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Editors

Racialized Labour in Romania

Spaces of Marginality at the Periphery of Global Capitalism

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Conclusion: (Re)centring Labour, Class, and Race

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Introduction

In his critical intervention on Mike Davis' (2004) *Planet of Slums*, Tom Angotti (2006) exposes one of the possible pitfalls of research on the urban margins. Davis' noir-like and apocalyptic language depicting urban decay and climate threats, Angotti maintains, "feeds into longstanding anti-urban fears about working people who live in cities" (2006, 961). The six chapters of *Racialized Labour in Romania* firmly distance themselves from apocalyptic tones and narratives of threat. Instead, they account for a twofold sensitive oscillation, at once in terms of research approach, that is, between empirical embeddedness and theoretical

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distance, and in terms of sociological processes, that is, between global and local social arrangements.

As a matter of fact, and an issue Angotti acknowledges, Davis' analysis remarkably contextualizes the formation of marginalized urban areas within the making of post-1970s global capitalism and connects it to long-lasting colonial legacies. This point reapproaches *Planet of Slums* to *Racialized Labour in Romania*, as both strive to shed a sharp light on some of the impacts of global capitalism on peripheral urban spaces. And yet, indeed, the six chapters of the present volume seem to have a better capacity than *Planet of Slums* not only in avoiding apocalyptic tones, but in simultaneously focusing on the connections between labour organization, class formation, and processes of racial stigmatization.

This has arguably been possible due to both in-depth field-based research and a special attention granted to racializing processes, two gestures largely absent in Davis' otherwise seminal book. As discussed in Chap. 1 to *Racialized Labour in Romania* (hereafter "RLR"), opposite to "feeding into anti-urban fears," the six chapters continue some of the conversations started by critical geographers in the 1980s. In bringing those conversations close to more recent anthropological reflections on global capitalism, labour, and class divisions, the six analyses uncover the ways in which twenty-first-century capitalism does not actually *exclude* (in the literal sense), but rather *includes* (with a productive function), low-skilled and unskilled labour into accumulation processes, primarily by means of racialized and racializing material dispossession and spatial isolation. The six empirical analyses and the preceding Introduction have shown the importance of keeping a relational approach to labour, class, and race conjointly. These three phenomena can be summarized as follows.

1. *Labour organization* at present entails: lack of unionism; de-socializing the social bound deriving from the workplace; the production of a subaltern class of workers primarily employed in cleaning and other low-skill services, such as collection of recyclable waste (plastic, scrap metal, etc.); increased facility of capital to cross borders that brought forth the establishment, especially in the periphery and semiperiphery, of international companies exploiting cheap(er) labour; reduction of a number of jobs due to hyper-financialization; consequent increasing

competition for jobs, low-paid and unpaid contracts, and day labour especially in the agricultural sector. These conditions lie at the core of contemporary labour market restructuring in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond.

2. *Class formation* refers to mechanisms of social reproduction of the structure of opportunity for employment and education; processes of spatial containment, confinement and isolation, largely leading residents of destitute areas to getting stuck at the bottom of the social ladder. These conditions are likely to remain in place so long as employment, education and housing remain scarce resources.

3. *Racial domination* operates as a vehicle for the previous two. Why are Roma overrepresented to an astonishing extent in (a) lower social class positions, (b) low-waged and unwaged labour, and (c) urban segregated territories? As Chap. 2 clearly showed, the twofold legacy of the "capitalist transition"—labour market organization and urban spatial seclusion of Roma—are fundamental. But the question "Why the Roma?" remains. The Introduction explained in a very comprehensive way that the 500 years of Roma slavery in Romania is a fundamental condition for understanding exclusion and exploitation in the twenty-first century. And slavery, as much as serfdom and other forms of subjugation, including unwaged and underpaid jobs, deeply relies on the historically constituted racial conception of moral worth.[1]

Wrapped within an encompassing sociological imagination, specific foci on political economy (Chaps. 2 and 3), labour law and the welfare state (Chaps. 4 and 5), and cultural processes (Chaps. 6 and 7)—all in conversation with each other—compose a multidimensional study, which ultimately strives for rethinking the analysis of global capitalism in the twenty-first century. The precise theoretical reasoning that sustains the empirical work (see Introduction) suggests not just a generic, but a precise rethinking—one which squarely (re)centres class, labour, and race in social research and practice.

