

Andy Clarno

NEOLIBERAL



APARTHEID

Palestine/Israel and
South Africa after 1994

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PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND
SOUTH AFRICA AFTER 1994

Andy Clarno

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إلى فيليكس و حنظلة
For Felix and Handala

One thought alone preoccupies the submerged mind of Empire: how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong its era. By day it pursues its enemies. It is cunning and ruthless, it sends its bloodhounds everywhere. By night it feeds on images of disaster: the sack of cities, the rape of populations, pyramids of bones, acres of desolation.

J. M. COETZEE, *Waiting for the Barbarians*

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

AAC: Alexandra Action Committee
ACO: Alexandra Civic Organization
AEC: Anti-Eviction Campaign
AHC: Alexandra Health Committee
ALPOA: Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association
ANC: African National Congress
APF: Anti-Privatisation Forum
ARIJ: Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem
ARP: Alexandra Renewal Project
ATC: Alexandra Town Council
AVCC: Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee
BDS: Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions
BEE: Black Economic Empowerment
CAP: Community Active Patrol
CID: City Improvement District
CLO: Community Liaison Officer
COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP: Palestinian Civil Police
CPF: Community Police Forums
DCO: District Coordinating Office
EU: European Union
EUPOL-COPPS: EU Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support
FXI: Freedom of Expression Institute

G A D F : Greater Alexandra Development Forum
G E A R : Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
G I S : Palestinian General Intelligence Service
H I S T A D R U T : General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel
I C C C : Incident Command and Control Center
I M F : International Monetary Fund
J I P T C : Jordan International Police Training Center
J N F : Jewish National Fund
J S C P D : Joint Services Council for Planning and Development
L P M : Landless Peoples' Movement
L R C : Legal Resources Centre
M E N A : Middle East/North Africa economic summits
M I : Palestinian Military Intelligence
M O I : Ministry of the Interior
N C P S : National Crime Prevention Strategy
N G O : nongovernmental organization
N S F : Palestinian National Security Forces
P A : Palestinian Authority
P A S S : Palestinian Academy of Security Sciences (Al-Istiqlal University)
P F L P : Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
P G : Palestinian Presidential Guard
P I C : Palestine Investment Conference
P L O : Palestine Liberation Organization
P R D P : Palestinian Reform and Development Plan
P S I R A : Private Security Industry Regulatory Agency
P S O : Palestinian Preventive Security Organization
P U A H B : Peri-Urban Areas Health Board
R A : residents' association
R D P : Reconstruction and Development Programme
S A C P : South African Communist Party
S A D F : South African Defence Force
S A P S : South African Police Service
S M I : Social Movements Indaba
T R C : Truth and Reconciliation Commission
U N : United Nations
U N R W A : United Nations Relief and Works Association

U S : United States

U S S C : US Security Coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority

W C A R : World Conference against Racism

W C R : Wynberg Concerned Residents

W S S D : World Summit on Sustainable Development

INTRODUCTION

Racial Capitalism and Settler Colonialism

Two of the most significant social transformations of the late twentieth century began just months apart. In September 1993, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn, unveiling the “Oslo peace process” between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The following April, Nelson Mandela cast his ballot—along with millions of other Black¹ South Africans—in the first democratic election of the postapartheid era. These moments of hope remain powerful symbols of the simultaneous transitions that have reshaped social relations in Palestine/Israel and South Africa over the last twenty years.

The transitions have had remarkably different impacts on the political freedom of Palestinians and Black South Africans. Dismantling the apartheid state freed Black South Africans from political domination by the white minority. The South African state was democratized and deracialized and Black South Africans gained formal legal equality. This victory in the struggle against white supremacy has made South Africa a beacon of hope for millions. Palestinians, on the other hand, won neither freedom nor equality through the formation of the Palestinian Authority (PA). The State of Israel remains a settler colonial state, retains full sovereign control over the entire territory of Palestine/Israel,² and continues to colonize Palestinian land and displace Palestinian people.

