

Sold Out: How Ottawa's downtown Business Improvement Areas have secured and valorized urban space

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Abstract

This thesis critically investigates the social space of Ottawa's downtown Business Improvement Areas (BIAs). The threads of Marxian political economy that are utilized allow for insights into the realities and contradictions of BIAs in urban spaces that are variably marketed as beautiful, secure, and safe, but that upon closer analysis, are dominated by the capitalist process of forced abstraction that conquers spaces, dedicating them purely to the commodification of everyday life. State-police functionalities vying for legitimation amidst lumpenproletarian advocacy mask the force-backed legal techniques of control and management that actually occur in Ottawa's 'public' urban spaces as they are increasingly corporatized and branded. Employing observational and archival research of Ottawa's downtown BIAs, this thesis tears away the veneer of these spaces and discloses the realities of alienation, reification, and, most importantly, class struggle that accompany the omnipresent exploitation and commodification of Silicon Valley North.

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I wish to thank everyone at Carleton's legal studies program who helped make the completion of this project possible. First and foremost, and to be specific, Dr. George Rigakos deserves more than and gratitude than I can express, for his professionalism and intellectual guidance, and also for performing beyond the call of duty by copy-editing and being available for consultation. Next, the administrative staff and other professors in legal studies – all were helpful in ways that words can't express. Fellow classmates too have been exceptionally insightful in so many respects.

Dedication

Walter Benjamin wrote that the wage-worker is associated with a terrible psychological asphyxiation: the inability to complete. This thesis is dedicated to my parents who provided the support necessary for both the beginning and completion of my Master's studies or, what I consider, overcoming Benjamin's observation. Moreover, both went beyond the conventions of parenthood to see that I endured the dizziness of this theoretical path upon which I have produced this thesis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is an analytic critique of the rise of Ottawa BIAs and their social and economic effect on urban space. I use observational and archival materials to support what is largely a theoretical deconstruction of the valorizing and commodifying compulsion of capitalism. My method, therefore, relies heavily on what I understand as Marx's critique of political economy aided by Lefebvre's notion of space.

1.1: Method:¹

This thesis is a contribution to the ongoing critique of Business Improvement Area Associations: urban spaces which are, in many respects, formally modelled on the suburban shopping mall. In terms of the method of my critique, the thesis draws from Marx's systemic means of social investigation as formulated in the introduction to the *Grundrisse*.² The method of social investigation which Marx outlines therein is neither exclusively analytical or synthetic, but rather encompasses a double movement, 'a proceeding along the paths of both,' whereby particular determinations of abstract presuppositions are analytically produced and synthetic movements produce concrete generalities. In the systemic, investigative exposition – which aims at the reproduction of the real of bourgeois society, the objects of investigation for Marxian social

¹ Strongly supplementing the direct reading of Marx's *Grundrisse* undertaken in preparation for this section is the following: Hiroshi Uchida, Marx's Grundrisse and Hegel's Logic. ed. Terrell Carver (London; New York: Routledge, 1988).

² See, Karl Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy. trans. Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth, England; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973), esp. 100-111.

researchers are both moments in the commencement of synthesis and of analysis. The method is a circular one where ‘the simple’ (or abstract) changes into ‘the complex’ (the concrete), and then the simple is determined as what the complex has posited.

Marx built his method of political economy with Hegel’s *Logic* close at hand. For Hegel, in the development of consciousness, synthetic thought movement presupposes the self-creating ‘capacity’ of the idea. Then, through particularizing, in a descending spiral of classification, the development of the moments of the Notion on the object occurs.³ Expressing the ‘value⁴ consciousness’ – “ideology” – of bourgeois society, ‘the idea’ for Hegel is thus dominant: it characterizes an open totality of manifold determinations where contingency is permissive.⁵ “The idea” occupies a place in Hegel’s conception of consciousness that is analogous to the epistemological place of “value” in Marx’s materialist conception of the social. To actualize the social real, Marx conflates Hegel’s idealism and the “vulgar” materialisms of A. Smith and D. Ricardo, both of which acknowledged profit, ground-rent, and labour, but failed to conceive of the ideal content inherent to the relentless self-expansion of reified labour – value – that occurs within the all-pervasive commodity form.⁶

³ Uchida 20.

⁴ Value is the measure of material worth in capitalist society that is the overarching determinative factor in the process of material production. Labour produces value; and the value of commodities is determined by socially necessary labour time measured according to the price form.

⁵ See, [The Future of Hegel: plasticity, temporality, and dialectic](#). trans. Lisabeth During (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Marx assumes the dominance of value production – wealth creating activity⁷ – and moves to the most concrete relation of bourgeois society, that of wage-labour, in a movement of general to particular; only to then analyze that particular, and so produce the individual real of primitive accumulation.⁸ Singularity need not be implied when speaking of primitive accumulation; primitive accumulations are ongoing phenomenon associated with capital's productive- destructive expansion which occur where and when capital's circuits expand.⁹

As Marx's social ontology presupposes value dominance in the context of world-wide capital valorization so this thesis analytically presupposes the importance of capital to the complex process of the social production of Business Improvement Areas (BIAs) in urban space. In examining this process we will focus on the question of how (BIAs) secure¹⁰ urban space.¹¹ By closely

⁶ See, for example, Robert Albritton, Economics transformed: discovering the brilliance of Marx (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007).

⁷ "There is one specific kind of production which predominates [...], whose relations thus assign rank and influence to the others. It is a general illumination which bathes all the other colours and modifies their particularity. It is a particular ether which determines the specific gravity of every being which has materialized within it." Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 107.

⁸ Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1, ed. Frederick Engels (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967).

⁹ See, for example, Ernest Mandel, Late Capitalism, trans. Joris De Bres, Revised ed. (London: NLB; Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1975).; David Harvey, The New imperialism (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Gilles Deleuze, A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

¹⁰ Multiple contingencies are associated with "the process of capital", as is explained further below. The literature pertaining to 'the' "value-security" nexus is extensive. But particularly informative for this thesis is the following: George S. Rigakos and Richard W. Haden, "Crime, Capitalism and the 'Risk Society': Towards the Same Olde Modernity?," Theoretical Criminology 5. 1 (2001): 61-84.

following the well-known theoretical work of Henri Lefebvre concerning the capitalist production of space, the meaning of urban space will be contextualized within the dominating ideological and material social forces specific to the capitalist mode of production: specifically, alienated labour's technical division and quantification.¹² I will demonstrate that spatial abstractions (alienated/inhuman spaces) and contradictions (spaces for use “vs.” space for exchange) are mediated to the real contradictions inherent to the process of commodity production – i.e., those between value's phenomenal form (money) and value's essence (labouring activity) – which relentlessly drives to expand a commodity logic¹³ according to which value conquers under-organized spheres of circulation.¹⁴

1.2.: Social and legal context

BIAs actually originated in the Bloor-Jane area of West Toronto in 1970, when merchants were concerned about the erosion of their marketplace caused by the growing popularity of suburban shopping malls and an extended subway system. Both were deflecting customers from ‘traditional’ shopping areas.¹⁵ In

¹¹ Henri Lefebvre, The production of space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1991).

¹² “Spaces themselves are specialized just as operations are in the social and technical division of labour. [...] Any determinate and demarcated space necessarily embraces some things and excludes others; what it rejects may be relegated to nostalgia or [...] simply forbidden.” Lefebvre, The Production of Space 98-99.

¹³ Robert Albritton and Thomas T. Sekine, ed., A Japanese approach to political economy: Unoist variations (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

¹⁴ Karl Marx, Capital: Volume 2, ed. Frederick Engels (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967).

Ottawa, BIAs began appearing in official City discourse between 1978 and 1979, in the form of “merchants”, “property owners”, “semi-mall”, and “business promenade” merchant-property owner associations, that sought to increase property values through capital investments in land. Projects were usually promoted as “development”, “revitalization”, or “renewal.”¹⁶ The purpose of these popular projects was increasing property values and countering perceived urban sprawl.¹⁷

In the years leading up to the formation of BIAs in Ottawa there are countless examples in Official City Hall reports of associated merchants bringing forth requests for outdoor-mall development – a process enabled by the Mall Policy Act and Local Improvement Act – primarily to relevant City Committees and the Board of Control. The Mall Policy Act, A Bill whose intention is obvious from its title, was initially reserved for the area known as Sparks Street – Ottawa’s first and most prized outdoor mall – but was also applied to the “Bank Street Promenade,” now called the Bank Street Promenade BIA. When Sparks St.’s merchants were renewing and improving their store-front vicinities under the authority granted to them by the Mall Policy Act, the City of Ottawa was taking on a third of the cost for property improvement. City minutes reveal

¹⁵ Toronto Association of Business Improvement Areas. Dec. 2008. <http://www.toronto-bia.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=19&Itemid=1>.

¹⁶ Examples of these projects included the Lowertown East Renewal Project, the Rideau Area Project, the Bank Street Promenade. They were subject to the approval of The Board of Control, as well as various City Committees attached to the mayor’s office. See, City Council, February 19, 1973. Report Number 5 Board of Control.; City Council, April 16, 1973. Report Number 9 Board of Control.

¹⁷ “Urban renewal” projects are associated with business interested, while “neighbourhood development,” also population in Ottawa during the seventies and early eighties, are associated with “sustainability and recreation.”

that merchants were displeased about this legislation's inability "to deal with beggars,"¹⁸ who, according to the Sparks St. merchants, were preventing the mall space from delivering its entrepreneurial program of a business-friendly environment that would attract wealthy bureaucrats and tourists. To compete with the shopping mall Sparks St. merchants then looked to the City of Ottawa for alternatives to secure the capacity of their district so that it would function as a vibrant space for retail commerce. In 1979 they banded together as a BIA.¹⁹

Thirty years later, during a 2007 meeting on the "improvement of physical infrastructure" that took place only ten kilometres west of Sparks Street, the extent to which 'sidewalk benches [might] attract vagrancy' was considered.²⁰ Collectively, the Westborough BIA called for hiring professional urban designers to construct what would be vagrancy- proof benches.²¹ In the same meeting, the "concentration and the location of supportive housing and social institutions" was also highlighted as a problem and listed under the agenda topic of "crime and illegal activity." These examples clearly demonstrate the

¹⁸ See, City Council, April 16 1974. Physical Environment Committee. 1830-1838. At this time, under the authority of the Mall Policy Act, the City of Ottawa was taking on a third of the costs for property improvement. The Mall Policy Act was initially supposed to be reserved for Sparks St., but it then was also applied to the Bank Street Promenade.

¹⁹ "The government has committed itself to a viable, ongoing commercial presence on Sparks Street. The store mix has stabilized and the environment is now showing signs of improvement. Our strategy is to encourage quality, specialty-type retailers to locate on the mall to create a different ambience than the one in a typical shopping centre." P.J. Fisher, "Sparks Street Mall," The Ottawa Citizen, 3 Oct. 1985, final edition.: A.9.

²⁰ See, City of Ottawa Workshop Summary notes, 24 Feb. 2007. <http://ottawa.ca/residents/public_consult/wellington_cdp/workshop_sessions_en.html#P52_2679>.

²¹ Similar architectural strategies integral to the production of a futuristic urban landscape for L.A have been documented. See, Mike Davis, City of Quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles (London; New York: Verso, 1990).

significance of the politics underpinning the toleration of social inequality, and the real blurring in public discourse of the notions of urban civility and crime.²² BIAs routinely lobby the local state for legal measures to address vagrancy.²³ Indeed, in most BIA meetings there is a barely suppressed conflation of crime with attitudes of urban aesthetics that imply intolerance toward “surplus populations.”²⁴ The conflict between vagrancy and business improvement foreshadows that “urban renewal” and “business improvement” are aligned to the notion of security: a form of domination over urban space and its users.

The Bank St. BIA, a trendy and wealthy sub-district close to Ottawa’s downtown core, formed in the late seventies. Communication between the Bank St. BIA and the City of Ottawa closely mirrored that of the Sparks St. example. After having successfully lobbied the City of Ottawa for BIA status, Bank St. merchants were demonstrably pleased with a new version of the Ontario Municipal Act that legally mandated beautification and stipulated that no businesses in the “Area Association” could be exempt from taxation, the proceeds of which would be reverted to the BIA through a levy fund.²⁵ In 1991, “By-ward Market”²⁶ merchants echoed the sentiments of the Bank Street BIA,

²² The same may be said of criminology. See, for example, Jock Young, The Exclusive Society (London: Sage, 1999) 33.

²³ “The spaces of material exchange, commodity trade and circulation demand their own space.” Lefebvre, The Production of Space 217.

²⁴ Young, 140.

²⁵ City Council, Day, Month, 1979: [Vol. 4], 4364.

²⁶ The Byward market is the most vibrant tourist area in Ottawa, known by the popular perception for its European aura, vibrant boutiques and patio bars, and Canadian heritage

and publicly lauded the fact that BIA formation would stipulate that all geographically delineated businesses were be subject to compulsory taxation.²⁷

The capitalist state, therefore, acted as a key facilitator in the formation of entities that are akin to joint-stock companies, that, together, act in the interest of the valorization of capital: the setting into motion of the conditions for creating and/or circulating value.²⁸

Over the course of the late seventies and early nineties BIA formation was in fact an efficient mode of association for a politically active petty-bourgeoisie which secured the fund centralization necessary to mobilize and align political interests. The local state authority was a complicit vehicle in this process. Thus, urban spaces in Ottawa were legislatively conflated with capitalist enterprise as much as ten years before recent research suggests.²⁹ Between 1988-2001, it is suggested, the Ottawa region became a space proactively promoted and realized as a major competitor in a global knowledge economy. Ottawa was becoming a lead exporter of information technology commodities and was a key site for

representations. Cf. John Turnbridge, "Heritage Momentum or Maelstrom? The case of Ottawa's Byward Market," International Journal of Heritage Studies 6.3 (2000): 269-291.

²⁷ David Scanlan, "Byward merchants form association," The Ottawa Citizen 10 Sept. 1991, final ed.: B.9.

²⁸ Valorization, "the creating of value", denotes a procession of labour where value is produced in the immediate labour process but then is estranged to circulation, where, now in the form of objectified labour value, it is "used as an exchange value." Valorization occurs as value is created out of objectified labours' absorption into new means of production or subsistence. Karl Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy, trans. Ben Fowkes, introduced by Ernst Mandel (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976) at 956, 994.

²⁹ The suggestion that it is between 1988-2001 that Ottawa became a space proactively promoted and realized as a major competitor in a global knowledge economy is historically inaccurate. Cf. Christopher Michael Hunt, Constructing the entrepreneurial city: 'Silicon Valley North' and Ottawa's local mode of governance 1988-2000. Diss. Carleton University, 2001. Ottawa: UMI, 2001.

‘doing business’ for ‘business minded’ people.³⁰ BIAs were influential mediators in this process, exporting images of Ottawa’s urban spaces to a global tourist market from their inception. In the context of a locally structured accumulation strategy aimed at repositioning Ottawa as a globally competitive economic subject, BIAs were important for mediating the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism as early as the late seventies. City records show that in addition to the previously noted BIAs, Somerset BIA (1981)³¹, Rideau Street BIA (1981)³², and Preston St. BIA (1987) were already spaces of image export and key local sites for doing business earlier than the late eighties.

