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# WORK, WORKERS, AND REPRODUCING SOCIAL CONTROL: RACIAL POST-FORDISM AND ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS

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WORK, WORKERS, AND REPRODUCING SOCIAL CONTROL:  
RACIAL POST-FORDISM AND ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS

A Dissertation Presented

By

HANNAH ARCHAMBAULT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2022

Department of Economics

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RACIAL POST-FORDISM AND ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS

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# ABSTRACT

WORK, WORKERS, AND SOCIAL CONTROL: RACIAL POST-FORDISM AND  
ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS

SEPTEMBER 2022

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This dissertation interrogates the composition of workers, work, and class, as processes in contemporary capitalism and in other existing or future systems. The first section develops a theoretical framework to understand work and workers which draws on Autonomist Marxist, Black radical, and Marxist feminist literatures. This includes considering new forms and organizations of work that arise from current capitalist economic relations, racialized work, and reproductive work. With this framework I build a theory of racial post-Fordism as the current system of economic relations.

In the next section, I apply this theory of racial post-Fordism to work and workers in the contemporary U.S. prison system. I analyze data from the 2016 Survey of Prison Inmates (SPI) to identify patterns in work assignment allocation in prisons. I find that job allocation in prisons follows a similar pattern of occupational segregation by race and gender as in the free economy. I also analyze a series of questions from the SPI which ask prison workers how important various



aspects of their work are to them. There are also patterns by gender in race in these answers, and the content of the questions themselves highlights the racialized nature of prison work and work ethic.

The third section is split into two parts. The first part is a brief case study of reproductive work and the reproduction of subjectivity in the Soviet Union. I analyze archival time use data, ethnographic, and autobiographic sources, in addition to contemporary literature on reproductive work and subjectivity. Reproductive work was heavily gendered, and women continued perform the majority of it throughout the Soviet era. The second part of the third section assesses some theoretical models of future economic systems. I analyze some of the most well-known models, and consider some of the contemporary social reproduction theory literature which address the social reproduction issues that the preceding models neglect. Finally, I critique these models as lacking an adequate critique of care as a concept and practice, and make some suggestions to move towards a liberatory practice of reproductive and caring work.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiii
CHAPTER	
INTRODUCTION .....	1
1. WORK, WORKERS, AND RACIAL POST-FORDISM .....	6
1.1 Introduction.....	6
1.2 Autonomist and post-operaismo Marxist thought and post-Fordism.....	9
1.3 Black Radical thought and racial capitalism.....	15
1.4 Racial post-Fordism.....	20
1.5 Defining work.....	23
1.5.1 Literature review of Marxist perspectives on workers and class .....	24
1.5.2 Marxist feminism and social reproduction.....	28
1.6 Racial post-Fordist work.....	32
1.7 Conclusion .....	40
2. PRISON WORK, WORK ETHIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL: AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY U.S. PRISONS .....	41
2.1 Introduction.....	41
2.2 Material conditions of racial post-Fordism.....	44
2.2.1 General description of post-Fordism.....	44
2.2.2 Racial capitalism and patriarchy .....	45
2.2.3 Work in racial post-Fordism .....	46
2.3 Empirical analysis.....	49
2.3.1 Overall data description .....	49

2.3.2	Assignment allocation.....	50
2.3.2.1	Data subsample .....	50
2.3.2.2	Hypothesis and variables of interest .....	51
2.3.2.3	Results on assignment categories.....	53
2.3.2.4	Results on assignment types .....	55
2.3.2.5	Discussion .....	57
2.3.3	How important questions .....	61
2.3.3.1	Data subsample .....	61
2.3.3.2	Hypothesis.....	61
2.3.3.3	Results.....	63
2.3.3.4	Discussion .....	66
2.4	Conclusion .....	71
3.	ALTERNATIVES: THE SOVIET UNION AND FUTURE SYSTEMS .....	74
3.1	Introduction.....	74
3.2	The Soviet Union .....	76
3.2.1	Introduction.....	76
3.2.2	Time use data .....	78
3.2.3	Material reproduction.....	79
3.2.3.1	Not working at work, or working on something else at work?.....	80
3.2.3.2	Working outside of work .....	82
3.2.4	Worker control in the work process and the reproduction of subjectivity .....	86
3.2.5	Conclusion .....	91
3.3	Alternatives to capitalism and the Soviet system.....	93
3.3.1	Introduction.....	93
3.3.2	Framework and goals for a liberatory system .....	95
3.3.2.1	Defining care and care work .....	95
3.3.2.2	Reduction of work time.....	97
3.3.2.3	Abolition and rectifying oppressions .....	100
3.3.2.4	Rectifying colonial dispossession and instituting reparations.....	101
3.3.3	Theoretical models of socialist economies .....	101
3.3.3.1	Democratically planned models.....	102
3.3.3.2	Central planning and market socialism .....	106
3.3.4	Literature on care .....	111
3.3.4.1	Redistributionist approaches .....	113
3.3.4.1.1	The care economy and other uses .....	116

3.3.4.2	Critical approaches.....	120
3.3.5	Alternatives and ways forward .....	121
3.3.5.1	New perspectives on care.....	122
3.3.5.2	Oppression, reparations, and the rectification of colonialism.....	124
3.3.5.3	Integration into the three models of future systems .....	125
3.3.6	Conclusion .....	128

**APPENDICES**

A.	SURVEY OF PRISON INMATES TABLES .....	130
B.	SOVIET TIME USE TABLES .....	151
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	154

# LIST OF TABLES

Table A.1 Descriptive Statistics.....	131
Table A.2 Linear Probability Model and Logit.....	133
Table A.3 Assignment Allocation by Race Category, LPM.....	135
Table A.4 Assignment Allocation by Race Category, LPM (2) .....	137
Table A.5 Assignment Allocation by Sex, LPM .....	139
Table A.6 Assignment Allocation by Job Type, LPM.....	141
Table A.7 Assignment Allocation by Job Type by Race .....	143
Table A.8 “How Important” Descriptive Statistics.....	147
Table A.9 “How Important” Questions LPM .....	149
Table B.1 Pskov Time Use .....	152
Table B.2 Basic time expenditures of workers surveyed.....	153
Table B.3 Time expenditures in correlation with communal conveniences in housing units.....	153

# LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Relationship between post-Fordist categories .....	12
Figure 1.2 Labor Force Participation Rate by Race and Gender .....	38
Figure 1.3 Average Weekly Hours Worked by Occupation type .....	38
Figure 1.4 Changes in Aggregate Occupational Hours Shares Among Working Age Adults, 1970-2016 .....	39
Figure 2.1 Occupational Overrepresentation: White Workers.....	48
Figure 2.2 Occupational Overrepresentation: Black Workers .....	48
Figure 2.3 Occupational Overrepresentation: Women.....	49
Figure 2.4 Marginal Results on Assignment Categories.....	53
Figure 2.5 Marginal Results on Assignment Categories.....	53
Figure 3.1 Truist Bank: Building a Community of Care .....	120
Figure 3.2 Truist Bank: Care is at Our Core .....	120

# INTRODUCTION

If unfinished liberation is the still-to-be-achieved work of abolition, then at the bottom what is to be abolished isn't the past of its present ghost, but rather the processes of hierarchy, dispossession, and exclusion that congeals in and as group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death. (Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Abolition Geography", *Futures of Black Radicalism*, 2017 p. 228)

There are two fundamental premises that this dissertation is based on. The first is that the working class is not limited to a narrowly defined group of productive workers, or to workers paid a wage, and it is not defined by specific work processes or social class markers. Instead, the working class is constituted by its necessarily antagonistic relationship to capital. The second premise is that this expansive working class is the main driver of change and development in the capitalist mode. Both of these premises are challenges to some forms of traditional Marxism, in that they posit the working class as the key subject in capitalist relations and centers the agency of the worker, and is theorized from the perspective of the worker. Capital reacts and thus develops in reaction to resistance and development in the working class.

The entirety of this dissertation was written in the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic. The ongoing pandemic brought issues relating to work and care, and inequality as it relates to both of these processes, into stark relief. The boundaries between home and the workplace blurred or dissipated entirely as many people worked from home (Pluut and Wonders 2020; Gaskell 2022). The concept of the essential worker arose, and this concept was both gendered and racialized. Non-white people were more likely have jobs that were public facing or congregate (and poorly paid) and put them at a higher risk of contracting COVID-19, and ongoing inequalities made them more likely to become gravely ill or die than white people (Dubay et al. 2020). Incarcerated people and people in nursing homes were also particularly vulnerable, and often poorly protected, as COVID-19 rampaged through these congregate settings

(Harvard Global Health Institute 2021). The U.S. government acted irresponsibly at every turn—misleading or even outright lying to the public to “get people back to work” and get the economy moving again, and dismissing the concerns of disabled, immune compromised, and otherwise vulnerable people (Gangitano 2021).

Workers have not been passive as these trends unfolded. Many workers realized that their job did not need them to work 40 hours a week, or resented the surveillance that employers tried to enforce digitally while they worked from home (Nicoll 2022). “Abolish work,” and its more aggressive rhetorical compatriot that shall remain unnamed here, became omnipresent phrases across social media, and demands for a shorter work week spread—anti-work politics entered the mainstream (Flynn 2022; Kiersz 2021). Strikes and mass quits have also spread, and have started to occur in workplaces previously seen as more or less unorganizable. Food service workers, like those at Starbucks, have made strides in demanding better pay, better protections, and better benefits through unionizing and individual-shop organizing (Nargi 2021; K. Smith 2021). Workers at mega-corporations like Amazon have successfully unionized in some locations (Scheiber 2022). All of these new-found politics and worker movements have been contentious and contradictory, of course, but there is no denying that the discourse around work and workers has shifted in the last two years (Chang 2022).

Anti-carceral activism has ramped up in the same time period. The movement against police violence has continued to be a site of both massive organization, and widespread spontaneous uprising, building off of the Black Lives Matter movement which was sparked by the murders of Trayvon Martin and Eric Garner (Haddad 2020). The murder of George Floyd activated a nascent or formerly marginal social and political movement that demands that policing be reduced in absolute terms—with central demands being to defund, disarm, and disband police forces, and to decarcerate society—to get people out of prison and not put new people in (“The 2020 Uprising: Abolition Gets a Seat at the Table” 2020). These demands are initial, however, and the ultimate goal is to abolish the policing and prison apparatus (Kaba



2020). The movement for decarceration has seen some success—as bail requirements were reduced, new incarcerations went down during the pandemic for example (Pauly 2021), and abolition activism and scholarship has continued. There are dozens of abolitionist reading groups—an internet search swiftly reveals that these groups are available in every format and in many locations—and the movement has survived past the initial tumultuous uprising in the summer of 2020.

It is in this context that this dissertation was assembled, although my own interest in these topics predates these recent developments. Some of my interests are based on my personal experiences as an adult working in restaurants and in retail, in doing gig work, and as a full-time paid (but unbenefited and uninsured) infant care-giver. Crucially, these were not jobs I did when I was in high school, or in summers off from college, but work that I used to support myself in my late 20s to 30s. I’ve also worked as a budget analyst in New York City government, and in private industry as a financial analyst, and experienced privilege as a white and cisgender person who has never been incarcerated and has had the tools and resources to access higher education. My experiences in these jobs have shaped my approach—having first hand experience of multiple sites of work, and having been overworked and underemployed at various times (and sometimes simultaneously) has made this dissertation feel more urgent, more personal, than other topics might have.

In these economic, political, and personal contexts, this dissertation has been developed as a start towards adding to the scholarship that studies work, workers, and the reproduction of capitalism with an eye towards remaking the world. In Section 1 of this dissertation, “Work, Workers, and Racial post-Fordism,” I develop a political economy framework to study work “on the margins.” I focus on the margins as sites of contention and struggle—as *interfaces* as Ruth Wilson Gilmore describes them. I build a theory of what I call racial post-Fordism, which integrates Autonomist and post-operaismo Marxist, Black radical, and Marxist feminist approaches. I use these interlocking literatures to understand the economy in a way that

emphasizes the simultaneous heterogeneity of contemporary workers, and the shared location as workers exploited by capital in the process of surplus extraction and accumulation.

I analyze work done by incarcerated workers in prisons in Section 2. First, I demonstrate the ways in which work in racial post-Fordism is hierarchical and segmented by race and gender using data from the Current Population Survey and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. With that context, I examine and interpret data from the 2016 Survey of Prison Inmates on prison work assignments using regression analysis. I find that the work that incarcerated workers do in prisons is mostly reproductive of the prison and prison workers, and this work is assigned in gendered and racialized ways that are similar to the overall patterns of segmented and hierarchical work outside the prison. I evaluate these findings in the context of my theory of racial-post Fordism. I also analyze a series of questions of how important incarcerated workers thought various aspects of their assignments were. I draw some conclusions about incarcerated worker subjectivity based both on the questions themselves and incarcerated workers' responses.

In Section 3 I analyze and critique alternatives to capitalism. I briefly analyze reproductive work and the reproduction of subjectivity in the Soviet Union, using aggregate archival data from several time use studies produced in post-Stalin era and published by Soviet researchers, as well as ethnographic research conducted by other scholars. I conclude that the idea that Soviet workers lacked work ethic is misguided. Soviet-style centralized planning and political control created the conditions in which the Soviet state could not provide the means of reproduction in the ways that it intended to. As a result, Soviet workers spent a great deal of time doing reproductive work, including doing this work at times they were at their official place of work, and this work was highly gendered. The organization of the Soviet system that required this additional reproductive work—a large portion of which was supposed to be provided by the state—needed to be done, and this organization also reproduced a specific class based subjectivity.

In Section 3.2 I focus on alternatives to the Soviet and capitalist organizations of social life, and of reproductive and caring work in particular. My focus is on how various explicit or implicit

models address (or do not address) care work as a form of reproductive work which reproduces the dominant economic system and its emergent hierarchies. I focus my attention on the treatment of care work as a special category of work in the literature, in which it has a normative moral and social value. My critique and the components of a potential model that I suggest are based around a concept of abolition, in the Marxist sense of the abolition of wage labor, and in a broader sense including but not limited to abolition of the carceral apparatus.

I critique some existing models of socialist or quasi-socialist future systems based on how they address reproductive and caring work, and how they account for historical oppression and superexploitation along the lines of gender and race in particular. After assessing the models of participatory planned economies of Pat Devine and of Albert and Hahnel, the centrally planned model suggested by Cockshott and Cottrell, and Nove's market socialist model, I focus on some of the literature on reproductive and care work specifically. First, I address redistributionist approaches, including both contemporary social reproduction theory and the concepts of a care economy that are de rigueur in academic and activist circles, as well as in more cynical uses by capitalist organizations. I then present some more critical approaches to care and care work, including from Marxist feminists who were part of the Wages for Housework/Wages against Housework movement, and from fields outside of traditional political economy analysis.

Finally, I suggest some ways that we could move forward into a new social system that incorporates critical analyses of capitalist production and reproduction, racialization, colonialism, and disability, all in relation to one another. I suggest abolition, land repatriation, and reparations as tools to rectify the emergent forms of oppression and superexploitation that arise in the process of capitalist surplus value appropriation via labor exploitation

# CHAPTER 1

## WORK, WORKERS, AND RACIAL POST-FORDISM

**Prisoner:** ‘I don't like argument ad hominem, always easy for those who are on the outside. In reality, here in jail, I am certainly subjected to both the law of value and the law of surplus value. Concretized in an immense system of domination, they weight on me in an unbearable way.’

**Free Man:** ‘That of course is just what's said in Marx Beyond Marx, and I don't understand how you fail to realize that. The capitalist supersession of the law of value--what Marx calls the process of real subsumption--dislocates the relations of exploitation as a whole. It transforms exploitation into a global social relation. Jail equals factory.’

**Prisoner:** ‘I don't need to be persuaded that the world is a prison, but how to get out of it?’

**Free Man:** ‘The great problem that is posed in Marx Beyond Marx is that of the definition of antagonism in this real subsumption. What does it mean to struggle against capital when capital has subjugated all of lived time, not only that of the working day, but all, all of it. Reproduction is like production, life is like work. At this level, to break with capital is to a prison break.’ (Antonio Negri, “Author’s Preface”, *Marx Beyond Marx*, 1984, p. xv)

### 1.1 Introduction

What are the structures, hierarchies, and modes of domination that allow for the continued appropriation of surplus by the capitalist class, and its subsequent reproduction, in contemporary capitalism? A careful analysis of work is crucial to answer this question—addressing dominant work regimes, as a particular set of developments in the work process, are central to analyzing capitalism, or any other economic system. The definition of work is contentious, however, and the boundaries of what does and does not count as work have implications for identifying locations of class struggle, and the structure of a more liberatory economic system in the future. The boundaries of “work” in the conditions of racial post-Fordism are blurred, and the political implications of this are, first, that the terrain of class struggle and resistance is more expansive than many perspectives suggest it is, and second, that the abolition of work as we know it is the

abolition of capitalism. The inverse is also true, in that the abolition of capitalism is the abolition of work as we know.

In this section I build a theory of racial post-Fordism. Social control, hierarchy, and heterogeneity are central to Autonomist Marxist post-Fordist analysis, and I propose race and gender as two of the key hierarchies that are intrinsic to capitalism overall, and that these specific hierarchies shape the heterogenous modes of domination and control in post-Fordism. I use this framework to analyze racialized and gendered patterns of work in racial post-Fordism, as expressions and tools of social control. I propose “not-work” as a category of activity that previously may have been leisure or idleness, which has been subsumed to capitalist logic and so becomes a form of work itself. My focus is on the contemporary economy of the United States, although this analytical framework has explicit global relevance but is outside the scope of this chapter.

I am especially interested in those social locations and relationships that Ruth Wilson Gilmore refers to as the margins, since “marginality is of a trick of perspective, because, as every geographer knows, edges are also interfaces” (Gilmore, 2007, p. 11). These sites are analytically and practically treated as secondary or peripheral to economic and social processes. However, as interfaces—places where economic, political, and social practices meet and interact—these margins are sites where change can originate in potentially spectacular ways, like tectonic plates crashing together and remaking the world as we know it. Gilmore is talking about prisons as a site of marginality specifically, which I address at length in Section 2 of this dissertation. Other key marginal locations include the coerced work of enslaved people, addressed in section 1.3, the household, as highlighted by Marxist feminists and addressed in section 1.5.2, and workfare and other forms of idleness that are transformed into work via the process of real subsumption, as described in section 1.6.

My approach to Marxist political economy incorporates Marx’s perspective that analysis and critique must be oriented towards practice and political movement which develop more

liberatory economic and social conditions. Marx's thought can be seen as comprised of two key approaches; the "ruthless criticism of all that exists," which is the "theoretical demystification of capitalist ideologies," and a "positive analysis of the present, which, with the maximum level of scientific understanding, brings the future alternative to our present" (Tronti & Broder, 2019, p. 5). It is, as Harry Cleaver explains, an approach in which Marx's works are "a strategic deciphering of the class war" (Cleaver, 2019, p. 29). Identifying and then struggling against the specific social hierarchies that are constituent of capitalism in general, and post-Fordism specifically, are ways of deciphering this class antagonism and its expressions.

This is also an economic analysis at its core, that analyzes the integrated material economic processes of production, consumption, and distribution. Central to the theory of post-Fordism, and to my own analysis, is that exploitation in the Marxist sense is "precisely the seizure, the centralization and expropriation of the form and the product of social cooperation, and therefore it is an economic determination in a very meaningful way—but its form is political" (Negri, 2009, p. 153). Uneven and hierarchical post-Fordist production and work regimes are the defining features of contemporary racial capitalism. A work regime in this context is not an era or an epoch, but a set of developing characteristics and work processes.

In section 1.2 I outline the Autonomist or post-operaismo Marxist theories of post-Fordism, including the basic outlines of work in the contemporary post-Fordist production and work regime. I then introduce Black radical thought and the concept and racial capitalism in section 1.3, and then integrate these perspectives into a theory of racial post-Fordism in section 1.4. In section 1.5 I define work specifically. I provide a literature review of some more traditional Marxist perspectives on contemporary work, workers, and class in section 1.5.1, and Marxist feminist theories of reproductive work in 1.5.2. In section 1.6 I present some empirical expressions of racial post-Fordist work. I conclude in section 1.7.

## 1.2 Autonomist and post-operaismo Marxist thought and post-Fordism

There are various terms that have been used to describe the “newly emerging” forms of work organization in the capitalist mode, including post-Taylorism, neo-Fordism, Toyotism, Ohnism, Sonyism, and post-Fordism (Burawoy, 2021). Post-Fordism, as it is used in the Autonomist and post-operaismo literatures specifically, captures the features of the constantly developing work and production regime expressed in the contemporary economy, including those that are most relevant to analysis of sites and processes interpreted to be on the margins. Crucially, Autonomist and post-operaismo analysis is from the perspective of workers and worker antagonism toward capital, and makes a political demand to abolish work as we know it as the concrete way to move towards a more liberated future.

There are a variety of usages and definitions for the term post-Fordism and its related concepts outside of the way that it is used in this chapter. Some critiques of these usages are erroneously extended onto the Autonomist/post-operaismo framework utilized here, and it is worth addressing these critiques of other usages to inoculate the proceeding argument from these criticisms to some extent. Jeremy Rifkin and Andre Gorz both suggest that post-Fordist developments in technology and work process are actively, currently effecting a post-work society. Those in the regulation school use the term post-Fordist to describe a new regime of accumulation based on the wage-labor relation and changes in the state form, and their use is closely related to the Social Structure of Accumulation theory of neoliberalism. The regulation school analysis neglects class struggle (Bonefeld, 1991), and SSA does not necessarily illuminate changing work processes or ways in which shifts are uneven or hierarchical. Other uses of the term post-Fordism do not adequately highlight the ways that class struggle shapes the

development of capitalism, or they focus on issues that provide less insight to the material functioning of contemporary capitalism.

Post-Fordism, as it is used in this text, is aligned with the Autonomist and post-operismo Marxist schools of thought. Analysis related to this theory of post-Fordism has a richer theory of the working class than other characterizations of contemporary capitalism, not just in terms of impacts on workers, but their actions as a class and the ways it dialectically interacts with the set of processes that dominate the currently developing regime of work and accumulation.

De Giorgi, a Marxist criminologist who works with this framework, describes post-Fordist capitalism as characterized by,

- (1) The growth of tertiary economic sector at the expenses of industrial production;
- (2) The gradual replacement of industrial factories by ‘virtual’ enterprises;
- (3) A growing decentralization of production;
- (4) The replacement of the assembly line by flexible technologies and organizations based on the ‘network’ model;
- (5) A growing importance of communicative activities, personal relations, language and social creativity within the process of capitalist production;
- (6) The emergence of new types of work which put under question the traditional distinction between time of work and time of non-work, society and factory, production and reproduction, etc.;
- (7) A technological revolution that makes it possible to reduce the need for human labor to a minimum, thus liberating time and resources for human development (De Giorgi, 2006, p. 44).

These seven concepts encompass changes in work process (1-3), emerging forms of work (6), the development of a specific kind of subjectivity and the kinds of formal and informal knowledge necessary to function in the contemporary forms of work (4-5) and an actual or potential aggregate decrease of work in the economy (7), which is related to both changing work processes



and forms of work. A key part of the seventh process is that it makes it possible to liberate time and resources, and not that it necessarily is currently liberating those resources, and certainly not in any uniform way.

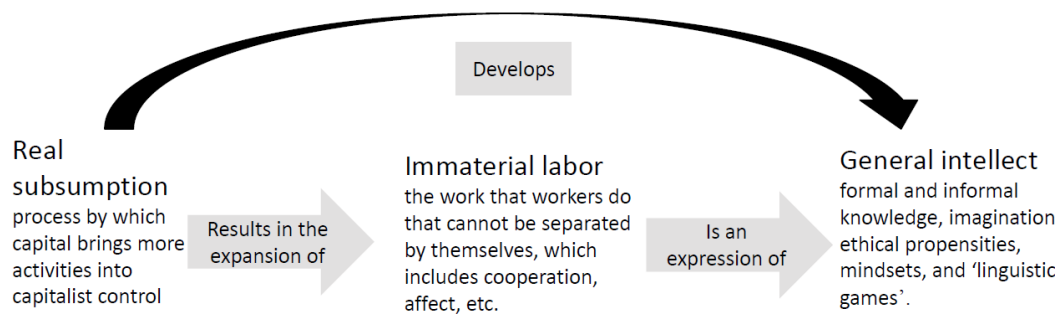
The key processes that I use to understand the material conditions of work and working in the contemporary economy as they relate to these developments in the work regime are the real subsumption of human activity to capitalist logic and control, the general intellect, and immaterial labor. Figure 1.1 shows the relationship between these processes. The process of the real subsumption of human activity develops, and requires the development of, a general intellect, and immaterial labor is an expression of the general intellect in the work process. The increasing immateriality of labor as a part of labor overall facilitates and is constituent of the process of real subsumption. These key developments are apparent in De Giorgi's framework as developments in the work process and requisite changes to subjectivity that both are required and enabled by these work processes. These are all related to the work and lives (or work-lives) of working class people, and the composition of working class as a class. In the section 1.6 I use De Giorgi's schema of post-Fordist work processes to analyze contemporary work, which is dominated by hierarchical occupational segregation.

Work processes are shaped by worker antagonism and capital's attempts to incorporate those antagonisms and render them obsolete, and these work processes shape possible and potential worker antagonism in turn. This occurs via new forms of direct control—increased surveillance and the expansion of carceral logic for example—and by coopting working class desires or demands into the overall capitalist framework. The form of the development of mass incarceration is addressed in Section 2, and the cooption of feminist demands in Section 3, of this dissertation. The socialization of production outside the official workplace, and the homogenous or homogenizing affective demands of contemporary work as an emergent part of the post-Fordist work regime, curtails, to some extent, potential rejection of the economic and social processes

that increasingly individualized work processes and mass unemployment or underemployment may engender.

“Subsumption” and “subordination” in Marx’s work are interchangeable and usage often depends on the translation of the text. Subsumption is above all a form of domination by which capital brings more activity within the bounds of capitalist relations. This domination results in or allows for exploitation in the Marxist sense—it is the necessary condition for the appropriation of

Figure 1.1 Relationship Between post-Fordist Processes



surplus value by the capitalist class. The two forms of subsumption that Marx describes are formal subsumption and real subsumption (Marx, 1976). Formal subsumption is the condition in which capital has dominated the production process (and therefore the worker) only insofar as capital is able to appropriate the commodities and value produced by the worker. Under formal subsumption the work process may remain the same as it was when production was either for use or for sale directly by producers. Furthermore, the lives of these workers outside the production process may be significantly removed from capitalist processes. This is the case in petty commodity production or artisan production.

Real subsumption refers to the expanded influence of the capitalist into the production process, including redefining the production process temporally and spatially. It is not only the direct physical production process of commodities—by division of labor in the factory, for example—that comes under the control of the capitalist. In conditions of real subsumption, the tendency is for capital to expand its grasp further and further in order to reap the benefits of value

consumption and production in the context of changing production processes, including the immaterial aspects of labor, and the transformation of leisure time into work time. Real subsumption leads to the articulation of the social factory, in which “the factory extends its control over the whole society” (Tronti & Broder, 2019, p. 27). In the context of the social factory, the realm of class struggle expands to all aspects encompassed in it.

The general intellect is, as Virno puts it, the “formal and informal knowledge, imagination, ethical propensities, mindsets, and ‘linguistic games’” (Virno, 2010, p. 106) that we utilize in the course of our lives, which are subordinated to capital. The suffusion of production into all aspects of life, and the increasing abstraction of activity, which makes it into work, requires the development of a specific general intellect— “just when production is no longer in any way the specific locus of the formation of identity, exactly at that point does it project itself into every aspect of experience, subsuming linguistic competencies, ethic propensities, and the nuances of subjectivity” (Virno, 2010, p. 108). In a situation in which workers are not concentrated in a single workplace, and may have more control over their work process, or may experience primarily idleness and exclusion—the dual idleness and overwork that Marx highlights as an inextricable part of capitalist relations (Marx, 1976)—this serves to potentially mute resistance to capitalist economic and social relations.

The general intellect is expressed in many ways. The development of technologies of fixed capital, and the skills necessary to use it, are an embodiment of the general intellect. The general intellect is also embodied in workers. The general intellect that is necessary for workers to perform their jobs (whether they actively have a job or not) does not dissipate when a worker walks outside the automobile factory, the Apple store, the hospital, or the cubicle. In all those cases, the worker cannot escape these forms of knowledge and ways of being, including cognitive and affective aspects, when immediate production processes stop.

There is a tension between the general intellect embodied in fixed capital and the general intellect that workers develop as knowledge, skills, and subjectivity. The general intellect,

developed in the context of real subsumption, requires the development of sophisticated and complex knowledge, while the increasingly disaggregated work processes require new modes of control. The general intellect is *general*, and is required of workers in all work processes (and not-work processes), not only those that are typically considered to be “creative” or “cognitive”. The general intellect, then, must also cultivate these modes of control, in the form of a subjectivity fundamentally attached to capital and capitalist requirements (Virno, 2010), for all workers. The general intellect becomes hegemonic in capitalist relations (Negri, 1984).

In *Theories of Surplus Value* Marx defines two types of immaterial labor—one results in tactile goods such as books, paintings, etc., and one in which the act of production is not separable from the performers of said production, such as musicians, actors, teachers, etc. (Marx, 1969). Activities that fell in this category were relatively rare compared to the growing industrial population, and the farming and petty production that were still occurring in the time Marx was writing (Fortunati, 2007, p. 139). Marx also explains that the “natural forces of social labor,” such as cooperation, are an immaterial aspect of all labor. The immaterial quality of labor that Marx describes has increasingly become a primary aspect of work for many workers—the capacity to “interface between different functions, between different work teams, between different levels of the hierarchy” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 135)—in the context of post-Fordism.

The immaterial aspects of work involve cooperation with other workers, the appropriate attitude for work (docility, motivation, work ethic), the accumulated knowledge required to perform the work in question and/or work in general, and other intellectual and affective processes, and thus is an activation of the general intellect. The immaterial component of work is inseparable from the worker herself in a way that the direct “material” production is not. The bounds of this immaterial work expand outside the direct workplace and into the lives of workers more generally.

Some forms or aspects of immaterial work are more dominant in some work processes than in others—there is the possibility (though not the necessity) that a graphic designer uses more

“imagination,” while a nurse or a parent may call more on “informal knowledge,” or affective aspects like nurturing or caring. The “ethical propensities” in this framework include both work ethic and racialization, and these propensities are generalized throughout the working class in an expansive sense and are discussed at more length in proceeding sections.

New management techniques are applied to immaterial work especially. These management techniques are not just applied in the official workplace, but also to other aspects of workers lives, and these techniques are meant to make “the worker’s soul...becomes part of the factory” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 134). This is apparent in the continuously developing forms of surveillance and the demand that workers be contactable at all times, as well as the surveillance and methods of control applied to people engaged in what I’ll describe as “not-work”—idle time that functions as work, described in more depth in proceeding sections. Overall in post-Fordist conditions “worker's personality and subjectivity have to be made susceptible to organization and command” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 136).

I will suggest that this plays out through race, as well as gender, disability, and other oppressions. This is particularly important since these locales are precisely the sites in which resistance to capital has originated, and where capital thus focuses its modes of control. Stuart Hall points out that race is “the principal modality in which the black members of that class 'live,' experience, make sense of and thus *come to a consciousness* of their structured subordination. It is through the modality of race that blacks comprehend, handle and then begin to resist the exploitation which is an objective feature of their class situation” (Hall, 1978, p. 347).

It is, therefore, crucial to integrate race into a theory that emphasizes that centrality of the working class and working class resistance and the modes of control that capital uses to attempt to mute or neutralize that resistance.

### 1.3 Black Radical thought and racial capitalism

To address the material economic conditions of capitalism in general, contemporary capitalism specifically, and the development of capitalism overall, the role of race and racialization must be understood as a fundamental organizing force of capitalist relations. Racial capitalism is not a type of capitalism, or race read on to capitalism in general, but a way of describing capitalism overall—it cannot be distinguished from other capitalisms either in the origins of capitalism or on a global scale. Racial capitalism describes the material force of racialism and how “the development, organization, and expansion of capitalist society pursued essentially racial directions,” (C. J. Robinson, 2020, p. 2). Racialization refers to the process by which race is socially constructed and the ways in which the resulting taxonomies dialectically shape material developments.

The theory of racial capitalism, which grew out of the Black radical tradition and was first clearly stated by Cedric Robinson, illuminates both the history of capitalism and its development and of the current form of capitalist relations. Robinson critiques orthodox Marxist theories, and that these theories involve

[An] interpretation of history in terms of the dialectic of capitalist class struggles [that] would prove inadequate, a mistake ordained by the preoccupation of Marxism with the industrial and manufacturing centers of capitalism; a mistake founded on the presumptions that Europe itself had produced, that the motive and material forces that generated the capitalist system were to be wholly located in what was a fictive historical entity (C. J. Robinson, 2020, p. 4).