Scholars and activists increasingly turn to South Africa to make sense of current conditions in Palestine/Israel, to explore strategies of resistance, and to conceptualize possible futures. For many observers, South Africa represents a principled rejection of settler colonialism, a model of a one-state solution,

and a vision of reconciliation and multiracial democracy based on a common humanity. In addition, the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign has made tremendous gains building on the tactics of the South African antiapartheid movement. As Ali Abunimah argues, “The hope held out by South Africa is that when Israelis and Palestinians finally do conclude that separation is unachievable, there is an example of an alternative to perpetual conflict.”³

As Palestinians draw inspiration from South African liberation, it is productive to consider not only the achievements of the liberation movement but also its limitations. Postapartheid South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world. A small Black elite and a growing Black middle class have emerged alongside the old white elite, who still control the vast majority of land and wealth in the country. The Black poor have been relegated to a life of permanent unemployment, informal housing, and high rates of HIV/AIDS in the townships and shack settlements of the urban periphery. Upper- and middle-class South Africans—white and Black—surround their homes with brick walls and electric fences, put gates around their neighborhoods, and hire private security companies for protection. Racialized anxieties about “Black crime” have led residents’ associations and private security companies to develop cutting-edge strategies for regulating the presence of the Black poor in wealthy neighborhoods.

Strikingly similar socioeconomic changes have occurred in Palestine/Israel. While a Jewish Israeli business elite accumulates tremendous wealth, working-class Israelis face cuts to social welfare and attacks on union labor. At the same time, a small Palestinian elite with close ties to the PA has grown rich, but the vast majority of Palestinians confront unemployment, land confiscation, and constant repression. With restricted access to the Israeli labor market, Palestinians from the West Bank increasingly depend on jobs with the PA, informal economic activities, and undocumented work in Israel and the settlements. Meanwhile, the State of Israel is building a series of walls and fences around Jerusalem and other Palestinian communities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A racialized discourse of “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” has shaped the emergence of a network of coordinated security forces—involving Israel, the United States, the European Union, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority—that police Palestinians in the West Bank.

Given the divergent political transitions, what accounts for the simultaneous development of extreme inequality, racialized poverty, and advanced strategies for securing the powerful and policing the poor in South Africa and Palestine/Israel over the last twenty years? And what does this teach us about

marginalization and securitization in an era of neoliberal globalization? In *Neoliberal Apartheid*, I address these questions through a comparative analysis of the simultaneous transitions in South Africa and Palestine/Israel since the early 1990s. Situating these transitions in a global context, *Neoliberal Apartheid* is the first comparative study of postapartheid South Africa and post-Oslo Palestine/Israel. It addresses the limitations of transformation in South Africa, highlights the political economy of Palestine/Israel, and argues that a new form of “neoliberal apartheid” has emerged in both South Africa and Palestine/Israel. Overall, *Neoliberal Apartheid* examines how the shifting relationship between racism, capitalism, colonialism, and empire has generated inequality and insecurity, marginalization and securitization in South Africa, Palestine/Israel, and other parts of the world.

SOUTH AFRICA AND PALESTINE/ISRAEL

Israel is not consistent in this new anti-apartheid attitude . . . they took Israel away from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years. In that, I agree with them. Israel, like South Africa, is an apartheid state.

SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER HENDRIK VERWOERD,

Rand Daily Mail, 1961

For nearly fifty years, scholars and activists have drawn comparisons between Palestine/Israel and South Africa.⁴ In the early 1970s, Palestinian intellectuals pointed to similarities between the Bantustan strategy in South Africa and Israeli proposals for Palestinian “autonomy” in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.⁵ By the 1980s, critical Israeli scholars had declared Israel an “apartheid state”⁶ and suggested that Gaza was “the Soweto of the State of Israel.”⁷

The comparisons grew increasingly common after 1994. Human rights organizations began denouncing the “Bantustanization” of the West Bank⁸ and Edward Said drew attention to the racism and segregation that were entrenching an “Israeli apartheid system.”⁹ In 2001, the comparison gained global prominence at the World Conference against Racism (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa, where the NGO Forum issued a powerful statement that declared Israel an “apartheid state.”¹⁰ Since that time, scholars, activists, and even a former US president have drawn comparisons between South Africa and Palestine/Israel in an effort to understand and challenge Israeli apartheid.¹¹

All of the recent comparisons focus on South Africa *before* 1994 and Palestine/Israel *after* 1994.¹² Overall, they demonstrate that the regime of political domination in Palestine/Israel today is an updated—and potentially more

extreme—form of apartheid. Recent studies underscore the existence of a dual legal system in the occupied territories, with Israeli settlers subject to Israeli civil law and Palestinians subject to Israeli military rule. They document the formal legal discrimination against Palestinians who became citizens of Israel after 1948. They trace similarities between the South African “pass laws” and the permit regime that the State of Israel uses to classify, track, and control the movement of Palestinians from the occupied territories. They explain the parallels between the fragmented Palestinian enclosures in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Bantustans in apartheid-era South Africa. They argue that a Palestinian state comprised of these isolated enclosures would be both illegitimate and unviable. And they demonstrate that the UN International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid applies to Israeli practices in Palestine/Israel today.

