incarceration.

Sociologist Peter Phillips (2018), in his study *Giants: The Global Power Elite*, shows a shocking image of the concentration of wealth and the interlocking relations between the TCC and its political agents. In this extraordinary study, Phillips (2018) shows how the network connections among and between the Global Elite and national and international governing organizations are becoming institutionalized and how their integrated structure reproduces and worsens global inequality. In turn, we see a fusion at the global level of political, social, and economic power in the global elite through an enormous concentration of financial capital and political influence worldwide. In a nutshell, the world's top seventeen asset management firms have in excess of one trillion dollars of investment capital and collectively manage 41.1 trillion dollars in nearly every country (Phillips 2018:35). The figures certainly support our understanding of a highly centralized structure of capital managed by a small number of institutions with a vast

amount of power. This mass concentration of wealth and power shifts through the social, political, and cultural institutions of our social realities. Thus, global capitalism's agents and transnational finance capital are deeply invested in media, industry, commerce, and the global military-industrial-security complex (Bruton 1988).

Phillips shows how the massive concentration of wealth translates into the centralization of global policy-development influence in the TCC. Phillips (2018) notes that the power structure of the global power elite takes an active part in global policy-development institutions through the transnational state. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, G20, G7, World Trade Organization (WTO), World Economic Forum, Trilateral Commission, Bilderberg Group, Bank for International Settlements, Group of 30 (G30), and International Monetary Conference, as Phillips (2018) states, "serve as institutionalized mechanisms for the TCC consensus building, and power elite policy formation and implementation" (p. 161). These transnational institutions serve the interests of global finance capital by supporting policies and regulations that seek to protect the free, unrestricted flow of capital and debt collection. Moreover, representatives from these transnational institutions take up key national government positions within the nation-state. For example, within the United States, the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC, exemplifies the inner connection between corporate interests, the state, criminalization and policing, and anti-immigrant tendencies in civil society (Brave New Film 2015). ALEC brings together state and federal elected officials, criminal injustice system representatives, and transnational corporations to develop initiatives that advance the transnational corporate agenda. In Chapter 3, I will have more to say about ALEC and its corporate and political agents when I discuss hyper-incarceration. This relationship of financial capital to state power is one in which the TCC issues policies, laws, and commands to government officials. Phillips (2018) said it best

that the dominant classes do not "produce recommendations but rather instructions which they expect to be followed" (p. 18).

While competition still becomes the base of global capitalism and giant corporations, the top echelon of the TCC forms a class-conscious and well-organized politicized leadership for its continued domination across the globe. In their classical 1966 study "Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order," Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966) show how the competitive nature of capitalism virtually vanishes when only a few large firms are operating in each market. They state, "today the typical economic unit in the capitalist world is not the small firm producing a negligible fraction of a homogeneous output for an anonymous market but a large-scale enterprise producing a significant share of the output of an industry, or even several industries, and able to control its prices, the volume of its production, and the types and amounts of its investments" (p. 6). The Group of 30, an independent global body composed of economic and financial leaders from the public and private sectors and academia, established in 1978, issues periodic reports on government and TNS institutions around the globe. The top bankers, financiers, policymakers, and academics, to use the words of the website, aim "to deepen understanding of global economic and financial issues, and to explore the international repercussions of decisions taken in the public and private sectors." The Group of Thirty and other powerful and private associations of the TCC are places where, according to Phillips (2018),

> …TCC power elites can speak openly on global capital and security issues, moving toward a consensus of understanding on needed policies and their implementations. These meetings offer TCC power elite individuals opportunities to personally interact with each other face-to-face in private, off-the-record settings that allow for personal intimacies, trust, and friendships to emerge. These interactions are the foundation of TCC class-consciousness and social awareness of common interests. The central activity of the TCC power elite is the management and protection of global capital. With this understanding, a wide variety of policy issues emerge for implementation by transnational entities, security institutions (military/police and intelligence agencies), and ideological organizations (media and public relations firms). (P. 162)

Thus, in sum, the bewildering centralization and concentration of economic management, political influence, social control, and decision-making authority in a small number of TNCs suggests that the global economy is acquiring the character of a planned global cartel, with the in-house planning taking place within the internal networks of the TNC, the governmental transnational state apparatuses, and the yearly global elite forums highlighted by Phillips (2018) and others. In particular, globalization has elevated transnational corporations to a more influential international role, resulting in nation-states becoming less significant. Therefore, with the new role of the nation-state to provide favorable conditions so transnational capital can operate, the TCC has acquired massive structural power over states and political processes in its quest for global domination and capital accumulation. Thus, while a small group of individuals exercises social control over our future, the broader processes associated with global capitalism involve a more expansive and novel relation of inequality, domination, and exploitation of the global working class. The explanation for power and domination lies with global capitalism's underlying transnational class relations. These class relations of inequality, domination, and exploitation are played out through the hyper-incarceration of the global working class in this new global police state order (the global police framework will be used to explain hyper-incarceration in the US in the following chapters).

Extinction or Survival? The Crisis of Humanity

We pick up, then, with the restructuring of global capitalism starting in the late twentieth century, involving the emergence and expansion of transnational capital through a neoliberal counterrevolution that included an offensive by the TCC against working-class communities around the globe (Harvey 2005; Robinson 2004, 2008). The TCC pursued free trade agreements and neoliberal policies that displaced millions worldwide and generated vast pools of unemployed and underemployed people, including in the United States. The expansion of transnational capital

from the 1980s and beyond involved the hyper-accumulation of wealth through new technologies, neoliberal policies, and a new structure of production that exacerbated the exploitation of the global workforce – including new rounds of primitive accumulation. Primitive accumulation refers to the process whereby masses of people are separated from the means of production, often through violence. For Karl Marx (1867) and Marxists, primitive accumulation "is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production" (p. 432). The means of production include land and community property, which then come under the control of capitalists and leave people with no way to survive other than to sell their mental and physical labor to the capitalists – in contemporary global capitalism, the TCC – and to the institutions of the capitalist system. The first wave of primitive accumulation occurred in England from the 1530s to the 1640s, in the process of dispossession and exiling called *enclosures*. To expand, the process of *enclosures* refers to the appropriation of "waste" or "common land," enclosing it and, by doing so, depriving commoners of their rights of access to the land. Following the expansion of capitalism through colonialism and imperialism, millions of people around the globe were violently expelled, murdered, and dispossessed from their lands in the continued waves of primitive accumulation by the dominant classes. As I will discuss later in this chapter, the restructuring of capitalism, the process also known as globalization, involved a new round of primitive accumulation across the world, dispossessing millions and throwing them into the ranks of surplus humanity (a concept that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2), which is subjected to the social control of the increasing presence of a global police state.

The restructuring of capitalism is nothing new and is often an outcome of an economic crisis. Karl Marx (1863) was the first to identify crisis as being inextricably linked to capitalism. He spent much time studying crises and often indicated how important he considered their impact on the social and political systems. Yet he left no developed account of his views on crises. For this,

we turn to Robinson's (2014) masterful work *Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity*. Here, Robinson identifies three types of crises. The first, cyclical crises, or recessions, occur approximately every ten years and last about 18 months within the capitalist system. These recessions occurred in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s and are referred to as "business cycles." The second type of crises are called "structural crises." These crises often require restructuring the entire system and occur approximately every 40–50 years. The first structural crisis was recorded in the 1870s and 1880s, which was followed by a new wave of colonialism and imperialism. The following structural crisis was during the 1930s, known as the Great Depression, followed by a new system of redistribution referred to as the social welfare state and mass production. Then came the crisis of the 1970s, which allowed capital to go global and gave way to new waves of expansion through new technologies. Historically, new waves of expansion, accumulation, and repression take place during crises.

The final type of crisis, a crisis that may bring about human extinction if we do not start a revolution against global capitalism, is the existential crisis. This crisis is different, as we have reached the ecological limits to the reproduction and expansion of capitalism. In short, we have already passed the tipping points in climate change, the nitrogen cycle, and diversity loss, and, for the first time in human existence, our behavior is altering the earth in a way that threatens to bring about the sixth mass extinction (Foster, York, and Clark 2011; Klein 2014; Kolbert 2015; Moore 2015). Yes, capitalism contributes immensely to the devastation of earth's natural resources, through the commodification of these resources, with its constant urging to accumulate more capital. Because we are fighting for our survival, environmental activists have brought this ecological dimension of the global crisis to the forefront of the global agendas. However, these environmental justice movements have come under escalating attacks from the global police state as they continue to struggle against transnational corporations. Moreover, climate change refugees,

who are likely to run in the hundreds of millions in the decades to come, are subject to repressive controls by racist policies and neofascist forces, which are part of the current global police state. Two examples come to mind when we talk about migration and climate change. One is the arrival of some 16,000 Haitian migrants to the border towns Del Rio, Texas and Acuña, Mexico in mid-September 2021 (Daniels and Phillips 2021). There were images of border agents, puppets of the global police state, on horseback, rounding up Haitians, detaining them, and flying them back to Haiti. The second is thousands of Central American immigrants fleeing home from crop failures and hurricanes that have devastated the area due to climate change (Milman, Holden, and Agren 2018). In Chapter 2, I will discuss the social control of refugees, migrants, and other survivors.

Thus, this destruction of the global environment points us to another dimension of the current global crisis. Capitalism's innermost function is constantly expanding and conquering new lands and finding new ways to generate profits. In this age of global capitalism, where every corner of the world has been engulfed in taking part in this system of massive accumulation, there are no longer any new territories in the world to continue commodifying. In each previous structural crisis, the capitalist system expanded into new territories and incorporated new populations into the system. In the 1970s, through "democracy promotion" and the integration of marginalized areas and populations outside the system, global capitalism incorporated every corner of the planet into this new global economic system of production and consumption (Robinson 1996a). In turn, these spaces now become "spaces of capital" accumulation, meaning the privatization of social services like education, health, utilities, essential services, and public land, which now become commodified. By commodification, I mean the process by which people, what people produce, and nature are turned into privately owned things, have monetary value, and can be bought and sold. To Marx (1867), "the wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single

commodity" (p. 302). Besides continuing to generate a vast amount of profits, capitalism, by its nature, must constantly continue to expand to commodify more and more of the globe. But what is there left to commodify, and where does the system find new outlets for its continued expansion? As the capitalist system continues its domination into the twenty-first century, new spaces of capital accumulation have to be integrated violently, and the people in these spaces must be repressed, caged, or murdered by a global police state.

To expand globally and continue to generate profits, capitalism leaves behind a trail of blood, violence, and social control everywhere it conquers. George Jackson (1994), a captive revolutionary who was shot and killed inside San Quintin State Prison on August 21, 1971, highlights this violence in his work *Soledad Brother:* "it's very contradictory for a man to teach about the murder in corporate capitalism, to isolate and expose the murderers behind it, to instruct that these madmen are completely without stops, are licentious, totally depraved – and then not make adequate preparations to defend himself from the madman's attack" (p. 284). As I will discuss in Chapters 2 and 3, the spread of violence against the working and popular classes, through what academics are calling the Fourth Industrial Revolution technologies (Ross and Maynard 2021; Schwab 2016), have changed the face of warfare, repression, and mass social control. In the following section, I will return to define the Fourth Industrial Revolution when I shift my analysis to digitalization. For now, I will state that these new technologies have pushed us even further into what Foucault calls a panoptical surveillance state. According to Foucault (1977), the panopticon creates a consciousness of permanent visibility as a form of power, where no bars, chains, and heavy locks are necessary for domination. Edward Snowden, a deserter from the US National Security Agency (NSA), exposed this surveillance state and espionage. He disclosed that the NSA monitored every communication around the globe, including the mass surveillance of Americans' telephone records (Reuters 2020). Surveillance control is now the new norm, as there

appears to be no significant challenge to it. But most frightening is the production and development of new, technologically advanced nuclear weapons and the threat of World War III (Hrubec 2019). With an existential crisis on the horizon, war is used as an outlet for the continued accumulation of global capitalism. How will humanity survive a new world war and ecological collapse?

The future is not predetermined, and economic and ecological collapse can be prevented. We are currently living in what Vladimir Lenin calls a "revolutionary situation." A revolutionary situation is a political situation indicative of the possibility of a revolution. I will return to this concept in my concluding chapter. Nonetheless, if things continue on the path of destruction, the Barbarization scenario, as Paul Raskin (2016) observes, will await humanity. Barbarization, according to Raskin (2016), would result from allowing the current troubling trends to continue with little intervention and might manifest itself in two possible endgames: a fortress world, in which a tiny minority would live in great luxury while continuously defending itself from threats presented by the miserable majority of humanity; or total collapse and chaos. The TCC has accumulated an immense amount of generational wealth that cannot be reinvested. As surplus capital continues to grow, so does the rank of surplus humanity – billions of people locked out of the production process, barely making ends meet or surviving. The UN Refugee Agency (2021) showed an estimated number of forcibly displaced refugees at 89.3 million people at the end of 2021 and migrants around the world at 281 million in 2020, while the United Nations estimates that as many as one billion people will become climate refugees by 2050 (Vince 2022). The ten wealthiest men doubled their fortunes during the COVID-19 pandemic while the income of the bottom 99 percent of humanity fell (Oxfam 2022a). Capitalism's crisis is also political: capitalist states face spiraling crises of legitimacy, and the system is rapidly losing its ideological hegemony.

Thus, to protect this ideological hegemony and regain legitimacy, the TCC and organic intellectuals' politicized faction attempt to define the capitalist system's long-term interest and develop laws, policies, projects, and ideologies to secure and maximize accumulation. On the other hand, there is a social dimension to the global capitalist crisis. During these times of unprecedented global inequalities, crises break apart the social fabric and ravage communities around the globe. As stated above, billions of people struggle to make ends meet, with no guarantee that they will survive the next day. In academia, we call this a crisis of social reproduction. However, this phrase does nothing to capture the depths of misery that billions go through daily: poverty, disease, unemployment, food insecurity, social exclusion, racism, xenophobia, incarceration, violence, gangs, and other forms of social violence. In addition, it is difficult to quantify the persecution of migrants, refugees, and surplus labor. As a result, billions are pushed out of the labor market and into what sociologists call surplus populations. So, how does one control billions of potential refugees, migrants, and surplus humanity? The following two chapters will take on these matters. Before we dive into the theoretical framework, I will first highlight the crisis of overaccumulation.

The Crisis of Overaccumulation

The global police state grows out of the most fundamental contradiction of capitalism: *overaccumulation*. Because of the restructuring of the 1970s, global capitalist accumulation has skyrocketed and has reached unprecedented levels. What is meant by overaccumulation? In simple words: excess of wealth. However, it is more complicated than this simple statement. Overaccumulation refers to how enormous amounts of capital are accumulated, yet this capital cannot be reinvested profitably and becomes stagnant. According to Marx (1849), "the capitalist would have won nothing by his own exertions but the obligation to supply more in the same labor time, in a word, more difficult conditions for the augmentation of the value of his capital" (p. 214).

Nevertheless, overaccumulation in the capitalist system is characterized as a problem of "overproduction" and "underconsumption." Marx (1867), in *Capital,* shows how social polarization and inequality are deeply rooted in the capitalist system. The enormous social polarization is because the capitalists own the means of producing wealth and therefore appropriate as profit as much wealth as possible that workers collectively produce. The massive social polarization and inequalities destabilize the system since the working-class populations cannot purchase the commodities produced and sold by the capitalist economy. In this social relationship between the worker and capitalist, the capitalist and top echelon retain more and more of the total income relative to that which goes to laborers. Thus, the gap grows between what is produced and what the market can absorb. If capitalists cannot sell their commodities or products, then they cannot make any profit. As a result, capitalists accumulate vast amounts of surplus but do not find outlets to unload and continue the cycle of profitability. In critical political economy, this constitutes the most fundamental contradiction: that of overaccumulation. This contradiction is infused in the capitalist system and is directly connected to social polarization that results in crisis: stagnation, recessions, depressions, class struggles, revolutions, and wars (Robinson 2014, 2020, 2022).

The restructuring of capitalism in the 1970s considerably worsened the conditions of the global working and popular classes, in addition to intensifying overaccumulation. However, before we delve into the crisis of the 1970s, let us turn to the early twentieth century. Policies described as Fordism-Keynesianism were a particular form of capitalism and social control that took place after the Great Depression crash of the 1930s (Robinson 2020). It was a time of prosperity for world capitalism. Fordism-Keynesianism involved high growth rates, the rise of living conditions in sectors of the working and popular classes, and a reduction of global inequalities. Henry Ford, an industrialist and founder of the Ford Motors Company, was the first to identify that the new

socioeconomic system of mass, standardized production (Fordism) could not survive without introducing mass, standardized consumption. Ford's vision was to establish a new system of the reproduction of labor power, a new politics of labor control and management, and, in short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist, and populist democratic society. For Antonio Gramsci (1971), Fordism was more than a technological paradigm but rather "the biggest collective effort to date to create, with unprecedented speed, and with a consciousness of purpose unmatched in history, a new type of worker and a new type of man" (p. 302). Thus, this new system established a new capital–labor relationship in which portions of the working and popular classes achieved higher wages to consume the goods and services that their labor produced in exchange for assimilation to the capitalist system (Harvey 1989; Robinson 2014). After World War II, the dominant economic policy was Keynesianism. In British economist John Keynes's view, the state needed to intervene in the economy to boost demand and regulate the market through state spending on social goods. These social goods include infrastructure and social services, including establishing minimum wages, unemployment insurance, pensions, and various social services that push for the downward redistribution of wealth (Cox 1987; Gilmore 1998/99).

Fordist-Keynesian policies and arrangements came about because of the mass struggles of the working and popular classes from the 1800s into the 1930s, including the socialist movement, the Bolshevik revolution, and the anti-colonial and national liberation struggles of the Third World. Fordism-Keynesianism was the technical response to the challenges of the Great Depression. Its international expression gave rise to the world order of the postwar period. The Fordist-Keynesian, or what Webber and Rigby (1996) call the Golden Age Illusion, is a social order that took shape in the decades following the 1930s, involved high growth rates, a rise in standards for sectors of the working class, and decreased inequality, at least in the core of world capitalism. Capitalists were generating vast amounts of profit during the post-WWII era. In the

United States, the gross national product (GNP), which measures all goods and services produced, skyrocketed to $300 billion by the 1950s, compared to just $200 billion in the 1940s. By the 1960s, the GNP had topped $500 billion, which meant that the United States was the wealthiest nation in the world (Webber and Rigby 1996). The post–World War II prosperity in core countries ended in the mid-1960s and well into the 1970s, as economic growth diminished and working classes peaked in their prosperity. The downward mobility and immiseration of the working classes across the globe started with the rise of globalization, the dismantling of Fordism-Keynesianism, and the onslaught of neoliberalism.

With the end of Fordism-Keynesianism in the 1970s came the next great crisis. In Robinson's (2004) analysis, capital responded to this crisis by going global, which allowed it to break free from the constraints of the nation-state, including state regulatory and redistributive policies that, in the past decades, had somewhat offset the polarizing tendencies inherent in the capitalist system. In addition, the strategy of the TCC to go global was to beat back the wave of revolutions in the Third World. The post-WWII "class compromise" – the idea of "class compromise" generally has a negative connotation on the Left, especially among Marxists; it suggests opportunism and collaboration rather than militancy and struggle, according to Erik Olin Wright (2019) – had served capital well for several decades after the Great Depression. As stated above, corporate profits rose strongly from 1945 to 1968, then declined drastically until the late 1970s, and finally rose extremely rapidly, this time during the dawn of globalization (Piketty 2014). In the first quarter of 2019, corporate profit worldwide amounted to $2 trillion dollars (The Economist 2019). The Walton family, owners of the Walmart empire, possess a combined wealth of some $90 billion, equivalent to the wealth of the entire bottom 30 percent of US society (Stiglitz 2015). Thus, the new global elite identified the mass struggles of the working and popular classes of the 1960s, their demands, and state regulations as detriments to making profits and

accumulating capital as rates of profits declined in the 1970s. As the rates of profits dropped, the TCC and its agents forged what is known as the "Washington Consensus." The Washington Consensus is a set of economic policy recommendations for developing countries, particularly Latin America, that became popular during the 1980s and 1990s. The term Washington Consensus usually refers to the level of agreement between the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Word Bank, and the United States Department of Treasury on those policy recommendations. All shared the view, typically labeled "neoliberalism," that the free market operation and the reduction of state involvement were crucial to development in the Global South. The birth of these policies proved to be destructive to the working and popular classes, as the TCC used them to push for the restructuring of the global political economy through neoliberalism (Harvey 2005, 2007; Stiglitz 2017). Warren Buffet, a multi-billion-dollar CEO of Berkshire Hathaway, was extremely blunt by stating, "There's been class warfare going on for the last 20 years, and my class has won" (Stiglitz 2015:79).

The move of corporations into globalization involved tearing down the nation-state relations, meaning tearing down imaginary border walls, to allow the free flow of capital, access to an enormous amount of the earth's resources, and continuing to open up spaces for its constant expansion. The process has involved deregulating markets and lifting regulations on the operation of transnational capital, including open investment regimes and free trade agreements. The main objective of free trade agreements is to facilitate the established globalized production system by lifting restrictions that national governments had placed on the cross-border movement of goods and capital (Robinson 2017b). The most cited of these free trade agreements is the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which went into effect in January 1994. The North American economic system, a structure of countries composed of Mexico, Canada, and the United States, is part of a globally integrated production and financial system. The TCC and its agents created a

business empire that spans the globe, including factories in Mexico called maquiladoras, that take advantage of cheap labor and export back to the United States, thanks to the provisions of NAFTA. Since 1995, a staggering 400 free trade agreements have been negotiated, further explaining the move to a globalized economy (World Trade Organization 2022).

The restructuring of capitalism also involved the thorough privatization of public services, the erasure of social and political autonomy, the reduction of social protection systems such as welfare, and other measures that dismantled the nation-states' control over transnational capital and promoted global economic integration. The welfare state has virtually disappeared since globalization (Abramovitz 2014; Rudra 2002). In contrast, the global economy experienced a boom in the late twentieth century as the former socialist countries entered the global market and as capital liberated itself from nation-state constraints and unleashed a vast new round of accumulation worldwide (Robinson 2008). The creation of this neoliberal system has entailed much destruction, not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers but also of the division of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technology mixes, ways of life, and the land (Harvey 2007). The TCC unloaded surpluses and resumed profit-making in the emerging globally integrated production and financial system through the acquisition of privatized assets, the extension of mining, and agro-industrial investment on the heels of the displacement of hundreds of millions from rural areas around the world. *Bananaland: Blood Bullets and Poison* and *Resistencia: The Fight for the Agua Valley* are two documentaries that depict the expansion of global corporations, the massive murder and displacement of millions of people in the Americas, and resistance to this massive expansion (Freeston 2015; Glaser and Lopez 2014). The restructuring of capitalism also brought forth a new wave of industrial expansion assisted by the revolution in Computer Information Technology (CIT), which is the study or use of systems (especially computers and telecommunication) for storing, retrieving, and sending information. Public policy

became reconfigured through austerity, bailouts, corporate subsidies, government debt, and the global bond market, as governments transferred wealth directly and indirectly from working people to the TCC.

How does the TCC continue to accumulate large amounts of profit? In one word: consumerism. The late twentieth and early twenty-first century saw high rates of consumption around the globe by several hundred million new middle-class members in China, India, and other former Third World countries. This increase in the size of middle classes all across the globe is paralleled by a rise in the ranks of the global proletariat and surplus humanity. The immiseration of the global working class is highlighted by Leech (2012) in his book *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*. He calls this immiseration structural genocide and defines it as "structural violence that intentionally inflicts on any group or collectivity conditions of life that bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" (p. 19). In 1992, the top five percent of United States households in terms of income were responsible for about 27 percent of the total consumer spending. By the year 2012, it had risen to 38 percent. Over the same time period, the share of spending attributed to the bottom 80 percent of United States consumers fell from 47 percent to 39 percent (Schwartz 2014). By 2005, Citigroup analysts wrote a series of memos intended only for the wealthiest clients. The analysts argued that the United States was evolving into a "plutonomy" – a top-heavy economic system where growth is driven primarily by the tiny, prosperous elite who consume an increasingly significant fraction of everything the economy produces. Among other things, the memos advised wealthy investors to shy away from the stock of companies catering to the rapidly dissolving American middle class and instead focus on luxury goods and services aimed at the wealthiest consumers (Cox and Rosenbaum 2008).

Globalization has thus generated the structural power of transnational capital over nation-states and the dominating system over the working and popular classes we see today. Due to

privatization and massive transnational expansion, global working and popular classes have become less effective in defending wages in the face of the mobility of global capital. As a result, nation-states are under the control of global capitalists as they push for more social control mechanisms against the working and popular classes. David Harvey shows the move towards neoliberalism in his book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* According to Harvey (2005), "there has everywhere been an empathetic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s" (p. 2). He continues, "almost all states, from those newly minted after the collapse of the Soviet Union to old-style social democracies and welfare states such as New Zealand and Sweden, have embraced, sometimes voluntarily and in other instances in response to coercive pressures, some version of neoliberal theory and adjusted at least some policies and practices accordingly" (p. 2). This new capitalist globalization, which George Bush Sr. baptized as the "New World Order," meant a fundamental change in transnational relations. It meant an increase in the ongoing "erosion of national sovereignty," reducing the scope of the UN system, and it enhanced the hegemonic rule of the global financial corporations that make the rules of global politics, economics, social, and culture in terms of the TCC's interest (Nef 2002). Thus, global capitalism changed the landscape of the global production and accumulation processes in favor of the TCC. In sum, since the 1970s, transnational capital has been able to exercise its newfound structural power over nation-states while nation-states corral the working and popular classes.

These grotesque inequalities, brought forth by globalization, have fueled the problem of overaccumulation. The egregious concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and the accelerated impoverishment and dispossession of the world's majority have increased polarization and the inequality gap, which in turn has grown the ranks of surplus humanity. The rise in inequality means that the TCC had difficulty finding productive outlets to unload enormous amounts of the surplus

it had accumulated. I would like to draw out the links between global capitalism, hyper-incarceration, and resistance during this new stage of capitalism, which I will go into in more detail in Chapter 2. But first, I will highlight Robinson's global police state theoretical framework, which I will use to explain the hyper-incarceration of poor communities since the 1970s.

With the rise of inequality worldwide, how does the TCC continue to accumulate capital? How does the TCC control the potential upheavals all across the globe? As stated above, Robinson argues that capital responded to the crisis of the 1970s by going global, which allowed it to break free from the constraints of the nation-state, including state regulatory and redistributive policies that in the past decades somewhat offset the polarizing tendencies inherent in the capitalist system. Global capitalism has brought about a sharp expansion of the ranks of surplus and precarious populations. According to the International Labour Organization (2014, 2018), 1.5 billion workers or about 50 percent of the global workforce are considered vulnerable workers, a category that includes informal, flexible, part-time, contract, migrant, and itinerant workers. The International Labour Organization (1998) reported that in the late twentieth century one-third of the global labor force or some one billion workers remain unemployed and underemployed. In a recent essay, Robinson (2017a:9) observes:

> Globalization has brought a vast new round of global enclosures as hundreds of millions of people have been uprooted from the Third World country side and turned into internal and transnational migrants. Some of the uprooted millions are super-exploited through incorporation into the global factories, farms, and offices as precarious labor, while others are marginalized and converted into surplus humanity, relegated to a "planet of slums." Surplus humanity is of no *direct* use to capital. However, in the larger picture, surplus labor is crucial to global capitalism insofar as it places downward pressure on wages everywhere and allows transnational capital to impose discipline over those who remain active in the labor market.

The link between this restructuring of global capitalism since the 1970s and the generation of vast pools of surplus humanity and hyper-incarceration can be drawn out through Gramsci's concept of hegemony and his insistence on the unity of coercion and consent in capitalism. Hyper-

incarceration has involved a vast expansion of the repressive apparatus of the state in unity with the production of consensus around criminalization and punitive punishment. Hegemony entails two forms of domination or power – coercive and consensual. According to Gramsci (1971), consent rests at the level of civil society and hence must be won there. In contrast, coercion rests at the level of the state, or what Gramsci referred to as political society. The restructuring of the late 1970s and beyond came about in response to challenges to the hegemonic classes posed by the mass upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s, including anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movements. In the United States, civil rights movements developed into radical nationalist and clearly anti-capitalist movements, especially among racially oppressed communities. The response from the state was an escalation of repressive controls over these communities.

As global restructuring expanded the ranks of surplus humanity in the United States and around the world, systems of mass social control came together in hyper-incarceration, I will expand on this more in Chapter 2. Robinson (2020) develops the concept of a global police state to draw out these linkages between the expansion of both precarious and informalized labor and surplus populations on the one hand, and systems of mass social control, including hyper-incarceration, on the other. The global police state refers to three interrelated developments in response to the crisis of global capitalism:

> First is the ever more omnipresent systems of mass social control, repression, and warfare promoted by the ruling groups to contain the real and the potential rebellion of the global working class and surplus humanity….Second is how the global economy is itself based more and more on the development and deployment of these systems of warfare, social control, and repression simply as a means of making profit and continuing to accumulate capital in the face of stagnation, what I term *militarized accumulation,* or *accumulation by repression*… And third is the increasing move towards political systems that can be characterized as twenty-first-century fascism, or even in a broader sense, as totalitarianism. (Robinson 2020:3–4)

One of the main emphases of the global police state is the convergence of social control, oppression, and repression with the economic need for accumulation in the face of stagnation and

overaccumulation (Robinson 2020). The TCC has searched for new outlets to unload overaccumulated capital. In Robinson's view, it has turned to sustaining accumulation through ever-rising levels of financial speculation, to the plunder of public finances, and to what he calls state-organized *militarized accumulation,* or *accumulation by repression.*

In this militarized accumulation, the TCC has acquired an interest and undertaken massive investments in war, conflict, and systems of repression as forms of accumulation. As Robinson (2017a:10) states, "as war and state-sponsored repression become increasingly privatized, the interests of a broad array of capitalist groups shift the political, social, and ideological climate towards generating and sustaining social conflict – such as in the Middle East – and in expanding systems of warfare, repression, surveillance, and social control." The wars on drugs, terrorism, and immigrant communities, as well as policies on gang injunctions (which mainly target poor Black and brown communities), border and containment walls, the prison industrial complex, police militarization, and private security have all become major sources of accumulation. According to Robinson (2018), "there is the rise of vast surplus population ... pushed out of the productive economy, thrown into the margins, and subject to sophisticated systems of social control and to destruction, into a *mortal cycle of dispossession-exploitation-exclusion*" (p. 187). In this next chapter we focus on this militarized accumulation and caging of poor communities through the process often known as hyper-incarceration.

Chapter Two
Warehousing Surplus Humanity: A Class Analysis on The Rise of Hyper-Incarceration

"Rising unemployment was a very desirable way of reducing the strength of the working class…What was engineered – in Marxist terms – was a crisis in capitalism which re-created a reserve army of labor, and has allowed the capitalist to make high profits ever since."
- Alan Budd, Chief economic advisor to Margaret Thatcher, as cited in *Lockdown America* (2008)

In 2008, judges Michael Conahan and Mark Ciavarella were convicted of accepting money in return for imposing harsh adjudications on youth to increase occupancy at two Pennsylvania Childcare for-profit detention centers from 2003 to 2008. The corrupt scandal involved over 6000 cases in which over 50 percent of the children who appeared before Ciavarella lacked legal representation. Additionally, 60 percent of these children were removed from their homes (May 2013). Ciavarella disposed thousands of children to extended stays in youth detention centers for offenses as petty as mocking an assistant principal or trespassing in a vacant building. Robert Powell, an attorney and co-owner of the two juvenile facilities, pleaded guilty on July 1, 2009, to failing to report a felony and being an accessory to tax evasion conspiracy in connection with $2.8 million in kickbacks he paid to Ciavarella and Conahan in exchange for facilitating the caging of youth into his juvenile detention centers. In addition, Robert Mericle, the prominent real estate developer who built the two youth facilities, pleaded guilty on September 3, 2009, to failing to disclose a felony. Mericle had failed to tell a grand jury he had paid $2.1 million to Ciavarella and Conahan as a finder's fee.

On August 11, 2011, Ciavarella was sentenced to 28 years in federal prison due to his conviction. On September 23, 2011, Conahan was sentenced to 17 years in federal prison after pleading guilty to one count of racketeering conspiracy. However, due to coronavirus concerns,

he was released from prison in June 2020, six years early. Finally, on November 4, 2011, Powell was sentenced to 18 months in federal prison after pleading guilty to failing to report a felony and being an accessory to tax conspiracy. He was incarcerated at the Federal Prison Camp, Pensacola, a low-security facility in Florida, and was released from a halfway house on April 16, 2013 (Dale 2009). The companies involved were PA Childcare LLC, Western PA Childcare LLC, and Mid-Atlantic Youth Services Corp., which own and operate the centers in Pittston Township and Butler County, all receiving a stipend from the government for each inmate housed. The above scandal shows the relationship between the government, corporations, and the incarceration of youth, where detention centers looked for ways to bring more youth in to increase profits (May 2014). The "kids for cash" scandal is a perfect example of poor populations being incarcerated for corporate profit and of *The Rich get Richer and Poor get Prison*, a phrase used by Jeffrey Reiman (2020) in his classical analysis of the United States criminal injustice system.

The TCC has significant investments in keeping surplus humanity under social control, and one of these social control mechanisms is prisons. To reiterate, capitalist globalization has resulted in unprecedented global inequalities and social polarization worldwide. Global inequalities in the twenty-first century reflect the crisis of overaccumulation, as well as the mechanisms the TCC uses to control socially and carcerally vast pools of surplus humanity. Extreme inequality requires extreme violence and repression, which lend themselves to a global police state and other projects of twenty-first century social control. As we saw in the previous chapter, capitalism has undergone an immense transformation following the Great Depression with redistributive polices that came about as a result of global social and class struggles from below. The more globalization and global capitalism expand, the more the system faces a structural crisis of overaccumulation. The extreme levels of inequality and social polarization, brought forth by the restructuring of global capitalism in the 1970s, have increased the ranks of surplus and precariat populations and

have also escalated the challenge of social control by the TCC. It is this need for social control that brings forward a global police state, which includes hyper-incarceration.

Increasing the Ranks of the Global Working Class:
The Precariat and Surplus Humanity

As we saw in the previous chapter, globalization has increased the ranks of precariat populations and surplus humanity. Thus, global capitalism has brought about a change in power relations worldwide between capital and labor. First, however, we must remember that capitalism is understood as a mode of production based on wage–labor relations. That is, the relation between the capitalist class, which owns the means of production, and the working class, which sells its labor power to capital. The relationship between labor and capital and the class conflict between the two constitute the fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Thus, the capital–labor relation contains a contradiction. Engels (1878) outlines the capital–labor relation and its contradiction in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*:

> Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production and socialised producers. But the socialised producers and means of production and their products were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i.e., as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labour had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labour always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer his product but exclusively the product of the labour of others. Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the capitalists. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, everyone owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.
>
> This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today. The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, the more clearly was brought

> out the incompatibility of socialised production with capitalistic appropriation. (P. 703)

While the form of capitalism has changed in various ways during the 130 years since these words were first written, Engel's claim remains true for contemporary capitalism. In the wake of globalization, global capitalism has formed a newfound relationship between global capital (the TCC) and its domination over the global labor force (working class). The very existence of capitalism is based on the notion that production is undertaken through a particular form of social interaction to exchange what is produced – commodities – in a global market for profit. For capitalist production to occur, there needs to be a class of people with no means of production – land, labor, or machinery which can be used to produce products – in this case, the working class. The working class enters into relation with the capitalist class who have come into possession of these means of production, often violently, and in turn require a labor force to work these means of production to produce commodities and sell them for a profit. Thus, capital and labor (capitalists and workers) only exist in relation to each other: as stated above, they are at opposite ends of the same pole. To Marx (1849), the capital–labor relation and increase in surplus are highlighted in the following passage:

> Thus capital presupposes wage labour; wage labour presupposes capital. They reciprocally condition the existence of each other; they reciprocally bring forth each other… Does a worker in a cotton factory produce merely cotton textiles? No, he produces capital. He produces values which serve afresh to command his labour and by means of it to create new values…. Capital can only increase by exchanging itself for labour power, by calling wage labour to life. The labour power of the wage-worker can only be exchanged for capital by increasing capital, by strengthening the power whose slave it is. Hence, increase of capital is increase of the proletariat, that is, of the working class. (Pp. 209–210)

At the heart of the capitalist production system is this capital–labor relation, which, as stated above, refers to the relationship between the worker and capitalism. The workers and capitalists come together in the process of producing commodities. However, they are also connected through the social processes, institutions and factories, and the capitalist cultural norms

that reproduce these relations. To analyze the historical determination of the capital–labor relation, I will draw on two overlapping schools of research known as the Regulation School (Lipietz 1987) and the Social Structures of Accumulation (Kotz, McDonough, and Reich 1994) approach; both have given us fundamental theoretical analyses for understanding how capital–labor relations have been shaped in historical circumstances. Moreover, they both highlight the waves of expansion and crises in the world economy as the link to how these relations are produced. Here we want to focus on global capitalism and the macro-level capital and labor relationship. In global capitalism, capital and labor are locked into each other; this is determined by many historical factors, but perhaps above all by the terms of class struggle between capitalists and workers, or more broadly, the social struggles among the ruling classes and the popular masses of people. Thus, the internal dynamics of global capitalism, its cycles of expansion and crisis, lead to the clash of social classes and the continued restructuring that shapes capital–labor in distinct ways in particular historical periods.