Marx and Engels’ theory in which the European proletariat and its allies were the revolutionary subject of history and working-class consciousness were the “negation of bourgeois culture” is insufficient in scope for Robinson. The Eurocentric default proletariat—industrial wage labor with its roots in Europe, especially Western Europe—does not embody the realities of labor in capitalism at any point in capitalist development.

Racial capitalism did not emerge exclusively from the juxtaposition of white/European and Black/African people, however. Racialism was embedded in Europe for hundreds of years previous to sustained interaction between “white” and “Black” people, or European people and

other groups (C. J. Robinson, 2020). The colonialism of the English in Ireland and Wales, the relationship of Western Europe to Slavic peoples, Romani, and other ethnicities, nationalities, and groups, were inherent in pre-capitalism, and carried through to the capitalist mode. This created the conditions for the rise of the enslavement of African people, global anti-Blackness, and ongoing settler colonialism. Racialization does not apply exclusively to Black people, but the literature of racial capitalism in the United States and in other locales emphasizes the brutal and ongoing subjugation of people descended from or associated with historical chattel slavery.

Burden-Stelly describes modern U.S. racial capitalism as “a racially hierarchical political economy constituting war and militarism, imperialist accumulation, expropriation by domination, and labor superexploitation” (Burden-Stelly, 2020, p. 10). Racial here means specifically the material conditions and structural position defined by Blackness and anti-Blackness. Anti-Blackness is the “reduction of Blackness to a category of abjection and subjection” and Blackness is the condition of disposability, expendability and devalorization in modern US capitalism.

Oliver Cromwell Cox, as quoted by Burden-Stelly, notes that Black labor has been the “chief human factor” in wealth production and that “the dominant economic class has always been at the motivating center of the spreads of racial antagonism. This is to be expected since the economic content of the antagonism, especially at its proliferating source in the South, *has been precisely that of labor-capital relations.*” (Burden-Stelly, 2020, p. 11). The conditions of degraded labor and disposability that emerge from racialization are intrinsic to capitalism and value creation, and are inflicted both via market dependency and via direct violence and domination (Singh, 2017).

Racial capitalism’s “extensive and animating force”—its “contradictory consciousness” by which it transforms objects into money (or value)—are people (Gilmore, 2017; Singh, 2017). Prevalent in theories of racial capitalism is the concept of premature death. Premature death was addressed directly by Marx, in Chapter 10 of Volume 1 of *Capital*,

The capitalistic mode of production (essentially the production of surplus-value, the absorption of surplus-labour), produces thus, with the extension of the working-day, not only the deterioration of human labour-power by robbing it of its normal, moral and physical, conditions of development and function. It produces also the premature exhaustion and death of this labour-power itself. It extends the labourer's time of production during a given period by shortening his actual life-time (Marx, 1976, p. 276).

Racialized people in the United States experience shorter life spans in comparison to white people in the United States. This is true in terms of life expectancy, and also the increased likelihood of incarceration, which Gilmore frames as time theft (Gilmore, 2017), the shortening of a life to be lived. The application of the concept of premature death to capitalism, as racial capitalism, illuminates the ways in which racialized people experience some parts of capitalism, and of post-Fordism, more intensely or in different ways.

Michael Ralph and Maya Singhal believe that Robinson's critique is based on what they describe as a misguided reading of Marx (Ralph & Singhal, 2019), which is a criticism worth addressing. Robinson's critique of Marxism may be ungenerous, rather than misguided, since the seeds of a deeper analysis of slavery and racialization is in Marx's writing, especially in his early work (Singh, 2017). While Ralph and Singhal make trenchant points regarding Robinson's critique of Marxist theories of development, Charisse Burden-Stelly points out that Ralph and Singhal's out of hand dismissal of Robinson does not fully acknowledge the ways in which the framework of racial capitalism is informative or useful to scholars working in the Marxist tradition (Burden-Stelly, 2020). Burden-Stelly points out that Ralph and Singhal assume that in focusing on the role of race in the development of capitalism means that theory dismisses other forms of discipline. Their own narrow reading of Robinson also causes them to overlook the work of other Black communist and Marxist scholars such as Claudia Jones who use the concept of racial capitalism in a broader sense (Burden-Stelly, 9). In this way, some critiques of Robinson and racial capitalism fall victim to the same tendency that they accuse Robinson of.

What Burden-Stelly calls anti-radicalism—"the physical and discursive repression and condemnation of anticapitalist and/or left-leaning ideas, politics, practices, and modes of organizing



that are construed as subversive, seditious, and otherwise threatening to capitalist society” (2020, p. 12)—is a part of the ways that capital and capitalist ideology shifts to respond to Black working class resistance. Burden-Stelly’s concept of militarism and imperialism, the “manufacturing of conflict [which] legitimates the mobilization of extraordinary violence” (2020, p. 14) can be understood in the context of mass incarceration.

The ongoing direct racial violence of contemporary capitalism does not just facilitate the exploitation, or superexploitation, of any specific worker or workers—it facilitates the ongoing social relations in the social totality that allows accumulation to expand (Singh, 2017). Racial criminalization is a core part of racialization and racial capitalism, from the initial capture and imprisonment that enslaved people, and African people in particular, through to their confinement to the plantation. After the abolition of chattel slavery in the United States, African Americans were some of the first people to be targeted by early American penitentiaries in New York and Pennsylvania, and Black Americans remain a target of racialized state violence, including incarceration (Berger & Losier, 2017).

Nikhil Pal Singh critiques Marxist theories that claim a single, Eurocentric, and specifically Anglo-centric, origin story to capitalism, for example Robert Brenner’s (R. Brenner, 1976) thesis. He also critiques the Afro-pessimist theories that excise slavery and anti-Blackness from politics (Wilderson III, 2003), while recognizing the value of both Marxist theories and the “anti-Marxist” theories of Afro-Pessimism. He aims to reunite the severed theories of racial domination and class subordination by “recognizing how the production of racial stigma that arises in support of chattel slavery contributes to developing the material, ideological, and emotional mechanisms for appropriation and dispossession” that are necessary to the ongoing existence of capitalism (Singh, 2017, p. 43). These “emotional mechanisms” are closely related to the theories related to affect, ethical propensities, and the general intellect discussed in the context of the Autonomist analysis of post-Fordist capitalism.

## 1.4 Racial post-Fordism

The term “racial Fordism” had been applied to apartheid South African conditions specifically, and the development of post-Fordism in that framework—defined as a move away from segregated industrial production—has been advanced as a transcendence of racial Fordism (Kraak, 1996; Rogerson, 1991). This analysis, drawn in part from the regulation school, sees racial Fordism as specific to South Africa, while post-Fordism in South Africa frees itself from the racialized strictures of industrial capitalism. The two main problems with these theories and the usage of the term racial Fordism in them is that they fail to realize that all capitalism, historical and contemporary, is fundamentally racial, and they rely on the regulationist theory of post-Fordism, which fails to account for class struggle in a substantive way (Bonefeld, 1991; Clarke, 1988).

Building a theory of racial post-Fordism must integrate the insights of Black radical conceptions of racial capitalism. All workers—whether they are a wage laborer, enslaved, excluded, or incarcerated—are antagonistic to capital. In post-Fordism, “‘The explosive effect of the complete subsumption of the labor-process under capital consists in the enormous expansion of control related tasks’, such that the socialization of labor occurs outside the immediate production-process” (Virno, 1980, 48), and this control and its forms are fundamentally racialized. Black struggles have been in the realm of capital-labor relations in all conditions of capitalism, including chattel slavery and its close relatives Jim Crow, and chain gang carceral labor, so a complete theory of capitalism requires both a perspective of class struggle, and the explicit acknowledgement that Black and other racialized workers are integral and constituent to that struggle.

The racialization that is inherent in capitalist relations is a part of the general intellect that is cultivated in post-Fordist racial capitalism, and is part of the inherent fabric of capitalist relations. Racialization has developed as a mode of social control and a justification for the

superexploitation of segments of the global population, and the racialization of Black people, first from Africa and then as naturalized into other locales, has played a particularly important role in the United States. Capitalist racialization is simultaneously a cause of the contemporary economic and social conditions that Black people in the United States are subject to—with higher unemployment rates, lower wages, worse health outcomes, lower access to education resources and more—and a justification for those conditions (Alonso-Villar et al., 2012; Darity & Mason, 1998; Pena, 2018). Racialization is fundamental to the development of capital, and it plays out in specific ways related to work processes and the activation of the homogenizing general intellect.

The state and capital have employed racialized political and economic tools in an attempt to tamp down intra-community Black radicalism and organizing itself, as well as inter-racial organizing with Indigenous and Latinx/Hispanic radicals, or apparently non-racial groups like queer people (although racialization is generalized in all social and economic aggregations of individuals). This has occurred via increasing racial criminalization and mass incarceration, in the post-Fordist era for example. The phenomenon of mass incarceration and the massive expansion of carceral logic is one of the new modes of control activated in response to worker radicalism, and Black worker radicalism in particular.

Burden-Stelly's observation that labor is the locale of racial capitalist organization clearly links this understanding of racial capitalism to the Autonomist observation that workers, broadly defined to encompass those who are traditionally interpreted as acting outside the capital-labor relationship, are the primary subjects of capitalism and their antagonism to capital is the driving factor of change for development in regimes of capitalist social and productive relations.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, James Boggs addressed the ways that the contradictory forces of exploitation and exclusion have been a central locus of Black oppression (Boggs & Ward, 2011). These contradictory forces have persisted, and in many ways deepened in post-Fordism, in which Black people and other racialized groups experience not just higher rates of unemployment and more precarity generally, but a special kind of exclusion in the form of

carceral disenfranchisement. This extreme disenfranchisement and exclusion reinforces a general intellect of a specific kind—a racialized general intellect, in which white workers either passively assume or actively support the disenfranchisement of Black and other racialized people. It requires also that racialized people are subject to this *same* general intellect, although it is applicable in differing ways.

The cultivation of “ethical propensities” that attempt to prevent disenfranchised and oppressed workers from disconnecting from capital and developing radical practices or consciousness are core to the general intellect that racial post-Fordism requires. Work ethic, as an ethical propensity and part of the racialized general intellect, plays a key role in the reproduction of racial capitalism, and this work ethic and the ways its reproduced are racialized itself. In particular, the work ethic imposed upon Black Americans is intensified in a situation in which Black workers are the most apparently disconnected from capital, due to the extreme precaritization and un- and underemployment they experience. Racialized people have been further immiserated by exclusion from wage labor that has deepened in the post-Fordist era, and Black resistance, a constant since chattel slavery, has been punished and controlled in order to keep Black workers, as well as other disenfranchised workers, from disrupting capitalist accumulation.

After the civil war, for example, white philanthropists and bourgeois Black women “sought to discipline black female laborers into a work ethic, admonishing them to abstain from partying, alcohol, and premarital sex,” while the aristocracy was steeped in those very practices (J. James, 2015, p. 274), despite the fact that Black women were already working at rates much higher than white women. Jonnie Tillmon, a lead organizer of the Welfare Rights Movement, pointed out in the 1970s that it is acceptable for white women to not work in formal jobs for more or less any reason, but Black women are held to another standard,

In this country we believe in something called the "work ethic." That means that your work is what gives you human worth. But the work ethic itself is a double standard. It applies to men and to women on welfare. It doesn't apply to all women.

If you're a society lady from Scarsdale and you spend all your time sitting on your prosperity paring your nails, well, that's okay. (Tillmon, 2002, p. 2).

The myth of freedom or fulfillment via hard work is particularly pernicious when such work is not even a possibility. Acknowledgement of this fiction in relation to Black workers takes various forms—W.E.B Dubois made a point of referring to Black workers even while decrying the labor movement, including enslaved people (Boggs & Ward, 2011), while Wilderson says that Black people were never meant to be workers, and are instead subjected to total dehumanization and depoliticization (Wilderson III, 2016). James Boggs, prescient in the 1960s, highlights that automation deepens this contradiction, and only the delinking of access to resources from work can rectify this, for Black people especially but for people more generally.

The post-Fordist designation of a set of developments in ongoing tendencies of capitalist relations explicitly integrates theories of simultaneous heterogeneity and unevenness of application of these tendencies, ranging from the scale of the individual worker to the global scale. Racialization is one of the core structuring hierarchies that contribute to the hierarchical application of these tendencies. The actual content of racial post-Fordist work is explained in section 1.6.

## 1.5 Defining work

The general structure of racial post-Fordism and work processes is described above, but we need to lay out the content of work, or it is possible to specify what activities count as work. Defining work impacts the way we view the composition of the working class, and analysis of class as a mover of history.

The boundaries of the working class have had to be renegotiated and redefined from the narrow definitions of the Eurocentric industrial past as capitalism has developed and production and work processes have changed. The development of a service-based economy and the conditions of post-Fordism generally have important implications for work and workers, and this

development is embedded in an uneven and hierarchical economy on a global scale. Furthermore, as Robinson points out, a vast swath—in fact the majority—of labor expended in the process of building and maintaining capitalism has existed outside of Europe and/or performed by non-European people, and capitalism has relied on non-industrial and non-waged labor (C. J. Robinson, 2020). There are many Marxist approaches to the endeavor of understanding this broader and qualitatively shifting working class, and the discourse is contentious.

We have to determine exactly which economic processes to analyze in order to talk about work or about workers. It is uncommon, however, for work to be actively defined in the course of studying work as such. In mainstream approaches, as well as in many Marxist analyses, work is discussed uncritically, with the assumption that everyone not only holds the same understanding of what activities are work, but also has the same opinion regarding the normative value of work. The popular and implicit meaning of work is “activities for which people are paid a wage.” This, and the most basic Marxist definition of the working class as “those people who labor with means of production that are owned by capitalists,” are inadequate for a complete analysis of work, either in the core of capitalist relations, or at the periphery or margins. It is useful to review some contemporary traditional Marxist perspectives on work, which I do in section 1.5.1. I’ll then introduce the Marxist feminist theories of social reproduction to further examine what “counts” as work in section 1.5.2.

### 1.5.1 Literature review of Marxist perspectives on workers and class

Poulantzas’ theory of class is one of the more cited theories. He sees the category of worker in a severely truncated form. He interprets a social class as defined “by its place in its ensemble of social practices,” (Poulantzas, 2008, p. 27), which includes political and ideological relations, and this place is structurally determined. For Poulantzas, “every worker is a wage-earner, [but] not every wage-earner is a necessarily a productive worker, i.e., one who produces surplus

value,” (Poulantzas, 2008, p. 191) and only productive workers, meaning those who produce surplus value, are exploited. He specifies that a productive worker is not necessarily a manual worker, but goes on to explain that the “political and ideological relations” plays a role in the determination of classes, and therefore the distinction between manual and intellectual labor may (and in his view, often does) impact whether or not someone is a member of the working class. In barest terms, “the working class is economically defined in the capitalist mode of production: productive labor relates directly to the division between classes in the relations of production” (Poulantzas, 2008, p. 190).

There seems to be a fundamental misunderstanding of Marx’s analysis of the working class in Poulantzas’ analysis. Poulantzas interprets Marx’s definition of productive workers provided in the appendix of Volume 1 of *Capital*— “the worker who performs productive work is productive and the work he performs is productive if it directly creates surplus-value, i.e., if it valorizes capital” (Marx, 1976, p. 1038) as the defining moment in Marx’s thought on class and class struggle. Collapsing the worker into the productive worker alone, and then further narrowing the category by political and ideological allegiances, dramatically narrows the perception of who is the working class, analytically and politically, especially in the post-Fordist capitalist economy. Class analysis of economic conditions and class struggle would appear all but impossible in these conditions.

Anwar Shaikh and E. Ahmet Tonak, in *Measuring the Wealth of Nations*, have a much broader definition who is a worker in a largely service based contemporary economy (Shaikh & Tonak, 1997). They make clear that by delineating productive and unproductive labor in the process of calculating profit rates, they are “not attempting to construct a political distinction, because production labor is not a designation for the working class, nor nonproduction labor one for the petty bourgeoisie” (Shaikh & Tonak, 1997, p. 21). Shaikh and Tonak (1977) lay out a basic framework of social reproduction, meaning the reproduction of capitalism overall, which has four primary activities;

- production, in which the various objects of social use (use values) are utilized in the process of the creation of new such objects;
- distribution, in which various objects of social use are utilized in order to transfer such objects from their immediate possessors to those who intend to use them;
- social maintenance and reproduction, in which use values are used up in the private and public administration, maintenance, and reproduction of the social order by the government, the legal system, the military, corporate security personnel, etc.; and
- personal consumption, in which the objects of social use are consumed directly by individual consumers. (p. 22)

They identify the first three as being in the realm of labor, and “since the only the first activity constitutes production, it follows that labor is not synonymous with production” (Shaikh & Tonak, 1997, p. 24).

They go on to note that “all capitalistically employed labor is exploited by capital, whether it is productive or unproductive labor. The rate of exploitation of each is their respective ratio of surplus labor to necessary labor time” (Shaikh & Tonak, 1997, p. 31). This is the key observation—it is not the production of surplus value that defines a worker, but the performance of surplus labor, which provides a profit to a capitalist, even if it does not produce surplus value. Shaikh and Tonak (1997) also address the fact that national accounts “leave out the imputed value of household production” but “because our concern is with an alternative for market activities, we will not deal with nonmarket work in this particular work. Such matters are, however, important in any extension of the basic accounts developed here” (Shaikh & Tonak, 1997, p. 35). Shaikh and Tonak, despite their relatively orthodox Marxist positions, see these activities as work, regardless of whether they produce value or surplus value. This insight is addressed in detail in section 1.5.2. Despite Shaikh and Tonak’s assertion that they are not making political claims,



their definition still has political implications insofar as they acknowledge that the scope of the working class is more expansive than other Marxist perspectives.

Baran and Sweezy defined the working class as only people actively working for a wage, “and thus identified the struggles of unemployed Black Panthers, militant Students for a Democratic Society, radical feminists, or welfare rights activists as being outside that class” (Cleaver, 2019, p. 39). Erik Olin Wright’s complex class schema involves three basic classes, the bourgeoisie, proletariat, and the petty bourgeoisie, and a variety of contradictory class positions. These class positions, which are not directly defined by the social relations of production, include housewives, students etc. (E. O. Wright, 2015) and are addendums to the working class that have contradictory and unclear relationships to class struggle.

Barbara and John Ehrenreich suggest the existence of a “professional managerial class” (PMC), which was a new class that arose out of the development of capitalism up to the time that they initially proposed it (Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich, 1977). The PMC included scientists, engineers, teachers, social workers, writers, and other similar occupational categories, which composed up to 20 to 25% of workers in the United States in the 1970s. This class had an antagonistic relationship to the capitalist class, and also to the working class, and this contradictory class consciousness shaped the New Left of the 1960s and 1970s. Barbara and John Ehrenreich have since said that the liberal and conflicted PMC of that era is “in ruins,” and has been largely absorbed into the working class in the process of neoliberalization (Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich, 2013). The term has since progressed into a slur among American left liberals and democratic socialists (Winant, 2019), a development that Barbara Ehrenreich has expressed disappointment in (A. Press, 2019) .

There are many other conceptions of the working class in the Marxist literature, but the preceding account is representative of the general contours of relatively orthodox Marxist analyses of class. These theories, overall, unnecessarily truncate the scope of the working class which limits the study of work and misrepresent who workers are in a way that obscures or

curtails class struggle. These could be called class first, or even class only, perspectives on work and workers, which prioritize or idealize paid market work. They narrow the scope of potential working class struggle to a limited number of potential sites, to varying degrees. I integrate Marxist feminist perspectives in the next section in order to address some of the limitations of this analysis.

## 1.5.2 Marxist feminism and social reproduction

Marxist feminist analyses of social reproduction expand the scope of who is considered a worker. The Marxist feminist endeavor to analyze “women’s work,” especially that done in the home, emerged as a critique of Marx’s theoretical division between productive consumption, in which a worker consumes the means of production in the process of production, and individual consumption, which happens when “the laborer turns the money paid to him for his labor-power into the means of subsistence” (Marx, 1976, p. 536). The observation that spurred the domestic labor debate was that Marx and existing Marxist analyses did not adequately address the actual labor(/work) that went into the latter type of consumption. Identifying and analyzing the processes, specifically the work processes, involved in the reproduction of labor power meant “reconceptualizing necessary labor to incorporate the processes of reproduction of labor power” (Vogel, 2000, p. 161). This required recognizing, first, the social component of necessary labor, which is constituent of surplus labor in the capitalist production process, and second, the unwaged work performed to reproduce labor power and the working class as a whole. It also highlighted that the social reproduction of workers was simultaneously the reproduction of capitalism itself.

The development of the Marxist feminist theory of social reproduction was meant to “discover or create categories to theorize women’s unpaid family work as a material process” using Marx’s theories of “labor power and the reproduction of labor power” (Vogel, 2000, p. 156). One of the most trenchant observations taken directly from Marx is the dual nature of labor

power that makes it a special commodity (Marx, 1976). In particular, labor-power is purchased by the capitalist, but the laborer remains (ostensibly) free. It is labor-power, borne out by the laborer, that produces new value, but the reproduction of labor-power requires a process that is less directly controlled by the capitalist. This contradiction creates a problem for the capitalist—the capitalist seeks to reduce the value of labor power to the greatest extent possible by reducing wages to the lowest bounds, but must continue to allow wages, the means of social provisioning and the private reproduction of workers, at a level in which the worker can reproduce themselves. Capital, then, is constantly attempting to find a way to neutralize this threat. The expanding process of real subsumption into more aspects of human activity acts as one such neutralizing force.

The domestic labor debate was the first part of the Marxist feminist development of a theory of social reproduction. The bulk of the debate happened in the 1970s among Marxist and socialist feminists (Weeks, 2011, p. 116). Mitchell, in 1968, sought to bring women, the family, and the work done within it into socialist debate by expressing the complex unity of women's experience into four structures: production, reproduction, socialization and sexuality (Vogel, 2013, p. 14). Margaret Benston and Peggy Morton also contributed to the debate in 1969. Benston held that women constitute "the group of people who are responsible for the production of simple use-values in those activities associated with the home and family," (Benston in Vogel, 17) and this work was not consumption, but production. However, she also argued that women's unpaid labor is a "pre-industrial and pre-capitalist entity," an analysis similar to Resnick and Wolff's analysis of the family as a "feudal" organization. Morton's analysis tied women and household work directly to capitalist production by placing them within the industrial reserve army, which makes them integral to the direct continued functioning of low-wage businesses. Both of these theorists focused on unpaid household labor and the reproduction of labor power, which "located the problem of women's oppression in the theoretical terrain of materialism" (Vogel, 2000, p. 18).

In *Marxism and the Oppression of Women* Vogel focused on the processes that maintain and replace labor power capable of producing surplus for an appropriating class—that is, the reproduction of productive workers in a relatively orthodox sense. A core observation is that the primary form that the reproduction of labor power has taken in capitalist systems is that of the nuclear, heterosexual, hierarchical, patriarchal family structure. The reproductive household is a site of the particular exploitation and oppression of women, in addition to the reproduction of workers and thus capital. Vogel identified three main processes:

First, a variety of daily activities restore the energies of direct producers and enable them to return to work. Second, similar activities maintain non-laboring members of subordinate classes - those who are too young, old, or sick, or who themselves are involved in maintenance activities or out of the workforce for other reasons. And third, replacement processes renew the labor force by replacing members of the subordinate classes who have died or no longer work (2000, 157).

Vogel sees these three processes as allowing analysis to extend beyond normative heterosexual families, and into the possibility that workers/laborers could be housed in other contexts including institutionalization or imprisonment, slave modes of production, and collective situations.

Leopoldina Fortunati, in “The Arcane of Reproduction” (Fortunati & Fleming, 1995), problematizes the issue of reproduction as non-value creating, a key part of the debate. She poses that reproduction “appears almost as the mirror image, a back-to-front photograph of production,” and that “the real difference between production and reproduction...is that while production both *is* and *appears* as the creation of value, reproduction *is* the creation of value but *appears otherwise*” (emphasis in original, Fortunati 1995, 8). The trenchant point here is that reproduction is an “exchange that appears to take place between male workers in women, but in reality, takes place between capital and women, with male workers acting as intermediaries” (Fortunati 1995, 9). Fortunati explains that capitalists rely on an ideology of the household as outside of the realm of production, as a natural process delinked from capital, which allows the capitalist to “exploit two workers with one wage”—to valorize itself.

The process of reproduction of labor power is subsumed into the capitalist process as abstracted and alienated work. Since relations, including reproduction and consumption are mediated through capital, workers reproduce themselves as their capacity to produce, that is, only as exchange values or as abstract labor, and thus reproduction becomes production. Men exploit women “for the satisfaction of his needs and not in order extract surplus value,” but this exploitation by men “is the only form by means of which capital actuates its exploitation” (Fortunati 1995, 94).

Theorizing around social reproduction has had a resurgence in the last few years, as “social reproduction theory”. Unfortunately, the new developments fall into some the problems of the first wave of the domestic labor debate, in that it is “almost [exclusively concerned] with unpaid household labor” and discounts “the importance of women’s paid labor, whether as domestic servants or wage workers” overlooking “political, ideological, psychological, and sexual issues,” (Vogel, 2013, p. 185) that reproduce capitalism.

Contemporary social reproduction theorists, like Tithi Bhattacharya, Susan Ferguson, and Nancy Folbre, focus on “[making] visible labor and work that are analytically hidden by classical economists and politically denied by policy makers” (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 2). They underestimate the oppression of household labor and of reproduction in the public sphere, and its role in reproducing not just laborers, but *capitalism*. There are also normative assumptions about the value of caring labor built into these analyses, in which reproductive work is specifically the reproducing of humans, and care work is a more or less unequivocal good, an observation that is expanded on in the Section 3.2 of this dissertation. These issues are particularly important for discussing the coerced caring labor of reproductive work in the prison and for or by the state in general.

One of the texts that spurred the initiation of the debate is Selma James and Dalla Costa’s *Sex, Race, and Class* (S. James, 2012a). James locates their analysis in the “autonomous struggle of Black people and of women in the United States” (S. James, 2012a, p. 44). These specific

autonomous struggles existed precisely in contrast to the organized working class political forms that currently existed,

The organized parties of the working class movement have always been careful to not raise the question of domestic work...to raise this question would be to challenge the whole basis of the trade unions as organizations that deal (a) only with the factory; (b) only with a measured and 'paid' work day; (c) only with that side of wages which is given to us and not with the side of wages which is taken back (S. James, 2012a, p. 32).

The relevance of a wage paid in defining workers or the working class is questioned here, which is a direct rebuttal of the more traditional Marxist theories described above, with the exception of Shaikh and Tonak's.

The most meaningful incarnation of Marxist feminist theories of social reproduction aims not just to "make visible" this work to policy makers or bourgeois economists, but to highlight the oppressive relations between women, as performers of social reproductive labor, and men, and to analyze the way that capitalism, with its requisite exploitation, alienation, and oppressions, is reproduced in the process. This was one of the most critical analyses of reproduction from the "Wages for Housework" movement, which is sometimes referred to by the founders of the movement as "Wages Against Housework" (Federici, 1975). The demand to pay wages was not supposed to further reify housework into the capitalist system by valuing said work, but to show that a) it already was subsumed under capitalist relations, regardless of the payment of a wage, and b) it must be abolished both as abstract labor and on its own terms in order to liberate workers, including and especially women.

## 1.6 Racial post-Fordist work

Marx defines labor as "a process between man and nature, by which man changes nature and in the process changes himself" (Marx, 1976, p. 283), a definition which encompasses most human activity. Cleaver uses labor and work interchangeably, with his starting point as Marx's definition of what it means to labor given above (Cleaver 2017, 21). Cleaver goes on to say that it

is a mistake to group all instances of human activity as work without social context, but in the context of post-Fordist capitalism “such regrouping [is] appropriate because...all of those various activities serve the same purpose within capitalism—social control” (Cleaver 2017, 21). Thus, he has a definition of work that is not defined in its differentiation from labor, but by its specific social and historical context, which reflects the workings of the social factory and real subsumption. In the conditions of real subsumption, not only do the boundaries that some theorists delineate between capitalist work and general labor cease to be relevant, but the boundaries between what is work and what is consumption, leisure, or idleness are indistinct.

In *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, in the section regarding estranged labor, Marx presents a much richer description of what “work” is than in Volume 1,

First, the fact that labor is external to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He is at home when he is not working, and when he is working he is not at home. His labor is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is forced labor. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a means to satisfy needs external to it. Its alien character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labor is shunned like the plague. External labor, labor in which man alienates himself, is a labor of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Lastly, the external character of labor for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but to another. Just as in religion the spontaneous activity of the human imagination, of the human brain and the human heart, operates independently of the individual that is, operates on him as an alien, divine or diabolical activity in the same way the worker's activity is not his spontaneous activity. It belongs to another; it is the loss of his self. (Marx & McLellan, 1977, p. 74)

Work in capitalism can be defined by the activity's capacity to be abstracted—that is, made universally exchangeable for money, and alienated from the worker.

The most analytically useful definition of work and workers is one that accounts for changing production and work regimes under contemporary capitalism, and is open enough to integrate race, gender, disability and other oppressions that are constituent to patterns, expressions, and experiences of work and production embedded in capitalism. The a modified or

further specified version of the Autonomist or post-operaismo post-Fordist concept of work, wherein the “productivity of the post-Fordist labor force is based on activities that cross the traditional borders between production and reproduction, employment and unemployment, labor/work/action” (De Giorgi, 2006, p. 63) is expansive enough to integrate these heterogenous expressions.

The growing socialization of both capital and labor means that there is a tendency towards the subsumption of an increasing amount of human activity under capitalist relations. It is not only waged work, or market work, or directly commodity producing work, that is essential to the reproduction of capitalism, but practices of leisure and personal relationships, and indeed practically all activity, which can *become* work. The line between value producing and value consuming, both in terms of production/work and consumption/work is nebulous, in similar ways as some Marxist feminists in the domestic labor debate described what was considered private reproductive work in the home. The social totality is subsumed to capitalist relations, wherein the goal of capital is to both extract as much value as possible from workers, and maintain social control over them. Simultaneously, capital is subject to constant conflict from resistance against it.

Rather than being defined by specific productive activities, the post-Fordist exploited and dominated class is defined by its “universal capacity to produce, that is, abstract social activity and its comprehensive power” (De Giorgi, 2006, p. 64). The continuing expansion of capital continuously attempts to subsume all activity under it, and “renders inextricable the linkage of production and circulation” (Negri, 1984, p. 180) as well as the boundaries between production and consumption. This has necessarily remade the working class—the collective class is *recomposed*.

An important point here is that given that the boundaries between production and consumption have been blurred, the “capacity to produce” can be interpreted broadly to include many people who otherwise would fall outside that scope of the working class—



The consumption process is, at the same time, a production process, producing commodities and surplus-value. And it is within the process that the seller of labor-power becomes, in actu, what she previously was only in potential: she becomes labor power in action, transforming into a worker...but what has already been contracted before is only paid in wages after. The form of the wage does not specify the actus figure of the worker in any way that was not already contained within the figure of the seller of labor-power (Tronti & Broder, 2019, p. 155).

Since this capacity is *abstract* and *social*, it is not about the possibility to perform any given type of concrete labor. This capacity to produce, then, includes the production or reproduction of hierarchies and forms of domination.

This recomposition breaks down Poulantzas' and related theories' concept of work and workers entirely, as there is "no longer any determinant proportionality between necessary labor and surplus labor" (Negri, 1984, p. 172), which means that the activities that are productive are no longer directly observable or measurable. This is not to deny that labor produces value, but specifying *which* labor, or *which* social action, is value producing and which are not becomes increasing difficult in the post-Fordist economy, particularly but not exclusively as it exists in the United States and other post-industrial economies.

In a situation in which labor has been fully socialized, in which the law of value has dispersed and an increasing number of activities, and the active or potential working class has been subsumed under abstract labor, everyone in conflict with capital is a revolutionary subject. As activity is increasing abstracted such that it becomes work and people become workers, value creating activities, or those activities that are universally convertible into the value form, are more widely dispersed.

Virno suggests that the post-Fordist turn, in which the production process advances in such a way as undermine the possibility to observe the connection of labor time to value, results in "the decreasing importance of labor time has given rise to new and stable forms of power, rather than to a hotbed of crisis. The radical metamorphosis of the very concept of production belongs, as always, in the sphere of working under a boss" (Virno, 2010, p. 101).