Building on these insightful and productive studies, *Neoliberal Apartheid* advances the comparison in two ways. First, whereas most research on Palestine/Israel concentrates on the political dynamics of state violence, my research analyzes the political economy of settler colonialism and racial capitalism. In doing so, it engages with well-established traditions of South African scholarship and contributes to an emerging body of critical political-economic scholarship on Palestine/Israel. Exploring the connections between capitalism and colonialism allows for attention to the role of neoliberal restructuring in the Oslo process. This not only extends the analysis of Israeli rule, it also helps situate Palestine/Israel in the global context and emphasizes connections between struggles.

Second, this study brings the comparison into the present by analyzing South Africa after 1994. While many scholars and activists recognize the limitations of liberation in South Africa, comparative studies have not yet analyzed these limitations or considered their implications for Palestine/Israel. By setting aside the postapartheid era, existing comparative studies often bolster the myth of the “new South Africa” and the assumption that deracializing the state is equivalent to decolonization. In this book, I challenge that assumption through a study of marginalization and securitization in postapartheid South Africa.

Through a political-economic analysis of the simultaneous transitions of the last twenty years, *Neoliberal Apartheid* provides an account of the diverging trajectories of state transformation and the converging processes of social and economic restructuring in South Africa and Palestine/Israel. In doing so, it situates Palestine/Israel and South Africa within the shifting post-Cold War world historical context—including contestations over the hegemony of

neoliberal capitalism, the United States empire, the global “war on terror,” and the resurgence of social movements against capitalism, racism, war, and empire.¹³

SETTLER COLONIALISM AND RACIAL CAPITALISM

Two fields of critical interdisciplinary scholarship provide the foundations for my analysis of the transitions in South Africa and Palestine/Israel: settler colonialism and racial capitalism. Settler colonialism provides an important framework for analysis because of its focus on land, race, and the state as well as the questions that it generates about “decolonization.” Considering racial capitalism is indispensable because it focuses analytic attention on the connections between racism, capitalism, colonialism, and empire; the shifting articulations between race and class; and the impacts of neoliberal restructuring.

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism is a form of colonization marked by ongoing efforts to displace local populations and expropriate their land in order to establish or expand a society dominated by settlers. Common in the 1960s and 1970s but rare in the 1980s and 1990s, studies of settler colonialism have reemerged in recent years, especially within the fields of indigenous studies and Palestine studies.¹⁴

At the core of settler colonial projects are *land*, *race*, and the *state*. Colonization, in this sense, refers to the process of establishing control over land through displacement, expropriation, and settlement.¹⁵ Settler colonialism operates through racial projects that devalue and dehumanize “native” populations, provide “ethical” or “legal” arguments for dispossession, and contribute to the formation of racialized structures of settler domination. Among the most important of these structures is the settler state, which provides a powerful tool for dispossession, exploitation, and domination.¹⁶

In work that helped spark the revival of settler colonial studies, Patrick Wolfe explains that settler colonial projects prioritize the “elimination of the native” in order to build a settler society on expropriated land.¹⁷ Lorenzo Veracini adds that settler colonialism is distinct from other forms of colonization because it is premised on the elimination rather than the exploitation of indigenous populations.¹⁸ Although Veracini and Wolfe acknowledge that the logic of elimination intersects in complex ways with capitalist demands for labor, much of the recent scholarship has emphasized colonization *rather than* capitalism.