To work towards further understanding what a BIA constitutes as a political economic entity, it is helpful to identify the particulars of its legally- defined governance structure. BIAs are associations that are designed to boost local business and retail activity by upgrading commercial and shopping districts. In Ontario, local municipalities designate a block or strip or urban territory as a BIA, and establish a board of management that: (a) “oversee(s) the improvement, beautification and maintenance of municipally-owned land, buildings and structures in the area beyond that provided at the expense of the municipality generally;” and, (b) “promote(s) the area as a business or shopping area.”³³ The factor determining whether a given area can be incorporated as a

³⁰ See, Hunt.

³¹ City of Ottawa Council Minutes, 17 Jun.1981: 3902.

³² City of Ottawa Council Minutes, 17 Jun.1981: 3900.

³³ Ontario Municipal Act, 2001, c.25, s. 204(1).

BIA is set by the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing which under the Ontario Assessment Act prescribes one or more classes of what constitutes real property and business property for the purpose of an improvement area.³⁴ Having constituted an impetus for formation,³⁵ local merchants, who must make a petition to their respective City Council.

Without a City Council's permission BIAs are barred from forming in Ontario. City Council also determines a given BIAs rate of taxation, budget, membership, spending priorities, as well as ability to expand or dissolve.³⁶ When a BIA is formed, every commercial property owner within the zoned boundary automatically becomes a member. All property owners who benefit from formation are required to bear their share of the cost of the program. The benefit is a "special charge"³⁷ that includes a levy on rentable property in the prescribed business class, which is deemed equitable according to the benefits that will accrue to the properties from the activities related to the improvement area.³⁸

Commitment from "the business community" is required to undertake the organization planning that presupposes the establishment of property zoning. Commitment is also needed to direct the programming of the BIAs on an ongoing basis. Municipal council's role is to assist in the formal designation of a

³⁴ Ontario Assessment Act, 1990, R.S.O. 1990, c. A.31.

³⁵ Alan Hunt and Gary Wickam, Foucault and law: towards a sociology of law as governance. (London; Boulder, Colo.: Pluto Press, 1994).

³⁶ Ontario Municipal Act, 2001, c.25, s. 204-215.

³⁷ Ontario Municipal Act, 2001, c. 25, s. 208(2).

³⁸ Ontario Municipal Act, 2001, c.25, s. 208 (2).

BIA and collect the special zone levy, which is returned to the BIA for purposes of administration, annual budget, and programming needs. Once interest has been established to create a BIA, a detailed proposal must be submitted to City Council which identifies the need, sets out the boundaries of the proposed area, and proposes a by-law to be passed, this last formally establishes a BIA.

Subsequent to BIA formation, the City of Ottawa sends notices to all the property owners within the proposed zone, notifying them of the intention to create the BIA. The property owners then submit notice to their tenants. If a particular person entitled to notification is in opposition to formation sixty days are allotted for the filing of an objection to the City of Ottawa. BIA formation cannot be approved by Council and is defeated if, within sixty days, they receive an objecting petition. The petition must represent at least one-third of the total number of businesses entitled to have received notification. If sufficient objection is not received, the City passes the by-law. Once the BIA has been formally established, a Board of Management is elected from within the membership. One member of City Council is required to sit as a board member.³⁹ As of July 2008, there were fourteen BIAs in the City of Ottawa.

1.3.: Summary

BIAs are powerful, legally constituted mechanisms according to which capitalist interests collaborate to muster the resources necessary to pursue an enterprise-centred urban space. BIAs seek to overcome the organizational

³⁹ City of Ottawa, "Ottawa's Business Improvement Areas," Mar. 2009 <http://www.ottawa.ca/business/support/bia_en.html>.

constraints associated with implementing of corporate priorities in urban space. We shall see in the following chapter, force is the agent according to which corporate priorities are transferred onto urban space. The Ontario Municipal Act is but one of the many legal regulations in Ontario that business interests exploit to impose a for-profit agenda. The Act allots incredible governance authority to private property owners.

The question that guides this particular investigation of Ottawa's downtown BIAs is: What is the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs in securing urban space? BIAs are mechanisms that secure the real riskiness⁴⁰ of urban capitalist space. Capital flow is premised on contradictory social power relations: class conflict. How are the contradictions between the forces and relations of production in Ottawa's downtown urban spaces as well as the organization of spheres of circulation forcefully secured? The capitalist state is a key facilitator in the formation of BIA entities. Together, both act in the interests of the valorization of capital – a concept that will be clarified in following chapters.

This leads to investigating how the ideal and material categories inherent to the bourgeois totality in order to determine the form and content of BIA space. Such an investigation produces knowledge pertaining to the ongoing class struggle in space that can serve in the interests of human emancipation. The

⁴⁰ That riskiness being space's insecure capacity to function as a mediator for capital valorization. "If, for instance C'-M' stagnates as far as one part is concerned', that is, 'if the commodity cannot be sold', that is, have its being as money realised in money, then, clearly, circulation as a whole is interrupted – no replacement by its means of production can take place: 'the succeeding parts, which emerge from the process of production in the shape of C' find the exchange of their functions blocked by their predecessors." Marx. Capital Volume 2 103.

following chapter clarifies the related notion of force, and, in so doing,
demonstrates the internal content of an analytically presupposed social process:
the securitization of risky space.

Chapter 2: Security, Control and Capitalism

Now that some basic principles of a BIA have been asserted it is necessary to particularize the context of some key concepts for the development of this thesis. This thesis seeks to critique the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs in securing urban space by demonstrating the force underpinning the securitization of risk spaces. The central question guiding this critique is as follows: what is the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs in securing urban space?

Producing a successful urban business aesthetic conducive to shopping necessarily includes the task of securing space in order to protect its real riskiness: its potential inability to function as a medium for the valorization of capital. There is an inherent insecurity to BIAs because they seek to make notionally private and exclusive what, absent a capitalist logic, is public and inclusive. Producing a space that's content is essentially determined by retail aesthetic that intends to incite boutique/frill shopping presupposes a process of forced abstraction in which a surplus population is reified.⁴¹

The planning, rationalization, and specialization inherent to BIA formation has already been noted.⁴² Therefore, it is evident that knowledge of space is integrated into the technological and mental forces underpinning material production in society, and, thereby into the social relations of production. Ideas of space, drawn from social practices which revere the consumption of

⁴¹ See, Lefebvre, The Production of Space 110-123, 217.

⁴² "The development of the productive forces dissolves forms of human community. Their dissolution is itself a development of the human productive forces." Marx, Grundrisse: foundations for the critique of political economy 496.

objectified labour – such as the idea that spaces should be dedicated to shopping and small business – express that “eventually mental space is connected with real space, with the space of social and political practice.”⁴³

2.1.: Surplus Population/Reserve Army⁴⁴

To continue contextualizing the social exploitation of force I assume a ‘flexible economic determinist’ stance. This asserts that relations of production determine, though not absolutely or without consideration of contingencies, the political form of a society.⁴⁵ Marx intends that legal and technical forms can be deduced from the economic form of society. The social’s political form (i.e., state structure, civil society, laws), within which are relations of sovereignty between rulers and ruled, are deducible from social structures and real

⁴³ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 112.

⁴⁴ Karl Marx uses the terms “surplus population” and “the reserve army” interchangeably to denote the antagonism which capitalist production itself posits and, subsequently, overcomes through a movement of absorption in the course of expansion. The two terms denote labourer’s submission to the laws of capital accumulation that periodically absorb and drain workers from the means of production, depending on the organic composition of capital. The phrases Surplus Population and Reserve Army denote that in a capitalistically produced society the labourer does not employ the means of production; instead, the means of production employ the labourer. Marx, Capital Volume 1.

⁴⁵ “The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus-labour is pumped out of direct producers, determines the relationship of rulers and ruled, as it grows directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this, however is founded the natural formation of the economic community which grows up out of the production relations themselves, [being] thereby simultaneously its specific political form. It is always the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers – a relation always naturally corresponding to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social productivity – which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social structure, and with it the political form of the relation of sovereignty and dependence, in short the corresponding specific form of the state. This does not prevent the same economic basis – the same from the standpoint of its main conditions – *due to innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural environment, racial relations, external historical influences, etc. from showing infinite variations and gradations in appearance, which can be ascertained only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances.*” Karl Marx, Capital Volume 3, ed. Frederick Engels (Moscow: Progress Publishers) at 792.

occurrences both of which are socially produced. Productive relations essentially consist of “contradictions” between forces and relations of production. The capitalist tendency towards absolute development of the productive forces conflicts with particular internally contradictory conditions of production⁴⁶ that capital negates during the course of its movements.⁴⁷

A primary limitation to capital growth is the surplus population/reserve army of labour. As there is an increased mass of means of production that becomes converted into capital, there is also, correspondingly an exploitable working population that correlates to the advances made in the efficiency of the productivity of social labour. That is, as capital grows there is a shrinking need for human labour input.⁴⁸ This is the reason that capital accumulation requires that people are either condemned to “enforced idleness” or “absorbed through the usual channels of state interference or other forcible means,”⁴⁹ and that

⁴⁶ “The contradiction of the capitalist mode of production [...] in its tendency towards an absolute development of the productive forces, which continually come into conflict with the specific conditions of production in which capital moves.” K. Marx, Capital Vol. 3 257.

⁴⁷ Capitalist production proceeds through a movement of absorbing and overcoming – through the negation of its own negation – by transcending own “natural limit.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 635.; “The increased mass of means of production that is to be converted into capital always finds a correspondingly increased, even excessive, exploitable worker population.” Karl Marx, Theories of surplus value, ed. S. Ryazanskaya, trans. Renate Simpson (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1969) 45.; “Capital itself is the moving contradiction[...] hence posits the superfluous in growing measure as a condition – question of life or death – for the necessary.” Marx, Grundrisse: the foundations for the critique of political economy 706.

⁴⁸ “The increase in the productiveness of labour appears in the diminution of the mass of labour in proportion to the mass of means of production moved by it; in the diminution of the subjective factor of the labour-process as compared with the object factor.” Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1. 644.

⁴⁹ Marx, Capital Volume 1 219, 622, 632-645.

surplus populations must be subject to constant control or threat thereof in order that their re- absorption into capitalist circuits occurs.⁵⁰

The modern association of technology and co-operative swindling is presupposed by the fact that ‘every concentration of means of production corresponds to a ‘command over a labour-army.’⁵¹ With these technical considerations noted, the exploitive potential and functional necessity of the existence of a mass of desolates living outside the wage-labour relation can be clearly understood. Command over an army of labourers is integral to the BIAs’ quest to securitize under- valorized urban spaces. In a sense, urban spaces – streets, sidewalks, underpasses, etc. – are produced and consumed.⁵² Command over an army of labourers is a police role played by Ottawa’s BIAs in the quest to securitize and valorize urban space. Security and supervision are the socially legitimate personifications of forced abstraction⁵³ that presupposes capitalist

⁵⁰ “A definite quantity of surplus-labour is required as insurance against accidents, and by the necessary and progressive expansion of the process of reproduction in keeping with the development of the needs and the growth of population, which is called accumulation from the viewpoint of the capitalist. It is one of the civilizing aspects of capital that it enforces this surplus-labour in a manner and under conditions which are more advantageous to the development of the productive forces, social relations, and the creation of the elements for a new and higher form than under the preceding forms of slavery, serfdom, etc.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 792.

⁵¹ Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 625.

⁵² Lefebvre, The Production of Space 108-123.

⁵³ “Money can overcome the difficulties in barter only by generalizing them, making them universal. It is absolutely necessary that forcibly separated elements which essentially belong together manifest themselves by way of forcible eruption as the separation of things which belong together in essence. The unity is brought about by force. As soon as the antagonistic split leads to eruptions, the economist point to the essential unity and abstract from the alienation. [...] When money enters into exchange, I am forced to exchange my product for exchange value in general or for the general capacity to exchange, hence my product becomes dependant on the state of general commerce and is torn out of its local, natural and individual boundaries. For exactly that reason can it exist as a product.” Marx, Grundrisse: the foundations for the critique

production as a whole – exchange, circulation, immediate production, consumption. Security is the fetishized social practice that protects contemporary urban social space’s necessarily risky status as medium for capital valorization; it is the form of the capitalist universality sustaining market-based poverty and class divisions.⁵⁴

2.2. Force

In speaking of the labour process, Marx notes that the supervision of work necessarily arises in all modes of production based on the antithesis between the labourers, the direct producer, and the owners of the means of production. ‘The greater this antagonism, the greater the role played by supervision [...] since the reproduction process in it is simultaneously a process by which the capitalist consumes labour-power.’⁵⁵ Capitalist production as a whole too requires supervision because the value of commodities – particularly the commodity labour power that workers sell to employers – requires forceful means to ensure production and reproduction in commodified form. Circulation is the sum total of the mutual relations of commodity owners and sellers where producers of commodities meet with other commodity owners and value expands as money and commodities are converted into capital by withdrawing more value from

of political economy 150.; “The supervision of work necessarily arises in all modes of production based on the antithesis between the labourers, the direct producer, and the owners of the means of production. The greater this antagonism, the greater the role played by supervision [...]since the reproduction process in it is simultaneously a process by which the capitalist consumes labour-power”. Marx, Capital Volume 3 384.

⁵⁴ See, Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question,” Basic writings on politics and philosophy by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, ed. Lewis S. Feuer (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959) at 246.

⁵⁵ K. Marx, Capital Vol. 3 (Moscow : Progress Publishers, 1967) 384.

circulation than what is thrown in and driven towards expansion by the force of money.

Within the overall process of value circulation is what Marx often refers to as 'money's forced currency'. The currency of money is 'the course or track pursued by money as it changes from hand to hand.'⁵⁶ Money currency is essentially a forced venture⁵⁷ because money transactions presuppose degrees of abstraction and alienation.⁵⁸ Force is an agent that separates.⁵⁹ BIAs are spatial mediators of money's forced currency, a process where autonomous value movement reigns supreme. A capitalist market requires value to be created out of the consumption of BIA spaces because, for one, without spaces for sale the circuits of flows of money, commodities and capital would halt.⁶⁰ The use of force guarantees the security of the contingencies associated with the prevention

⁵⁶ Marx, Capital Volume 1 114.

⁵⁷ "Hence in this process which continually makes money pass from hand to hand, the mere symbolic existence of money suffices. Its functional existence absorbs, so to say, its material existence. One thing is, however, requisite; this token must have an objective social validity of its own, and this the paper symbol acquires by its forced currency." Marx, Capital Volume 1 129.

⁵⁸ "The existence of price as an expression of exchange-value, or of gold as a measure of value, entails the necessity for alienation of commodities in exchange for glittering gold and thus the possibility of their non-alienation. In short, there is here contained in latent form the whole contradiction which arises because the product is a commodity, or because the particular labour of an isolated individual can become socially effective only if it is expressed as its direct opposite, i.e., abstract universal labour. [...] For beneath the invisible measure of value lurks hard money." Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 70.

⁵⁹ Adam Bant, Re-thinking Pashukanis, Law and Marxism. Diss. Monash University, 2008. Melbourne: UMI, 2008.