Gorz, Rifkin, and other similar post-work theorists suggest that work time is currently, actively, declining as post-Fordist capitalism develops, thus freeing workers from the strictures of capitalist domination. The Autonomist perspective, on the other hand, is that work time is *continually expanding as human activity is subsumed*, as a result of both the tendency towards the socialization of work (and capital), and the ways in which the specific locus of value production becomes blurred when work is increasingly informational or immaterial. In order to continue this subsumption of labor to capital, so as to maintain the power relations that allows capital to self-value, workers must remain attached to capital.

In the conditions of post-Fordism where activity is increasingly subsumed to capitalist relations and domination, overwork and idleness interact in ways such that idleness is subsumed, and becomes a form of immaterial work that engages the ethical propensities of the general intellect, that I call “not-work”. This not-work is particularly apparent in some of the most coercive and racialized sites of capitalist and capitalist state control, like prisons and workfare programs, where enforced idleness is treated as something as a replacement for work. In the context of workfare, this idleness may be remunerated in some way—generally with social benefits. The reproduction of a work ethic, as an ethical propensity and part of the general intellect and an immaterial labor activity itself, is one of the primary ways to maintain this control, and is reproduced in the process of these subsumed work and not-work activities.

Schools and households are other important sites of the reproduction of the general intellect. Reproductive work, both unpaid and paid, including nurturing and caring work, necessarily reproduce the modes of oppression that are an emergent aspect of racial post-Fordism. The insights of Marxist feminists are crucial here—this reproductive, nurturing work is nurturing the very tools and modes of control that capitalism requires, increasingly so in the context of expanding real subsumption of human activity. Reproductive work is racialized and gendered, and it reproduces racialization and patriarchy as aspects of the general intellect and as ethical propensities.

The heterogenous and hierarchical division of specific work processes are not evidence that the general intellect is not generally applicable, or that immaterial work does not dominate. Instead, it provides crucial context regarding the way that hierarchies are applied in the context of the development of the general intellect. While the general intellect requires sophisticated formal and informal knowledge from all workers to perform the increasingly interactive and affective work of the post-Fordist era, the general intellect may be expressed in different ways, or different parts of the it may be emphasized in certain conditions.

Hierarchies are an expression of the racialized and gendered general intellect itself. The universality of the general intellect's application, regardless of work or not-work process is part of that racialization. Many qualitative studies regarding work ethic have demonstrated that the ethical propensity of work ethic and affective attachment universally applicable, including to lower wage and racialized work and not-work (DeSante, 2013; E. Hatton, 2018; Jaffe, 2021; McCallum, 2020). This affective attachment to capital is particular pernicious in a situation in which dispossession, neglect, and exclusion dominate. Furthermore, low wage service work—which is racialized and gendered—require the same practices of immaterial labor including complex social and affective knowledge.

The actual or potential reduction of formal work time in the post-Fordist era is, crucially, uneven and contradictory, and does not necessarily constitute liberation from work.

Figure 1.2 Labor Force Participation Rate by Race and Gender

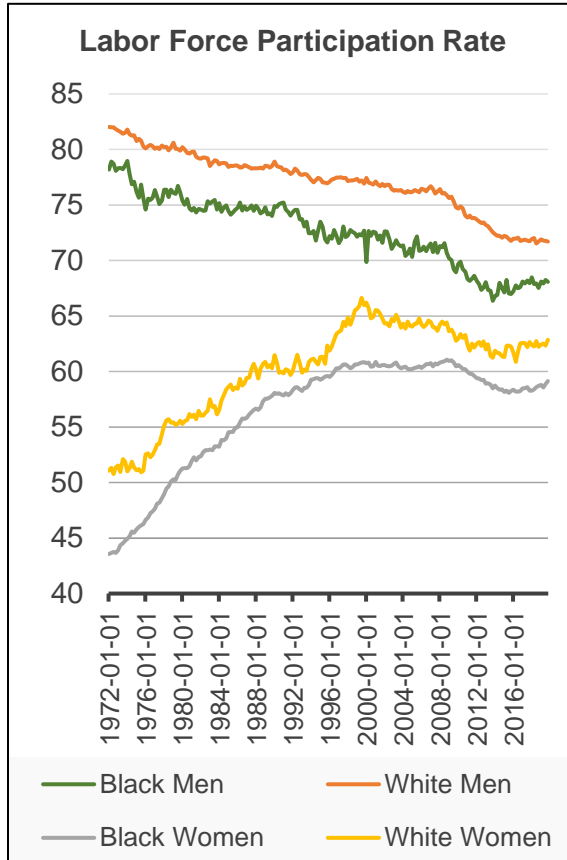
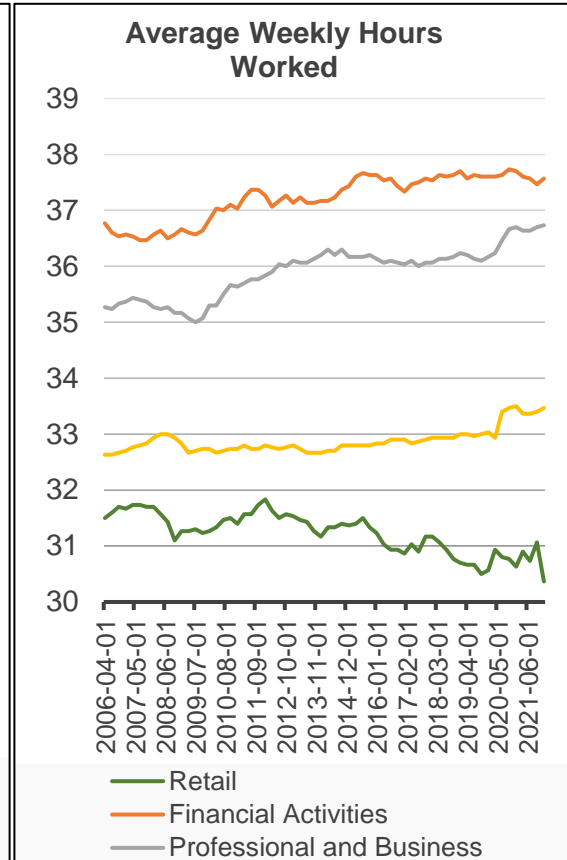


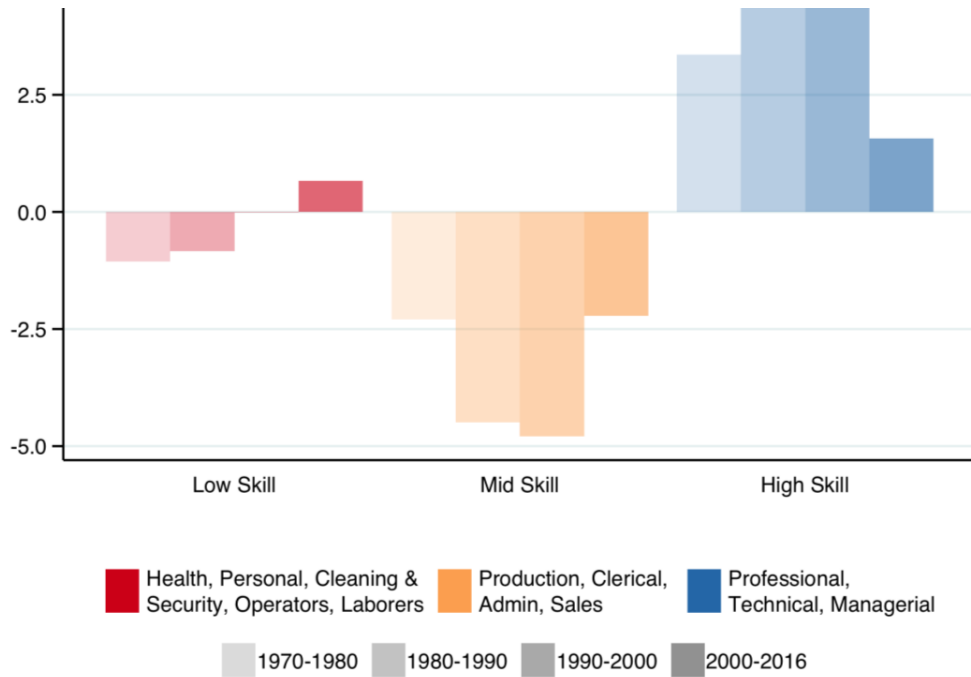
Figure 1.3 Average Weekly Hours Worked by Occupation type



Data Source: (Current Employment Statistics (Establishment Survey) | FRED | St. Louis Fed, n.d.; Current Population Survey (Household Survey) | FRED | St. Louis Fed, n.d.)

Figure 1.2 shows that the labor force participation rate has declined for both white and Black men, but Black men started at a lower level of participation and have remained there since the early 70s, although the gap has narrowed slightly in the last decade (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021c). Participation rates for both Black and white women have increased, and Black women started at a higher rate of participation than white women, and that pattern has continued. Jamie McCallum and David Autor both note that weekly work hours for professional and financial services workers have increased while hours are falling for lower wage workers (Autor, 2019; McCallum, 2020). Figure 1.3 shows that the hours worked have gone up for professional and financial occupations, but down for retail positions, which are indicative of general trends.

Figure 1.4 Changes in Aggregate Occupational Hours Shares Among Working Age Adults, 1970-2016



Note: Figure reproduced from Autor, David H. 2019. “Work of the Past, Work of the Future,” p. 8

The data from 2006 to the end of 2019 shows that retail workers hours have decreased, and hours for professional, financial, and business workers has continued to increase (Bureau of Labor Statistics Data n.d.). Figure 1.4, reproduced from Autor’s paper, shows that aggregate hours for higher waged workers have reduced significantly for “mid-skill” positions, increased substantially for “high-skill” workers, and remained relatively stable for “low-skill” workers (Autor, 2019). The jobs that Autor refers to as low skill, and many of the jobs in the mid-skill tier are lower paid, and often racialized and gendered workers make up the bulk of the workforce.

When the reduction in work time is accompanied by further immiseration in the form of poverty or being targeted by carceral systems, this reduction cannot be liberatory. Furthermore, the apparent or possible benefits to work reorganization are distributed unequally. In section 2 of this dissertation, I provide some details about gendered and racialized work processes in terms of occupational segregation. White people, and white men in particular dominate in the fields of

work that may benefit from increased flexibility, whereas non-white people and non-men are more likely to experience this as increased precarity.

This is not to say that there is not increased precarity across the board for workers to some extent as a result of flexibilization, but the distribution of the negative impacts are racialized and gendered. Even obvious negative impacts, like increased surveillance, are experienced differentially. The negative impact of digital surveillance for workers whose jobs went remote during the COVID-19 pandemic are fundamentally different than the impact for Amazon workers who died in the warehouse they worked in during a tornado (Ankel, 2021).

## 1.7 Conclusion

The three interlocking Marxist approaches of the Autonomist and post-operaismo analysis of post-Fordism, Black radical theories of racial capitalism, and Marxist feminist theories of social reproduction, expand orthodox Marxist approaches to understand, critique, and struggle against the totality of capitalist relations and its requisite alienation as a key site of struggle. I refer to this theory of contemporary global and developing economic conditions, which focuses on both changes in the work process and struggles against it, as racial post-Fordism. As capitalism advances it penetrates all facets of life in its quest for expanding surplus value, and in this process “production-distribution-consumption form[s] a complete circuit...the whole of society becomes an articulation of production” (Tronti & Broder, 2019, p. 26).

This integrated framework engenders insights on the specific nature of work in the contemporary economy, and to take into account the reproduction of race and gender as integral and inseparable parts of capitalism. It also contextualizes the general knowledge/intellect and ethical propensities that facilitates this reproduction, and the racialized and gendered ways that this sophisticated intellectual and emotional knowledge can be wielded as a tool by capital. In section 2, I use this framework to analyze work in a decisive marginal site of work, not-work, and control in racial post-Fordism—the prison.

# CHAPTER 2

## PRISON WORK, WORK ETHIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL: AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY U.S. PRISONS

Work serves as a “stake in conformity,” an important incentive for conforming behavior (Hirschi 1969). By having a work assignment in jail, inmates are committed to conformity; they invested time and energy in that work and engaging in rule violations will result in losing that investment. Not only does work bond the individual to the conventional society by promoting commitment to the conventional norms, but it also limits the time available to plan and execute rule breaking, resulting in greater involvement in conventional activities (Hirschi 1969). (Vuk & Doležal, "Idleness and Inmate Misconduct: A New Perspective on Time Use and Behavior in Local Jails." 2020.)

### 2.1 Introduction

One of the core justifications of prison work is that it prepares incarcerated workers for life outside of prison. An incarcerated person’s time in prison is supposed to facilitate this through the provision of useful skills an appropriate work ethic in a framework of rehabilitation (Cao, 2019; Federal Prison Industries, 1996; Piehl, 2009; Richmond, 2014a). The assumption behind these goals is that a lack of work skills, and the work ethic necessary to attain and apply these skills, is how incarcerated people end up in prison in the first place. Prison programming, and prison work in particular, is supposed to provide these skills and inculcate prison workers with this specific ethical propensity towards formal, waged work as a part of their ostensible rehabilitation (Piehl, 2009; Scott, 2010).

There are three questions to answer about prison work in order to consider them in the context of contemporary racial capitalism. The first is what kind of work incarcerated workers do, and the second is if this work imparts job skills, are they useful in the “free” economy? The third

question is in what ways incarcerated workers find their work meaningful, and does this imply anything about work ethic in the prison?

I first analyze 2020 Current Population Survey data to show patterns of racialized and gendered occupational segregation in the United States. I then analyze data from the 2016 Survey of Prison Inmates (SPI) to show what kind of work incarcerated people do while in prison. I create a taxonomy of four categories of work assignments: Janitorial and Maintenance, Reproductive and Affective, Industrial and Agricultural, and Other, from the ten types of work assignments that the SPI participants may have participated in. These categories are constructed based on the attributes of the assignment's work process and how these assignments relate to work in the free economy. I find that the vast majority of work performed by incarcerated people in the racial post-Fordist American prison is work that reproduces incarcerated workers and the prison itself.

This work includes that that is considered reproductive and affective in the tradition of Marxist feminism (Bhattacharya, 2017; J. Brenner et al., 1983; J. Brenner & Laslett, 1991; Dalla Costa et al., 2019; Fortunati & Fleming, 1995; Himmelweit, 1990), and "masculine" gendered janitorial and maintenance related assignments (Crittenden et al., 2018). Industrial or goods producing work in prisons, which includes service work like that in call centers, is a much smaller proportion of the work incarcerated workers do compared to work that reproduces the prison (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1984, 1988, 1994, 2000, 2007). I also analyze the disaggregated data by the ten job types, based on my analysis of occupational segregation outside prisons to show more detailed occupational segregation in prisons than the four aggregated categories.

Prison work has varied over time in both form and ostensible purpose, and is also a highly racialized and gendered institution (Federal Prison Industries, 1996; LeBaron, 2012; Thompson, 2011; Zatz, 2009). The allocation of these work assignments varies by race and gender in my analysis of the 2016 SPI data, and my analysis shows similar patterns as Crittenden, et al. found in their work based on the 2004 data (Crittenden et al., 2018), with some important differences



and additions. These differences are largely due to the way in which Crittenden et al. aggregated assignment types into categories, and specifically that reproductive type and janitorial type jobs are in the same category in their analysis.

I found that Black workers are less likely to be assigned Industry and Farming jobs, and more likely to be assigned Janitorial and Maintenance jobs. Race and gender interact—Black women are less likely than Black men to be assigned jobs in the Janitorial and Maintenance category, but not by as much as white women are compared to white men. Gender is also important regardless of race, and white women and Black women are equally more likely to receive Reproductive and Affective assignments than Black men and white men, respectively. I disaggregate the categories to look at some differences by job type within categories, and I find that there are differences by race and gender that align with my expectations based on work in the free economy. The relative likelihood of white and Black men to have either maintenance or janitorial jobs, both of which were previously aggregated into one category, is particularly pronounced.

The 2016 SPI data included a series of question about “how important” certain aspects of having a work assignment were to the incarcerated respondent. The questions have not been asked in any previous incarnations of the SPI, and so this analysis is novel not just in interpretation or time period, but in content. This series of questions asked about the subjective importance of relieving boredom, getting out of prison early, making and seeing friends, making spending money, and building skills, for the incarcerated worker. In addition to analyzing the responses to these questions, I consider why these specific questions were asked.

These new SPI questions may provide some insight into how incarcerated workers understand the coerced work that they perform while in the prison, and can also help evaluate the subjectivities and economic outcomes that the prison reproduce, and the ethical propensity of work ethic in particular. Work ethic, as both a concept and practice, has varied over time and is highly racialized (Brown-Iannuzzi et al. 2021; DeSante 2013; Tillmon 2002). Previous studies

regarding the work ethic of incarcerated workers have either been from criminologists who uncritically treat the coercive work ethic that the prison aims for is normatively positive (Batchelder & Pippert, 2002; Mann, 2000; Richmond, 2014b; Scott, 2010; Vuk & Doležal, 2020), or have been on an extremely small scale in the form of either qualitative interviewing or prison autobiography (E. Hatton, 2018; J. James, 2003, 2005; P. Wright, 1995; Zaldivar, 2013).

The type of work assignment and the characteristics of workers have significant relationships with the responses to these questions. Black incarcerated workers and women workers of any race were more likely to say that gaining skills was important than white workers and men of any race were. Black workers were significantly less likely to say that relieving boredom and making friends were important compared to white workers. Black incarcerated workers were also more likely to say that getting out of prison early was an important aspect of having a work assignment. There were further interactions between race and gender, and between race, gender and job type. The extent with which we can draw conclusions about work ethic and subjectivity from this set of questions is hemmed in by the nature of the survey. I conclude this section with some suggestions on future research.

## 2.2 Material conditions of racial post-Fordism

### 2.2.1 General description of post-Fordism

Post-Fordism is described in detail in section 1 of this dissertation, but briefly revisiting it to highlight the key parts for this analysis is useful. Post-Fordism is an ongoing transformation of productive and social relations, rather than a static mode. Post-Fordism is defined by a hierarchical and uneven shift away from Fordist industrial work into disaggregated affective and cognitive service work, and similarly uneven and hierarchical shifts of the overall amount of time in total work hours that prime age adults work per year. The post-Fordist developments in capitalism include changes in work process, emerging forms of work, the development of a

specific kind of subjectivity and the kinds of formal and informal knowledge necessary to function in the contemporary forms of work, which is referred to as the general intellect in the post-Fordist Marxist literature, and an aggregate decrease or potential decrease of work in the economy, which is related to both changing work processes and forms of work (De Giorgi, 2006; Hardt & Negri, 2007; Negri, 1984; Vercellone, 2007; Virno, 2010).

### 2.2.2 Racial capitalism and patriarchy

Post-Fordism, like capitalism at every point in its development, is also racial, which is to say that racialization is core to post-Fordist capitalist accumulation and social organization. This has been true for the entirety of the capitalist social mode (C. J. Robinson, 2020)—“racial” is not additive, or a subset of capitalism, but a fundamental part of capitalist development and subjectivity. Burden-Stelly’s theory modern US racial capitalism as “a racially hierarchical political economy constituting war and militarism, imperialist accumulation, expropriation by domination, and labor superexploitation” (Burden-Stelly, 2020, p. 10) and the emphasis on war and militarism, domination, and superexploitation are appropriate for analyzing the prison.

Patriarchy and the oppression of women, and related occupational and wage stratification by gender, are also constituent of capitalism in general and therefore also in racial post-Fordism specifically. One way that the hierarchies of racial post-Fordism play out in the context of work in free society is via differing access to formal employment, and the limited types of jobs that are available depending on the characteristics of workers (Alonso-Villar et al., 2012; Cohen & Huffman, 2003). These hierarchies persist within the shifting economic conditions towards the new forms of work and work processes that are outlined by Marxist theorists of post-Fordism.

Racial post-Fordism in the United States has involved an astronomical increase in imprisonment and policing. Mass incarceration and increased carcerality are the result of a complex mix of economic and social processes, and racialization is clearly central. People of

color, especially Black people, are intensely targeted by carceral systems. Racial criminalization and the resultant mass incarceration began in in the 1960s is one form of an attempt to isolate and exclude Black workers and other oppressed groups from the means to organize and radicalize against racial capitalist exploitation and exclusion (Berger & Losier, 2017; Burden-Stelly, 2020; J. James, 2015; Thompson, 2011).

The carceral system, which includes not just prisons but also institutions like welfare provision, community supervision, mental health care, and child protective services, are key parts controlling radical worker action and of imparting affective ties to capital in conditions of exclusion from formal work. Understanding the work that people do in prisons and their subjective experience of this work, as this relates to what prisons say they do and what they actually do for incarcerated workers or society at large, has implications in terms of the goals of prison reform or abolition movements. It highlights the contradictions of both “good work” and work ethic as rehabilitative in a carceral racial capitalist framework.

### 2.2.3 Work in racial post-Fordism

Overall in the United States, the share of employment that is service providing has increased by 18 percentage points between 1970 and 2016, to 86% of total employment as of 2020 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021b). Education and health services, which are primarily affective or reproductive jobs, have almost tripled, from 6% of total employment in 1970 to 16% of total employment in 2020 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021a). Goods producing jobs have plummeted from 32% of employment in 1970 to 14% in 2020 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021d). Employment growth has slowed significantly since the 1980s, and recessions have resulted in progressively larger losses in employment over this time period as well. There are important differences in how these trends have played out between men and women and by race, due to the fact that racial post-Fordism is hierarchical and has developed and is developing in uneven ways.

The labor force participation rate for men has been falling since the Bureau of Labor Statistics started collecting these statistics in 1948. Black men started with lower participation rates than white men and have stayed below white men's participation rates. White men's participation rate declined from 79% in 1975 to 68% in 2019, and Black men's participation rate has fallen from 72% to 63% in the same time period (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021e). The yearly work hours in formal employment for Black men also fell significantly between 1979 and 2016, by 16%, while white men's fell by 11%. Work hours increased significantly for Black women and white women (Wilson and Jones, 9), and their hours worked were roughly equivalent in 2016.

There is significant occupational segregation by race and gender in the post-Fordist economy (del Río & Alonso-Villar, 2018; Spalter-Roth, 2018), despite the fact that there is evidence of some improvement (del Río & Alonso-Villar, 2018). I analyzed the 2020 Current Population Survey employment data by the top 20 NAICS detailed occupations for white workers, Black workers, and women of any race (Current Population Survey, 2020). The results of this analysis are in Figures 2.1-2.3. Black workers are 12% of the total current U.S. workforce, and composed 25% or more of the top 20 jobs that Black workers were overrepresented in. More than one third of these occupations are reproductive jobs (e.g., home health aids, phlebotomists), deskilled, security, and service jobs were each 15%, and the remaining 20% were in transportation related occupations. Most of these are in the lowest paying jobs in their relative categories.

White workers comprised 90% or more of the workforce in the top 20 jobs that they were overrepresented in. Almost half of the jobs that white workers are overrepresented in are "professional" or "creative" jobs. Over one third are production and trades jobs that require

Figure 2.2 Occupational Overrepresentation: Black Workers

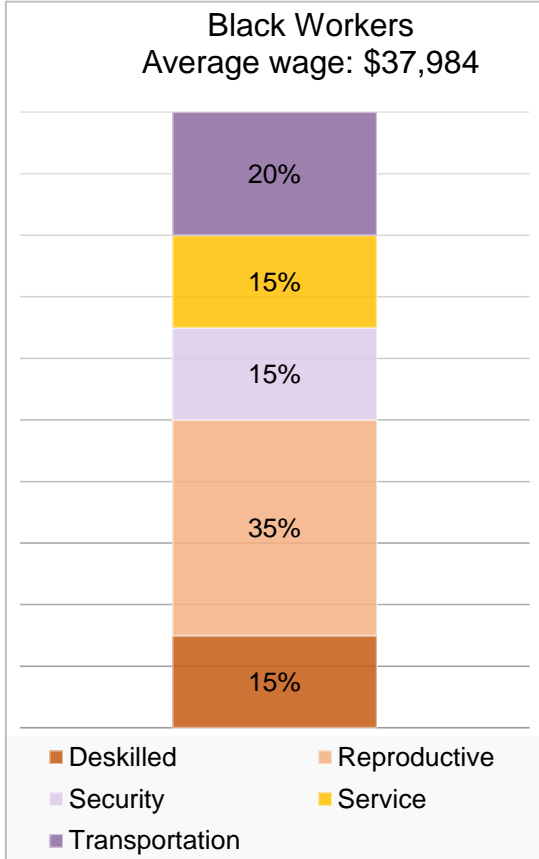
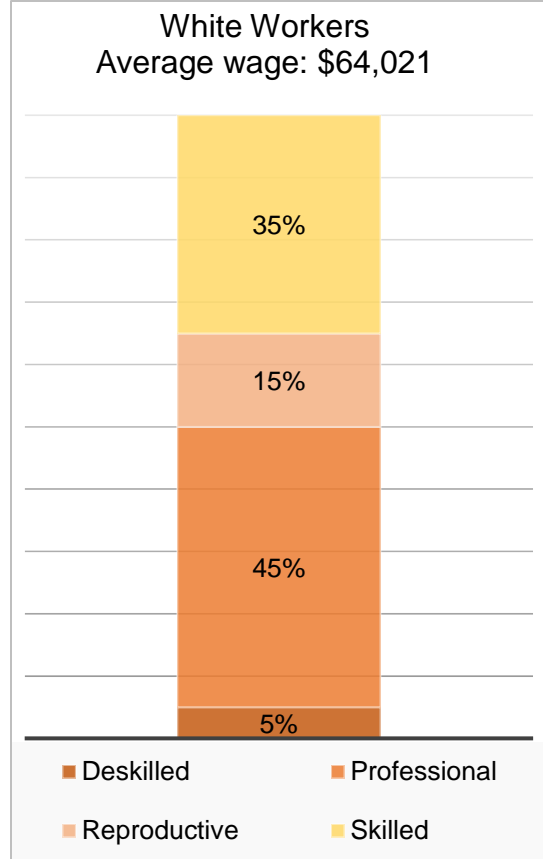


Figure 2.1 Occupational Overrepresentation: White Workers



Data source for Figures 2.1 and 2.2: Current Population Survey, 2020)

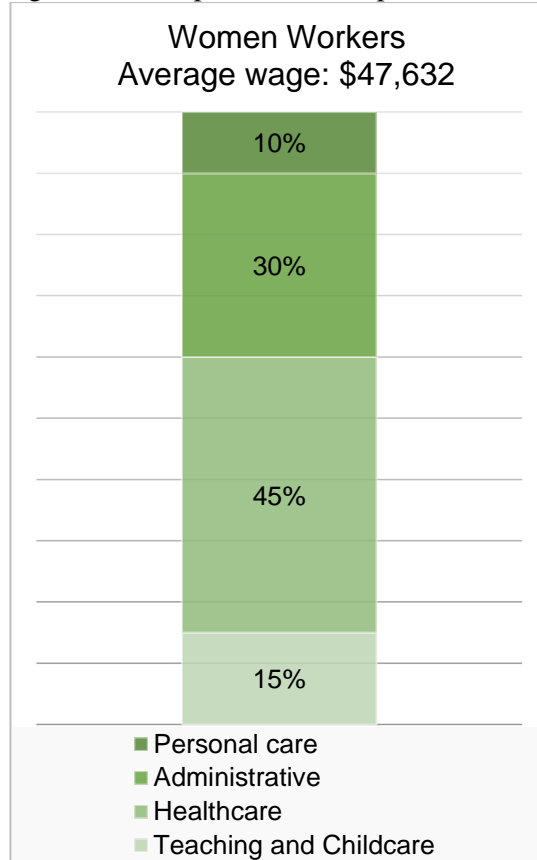
specific skills. 15% of occupations that white workers were overrepresented in were reproductive, and only 5% were deskilled jobs (Current Population Survey, 2020).

Occupational and wage differentials are widely recognized as due to racial discrimination, and cannot be attributed to differences in skills or experience (Coleman, 2003; Pager et al., 2009; Pena, 2018). Black people are left with the lower paying and potentially more drudgerous reproductive, maintenance and service jobs, and less of them with fewer hours. White people dominate in higher paying, unionized production trades and professional and creative positions, and are more likely to be employed and work more hours per year overall.

All of the jobs that women are overrepresented in can be classified as reproductive or caring, as seen in Figure 2.3 (Current Population Survey, 2020). Healthcare, childcare and personal care are all straightforward reproductive and caring work. Administrative work is highly

affective, in which the specific attitude towards the people a workers interacts with—especially a superior or customer—are expected to be deferential and interminably pleasant (Hochschild, 1983). Women’s wages are overall below men.

Figure 2.3 Occupational Overrepresentation: Women



Data source: (Current Population Survey, 2020)

## 2.3 Empirical analysis

### 2.3.1 Overall data description

The data for the analysis of work assignment allocation and the responses to the “how important” questions are from the Survey of Prison Inmates, which is a periodic survey of all state and federal prisoners over the age of 18, conducted for and published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. State level data was collected in 1974, 1979, 1986, 1991, and 2004, and then not again until 2016. Federal data was collected simultaneously starting in 1991. The 2016 public use

data was released in January of 2021 and is the most recent available data (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2021). The survey is conducted via in-person interviews using computer-assisted personal interviewing, in which interviewers read the question out loud to the participants and enter and code the responses directly into a laptop computer during the interview.

The full Survey of Prison Inmates sample was selected in a two-stage process, in which the first stage was a random sample of the 2,001 unique prisons in the universe, and the second stage was a random sample of prisoners from the selected prisons. This resulted in a total of 273 male facilities, and 91 female facilities, and 18,546 male and 6,302 female individuals interviewed. Of those, 14,824 male responders and 5,240 female responders were in state prisons. 88% of individuals incarcerated in prisons were in state custody as of 2017, so my analysis is limited to state prisoners (Bronson et al., 2019).

## 2.3.2 Assignment allocation

### 2.3.2.1 Data subsample

I removed incomplete observations from the full sample to analyze the overall patterns of work assignments. This cleaned subset had 18,931 observations, where each observation is an individual incarcerated person. 11,551 (61%) of these incarcerated people had a work assignment, and these were the observations I used for my analysis. Of those with a work assignment, 70% were men and 30% were women, 39% were non-Hispanic white, 30% were non-Hispanic Black, and 31% were another race. Hispanic, Indigenous, multiracial, Asian, and other racial and ethnic categories are not dealt with in detail in this paper, because they each have specific issues that need to be addressed. This includes issues of citizenship, reservation and tribal status, ethnic differences within races, and other important factors. The experiences of transgender, non-binary, and queer people are also not captured in this sample.



The majority of incarcerated people with work assignments had less than a high school education, and two thirds had a job before they were arrested. 54% had a violent crime as their controlling offense—the highest level of offense they were convicted of for their current incarceration—property and drug offenses were each 18%, 11% were public order, and .35% had an unspecified other offense. 42% of incarcerated workers worked in Janitorial or Maintenance positions, 41% had Reproductive jobs or Affective jobs, 9% had Industry and Farming positions, and 8% had Other assignments. The descriptive statistics for incarcerated workers in this sample are in Table A1.

### 2.3.2.2 Hypothesis and variables of interest

I expect to see differences in work assignment allocation in prison along the lines of race and gender, in similar ways as Crittenden et al. did when analyzing the 2004 data. I use a different categorization of work types and there will be discrepancies associated with that. My hypothesis is that work assignment allocation inside prisons will be along similar lines as patterns of employment outside of prisons. I expect to see Black workers to be more likely to receive reproductive type and janitorial type assignments and white workers more likely to be allocated industry and other services assignments. I also expect to see that women will be more likely to be placed in reproductive type assignments.

There are ten assignment types that incarcerated workers could have: farming, food and food related, goods production or industry, grounds, hospital, general janitorial, laundry, maintenance, other services, and other. I aggregated these assignment types into four categories using a taxonomy that draws on Marxist-feminist theories, and previous prison work studies which largely focus on industry and production jobs: Janitorial and Maintenance, Reproductive and Affective, Industry and Farming, and Other. Janitorial and Maintenance includes general janitorial, grounds, and maintenance. Reproductive or Affective includes kitchen, laundry, hospital, and other services like barbershop, commissary etc. Industry and Farming includes all

prison industry and agricultural jobs, regardless of if production was contracted by a private firm or entirely internal to the prison system. Other is a variety of other unspecified jobs. These assignment categories are my dependent variables for the first part of the assignment allocation analysis, and I then analyze the data by disaggregated assignment type

Farming as a prison industry has a highly racialized history, from its roots in slavery and sharecropping, through to convict leasing, and the brutal Texas prison farming system that existed through the 1970s (Berger & Losier, 2017; Lichtenstein, 1996). These jobs are still more likely to be paid than other jobs, and they are more likely to produce goods to be sold, rather than services that serve the prison itself, and they are included with the same Industry and Farming job category as industry type assignments for that reason. In this sample twice as many Black workers had agricultural jobs than white workers—about 5% versus 2%. In regression analysis, however, race was not a significant predictor of being assigned a farming prison work job.