Palestine/Israel has been central to the reemergence of settler colonial studies.¹⁹ As Omar Jabary Salamanca, Mezna Qato, Kareem Rabie, and Sobhi Samour point out, the analysis of Zionism as a settler colonial project is part of a broader reorientation of scholarship and activism away from a narrow focus on the occupied territories toward a more comprehensive focus on Israeli practices toward Palestinians inside Israel, in the occupied territories, and in the diaspora.²⁰ The settler colonial paradigm has informed new research on the mass displacement of Palestinians in 1948, racial formation and contestations over citizenship among Palestinians who became citizens of Israel after 1948 (also known as 1948 Palestinians), the urban landscape of Jerusalem, and permanent war and securitization.²¹

South Africa, on the other hand, holds an ambiguous place in recent studies of settler colonialism because Europeans sought to exploit and not just expel the African population. Yet there was never a simple opposition between colonization and exploitation. Although the exploitation of cheap African labor became a defining feature of South African capitalism after the discovery of gold and diamonds, the growing demand for labor did not replace or diminish the settler colonial demand for land. Indeed, South African history reveals the importance of analyzing the context-specific relationships between capitalism and colonialism in settler colonial states.

A few critical scholars have recently begun exploring these relationships.²² Glen Coulthard, for instance, builds on Karl Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation" to analyze dispossession in settler colonial states.²³ He argues that settler colonial projects require us to rework Marx's theory by demonstrating that dispossession is an *ongoing* process that cannot be reduced to violence and is not necessarily progressive. Situating settler colonialism in relation to capitalism, Coulthard reveals that settler colonial dispossession is a strategy for simultaneously eliminating an unwanted population and accumulating land and wealth.

In addition, Taiaiake Alfred, Audra Simpson, Alyosha Goldstein, Glen Coulthard, and Elizabeth Povinelli have critiqued a late twentieth-century paradigm of settler colonial rule that involves the "recognition" of indigenous subjects and their incorporation into forms of limited self-government.²⁴ Like "color-blind" racism, recognition is a neoliberal form of rule that operates through symbolic denials of ongoing racial domination. My analysis of (de)colonization in South Africa and Palestine/Israel treats these strategies as important components of neoliberal apartheid.

Finally, Jodi Byrd, Shona Jackson, Barbara Krauthamer, and Lisa Lowe have studied the complex interconnections between dispossession and exploita-

tion involving native populations, enslaved Africans, indentured servants, and European settlers.²⁵ Jackson, for instance, highlights the importance of labor for claims to “indigeneity” by the Creole descendants of formerly enslaved African and indentured South Asian workers in Guyana.²⁶ Holding positions of power in the postcolonial state, members of the Creole population employ a discourse of belonging grounded in labor that establishes their connection to the land while reinforcing the marginalization and ongoing displacement of the indigenous population. Rather than treating dispossession and exploitation as mutually exclusive or establishing strict distinctions between settler colonialism and other forms of colonialism, I follow these scholars in highlighting their interconnections.

In *Neoliberal Apartheid*, I analyze Israel and South Africa as settler colonial states, with attention to the relationship between colonialism and capitalism. Rather than focusing on the initial moment of colonization and state formation, however, I concentrate on the process of “(de)colonization.” In the 1980s, South Africa and Israel stood out as settler states that survived struggles against colonial rule that transformed Africa and the Middle East between the 1950s and 1970s. By the early 1990s, however, South Africa and Israel had begun negotiations with representatives of national liberation movements—the African National Congress (ANC) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Many hoped that these negotiations would fulfill popular demands for decolonization.

As Patrick Wolfe points out, “settler colonialism is relatively impervious to regime change.”²⁷ What constitutes decolonization in a settler colonial state? My analysis concentrates on questions of *land*, *race*, and the *state* because of their centrality to settler colonial projects. In terms of the state, South Africa and Palestine/Israel have followed fundamentally different trajectories over the last twenty years. While the South African state was democratized, Israel remains a settler colonial state within which Palestinians in the occupied territories exercise a limited form of neoliberal self-government. Analyzing the questions of land and race reinforces the conclusion that the Oslo process has entrenched rather than reversed settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel. Considering land and race in South Africa, on the other hand, highlights the incomplete nature of decolonization in the postapartheid state. Although the state no longer actively colonizes the land of Black South Africans, the vast majority of land remains in the hands of the old white elite. And South African social structures remain highly racialized. In using the term “(de)colonization,” therefore, I am referencing the continuation of colonization in Palestine/Israel and the limits of decolonization in South Africa.

The revival of settler colonial studies thus provides an important foundation for my research. To fully appreciate the relationship between racism and capitalism in settler colonial projects, however, requires engaging with emerging scholarship on racial capitalism. Despite overlapping subjects of inquiry, settler colonialism and racial capitalism remain largely separate fields of study. *Neoliberal Apartheid* reframes the conversation by considering the relationship between the (de)colonization of settler colonial states and the neoliberalization of racial capitalism.