Over the last 20 years, the literature on global racial inequalities, while uncovering global relations and comparisons, seems to have largely overlooked the varied and variable intersections of two main

issues, namely (a) the role of class formation and labour organization (two processes that seem to often emerge as epiphenomena, rather than structuring forces, of racial hierarchies and racialization processes), and (b) the urban dimension and especially its socio-spatial organization (privileging, instead, national and supranational units of analysis). By contrast, RLR shows the importance of including these two issues—class and labour, and the city—which the six chapters not only foreground, but also connect to each other.

The task of this concluding chapter is to discuss this twofold contribution and to suggest ways forward in the research on intersections of class, labour, and race, especially in urban areas. I will first position RLR within the literature on racial inequalities globally; in the process, I will refer to how each of the six chapters innovatively engages with the class-labour-race complex. I will subsequently zoom out of Romanian localities to identify connections between them and cities across the urban global North and South; in this regard, the five Romanian cities and their marginalized areas will emerge as concretions of both global capital *and* global capitalism, insofar as the formation and maintenance of these urban areas—as the Introduction made clear—is made possible by the combination of socio-economic dispossession (i.e., capital) and local variations of capital accumulation strategies (i.e., capitalism).

This zooming out gesture not only shows the square embeddedness of the Romanian case within global processes of labour organization, class formation, and racial domination, but also underlines the importance of focusing on contingent local dynamics for studying global social processes relationally (Burawoy 2000; Simone 2004). In the final section of the chapter I will propose some key lines of further research, with special regard to relational and global sociologies.[2]

Racial Globalization and Cities

One of the key legacies of the World System framework has been the study of race from global and comparative perspectives. Over the last two decades, numerous scholars have proposed sharp analyses of this kind. Interestingly, their work has largely remained on a national or supranational scale, virtually never systematically approaching the urban dimension, where processes

of economic dispossession and dehumanization (i.e., racialization) clash and combine in particularly brutal ways. Relatedly, these studies have remarkably distanced themselves from a systematic analytics of labour exploitation, class formation, land expropriation, and hyper-financialization. At the other end of the spectrum, in this sense, Polanyi's (1944) fundamental contribution in considering labour, money, and land as the core of the capitalist system curiously lacks reference to logics of human hierarchization and wealth distribution such as race.

The study of racial formations globally has provided a pivotal understanding of race across national and supranational polities. In his reflections on multiple racial formations—that is, racial Europeanization, racial Latinamericanization, racial Americanization, and racial Palestinization—Goldberg (2009) has provided insightful analytical declinations of global racial inequalities and different racist exclusionary processes. One logical extension of Goldberg's research agenda, it can be argued, is to think in terms of "racial globalization." Would this, however, be possible without foregrounding the various crystallizations of racist exclusions and their intertwining with global flows of capital, goods, and people in precise local contexts? Elsewhere, the author (Goldberg 1993) has concisely excavated the connections between colonial and postcolonial urban planning and racial hierarchies across Africa, the United States, and Europe. This latter work, therefore, although not foregrounding processes of capitalist accumulation and dispossession, becomes a key reference for considering the urban dimension in research on racialized labour and spaces of marginality globally.

Another fundamental reflection on the global spread of race is Winant's (2001, 2004) comprehensive social history. His work is perhaps more than anyone else's rooted in the projects of colonial expansion to the extent that he identifies in capitalism and nation-building the two main conditions under which race became a major organizing principle and social structure of the world, shaping the North-South socio-economic steep inequalities. Labour, in Winant's analysis, becomes essential: "Between slavery and peonage, and between peonage and 'free labour', there was in practice (and remains today) a continuum, a spectrum, rather than a clear-cut, formal distinction […] slavery was the linchpin, the core activity, in the creation of modern world economy" (Winant 2001, 25, 27).

This continuum, this spectrum, however, does not only concern forms of labour but extends to temporal connections. There is a logical and ideological connection between the five centuries of white colonial domination and contemporary global flows, and this connection is related to land and labour:

> Today soy cultivation in Brazil, oil extraction in Cabinda and the Ogoni region, and labour practices in Ciudad Juarez, or Calcutta, are matters of concern in corporate headquarters in St. Louis and New York, as well as on Wall Street and at the IMF headquarters in Washington. (2004, 134)

In this regard, the author relates to RLR insofar as, as the Introduction made clear by referring to Subaltern Studies and Decolonial Studies, the five cities are understood within a global and *longue durée* perspective. Echoing Gregory's (2004) global geography of contemporary colonial practices, Winant (2001, 2004) firmly grounds his global history of race onto the making of class formation and labour exploitation. While decisively comprehensive, however, the work overlooks the urban socio-spatial dimension as a chief medium of these political-economic processes.