The decades of the 1970s and beyond symbolized all kinds of transitions in the political economy of advanced capitalism. Since then, the world capitalist systems transformed their powerful relations and evolved into a seemingly new and very different regime of capital accumulation. Set in motion during the destructive recession of 1973 and further consolidated during the equally destructive deflation of 1981 (the "Reagan" recession), the new reconstruction of the 1970s was marked by incredible flexibility concerning the labor process, the labor market, new products systems, and, finally, new patterns of consumption (Harvey 1990; Schoenberger 1987; Scott and Storper 1986). The restructuring of capitalism into global capitalism has given birth to a new economic model known as *flexible accumulation*. The new diverse economic production process in the new global economy has been associated with the transition from Fordism's establishment of accumulation to the new post-Fordism flexible establishment. This

involves new forms of massive exploitation of the working class, including the vertical disintegration of production and the vast movement of global corporations to subcontract and outsource labor across the globe, which makes possible new subdivisions and specializations in production (Dickens 2015; Harvey 1990; Robinson 2004). Here we want to focus on the new capital–labor relations around the globe brought forth by flexible accumulation. The restructuring of the global economy, which was associated with post-Fordist flexible accumulation, has involved the dissolution of the welfare state and increased labor exploitation through the widespread informalization of work. These new arrangements involve different systems of labor control and diverse batch categories of labor, often known as precarious labor. Precarious labor is unstable and segmented work, which includes temporary and part-time work, seasonal and on-call work, and non-unionized contract labor (Valencia 2018, 2020; Fernandez and Valencia 2013). Offshoring has led to increased deregulations and labor flexibility which, in turn, introduced a new model of high turnover and transience that creates fragmentation and precarious labor in the global working class.

On a global scale, labor markets depend on this flexible labor force. Workers are increasingly treated as subcontracted disposable labor rather than fixed, unionized internal labor to employer organizations, thrown into the accumulation process when needed and discarded when no longer needed. For example, in North County San Diego, big corporate farm industries hire contract labor from cities in Mexico each year as a supply labor force for farming communities. Workers work at most for six months picking avocados, oranges, lemons, and more. I will elaborate on this in the following chapters. For now, we must understand that as workers become disposable under these flexible arrangements, they lose employment stability. The social protection that is often given to workers in regulated employment, such as minimum wage guarantees, unemployment insurance, access to welfare, health insurance, paid holidays, and so

on, is often minimal or non-existent, especially for immigrant labor in the United States (I will elaborate on the social control and super-exploitation of immigrant labor in Chapter 4). Thus, according to Robinson (2020), precarious work has "involved the ongoing withdrawal of the state from protection of labor and the erosion of reciprocal obligations on the part of the state and capital to labor, or even any notion that social reproduction of the worker is a part of the labor contract. These reciprocal obligations are replaced by a one-sided domination by capital" (p. 43). Thus, flexible accumulation brings forth new capital–labor relations, resulting from the TCC's class struggle against the global working and popular classes whose collective power has been weakened by capitalist globalization. Consistent with the strategies adopted by the TCC to reduce production costs and increase profits, outsourcing has increased in recent decades. It began in the United States during the 1970s and increased during the next three decades with the rise of neoliberalism (Harvey 2005). Neoliberal policies were actively promoted by the Reagan administration and the conservative government of Margaret Thatcher in the UK. The structural crisis of the capitalist system in the 1970s and the subsequent restructuring led companies to outsource some of their management and production systems to areas and countries with lower labor costs and no regulations, mainly Third World countries.

As workers become "flexible," they join the ranks of the global working class and the new global "precariat" of proletarians who work under these unstable, precarious work arrangements. The concept of the precariat, as defined by Guy Standing (2021), is the millions of people living through unstable, insecure labor and work, lacking occupational identity, losing citizenship rights, and relying on low and fluctuating money wages. They are being exploited as much from workplaces and outside labor as in workplaces and in labor. Guy Standing (2021) sees the precariat as a separate class, but Robinson (2020) sees the precariat as a condition imposed by the increase in numbers of the global working classes in the face of the global restructuring of the 1970s and

its transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation. I concur that the precariat is part of the global working class. The precariat has always been a condition of people brought into the capitalist economy since the birth of capitalism. However, precarity now appears to characterize the proletariat across the globe. All workers are affected by global capitalism, including white- and blue-collar labor, service work, and professional and managerial work.

Global capitalism's restructuring of the 1970s enhanced the power of the TCC over labor. It also expanded the ranks of the global working and popular classes. As a result, the proletariat across the globe has grown exponentially. This is due to the new wave of primitive accumulation, which has pushed billions of people who have been dispossessed out of their communities, and tossed them into the global labor market. Primitive accumulation, to reiterate, refers to the process whereby masses of people are separated from the means of production, often through violence. Marx (1867), in Volume I of *Capital*, described the violent historical process of primitive accumulation:

> But the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus-value; surplus-value presupposes capitalistic production; capitalistic production presupposes the pre-existence of considerable masses of capital and of labor-power in the hands of producers of commodities. The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing a primitive accumulation preceding capitalistic accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production but its starting point. This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labor, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the laborers from all property in the means by which they can realize their labor. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the laborer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage-laborers. The so-called primitive

> accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. If money, according to Augier, 'comes into the world with a congenital blood-stain on one cheek,' capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt. (Pp. 431–435)

The reality is that capital and primitive accumulation came into being, in Marx's (1867) words, "in letters of blood and fire." It was a violent, brutal process; usurpation robbery, violence, fraudulence, the misappropriation of state power, the utilization of almost every kind of criminal means. The process of primitive accumulation continues today. It has been accelerated by globalization and global capitalism. In the 1990s, China, India, and the ex-Soviet blocs joined the global economy, changing the size of the global labor force. The change ranged from 1.46 billion in the 1990s to an astonishing 2.93 billion people in 2006 (Freeman 2006). In addition, global unemployment increased by 22 million between 2008 and 2009. Even more startling, between 2019 and 2020, global unemployment increased by 33 million (International Labour Organization 2021). In 2020, when the direct labor market effects of the pandemic were at their height, the decline in hours worked corresponded to the equivalent of around 255 million full-time jobs being lost globally. Hundreds of millions, if not billions, of workers have been displaced from the Third World countryside through a new round of primitive accumulation brought forth by neoliberal policies and the TCC. In addition, the massive transnational migration of poor working-class communities has been brought forth by social cleansing, violence, and wars, all of which have served as instruments of primitive accumulation and for the violent restructuring and integration of countries into the new global economic system.

Some examples of such violent restructuring are seen in Dawn Paley's (2014, 2015) *Drug War Capitalism* and "Drug War as Neoliberal Trojan Horse," which examine the convergence between the war on drugs and neo-liberalization policies and practices in Colombia, Central America, and Mexico over the past decades. Paley (2014, 2015) succeeds in connecting transnational business with paramilitaries, drug cartels, and US involvement. Plan Colombia and Plan Mexico were economic development strategies tied to US initiatives. The purpose of these plans was to help both countries create an environment friendly to foreign investors. Corporations in Canada, Australia, and United States all have interest in the resources that Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, and Colombia naturally provide. We see this in Nick Miroff's (2016) assessment of Plan Colombia: "After 16 years and $10 billion, the once-controversial security aid package is celebrated by many Republicans and Democrats in Congress as one of the top U.S. foreign policy achievements of the 21st century." Yet murder, violence and the militarization of Colombian military and police have skyrocketed because of Plan Colombia. This is not a "war on drugs," but a war on poor communities. In this regard, Drug War Capitalism can be read in conjunction with Saskia Sassen's (2014) *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, which details the emergence of a new systemic logic of corporate economic growth that has become untethered from any underlying conception of the public good. Sassen (2014) studies mass incarceration, corporate land grabs in Asia and Africa, and financial and real estate speculation as prominent examples of this new systemic logic of expulsion. Banks, wealthy investors, and corporate agribusiness began accumulating new global land grabs in the 2000s, which amounted to a new round of global enclosures.

Pranab Basu (2007) argues that a new phase of capitalist expansion led by global capitalism and the TCC drives governments to dispossess and displace people from agricultural land, even through violent measures. Throughout Central America, Latin America, and the former Third

World nations, agricultural policies, trade, and the neoliberalization of investment imposed by the transnational state have resulted in the expulsion of millions of farmers across the globe, which in turn, has led to the appropriation of their lands by transnational corporations often via paramilitary, military, private, and police violence. More than 20,000 people say they were evicted from their homes to make way for a tree plantation run by a British forestry company in Kicucula, Uganda, in 2011. The company involved, New Forest Company, grows forests in African countries with the purpose of selling credits from the carbon dioxide its trees soak up to polluters abroad. Its investors include the World Bank, its private investment arm, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, HSBC (Kron 2011). In Mexico, the North American Free Trade Agreement signed with the United States and Canada in 1994 has displaced and disposed of millions of families, making them internal and transnational migrants because they lost their lands. In the 1960s, the average number of Mexican migrants to the United States was around 28,000 annually, increasing to 137,000 by the 1970s, 235,000 in the 1980s, and 300,000 between 1990 and 1996. Since then, it is estimated that between 400,000 and 500,000 Mexicans migrated to the US annually until 2008 (Corona 2007). Similar displacements occur in Africa and Central and South America (Davis 2006; Leech 2012; Sassen 2014).

People who are uprooted and pushed out of their lands are increasingly moving to what Mike Davis (2006) calls slums of the world's mega-cities. In his book *The Planet of Slums*, Davis delves into the factors accelerating the rate of global slum growth. He examines historical and modern processes such as colonialism, pirate urbanism, slum removal, and other various state-related legacies that actively contribute to increasing urban poverty and the displacement of the global working class. Davis (2006) asserts that "for the first time the urban population of the earth will outnumber the rural" (p. 1). As highlighted in the World Cities Report 2022, what Mike Davis addresses is as truer as it was in 1950; there were 86 cities in the world with a population of more

than one million; in 2016, there were 436, and today, there are 512 (Khor et al. 2022). The world's largest cities today fall under a class that researchers call "megacities," with a population of over 10 million people. Tokyo, the largest city in the world, has a population of 38,140,000, nearly four times that number. Of the nearly 8 billion people on Earth, 7% of the population lives in megacities. By 2030, the world could have 43 so-called megacities; by 2050, two out of every three people will likely be living in cities or other urban centers (United Nations 2022). The popular classes account for three-quarters of the world's urban population. At the same time, the precarious subcategory represents two-thirds of the popular classes on a world scale, according to Samir Amin (2003). In other words, the precarious popular classes represent half (at least) of the world's urban population and far more than that in the peripheries. Amin (2003) notes that "the main social transformation that characterizes the second half of the twentieth century can be summarized in a single statistic: the proportion of the precarious popular classes rose from less than one-quarter to more than one-half of the global urban population, and this phenomenon of pauperization has reappeared on a significant scale in the developed centers themselves." He continues, "this destabilized urban population has increased in a half-century from less than a quarter of a billion to more than a billion-and-a-half individuals, registering a growth rate which surpasses those that characterize economic expansion, population growth, or the process of urbanization itself" (Amin 2003).

The restructuring of the 1970s, including the development of new modes of primitive accumulation, has generated a vast reserve army of migrants who have increased the ranks of the precariat and surplus humanity. In 2019, according to the IOM World Migration Report (2020), as of June 2019, the number of transnational migrants was estimated to be almost 272 million globally, 51 million more than in 2010. Nearly two-thirds were labor migrants, super-exploited through their incorporation into the global assembly line and precarious labor, including factories,

farms, and offices. International migrants comprised 3.5 percent of the global population in 2019. This compared to 2.8 percent in 2000 and 2.3 percent in 1980. While many individuals migrate out of choice, many others migrate out of necessity. According to UNHCR (2020), the number of globally forcibly displaced people worldwide was 79.5 million at the end of 2019. By 2021, that number had risen to 89.3 million people. Of these, 27.1 million were refugees (21.3 million refugees, 5.8 million Palestine refugees). In addition, 53.2 million people were internally displaced, and 4.6 million were asylum-seekers. Most are marginalized and converted into surplus humanity, banished to the margins. In 2018, most of the 3.5 billion of the global workforce "experienced a lack of material well-being, economic security, equal opportunities or scope for human development. Being in employment does not always guarantee a decent living. Many workers find themselves having to take up unattractive jobs that tend to be informal [so-called flexible work] and are characterised by low pay and little or no access to social protection and rights at work" (Prashad 2019). In addition, 2 billion workers were in the informal labor sector in 2016, accounting for 61.1 percent of the global workforce (International Labour Organization 2019). Thus, the restructuring of capitalism and the new rounds of primitive accumulation have expanded the ranks of surplus humanity and the precariat. As Jan Breman (2003), who writes on India's labor relations, has warned: "a point of no return is reached when a reserve army waiting to be incorporated into the labour process becomes stigmatized as a permanently redundant mass, an excessive burden that cannot be included now or in the future, in economy and society. This metamorphosis is, in my opinion at least, the real crisis of world capitalism" (p. 13).

One aspect of globalization that we have not addressed, which is also attributed to the increase of surplus labor populations, is Robinson's (2020, 2022) conception of digitalization. In short, machines replacing human labor and increasing surplus humanity is the "hot topic" in academic, journalist, and political circles (Aronowitz and DiFazio 2010; Ford 2021; Rifkin 1996;

Srnicek and William 2016). Very briefly, technological change is generally associated with cycles of capitalist crisis and social and political turbulence. At the heart of restructuring is the digital economy based on more advanced information technology, on collecting, processing, and analyzing data, and on applying digitalization to every aspect of global society, including war and repression. Millions of people working in the formal labor market sector have been expelled and marginalized due to digitalization. As the coronavirus pandemic enveloped the world since 2020, businesses increasingly turned to automation to address rapidly changing conditions. Floor-cleaning and microbe-zapping disinfecting robots were introduced in hospitals, supermarkets, and other environments. The Home Depot, Costco, Walmart, Albertsons, and other major corporations have replaced their workforce with self-checkout machines. Because of this massive displacement, many have found employment with Uber and other companies as "self-employed" workers building the ranks of informal labor. However, in 2022, Uber and Motional announced a 10-year partnership to deploy automated vehicles in multiple United States markets, replacing most of its human drivers (Abuelsamid 2022). McKinsey & Company (2017), an extensive management consulting firm, concluded that 800 million workers worldwide will be adversely impacted and could lose their jobs to robots and automation by 2030. This represents roughly one-fifth of today's global workforce. The United States will witness up to 73 million jobs eliminated by 2030. Walmart became one of the first corporations to start significantly overhauling its work force and substituting machinery for human laborers. In 2019, Walmart used robots to replace lower-level jobs – serving in janitorial functions and performing essential inventory work – to manage rising costs. A new robot unloader has already been used on the docks in hundreds of stores, pulling boxes from delivery trucks while automatically scanning and sorting merchandise (Westfall 2019). As digitalization and automation are introduced into the global economy and production process, while they indeed raise productivity, the systems discard more and more

workers from the labor market. For example, in 1990, the top three automakers in Detroit had a market capitalization of $36 billion with 1.2 million employees. In 2014, the top three firms in Silicon Valley, with a market capitalization of over $1 trillion, had only 137,000 employees (The Economist 2016).

Hence, the two dimensions of the global working class are those who are marginalized and made surplus and those who are brought into the labor markets and super-exploited. These are not separate groups but categories married to each other: "they form a unity in their antagonistic relationship to transnational capital," according to Robinson (2020:47). Thus, surplus humanity itself is of no direct use to transnational capital, meaning that those who are surplus are not subject to primary exploitation. However, the existence of surplus humanity is crucial to global capitalism as it places downward pressure on wages globally, allows transnational capital to impose heightened discipline over those who remain active in the labor market, and even makes possible new systems of twenty-first-century slavery (Bales 2012). It is worth quoting Marx (1867) at length concerning how the capitalist production of necessity constantly reproduces an "industrial reserve army" or "surplus population" because the creation and expansion of this surplus population is the central background factor to understanding unprecedented inequality worldwide:

> But if a surplus laboring population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus-population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalistic accumulation, nay, a condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army, that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost. Independently of the limits of the actual increase of population, it creates, for the changing needs of the self-expansion of capital, a mass of human material always ready for exploitation… The overwork of the employed part of the working-class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to over-work and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working-class to enforced idleness by the over-work of the other part; and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists, and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the advance of social accumulation. (Pp. 423–425)

Well beyond the traditional reserve army of labor Marx referred to, the restructuring of world capitalism in the 1970s has expanded the ranks to unprecedented levels of a new global army of superfluous labor today. Let us revisit the overaccumulation crisis and link it to this expansion of surplus humanity worldwide. Capitalist competition and class struggle push capital to reduce costs and/or increase productivity by increasing the organic composition of capital, which leads to the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. As discussed in Chapter 1, this effect, the "most fundamental law" of political economy, is expressed as overaccumulation. According to Marx (1867):

> It is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of laborers, i.e., a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital, and therefore a surplus population. The laboring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent ... This increase is effected by the simple process that constantly "sets free" a part of the laborers; by methods which lessen the number of laborers employed in proportion to the increased production. The whole form of the movement of modern industry depends, therefore, upon the constant transformation of a part of the laboring population into unemployed or half-employed hands ... But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labor-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labor. The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers of the working-class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.* (Exerpt from Robinson 2020:48–49)

The constantly replenishing of a reserve army of labor and the continued capital accumulation is, thus, for Marx, a consequence of "the general law of capitalist accumulation." Thus, to Marx (1867), the "absolute general law of capitalist accumulation establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole…" (p. 431). Marx then identifies three relative surplus populations or labor types: stagnant, floating, and latent. He distinguishes three forms of the relative surplus population: (a) a floating one – those industrial workers who are employed in times

of prosperity but lose their jobs in depression; it is this part of the industrial reserve army that can be reduced by "full employment policies"; (b) a latent form – these are depressed peasants and agricultural laborers who would migrate to the towns if they could find employment there; and (c) a stagnant sector – "the demoralized, the degenerate, the unemployable," according to Marx. This last group tends to increase with the progress of capitalist production. Marx tended to label the stagnant group the lumpenproletariat.

The concept of the lumpenproletariat is a crucial term to analyze the historical processes of capitalism. Marx first discussed the lumpenproletariat as members of the proletariat, primarily "criminals," vagrants, and the unemployed, who lacked awareness of their collective interest as an oppressed class. The lumpenproletariat is a section of the population that is permanently or semi-permanently excluded from the labor force and often supports themselves by socially constructed "criminal" activity. In the *Communist Manifesto*, where the lumpenproletariat is commonly translated in English editions as the "dangerous classes" and the "social scum," Marx and Engels (1848) describe these groups as "the 'dangerous classes,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may here and there be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue" (p. 55). However, some of the negative connotations of the lumpenproletariat fell off in the early- and mid-twentieth century as it became clear that racism, colonialism, and imperialism propelled hundreds of millions of working-class people into the ranks of surplus humanity. The lumpenproletariat, people pushed out of the production process, now appeared as a structural arrangement of outcasts, marginalized by the capitalist system (Robinson 2020, 2022). In *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society,* Mao Tse-tung (1926) refers to the lumpenproletariat as peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work, and as a dangerous revolutionary force if given the proper guidance. The prominent Marxist

theorist of the lumpenproletariat is Frantz Fanon, whose view is like an amplification of Mao's. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963), writing mainly about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants who constitute a revolutionary threat to the existing colonial system in Africa (p. 90). In the United States, the Black Panther Party adopted Fanon's viewpoint regarding the revolutionary potential of the lumpenproletariat. The co-founder of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seal (1991), wrote in his memoir *Seize the Time*, "Fanon explicitly pointed out that if you didn't organize the lumpenproletariat, if the organization didn't relate to the lumpenproletariat and give a base or organizing the brother who's pimping, the brother who's hustling, the unemployed, the downtrodden, the brother who's robbing banks, who's not politically conscious – that's what lumpenproletariat means – that if you didn't relate to these cats, the power structure would organize these cats against you" (p. 30). At the same time, Huey P. Newton saw the lumpenproletariat as the people alienated from the system of oppression in the United States (Jones 1998). Netwon admired them as poor and working class people who had not given up, who find ingenious ways to survive, who lived outside the constraints of bourgeois morality. But he also recognized that left unaddressed that they could harm their own communities

Today, we use "surplus humanity," an analytically and politically superior term used in academia to make sense of the enormous number of human beings pushed into the margins of the global capitalist system. While there is an element of criminality among the bulk of humanity caused by the destructive tendencies of global capitalism, surplus humanity appears to be a structural category caused by the restructuring of global capitalism in the later part of the twentieth century, a restructuring that still continues today. Here I want to define surplus humanity. We will use William Robinson's (2020) conception of this group and link it to the rise of hyper-incarceration later in this chapter. According to Robinson (2019), "surplus humanity includes

those who suffer from long-term structural un- and underemployment, the mass of people who eke out a living (or do not even manage to do so) in the informal economy of the slums of the world's megacities, as well as international refugees, those internally displaced by wars, repression and natural disasters, migrant workers who may be forced underground and unable to enter the formal labor market." In this view, surplus humanity exists in relation to the precariat and may sometimes mesh in and out of the more formal labor market. To quote Joff Bradley and Alex Lee (2018), "it is clear that 200 years after the birth of Marx, the composition of the lumpenproletariat has changed from 'vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes,' pariahs and untouchables, to precarious workers, a working poor, to contract staff, day staff, zero-hour contract staff, and more desperately to the underclass or permanent underclass" (p. 641). Both go on to politically assess the lumpen and working poor in today's globalized economy, and I agree with their assessment that states, "Marx's distinction between the revolutionary laboring poor and the reactionary lumpenproletariat no longer holds under the global conditions of contemporary exploitation" (p. 641).

The expansion of surplus humanity and the precariat presents a real challenge to the TCC. One, surplus humanity must be managed, super-controlled, and exploited, and two, any potential rebellion must be caged if it is not used in the political economy. At the same time, global capitalists seek ways to take advantage of the vast numbers of surplus humanity to develop new methods of accumulating more capital. Surplus humanity develops all kinds of survival strategies in the informal economy of global capitalism that may be exploited by capitalism. An ILO (2018) report shows that 2 billion people work informally, most of them in emerging and developing countries. The majority lack social protection, rights at work, and decent working conditions. Here I want to distinguish between primary and secondary exploitation. Primary exploitation refers to the exploitation in the capital–labor relation at the point of production of wealth, where capitalists directly appropriate from labor surplus value that is the source of profits. Surplus humanity cannot

be directly exploited, subject to primary exploitation. Instead, surplus humanity must enter the labor market to obtain their basic needs; food, clothing, water, and others. It is here, in the labor market, that secondary exploitation occurs. Secondary exploitation refers to the additional transfer of value (wealth) from workers (whether employed or unemployed) to capital beyond that transferred in the sphere of production, even though this value was initially produced through primary exploitation. For instance, renters must transfer wealth to landlords who play no part in producing that wealth to temporarily use a house or apartment. Corporate landlordism in many countries is becoming an important new outlet for surplus accumulated capital. However, above all, secondary exploitation occurs through the contraction of debt that must be paid back with interest (Robinson 2004). I suggest here, as a proposition to be fully developed in future research, that, in essence, debt is part of the larger global capitalist scheme to keep poor people, such as immigrants, racially oppressed communities, single mothers, the disabled, informal sector workers, and the un- and underemployed, in a poverty industry that turns poverty into profit.

In the larger picture, the global police state is the coercive wing of global capitalism and the TCC. It pushes forth direct repression, such as police and paramilitary violence against protesters, the imprisonment and policing of immigrants, hyper-incarceration, and war conflicts. However, it also is an instrument of structural violence to transfer wealth to the TCC and to impose oppressive discipline on the popular and working classes and surplus humanity worldwide. Dominant groups face the challenge of containing both the real and potential uprisings of surplus humanity and the popular classes. Greater discipline is needed for those outside the production process and made surplus and for those absorbed under the new global system of super-exploitation. This system means new arrangements of social control and enslavement. The arrangements of social control include caging the surplus populations in actual cages or using border walls, deportation systems, systems of hyper-incarceration, and geographical apartheid.

They also include the deadly new methods of policing and surveillance made possible by new waves of technologies brought forth by the Fourth Industrial revolution. How will the system control a vast surplus population pushed out of the productive economy, thrown into the margins, and subjected to a downward spiral of misery and destruction into what Robinson (2018: 187) calls "a mortal cycle of dispossession-exploitation-exclusion"? (Robinson 2004, 2014, 2020, 2022). To answer this question, we must delve into one of the mechanisms of social control often labeled by academics as hyper-incarceration.

Controlling Surplus Humanity and the Precariat Through the Global Police State

I focus here on Robinson's (2004, 2008, 2014, 2018, 2020) conception of globalization as an epochal shift in world capitalism dating back to the world economic crisis of the 1970s, followed by the restructuring that took shape in the following decades. As stated in Chapter 1, I apply this framework to draw out the links between global capitalism, hyper-incarceration, and the resistance from below. Robinson argues that global capitalism is in a qualitatively new epoch in the world capitalist system that involves the rise of truly transnational capital and the incorporation of every nation into a globally integrated production and finance system under the control of a new transnational capitalist class (TCC), a group grounded in new global markets and circuits of accumulation as opposed to national markets and circuits. The restructuring of global capitalism starting in the late twentieth century involved the emergence and expansion of transnational capital through a neoliberal counterrevolution that involved an offensive by the TCC against working-class communities around the globe (Harvey 2005; Robinson 2004). The TCC pursued free trade agreements and neoliberal policies that displaced millions around the world and generated vast pools of unemployed and underemployed people, including in the United States.

As stated in Chapter 1, capital responded to the crisis of the 1970s by going global, which allowed it to break free from the constraints of the nation-state, including state regulatory and

redistributive policies that in the past decades had somewhat offset the polarizing tendencies inherent in the capitalist system (Robinson 2004). The link between this restructuring of global capitalism since the 1970s and the generation of vast pools of surplus humanity and hyper-incarceration can be drawn out through Gramsci's concept of hegemony and his insistence on the unity of coercion and consent in capitalism. Hyper-incarceration has involved a vast expansion of the repressive apparatus of the state in unity with the production of consensus around criminalization and punitive punishment. Hegemony entails two forms of domination or power – coercive and consensual. According to Gramsci (1971), consent rests at the level of civil society and hence must be won there. In contrast, coercion rests at the level of the state, or what Gramsci referred to as political society. As discussed earlier on page 32 the restructuring of the 1980s and beyond came about in response to challenges to the hegemonic classes posed by mass upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, including anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movements. In the United States, civil rights movements developed into radical nationalist and clearly anti-capitalist movements, especially among racially oppressed communities. The response from the state was an escalation of repressive controls over these communities.

As global restructuring expanded the ranks of surplus humanity in the United States and around the world, systems of mass social control came together in hyper-incarceration. Robinson (2018) develops the concept of a global police state to draw out these linkages between the expansion of both precarious and informalized labor and surplus populations on the one hand, and systems of mass social control, including hyper-incarceration, on the other. The global police state refers to three interrelated developments in response to the crisis of global capitalism:

> First is the ever more omnipresent systems of mass social control, repression, and warfare promoted by the ruling groups to contain the real and the potential rebellion of the global working class and surplus humanity… Second is how the global economy is itself based more and more on the development and deployment of these systems of warfare, social control, and repression simply as a means of making profit and continuing to accumulate capital in the face of

> stagnation, what I term *militarized accumulation,* or *accumulation by repression*… And third is the increasing move towards political systems that can be characterized as twenty-first-century fascism, or even in a broader sense, as totalitarianism. (Robinson 2020:3–4)

The global police state mechanism has a dual function: to accumulate capital and social control. Accumulation and social control are achieved by the continued militarization of civil society, the militarization of police, which act as "security/body guards" to continue the global capitalist hegemonic agenda, and the application of weapons, tracking, security, policing, surveillance, and other mechanisms of social control. The result of these new mechanisms of social control through the global police state is a permanent warfare system against working and popular classes all across the globe. This permanent warfare system is deployed against racially oppressed, ethnically prosecuted, and vulnerable communities, as spaces of warfare open up in urban and rural communities all across the world. As seen through the global police state, our communities and global society are becoming what the Pentagon calls a "battlespace." A *battlespace* is a term used to signify a unified military strategy to integrate and combine armed forces and police for military operations, including air, information, land, sea, cyber, and outer space, to achieve military and social control goals. It includes the environment, factors, and conditions that must be understood to successfully apply combat power, protect the force, or complete the mission. The permanent war is waged against the global working class and surplus humanity. One of the main emphases of the global police state is the convergence of social control, oppression, and repression with the economic need for accumulation in the face of stagnation and overaccumulation (Robinson 2020). The TCC has searched for new outlets to unload overaccumulated capital. In Robinson's view, it has turned to sustaining accumulation through ever-rising levels of financial speculation, to the plunder of public finances, and to what he calls state-organized militarized accumulation, or accumulation by repression.

In this militarized accumulation or accumulation by repression, the TCC has acquired an interest and undertaken massive investments in war, conflict, and systems of repression as forms of accumulation. As Robinson (2017a) states, "as war and state-sponsored repression become increasingly privatized, the interests of a broad array of capitalist groups shift the political, social, and ideological climate towards generating and sustaining social conflict – such as in the Middle East – and in expanding systems of warfare, repression, surveillance, and social control" (p. 10). The wars on drugs, terrorism, and immigrant communities, as well as policies on gang injunctions (which mainly target poor Black and brown communities), border and containment walls, the prison industrial complex and police militarization and private security have all become major sources of accumulation. According to Robinson (2018), "there is the rise of vast surplus population ... pushed out of the productive economy, thrown into the margins, and subject to sophisticated systems of social control and to destruction, into a *mortal cycle of dispossession-exploitation-exclusion*" (p. 187). Here we focus on the rise of hyper-incarceration as a source of social control and accumulation for the top echelon of the TCC.

Before we delve into theorizing hyper-incarceration, let us first examine the warfare, policing, and caging of working classes, the lumpenproletariat, and surplus humanity into zones of uncertainty. They call these zones gray zones, which much of humanity is coming to populate. The global police state thrives and relies on gray zones. In these gray zones, we find the prison–industrial complex and the immigration–industrial complex, including repression and social control systems, mass surveillance, gang injunctions that repress youth, and omnipresent, militarized policing. "'High-intensity policing' and 'low-intensity warfare' threaten to merge," in Graham's (2010) words. He continues, "Western security and military doctrine is being rapidly reimagined in ways that dramatically blur the juridical and operational separation between policing, intelligence and the military; distinctions between war and peace; and those between local, national

and global operations" (p. xv). As part of the 1988 crime bill, Congress also created new grants called "Byrne grants" through the Justice Department's Justice Assistant Grant program. Over the next twenty years, Byrne grants would send billions of federal dollars to police departments across the country to fight "crime," giving rise to the beginning of militarized police, or so-called "warrior cops" (Balko 2014). Thus, gray zones have become spaces were militarized police do "battle" with working class communities. Megacities are the new battleground where the global police state is deployed and enclaved. Graham (2010) gives a perfect summary of how these megacities have become battle zones against the working class, the lumpenproletariat, and surplus humanity:

> Given the two-way movement of the exemplars of the new military urbanism between Western cities and those on colonial frontiers, fueled by the instinctive anti-urbanism of national security states, it is no surprise that cities in both domains are starting to display startling similarities. In both, hard, military style borders, fences and checkpoints around defended enclaves and 'security zones' superimposed on the wider and more open city, are proliferating. Jersey barrier blast walls, identity check-points, computerized CCTV, biometric surveillance and military styles of access control protect archipelagos of fortified social, economic, political or military centers from an outside deemed unruly, impoverished or dangerous. In the most extreme examples, these encompass green zones, military prisons, ethnic and sectarian neighborhoods and military bases; they are growing around strategic financial districts, embassies, tourist and consumption spaces, airport and port complexes, sports arenas, gated communities and export processing zones. (P. xxi)

Thus, the militarization of police and gray zones brings forth new sweeping criminalization methods that help expand the criminal injustice system, which, in turn, is a mechanism for the social control of those pushed to the margins. Moreover, incarceration serves the purpose of caging surplus humanity. According to Angela Davis (2003):

> The prison therefore functions ideologically as an abstract site into which undesirables are deposited, relieving us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. This is the ideological work that the prison performs – it relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism and, increasingly, global capitalism. (P. 16)

Davis's analysis of the United States shows how the imprisoned population comprises the poorest and most excluded sectors of the global working classes. In Arizona, for example, in 2010 the state announced plans for police officers to legally stop and frisk any person and ask about their legal status in the United States through the law SB 1070. This racist legislattion is one of many laws that target poor and immigrant communities. Its purpose is "to discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States" (State of Arizona 2010). In 2016, in the 58 most populous cities in California, there were 592 laws restricting standing, sitting, resting, sleeping, camping, panhandling, or food sharing for homeless people in public, and 781 laws restricting non-public spaces (Kandil 2018).

In sum, and to reiterate, the purpose of the global police state is to help the TCC accumulate vast amounts of capital and to exert social control over surplus populations. Surplus humanity cannot consume the commodities pushed out by the global market, and so, as their ranks grow, the problem of overaccumulation becomes a concern. Once people are pushed out to the ranks of surplus humanity, temporarily or permanently, the problem is how this population will be controlled. The system needs greater disciplinary methods for those stuck in the labor market, through precarious employment or super-exploitation, and for those expelled from this system. The entire global system becomes a surveillance tool to manage the global working class. We live in a new global order, managed by the few who repress the many. One of the mechanisms of repression and exploitation used to control surplus humanity is hyper-incarceration, a mechanism used since the global restructuring of the 1970s.

The Precariat and Surplus Humanity for Cash: Theorizing Hyper-Incarceration with a Class Analysis

During the restructuring of world capitalism in the 1970s, the prison population in the United States included less than 300,000 people under confinement. Today, the prison system holds almost 2 million people (Sawyer and Wagner 2022). In 2020, an estimated 5,500,600 persons

were under the supervision of adult correctional systems in the United States. About 1 in 47 adults (2.1%) were under some form of correctional supervision in that same year (Kluckow and Zeng 2022). This social control mechanism is known as mass incarceration or hyper-incarceration. Here, I use the term hyper-incarceration, as opposed to mass incarceration. Hyper-incarceration denotes that not all US residents are subject to arrest and incarceration; instead, it is the relative surplus population, usually restricted to the poor urban inner city and to mainly racialized communities, who are regularly policed and imprisoned (Waquant 2009). According to Cedric Johnson (2022a), "rather than a system where all Americans are subject to arrest and incarceration, it is the relative surplus population, often confined to the ghettoized zones of the inner city, blighted inner-ring suburbs, and depopulated Rust Belt towns, who are routinely policed and imprisoned" (p. 49). When the United States prison population peaked in 2009 (The Sentencing Project 2022), more than half of the caged persons did not hold a full-time job at the time of their arrest (Murakawa 2014), and two-thirds came from households whose annual income amounted to less than half of the poverty line (Hollman et al. 2009).

As the literature on the United States criminal injustice system continues to grow in social justice circles, organizations, and academia, it is disappointing see very little class-based analysis that adequately explains hyper-incarceration. The most sought out text continues to be Michelle Alexander's (2010) *The New Jim Crow*, an NAACP Image Award–winning book. Alexander shows how the "war on drugs," perpetuated by political, media, and corporate elites, has been a racist mechanism for the mass caging of Black and brown people. However, her analysis is limited, as it does not address the link between the New Jim Crow and global capitalism. Alexander completely rejects any Marxist analysis by arguing that hyper-incarceration has nothing to do with the political economy and more with racial domination. Mass incarceration – Alexander approaches the matter of mass incarceration through the lens of race reductionism – "defines the meaning of blackness

in America: black people, especially black men, are criminals. That is what it means to be black" (p. 197). As numerous authors have pointed out, Alexander's work fails to account for many aspects of incarceration (Camp 2016; Johnson 2022a). For one, she is right to point out that Black and brown communities have disproportionately been affected by incarceration, policing, and criminalization. However, Alexander diminishes the extent to which this system of mass social control has targeted poor white, Latino, and Indigenous communities. Let us look at police shootings as an example. Since 2015, the *Washington post* began to log every fatal shooting by an on-duty police officer in the United States. In that time, there have been more than 5,000 shootings. The available data indicate that Black people make up a large percentage of those killed by police, nearly double their share of the general American population. In addition, Latinos are killed by police at a rate roughly equivalent to their incidence in the general population and whites are killed by police at a rate between just under three-fourths (through the first half of 2016) and just under four-fifths (2015) of their share of the general population. However, when we step away from focusing on racial disproportionality, the fact is that white people are roughly half of all those killed annually by police. Even if we did focus on the disproportionality of police shootings by race, it is shameful to forget that Indigenous communities have higher rates of police shootings than Black, brown, and white people combined (The Washington Post 2022).

Thus, we must move beyond race reductionism or just using race as a construct to explain social injustices, including mass incarceration. Race reductionism presumes that race is a category that can explain material inequality and that every grievance, injustice, or *pleito* (beef) that affects a person of color, or a person of non-color, can be reduced to race or can be reduced causally to race or racism (Reed 2020). In the case of hyper-incarceration, James Forman (2012) argues "that despite these important contributions, the Jim Crow analogy leads to a distorted view of mass incarceration." He continues, "the analogy presents an incomplete account of mass incarceration's

historical origins, fails to consider black attitudes toward crime and punishment, ignores violent crimes while focusing almost exclusively on drug crimes, obscures class distinctions within the African American community, and overlooks the effects of mass incarceration on other racial groups" (p. 101). In fact, while the system continues to disproportionately affect "people of color" here in the United States, there has still been progression among global Black elites who benefit from the system of global capitalism. As Cedric Johnson notes, cited in Jay (2020), "we went from the majority of black people living in poverty in the 1950s down to about a quarter now, and that's significant. It is still a problem, black people are still disproportionately poor, but there's still been substantial progress." Nevertheless, numerically, mass incarceration has not been characterized by rising racial disparities in punishment but by rising *class* disparity. For example, the incarceration rate among those with less than a high school education has skyrocketed among both Black and white communities. In contrast, the incarceration rate among college graduates (both Black and white) has declined (Clegg and Usmani 2019).