Racial Capitalism

Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class.

THE AZANIAN MANIFESTO, 1984

During the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa was the focus of urgent debates about the relationship between racial domination and capital accumulation.²⁸ A dialogue between Marxists and radical intellectuals from the Black Consciousness Movement generated an innovative analysis of apartheid as a system of “racial capitalism.”²⁹ Codified in the 1984 Azanian Manifesto, the critique of racial capitalism included the role of the white working class and parts of the Black middle class in supporting the white capitalist elite and the racial state. Unless racism and capitalism were confronted together, South African radicals predicted, postapartheid South Africa would remain divided and unequal. The transition has lent support to their thesis. In the words of the late Neville Alexander, “what we used to call the apartheid-capitalist system has simply given way to the post-apartheid-capitalist system.”³⁰

In deploying the concept of racial capitalism, I draw on decades of struggle and scholarship. Intellectuals involved in abolitionist, antiracist, anticolonial, Third Worldist, communist, transnational feminist, and antiglobalization struggles have offered penetrating critiques of the interlocking systems of racism and capitalism.³¹ Among the most important early scholars, W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, and Eric Williams stand out for demonstrating that industrial capitalism was built on a foundation of colonialism and slavery.³² Within American sociology, black radicals such as Du Bois, St. Claire Drake, Horace Cayton, and Oliver Cromwell Cox established a foundation for academic research on the entanglements of racism and capitalism.³³ Beginning

in the 1980s, Cedric Robinson drew on their work to articulate a theory of racial capitalism.³⁴ Although debates about the relationship between racism and capitalism have not produced a unified theoretical framework, they have generated a set of powerful tools that I draw on in my analysis of racial capitalism in South Africa and Palestine/Israel.

At the core of the concept of racial capitalism—as I use the term—is the recognition that racialization and capital accumulation are mutually constitutive processes that combine in dynamic, context-specific formations.³⁵ The study of racial capitalism thus draws attention to the colonial conquests, imperial rule, and coercive labor regimes that have always been integral to the accumulation of capital and the formation of racialized social structures.³⁶ Although there is debate about whether racism preceded or emerged alongside the capitalist world economy,³⁷ capitalism consistently operates through racial projects that assign differential value to human life and labor.³⁸ Yet racism cannot be reduced to an effect of capitalism; rather, processes of racial formation are relatively autonomous from and constitutive of capital accumulation.³⁹ While white supremacy may intensify exploitation by devaluing Black labor, it can also generate “necropolitical” projects that equate the security of the white population with the elimination of Black, indigenous, or other devalued populations.⁴⁰

Analyzing racial capitalism challenges us to recognize the centrality of two crucial but often-overlooked aspects of capitalism: *accumulation by dispossession* and *coercive labor regimes*. Dispossessing people of their land and resources is not merely a precursor to capitalism but rather a constant, normal strategy of capital accumulation—from the English commons and the conquest of the Americas to the Iraqi oil fields and the privatization of public goods.⁴¹ In South Africa and Palestine/Israel, therefore, forcible dispossession is not merely a settler colonial strategy but also a racialized process of capital accumulation. Similarly, violent forms of labor exploitation such as slavery, sharecropping, indentured servitude, debt peonage, convict labor, and sweatshops are not aberrations but integral features of capitalism.⁴² Alongside the forcible *exploitation* of racially devalued populations, racial capitalist strategies often involve *exclusionary* efforts to reserve jobs for privileged groups. The histories of racial capitalism in South Africa and Palestine/Israel demonstrate the shifting relationship between coercive exploitation and exclusionary protection.

Moreover, racial capitalism generates complex interconnections between dispossession and exploitation. Sometimes dispossession leads directly to exploitation, as demonstrated by the enclosure of the English commons or the transatlantic slave trade.⁴³ Yet dispossession can also generate abandonment,

expulsion, or genocide rather than exploitation.⁴⁴ As Saskia Sassen explains, global capitalism today operates through a “logic of expulsion” that increasingly dispossesses people of jobs, homes, lands, and welfare benefits.⁴⁵ In much of the world, including South Africa and Palestine/Israel, neoliberal restructuring has intensified both exploitation and abandonment by producing surplus populations that exist at the margins of the capitalist economy where widespread structural unemployment exacerbates the exploitation of the precariously employed.