⁶⁰ Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 302.

of this possibility.⁶¹ Security is the socially legitimate,⁶² phenomenal form that force assumes in society; it is the universal agent of violent abstraction.⁶³

While this thesis will investigate supervision and command in the context of labour practices, the overall thrust of the inquiry is directed less toward capitalist work within the labour process as is it toward demonstrating the contemporary role of force in securing capitalist valorization in downtown spaces, a process spearheaded in under-studied ways by BIAs. In this investigation, I am concerned with force employed to maintain a social order premised on private property and commodity transaction.⁶⁴

Capital is autonomous value movement that requires omnipresent oversight by the primary structures of value producing society: ‘the state’, ‘civil society’, ‘the family’. Opposite “free” trade, “liberty”, “private property”, “commerce”, and “money exchange” is an actual “system of control”⁶⁵ that sustains the social

⁶¹ Rigakos and Hadden 67.

⁶² Mark Neocleous, “Security, Commodity, Fetishism,” Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory, 35. 3 (2007): 339-335.; Steven Spitzer, “Security and control in capitalist societies: the fetishism of security and the secret thereof,” Transcarceration: essays in the sociology of social control. ed. John Lowman et al., (Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Gower, 1987).

⁶³ See, Marx, Basic writings on politics and philosophy by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

⁶⁴ See, Mark Neocleous, The fabrication of social order: a critical theory of police power (Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2000).

⁶⁵ Control backed up by force, a securitized social, is the agent of the “capitalist abstraction of labour”. “Security is but the form of universality, modes in which rationality, the final end and aim, asserts itself in these spheres. In course of time, the character of this class as “substantial” undergoes modifications through the working of the civil law, in particular the administration of justice, as well as through the working of education, instruction, and religion. These modifications, which occur in the other classes also, do not affect the substantial content of the class but only its form and the development of its power of reflection.” Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Hegel’s philosophy of right, trans. T.M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) 131. “Here, right of property has attained its recognized actuality as the protection of property. In the

antagonism between capital accumulation and mass pauperization,⁶⁶ and that presupposes abolishment of capitalist social formations that are bound to reproduction so long as their immediate contradictions abstain from resolution.⁶⁷

Temporally, force is located at the genesis of every moment of capitalist expansion or rise in bourgeois hegemony – that is, at every moment of “primitive” accumulation. This is so to the extent that the process of living labour absorption in under-commodified spheres of circulation is spearheaded by the appearance of money. Money is the first form that capital makes as an objective appearance. Thus, force is the essential agent of money currency: the flow of transactions based on money and commodities. Here, I am connecting

indefinite multiplication and interconnexion of day-to-day needs, (a) the acquisition and exchange of the means to their satisfaction – a satisfaction which everyone confidently expects to be possible without hindrance, and (b) the endeavours made and the transactions carried out in order to shorten the process of attainment as much as possible, give rise to factors which are a common interest, and when one man occupies himself with these his work is at the same time done for all. The situation is productive too of contrivances and organizations (drainage and sewage) which may be said to use the community as a whole. These universal activities and organizations of general utility call for the oversight and care of the public authority” to bring private labour and egotistic exchange to the universal (the public and civil society) through a movement of estrangement/abstraction. Hegel, 148.

⁶⁶ “The differing interests of producers and consumers may come into collision with each other; and although a fair balance between them on the whole may be brought about automatically, still their adjustment also requires a control which stands above both and is consciously undertaken. [...] At the other extreme of freedom of trade and commerce in civil society is public organization to provide for everything and determine everyone’s labour [...] This interest invokes freedom of trade and commerce against control from above; but the more blindly it sinks into self-seeking aims, the more it requires such control to bring it back to the universal. Control is also necessary to diminish the danger of upheavals arising from clashing interests and to abbreviate the period in which their tension should be eased through the working of a necessity of which they themselves know nothing. Hegel, 148/131. “The right to the exercise of such control in a single case (e.g. the fixing of prices) depends on the fact that, by being publicly expose for sale, goods in absolutely universal daily demand are offered not so much to an individual (i.e., an immediate consumer) as such but rather to a universal purchasers, the public (the market); and thus both the defence of the public’s right (market) not to be defrauded, and also the management of goods inspection, may lie, as a common concern, with a public authority. [...] These universal activities and organizations of general utility call for the oversight and care of the public authority (police)”. Hegel speaking of “the administration of justice.” Hegel, 148.

⁶⁷ Hegel, 131.

supervision's social necessity to the commodity form, and asserting that circulation,⁶⁸ which is where reified value expands – is fuelled by money's forced currency. While recognizing that the exploitation of force in the labour process⁶⁹ is an essential object for social analysis, the focal thematic point developed here is that force is essential to secure capital valorization in downtown BIA spaces. So far as elements of urban spaces – intersections, sidewalks, underpasses, building fronts – are produced they are spatial mediators of capital valorization.

The point that BIAs are particular types of police bodies should be clarified here.⁷⁰ It is an important matter that state and political forces more generally –

⁶⁸ “When, as a result of establishing of prices, commodities have acquired the form in which they are able to enter circulation and gold has assumed its function as money, the contradictions latent in the exchange of commodities are both exposed and resolved by circulation. The real exchange of commodities, that is the social metabolic process, constitutes a transformation in which the *dual nature of the commodity – commodity as use-value and as exchange-value – manifests itself*; but the transformation of the commodity itself is, at the same time, epitomised in certain forms of money. To describe this transformation is to describe circulation.” Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy trans. S. W. Ryazanskaya, ed. Maurice Dobb (Moscow: Progress Press, 1970) 86.

⁶⁹ “Work is the eternal natural condition of human existence. The process of labour is nothing but work itself, viewed at the moment of its creative activity.” Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 998.

⁷⁰ From “Foucaultian studies” it can be said that “Police” denotes micro-regulatory techniques that order relations, exchanges, and conduct of and between bodies. See, for example, Patrick Pasquino, “Theatrum Politicum: The Genealogy of Capital – Police and the State of Prosperity,” The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality, ed. Graham Burchell et al., (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).; Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon, (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980).; Michel Foucault, Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977) 195-228. Foucault is useful to this thesis not only in terms of drawing attention to the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs in attempting to control over exchange and commerce, but also to the spatially-centred micro-regulations that target surplus populations which pose a threat to space valorization. The content of these micro-regulations will be elucidated below. Suffice to note here that such micro-regulations – i.e., property zoning regulations discussed above – provide the framework of ‘legal right’ for the forced currency of money in Ottawa's downtown BIAs. Walter Benjamin's insights are also useful, for from them it can be noted that police fulfill the role of deploying the force that underpins making laws that are eventually socio-legally

i.e., through discipline, sovereignty, and governmentality – are exercised through the BIA entity in the current era of value movement.⁷¹ The state’s role is one of guarantor: the state secures the smooth functioning of a for-profit market process that exploits risk calculation to regulate risky groups.⁷² In neo-liberalism,⁷³ “law is [...] part of the economic (institutional) base”⁷⁴; it is an indispensable instrument for producing entrepreneurial forms in society.

BIAs are organized by the principle of investment for profit; they are spaces that are literally “sold out”. As such, BIAs epitomize the effect of business enterprise on everyday urban life.⁷⁵ Capital’s movement to conquer spaces for “Business Improvement” occurs through the production of a social power

implemented as just. Police exploit violence or force-backed right to produce what is just in relation to the logic of the modern state. Police are thus the continuum of state juridical violence or the means towards the goal ends of law-making which is beyond the limits of state action. See, Walter Benjamin, “Critique of Violence,” Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913-1926, eds. M. Bullock and M. Jennings (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1996). Moreover, however, Althusser is also integral, as the association of police with “ideological state apparatuses” permits for considering the role of police in forcefully securing ideologically valorizable notions. See, Louis Althusser, Essays on ideology, New ed. (London, England: Verso, 1993).

⁷¹ To Karl Marx revolutionizing law was integral: “Here also the highest relation of man is the legal relation, the relation to laws which apply to him not because they are laws of his own will and nature but because they dominate him and because defection from them will be avenged.” Karl Marx, “The Jewish Question”, trans. D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat, Writings of the young Marx on philosophy and society, 1st ed. eds. D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967) 246.

⁷² See, Rigakos and Hadden 67,80.

⁷³ A contested notion involving the political-economic ideology and social practice commonly said to have started in the 1970s and 1980s in North Atlantic regions, encompassing the dogmatic reverence of commodification at the level of economic and social thought and practice. See, for example, Neil Brenner and Nick Theodore, “Cities and the Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism,” Antipode 34. 3 (2002): 341-347.

⁷⁴ Michel Foucault, The Birth of Bio-politics: lectures at the College de France, 1978-79, ed. Michel Senellart (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) at 194.

⁷⁵ Through the mechanism of investment and markets, spatial practices and rhythms are controlled and set to the pace and direction of the imposition spatial valorization; “the [large] business man control[s] the exigencies of life under which the community lives”. Thorstein Veblen, Theory of business enterprise (New York: Scribner, 1932) 3.

relation that takes the form of “creditor- debtor- dependent, dependent;”⁷⁶ through branding and commercializing urban, “public” space. Force instigates this process, and security (supervision, police) is force’s axiomatic form.

Abstract exchange’s dominating social role can only be asserted by contextualizing security within the form of material social production.⁷⁷

Societies formally modelled on money and commodity exchange require forceful control, or the threat of this for reproduction of transactions that are presupposed by abstraction and alienation. Capital movement conquers unorganized spaces of money and commodity circulation that value is drawn out of. No matter the type of new sphere of potential value that capital is moving toward capturing – i.e., the market- places of ideas (science, health, technology), geographically-based spheres (Iraqi oil, South America (New Deal), or even urban spaces (BIAs) – the manner that capital first objectively appears in is money. Physical force or violence ensures the transformation of life’s rhythms and movements into capital’s circuits of valorization.

⁷⁶ The content of this power relation will be theorized and substantiated by the evidence produced in later chapters.

⁷⁷ “The social bond is expressed exchange value, by means of which alone each individual’s own activity or his product becomes an activity and a product for human he must produce a general product – exchange value, or, the latter isolated for itself and individualized, money. On the other side, the power which each individual exercises over the activity of others or over social wealth exists in him as the owner of exchange values, of money. The individual carries his social power, as well as his bond with society, and the product of activity, regardless of its particular make-up, were always exchange value, and exchange value is a generality, in which all individuality and peculiarity are negated and extinguished.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 156-157.

2.3.:Summary

This chapter clarified the theoretical presupposition that shapes the way in which the question of the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs secure urban spaces is asked. Force is essential to the valorization of urban space. BIAs are manifestations of capital flows capturing previously unorganized spheres of circulation. Despite the fact that force is by no means endemic to capitalism – other modes of production have used force to guarantee production – it takes a particular qualitative and juridical form in the present epoch. Circulation is a movement of alienation as sale and purchase are separated from each other through the money mediator. Force is that which separates elements that essentially belong together.

BIAs are spatial mediators of capital flow that are socially produced. The battles that comprise social power relations are fought in a spatial context.⁷⁸ BIAs can be critiqued in relation to the all pervasive dominance of the nuances associated with the productive forces (homogeneity, division, flexibility) relations of labour (domination, alienation, abstraction).⁷⁹ The planning,

⁷⁸ "Space is not an exterior domain to which power is applied. [...] On the contrary it is a result and an instrument of power's designs"; "We are in a society of urban, with an "urbanity: the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate, or its capacity for being used." Foucault, Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977. "To recognize space, to recognize what takes place there and what it is used for, is to resume the dialectic, analysis will reveal the contradictions of space." [...] "Nature, destroyed as such, has already had to be reconstructed at another level, the level of "second nature", i.e., the town and the urban. It is worth remembering that the urban has no worse enemy than that of urban planning and "urbanism, which is capitalism's and the state's strategic instrument for the manipulation of fragmented urban reality and the production of controlled space." Henri Lefebvre, The Survival of capitalism: reproduction of the relations of production, trans. Frank Bryant (London: Allison & Busby, 1976) 17.

⁷⁹ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 101.

rationalization, and specialization inherent to BIA formation were noted in the first chapter.⁸⁰ Urban spaces are being ‘appraised before [taking on the form of] exchange in order to make them into commensurable units’.⁸¹ It is evident that knowledge of space is integrated into the technological and mental forces underpinning material production in society and thereby into the social relations of production. That is, ideas of space that draw positive conclusions from social practices that reverse the consumption of objectified labour – such as the idea that spaces should be dedicated to shopping and small business – express that “eventually mental space is connected with real space, with the space of social and political practice.”⁸²

The space of social and political practice, real space, is a reified space where objectified labour is so valorized ideologically that it is produced as a ‘being in itself’ that’s social-historical and, indeed, political quality is largely forgotten.⁸³ In BIAs, urban spaces are being ‘appraised before [taking on the form of] exchanged in order to make them into commensurable units’.⁸⁴ This entails a mediated, as opposed to immediate, relation to space that is abstracted from its use. Space becomes abstracted from use in order that it may morph into

⁸⁰ “The development of the productive forces dissolves forms of human community. Their dissolution is itself a development of the human productive forces.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations for the critique of political economy 496.

⁸¹ Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 142-143.

⁸² Lefebvre, The Production of Space 112.

⁸³ See, for example, Marx, Theodor W. Adorno, Dialectic of enlightenment: philosophical fragments, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002).

⁸⁴ Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 142-143.

a medium of money and commodity currency: a forced enterprise aiming to ensure retailers are successful and property values increase.⁸⁵ In the following chapter I further clarify the aspects of reification and valorization that BIAs seem to epitomize and, in so doing, explain the determinative factors involved in the securitization of BIA space.

⁸⁵ “Hence in this process which continually makes money pass from hand to hand, the mere symbolic existence of money suffices. Its functional existence absorbs, so to say, its material existence. One thing is, however, requisite; this token must have an objective social validity of its own, and this the paper symbol acquires by its forced currency.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 129. The currency of money is ‘the course or track pursued by money as it changes from hand to hand, a course which essentially differs from circulation.’ Marx, Capital Volume 1 114.

Ch. 3: The Valorization of Space

Public spaces are being re-branded as spaces of enterprise, taking on phenomenal forms related to the capitalist production process. To denote the process by which urban space takes on the form of capital the term *spatial valorization* is used.⁸⁶ Valorization, value creation, is a motion process where living labour is objectified through the absorption of living labour into new means of production or subsistence.⁸⁷

Capital flow requires a medium: urban space. The flows of capital are premised on a contradictory social power relation. The two-fold object that needs to be understood in this thesis, therefore, is how the contradictions between the forces and relations of production in Ottawa's downtown urban spaces occurs, and how the organization of spheres of circulation are secured by force. At issue is the connection between the valorization process and force that manifests as a result of swindling, and belief in the utility of the existence of "greater good."⁸⁸ Through investigating Ottawa's downtown sold out spaces this thesis critically examines money's role in forced separation.

⁸⁶ Valorization is movement of value creation where a definite quantity of objectified labour that is extorted from the worker working in the labour process (where there is an unequal exchange of value between wages and living labour activity) is exchanged for other living labour – this in circulation. Presupposed in the valorization process is a commodified "medium" that permits for the imposition of the value form onto objects, spheres, or "characteristics."

⁸⁷ Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 994.

⁸⁸ "The laws of supply and demand are set down to right road by means of police." Marx, Capital Volume 1 771.