The socio-spatial dimension is at the core of another global history of racial formations. Nightingale's (2012) pioneering study of racial segregation globally is the first work of this kind. While remarkably surveying the major colonial and postcolonial planning endeavours that resulted in segregated local arrangements, however, the work leaves labour organization and class formation, and more generally political economy, in the background. It would be probably impossible to impute this to a lack of empirical material, as the author provides a significant amount of data. It is, however, outstanding that, while land and urban space occupy the front stage, labour and class remain, though considered, not thoroughly discussed.

Finally, Wolfe's (2016) seminal work on racial structures globally contextualizes different "regimes of difference with which colonizers have sought to manage subject populations" (Wolfe 2016, 3) in a multistate framework—Australia, United States, Central Europe, Brazil and Palestine. In dissecting the ways in which race's versatility paves the way for various types of domination, Wolfe provides a compelling global overview. However, after acknowledging the primacy of labour exploitation

and land expropriation as the founding principles of race during the Enlightenment (for example, in John Locke's philosophy), the author soon diverges to a conception of race as an ideology rather independent from processes of labour and class: "Thus race is not a negotiable condition but a destiny, one whose principal outward sign is the body. In systematically harnessing social hierarchies to natural essences and recruiting physical characteristics to underwrite the scheme, race constitutes an ideology in the purest of senses" (Wolfe 2016, 7).

RLR sits originally within these global perspectives on race. Not only because it shows multiple intersections of labour, class, race, urban governance, spatial isolation, and gentrification, but also because it considers these processes within the global circulation of capital, from the perspective of Romania, a semi-peripheral national economy. In addition, RLR discusses a country in a global region—Central and Eastern Europe—which is typically overlooked in global and comparative studies of racial formations (Law 2012).

Hence, Norbert Petrovici's (Chap. 2) socio-historical analysis of the formation of our researched urban areas over the last 25 years shows that most of the inhabitants were actually born in these areas. This means that the most common reason why they are still living there is that they lost their jobs in the 1990s and remained trapped in those areas. Today, far from being useless "pockets of poverty," as these urban areas are often described in the media and in policy documents, they are useful providers of cheap and unregulated labour. Moreover, as Cristina Raţ, Enikő Vincze, and Anca Simionca explain, their labour is not only consistently underpaid but also often unrecognized; and in the context of recent and current neoliberalization of the welfare state, these labour-intensive families are left with highly inconsistent and intermittent social support, and the resulting socio-economic precarization leaves them with very little chance to obtain regular job contracts.

Moreover, as Enikő Vincze (Chap. 3) makes clear, the privatization of the public housing fund, the commodification of housing by developers supported by the state, and the pauperization and precarization of the labour force, who are pushed to find cheap housing at the urban margins, become key conditions for ghettoization and spatial seclusion. What the author calls "hidden politics of destitution" is the state's strategic omission of housing reconstruction and maintenance, within the current privatization, marketization, and hyper-financialization of

housing and land. This occurs in line with the dominant idea, shared by policymakers and economic elites, that the inhabitants of marginal spaces are somehow "less human than their fellow citizens." Racialization, therefore, emerges as a process of inferiorization of Roma ethnicity, poverty, and precarious spaces, and as the discursive construction of moral (un)worthiness—a point which also Simionca uncovers. And, as Orsolya Vincze discusses in Chap. 5, such a racist discursive construction is also widespread in local media. For example, deploying narratives about "Roma" as different from "citizens" forms a divide that clearly becomes useful for maintaining conditions of segregation and material destitution. This is consistent with the general lack of contextualization in the media discourse on these areas, and within economic and political processes privileging instead the individualizing narratives of urban marginality.