Independent variables that will likely influence work assignment allocation are race and gender, education level, whether or not the incarcerated individual had a job before being arrested, if the person had a recent violation while in prison, the age of the worker, the most severe offense type that the worker was convicted of (called the controlling offense) and the state where the worker was living at the time of arrest. Race has been coded into three categories—white, Black, and other. Gender is binary in this sample—either male or female. Education level is split into four tiers—less than high school, high school graduate, some college, or college degree. Recent violation and having had a job before arrest are both binary variables, where 0 indicates that they did not have a violation or a job before arrest, and 1 indicates that they did. There are six categories for age—18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and over 65. There are five categories of controlling offense—violent, property, drug, public order, or other. While I will discuss most of these at some point, the primary focus is on race and gender. The state an incarcerated worker was arrested in is included as a control in every specification.

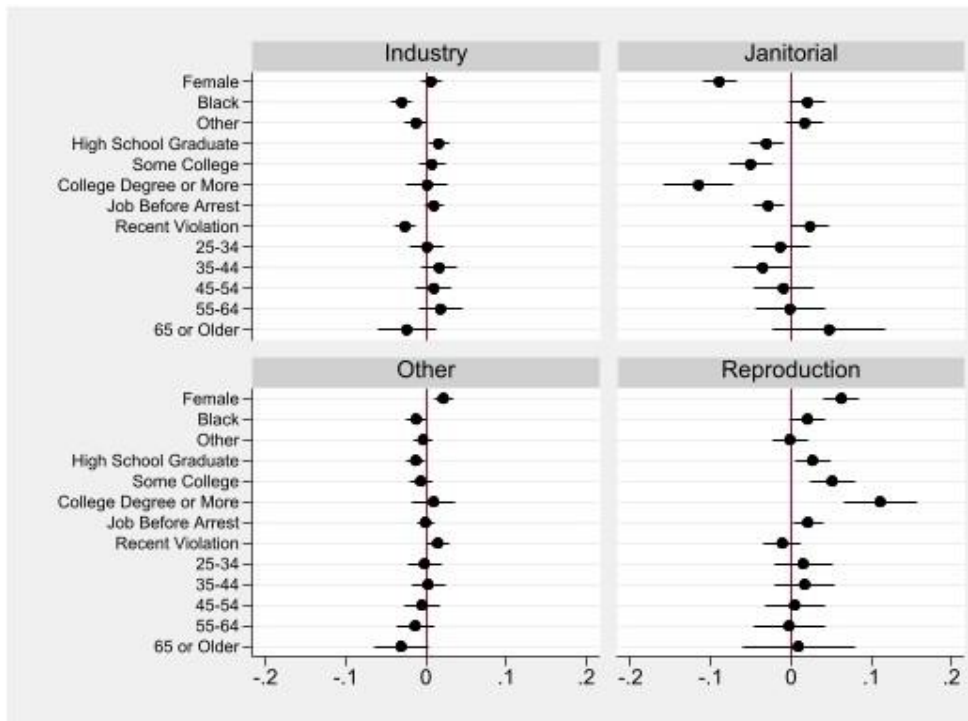
### 2.3.2.3 Results on assignment categories

I estimated linear regression models to analyze predictors of job assignment allocation for each of the four assignment categories individually. I also estimated logit regressions and the results were very similar, especially for the critical variables, and the comparison is included Table A2. Figure 2.4 shows the marginal results of some key variables. The results I discuss here are the results from the linear probability models.

Gender was not a significant predictor for being assigned an Industry and Farming prison jobs. Women were 9 percentage points less likely to be assigned jobs in the Janitorial and Maintenance category, 2 percentage points more likely to be assigned Other jobs, and 6 percentage points more likely to be assigned Reproductive and Affective duties, all significant at the .01 level.

Differences by race were most pronounced in terms of the likelihood of having Industry

Figure 2.4 Marginal Results on Assignment Categories



Data source: (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2021)

and Farming assignments. Black workers were by 3 percentage points less likely to have Industry

and Farming assignments, at the .01 level of significance. The likelihood of being assigned Janitorial and Maintenance or Reproductive and Affective jobs were each 2 percentage points higher for Black workers than white workers, and the likelihood of having a job categorized as Other was 1 percentage point lower for Black workers.

Educational attainment was a significant predictor for work assignments—workers who had completed college were 11 percentage points less likely to be assigned a Janitorial and Maintenance job, and 11 percentage points more likely to have a Reproductive and Affective category assignment than workers with less than a high school degree. Overall, there were fewer significant predictors of the assignment of Industry and Farming jobs than in other categories in the full sample, but race and whether or not the incarcerated worker had a recent rules violation were the most significant. Several variables were significant predictors having a Janitorial and Maintenance assignment, especially sex, education, and having had a job previous to incarceration, all of which had significantly negative impacts on the likelihood of having such an assignment.

Some additional differences arose when the analyses were performed on subsamples for Black workers, white workers, and workers of other races. The results of the Janitorial and Maintenance and Industry and Farming category regressions are in Table A3, and Reproductive and Affective and Other categories are in Table A4. While gender still had a negative effect on the likelihood of having a Janitorial and Maintenance assignment across all race categories, the difference was almost twice as large for white women than it was for Black women. Educational attainment was also important across racial categories, but having a college degree reduced the chances of having a Janitorial assignment by 18 percentage points for Black workers, compared to 9.5 percentage points for white workers, but Black workers were more likely to have a Janitorial assignment overall.

More variables were significant predictors of being assigned an Industry assignment for white workers than for Black workers. Having a job before arrest, having a recent violation in

prison and age all made analytically and statistically significant differences for white workers. For Black workers, only education made any analytically significant difference, and only weakly. This suggests that for Black workers the likelihood being assigned an Industry job is relatively stable, regardless of other conditions.

There were few differences between racial groups in terms of both Other and Reproductive categories. Gender was a significant predictor of being assigned an Other assignment for white workers, but not for Black workers. The sex was a significant predictor for both white and Black workers, and women were more likely to have them by nearly identical percentages, at 7.4 and 7.5 percentage points.

When the analyses are performed on subsets by gender, seen in Table A5, Black women were 4 percentage points less likely less likely to get to get Industry jobs than white women, and Black men were 2.7 percentage points less likely to have Industry jobs than white men. Black women were 5 percentage points more likely to get Janitorial positions than white women, but there was no significant difference between white men and Black men in terms of Janitorial assignments. Black men were more likely to have Reproductive jobs, by 2.3 percentage points, but at a lower level of confidence—at the .1 level. There was no significant difference between white women and Black women for Reproductive assignments.

#### 2.3.2.4 Results on assignment types

I suspected there may be additional difference when the four categories were disaggregated into the original ten assignment types, based on my analysis of the CPS data and the literature on occupational segregation in the free economy. The dependent variables were each of the ten assignment types, rather than the aggregated category, and I analyzed each assignment type separately using the same set of controls and independent variables as in the analysis on job allocation categories, the results of which are in shown in Table A6.

For assignment types within the disaggregated Reproductive and Affective category, Black prison workers were 5 percentage points more likely to have food related assignments, and 2.4 percentage points less likely to have other services assignments, but there were no significant predictors for having hospital, or laundry assignments. Gender was also not a significant predictor of the likelihood of being assigned a food related or hospital job. Women were less than 2 percentage points less likely to have a laundry assignment, but 3 percentage points more likely to have an other services type assignment.

Within the Janitorial and Maintenance category there were some significant differences when disaggregated into job types. Grounds assignments did not vary much—women were about 2 percentage points less likely than men to have these assignments, but otherwise there were not significant differences. Women were about 2 percentage points less likely to have general janitorial assignments than men, and Black prison workers were 5.5 percentage points more likely to have this type of assignment. Women were almost 5 percentage points less likely to have maintenance assignments than men, and Black workers were 2.6 percentage points less likely to have maintenance assignments than white workers.

More nuanced patterns were apparent when the data was analyzed for white prison workers and Black prison workers separately. The results of these regressions are in Table A7. White women were 4.4 percentage points less likely to do general janitorial work compared to white men, but there was no significant difference between Black women and Black men in the general janitorial assignment type. While white women and Black women were both more likely to have other services assignments than either white men or Black men, white women were 3.6 percentage points more likely than white men, while Black women were 2.7 percentage points more likely than Black men. White women were also 5.6 percentage points less likely to do maintenance jobs, and Black women were 4.3 percentage points less likely. White women were 3.6 percent more likely to have other services assignments than white men, while Black women were 2.7 percent more likely than Black men, and at a less statistically significant level.

There are variations on the returns to education, previously having had a job, and recent rule violations based on race by assignment types as well. Overall, white workers' probability of working some of the key job types was more sensitive to other variables, especially in general janitorial and other services jobs. Both white and Black workers were less likely to work janitorial jobs if they had a college degree, even more so for Black incarcerated workers, but white workers probability changed more if they had a job before they were arrested or if they had a violation in prison. White workers saw significantly higher gains in probability by educational attainment than Black workers did for other services jobs. White workers also had variations in probability depending education and recent violation where Black workers did not. White incarcerated workers were more likely to have food related assignments if they had a recent violation.

#### 2.3.2.5 Discussion

There are some important differences between my results in the first set of regressions and the results that Crittenden et al. found in their similar analysis of assignment allocation of the 2004 SPI, which was the last year previous to 2016 that the survey was conducted. Some of the key differences are likely because I aggregated work types into categories in a different way than they did, although they also split the assignment types into four categories. Theirs were prison industries, facilities services, public works, and agriculture.

Having both reproductive and janitorial work in one "facility services" category obscures some of the nuanced results regarding the interactions of race and gender. They found no significant differences between white and Black women regarding the likelihood of working in facilities services, and I found differences related to the being assigned Janitorial work between white women and Black women, but not in Reproductive work in the aggregated assignment categories. The disaggregation of "facilities services" into jobs that are, in the free economy, heavily gendered had a significant difference. Crittenden et al. also did not find any differences

by race for prison industries, whereas I found differences between Black men and white men, and Black women and white women. I found further differences between White men and Black men in particular when the job types were disaggregated which were obscured in their analysis.

Black people were less likely to get Industry jobs overall, and Black men were less likely than white men to be assigned Industry job. Black women were less likely than white women get these assignments, but they were not assigned Industry jobs in a significantly different way than Black men. This is an important result because Industry work assignments are the most likely to be paid and to ostensibly teach marketable vocational skills, and while all work in prisons is coercive, industry jobs are the most highly sought-after assignments in prisons for these reasons (Berger & Losier, 2017; Crittenden et al., 2018; Gibson-Light, 2019). These types of jobs are a shrinking proportion of jobs in the economy overall, so the insistence by the carceral apparatus and criminologists that these jobs exist to provide meaningful skills is minimally applicable. It is also important that so few workers have these jobs at all, and that they are heavily racialized and gendered, in terms of prison reform and abolition movements. Popular pushback against prisons often focuses around prison industries and the specific issue of prison labor making profit for private firms, but the reality is that these are a very small proportion of jobs overall. Prisons create profit in other way, mainly by purchasing services, but that is outside the scope of this paper.

Black workers were less likely to be assigned maintenance jobs. These assignments include tasks like repair and HVAC services—both of which map onto higher paying jobs that require specific skills which are dominated by white men in the free economy. While gender made a significant difference for both white women and Black women in general janitorial, white women were affected more than Black women for these jobs—some of most drudgerous and unpleasant of those available in prisons. A similar, but less pronounced pattern played out in maintenance assignment types—jobs that are dominated by white men in the free economy. Both white and Black women were less likely to have these assignments than men of their respective race, but it



was more pronounced, again, for white women. White workers were also more likely to have food related assignments if they had a recent rules violation, while Black workers were more likely to have these assignments overall. This suggests that working a food related assignment might be a demotion for white prison workers who might otherwise have been assigned more desirable assignments.

There was no significant difference between white women and Black women's likelihood of being assigned Reproductive assignments and there was very little difference between white men and Black men, in which Black men were slightly more likely and with low confidence to be assigned Reproductive jobs. White women and Black women were more likely to be assigned Reproductive jobs than white men and Black men at almost exactly the same probability.

These results taken together would suggest race and gender interact in ways that protect the perceived gentility of white women. While there are still significant differences between white women and Black women compared to white men and Black men respectively, the differences are smaller for Black women. Angela Davis points out that in the post-bellum period Black women were subject to the brutality of the convict lease system in a way that was unmitigated by the highly gendered carceral system in general, and that the development of feminized labor in prisons was primarily targeted at white women (Davis, 2003). Black women have not been subject to the feminized weakness read onto white women, for better and worse, and as Davis points out and have had to work longer, harder, and in more taxing job than white women (Davis, 2020). These patterns are reflected in contemporary prison work.

Reproductive work is sometimes assumed to be a normative good and that its nurturing or caring nature makes it a morally superior form of work, or the kind of work that will specifically lead to a reformed economy. Leopoldina Fortunati explains that capitalists rely on this ideology of the household as outside of the realm of production, as a natural process delinked from capital, which allows the capitalist to exploit two workers with one wage in the household (Fortunati,

2007). Gendered exploitation in the home appears to be the exploitation of women by men, but is also a method in which capital exploits both men and women. The prison functions as both workplace and household, and gendered expectations of reproductive work, and its role in perpetuating patriarchal perspectives on said work, persist. This reproductive work, like all reproductive work, serves the dual purpose of reproducing people, and reproducing the material conditions of our lives.

Overall, work inside the prison reflects work outside the prison. The relationship between prison work and work in the free economy is not unidirectional or causal, however. Prison work does not necessarily reflect work outside of the prison (or not) *by design*. The fact that prison administration consistently proclaims the benefits of prison industry despite its relative scarcity, and the benefits of prison work in general despite inconsistent results on the benefits of prison work (Bottos et al., 2007; Visher et al., n.d.) reflect this.

It is unlikely that there is a widespread conspiracy to purposely fail at stated goals. The more likely explanation is that the contemporary prison is an emergent property of the racial post-Fordist economy, and necessarily has contradictions. The material conditions, including predominant ideologies and subjectivities, such as the capitalist drive for accumulation, white supremacy, and increased carcerality overall, necessarily impact the form that the prison takes. The prison, as an emergent institution, both reflects and facilitates the reproduction of the racial post-Fordist economy.

The history of the prison is crucial as well. The prison has been, simultaneously, a tool to force people to work, and a tool of oppression along the axes of class, race, gender, ability and more (Cao, 2019; Foucault, 1977; LeBaron, 2012). The *purpose* of the prison is a topic of ongoing (and important) debate, and not the argument this paper makes. What the analysis presented here suggests is that one thing the prison *does* is reproduce the hierarchical and segregated work regime of racial post-Fordism, and prepares workers for this situation post-incarceration more than it does for any type of upward mobility or true rehabilitation.

## 2.3.3 How important questions

### 2.3.3.1 Data subsample

12,125 (61%) of incarcerated people in the full state sample had a work assignment, and a total of 3,185 of those answered the series of questions about what aspects of having a work assignment were important to them—26% of the total workers in the overall sample. After cleaning the data, I had a subsample of 2,873 incarcerated workers who had answered the full series of questions. 39% of these workers had jobs in Janitorial and Maintenance jobs, 45% in Reproductive and Affective jobs, 9% in Industry and Farming jobs, and about 8% had Other assignments. 77% of the incarcerated workers who responded to this set of questions were men, 40% were white, 29% were Black, and 32% were of another race. 19% of the respondents were in a facility that was offering an incentive of some kind to participate in the survey. The descriptive statistics for this sample are in Table A8.

### 2.3.3.2 Hypothesis

My hypothesis was that prisons and carceral systems are a core part of coercing the racial post-Fordist work ethic, and this coerced work ethic may manifest in subjectively different ways for incarcerated workers. The constituent hierarchies of racial post-Fordism, including the extreme exclusion from formal employment that Black workers experience in the free economy, may be reflected in the answers to these questions. These coercive ethical propensities have implications for the possibility to fulfill the official goals of prison work as stated by prison administration, and for the ostensible purpose of incarceration more generally, considering both the material conditions of prison work, and the experience of formerly incarcerated people after release. Race and gender are likely to have a significant impact, considering the fundamentally racialized and gendered nature of capitalism and the post-Fordism economy generally, as well as work assignment type in prison, education level, and having had a job previously.

The dependent variables for this portion of the analysis are the “how important” questions asked in the survey. The questions for this section were:

1. How important are work assignments to break up boredom?
2. How important are work assignments to try to get out of prison early?
3. How important are work assignments to spend time with/make friends?
4. How important are work assignments to make spending money?
5. How important are work assignments to learn new job skills?

The possible answers for this question were “a lot” = 1, “some” = 2, or “not at all” = 3. I created a binary variable where “not at all” was zero, and “a lot” and “some” were coded as 1 for analysis, to demonstrate whether or not a worker thought that some aspect was an important benefit to having a prison assignment.

Race, gender, age, education level, employment before arrest, recent violation, assignment type, offense type, and state are also in the model for the “how important” analysis. All work is coerced in prison, and a variable related to this coercion might also be important, so a variable that indicates whether or not a facility was offering an incentive to incarcerated workers to participate in the survey is also included since it may capture some of this coercion.

Survey data from incarcerated people, especially surveys conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, need to be approached with caution due to the intense forms of surveillance in prisons and the potentially catastrophic impacts that this surveillance can have on incarcerated people. This is somewhat less of a problem in this analysis because I am interested in exactly this process—the ways that certain modes of being or particular subjectivities which facilitate the accumulation of capital are coercively reproduced in the carceral system embedded in racial capitalism.

### 2.3.3.3 Results

Overall, gaining skills was the most important aspect of having a job for incarcerated workers, followed by relieving boredom, then making money, then getting out of prison early, and finally making or seeing friends. The results of the linear probability models and the marginal effects from logistic analysis were close to identical, and I will be referring specifically to the LPM models for the presentation of results. The results for the first regression on the full subset are in Table 9.

While gaining skills was most important for all workers, it was notably more important for Black workers, women, younger workers, and people with less education. Women were 7 percentage points more likely to say that gaining skills was important than men, and Black workers were 4.4 percentage more likely to say it was important than white workers. The likelihood of saying gaining skills was important declined precipitously as workers got older—workers who were 65 or older were 18.6 percentage points less likely than workers 18-24 to say that gaining skills was important. A similar pattern existed for education—the more education a worker had, the less likely they were to identify gaining skills as an important part of having a work assignment. Receiving an incentive to participate in the survey did not have an impact. Workers in every occupational category thought gaining skills was more important compared to having Janitorial and Maintenance positions—by 4.9 percentage points for Reproductive and Affective assignments, 12.2 percentage points for Industry and Farming and 7.1 percentage points for Other assignments.

When regression analysis was conducted on subgroups, white women were 9.9 percentage points more likely than white men to think that gaining skills was important part of having a work assignment in prison. There was no significant difference between Black men and Black women. More variables made a difference on the probability of saying skills gaining was important for white workers than for Black workers—gender, age, and educational status were all significant

predictors for white workers and not for Black workers. Work assignment category was more nuanced—for white workers having a Reproductive or Affective job increased the probability of saying that gaining skills was an important part of having a work assignment, by 4.7 percentage points, and by 12.1 percentage points for an Industry and Farming job. For Black workers there was no difference for Reproductive and Affective compared to Janitorial and Maintenance, but an increased likelihood of saying skills were important by 17.5 percentage points if they had an Industry and Farming assignment. Black men were more likely than white men to say gaining skills was important, by 5.2 percentage points. Men and women were similarly more likely to say that gaining skills if they had a Reproductive or Affective job compared to a Janitorial and Maintenance assignment, by 5 percentage points, but the results were more statistically significant for women. Men were 13.3 percentage points more likely to say gaining skills was important if they had an Industry job, but there was no difference for women. Both men and women were significantly more likely to say gaining skills was important if they had an assignment in the Other category.

Women overall were not significantly less likely to say that relieving boredom was an important than men were. Black workers were 6 percentage points less likely to say that relieving boredom was important however. Workers overall were also 5.9 percentage points more likely to say relieving boredom important if they had a Reproductive and Affective assignment instead of a Janitorial and Maintenance assignment, and 8.8 percentage more likely to say it was important if they had an Industry assignment.

When analyzed by race, however, Black men were 6.7 percentage points less likely than white men to say boredom was important, but there was no difference between white women and Black women. Men were 5.6 percentage points more likely to say relieving boredom was important if they had a Reproductive and Affective job than women were. Women were even more likely to say this was important if they had Industry assignments than men were—6.3 percentage points for men, and 13.4 percentage points for women. There was no difference

between white men and white women or Black men and Black women in terms of relieving boredom. Overall, there were fewer variations in the boredom category than in the skills category.

There was no difference between white workers and Black workers overall in saying that making spending money was an important part of having a work assignment, nor was there between women overall or men overall. Only the Industry and Farming category made incarcerated workers more likely to say making money was important on the full “how important” sample—by 11.4 percentage points. Black women were 8.3 percentage points more likely to say making spending money was important than white women, but with only weak significance, and there was no difference between white men and Black men. White and Black workers overall were comparably more likely to say that making money was important if they had an Industry and Farming assignment compared to a Janitorial and Maintenance assignment—by 11.2 percentage points and 13.7 percentage points respectively. There was no difference in terms of making money between white men and white women, but Black women were more likely than Black men to say that making money was important.

Black workers were 4.5 percentage points less likely to say making and seeing friends was important, and women were 6.4 percentage points less likely than men. Black men were 5.6 percentage points less likely to say making friends was important than white men, and there was no difference between white women and Black women. White women were 6.2 percentage points less likely to say that making friends was important than white men, and there was no difference between Black women and Black men. Black workers were 4.3 percentage points more likely to say that getting out of prison early was an important part of having a work assignment, and there was no difference between Black men and Black women. Overall, every group considered gaining skills more important than white men did.

#### 2.3.3.4 Discussion

The first issue that needs to be addressed in order to analyze these results is *why were these questions asked?* Research design choices have implications for the results of that research. Given the intensely racialized nature of our economy, of the prison and of prison research, interrogating the meaning of these questions, and not just their answers, is crucial. We can see these questions as fitting into two key categories—those that are focused on the present and those that are focused on the future. The questions about relieving boredom, making friends in prison, and making money in prison are all relatively focused on a prison workers' current conditions. The second two, getting out of prison early and skill-building, are both forward looking.

It is possible that it is more important to highlight what these questions do not show, than what they do show. The racialized “culture of poverty” thesis (Banfield & Banfield, 1975), or theory of the underclass (Sawhill, 1989) both posit that persistent poverty, criminal behavior, and other social ills are in part due to an inability to “delay gratification”—they insist on short time horizons as being a part of the individual and community behaviors that give way to the development and reproduction of an “underclass”. These theories are also deeply racialized. While these theories have been rightly eschewed in general, this particular set of questions raises the possibility of if they are still implicit in criminological research. Given this, we should tread carefully when trying to make claims about behaviors or subjectivities as they relate to these questions.

Prison workers have a complex relationship to their work, in which in some cases prison workers express gratitude or at least acceptance of their work (E. Hatton, 2018; Richmond, 2014b), but in many other cases (and sometimes in the same case), prison workers describe this coerced work at slavery (J. James, 2003, 2005; P. Wright, 1995; Zaldivar, 2013). These contradictory accounts of working in prison cannot be fully attributed to the surveillance and fear of retribution that incarcerated workers experience in more formal studies, although they certainly



play a significant role. The relationship that free workers have to their work is often also complex—most workers know, at some level, that their work is coercive and exploitative, but the work ethic that getting by requires supersedes this sense in most cases—and the same is likely true in the prison.

Janitorial jobs were the most common assignments in the sample at 42% of the total employed, and there was no axis of importance in which assignments compared to Janitorial had negative coefficients. Jobs other than Janitorial jobs were more likely to lead to a subjective assessment of being more important in any case in which there was a difference. This can be interpreted to mean that the most common type of work assignments in prisons were the least likely to alleviate boredom, have a subjective assessment that it could lead to early release, make friends, make money, or gain skills.

Having a job in Industry increased the likelihood of saying that making money was important by for both men and for women. Non-industry jobs pay between 14 and 63 cents an hour on average, and industry pays between 33 cents and \$1.41 in the U.S. overall—clearly still very low. Many states in the southern U.S. pay no wages at all for non-industry jobs, and some do not pay wages even for industry jobs. I controlled for state differences, but it is worth noting these regional differences. These wages also do not account for deductions from this pay for fines, court costs, family support, discharge money, and more (Prison Policy, 2017). This is one area where there is a potential disconnect between outsider assessment and incarcerated experience of prison work. This pay seems negligible, and is in fact negligible in terms of spending power, but it still carries importance for incarcerated workers.

Workers in every job category said that gaining skills was an important part of having a job compared to Janitorial assignments, and this was particularly pronounced for those workers who had Industry jobs. This is reflective of how these jobs, which are less than 10% of the work assignments in prisons in the United States, are perceived to be, and touted by prison administrators as, the most likely to potentially provide vocational skills. However, the vocational

skills that industry itself would impart are of limited usefulness in the racial post-Fordist economy where service work is dominant.

Men in both Reproductive and Industry jobs were more likely to say that their assignments relieved boredom compared to Janitorial jobs. Men in Reproductive jobs and Other assignments were also more likely to say that seeing friends was important, compared to Janitorial assignments, and women were more likely to say this was true only in Other assignments. Women and men clearly have different experiences of Reproductive work in prison, which is correlated to their experiences with Reproductive work outside of prison.

Black workers were 17.5 percentage points more likely to say that gaining skills was important if they had an Industrial work assignment, compared to 10 percentage points for white workers. There is a disconnect from the material conditions of the racial post-Fordist work regime outside of the prison regarding industrial jobs. Overall, these types of jobs are a small and shrinking share of the jobs available in the contemporary economy, so the usefulness of these skills is limited in general. Black people are disproportionately targeted by the carceral system, and the most lucrative or production and trade jobs are frequently dominated by white workers.

James Boggs, in the 1960s, said that Black workers needed to be trained to work in the “jobs of the future,” and that “there is absolutely no point in training blacks for dead-end jobs such as assembly work, clerical bank work, court reporting, elevator operating, drafting, clerking, meter reading, mail clerking, oil field or packinghouse working, painting, railroad maintenance, service station attending, steel mill or textile working” (Boggs & Ward, 2011, p. 190). This training of the future was the ability to “interpret, project, and imagine,” and prison work, including industry, is dominated by work processes that do not necessarily develop these skills. The prison is increasingly oriented away from rehabilitation and towards control in practice (Gilmore 2007; Wacquant 2009), which discourages activities (like reading or prison lawyering) which were common in the 1960s and 1970s that would encourage these practices (Berger & Losier, 2017).

There is a tension between Boggs' prescience and the racial post-Fordist work regime. The argument could be made that the kind of training Boggs was calling for did not happen in the intervening decades for Black people in the United States due to the continued stratification of labor markets, reduced educational opportunities, and other repressive and oppressive racialized social practices. In the conditions of racial post-Fordism, however, these affective and cognitive skills are a requisite part of *all* jobs and for *all* workers, as these skills need to be transferable throughout de-generalized work processes. This generality requires the sophisticated formal and informal knowledge to be universal, even in the conditions of forced idleness and semi-idleness that exists due to the widespread exclusion of racialized people from formal work in the post-Fordist economy.

Black women were 8 percentage points more likely to say that making money is an important part of having a job compared to white women. This may be reflective of the fact that Black women have had historically had higher labor force participation rates than white women (Crittenden et al., 2018; J. James, 1994), and still do (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021c), out of necessity due to racialized expectations and economic conditions (Davis, 2003).

Black workers overall were more likely to say that gaining skills was important, and women overall were more likely to say that gaining skills was important. Black men were significantly more likely to say that gaining skills was important compared to white men. The neoliberalization of politics has resulted in a situation in which the structural sources of unemployment, including and especially Black unemployment, are obscured, and instead people are viewed to be unemployed "because they haven't done what it takes to be employed [and] the solution for them is to somehow attain the needed skills to become competitive on the job market" (Spence, 2015, p. 19). This turn towards a human capital theory puts productivity in the forefront of mainstream morality and social cache, and this productivity as being in the realm of personal responsibility rather than a structural issue

Relieving boredom was the second most important reason of those given that having a work assignment. While work itself is often be punishment (E. Hatton, 2018), idleness in prisons is stultifying. Considering that “curing idleness” is a stated goal of prisons, the prison may in fact accomplish this by wielding boredom as a cudgel (Cao, 2019), rather than forcing labor in the hopes that work compelled in the prison it may cause prisoners to ““come in the end to like [work], when they have reaped the reward, they will acquire the habit, the taste, the need for occupation” (Foucault, 1977, p. 234).

The idleness that is so present in the prison is the result of a set of related but not exact conditions to those outside the prison. In the current sample only 60% of workers had assignments, in 2014 61% of incarcerated individuals had jobs (Xie, 2016), and in 2005 about half of prisoners had assignments (Staphan, 2008). Most incarcerated workers also worked 10 or less hours a week (Dhondt and Seligman, unpublished).

Inside the contemporary prison idleness arises in part because of the massive expansion of the carceral system since the 1970s—overcrowded prisons mean less possibility even for maintenance or janitorial jobs, and the number of available prison jobs cannot keep pace with the numbers of new workers (Wacquant, 2012). Idleness also arises out of new forms of incarceration, especially the supermax prison and increased conditions of lockdown, where prisoners are held in their cells for extremely long periods of time. The reasons these conditions exist is complicated in themselves, but are in part due to reactions from the state to the relatively successful and widespread unrest and rebellion by incarcerated people, and Black radicals in particular, in the 1960s and 1970s (Berger & Losier, 2017).

Idleness, in the form of under- or unemployment as a result of prevailing economic conditions, racism, discrimination based on previous incarceration, or incarceration with or without a work assignment, is a feature of the racial post-Fordist work regime. Idleness results in severely truncated capacities to provision for oneself, family, or community and so coercively demands wage labor to avoid those outcomes, even when such labor is not accessible.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The continued reproduction of capitalism requires the reproduction of the conditions of control that facilitate ongoing and expanding capital accumulation via exploitation. The prison, like the home and the school, is a part of the social factory (Tronti & Broder, 2019) that reproduces these conditions. Waged and unwaged work, both separately and in relation to one another, exist in and are constituent of expansive and global hierarchies. Marxist feminists, including Leopoldina Fortunati, Sylvia Federici, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, and Selma James, highlighted that capital is a part of creating and reproducing hierarchies of power—both between classes and within the working class—even where it appears to be involved only tangentially as it is in the household or at the other apparent margins of global capitalist relations. The hierarchies that construct these marginalities reproduce capitalism itself.

Foucault utilizes Marxist categories in his treatment of the prison, both in *Discipline and Punish* and in other writing (Elden, 2015). Foucauldian analysis is sometimes treated as antithetical to Marxist analysis, but in reality they both recognize the importance that the prison plays in terms of coercing otherwise unwilling people to become workers—Marx discusses workhouses and the intense discipline that workers in early capitalism were subject to (Marx, 1976), and Foucault is similarly explicit when discussing the rise of the prison in tandem with capitalism (Foucault, 1977). Both Foucauldian and Marxist analyses are interested in dominance, and class dominance is a key part of this. In the conditions of racial post-Fordism, this domination is enacted in the process of real subsumption—real subordination to capitalist logic—and articulated in part through racial criminalization.

Guided by De Giorgi's framework and that of other Marxists who theorize the post-Fordist economy (Cleaver, 2019; Lazzarato, 1996; Negri, 1984; Tronti & Broder, 2019; Virno, 2010), I suggest there are three types of work. The first is work as it is commonly interpreted, which is to say waged work. The second is reproductive work, which is work that clearly reproduces labor

power and happens largely in the home, but also happens in prisons, schools, care facilities, and other locations that appear private, but are public insofar as they have very public impacts. This work is frequently, but not always, unwaged. The third is *not-work*, which are the activities that are generally categorized as consumption, leisure, or idleness. Because of the shifting boundaries of production, consumption, and leisure in the post-Fordist economy, work that had previously been leisure now functions as work, in so far as it contributes to the accumulation of capital. All three of these kinds of work are present in the prison to different degrees. Idleness, or the threat of idleness, is core to disciplining or coercing people into working and in fact wanting to work.

Prisons claim that developing a work ethic in incarcerated people is a core part of the rehabilitative potential of the prison, despite rehabilitation being largely abandoned in practice in the last several decades. In the contemporary prison, work is supposed to “cure idleness, teach specific skills, and provide the incarcerated person with a work ethic,” (Cao, 2019, p. 4) according the architects and maintainers of the system itself. This is clear when reviewing Bureau of Justice documents, including the Prison Industry Enhancement (PIE) documents, including the officially titled “Factories with Fences” releases. Work as punishment, and the flip side of that—work as privilege—is less explicit in official contemporary prison documentation, but exists in some internal Bureau of Justice documents, and is also clear in the complex and contradictory ways that incarcerated people see their own work.