Alexander is correct in pointing out that law and order, the war on crime, and the "war on drugs" rhetoric were pushed by politicians to exert social control over populations. However, dominant literature, like Alexander's discourse, assumes that Black elected officials and constituents oppose policies and laws that contributed to mass incarceration and policing. The inadequacy of the New Jim Crow analogy becomes more apparent when we consider that it is not only white people who have supported laws and policies that criminalized poor communities but communities of all races. In addition, Clegg and Usmani (2019) argue that African Americans are overrepresented in crime [and incarceration, policing] because they are more likely to live in America's worst neighborhoods, at the bottom of its stretched class structure, with few opportunities to escape, and few public resources available for upward mobility, a perfect population to super-exploit and control, which is an analysis missing from Alexander's work.

Going off this critique, *The New Jim Crow* fails to incorporate the historical political-economic shifts holistically and pushes for a racial reductionist analysis of mass incarceration without highlighting how capitalism contributes to the incarceration of not just 'people of color" but surplus humanity. "Mass incarceration," Alexander writes, "like Jim Crow, helps to define the meaning and significance of race in America" (p. 18). In contrast to her approach, I argue that hyper-incarceration cannot be analyzed outside the global political-economic system but must be understood as a byproduct of capitalism.

Sociologist Loïc Wacquant has also dismissed Marxism and a class-based approach to hyper-incarceration. Wacquant (2001, 2009) has shown how the unemployed and underemployed are concentrated in what he terms the "hyperghetto" and how they contribute to the economic cycle of the prison industrial complex. With high unemployment rates in poor working-class communities, people are pushed into the informal economy – economic activities that are not regulated or protected by the state – such as through selling drugs, informal food sales, and services, to name a few. This informal economic way of living is then hyper-policed and hyper-criminalized in these communities. Like Alexander, Wacquant reifies and mischaracterizes America's racial dynamics, causing him to simplify mass incarceration. Wacquant ignores the roles different racial groups have played in supporting anti-crime measures and dismisses the importance of rising crime rates in the 1970s, choosing to present mass incarceration as a "peculiar institution [which] has successfully operated to define, confine, and control African-Americans in the history of the United States" (Wacquant 2002:41), again a racial reductionist approach. Wacquant fails to highlight the exploitation processes of incarceration and its link to the global capitalist system. The system needs an abundant supply of human labor that is stuck in the margins and that serves as a reserve supply of manual and flexible labor. This labor pool must be marginalized, controlled, caged, and exiled when not needed. Those from the poor majority, or

surplus humanity, those not drawn into the hegemonic project, either through material rewards or ideological and political co-optation, face vast new systems of coercive containment and exclusion. We now begin to see more clearly the link between capitalist globalization and hyper-incarceration. I suggest that one dimension of the global police state is the incarceration system, which entraps surplus humanity and the lumpenproletariat in a deadly embrace through ongoing criminalization and exclusion from the labor market. Here we will push forth a Marxist approach, which entails a concrete historical analysis of the criminal injustice system's political-economic system.

Let us first look at how hyper-incarceration must be linked to the state's repression of radical movements. Hyper-incarceration in the United States has developed as part and parcel of capitalist globalization. Imprisonment and the criminalization of surplus humanity have been essential tactics in the government's attempt to repress radical working-class movements dating back to the restructuring of the 1970s and onward. Indeed, contemporary broken windows policing, criminalization, and repression emerged as an attempt by the dominant classes to combat working-class militant groups (Jay and Conklin 2017). For this link, we turn to Christian Parenti (2009). In *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*, he argues, "to really understand America's incarceration binge and criminal justice crackdown, we need to move from a narrow interest-group-based model to a more holistic class analysis that looks at the need of the class system and class society in general" (p. 238). Capitalism has always created surplus populations or surplus humanity. In addition, capitalist societies have continuously developed specific and unique combinations of co-optation, amelioration, and repression to reproduce the class structure and deal with the contradictions of poverty and inequality. Parenti (2008) highlights these historical mechanisms of social control:

> In the nineteenth century in the US, westward expansion offered a way of harnessing and alleviating the social pressure of poverty; racism directed other pressures, and whatever class struggle was left over was managed with bayonets. Early in the post- war era, profits were high enough to afford an ameliorative

> compromise: capital bought relative peace with labor in the form of an incipient welfare state and cooperation with organized labor. And in Europe, working class power, democratic political structures, and a cultural ethos of reform have maintained many strong welfare states. But in the US, the international crisis of over-production, declining profits, and the domestic challenge of racial and class rebellion required a move away from a politics of the carrot towards a politics of the stick.

Thus, to exert militant social control over anti-capitalist movements in the United States, a global police state emerged. So, as we will see in the coming chapters, hyper-incarceration is one of the many mechanisms for disciplining and caging surplus humanity. As capitalism polarizes in order to restore profitability, the state must deploy and justify police terror, increase surveillance, and build a system of hyper-incarceration. The criminal injustice crackdown, the war on poverty of the 1970s, and the ensuing reforms absorbed the "dangerous classes" or surplus populations of the 1970s and continue to cage the vast majority of poor people.

Hyper-incarceration, thus, is one of the many mechanisms for disciplining the working class and containing surplus humanity. In *Capital*, Marx (1867) shows how the accumulation of capital logically necessitates the perpetual production of a relative surplus population pushed out of the production process. He writes:

> But in fact, it is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in the direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of laborer, i.e., a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital, and therefore a surplus-population. The laboring population therefore produces, along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which itself is made relatively superfluous, is turned into a relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent. This is a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production; and in fact every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population, historically valid within its limits alone (p. 422).

For centuries, the criminalization of this surplus population has been one way in which the working class has been divided, creating a massive distinction between the employed and the criminalized factions of surplus humanity. In the larger picture, surplus humanity is crucial to global capitalism as it places downward pressure on wages worldwide and allows transnational

capital to impose discipline over employed people. On the one hand, upheavals, spontaneous uprisings, and organized political movements among people that are under- and unemployed pose a likely threat to the system and must be controlled and contained. Thus, criminalization, hyper-incarceration, and the militarized control of surplus humanity are significant mechanisms of containment. On the other hand, the state responds to surplus humanity not with expanded welfare programs and protection, which would cost less, I might add, but with abandonment and repressive mechanisms of social control and containment strategies, which include racialized criminalization, policing, and dehumanization.

Restructuring Hegemony Through a Global Police State: The Invention of the Criminal to Contain Surplus Humanity

Restructuring of global capitalism has involved a vast expansion of the repressive apparatuses coming from the state in unity with the production of consensus around criminalization and punitive punishment. Hegemony ultimately serves the social conditions for the reproduction of capitalism. As delineatd earlier (p32, p55), Gramsci outlines two forms of domination or power – coercive and consensual. According to Gramsci (1971), consent rests at the level of civil society and hence must be won there. In contrast, coercion rests at the state's level, or what Gramsci refers to as a *political society*. The restructuring of the 1970s, and onward, came about in response to the challenges to the hegemonic classes posed by the mass upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, including anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movements. The crisis of hegemony of the 1960s and 1970s, as I have shown above, was "fixed" by the global restructuring of capitalism. In addition, this resolution also involved the restructuring of political, cultural, and ideological systems. There was a shift from consensual forms of domination to more coercive forms of domination and social control, including policing and penal systems. In the United States, the civil rights movements developed into radical nationalist and clearly anti-capitalist movements, especially among racially oppressed communities (Camp 2016; Davis 2003).

In the wake of the 1960s worldwide rebellions and the 1970s crisis of world capitalism, emerging transnational elites launched capitalist globalization as a project to break resistance worldwide, regenerate global accumulation, and reconstitute their lost hegemony (Robinson 2004, 2014). Capitalist globalization brought an unprecedented expansion of the ranks of surplus labor, which in the United States has been drawn disproportionately from racialized and/or oppressed communities. This surplus humanity has come to constitute the raw material for mass caging and for the exercise of other forms of social control carried out by an expanding global police state (Gilmore 2007, 2018; Robinson 2020). Thus, the state's response to the 1960s' worldwide rebellions and the 1970s' crisis of world capitalism was an escalation of repressive controls over poor communities, including hyper-incarceration.

In the United States, the right-wing offensive involved the expansion of the global police state and the prison–industrial complex legitimated by the "law and order" campaigns that were eventually subsumed under the "war on drugs," which was launched all-out in the 1980s by the Reagan administration as a coercive force by the state. Here we move on to Stuart Hall and his colleagues' classical 1978 study called *Policing the Crisis*. Stuart Hall et al. (2013) show how the restructuring of capitalism in response to the crisis in the 1970s led to an "exceptional state" in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The exceptional state is characterized by an ongoing disintegration of consensual mechanisms of social control and an increasing system of authoritarianism. Here, the authors highlight the highly racialized nature of policing and the criminalization of Black and immigrant communities. In addition, the authors deconstruct the complex ideological process of manufacturing the criminalization of surplus populations in function with state-sanctioned social control mechanisms like "law and order" rhetoric, policies, and deviance ideologies. The restructuring of capitalism in the United States in the 1970s shows these exact parallels. In particular, we see the ideological and cultural manufacturing of the

"criminal" followed by its legitimation by poor and dominant classes alike, through a discourse of criminalization as a process of racial and ethnic displacement of social tensions in times of crisis. Thus, in the aftermath of the civil rights movements, Black liberation struggles, and massive upheavals of the 1970s, dominant groups in the United States promoted systematic cultural and ideological "law and order" operations as a way to legitimize the shift from social welfare to a militarized social control system. Moreover, these mechanisms gave birth to the prison–industrial complex – which, as Angela Davis (1995) argues, describes a multibillion-dollar prison-building boom in California and elsewhere that "rivals agribusiness as the dominant force in the life of rural California and competes with land developers as the chief seducer of legislators in Sacramento." Angela Davis (2003) describes the prison–industrial complex, noting that "as the U.S. prison system expanded, so did corporate involvement in construction, provision of goods and services, and use of prison labor. Because of the extent to which prison building and operation began to attract vast amounts of capital…we began to refer to a 'prison industrial complex'" (p. 12). The "law and order" campaign brought forth the restructuring and enforcement of racial hierarchies and a hegemonic social order in the wake of the uprisings of the 1960s.

Thus, "crime" and "law and order" have been essential frameworks for the neutralizing and caging of surplus humanity. Ideological apparatuses are put in place by the ruling groups to contain surplus humanity through criminalization, as is the case with gang injunctions, the racialized criminalization and policing of poor communities enclaved in the poor neighborhoods, and anti-immigrant sentiment. Alexander (2010) notes that a huge majority in the United States did not identify drugs as a significant problem in the early 1980s. But from the 1970s and on, in response to the mass rebellions, the dominant groups promoted ideological "law and order" campaigns to legitimize the restructuring of the capitalist state, the taming of radical social upsurges, and the repression and caging of surplus populations. The prison–industrial complex

was fueled by what Cohen (1972) calls moral panics – a public panic over an issue deemed to be a threat, or frightful to the "normal" population's sensibilities. But which problems are perceived as threatening to the social order or dominant groups? Hall et al. (2013) state, "to put it crudely, the 'moral panic' appears…to be one of the principal forms of ideological consciousness by means of which a 'silent majority' is won over to the support of increasingly coercive measures on the part of the state, and lends its legitimacy to a 'more than usual' exercise of control" (p. 218). They go on to observe,

> There are indeed in the latter stages a 'mapping together' of moral panics into a general panic about social order…the social control apparatuses and the media to the possibility of general threat to the stability of the state. Minor forms of dissent seem to provide the basis of 'scapegoat' events for a jumpy and alerted control culture; and this progressively pushes the state apparatus into a more or less permanent control posture. (P. 219)

The conservative campaign against radical movements and surplus humanity developed what we currently know as the "war on drugs," launched in October 1982, which has expanded to a global level and facilitated the process of hyper-incarceration. This process coincides with an unprecedented surge in Latino immigration – the importance of this will be made clear in Chapter 3, where we will see the criminalization and displacement of surplus humanity. Among the studies on the rise of the prison–industrial complex in the United States is Ruth Wilson Gilmore's (2007) work titled the *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California.* Here she shows how the global political economy played an important role in California's massive prison boom. Coercive control in the United States involved the rise of the prison industrial complex through what Gilmore (1998/1999:183) calls post-Keynesian militarism: "under crisis conditions ... the state rebuilt itself by building prisons fashioned from surpluses that the emergent post-golden-age political economy was not absorbing in other ways"; coercive control also gave global capitalism the opportunity to cage, exile, and repress working-class communities. At the same time, the political consensus in the United States called for an all-out offensive to expand policing

and to enact and legitimize laws and policies targeting certain populations through campaigns for "law and order." As Gilmore (1998/1999:174) suggests, "The expansion of prison constitutes a geographical solution to socio-economic problems, politically organized by the state which is itself in the process of radical restructuring. This view brings the complexities and contradictions of globalization home, by showing how already existing social, political, and economic relations constitute the conditions of possibility for ways to solve major problems." The economic crises of the 1970s resulted in chronically unemployed surplus populations left behind as manufacturing jobs disappeared, in surplus finance capital in need of new investments, in surplus land as the farming industry took a number of hits including a major drought in the late 1970s, and in surplus state capital as the military Keynesian state form lost legitimacy. Gilmore (2007) shows the correlation between the expansion of unemployment or the relative surplus population and the massive increase in the prison population, emphasizing, however, that this caged population has grown more rapidly than has unemployment.

Gilmore (2007) notes that about a million people in California, perhaps the epicenter of hyper-incarceration, most of them Black and Latinos, were locked into isolated enclaves by virtue of being locked out elsewhere as capital reconstructing proceeded from the 1970s and onward. "In the rubble of extensive restructuring," she notes, "individuals and families have developed alternative modes of social reproduction, given their utter abandonment by capital. These modes include informal economic structures for the exchange of illegal and legal goods and services; social parenting, especially by women, in extended families of biological and fictive kin; and the redivision of urban space into units controlled by street organizations" (p. 74). The criminalization of these forms of social reproduction is not a coincidence, and as Graham (2010) points out, these urban spaces have become militarized warzones under the total and violent control of the state's repressive apparatuses. "African-American neighbourhoods are usually cast as pathological places

inhabited by non-white criminals, drug dealers and threatening Others," notes Graham (2010:35). These populations are widely portrayed as shadowy and monstrous, lurking beyond the normalized, mainly white and prosperous exurban and suburban fringe. Although largely invisible in such locales, they nonetheless pose a threat, and thus create a perceived need for a massive ratcheting-up of fortification, militarization, securitization, and access control to generate feelings of security among the white elites or middle class (p. 45). Thus, prisons were used to exercise social control over these surplus populations. As Gilmore (2007) notes, "prisons are partial geographical solutions to political economic crises, organized by the state, which is itself in crisis" (p. 26).

The California state captive population grew nearly 500 percent between 1982 and 2000, even though the crime rate peaked in 1980 and steadily declined afterward. As of 2018, Black and Latino people comprise over 70 percent of the about 130,000 captives; almost 6,000 are women with 70 percent being Black and Latina in California (CDCR 2019). Since 1984, California has built twenty-three major prisons, at a cost of $280–$350 million each. Previously, the state had built only twelve prisons between 1852 and 1964. The state racked up an impressive 1,200 new pieces of legislation, including "three strikes" laws, mandatory minimums, and "gang injunctions" – these latter policies are directed against youth of Black and brown communities, and I will expand on them in Chapter 3.

As capital went global, as already noted above, the restructuring expanded the ranks of surplus humanity in the US and worldwide. The TCC has searched for new outlets to unload its overaccumulated capital. One is turbulent financial speculation in the global financial casino. Financial speculation refers to the act of conducting a financial transaction that has a substantial risk of losing value but also holds the expectation of a significant gain. With speculation, the risk of loss is more than offset by the possibility of a substantial gain or another recompense. The TCC

has turned to investing in financial instruments over new production circuits. Thus, fictitious capital, or money that is thrown into circulation as capital without any material basis in commodities or productive activity, now exceeds the real output of material goods and services. Fictitious capital is value, in the form of credit, shares, debt, speculation, and various forms of paper money, above and beyond what can be realized in the form of commodities. A second outlet for the TCC's overaccumulated capital is through an ever-rising level of financial speculation to the plunder of public finances. According to Robinson and Baker (2019), "predatory transnational finance capital extracts ever-greater amounts of surplus value from labor via public finances recycled as bailouts, subsidies and the issuance of bonds. Capitalist state finance has reconfigured, reduced, or even eliminated the state's role in social reproduction and expanded its role in facilitating transnational capital accumulation" (p. 4). Finally, there is *militarized accumulation and accumulation by repression*, as the TCC acquired a vested interest in war, conflict, and the repression of poor communities as a means of profiting and accumulating capital. The massive investment in policing provided capitalists with the means to control poor communities, and, as Stephen Graham (2010) states in *Cities under Siege*, the structures and processes of permanent militarized social control systems and warfare constitute a global project by the capitalist class, including local and national police. All three outlets keep the global economy from further stagnation but have further aggravated inequalities, overaccumulation, and political conflict as the social fabric collapses worldwide. Here I want to focus on the militarized accumulation as it is directly linked to the social control mechanisms of the criminal injustice system, specifically hyper-incarceration.

In this militarized accumulation, the TCC has acquired an interest and has undertaken massive investment in war, conflict, and repression systems as forms of accumulation. As Robinson (2017a) states, "as war and state-sponsored repression become increasingly privatized, the interests of a broad array of capitalist groups shift the political, social, and ideological climate

towards generating and sustaining social conflict – such as in the Middle East – and in expanding systems of warfare, repression, surveillance, and social control" (p. 10). The wars on drugs and terrorism, assaults on immigrant communities, gang injunctions (which almost exclusively target poor Black and brown communities), the construction of border and containment walls, the prison–industrial complex, the militarization of police, and the spread of private security have all become significant sources of accumulation. But who is the target of these social control mechanisms of militarized accumulation? According to Robinson (2018), "there is the rise of vast surplus population…pushed out of the productive economy, thrown into the margins, and subject to sophisticated systems of social control and destruction, into a *mortal cycle of dispossession-exploitation-exclusion*" (p. 187). I will focus on this militarized accumulation in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

War against Surplus Humanity: The Spatial Social Control of Poor Communities through *Militarized Accumulation* or *Accumulation by Repression*

> The militarization of cities, politics, and culture in such countries as the United States, Israel, and South Africa, the spread of neo-fascist movements in North America, Latin America, India, and Europe, the rise of authoritarian regimes in Turkey, the Philippines, Honduras, and elsewhere, are inseparable from these countries' entanglement in webs of global wars and militarized global accumulation, or a global war economy.
>
> – William I. Robinson (2020), *The Global Police State*

> The massive global proliferation of deeply technophilic state surveillance projects like the e-Border program signals the startling militarization of civil society – the extension of military ideas of tracking, identification and targeting into the quotidian spaces and circulations of everyday life. Indeed, projects like this one are more than a state's responses to changing security threats. Rather, in a world marked by globalization and increasing urbanization, they represent dramatic attempts to translate long-standing military dreams of high-tech omniscience and rationality into the governance of urban civil society.
>
> – Stephen Graham (2010), *Cities Under Siege*

In November 2022, I was reading the National Public Radio website (NPR) and was appalled by what I was seeing. For decades, law enforcement has used robots to investigate suspicious packages and defuse bomb threats. Now, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors is considering a policy proposal allowing the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) to use robots as a deadly force against suspected individuals. In Los Angeles, robot police dogs may be let loose to patrol the streets. After a 4-1 vote on January 24, 2023, the Public Safety Committee approved the donation of a robotic "unmanned ground vehicle" – commonly known as a "robot dog" – to the Los Angeles Police Department's Metropolitan Division. The private donation from the Los Angeles Police Foundation must now gain approval from the city council. Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966), in their classic book *Monopoly Capitalism: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*, argue that in order to accumulate vast amounts of profits, the capitalist system needs

increasing levels of military spending. They write, "here at last monopoly capitalism had seemingly found the answer to the 'on what' question," concerning the billions of dollars spent by the Pentagon budget, they then continue, "on what could the government spend enough to keep the system from sinking into the mire of stagnation? On arms, more arms, and ever more arms" (p. 213). Military Keynesianism emerged from the deep structural crises of the Great Depression with the expansion of military spending to offset stagnation in the capitalist economy. In the same way, Keynesianism became a capitalist project to create demand and stimulate the economy. President of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower first used the term *military–industrial complex* in his farewell address to the nation on January 17, 1961, stating that "this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry" is emerging as the dominant force in United States politics.

Decades later, revisiting this relationship between militarization and global capitalism is essential. Thus, it is important to return to military Keynesianism, which refers to an economic policy based on the position that government should increase military spending to boost economic growth. In addition, military Keynesianism refers to the purchase by the state of weapons and military equipment from industrial contractors as a subsidy to private capital. In recent years, there has been extensive militarization of the global economy and communities around the globe. War is profit. General Smedley D. Butler (2021) discusses in his book *War is Racket* how business interests commercially benefit through war profiteering from warfare. He states that war "is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives" (p. 11). All wars are for the accumulation of capital; beyond being outright devastating, wars are for the development, defense, and reproduction of the social relations under which profit accumulation can be generated by some groups while others are immiserated. What requires

analysis is the mode of this accumulation through warfare, violence, and appropriation, followed by the role it plays within the global political economy. Here we use what Robinson (2020) calls *militarized accumulation* and *accumulation by repression.*

I want to give credit to Professor William I. Robinson and his book *The Global Police State* for the following analysis on the welfare to warfare shift in society. Militarized accumulation does not mean that the old style of military Keynesianism ceases to exist; on the contrary, it is still in place, but instead, militarized accumulation refers to the broader role it has in generating war, repression, and mechanisms of social control as they move to the center of the global political economy. Systems of social control have existed since the birth of capitalism. However, today transnational mechanisms of domination, especially against the working and popular classes, have emerged within the global police state. Mass incarceration; immigration and deportation centers; gang injunctions; refugee control camps; the construction of border walls; digital surveillance; policing poor communities including homelessness; immigrants; and homies[1]; death squads; paramilitary and private armies; and private security, among others, are all sources of profit-making that have helped outweigh the burden of overaccumulation. As capital stagnates and is uninvested in the global market, tremendous pressures build up to find outlets for unloading the excess capital. Here we see a convergence between global capitalism's political need for social control and the suppression of surplus humanity and its economic need to perpetuate accumulation in the face of stagnation. Omnipresent systems of social control and repression can only sustain global inequalities. Additionally, the transnational capitalist class (TCC) has acquired a vested interest in war, conflict, and suppression to accumulate capital. The privatization of state-sponsored violence

[1] I use the term homie or homies instead of "gang" or "gang member," first cited by Juan Flores (2021), as it humanizes members of a specific community, neighborhood, or barrio. Unfortunately, terms like "gangs" and "gang members" have been tainted by mainstream media as these concepts are often associated with incarceration, drugs, violence, and crime.

and war has helped capitalist groups transform the political, social, and ideological climate towards generating and sustaining social conflict – such as in the US-sponsored Russian–Ukrainian war, the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, and others – and in expanding systems of warfare, repression, surveillance, and social control.

The rise of a global police state involves a stronger relationship between global capitalism and the state. A key mechanism here is the new ways that blend vital sectors of the global economy around militarized accumulation. This huge nexus of transnational capital relies intensely on a global war economy that also depends on the perpetuation of state-organized war-making, social control, and suppression. Let us glance at the Joe Biden–Kamala Harris administration to see these dynamics at work. Private prison corporations like the GEO Group, CoreCivic, LaSalle Corrections, and the Management and Training Corporation (MTC) own or operate facilities that hold an overwhelming majority of detained people for Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Under the Trump administration, 81 percent of people detained daily in January 2020 were held in facilities owned or operated by private prison corporations. This number remains virtually unchanged under the Biden administration. As of September 2021, 79 percent of people detained daily in ICE custody are detained in private detention facilities (Cho 2021). Military contractors such as Leonardo SpA, Elbit Systems Ltd, Rheinmetall AG, Raytheon Technologies Corp, Thales SA, BAE Systems pic, and Lockheed Martin Corporation saw their stocks skyrocket in their share value in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. Within days of the invasion, Raytheon Technologies, the US defense giant and maker of the Stinger ground-to-air missile that Germany supplies to Ukrainian forces, has seen its share price increase more than 10 percent since the invasion began last February. The share value of Lockheed Martin, the maker of the F-35 fighter jet, spiked 5.4 percent. The company, along with Raytheon, manufactures the Patriot missile defense system, a missile system that was promised to Ukraine (Helmore 2022). In

2022, Biden signed off on a $29 billion spending increase to his request for the fiscal year 2022 national defense budget, a massive expansion approved alongside another $13.6 billion in emergency military "aid" to Ukraine. The national defense total in the 2022 omnibus spending bill is $782 billion, a 3.9 percent increase over the administration's request for 2022 and a 5.6 percent increase over the 2021 appropriations. On March 28, 2022, the Biden–Harris Administration submitted to Congress a proposed Fiscal Year (FY) 2023 Budget request of $813.3 billion for national defense, $773.0 billion of which is for the Department of Defense (DoD) (Austin III 2022).

The farcical war on terrorism and drugs, the anti-immigrant rhetoric and policing of undocumented immigrants, refugees and survivors from war, and homies (often coming from poor working-class communities), and the continued search for war conflict around the globe all generate vast amounts of profit through militarization and repression. Here we do not want to lose sight of the structural dimensions driving militarized accumulation. However, I want to highlight that the TCC, its political agents, and state officials must commodify more and more spheres of global society. Capitalism requires commodification and the continued expansion and integration of every sphere of social, political, and economic life, including war, conflict, and repression. In the face of stagnation and overaccumulation, the capitalist must develop systems of social control to contain and stop any potential rebellion from the global working classes and surplus humanity. Thus, militarized accumulation forcefully opens up opportunities for capital accumulation worldwide. Hence, generating war and repressing social movements and surplus humanity worldwide becomes an accumulation strategy that is linked with political objectives.

Robinson (2020) argues that the September 11, 2001, attacks were the central turning point in the construction of the global police state. This event marks the beginning of a permanent war system of accumulation. Professor of Climate Justice at the University of British Columbia Naomi

Klein (2007) coined the term "disaster capitalism" in reference to the economic opportunities for corporations created by major catastrophes. Disaster capitalism occurs when private interests descend on a particular region due to major destabilizing events, such as war, government upheavals, and natural disasters. Klein (2007) observes,

> The Bush administration immediately seized upon the fear generated by the attacks not only to launch the 'War on Terror' but to ensure that it is an almost completely for-profit venture, a booming new industry that has breathed new life into the faltering U.S. economy. Best understood as a 'disaster capitalism complex,' it has much farther-reaching tentacles than the military-industrial complex that Dwight Eisenhower warned against at the end of his presidency: this is global war fought on every level by private companies whose involvement is paid for with public money, with the unending mandate of protecting the United States homeland in perpetuity while eliminating all 'evil' abroad. In only a few short years, the complex has already expanded its market reach from fighting terrorism to international peacekeeping, to municipal policing, to responding to increasingly frequent natural disasters. The ultimate goal for the corporations at the center of the complex is to bring the model of for-profit government, which advances so rapidly in extraordinary circumstances, into the ordinary and day-to-day functioning of the state – in effect, to privatize the government. (P. 14)

Now disaster capitalism appears to correlate with the logic of militarized accumulation. Permanent war involves cycles of destruction and reconstruction, each phase developing new ways of accumulation. Let us now delve into the vast amount of capital invested into the war economy. Robinson (2017c) states that the Pentagon budget increased 91 percent between 1998 and 2001. In addition, from 2001 to 2011, just as the "war on terror" was getting started, the defense industry's profits quadrupled. The defense system grew 50 percent from 2006 to 2015, from $1.4 trillion to $2.03 trillion worldwide. In addition, according to the Homeland Security Research Corporation, the market in homeland security reached $433 billion in 2022 and is expected to climb to $658 billion by 2026 (CISION PR Newswire 2022). The United States has spent $21 trillion on foreign and domestic militarization since the 2001 attacks (O'Connor 2021) and has killed some four million people (Ahmed 2016). Thus, as these vast amounts of military spending flow through the global political economy – that is, as the integrated structures of global

production, states and services, political and state systems, and global markets interweave with financial systems – it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish and lines become blurred between military and non-military dimensions of a global permanent war economy.

The United States, for decades now, has remained one of the most potent military states in the world, and its intervention beyond borders has drastically increased in the past decades. However, our understanding of US intervention and imperialism as a whole must move beyond the scope of nation-states competing for resources and hegemonic power, conflicts between core capitalist powers, the exploitation of peripheral regions, and a nation-state-centered framework for analysis of global processes. Rather, US intervention and current trends of imperialism should be seen as instruments of global capitalism through which surplus humanity is contained, controlled, and suppressed. At the same time, the world is further opened to the TCC and corporate domination. Robinson (2018, 2014, 2007) highlights in his work *Beyond the Theory of Imperialism* that the role of the United States in the global police state must be understood in relation to the TCC and corporations' need for constant accumulation beyond nation-state borders. He states, "it is not imperialism in the old sense either of rival national capitals or conquest by core states of precapitalist regions (p. 121)" Instead, he asserts that "we need a *theory of capitalist expansion* – of the political processes and the institutions through which such expansion takes place and the class relations and spatial dynamics it involves" (Robinson 2018:121). As the most potent transnational state (TNS), the United States nation-state attempts to defend the economic and political interests of transnational capital and the overall system of global capitalism. Global military expansion led by the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) "serves to protect power elite capital investments around the world," states Phillip (2018: 228). He continues, "wars, regime changes, and occupations performed by military and intelligence agencies remain in service to investors' access to natural resources, free flow of capital, debt

collection, and speculative advantages in the world marketplace" (p. 228). At the beginning of the 2023 fiscal year, the United States and Germany, a long-lasting member of NATO, assured their commitment to the ongoing Russia–Ukraine conflict by stating that they would arm Ukraine with dozens of heavy tanks (Al Jazeera 2023a). The global war economy is one aspect of the global police state in a macro-level analysis. Next, we will discuss new sweeping criminalization methods that have helped expand the criminal injustice system, which, in turn, is a mechanism for the social control of surplus humanity.

"Define a 'Criminal'?"
Criminalization and Militarized Accumulation

As I have already discussed in Chapter 2, criminalization is a method of facilitating the repression and social control of surplus humanity. In addition, the ideology of criminalization is also a mechanism the state uses to create new circuits of accumulation and maximize private profit (Reiman and Leighton 2020). Therefore, criminalization can also be defined as an aspect of accumulation through repression (Robinson 2020). This type of criminalization activates "legitimate" state repression to enforce capital accumulation, including institutionalization through the coercive apparatuses of the state's diverse mechanisms of secondary exploitation. In turn, the state turns to private capital to carry out repression against those criminalized.

Led by the United States, there has been an increase in the imprisonment of surplus populations across the globe, a mechanism of social control known as hyper-incarceration. In February 2023, El Salvador opened one of the largest prisons in central and Latin America, which houses more than 40,000 people, as part of the government's promise to crack down on "criminal gangs" activity in the nation (Reuters 2023). In 2008, the United States, Mexico, and other nations began a policy agreement called the Mérida Initiative. The Mérida Initiative, also known as Plan Mexico, is a security cooperation agreement that aims to combat the threats of drug trafficking, transnational organized crime, and money laundering. The assistance includes training, equipment,

and intelligence. However, beyond this "aid," which has done little to stop drug trafficking, transnational organized crime, and money laundering, among other things, the initiative also funded prison guard training, facilitated the militarization of Mexico's forces, and secured funding for federal prison building, allowing for an increase from five facilities that house 3,500 people to fourteen facilities that house 20,000 people (Paley 2014). Around the world, there are over 11.5 million incarcerated people. There are more than 2 million people incarcerated in the United States, 1.69 million in China (plus unknown numbers in pre-trial detention and other forms of detention), 811,000 in Brazil, 478,000 in India, 471,000 in the Russian Federation, 309,000 in Thailand, 291,000 in Turkey, 266,000 in Indonesia, 220,000 in Mexico, 189,000 in Iran, and 165,000 in the Philippines (Fair and Walmsley 2021). Overall, the prison population has dramatically increased worldwide. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the total number of captives worldwide has increased slightly more slowly (24%) than the estimated general population over the same period (28%). The total prison population in Oceania has increased by 82%, that in the Americas by 43%, that in Asia by 38%, and that in Africa by 32%; in Europe, by contrast, the total prison population has decreased by 27%. The European figure reflects significant falls in prison populations in Russia (56%) and central and eastern Europe (49%); the prison population in Europe other than Russia has increased by 5%. Mainly significant rises have been recorded in South America (200%) and south-eastern Asia (116%) (Fair and Walmsley 2021).

There is a plethora of literature now on hyper-incarceration in the United States, a country that provides a case study on the carceral state. Unfortunately, the top sellers are race-reductionist and push identity politics, including the winner of the NAACP Image Award, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, written by Michelle Alexander and discussed earlier (2010). The award-winning book written by Alexander is an analysis of incarceration, reducing this social, political, and economic problem to racist oppression, while often marginalizing class

struggles. Among the few studies that attempt to look at the rise of the prison-industrial complex through a class analysis,[2] Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007), a Professor at City University of New York (CUNY), in her book *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, shows how California, perhaps the epicenter of the strategy of hyper-incarceration, led the way in "the biggest prison building project in the history of the world" (p. 5). Gilmore (2007) shows how radical social movements together with the accumulation of surplus capital led to the mechanisms of caging surplus populations and labor, made up primarily of young racilized and ethnically oppressed groups. The United States is the world's leader in incarceration, with 2 million people currently in the nation's prisons and jails – a 500 percent increase over the last forty years (The Sentencing Project 2021). Since 2008, the prison population has been slowly decreasing, yet the number of private for-profit prisons has increased immensely in the United States. In 1980 after the downfall of radical anti-capitalist movements, private adult prisons were led by the Corrections Corporation of America, the first for-profit prison company to win a contract to run a private facility. By 1990, private for-profit prison companies had established a firm foothold, boasting 67 for-profit facilities and an average daily population of roughly 7,000 prisoners. Private prisons incarcerated 99,754 people in 2020, representing 8 percent of the total state and federal prison population. Since 2000, the number of people housed in private prisons has increased by 14 percent (Buday and Nellis 2022). During the next twenty years (from 1990 to 2009), the number of people incarcerated in private prisons increased by more than 1600 percent, growing from approximately 7,000 to approximately 129,000 inmates. Between 1970 and 2005, the number of people incarcerated in the United States grew by 700 percent (Shapiro 2011). However, these statistics do not include another five million people on probation and parole (Soto 2021) and other

[2] While Ruth Wilson Gilmore's analysis of the rise of the prison system in California and its relation to the political economy is admirable, her analysis needs to go further in critiquing the prison–industrial complex through a true Marxist perspective, an analysis that I cannot highlight here, but will in future papers.

forms of surveillance (further discussed below). For example, the number of people monitored with electronic tracking devices in the United States increased by 140 percent between 2005 and 2015, from approximately 53,000 to more than 125,000, monitoring and tracking applied by private for-profit corporations (The Pew Charitable Trust 2016).

The carceral and surveillance state opens up tremendous opportunities at multiple levels for militarized accumulation worldwide. The rise of the global prison population, the corresponding prison overcrowding levels, and the increase in surplus humanity has triggered investment in new or expanding prison facilities in many countries. For example, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (2021) has noted that in European countries, substantial sums are spent on building new prisons and adopting policies to expand the capacity of the carceral state. Open-source research indicates that in 2021, at least 24 countries announced plans to initiate the construction of new prison facilities. The countries that were developing new prison facilities include Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Cambodia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, India, New Zealand, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Serbia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Uruguay (Penal Reform International 2022). In Turkey, where construction began on 131 new prisons between July 2016 and March 2021, there are plans to increase prison capacity by over 266,800 spaces by 2024 (Blaser 2021). Also, in 2021, the Sri Lankan government announced its plans to build an enormous 200-acre prison facility in Millaniya, Horana, which would incarcerate 100,000 people across its 60 detention facilities, three times the current detained population (Ranasinghe 2021). Some countries explicitly follow an 'American model' of a massive prison boom. In Egypt, the President announced in 2020 that an "American-style" mega-prison would open. It will reportedly have a capacity of some 30,000 people, making it the largest prison in the country. Over recent decades, there has been increasing interest in engaging private companies and public–private

partnerships (PPPs) to construct and run new prisons. In some countries, such as the US, UK, Australia, and South Africa, it is common to use private companies to build and then run prisons in their entirety (Allen and English 2013).

The United States private prison industry and prison populations, holding less than 10 percent of the total federal and state populations, is one of the largest in the world (Buday and Nellis 2022). Even though the private prison population is less than 10 percent of the total US prison population, the amount of for-profit companies invested in this industry is enormous. There is boundless privatization of prison services, including health care, education, food, telephone, clothing, transportation, PPPs, private juvenile detention centers, immigration detention centers, and transitional housing. However, since 2010 the prison population has been steadily declining very slowly, partly due to the extensive mobilization of abolition organizations and the push for criminal injustice reform. However, as I have stated above, this decline is misleading, partly due to the extensive privatization of parole and probation and what some call "community cages": day reporting centers, intermediate sanctions facilities, halfway houses, and digitalized monitoring. Electronic monitoring programs, of which the most often used are ankle monitoring, have more than doubled in the United States since 2010 and are expected to be a $6 billion industry (Kilgore 2018). In Harris County, Texas, those tracked with electronic devices while awaiting trial skyrocketed from 27 people in 2019 to nearly 4,000 in 2021. Authorities from ICE increased the number of migrants tracked nationally by the SmartLINK cellphone app from over 86,000 in December 2020 to more than 247,000 in September 2021. Furthermore, in an unprecedented move, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) released 46,000 people to home confinement from March 2020 to July 2022, with most of them forced to wear electronic monitors (Kilgore 2022). As we can see, the electronic monitoring of individuals is becoming a big business. As one executive from the Geo Group, which in the 2010s undertook a wave of acquisitions of

firms supplying these "community cages" programs, explained: "We believe that the emphasis on offender rehabilitation and community reentry programs as part of criminal justice reform will create growth opportunities for our company" (Takei 2017:175).