Media representations may also become a source, rather than an analytical object, of academic studies. This is sometimes the case when it comes to the various nouns attached to destituted and segregated urban areas, such as those under scrutiny in this book. Berescu's point about the ambivalence and typical lack of rigour in deploying the nouns "ghetto" and "ghettoization" sheds an important light on how such ambivalence often plays into situated processes of stigmatization and racialization of peripheral urban locations. Finally, the value of approaching processes of dispossession and labour racialization from a joint political-economic and cultural perspective becomes even clearer in Chap. 7, by Simionca, which is devoted to imaginaries of urban development within institutional narratives. In all five cities under scrutiny, the dominant visions of urban development revolve around both the centrality of foreign investments and a very specific idea of a worker. The ideal worker who, according to policy and economic elites, would contribute to the success of the urban economy is the hyper-flexible, hyper-productive, and fully "employable" subject. To this ideal, the imagined Roma stands out as the perfect antithesis—racist idioms relating to a corrupted work ethic become the vehicle for constructing the "unproductive" Roma subject.

In (re)centring labour, class, and race, the six empirical chapters build an integrated analysis, which sits originally within contemporary studies of racial formations globally. Its contribution also rests on a focus on local, rather than national or supranational, contexts.

Local Concretions of Global Capitalism

So far, I have situated the six empirical analyses within recent studies of race globally. In accounting for the linkages between racialized labour, class reproduction, and spaces of marginality in a number of medium-size and small urban centres, as I showed, RLR stresses the importance of keeping a multidimensional approach to twenty-first-century processes of racialized dispossession and spatial relegation; an approach which, rather than compartmentalized and fragmented, integrates political economy, culture, and law and policy towards analysing the various ways in which class, labour, and race intersect in the making and reproduction of various forms of subjugation and dispossession. These diverse yet tightly connected processes account for situated intersections of global and local socio-economic dynamics. In this regard, RLR does not only provide the case of a country, which, as discussed, sits originally in the landscape of a global analysis of race, but also the case of specific types of urbanism.

The five cities can indeed be viewed as urban formations in connection with key dynamics of twenty-first-century global capitalism, such as massive privatization and decentralization of means of production, de-socialization of labour (i.e., disempowerment of unions), cutbacks in public spending for social care, and financialization of housing (Rolnik 2013; Sassen 2014).[3] Crucially, one of the impacts of these global dynamics is the global increase, from 1990 to 2014, of the size of slum populations by about one-third—from 689 million to 881 million (UN-HABITAT 2016a); related trends are the multiplication of confined dwelling arrangements among the urban poor (ibidem), the highest number of displaced people since World War II, that is, more than 65 million (UNHCR 2017), and steep inequalities in real wage growth between developing and developed countries (ILO 2017). In this global context, it becomes heuristic to outline similarities between dynamics in RLR's five cities and in other urban locations across the globe. This is the task of this section.

A premise, however, feels necessary. As discussed in the Introduction, we consider the case of stigmatized and deprived areas as "peripheral" concretions of global capitalism. While Romania—just as Central and Eastern

Europe more generally—is considered to be in the "semi-periphery" (Wallerstein 1974), we contend, and support with empirical evidence, that these areas constitute "periphery" formations within one "semi-peripheral" national context.

The centre-periphery distinction was first introduced in order to account for the organizing logic of global capitalism in a time of major political and economic transformations, primarily due to decolonization and the making of renewed geopolitical balances. The global perspective that such a distinction provided was a major novelty in the political-economy literature of the 1960s, which typically took the nation state as the only unit of analysis. Considering the post–World War II emergence of global neoliberal doctrines, which were drawing on economic ideas from the 1940s—first implemented nationally in the West by Thatcher and Reagan in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and bearing tough consequences in the twenty-first century (Hall et al. 2015; Hilgers 2012)—Wallerstein's global framework becomes particularly helpful. At the same time, it can be used with a certain degree of adaptability, for instance in considering the concept of periphery as an ideal type, as heuristic for looking at socio-economic arrangements on the urban, in addition to the national, scale.

Hence, the value of building cross-national and cross-urban linkages and comparisons between peripheral forms of urbanism is not merely analytical. By structuring a sharp gaze on marginalized territories, racialized labour, and dispossession processes across the tiers of global capitalism, I maintain, a deeper knowledge of the common features of these phenomena can be gained. Such deeper knowledge will be able, in turn, to engage not only in further research venues and topics—a point I will discuss in the next section—but also in transformative analyses and actions.