In BIAs, commodities and merchants are gaining political ascendancy. As BIAs are akin to joint stock companies, it would be erroneous to assert that BIAs are limited to the era of neo-liberalism⁸⁹ and the increasingly concentrated forms of social wealth they manifest. Nevertheless, BIAs are important components of capital's contemporary movements to absorbing potential spaces of valorization.

Actualization of BIA formation entails the will to set into motion the valorization process.⁹⁰ The BIA signals the actualization of the idea⁹¹ of urban space as spatial mediators of commodity capital that are dedicated to money's forced currency.⁹² Space is socially produced; the form of exchange is imposed on space; hence a mediated relation to space abstracted from use. The right, the will determinately existent,⁹³ of the "capitalist's drive for surplus value,"⁹⁴

⁸⁹ A contested notion involving the political-economic ideology and social practice commonly said to have started in the 1970s and 1980s in North Atlantic regions encompassing the dogmatic reverence of commodification at the level of economic and social thought and practice. N. Brenner & N. Theodore, "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism" (2002), 34, *Antipode*, pp. 341-347.

⁹⁰ Marx describes this scenario accordingly: "In order to be able to extract value – the active factor in a process, in which while constantly assuming the form of money and commodities, it at the same time changes in magnitude, differentiates itself by throwing off surplus-value from itself, the original value, in other words, expands spontaneously – from the consumption of a commodity, our friend, Moneybags, must be so lucky as to find, within the sphere of circulation, in the market, a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value — which serves, whose actual consumption, therefore is itself and embodiment of labour, and consequently, a creation of value." Karl Marx, Capital Volume 1 129.

⁹¹ 'The idea is the concept of right together with the actualization of that concept.' Hegel, 304.

⁹² According to Marx, the currency of money is 'the course or track pursued by money as it changes from hand to hand, a course which essentially differs from circulation.' Marx, Capital Volume 1 114. "Hence in this process which continually makes money pass from hand to hand, the mere symbolic existence of money suffices. Its functional existence absorbs, so to say, its material existence. One thing is, however, requisite; this token must have an objective social validity of its own, and this the paper symbol acquires by its forced currency." Marx, Capital Volume 1 129.

⁹³ 'Will is prior to the system of right made actual. The will is the world of the mind that is brought forth out itself like a second nature. [...] Before the will is the mind (intelligence), which

expressed⁹⁵ in the Ontario Municipal Act evinces the transition of the capitalist's will to its actualization in "social space."⁹⁶ Speculative preparation presupposes an area's ideal association and real exchangeability with the principles of "Business Improvement." That is, 'Preparation' (establishing the need, committee, and objectives – of BIAs) presupposes the anthropomorphic absorption of an area into an exchange relation with "Business Improvement." Occurring after speculation are many further moments in the "actualization of the will"⁹⁷ to BIA formation, and, generally in the capitalist production of abstract spaces.

With BIAs, urban space is exploited to ensure retailers are successful and property values can increase. Moreover, BIAs are spatial-political

passes through from feeling, to thinking and produces itself as will. The will is free and becomes actualized by means of its activity of translating its subjective purpose into objectivity.' Hegel, 20-23. When, above, we speak of capital personified, we mean to denote that capital's relentless drive 'manifests' in various forms: i.e., legally, in BIA enabling legislation.

⁹⁴ "In what we may call its first, provisional form of money (the point of departure for the formation of capital), capital exists as yet only as money, i.e. as a self-subsistent form of exchange-values embodied in the self-subsistent form of exchange-value, in its expression as money. But the task of this money is to generate value. The exchange-value must serve to create still more exchange-value. The quantity of value must be increased, i.e. the available value must not only be maintained; it must yield an increment, a surplus value, so that the value given, the particular sum of money, can be viewed as (something liable to change) and as the increment as fluxion." Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 975.; 'Thus, while capital must on one side strive to tear down every spatial barrier to intercourse, i.e. to exchange, and conquer the whole earth for its market, it strives on the other side to annihilate this space with time, i.e. to reduce to a minimum the time spent in motion from one place to another.' Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 539.

⁹⁵ Hegel, 15-16.

⁹⁶ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 129.

⁹⁷ 'Will is prior to the system of right made actual. The will is the world of the mind that is brought forth out itself like a second nature. [...] Before the will is the mind (intelligence), which passes through from feeling, to thinking and produces itself as will. The will is free and becomes actualized by means of its activity of translating its subjective purpose into objectivity.' Hegel, 20-23.

personifications of the valorization process, the essence of the capitalist system which occurs through objective confrontation with what Marx calls living labour capacity. Before urban space itself can assume a phenomenal, independent existence as the force of capital it must be subject to speculation.⁹⁸ Speculation, is one essential ingredient in the forced abstraction of urban space. While an actual BIA's internal governance structure – the management, administrators, executives – is not a commodity, BIAs do possess commodity attributes. From commodification logically follows money's domination. So it is paramount that the connections between contemporary individualism and entrepreneurialism and the forceful securitization of urban spaces that are subject to the will of value be magnified.

BIAs are micro-examples of “abstract spaces”,⁹⁹ spaces that are represented by elite social groups as homogeneous, instrumental, and a-historical so as to facilitate the exercise of state power and capital flow. Therefore, to adequately criticize “sold out” BIA space three “ideological representations” require negation: (1) that space is natural: actually, natural space has disappeared and is surpassed by an aesthetic, alienated pseudo-nature; (2) that space is transparent:

⁹⁸ “The commodities are first transformed into bars in the head and in speech before they are exchanged for one another. “They are appraised before being exchanged for one another. They are appraised before being exchanged, and in order to appraise them they must be brought into a given numerical relation to one another. In order to bring them into such a numerical relation, in order to make them commensurable, they must obtain the same denomination (unit). The bar has a merely imaginary existence, just as, in general, a relation can obtain a particular embodiment and become individualized only by means of abstraction.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy, 142.

⁹⁹ Capitalist space is abstract space because it is a historically specific space analogical to the form of material exchange: abstract exchange which produces money from which circulation and hence valorization is imposed on urban space. Abstract space is space associated with aesthetics, “a face and a facade”, spectacle, and alienation. See, Lefebvre, The Production of Space.

actually, space is lined with hidden political-state forces, and class conflict. Representations of space are mediated to the totality produced by the mode of production. This implies, for epistemological/mental space¹⁰⁰, “a mixture of ideology and understanding.” (3) That space is a-historic: actually, space is associated with changes in technique and a leap forward in productive forces.

3.1. Material Valorization

Valorization, to reiterate, is value creation movement where a definite quantity of objectified labour alienated from the worker in the labour process (where there is an unequal exchange of value between wages and living labour activity) is exchanged for living labour in circulation. This later sphere being where living labour finds itself sucked up and absorbed by constant capital.¹⁰¹ Living labour robbed in capitalist work and estranged from the labour process and then objectified in the sphere of circulation is capital in the process of valorization, capital assuming the form of exchange value in a commodity and eventually realized when sold for money.

The process of capital is the motion of objectified labour (accumulated labour, pre-existent labour and so forth) confronting living labour (immediate labour, etc.).¹⁰² Objectified labour is transformed into capital through the absorption or

¹⁰⁰ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 106-107.

¹⁰¹ K. Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1976) at 1009.

¹⁰² ‘The objective power of capital (against the worker) in a specific relation with the increase of the productive force.’ Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 579, 994.

annexation of living labour.¹⁰³ Absorption occurs so far as the social means of production (and subsistence) assume a particular form of material existence through which capital actually confronts workers; the former forcefully “acquires part of the latter” – through the buying and selling of labour-power.¹⁰⁴

This thesis documents the confrontation between capital and living labour in the concrete analysis of the confrontation between BIAs and Ottawa’s “surplus-populations.” Space for business primarily serves to absorb living labour, as conductor agency for the absorption process. Urban spaces are potentially means of subsistence spaces. They could be political spaces, spaces of dissent and revolution. And in certain respects, to some people, such as panhandlers and street artists, urban spaces are required to reproduce daily existence. Though the means of subsistence are not part of the labour process where surplus value is produced they do constitute the physically existing form of variable capital which circulates through the market place where commodities and money are exchanged as the purchases of labour-power within the sphere of circulation. If such labour cannot be re-absorbed or resists potential re-absorption, then it is illicit in the eyes of capital. Raw material, the object of labour in general, exist only to absorb the work of others; and the instrument of labour serves only as a conductor, an agency, for this process of absorption.

¹⁰³ Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 987, 991.

¹⁰⁴ Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 1004.

The role of BIAs in the context of capitalist reification needs to be addressed. Within many dialectically related subjective levels and objective fields¹⁰⁵ space is a social product that is objectively reified to a thing-like status. BIA space is space that is abstracted from immediacy, “branded” or “sold-out.” Being reified through a movement of abstraction permits for space to be exploited for the purpose of control and domination. That is, hegemony and less ‘passive’ forms of domination exploit BIA space on a logical basis, aided by knowledge and system-based technical expertise. Alternative social practices – loitering, panhandling, etc. – meanwhile, react against, feed into, and modify – forms of domination.

BIA space is aligned with the modern, socially acceptable practice of urban shopping and bourgeois “riskless-risk” seeking.¹⁰⁶ BIAs produce an aesthetically pleasing rationality that competes with online shopping, supermalls and megastores. The point of BIAs is to produce a safe, recreational, and stimulating space that will attract potential shoppers who have multiple freedoms. They are dedicated to shopping and varieties of leisure and consumption that are in constant competition to secure space. Consumption should be conceived, most immediately, as the moment in the circulation of commodities (represented by C’-M’-C’’) where capital’s real self-realization as

¹⁰⁵ Lefebvre, The production of space.

¹⁰⁶See, Laura J. Huey, Richard V. Ericson, and Kevin Haggerty, “Policing fantasy city,” Re-imagining Policing in Canada, ed. Dennis Cooley, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) 140-208.

exchange value occurs.¹⁰⁷ This “self-realizing” process is capital’s objective appearing as estranged surplus-labour that is confronting living labour capacity.¹⁰⁸ So, contrary to popular sociological opinion¹⁰⁹, consumers are not free in supposed sovereign enterprise-centred spaces dedicated to ‘small’ business. Rather, the social practice of shopping entails that the purchaser of a commodities (the shopper) is an exploitable subject-spender, whose surplus spending power merely assists in the locomotion of commodities that circulate in urban spaces.¹¹⁰

3.2. Spatial Valorization

Force secures exchange relations and creates estrangement and social alienation concomitant with private property.¹¹¹

Space is a social product that is reified to a thing-like status. When space is reified it is exploited politically for control and domination. Hegemony and less

¹⁰⁷ K. Marx, Karl. Grundrisse: Foundations for the Critique of Political Economy 246.

¹⁰⁸ K. Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 259.

¹⁰⁹ See, M. Gottdiener. New forms of consumption: consumers, culture, and commodification (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

¹¹⁰ See, Robert Albritton and Thomas T. Sekine, ed., A Japanese approach to political economy: Unoist variations (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995).

¹¹¹ Explaining the genesis of capitalist production in agriculture in England and France, Marx noted that “agricultural people were first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded and tortured – a process legally legitimized by laws terribly grotesque and terrible that produced the discipline necessary for the wage system.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 737. In the same context Marx notes “the bourgeoisie, at its rise, wants and uses the power of the state to regulate wages, i.e., to force them within the limits suitable for surplus-value making, to lengthen the working-day and to keep the labourer himself in the normal degree of dependence.” Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 737.

passive forms of domination make use of space on the basis of discernable logics.

Following the conceptualization that BIA space is socially produced permits noting a critical insight about the relation between urban space and art. Both are nostalgic. After W. Benjamin, “art” can be conceived of as a recollection of a bygone era which appeals to a pre-conceptual experience and understanding that re-emerges in and against the context of the social functioning of a value-dominant experience and understanding or social consciousness.¹¹² As such, neither urban space nor art can reveal itself in the present without showing its past – albeit in a relegated and repressed form.¹¹³ After Benjamin, to conceptually particularize the social-historical reification of spatial experiences, I exploit a conceptual distinction between the integrated, meaningful experience, “Erfahrung”, and the atomizing, distant, incoherent alternative of “living through” urban space, “Erlebnis”.¹¹⁴ The former is an “involuntary memory” that is possible only when social humans are immersed in an ongoing, communal tradition. Abstract bourgeois modernity lacks such tradition. Presupposed in contemporary urban spatial practice instead is an inhuman crowd of individuals pursuing “their” private affairs. The outsider’s view is one of impoverished disorientation (“Erlebnis”).

¹¹² Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972) 99.

¹¹³ Herbert Marcuse, Aesthetic Dimension: towards a critique of Marxist aesthetics, (Boston: Beacon Press) 67.

¹¹⁴ Walter Benjamin, “Some Motifs on Baudelaire,” trans. Harry Zohn, Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York, Harcourt: Brace & World, 1968) 202.

Benjamin's observations are discernable in the case of Ottawa's By-Market, where the notion of heritage is exploited as a serviceable elastic resource in the expansion of a world class, tourist-friendly city with a distinct national identity of multiculturalism. The 'seedy' and 'low-income' market area that was (and indeed is still) rife with working-class tensions and compounded with disinvestment was aestheticized to cater to a leisure ordered commerce and 'boutiquification.'¹¹⁵ Convenient nostalgia dominates, though not without contest, as dissonant and consonant historical representations entail that heritage origins are forgotten in the maelstrom of the economic momentum underpinning a spatial re-packaging backed by the federal government agencies and the BIA.¹¹⁶ In Ottawa, reified space seems to function to shelter business transaction; political space is literally sacrificed for it.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ "By 2000 the heritage-initiated affluent-leisure appropriation of the commercial environment was complete; even the grimmest relict 'watering hold' from the best-forgotten beer-swilling past was re-imaged as not only the most historic pub but newly chic in its authenticity, affordability and diversity of clientele." See, John Tunbridge, "Heritage Momentum or Maelstrom? The case of Ottawa's Byward Market," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6.3 (2000): 277.

¹¹⁶ See also, Peter Harris, "Sparks Street needs clear focus as a heritage shopping site," *Ottawa Citizen* 29 Oct. 2001, final ed.: B4.

¹¹⁷ Reified downtown urban space was given its full due, as after antiglobalization protests in December 2001, BIA members banded together threatening to sue the Federal government for profit losses incurred due to protest activity. Two quotes in reference to the protests are illustrative. "You can't close down Sussex Avenue, Colonel By Drive, Rideau Street and Confederation Square for three days without economic fallout," said Joshua Moon, a lawyer with Perley-Robertson, Hill & McDougall, the law firm representing the businesses. "My clients are saying there is another cost to this [the protest], other than the overtime of the police officers, and that is a cost that we shouldn't have to bear." Vito Pilienci, "You can't close down Sussex Avenue, Colonel By Drive, Rideau Street and Confederation Square for three days without economic fallout," said Joshua Moon, a lawyer with Perley-Robertson, Hill & McDougall, the law firm representing the businesses. "My clients are saying there is another cost to this, other than the overtime of the police officers, and that is a cost that we shouldn't have to bear." Also: "I guess it's the price of democracy," she said. "But for a small business like me, it's financial hardship." Susan Burges, *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 Jun. 2002, final ed.:E1.