The carceral state is a class system, as it provides capital with a ready supply of captives and super exploitable labor, usually from poor communities and barrios across the world. In the United States, the prison industry is worth over $80 billion and includes thousands of corporations. The Prison Industry Corporate Database (2023) is a digital data tool that tracks more than 4,000 corporations that profit from the carceral system, which also illustrates the expansive reach of the prison industry. Corporations that do business with corrections and immigration detention in the United States include McDonald's, T-Mobile, Starbucks, Wendy's, AT&T, Home Depot, Walmart, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and Chevrolet. Companies invested in the prison social control apparatus include Raytheon, Lockheed Martin, Thales, Elbit Systems, and BAE systems, all of which are transnational military contractors feeding military accumulation. While companies are profiteering from caging surplus humanity, immigrant communities fleeing poverty, war, and climate change are the fastest-growing sector of prison labor in the United States. Nationally, incarcerated workers produce more than $2 billion annually in goods and services, while they produce more than $9 billion annually in services to maintain the prisons. Captives earn, on average, between 13 cents and 52 cents per hour nationwide (American Civil Liberties Union 2022). In the book *The Prison-Industrial Complex and the Global Economy*, Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans (2009) highlight the prison–industrial complex's relation to the global economy. They write,

> For private business, prison labor is like a pot of gold. No strikes. No union organizing. No unemployment insurance or workers' compensation to pay. No language problem, as in a foreign country. New leviathan prisons are being built with thousands of eerie acres of factories inside the walls. Prisoners do data entry for Chevron, make telephone reservations for TWA, raise hogs, shovel

> manure, make circuit boards, limousines, waterbeds, and lingerie for Victoria's Secret. All at a fraction of the cost of 'free labor.' (P. 13)

On top of caging and exploiting captives, incarcerated people often purchase items sold in jail stores, called commissaries. Incarcerated people must pay for fundamental necessities, such as stationary, stamps, soup, coffee, rice and beans, and hygiene items, to name a few. In California, the government contracts with private companies to provide commissary items to individuals in county jails and prisons. Charging high prices for commissary items is standard across the counties, and profit rates range from 25 percent to 54 percent, depending on the county in California (Young Women's Freedom Center 2022). As if that were not enough, the term "debtors' prison," which was thought to have been abolished in the mid-nineteenth century, refers to a prison for people unable to pay a debt owed to the government. In this era of shrinking budgets, state and local governments have aggressively used the threat and reality of imprisonment to squeeze revenue out of the poorest communities (America Civil Liberties Union 2010). Local governments have attempted to generate profits by charging fees to people convicted of crimes, including fees related to public defenders, prosecutors, court administration, jail operation, and probation supervision. Those unable to pay these fees are incarcerated, often stuck in a cycle of what I label the revolving door incarceration system (Soto 2021).

There are many mechanisms of criminalization against poor communities and surplus populations. In recent years, the criminalization of private debt has pushed thousands of people into the claws of the prison–industrial complex. According to the American Civil Liberties Union (2018), the criminalization of private debt happens when judges, at the request of collection agencies, issue arrest warrants for people who have failed to appear in court to deal with unpaid civil debt judgments. The commodification of debt has pushed people into new forms of exploitation. At the same time, it has become a powerful tool for the continued

repression of the global working class and surplus humanity. Militarized accumulation and the global police state are central to profit made by private corporations as agents, police, and private debt collectors roam the streets incarcerating those in debt. In the United States, an estimated 77 million Americans, one in three people, have a debt turned over to a private collection agency. Thousands of these debtors are arrested and jailed yearly because they owe money. Millions more are threatened with jail. The debts owed can be as small as a few dollars and involve every kind of consumer debt, from car payments to utility bills to student loans to medical fees (American Civil Liberties Union 2018). These collection agencies that skim off a portion of the profit that original creditors make on the debt have been given draconian power by the courts, prosecutor offices, and the police and prison systems of the debt fare state to punish debtors and enforce repayment, even when the debtor may be unemployed or otherwise unable to pay.

Similarly, criminalization has made the private for-profit bail-bond industry a profit-making mechanism for corporations. As one of only two countries in the world that allow commercial bail bonds, the United States allows corporate interests to profit from people who are legally innocent and at risk of being incarcerated during their pretrial hearings (American Civil Liberties Union 2017). Individuals that are arrested and charged with a crime work directly with commercial bail agents, who are responsible for initiating the contractual relationship between the client and the bail company and enforcing bail contracts. In exchange for a nonrefundable premium – a fee typically equal to 10 percent to 15 percent of a cash bail assignment – a commercial bail agent makes an agreement with the court to pay an individual's full cash bail amounts if they fail to appear for their required court dates (About Bail 2023). Today, around 25,000 bail bond businesses in the United States are responsible for bailing out more than 2 million people each year (American Civil Liberties Union 2017). Commercial bail

agents sometimes hire bounty hunters to find and return to custody clients who miss their court dates. Bounty hunters are also employed to harass clients to collect overdue payments. The private for-profit bail-bond industry is dominated by transnational insurance companies that make billions of dollars a year in profit from poverty and homelessness and promote an ongoing criminalization process against the poor (American Civil Liberties Union 2017). Increasingly, bail insurers are part of major global finance companies. Based on my own calculations, just nine insurance companies back most of the $14 billion in bail bonds issued yearly. Between agents and insurance companies, the industry collects around $2 billion a year (American Civil Liberties Union 2017). These corporations often change laws, policies, regulations, and practices to expand the private for-profit bail-bond industry, often blocking and fighting against reforms. An ACLU report states,

> With little accountability, the for-profit bail industry has thus created a way to profit from usurping the role and function of the courts, trapped families in debt while escaping scrutiny for consumer practices, made armed arrests and surveilled people without meaningful oversight by police, and evaded insurance regulators…Unsurprisingly, an increasing number of Americans cannot afford to pay these bail amounts. With access to release effectively based on wealth, millions of American families have no option but to pay nonrefundable premiums to the for- profit bail industry to secure release from detention…Like payday lenders who profit from families' needs for immediate funds, bail corporations take advantage of the urgent crisis of detention to lock people and their families in bad contracts, surveillance and control, and debt. No matter the eventual outcome of the case, even in cases in which the arrest itself is determined to be wrongful, the money that families scrape together to pay bail corporations is lost to them forever. (Pp. 3, 6)

There is also criminalization after incarceration. The prison reentry industry (PRI) emerged as a product of mass incarceration. The alleged purpose of the PRI was to help the formerly incarcerated reenter society. But despite the industry increasing resources for community-based supervision and services, scholars such as Ortiz and Jackey (2019) have shown how the PRI operates using such mechanisms as parole conditions and fee-based reentry services, which ensure that the formerly incarcerated remain trapped in a cycle of failure. It is a form of structural violence

perpetuated by the state to ensure the continued control and subordination of the most marginalized groups in society.

Transcarceration, a term first used by Lowman et al. (1987), may be seen as part of a larger neoliberal project. Schept (2013a) used the concept of transcarceration to refer to the "neoliberal reorganization of prison facilities through a consolidation of both capital and the state's captive nation." As Schept (2013b) has shown, local politicians and community leaders have recently been hypercritical of mass incarceration, even as they have pushed for other forms of carceral control that we may refer to as transcarceration. Transcarceration includes the non-prison programs beyond actual imprisonment that socially control the formerly incarcerated and those on the margins (Hallett 2012). These community-based initiatives include drug courts, day reporting centers, and electronic monitoring schemes, or what James Kilgore (2014) refers to as non-alternative alternatives to incarceration. He considers these a form of repackaging mass incarceration, and suggests that however much they purport to change existing penal practices, they "in essence simply perpetuate the culture of punishment." Thus, transcarceration reveals that there are broader symbiotic relationships that exist between the social control of the formerly incarcerated and the social control exerted by the market (Hallett 2012). I suggest here, as a proposition to be fully developed elsewhere, that, in essence, transcarceration is part of the larger global capitalist scheme to keep the prison–industrial complex alive.

Immigrants for Sale:
The Criminalization of Transnational Migrants to Generate Pools of Profit

On September 29, 2021, images and video footage showed Border Patrol agents on horseback, using what appeared to be whips in their hands against Haitian migrants seeking asylum along the border in Del Rio, Texas. One of those images was a photo showing a United States Border Patrol agent on horseback viciously pursuing Haitian immigrants, preventing them from reaching US soil. Another separate video captured Border Patrol agents yelling and insulting

Haitian migrants. Similarly, in October 2020, a migrant caravan from Honduras began its journey toward the United States. However, it was intercepted by their neighboring Guatemalan Army officers, which deported the majority back to Honduras. In fact, this was not the only caravan. On June 2022, up to 15,000 migrants, mainly from Central America and the largest caravan recorded, started their journey from the southern Mexican city of Tapachula, hoping to arrive in the United States (Pelmutter 2022). On a global scale, nation-states are building walls and militarizing their borders, nation-states are creating anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies, and nationalists are turning immigrant workers into scapegoats as the crisis of global capitalism intensifies. In the United States, the day after Donald Trump's electoral victory, the stock price of the Corrections Corporation of America, the largest for-profit immigrant detention and prison company in the United States, soared 40 percent, given Trump's promise to deport millions of immigrants (Le 2017). What is the cause of worldwide trends of migration?

The massive displacement by globalization, state and private violence, and military conflict has resulted in a massive wave of worldwide migration in recent years. International migrant workers constitute nearly 5 percent of the global labor force and are integral to the world economy. The International Labor Organization (2015) then put the figure for 2014 at 232 million. Among migrant workers, 83.7 million (55.7%) are men, and 66.6 million (44.3%) are women. Almost half (48.5 percent) of migrant workers are concentrated in two broad subregions, northern America and northern, southern, and western Europe. These subregions comprise 52.9 percent of all female migrant workers and 45.1 percent of all male migrant workers (International Labor Organization 2015). In addition, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR; 2021), the number of globally forcibly displaced people worldwide was close to 90 million people in 2021. Of these, 27.1 million were refugees (21.3 million refugees under UNHCR's mandate, 5.8 million Palestine refugees under UNRWA's mandate). In addition, 53.2

million people were internally displaced, and 4.6 million were asylum-seekers. As the global migrant population continues to increase, imaginary borders built by nation-states worldwide are militarized, states are accelerating repressive anti-immigrant rhetoric and social control apparatuses, and immigrant workers are becoming scapegoats for the crisis of global capitalism. However, "there is a point at which borders cease to be geographical lines and filters between states," notes Graham (2010), "and emerge instead as increasingly inter-operable assemblages of control technologies strung out across the world's infrastructures, circulations, cities, and bodies" (p. 132). Since 1996, more than 75,000 migrant deaths have been recorded globally. In the United States, 3,142 deaths have been recorded from 2014 to 2022. Globally, according to the Migration Data Portal, an estimated 48,423 people died between 2014 and 2022 attempting to cross the border.

Capitalism needs this reserve army of labor, the relative surplus population or, in our case, surplus humanity. This labor pool is currently the 'surplus' relative to capital accumulation and capitalism's needs, but can be drawn on if needed. As capital went global in the late part of the twentieth century, the TCC was able to reorganize its labor market worldwide while being able to recruit this workforce, which is disenfranchised and easily controlled. Borders allow for repressive state control over the migrant population, and their lack of citizenship allows for the criminalization of this workforce, making this sector of the surplus population and the global working class super-exploitable, super-controlled, and on constant surveillance. These conditions are perfect for transnational capital as migrant labor and the conditions against migrants become essential sources of accumulation. First, every phase in the war on immigrants has become a wellspring of profit-making, from private for-profit detention centers and the provision of services inside public detention centers, such as health care, food, and phone systems, to other ancillary activities of the deportation regime, such as government contracting of private charter flights to

ferry deportees back home, and the equipping of armies of border agents. According to Todd Miller (2019), the US budgets for border and immigration control massively increased starting in the mid-1980s, which has become an accelerating trend ever since. These budgets rose from $350 million in 1980 (then run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)) to $1.2 billion in 1990, $10.2 billion in 2005, and $23.7 billion in 2018 (under two agencies, Customs and Border Protection (CBP) and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)). In other words, budgets have more than doubled in the last 13 years and increased by more than 6000% since 1980. This growth was matched by a similar growth in the numbers of border patrol agents, from 4,000 agents in 1994 to 21,000 today. An analysis of the border–industrial complex, a system where significant corporations invest in the militarization of borders, by Miller (2019) shows that the budgets of ICE and CBP have exploded in recent years. The combined budgets of the agencies have more than doubled since the mid-2000s – and are now 60 times higher than what the immigration enforcement system received in 1980. ICE, CBP, and the Coast Guard issued over 344,000 contracts for border and immigration control services worth $80.5 billion between 2006 and 2018. ICE issued more than 35,000 contracts (costing $18.2 billion), CBP more than 64,000 ($27 billion), and the Coast Guard more than 245,000 ($35.3 billion). CBP contracts between 2006 and 2018 exceeded the accumulated INS budgets between 1975 and 1998 by approximately $26.1 billion (Miller 2019).

The war on immigrants in the United States, as we shall see in Chapter 4, provides a blueprint for militarized accumulation and accumulation by repression. By one estimate, the border security industry will double in value from approximately $305 billion in 2011 to $740 billion in 2023 (Miller 2019). Since Joe Biden took office in January 2021, his administration has acted on several fronts to reverse Trump-era restrictions on immigration to the United States. Biden has also lifted restrictions established early in the coronavirus pandemic that drastically

reduced the number of visas issued to immigrants. The number of people who received a green card had declined from about 240,000 in the second quarter of the 2020 fiscal year (January to March) to about 79,000 in the third quarter (April to June). By comparison, in the third quarter of fiscal 2019, nearly 266,000 people received a green card. In addition, The US admitted only 11,411 refugees in the fiscal year 2021, the lowest number since Congress passed the 1980 Refugee Act for those fleeing persecution in their home countries. The low number of admissions came even after the Biden administration raised the maximum number of refugees the nation could admit to 62,500 in fiscal 2021 (Krogstad and Gonzalez-Barrera 2022). Today, the Biden administration has the opportunity to reverse these trends. However, a closer examination shows that little has changed. In January 2021, President Biden issued an executive order directing the Department of Justice (DOJ) to phase out its contracts with private prison companies. The executive order instructed the DOJ not to renew contracts with privately operated criminal detention facilities, including for Bureau of Prison (BOP) and US Marshals Service (USMS) sites. However, the executive order did not apply to immigration detention facilities. Today, the Biden administration fills private prison beds emptied by its executive order with detained immigrants – four out of five immigrants remain held in private prisons (Cho 2021). CoreCivic generates over $1 billion annually from management contracts with the federal government, or 51% of its total revenue, while GEO Group derives 53% of its $2.5 billion total revenue from the federal government. Geo Group and CoreCivic are two of the United States' biggest for-profit prisons (Duprey 2021). Both companies are traded on the Wall Street stock exchange; investors from anywhere around the world may buy and sell their stock and, in this way, develop a stake in immigrant repression and caging which is relatively removed from, if not entirely independent, of the more pointedly political and ideological objectives of this repression.

With massive numbers of transnational migrants traveling worldwide comes the militarization of borders. The United States–Mexico border is one of the world's most militarized stretches of land, with ten guards for every mile for the 2,000 miles across California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The militarization of the border has been on the rise since the September 11, 2001, attacks in New York. The growth of the border patrol complex, a system of militarization and accumulation in and around borders, over the last 20 years has been explosive, and it has begun to dominate the US southwest's political, social, and economic landscape. The number of people working for Border Patrol went from approximately 4,000 in 1994 to 22,000 agents today, a more than five-fold increase. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), created under the Department of Homeland Security in 2003, employs approximately 65,000 individuals, making it the largest federal law enforcement agency. Besides being the parent organization of Border Patrol, CBP has an Air and Marine division, a sort of domestic air force and navy, with 245 aircraft that logged more than 90,000 flight hours in 2014 (Miller 2016). An additional 300 marine vessels in the Air and Marine division operate out of 91 locations, including Plattsburgh, New York, and Grand Forks, North Dakota. Regarding personnel, CBP and ICE now have a combined 85,000 agents and an annual budget of $18 billion (Miller 2016). Researcher Juan Manuel Sandoval Palacios (2017) traces how the border region has been reconfigured into a "global space for the expansion of transnational capital (p. 88)" centered around high-tech military and aerospace-related industries, military bases, and the deploying of other civilian and military forces for combating "immigration, drug trafficking, and terrorism through a strategy of low-intensity warfare (p. 93)" on the US side, along with the expansion of maquiladoras (sweatshops), militarized accumulation and accumulation by repression mining, and industry on the Mexican side in the framework of capitalist globalization and North American integration. He shows how the border region has become a single integrated site of intensive militarized accumulation that is,

in turn, integrated into the larger worldwide circuits of global capitalism. The border, in turn, has become an intense global accumulation zone, based mainly on militarized accumulation but also on new trends of global market production.

Within the United States, the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC, illustrates the inner connection between corporate interests, the state, criminalization and policing, and anti-immigrant tendencies in civil society (Brave New Film 2015). ALEC brings together state and federal elected officials, criminal injustice system representatives, and transnational corporations to develop initiatives that advance the transnational corporate agenda. Transnational companies identified as being involved with ALEC include the American Bail Coalition, AT&T, Coca-Cola, Koch Companies Public Sector, Exxon Mobile, Pfizer Inc., State Farm Insurance, Walmart, Amazon, Bank of America, Boeing Corporations, Microsoft, Nestle, Sony, T-Mobile, San Diego Gas & Electric, General Motors Corporation, and Ford Motors Company, among many others. ALEC develops policies and laws that help advance the transnational capitalist class and corporate agenda, including criminal injustice reforms and policy, anti-union legislation and rhetoric, tax reform (mainly tax cuts for the rich corporations and their agents), financial and environmental deregulations, and related bills that are then introduced by state and local elected officials who are themselves members or associates of ALEC. These bills include the infamous "stand your ground" law, which states that individuals have the right to use reasonable force, including deadly force, to protect themselves against an intruder in their home. At the time of the passage of this law, the National Rifle Association was and continues to be a longtime funder of ALEC. The NRA pushed for the Florida bill's passage, and one of its lobbyists then asked for a closed-door meeting of ALEC's Criminal Justice Task Force to use the law as a template for other state legislatures. At the time, that task force was co-chaired by Walmart, America's largest seller of guns and ammunition. In September 2005, the bill was adopted by ALEC's board of directors (DuVernay

2016). Other pieces of legislation include the "three strikes law," which mandates a life sentence after a third offense is committed; "mandatory minimums," stating that individuals must complete 80 percent of their sentence; and "truth in sentencing," which requires people to serve all of their time without the possibility of parole.

ALEC and its agents have also pushed anti-immigrant legislation and rhetoric. In 2009, ALEC members and the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) representatives, now CoreCivic, drafted an anti-immigrant law introduced into the Arizona state assembly. The bill, known as SB 1070, was passed with the support of 36 co-sponsors, 30 of whom received campaign contributions from the CCA, GEO Group, and Management and Training Corporations, all private prison companies. SB 1070 has four provisions, including (1) police can demand "papers" and investigate immigration status if they suspect a person is undocumented, (2) police can arrest individuals without a warrant if they believe they are a deportable immigrant, (3) immigrants who fail to carry federal registration papers are guilty of a state crime, and (4) immigrants who seek or accept work without authorization are guilty of a state crime (Gordon 2012). Thus, SB 1070 legalized racial profiling by detaining anyone suspected of appearing to be undocumented. Other "copycat" legislation has been introduced throughout the years. In 2010 and 2011 alone, 164 laws were passed by state legislatures, including Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah (Gordon and Raja 2012). In April 2018, the Trump administration announced a so-called "zero tolerance" policy on unauthorized immigration. Under this policy, each migrant – including asylum-seekers – attempting to cross the US border anywhere other than at an official port of entry was to be detained and criminally prosecuted (Refugee International 2018). This policy led to the separation of more than 2,700 migrant families at the US southern border, contributing to a massive number of migrant children – nearly 70,000 in all in 2019 – being held in detention centers. As Squires (2020) has reported, once the crisis began in 2018, many were held in

deplorable conditions without access to basic necessities or medical care. Six migrant children have died in federal custody since 2018. A study of the virulently racist anti-immigrant bloc behind these laws and other campaigns of private and state persecution of immigrants reveals the extensive interlocking of far-right and neo-fascist organizations in civil society and government agencies, and among elected officials (local and federal), politicians, corporate and foundation funders, lobbies, and activists (Gordon 2012).

The immigration–industrial complex, the confluence of public and private sector interests in the criminalization of undocumented migration, immigration law enforcement, and the promotion of 'anti-illegal' rhetoric (Golash-Boza 2009), is a booming industry. Similar to the ideology of the war on drugs, which has criminalized millions of poor working-class people and relegated them to imprisonment since the 1970s in a phenomenon known as hyper-incarceration, undocumented immigrants are among the fastest growing sector of immigration detention centers and US prisons, usually owned by private corporations. As of 2023, there are 275 immigration detention centers that, on any given day, cage over 25,000 immigrants. 19,000 new immigrants were booked in January 2023 alone (Freedom for Immigration 2023). Under the Obama (also nicknamed the "deporter-in-chief" by immigrant rights activists) presidency, more undocumented immigrants were deported or detained than at any time in history. The Trump administration continued the deportation and mass caging of people; deportations, caging, and large contracts under the Biden–Harris administration continue today. Beginning in February 2021, the Biden administration awarded nearly $3 billion in contracts to private entities to provide accommodations for unaccompanied children. Over $2 billion was in no-bid contracts to three organizations: Deployed Resources, LLC of Rome, NY; Mobile, AL–located Rapid Deployment Inc.; and Family endeavors (AKA Endeavors) of San Antonio, TX. Deployed Resources will be paid up to $719 million to manage a 1,500-bed emergency refuge for children in Donna, Texas.

Rapid Deployment has been awarded two contracts for $614 million to run a Fort Bliss, Texas, site that could become the largest in the country as it expands to 10,000 potential beds. Family Endeavors has previously received $87 million from ICE to house migrant families in hotel rooms and could be paid up to $580 million to manage a crisis intake facility in Pecos, Texas (Licon 2021). Capital has a vested interest in the criminalization, policing, and militarization control over undocumented immigrants as corporations subcontract to private prisons. Global capitalism is under a political, ideological, and economic crisis, and unfortunately, undocumented immigrants have become the scapegoat for this crisis. Since the 2016 campaign trail, Trump has continuously attacked immigrant communities with his anti-immigrant sentiment. He has stated, "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. [...] They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people" (Time 2015). Rhetoric like this has led to wealth accumulation for major prison corporations through policing and caging and has contributed to the rise of neo-fascist anti-immigrant movements.

Attorney General Jeff Sessions, a fascist attorney general, announced on April 6, 2018, that the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security would partner to prosecute anyone crossing the southwest border and separate children from their parents. In two speeches before law enforcement officials in Arizona and California, Sessions expanded on the "zero tolerance" policy against undocumented immigration. "The situation at our Southwest Border is unacceptable. Congress has failed to pass effective legislation that serves the national interest – that closes dangerous loopholes and fully funds a wall along our southern border," Sessions said. "As a result," he continued, "a crisis has erupted at our Southern border that necessitates an escalated effort to prosecute those who choose to illegally cross our border" (Sessions 2018a). In

San Diego, on May 7, 2018, he continued his anti-immigrant rhetoric and zero tolerance policy. He stated,

> Today we are here to send a message to the world: We are not going to let this country be overwhelmed. People are not going to caravan or otherwise stampede our border. We need legality and integrity in the system. That's why the Department of Homeland Security is now referring 100 percent of illegal Southwest Border crossings to the Department of Justice for prosecution. And the Department of Justice will take up those cases. I have put in place a "zero tolerance" policy for illegal entry on our Southwest border. If you cross this border unlawfully, then we will prosecute you. It's that simple. If you smuggle illegal aliens across our border, then we will prosecute you. If you smuggle a child, then we will prosecute you and that child will be separated from you as required by law. If you make false statements to an immigration officer or file a fraudulent asylum claim, that's a felony. If you help others to do so, that's a felony, too. You're going to jail. (Session 2018b)

After the passage of this policy, the number of migrant apprehensions at the US–Mexico border rose in fiscal 2019 to its highest annual level in 12 years. The 851,508 apprehensions recorded during the fiscal year of October 2018–September 2019 were more than double the number from the year before (396,579). In addition, in the fiscal year 2018 CBP and ICE carried out 337,287 removals of unauthorized immigrants, a 17% increase from the previous year (Gramlich 2020).

As the war on immigrants escalates, the exploitation and oppression mechanisms become easier to establish by the TCC and corporations that benefit from imprisonment. In a report published in 2017, a lawsuit highlights how tens of thousands of immigrants detained by US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) were forced to work for $1 day or nothing at all – a violation of federal anti-slavery laws (Phillips 2017). The lawsuit, filed in 2014 against the Denver Contract Detention Facility, owned and operated by GEO Groups, one of the largest private prison companies in the country, reached class-action status after a federal judge's ruling. Some 60,000 immigrants detained and forced into all sorts of labor were affected by this exploitation (Phillips 2017). The ICE agency also turned to the media and data firm Thomson Reuters. One

of many companies contracted by ICE, the data and media company Thomson Reuters, which has a $4.5 million contract, is under increasing pressure to re-evaluate its contracts with ICE, which facilitates deportations of immigrants and which critics say perpetrates human rights abuses. The company – which provides data and information to companies and government clients and owns the Reuters news agency – has held contracts with ICE since 2015, including providing the immigration agency with a software called Clear that helps track people for deportation. The software does not contain data on an individual's legal and work status but consolidates public records, including motor vehicle and arrest databases (Paul 2021). Not just detention and deportation, but everything in between, from food, phone systems, and other services provided to the detention facilities, are contracted out to private companies; this includes government contracts to private companies for GPS ankle monitors placed on detainees released on bond, even though the detainees must themselves pay hundreds of dollars a month to wear the monitors (Shen 2016).

The move toward digitalization opens up new technological possibilities for developing and deploying the global police state. The tech sector has become heavily involved in the war on immigrants as Silicon Valley, the epicenter of technology, plays a central role in expanding arrests, detention, and deportations. As their profits rise from participation in this war, leading tech companies have, in turn, pushed for an expansion of incarceration and the deportation of immigrants and lobbied the state to expedite the use of its social control and surveillance technologies in anti-immigrant campaigns. According to one report,

> Immigrant communities and overpoliced communities now face unprecedented levels of surveillance, detention, and deportation. Tech innovation and infrastructure makes this possible, allowing immigration enforcement to rely on policing through huge databases, computer programs, tech employees analyzing big data, and shareable cloud-based storage. These systems accumulate unprecedented amounts of personal and private information and enable the rapid expansion of information-sharing capabilities among city, state, and regional law enforcement agencies, as well as some foreign governments, for the purpose of

> finding, deporting, and detaining immigrants. Immigration enforcement and detention is now big business for Silicon Valley. ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement], DHS [Department of Homeland Security], and many other law enforcement agencies spend billions of taxpayer dollars on procuring and maintaining these new systems. Currently, about 10 percent of the DHS $44 billion budget is dedicated to data management. A handful of huge corporations, like Amazon Web Services and Palantir, have built a "revolving door" to develop and entrench Silicon Valley's role in fueling the incarceration and deportation regime. (Mijente, Immigration Defense Project, and The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild 2018:1)

Mijente, the Immigration Defense Project, and The National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild's (2018) issued a report that shows how ICE wants to: organize the mass personal information it buys from private vendors, such as license plate information; collect personal biometric information in mass quantities, such as fingerprints, iris scans, and facial recognition software; and buy the "cloud" space to store the data and hire people to analyze the mass data information – all for surveilling, arresting, and deporting immigrants. Amazon and Palantir, two companies that are at the forefront of these developments, are providing the collection, storage, and management of a vast amount of personal information. Both companies have enabled DHS to apply new technologies and expand its data-sharing capabilities to undermine and get around any hard-fought local protections won by immigrant rights organizers. This interoperability has effectively expanded the reach of immigration enforcement by rendering detentions and deportations more likely to occur. Through the intense lobbying of policymakers and law enforcement officials, Amazon and Palantir have secured a role as the backbone for the federal government's immigration and law enforcement dragnet, allowing them to pursue multi-billion-dollar government contracts in various agencies at every level of law enforcement and defense.

Policing the Poor: A class analysis of Policing

Before my incarceration, hanging out with the local gang taught me to understand what Elijah Anderson (1999) calls codes of the streets. These codes describe a set of informal and formal rules governing interpersonal public behavior in certain communities. These can range from not snitching (talking to law enforcement or any form of authoritative figure) to rules prescribing the proper way to respond to violence or challenges. These codes are established and enforced by people who are street-oriented.[3] In addition, some codes help develop distrust toward authoritative individuals, especially the police. This distrust of the police can also develop as a response to acts of hyper-policing, including the constant accosting and repetitive questioning without fault that we are often subjected to on a daily basis. This hyper-policing consisted of detaining us before and after school, following us onto school grounds, and constantly searching our person and personal belongings. We were policed for being different, being the so-called troubled kids, gang members, or at-risk students.

Through this hyper-policing and labeling, it became clear that I would one day get arrested. Like a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1948) – a false definition of the situation that evokes new behavior and makes the original false conception come true – I was arrested. I was facing major time in prison with eight different charges: two felonies and six misdemeanors. Like many of my homies (friends), I was convicted, served time, and was released back into society. After my release date, I was constantly followed and policed by my probation officer, the police, and even the community. I felt stuck in what Goffman (1961:xiii) calls total institutions, "places of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formerly administered round of life." I

[3] Street-oriented means individuals that gravitated to the streets, which is where they developed their primary social bonds, whether friends or relatives. See Elijah Anderson's (1999) *Code of the Streets: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*.

suggest here that, taken together, various social institutions that those "on the outs"[4] have to navigate constitute in effect a total institution that undermines efforts at reintegration through what Jeremy Travis (2002) calls invisible punishment. Invisible punishments are punishments accomplished through the reduction of rights and privileges for those formerly incarcerated, which are nearly invisible sanctions unseen by the general public.

To provide some context, I drove a 2003 Honda Civic ES. It was a lowered silver car with tinted windows, black rims, and a sound system that could be heard for miles. It was a unique car, recognizable by everyone in the community, including the people that uphold the criminal injustice system. On a daily basis, police would follow me after work, pull me over for no apparent reason, and, being the naïve person that I once was, I would allow them to search my car. Being pulled over often came with the phrase, "we are doing routine checks on Honda Civic cars, making sure these cars aren't stolen." I felt trapped, traumatized every time a black and white vehicle resembling a patrol car was following me. Because of this I started to police myself. Instead of taking the traditional roadway home, I would take roads that theoretically have less patrolling, less surveillance: the back roads as some call them. I was under formal probation, meaning I was subjected to regular check-ins with a probation officer, along with drug testing, mandatory searches, and required evidence of employment and school enrollment. I also had a set of conditions specific to my case. These included not having the following: spray cans, ski masks, gloves, weapons (such as guns and knives), or affiliations with certain groups of people.

The constant surveillance by the police and required reporting to probation officers became a reminder that the prison system's control mechanisms spread to the streets. On the outs,

[4] "On the outs" is a term often used by the formerly incarcerated, which signifies someone on the outside of the prison system or someone who has been out of prison for a period of time.

these experiences became part of my daily routine – so much so that I felt that these mechanisms made it difficult to find employment, to continue to go to school, or to maintain childhood friendships, and in my case these mechanisms became normalized in my community. Finding employment was challenging due to my record. Seven months, twenty applications, and five interviews later, employment was still out of reach. Employers looked at me differently, and they ignored or threw away my applications and kicked me out of their offices. It was this autobiographical experience that led me years later, as a graduate student at the University of California, Santa Barbara, to begin theorizing the concept of the revolving door incarceration system (see Soto (2021) for details on this term), a system designed to perpetuate carceral state control over people coming out of prison or jail, which I have personally lived through and will discuss in greater detail later.

Policing in the twenty-first century is central to the new global capitalist world order as manifested in the United States. After the largest protests in US history that saw the fifty states mobilize after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, we have seen the death and destruction of police and policing in the large number of police shootings in 2022, with 1,194 deaths (Mapping Police Violence 2022a). Policing against surplus humanity has become normalized and a form of militarized accumulation. The police were not created to protect and serve the population. They were not created to stop crime, at least not as most people understand it. Moreover, they were certainly not created to promote justice. They were created to protect the new form of property and capital that emerged in the mid to late-nineteenth century from the threat posed by the working class. If you look at the US police system historically, the first instance of police and policing emerged in 1704 to retrieve runaway slaves. The runaway slave patrol, as their badges said, were organized groups of armed men who monitored and enforced discipline upon enslaved

people in the antebellum US southern states (Vitale 2021). Having no slaves meant no free labor to continue the accumulation of capital.

In 2022 alone, as stated above, a record number of people from different racial groups were killed by policing. However, as part of their strategy of fearmongering with a false narrative of rising crime, Republicans continue to push hard "law and order" agendas to defend "democracy." At the same time, the Biden administration and Democrats have pledged to fund policing, issuing classic reformist reforms, such as body cameras, increased funding for training, and revising the use of force standards when detaining individuals. In addition, multiple cities led by officials affiliated with the Democratic Party, including Houston, Austin, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York, have all strategically increased police funding since demands to defund the police spread across the globe.

The US police forces have the third-highest military budgets and spending in the world, with a whopping $118 billion spent funding police forces in the US in 2018, meaning that the US military has the largest military budget globally, followed by China's military second, and then the US police force (Beschizza 2021). As Kamau Butcher (2023) points out, the Biden administration gave more funding to police in December 2022 alone, subsidizing more than $770 million to local law enforcement, an additional $324 million to hire 1,800 new police officers across the US, and proposing a measure to give an additional $13 billion to the Community Oriented Policing Services (or COPS) Program, a component of the 1994 crime bill that arms the police with military-grade weapons and surveillance equipment, marking "30 years of funneling over $19 billion" to expand policing through state and local government. Meanwhile, on a state level, rolling across the US, in the two years since the George Floyd rebellions, there have been nearly 300 police reform bills (Al Jazeera 2023b) instituting civil oversight initiatives, anti-bias training, and stricter use of force

limits, disguising police involvement in cases of arresting people with mental illness or in certain states of crisis, and more.

The expanding militarization of police has drastically increased in the twenty-first century. Nearly $34 million in military equipment was sent to US police in the first quarter of this year, according to the Pentagon's latest figures on the 1033 program (Semler 2021). In the United States, the 1033 Program transfers surplus military equipment from the Defense Department to police departments nationwide. Since its inception in 1996, nearly 10,000 jurisdictions have received over $7 billion of equipment, including combat vehicles, rifles, military helmets, and misleadingly named "non-" or less-lethal weapons, some of which have featured in police raids and police violence against protesters (Lawrence and O'Brien 2021). A report titled *War Comes Home* authored by the American Civil Liberties Union (2014) – a report released just months before police killed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri – highlights the ways that militarized police act aggressively and violently, target poor communities, and kill thousands of people annually from diverse backgrounds.

At this point in the twenty-first century, we must understand that reforms to policing do not prevent premature deaths or the violence of policing. Since the first police department was established in the US in the 1840s, reformism and the professionalization of policing have worked to expand and bolster the reach and impact of this deadly institution. Our demands and organizing strategies must maintain that policing is a system; it is not about the misdeeds f individual officers. Moreover, the entire system is predicated on violence, control, and the exploitation of poor communities in the defense of private property. The system of policing is not broken; it functions exactly as it was designed – to maintain the system of accumulation and protect the interests of the capitalist class while also caging and controlling potentially rebellious workers and surplus populations. Moreover, policing and imprisonment are firmly linked; one cannot exist without the

other. The communities and individuals targeted by police come from poor, disenfranchised communities and are more likely to go to jail or prison. Policing and police feed the prison–industrial complex with homeless, homies, immigrants, and surplus humanity. Policing is an extensive system that needs to be abolished – from police forces and border patrol to private security and community policing.