To analyze specific formations of racial capitalism, I draw on the concept of “articulation” as developed by Stuart Hall.⁴⁶ Like the concept of intersectionality, articulation provides a framework for analyzing interlocking structures of oppression and exploitation.⁴⁷ Building on the work of Antonio Gramsci,⁴⁸ Hall emphasized the double meaning of articulation: “joining up” and “giving expression to.”⁴⁹ Based on the first meaning, Hall analyzes the “complex unities” formed by the interconnection of relatively autonomous racial and capitalist projects. Rejecting the notion of a constant or stable relationship between race and class, this framework draws analytical attention to the concrete connections between specific racial and capitalist projects within particular historical conjunctures. In doing so, it recognizes that racial and capitalist projects often operate independently or in contradictory combinations. Racial projects that operate through logics of elimination or genocide, for instance, do not articulate easily with capitalist logics of exploitation.⁵⁰ They might, however, align with exclusionary racial capitalist projects to protect well-paying jobs for the privileged. Analyzing the articulation between racial and capitalist projects (even when contradictory) facilitates an exploration of the interlocking (though unstable) aspects of an overall social formation. This is what Hall refers to as a *complex unity*.

Drawing out the second meaning of articulation as expression, Hall encourages attention to the ways that people make sense of their subjectivity—as well as the ways that political actors manipulate this subjectivity.⁵¹ Complex social realities that are shaped by combinations of racism and capitalism often find expression in discourses that do not account for this complexity. Because these discourses shape political, ideological, and economic struggles, they are integral to an analysis of racial capitalism. Gillian Hart, for instance, argues that the hegemonic project of the African National Congress (ANC) government in postapartheid South Africa depends on its ability to rearticulate popular currents of nationalism.⁵² Likewise, discourses of Palestinian nationalism have been rearticulated in recent decades with different political currents emphasizing the centrality of race, class, religion, and/or nationality. In discussing

securitization, I analyze the racialized discourses about “Black crime” and “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” that articulate anxieties rooted in long histories of racial capitalism and settler colonialism and exacerbated by neoliberalization and (de)colonization.

In South Africa and Palestine/Israel, the transitions of the 1990s rearticulated the relationship between racism, capitalism, colonialism, and empire. Central to both transitions was the promise that “deracialized” neoliberal capitalism was integral to decolonization: neoliberal restructuring would facilitate the democratization of the South African state and the emergence of an independent Palestinian state. In practice, however, restructuring has led to a shift in the state form with partial decolonization in South Africa and a continuation of settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel; a rearticulation of the relationship between race and class within contexts of expanding inequality and racialized poverty; and an increasing reliance on violence to police the racialized poor and secure the powerful. Echoing concerns Frantz Fanon raised about the “pitfalls” of national consciousness, my analysis draws attention to the incorporation of the Black and Palestinian middle and upper classes into the regimes of neoliberal racial capitalism.⁵³

THE NEOLIBERALIZATION OF RACIAL CAPITALISM

Neoliberal Apartheid presents an analysis of the neoliberalization of racial capitalism in South Africa and Palestine/Israel over the last twenty years. Neoliberalism is a political-economic theory that has been described as “market fundamentalism.”⁵⁴ Insisting that market competition is the most efficient mechanism for generating prosperity and protecting individual liberty, neoliberal economists reject the Keynesian notion that governments should provide social safety nets or promote full employment. Overturning the Fordist principle that businesses can maximize profits by increasing wages and promoting mass consumption, neoliberals encourage corporations to search the world for the cheapest labor and production costs. Neoliberal projects, therefore, include free trade, privatization, deregulation, corporate tax breaks, and cuts in social spending; attacks on unions, welfare, and affirmative action; and the promotion of individualism, self-responsibility, and entrepreneurialism. The global diffusion of neoliberal policies since the 1970s has led to the rise of multinational corporations, the growth of finance capital, spiraling inequality, and environmental degradation. Although popularly understood as a withdrawal of the state from the economy, neoliberal restructuring requires state intervention to support market competition and to address the crises that it generates.