The coerced work ethic serves the purposes of capital, and identifying the type of work ethic that prisons reproduce problematizes prison reformist calls for “good jobs” in prisons, and suggests that even “good jobs” in prisons will function as a mode of social control, rather than any form of rehabilitation that facilitates individual or community autonomy and wellbeing. This analysis can also be extended into analysis of the “good jobs” thesis regarding other reformist movements in the free economy, and suggests this as a topic for further investigation. Broad ranging conclusions about subjectivity cannot be made from this data, and we can only observe some patterns and suggest possible reasons based on previous research and political and social

action. Ethnographic or collaborative research with incarcerated or previously incarcerated workers could illuminate the ways that prison work influences subjectivities in deeper and more meaningful ways.

The prison, as an emergent institution, both reflects and facilitates the reproduction of the racial post-Fordist economy. The history of the prison is crucial as well. The prison has been, simultaneously, a tool to force people to work, and a tool of oppression along the axes of class, race, gender, ability and more (Cao, 2019; Foucault, 1977; LeBaron, 2012). The *purpose* of the prison is a topic of ongoing (and important) debate, and not the argument this paper makes. What the analysis presented here suggests is that the prison does produce a worker experienced in the racialized forms of work or idleness/not-work appropriate for work outside the prison.

# CHAPTER 3

## ALTERNATIVES: THE SOVIET UNION AND FUTURE SYSTEMS

### 3.1 Introduction

This section outlines and analyzes alternative social systems and economic formations to capitalism. Section 3.2 addresses the Soviet Union, which has been referred to as “actually existing(/ed) socialism,” and was marginal to global capitalism, although not totally isolated from it. Section 3.3 analyzes proposed models of socialist systems, and additions or modifications that could be integrated into proposed models. Both sections 3.2 and 3.3 emphasize caring and reproductive work and the role it plays in the reproduction of society overall, and the ways in which reproduces oppression in particular.

Section 3.2 draws on archival time use data produced in Soviet Union in three surveys, as well as first and second hand qualitative accounts of the production process. The first set of archival data includes data from 1965 and 1968, conducted by Leonid Gordon and Eduard Klopov (Gordon & Klopov, 1975), and the second two sets were produced by Vladimir Andreyenkov and Vasily Patrushev in 1965 and 1986, and were published together (J. P. Robinson et al., 1988). I conclude that patterns reproductive work in the Soviet system were influenced by the nature of Soviet production.

The structure of Soviet work time and political organization shaped both the government’s inability to provide the necessary reproductive goods and services that Soviet workers needed, and how Soviet workers supplemented this in order to reproduce themselves—and in the process, the Soviet system overall. Specifically, trade unions and enterprises, acting as the will of the state,



were supposed to provide many reproductive services, and to some extent they did, but workers needed to make up the slack themselves. Because of bottlenecks and holdups in the production process this additional reproductive work sometimes happened during official work time. The Soviet government was unable to achieve its stated revolutionary goals regarding the liberation of women from many forms of reproductive work, and this is reflected in the ways that Soviet workers worked around the inadequacies of the centrally planned system to socially provision for themselves.

In section 3.3 I address potential future economic and social systems, and in particular how they deal with reproductive and caring work, and the reproduction of oppression. I first analyze four of the most prominent models of future systems—Pat Devine’s model of negotiated coordination (Devine, 1988), the participatory planned model by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel (Albert & Hahnel, 1981, 1992a, 1992b, 2003), Paul Cockshott and Allin Cottrell’s model of central planning (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993), and Alec Nove’s market socialist model (Nove, 2004). I then analyze theories about reproductive and caring work that come out of contemporary social reproduction theory and closely related perspectives, and the treatment of caring work as a special category in particular. I also highlight the ways that these apparently radical theories are related to mainstream and capitalist uses of “care”.

The first set of models in section 3.3 are all explicitly alternatives to not just capitalism, but to Soviet-style central planning. The social reproduction theories are a corrective to theories of society that neglect the gendered work and oppression, including socialist theories. The mainstream theories of care and caring are ostensibly corrective to a patriarchal or masculinist society, and help to highlight the ways in which contemporary social reproduction theory may fall in line with naïve and cynical uses of care that undermine the way that care work is necessarily *work*, and carries with it the exploitation and drudgery of work of all kinds, as well as specifically gendered oppression. The final set of critiques I provide are critical of patriarchal racial capitalism, and models of socialism or feminist theories that neglect colonialism and oppression

based on race, disability, and other important axes. I frame liberatory alternatives to capitalism and Soviet planning in terms of abolition, land repatriation, and reparations.

## 3.2 The Soviet Union

### 3.2.1 Introduction

This section is a brief case study of reproduction on the margins of hegemonic capitalism, in a similar way as the analysis of the U.S. racial post-Fordist carceral system in Section 2 was. The Soviet Union existed in a global economy dominated by capitalism and capitalist economies—it was marginal to global capitalism, and was fundamentally antagonistic to it. This marginality does not mean that it was unrelated or completely isolated, but it existed at the blurred edges of global capitalist accumulation. The first research question for this section is how the Soviet Union and its constituent political, economic, and social processes were reproduced. The second question is if the processes that were produced and reproduced were aligned with the socialist ideals of the revolutionary Soviet state to equalize relations between men and women, and free women from housework in particular. The processes of material reproduction are analyzed in the next section of this chapter. The final part addresses the reproduction of subjectivity, including and especially work ethic.

There are three key conclusions from my analysis of archival data, first-hand ethnographic and qualitative writing, and reviewing existing literature on these topics. The first is that the Soviet Union was not able to adequately produce the goods and services that workers needed to reproduce themselves through official state means, so Soviet workers spent a great deal of time making up for this, both during ostensible leisure time and in “unproductive” time at their official state enterprise jobs. The second is that the Soviet Union failed at its goal to equalize and socialize the provision of social reproduction, and in particular failed at the revolutionary goal of equality between men and women in this realm, and the extent of reproductive and productive

activities that happened outside of the direct state sector is evidence of this. The Soviet Union also failed to reproduce the subjectivity that the bureaucratic apparatus claimed to: a new, liberated, socialist man. Instead, it reproduced a subjectivity appropriate to the power relations of the Soviet Union, a class-based, but not necessarily capitalist, economic and political system.

This section focuses on the post-Stalin era of the Soviet Union, and primarily on the period between 1953 and 1989, starting with Khrushchev's leadership and going through the to the middle two years of Gorbachev's, before the period of Perestroika in which the dissolution of the Soviet Union started in earnest. This is a long relatively long period of time in terms of social analysis, and certainly there were some significant shifts in policy and in Soviet "modes of life," as Gordon and Klopov put it, over the course of this time period, but the overall structures of enterprises, unions, and families were quite stable. There were significant differences between life in the rural areas and life in the cities, and between ethnic groups within the Soviet Union, including in terms of reproduction (Bahry & Nechemias, 1981; Croll, 1979) but I focus on urban areas and do not attempt to address ethnic or religious differences, discrimination, or superexploitation.

The Soviet state was the ostensible political embodiment of the working class and was supposed to organize many socially reproductive functions. In practice, social reproduction, which is to say the processes that reproduce workers physically, psychologically, and politically, occurred through three key institutions: the enterprise, trade unions, and the family. Enterprises and unions provided services, organizations, and support for reproduction in traditional patriarchal families, but the family remained a key site of social reproduction.

Most social processes and organizations were subjugated to the power and will of the party, and Soviet workers and their lives were subsumed into the political process of a centralized administrative command system. The Soviet system was a class system, albeit not a conventional capitalist system. The nature of the Soviet system as socialist, capitalist, or something else entirely has been a topic of debate among socialists and western academics for nearly a century

(Burawoy, 1985; Clarke, 1993; Elliott, 1984; Platt, 2011). For the purposes of this paper the Soviet system will be referred to as the Soviet system, and its underlying ideals as socialist. This analysis is also a class analysis, in which high ranking members of the party/state comprised an elite that extracted and redistributed surplus from Soviet workers, who formed the mass of the potentially opposing class (Clarke, 1993).

### 3.2.2 Time use data

Time use surveys were a key tool for the Soviet Party and bureaucratic/intellectual apparatus to assess the women's role and progress towards liberation. The family unit remained the basic economic unit, and time use surveys were undertaken to understand activities in this realm especially (Gordon & Klopov, 1975; Imbrogno, 1986; Mespoulet & Rundell, 2020). One of the first large scale time use surveys ever conducted was in the Soviet Union in 1922, by Strumilin, in order to assess the position of women in the early revolutionary period (Mespoulet & Rundell, 2020).

I analyze two main sources of time use data produced by the Soviet economists and sociologists to understand reproduction in the Soviet Union. The data has two unrelated sources in the same time period—the late 1960s—and one in later time period. To this extent it is possible to analyze both reproduction at one point in time, and also draw some conclusions about how reproduction did or did not change over time.

The first is a time use survey and related analysis titled *Man after Work*, conducted by Leonid Gordon and Eduard Klopov (Gordon & Klopov, 1975). This data which includes data that was collected at seven iron and steel works, machine-building, and textile plants in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa, and Kostroma in the Soviet Union between 1965 and 1968. Their total sample included 550 and 350 female and male workers, respectively—two to three percent of the total workforce at the enterprises studied.

The second is *The Rhythm of Everyday Life: How Soviet and American Citizens Use Time*, a survey and analysis conceived and conducted collectively by Soviet sociologists and economists Vladimir Andreyenkov and Vasily Patrushev, and American sociologist John Robison (J. P. Robinson et al., 1988). This study analyzed time use in two cities, Pskov in the Soviet Union, and Jackson, Michigan in the United States, and included 875 men and 1,306 women. These time use studies were conducted in the same two cities in 1965, and then again in 1986. I refer to both time periods, but only address the Pskov data in this paper.

### 3.2.3 Material reproduction

Soviet workers' lives were structured by the enterprise and the union, which acted as representatives of the state. Labor, distribution, and consumption were all part of an indivisible social totality, subsumed to centralized apparatus that ostensibly acted as the embodied will of the working class, rather than a feudal lord or capitalist class. The enterprise and its related trade union acted as a "state within a state" (Clarke, 1993) and the work process, distribution process, and consumption process were all linked to the state via these institutions. Gordon and Klopov refer to this totality as the "mode of life" of the worker, wherein the labor in state enterprise of production and service workers play one part in the production of use values, and free time is a "social resource" and also critical to the social production of use values.

Many of the social functions of the enterprise, or the labor collective, were conducted via trade unions. The function of the union, ostensibly, was to represent the working class overall—98% of Soviet workers were in a trade union (Clarke, 1993), but in reality the union was responsible for the effective control and motivation of workers in the production process. Unions, along with enterprises, organized and distributed the means of social provisioning, including housing, dachas, child care, and other necessities, including food in the later periods of the Soviet era—unions were a key part of both distribution and production of workers material needs in terms of both goods and services. Employees who were actively involved in their collective, as

well as performing well during periods of production, were more likely to benefit in the distribution of these goods and services (Oberländer, 2017, p. 576). The trade union was also largely responsible for the development and reproduction of the appropriate attitude and approach to work (Barnet, 1979; Burawoy, 1985; Clarke, 1993; Filtzer, 1996), which is addressed in Section 3.2.3.

### 3.2.3.1 Not working at work, or working on something else at work?

The activities that Soviet people performed to provision for their lives were sometimes performed in the time in which Soviet workers were at their official place of work, while they were supposed to be working for the state/enterprise, or happened outside of the workplace during work time (Oberländer, 2017). Since many industrial jobs were on what amounted to a piece rate pay system of quotas and norms, for industrial workers time lost was money lost (Burawoy, 1985), and so there was a drive for workers to use this time to engage in other activities for social reproduction and social provisioning to make up for this lost income. Workers used their time at work to repair their own belongings, to shop for necessary goods, and to run other errands.

Patrushev's time use study, and well as Smirnov's studies, that show that 25-30% of work time was not used productively, and again points to structural issues, rather than a lack of work effort, as the primary contributor to enforced idleness at the workplace (Oberländer, 2017). Inefficiency and supply issues, including labor supply, issues with canteens meant that eating at the allotted time was not possible, because lines were long or food ran out, and so some workers went to the canteen at other times (Oberländer, 2017). Collective work, in which workers participated in the productive and reproductive activities that were the responsibility of enterprises and unions, was another source of ostensible loss of "productive" time in the workplace. This collective work which was integral to Soviet work time and the reproduction of workers by the 1960s, and this was especially true regarding housing (Burawoy, 1985; Clarke,

1993; M. B. Smith, 2010). In the 1970s, workers spent around 20 hours a month on collective work.

In the survey of the *Rhythm of everyday life* survey, both men and women spent a significant amount of time in “activity directly connected with production,” but was not “labor in social production.” Employed men spent 4.9 hours of “work related” time in “non-work,” and women spent 4.2 hours in this activity. In 1986 men spent 4.8 hours in this activity, and women spent 3.8 hours engaged in this work. This does not include time spent on their trip to work, which is listed separately and was about equivalent to the non-work time. This time could potentially have been downtime, but was very possibly spent doing reproductive or collective work.

In *Man after work*, employed women spent 9.5 hours in “activities directly connected with production,” which is separate from “labor and social production,” which they spent 39.4 hours on, and men spent 13 hours in this activity, and 40.1 hours on labor in social production (Gordon & Klopov, 1975). Activities directly connected with production in this case, did include commuting, and considering that overall workers in the *Everyday Rhythm* data spent approximately 10 hours between non-work and trip to work, this suggests that the amount of time spent in non-work was commensurate.

The Gordon and Klopov study does not go into detail about what is happening in either the “labor in social production” or “activity directly connected with production,” and “participation in civic or political activity” is treated similarly (Gordon & Klopov, 1975, p. 55). As a result, this data does not provide any specific information on reproductive work that may be happening as a part of enterprise or union activities. Neither study goes into detail about what activities were occurring in non-work but work-related time, but it is clear that a significant amount of time is spent in these activities.

One possibility is that it is connected to the persistent Soviet drive to build adequate housing, which unions were generally responsible for. This meant that workers constructed

housing in “people’s construction products,” which often occurred during work hours. Oberländer states that this work “did not contribute to the fulfillment of the enterprise’s plan” (Oberländer, 2017, p. 576), but given that the results of this work on enterprise time was a part of the overall mission of the enterprise, this statement is not fully accurate. The construction of housing, kindergartens, and more were in the collective agreements that the trade unions had with enterprises, though any horizontal bargaining between the union and the enterprise was minimal to non-existent, since the union was an arm of the party itself in practice, rather than representative of workers needs (Burawoy, 1985; Clarke, 1993; M. B. Smith, 2010).

Gordon and Klopov’s explicit recognition of the importance of subsidiary farming and gardening as a supplement to food available either via the state and in markets or pseudo-markets demonstrates the awareness that the state had of their inadequacy to provide the goods and services needed for the reproduction of workers.

### 3.2.3.2 Working outside of work

The Russian revolutionaries in 1917 were committed, in theory, to the equalization of women and men in terms of social status, economic independence, and liberty in general. Women were supposed to be freed from the individualized and marginalized reproductive work in the patriarchal family via the collectivization of these tasks and roles, including socialized laundries, daycares, and food preparation and serving. This would enable women to join the paid workforce—a core element of their ostensible independence. The Soviets did take immediate steps towards these goals; the first Family Code eliminated religious marriage in favor of civil marriages, children born outside of wedlock were extended familial rights, and divorce was easily granted by request of either spouse (Goldman, 1993). These ideals mostly endured in the abstract, although individual Soviet leaders or workers as a whole did not effectively apply these ideals.

Soviet economists and sociologists were acutely aware of the role of that household labor and its requisite gendered division played in reproducing workers. They recognized that this



household work was necessary for social production in general, and that the persistently high absolute amount of time spent on this work was due in part to a failure of the state to provide services.

Gordon and Klopov claim that the discrepancies between men and women in regard to the amount of time spent on household tasks, as well as the high time expenditure on these tasks in general, existed both because of “anachronistic attitudes” regarding gender, and a deficit of social services provided by the state. They also state that “the sphere of social services will not, over the next few decades, full replace the family production of services,” (Gordon & Klopov, 1975, p. 94) thus justifying the minimal extent that industrialization under the auspices of the revolutionary Bolshevik state equalized reproduction relations between men and women in the home, and in society overall as well.

In general, the Soviet apparatus rejected the idea that the family and its role in reproduction could be fully dissolved, but they also prioritized the reduction of gendered household work time through a variety of methods, at least in theory. This includes an increase of what were described as “communal conveniences”. Gordon and Klopov also describe socialized food preparation and service in the form of canteens and cafeterias as important ways to reduce the overall load of housework, and also describe the industrial production of prepared and semi-prepared foods as “semi-socialized” household tasks.

The Pskov time use data, presented in Table B1, showed that, as expected, women did significantly more household work than men in both 1965 and 1986, regardless of employment status. In the Pskov data from *Rhythm of everyday life* data, women employed women spent 21.7 hours on housework in 1965, and 16 in 1986. Non-employed women performed 32 hours of housework in 1965, and 24.3 hours in 1986. Men, who are only reported as employed, spent 7 and 7.2 hours on these tasks in 1965 and 1986 respectively. Employed women spent an additional 12.6 hours on other family tasks in 1965, and 11.2 in 1986, and non-employed women spent 16.8 hours and 18.6 hours on these tasks in 1965 and 1986 respectively. Men spent 8.4 hours and 7.9

hours in 1965 and 1986 on these tasks, respectively. In the 1965-1968 Gordon and Klopov data women spent 27.3 hours on housework and 5.5 hours on activities with children. Men spent 11.4 and 6 hours per week on these tasks, respectively.

Hours of housework per week did go down somewhat over the time period, but men continued to do significantly less than women across the time period. Housework and other household tasks were also heavily gendered. Men (all employed) spent more time on “other housekeeping” and “gardening and pets” than employed women in 1965 and in 1986, while women dominated in every other category. This type of housework declined precipitously over the time period, however. In the Gordon and Klopov data, men spent significantly more time in “ancillary housework”. This time could have been spent in repairing household appliances or fixing other household problems like leaky roofs or drafty windows—repair services were notoriously difficult to access in the Soviet Union. The amount of time spent gardening or taking care of pets, or ancillary housekeeping, decreased significantly between time periods for men and women, and was particularly notable since this was the only other category which men spent more time on than women in terms of household tasks.

There are also notable differences when the hours of housework per week was analyzed by “communal conveniences” in the Gordon and Klopov data. Communal conveniences, in this context, are not just kindergartens, canteens and other socialized services, but also utilities (plumbing, gas, electricity) and consumer durable appliances (refrigerators, gas stoves, etc.). Women with all communal conveniences performed 22.35 hours per week of daily housework, compared to 26 hours for women with some communal conveniences, and 28.2 hours for women with no communal conveniences per week. The amount of time spent in ancillary housework for women similarly increased with fewer conveniences, but the maximum amount was 1.55 hours per week. Daily housework for men was significantly less for women, but did not have the same distinct pattern of decreasing, as men with all conveniences did slightly more than men with some conveniences, although overall housework for men did reduce at each level of household

convenience. Men did significantly more ancillary housework than women—3 hours if they had all conveniences, 7.35 hours if they had some conveniences, and 7.25 hours if they had no conveniences.

This ancillary housework included gardening, repair work, and other manual household and community tasks. Gordon and Klopov recognize that the apparent omnipresence gardening and other repair activities “seems to be a result of the currently inadequate level of social production and of some services” (Gordon & Klopov, 1975, p. 78). The data shows significant variation regarding “ancillary housework” in the Gordon and Klopov data “other housekeeping” and “gardening and pets” in the Patrushev et al. data. Men performed a total of 4.2 hours a week on other housekeeping and gardening and pets in the 1965 Pskov data, but in the Gordon and Klopov data it was almost double that for men who had some or no communal conveniences. Both data sets focus on urban areas, and with only three years separating the Gordon and Klopov (1968) and the first set of Pskov data (1965). A large portion of this is likely due to the way that Gordon and Klopov separate the data out by communal conveniences, but the magnitude of the discrepancy suggests that there are other aspects at work. It is possible that these are regional differences, which is beyond the scope of this short overview, but would be worth investigating in the future.

Overall, it is clear that there was a great deal of reproductive work occurring outside of work time, especially in those locations where the state provided the fewest “conveniences”. This work was also highly gendered even when women were engaged in close to equal hours of weekly wage labor, despite the revolutionary ideal of equality of the sexes. Surveys dating back to the first time-use surveys conducted by Strumilin in the 1920s reveal that women carried the burden of social reproduction in the family and the Soviet system overall throughout the Soviet experience, although the gap between men and women in regard to social reproductive work reduced slightly over time.

### 3.2.4 Worker control in the work process and the reproduction of subjectivity

Time use surveys were not conducted only with the interest of women's liberation from what were considered the strictures of lingering feudal and semi-feudal patriarchy in mind. Time use surveys were also tools to identify untapped sources of labor, and areas where "scientific" methods of production and reproduction could be introduced or strengthened to increase productivity in social production specifically (Gordon & Klopov, 1975). These surveys revealed that in general the absolute amount time at work and how it was used were inconsistent and erratic, with long periods of time where workers were not engaged in production, and then periods of extremely intense work. This simultaneous underwork and overwork was ubiquitous in the Soviet systems (Burawoy, 1985).

Khrushchev's de-Stalinization, a process that started in 1953, sought to end the "profound demoralization" of the Stalin era, and the severe and brutal penalties for changing jobs and other infractions during that epoch were already declining by 1951 (Filtzer, 1996, p. 11). This easing, along with the continued general dissatisfaction with working conditions and alienation of workers led to extremely high levels of job changing and worker mobility, and workers responded to policy shifts using these limited tools. Khrushchev's wage reform on machine tool operators caused a mass exodus from the trade, and endangered an industry vital to the Soviet economy, for example (Filtzer, 1996).

A lack of work ethic on the part of Soviet industrial workers is often cited as one of the most significant problems with the economy of the Soviet Union, by both Soviet and western analysts (Connor, 2014; Filtzer, 1996; Platt, 2011; Zaslavskaja, 2006; Zinovev, 1985). The Soviet political apparatus acknowledged this openly—there were countless sociologists, economists, politicians, union and enterprise heads, and propaganda campaigns to encourage a socialist work ethic. The ostensible lack of work ethic is also part of what spurred liberalizing reforms at various stages of the Soviet experience. Western analysts have pointed to the inadequate work ethic of

Soviet workers as a defining feature of Soviet work, as well as a significant part of what led to the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union.

The extraction of surplus from workers occurred via “naked coercion” under Stalin, while the reforms of Khrushchev and Gorbachev tried to solve the issue of workers undermining the efficient extraction of surplus via reforms of political liberalization, and tighter wage policies (Filtzer, 1996). Both Khrushchev and Gorbachev enacted wage reforms as incentives to break down worker control over the work process (Connor, 2014; Lane, 2002; Moskoff, 1984). Under Gorbachev, this extended into the threat of unemployment. Labor scarcity and the cessation of harsh penalties led to a situation in which workers had some power, especially over how their work was done, and this power, however limited, shaped worker reproduction.

This persistent autonomy was also limited by the strictures the Soviet system insofar as they were able to exercise autonomy at all as a result of the structure of the production system. These strictures did not manifest only as coercion using threats of material penalties or violence but also through the structure and functioning of work, home, and social life. Enterprises, unions, and families were structured in such a way so as to reinforce the political and economic organization of bureaucratic centralism, and that itself was an obstacle to independent worker organization.

Enterprise managers functionally controlled wage payments, which were determined by the state, and collective bargaining was not overall not a possibility. Trade union coverage was extensive—98% of workers were in a trade union—but these unions were functionally a part of the state and Party apparatus (Clarke, 1993). Both Burawoy (Burawoy, 1985) and Clarke (Clarke, 1993) highlight that Soviet trade unions were an arm of the state and the Party. Burawoy describes how “the organs of state politics directly enter the regulation of production as instruments for the repression of struggles, in shaping the everyday relations on the shopfloor, and in the direction, appointment, and dismissal of managers” (Burawoy, 1985, p. 181)

Informal bargaining was widespread, however. The informal arrangement that arose out of the conditions of production and informal bargaining resulted in the tacit understandings regarding earnings, discipline, the organization of work, and effort required that are typical of industrial societies overall. Given the lack of collective bargaining, workers relied on changing jobs or reaching an agreement with the enterprise manager when conditions were intolerably unfavorable (Filtzer, 1996). Workers also undertook actions similar to those in other industrial organizations, including restricting output, concealing output, and sharing jobs with a work team to equalize earnings.

Filtzer claims that there was a culture of lax work discipline in pre-revolutionary Russia and peasants resisted the proletarianization necessary for the industrialization that the Soviet government was focused on. The bottlenecks and breakneck speed of the industrialization process, in conjunction with the political disenfranchisement and atomization of workers both impelled and allowed workers to have control over their individual work processes, and these conditions “became part of the basic fabric of how production was carried out [and] were constantly reproduced by that system” (Filtzer, 1996, p. 17). The conditions of the Soviet planning apparatus and resultant work conditions meant that managers and workers were in a situation of mutual dependence, although managers had more control given that workers could not organize collectively. The control that atomized workers had been also not uniform—some workers, especially those in less skilled or more manual positions, had less informal bargaining power than skilled or semi-skilled workers. Women were also more likely to be in less skilled and more manual positions, as well as lower paid, and were at a particular disadvantage (Filtzer, 1996, p. 24).

In the Khrushchev period industrial workers were idle for thirteen to fourteen percent of their shift time (Filtzer, 1996). In the late 1980s stoppages and enforced idleness were ten to twenty percent of a seven-hour shift. Filtzer highlights that while actions like “dawdling at the start of a shift, leaving early for meal breaks, or abandoning work before the end of shift” (Filtzer,

1996, p. 11) accounted for some of the stoppage time, workers often shifted when they worked to access food, transportation, and other goods and services. The overwhelmingly manual nature of the Soviet industrial process also contributed to stoppages. This was not just because these processes were inefficient and prone to breakdown, but because they allowed workers to exercise control over the pace of their work. Enforced idleness during the work day in the Soviet union was reproductive, not only in the sense described in 3.2.3 above, but also in so far as it reproduced the conditions of work in the Soviet Union (Burawoy, 2021; Filtzer, 1996). In the event that workers were truly idle, rather than repurposing the time as it often was, it reproduced the dominant relations by normalizing a lax work ethic, or the expectations that such idle time is an inherent part of the production process.

Free time as a “social resource,” as Gordon and Klopov describe it, involves the development of an appropriate set of *ethical propensities*, in Virno’s terms, were reproduced. According to Soviet economists and sociologists, free or leisure time reproduced workers in the way that Marx described, in which “for the full development of the individual, which, in turn, as a very important productive force, has a reciprocal influence on the productive force of labor” (Grundrisse) Burawoy points out that “the more independent the reproduction of labor power is from enterprise control, the greater is the ability to resist managerial offensives” (Burawoy, 1985, p. 189). This highlights a tension that exists in capitalist work regimes, and existed in the Soviet Union as well.

In the Soviet Union the reproduction of appropriate ethical propensities and affect in the form of socialist competition and the general development of “socialist” men and women were explicitly a goal of the Soviet state (Fitzpatrick, 1993). Oberland points out that the Soviet apparatus was also focused on what she describes as “socialist morality,” which included “socialist competition.” Oberländer points out meetings as a source of Soviet worktime used for something other than work at their workplaces. Participation in these meetings or civic activities could result in better housing, a more desirable dacha, or other privilege that were proffered at the

discretion of the party, state, and union representatives. In Gordon and Klopov's data "civic activities" accounted for only .15-.4 hours a week for women and men in any of the housing situations, as seen in Table B.3, although in the Patrushev et al. studies it was somewhat more—between .6 and 1.2, but this does not account for such work occurring during work time or work-related time. Developing a socialist affect, practiced as a dedication to party and political activities had material benefits. The development of the socialist subjectivity was, in practice, the development of a subjectivity that was subservient to the Soviet state and party.

The specific production process of the state socialist system produced a specific subjectivity, the "ideological effects of the labor process," which generated worker complicity to the system (Burawoy, 1985, p. 171). Piecework, which dominated wage payment in the post-Stalin soviet era for most jobs, created in the Soviet system, as it did in the United States in the 1970s, the gamification of the work process into the "making out" system. Workers then "took up the challenges to their ingenuity, will and endurance, and blamed themselves for failure" to meet or exceed norms. In this, workers were focused on the "variations from day to day, good jobs rather than bad jobs, one machine instead of two, the possibility of supplementary wages and bonuses," instead of alternative ways of organizing production (Burawoy, 1985, p. 173). Anger directed towards managers was about their failure to provide the means of making out, rather than on the greater conditions of work. In this way, "the production of objects is simultaneously the production of relations" (Burawoy, 1985, p. 173).

Filtzer claims that Soviet workers were entirely subjugated to the Soviet system, and atomized to the extent that workers "ability to function collectively as a class" was eliminated, and involved "the erosion of its consciousness itself as a class" (Filtzer, 1996, p. 9). Bureaucratic centralism and the extreme centralization of production in conjunction with the one-man management system created the atomization of Soviet workers—this system *required* the atomization of workers. Workers were also a source of instability in the Soviet system, even from their subjugated position, as a result of their individual control over work process.



Time lost was money lost for piece rate workers, whereas for auxiliary workers time lost was effort saved, and this dynamic created a tension and type of competition between production workers and auxiliary workers. Horizontal competition between production workers could be construed as the socialist competition that the Soviet planning and political apparatus sought to encourage, while the latter clearly was an unproductive tension. Auxiliary workers could slow down the production process, to the point where production workers were, in the Burawoy's study, more likely to try and bypass these workers entirely. In both cases—that in which auxiliary workers slowed the process down intentionally, and in the case where auxiliary workers were bypassed by production workers in favor of doing these tasks themselves—it is easy to see the situation that Filtzer describes of a slowed process.

### 3.2.5 Conclusion

The Soviet Union was interested in “free time” behavior because of the impact that leisure activities have on the creation and reproduction of specific subjectivities, which the authors of *Man after Work* emphasize repeatedly. In this way, this free time was not just turned into work in the way that Oberländer shows, in which reproductive work in a more standard sense was occurring, but also because the stated and at least partially enforced role that leisure was supposed to play for Soviet citizens was the reproduction of the system. Free time was one of the factors that was seen as determining individuals basic social functions and roles as well as reproducing the goals and norms that a socialist society demanded in terms of “comradely relations and mutual assistance” (Gordon & Klopov, 1975, p. 16). They explicitly referred to free time as a core part of “socio-cultural reproduction” (Gordon & Klopov, 1975, p. 49).

The reality, however, was that Soviet workers developed a work ethic and attitude that was at once inimical to efficient centralized production, and simultaneously largely subservient to it. Both the work that workers did in state owned and run enterprises, and the reproductive work that they did to reproduce themselves due to the failures of the Soviet state, reproduced their social,

political, and economic alienation from the Party and the Soviet state. In the Soviet Union, non-work became work, both also in terms of actual productive and reproductive work performed during non-work time, and in the sense of idle or “leisure” time reproducing the social relations and ethical conditions of the Soviet system.

Capitalist and the Soviet political/economic apparatus rely on the reproduction of workers that occurs outside of the apparent workplace. However, this reproduction could be dangerous, in that it is outside the direct control of the capitalist or the Soviet political apparatus. In both regimes, there is a need to capture this reproduction to orient towards the reproduction of workers who go on to produce surplus that is appropriated either by the capitalist class, or the bureaucratic class acting as the ostensible expression of collective workers. In section 3.2, below, I address some alternatives to both the Soviet and capitalist systems.

## 3.3 Alternatives to capitalism and the Soviet system

The first principle that has to be established [in a socialist system] is that everyone has a right to a full life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whether he is working or not. The question of a full life has to be divorced completely from the question of work (Boggs & Ward, 2011, p. 109).

### 3.3.1 Introduction

The core question for this section is what does a liberatory future system look like, especially in terms of reproductive work, and care work in particular? The term *work* here is crucial—it is important that caring or nurturing work is examined as racialized and gendered work, embedded in a global capitalist context that includes colonialism and widespread carceral logic. Caring work must be subject to the same critical analysis of other types of work, rather than treated as an exceptional category.

Reproductive work was highly also gendered in the Soviet Union, and reproduced the system overall both by reproducing Soviet workers, and by contributing to the reproduction of a system that could not provide the state means of social reproduction—both in terms of caring work and industrial or related work that provided the means for reproducing the system—it claimed to. This section presents an alternative to both capitalist and Soviet systems, centering reproductive and caring work in particular.