Chapter Four

Ground Zero: Ethnography and a Case Study of Southern California

> The arts district is a very perfect example of gentrification and as a matter of fact is where, ironically, *ARC* [Anti-Recidivism Coalition] has their beautiful brick, in glass, office space, while *Chuco's* is in the ghetto of south central. We don't even have a window in this old juvenile courthouse that we took over. Just to start contrast, now we're talking about funding, we're talking about gentrification, we're talking about supporting gentrification, and capitalism.
>
> \- Puppet[5]

> Same thing with ARC [Anti-Recidivism Coalition]. Primarily, umm, the most thing they focus on is they have contracts with *Turner Construction* and these big construction companies, and even Hollywood film industries because of Scott Budnick's connections. So, they [ARC] mostly do vocational type training, offer people jobs where you are trained to be an electrician, where you make a lot of money, but again laborers, right? You're just feeding into the labor, yeah, you're making a lot of money, 30 dollars an hour is great, but you're busting your ass, you're bruising your bod' every day, right? And who are you working for, *Turner Construction*. *Turner* is a white capitalist company, right? And what are they building, more buildings for rich white capitalists to gentrify our cities.
>
> \- Chuco

As a Xicano Marxist born and raised in North County San Diego, I knew all the "hotspots" or "hot areas": street intersections, sidewalks, and apartments where life-altering experiences linger, shaping the working-class communities and surplus humanity's perspectives of the area as I walked through the different barrios in North San Diego County and pinpointed the areas that are hyper-policed, hyper-criminalized, and super-controlled. "Anytime now, pigs [cops] can stop us and hold us for hours for just walking," said Monster, a 25-year-old Chicano living in the area of North County San Diego. He did not have to tell me; I knew as I roamed these streets as a young homie trying to survive. As a "youngster," I remember constantly being harassed by law enforcement in and around the barrios of North County San Diego. Once, I remember getting

[5] All names in this dissertation have been altered to protect the identity and confidentiality of my participants.

pulled over in the parking lot of a VONS grocery store on East Valley Parkway with two of my homies. We were driving a white Honda Civic when an Escondido Police Department patrol car turned on its lights and asked us to pull over. “Get out of the vehicle with your hands up,” yelled a deep voice from the car’s intercom. Naïve as we were, we got out of the car. Two officers then proceeded to get out of the vehicle. “Put your hands on the hood,” said the officer that was driving the patrol car. The officer then searched our persons, “you have any weapons, drugs, or anything I need to know about in your pockets?” he asked. “No,” we replied. After searching our baggy clothes, the officer handcuffed us and then asked us to sit on the concrete parking blocks that are typically found in most grocery store parking lots.

After about 30 to 45 minutes, the officers unlocked our handcuffs, told us to stay out of trouble, and proceeded to get into their vehicle and drive off. After the incident, I looked around and saw nobody. Nobody to film any injustice, ask for help, or defend us against police harassment and discrimination. “You good, homes?” I asked my homie. He replied, “Fuck these pigs! They do this all the time and never find shit.”

This kind of interaction happens routinely against the youth, immigrants, and working-class and homeless people in North County San Diego. All thirty-seven of the people I interviewed, and most of the people I shadowed in the communities, reported negative interactions with the police force. The people in this study include five activists, fifteen immigrants, eight formerly incarcerated and system-impacted people, four homeless people, and five street vendors who are part of the informal economy. However, these categories are hazy, as some of the participant’s identities spill over to other categories. For example, several of my participants are activists, formerly incarcerated, and immigrants. Their ages ranged from 18 to 65 years. I conducted research involving participant observation, interviews, and a critical ethnography. *Critical ethnography* is a qualitative research approach that explicitly critiques

hegemony, oppression, and asymmetrical power relations to foster social change. "The philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways," Karl Marx (1845) famously said; "the point, however, is to change it." Thus, this study focuses on the voices of the most marginalized, oppressed, and exploited people in the *barrios* of San Diego County. Gang injunctions are a critical case study to show how global capitalism's larger structural social and economic processes are linked to the realities that people are experiencing at the micro-level.

To connect the global to the institutional and micro-levels of analysis, I combine methods of radical criminology with global ethnography to develop a holistic approach to the social control of surplus humanity through mechanisms like hyper-incarceration. We must understand that ethnographic sites are globalized through various external connections across multiple unique scales and porous and contested boundaries. Michael Burawoy et al. (2000), in their anthology *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*, show the connection of the local to the global in the process of globalization as the recompression of time and space – displacement, compression, distanciation, and dissolution. Here lies the ethnographer's connection, whose occupation is to study others in "time and space." In entering the lives of those they are considering, ethnographers attune themselves to the horizons and rhythms of their subjects' existence. Therefore, the ethnographer has a privileged insight into the lived experiences of those directly affected by globalization and, in this case, global capitalism. However, is it only possible to talk about "the global" in such broad, abstract terms? Or could the micro-level enrich these global theories from the ground up, and vice versa, into a globalized totality implied by the political economists from the past, present, and future? This study intends to do this: to connect a small-scale, ground-level, and strongly hermeneutic approach to the big picture suggested by theories of globalization and by critiques global capitalism. I use Michael Burawoy's extended case method to develop the "macro-foundations" of a micro-sociology (Burawoy, 1999). More

specifically, I use the findings from my case study not to make claims about generalizability but rather to use the experiences of the participants to understand how "external forces shape the social situation" (Burawoy et al. 1991:6). I use the Burawoy method, not for 'statistical significance' but for 'societal significance' (Burawoy et al. 1991:281).

Instead of asking how we deal with violent people, crimes, deviant behavior, radical criminologists, and, to a greater extent, abolitionists, one should ask how we could resolve the problems of inequality and get people the resources they need to live successfully. The radical criminological tradition emerged in the 1960s to transcend mainstream criminological thinking at the individual behavioral level (the positivist paradigm) and interaction-based behavioral (interactionist criminology) explanations of crime (Lynch and Michalowksi 2006; Michalowski 1985; Schwendinger and Schwendinger 2014). Instead, radical criminologists argue that crime is a sociologically situated phenomenon and that crime patterns and punishment in a society reflect its social structural characteristics. In order to understand the social structures related to crime, deviance, and criminology, radical criminologists have sought to identify and critique forms of domination, exploitation, inequality, and class conflict characteristic of capitalist political economies. Thus, radical criminology's perspectives on crime and law show how capitalistic societies precipitate and define crime through the eyes of the owners of the means of production. These owners use their power to enact laws to control the working class and repress threats to prevailing property relations and hegemonic ideologies. In other words, radical criminology centers on the political economy as the primary driver of crime.

Radical criminologists draw on the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, giving birth to a new and different perspective on crime. Emphasizing the impact of capitalist organization and the economic system, Marx and Engels show how these systems affect all other aspects of life. Radical criminologists insist on seeing any social phenomenon and its context in its social

totality. As crime does not exist in isolation, it must be seen in the context of its relationship to society's character as a whole (Greenberg 1993). Thus, crime patterns and social responses towards crime change as society's economic and political organization changes. This is most obvious regarding the social response to crime through institutions or hyper-incarceration. Hyper-incarceration includes the police force, the juvenile courts and detention centers, the prison system, and immigrant detention centers, which are all recent institutions that continue to change over time (Davis 2003; Gilmore 2007). Marxists do not deny that social-psychological processes and face-to-face interactions may be necessary for understanding crime and hyper-incarceration, but they try to see these as shaped by larger social structures. Moreover, in characterizing these structures, they give particular attention to the organization of economic activity without neglecting society's political and ideological dimensions.

Shadowing the Working Class

To answer my question about the social control of working-class communities by militarized accumulation or accumulation by repression, I observed the dynamics of North County San Diego through gang injunctions, gentrification, and policing and interviewed members from the working-class communities living in these affected areas. Working-class communities, those on the front line of the war against global capitalism, were the best source of data for this study. Their experiences spoke directly to the impact of punitive policies and practices advanced by globalization and global capitalism. First, I got to know my 47 participants. I interviewed them through formal and informal interviews, organized with them, and got to know their friends and family during the course of this study, which began in 2020 and continued until April 2023. Second, I shadowed most of my participants as they organized and conducted everyday activities like looking for work, selling food on the streets, "hanging out," and participating in community

programs. Shadowing allowed me to access the working classes' routine activities, exposing the significant patterns of social control, criminalization, policing, and other forms of domination.

Shadowing enabled me to observe regular encounters and how these encounters manifest in the lives of the working-class communities of North San Diego County. The formal and informal interviews with the members living in these communities supplemented my observations and allowed me to hear the perspectives of the working class on their patterns of social control and domination. By hearing their perspectives on policing, criminalization, and exploitation, I conceptualize aspects of their lived experience and center these voices in this study. I have decided to center the voices of people living in North San Diego County's barrios, as they are the people most directly affected by exploitation, repression, and caging. The voices of people living in North County San Diego supplement the scholarship, much of it theoretical, that attempts to explain the expansion of surplus humanity and the consequences of the global police state (Johnson 2020; Robinson 2020). These observations and voices have helped me understand these theoretical frameworks at the micro-level and the need for creating an alternative system that does away with surplus populations' exploitation, repression, and marginalization.

Although a study of authority figures and social control agents – corporate CEOs, police and ICE agents, border patrol, government agents, politicians, and other adults who hold power and domination over working-class people – could have provided a broader array of perspectives on the social control mechanisms used against the working-class and surplus humanity, I decided to focus on the voices of people most injured by global capitalism and its mechanisms of repression. This is partly because the dominant narrative on immigrants, gangs, activists, and so on is commonly represented in the media and institutional discourses and narratives. Shows like *Cops, Gangland, Borderland, Border Wars, Narcos*, and *Lockdown* tell lies about building community in the barrios and upholding the legitimating perspectives of the prison-immigration-military

industrial complexes. For example, in such shows, the "experts" are often police, border patrol, judges, and military members who uphold the system of capitalism and its punitive law. Rarely do we see the perspective and experience of the working classes and surplus humanity as they navigate violence, criminalization, and punishment. At the same time, they are forced to commit *crimes for survival.*

Recruitment

I have lived in Valley Center my whole life, and as of April 2023, I am 34 years old. Valley Center is a city in North San Diego County. As a youngster, living in part of the disenfranchised barrio in Valley Center, I began "beefing" with members from other sets in San Diego. We "got down" with members from *Diablos, Westside, Varrio San Marcos,* and *Vista Homeboys*. We also knew sets in Oceanside called *Varrio Posole* and *Center Stree*t, but since these sets were close to the ocean, on the west side of North San Diego County, we rarely encountered people from those neighborhoods. All of these neighborhoods have gang injunctions and have a large concentration of Latino and immigrant populations. Because of my lived experiences living in working-class neighborhoods in San Diego, I have always been interested in the liberation of these communities.

I began my research by contacting past homies and people I was incarcerated with at the Vista Detention Facility. I asked if they were interested in describing their experience living in North San Diego County. As they agreed, I asked if they knew other individuals interested in being part of the study. With snowball sampling, I was able to recruit a population of workers who were surrounded by gang injunctions, policing, and criminalization, which included activists, formerly incarcerated and system-impacted adults, homies currently involved with the local gangs, and homeless people. For immigrants and street vendors, I literally went up to them as they were getting recruited for jobs, also known as *liebres (*hares), or at their street vending location, and asked if they wanted to be part of my study; some agreed and others did not.

I also worked with Unión del Barrio, one of the leading community-based organizations fighting in the San Diego and Los Angeles areas against the repression of working-class populations. Unión del Barrio is an independent political organization operating with a volunteer membership base and entirely self-financed through membership dues, community contributions, and local fundraising. Unión del Barrio has been dedicated to the struggle on behalf of "la raza" (the people) living within the current borders of the United States. Unión del Barrio has locations in Los Angeles and San Diego, with a new chapter located in North County San Diego, where the working class dominates demographically. One interview came from one of the main organizers in this group. Yet most of my shadowing took place organizing with this movement, going on counter-policing patrols, and attending workshops.

Fighting for Barrio Criminology

I have lived and continue to live in the *barrios* of North San Diego County. These factors, along with the snowball sampling and my appearance as I continue to dress like a *cholo*,[6] have allowed me to build rapport among the working class communities who were the focus of this study. Many of the participants in this study saw me as one of their own. Although I grew up in these neighborhoods, the reality was that during the time of this study, I was a graduate student with privileges that many of my participants did not have. I was an "outsider" as much as an "insider." I understand that my status as a free, unrestricted man is much different than those in these communities, but I have a unique lens because I have spent time in the criminal injustice system and experienced firsthand policing, incarceration, and marginalization. I also understood that my background as a so-called criminal working-class person allowed me to connect to many of the formerly incarcerated, gang affiliated, and working-class populations. The participants in

[6] I still dress with my flannel shirts, baggy *Ben Davis* pants, and Nike Cortez shoes. I make sure to never compromise the oppressive and exploitative realities that people like me face within this capitalist system.

this study were comfortable talking about the political, racial, and class struggle divides of the prison system and the communities as a whole.

Juan Martin Leyva, Dr. Xuan Santos, Dr. Christopher Bickel, and I have been developing *Barrio Criminology*. Barrio Criminology is pushing forward the abolitionist points of systemic change with the end goal of changing the system that contributes to vast amounts of social, political, and economic inequalities. This approach puts forth a political vision alongside its academic position. In other words, Barrio Criminology is fighting for a socialist alternative that abolishes global capitalism. As exponents of Barrio Criminology, we believe the following points are critical to dismantling the current system of polarization between the haves and have-nots, the 1% and the 99%, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Below are the different aspects of Barrio Criminology's political program and demands:

- First, it is vital to have an anti-imperialist and Fanonian decolonial agenda that dismantles, defunds, and abolishes the global militarization and invasion of poor, racialized communities on a global scale, while extinguishing the imaginary borders of the nation-state. Fanon situates decolonial theory within an unambiguous ethical commitment to the equal right of every human being to have one's human dignity recognized by others. This assertion, that all of us are entitled to moral consideration and that no one is dispensable, is the principled core of his decolonization theory (Fanon 1963, 1965). Part of the anti-imperial and anti-colonial agenda should be to find an alternative system other than global capitalism.
- The second point is to have an anti-capitalist framework. As we know it today, capitalism continues to perpetuate different forms of the division of labor, racism,

and other oppressive mechanisms that contribute to social, political, and economic inequality.

- Third, the nation-state that contributes to the social control of poor communities must be abolished. Imaginary borders and border walls around nation-states serve the purpose of controlling poor communities. Opening up borders will dismantle the social control mechanism created by these borders and the protection of private property, including dismantling militarized death squads all across the globe, immigrant detention centers, border patrol, and immigrant customs enforcements.
- Fourth, we must allow communities to dictate alternative new possibilities of resistance and autonomy for people in the barrios and the world – a resistant and autonomous barrio that includes all social sectors that struggle against global capitalism, and for liberty and justice for all.
- Fifth, it is necessary to abolish all social control complexes, including, but not limited to, the military–industrial complex, the immigration–industrial complex, the prison–industrial complex, and the non-profit–industrial complex. In addition, the more significant abolitionist movement must also include eliminating police and private security that is vested in protecting the private property of the upper echelons of society.
- Sixth, political and revolutionary education in organic and autonomous community spaces is crucial. Organic spaces, led by the mantra *for the people, by the people*, will deter co-optation by capital, major corporations, and the global elite.
- Seventh, there must be alternative media that includes working-class communities instead of mainstream media that incorporates left-oriented opinions.

- Finally, we must create repositories of knowledge managed by poor, working-class communities. This will allow people from oppressed communities to create their own curricula and promote autonomy from the existing global capitalist agenda. We suggest the implementation of fully developed spaces that include more Barrio Criminologists. This group seeks to abolish social control agendas, as interrupters of the larger global capitalist scheme.

To conclude, our abolitionist agenda encourages systemic change to liberate people pushed into barrios, but also for those who want to seek an alternate system where poverty, exclusion, and marginalization become nonexistent.

We argue here that even when we leave the barrio, the barrio continues to be part of our identities, ideology, and culture. As we navigate social institutions, in this case, education, prison, and our communities, we proudly embody our culture and heritage, and honor our ancestors. This proud embodiment comes at a cost, as we continue to suffer from exclusion, criminalization, and super-policing at the hands of the state, institutions, and our communities. Struggles from below, with the help of insights from studies in Barrio Criminology, should force change in educational institutions, prisons, and communities. Short of an overthrow of the system and moving towards the abolition of the whole system of global capitalism, the only way out of the crisis is a reversal of global inequalities, which will then shift race and class relations. We must simultaneously change the consciousness of millions of people who continue to see capitalism as a viable system of equality; we must have a revolutionary organization coupled with revolutionary ideology and praxis.

Home Sweet Home: The Barrios of North San Diego County

North County San Diego is composed of 56.1% white, 28.7% Hispanic, 9% Asian, and 2.6% Black communities (Communities of Excellence 2016). Cities like Carlsbad, Del Mar,

Encinitas, Solana Beach, and Poway constitute predominately white middle- and upper-class people. According to the data retrieved from the United States Census Bureau from the years 2000 and 2010, the demographics in the year 2000 of San Marcos were 67.39% white, 36.87% Latino, 2.0% Black, 4.67% Asian, and 0.82% American Indian; in Oceanside, 66.4% white, 30.2% Latino, 46.3% Black, 5.5% Asian, and 0.1% American Indian; in Escondido 51.9% white, 38.7% Latino, 2.0% Black, 4.5%% Asian, and 0.6% American Indian; and in Vista 64.3% white, 38.9% Latino, 4.2% Black, 3.7% Asian, and 1.0% American Indian (United States Census Bureau 2000). By 2010, the demographics of these cities had changed with an increase in Latino, Black, and Asian populations and a decrease in the white population. In 2010, the demographics were as follows: in San Marcos 63.5% were white, 36.6% Latino, 2.3% Black, 10.7% Asian, and 0.7% American Indian; in Oceanside, 65.2% white, 35.9% Latino, 4.7% Black, 6.6% Asian, and 0.8% American Indian; in Escondido 40.4% white, 48.8% Latino, 2.1% Black, 6.1%% Asian, and 0.5% American Indian; and in Vista 63.5% white, 48.4% Latino, 3.3% Black, 4.2% Asian, and 1.2% American Indian (United States Census 2010).

North San Diego County is known as one of the most geographically diverse places on earth, with bluffs, sandy beaches, canyons, and rolling hills on the coast, humid inland valleys, rocky foothills, temperate mountains, rolling grassland and large lakes and rivers in the interior, and arid deserts, lush oases, and dunes in the far east region – an ideal destination for any individual looking for tourist attractions. North County is well known for its affluent communities, especially in Avira, Carmel Mountain, Leucadia, Encinitas, Carlsbad, Del Mar, Rancho Santa Fe, and Solana Beach, among others, where house prices range, on average, above 1.2 million dollars (Redfin 2023). However, there is another side to North San Diego County that people often forget exists: cities along the 78 freeway, which include Oceanside, Vista, San Marcos, and Escondido, where a predominately poor population resides. Because of my lived experiences as one of these

community members, I have always been interested in the criminal injustice system, prisons, and social control of the poor communities listed above. It is in this region where my three-year critical ethnography took place. I will show through this micro-level analysis that the prison expansion and the turn to militaristic hyper-policing are not motivated principally by racism. Whether in Los Angeles, North County San Diego barrios, or Leon, Guanajuato Duarte, the place of my parents' migration origin, the process of policing the poor is orchestrated by the same diverse groups of cops, case managers, probation officers, district attorneys, public defenders, correctional officers and wardens, social reformers, right-wing conservative and liberal politicians, weapons manufacturers, lobbyists, non-profits, and foundations, among other institutions: a kind of social control complex that has been growing by leaps and bounds as poverty, cynicism, and the surplus population increase and the neoliberal era grinds on.

The Scars of Gang Injunctions: Beyond the Race Reductionism Paradigm

Imagine living in your *barrio*, where you cannot walk out on the street with your family. You cannot dress the way you like, hang out with your friends, call each other by nicknames, wear certain attire, have exposed tattoos, or wear baseball caps that display a symbol from your *barrio*. Your fundamental civil rights have been taken from you and are now part of a policing system of social control. Star soccer player Joker lives in this world. Joker, a 25-year-old Chicano[7] male, has been stopped by police multiple times while walking home. Joker does not self-identify as a gang member but often has confrontations with police asking him about his gang moniker or tattoos affiliating him with a known gang. These encounters with police often have him sitting on the sidewalk for long periods, often hours, before he is released. Joker now fears that he is in the Cal Gang database, which, as of 2015, tracks more than 235,000 individuals implicated in gang activity (Petering 2015).

[7] Joker self-identified as a Chicano.

As a border county, North San Diego has become the center of mechanisms of social control targeting poor communities through repressive policies to continue the system of profit called the prison–industrial complex. Here I want to focus on the gang injunctions, an infamous policy to many of the homies living in the poor communities mentioned above, with punitive mechanisms of spatial, social control. The first of the 20 gang injunctions in San Diego County was filed against the Varrio Posole gang of Oceanside in 1997 (Office of the District Attorney County of San Diego 2021). Since then, twelve gang injunctions have sprung up throughout North County San Diego. Ironically, in this region, the large poor, working-class population disproportionately comes from racialized groups, homeless people, and a large immigrant community scattered throughout the informal economy, restaurant labor, and field workers. Seven gang injunctions expand across the cities of Escondido, Vista, San Marcos, and Oceanside regions, all targeting poor, working-class Chicano gangs (Office of the District Attorney County of San Diego 2021). As of April 27, 2021, the San Diego Country District Attorney Summer Stephen announced that her office had filed petitions in the San Diego Superior Court to lift all 20 civil gang injunctions in the areas of San Diego County, which include the seven gang injunctions in North San Diego County, effectively removing the names of all 349 homies from the injunction lists (Office of the District Attorney County of San Diego 2021). A civil rights attorney and public safety advocate who works to abolish punitive policing and gang injunctions in Southern California talks about how gang injunctions have remained in the southern region of California. The attorney states,

> Several years ago a federal judge said that none of the people on any City of Los Angeles gang injunction had been properly added to the injunction and ordered the Los Angeles City Attorney not to prosecute any of those people for violating a gang injunction until they had been properly added. As of now, the Los Angeles City Attorney has not added anyone back on and doesn't appear to have any plans to do that. But at the same time, the injunctions are all still on the books and the City of LA could start adding people at any time…to be prudent, and avoid getting sued themselves, all of the other jurisdictions in Los Angeles voluntarily stopped

> enforcing all of the other Los Angeles injunctions that weren't in the City of Los Angeles. But that was voluntary, and nothing stops them from starting enforcement again except the risk of a lawsuit. And nothing stops them from starting over with a constitutionally adequate procedure and creating new enforcement lists for the existing injunctions….in Ventura, the DA tried to get their two injunctions back on track by adding a new batch of people through a new process, but due to some local organizing and legal support, the District Attorney gave up. They said it was because there isn't a lot of gang activity anymore, but the real reason was because we kept challenging them and winning in court…the San Diego district attorney voluntarily stopped gang injunction enforcement, but like Los Angeles, they could start again whenever they want…Riverside continues to enforce their injunctions, or at least the one in Coachella. I suspect unconstitutionally but no one has challenged them. But I'm not well informed about that. What I know is mostly from keeping an eye on the news…Orange County is where all of the action has been. The district attorney hasn't tried winning any new injunctions since losing their attempt to start two new injunctions in Placentia five years ago…but the district attorney continues to enforce all of their old injunctions and continues to add new people.

Even though gang injunctions appear to be ending, for many residents the scars remain. Gang injunctions are civil lawsuits against a *barrio* or neighborhood based on allegations that the gang is a public nuisance to the community or members of the community. The policy prohibits the movement of those labeled as "gang members." Gang injunctions are forms of social control that allow police the discretion to stop, frisk, and detain a person deemed suspicious of being a homie, even if no crime is being committed (Caldwell 2010; Muñiz 2016; Santos and Bickel 2017). If a person fits the description, that person is subjected to detainment. The lawsuit identifies 10–30 individuals by name and moniker but also lists hundreds of John Doe's that can be identified at a later point (Myer 2009). Suppose alleged homies are listed in the gang injunctions. In that case, they are not allowed to engage in behavior that is prohibited by law, including – but not limited to – vandalism, loitering, use of drugs or firearms, and graffiti. However, legal activities are also inscribed in these gang injunctions, including congregating in the restricted area with two or more individuals, using certain words, signs, and whistles, and wearing specific clothing that can depict an affiliation with a gang. Homies can be arrested if they engage in any of these activities within the restricted areas. In addition, alleged homies can be subject to gang enhancements, which, if

they are convicted, can add up to 10 years to a prison sentence (Eisner Gorin LLP 2023). Flaco, a formerly incarcerated Chicano and a homie from one of the *barrios* under gang injunctions got 10 years for a gun and gang enhancement. "I got more time for the enhancement than I did for the felonies I was convicted for," he said; "I got five years for a gun enhancement and another five years for the gang enhancement." Gang injunctions are civil lawsuits, not criminal convictions; thus, unless the homies are on probation or parole, they are not entitled to public defenders if they choose to appear in court. Thus, gang injunctions constitute a form of selective policing toward poor, working-class communities. According to Frank Barajas (2007), gang injunctions restrict guaranteed freedoms of association and expression without affording their targets due process rights under criminal law.

Gang injunctions are most used and popular in California. In 2010, the State of California passed 150 gang injunctions, all targeting poor communities in cities like Los Angeles, Oakland, San Jose, Oxnard, Pasadena, Lompoc, and San Diego, among others (O'Deane 2012). In Los Angeles alone, there were 46 different gang injunctions targeting 80 barrios (Queally 2020). In San Diego County, as stated above, there were 20 gang injunctions; Oxnard had two (District Attorney of Ventura County 2019), Lompoc had two (Nisperos 2005), and, as of August 2007, Riverside had announced its first gang injunction (Abrams 2007). Several injunctions in San Diego cover city blocks, including regions with deteriorated housing, city parks, predominately Mexican cultural restaurants, and schools (Office of the District Attorney County of San Diego 2021). Alleged homies may also have their personal information, social contacts, address, picture, and any tattoos entered into the CalGang Database. CalGang is a statewide database that law enforcement agencies use to share gang-related intelligence for "criminal" investigations. The confidential database is designed to enhance officer safety and improve the efficiency of criminal investigations. The California Department of Justice oversees and audits CalGang as a result of Assembly Bill (AB)

90 (Chapter 695, Statutes of 2017) and the Fair and Accurate Gang Database Act of 2017. In 2022, the total number of persons by race included 16,002 Hispanic, 5,424 Black, 1,849 white, and 181 Asian. By gender, 22,589 were male, and 1,441 were female (Office of the Attorney General 2022).

Besides California, the gang injunction model has begun to spread throughout the United States. In 2014, in Jefferson County, Texas, a gang injunction within a six-square-mile area was filed against the Sureño 13 street gang, with the injunction staying in effect until January 2025 (Dixon 2015). In 2017, people from Wilmington, North Carolina, were served with a gang injunction (ACLU North Carolina 2019), while in the United Kingdom, gang injunction policies are being implemented targeting youth between the ages of 14 and 17 (HM Government 2016). In addition to spreading to other cities and countries, the injunctions have also expanded to target different community members. For example, in Escondido, police and city prosecutors have also used gang injunction safe zones to target immigrant community members, homelessness, and graffiti crews. The gang injunction has also been used as a mechanism of gentrification and pushing community members out into the outer regions and counties of San Diego, including in Riverside and Orange County, and cities like Hemet, San Jacinto, and Menifee, where housing is more affordable (more on this in the next section). Thus, the gang injunction model is being used to push out the community members for gentrification to take place, as well as to target so-called "criminal deviance."

Here we want to focus on what Robinson and Baker (2019) call "grey zones." Gang injunctions are part of these grey zone areas. If capital has no use for labor, it will be ghettoized in the so-called grey zone and subject to the new social control and repression systems in a global police state. The grey zone refers to spaces between the well-off and those of outright warfare, where policing and other containment become normalized against the lumpen-precariat and surplus humanity who are subject to repressive discipline. As I will show in the following

paragraphs, in the poor barrios of North San Diego County is where we find the prison–industrial complexes, immigration and refugee control systems, the policing of people who are homeless, mass surveillance, and ubiquitous, often para-militarized policing, alongside a mobilization of state ideological apparatuses that portray the outcast as dangerous, deprived, and undeserving and that inculcate petty consumerism and flight into fantasy.

The model for the modern-day gang injunction was designed in the Cadillac-Corning neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1987, with the first injunction targeting the Playboy Gangster Crips (Myers 2009). In San Diego, the first gang injunction was issued to *Varrio Posole*, an Oceanside gang, in 1997, which was then renewed with a list of new homies and monikers in 2011. Also in 2011, *Center Street*, the rival gang of *Varrio Posole*, was also issued a gang injunction. It is perhaps surprising that the city of San Diego would implement its first gang injunction in Oceanside (Office of the District Attorney County of San Diego 2021). Oceanside is a coastal city in California known for palm-dotted Harbor Beach and nearby Oceanside Harbor, with its marina and shops. To the south, the long Oceanside Pier juts into the Pacific Ocean. The California Surf Museum traces the sport's history with a surfboard collection and exhibits on famous surfers. Sculptures, paintings, and drawings from the region are on display at the Oceanside Museum of Art. So why Oceanside? Yes, the gang injunctions target racialized communities, mainly Black and brown. However, if we look at this race-reductionist perspective, we are missing the point and the purpose of gang injunctions. Cedric Johnson (2023b) highlights how as a society we have come to manage surplus humanity that is enclaved in the poor barrios and within the gang injunctions through punishment and policing. Johnson (2023b) states,

> The response I've given repeatedly is that policing is not primarily about "controlling black bodies." What we are witnessing is a problem that's actually much bigger and more daunting: We have a problem of a society that's by and large abandoned welfare provision and has instead decided to address the desperately poor and the dispossessed through policing. As a society, we've come to manage surplus population through punishment rather than benevolence.

Thus, gang injunctions are policies that exert social control and move communities out of *barrios* in order to have diverse middle- and upper-class communities gentrify these spaces. Therefore, we must examine gang injunctions through a class and racial analysis.

Since the 1990s, "increased commercial and industrial development have diversified" Oceanside's communities (Oceanside Chamber 2015). The Oceanside Chamber of Commerce describes how "in 1999, a master-planned business park was established, and with the opening of the new Ocean Ranch Corporate Center, Oceanside has welcomed national and worldwide corporations" (Oceanside Chamber 2015). Pacific Coast Plaza Shopping Center, just north of Highway 78, opened in 1999, and Regal Cinema opened a 16-screen movie theater in downtown Oceanside (Oceanside Chamber 2015). The Chamber of Commerce notes that "the 22,000-square-foot Ocean Place plaza includes restaurants and retail shops and has become a focal point of activity. Families, shoppers, and visitors all have a reason to revisit downtown, and microbreweries such as Breakwater and Stone bring avid beer enthusiasts" (Oceanside Chamber 2015). The Chamber of Commerce continues that "Main Street Oceanside (MSO) was certified by the State of California as an official Main Street organization in 2000. It operated for several decades before 2000, first as the Downtown Business Watch and later as the Downtown Business Association. Main Street Oceanside has catalyzed economic revitalization and promotion of Oceanside's downtown area as a destination for locals and visitors alike" (Oceanside Chamber 2015). Biogen Idec established a biotechnology manufacturing plant in Oceanside in 2003 (Oceanside Chamber 2015). In June of 2005, Genentech Inc. purchased the manufacturing plant for $408 million on 60 acres in Ocean Ranch (Oceanside Chamber 2015). Along with providing hundreds of professional jobs, the company sponsors a program called "Genentech Goes to Town." It provides its employees with scrip, a certificate entitling the holder to acquire possession of certain portions of public land, to spend in Oceanside to benefit the community and to help

stimulate the local economy (Oceanside Chamber 2015). In 2010, across from El Corazon Senior Center, a new medical clinic opened on Rancho Del Oro road. The $4 million two-story building is in Oceanside's Seagate business park. The new center has a staff of over 100 doctors, dentists, nurses, and other medical workers, which offers primary care, mental health care, optometry, dentistry, orthopedics, gynecology, and physical therapy, along with complete laboratory services (Oceanside Chamber 2015). According to the Oceanside Chamber of Commerce, "the Seagate business park also welcomed the opening of the Courtyard by Marriott Hotel in 2010. City officials, community leaders, and corporate executives joined R.D. Olson Development to celebrate the start of construction of the $25 million project. The 82,000-square-foot four-story Courtyard by Marriott features 140 guest rooms and suites with a large conference room for meetings and events and is the newest prototype design of the Courtyard by Marriott" (Oceanside Chamber 2015). The new building is the second hotel Irvine-based R.D. Olson Development in Oceanside, the first being the Residence Inn by Marriott, which was completed in September 2007 (Oceanside Chamber 2015). Ironically, in Oceanside - one of the fastest growing cities in North County San Diego – with all this new infrastructure comes the link between gentrification, gang injunction and the spatial social control of poor communities within the city. There are currently two gang injunctions in the located on the westside of Oceanside.

The two gang injunctions were designed to control the movements of poor, racialized communities by criminalizing activities and behavior. Police enforce this criminalization by surveillance, controlling, and arresting the people in these gang injunction safe zones. Cedric Johnson (2023a) states "modern policing evolved historically as a means of securing the conditions for continuous capital accumulation, but the discrete character and modes of policing needed to achieve those ends have evolved in accordance with shifting valorization requirements" (p. 38).

Thus, gang injunctions exist (1) to continue feeding the prison–industrial complex, and (2) to push members from poor communities out to begin gentrification.

Here I want to share Topo's story, as he has lived all his life under gang injunctions. Topo is a formerly incarcerated Chicano living in the poor *barrios* of North San Diego County. He has been highly affected by the gang injunctions engulfing his neighborhood. Here is his story:

> Growing up in upper county, I was impacted by gang injunctions in various ways. I became a documented gang member by the local gang unit at the age of eleven due to my frequent interactions with law enforcement in my neighborhood. Since law enforcement and the court system considered my neighborhood a "safety zone" for the local gang, my physical presence alongside the presence of other kids from the neighborhood made us targets by the gang unit. Although I was never placed on the official gang injunction, many of my friends were. Additionally, because I've been a documented member since the age of eleven, I've been the reason many of my friends that were on the injunction or had special "gang conditions" under parole or probation were rearrested. For example, my freshman year in college, I was visiting my childhood friend who lived down the street from my parents' home. When I arrived at his house, three other friends were also at his house. It was a hot summer day in San Diego County so we decided to "hang out" in front of his home. About 30 minutes in, a gang unit officer drove passed us and immediately turned around. Within minutes his home was surrounded by police officers, everyone was handcuffed, and my friend was in the back of a patrol car for violating the gang injunction. Another more recent example, during my final year as an undergraduate, I was communicating with my friend over social media after his release from prison. We were asking each other, how we're doing and how our families were doing. He suddenly stopped responding to me. To my surprise, I received a letter from county jail a few weeks later. My friend was back in custody because his parole officer went through his social media account and saw he was communicating with me. Even though my friend and I were communicating virtually and simply checking in with each other, his PO violated him for speaking with another gang member. Throughout my childhood years, I saw countless of my friends that were on the gang injunction get taken into custody for simply being in the gang safety zone, wearing certain clothing, or being with other known "gang members." In fact, friends that were related to each other could not enjoy family parties in public spaces or attend funerals together because they would get violated by their POs. For instance, at the funeral of one of my childhood friends, a gang unit took pictures of a group of us from afar, then arrested several of us at our homes for violating the injunction or the special "gang conditions" on our probation/parole.

Gentrification, Gang Injunctions, and Spatial Control in Poor Barrios

> The arts district is a very perfect example of gentrification and as a matter of fact is where, ironically, *ARC* [Anti-Recidivism Coalition] has their beautiful brick, in

> glass, office space, while *Chuco's* is in the ghetto of south central. We don't even have a window in this old juvenile courthouse that we took over. Just to start contrast, now we're talking about funding, we're talking about gentrification, we're talking about supporting gentrification, and capitalism.
>
> - Puppet, formerly incarcerated organizer and activist

The above barrios emerged from places vacated by predominantly white and upwardly mobile residents (Moore 1991). Barrioization ignited "white flight," meaning that when large numbers of Mexican, Latino, and Black people moved into predominately white communities, such as Escondido, Vista, San Marcos, and Oceanside, white people relocated to the suburbs to feel a sense of safety (Hernandez 2017; Smith 1979, 1996). Today, barrio gentrification marks the return of middle- and upper-class people of diverse backgrounds, resulting in the increased assault against barrio residents living in a super-criminalized, 24/7 surveilled, and punitive space where residents confront draconian measures to protect corporate interests and capital, like preemptive strikes against immigrants and gang-involved persons, and the development of punitive policies like gang injunctions.

Neil Smith's *theory of gentrification* shows this dialectic process when he talks about gentrification. Smith (1979) states that gentrification is converting working-class areas into middle-class neighborhoods by rehabilitating the neighborhood's housing stock. Depending on the time and place, gentrification has been seen as a tool, goal, outcome, or unintended consequence of revitalization processes in underdeveloped urban neighborhoods, which are defined by their physical deterioration, concentrations of poverty, and segregation of poor and working-class communities. Smith's theory begins by challenging notions of gentrification rooted in neoclassical economics. Government and policy have played a key role in creating these patterns by directing public and private capital in ways that advantage some and disadvantage other neighborhoods (Harvey 2001; Smith 1982). The prevailing 1970s literature, he argued, prioritized individual consumption patterns, changing middle-class lifestyles, and rising construction costs as catalysts

for gentrification. However, Smith saw this explanation as reductive of cultural preferences and blind to the part of the housing market, including real estate developers, government agencies, landlords, and others in the quest for capital and profits: "to explain gentrification according to the gentrifier's actions alone, while ignoring the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agencies is excessively narrow" (p. 57), Smith (1996) wrote. Smith (1996) emphasizes a nexus of actors that facilitate the gentrification process – developers, builders, mortgage lenders, government agencies, and real estate agents. The local, state and federal government sets the conditions for and catalyzes gentrification processes through public subsidies and policy. Government working in conjunction with private actors makes up the larger political economy that aims to accumulate capital through land use management and city development, echoing the idea of the city as a "growth machine," according to Logan and Molotch (1987). Thus, gentrification is less about racism but rather about capitalist development. Those affected are not just "people of color," but the poor, homeless, and dispossessed, which so happen to be racialized communities enclaved in poor, working-class barrios.

Smith's theory and the theories that followed, like Logan and Molotch (1987) *The City as a Growth Machine*, considered how capital flows in and out of neighborhoods and how financial investments in pursuit of long-term profits created incentives for the redevelopment of certain pockets of a city. Illuminating why some areas redevelop and others do not – a question that continues to perplex planners today – Smith (1996, 1979) and others suggested that the answer lay between the capitalized ground rent and the potential ground rent in depreciated areas. That is, the "rent gap" between the current rent a landlord charges for their units and the potential rent that could be charged if the units were redeveloped. The wider the gap, the more the area is positioned for gentrification:

> Gentrification occurs when the gap is sufficiently wide enough that developers can purchase structures cheaply, can pay the builder's costs and profit for rehabilitation, can

> pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. (Smith 1996:68)

As suburbanization continued and properties within a city depreciated in value, developers stood to profit from redeveloping these properties; thus, capital would flow from the suburbs back into the city.