In recent years, scholars of racial capitalism and settler colonialism have focused on the racial dynamics of neoliberalism. The neoliberal “color-blind” mantra of individual achievement and meritocracy, along with the liberal multicultural politics of “recognition,” denies the continued significance of racism and enables assaults on corrective policies such as welfare, affirmative action, and land redistribution. It is no surprise that neoliberal critiques of “big government” push back most aggressively against programs perceived as racially redistributive—such as affirmative action, reparations, or indigenous land claims.⁵⁵ In addition, neoliberal policies often combine a formal commitment to legal equality with a privatization of racism. Rather than institutionalized state policies, therefore, continued segregation in housing and education as well as the ongoing dispossession of native communities are portrayed as simply the outcomes of “individual choices” exercised through the market.⁵⁶ And, in a groundbreaking study, Jodi Melamed traces the ways that the US government promotes the combination of neoliberalism and multiculturalism as a solution (or *the* solution) to racism and colonialism. As her work makes clear, “neoliberalism remains a form of racial capitalism.”⁵⁷

Building on this scholarship, my research focuses on the concrete processes of neoliberal restructuring. As Neil Brenner, Nik Theodore, Jamie Peck, and Adam Tickell have argued, neoliberal projects do not simply replace one hegemonic ideology with another.⁵⁸ Rather, neoliberal restructuring—or *neoliberalization*—is a context-specific process of social change in which market-based projects attempt to transform entrenched patterns of social organization. Neoliberalization, therefore, is an uneven and contested process that is never complete. Rather than pure expressions of neoliberal ideology, the products of neoliberal restructuring are hybrid formations. Moreover, neoliberal projects are internally contradictory and generate struggles and crises that in turn must be managed. Initial rounds of neoliberalization to “roll back” Keynesian policies often result in a social, political, or economic crisis. When they do, policy makers generally respond with a second round of neoliberalization to “roll out” market-based strategies for containing the crisis. In a context of deepening inequality, for instance, the growth of the private security industry is a neoliberal response to a crisis generated by neoliberal restructuring. As a result, Peck argues, the uneven process of neoliberalization is shaped by constant interventions and innovations to manage the tension between markets and order.⁵⁹

My research opens new ground by analyzing the neoliberalization of racial capitalism. Studying the process through which racial capitalist regimes are restructured along market lines means analyzing the articulation between

neoliberalization and racialization. As Michael Omi and Howard Winant point out, neoliberal projects *are* racial projects.⁶⁰ At the same time, neoliberal projects intersect with a range of other projects—including racial, colonial, and imperial projects—that are not primarily about capital accumulation. This requires attention to the complex formations that result from the articulation of simultaneous projects to rework or defend existing social relations. Because neoliberalism is widely promoted as an antidote to racial inequality, neoliberal projects are often combined with projects to extend formal equality, partial autonomy, or even nominal independence to historically subordinated populations. Rather than eliminating racism, these projects restructure relations of domination. The neoliberal racial capitalist regimes produced by the articulation of these projects are generally characterized by two features: *marginalization* and *securitization*.

In *Neoliberal Apartheid*, I analyze the relationship between the neoliberalization of racial capitalism and the (de)colonization of settler colonial regimes in South Africa and Palestine/Israel. Until the 1980s, South Africa and Israel were settler colonial states managing racial Fordist economies defined by state support for industrial and agricultural production, racialized welfare states, and split labor markets. Since the 1990s, neoliberal restructuring in both contexts has been coupled with political negotiations to overturn or at least restructure colonial domination. Studying the transitions, therefore, requires attention to the shifting colonial strategies and racial projects that have occurred alongside neoliberal restructuring. The South African state was democratized, but the neoliberalization of racial capitalism has placed important limits on decolonization. In Palestine/Israel, on the other hand, neoliberal restructuring has been coupled with an aggressive Israeli settler colonial strategy that involves the extension of limited autonomy to the Palestinian population in the occupied territories.

In both South Africa and Palestine/Israel, neoliberalization and (de)colonization have generated social formations marked by: extreme inequality, racialized marginalization, advanced securitization, and constant crises. I refer to this combination as *neoliberal apartheid*. In the following chapters, I explore each of these features in detail through ethnographically grounded analyses before developing the concept of neoliberal apartheid in the conclusion. First, however, I want to briefly discuss the two processes at the heart of neoliberal apartheid: marginalization and securitization. While processes of restructuring are context specific, many readers will recognize aspects of neoliberal apartheid in other locations.