To address what form a future system may take within this context, I first present some potential goals for a future economic and social system. I then examine several of the most well-known existing models of future or alternative economies and their structures, and analyze how the models address issues of reproduction and reproductive work. I focus on the democratically planned models theorized by Pat Devine, and Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, and the significantly less participatory and democratic planned model by Paul Cockshott and Allin Cottrell. I also assess Alec Nove's market socialist model.

I then analyze the implied or explicit models of reproductive and caring work from contemporary social reproduction theorists, including those of Tithi Bhattacharya, Susan Ferguson, and Nancy Folbre. These theorists implicitly expand on the analysis of reproduction and care work in the Devine, Albert and Hahnel, Cockshott and Cottrell, and Nove models, and also start to analyze the roles of race, disability, and other axes of superexploitation and oppression, but still fall short of a theoretically and practically complete analysis of reproductive and care work. I assess some approaches to care work and the “care economy” from outside the academic literature, including in private for-profit industry, and compare these to the social reproduction models to highlight the similar tendencies towards an uncritical analysis of care work in particular.

My core critique is that the majority of the existing models of future systems either avoid a real evaluation of reproductive work, or treat “caring” work as exceptional, wherein this kind of work is a more virtuous, and so more socially desirable, type of work. Most of the social reproduction theories have similar issues, despite focusing on the processes and problems of social reproduction specifically. The problematics and ultimate superficiality of this normative position can be demonstrated by the assessing the ways in which “care economy,” “communities of care,” and related concepts and phrases are advanced by broad ranging capitalist social entities, including mainstream non-governmental organizations, banking institutions, prominent capitalists, and carceral government institutions. There are two entwined problems of care that apply to reproduction overall—that these work processes reproduce the dominant conditions, and as *work*, they are or can be onerous. As such, care work must be subject to the same goal of reducing the absolute the amount performed to its possible minimum.

I conclude by suggesting some possible ways forward, given the goals for a future society that are laid out in the proceeding pages. Rectifying the problem of care requires considering *abolition* in a broad sense. This refers to not just the abolition of prisons and carcerality, although this is a core tenet, but the abolition of work as we know it, including “care work”. It also requires

the abolition of the constituent gender hierarchies, colonial relations to land and people, and the conditions that create “disability” as a social category. Based on my critique of existing models and the problem of social reproduction, and of care and care work especially, I suggest some ways to move towards building a liberated economic and social system. The insights of critical Marxists feminists addressing reproduction and caring—especially from the first wave of the Wages for Housework/Wages against Housework movement—as well as theorists and authors from disability studies, and abolitionist and indigenous scholars and activists are core to this project.

### 3.3.2 Framework and goals for a liberatory system

#### 3.3.2.1 Defining care and care work

Capitalist relations and the logic of capital are expanding to subsume more activities as capitalism develops, and these activities become work. This work, regardless of the specific work process, facilitates the reproduction of capital and the expansion of surplus value production. As more activities are subsumed to capitalist relations, it becomes increasingly impossible to delineate which activities are value producing and which are not—“marginal” sites are subsumed into the purview of capitalist relations. The contemporary U.S. prison, and patriarchal families are examples of the “marginal” sites of work that form the edges of political and social relations—locales that are both crucial and fragile, as Marxist feminists of the 1970s identified the home as—that are crucial to the reproduction of racial capitalism.

The Soviet Union was also on the margins of hegemonic global capitalism, and was in fact destabilizing, as evidenced by the focus that the United States had on repressing or eliminating it from existence for the entire Soviet period. Exploited and alienated work processes and oppressive conditions prevailed as the “mode of life” in the Soviet Union as well, as described in Section 3.1. Both capitalism and the highly centralized Soviet system are incompatible with the

liberation of human beings, and the capacity for all people to become fully realized, individually and in community. Constructing models of future systems is contentious, and sometimes dismissed as utopian, but imagining the future is a crucial part of the process of movement building and revolutionary practice. Building towards a new future requires, at minimum, making clear what the goals of a new social organization are.

In Section 1 of this dissertation, the concept of work was clarified and explained, and racialized and gendered reproductive processes were identified as subsumed into the category of work in post-Fordist racial capitalism. It is useful to make explicit what types of reproductive work are at stake in this discussion of future systems. James and Dalla Costa refer to the “basic production and reproduction” of the “strange commodity” of labor power as women’s work (S. James, 2012a, p. 51). This includes cooking and cleaning, and also includes the work of caring—for children, the elderly, and for other workers.

Nancy Folbre describes how the term “care” has a dual meaning, in which it refers to both caring activities, and feelings of care like affection or concern (Folbre & Nelson, 2000). Folbre’s outlining of the “care economy” is more specific than social reproduction, since “it is difficult to think of any activities that do not fall under this general rubric [of social reproduction],” and she uses a “single male wage earner” in an industrial job who must reproduce himself to highlight the lack of specificity (Folbre, 2006, p. 86).

I focus on the care work aspect of reproductive work in this section because the term care, and its explicit and implicit meanings, carry a specific social weight. It is easy to look at cooking and cleaning as drudgery, but many theorists and activists shy away from an analysis that interpret caring work and nurturing processes as equally exploited and alienated as every other work process. This avoidance leads to unfortunate, and unfortunately significant, deficiencies in many analyses of social reproduction and care work in particular.

Reproductive work reproduces the dominant “mode of life,” as Soviet sociologists Klopov and Gordon put it (Gordon & Klopov, 1975). In this framework, caring and care work as a form

of reproductive work, can be understood as not universally beneficial—they reproduce oppressive and exploitative systems, and the work itself is often drudgerous and draining. The care that occurs in households, prisons, and in other forms of state care, both in racial capitalism and in the Soviet Union, are evidence of the ways that reproductive work reproduces various forms of domination.

Care work does not need to be fully subsumed to capital to accomplish this in the capitalist context, even if the tendency is towards increasing real subsumption. Care work necessarily happens in the context of capitalism, and the structures of capitalism and play a key role in how these processes occur and the outcomes of them. In short, “life making” under capitalism is life making for capitalism.

### 3.3.2.2 Reduction of work time

The fight for less work has historically been as important as the fight for better work, and has recently become increasingly prevalent in both academic and popular discourse, with various perspectives and approaches (Aaron Benanav., 2021; Jaffe, 2021; McCallum, 2020; J. E. Smith, 2021). Marx talked about capital’s “hunger” for expanded work hours, and workers’ struggles against it at length, including in some of his most powerful writing in chapter 10 of the first volume of *Capital*. It is worth reproducing one section in its entirety below,

It has been seen that to these questions capital replies: the working-day contains the full 24 hours, with the deduction of the few hours of repose without which labour-power absolutely refuses its services again. Hence it is self-evident that the labourer is nothing else, his whole life through, than labour-power, that therefore all his disposable time is by nature and law labour-time, to be devoted to the self-expansion of capital. Time for education, for intellectual development, for the fulfilling of social functions and for social intercourse, for the free-play of his bodily and mental activity, even the rest time of Sunday (and that in a country of Sabbatarians!)— moonshine! But in its blind unrestrainable passion, its were-wolf hunger for surplus-labour, capital oversteps not only the moral, but even the merely physical maximum bounds of the working-day. It usurps the time for growth, development, and healthy maintenance of the body. It steals the time required for the consumption of fresh air and sunlight. It higgles over a meal-time, incorporating it where possible with the process of production itself, so that food is given to the labourer as to a mere means of production, as coal is supplied

to the boiler, grease and oil to the machinery. It reduces the sound sleep needed for the restoration, reparation, refreshment of the bodily powers to just so many hours of torpor as the revival of an organism, absolutely exhausted, renders essential. It is not the normal maintenance of the labour-power which is to determine the limits of the working-day; it is the greatest possible daily expenditure of labour-power, no matter how diseased, compulsory, and painful it may be, which is to determine the limits of the labourers' period of repose. Capital cares nothing for the length of life of labour-power. All that concerns it is simply and solely the maximum of labour-power, that can be rendered fluent in a working-day. It attains this end by shortening the extent of the labourer's life, as a greedy farmer snatches increased produce from the soil by robbing it of its fertility. It takes centuries ere the "free" labourer, thanks to the development of capitalistic production, agrees, *i.e.*, is compelled by social conditions, to sell the whole of his active life. His very capacity for work, for the price of the necessaries of life, his birth-right for a mess of pottage. (Marx, 1976, p. 375)

If one of the most egregious harms that capital wreaks upon workers is that of overwork, shortening the working day to its absolute minimum is surely a socialist value. Marx states that "time for education, for intellectual development, for the fulfilling of social functions and for social intercourse, for the free-play of his bodily and mental activity" is curtailed by capitalist exploitation. In chapter 48 of *Capital Volume III*, Marx states that "the true realm of freedom" requires "the reduction of the working day" as a "basic requisite," in which production must be undertaken with the least expenditure of energy and in conditions most worthy and appropriate for their human nature (Marx & Engels, 1991, p. 959).

In 1969, James Boggs was prescient that work was going to continue to be a method of exclusion and control in capitalism, especially for Black people, even in a context in which certain forms of work may become less relevant in a technologically and socially developing economy. In this context, as the epigram to this section highlights, he said that the right to a good life needed to be removed from the necessity to work altogether. Divorcing work from the provision of the necessities of life was also taken up by the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). This organization, made up largely of Black women, demanded a right to live in "an abundantly affluent nation" in the late 1960s and into the 1970s. Work was in their demands for those that could work, but the makeup of who could not work was expansive, including not just "the aged



and disabled, [and] mothers of young children,” but also those who were excluded by discrimination and economic conditions. They knew that “work promotion programs” were “generally punitive without offering much solid assistance for those who wanted to work” (Kornbluh, 1998, p. 68).

Johnnie Tillmon, one of the founders and main organizers in the NWRO, responded to mainstream political appeals to work by saying “the President keeps repeating the ‘dignity of work’ idea. What dignity? Wages are the measure of dignity that society puts on a job. Wages and nothing else. There is no dignity in starvation” (Tillmon, 2002). She goes on to demand that people be able to live without having to engage in wage labor, and points out specifically that is socially admissible for white women to not work, while Black women and men are not afforded this approval.

A similar situation is true for disabled people in contemporary capitalism, in which they are expected to be incapable of work at all to receive “care” from the state in the form of meager monetary assistance and perhaps minimal and possibly abusive personal support services, or to “suck it up” and work whatever kind of menial work they can find that will make (also minimal) accommodations (Ryan, 2019; Taylor, 2004). Taylor’s piece, “The Right Not to Work” is explicit that people with disabilities should have access to the means to a fulfilling life without the necessity of performing wage labor, or labor of any kind (Taylor, 2004)

Struggles under capitalism for better schools, healthcare, housing, transportation, and environmental protections—which are highlighted in *Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto* (Arruzza et al., 2019), for example—provided by the state do likely improve the lives of workers in some ways, but these institutions are still embedded in carceral patriarchal racial capitalism and the state formation that capitalism requires for its reproduction and maintenance. Care work is work, and it needs to be embedded in this context. This compels a deeper analysis of calls for more care as a solution to the exploitation, alienation, and oppression that are constituent of capitalist relations.

### 3.3.2.3 Abolition and rectifying oppressions

Struggle can't ranked by importance—"relegating gender relations to the status of 'secondary contradictions', while 'race' or caste are seen as mere cultural forms of inequality" wherein culture "reflects" or "corresponds" to the economic base (Bannerji, 2005, p. 147). The working class, as it exists now, and presumably will exist in a revolutionary moment, is constituted largely by people who experience oppression and inequality on bases that are not reducible to class, and so "fighting such inequalities must be an integral part of everyday socialist practices. Otherwise, the majority of the working class and their concerns are functionally and often literally excluded from socialist practices" (Coburn, 2012, p. 16). Class and these ostensibly "secondary" or "cultural" inequalities are part of the social unity of the capitalist mode of production, (Bannerji, 2005, p. 153) and so the abolition of capitalism and class society is not complete until such inequalities are also eradicated. "Capitalist injustice succeeds in part because it has successfully fragmented what is, in fact, the unified social experience of class-gender-race" (Bannerji, 2005, p. 157), and as such, socialist justice can only succeed if it is based on recognition that "class-gender-and-racial justice can only advance altogether and all at once" (Coburn, 2012, p. 11).

Abolition, in many forms and of various social processes, is a core goal for a liberatory political and economic system, and is embedded in most or many theories of future systems or revolutionary movements, though it is sometimes obscured by other terminology, or focuses on other framings of liberation. In general, the abolition of market power and the profit motive are the most fundamental components of liberatory economic system. The abolition of wage labor and the abolition of capitalist forms of work regardless of a wage frequently appear in the Marxist literature, as well as in Marx's own writing. The abolition of the patriarchal family appears in fewer, or in a diluted form, despite its historical importance in the Marxist and socialist literatures. And very few, other than those models specifically oriented towards them, discuss

specifically the abolition of carcerality, address imperialism, or include reparations for communities who have experienced targeted harm in the capitalist system.

Carceral systems have developed simultaneously with capitalism, although with calcifications, discontinuities, and contradictions. These systems are integral to the maintenance of racial capitalism's capacity to reproduce and maintain the power relations that facilitate accumulation, including racialization, patriarchy, homophobia and transphobia, and colonialism. Eliminating these modes of oppression is absolutely necessary for a liberatory system, and abolition of the profit motive, wage labor, the patriarchal family, carceral systems, and colonialism are all ways of achieving this.

#### 3.3.2.4 Rectifying colonial dispossession and instituting reparations

Reparations can take various forms, both embedded in capitalism or social democracy, and in more radical forms (Darity & Mullen, 2020; De Greiff, 2010; DuPlessis, 2007). Reparations generally “describe programs that are justified by past harms and are also designed to assess and correct the harm and improve the lives of victims into the future” (Burkett, 2009, p. 14). Monetary reparations for the harms of slavery are one form that reparations may take, but reparations may take forms that are broader than pecuniary compensation in a system oriented towards the undoing of wages and wealth and towards a new way of relating to our world and each other entirely. Reparations for the ongoing harms of slavery could mean addressing the time theft that Ruth Wilson Gilmore discusses, for example (Gilmore, 2017). Rectifying and abolishing the ongoing dispossession as a result of colonialism, including but not only through land repatriation, is essential. Repatriation of land is incomplete without a form of reparations for cultural and material harm—one form this could take is support and action to return land to its pre-colonial state to the greatest extent possible.

#### 3.3.3 Theoretical models of socialist economies

### 3.3.3.1 Democratically planned models

The core goal of Devine's model of a decentralized planned economy is to create a self-governing society of self-activating subjects (Devine, 1988, p. 271). This requires three broad categories of objectives: the socialization of production, democracy, and the abolition of the social division of labor. Devine develops a model of "negotiated coordination" to this end, which is set up in contrast to coercive coordination as it exists(ed) in both capitalism and statist/centrally planned models. It is a political process, rather than just an economic structure, that relies on a transformatory dynamic, in which people change in the process of *doing*.

Abolition of the social division of labor, which is to say the elimination of social and economic hierarchies based on the type of work that someone performs, is core to all parts of Devine's model. Abolition of the social division of labor is not the same as abolishing the functional division of labor—the functional division of labor is "the different kinds of specific work, the different detailed tasks, that have to be carried out in any given society," and the social division of labor is the process of dividing certain kinds of jobs into stratified groups that create and maintain subordination and domination (Devine, p. 163).

The categories of work that Devine uses are 1) planning and running, 2) creative, 3) nurturing, 4) skilled, and 5) unskilled and repetitive. Devine addresses the specifically gendered aspect of reproductive work by acknowledging feminists' "insistence" on making domestic labor, caring work, and interpersonal skills a central issue when discussing labor (Devine, 1988, p. 170). When discussing that the hierarchy of categories, in terms of which types of jobs are more desirable or fulfilling, Devine highlights nurturing activity specifically as a category that is not stable, and may also be "skilled and creative". When addressing domestic labor over all, he refers to "both the drudgery and the nurturing" aspects of it, and dividing it into opposing aspects implies that nurturing cannot be drudgerous. The model relies on a situation in which men "do their fair share" of domestic work. Since Devine's model relies on a form waged labor, it is

largely the restructuring of education and of paid work that address the gendered division of labor. Restructuring work—the end of the social division of labor—is intended to eliminate or reduce this division in the realm of paid work, and ostensibly in work that is currently unpaid.

Devine’s focus on “men doing their fair share” of domestic work is a positive goal in terms of equalizing the burden put on women in terms of the double shift they perform in the capitalist system. However, it doesn’t acknowledge that domestic and caring labor are not just a problem because women mostly do it. Restructuring education and paid work does not address the specific issue that the nurturing aspects of care work can be potentially onerous to perform (regardless of who is performing it), and that reproductive and caring work, including but not exclusively state forms of care, potentially reproduce oppression and violence for both those providing and receiving care. “Nurturing” work is not presented as a category of work processes that would need to be reduced in order to enable the development of Bahro’s concept surplus consciousness and its related self-realization that Devine bases his arguments on. It is surplus consciousness, in this framework, that facilitates the overall development of community and individual “realization,” and requires minimizing draining or drudgerous work processes.

Devine’s model includes “interest and cause groups,” which lobby to citizens when plan variants are being negotiated, and inequalities and historical oppressions including race, sexuality, gender and other axes of oppression could be addressed via these institutions. They could argue to have their concerns “receive priority” (1988, p. 194) at this stage of planning. These interest and cause groups are independent organizations that must convince the public that their cause is worth considering when negotiating planning versions. These interest and cause groups are not fundamental to Devine’s system, however, and there is no structural process through which any group’s needs would be emphasized.

Devine’s form of representative democracy does not include any specific structures, beyond redistribution, that prevent the reproduction of a state system that is dominated by a historically dominant group. Considering how many structural bodies are described in detail in

Devine's model (in the realm of 20 independent but interacting decision making and negotiating organizations), this reflects a narrow focus that does not incorporate the structural aspects of racialization, colonialism, patriarchy, ableism, or other crucial axes of oppression, superexploitation, and neglect.

Workers' councils, are the key institution in Albert and Hahnel's theoretical model of non-hierarchical production and participatory planning. The exact organization of the workers' councils are explicitly not enumerated, to leave "more refined" decision making flexible in accordance with each individual workplace and community, although the fundamental principal is that each worker in a workplace have one vote (Albert & Hahnel, 1992b, p. 13). Individuals "have the right to apply to work wherever they choose, and every workers' council will have the right to add any members they choose" (1992b, p. 16). Beyond workers' councils, there is a collective consumption facilitation board, as a consumption facilitation board focused on individual/household consumption, an employment facilitation board, a housing facilitation board, an iteration facilitation board (which facilitates the iterative planning process), a production facilitation board, and an updating facilitation board which is responsible for updating plans in progress if necessary (Albert & Hahnel, 2003). While this seems like a great deal of economic and political organizations, it is clearly fewer than in contemporary capitalism, or in Devine's model.

In *Looking Forward*, they point out that the workers' councils that are the basis for the economic and political structure of the system are not sufficient in and of themselves to promote workplace participatory democracy, or social equity (Albert & Hahnel, 2003, p. 18). Democratic councils of every size and aggregation must address the differing psychological and intellectual benefits that different tasks embody. Without this, inequalities could still be reproduced in the work process, where "those people who hold jobs conferring greater knowledge of work functions, greater time for personal study and greater self confidence" (Albert & Hahnel, 2003, p.

25) would be able to influence decision making more than those workers who did not have access to such benefits.

The participatory job complex is crucial to rectifying this, in similar ways as Devine's model involves the undoing of the social division of labor. Both of these assure that no person is trapped in a job that limits the worker to one type of thinking or working, so that all workers can get the benefits, and share the detriments, of different work processes. The job complex differs from Devine's structure in both a temporal sense and a spatial sense, however. For Devine the division is abolished over the course of a worker's lifetime, while in the Albert and Hahnel model this occurs over a much shorter time span—potentially days or weeks, and within an individual workplace. There must also be equitability *across* workplaces, as well as within them, in order to assure the greatest benefits to all workers. To do this “Job Complex Committees” exist both in workplaces and across the economy in general. If a production unit has generally less empowering job complexes within it compared to other workplaces, workers will be assigned “more empowering environments” outside of the job complex (1992a, 16)

Albert and Hahnel are devoted to the idea of accommodating multiple ways of living. Since people vary, it is a benefit for there to be multiple options in most aspects of life, and this variety also prevents “egregious mistakes” as a result of investing exclusively in one version or type of good, service, development, etc. Albert and Hahnel have addressed race and racism at length in their many works over the several decades, though with particular clarity in their early works. The desirability, and in fact need, for socialism to incorporate diverse ways of living and building community requires what they call “socialist intercommunalism,” a term they borrow from communist and Black Panther Huey Newton (Albert & Hahnel, 1981). Communities are autonomous but socially and economically linked and cooperative, and seek to find “unity in difference” (CounterPower, 2020). The priority of diversity is based on that belief that “the homogenization of tastes, jobs, life conditions, material outcomes, and thought patterns is not a virtue” (Albert, 2004, p. 41).

They also address imperialism and colonialism in the form of respecting and supporting national liberation movements around the world and advocating for non-intervention from globally powerful and imperialist nations like the United States (Albert & Hahnel, 1981). The analysis in their early works of women, gender, and the role that the family and “nurturing” work plays in the creation of specific subjectivities is more nuanced than most of the socialist models presented in this section (and in many of the social reproduction theory analyses as well), wherein “a full revolution of kinship would be incompatible with the maintenance of class, political and community” requires “a parallel requirement, not an inevitable byproduct” of remaking the other spheres of social life (Albert & Hahnel, 1981, p. 42). Overall, Albert and Hahnel’s model directly acknowledges many of the goals laid out in the beginning of this section for a potential new economy more than the other models presented.

### 3.3.3.2 Central planning and market socialism

Paul Cockshott, a computer scientist, and Allin Cottrell, an economist, have four goals for a socialist economic system—a general rise in the “cultural level” and living standards of people, the construction of a long-term resource-constrained development path, real economic equality of the sexes, and the reduction of class and regional inequalities (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993). They believe that the militarized nature of Soviet socialist planning was not an essential feature, and can be eschewed while maintaining the beneficial, mostly inequality reducing, aspects of central planning. They develop a technocratic model of “new socialism” or “post-Soviet socialism” which they describe as centrally planned, technologically responsive, and rational. Paul Cockshott has developed computer technology can be used to enable “more objective source of cost data” than markets, and could more efficient than either markets or the Soviet system, although it retains most features of the centrally planned models (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, p. 45).

Cockshott and Cottrell include communes in their structure, modeled after the Chinese communes that existed from 1958 to 1983, which performed agriculture and light industry, were



sources of education and healthcare, had their own militias, and were units of self-government. Cockshott and Cottrell's commune is designed to replace the bourgeois family structure, and provide housing, food preparation, childcare, some leisure activities, and assistance for senior citizens. Kindergartens and primary schools are parts of the communes as well, which would free women from child rearing, "an activity with low labor productivity," and allow women to participate in social labor, which has higher productivity. Although Cockshott and Cottrell invoke the position of women in the beginning of their discussion, efficiency gains are the primary reason that developing communes is desirable.

Cockshott and Cottrell's model is meant to provide an entirely new legal, moral, and social order based on the elimination of inequality, and they lament the expansion of individualistic values in capitalism. The ways in which they frame this are extremely gendered. They describe the impacts of individualization of the nuclear family, in which "the community of children" finds "an echo" of their mothers. For men, individualism is "aggravated by long years of peace," wherein men have not been subject to the discipline of military services (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, p. 147).

Despite Cockshott and Cottrell's apparent reliance on powerful state bureaucracy, they believe that they are advocating for a "radically democratic constitution," a "modernized version of ancient Greek democracy" (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, p. 157). They justify this by relating back to Marx and Engel's apparent support of an Aristotelian concept of democracy in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. They only cursorily mention that women, slaves, and resident aliens were all excluded from Greek citizenship, and they waive away critique based on this as "just irrelevant" (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, pp. 162–164). They mistrust workers or citizens to effectively deal with issues of equity, efficiency, and environmentalism, and believe the state must be the ultimate arbiter of these values.

Cockshott and Cottrell argue that the principle should be "that all those who have a legitimate interest in the matter should have a chance to participate in its management," but this is

shockingly underdeveloped in the model at every level. They again seem to contradict themselves, since after stating that the plan would be managed by professional economists, they also say that “planning...is not under government control but under a supervisory committee of ordinary citizens, who, since they are drawn by kit, will be predominately working people” (Allin Cottrell, 2008, p. 168) The confusion here is multifaceted—first, as mentioned, this undermines their previous description of the planning mechanism, and the implications of using the phrase “predominately working people” is two-fold. In the first case, it suggests that there are some people who are considered non-working people, but it is unclear who those people are. Secondly, it appears to devalue those who would be non-working people. This raises issues regarding the status of disabled people in particular, but also people who face exclusion based on historical oppressions as well.

Overall, the Cockshott and Cottrell model is compelling in its technicality—it answers the technical question of “is a planned economy possible” in exhaustive detail, while the authors seem to be relatively disinterested in the social aspects, including democracy, and of a sustainable and inclusive socialist society, despite their desire to abolish the oppression of the bourgeois family.

Nove’s model is a market socialist model that he refers to as “feasible socialism” (Nove, 2004), and he is much clearer about what feasible socialism is *not* than what it *is*. The model does not integrate a theory of abundance, or of solidarity, or of many of the goals of traditional socialism. Nove’s model explicitly maintains hierarchies—there will be a “division between governors and governed...papers will have editors...factories will have managers...and planning offices will have chiefs” (Nove, 2004, p. 185). He also rejects that disaggregated planning is possible, and says that it is also “self-defeating, inefficient, and also in my view undesirable on social and political grounds” (Nove, 2004, p. 215). A more equitable society is assumed into the model, but he is not explicit about what the goals of his system are, other than feasible.

Nove's model incorporates a horizontal division of labor, but with an expanded capacity for workers to change jobs or areas of specialization, and his model of employment relies on an idea of natural aptitude and preferences that would allow or even encourage workers to keep one type of job for their entire life cycle. One of these natural aptitudes or preferences is management, and specifically the direct management of subordinates by an individual because of the apparent objective necessity of hierarchy. The existence of a labor market, for Nove, requires the existence of not just hierarchal production relationships, but inequality, including wage inequality, largely based on these hierarchies.

There is no explicit discussion of the reproduction of workers or reproductive work, and only one brief note regarding women, in which he says that socialists should "question the views of naïve feminists who attribute female inequality to capitalism," and admonishes women to "think hard and long about the causes and remedies of women's inequality of income and status" (Nove, 2004, p. 90). He does not build any explicit—or even implicit—mechanisms or structures that address the material conditions of reproduction of people and communities.

Nove believes that there are "social and political obstacles to overcome" in the process of building feasible socialism, and he does not see the point of "imagining some sort of final golden age of universal freedom, harmony, and prosperity" (Nove, 2004, p. 220). Alienation is addressed in theory by taking into account producers' preferences, but producer preferences are dominated by consumer preferences, and these two are framed as two separate groups of people—train operators versus "late night theatre goers" is the example that he gives. He references Gorz and the concept that workers in larger production units are more likely to feel alienated and like a cog in the machine, but still does not believe that smaller production units have any inherent benefits.

Citizens in Nove's model have the option to experiment, learn from experience, and commit and correct errors in the process of work and other parts of their lives, and these may change predominant opinions and objectives over generations, but no clear way that this is enabled is laid out. Competition is a subject of analysis and motivating factor in Nove's model,

and he delineates between benign and undesirable forms of competition. To demonstrate these, he focuses on education and cultural specifically. He expects that not every university will be equally prestigious in all subjects and there will be competition to get in to certain schools or programs, for example, and believes this is not just inevitable, but probably desirable. Nove expects that the levels of income inequality would be based on “the degree of social homogeneity of the society” (2004, p. 232). This tacitly acknowledges social hierarchies, and the ways in which they will shape economic inequalities, but the model does very little to rectify this, and instead just incorporates these hierarchies into the model itself. This belief that equality is fundamentally related to homogeneity is in direct conflict with the concept of “unity in difference” or intercommunalism that Albert and Hahnel borrow from Huey Newton.

Nove takes only those moments in which Marx was explicit about the need for domination into account when he describes the necessity for said domination, quoting Marx from Volume III of *Capital* saying that production requires “one commanding will”. He goes on to claim *subordination* as a necessary part of a functioning economy (Nove, 2004, p. 53). Nove’s primary concern regarding work, the division of labor, hierarchy, and subordination or alienation, is bringing workers into line regarding work effort. He assumes that all workers will take with them specific subjectivities, attitudes, and biases into the next system, and highlights “incentives and discipline, instruction and enforcement” to address these issues, mostly as meted out via markets. He also believes that the ethics of “sloth, irresponsibility, inertia, [and] indifference” are basic human characteristics, and are to be managed via coercion, and dismisses that a more liberatory system will either change the context in which these behaviors exist and change the ways in which they will be addressed to be in line with a liberated populous, and instead relies on various systems of coercion to address them (Nove, 2004, p. 22).

Nove’s model of feasible socialism does not address race, gender, imperialism, other modes of inequality, or the ways in which subjectivity is made and reproduced to maintain these hierarchical social mechanisms of exploitation and control. In his efforts to make his socialism

“feasible,” he makes them into something that barely resembles most conceptions socialisms, existing or previously socialist projects of experiments, and at best highly resembles welfare states (which deny being socialist).

Miriam Müller critiques market socialism based on the issue of social reproduction (Müller, 2021). Her main concern is that capitalism undervalues caregiving and social reproduction, and this work is unequally distributed, especially by race and gender. She concludes that market socialism could distribute social reproductive more equally, but needs to revalue reproductive and care work to do so. The next section addresses some of these concerns, and I then provide a critique of framing the problems of reproductive and caring work in the terms of undervalue and redistribution of care work.

### 3.3.4 Literature on care

The preceding models are some of the most frequently referenced theoretical models of socialist economies. It was not, of course, an exhaustive account, and did not describe the strengths and weaknesses of existing experiments in Rojava, Chiapas, Mondragon, Venezuela, other non-capitalist indigenous formations that persist, or any number of other non-capitalist organizations. Despite this, we can build on the useful part of these frameworks using the implicit models in other analyses of the current conditions, as well as explicit discussions of relevant liberatory goals. To this end, section 3.1.4 reviews and analyzes the literature on social reproduction and care work, as an addition to the incomplete analyses of these issues in the four models presented in section 3.1.3. This literature also highlights the issues of inequality and difference that were or were not addressed to varying degrees in the models above.

A Marxist-feminist approach that encompasses “difference” as a unit of analysis in which production, reproduction and distribution are a united social process enables an analysis of the real economy and its mechanisms of accumulation and power. Marxist feminist analysis highlights the importance of “de-fragmenting” human experience (Bannerji, 147) away from

understanding economic processes as separate from social processes, in which one constitutes the “economic base” and the other the “superstructure,” and this has implications for the way we understand oppressions oppressive processes that could carry over into socialism. Racism, sexism, the social creation of disability, homophobia, and other modes of oppression are also processes with material consequences, and not just stagnant essential aspects of human beings. Since reproductive work reproduces these, not just in terms of the output but in the work process itself, it is an important site of analysis and praxis.

There are two key approaches to the analysis of reproductive work, and care work more specifically. The first is a redistributionist approach, in which distributing care work more equitably between genders, or redistributing wage payments to reproductive and care workers, are the solutions to the problem of care. This approach is present in both Marxist feminist and mainstream feminist theories. The second way to analyze care work involves a more critical analysis of care work embedded in a critique of work overall. It involves a critique of care work processes as exploited and alienated in the Marxist sense, and highlights the ways in which care work is drudgerous—it takes seriously the *work* part of care work. It is in contrast to the redistributionist approach and can be thought of as an abolitionist approach, in the tradition of Marxist theories of the abolition of wage labor, and in the contemporary prison and carceral abolitionist sense in terms of the oppressive aspects of ostensible care.

These analyses extend beyond the field of economics. Some of the most trenchant and powerful versions of this critique come from disability studies and disability activism, and often exist outside an academic context entirely. Some of these more expansive and radical interpretations and “dreams” (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2021) for care and intersectional disability justice are addressed at the end of this section as part of a way forward to a more liberatory economic and social system.

The first set of the works discussed below mostly fall into the category of *social reproduction theory*, which refers not just to theorizing on social reproduction in general, but a

specific contemporary school of thought that grew out of the domestic labor debates of the 70s, but is not identical to it. I will highlight the ways that this perspective overlooks two of the key insights of earlier Marxist feminist insights—that reproductive work in the capitalist mode reproduce capitalism and capitalist relations specifically (Munro, 2021), and that reproductive work, including care work, is an alienated work process with all the negative impacts this implies. I then address more radical approaches, especially Marxist feminists from the 1970s who were involved in or adjacent to the Wages for Housework/Wages against Housework movement.