What Smith (1996, 1979) and Logan and Molotch (1987) fail to address is how gang injunctions are related to the process of gentrification. Here we want to highlight the dialectics from Marxism. Dialectics takes as its starting point that the social world is in a constant state of change and flux – and that capitalism, with its powerful structures of human relationships, is the product of a human activity that emerges from the material world, including the natural world. Given this, we cannot see gang injunctions outside of the process of gentrification. In Escondido, Vista, Oceanside, and San Marcos, where 46 percent of the population is Latino, injunctions have been underway since 1997 (United States Census Bureau 2023). Since 1997, seven gang injunctions have been filed against *Diablos, Westside, Varrio Posole, Center Street, Varrio San Marcos, Varrio Mesa Locos, and Vista Homeboys*, all known gangs of North County San Diego. Ironically, from early 2000 to today, the cities above have been undergoing extensive transformation within and around the gang injunction safe zones.

In 2023, the demographics in cities like Vista, Oceanside, San Marcos, and Escondido shifted from the earlier data in 2000 and 2010. The increased migration of Mexican and Central Americans has changed the demographics, which now reflect more than a 46% Latino population, with a range of 34.0%–41.9% having a language spoken other than English at home, specifically Spanish and hundreds of Indigenous dialects (United States Census Bureau 2023). The demographics of San Marcos are now 43.6% white, 39.7% Latino, 1.7% Black, 10.7% Asian, and 1.0% American Indian; in Oceanside, 44.2% white, 37.8% Latino, 4.7% Black, 7.6% Asian, and 1.3% American Indian; in Escondido 35.4% white, 52.0% Latino, 2.1% Black, 6.4%% Asian, and

1.3% American; and in Vista 37.3% white, 50.2% Latino, 3.1% Black, 4.9% Asian, and 1.0% American Indian (United States Census Bureau 2023). As of 2016, Escondido, San Marcos, Vista, and Oceanside each had more than 40,000 residents that identified as coming from Mexican origin (County of San Diego Health and Human Service Agency 2016). The median household income for these cities is $90,620 (San Marcos), $80,837 (Oceanside), $70,115 (San Marcos), and $79,196 (Vista), with a 9.3%, 9.5%, 13.0%, 10.7% poverty rate, respectively (United States Census Bureau 2023). North County is also home to 9 reservations. These include Pala, Pauma and Yuima, La Jolla, Rincon, San Pasqual, Mesa Grande, Santa Ysabel, Inaja and Cosmit, and Los Coyotes Reservations, which also house large immigrant populations. San Diego boasts top crops in nurseries, avocados, tomatoes, citrus, poultry, mushrooms, and strawberries, most of which are grown in North County, making it an ideal landing spot for immigrant laborers.

In 2013, the city of Escondido opened its new Walmart store at 1330 E. Grand Avenue. In 2012, residents moved into new housing units owned and managed by Latitude 33, a 198-unit gated complex with a pool, outdoor sports bar, and various other amenities (Garrick 2012). Since then, The Habit, Starbucks, and McDonald's have been renovated, and other corporate stores have taken control of the city where there was once affordable housing. On the west side of Escondido, new town homes, condos, and retail stores have opened since the 2007 gang injunction was implemented. In San Marcos, on May 12, 2017, the 116-room Fairfield Inn & Suites by Marriot opened (Figueroa 2016), while a new Outback Steakhouse restaurant began its construction across the street. In Vista, in 2015, Cinepolis took over the lease from the Vista theater. Cinépolis, a Mexican movie chain that operates two luxury movie theaters in North County, has purchased the lease on the 15-screen theater (Kragen and Figueroa 2015). In addition, in 2019, a 46,000-square-foot Honda dealership opened its doors to the new neighborhood of Vista (Macone-Greene 2018). In Oceanside, right on the outskirts of the two gang injunctions,

two new beachfront resorts opened their doors in 2021, and trendy restaurants and cafes are filling up downtown (Thorne 2022). Since 1997, after the first gang injunction was issued to the community of Oceanside, followed by seven more engulfing the communities of Escondido, San Marcos, and Vista, the North San Diego communities have been subjected to intense forms of gentrification. Ironically, to protect the interests of capital, at least in the city of Escondido, a brand new $61 million 115,000-square-foot police and fire headquarters opened in 2010, located on Center City Parkway and Decatur Way (Sifuentes 2010). Coincidentally, in Vista – the city in the middle of Escondido, San Marcos, and Oceanside – is the Superior Court North County Division, The Vista Detention Facility, and the San Diego County Sheriff's Department, all in the same block. The gentrification of the North San Diego County *barrios* has intensified and the above is only a fraction of the infrastructure that has developed since the implementation of the gang injunctions.

Compared to other areas of sociological analysis, the literature on gang injunctions is somewhat meager, and those that do study gang injunctions tend to analyze it through a racial lens, without incur[orating a class analysis (Bass 2001; Muñiz 2016; Rosenthal 2001; Santos and Bickel 2017). Moreover, literature that shows how gang injunctions are often enforced and created in areas in the process of gentrification, commercial development, or increased property values is rare (Alonzo 1999; Barajas 2007; Caldwell 2010). Here is Puppet, a formerly incarcerated activist, talking about the gentrification in Los Angeles through non-profit industries and the exploitation of formerly incarcerated and formerly involved gang members:

> Just for example, *Homeboy Industries*, I don't know what their budget is, but it's in the millions of dollars, I know that. [In know] they have a very nice building, right? But it's so hierarchical, just in its physical, Physicalness, right? You have the bakery at the bottom, right? The janitors, the bakery, umm the restaurant at the bottom and then you have on top CEOs, the lawyers, the admin, all these people that are primarily white and primarily they are in the pay grade category because all of them have degrees, they all have master's, law degrees, etcetera. Up in the, at least you know in the bracket of 70 to 80K, even higher, I'm probably way wrong because

> I think these days CEOs make about 150K, but I've never seen that much money, as in legally, so my bracket is way off…our bracket is 30 to 40K, so there is a discrepancy. The laborers at the bottom, again, who are the laborers, the people of color, right? Working at *Homeboy Industries,* the formerly incarcerated people, who's on top, right? The master's degrees, the PhDs, the law degrees, and all them the CEOs, right? And so, it's like, who every morning wakes up and tells their sad story. It's a face brown or black, formerly incarcerated and how much is that person receiving? How much are they [non-profits] uplifting this person and building this person. Or are they just like, here clean the toilets or bake some bread, and you know? Remove your tattoos and say a prayer every morning…It obviously works, right? For some people, however, I think that it's definitely a white savior model, right?

Similarly, Huesos, an organizer based in the area of Los Angeles, talks about how formerly incarcerated are used as a cheap labor force to continue the gentrification of poor barrios, which some homies live in or used to live in:

> Same thing with ARC [Anti-Recidivism Coalition]. Primarily, umm, the most thing they focus on is they have contracts with *Turner Construction* and these big construction companies, and even Hollywood film industries because of Scott Budnick's connections. So, they [ARC] mostly do vocational type training, offer people jobs where you are trained to be an electrician, where you make a lot of money, but again laborers, right? You're just feeding into the labor, yeah, you're making a lot of money, 30 dollars an hour is great, but you're busting your ass, you're bruising your body every day, right? And who are you working for, *Turner Construction*. *Turner* is a white capitalist company, right? And what are they building, more buildings for rich white capitalists to gentrify our cities.

I want to argue here that implementing gang injunctions in cities is more than a social control mechanism of the prison–industrial complex against poor racialized communities. Instead, injunctions also serve as a mechanism for the spatial cleansing of barrios for corporations to move in and establish their businesses free from the poor, the unemployed, and "urban blight." Anyone caught within the safe zones is subjected to harsh selective policing, including homeless people, immigrants, homies, street vendors, and poor, working-class communities. As we established in Chapter 3, policing works to maintain the system of accumulation and protect the interests of the capitalist class while also caging and controlling surplus populations. In this sense, injunctions are implemented in areas heavily influenced by the broken windows theory of policing in which minor

events of disorder (loitering, graffiti, people who are homeless, street vendors, and immigrants) allegedly create a community conducive to crimes like theft and assault. Thus, preventative policing allows the police the discretion to target signs of disorder to prevent escalating violent crime (Bratton and Malinowski 2008; Wilson and Kelling 1982). Despite race neutrality in language, broken windows policing targets poor, underdeveloped communities that are predominately Black and Latino.

Nevertheless, gang injunctions do not just serve as mechanisms targeting homies; on the contrary, they serve as a mechanism to manage and control surplus humanity. Gary Stewart (1998) argues that gang injunctions employ a facade of race-neutral language to control the movement of communities of color by using gangs as a proxy for low-income urban Blacks and Latinos. Stewart compares modern gang injunctions to the Black Codes. After the Civil War, Southern officials attempted to regain control over formerly enslaved people through the Black Codes, vagrancy ordinances that targeted Black people specifically. Black Codes, like gang injunctions, labeled a marginalized group as inferior and deviant and created a dual-track criminal justice system; one for protected whites and another for African Americans that guaranteed their captivity (Santos and Bickel 2017). In this context, the Black Codes analogy advanced by Stewart, Santos, and Bickel fails to provide an adequate empirical account of gang injunctions' social and economic origins, motives, and consequences. Instead, Stewart, Santos, and Bickel emphasize how the gang injunctions are intended to, and did, adversely and disproportionately affect Black and brown communities. There are certainly some significant parallels between the Black Code system and gang injunctions, particularly the many ways people are marginalized through restrictions. However, the fact remains that the Black Codes analogy obscures the actual material, social, and political forces that have given rise to the gang injunctions in poor communities, specifically global capitalism's production and reproduction of surplus humanity through the contemporary model

of capital accumulation that has driven the economy for decades, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1. The expansion of gang injunctions since the early 2000s in North San Diego County has come to replace the welfare state as the primary mechanism of managing social inequality.

Wacquant (2010, 2009) has shown how the unemployed and underemployed are concentrated in what he terms the hyperghetto and how this contributes to the economic cycle of the prison–industrial complex. With high unemployment rates in poor, working-class communities, people are pushed into the informal economy – economic activities not regulated or protected by the state – such as selling drugs. This informal economic way of living is then hyper-policed and hyper-criminalized in these communities. The system needs an abundant supply of human labor stuck in the margins, serving as a reserve supply of manual and flexible labor. This labor pool must be marginalized, controlled, caged, and exiled when unnecessary. Those from the poor majority, or surplus humanity, those not drawn into the hegemonic project, either through material rewards or ideological and political co-optation, face vast new systems of coercive containment and exclusion. Rather than a system where all Americans are subjected to arrest and incarceration, it is the relative surplus humanity, usually restricted to the barrio zones, such as areas under gang injunctions, who are routinely policed and imprisoned. We now begin to see more clearly the link between capitalist globalization and gang injunctions. One dimension of the global police state, I suggest, is the gang injunction policies, which entrap homies in a deadly embrace through ongoing supervision and exclusion from the labor market.

Stewart (1998) argues, "indeed, although not framed in the explicitly racial terms of the postbellum Black Codes, anti-gang civil injunctions share with those earlier laws the effect of stigmatizing minority communities and maintaining white hegemony" (p. 2249). Similarly, Santos and Bickel (2017) argue, "this, at bottom, is the purpose of gang injunctions, to control and corral communities of color, much in the same ways that the Slave Codes, Black Codes, and Jim Crow

laws targeted the perceived threat of black criminality" (p. 36). The analogy of the Black Codes and centering race is a terrible evasion of the root causes of gang injunctions and, to a larger extent, gentrification. Gang injunctions, gentrification, militarized policing, and prison expansion are not driven primarily by racism. By saying that these processes are motivated primarily by racism, we erase the stories of the informal economy, the undocumented immigrant who might not identify as a person of color, the poor white homeless person (and poor whites more generally), and those who have been evicted by the high rents, all of which are affected by the policing of gang injunctions.

"Ni De Aqui, Ni de Alla": Profiteering from Immigrant Labor

In recent years, the international media has highlighted stories on the rising tide of immigrant workers in the global system, their struggle, and the widespread anti-immigrant sentiment, repression, and hostility they face everywhere from authoritarian states to racist rhetoric. In 2016, Trump's election promise to deport 10 million undocumented immigrants and his proposals to intensify the criminalization of immigrants was, on the one hand, an attempt to convert the immigrant population into a scapegoat for the crisis of global capitalism and to channel the fear and insecurity among the (majority white, which stormed the capitol as his reelection failed) working class against the immigrant community rather than against the system of accumulation. On the other hand, the dominant groups had been exploring ways to replace the current system of super-exploitation of undocumented immigrant labor with a mass "guest worker program" that would be more efficient in combining super-exploitation with super-control. In 1987, Teresa, a tall, dark Mexican women, decided to leave her home state of Guanajuato, Mexico, in search of a better life. Fleeing poverty, hunger, and certain death, Teresa traveled to the United States and settled in North County San Diego, where she has worked ever since. She left with a

dream of helping her family members back home, but all she has found is exploitation, repression, and discrimination at the hands of corporate powers. Teresa describes this exploitation:

> I worked at a gym [24-Hour Fitness] all day. From eleven in the morning to eleven at night with no breaks. I worked every day with no days off, you know. I would get paid eight hundred dollars, I had no time for my family.

Similarly, Juanita, a 55-year-old women who left her native home town in Guadalajara, Mexico, describes the exploitation of corporate hotels because of her lack of legal status:

> I worked at a hotel [Four Seasons Residence Club Aviara] in San Diego doing the cleaning. Like every job, they were paying me less than minimum wage because I don't have papers [legal documentation to work in the United States]. They want to pay me less than minimum wage, working like a slave. I worked five years during the night shift without taking my breaks. In those five years I did not receive a raise, in fact, the last paycheck they gave had bounced. I had to wait three months for the hotel to pay me, and even then, they didn't pay me what I was supposed to get paid. As a single mom and with no papers, I have to take this even if they humiliate me.

Teresa and Juanita's stories show how global capitalism – its structural adjustment policies, free trade agreements, privatizations, war, poverty, exploitation, and so forth, and the political crises these measures have generated – has displaced thousands of communities worldwide and unleashed a wave of transnational migrants and refugees. The massive displacement and primitive accumulation unleashed by these late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century free trade agreements and neoliberal policies, as well as the global police state, have resulted in a virtually inexhaustible immigrant labor reserve for the global economy (Glaser and Lopez 2014). This section will look at Robinson's global police state, specifically *militarized accumulation* or *accumulation by repressio*n, as it manifests itself in North County San Diego. I show how the social control over immigrant populations and surplus immigrant labor serves several functions: (1) the repression and super-criminalization of undocumented immigrants make these populations vulnerable and deportable; therefore, immigrants are subject to super-exploitation, super-policing, and super-surveillance; (2) repressive anti-immigrant apparatuses are essential sources of accumulation,

ranging from private for-profit immigration detention centers to the militarization of borders, border/US customs agents, and ICE agents, and the purchase of militarized equipment to help in the super-surveillance of these populations. Transnational migration and surplus immigrant labor are extremely profitable to what authors have named the immigration–industrial complex; (3) anti-immigrant policies and anti-immigrant rhetoric helped turn attention away from global capitalism's crisis among the most privileged sectors of the working class and helped convert immigrant workers into scapegoats for causing the current crisis, thus, deflecting attention from the root causes of the crisis. This section examines the restructuring of global capitalism, transnational migration, and the super-policing of immigrant communities.

How does capitalism secure a "suitable" labor force? First, through primitive accumulation, a term discussed in Chapter 1, which means the uprooting of people from their land and livelihood so that there is no other alternative but to work for global capitalists or capitalism. Second, it means generating a massive reserve army of labor, (1) keeping wages as low as possible and (2) so capitalists can dip into this labor force as needed, and later, these workers can be disposed of, super-controlled, and caged. Third, it means establishing production chains around the world. Finally, nation-states develop systems of repression and ideological apparatuses of othering to ensure that workers are controlled, disorganized, disciplined, and obedient.

Central to the formation of world capitalism was creating a world market in labor to serve the global accumulation process. Securing a politically, economically, and exploitable labor supply has been a critical function of colonialism and imperialism. Dominant groups have created and constantly recreated this global market for over five hundred years through the most violent, destructive, and inhumane processes (Blum 2003; Grandin 2021; Hristov 2014; Robinson 1996b). The formation of the world market and production system has involved mechanisms such as the kidnapping and forced removal of some 20 million Africans into the Americas; the internal

transfer and displacement of millions of Indigenous populations; the displacement from their lands of millions of European peasants by the forces of capitalist expansion and their migration around the world as laborers; and the so-called second slavery from the 1870s into the 1930s of millions of "coolie" laborers from India and China who, under the weight of colonialism, found themselves displaced, dispossessed, and swept up by international labor recruiters by hook and crook to build railroads or work plantations in Africa, Asia, and the Western hemisphere (Potts 1990). The integration of the Americas into the world market is simultaneously the history of migration – displaced people from Europe traveled to the Americas – and is the history of the creation of the racialization of global class relations through the creation of dominant groups of racial and ethnic hierarchies within the reserve army of labor that the system has brought into being and sustained over the 500 years of existence in the Americas (Allen 2012; Fields and Fields 2022). If immigration has thus been central to the creation of the world capitalist system, today, it is just as crucial to the reproduction of the new global capitalist system. However, different from the earlier direct colonial and racial caste control system of labor, a new global labor supply system has emerged under global capitalism. This new global working class is concentrated in the factories, maquiladoras all over the globe, commercial establishments, and service sectors of the global economy. Nearly half the world's population – 3.4 billion people – lives on less than $5.50 a day, and every year, 100 million people worldwide are pushed into poverty because they have to pay out-of-pocket for healthcare. Globally, women earn 24% less than men and own 50% less wealth (Oxfam International 2023).

The restructuring of global capitalism in the 1970s changed the dynamics of migration and migration flow. Historically, immigration has flowed from exploited nation-states to dominant nation-states. Still today, transnational migration flows from Latin America to Asia into North America, from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia into Europe – that is, from traditional

peripheral to the traditional core countries of the global system (Wallerstein 2004). However, the patterns are rapidly shifting. As Saskia Sassen (1988) points out in her book *The Mobility of Labor and Capital*, capital investments create bridges. As corporations invest in other countries, this uproots populations from that country who then migrate back to where the capital initially came from. Thus, we see that major cities, zones, and regions of accumulation in the global economy attract immigrant labor from neighboring regions. Corporate production and investment, wherever it takes place worldwide – from factories along China's southern coast, maquilas along the Mexico–US border, the transnational agribusiness engulfing Latin America and other parts of the world, including the United States, to the South African mines and farms, service sectors in India, and transnational cruising industry, among others – become magnets drawing in immigrant labor. As soon as these workers arrive at their destination, they face precarious conditions, including usually less-than-minimum-wage low-pay, low-status jobs, denial of labor rights, political and economic disenfranchisement, state repression through militarized policing, and "witch-hunting," racism, discrimination, and nativism.

As transnational migrants arrive at their destination, they become undocumented immigrants joining the super-exploited and super-controlled labor force available to transnational corporations, local businesses, farm owners, construction companies, and native middle-class households, which are concentrated in the housework sectors. I will summarize the reconstruction of global capitalism as I have extensively detailed this change in the previous chapters. Global capitalism has gone through a fundamental change since the late twentieth century. The rise of the TCC and every country's integration into the new global capitalism, finance, and production system has displaced millions of people worldwide. As a result of capitalist globalization, the TCC has forged a new class–labor relation based on the precarious and flexible labor. Under flexible labor, workers no longer enjoy the protection of state regulation, specifically when discussing

citizenship. Workers have increasingly become a commodified input into production like any other raw material. They can be hired and fired at will and enjoy no stability; many are now referring to such workers as the new "precariat" or the proletariat that labors under conditions of permanent insecurity and precariousness (Robinson 2020). Immigrant workers fall into this sector of precariat labor: disposable, deportable, and caged.

The state must play a balancing role in controlling immigrant labor flow by finding a formula for a stable supply of this cheap labor to employers and, at the same time, for greater state control over immigrants. The dilemma for capital, dominant groups, and affluent and privileged strata is how to assure a steady supply of immigrant labor while at the same time promoting anti-immigrant practices and ideologies. The instruments for achieving the dual goals of super-exploitability and super-controllability are: (1) the division of the working class into immigrant and citizen, and (2) racialization and criminalization of the former. In this way, race and class converge. Racialization is an instrument in the politics of domination (Robinson and Santos 2014). Criminalization, policing, and militarization of borders increasingly drive undocumented workers worldwide to the margins, where they become vulnerable. Borders to regulate and control labor are militarized, while communities with a high concentration of immigrant labor become super-policed. Over the last 50 years, 63 border walls have been built worldwide. Six out of ten people in the world live in a nation with one of the walls, which are spurring growth in technology and militarization, and generating big business profits. Many more countries have militarized their frontiers by deploying troops, ships, aircraft, drones, and digital surveillance, patrolling land, sea, and air. If we counted these 'walls,' they would number in the hundreds. As a result, it is now more dangerous than ever for people fleeing poverty and violence to cross borders, after which the border apparatus is still an active threat (Benedicto, Akkerman, and Brunet 2020).

The division of labor and hierarchical labor is essential to global capitalism and the new production system. The state must produce and reproduce the conditions for this labor fragmentation to continue capital accumulation and for significant corporations to profit. Thus, state policies are created to control, exploit, and cage immigrants, but in some cases opening the door to immigration flow in accordance with the need of capital accumulation during distinct periods, as is the case with the Bracero Program, Operation Gatekeeper, and with the passing of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), Welfare Reform Act, SB 1070 in Arizona passed in 2010, proposition 187 in California passed in 1994, the Real ID Act, and Zero Tolerance Policies, among others (Chomsky 2014; Nevins 2010). Immigrant labor is distinct from native or citizen labor, a central new global inequality axis. In this age of globalization, the creation of these two distinct categories of labor around the world ("immigrant" and "citizen") constitutes a new, rigid caste system that has become central to the global economy and worldwide capital accumulation. The state controls immigrant labor, and the denial of civil, political, and other citizenship rights to immigrant workers is intended not to prevent but to control the transnational movement of labor and lock that labor into a situation of permanent insecurity and vulnerability. The global working class thus becomes divided between "citizen" and "immigrant" labor. The creation of these distinct categories ("immigrant labor") replaces earlier direct colonial and racial caste controls over labor worldwide. The condition of being deportable must be created and then reproduced – periodically refreshed with new waves of "illegal" immigrants – since that condition assures the ability to super-exploit with impunity and to dispose of without consequences should this labor become unruly or unnecessary.

Immigrant labor is extremely profitable for the transnational corporate economy in a double sense. First, it is labor that is highly vulnerable, forced to exist semi-underground, and *deportable*, therefore super-exploitable. Second, the criminalization of undocumented immigrants

and the militarization of the mechanisms of social control, like the police, immigration and customs enforcement, and imaginary and physical borders, not only reproduce these conditions of vulnerability but also in themselves generate vast new opportunities for accumulation. The private immigrant detention center complex is a thriving industry. Undocumented immigrants constitute the fastest growing sector of the US prison population and are detained in private detention centers and deported by private companies contracted out by the US state. As of 2018 there were an estimated 2,000 facilities used for immigration purposes in approximately 100 different countries (Freedom for Immigrants 2023). Under the Obama administration, more immigrants were detained and deported than at any time in the past half a century. Some detention centers house entire families, so that children are behind bars with their parents. Since detainment facilities and deportation logistics are subcontracted to private companies, capital has a vested interest in the criminalization of immigrants and in the militarization of control over immigrants – and more broadly, therefore, a vested interest in contributing to the neo-fascist anti-immigrant movement.

Gorge, a 22-year-old man from Sinaloa, Mexico, highlights Mexico's corporate exploitation and low wages and his journey to the United States. He worked as a construction worker and earned a meager 2,200 pesos (roughly 110 US dollars) weekly. He migrated to the US to seek a better life for his wife and kids. For a family of four, 2,200 pesos a week is not enough. He had to live in a small room with his parents. His goal is to build his own home in his hometown. Gorge left Mexico in 2020, meeting the coyote (smuggler) in Tijuana, Mexico, where he took Gorge to a filthy house. He had to sleep on the floor, and he remembers the coyotes giving him a ripped, smelly blanket. The following day they took Gorge to a second house with the same living conditions and nowhere to sit; he slept on the floor, and the bathrooms were unusable. The next day the coyotes took him to a third house where men with fully armed automatic weapons waited;

this was the final day. At dawn, Gorge and a large group of undocumented immigrants started walking up a mountain located at the US–Mexico border near San Diego. Unfortunately, after they walked five hours on their way down the mountain, the US Border Patrol was waiting for them and arrested ten people, including him. The officers loaded all ten people into a crowded cargo van without air conditioning or windows. The officers drove to an immigration detention center, where the officers took his fingerprints and incarcerated him. Gorge remembers the horrible conditions of the immigration detention centers:

> They [border patrol] locked me up in a cage like a dog. The bathrooms were disgusting, I had no blankets, and was sitting on the floor because of overcrowding. We were piled up in the cage. There was about 50 people in the cage with me. The migra [border patrol] were taking down our information because they were going to look us up to see if we had committed any crimes. I was locked up for three hours, then they took me back to Tijuana.

After his deportation, Gorge drove to the coyote's house. He stayed the night and walked again for eight hours the following day. He finally crossed the border and walked to a junkyard. He was abandoned. His ride never came to pick him up at the location, and he was forced to call a relative. Now, Gorge is working in the United States. Unfortunately, he had to borrow money from family and friends to pay off the coyotes, which came out to be 9,500 dollars. In addition, he also had to borrow 1,500 dollars from a friend to pay off his airplane ticket.

Pedro has a similar story. Pedro is a 47-year-old man who worked in construction for most of his life, earning a salary of 2,000 pesos (roughly 100 dollars) weekly in the city of Leon, Guanajuato. Like Gorge, Pedro migrated to the United States, seeking a better life for his family. Devastated by his father's death and forced to pay the hospital bills, Pedro decided to migrate to the United States. He arrived in Tijuana, Mexico, where he met his coyote, and both drove to a nearby house. The next day they traveled on foot to the US–Mexico border. The long journey began, and Pedro walked for hours on the mountains surrounding the US–Mexico border. After six hours of walking, Pedro was caught by US Border Patrol and was taken to an immigrant

detention center. "They [border patrol] took my fingerprints, took a picture, and incarcerated me with a large group of people," said Pedro. He continues,

> Being locked up in an immigration prisons is a nightmare, literally you feel like a caged animal in there. The bathrooms are dirty, smelly, and unbearable. It is really cold in there. They gave us no blankets and we were forced to sit on the cold concrete floor.

When he was released, he feared for his life. His friend had double-crossed him, as he was supposed to pay the coyote. Because of this, Pedro had to find other means of crossing, which meant asking for more money from his friends and family back home. Once he received the money, he stayed at different hotels until he found a coyote who could help him cross the border. Pedro found someone to help him cross, but this time he would have to climb the border wall rather than travel through the mountains. He finally crossed, was picked up, and was taken to his destination. Pedro still suffers from exploitation, even as he lives here in the United States. He explains,

> It is a different life here. You leave everything over there and start here with nothing. It is easy for a person with documentation to find a job, but a person that is undocumented it is difficult to find a job. Everyone here asks for documents and, well, I don't have any.

The criminalization of immigrant labor goes beyond the US–Mexico border. Day laborers, usually engulfed in the poor communities, are the fastest growing visible sector of labor in the informal economy. Day laboring is the practice of searching for work in open-air, informal sectors, such as on street corners or in formal temporary agencies. According to Valenzuela (2003), there are currently two types of day labor industries: informal and formal. Informal day labor is characterized by people, predominantly men, who congregate in an open-air curbside or visible corporate market such as empty lots, street corners, parking lots, designated public spaces, or store fronts of home improvement businesses to solicit temporary daily work. The formal day labor industry is primarily connected to for-profit temporary agencies and places workers in manual

work assignments at or around minimum wages. For this dissertation, I will focus on the informal day labor market.

The immigrant day laborers I interviewed were primarily in two locations within the gang injunction safe zones.[8] Their work generally lasted from 1 to 3 days in the broadly defined area of construction or gardening, which includes home improvements, landscaping, fence building, roofing, tree trimming, and painting. The immigrant men in this study often referred to this kind of labor as catching a *liebre,* translated in English as catching a *hare* or *jornaleros* which literally means laborers. In North County San Diego, there are various locations where day laborers congregate, including corporate home improvement stores, small liquor stores, big parking lots, and swap meets. Jose, a 35-year-old Mexican from the city of Chihuahua, explains the conditions of the *jornalero*:

> The life of the *jornalero* is very difficult. We get here to our location at six in the morning and sometime do not leave until ten or eleven in hopes of getting picked up. There are some weeks when you get picked up twice or three times a week. That's a good week. But there are times where you don't get picked out at all, or maybe once a week, and those weeks are hard.

Warehousing the Houseless: The Social Control and Policing of Poverty

In 2022, the homeless population in San Diego County grew by 10%, with at least 8,427 individuals living without a home (The Coast News Group 2022). In North San Diego County, Oceanside saw the most significant gains by population since 2020, increasing 34% from 242 unsheltered individuals to 318 as of 2023. Escondido, the city with the largest unsheltered population (264) two years earlier, dropped 31.1% to 182 unsheltered individuals in the latest count. As of 2023, San Marcos has the lowest unsheltered population among the large North County cities, with just 12 total unsheltered individuals, although the city's unsheltered population increased by 50% from eight individuals in 2020. The city of Vista's total increased by 17%, from

[8] To protect the identity of my participants I will not disclose the locations.

100 to 117 individuals. Homelessness is a product of social inequalities. Under capitalism, people experiencing homelessness are an oppressed and exploited class. They are exploited sometimes as part of what Marx identifies as the lower reaches of the surplus labor force, but most usually through their commodification. The long-term and recurrent homeless are commodified by being a source of both money-making employment (keeping wages as low as possible for the working-class masses) and power among the police, the legal system, and social services (Wilson 2019).

A new emergency shelter for homeless families and people opened in 2023 in Escondido, providing a lifeline for one of the region's most vulnerable populations. One of the shelters opening in April will be in Escondido, California. The shelter at 250 N. Ash Street will be owned and operated by Interfaith Community Services. This Escondido-based non-profit has offered shelter, food, employment, treatment, and other services for needy people since its founding in 1979. Interestingly, it opened shortly after the restructuring of world capitalism in the 1970s that resulted in a dramatic expansion of the ranks of surplus humanity. According to Tash (2023) from the San Diego Union Tribune "the city of Escondido is partnering with Interfaith by helping it obtain a $736,000 grant from San Diego County, which will pay part of the $2 million cost for renovating and equipping the new 36-bed shelter." Escondido has three Interfaith centers, all within the gang injunction zones, while Oceanside harbors one. Interfaith offers comprehensive programs throughout North San Diego County, "from the coastal city of Oceanside to inland communities south and east of [the organization's] Escondido headquarters" (Oceanside Chamber 2015). Live Well San Diego's website states: "with more than 300 member faith centers and more than 130 dedicated staff, Interfaith empowers 19,000 unique individuals each year to begin a pathway to independence and self-sufficiency" (Live Well San Diego 2023).

While this is an essential step toward ending homelessness, non-profits, like Interfaith, can often become engulfed in what academics call the non-profit–industrial complex. This is

highlighted extensively in the book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. Edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (2007), the book engages directly with the relationship between the non-profit–industrial complex, the co-optation of radical goals and thinkers, and the expansion of the carceral state. As non-profits or NGOs come onto the scene, most are subdued and co-opted by the corporate elite, which substitutes mass mobilization with passive and mild reforms. Such reforms are often, if not entirely, no threat to the current system of capitalism. On the contrary, capitalism actually benefits from mild reforms, as they "tweak" the system rather than change it. The connection I am highlighting here is that NGOs and non-profits, financed by corporate foundations, are the ones that propagate reformist ideologies and push forward a reformist agenda that poses no threat to the system of global capitalism. Instead of abolishing the system as a whole, there is a continuation of the oppressive mechanisms of the criminal injustice system and the prison–industrial complex, with a relationship to the non-profit–industrial complex. This relationship is clearly evident in Escondido and Oceanside, where the Escondido Police Department and Oceanside Police Department have partnered with non-profits, including Interfaith Community Service, Alliance for Regional Solutions, McAlister Institute, and Solutions for Change, among others (Escondido City of Choice 2023).

In the case of Escondido, some $1.4 million of $2 million targeted to address homelessness went to the city's police department rather than to homeless services. The Escondido Police Department (EPD) has two teams primarily responsible for addressing homeless-related matters and service calls, the COPPS (Community-Oriented Policing and Problem Solving) Unit and Patrol Officers. Based on a 2019 estimate, EPD's response to homelessness costs the department over $1.1 million annually (Escondido City of Choice 2023). Furthermore, the EPD, as a whole, had a budget of $49 million in 2022; in the 2023 fiscal year, the department increased its budget

to $53 million, which constitutes the largest portion of the city's overall budget (The Grapevine 2023). As a result, EPD often responds to homeless calls from the community. Results of responses by EPD include the vicious murder of Steven John Olson, a homeless person with mental health issues who was shot seven times at the corner of Broadway and 2nd Avenue in Escondido, California (Gregorio-Nieto 2021). This was not his first encounter with police, but it certainly was his last, as he was pronounced dead hours after the shooting. In 2021, EPD had arrested him four times, and EPD was called 23 times for trespassing and threatening behavior by Olson (Gregorio-Nieto 2021). Similarly, Rick a 29-year-old white male, talks about his encounters with EPD:

> I encounter police at least once every two weeks. They give me citations for trespassing loitering, which I cannot pay. I am stuck in a revolving door. I get arrested, can't pay the fine, and I'm arrested again. I sometimes live in homes that are empty but have gotten evicted countless times by the pigs. Living on the streets is horrible.

Gacho, a 40-year-old Latino man, also has many encounters with COPPS:

> There are time where I am allaying outside the Ross [a corporate clothing store] and the popos come and ask me to leave. They threaten me and say if I don't leave they will arrest me... fuck, sometimes I think that arresting me is better than the streets, you know. I can have housing and three meals a day arrested.

Rick and Gacho's shared experience is something that happens on a regular basis in Escondido. In July 2022, a group of previously homeless and low-income residents who lived in a foreclosed Escondido home owned by the federal government were evicted when a court ruled that they had no legal right to live there, leaving many facing homelessness once again (Layne 2022). Similarly in 2021, a large homeless encampment along South Oceanside Boulevard was vacated and cleaned after Oceanside Police swept the area. Around 6 a.m. on April 13, 2021, a swath of police officers walked down the street along the encampment, signaling it was time to clear up (Nelson 2021). Since then, city crews have dumped large rocks along the stretch of South

Oceanside Boulevard to prevent people experiencing homelessness from setting up tents (Bianco 2021).

Policing of homeless people in North County San Diego is part of a trend that continues throughout the United States. Here, the imprisoned population is made up of the poorest and most excluded sectors of the population. Over half of all prisoners did not hold full-time jobs at the time of their arrest. The United States prison system is bursting with people who have been shut out of the global economy and have neither a quality education nor access to adequate employment. According to Rabuy and Kopf (2015), in 2014, incarcerated people had a median annual income of $19,185 prior to their incarceration, which is 41% less than non-incarcerated people of similar ages. In California, incarcerated people come from all over the state. However, the largest number of imprisoned people are from the state's large cities of Los Angeles, San Diego, Sacramento, and Fresno. More than 122,000 California residents are locked up in state prisons, leaving the state with an imprisonment rate of 310 per 100,000 California residents. Finally, San Diego County has 8,799 people in prison at a rate of 267 per 100,000 residents (Widra and Gomez 2022). In many cases, criminalization makes surplus humanity both a structural and a legal location, as in the legal criminalization of homelessness in the United States. Philip Alston's (2017) report warned about poverty and inequality in the United States:

> In many cities, homeless persons are effectively criminalized for the situation in which they find themselves. Sleeping rough, sitting in public spaces, panhandling, public urination and a myriad of other offenses have been devised to attack the "blight" of homelessness. Even more demanding and intrusive regulations lead to infraction notices, which rapidly turn into misdemeanors, leading to the issuance of warrants, incarceration, the incurring of unpayable fines, and the stigma of a criminal conviction that in turn virtually prevents subsequent employment and access to most housing (https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2017/12/statement-visit-usa-professor-philip-alston-united-nations-special-rapporteur).

In fact, in California, there are no fewer than 592 laws restricting standing, sitting, resting, sleeping, camping, panhandling, or food sharing for homeless people in public, and 781 separate laws restricting non-public spaces (Kandil 2018). All throughout California the criminalization of homeless people has gained steam. In Santa Ana, California an ordinance established in 2017 a new permitting process for charity and social service organizations that offer food or medical services to the Civic Center's homeless population, a move that residents and providers say has led to a steep drop off in aid. What is also prohibited under the Santa Ana Law is shopping carts, pallets, golf clubs, hockey sticks, screwdrivers, solar panels, mattresses, carpets, anything that can be used as a temporary toilet or as an outdoor shower and storing or sorting recyclable materials. In 2010, the city of San Francisco approved an ordinance that prohibited sitting and lying on city public sidewalks from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. And in 2017, the city of El Cajon located in San Diego passed an ordinance prohibiting the distribution of food on city-owned property ((Kandil 2018).

