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was influenced by reports of Boston "wherein all things are done in the form and pattern shewed in the Mount" (p. 181). But Wallington's own writings also demonstrate just how far this artisan living on the corner of Philpot Lane and Little Eastcheap had integrated himself into the mental world of the puritan intelligentsia. Wallington's corpus of providences demonstrate the real success of English puritanism in percolating so far down the social hierarchy, even if the legions of offenders against godly standards that Wallington noted also demonstrates the extent of their continued failure.

In his preface Seaver acknowledges "the indulgence" of those "who have listened patiently to my Wallington stories" (p. ix); however, it seems likely that many more of his colleagues will be telling Wallington stories too. Urban, economic and religious specialists should all find interesting material here, but so should political historians while both colonial and military experts will find Seaver's discussion of a social matrix that settlers left or of the London "home front" during the Civil War useful. Beside this range of potential specialist readerships, Seaver's monograph deserves to reach a wide audience. It is an accessible and sympathetically written account and ought to be comprehensible enough for an interested beginner to early modern England or to puritanism. At \$29.50 this book is too expensive for the place on supplementary bibliographies that it deserves; should it have a paperback edition the publishers might take the opportunity to provide a map for those who are not as familiar with the topography of Stuart London as Seaver is. It is a useful introduction to some fascinating material.

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¹Paul S. Seaver. "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," *Journal of British Studies*, XIX (1980): 35-53.

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In recent years a reshifting of what was once considered important research has been taking place. Ethnic relations, regional or local investigations, and gender studies, for example, had been judged to be less important areas of inquiry. Now they are coming into their own. Among these new areas of study, one should include endeavors to comprehend the process of urbanization. David Harvey's published works¹ present an indepth theoretical analysis of the nature and process of urbanization, and the influ-

ence this process has on capitalist society. In these studies, Harvey contends that the city cannot be considered neutral. It is an active participant in the reproduction of human life. The city therefore forms a fundamental parameter to the investigation of material life. Harvey's recent book, *The Urbanization of Capital*, provides an excellent theoretical example of his argument. Whether we agree or not with Harvey's interpretation, his new book provides a substantial theoretical addition to the ongoing efforts to comprehend the process of urbanization and the conceptualization of space in capitalist society.

The Urbanization of Capital will be most attractive to sociologists, economists, political scientists, urban planners, and geographers. Harvey conceptualizes the problem of urbanization and space within the language and debate of these disciplines. However the historian should also make an effort to come to terms with this theoretical debate over urbanization. Historians have typically been satisfied with a descriptive and functionalist approach to the city. Urbanization becomes a natural phenomenon within a particular cultural, geographical, and economic setting. Following a functionalist tradition, the city develops as either an organism or a series of naturally extending concentric circles. In either case, the urban environment appears as a passive variable. The city, in other words, becomes a mere "reflection" of society. Moreover, historians have avoided theories concerning the city; they have left such work to other disciplines. This has permitted the appearance of uncritical assumptions concerning the patterns of urbanization. It is for these reasons that historians should carefully look at the debates concerning urbanization. Harvey's latest book can provide a starting point.

In *The Urbanization of Capital*, Harvey sets out to analyze the dynamic of class and the urban environment. Harvey argues that space is a social product formed in the interaction of social forces and the dynamic of socio-economic reproduction. In order to demonstrate this, he begins with a review of Marx's examination of capitalism. This is not a summary of Marx's work; it is on one level an interpretation and on another an elaboration of Marx's analysis of capitalist production and reproduction. In chapter one, Harvey capsulizes Marx's view of capitalism and the role of capital accumulation and class conflict in shaping space. With this in mind, Harvey then attempts, in the following chapter, a reconstruction of Marxian theory to form a "geography of capitalist accumulation."² Marx, Harvey points out, never completely analyzed space; he left it as an unexplored factor of capital (pp. 41-45). Because Marx's research agenda remained deficient, Harvey undertakes the task of elucidating and incorporating the role of space into Marx's theory (p. 33). Thus in chapter three, Harvey takes up the problematic that H. Lefebvre left unclear: how does urbanization become crucial to capitalist growth and in fact replace industry in the twentieth century (p. 62)? In order to complete Lefebvre's work, Harvey turns to the analysis of the

relationship of rent, especially class-monopoly rent, and the urbanization process (chapters three and four).