‘Once upon a time’ money and commodity trading were for rogues and swindlers. “The city” was not yet under the sway of capital.¹¹⁸ Then came an ‘historical mediation’ between medieval space and capitalist space: capital accumulation concentrated in urban space.¹¹⁹ The town seized control of the protection of the peasants and the extraction of their surplus-labour; urban space then became a “the theatre of a compromise” between the declining feudal system, the commercial bourgeoisie, oligarchies, and communities of craftsmen.¹²⁰ A similar theatrical production runs on the streets of downtown Ottawa today. Merchant capitalists busy themselves by controlling the urban lumpenproletariat. It is with these considerations in mind that the investigation follows a pertinent hypothesis: when, why, and under what circumstances does or does not the lumpenproletariat participate actively in revolt?¹²¹ BIA executives and retail members seem to be executing an agenda of corporatizing urban spaces by commanding spatial practices and absorbing lumpenproletarians into circuits of control. The task of the concrete investigation is to clarify the particularities of this situation.

BIAs are important components of capital’s contemporary movements toward absorbing potential spaces of valorization. Force is instrumental to producing ordered spaces conducive to the flows of capital. The functional existence of

¹¹⁸ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 268.

¹¹⁹ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 268.

¹²⁰ Lefebvre, The Production of Space 269.

¹²¹ Frank Bovenkerk, “The rehabilitation of the rabble: how and why Marx and Engels wrongly depicted the lumpenproletariat as a reactionary force,” Sociologia Neerlandica 20. 1 (1984).

money in circulation is to absorb; this token of value acquires an objective social validity of its own by its forced currency. Force is the peculiar feature of capitalist valorization.¹²²

Criminologists write that in North America the rise of the “market society”¹²³ and a “market culture”¹²⁴ have produced various forms of ‘exclusion’, ‘alienation’, and ‘sequestration’. BIAs are “spear-headers” of these trends, representing a particular form of “private space centred around the corporation and shopping mall that have emerged at the expense of public space and shared territories.”¹²⁵ It would be erroneous to suppose that the power of enterprise is new. But there are contemporary nuances which deserve attention. Moreover, so far it is the exploitation of force that is being mapped, and so far as the BIAs is a type of police mechanism, “micro-practices”¹²⁶ pertaining to urban pauperism that BIAs are involved in become paramount. BIAs instigate “quality of life” and “zero-tolerance”¹²⁷ initiatives that respond to and actually amplify middle- class fear toward a “poor, deviant” “other” and a “fundamental

¹²² Marx, Capital Volume 1 114, 129.

¹²³ On the empirically observable evolution of market structures, see, Ian R. Taylor, Crime in Context: A critical criminology of Market Societies (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 56-60.

¹²⁴ A ‘discursive formation’ outlining the socially authorized definition of conformity in a society where ‘the market is the “fundamental motor force”’ and “the entrepreneur is hero. See, Taylor, 60.

¹²⁵ Taylor, 60,136

¹²⁶ Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rainbow, Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 185.

¹²⁷ Jock Young, The Exclusive Society: Social Exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity 1st ed. (London: Sage, 1999) 140.

expectation to consume.”¹²⁸ The gestures of material exchange must forcefully overcome contradictions to produce their own spaces. Understanding this is the central task of the thesis.

To further contextualize the investigation it is integral to address salient contemporary academic critiques of BIAs. Miraftab’s research on “Cape Town’s Improvement Districts” (CID), for example, questions the role of CIDs in governing social relations “at-a-distance” from the state through “the community.”¹²⁹ Miraftab justifiably criticizes a “global roll-out of neoliberal urban policies”, as well as struggles for “urban citizenship” and the “right to the city”. CID’s are integral components of continuing post-apartheid urban spatial inequalities. With BIAs, a re-linking of the basis of state-citizen relationships to physical urban location occurs. The basis of exclusion shifts identity lines, from race to class, and access to better security and other services depends on whether one is located in an improvement district or not.¹³⁰ Miraftab suggests that the CID is form of governance that is distinct from a once implemented violently racist apartheid state regime. Social-political dimensions of Cape-Town life are found to be objectified and packaged in saleable form “in the hopes of achieving a world-class city capable of attracting business in a competitive global market.” The role of security in terms of valorizing urban space is also highlighted by

¹²⁸ Keith J. Hayward, *City Limits: Crime, Consumer Culture and the Urban Experience* (London: Glasshouse Press, 1999) 161.

¹²⁹ Faranak Miraftab, “Governing Post Apartheid Spatiality: Implementing City Improvement Districts in Cape Town,” *Antipode* 39. 4 (2007) 602-626. Questioning the role of CIDs in terms of governing social relations “at-a-distance” from the state through “the community.”

¹³⁰ Miraftab, 617.

Miraftab: “the main concern in the Cape Town BIA is with security, and “security guards are armed to ‘deal with’ class inequalities.”¹³¹

Miraftab’s research aptly demonstrates Marx’s insight that, in the community where bonds and relations are mediated by money exchange “it is absolutely necessary that forcibly separated elements which essentially belong together manifest themselves by way of forcible eruption as the separation of things which belong together in essence.”¹³² When Miraftab suggests that exclusion from Cape Town’s bourgeois playgrounds is experienced primarily along identity lines pertaining to socio-economic status, the ‘dialectical inversion of property’ that occurs when property takes on the value form¹³³ is empirically confirmed: property actually appears as the right to alien labour, and as the impossibility of labour appropriating its own product.¹³⁴

In England, similarly critical social research suggests that BIAs are spatial expressions of “governance-at-a-distance” through “the community” which are integral to the “remaking of urban policing and the regulation of public space.”¹³⁵ “BIA ambassadors” – tourist guides trained as security guards or vice

¹³¹ Miraftab, 624.

¹³² Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 150.

¹³³ Marx describes the value form as “the expression of equivalence between different sort of commodities that alone brings into relief the specific character of value-creating labour.” Marx, Capital: Volume 1 50. Or accordingly: “the bodily form of linen (the equivalent) is now the form assumed in common by the values of all commodities; it therefore becomes directly exchangeable with all and every of them.” Marx, Capital: Volume 1 66. “The general value-form, which represents all products of labour as mere congelations of undifferentiated human labour, shows by its very structure that it is the social resume of the world of commodities.” Karl Marx, Capital: Volume 1 67.

¹³⁴ Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 458.

versa – function as the eyes and ears of municipal police, while “urban revitalization” and “policing expenses” increasingly fall under the same ledger in urban governance budget schemes. A ‘productive dialect’ is also noted, where a statistically readable decline in official accounts of retail crime is causally associated with “creating aesthetically pleasing and safe places for the middle class to shop.”¹³⁶ In terms of a sociological interpretation, this research confirms that BIAs encompass a form of “aesthetic production”,¹³⁷ whereby an image of the “ideal urban” is produced and secured to create an abstract “urban experience”,¹³⁸ thereby reproducing social relations of “class distinction”.¹³⁹

In both of these studies there is a clear link between urban spatial production centred on an aesthetic rationality functioning to valorize space accompanied by social relations of exploitation and domination. Both also suggest BIAs are manifestations of ‘governance at-a-distance through the community,’ this notion implying that neo-liberal power attaches to social subjects through ‘governance strategies’, the authoritative deployment of “community” being one such example.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Ian Cook, “Mobilising Urban Policies: The Policy Transfer of US Business Improvement Districts to England and Wales,” *Urban Studies* 45. 4 (2008): 773-795.

¹³⁶ Cook 781.

¹³⁷ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

¹³⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The urban revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

¹³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984).

“Community governance,” a dominant form of “third-space” governance, is “a moral field binding persons into durable relations; a space of emotional relationships through which individual identities are constructed through their bonds to micro-cultures of values and meanings. [It is] a political objectification and instrumentalization through which government of the self and one’s relations to others is recreated.”¹⁴¹ ‘The community’ is a moral and ethical spatialization of government characterized by governing through regulated choices made by discrete and autonomous actors in the context of their particular commitments to families and communities.¹⁴² The community, it is thought, functions in terms of constituting legitimate subjects of power. It is thus that legitimate notions of “the community” mediate social relations.

While capital needs exploitable subjects for surplus-value production, the problem with the community governance approach is that it underemphasizes how subjective definitions of community are mediate by money exchange; as well as this latter’s forceful means of abstraction and alienation. Rose describes how U.S. urban renewal plans have sought to re-invent and reconstruct various inner-city areas as communities by mobilising local groups and actors to create community construction projects. In such processes, Rose explains, marginalized people are empowered by experts who teach, coach, and persuade (i.e., govern) subordinated people to conduct themselves in relation to given legitimate norms

¹⁴⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of freedom: reframing political thought*. (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁴¹ Rose, 172.

¹⁴² Rose, 328.

in the hopes of eventually being able to rationally self-manage.¹⁴³ Rational self-management is a key exploitable subjectivity in contemporary capitalism, and it would neither be impossible nor dubious to support the presupposition that BIAs are “moral fields binding individuals” to a norm or ethic, nor that BIAs include an “objectification of political knowledge”¹⁴⁴ that is involved in “assembling one’s existence or one’s relation to oneself”.¹⁴⁵ Rose’s weakness lies in the one-sided emphasis on the subject of power and the constitution of such.¹⁴⁶

Marxian criticism is better suited for critiquing BIAs because it permits for putting ideological pressure directly on the value creating movement, the objective force¹⁴⁷ inherent to class domination,¹⁴⁸ of which BIAs are so evidently spatial-political expressions. Taking on the objective force in academic critique permits for “attacking” the objective movement toward surplus-value, rather than

¹⁴³ Rose, 189.

¹⁴⁴ Rose, 189.

¹⁴⁵ Rose, 194-196.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, Foucault, Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics.

¹⁴⁷ “The social character of activity, as well as the social form of the product, and the share of individuals in production here appear as something alien and objective, confronting the individuals, not as their relation to one another, but as their subordination to relations which subsist independently of them and which arise out of collisions between mutually indifferent individuals. The general condition for each individual – their mutual interconnection – here appears as something alien to them, autonomous, as a thing. In exchange value, the social connection between persons is transformed into a social relations between things; personal capacity into objective wealth. The less social power the medium of exchange possesses, the greater the power of the community.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 157.

¹⁴⁸ “The development of the productive forces dissolves forms of human community. Their dissolution is itself a development of the human productive forces.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 496.; “The objective power of capital (against the worker) in a specific relation with the increase of the productive forces.” Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 579.

being concerned about the extent to which subjects may evade being constituted by power. Moreover, Rose's expression of a reluctance to "be governed too much" and goal "to increase community opportunities for each individual to construct and transform his or her own forms of life"¹⁴⁹ sympathizes with contemporary surplus-value production by overtly presupposing owned freedom and individualist earthly existence – similar to that which was prescribed by the natural-law theoreticians from which Marxian Legal Theorist Evengi Pashukanis built a critique of bourgeois legal formations. The naturalists, Pashukanis wrote, "start[ed] with the legal condition of the isolated self-contained nature of the human personality, the coexistence of many free beings, who shall all be free, the freedom of one not interfering with the freedom of others [that is]."¹⁵⁰ So, to reiterate, rather than merely resisting the experts and moral legislators that create subjects for capitalism by demonstrating how to "be governed in terms of their values, and how their values shape the ways they govern themselves",¹⁵¹ the focus of Marxian research must be on the objective social conditions that permit for the transformation of communal life into an alienating force in the first place..¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Rose, 193.

¹⁵⁰ Evgeny B. Pashukanis, Law and Marxism: a general theory, trans. Barbara Einhorn, ed. Chris Arthur (London: Ink Links, 1978) 114.

¹⁵¹ Rose, 189.

¹⁵² The general condition for each individual – their mutual interconnection – here appears as something alien to them, autonomous, as a thing. In exchange value, the social connection between persons is transformed into a social relations between things; personal capacity into objective wealth. The less social power the medium of exchange possesses, the greater the power of the community." Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 157.

The abstract system of exchange is often rendered in form as axiomatic. The affect of the dominance of a value consciousness is that the inverted system of social production and its ideals – competition, division, repetition, improvement, individualism, flexibility – are often rendered in this manner as a defence mechanism. Capitalism is actually associated with a fetishistic¹⁵³ inversion of social production: relations where value is exchanged are objective to the producers and alienated from both the commodity's use-value and its relative exchange-value.¹⁵⁴ Thus commodities are 'mysteriously' endowed with a greater qualitative worth than the value-creating element, living labour, of which they are actually a material result.

The form through which this abstraction is universalized is security and police. To arrive at the society of commodity fetishism what is presupposed is the separation of landed property from labour. This entails the emergence of land, the primary condition of labour, as an independent force in the hands of a separate class which confronts the free labourer: this is called "profit upon exploitation".¹⁵⁵ Various contemporary economic writers hold fast to 'the naturalist fallacy' that capitalist abstraction is an a priori of human social existence, that the market is some kind of natural force to be trusted in or regulated. The Marxian stance, on the contrary, clarifies the metaphysical and

¹⁵³ The fetishism of commodities generally denotes the over-valued position of the commodity in society. Marx, Capital Volume 1, ed. Frederick Engels (New York: International Publishers, 1967) 71-83.

¹⁵⁴ "The appropriation of labour by capital confronts the worker in a coarsely sensuous form; capital absorbs labour into itself – as though its body were by love possessed ." Marx, Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy 704.

¹⁵⁵ Marx, Theories of surplus value: volume 1 50.

real violence that precedes ongoing abstraction, and argues that value itself is not inherent.

3.3. Summary

My analysis thus far has drawn on Lefebvre to produce a conceptual understanding of the social production of BIAs in urban spaces. We have already travelled part way to answering the main research question: what is the role of BIAs in securing urban space. It has been argued that capitalist production as a whole requires supervision – monitoring, surveillance – because the value of commodities, particularly the commodity labour-power which workers sell to employers, requires forceful protection. Security is the universalizing tendency through which the contradiction between the forces and relations of production are controlled. We have described the social conditions under which land can be invested in by particular class interests, thus assuming the form of an *independent force confronting living labour*. Theorizing the BIA as objective manifestations (produced spatial medium) absorbing surplus-labour, as spaces truly making an appearance as capital, permits nuanced insights into the techniques used by the bourgeoisie as they sequester proletarian political movement in the spaces of downtown Ottawa.

In their bid to produce an intimate shopping/entertainment experience amidst the popularity of shopping malls, and suburban mega stores, and risks of urban social life, urban commercial areas are being captured by the interests of merchant capitalists. Their hegemonic social status seems to be permitting the

tailoring of core urban spaces to wealthy shoppers and the claquers that set about concentrating in distinct spaces in downtown Ottawa. When value is personified materially and ideally in space it takes on an existence so reified that it confronts urban surplus populations as if space were a horse on its hind legs. Critical scholarship opposing the commodification of urban space must work toward imposing an alternative organization on the outside world. The following chapter, expanding from the built theoretical framework, investigates concrete situations and occurrences of the confrontations between Ottawa's BIAs and the surplus populations they seek to control.

Chapter 4: Surveillance and Aesthetics

My Marxian investigation can now proceed by abstracting from conceptual determinations to the particulars that describe real occurrences of struggle in downtown Ottawa. The concrete social relation that needs to be elucidated is the wage-relation. Class struggle is instrumental in determining the particularities of relationships between labour and capital personified. The following incurs a relation analogous to that of wage labour; a relation, the content of which is elucidated below, between owners of space and immediate producers and users of space.¹⁵⁶ The methodological category of the individual¹⁵⁷ is primitive accumulation: forceful expropriation of immediate producers that precede capital accumulation.