The authorities in cities like Los Angeles and San Diego often encourage the vicious circle that Philip Alston (2017) refers to in his report. Alston (2017) observes: "in Skid Row, LA, 6,696 arrests of homeless persons were reported to have been made between 2011 and 2016." Alston (2017) argues that "rather than responding to homeless persons as affronts to the senses and to their neighborhoods, citizens and local authorities should see in their presence a tragic indictment of community and government policies."

Alston (2017) continues:

> In many cities and counties, the criminal justice system is effectively a system for keeping the poor in poverty while generating revenue to fund not only the justice system but diverse other programs. The use of the legal system, not to promote justice, but to raise revenue, as documented so powerfully in the Department of Justice's report on Ferguson, is pervasive around the country. So-called 'fines and fees' are piled up so that low level infractions become immensely burdensome, a process that affects only the poorest members of society who pay the vast majority of such penalties. State, county and municipal police and law enforcement agencies are not always forces for change in such settings. While they play an indispensable role in keeping the citizenry secure, they sometimes also pressure legislatures to maintain high staffing and overtime

levels, at the expense of less expensive approaches which would address the social challenges constructively and effectively and eliminate the need for a law enforcement response.

La Resistencia: Unión del Barrio and the Community Fight Back against Hyper-Incarceration

Unión del Barrio fights back! I worked and continue to work with members and organizers from Unión del Barrio, a *raza* (the people) organization that has actively attempted to fight for the ever-changing local, national, and global conditions of the working-working class communities. The struggle of Unión del Barrio is, first and foremost, against national oppression, for complete independence and freedom from oppressor nations – this best describes the political focus of the movement. Though Unión del Barrio's organizing has shifted over time, they remain committed to the liberation and self-determination of all the world's oppressed peoples and nations. Unión del Barrio self-identifies as a revolutionary organization that is committed to overturning the constant community oppression and advancing the liberation of all oppressed people within this global capitalist system. Unión del Barrio is committed to building a political party capable of winning recognition from the majority of the *raza*, who accept our efforts as a representative of the path to a better future. Ben, a leader and organizer of Unión del Barrio, highlights this anti-capitalist sentiment:

> We believe in a different economic system, we do not believe in capitalism. Capitalism we identify as an economic system that was born, uh, from colonial slavery, from the genocide of Indigenous peoples, and it has a philosophy of supremacy…it manifests itself as an imperialist beast that goes out into the world to colonize through military warfare and extracting natural resources from different peoples throughout the world to create this so-called American way of life that depends on the suffering of other people.

The Chicano Mexicano Prisons Project

During the "Chicano Power" period (1965–75), Unión del Barrio's movement was able to mobilize and win over all sectors of our community to the struggle for *raza* self-determination. They saw, for example, the students (M.E.Ch.A.), the vato locos/as (Brown Berets and Crusade

For Justice), the intellectuals (Chicana/o Studies), political activists (Raza Unida Party), the workers (United Farmworkers), community-barrio media (Chicano Press Association), and *raza* in the joints or recently released (who formed "Pinto Unions") all working and struggling for raza self-determination. The activists during this period understood the necessity of uniting all community sectors into one powerful weapon against colonialism and imperialism in the United States.

Unión del Barrio has repeatedly stated that not only do they claim the "legacy" of this period, but that they are also determined to advance its objectives of raza self-determination and liberation. Along these lines, Unión del Barrio has created the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project (CMPP), intending to win over *raza* prisoners (one of the major types of victims of the capitalist system of exploitation – other victims include Black, white, and immigrant communities) for La Causa: the liberation of all raza and the reconquest of their lands.

Unión del Barrio understands that the great majority of *raza* who are presently locked up in United States prisons are men and women who are victims of capitalist expansion and US imperialism in the Americas and elsewhere. They also understand that a large percentage (20% to 30%), and in some barrios, the great majority of our people, are directly connected to prisons, jails, juvenile halls, or the probation department. This "connection" is either in the form of being incarcerated, on parole, or having a relative under the control of the so-called "legal system." A true national liberation movement must include most people; therefore, we must include the prison population in our struggle. Ben talks about this prison project:

> The Chicano Mexicano Prison Project [was born] because we saw the political attacks against our communities sending us into these concentration camps known as prisons, right, and as, uh, a political objective of the settler colonial state was to keep us in lockdown, right, in some way, shape, or form, whether it be in physical prison, whether it be on probation, whether it be on ankle monitoring, whether it be on some form of state surveillance, to you know, to prevent our people from organizing and being able to capture power in our own terms. So we saw the necessity of building a Chicano Mexicano Prison Project.

¡La Migra No Se Fue, El Pueblo La Saco! Patrullajes Communitarios and Counter Policing in the Barrios

In response to the on-going war against the working-class, poor *barrios* in North County San Diego and other places where Unión del Barrio operates, specifically the deployment of militarized policing by local police and immigration customs enforcement (ICE), Unión del Barrios formed the Patrullajes Communitarias (Community Patrolling) in 1992. The purpose of the Patruallajes Communitarias is to hold accountability and "police" the police and ICE forces in the working-class communities. The counter-policing challenges the police and ICE forces from profiling, detaining, harassing, arresting, and brutalizing the community. Unión del Barrio is determined to build a Dual & Contending Power so the working-class community has a mechanism for community-level self-defense. Thus, the objective is to organize the people in the poor *barrio*, block by block, to defend the working-class communities from all expressions of violence and threats to human, civil, and democratic rights.

The Unión del Barrio Escondido chapter started the Patrullajes Comunitaria in September 30, 2021. Since then, they have realized more than 58 sessions in 29 weeks of counter-policing and protecting the working-class communities. In those 29 weeks, Unión del Barrio has encountered ICE twenty-two times in Escondido, and Poway, and three times with EPD. Interestingly, all the encounters in the Escondido area are within the gang injunction safe zones. Through these weekly sessions, Unión del Barrio members have identified the undercover vehicles used by both the ICE agencies involved in controlling and caging the working-class communities, which include the Bureau of Enforcement and Removal Operation (ERO) and the Bureau of Homeland Security Investigations (HIS). Ben highlights the Patrullajes Comunitarios:

> One of the projects was Community Patrols, right, which was established in 1992 in response to all the gang injunctions that were taking place as a form of, you know, barrio containment, right. An assault by the occupying, what we identify the occupying police army, coming in and attacking our young people, putting them in these databases and using that as a weapon, weaponizing these databases to

> basically attack our young people. And, basically, putting them in these gang injunctions by association, right, to be criminalized. And so we formed these community patrols to keep an eye on the police, right, again to identify who are the police that patrol the community, right, what are their names and start putting them on posters. We stood up in front of the police station and said get this pig [police officer] out of our community, and through a process of documenting these police officers…the more important thing is creating power in our own hands to be able to identify who these pigs are, put them on blast and also, you know, make sure they are held accountable in any way, shape, or form…we cruise the neighborhoods, usually, Saturday nights, you know, Friday-Saturday, right, when they were more active and it was successful.

Out of Operation Gatekeeper, which was announced in Los Angeles on September 17, 1994, came the community patrols against ICE agents. Operation Gatekeeper was a measure implemented during the Bill Clinton presidency by the United States Border Patrol, aimed at halting undocumented immigration to the United States. After it launched on October 1, 1994, Imperial Beach agents made 825 apprehensions, versus that same day the previous year in 1993 when there were 259 apprehensions. In the first week of October 1994, Imperial Beach recorded 4,175 apprehensions. During the first week of October 1993 there had been 2,705 apprehensions reported at Imperial Beach. In September 1994, Imperial Beach accounted for 49 percent of Sector apprehensions. By November 1994, the Station's share of Sector apprehensions had dropped to 36 percent, and Brown Field and Chula Vista's combined share had risen from 34 percent to 46 percent (Office of the Inspector General 2023). The United States allocated additional funds to the Border Patrol and other agencies. By 1997, the budget of the Immigration and Naturalization Service had doubled to 800 million dollars, the number of Border Patrol agents had nearly doubled, the amount of fencing or other barriers had more than doubled, and the number of underground sensors had nearly tripled (Nevins 2010). According to Nevins (2010), by the end of the twentieth century the US–Mexico border was already one of the most militarized stretches of land in the world, with ten guards for every mile for the length of the 2,000-mile border. Ben highlights the community patrols against ICE agents in 1994:

We started documenting more Migra (ICE) presence and activity as soon as, you know, Operation Gatekeeper came into effect, right, in 1994 with massive amounts of resources that they sent here [San Diego] to the border. Building a militarized border, everything from checkpoints and, uh trolley raids, right, getting on public transportation and doing these racial profiling to umm rolling patrols, going into the neighborhoods and kind of like chasing *raza* down, literally we have that videotaped and documented. You know, how they continue to attack our people. And so, our objectives have always been to create mechanisms for our communities to be able to fight back and that fight back begins with documentation. Being able to articulate what is happening in our communities because the policy of family separation, and US immigration laws, has the objective of destroying the nucleus of our society, which is the family.

Chapter Five

Beyond Race Reductionism in the Abolitionist Movement

> Always bear in mind that the people *are* not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children.
>
> - Amilcar Cabral (1965), *Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories*

> A historical materialist perspective should stress that "race" – which includes "racism," as one is unthinkable without the other – is a historically specific ideology that emerged, took shape, and has evolved as a constitutive element within a definite set of social relations anchored to a particular system of production. Race is a taxonomy of ascriptive difference, that is, an ideology that constructs populations as groups and sorts them into hierarchies of capacity, civic worth, and desert based on "natural" or essential characteristics attributed to them. Ideologies of ascriptive difference help to stabilize a social order by legitimizing its hierarchies of wealth, power, and privilege, including its social division of labor, as the natural order of things.
>
> - Adolph Reed, Jr. (2013), *Marx, Race, and Neoliberalism*

> It's a class struggle goddamit!
>
> - Fred Hampton, Chicago leader of the Black Panther Party

In the previous chapters, we explored the theoretical framework of globalization and global capitalism, a class analysis on the rise of hyper-incarceration, and the militarized accumulation and accumulation by repression component of the global police state. The preceding discussion has illustrated how the global police state, as I have employed the concept here following Robinson (2020), touches on the lives of the people living in Southern California and people interviewed in this study. The stories told here in this ethnographic study are micro-level examples of the repressive mechanisms of the global police state as experienced by working-class, surplus humanity, and often racialized communities in the United States. As we move back up from this micro, or ethnographic, level of analysis to the institutional and structural levels, we can

draw some tentative conclusions and point the way toward future research on how global capitalism filters down into the lives of those caught up by the carceral state, surveillance, and the system of hyper-incarceration.

The prison system as we see it today has become increasingly ensconced in economic, political, ideological, and social life worldwide. Thus, the prison system in the US is much more than the sum of all the jails and prisons in this country. It is a set of symbiotic relationships among correctional communities, the labor market, transnational corporations, media conglomerates, laws and policies, and global capitalism. This dissertation has shown how the prison system has developed new ways of incarcerating working-class communities, such as those in Southern California. The social control of the working class and surplus humanity in Southern California is a component of the larger concept of the global police state: hyper-incarceration, gentrification, gang injunctions, and the criminalization of immigrant and homeless communities are linked to the expansion of precarious labor and surplus humanity.

Co-optation: Passive Revolution and the Movement against Revolutionary Social Change

Social control mechanisms pushed forth by the capitalist classes against working-class communities and surplus humanity are a particular response to the capitalist crisis. The rise of incarceration rates since the 1970s, the funding of and militarization of police (as we have discussed, police and policing are mechanisms of social control used against surplus populations and the working masses), the policing of homeless populations, the creation of laws and policing that criminalize sectors of the working class such as gang injunctions and homelessness, anti-immigrant sentiment, rhetoric, and incarcerations, the constant push for war, and the building of border walls, as distinct as these mechanisms of social control may be from one another, have in common the constant need for accumulation and repression of the working classes. In addition, the above are responses to the crisis of global capitalist hegemony.

The link between this restructuring of global capitalism since the 1970s and the generation of vast pools of surplus humanity, which are then socially controlled through hyper-incarceration, can be drawn out through Gramsci's concept of hegemony and his insistence on the unity of coercion and consent in the capitalist system. For Gramsci (1971), hegemony is a relation, not only of domination by means of force, but also of consent by means of political and ideological leadership. Projects of hegemony involve not merely rule but also political and ideological leadership of the dominant groups based on a set of class alliances and political blocs they have constructed. Hegemony must be constantly reconstructed because the possibility of hegemonic or consensual domination rests not just on the dominant groups achieving their political and ideological leadership but also on material foundations. Thus, the ruling groups must also provide some sort of material (economic) "payoff" to significant sectors among the subordinate groups to allow for these sectors' social reproduction and stability – that is, for their well-being. Hyper-incarceration has involved a vast expansion of the repressive apparatus of the state in unity with the production of consensus around criminalization and punitive punishment. The restructuring of the 1980s and beyond came about in response to challenges to the hegemonic classes posed by mass upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, including anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist movements. In the United States, civil rights movements developed into radical nationalist and clearly anti-capitalist movements, especially among racially oppressed communities. The response from the state was an escalation of repressive controls over these communities through hyper-incarceration, but also consensual domination by allowing some sectors of the subordinate classes into the hegemonic bloc through ideological and material cooptation.

Let us dive deeper into Gramsci's conceptions of domination, as it is crucial for understanding the rise of social movements and organization that do not actually threaten the capitalist order. Hegemony entails two forms of domination or power: coercive and consensual.

According to Gramsci (1971), consent rests at the level of civil society and hence must be won there. In contrast, coercion rests at the level of the state, or what Gramsci referred to as a political society. What Gramsci means is that if the capitalist classes and their political agents in the nation-state want to establish hegemonic power, they must at some point agree to and reach compromises with the working or popular classes that push for the hegemonic stabilization of capitalist rule over the immediate aim of maximizing profits. The TCC and its political and cultural agents in the 1980s, operating through transnational state institutions, the mass media, and the cultural industries, pushed the globalization boom of the late twentieth century. This came about with the collapse of a socialist alternative, as Third World revolutionary movements fell, and global capitalism came to be seen as the only alternative for the world. Gramsci (1971) argued that the hegemony of the dominant classes is exercised in civil society by persuading the subordinate classes to accept the values and ideas the dominant class has adopted and by building a network of alliances based on these values. These alliances and networks have in common that they embody social practices associated with the assumptions and values people accept, often unconsciously. According to Simon (2015), "a ruling class establishes its hegemony by combining these values and assumptions with its class interests and thus building a social base within civil society for the coercive and administrative power of the state" (p. 7). All social order is maintained through a combination of consensual and coercive dimensions; in Gramsci's (1971) words, hegemony is "consensus protected by the armor of coercion" (p. 263). For Gramsci, then, the state is not all repression; it plays an educative role, seeking consent through intellectuals and activists brought into the state's programs through political, professional, and syndical associations that are funded and organized by the private associations of capital and the ruling class.

The passage in late 2018 of a prison reform bill (the First Step Act) is indicative of the newfound interest among the dominant groups in prison reform to reestablish their hegemonic

power over the working-class masses. The bill, among its various provisions, gives judges more discretion when sentencing drug offenders, reduces the life sentence for some drug offenders with three convictions, or three strikes, from life to 25 years, and boosts prison rehabilitation efforts, including educational and training programs that allow captives to earn credit. Although Democrats and Republicans cheered the bill as a breakthrough, particularly revealing was its endorsement by conservative and far-right groups, ranging from the Cato Institute to the Koch brothers–backed Americans for Prosperity corporations that have invested for years in the criminalization, incarceration, and policing of surplus humanity (Robinson and Soto 2020). Even the Fraternal Order of Police and the union representing federal correctional officers backed the bill. The bill's backing also comes at a time when the corporate elite massively supports digitalized surveillance after incarceration, whether sophisticated location tracking, ankle monitoring and GPS tracking, ubiquitous video recording, cell phone tracking, or the instant analysis of our biometric data, law enforcement agencies and the corporate elite are following closely behind their counterparts in the military and intelligence services in acquiring privacy-invasive technologies. So what accounts for this rather abrupt change of heart among the dominant groups, the corporate elite, and their political and police agents?

As noted in an earlier article coauthored with my mentor (Robinson and Soto 2020),

t\he radical critique of hyper-incarceration and the movement for prison abolition has been around for half a century, if not longer. That said, the movement gained steam in the early twenty-first century, linking the call for abolition to a critique of global capitalism and empire, as Angela Davis (2003, 2016), among others (see Puryear 2013; The CR10 Publications Collective 2008), has discussed in several recent books. Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) in her bestseller *Golden Gulag*, although not a radical Marxist critique of the prison–industrial complex, delivered a devastating analysis of the relationship between crisis in capital accumulation and the expansion of the prison

boom in California. However, it was with the 2012 publication of Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Color Blindness* that the mainstream took notice and began to embrace the movement against hyper-incarceration. In fact, the movement espoused by the book was embraced by many but questioned by few. Far from helping to do away with the causes and consequences of hyper-incarceration, Alexander's argument has all the makings of an attempt at what the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci referred to as a passive revolution, that is, an attempt from above to bring about mild reform in order to undercut movements from below for more radical change. Rather than pushing for prison abolition, much less a revolutionary transformation of society, Alexander's work can be considered race reductionist: the reduction of the analysis of hyper-incarceration to one based on race alone.

The irony here should not be lost. The organizations and political agents of the corporate elite that have now embraced reform are the same ones that championed capitalist globalization and one of its by-products, hyper-incarceration. The Cato Institute, for instance, founded in 1977 to promote the emerging neoliberal agenda of the corporate state, free markets, and globalization, has done as much as any group among the powerful elite to push the very conditions of capitalist restructuring and class warfare from above in the United States and worldwide over the past four decades. These among other similar efforts have resulted in an exponential expansion of the ranks of surplus humanity – disproportionately drawn from racially oppressed populations – and the concurrent systems of mass social control and repression that produced mass incarceration in the first place (see, e.g., Robinson 2014, Chapter 5, as well as Robinson 2018a, 2018b, 2020). Likewise, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, McDonald's, Amazon, SYSCO, Sodexo, Aramark, Coca-Cola, and PepsiCo are all corporations that do business with corrections and immigration detention centers in the United States. Military companies include BAE systems, General Dynamics, Raytheon Company, Lockheed Martin, and Thales. Thales is a French multinational

company that designs, develops, and manufactures electrical systems as well as devices and equipment for the aerospace, defense, transportation, and security sectors (for a complete list of corporations that do business with incarceration see https://data.worthrises.org).

In recent years, however, these institutions have adopted prison reform as one of their major foci. Corporations are joined in this newfound concern for over-incarceration and criminal justice reform by what appears to be the entire assortment of liberal and conservative corporate-funded think tanks and foundations, ranging from The Heritage Foundation to the Koch brothers, and the Ford, MacArthur, Kellogg, Rockefeller, Mellon, Soros, and Carnegie foundations, among others. These foundations, for instance, funded the Art for Justice Fund in 2017 to the tune of $100 million to dole out grants in strategic doses to criminal justice reform groups (Scutari 2018). In 2014, Soros gave $50 million to the ACLU for criminal justice efforts to reform the criminal justice system. In addition, Soros's Open Society Foundation pledged $150 million in 2020 to "racial justice" groups, including Color of Change and the Equal Justice Initiative, which both work to elect and support progressive prosecutors (Law Enforcement Legal Defense Fund 2022). For example, the MacArthur Foundation has invested $323.1 million in 127 organizations since 2013 (MacArthur Foundation 2023), yet the incarceration of people in the United States continues to be about 2 million, with about 6 million additional people under the criminal injustice system's supervision, including probation and parole (Sawyer and Wagner 2023).

As politicians, foundations, and the corporate media have taken up the matter of hyper-incarceration, the focus has shifted in the public agenda, targeting hyper-incarceration from radical critique, including abolition,[9] to reform, and from the injustices of a brutal neoliberal global capitalism that has generated the conditions leading to hyper-incarceration to a redemption script

[9] Other scholars and I now believe the abolition narrative may be on the verge of co-optation by major corporations across the United States. Please see Terrell 2022, *Is Abolition Obsolete? Carceral Reductionism, Red Scare, and the Imperial Imagination*.

(Robinson and Soto 2020). The redemption script focuses on individual salvation among those incarcerated and formerly incarcerated through the bootstrap theory that people must pull themselves up through personal effort. This focus ignores the social and systemic causes of personal "failure." The victim is first blamed and then called upon to redeem themselves. The theme of co-optation by capitalist philanthropy was first raised by Marx and Engels (1848/2005:496), who wrote in *The Communist Manifesto* that a sector of the capitalist class is "desirous of redressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence" of their rule. More recently, the collective INCITE! Women of Color against Violence (2007), in their groundbreaking anthology titled *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, gathers essays by radical activists, educators, and non-profit staff from around the globe who critically rethink the long-term consequences of what they call the non-profit–industrial complex. In it, they describe this complex as "a set of symbiotic relationships that link political and financial technologies of state and owning class control with surveillance over public political ideology, including and especially emergent progressive and leftist social movements" (pp. 8–9). The US non-profit sector is a trillion-dollar industry, one of the world's largest economies. From art museums and university hospitals to think tanks and church charities, over 1.5 million organizations of staggering diversity share the tax-exempt 501(c)(3) designation if little else. Many social justice organizations, including racial justice, criminal justice reform, and formerly incarcerated and system-impacted organizations, have joined this world, often blunting political goals to satisfy government and foundation mandates (Robinson and Soto 2020).

Moreover, in his remarkable study *Under the Mask of Philanthropy*, Michael Barker (2017) shows how the politics of capitalist philanthropy is aimed at deflecting challenges to the system:

> Reform or revolution? This is a question that is central to effective progressive social change. From many people's point of view there is little doubt that capitalism must be eradicated, so the only question that remains is "how might this revolutionary process proceed?' Revolutionary action does not negate reform, as

> radical reforms are a critical part of any socialist praxis of change. On the other hand, liberal reforms without revolutionary direction are unlikely to build the momentum that will be necessary to oust capitalism. Thus, understanding how leading activists and intellectuals who were formerly committed to revolutionary social change give up on such principles and dedicate their lives to moderating capitalist oppression is critical for social and political movements seeking to resist such challenges. (P. 217)

The danger here is that the radical critique of mass incarceration that has gained traction in recent years, linking it to capitalism, the mass repression of oppressed communities, and a ruthless prison–industrial complex bent on turning mass social control into multiple sources of accumulation, has become eclipsed by the rise of mild reforms and the redemption script. In this script, the foundations and institutes of the corporate order fund researchers and activists to focus on the redemption of those incarcerated in place of a radical critique of the prison–industrial complex and thus move even further away from a critique of the larger structure of global capitalism. These ostensibly private institutions of the ruling class have set about funding organizations, grassroots campaigns, and progressive groups that have taken up the struggle against hyper-incarceration. As the headline in one article by the industry publication *Inside Philanthropy* proclaimed: "Redemption: An Accelerator Puts Former Inmates in the Driver's Seat" (Rojc 2018). The redemption script is all about helping those incarcerated and released to absorb capitalist ideology and integrate into the capitalist labor market as compliant workers and so-called social entrepreneurs. As the article reads:

> With funders like the Ford Foundation, the Public Welfare Foundation and others footing the bill, a range of nonprofit and community groups have been helping the formerly incarcerated successfully reenter society. Techniques like job training, education (including by bringing college into prisons), and even "pay for success" programs have paid off. According to Tulaine Montgomery, who leads New Profit's Unlocked Futures program, job creation and economic opportunity are the surest ways to make those second chances stick.... [This] new initiative, Unlocked Futures, is an incubator that supports, in part, formerly incarcerated social entrepreneurs who've turned their lives around and want to give back. "This program is a rebuke to the narrative that 'these people' can't be viable business leaders," Montgomery told me. Unlocked Futures' first cohort includes eight entrepreneurs operating both nonprofit and for-profit ventures. They're all united

> by a "double bottom line"—succeeding in their own spheres and working to end mass incarceration. They get $50,000 each, plus individualized training, coaching and workshops over the course of 16 months. (Ibid.)

Abolition, Redemption, Hegemony, and Passive Revolution

The Italian communist Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of passive revolution to refer to efforts by dominant groups to bring about mild change from above in order to defuse mobilization from below for more far-reaching transformation. Integral to passive revolution is the co-optation of leadership from below and integrating that leadership into the dominant project. Gramsci (1971) also referred to this process as *transformismo*, in which rule by the dominant groups depends on the ongoing absorption of the subordinate majority's intellectual, political, and cultural leaders into the ruling bloc and on the resulting decapitation and disorganization of resistance from below. Passive revolution comes into play at times when the system faces an impending crisis of hegemony. Whenever the hegemony of the bourgeoisie begins to disintegrate and a period of organic crisis develops, the process of reform or reorganization needed to reestablish its hegemony will, to some extent, have these characteristics of passive revolution. Under the Obama administration, for example, the passive neoliberal revolution involved using the language of multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion while imposing the interests and agendas of dominant groups. Concerning immigration, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, a federal policy that shields eligible undocumented immigrants and refugees from deportation and affords them a work permit, was a small reform that masked Obama's expansion of the immigration security apparatus (Elias 2022). The result is that "the dominant group co-opts sectors of the social movements by making moderate reforms without fundamentally transforming the structures of society. Thus the dominant class brings those movements into a game of perpetual compromise" (Gonzales 2014:123).

As William I. Robinson (2004, 2014, 2018) has discussed at considerable length elsewhere, in the wake of the worldwide rebellions of the 1960s and the 1970s crisis of world capitalism, emerging transnational elites launched capitalist globalization as a project to break resistance worldwide, regenerate global capital accumulation, and reconstitute the hegemony they had lost. These emerging transnational elites appeared to have carried out a passive revolution involving the reorganization of the world political economy and social relations while neutralizing the resistance of the subordinate majority through a combination of consensual incorporation (co-optation) of leading strata of activists and organic intellectuals from below – often through diversity and multicultural agendas and the identitarian politics of inclusion – and the development of new systems of mass social control and repression, like hyper-incarceration, policing, and the creation of border walls, among other things. Capitalist globalization has had the effect of an unprecedented expansion of the ranks of surplus labor that, in the United States, has been drawn disproportionately from racially oppressed communities and that have come to constitute the raw human refuse for mass caging alongside other forms of social control carried out by an expanding global police state (on this latter matter, see Robinson 2020).

However, global capitalism is again facing a crisis of hegemony that has involved renewed challenges to the system by mass movements from below, including the movement critiquing the prison–industrial complex, linking it to capitalism and calling for abolition. For passive revolution to succeed in stabilizing ruling-class hegemony, the mild reform from above must also involve the diffusion of the ideological and programmatic content of reform and have it achieve hegemony over calls for more radical change. That is, legal reforms such as the First Step Act and others undoubtedly to come, including Revised Criminal Code of Conduct in Washington DC, Assembly Bill 256 in California, and Senate Bill 752 in Florida, must involve the diffusion of the redemption

script so that it displaces the radical critique of the prison–industrial complex and abolition as the hegemonic narrative.

Abolition activist Dylan Rodriguez (2008) notes in his contribution to the activist book *Abolition Now! Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle Against the Prison Industrial Complex*:

> Avowedly progressive, radical, leftist, and even some misnamed "revolutionary" groups find it opportune to assimilate into this state-sanctioned organizational paradigm, as it simultaneously allows them to establish a relatively stable financial and operational infrastructure while avoiding the transience, messiness, and possible legal complication of working under decentralized, informal, or even "underground" auspices. Thus, the aforementioned authors [fellow contributors to *Abolition Now!*] suggest that the emergence of the state-proctored non-profit industry 'suggests a historical movement away from direct, cruder forms [of state repression], toward more subtle forms of state social control of [of the movement against mass incarceration].' (P. 99)

There has been a symbiosis between corporate funders, institutions, and the state in the current campaign to co-opt the new movement against hyper-incarceration. The resurgent investment in prison educational funding, educational programs for the formerly incarcerated, and programs for the formerly incarcerated to enroll in higher education may be welcome in and of themselves. However, programs like Anti-Recidivism Coalition, Underground Scholars located at every University of California Campus, Project Rebound at almost every California State University campus, and Youth Justice Coalition based in Los Angeles must focus on anti-capitalist agendas rather than the identitarian paradigms dominating higher education. These programs may bring benefit to individuals among the formerly incarcerated but in the larger picture they contribute to establishing the hegemony of the redemption script. Deprived of a radical critique of capitalism and its prison–industrial complex, the movement against hyper-incarceration runs the risk of being tamed before it has the chance to develop into a revolutionary movement for abolition as part of the struggle against the depredations of global capitalism.

Of course, co-optation of the movement against mass incarceration is the consent side of consensus protected by the armor of coercion. As the state-philanthropical-corporate complex

sets about working toward a passive revolution, the state is also drastically expanding its repressive apparatuses as a global police state comes into existence (Robinson 2018a, 2018b, 2020). Recall that a hegemonic project is constructed, in Gramsci's view, from within the extended state. In Gramsci's notion, this extended (or enlarged) state incorporates both political society (the state proper) and civil society. For Gramsci (1971), "these two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of hegemony which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government" (p. 12). As social justice struggles face off against the increasingly repressive state in this time of renewed capitalist crisis, those of us in the movement against hyper-incarceration must at the same time wage an uncompromising political and ideological struggle in civil society against co-optation by the redemption script.

Towards Freedom: Moving Beyond Race Reductionism

In recent years, race reductionism has become increasingly influential among the liberal and race-centric establishment and beyond. Unsurprisingly, race-reductionists have gained much acclaim among academics, political figures, activists, and, yes, on-the-ground organizations. The ideas of mainstream race-reductionists like Ta-Nehisi Coates, Ibram X. Kendi, Robin DiAngelo, and Michelle Alexander, whose work treats race as an all-explaining category for any and every social problem, are often in opposition to radical class-based critiques of the capitalist social order and often antagonistic to Marxist analyses of race and class (Wallace-Wells 2022). After all, race reductionism provides liberal academics with an outstanding affirmation of their hostility toward class analysis (Robinson, Rangel, and Watson 2022) while at the same time mainstream race-reductionist scholars earn thousands of dollars through on TED Talks, presentations, and keynote speeches. Looking after their class interests, you might say. For example, in early 2019, Ta-Nehisi Coates gave an hour-long lecture to students at Ohio State University, costing the university a

whopping $41,500 (Lehman 2021), Ibram X. Kendi pulled in $32,500 for an April 2021 speech at the University of Virginia, and Robin DiAngelo declined to accept $10,000 for a virtual keynote speaking event at the University of Wisconsin's annual Diversity forum: "$15,000 is already below her current rates for virtual events, and we have agreed to discount that price by 15 percent," said her assistant (Sher 2021).

For revolutionary socialists and Xicano Marxists, like myself, these class aspirations or the drive for upper mobility by academics is nothing new. For many "progressives," racial identities are the exclusive engine of American history and, by extension, contemporary politics. This is the explicit argument, for example, of the *New York Times* 1619 Project. They, in short, want to separate race from class. These approaches, such as The 1619 Project and Critical Race Theory, posit that all members of a racial minority group share the same interests, as do all members of the dominant white ethnic group. In these approaches, there are not class antagonisms among the members of a minority group. Worse still, these approaches tend to assume, and in some cases to explicitly state, that all whites are racist and that racism is so ingrained that it cannot be overcome (this is stated explicitly by Ta-Nehisi Coates). Needless to say, class exploitation has no place in the analysis. In fact, The 1619 Project, to take one example, does not analyze slavery as a system of labor exploitation but as a result of white racist beliefs and practices. The "anti-racism" of the race-reductionists does not propose to end social inequality but to end racial disproportion in the distribution of awards and punishments in the social order.

Hence, anti-racism does not propose to, and nor will it, eliminate inequality and exploitation. And because racism is not the principal source of inequality, anti-racism functions more as a misdirection that justifies inequality than as a strategy for eliminating it (Michaels and Reed 2020). What disparity discourse tells us is that if you have an economy that's becoming more and more unequal, that is mainly generating jobs that do not even pay a living wage, the problem

we need to solve is not how to reduce that inequality and not how to make those jobs better but how to make sure that they are not disproportionately held by Black and Latino people (Michaels and Reed 2020). The same analogy can be applied to hyper-incarceration. The problem is not the prison–industrial complex or how over 4,000 transnational corporations are investors in the prison system. No, the problem is the disproportionate percentage rate of Black (38%) and Latino (21%) people incarcerated in the prison system (Sawyer and Wagner 2023), as if incarcerating the same rate of white (38%) individuals, which is ironically the same as the Black community, will solve the hyper-incarceration, policing, and social control problems of the global police state. What is surprising is the seeming embrace of race-reductionism among sectors of the socialist left, given that the framework is an attack on Marxism, notably excluding a class analysis on inequality throughout the racially diverse subordinate masses. For revolutionary Marxists, there is an inextricable link between racism and capitalism. Capitalism depends on racism as a source of profiteering, and more importantly, as a means to divide and rule the working-class masses (Taylor 2011).

What are the core underlying claims of race reductionism? In a nutshell, Reed (2020) describes race reductionism as a "long-standing and deeply problematic tendency in liberal thought and policy pertaining to race and inequality," in which racial disparities are abstracted "from the political-economic forces that generate them" and instead attributed to "a combination of 'whites' ingrained prejudices and poor Blacks' cultural deficiencies" (pp. 11–12). In other words, race-reductionists' rationale supports the denouncement of programs centered on the broadly egalitarian economic redistribution of wealth as either oblivious or destructive to racialized people's particular interests and concerns. According to Reed (2020), "the key failing of race-reductionist analogy is that the argument depends on invoking phenomena and patterns drawn from regimes – slavery, the southern Jim Crow order – in which racial hierarchy was codified

explicitly and enforced by law and widespread custom as a basis for explaining inequalities or disparities occurring in the current historical regime of inequality that is not grounded explicitly in racial hierarchy" (p. 38). During the 2016 presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton embraced a politics of ascriptive identities, skillfully deploying "the language of structural racism and intersectionality" and painting Sanders as unsympathetic to the concerns of Black people and other people of color, women, and LGBTQIA+ people (Reed 2020:8). At the same time, Clinton's politics remained firmly rooted in the neoliberal political orthodoxies that have fueled intensifying inequality in recent decades – primarily, and ironically, for members of the groups to whom her identity appeals were directed.

There is an abundance of historical research that I cannot outline here on the creation of "race" and "racism" in the developmental years of the world capitalist system. In *The Many-Headed Hydra*, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker (2013), among others, show how the American planter classes backed by European capitalists and the state created the "race" ideology as a tool to differentiate the mass exploited labor emerging into the circuits of global capitalism. Thus, "racial consciousness," according to Linebaugh and Rediker (2013), did not exist among Africans and Europeans, as together they conspired in numerous invasions and uprisings. The multitude of multinational, multiracial sailors and their land-based brethren had no racial consciousness; such a consciousness had to be created, not out of some European Nietzschean will to (racial) power but as a class project of the enslavers and the bourgeoisie (Robinson et al. 2022). Ongoing rebellion throughout the Greater Caribbean Basin by Africans and Europeans forced into labor led the planters and colonial states to create juridical distinctions that would legally and socially differentiate an enslaved person from a servant, assigning each to a distinct insertion into the division of labor (Linebaugh and Rediker 2013). In this way, the ruling groups responded to class struggles from below by the multiethnic exploited classes with a racialist recomposing of global

class relations (Robinson et al. 2022). That is, the constitution of "race" took place through the world's historical process of capitalist class formation (ibid.). Similarly, Eric Williams (2021) has noted in his classic *Capitalism and Slavery* the indentured servitude occurred for hundreds of thousands of Europeans found themselves in indentured servitude in the early years of the colonial project in the Americas. In some cases, as Robinson et al. (2022) point out, there was the outright slavery of Europeans, such as the fate suffered by thousands of Irish victims of Cromwell's 1649 conquest of Ireland, many of whom were shipped out to slave plantations in Barbados – this provided the "historic base" upon which American slavery was founded. "Slavery in the Caribbean has been too narrowly identified with the Negro," observed Williams. "A racial twist has thereby been given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery. Unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant, and pagan" (Williams 2021).

Moreover, racialized class relations and the ideology of white supremacy would become the focal point of capitalist colonialism and imperialist expansion in the Americas and across the globe, a system for producing a more accelerated and repressive control over the racialized division of labor, and "a complete appropriation of the wealth that labor has produced in the history of the world capitalist system" (Robinson et al. 2022). Racism, then, according to Theodore W. Allen (2012a) in his dual-volume study titled *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control*, has a dual function: as a system of social control against the working classes and as a system ensuring the exploitation and social control over the racialized portions of the laboring masses. Additionally, this racialized division among the working classes involves the generation and reproduction of a "racial consciousness" and a "psychological wage" among the exploited white communities – a consciousness that has had to become constantly recreated by the ruling groups each time the different racialized sectors came together in a multiracial struggle. Racial

consciousness, in a nutshell, is reproduced and generated in the political, social, and economic sectors of society by the dominant groups. As Allen (2012b) describes it in his second volume, titled *The Invention of the White Race: The Origins of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America,* "it was only because 'race' consciousness superseded class consciousness that the continental plantation bourgeoisie was able to achieve and maintain the degree of social control necessary to proceeding with capital accumulation on the basis of chattel bond-labor" (p. 240).