One important work which accounts for global capital's connections with labour, class, and spatial confinement is Buckley's (2012) study of Dubai's construction labour force governance. Since the mid-2000s, charities and corporate social responsibility activities provide a private welfare to the massive number of migrant workers in the "autocratic city." By focusing exclusively on workers' bodies in view of maintaining a "body capital," the author contends, these organizations contribute to the persistence of labour exploitation. The chief condition for this situation is the marketization and commodification of the urban space that creates a

need for cheap and exploitable working bodies, whose "health and hygiene became centrally important to a highly speculative property development market that, by the mid 2000s, lay at the heart of Dubai's economy" (2012, 264). Workers' confinement to labour camps inside construction sites is the main working condition, which once became—in the instance Buckley focuses on—a strategic site for workers' organization and politics.

The labour camps of Dubai's construction sites are highly precarious and unhealthy locations in or nearby cities where thousands of migrant workers, primarily from Southeast Asia, work for months and years (Abdul-Ahad 2008).[4] They are one example of how the transformation of workers' locations and spaces in the city is connected to the changing trajectories of capital accumulation in the form of marketization and commodification of housing and land, especially urban land.

Another refraction of these developments is eviction, which can be described as a specific type of "accumulation by [housing] dispossession" (Harvey 2004; see Chap. 1). Bahn's (2009) account of the multiple evictions of Delhi urban poor shows how "housing dispossession" signals a shift in urban politics. From 1990 to 2007, about 100,000 homes were demolished in Delhi, and about half of these occurred between 2004 and 2007. By looking at court judgements, the author argues that this massive increase was mainly due to three factors: (a) misrecognition of the urban poor and responsibilization of them for their own socio-economic conditions; (b) the rise of neoliberal doctrines of self-government and market participation, which paved the way for a fall in real wages starting in the late 1990s and the concomitant precarization of labour; and (c) the "aestheticization" of poverty, by means of huge investment for refurbishing cities aesthetically at the expense of real housing upgrades or support for the well-being of the urban poor (see also Roy 2005).[5]

Similar neoliberal developments can be found in RLR's five cities—as Enikő Vincze explains in Chap. 3, forced displacement, dislocation, spatial destitution, and selective development of periphery urban areas occurred in some or in all of these cities. The major transformations in urban policy that paved the way for these developments included the commodification of urban spaces and gradual dismantling of the social housing system. The 2010 eviction of 76 families (the vast majority

Roma) from the centre to the far periphery of Cluj-Napoca, close to the regional landfill, shows similarities with urban policy trends in Delhi that Bahn (2009) examines. In particular, the "aestheticization" aspect of Delhi's urban policy resembles almost strikingly the municipality's rhetoric that accompanied the 2010 eviction. The dominant discourse, which featured both in the media and as the public justification to national and international human rights NGOs, was that the 76 Roma families were living in unhealthy and overcrowded conditions and this was considered improper for a "civilized" city. The construction of a large multifunctional building that jointly belongs to the Orthodox Church and to Babeş-Bolyai University, in place of the 76 families' housing, accounts for an urban policy which prioritizes "aesthetic" values over the well-being of urban dwellers.

Evictions are a particularly interesting lens through which to understand key urban processes globally. As Roy (2017, 2) discusses, "Evictions thus provide a window onto the urban land question, specifically who owns land and on what terms, who profits from land and on what terms, and how the ownership, use, and financialization of land is governed and regulated by the state." As such, evictions can be taken as entry points anywhere in the world, to study local concretions of global ideologies of capital accumulation (i.e., capitalism). And yet, Roy (2017, 8) further explains, "in what ways are such forms of urban banishment also racial banishment?… If banishment is enacted to uphold the norms of 'order' and 'civility' then it is necessary to recognize the social meanings associated with these norms." It is at this precise conjuncture that the 2010 eviction in Cluj-Napoca needs to be placed and its racial meanings to be recognized (Picker 2017, 84–106). More generally, Roy's (2017) analysis is a seminal attempt to summarize recent research on material dispossession especially at the urban margins and to connect it with conceptions of humanhood and principles of human hierarchization such as race.

The Clujean landfill (called Pata Rât) as a radically marginalized settlement, as Vincze discusses, is an example of "long dispossession" (Carbonella and Kasmir 2014), meaning its history includes about five decades and multiple generations of hundreds of people, the majority of them Roma. This parallels Bayat's (1997) seminal depiction of the long history of the urbanization of the poor in Iran; the author shows with great details and a

masterful narration that rural-urban migration, housing problems, and an increase in street subsistence work have all been key factors for the increase in number of slum dwellers and squatters: "by the eve of the Islamic Revolution [1978] the poor constituted a fairly distinct social group identified chiefly by the place of their residence" (1997, 23). As a result, by 1980, Tehran's slums were home to over one million people; today, their increased number (UN-HABITAT 2016b) suggests a complex combination of market-centred policy and global political economy, including economic sanctions and the more recent embargo.