To produce a social totality according to a commodity logic there is conflict and struggle manifesting between the forces and relations of production. This is so insofar as relations between owners and “dispossessed” (people who have only labour-power to sell) are mediated by the forced abstraction of living labour. Forced abstraction is a process that is commanded by capitalists in the space of work. This chapter demonstrates how abstract spaces are forcefully produced as a shift to an “entrepreneurial mode of governance”¹⁵⁸ has taken hold in Ottawa creating local class conflict in urban space. Bourgeois space is filled with the contradiction between the appearance of security and the constant threat

¹⁵⁶ See, Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on cities*, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

¹⁵⁷ See, Uchida.

¹⁵⁸ See, Hunt.

of the eruption of violence.¹⁵⁹ Producing substantive knowledge that maps the intersections of urban space and class struggle,¹⁶⁰ manifested as “BIA’ification” in downtown Ottawa, is of the utmost importance.

The forceful imposition of the value form on to the BIA as a social space proceeds according to a modality that is sometimes deceptive. It actually occurs under the guise of “creativity” and “art”, as downtown BIA space is coded aesthetically to become “beautiful”, “clean”, “safe”, and “fit for” leisure. A framework of formal rationality and homogeneity is discernable here. ‘Commodity space is subservient to the functional requirements of inter-changeability.¹⁶¹ When capital absorbs under-valorized spaces of circulation, space is exploited. Exploitation presupposes the implementation of a type of controlled automation.¹⁶²

4.1.: The By-Ward Market

Some contemporary legal scholars presume the legitimacy of the form of forced abstraction, what I have described as “security”. For example, Lowi writes that “everyone wants a safer society. And almost everyone accepts the value of a society of risk takers.”¹⁶³ Lowi recognizes what is ideological,¹⁶⁴ but

¹⁵⁹ Lefebvre, The production of space 57.

¹⁶⁰ Antonio Gramsci, The modern prince, and other writings (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1957).

¹⁶¹ Lefebvre, The production of space 101.

¹⁶² See, Guy Debord, Society of the Spectacle, trans. Fredy Perlman and John Supak (Detroit: Black and Red, 1977).

then produces an advertisement for precisely what is being sold in downtown Ottawa. The intrinsic value of a 'society of risk takers' is a highly dubious and idealistic proposition that critical inquiry must challenge. A "safe society" – a product of "conceptualized space,"¹⁶⁵ that is exploited for profit in real spatial practices – is precisely what Ottawa's By Ward Market BIAs does when it engages in "commodified social control"¹⁶⁶ by hiring "Ambassadors"¹⁶⁷ who, by helping to create "a positive experience" for tourists, actually labour to ensure that the "rhythms"¹⁶⁸, – that is the "energy applied to space in time" and "the relations between gesture and space"¹⁶⁹, of BIA space are balanced to tempo. The function of BIA "ambassadors", can be interpreted as one of attempting to stop "arrhythmia": the conflict or dissonance between or among two or more rhythms; and promote 'safety,' polyrhythmicality (coherence or absence of

¹⁶³ Theodore J. Lowi, "Risks and Rights in the History of American Government," Governing Risks (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005) 3-27.

¹⁶⁴ "There is a self evident relation among risk taking, profit, and productivity, and to deliberately eliminate the element of personal risk from economic endeavour would almost certainly affect the other two variables, profit and productivity." Lowi 18.

¹⁶⁵ Lefebvre, The production of space 33.

¹⁶⁶ See, George Rigakos, The new parapolic: risk markets and commodified social control (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002).; George S. Rigakos, Nighclub: bouncers, risk, and the spectacle of consumption (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

¹⁶⁷ BIA executive: "The ByWard Market Ambassador program is operated through a community partnership and includes tourism, safety and information functions. Each summer ByWard Market Ambassadors circulate throughout the Market area contributing to a positive Market experience by 1) Providing tourists & the public with an on-street resource for questions about the Market & the City 2) Providing a safety & security function by monitoring the street activity & responding to situations that require intervention 3) Providing front-line response & first aid treatment in the case of accident or injury 4) Maintaining positive community relations with all Market stakeholders. NA., "Presenting: Ottawa's Byward Market – Special Events, Culture & Art, Boutiques and Culinary Delights in a Historic Setting," Travel and transitions, 27 Jun. 2006 <[http://www.travelandtransitions.com/interviews/ottawa_byward_market.htm]>.

¹⁶⁸ Lefebvre, The production of space 203-207.

¹⁶⁹ Lefebvre, The production of space 216.

conflict amongst various rhythms).¹⁷⁰ According to the executive of the By-Ward BIA, Ambassadors productively maximize the likelihood that the value of By-Ward Market space will increase; that tourists will come to spend, advertise the space to people in their respective, valued networks. This means that ambassadors really help turn invested M's into M's. That is, "safety", "peace" and "solidarity" may be desirable objectives but the fact is that now they are subservient to spatial valorization.

The By-Ward market is central for tourism in Ottawa. It is also a space that could be used for other purposes. Low-income housing complexes, crime hot-spots, and homeless shelters surround its fringes. The homeless shelters remain despite the attempt of BIA Executives in the late nineties to have them relocated.¹⁷¹ Actually, since the late seventies downtown retailers have spearheaded various offensives against begging, panhandling, and other visible manifestations of inequality. In 1994, a group of business leaders, police, and social service agencies called "Change for the Better, Ottawa cares" paid "community relations workers" to bicycle through the By-Ward market with cell-phones in an attempt to re-direct panhandlers to social service agencies. The

¹⁷⁰ See, Henri Lefebvre, Rhythmanalysis: space, time and everyday life, trans. Gerald Moore and Stuart Elden (London; New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004).

¹⁷¹ After it was widely acknowledged that expropriating homeless shelters out of the downtown core would make virtually no practical sense, as most clients 'reside' downtown, a compromise was reached where BIAs themselves now are influential in administering downtown homeless shelters. "Some of (the homeless) have addictions and mental-health issues," she said. "This is a win-win situation for me and the BIA. I think the BIA will now get some understanding of what it's like to run a shelter for homeless people." John Schudio, "Mission executive tackles business-social service rift; Director says she'll use post on BIA board to increase dialogue," Ottawa Citizen 23 Feb. 2008, final ed.: E6.

group's purpose was to respond to panhandlers that were supposedly flocking to 'The Market' because of its popularity as a tourist location.¹⁷² Panhandling had a negative effect on the Market's image and had to be properly contained.

In 1996, on Bank Street, a Centertown BIA group collaborated with the Ottawa Police and managed to secure the funds necessary to finance two daily shifts of "Safety Officers." These would "clamp down" on aggressive, transient panhandlers (and other street nuisances), and thus make the street safer and "more enticing" for shoppers and tourists.¹⁷³ Just two years later, the By-Ward Market's associated retailers became outraged at motor-bike owners that were 'lingering' – drinking coffee, revving their engines while conversing – in store-front parking-lots.¹⁷⁴ A BIA executive plainly summed up the rationale behind the BIA's attempt to contain gatherings of rowdy people which might deter the maximization of urban security. The BIA executive did so by asserting that whether or not customers are actually affected by such crowds, consumers and merchants were the legitimate users of that space.¹⁷⁵ This demonstrates how an existing space's use must be sacrificed to make way for the space's valorized use of attracting and retaining prospective customers.

¹⁷² Maria Bohuslawsky, "Ottawa campaign to redirect panhandlers to soup kitchens," The Ottawa Citizen 4 June. 1995, final ed.: A7.

¹⁷³ Julia Elliot, "Customers come first: safety patrol targets downtown 'nuisances' to improve shopping, tourism," The Ottawa Citizen 6 Jun. 1998, final ed.: D1.

¹⁷⁴ Julia Elliot, "Byward Market: good or bad for business?: While some shops close, others are prospering," The Ottawa Citizen 30 Apr. 1998, final ed.: C1.

¹⁷⁵ Gerry LePage, "The underlying problem with panhandlers," The Ottawa Citizen 27 Jun. 1999, final ed.: A17.

4.2. The Rideau Street Underpass

“The Rideau Street Underpass” is located a short distance from Parliament Hill. So close to the seat of Canadian state power, ‘the underpass’ is one of only two passages between Parliament Hill, the By-Ward Market district and Rideau Centre. The underpass is a space of high end consumer and tourist traffic, particularly during peak hours and seasons. Yet the underpass is also popular amongst street people, and used by them for shelter, recreation, and general communal gathering. The underpass falls within the boundaries of the Rideau Street BIA. This is so despite legal action that organized panhandlers and local homeless activists took to liberate it from BIA authority.¹⁷⁶

Before the underpass was effectively claimed by the Rideau Street BIA, in collaboration with the Ottawa Art Court Foundation, city authorities installed around its perimeter a wrought iron fence that effectively isolated the space. According to official city reports, the purpose of this was to “provide a perception of safety,” and create a temporary device that would facilitate the provision of animation and program activities that would have to be approved in consultation with local community stake holders.¹⁷⁷ Ward councillor Bedard commented that fencing was necessary because the space was “ambiguous [...] without a lack of ownership.”¹⁷⁸ The underpass’s alignment with “programation”

¹⁷⁶NA, *Ottawa’s homeless fight for right to sleep in underpass*, 31 Jan. 2008., <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/ottawa/story/2008/01/31/ot-homeless-080131.html>>.

¹⁷⁷ *City of Ottawa Council Minutes*, 7 Nov. 2007.. <<http://www.ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2007/11-14/trc/ACS2007-CCS-TRC-0020.htm>>.

and “animation” was accomplished at the direct bequest of the Rideau Street BIA along with the Hertz Spa, a high-end retailer located just adjacent to the underpass.¹⁷⁹

Andrew Nellis, an IWW union organizer who represents panhandlers in Ottawa was arrested and charged for attempting to cut a set of locks that once secured the iron fence. Nellis’s arrest and police/Ottawa BIA security harassment of panhandlers and alternative users of downtown space in general, was the focal point for protest demonstrations that took place on May 1, 2008. At the demonstration, a procession of protestors, who would eventually be forcefully evacuated from the public courthouse where Andrew’s charges were being heard, marched through downtown Ottawa accompanied by a motorized police convoy.

The fences have been since been removed and all charges dropped. Yet, the underpass remains part of the Rideau Street BIA. The underpass’s value is measured in relation to and expressed by its “enhanceability”, an attribute of space which is neither an expression of use (i.e., space’s sleep-ability or congregation-ability), nor exchange. A measure of worth which expresses comparability, with other objects. This so-called “enhanceability” is actually a form of valorization which supplies the underpass with the requisite aesthetic

¹⁷⁸ City of Ottawa Council Minutes. 7 Nov. 2007. <
<http://www.ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2007/11-14/trc/ACS2007-CCS-TRC-0020.htm>>.

¹⁷⁹ City of Ottawa Council Minutes. 7 Nov. 2007. <
<http://www.ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2007/11-14/trc/ACS2007-CCS-TRC-0020.htm>>.

qualities that allow for the space's materialization as exchange-value.

“Enhancibility” objectively endows worth determinatively and quantitatively.

Not surprisingly, “enchancability” was accompanied by force; the imposition of the value form onto social space proceeded forcefully by colonizing the space through a police action.

In seeking to appear legitimate to a public audience that was well-informed about the hot-button status of the underpass,¹⁸⁰ a Rideau Street BIA executive expressed the imposition of the value form by masking the forced imposition of rationality and automation that is assumed with the value form: “We want to add animation¹⁸¹ and programming to create a positive impression rather than having people feeling threatened by people loitering. [...] We are trying to accommodate their [the homeless] access to the space while making sure it's safe.”¹⁸² The above quote lucidly expresses the intention to impose animation and programming, an abstraction. In the imposition of abstract space, violence is cloaked under the sheath of artistic creativity. Moreover, the ideology of safety proved particularly exploitable in this scenario, settling a public consciousness that in all likelihood had become increasingly anxious following a homicide that

¹⁸⁰ The underpass had been in the local press.

¹⁸¹ “In order, therefore, that a commodity may in practice act effectively as exchange-value, it must quit its bodily shape, must transform itself from mere imaginary into real gold, although to the commodity such transubstantiation may be more difficult than [...] to a lobster the casting of its shell.” Marx, A contribution to the critique of political economy 103.

¹⁸² Taylor Turner, “Homeless continue to fight for Rideau underpass,” Centretown News 16 May. 2008
<http://centretownnewsonline.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=265&Itemid=94>.

had occurred in the underpass two years prior.¹⁸³ Peggy Dusharme, the BIA executive speaking above, is also advocate for *The Arts and Theatre District of Ottawa*, a group that is attempting to create an artsy, tourist friendly district. She has often supported imposing “zero tolerance” strategies that are instrumental to producing a bourgeois aesthetic in the downtown core.¹⁸⁴ “Artistic creativity”, or “street performances” are deemed conducive to the promotion of a tourist friendly image, and licensed by the City. Safety, meanwhile, legitimizes the forced unification of use and exchange. While the metaphor of consensus (“accommodation”) betrays, the actual facts, which involved a sizeable police mobilization, arrests, and forceful evacuation of demonstrators from a public courthouse.

Currently, the space of the underpass is designated for ‘appropriate’ animation production and performance. Essentially, this means that the space is preserved for art and product vending as approved by the Rideau Street BIA,¹⁸⁵ in accordance with vending regulations as per the City of Ottawa’s “Designated Space Program (DSP). The DSP is a legal method for regulating and mediating use and access to urban spaces that are neither classified under “individual” or “corporate private property”, nor the “private property” of the City of Ottawa.

¹⁸³ Taylor Turner, “Homeless continue to fight for Rideau underpass,” *Centretown News* 16 May. 2008
<http://centretownnewsinline.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=265&Itemid=94>.

¹⁸⁴ See, *City of Ottawa Council Minutes*. 14 June. 2006. <http://www.ottawa.ca/city_hall/mayor_council/council_updates/2006/20060614_en.html>.

¹⁸⁵ City Council, 8 May. 2008, *Report to Community and Protective Services*. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

The DSP accounts for spaces that are technically classified as “side-walk” and “street” spaces. Annual fees for vending, distributing and busking subjective to the approval of the Chief Licence Inspector, determine what and who occupy such spaces.¹⁸⁶ Dividing space as such is the state-legal technique whereby previously ‘casualized’ labour practices¹⁸⁷ are absorbed into commercial relations of exchange. It is thus that access to space is mediated through a “business licence,” and that the user of space is morphed into a codified renter. Hence ‘subjective’ spatial alienation, and the symbolic presence of the market medium: ‘stock spaces’ are leased, purchased and traded.

The above scenario is reminiscent of an eighteenth century technique of urban regulation that was once prescribed for London by Patrick Colquhoun.¹⁸⁸ Colquhoun was an influential spokesman for introducing police techniques that indisputably fostered mercantile trading policies in Western Europe during the eighteenth century. His Boat and River police were systems of preventive surveillance in which circulating commodities were to be protected from theft, plunder, and pillage. Colquhoun’s central concern was combating fraudulent trade in spaces of money and commodity transaction. The idealistic objective of his police system was to secure “Public Justice”.