The ideology of race first emerged historically in the American colonies during the Revolutionary period, when the "universal rights" that served as justification for rebellion against the British Crown clashed with the quotidian reality of chattel slavery. The enslavement of Africans had, for a hundred years or so to that point, proceeded without any systematic justification, racial or otherwise. As. Karen E. Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields (2022) point out, "there was nothing to explain until most people could, in fact, take liberty for granted – as the indentured servants and disfranchised freedmen of colonial America could not" – in other words, in a pre-Revolutionary society, "everyone… stood in a relation of inherited subordination to someone else" (p. 141). Within the context of the revolutionary period, the ideology of race and racial hierarchy emerged to explain the denial of newly won liberty to enslaved Africans. It is also worth noting that the English indentured servants and laborers of the colonial era were spared the all-encompassing exploitation and bondage of chattel slavery not out of any sense of racial or cultural solidarity from their landed counterparts but due to their political standing under the British Crown, secured over centuries of class conflict (Fields and Fields 2022). Thus, the expansion of the African slave trade at the end of the seventeenth century provided Southern planters with abundant labor in a framework that had developed to differentiate between whites and Blacks. The difference that had opened up between Europeans and Africans led to plantation owners fearing "plots and conspiracies" against them, which led to further restrictions on enslaved people.

A classic essay by Barbara Fields, originally published in 1990, provides the historical foundation of the critique of race and racism outlined in the book *Racecraft*. The premise of the essay, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," is that "when virtually the whole of society ... commits itself to belief in propositions that collapse into absurdity upon the slightest examination, the reason is not hallucination or delusion or even simple hypocrisy; rather it is ideology." Her definition of "ideology" is unapologetically Marxist and refreshingly orthodox; it is the day-to-day vocabulary of prevailing economic and social relationships. Moreover, the material foundation of racist ideology in the United States, Fields argues, was slavery.

The Black Panther Party was a Marxist-Leninist organization – at least some of their members professed these frameworks – that explicitly considered racism to be a by-product of the capitalist system. Here is prison captive and founder of the Black Guerilla Family prison organization, George Jackson (1990):

> It is the system that must be crushed, for it continues to manufacture new and deeper contradictions of both class and race. Once it is destroyed, we may be able to address the problems of racism at an even more basic level. But we must also combat racism while we are in the process of destroying the system ... Racism is a fundamental characteristic of monopoly capital. (P. 112)

A Marxist perspective can help in understanding race and racism insofar as it perceives capitalism dialectically as a totality that includes modes of production, relations of production, and the evolving ensemble of institutions and ideologies that continue and uphold its reproduction. A historical materialist perspective should stress that "race," which includes "racism," is a historically specific ideology that emerged, took shape, and has evolved as an essential element within a definite set of social relations anchored to a particular system of production; in the case of the United States, this began in the infamous year 1492 (Reed Jr. 2013). Race is a classification of difference, an ideology that constructs populations as groups and sorts them into racial hierarchies of worth based on phenotypical or cultural characteristics. "Ideologies of ascribed difference," as

Reed Jr. (2013) argues, help to stabilize a social order by legitimizing its hierarchies of wealth, power, and privilege, including its social division of labor. Thus, Marxists argue that capitalism is a system that is based on the exploitation of the working classes, often coming from racialized disenfranchised communities across the globe: in today's day and age, surplus humanity. Capitalism is a grotesque system of inequality, which requires various tools to divide the majority; racism and all oppression under capitalism serve this purpose. Moreover, oppression is used to justify and "explain" unequal relationships in society that enrich the minority who live off the majority's labor. Thus, racism developed initially to explain and justify the enslavement of Africans – because they were less than human and undeserving of liberty and freedom. As Paul D'Amato (1999) wrote:

> Everyone accepts the idea that the oppression of slaves was rooted in the class relations of exploitation under that system. Fewer recognize that under capitalism, *wage slavery* is the pivot around which all other inequalities and oppressions turn. Capitalism used racism to justify plunder, conquest and slavery, but as Karl Marx pointed out, it also used racism to divide and rule – to pit one section of the working class against another and thereby blunt class consciousness. (P. 30)

To claim, as Marxists do, that racism is a product of capitalism is not to deny or diminish its importance or impact in American society. It is simply to explain its origins and the reasons for its perpetuation. Many on the left today talk about class as if it is one of many oppressions, often describing it as "classism." What people are really referring to as "classism" is elitism or snobbery, and not the fundamental organization of society under capitalism.

Despite the widespread beliefs to the contrary of his critics, Karl Marx himself was well aware of the centrality of race under capitalism. While Marx did not write extensively on the question of slavery and its racial impact in societies specifically, he did write about the way in which European capitalism emerged because of its pilfering, rape, and destruction, famously writing:

> The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of Black skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. (Marx 1867:435)

He also recognized the extent to which slavery was central to the world economy. He wrote:

> Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance.
>
> Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy – the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations. Thus slavery, because it is an economic category, has always existed among the institutions of the peoples. Modern nations have been able only to disguise slavery in their own countries, but they have imposed it without disguise upon the New World. (Marx 1847)

Thus, there is a fundamental understanding of the centrality of slave labor in the national and international economy.

Reducing Hyper-Incarceration to a Racial Problem Rather than Systemic Problem

As the quote from Adolph Reed Jr. at the beginning of the chapter highlights, it is essential to note that throughout US history, racism has not constituted an end in itself but rather a means to an end. This applies equally to chattel slavery, the hyper-incarceration of surplus humanity today, and the tortured and complex history in between. "The object" of slavery, Fields and Fields (2022) remind us, "was to produce cotton or sugar or tobacco, not to produce white supremacy" (p. 137), but to maintain a system of production called capitalism. Similarly, Fred Hampton (1969), Chair and Leader of the Black Panther Party in Chicago, Illinois, said in his speech delivered at Northern Illinois University in 1969, "we never negated the fact that there was racism in America, but we said that when you, the by-product, what comes off of racism, that capitalism comes first and next is racism. That when they brought enslaved people over here, it was to take money. So

first the idea came that we want to make money, then the slaves came in order to make that money. That means that capitalism had to, through historical fact, racism had to come from capitalism. It had to be capitalism first and racism was a by-product of that." *Similarly, the aim of the hyper-incarceration of surplus humanity is not to reinforce racism, white supremacy, or settler colonialism. Instead, it is to cage those that have been pushed out of the labor market and into surplus humanity*. Racism, then, is a tool in the ruling class arsenal for assuring the conditions for capitalist exploitation.

Race, then, no more explains the incarceration patterns among "people of color" today than it explains the enslavement of those descended from Africa in the antebellum United States. Since race is a historical construct with no biological basis, it cannot make things happen or explain anything. The degradation associated with slavery produced the notion of racial inferiority, not the other way around. Similarly, racial difference does not produce the allegedly higher incarceration rates among "people of color" today – though the identitarian paradigms treat race as an independent variable in analyzing hyper-incarceration, which reinforces this gravely misguided and dangerous notion. The racial justice and race-reductionist frames simply do not adequately explain the current crisis of police violence, hyper-incarceration, policing, and criminalization, of which poor communities are overrepresented as the majority of victims. In 2023, people from the Black community comprised 38%, white members 38%, Latinos 21%, and Native Americans 2% of the prison population. While racial disparities are evident compared to their respective populations in the United States, what is most shocking is that the vast majority of captives come from poor backgrounds or were earning close-to-poverty wages before their incarceration. The pre-incarceration annual income for people already convicted in 2023 was no more than $22,000 for all racial and gender backgrounds (Sawyer and Wagner 2023). Additionally, in 2015, there were 1,138 people killed by police in the United States, and of that number, 581 were white, 306 were Black, 195 were Latino, 24 were Asian or Pacific Islander, 13 were Native American, and the

race/ethnicity of the remaining 27 was unknown (The Guardian 2016; Spencer 2016; Reed 2016). In 2022, nearly 1,200 people were killed by police in the United States, and of that number, 26% were Black, 18% were Latino, 43% were white, and 13% were categorized as other (Mapping Police Violence 2022b). Rather than prompting some version of "all lives matter" post-racialism, these facts should encourage greater discernment from those who want to create just forms of public safety. Why should police shoot anyone? The underlying fact is that the unemployed, the homeless, and those who work in the informal economy or live in areas where that economy is dominant are more likely to be regularly surveilled, harassed, arrested, and shot, as we have seen in the ethnographic section of this dissertation. Race reductionists, and as we will see in the next section with identitarian paradigms, posit universal Black and brown injury and often exclude poor white communities, where the violence of the carceral state is, in fact, experienced more broadly across the working class.

When confronted with the figure of the white captive, Alexander has argued that he is, in fact, "collateral damage," the unintended victim in what is a fundamentally anti-black War on Drugs. As we have discussed above, the War on Drugs is a global phenomenon that affects poor and surplus populations all across the globe, from Latin America to South Asia. For the United States, even when presented with the contradiction between the Jim Crow analogy and the class dynamics of incarceration, Michelle Alexander doubles down and seems to think that referring to non-Black prisoners as collateral damage is a legitimate and politically valuable approach. "When a white kid in rural Nebraska gets a prison sentence rather than drug treatment he needs but cannot afford, he's suffering because of a drug war declared with Black folks in mind," Alexander contends. "And by describing white people as collateral damage in the drug war, it creates an opportunity for us to see the ways in which people of all colors can be harmed by race-based initiatives or attacks that are aimed at another racially defined group" (as cited in, Philischer 2012).

This explanation is a terrible evasion and separation of racial and class relations in the capitalist totality, an attempt to cling to an ideological faith even when actual data require a different approach. The prison expansion and the turn to militaristic hyper-policing are not motivated principally by racism. Policing and incarceration have always been about protecting class relations (Johnson 2022b) and managing the proletariat and the potential threat to global capitalism. Johnson (2020) argues that "modern policing and punishment have served as a means of disciplining the poor," and continues, as well as "protecting emergent property regimes" (p. 172). Whether in North San Diego County neighborhood or the cities of United Kingdom, the process of policing the poor is orchestrated by the same diverse cast of beat cops, case managers, ICE agents, border patrol, security personnel, probation officers, district attorneys, public defenders, correctional officers and wardens, social reformers, conservative and liberal politicians, weapons manufacturers, lobbyists, non-profits, corporations, foundations, and even our own communities: a kind of social control complex that has been growing by leaps and bounds as poverty, cynicism, and the surplus population increase and the neoliberal era grinds on (Johnson 2022). As Mark Neocleous (2000:xii) argues, police, "along with its equally fetishized sister concepts of 'order', 'security' and 'law', is a central category in the self-understanding of bourgeois society." Furthermore, Neocleous contends, "policing has been central not just to the repression of the working class and the reproduction of order, but to the *fabrication of order* . . . as order became increasingly based on the bourgeois mode of production, so the police mandate was to fabricate an order of wage labour and administration of the class of poverty" (Neocleous 2000:xii).

No Revolution within Sight: Critiquing Identitarian Paradigms

Class and class struggle never exist independently, in isolation from race, gender, or other social identities. Each identity should be seen in relation to the whole totality of capitalism. I, as a Xicano Marxist, do not negate the existence of racial, gender, ethnic, and sexual oppression, which

includes exploitation. On the contrary, these different forms of oppression cannot exist outside of the domination by corporate and dominant classes. This section will highlight a critique and stance that many academics share, including Darder and Torres, William Robinson, Barbara Foley, Adolph Reed Jr., Touré Reed, and Cedric Johnson, among many more academics, activists, and community organizers, on the limitations of identitarian paradigms. Only an analysis that weaves anti-capitalism together with feminism, racial justice, decolonization, and queer/trans liberation will lay the foundation for the truly revolutionary praxis that we desperately need.

The radical criminology approach arose in the 1960s and 1970s: a school of thought that states that society functions in terms of the general interests of the ruling groups and capitalism. Radical criminology focuses on class struggle and its basis in Marxism, which considers crime to be a tool used by the ruling class (Platt 1974, 1988; Lynn and Michalowski 2006). It appeared more recently to have fallen out of favor in academia, specifically in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, precisely during the peak moments of the era of hyper-incarceration. While the dominant groups have enriched themselves off the expense of the working class, surplus humanity has suffered from the mechanisms of social control heightened during the 1970s (Reiman and Leighton 2020). The dismantling of social programs and the growing dominance of the right-wing agenda in the United States political system has been made possible, at least partly, by the successful repression of the civil rights and liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Many leaders – Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, George Jackson, and many others – were assassinated. Others, like Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt, Leonard Peltier, and Mumia Abu-Jamal, have been incarcerated. Over 150 political prisoners from the Black liberation struggle are in prison. As discussed above, Gramsci (1972) further developed the concept of hegemony to highlight two forms of domination: consensual and coerced. Those who do not fall under consensual domination are subject to coercive control by the capitalist system, through

mechanisms like hyper-incarceration, policing, criminalization, and more, as discussed above. Here, however, we will discuss consensual domination and how people, activists, and entire organizations are sucked into the hegemonic system of, in this case, global capitalism.

Our focal point throughout this dissertation is capitalism's shift and restructuring in the 1970s. This clash of mass struggles helped representatives and agents from oppressed communities join the ranks of the professional strata and the elite (see Robinson 2017d). Because of this, oppressed and working-class communities have been stripped from and robbed of radical political discourse and leadership, especially in academia. Raju J Das (2020) writes, "the academic system either reduces the curricular content of Marxism to zero or to an insignificant amount (as in some of the progressive places) such that it is as good as zero." In academia, the lack of political discourse or marginalization of the radical critique of global capitalism has opened space for a new petty bourgeoisie, whose class aspirations become expressed in post-modern narratives and identitarian politics. In contrast, in the larger society, it has found refuge among aspiring middle-class and professional elements that originated from the mass movements and are now leaders of organizations, NGOs, and non-profits (Robinson et al. 2022; Soto and Terrell 2021; Soto 2021). The identitarian paradigms shun class and a critique of capitalism at the level of theory, analysis, and practice, often disguising and co-opting radical-sounding language while advancing the class politics of the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. Robinson et al. (2022) highlight this critique of identitarian paradigms in their article *The Cult of Cedric Robinson's Black Marxism: A Proletariat Critique*. They state,

> If radical ideas only become an historical force when they are channeled into political organization, into a vision of a new world and a revolutionary project to bring it about, the same is true for all ideas, revolutionary or otherwise; they become material forces when they influence mass consciousness and action. As identitarian narratives became hegemonic in the academy and in the broader society, they shaped the commonsense understanding of racial, gender and other forms of oppression. Ethnic, racial, gender and sexual oppression are not tangential, but constitutive of capitalism. There can be no general emancipation

without liberation from these forms of oppression. But the inverse is just as critical: all the particular forms of oppression are grounded in the larger social order of global capitalism that perpetually regenerates these oppressions. Considering that culture is porous and is therefore migratory, dynamic, dialectical in construction and process, our challenge is to discover our universal humanity in the context of the cultural differences that are not given but produced, a production that can never have an end point.

Since the 1970s, much of the progressive and academic literature on subordinate populations has utilized the constructs of "race," "diversity," "intersectionality," and "multiculturalism" as a central theme for analyzing and interpreting social conditions of inequality and marginalization in the United States and beyond. Although these concepts can be helpful in describing the effects of multiple types of oppressions, the concepts do not offer an adequate explanatory framework for addressing the root causes of social inequality in the capitalist social and economic system. Here, I am not stating that we do not have multiple types of oppressions; instead, we must show how multiple types of oppressions are linked and in relation to the capitalist system. Not only do racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, and religious bigotry affect many people's lives, but any two or more of these types of oppression can also be experienced simultaneously in the lives of given individuals or demographic sectors within the class system. Unfortunately, the massive emphasis on these constructs has unleashed a burst of liberal, liberal-conservative, and far-right conservative movements that, consciously or unconsciously, have crippled the socialist project of human emancipation, especially in the United States. In turn, radical organizations have almost disappeared since the 1970s. Again, I am not saying that race, gender, ethnicity, and other identities are to blame for the co-optation of corporate and conservative parties, but rather that radical thinkers, as well as socialist thinkers like Cedric Johnson, Adolph Reed Jr., William I. Robinson, Angela Davis, the Black Panther Party, the Communist Parties, Anarchists, and Marxian thinkers, among others, are often marginalized, constitute only a few of the figures in academia, or are labeled "class reductionists."

First, let me provide a historical context for the rise of these constructs. From 1945 through the 1950s, class struggle was an overarching theme due to the importance of unionizing during the post-war period. George Lipsitz (1994) adds a different perspective in his book *Rainbow at Midnight* in that in the 1940s, the post-war social conflicts had their roots in the wartime experiences of workers. He points out the connection of gender and race to class issues, and the book examines how workers' multiple identities played out economically, politically, and culturally. Lipsitz focuses on the resistance of ordinary workers, both Black and white, to the constraints of the new world order. The struggle for wages and better working conditions continued throughout the war and resulted in significant worker gains. The backlash to this was mobilized by business, which gave rise to the Taft Hartley law, a purge of the most radical communist and social labor leaders. Then it resulted in a tamer form of business unionism. Then came the civil rights movement, focusing on the rights of all, women, Chicano, African Americans, and the working class. Thus, starting in the 1960s and onward, we can argue that there was a shift away from class politics; I am not arguing that they were dropped or forgotten, but that they shifted towards a form of identity politics that centered on race and gender into what some call *Post-Narratives*. Robinson (2017d) notes:

> With the apparent triumph of global capitalism in the 1990s following the collapse of the old Soviet bloc, the defeat of Third World nationalist and revolutionary projects, and the withdrawal of the Left into post-modern identity politics and other forms of accommodation with the prevailing social order, many intellectuals who previously identified with anti-capitalist movements and emancipatory projects seemed to cede a certain *defeatism* before global capitalism. The decline of the Left and socialist movements worldwide, a result, among other factors, of the chronic gap between theory and practice, thought and action, led to a degeneration of intellectual criticism as well. (Pp. 606–607; italics in original]

Robinson continues:

> Post-Narratives came to play the theoretical counterpart to identity politics. All forms of 'resistance' to *oppression* were now celebrated but *exploitation* was banished from the popular vocabulary. Any understanding of *exploitation* requires the tools of Marxist political economy yet this was maligned a 'class reductionism',

> ‘metanarrative’ of (white, male) Westerners, and ‘economism’ so that any underlying structural causes of oppression could not be identified. In rhetoric Post-Narratives denounces capitalism (in the abstract, with no concrete analysis, and as ‘just another’ among the multiplicity of oppressive systems) but in the practice the best identity politics can aspire to is symbolic vindication, diversity (often meaning diversity in the ruling bloc), non-discrimination in the dominant social and political institutions and equitable inclusion and representation *within* global capitalism. (P. 607; italics in original)

While there are legitimate critiques of Marxism, and while we must fight all forms of oppression, the fact is that identity politics and post-narratives have marginalized the critique of capitalism and the class-based struggle against it. Post-Narratives alienated a whole generation of young people in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries from embracing a desperately needed Marxist critique of capitalism at the moment of its globalization and at the time of crisis. The Post-Narrative rejection of political economy as a ‘totalizing narrative’ and an ‘oppressive discourse’ deprived us precisely of the tools to understand and confront global capitalism. This was one form of inclusion into the middle and upper-class ranks. The construct of “race,” “diversity,” “intersectionality,” and “multiculturalism” are deeply connected to these developments. The legitimacy of class struggles in the United States is weakened, or shifted, by a move to struggle against discrimination based on race, gender, and other identities. Intersectionality arose in response to significant deficiencies ignoring gender and race in academia and politics.

Given this tradition, it is not surprising that many of the theories, practices, and policies in the social sciences today are rooted in a politics of identity, which is no threat to the system of global capitalism. In fact, many corporations have embraced identity politics and vice versa. For example, Van Jones, an American news and political commentator, received $100 million from Jeff Bezos (for what did he receive this funding?), and Kimberlé Crenshaw (who coined the term ‘intersectionality’) attacked Bernie Sanders, stating that corporations have done more for anti-racist causes than the Democrats or the left (Reed Jr. 2021). Intersectionality proposes that the effects of multiple forms of oppression are cumulative and interwoven. According to the

intersectional approach, not only do racism, sexism, disablism, religious bigotry, homophobia, and "classism" wreak havoc on many people's lives, but any two or more of these types of oppression can be experienced simultaneously in the lives of any given individual or group of people. This new framework has overtaken radical ways of thinking in academia. The primary purpose of this hegemonic version of intersectionality deployed by the corporate-funded lawyers, media, academics, and the non-profit sector is to "integrate the ruling class, place black and queer and other faces in high places, and distribute the bitter punishments of austerity more equally" (Dixon 2018), without a critique of the political economy or the capitalist system. As Barbara Foley (2019:11) proposes, "although intersectionality can usefully describe the effects of multiple oppressions … it does not offer an adequate explanatory framework for addressing the root causes of social inequality in the capitalist socioeconomic system." In fact, intersectionality can pose a barrier when one begins to ask other kinds of questions about the reasons for inequality – that is, when one moves past the discourse of "rights" and institutional policy, which presuppose the existence of social relations based upon the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of labor. Thus, Foley (2018) argues:

> An effective critique of the limitations of intersectionality hinges upon the formulation of a more robust and materialist understanding of social class than is usually allowed: not *class* as an identity or an experiential category, but *class analysis* as a mode of structural exploitation… it is proposed, however, that the ways in which productive human activity is organized – and, in class-based society, compels the mass of the population to be divided up into various categories in order to ensure that the many will be divided from one another and will labor for the benefit of the few – *this* class-based organization constitutes the principal issue requiring investigation if we wish to understand the roots of social inequality. (P. 272; italics in the original)

Thus, this analytical construct reduces "the capitalist system to one of many spheres in the plural and heterogeneous complexity of modern society" (Wood 2016:242).

Ellen M. Wood (2016) argues that intersectionality represents a wary appropriation of Antonio Gramsci's notion of *civil society*, which was intended to function as a weapon against

capitalism by identifying potential spaces of freedom outside the state for autonomous, voluntary organizations and plurality. However, the concept has been stripped of its unequivocal, anti-capitalist intent. Wood highlights:

> Here, the danger lies in the fact that the totalizing logic and the coercive power of capitalism is reduced to one set of institutions and relations among many others, on a conceptual par with households or voluntary associations. Such a reduction is, in fact, the principal distinctive feature of 'civil society' in the new incarnation. Its effect is to conceptualize away the problem of capitalism, by disaggregating society into fragments, with no overarching power structure, no totalizing unity, no systemic coercion – in other words, no capitalist system, with its expansionary drive and its capacity to penetrate every aspect of social life. (P. 245)

This denial and rejection of the totality that is capitalism does not simply justify the existence of plural identities and relations that should be equally privileged and given weight as modes of domination. The logic of this analysis also fails to recognize that "the class relation that constitutes capitalism is not, after all, just a personal identity, nor even just a principle of 'stratification' or inequality. It is not only a specific system of power relations but also the constitutive relation of distinctive social process, the dynamic of accumulation and the self-expansion of capital" (Wood 2016:246).

In addition, this logic ignores the fact that notions of identity result from a process of identification with a particular configuration of historically lived or transferred social arrangements and practices tied to the material conditions of actual and imagined survival. The intersectionality argument fails to illustrate the manner in which commonly identified diverse social spheres or plural identities exist "within the determinative force of capitalism, its system of social poverty relations, its expansionary imperatives, its drive for accumulation, its commodification of all social life, its creation of the market as a necessity, and so on" (Woods 2016:246). Wood's critique allows us to analyze the shortcomings of intersectionality. Racism and sexism are a result of hegemonic forces of class domination; however, it is the material domination and exploitation of populations

that serve as the impetus for the construction of social formations of inequality. Here is Wood's critique of intersectionality:

> The 'difference' that constitutes class as an 'identity' is, by definition, a relationship of inequality and power, in a way that sexual or cultural 'difference' need to not to be. A truly democratic society can celebrate diversities of lifestyles, culture or sexual preference; but in what sense would it be 'democratic' to celebrate class difference? If a conception of freedom or equality adapted to sexual and cultural differences is intended to extend the reach of human liberation, can the same be said of conception of freedom or equality that accommodates class difference? (Wood 2016:258)

Class, gender, sexuality, and racism do not have the same meaning or constitutive power – a highly significant issue for potentially reshaping political action. Wood argues:

> At the very least, class equality means something different and requires different conditions from sexual or racial equality. In particular, the abolition of class inequality would by definition mean the end of capitalism. But is the same necessarily true about the abolition of sexual and racial inequality? Sexual and racial inequality… are not in principle incompatible with capitalism. The disappearance of class inequalities, on the other hand, is by definition incompatible with capitalism. At the same time, although class exploitation is constitutive of capitalism as sexual and racial inequality are not, capitalism subjects all social relations to its requirement. (Wood 2016:258).

Today, where capital transits the globe, there is little tolerance for serious scholarly or political interrogations of capitalism as an ideology of modernity. This is most evident in the critiques raised by William Robinson's work on *Global Capitalism and the Restructuring of Education*. Here Robinson addresses the shift of critical and radical scholarship to a more passive co-optation and maintenance of the system of capitalist expansion. According to Robinson (2016), today's educational system has a core of elite centers of education where organic intellectuals administer the system and engage in its ongoing design. Below that is a tier of educational institutions producing every vocational and technocratic expert labor, who, in exchange for their services and their obedience, will be rewarded with comfortable lifestyles. Finally, there is the mass of humanity increasingly 'precariatized' and thrown into the ranks of surplus labor, who only need basic numeracy and literacy skills in order to supply labor for the system, and whose potential for critical

thinking could nevertheless pose a severe threat to the capitalist order. This type of educational system serves the dual function of supplying the numeracy, literacy, and technical knowledge necessary to produce servile workers while suppressing the development of critical thinking that could mount a challenge to global capitalism and its punitive social control. Instead of creating critical thinkers during the 1970s, the restructuring of capital led to school systems, with their disciplinary processes, hierarchical relations, and hidden curricula, preparing students for their future roles in the capitalist economy.

Similarly, Cedric Johnson (2023) critiques liberation movements and organizations in his book *After Black Lives Matter*. The historic uprising in the wake of the murder of George Floyd transformed the way we think about race, class, and policing. Why did the movement achieve so few substantive reforms, abolition, or systemic change? Johnson (2023) argues that the failure to leave an institutional residue was not simply due to the mercurial and reactive character of the protests. Instead, the core of the movement failed to locate the central racial injustice that underpins the crisis of policing: socioeconomic inequality and capitalism. For Johnson, the anti-capitalist and downwardly redistributive politics expressed by different Black Lives Matter elements have too often been drowned out in the flood of Black wealth creation, fetishism of Jim Crow Black entrepreneurship, corporate diversity initiatives, and a quixotic reparations demand. None of these political tendencies addresses the fundamental problem underlying hyper-incarceration and the prison–industrial complex.

In *The Panthers Can't Save Us Now*, Johnson (2017) states, "part of the problem resides in the prevailing nostalgia for Black Power militancy and the continued pursuit of modes of black ethnic politics." Johnson (2017) continues, "at the heart of contemporary organizing is the notion of black exceptionalism. Contemporary Black Lives Matter activists and supporters insist on the uniqueness of the black predicament and the need for race-specific remedies." The essay addresses

this notion of Black exceptionalism. It lays out its origins and limits as an analysis of hyper-policing and, more generally, as a practical political orientation capable of building the popular power needed to end the policing crisis. For Johnson (2017), the hegemony of identitarian paradigms since the 1970s has reshaped the terms of political debate and action on the left in at least three detrimental ways. First, it has engendered widespread confusion about political life, leading many to falsely equate social identity with political interests. Second, it has distorted how we understand the work of building alliances not on identity as such but on shared values and demonstrated commitment. Third, Johnson argues that relying on racial or other identities as a means of authorizing speakers has had a corrupting effect on the left's political struggle.

As James Forman (2021) argues, *The New Jim Crow* analogy presents an incomplete account of mass incarceration's historical origins, fails to consider Black attitudes toward crime and punishment, ignores violent crimes while focusing almost exclusively on drug crimes, obscures class distinctions within the African American community, and overlooks the effects of mass incarceration on other racial groups. Finally, Reed Jr. (2012) argues that *The New Jim Crow* is an expression of an, at best, self-righteous and lazy-minded identitarian discourse that has increasingly captured the imagination of the left in the United States since the 1990s. Alexander's reading is an antagonistic alternative to politics grounded in political economy and class analysis, despite left-seeming defenses that insist on the importance of race and class (Reed 2012).

For a more holistic analysis, we turn to Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) in the *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, as she shows how the political economy played an essential role in California's massive prison boom. Coercive mechanisms in the United States involved the rise of the prison–industrial complex through what Gilmore calls post-Keynesian militarism. Gilmore states, "after crisis conditions…the state rebuilt itself by building prisons fashioned from surpluses that the emergent post-golden-age political economy was not

absorbing in other ways – global capitalists [had] the opportunity to cage, exile, and repress working-class communities." At the same time, the political climate in the United States called for an all-out offensive to expand policing and enact laws and policies targeting specific populations, a massive expansion of the prison system and private prisons through a political climate of campaigns for law and order (Gilmore 2007).

The most reliable marker we have for delineating who has power over who has for generations been a class struggle or a class analysis. Cedric Johnson (2017) stresses the need to support a popular, anti-capitalist politics rooted in situated-class experiences as the only viable means of ending the policing crisis and guaranteeing genuine public safety. On policing and incarceration, he argues:

> The root cause of the contemporary policing and incarceration crisis is not then the prevalence of new Jim Crow racism, but rather the advent of zero-tolerance policing and prison as the dominant means of managing a huge and growing surplus population in an age where the nation has abandoned the use of state power to guarantee the most basic material needs and protection from market volatility.

We must create a society without disposable people where compulsory wage labor does not determine and circumscribe the right to health care, education, housing, and one's creative capacity and time. In analyzing hyper-incarceration, the policing crisis, and the global police state, we must organize against inherited urban–suburban political divisions, daily habits, clichéd thinking, and social relations to discover common interest and popular power, or the national-popular, as Gramsci (1972) notes. There can be no end to hyper-incarceration, policing, criminalization, marginalization, and the underlying global inequalities without the difficult work of taking power and imposing a more humane regime.

Revitalizing a Leftist Project

As the world descends into chaos and the capitalist crisis throws more people into uncertain situations, socialism appears to be making a comeback, especially among the younger

generations. In the United States, for example, where anti-communism and the red scare rhetoric have prevailed, and the celebration of capitalist individualism (for example, the "American Dream" and "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" analogies) has long dominated the society's consciousness, one 2020 survey found that within the Gen Z group (ages 16–23), support for socialism increased nearly ten percentage points over a single year: from 40 percent in 2019 to 49 percent when this poll was taken in September 2020 (Fitzgerald and Black 2020). Looking at the entire population, support for capitalism declined from 58 percent in 2019 to 55 percent in 2020, while support for socialism among all Americans increased from 36 percent in 2019 to 40 percent in 2020. The dominant groups have taken notice of this shift into socialism. In his 2019 State of the Union speech, US President Donald Trump declared that the United States would "never be a socialist country," while Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi repeatedly declared that "We [the Democrats] are capitalists" (Trevon 2019). In Florida, Governor Ron DeSantis signed into law several reactionary education bills aimed at vilifying socialism within schools. The legislation targets civics education courses in K-12 schools and penalizes state universities that do not bolster right-wing conservative ideology on campuses (Johnson 2021). The capitalist class has also taken notice. In 2019, the head of JP Morgan, billionaire Jamie Dimon, attacked socialism as "a disaster" that produces "stagnation, corruption, and often worse" (the same symptoms of global capitalism and the current crisis) (Rushe 2019). Why is it that socialism has sparked the interest of the dominant groups?

It is my intention in this dissertation to argue in favor of anti-capitalism and socialism. As socialism "emerges out of the ashes or fire" of a capitalist society, there has been an explosion of literature on what a post-capitalist society might look like, but, in 2023, global societies, in general, are far from becoming socialists. Indeed, the failure of elite reformism and the unwillingness of the transnational elite to challenge the predation and rapaciousness of global capital has helped to

pave the way for the far-right response to the crisis (Robinson and Barrera 2012). Thus, if this capitalist crisis is not stabilized, the political and economic elite will be all too willing to turn to authoritarianism and neo-fascism to secure capitalist control. The Right has embraced nationalism, populism, xenophobia, and racism, rhetoric channeled to the masses, and transformed mass anti-systemic sentiment into support for neofascism and authoritarian programs. Trumpism in the United States, Brexit in the United Kingdom, the increasing influence of neo-fascist and authoritarian parties and movements throughout Europe (including Poland, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Holland, Spain, the UK, Denmark, France, Belgium, and Greece) and around the world (Pereira 2017), such as in Israel, Turkey, Colombia, the Philippines, Brazil, and India, as distinct as they may be from one another, have in common that they represent far-right responses to the crisis of global capitalist hegemony. The Right has mobilized and been empowered, yes, by corporate and nation-state governments, but also by the failure of the Left.

Since the 2008 market collapse, a massive revolt has spread throughout the globe (Robinson 2022), ranging from Occupy Wall Street, the immigrant rights movement, the Dakota Access Pipeline protests and uprisings, and workers' struggles in the United States, including those of fast food workers, Starbucks, Amazon, and teachers, to the leftist parties Podemos and Syriza in Europe, the Extinction Rebellion in the United Kingdom, the end of feminicide in Mexico, the Yellow Vest movement in France, the Arab Spring in the Middle East and North Africa, the Shack Dwellers' Movement, the Indigenous movements in Ecuador and Guatemala, the continued revolution in Haiti, and other poor people's campaigns in South Africa, the Women's Movement in Iran, the radical Chilean student movement, mass worker struggles in India and China, and the uprising against the military regime in Sudan, among many others. These massive revolt have undoubtedly shaken the world. Many of these revolts are fighting against repression, exploitation, cooptation, and dispossession. However, in many cases, the absence of a concrete, viable socialist-

oriented program and of political organizations that could push such a program has helped the dominant groups and their representatives to undercut the revolts.

In the United States, instead of a left politics predicated on anti-racism and racial affinity, Cedric Johnson (2017) and others would argue that we should fight for a revitalization of "popular, anti-capitalist politics situated in class experiences" as the only solution to end hyper-incarceration and global capitalism, and save humanity. Whether it is Marxist-Leninism, Maoism, Anarchism/Libertarian, or Revolutionary Socialism, there needs to be a revitalization of leftist coalition-building that unapologetically corresponds to contemporary anti-racist, anti-gender, homophobia, anti-immigrant sentiment, and workers' mobilizations. People need cures in an age of pandemics, crises, and climate catastrophes. The only cure for the pandemic of global capitalism is revolutionary socialism, which can only be achieved alongside a critical analysis of capitalism within the political sphere of public discourse. To quote one of Hampton's famous last speeches, he states,

> We got to face some facts. That the masses are poor, that the masses belong to what you call the lower class, and when I talk about the masses, I'm talking about the white masses, I'm talking about the black masses, and the brown masses, and the yellow masses, too. We've got to face the fact that some people say you fight fire best with fire, but we say you put fire out best with water. We say you don't fight racism with racism. We're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We say you don't fight capitalism with no black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism. (Hampton 1969b)

Of course, 'socialism' is equally as scary a word to anti-racist liberals and racist conservatives alike, and while we do not have time to outline a holistic socialist program – for this, I would need a separate book – instead, I can take the time to explain what socialism is not. Socialism is not an authoritarian state-controlled economy; it is not the welfare capitalism of the social-democratic countries of Northern Europe lauded by the likes of Bernie Sanders or Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and it is not only "for white people." Socialism is merely a tried-and-true model of organizing

people into a stateless, classless society in which the world's industries are democratically managed by the people who work in them, a world in which the rock quarries and lumber yards are controlled by stone masons and carpenters. Contrary to popular belief, socialists aim to cut out the middleman, that is, the bureaucratic buffer between people who are forced to work for a living and those profiting off of their labor, a system which is upheld by the military, police, corporate, capitalist, and prison-immigration system. Socialism is the overthrow of all existing property relations and the dismantling of institutions that uphold them. As George Jackson highlights in his book *Blood in My Eye*, "revolution within a modern industrial capitalist society can only mean the overthrow of all property relations and the destruction of all institutions that directly or indirectly support existing property relations," and he continues, "…anything less than this is reform" (Jackson 1990).

As Fred Hampton (1969) once said in a speech delivered at Northern Illinois University in November 1969, "we don't need no culture except a revolutionary culture. What we mean by that is a culture that will set you free." The Black Panther party pushed forth a revolution, a transformation of the whole society, to be achieved by combining Black, brown, and white workers and the poor proletariats in opposition to the capitalist empire. The criminal injustice system, including police violence and hyper-incarceration, as we see it today, has become increasingly ensconced in the economic, political, and ideological life of the United States. Thus, the criminal injustice system is much more than the sum of all the jails and prisons in this country. Dialectically speaking, it is a set of symbiotic relationships among correctional communities, the labor market, transnational corporations, media conglomerates, laws and policies, and the global political economy. This dissertation has shown that the current movements, organizations, and the communities against police violence and hyper-incarceration lack a real critique of global capitalism, which in turn, presents a challenge if we really want any sort of systemic change.

An abolitionist and revolutionary social movement approach involves imagining a constellation of alternative strategies and institutions, with the ultimate goal of abolishing the prison system, hyper-incarceration, and hierarchical systems of inequality. These constellations must be centered in a continued revolutionary socialist ideology that fights for social justice, systemic change, and emancipation from global capitalism for all. This entails developing alternative frameworks for social justice, systemic change, and restorative justice instead of punishment and disposability. In addition, it entails destruction of the material wealth fetishization and the abolition of private property that allows global capitalism to prosper. It is critical to center de-incarceration, de-militarization, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonial strategies to develop alternative systems to imprisonment, punishment, super-policing, and abolishing the whole criminal injustice system. Such an approach would include the demilitarization of schools and police; dismantling the military; revamping the health care system proving affordable health care for all; meaningful and rewarding employment that does away with the exploitative reserve army of labor; revitalizing public educational systems and providing free education for all; and, why not, a system without the criminal injustice system. As these massive upheavals continue, it has become clear that abolishing the criminal injustice system ultimately involves a broader struggle against global capitalism backed by revolutionary theory, revolutionary praxis, and political education. All of these were the original premises of revolutionary political thinkers before us. In the end, we must push for an *abolition of global capitalism*. This must be our rallying cry.

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