### 3.3.4.1 Redistributionist approaches

Embedded in the redistributionist approach is the elevation of the category of care work as a special category of work. It is special not just in the sense that it reproduces the “special commodity” of labor power, but that it is set apart from other work processes as inherently beneficial and desirable, for care workers, for care receivers, and for society overall. The result of imbuing this kind of work with a positive moral character is that it is at odds with a liberatory goal, along Marxist lines but not exclusively along these lines, of *less work*. Liberal feminism has also taken up the redistributionist approach to reproductive and care work, and this approach has been adopted by a variety of institutions in the capitalist framework. A focus on building an “economy of care” or a “caring economy” as an alternative to the current incarnation of capitalism is one increasingly popular outgrowth from this perspective.

Nancy Fraser aims to add to the discussion on the “crisis of care” by embedding it in a critique of capitalism and expanding the crisis to include not just “time poverty,” “family/work balance,” and “social depletion” (Beck, 2013; Boffey, 2015; Boushey, 2016; Hochschild, 2003; Rai et al., 2014; Rosen, 2007) but of social reproduction itself. The crisis of social reproduction in Fraser’s framework emerges because capitalism destabilizes and undermines the processes social reproduction and of care, creating “care deficits” (Fraser, 2017). In this framing, caring and

reproductive work is undervalued, and this creates a situation in which this work is materially undermined. As capitalism has developed it has removed the means for the working class to reproduce themselves, and in the liberal capitalist regime the state stepped in to invest in health care, schooling, child care, and old-age pensions. These public services were supplemented by corporations, and did manage to stabilize social reproduction for a time, in Fraser's care crisis framework. One of the major problems of this organization was that it didn't extend to some groups, particularly groups of women, including those on the global periphery, women of color under Jim Crow especially, and indigenous groups, which Fraser acknowledges. It also entrenched gender hierarchies in some ways.

In the neoliberal era the problem becomes that wages fall below the level necessary for social reproduction and social services have been cut back. Reproduction has been framed as “a backwards residue, an obstacle to advancement that must be sloughed off one way or another en route to liberation” by the supposed liberal-individualist social movements of the neoliberal age. Fraser brings up two situations which are representative of the current crisis of care as she sees it—the popularity of egg freezing as a way to delay childbearing until later in life, and the proliferation of “expensive high-tech mechanical pumps for expressing breast milk” (Fraser, 2017, p. 34) so that women can return to wage labor. The reason these apparently harmful technologies arise is the increasing ubiquity of the “two-earner family” as a necessity to materially support a household as wages stagnate. The implication of this is that one of key the problems of care in capitalism is that there isn't an opportunity to care slower, or to devote more time to it. The implication is that state provision of “care” and the time resources to care the right way or to care more are the solution.

Tithi Bhattacharya draws her analysis of social reproduction from the branch of Marxist feminism that originated in the 1970s, especially that of theorists and activists active around the Wages for Housework (alternatively known as “Wages Against Housework”). She posits the working class as a revolutionary subject, and expands the concept of the working class to include



those not currently working for a wage, and “a reconsideration of class struggle to signify more than the struggle over wages and working conditions” (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 86). For Bhattacharya, the problem is that unwaged household work is *not visible*, as is the privatization and degradation of reproductive work and “unloading the entire responsibility” of social reproduction onto women. The problem for Bhattacharya is that care work is not currently being counted, rather than the specific role that reproduction and care work play in reproducing the current conditions, and the drudgery and alienation of that work process. Many of the problems of care work would be mitigated if care work were to be counted, and then either redistributed or remunerated in this framework. Folbre has also devoted significant effort to highlighting the importance of counting or revaluing reproductive work, and the reallocation of time and revaluing of care work, both at the household level and in a macro sense (Folbre, 2006, 2021b; Folbre et al., 2017).

Susan Ferguson is explicit about extending an ostensible critique of social reproduction to locations outside of the household, and points out that these locations “can be centers of oppression and conflict,” and even refers to Vogel’s (quite brief) mention of “labor camps, barracks, orphanages, hospitals, prisons, and other such institutions” (Ferguson, 2020, p. 107). The key issue for Ferguson, however, is capital’s “hostility to life,” and the degradation of reproductive work (Ferguson, 2020, p. 114). The role of reproductive work in the capitalist system is to keep the costs of social reproduction low and to supply the next round of exploitable and alienated workers.

Reproduction is set out as a “capitalistically unproductive” activity, which is still necessary for the reproduction of workers. She goes on to claim that reproductive and care workers “can make a point of prioritizing life needs over capital,” and describes teachers who “play with and care for their students, not to improve test scores but to address a child’s need for attention, fun, and love,” a home health care worker who “take[s] extra time to fix the client’s

makeup or help with setting their room straight”. This work “can establish connections with others that cut against the alienating tendencies of capitalism” (Ferguson, 2020, p. 28).

Ferguson invokes Federici’s idea that “reproduction must be simultaneously a production and valorization of desired human qualities and capacities, and an accommodation to the externally imposed standards of the labor market.” She takes Federici’s idea that refusing to do this reproductive work is in the terrain of class struggle, and suggests that reproductive work is where new societies can be forged instead. Ferguson holds that when we create alternative social institutions to care in, we are engaging in a strike, along the lines of the strategy of refusal and in the conditions of a “revolutionary commons” we can gain “greater control” over the conditions of social production (Ferguson, 2020, p. 131).

#### 3.3.4.1.1 The care economy and other uses

Kathi Weeks, whose work is linked by theoretical overlap to the (mostly) Marxist feminist approaches describe above, provides a more radical critique and theory, and ultimately arrives at a universal basic income (UBI) as an example of liberatory politics or a destabilizing demand (Weeks, 2011). The essential problem with UBI is that it is necessarily tied to the state, and the way that the state provisions and “cares” for people—through carceral systems entrenched in patriarchal racial capitalism and steeped in capital’s needs—is one piece of evidence that this is a dead end for liberatory practice. In a situation in which the practical choice is between full employment and a basic income, a basic income is superior in the current economic and political conditions and in the context of a goal of less work. It hems itself in, however, because it is *possible* in the system we have.

The radical power of the Wages for Housework movement was that it made a demand that undermined the capitalist wage system itself, and when it was coopted by liberal feminisms and the call for wages was taken literally, rather than as a revolutionary politics and perspective as Federici described them (Federici, 1975), its revolutionary power disintegrated. A basic income

as a demand has disintegrated similarly, with relatively mainstream proponents, including former presidential candidate Andrew Yang (Yang, n.d.), and billionaire Elon Musk (Sheffey, 2021) proposing UBI as a way to keep capitalism chugging along.

The development “economy of care,” “care economy,” or “community of care,” or simply an economy dominated by the concept or practice of care, is similarly defanged from more radical critiques of social reproduction. These proposals have had increasingly prevalence through activist, non-profit, and governmental spheres in the last several years. They are generally laid out as an alternative to “neoliberal” capitalism, although they frequently are proposed explicitly as another type as capitalism, or as a formation within capitalism. Countless think tanks and non-governmental organizations have developed models of a care economy (Folbre, 2021a; IDRC & The Soros Economic Development Fund, 2022; Peng, 2021). Many of these incorporate language of care work as infrastructure, wherein this public investment has “future payoffs” (Folbre, 2021a), and are focused on a capitalist economy in which care work is assigned an increased normative social value, paid care workers get higher wages, unpaid care workers are monetarily supported by state resources.

Many applications of “care” are empty vessels, in which care is the structure for an economy, but there is no explicit content. Some strands of modern monetary theory refer to the concept of an “economy of care,” but mean this only in the sense of expanding state provision of childcare, healthcare, and other bare necessities (Antonopoulos et al., 2010), and do not address the forms that the provision of “care” in a capitalist economy are overwhelmingly coercive and oppressive. The meagre and ineffective policies and funding federal COVID-19 relief was called CARES—meanwhile the CDC and other government bodies continue to enable the ongoing disablement and premature death of millions of people in the United States (Harris, 2020; *Is COVID-19 a “Mass Disabling Event”?*, n.d.). While some prison abolitionist frameworks include more nuanced analyses of care, others call uncritically to develop a “community of care” to replace carceral systems, often with social workers, home health care workers, and other state or

local government provided services (Steele, 2021). The carceral system is itself a mode of social reproduction and “care,” and ostensibly state provided non-carceral solutions could be steeped in the same logic of racialized control and capitalist accumulation.

The concept and framework of “care” is used in even more naïve or cynical ways by private industry. Investment firms talk about how the care economy is a good deal (*648 Billion Reasons Why the Care Economy Is Serious Business*, 2021; *Investors’ Guide to Care Economy*, n.d.). Credit cards say that they care, that you are caring by using their services, *and* that they will help you pay for all this care (*What Is CareCredit?*, n.d.). One bank, Truist, is particularly invested in the concept of care (<https://www.truist.com/care>), and images from their websites to this effect are in the figures 3.1 and 3.2. The bank includes a section in which it scrapes posts from Twitter that reflect its focus on care. It is also a major investor in and partnered with the National Football League, an organization that has been under increasing pressure as the racialized patterns of severe injury and disablement as a result of the sport at the primary and secondary school, college, and professional levels have become clearer (Kerr et al., 2019; Mez et al., 2017; T. A. Press, 2021). Truist’s usage is emblematic of both the cynical ways in which “care” is used in the context of capitalism, and the ways in which care has been emptied of meaning.

Reproductive and care work must be included in the framework of less work as a liberatory goal. To do this we need to do more than uncover the “hidden abode of care,” but to break it apart. The market mechanism and commodity production obscure how the social relations of production are exploitative and alienating, but just an awareness of this, or the

Figure 3.2 Truist Bank: Care is at our core

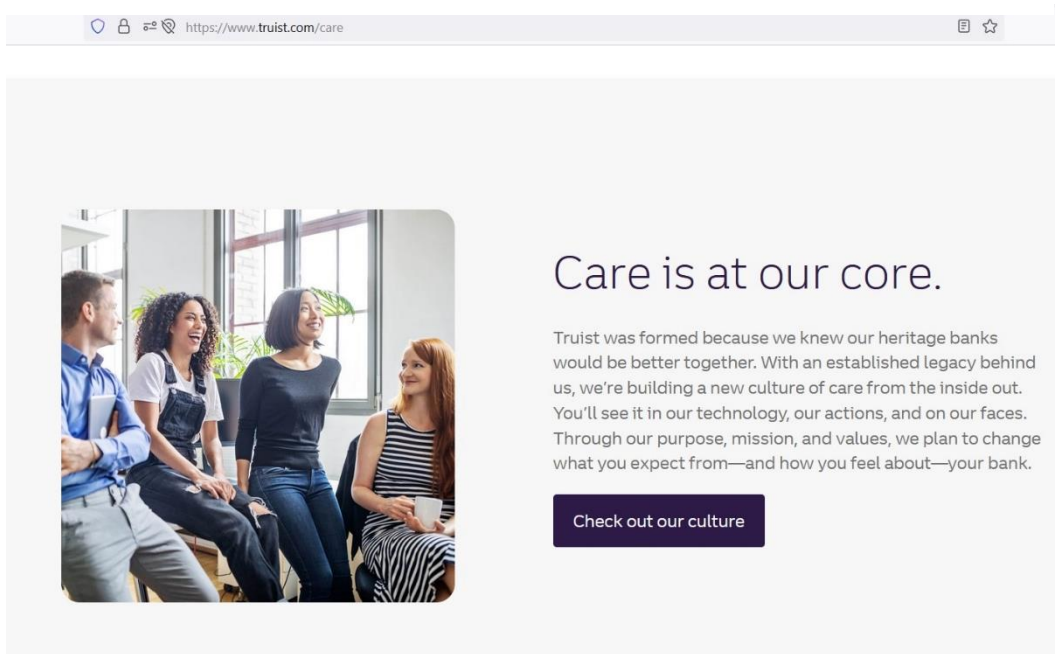
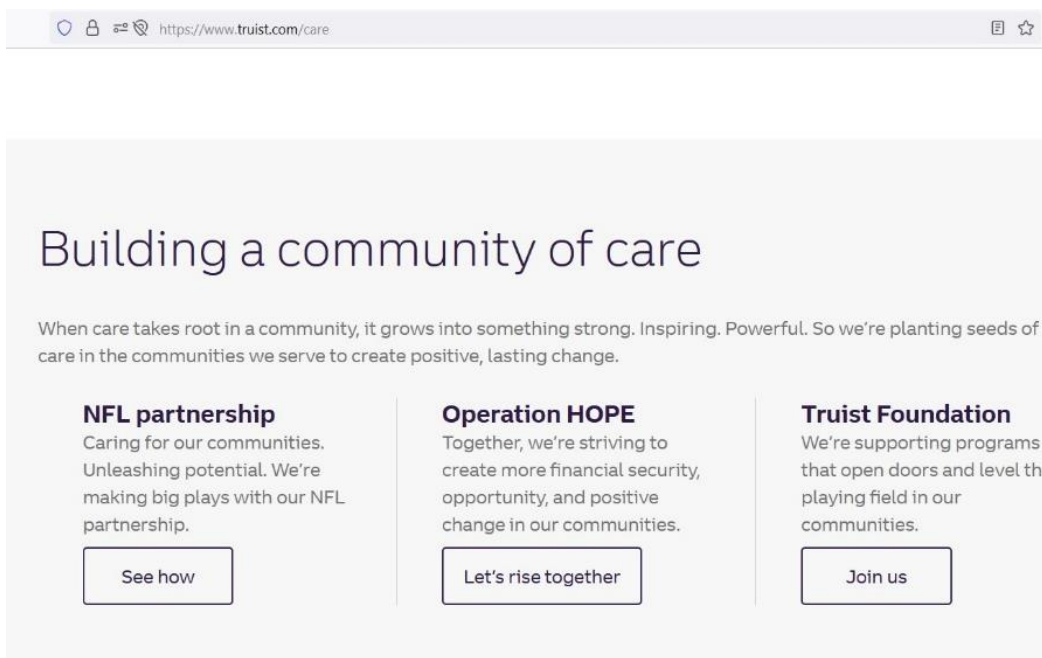


Figure 3.1 Truist Bank: Building a community of care



Note: Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are both screen shots from <https://www.truist.com/care> (Care | Truist, n.d.)

redistribution of alienation and exploitation, can not fix the problem. Revaluing care is inadequate in the same way that paying higher wages is inadequate to liberate working people. The entire system of reproduction and care work must be rethought and reconfigured so that the work of

care itself is not just less onerous, but less of it needs to be done. This doesn't mean abandoning children or the elderly, or eroding community cohesion. It means remaking the process of caring in a way that abolishes oppressive, exploited care work is, which requires finding ways to reduce the absolute amount of care work—which will likely always be drudgerous and draining in some way—and is possible only outside the confines of a capitalist system

### 3.3.4.2 Critical approaches

The group of authors who write as The Care Collective acknowledge that “care” has multiple meanings (Care Collective, 2020)—similar to the way that Nancy Folbre highlights—and the group is emblematic of the discussion of care in social democrat and many Marxist feminist or socialist contexts. It still does not acknowledge the contradictory nature of care as often work processes that are draining, difficult, and unpleasant.

Weeks' analysis is critical of work itself, including reproductive work (Weeks, 2011). She also takes on the mantle of utopianism, emphasizing that the epithet of utopianism has often been wielded as specifically anti-communist, rather than just a critique from within radical discussions of future systems. She laments the ways in which feminist theory and literature appeared to abandon its more radical visions, wherein feminists stopped short of “imagining alternative futures of mapping out paths toward which feminists might commit their collective energies” (Weeks, 2011, p. 184). She invokes Marx's eleventh thesis in *Theses on Feuerbach*, “The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it” (Marx & Engels, 1963) and refers back to the strategy of refusal and the power of the demand that comes from Autonomist Marxists and the Autonomist adjacent Wages for Housework movement (Federici, 1975; Tronti & Broder, 2019). For Weeks, the demand is for less work, but she frames this specifically as a call for a basic income, which is subject to the critique mentioned above.

Selma James and Mariosa Dalla Costa pointed out, in 1975, that women enjoy work “neither in the home nor in the factory,” and that “working outside the home did not make

drudgery at home any more appealing, nor liberate us from the responsibility for housework even when it was ‘shared’” (S. James, 2012a, p. 53). The Wages for Housework movement overall highlighted that caring work, including sexual relations, is work regardless of a wage, and as an exploitative and alienating process it must be subject to the same abolition as waged work (Federici, 1975). Federici is explicit that the wages for housework concept was not a demand for redistribution, but was a perspective that gave rise to a goal of subverting the gendered relations of oppressive and exploited work under capitalist subsumption. Federici describes housework as “one of the most pervasive manipulations, most subtle and mystified forms of violence that capitalism has perpetrated against any section of the working class”—it is subject to the logic of capital, and subject to the logic of patriarchy (Federici, 1975).

Many of the theorists from the Marxist feminist movements that were most adamant about this perspective have shifted to more redistributionist perspectives in recent decades (Federici, 2014; S. James, 2012b). The most trenchant current strains of this analysis are coming from other autonomous movements outside of Marxist feminism in general, and outside of Marxist feminist, socialist feminist, or feminist economics entirely. Some of these are burgeoning critiques, eking out from younger scholars on smaller platforms (Fowler, n.d.). There is a significant critique of “care ethics” in medical ethics literature (Pooler, 1999), and more from social movements and academic fields related to disability studies and liberation, and prison abolition, which are addressed in the next section.

### 3.3.5 Alternatives and ways forward

Integrating or updating the initial group of models discussed in this section with the radical challenges from scholars and activists outside of the field of economics, or outside of the academy altogether, can help build out a model of a future system that addresses the goals described in the beginning of this section. This section suggests some ways that radical perspectives on care, and on ongoing harms and oppressions, could be integrated into the best

parts of the initial three models presented, although not all four models, since Nove’s model provided little new or useful content. By no means does this short section cover the expansive literatures on prison abolition, the rectification of settler colonialism, disability justice, or reparations. Instead, it is a short introduction to some useful concepts, and how they can be included in some of the most common models of potential alternatives to capitalism and the Soviet system.

### 3.3.5.1 New perspectives on care

In “Abolition Geography” Ruth Wilson Gilmore describes abolition as not just the abolition of “the past or its present ghost” but “the processes of hierarchy, dispossession, and exclusion that congeal in and as group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death” (Gilmore, 2017, p. 228). It is crucial that this premature death, the disregard for life that Charisse Burden-Stelly describes (Burden-Stelly, 2020), isn’t because of a lack of care, but because of the provision of racialized and gendered capitalist versions *of* care, for both the caregiver and the person or people receiving care. This care reproduces inequalities, again for both carers and care receivers, and facilitates capital accumulation, regardless of if we believe it is directly surplus value producing or not. Gilmore’s theory of premature death and “human sacrifice as a human principle” was evident in the COVID-19 crisis, in which huge swaths of the population have been disregarded. The “care” that incarcerated people were subject to was itself violent—for example the prisoners who were treated with the disproven and dangerous treatment of ivermectin in prison (Floreal-Wooten et al., 2022).

Scholarship and activist writing on care from disability studies and prison abolition have more nuanced analyses of care, as does a burgeoning literature that draws on the historical socialist demand to abolish the family (Lewis, 2019). Piepzna-Samarasinha, in *Dreaming Disability Justice*, explicitly calls for an organization of care work that does not rely on the state or on biological families, as locations of care that are often defined by abuse and a lack of control



(Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2021). Piepzna-Samarasinha is explicit that they are working outside the boundaries of white academic disability scholarship, and is instead approaching care from the perspective of a queer femme disabled person of color, focused on bottom-up forms of liberatory care.

They describe their proposed model “webs of care,” where caring processes are integrated into life, and disentangled from capitalist, patriarchal, and racialized forms of care provision as modes of control to the greatest extent possible in the present, and completely outside of it in the future. Piepzna-Samarasinha is explicit in acknowledging that caring work can be burdensome, and explains how disabled communities, and especially disabled communities who experience the added oppressions of homophobia, racism, transphobia, and misogyny, have had to build ways to care that can exist in communities who may have limited capacities for certain caring processes at any given time. They also redefine care to include acts of being with someone, rather than performing an activity, especially in for neurodivergent people or those with chronic pain—both populations that have experienced extreme neglect and abuse historically, and especially in capitalist contexts.

Crucially, their critique highlights that solidarity and love can enable liberatory care, but that disabled people should not have to rely on these feelings to have their needs met. Care burnout exists in these queer BIPOC disabled spaces as well—community is not a panacea. Racialization, homophobia, misogyny and other harms can also be reproduced within a community, even one dedicated to providing care. The forms of care that come out of a queer BIPOC disabled community as Piepzna-Samarasinha discusses them are explicit in recognizing that the cared for and carers are not always virtuous, and the provision of care is difficult and contentious, and needs to be dealt with on those terms. Part of the care in this framework is creating the conditions for care to be sustainable—making new forms of care possible by removing obstacles, rather than piling on more solutions.

Some abolitionist notions of care clearly recognize the ways in which care work can reproduce the conditions for capitalist exploitation and oppression. Eva Boodman uses an abolitionist framework and the government's reaction COVID-19 to highlight the how state provision of care is violent (Boodman, 2020). They are explicit that "the security state is itself a public health risk," and that "care" provision by the state has been fundamentally organized around class exploitation and racialization. They highlight modes of care that are rooted in mutual aid, but Boodman recognizes that "in the same way that the Black Panther Part's free breakfast program was coopted by the USDA, current mutual aid projects do carry a danger of cooption." The goal for abolitionist care involves the new modes of care beyond the Prison and Care Industrial Complexes, as they phrase it, and abolitionists need to be aware of the kinds of power that care can be complicit in, in the context of racialized carceral capitalist social organization. These more critical approaches to abolitionist care are crucial to prevent the reproduction of power, and also must include an analysis of how care provision is not always "life affirming".

### 3.3.5.2 Oppression, reparations, and the rectification of colonialism

Explicitly addressing oppression, reparations, and the rectification of colonial harm must be core goals for a liberatory system and its reproduction. The case for reparations embedded in a capitalist or market socialist/social democratic model has been a subject of increasing analysis in the last few years (Darity & Mullen, 2020; De Greiff, 2010; DuPlessis, 2007). What does reparations look like in a system oriented towards the undoing of waged work and wealth accumulation, and towards a new way of relating to our world and each other entirely?

Maxine Burkett's model of climate reparations helps to frame reparations beyond the monetary compensation that many people assume when they hear the term. Burkett points out that the scope and nature of reparations has expanded beyond financial compensation. Pablo de Greiff says that in transitional periods reparations "seek to contribute (modestly) to reconstitution or the constitution of a new political community" (De Greiff, 2010, p. 454). Burkett is interested

in the conditions of the global climate vulnerable population, who are disproportionately more likely to bear the brunt of climate change, and are comprised mostly of poor people, and people in island states. Her proposal for climate reparations is forward looking, and requires that the perpetrators of harm are accountable not just for their past harm, but for *continuing* harm. Her framework is bound up in the “reconstitution of society, promoting a more expansive and comprehensive concept of how to compensate for this moral wrong” (Burkett, 2009, p. 16). This expansive concept of reparations, that takes into account active, current harm, and not just harms of the past, is what allows it to be embedded in a liberatory framework overall, and *not* just in a transitional period.

Oppressed peoples have been dispossessed not just of the access of capitalist modes of personal or community accumulation in the form of wage work or wealth building and increasing processes, but of time and ancestral land (Gilmore, 2017; J. James, 2015). These are two realms that a truly liberatory economic system could identify and act on to provide reparations to colonized, disposed, abducted, and racialized peoples. In the case of colonized peoples, repatriation of land is a step towards repairing these wrongs (Albert & Hahnel, 1981; Churchill, 2002; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). The repatriation of land to indigenous people is not simply handing over a deed to a parcel of land, but a process of changing the ownership structure of land itself (Berger, n.d.; Churchill, 2002; Simpson, 2017)—this addresses the possibility for ongoing or future harms. Repatriation of land, especially in the United States, makes a step towards a model of reproduction and care that expands beyond redistribution, and extends an expansive model of care work that includes non-human life (Estes, 2019). A model of reparations that is perpetually forwarding looking also helps to address harms and negative patterns as they emerge.

### 3.3.5.3 Integration into the three models of future systems

A new model of living and caring requires de-exceptionalizing care in the way that most of the initial models, as well as most of the social reproduction theories, do. Cockshott and Cottrell

claim abolition of the family, but frame it in a context that the content is essentially meaningless, and Devine explicitly does not include nurturing as a category of work that might need to be reduced. Albert and Hahnel's model, in which workers may be assigned work outside of their primary workplace, occurs on the economy-wide level, and this include not just balancing organization in comparison to each other (in the way that jobs are balanced inside production units), but by assigning time outside the primary workplace. The implied assumption in the Albert and Hahnel model is that this will be in a different workplace, but this is not necessarily the case. This could address the issue of *less work* and not just *better work*. In the event that better work is either not available or not desired, simply less work could fill that gap. Integrating caring into this framework is one way that this could happen. This also requires remaking the relationships and conditions that create the social construction of disability, and the environmental, social, economic, and structural (literally, in some cases) that engender the physical and emotional hardships that require ever more care.

In terms of the Devine model of negotiated coordination, embedding the possibility of autonomous organizations of historically oppressed communities into existing bodies, or imbuing these organizations with equal power as other organizations, rather instead of sequestering "interest groups" from other organizing bodies, could ensure a more complete integration of oppressed communities' needs and demands. This would need to carry up through all levels of plan building, from the granular level of the community and through the representative assembly that Devine suggests as the political organization of a socialist society. This could be a step towards addressing past harms, as the needs and priorities of communities who have been oppressed can be integrated at the fundamental level. Embedding interest groups in this way is similar to the parallel political structures for women that the Syrian Rojava project includes (*A Small Key Can Open a Large Door : The Rojava Revolution.*, 2015)

Provision of enhanced access to time is another tool that can be used in the context of a future system to rectify past harms that will carry over, and can continue to be reproduced, into

any future system. Ruth Wilson Gilmore describes what has been taken from communities that have been subject to racialized carceral processes as the extraction of time (Gilmore, 2017). Socialist movements in general should be oriented towards changing the way time is used, and it is requisite to rethink the way we experience time in general. Maximizing the access to free time for personal and community development, connection to past practices and social practices that have been subjugated, and the time to build autonomy and solidarity communities who have been robbed of time is a practice both of abolition and of reparations.

One critique that is often brought up about the Albert and Hahnel model is that it requires “too many meetings,” and would be thus inefficient and undesirable. One rejoinder to this would be that the nature of these meeting changes in the context of truly democratic relations. Another would be that in a socialist society the absolute amount of aggregate work required to reproduce society and facilitate human self-realization would decrease drastically as entire professions disappeared, especially in the event that reducing work time, and/or the abolition of wage work altogether, is an explicit goal. In most socialist models (with the exception of some market socialist models), the fields of finance, insurance, real estate, and many forms of security labor would become unnecessary, freeing up aggregate work time which could make the time spent collectively organizing society less onerous.

Making space for multiple modes of living, as Albert and Hahnel phrase it, also moves towards this process of reparations and repatriation. A community, especially a community that has been superexploited and oppressed, must have access not just to the material resources—food, land, materials for building housing and infrastructure, etc.—but the time to (re)build the cultural assets that they have been dispossessed of. If we were to embed this repatriation of time in a model like Devine’s or Albert and Hahnel’s, it might be the explicit emphasis on reducing time spent in social production, or emphasizing the particular autonomy of oppressed peoples to choose time to engage in enriching experiences over some work that is necessary but drudgerous. The socialist goal that women must be released from the strictures of reproductive work is well

established, and oppressed peoples must be released from the strictures of colonized time in excess of or with greater intensity than other exploited workers.

### 3.3.6 Conclusion

The organization CounterPower, in their book *Autonomy*, describes a society in which the conditions exist for the free development of all as “autonomy within solidarity” (CounterPower, 2020). The capitalist version of this concept can be linked Virno and Negri’s multitude (Hardt & Negri, 2007; Virno, 2010), in which ways of living are heterogenous in an immediate and global sense, but linked by their common a relationship and ultimate or attempted subjugation to capital, and their fundamental antagonism to that subjugation. We can invert this concept and phenomenon for liberatory purposes—Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz describes set of liberatory relations similar to CounterPower’s as “unity in diversity” (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). A core part of what would unite these diverse communities is full access to the fundamental materials of the reproduction of people and communities, including facilitating full personal and cultural realization.

There is ample evidence that the “care” that prisons, carceral schools, child protective services, and other institutional facilities provide do not benefit recipients, especially racialized, gendered, and colonized recipients (Cloud, 2019; E. E. Hatton, 2020; Meiners & Bernard, 2010; Russell & Rosenthal, 2019). Ruth Gilmore Wilson makes the point that when thinking about the violence of incarceration the point isn’t to learn how to punish better or faster, but to break with it entirely (Gilmore, 2017), and we can apply the same concept to work as we know it, including care work, in post-Fordist capitalism. Capitalist work processes, in its broadest sense is a mode of control, as is racialization, colonialism, the social construction of the category of disability, and of course the carceral system are all modes of control. Care work is a glaring blind spot in many perspectives that ostensibly break with these systems, and an uncritical perspective of care is

often embedded into the systems in ways that reproduce exactly the processes and modes that must be abolished. Care work, like all work, needs to be abolished before it can be free.