¹⁸⁶ “At the other extreme of freedom of trade and commerce in civil society is public organization to provide for everything and determine everyone’s labour.” Hegel 148.

¹⁸⁷ Vending regulations have been in place since 1993, but it is generally acknowledged that enforcement has increased since the induction of the Ontario Safe Streets Act in 1999.

¹⁸⁸ See, for example, Patrick Colquhoun, A treatise on the commerce and police of the River Thames, (London, 1800).; Patrick Colquhoun, Treatise on the police of the Metropolis, 7th ed. (Montclair, N.J.: Smith, 1906).

To return to the Rideau Street BIA scenario, it is clear that state control over labour practices in spaces of money currency may be material or ephemeral (i.e., rooms at Ottawa's Lord Elgin hotel or a tourist-friendly image), and that the variant of control is distinctly "Colquhonian": licensing regulations mechanically order once un-valorized transactions.¹⁸⁹ Licensing is a technique of spatial mediation which secures exploitable relations to urban space. The principal function of Colquhoun's "Criminal police" was implementing licensing systems in deviance-prone urban spaces (alehouses, pawnbrokers, hackney coaches, etc.).¹⁹⁰ "Public wrongs" were to be prevented through effectiveness: the accumulation of statistics and knowledge related to London's criminogenic under-classes. For the Rideau Street BIA, there are a plethora of mechanisms that can be exploited to fulfill the task of securing the "economically expedient"¹⁹¹ Rideau Street transit area. Such mechanism include: collaboration with Transit Law Enforcement Units to "blitz areas where youth congregate"; metal halide fixtures to upgrade lighting levels; CCTV on bus shelters; removal of heating units from bus shelters and adjacent retailers; signage that directs

¹⁸⁹ See, John McMullan, "Social Surveillance and the Rise of the 'Police Machine'," Theoretical Criminology 2. 1 (1998): 93-117.

¹⁹⁰ P. Colquhoun, Treatise on the police of the Metropolis. (Montclair: Smith, 1906- 1969).

¹⁹¹ "More than 30,000 transit customers get on and off buses at the Rideau Centre on Rideau Street each day making transit an important function of the area's economy." [...] "Following Council's direction in Summer 2006, staff consulted with the Rideau Street BIA and Ottawa Police Services to discuss cooperative measures and potential interim actions. These discussions and further analysis resulted in actions that have removed obstacles that disrupt the flow of pedestrians and encourage loitering, and will in general clean up the appearance of the street itself." City Council, 21 Mar. 2007. Report to Transit Committee. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2007/04-11/tc/ACS2007-PTE-DCM-0001.htm>>.

tourists; and special constables that “deal with trespassers” in the area.¹⁹² The rationale underpinning the securitization of the underpass is of a mercantilist risk-markets variety. In true ‘Calquhounian’ fashion, there is the production an effective and efficient system whereby offences that threaten the security of property and commodities in circulation are prevented. Through the social introduction of an active, watchful police aided by a correct system of restraints loss prevention is minimized.

4.3.: Summary

This chapter began by recounting that the method of this investigation assumes value’s dominance and proceeds to elucidate concrete determinations and examples thereof. The contradiction of abstract BIA space as it is portrayed have been discussed. Actions by no means have free reign when the value form stands over them. A sense of ownership is hardly automatic, as without forceful expropriation it would have been impossible to realize. The imposition of the bourgeois utopia of a secure, risk free city comes at the price of the abstractions involved in producing what is “beautiful” or “vibrant.” The Rideau Street underpass is a good example. Colquhounian police techniques forcefully impose the value form onto social space. The alienating dimensions of abstract space were analyzed, as were the ideological representations of space as consensual. Building on the concrete examples already described, in the following chapter I

¹⁹² City Council, 21 Mar. 2007. Report to Transit Committee.
<<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2007/04-11/tc/ACS2007-PTE-DCM-0001.htm>>.

expand on the particularities of the force techniques that are exploited in the process of producing BIA space.

Ch 5: Spaces of Control and Resistance

Building on the concrete examples described in the previous chapter, my investigation now analyzes the forceful techniques used in the production of abstract space. The goal of Marxian-inspired social investigation is to demystify reified elements of the mode of production and to render the position of such within the open, contingency- laden bourgeois totality. The means to achieve this end is best described as an ascending and descending circular movement that incorporates analysis and synthesis, the end-point of one forming the point of departure for the other, and vice versa. The means of systemic investigation, through the breaking down of a whole into its constituent parts and reconstituting a whole from its parts, is used to produce new knowledge of the object. The object of this investigation is the role of BIA space in securing urban social space. The securitization of urban space is a process where the social-relational contradictions inherent to capital valorization are atomized. Force separates those elements which belong together. Force is the agent of abstraction, and security is the major contemporary capitalist form. The real task of the investigation is to ascertain the tactical role of BIAs in securing submission to the expansion of value and tracking its material manifestations.

To analyze the role of Ottawa's downtown BIAs in capitalist domination is to decipher the techniques of urban political power and their links to vital police organs and apparatuses. The purpose of the following is to describe this "local

cynicism of power”¹⁹³ that seems to be mediating the points of conflict between BIAs and proletarian non-capital. In the movement of force within power relations, domination is never static. Resistance produces new variations and relations of domination between urban petty bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat, igniting or altering existing distributions and inequalities.

5.1.: Selling control

The City of Ottawa’s Champlain Room is ostensibly a political space of public exchange, where competing policy and political objectives clash. This is also the space in which, on May 15, 2008, Ottawa’s downtown BIAs secured a minor victory for their political program of order, safety, and security. The Community and Protective Services Committee convened to discuss a proposal that would address problems pertaining to vending in downtown spaces. How and to what extent street vending, panhandling, newspaper distribution, and similar forms of approved “street labour” would be administered needed to be decided.¹⁹⁴

The subject content of the proposal, which eventually passed, was two-fold in substance. On the one hand, there was a pilot project that would authorize the

¹⁹³ “Tactics which, become connected to one another, attacking and propagating one another, but finding their base of support and their condition elsewhere, end by forming comprehensive systems: the logic is perfectly clear, the aims decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them, and few who can be said to have formulated them: an implicit characteristic of the great anonymous, almost unspoken strategies which co-ordinate the loquacious tactics whose inventors or decision makers are often without hypocrisy.” M. Foucault, History of Sexuality (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) 95.

¹⁹⁴ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

Rideau Street Business Improvement Area to manage programs and activities within the Rideau Street underpass. On the other, was a one year pilot project that would permit churches and other social service agencies to hold craft events on their respective properties. Both projects would need to be produced according to the satisfaction of the Chief Licence Inspector respecting space issues, and performed in consultation with the local BIA and Ward Councillor.¹⁹⁵ Both proposals were also created with the intention of dealing with vending recommendations that emanated from the Homelessness and Safe Streets Task Force, a bureaucratic committee that had formed following Homeless action strikes in 2002, that had sought Council's approval for authorizing sidewalk distribution of not-for-profit newspapers without a permit or licence.

At the May 15th meeting, provision of authority over 'street labour' was a salient subject for various street people living in Ottawa's homeless shelters, group homes, and YMCAs. Many are actually involved in sporadically organized political actions against urban planning and BIAs. Ottawa's Panhandling Union leader, Andrew Nellis, and homeless activist/mayoral candidate, Jane Sharff are representatives of such interests. Both attended the meeting and were prepared to deliver a distinctly pro-lumpen autonomy agenda against the planned BIA/Church-warden supervision to City Council.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

¹⁹⁶ Noting the emphasis Marx places on "proletarian-ness" as a "political struggle" or movement towards a "being for itself" in the Hegelian categorical sense, the demand for autonomous street

Sharf and Nellis's collective goal was to oppose City-sponsored BIA and Church-warden supervision of Ottawa's homeless and street panhandlers, painters, drawers, carvers, and so on – many of whom had been given the “move along” or experienced other negative encounters with BIA security guards,¹⁹⁷ Ottawa Police Services, and City By-law personnel. And so, it is in this sense that the Champlain room council meeting was the site of a conflict over the right to access and use of space.¹⁹⁸ The central topic there was the right to vend, panhandle and sell crafts within the jurisdiction of the Rideau Street BIA. From a Marxian standpoint, the scenario that actually played out, involved a direct confrontation between the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, and the immediate representatives of the lumpenproletarian.

Sharf and Nellis were sharply opposed to permitting BIAs to head a supervising committee that would oversee the sale of arts and crafts in select downtown spaces. Indeed, the BIUA was so despised by street activists that they routinely “egged” their office. The line of argumentation advanced by Nellis and Sharf was that people who had had a history of confrontations with BIA security

labour fits with the description of “proletariat-ness”, as it attempts to achieve an independent development, despite its intermediate position between the propertied citizens and those without property or who are the property of others, such as the enserfed small peasantry of Middle Europe, bound, as they were, by forms or modes of property organisation and existing productive forces. The opposite of the bind is nomadic escaping, swarming, alternative combination (i.e., guild formation and town rabble). See, Karl Marx, The communist manifesto (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2002)

¹⁹⁷ Most of Ottawa's downtown BIAs contract directly, to some extent, with local private security contractors (i.e., Capital Security) and Ottawa Police Services for foot and car-patrol services, routinely and also for event supervision. Private security is legally constituted under the Private Security and Investigative Services Act, 2005.

¹⁹⁸ See, Lefebvre, Writings on cities, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

guards, Church wardens, and Ottawa Police needed self-empowering opportunities, not supervision from Business owners and their associates. However, lumpenproletarian autonomy proved to be an unreasonable demand. In fact, city council was entirely unconvinced as to its feasibility. Below I explain why that was.

Given centre stage at the May 15th meeting, as member of the Community and Protective Services Committee, the executive officer of the Rideau Street BIA, a Baptist Church advocate and practicing advertising consultant, made a splendid presentation on the benefits of “Operation Go Home”: a program where BIAs take a leading role in removing homeless people from prized downtown spaces.¹⁹⁹ Operation “Go Home” aims at the forcible re-entry of street people into one or another circuit of capital,²⁰⁰ through the use of outdoor labour practices, management and monitoring. With great rhetorical flourish, he

¹⁹⁹ Operation “Go Home” is pre-packaged “street to home method” that BIAs offer to the communities they serve, which longitudinal research proves to produce “substantial” and “long-lasting” reductions in street homelessness in “your community”. Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008.

<<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>. The boastable thing about the program is that it cleared unwanted and proscribed architecture from Times Square NYC. Cf. David Harvey, The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change (Oxford, England; New York, NY, USA: Blackwell, 1989).

²⁰⁰ “In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend Money bags, must be so lucky as to find, within the sphere of circulation, in the market, commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption, therefore, is itself an embodiment of labour, and, consequently, a creation of value. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in capacity for labour of labour-power.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 167. “For the conversion of money into capital therefore, the wonder of money must met in the market with the free labourers, free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 167. “It is therefore impossible that outside the sphere of circulation, a producer of commodities can, without coming into contact with other commodity-owners, expand value, and consequently convert money or commodities into capital.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 165.

persuasively argued that BIAs should represent the interests of street people; that BIAs should ‘take care of them’, ‘assist them’ in securing stable housing; be the ones to secure provision of psychological counselling; and accommodate minimum-wage job placement. Social re-reintegration²⁰¹ was the key goal that the BIA executive was striving for. Speaking with pulpit eloquence and standing between a personal laptop and film projector displaying images of how successful “Operation Go Home!” had been at gentrifying New York City’s Times Square, he sold the idea to City Council. Council members that voted on the motion were convinced that surplus populations living and roaming Ottawa’s downtown spaces required absorption. The downtown Christian Church and friendly Business Associations were ready to take care of business.

As much as the ideological form of the Community and Protective Services Committee meeting felt similar to that of a Sunday morning church service, it was also unmistakably similar to a company shareholders meeting, as God-fearing peti-burghers ruminated over the interests of Ottawa’s lumpenproletariat even as they were demanding spaces for themselves. This latter interest was immediately represented by Nellis and Sharf who were sitting front and centre, listening in disgust and on occasion vocally interrupting the BIA executive with jeers and explicatives.

²⁰¹ ‘Moving inside begins their re-integration into society.’ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008.
<<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

After the presentation, councillors paid mere lip service to Sharf's disapproval and did not speak whatsoever to Nellis's protestations. The BIA's message was victorious. The motion to create spaces of supervision and licensing passed. Afterward, most of the audience in the gallery left, possibly spiritually enriched by the experience. Andrew Nellis later spoke to a student-run newspaper in a tone more sober than that which he had used in the Champlaign room. He objected that the underpass should not be permitted to be owned as it is 'public space'.²⁰² He refused the legitimacy of the proposition that street people should settle for being permitted merely to access an underpass that is controlled by BIA authorities for the purpose of "enhancement."

Presently, in official City discourse and spatial practice, the interests of lumpen-proletarian resistance are neglected in deference to bourgeois urban planning: paternal domination reigns. The BIA recommendation went through as if the councillors had not heard a word of Nellis's or Scharff's pleas to resist supervision. As mentioned above, the proposal responded to a request put forward by "the Homelessness Task force", issued following homeless action protests in 2004. The report sought permission for "wide-open" (unplanned, unmanaged) vending in downtown spaces.²⁰³ However, there will be no

²⁰² See, Taylor Turner, "Homeless continue to fight for Rideau underpass", Centretown News, 16 May. 2008 <
http://centretownnewsonline.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=265&Itemid=94
>.

²⁰³ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008.
<[<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>].>

legitimate outdoor Ateliers²⁰⁴ on the streets of Ottawa. All vending and street activity will be supervised. A contributing factor in the production of a safe community. A familiar discursive association between “community safety” and political security within the liberal ideology of a minimal state fabricates an order where class antagonism is temporarily superseded by business and commerce.

5.2.: Ordering and managing the surplus population

Why was the request for “wide-open” vending merely “contemplated”, rather than permitted? It was due to a lack of registering, coding, and inspection. According to the “Downtown Ottawa Coalition for a Safe Community”: a state organ vying for legitimacy that is composed of homeless shelter representatives, BIA executives, O.P.S. Members, and various community “stake-holders”, including Telus Mobility Inc. For the coalition, the “inability to distinguish who is homeless and what original homeless art” was and “the dangers of quick money (without training, supports) in the hands of the homeless was going to exacerbate the problems identified in the areas.”²⁰⁵

“The Homelessness and Safe Streets Task force” had made a series of recommendations to various stake holders within the local bureaucracy, including the “Business Advisory Committee.” A compromise, the “Leadership

²⁰⁴ Worker`s workshops in Paris circa 1894.

²⁰⁵ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

Table on Homelessness,”²⁰⁶ was created to oversee and advise on programs intending to create spaces for street markets operated by artists, artisans, and street people.²⁰⁷ The Leadership Table’s recommendations were then referred to staff of the “Business Advisory Committee” in order to find solutions that the business and local community could employ in responding to the needs of the homeless community and report back to “Community and Protective Services.” “Staff were directed to ensure that the process included an analysis of the panhandling/homeless population in order to distinguish between the poverty, begging, and addiction issues.”²⁰⁸

To critically understand the salience of the analysis of the homeless population, the “means test,”²⁰⁹ it is important to consider the content of the rationality that underpins this community policing practice. The object of “community” or “neighbourhood” policing strategies modelled on the ‘broken windows’ theory is the securitization of a symbolic representation or abstraction of space. The drive towards this objective is referred to by contemporary police scholars as the minimizing of negative perceptions resulting from the presence of

²⁰⁶ The “table” is chaired by Mr. Janet Yale, Telus Mobility’s Executive of Human Resources Strategy and Business development.