In the last chapters (four through eight), Harvey deals in more detail with the process of urbanization and capitalism: the link between class structure and residential differentiation, urban politics, the city and uneven development, planning, and a history of the relationship of capital and the city. Given the character of capital accumulation and class conflict, Harvey attempts to understand the building of the urban environment from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. It is with this in mind that he investigates the relationship of subjective class interests, class structure, and urbanization. For instance, in his examination of the conflict between landlord and tenants, or speculator-developers and suburban middle and upper income groups, Harvey uncovers a hierarchical structure through which class-monopoly rents percolate upward. The financial institutions are located on top of this structure. Furthermore, the integration of individual behavior with the needs of the whole society are manifested in the structure of financial and governmental institutions which create the basis for class-monopoly power (pp. 65-79). The physical dynamic of urbanization is powered by financial and governmental institutions, mediated by speculator-developers and speculator-landlords in pursuit of class-monopoly rent, and the constant need to reproduce the capitalist order. In this process, Harvey continues, new distributive communities or consumption classes appear (pp. 82-84).

The urbanization process is clearly enmeshed in the dynamic of capital accumulation. The conflict among various groups and classes, and the constant disequilibrium of the economic structure leads to the appearance of new groups and locations. Capitalism is constantly building a physical and social landscape in its own image albeit unstable and contradictory. For instance, residential differentiation is not a passive product of a preference system as presented by certain functionalists. This must be seen, Harvey notes, "as an integral mediating influence in the processes whereby class relationships and social differentiations are produced and sustained" (p. 124). Any analysis of residential differentiation must be integrated with a general social theory. Another case of how capitalism fashions its landscape is Harvey's fascinating discussion of planning in chapter seven. Planning, Harvey begins, is not a neutral activity; it is another form of class interaction. Thus the planner's task has to be examined against the background of inter-class and factional conflicts. As the experience of planning since the 1960s demonstrates, the planner partakes of capitalist rationality and in fact is part of the instrumentality of state power.

Harvey's *The Urbanization of Capital* suffers from certain problems that weaken his argument. Harvey's organization is not fully evident. It is not always plain why Harvey spends time on one topic and ignores another. For example, Harvey devotes much time to the theoretical discussion of land rent in chapters three and four; yet he dedicates little time to a discussion of rent

in transitional social formations and cities in less developed regions. Moreover his topics are not linked well. At one point, we are in a discussion of Marx and space, and then we are examining a particularity of the urban environment. A second problem is that his work does not stand well on its own. The initial chapters on Marx, though quite interesting, lack elaboration. It is necessary, as Harvey tells his reader, to return to his earlier work, *The Limits of Capital*. Furthermore, the examples that demonstrate his point are in the companion volume, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*. Therefore this book can be seen as the second of a trilogy.³ But possibly the most disheartening factor, at least for a historian, is Harvey's attempt to generalize a history of the formation of the urban environment in capitalist society with little data. Harvey does not demonstrate his argument concerning the appearance of the industrial city and the role of the built environment in the transition to capitalism. How the city is supportive of the capitalist transition and why it is essential to the transition is not demonstrated. How the "new industrial city" becomes the "concrete means toward the definition of abstract labor on the market" also remains undefined (p. 198). Hopefully in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* Harvey addresses some of the ambiguities.

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¹David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*. London: Edward Arnold, 1973; and *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

²In his initial chapter, Harvey furnishes a sophisticated elaboration of Marx's critique of capitalism. As he states in his preface: "Historical materialism has to be upgraded, I insist, to historical-geographical materialism. The historical geography of capitalism has to be the object of our theorizing" (p. xii). Much of Harvey's interpretation can be found in a more developed form in his earlier *The Limits of Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

³The present volume can be seen to fall between *The Limits of Capital* and *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, both cited above.