This brings the discussion to a last example of how dynamics in and around the five cities speak to other contexts worldwide. Not only can similar dynamics be found in the urban global South; in Madrid, for example, the neighbourhood of Cañada Real is home to one of the largest slums in Spain. Gonick (2015) offers an in-depth examination of the ways in which big foreign investment play out in the local governance of the neighbourhood that has increasingly made use of racial tropes for enacting measures aiming at the "improvement" of the area. One of the main justifications used to adopt this governmental approach was Madrid's candidacy for the summer Olympics, every year since 2005, as well as negotiations with Las Vegas Sands Corporation to build "Eurovegas," Europe's largest gaming city, right close to Cañada Real. The racial rationale of neoliberal governance was evident in the 2007 government's campaign to demolish the slum, especially in its most widespread media echo (the state-owned TV channel), underlining the ethnic identity (Roma) of some of the inhabitants, and coupling images of veiled Muslim women with danger and death.

The Class-Labour-Race Complex: Ways Forward

That dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa; in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States—that great majority of mankind, on whose bent and broken backs rest today the founding stones of modern industry—shares a common destiny; it is dispersed and rejected by race and color; paid a wage below the level of decent living; driven, beaten, prisoned, and enslaved in all but

name; spawning the world's raw material and luxury-cotton, wool, coffee, tea, cocoa, palm oil, fibers, spices, rubber silks, lumber, copper, gold, diamonds, leather—how shall we end the list and where?

W.E.B. Du Bois 1975 [1935], quoted in Winant (2004, 27).

Inspired by Du Bois' sharp reflections, the multiple global connections and correspondences I outlined in the previous section suggest new venues of research and a contribution to advance existing ones. (Re)centring labour organization, class formation, and processes of racialization *relationally* in analyses of urban dynamics may take different forms and be carried out from different perspectives. As already briefly noted, Roy (2017) has recently started a global conversation, which attempts to connect urban processes of capital accumulation, home and land restructuring, spatial governance, and racial banishment, with philosophies of dispossession.[6] This attempt can inspire new directions and open new perspectives in research on the urban margins.

In view of proceeding within an intersectional approach, moreover, it is important to introduce an emphasis and a focus on gender and gender relations. Labour and class are always gendered—and, equally, racialization happens through and within sexualization and the making of gender roles, divisions, and hierarchies. One example of this intersectional perspective comes from Melanie Samson's (2010) study of waste management. The author interrogates waste management in Johannesburg from a compellingly intersectional lens, demonstrating how in the process of privatization, gender, race, and class *conjointly* contribute to articulate an assemblage of material and symbolic conditions that produce active yet unrecognized workers. Including gender, Samson's work suggests, allows both empirical and theoretical dissections not only of differential forms of subjugation by the market and the state, but also internally, within the community. This is another aspect of research on the urban margins that seems often overlooked—internal power dynamics in typically marginalized communities.

Venues of further research may also include various forms of religion and religiosity, not only as a possible medium for racialization, but also as a symbolic reference, which may become cultural and even economic capital.

The ways in which religion penetrates in marginalized communities (and, for that matter, in any community) typically bear strict connections to fluxes of capital, economic restructuring, and labour organization. This makes religion a particularly interesting resource, which can be both empowering and, as Gramsci (1971, 668–685) noted, an obstacle for the subaltern classes on the way to education and emancipation.

This point brings another, possible venue for further research on labour, class, and race at the intersection of spatial segregation. The making of hierarchical spatial divisions between deemed unworthiness, and (self-)deemed worthiness in cities has its origins in the very first colonized territories of the "New World" (Goldberg 1993; Nightingale 2012). In other words, one of the reasons why today spatial segregation, isolation, seclusion, and confinement largely appear self-evident phenomena in cities worldwide is because this kind of spatial arrangement is rooted in more than 500 years of overseas capitalist exploitation of primarily labour and land. As colonial histories are embroidered with labour exploitation, slavery, land expropriation and financialization, and segregation, they may also be part of contemporary forms of housing banishment, territorial stigmatization, and ghettoization. These multiple histories, from US plantations to reservations for indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, and Australia, are connected via capitalist accumulation, class formation, and land expropriation. The racial connotation of these processes is variously configured, and, yet, analyses of them are typically limited to the Western world, largely leaving global regions like Eastern Europe out of the picture.