²⁰⁷ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

²⁰⁸ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

²⁰⁹ See, Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, trans. Alan Sheridan, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977) 184.

various forms of 'social decay' responding to 'market dictates,' and the desire for 'lifestyle-based consumerism' in the fantasy city.²¹⁰ This is highly agreeable. However, it is important to avoid fetishizing the realm of symbols, and thus rightfully note, after Storch, that the objective of "broken windows" - type policing is to socially produce a real "base-line order"²¹¹: a cultural normative threshold of acceptability in public spaces that is defined by bourgeois hegemony over what is tolerable in urban space, in the context of confrontations between competing classes in urban space. The premise of community policing discourses are utilitarian at heart; they presuppose an imagined economy of order in public places. Public spaces are defined as a complex pattern of interactions that can become dramatically more threatening as the scale and frequency of those interactions increase.²¹² Furthermore, the notion of "public space" has

²¹⁰ Laura J. Hardy et al., "Policing Fantasy City," Re-Imaging Policing in Canada, ed. Dennis Cooley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) 186.

²¹¹ "The lines of what is permissible certainly change but in the early nineteenth century they are marked by a crisis of rural, southern society propelled an increasing number of gentlemen to 'buy into' a new 'ideology of order' created elsewhere by urban moral entrepreneurs and theorists, and proceeded to redefine and relocate the 'baseline' of tolerable behaviour in the countryside thereby extending the policed society from urban to rural England. Robert Storch, "Policing Rural Southern England before the Police: Opinion and Practice, 1830-1856," Policing and prosecution in Britain, 1750-1850, ed. Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 263.

²¹² To the question of how to create a community according to 'public order' and 'safety', two mainstream criminologists assert the following rationale, which is intended to legitimize the 'base-line' argument for order maintenance. "The advocates of community rejoin that no one is truly autonomous, that liberty can only exist in an environment of reasonable order." (xiv) "We speak here of [disorder] that violates widely accepted standards and norms of behaviour, and about which a broad consensus exists, in spite of racial, ethnic, and class differences." (4) "The demand for order permeates all social classes and ethnic groups." (4) We identify realistic and attainable policy objectives that respect the legitimate right of individuals while protecting the interest of neighbourhoods and communities" (4)." Within the space of "essential liberties" (xvi), order can be restored according to a "disorder threshold" in "the community" (19); public spaces can be reclaimed, through the exercise of "good citizenship" which respect an economy of privacy, welfare, and safety." (9), which, I add, seems to be able to effectively write over class, race, and ethnic individuality, social difference or antagonism. See, George L. Kelling and

value within the space of an imagined “community”, which is defined as many individuals taking advantage of the rights granted to an individual, which are often qualitatively different (abstract) from the effects of a single person.²¹³

It is this type of “public order-maintenance” episteme that governs the reasoning of Ottawa’s Community Policing Officials’ refusal to permit wide-open vending. The reasoning given by the City and the representatives of the “Downtown Coalition for a Safe Community” against “wide-open,” unsupervised and unregulated street vending, that is to say, is economically governed: “treating the daily crisis” of people living on the streets and in emergency rooms and shelters is cheaper than having people on the streets violating “thresholds of order”.²¹⁴ The quest to guarantee “public order” is overtly economically expedient.²¹⁵

So far as capital is the objective movement which grows by breaking down and overcoming its own barriers, the transient surplus populations in Ottawa are an obvious object of intervention and the deliberations of the Coalition, the

Catherine M. Coles, Fixing broken windows: restoring order and reducing crime in our communities (New York: Martin Kessler Books, 1996) xiv – 19.

²¹³ Jeremy Waldron, Liberal rights: collected papers, 1981-1991 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²¹⁴ “The findings confirmed that it is far more cost effective to provide affordable, supportive housing than to treat the daily crisis caused by the lack of supportive housing.” Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008.
<<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

²¹⁵ “He must also see to it that the work is performed in an orderly and methodical fashion and that the use-value he has in mind actually emerges successfully at the end of the process. At this point too[,] the capitalist’s ability to supervise and enforce discipline is vital. [...] He must make sure that the process of production is not interrupted or disturbed and that it really does proceed to the creation of the product.” Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 986.

Homeless Report, and the Advisory Committee can thus be interpreted as a counter attack on the proto- revolutionary force released by the protest movement of summer 2004 that sought to achieve wide open vending and other rights for homeless people. The purpose of the means test was to distinguish, to divide the population by assigning it particular subject designations.²¹⁶ The disaggregation of the movement into “risk groups”²¹⁷ was politically incapacitating for local proletarian movements: as H. Arendt says: “power is the human ability to act in concert”.²¹⁸ We see here the disparity between the potential proletarian forces and the strength of the bureaucracy of actors lined against them.

We recall that discipline is a power mechanism encompassing minute, highly specific procedural techniques of segmenting normalization and exploitation,²¹⁹ extorting time and labour from bodies, reaching the latter at the point of the soul by way of constant investing surveillance, and having the effect of extracting useful forces from subjected bodies. Discipline creates an exploitive homogeneity of what, prior to force, was indistinguishable

²¹⁶ “The marks that once indicated status, privilege and affiliation [are] increasingly replaced – or at least supplanted by a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogenous social body but also playing a part in classification, hierarchization and the distribution of rank replaced marks indicating status, privilege, or affiliation.” See, Foucault, Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison, 184.

²¹⁷ Rigakos and Hadden 77.

²¹⁸ Hannah Arendt, On violence, (New York: Brace, 1970) 44.

²¹⁹ See, for example, Foucault, “Lecture Two,” Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977 102.

multiplicity. Discipline “makes it possible to measure gaps, determine levels, fix specialties and render differences useful through assimilation.”²²⁰

It is after considering Foucault’s comments on discipline that it is possible to read “the report” to the City, Churches, BIA, and Ottawa Police Officials which followed the actual undertaking of the “means test” as a ceremony of objectification whereby a technological registrar in the form of an omnipresent gaze collects knowledge and designates subject status. In the public report of the May 15th meeting, this is evident as, relationship state, gender designation, and age brackets are presented.²²¹ Thus, the population as a whole is reduced to a quantitative determination, measured according to the abstract universal variables such of “needs”, “issues”, and “disorders.”²²² The “means test” should be read as an efficient and subtle objectivising and portioning schema according to which coercive subject designations are applied in order to make the multiplicity of lumpenproletarians disrupting social order in downtown spaces visible and supervisable.²²³ What better way to maintain control over a dangerous mixture than by producing a manageable databank of absorbed

²²⁰ ‘The power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within a homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences.’ Foucault, Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison 184.

²²¹ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <[<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>].>

²²² Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <[<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>].>

²²³ “It permits an internal, articulated and detailed control to render visible those who are inside it; to know them, to alter them.” Foucault, Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison 172.

lumpenproletarians? Yet, it should be noted, the system of control objectified in this discourse is by no means absolute. Avenues for elusion are present.

“Panhandlers who may not be homeless or shelter clients are unaccounted for.”²²⁴ There are certainly gaps in the control scenario where BIAs, “Community Safety” Officers, O.P.S., and Telus Mobility Inc. actually appear as objective forces, as capital personified, confronting lumpenproletarian barriers to capital’s forced expansion into new spheres of circulation.²²⁵ Nevertheless, the means test sought subjectively homogenizing absorption of proletarian otherness into the productive circuits of capital.²²⁶ “Operation go Home” fulfilled a similar role. Both are techniques of absorption.²²⁷ The “Entrepreneurial City,”²²⁸ has responded to revolutionary activity at the bequest of the sooth-saying BIA

²²⁴ Community and Protective Services Committee, City Council. 8 May 2008. <<http://ottawa.ca/calendar/ottawa/citycouncil/occ/2008/05-28/cpsc/02%20-%20ACS2008-CPS-BYL-0020.htm>>.

²²⁵ “Just as the capitalist mode of production in general is based on the expropriation of the conditions of labour from the labourers, so does [...] presuppose the expropriation of the rural labourers from the land and their subordination to a capitalist, who carries on [...] for the sake of profit.” Marx, Capital Volume 1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967) 615.

²²⁶ “On the other hand, the exchange of commodities in its full development and the form of the commodity as the universally necessary social form of the product first emerge as a result of the capitalist mode of production. On the basis of capitalist production the commodity becomes the general form of the product...every product must take on the commodity form...sale and purchase seize control not only of the surplus of production but of its very substance, and that the various conditions of production themselves emerge in their totality as commodities which go into the production process for circulation. The commodity is both the presupposition for the formation of capital and essentially the product and result of the capitalist production process, in so far as it is the universal elementary form of the product.” Marx, capital: a critique of political economy 950.

²²⁷ “Only as a producer of commodities does capital produce surplus-value” products must re-enter the process of exchange...before they can again function as wealth, whether in the form of money or as use-values. For the production process to be reproduced on an expanded scale the commodity must be valorized in order for it to be realized and produce surplus-value as such.” Marx, Capital: a critique of political economy 1059.

²²⁸ See, Hunt.

executives and responded with a procedure of subordination of bodies and forces.

5.3.: Summary

I have not advocated against housing placement, but rather have pointed to the forceful absorption of living-labour inherent to capital's ongoing quest to conquer previously unorganized spheres of circulation. Capital grows by overcoming its own contradictions. The police strategy of licensing that has been investigated above guarantees the organization and rationalization requisite for valorizable work practices. While, through a technique of "disciplinary control," Ottawa's state organs are confronting and dominating Ottawa's downtown surplus populations. In an encouraging display of resistance in May 2004, surplus-populations and their supporters demonstrated how threatening they could be to the security of the abstract space of Ottawa's downtown. They demanded differential spaces, spaces for dissent and autonomous labour practices by boisterously condemning crack-downs on panhandling and soliciting, as authorized under the Ontario Safe Streets Act. Indeed, a productive outcome of these protests was won by Jane Scharff and her associates who obtained permission to conduct homeless and street advocacy on City Hall grounds next to the Human rights memorial. But it is clear that there is still much work to be done for lumpenproletarian politics in downtown Ottawa.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This thesis has sought to contribute to a critical socio-legal understanding of the role of Ottawa's downtown Business Improvement Area Associations in securing urban space. Ottawa's downtown BIAs can be investigated in the context of contemporary and geographically specific "social manifestations" of capital valorization. Valorization is the productive movement that mediates the production of forced abstractions; it is where alienated labour that is estranged from the labourer in the labour process is objectified in circulation, where exploitation converts into surplus-value realisation. BIAs are spatial-political personifications of valorization. Value determines material and ideal production in bourgeois society; subjective levels and objective fields of space are by no means exempt.

Ottawa's downtown BIAs are emeshed within contemporary and geographically specific manifestations of valorization. Security is the universal, socially hegemonic form of money's forced currency in urban spaces. Force is the separating agent which sustains alienated commodity transaction where money is the social binding agent. Urban space on which the value form is forcefully imposed through the deployment of state police power becomes reified, elevated to a being in itself. It is methodologically beneficial to analytically presume security as the universal/socially hegemonic and fettered form that renders money's forced currency in urban space 'appropriate'. A sense of ownership in urban space is hardly an automatic assumption, as without forceful expropriation it seems impossible for such an alienating form of

space to become socially produced. The imposition of the bourgeois utopia of a secure, risk free city advances under the politically crippling facade of urban beautification and vibrancy. In the end this is seeming transparency is nothing but a cloak for programming and predictability. So much force and surveillance has been legitimated under the guise of ‘security’ and public safety. BIAs are one more manifestation of this long-standing liberal practice.²²⁹

Pragmatically exploiting selective threads of Marxian political economy allowed my investigation to demonstrate that securing urban space is really a matter of controlling conflicting visions over what spaces should be used for and what types of activities are legally permissible and socially desirable in such spaces. Despite the fact that BIA spaces are marketed – i.e., as installers of “community pride” which are helpful in “re-habilitating” or “re-vitalizing” “your neighbourhood” – there is a sociologically discernable power-relation beneath the glittery “beautification” and “community safety” campaigns that Ottawa’s BIAs are selling to local state authorities. This is the force-backed relation of domination that is being fought out between Ottawa’s lumpenproletarian and their supporters, and the bureaucratically organized and police-supported Business Improvement Area representatives. In this relation multiple legal mechanisms are used to seemingly effectively sustain social polarization and alienations that follow from the process of capital accumulation and commodification. In the case of Ottawa’s downtown BIAs it seems clear that the process of deciding on the content and form of vast portions of Ottawa’s

²²⁹ See, Neocleous, The fabrication of social order: a critical theory of police power.

downtown urban space is controlled by entrepreneurial interests. Proletarian voices are silenced and their political motivations are prostrated. I have endeavoured to clarify the content of the force techniques that are the key ingredients in the production of abstract space. Of course, further expansion is required to challenge the legitimacy of the exploitation of force in the production of increasingly exclusive spaces for those who can afford to use downtown space as a leisurely escape.

Another goal of this thesis has been to expose the sooth-saying ways of BIA executives. The actual circumstances behind the force-backed imposition of the value form and forced absorption into the circuits of capital valorization have been revealed. Colquhounian tactics secure space that is aestheticized and reified. Licensing guarantees the organization and rationalization requisite for valorizable work practices in downtown BIA space. Through a technique of disciplinary control, Ottawa's state organs are confronting and dominating Ottawa's downtown surplus populations. While they may demand differential spaces, spaces for dissent and autonomous labour practices; and actively challenge crack downs on panhandling and soliciting, under the Ontario Safe Streets Act their voices are largely ignored. Nonetheless, some productive outcomes of protests have been won by Jane Scharf and her associates who obtained permission to conduct homeless and street advocacy on City Hall grounds next to the Human rights memorial. But it is clear that there is still much work to be done for lumpenproletarian politics in downtown Ottawa.

Marxian-inspired social investigations demystify reified elements of the mode of production and render the position of such within the open, contingency-laden bourgeois totality. What is the role of BIAs in securing urban space? BIAs are legally constituted organs of the capitalist state playing a major role in the examination and compulsory objectification of subordinated subjectivities: lumpen-proletarians. BIAs are investors in space and bodies; hubs in an oppressive circuit of communication which supports the absorption of bodies and the rolling wave of capital valorization. BIA-type policing organs are by no means new; they should, after all, be conceptualized as variations of bourgeois space. Important to remember is that the production of all space involves social conflict and class contradictions. Therefore, to understand how corporate spaces materialize political struggle is the first element that needs to be accounted for.

This thesis has sought to contribute to critique of BIAs by giving voice to the struggles over space faced by lumpen-proletarian peoples in Ottawa's downtowns spaces. Suffice to say, the furtiveness of the power that proletarian politics are up against, and the impotency of organized labour to intervene presents an all too worthy obstacle for the limits of a Master's thesis. Nonetheless, this investigation is offered as a contribution to those heterodox voices that, when they finally see the light, may serve in the interests of human emancipation.

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