APPENDIX A  
SURVEY OF PRISON INMATES TABLES



Table A.1 Descriptive Statistics, 2016 Survey of Prison Inmates Sample

Job Type	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Farming	304	2.63	2.63
Food	2,252	19.50	22.13
Goods	728	6.30	28.43
Grounds	945	8.18	36.61
Hospital	338	2.93	39.54
Janitorial	3,255	28.18	67.72
Laundry	591	5.12	72.83
Maintenance	682	5.90	78.74
Other Services	1,507	13.05	91.78
Other	949	8.22	100.00
<b>Job Category</b>			
Janitorial	4,832	41.83	41.83
Industry	1,066	9.23	51.06
Other	949	8.22	59.28
Reproductive	4,704	40.72	100.00
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	8,091	70.05	70.05
Female	3,460	29.95	100.00
<b>Race Category</b>			
White	4,486	38.84	38.84
Black	3,498	30.28	69.12
Other	3,567	30.88	100.00
<b>Education</b>			
Less Than High School	6,564	56.83	56.83
High School Graduate	2,858	24.74	81.57
Some College	1,608	13.92	95.49
College Degree or More	521	4.51	100.00
<b>Job Before Incarceration</b>			
No	4,377	37.89	37.89
Yes	7,174	62.11	100.00
<b>Recent Violation</b>			
No	9,388	81.27	81.27
Yes	2,163	18.73	100.00
<b>Current age</b>			
18-24	863	7.47	7.47
25-34	3,531	30.57	38.04
35-44	3,318	28.72	66.76
45-54	2,479	21.46	88.23
55-64	1,120	9.70	97.92
65 or Older	240	2.08	100.00
<b>Controlling offense type</b>			
Violent	6,219	53.84	53.84
Property	2,029	17.57	71.41
Drug	2,038	17.64	89.05
Public order	1,225	10.61	99.65

Other	40	0.35	100.00
Total	11,551	100.00	

Note: All data in Appendix A is from the 2016 Survey of Prison Inmates, published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics

Table A.2 Linear Probability Model and Logit on Work Assignment Category

VARIABLES	LPM Industry	Logit Industry	LPM Janit	Logit Janit	LMP Other	Logit Other	LPM Repro	Logit Repro
Male (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	0.0060 (0.0067)	0.0062 (0.0067)	-0.0893*** (0.0110)	-0.0895*** (0.0110)	0.0220*** (0.0065)	0.0220*** (0.0065)	0.0626*** (0.0113)	0.0627*** (0.0113)
White (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black	-0.0302*** (0.0070)	-0.0300*** (0.0069)	0.0208* (0.0119)	0.0205* (0.0117)	-0.0117* (0.0061)	-0.0121* (0.0066)	0.0203* (0.0118)	0.0204* (0.0118)
Other	-0.0121* (0.0071)	-0.0124* (0.0071)	0.0167 (0.0116)	0.0169 (0.0115)	-0.0034 (0.0065)	-0.0036 (0.0064)	-0.0016 (0.0116)	-0.0015 (0.0115)
Less than HS (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	0.0157** (0.0068)	0.0157** (0.0068)	-0.0304*** (0.0110)	-0.0305*** (0.0110)	-0.0126** (0.0060)	-0.0129** (0.0059)	0.0267** (0.0111)	0.0268** (0.0111)
Some College	0.0074 (0.0084)	0.0073 (0.0083)	-0.0500*** (0.0138)	-0.0504*** (0.0139)	-0.0061 (0.0079)	-0.0062 (0.0075)	0.0516*** (0.0141)	0.0514*** (0.0140)
College Degree or More	0.0013 (0.0138)	0.0016 (0.0129)	-0.1134*** (0.0215)	-0.1155*** (0.0218)	0.0094 (0.0132)	0.0094 (0.0133)	0.1114*** (0.0231)	0.1112*** (0.0230)
Job before incarceration	0.0099* (0.0056)	0.0100* (0.0057)	-0.0286*** (0.0097)	-0.0287*** (0.0097)	-0.0010 (0.0054)	-0.0007 (0.0053)	0.0211** (0.0097)	0.0211** (0.0097)
Recent violation	-0.0267*** (0.0071)	-0.0259*** (0.0066)	0.0232* (0.0123)	0.0237* (0.0124)	0.0158** (0.0073)	0.0151** (0.0070)	-0.0113 (0.0124)	-0.0111 (0.0123)
18-24 (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	0.0014 (0.0103)	0.0012 (0.0108)	-0.0138 (0.0189)	-0.0135 (0.0185)	-0.0018 (0.0102)	-0.0017 (0.0105)	0.0152 (0.0185)	0.0152 (0.0185)
35-44	0.0166 (0.0106)	0.0165 (0.0110)	-0.0355* (0.0190)	-0.0352* (0.0187)	0.0026 (0.0104)	0.0026 (0.0107)	0.0166 (0.0187)	0.0168 (0.0187)

45-54	0.0103 (0.0109)	0.0100 (0.0114)	-0.0095 (0.0197)	-0.0091 (0.0194)	-0.0053 (0.0105)	-0.0048 (0.0110)	0.0049 (0.0194)	0.0049 (0.0194)
55-64	0.0190 (0.0131)	0.0182 (0.0134)	-0.0016 (0.0226)	-0.0013 (0.0224)	-0.0134 (0.0120)	-0.0131 (0.0124)	-0.0023 (0.0223)	-0.0021 (0.0223)
65 or Older	-0.0240 (0.0183)	-0.0238 (0.0184)	0.0472 (0.0366)	0.0473 (0.0361)	-0.0310* (0.0173)	-0.0309* (0.0174)	0.0088 (0.0359)	0.0091 (0.0359)
Property	-0.0027 (0.0079)	-0.0029 (0.0079)	0.0236* (0.0130)	0.0233* (0.0130)	0.0097 (0.0073)	0.0105 (0.0072)	-0.0329** (0.0130)	-0.0330** (0.0129)
Drug	-0.0203*** (0.0074)	-0.0203*** (0.0074)	0.0174 (0.0130)	0.0174 (0.0129)	0.0106 (0.0073)	0.0114 (0.0073)	-0.0091 (0.0130)	-0.0092 (0.0130)
Public order	-0.0157* (0.0088)	-0.0157* (0.0090)	0.0103 (0.0155)	0.0101 (0.0154)	0.0229** (0.0091)	0.0228** (0.0091)	-0.0201 (0.0155)	-0.0200 (0.0154)
Other	-0.0150 (0.0476)	-0.0142 (0.0418)	0.0316 (0.0718)	0.0321 (0.0806)	0.0164 (0.0471)	0.0138 (0.0397)	-0.0387 (0.0753)	-0.0382 (0.0755)
Constant	0.0745** (0.0343)	-	0.5269*** (0.0616)	-	0.0832** (0.0336)	-	0.3274*** (0.0604)	-
Observations	11,551	11,527	11,551	11,550	11,551	11,494	11,551	11,548
R-squared	0.0278		0.0411		0.0522		0.0253	

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Note: All specifications for the regression analysis on Survey of Prison Inmates data, for assignment allocation and for the “how important” questions, includes the state an incarcerated individual was arrested in as a control.

Table A.3 Assignment Allocation by Race Category, LPM

VARIABLES	Janitorial and Maintenance			Industry		
	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Male (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	-0.121*** (0.017)	-0.070*** (0.022)	-0.064*** (0.021)	0.010 (0.011)	-0.006 (0.012)	0.009 (0.013)
Less Than High School (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	-0.029* (0.017)	-0.041** (0.020)	-0.019 (0.020)	0.002 (0.011)	0.029** (0.012)	0.018 (0.012)
Some College	-0.040** (0.020)	-0.049* (0.029)	-0.068*** (0.026)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.002 (0.015)	0.033** (0.016)
College Degree or More	-0.095*** (0.030)	-0.180*** (0.048)	-0.110** (0.043)	-0.015 (0.019)	0.025 (0.030)	0.019 (0.028)
Job Before Arrest	-0.049*** (0.016)	-0.022 (0.018)	-0.015 (0.018)	0.024** (0.010)	-0.010 (0.009)	0.011 (0.010)
Recent Violation	0.024 (0.017)	0.057** (0.029)	-0.003 (0.023)	-0.043*** (0.010)	0.003 (0.016)	-0.022* (0.013)
18-24 (Base)						
25-34	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.016 (0.034)	0.028 (0.030)	0.049*** (0.016)	-0.006 (0.017)	-0.029 (0.019)
35-44	-0.089*** (0.034)	-0.040 (0.034)	0.016 (0.031)	0.069*** (0.016)	0.017 (0.018)	-0.029 (0.020)
45-54	-0.082** (0.035)	0.011 (0.035)	0.037 (0.033)	0.066*** (0.017)	0.004 (0.018)	-0.036* (0.021)
55-64	-0.042 (0.039)	0.005 (0.040)	0.008 (0.040)	0.062*** (0.021)	0.021 (0.022)	-0.016 (0.024)
65 or Older	-0.021 (0.055)	0.087 (0.071)	0.080 (0.074)	-0.015 (0.022)	0.018 (0.041)	-0.020 (0.044)
Violent (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Property	0.044** (0.019)	0.027 (0.026)	-0.009 (0.024)	-0.002 (0.013)	-0.019 (0.014)	0.017 (0.015)
Drug	0.029 (0.021)	0.016 (0.024)	0.007 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.031** (0.013)
Public Order	0.008 (0.024)	0.004 (0.030)	0.014 (0.029)	-0.016 (0.015)	- (0.013)	0.016 (0.018)
Other	-0.122 (0.098)	0.266* (0.157)	-0.045 (0.111)	0.034 (0.105)	0.001 (0.085)	-0.039 (0.062)
Constant	0.695*** (0.102)	0.614*** (0.157)	0.399*** (0.086)	-0.032 (0.039)	0.223 (0.140)	0.093* (0.051)
Observations	4,486	3,498	3,567	4,486	3,498	3,567

R-squared	0.053	0.050	0.042	0.040	0.034	0.043
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Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.4 Assignment Allocation by Race Category, LPM (2)

VARIABLES	Reproduction					
	White	Other Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Male (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	0.039*** (0.010)	-0.001 (0.011)	0.017 (0.012)	0.074*** (0.017)	0.075*** (0.023)	0.039* (0.021)
Less than High School (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.010)	-0.018* (0.011)	0.037** (0.018)	0.016 (0.020)	0.018 (0.020)
Some College	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.014)	0.004 (0.015)	0.058*** (0.021)	0.053* (0.028)	0.041 (0.027)
College Degree or More	0.002 (0.018)	0.032 (0.029)	0.005 (0.026)	0.121*** (0.032)	0.121** (0.052)	0.093** (0.047)
Job Before Incarceration	0.009 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.007 (0.010)	0.017 (0.016)	0.036** (0.017)	0.015 (0.018)
Recent Violation	0.016 (0.010)	0.014 (0.016)	0.021 (0.014)	0.002 (0.017)	- 0.074*** (0.028)	0.008 (0.023)
18-24 (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	0.003 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.018)	0.015 (0.034)	0.026 (0.033)	0.008 (0.030)
35-44	0.018 (0.018)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.019)	0.002 (0.034)	0.025 (0.033)	0.021 (0.031)
45-54	0.010 (0.018)	-0.000 (0.017)	-0.029 (0.019)	0.009 (0.035)	-0.013 (0.034)	0.024 (0.033)
55-64	0.006 (0.020)	-0.025 (0.018)	-0.013 (0.023)	-0.019 (0.039)	-0.002 (0.039)	0.020 (0.040)
65 or Older	0.004 (0.029)	-0.031 (0.028)	- (0.026)	0.030 (0.054)	-0.075 (0.068)	0.030 (0.074)
Violent Offense (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Property	0.005 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.012)	0.022 (0.015)	-0.049** (0.020)	-0.005 (0.026)	-0.033 (0.024)
Drug	0.001 (0.013)	0.012 (0.013)	0.016 (0.013)	-0.021 (0.022)	-0.007 (0.024)	0.004 (0.024)
Public order	0.019 (0.015)	0.019 (0.016)	0.033* (0.017)	-0.013 (0.024)	0.018 (0.030)	-0.069** (0.028)
Other	0.109	- 0.054***	0.015	-0.033	-0.215	0.066

	(0.124)	(0.012)	(0.061)	(0.138)	(0.142)	(0.120)
Constant	0.115*	0.004	0.074*	0.219**	0.159	0.460***
	(0.067)	(0.016)	(0.043)	(0.092)	(0.134)	(0.090)
Observations	4,486	3,498	3,567	4,486	3,498	3,567
R-squared	0.052	0.062	0.076	0.036	0.046	0.030

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Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



Table A.5 Assignment Allocation by Sex, LPM

VARIABLES	Industry		Janitorial		Other		Reproductive	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black	-0.027*** (0.008)	-0.040*** (0.014)	0.007 (0.014)	0.053** (0.023)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.042*** (0.013)	0.023* (0.014)	0.025 (0.024)
Other	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.013)	0.007 (0.014)	0.032 (0.020)	0.004 (0.007)	-0.023* (0.013)	0.002 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.021)
Less than High School (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	0.013 (0.008)	0.021 (0.013)	-0.023* (0.013)	-0.047** (0.020)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.025** (0.013)	0.016 (0.013)	0.051** (0.021)
Some College	-0.003 (0.010)	0.026* (0.015)	-0.033* (0.018)	-0.078*** (0.022)	0.000 (0.010)	-0.019 (0.014)	0.037** (0.018)	0.077*** (0.023)
College Degree or More	-0.005 (0.017)	0.019 (0.022)	-0.128*** (0.029)	-0.107*** (0.033)	0.005 (0.016)	0.013 (0.023)	0.132*** (0.030)	0.089** (0.036)
Job Before Arrest	0.005 (0.007)	0.018* (0.010)	-0.023* (0.012)	-0.044*** (0.016)	-0.006 (0.006)	0.013 (0.010)	0.025** (0.012)	0.016 (0.017)
Recent Violation	-0.023*** (0.009)	-0.029** (0.012)	0.018 (0.016)	0.028 (0.019)	0.019** (0.009)	0.011 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.016)	-0.012 (0.020)
18-24 (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	-0.002 (0.012)	0.014 (0.019)	0.005 (0.023)	-0.054 (0.034)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.021)	0.001 (0.022)	0.044 (0.034)
35-44	0.006 (0.012)	0.042** (0.020)	-0.035 (0.023)	-0.038 (0.034)	0.009 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.021)	0.019 (0.022)	0.009 (0.034)
45-54	0.019 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.012 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.036)	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.007 (0.022)	-0.002 (0.023)	0.025 (0.037)
55-64	0.021 (0.015)	0.024 (0.028)	0.004 (0.027)	-0.029 (0.044)	-0.020 (0.013)	0.017 (0.029)	-0.004 (0.026)	-0.006 (0.045)
65 or Older	-0.031	0.029	0.049	0.034	-0.036**	0.001	0.020	-0.069

	(0.019)	(0.059)	(0.041)	(0.090)	(0.018)	(0.054)	(0.040)	(0.089)
Violent (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Property	0.002 (0.010)	-0.012 (0.014)	0.016 (0.017)	0.041* (0.021)	0.008 (0.009)	0.011 (0.013)	-0.027 (0.016)	-0.047** (0.022)
Drug	-0.022** (0.009)	-0.019 (0.014)	0.016 (0.017)	0.026 (0.022)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.024* (0.014)	0.005 (0.016)	-0.033 (0.023)
Public order	-0.009 (0.010)	-0.034* (0.018)	0.001 (0.018)	0.035 (0.030)	0.026** (0.010)	0.019 (0.019)	-0.020 (0.018)	-0.021 (0.031)
Other	-0.048 (0.047)	0.005 (0.093)	0.041 (0.105)	-0.005 (0.088)	0.093 (0.072)	-0.079 (0.048)	-0.089 (0.096)	0.064 (0.116)
Constant	0.061* (0.033)	0.212 (0.159)	0.537*** (0.067)	0.325** (0.158)	0.075** (0.035)	0.148 (0.116)	0.341*** (0.065)	0.313* (0.173)
Observations	8,091	3,460	8,091	3,460	8,091	3,460	8,091	3,460
R-squared	0.034	0.045	0.032	0.066	0.060	0.056	0.027	0.037

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.6 Assignment Allocation by Job Type, LPM

VARIABLES	Farming	Food	Goods	Grounds	Hospital	Janitorial	Laundry	Maint.	Other Services	Other
Male (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	-0.006*	0.011	0.012**	-0.019***	0.007	-0.019*	0.017***	-0.048***	0.029***	0.022***
	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.006)
White (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black	-0.005	0.048***	-0.025***	-0.007	-0.005	0.055***	0.002	-0.026***	-0.024***	-0.012*
	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Other	-0.002	0.029***	-0.011*	-0.008	-0.001	0.039***	-0.006	-0.017***	-0.022***	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.006)
Less Than High School (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	0.001	-0.005	0.014**	-0.003	0.005	-0.016	0.003	-0.007	0.024***	-0.013**
	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Some College	-0.000	-0.033***	0.008	-0.024***	0.009	-0.035***	0.007	0.010	0.073***	-0.006
	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.008)
College Degree or More	0.001	-0.010	-0.000	-0.003	0.001	-0.088***	-0.007	-0.013	0.125***	0.009
	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.020)	(0.013)
Job Before Arrest	-0.004	0.006	0.013***	0.006	-0.005	-0.039***	0.003	0.009**	0.018***	-0.001
	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Recent Violation	-0.002	0.017*	-0.025***	0.007	0.002	0.017	-0.007	0.000	-0.021**	0.016**
	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.007)
18-24 (Base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	-0.016**	-0.035**	0.018***	-0.012	0.003	-0.011	0.020***	0.006	0.033***	-0.002
	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.010)
35-44	-0.024***	-0.063***	0.041***	-0.020*	0.015**	-0.031*	0.024***	0.016**	0.048***	0.003

	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.010)
45-54	-0.028***	-0.081***	0.038***	-0.034***	0.017***	0.002	0.033***	0.026***	0.047***	-0.005
	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.011)
55-64	-0.034***	-0.100***	0.053***	-0.044***	0.020**	0.036*	0.040***	0.004	0.045***	-0.013
	(0.008)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.012)
65 or Older	-0.045***	-0.119***	0.021	-0.048***	0.003	0.096***	0.061***	-0.003	0.072***	-0.031*
	(0.007)	(0.026)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.035)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.027)	(0.017)
Violent (Base)										
Property	0.010**	0.022**	-0.013**	0.020***	-0.010**	0.004	-0.003	0.002	-0.042***	0.010
	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Drug	0.003	0.027**	-0.023***	0.014*	-0.006	0.006	-0.004	-0.003	-0.031***	0.011
	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Public order	0.010*	0.020	-0.025***	0.002	-0.006	0.014	0.001	-0.005	-0.038***	0.023**
	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Other	0.007	-0.001	-0.022	0.036	-0.005	-0.018	0.004	-0.002	-0.026	0.016
	(0.026)	(0.064)	(0.041)	(0.046)	(0.024)	(0.064)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.053)	(0.047)
Constant	0.039**	0.183***	0.036	0.162***	0.045*	0.296***	0.011	0.091**	0.091**	0.083**
	(0.016)	(0.045)	(0.031)	(0.042)	(0.027)	(0.055)	(0.024)	(0.036)	(0.044)	(0.034)
Observations	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551	11,551
R-squared	0.044	0.024	0.036	0.039	0.020	0.036	0.023	0.029	0.032	0.052

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.7 Assignment Allocation by Job Type by Race

VARIABLES	White Farming	Black Farming	White Food	Black Food	White Grounds	Black Grounds	White Hospital	Black Hospital
Male (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.009 (0.006)	0.023* (0.013)	0.025 (0.020)	-0.020** (0.009)	-0.029*** (0.011)	-0.000 (0.006)	0.009 (0.008)
Less than high school (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	0.008 (0.006)	0.001 (0.007)	0.011 (0.014)	-0.015 (0.017)	0.002 (0.011)	-0.020* (0.011)	0.001 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.006)
Some College	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.008)	-0.031** (0.016)	-0.024 (0.024)	-0.025** (0.011)	-0.046*** (0.013)	0.014 (0.008)	0.010 (0.011)
College Degree or More	0.010 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.012)	-0.014 (0.023)	-0.027 (0.043)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.038* (0.022)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.015 (0.012)
Job before incarceration	0.010** (0.005)	-0.017*** (0.006)	0.009 (0.013)	0.021 (0.015)	0.004 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.011* (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)
Recent violation	-0.008 (0.005)	0.012 (0.010)	0.025* (0.014)	-0.024 (0.024)	0.004 (0.010)	0.012 (0.016)	0.004 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.009)
18-24 (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	0.009 (0.011)	-0.017 (0.014)	-0.019 (0.030)	-0.024 (0.030)	-0.027 (0.023)	-0.013 (0.021)	0.006 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.010)
35-44	0.001 (0.011)	-0.022 (0.014)	-0.046 (0.030)	-0.068** (0.030)	-0.033 (0.023)	-0.032 (0.021)	0.009 (0.011)	0.003 (0.010)
45-54	0.003 (0.012)	-0.030** (0.013)	-0.064** (0.030)	-0.083*** (0.030)	-0.049** (0.023)	-0.040* (0.021)	0.010 (0.012)	0.013 (0.011)
55-64	-0.003 (0.013)	-0.034** (0.014)	-0.122*** (0.031)	-0.091*** (0.034)	-0.045* (0.025)	-0.074*** (0.022)	0.017 (0.014)	0.017 (0.014)
65 or Older	-0.020* (0.011)	-0.044*** (0.013)	-0.123*** (0.038)	-0.223*** (0.042)	-0.064** (0.029)	-0.121*** (0.023)	-0.000 (0.019)	0.015 (0.027)
Violent (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Property	0.016** (0.007)	-0.003 (0.009)	0.006 (0.016)	0.040* (0.023)	0.026** (0.012)	0.009 (0.015)	-0.011 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.008)
Drug	0.014** (0.007)	0.003 (0.008)	0.025 (0.018)	0.034* (0.021)	0.028** (0.013)	0.020 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.007)
Public order	0.016* (0.009)	-0.008 (0.008)	0.025 (0.020)	0.036 (0.026)	0.005 (0.013)	0.039** (0.019)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.003 (0.010)
Other	0.084 (0.090)	-0.026** (0.011)	-0.091 (0.091)	-0.081 (0.118)	0.111 (0.110)	0.032 (0.079)	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.020** (0.008)
Constant	-0.017 (0.012)	0.166 (0.118)	0.136** (0.065)	0.291* (0.157)	0.211*** (0.076)	0.053** (0.023)	0.032 (0.036)	-0.002 (0.012)
Observations	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369
R-squared	0.038	0.049	0.035	0.039	0.041	0.087	0.035	0.016

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table 7. (cont.) Job type by race

VARIABLES	White Janit	Black Janit	White Laundry	Black Laundry	White Maint.	Black Maint	White Other Serv.	Black Other Serv.	White Other	Black Other
Male (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female	- 0.044** *	-0.007	0.015*	0.018*	- 0.056***	- 0.043***	0.036***	0.027*	0.041***	0.003
	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Less than high school (base)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	-0.024 (0.016)	-0.012 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.008)	0.017* (0.009)	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)	0.024* (0.013)	0.015 (0.013)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.007 (0.010)
Some College	-0.012 (0.019)	-0.049* (0.027)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.044*** (0.016)	0.004 (0.011)	0.042** (0.016)	0.083*** (0.016)	0.035* (0.020)	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.015 (0.014)
College Degree or More	- 0.073** *	-0.111**	-0.027**	0.049	-0.006	-0.023	0.167***	0.113**	0.005	0.028
	(0.026)	(0.044)	(0.012)	(0.031)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.029)	(0.045)	(0.019)	(0.029)
Job before incarceration	- 0.067** *	-0.018	0.012*	0.001	0.011	0.002	0.006	0.018	0.007	-0.003
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Recent violation	0.031* (0.016)	0.032 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.008)	0.012 (0.013)	-0.028** (0.012)	-0.023 (0.017)	0.020* (0.011)	0.010 (0.015)
18-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	-0.023 (0.033)	0.006 (0.032)	0.012 (0.015)	0.021* (0.012)	-0.012 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.013)	0.015 (0.021)	0.033* (0.018)	0.000 (0.018)	-0.006 (0.017)

35-44	-0.057*	-0.011	0.014	0.023*	0.001	0.009	0.031	0.060***	0.013	-0.002
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.017)
45-54	-0.046	0.034	0.017	0.036***	0.017	0.022	0.046**	0.020	0.009	-0.008
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.017)
55-64	0.017	0.073*	0.044**	0.034**	-0.008	0.016	0.032	0.034	0.007	-0.032*
	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.018)
65 or Older	0.104*	0.198***	0.072**	0.051	-0.042*	0.026	0.060	0.059	0.008	-0.029
	(0.053)	(0.074)	(0.029)	(0.036)	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.041)	(0.049)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Violent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Property	0.005	0.006	0.002	0.008	0.009	0.001	-	-0.035**	0.008	-0.008
	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.012)	0.044***	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Drug	-0.006	-0.001	0.011	-0.013	0.002	-0.002	-	-0.027*	0.002	0.012
	(0.019)	(0.023)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	0.046***	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Public order	0.003	-0.016	0.005	0.007	-0.001	-0.014	-0.038**	-0.033*	0.026*	0.025
	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Other	-	0.193	-	0.032	-	0.041	0.076	-	0.134	-
	0.171**		0.034***		0.049***			0.149***		0.052***
	*									
Constant	0.348**	0.391**	-0.022	-	0.134*	0.119	0.078	-	0.115*	0.010
	*			0.044***				0.063***		
	(0.086)	(0.175)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.069)	(0.117)	(0.071)	(0.023)	(0.067)	(0.017)
Observations	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369	4,256	3,369
R-squared	0.045	0.043	0.037	0.048	0.041	0.039	0.046	0.034	0.054	0.062

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



Table A.8 “How Important” Descriptive Statistics

Job Type	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Janitorial	765	26.63	26.63
Grounds	162	5.64	32.27
Food	613	21.34	53.60
Laundry	135	4.70	58.30
Hospital	92	3.20	61.50
Farming	23	0.80	62.30
Industry	227	7.90	70.21
Other services	446	15.52	85.73
Maintenance	194	6.75	92.48
Other	216	7.52	100.00
<b>Job cat</b>			
Janitorial and maintenance	1,121	39.02	39.02
Reproductive and affective	1,286	44.76	83.78
Industry and farming	250	8.70	92.48
Other	216	7.52	100.00
<b>Sex</b>			
Male	2,210	76.92	76.92
Female	663	23.08	100.00
<b>Race Category</b>			
White	1,129	39.30	39.30
Black	845	29.41	68.71
Other	899	31.29	100.00
<b>Education</b>			
Less Than High School	1,584	55.13	55.13
High School Graduate	737	25.65	80.79
Some College	423	14.72	95.51
College Degree or More	129	4.49	100.00
<b>Job Before Arrest</b>			
No	1,068	37.17	37.17
Yes	1,805	62.83	100.00
<b>Recent Violation</b>			
No	905	31.50	31.50
Yes	1,968	68.50	100.00
<b>Current age</b>			
18-24	215	7.48	7.48
25-34	883	30.73	38.22
35-44	800	27.85	66.06
45-54	607	21.13	87.19
55-64	290	10.09	97.29
65 or Older	78	2.71	100.00
<b>Controlling offense type</b>			
Violent	1,830	63.70	63.70
Property	403	14.03	77.72
Drug	363	12.63	90.36
Public order	267	9.29	99.65
Other	10	0.35	100.00
<b>Offers an Incentive</b>			
No	2,318	80.68	80.68

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Yes	555	19.32	100
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Table A.9 “How Important” Questions LPM

VARIABLES	Boredom	Early	Friends	Money	Skills
White (Base)	-	-	-	-	-
Black	-0.060*** (0.021)	0.043* (0.023)	-0.045* (0.023)	0.007 (0.021)	0.044*** (0.017)
Other	-0.040** (0.020)	0.051** (0.023)	0.007 (0.023)	0.019 (0.019)	0.026 (0.017)
Male (Base)	-	-	-	-	-
Female	-0.002 (0.021)	-0.022 (0.024)	-0.064*** (0.024)	0.029 (0.021)	0.072*** (0.017)
18-24 (Base)	-	-	-	-	-
25-34	0.030 (0.033)	0.019 (0.036)	0.018 (0.035)	0.011 (0.033)	-0.017 (0.025)
35-44	0.023 (0.033)	0.003 (0.037)	0.049 (0.036)	0.048 (0.034)	-0.028 (0.025)
45-54	-0.022 (0.035)	0.014 (0.038)	0.058 (0.038)	0.031 (0.035)	-0.051* (0.027)
55-64	0.027 (0.039)	-0.021 (0.044)	0.084* (0.044)	0.042 (0.039)	-0.097*** (0.033)
65 or Older	-0.008 (0.058)	-0.053 (0.064)	0.181*** (0.066)	0.077 (0.053)	-0.186*** (0.057)
Less than High School (Base)	-	-	-	-	-
High School Graduate	0.028 (0.019)	0.041* (0.022)	0.022 (0.022)	-0.001 (0.019)	-0.029* (0.016)
Some College	0.006 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.027)	0.011 (0.027)	-0.042* (0.023)	-0.069*** (0.021)
College Degree or More	0.000 (0.038)	0.009 (0.045)	-0.070* (0.042)	-0.112*** (0.043)	-0.118*** (0.039)
Job Before Arrest	0.037** (0.017)	0.021 (0.019)	0.015 (0.019)	-0.014 (0.017)	0.012 (0.014)
Violent (Base)	-	-	-	-	-
Property	0.008 (0.023)	-0.029 (0.027)	-0.069*** (0.027)	-0.052** (0.024)	-0.060*** (0.021)
Drug	-0.002 (0.026)	0.017 (0.029)	-0.045 (0.028)	-0.071*** (0.026)	0.029 (0.020)
Public order	0.021 (0.028)	0.002 (0.031)	-0.142*** (0.029)	-0.083*** (0.029)	-0.051** (0.026)
Other	-0.095 (0.154)	0.001 (0.123)	-0.189 (0.128)	-0.034 (0.135)	0.091** (0.035)
Incentive Offered	-0.006 (0.025)	0.081*** (0.028)	0.010 (0.029)	0.042 (0.025)	0.017 (0.021)
Recent Violation	0.017	0.017	0.003	-0.015	-0.007

Janitorial and Maintenance (Base)	(0.018) -	(0.020) -	(0.020) -	(0.017) -	(0.014) -
Reproductive and Affective	0.059*** (0.018)	0.023 (0.020)	0.063*** (0.020)	0.013 (0.017)	0.049*** (0.015)
Industry and Farming	0.088*** (0.028)	0.032 (0.035)	0.047 (0.035)	0.114*** (0.027)	0.122*** (0.022)
Other	0.032 (0.033)	0.076** (0.035)	0.128*** (0.038)	0.032 (0.033)	0.071*** (0.024)
Constant	0.754*** (0.080)	0.273*** (0.098)	0.388*** (0.095)	0.837*** (0.080)	0.855*** (0.073)
Observations	2,873	2,873	2,873	2,873	2,873
R-squared	0.047	0.115	0.056	0.182	0.082

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

APPENDIX B  
SOVIET TIME USE TABLES

Table 0.1 Pskov Time Use

	Employed men		Employed women		Non-employed women	
	1965	1986	1965	1986	1965	1986
Year	1965	1986	1965	1986	1965	1986
N	1097	797	1574	1056	201	250
Regular work	43.4	43.4	39.9	39.9	0.7	0.4
Second job	0	0.1	0	0.2	0	0.1
Non-work	4.9	4.8	4.2	3.8	0	0.4
Trip to work	4.9	5.2	4.2	4.2	0	0.1
Work related	53.2	53.5	48.3	48.2	0.7	1
Preparing food	1.4	2.5	9.1	7.6	12.6	10.5
Cleaning house	1.4	1.4	5.6	3.9	9.8	6.9
Laundry	0	0.3	4.9	3.6	5.6	5
Other						
housekeeping	2.8	2.6	1.4	0.8	1.4	1.6
Gardening, pets	1.4	0.3	0.7	0.1	2.8	0.3
Housework	7	7.2	21.7	16	32	24.3
Childcare	1.4	1.6	3.5	3.2	4.2	9.3
Shopping	1.4	1.8	3.5	2.9	4.2	3.4
Non-work trips	5.6	4.6	5.6	5	8.4	7
Family tasks	8.4	7.9	12.6	11.2	16.8	18.6
Sleep	53.9	53.9	53.2	53.2	58.8	58
Personal care	5.6	6	5.6	6.6	6.3	6.4
Eating	5.6	5.3	5.6	5.2	7.7	7.6
Personal needs	65.1	64.9	64.4	66.3	72.8	72.1
Resting	2.1	3.4	1.4	2.4	4.2	5.4
Education	4.9	0.7	3.5	0.8	12.6	8.2
Organizations	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6
Radio	1.4	0.2	0.7	0.1	1.4	0.1
Television	5.6	14.5	3.5	10.7	7	13.6
Reading	7.7	5.8	4.2	3.5	7	6.1
Social life	2.8	2.6	1.4	2.1	2.1	4
Conversation	1.4	1.2	0.7	1.3	2.1	2.3
Walking	0.7	1.5	1.4	1.4	2.1	4.3
Sports	2.1	1.8	0	0.6	0.7	0.3
Various leisure	0.7	0.8	1.4	2.3	2.1	5.7
Spectacles	2.1	0.9	2.1	0.6	2.8	0.6
Free time	34.3	34.5	21	26.5	44.8	51
Total	168	168	168	168	168	168

Note: Table reproduced from Table 5.3 in *The Rhythm of Everyday Life*, Robinson, Andreyenkov, and Patrushev, 1988.

Table 0.2 Basic time expenditures of workers surveyed

Types of activity	Women	Men
Labor in social production	39.40	40.10
Activity directly connected with production	9.50	13.00
Housework	27.20	11.40
Activities with children	5.50	6.00
Extra familiar social intercourse	3.50	6.30
Daily cultural activity	11.50	19.50
Sleeping, eating, caring for oneself, idle time	60.30	66.30
Other	9.10	4.20

*Note: Table reproduced from Table 1 in Man After Work, Gordon and Klopov, 1975.*

Table 0.3 Time expenditures in correlation with communal conveniences in housing units

	Women			Men		
	All	Some	None	All	Some	None
Daily housework	22.35	26.00	28.2	5.25	4.25	6.20
Ancillary housework	0.25	1.05	1.55	3.00	7.35	7.25
Housework	23.00	27.05	30.15	8.25	12.00	13.45
Activities with children	3.30	5.55	6.40	4.35	5.15	4.05
Walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing etc.	1.25	0.55	0.45	3.05	1.30	1.35
Visiting and receiving guests	3.00	2.55	2.25	3.30	3.40	3.10
Non-athletic games	0.05	-	-	1.00	0.55	0.30
Extra familiar social intercourse	4.30	3.50	3.10	7.35	6.05	5.15
Individual-domestic consumption of culture	8.00	7.10	5.00	13.30	13.25	12.40
Reading newspapers	0.45	0.35	0.35	2.35	2.10	2.25
Reading books and magazines	3.10	1.40	1.10	2.40	1.15	1.4
Watching television	4.05	4.55	3.15	8.15	10.00	8.35
Public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.)	1.55	0.50	0.55	1.30	0.40	0.50
Amateur activities	0.55	0.15	0.50	1.05	0.35	0.45
Cultural activities	15.5	12.25	9.30	21.10	19.30	18.20
Study and self-education	5.00	4.10	2.45	5.05	4.50	4.05
Sports, exercise, out-of- town recreating	0.20	0.05	0.15	1.45	0.50	1.05
Civic activities	0.40	0.20	0.15	0.40	0.35	0.30
Idle time	2.10	3.00	1.50	2.25	2.15	2.50

*Note: Table reproduced from Table 3 in Man After Work, Gordon and Klopov, 1975*

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