What lines of interrelations exist between contemporary Central and Eastern European (and Russia and the former Soviet Republics contexts) and the legacies of colonial experimentation of racial divisions, slavery (especially second slavery), and spatial segregation? In the Introduction, a hint has been made to Subaltern Studies and Decolonial Studies. To date, however, these disciplines have not been interrogated as sites of analytical efforts towards better understanding processes of labour organization, class formation, and racial domination in contemporary Central and Eastern Europe. More generally, this global region is often left undiscussed in studies on "racial capitalism" (Robinson 1983); an even less discussed issue is the spatial dimensions of capitalism, that is, how the

organization of labour, structured through a capitalist logic, contributes to perpetuate racialized hierarchies via the use of (urban) space in Central and Eastern Europe; and how in turn, then, spatial divisions function in the perpetuation of racialized labour relations, keeping socio-symbolic hierarchies in place.

Shifting the key analytical focus from nation-states to cities and urban social arrangements is one of the possible answers. In view of this proposal, it is particularly helpful to consider colonialism as a set of experiments in technologies of governance and, more generally, in organizing the social, including class and labour and race. As Cooper and Stoler (1997) have showed, between the colony and the metropole there have always been numerous circulations and borrowings not only of natural resources, goods, and products, but also of doctrines and theories, of forms of knowledge and governance attitudes towards "native" populations and governance.

From here, and without excessively simplifying the complexity of these processes, a point of departure are the various processes of post-1989 Central and Eastern European governments' borrowing from Western countries policy framings on privatization and entrepreneurialism. So, if the latter have largely built their wealth and statecraft on colonial expansion and domination (Steinmetz 2008), a line could be traced between colonialism, Western Europe, and post-1990s Eastern Europe. And it is precisely in the domains of labour organization and class formation, embedded in processes of spatial segregation, that this triangular connection might appear in the brightest light.

The study of the complex and long history of colony-metropole circulations of goods, capital, ideas, and people remains limited to only those geopolitical contexts that were directly involved in the flows and connections—former colonized countries and Western Europe. By contrast, RLR shows that Central and Eastern European provinces are affected by European imperial and colonial dynamics more than it is usually thought—the twenty-first-century racialization of marginalized labour is one example. This suggests that more research on this issue should be carried out, and we hope our contribution will encourage further work in this direction.

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Ultimately, *Racialized Labour in Romania* demonstrates the necessity for thinking relationally about the complex making of sites of social marginality at the periphery of global capitalism, and strives to inform and inspire global and critical perspectives.

Notes

1. This moral subtext of normative understanding of human worth, and lack thereof, remains the core of race as a modern regulatory mechanism of social arrangements (Goldberg 2002). Being predicated upon a continuous oscillation between the biological (i.e., physical appearance) and the cultural (i.e., behaviour), race regulates the interplay of labour organization and class (and gender) formation within the framework of historically embedded processes of labour exploitation and spatial segregation.

2. One last note concerns positionality. In designing lines and trajectories of commonalities between cities at the periphery of the world system, I may get exposed to one of Angotti's (2006) criticisms of *Planet of Slums*, which he deems "a survey of cities in the South by a stranger from the North" (962). As a stranger to Romania, raised and formed in the European West, having only done recent research in Romania (Picker 2017, Chap. 3), I will, to the best of my capacity, adopt a "pragmatic reflexivity" (Herzfeld 2001).

3. Moreover, from 1988 to 2000 inequality between countries has decreased, but within countries it has increased (Sassen 2014, 31). This accounts for the necessity of looking at specific local and regional territories and societies within countries and dissecting common trends and configurations.

4. https://www.theguardian.com/global/gallery/2008/oct/08/1

5. On this point, Bahn (2009) echoes Angotti's (2006) criticism of Davis (2006) that I have mentioned at the start of the chapter. Discursively assimilating the urban poor to slum dwellers, as Davis (2006) does, according to Bahn (2009), contributes to flatten the dominant view on the poor and prevents a detailed understanding of their various material and symbolic living conditions.

6. On philosophies of dispossession and their various declinations, see Butler and Athanasiou (2013) and Bhandar and Bhandar (2016).

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