Inequality and Marginalization

Throughout the world, neoliberalization has exacerbated inequality and generated extreme forms of marginalization.⁶¹ Wealth and income are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a transnational class of billionaire capitalists. While the corporate elite and the upper strata of the middle classes reap the rewards of neoliberal wealth redistribution, the ground collapses beneath the lower middle classes, the gulf between rich and poor grows wider, and the poorest of the poor live precarious lives in a world without stable employment or support from the state.

The racial dynamics of this inequality are complex. First, the neoliberalization of racial capitalist systems has led to the growth of middle and upper classes among historically subjugated populations.⁶² The expansion of the black and Latino middle classes in the United States is matched by the growth of middle classes and elites in parts of the Global South—from China and India to South Africa and Palestine/Israel. The lifting of explicit racial barriers to higher education, employment, and finance along with the political independence of formerly colonized countries and shifting immigration policies have created opportunities for some members of racially subjugated populations to benefit from neoliberal restructuring. Taken out of context, the shifting racial composition of the middle and upper classes is often used to demonstrate that neoliberal capitalism can end racial discrimination. While upward mobility can provide these emergent classes with relief from some forms of oppression, they nevertheless confront ongoing discrimination due to the continued prevalence of racism. Moreover, their class mobility is coupled with expanding inequality between rich and poor and the growing instability of the middle classes.

Second, neoliberal restructuring has transformed existing patterns of racialized exploitation.⁶³ In advanced industrial countries, deindustrialization; cuts in public sector employment; the privatization of public services; and attacks on unions, welfare, and affirmative action force workers to compete with one another for low-wage, precarious jobs in the expanding retail and service sectors. Workers of color—especially women—are particularly vulnerable to these changes. As multinational corporations shift production to low-wage manufacturers in the Global South, countries compete for investment by promising low wages, long hours, no unions, and tax breaks, and by articulating racial, national, and gendered notions about the work ethic and capabilities of workers. Flows of capital are heavily influenced by these racial formations, which mark some populations as highly exploitable and others as lazy, undisciplined,

or simply redundant.⁶⁴ Migrant workers and slum dwellers are particularly targeted for superexploitation.

Finally, one of the most important impacts of neoliberal restructuring is the production of racialized surplus populations.⁶⁵ Much of the world has experienced rapid population growth alongside decreasing capitalist demands for labor due to advances in automation and robotics, the shift from productive to financial investments, the regional concentration of low-wage manufacturing, and the global crisis of subsistence farming. Several billion people now live precarious lives at or beyond the margins of the wage system. Racial formation shapes the production of surplus populations by differentially valuing human life and marking some people as disposable. Yet it is important to recognize that even populations experiencing extreme levels of unemployment are not beyond the dynamics of racial capitalism.⁶⁶ The disposable poor remain valuable both materially and symbolically. Competition for jobs ensures the availability of a low-wage workforce, informal economic activities involve intense exploitation, and the need for food, shelter, and other basic necessities subjects the poor to predatory practices by merchants and landlords. In addition, as symbols of danger, the racialized poor are integral to the expansion of security regimes. The first part of this book examines the dynamics of marginalization in South Africa and Palestine/Israel, with a focus on the expansion of racialized poverty and the relationship between exploitation and disposability.

An overwhelmingly urban phenomenon, the racialized poor are concentrated in slums, ghettos, favelas, banlieues, and refugee camps. Facing economic, political, social, and physical violence on a daily basis, the lives of the urban poor are defined by multiple, intersecting forms of precariousness. Fragmented and abandoned, they endure tremendous suffering. Their subjectivities are complex. People invest their hopes and fears in everything from the seductive promises of neoliberalism and the apparent stability of low-wage jobs to the exercise of domination over family members, neighbors, strangers, and racialized Others. Yet the poor also develop innovative and exhausting strategies to survive. They move between precarious low-wage jobs, long-term unemployment, and a host of tactics—often dangerous, degrading, and unsanctioned—to make ends meet. They build homes without permits, provide support for one another, and push back against the forces of marginalization.

Marginalization does not inevitably generate resistance.⁶⁷ Yet the last twenty years have witnessed spontaneous uprisings and organized movements throughout the world as the racialized poor target the forces of capitalism, racism, colonialism, and empire. Localized processes of political articulation give voice to the critiques and grievances of the poor and shape their struggles.⁶⁸

But these struggles also circulate from city to city and region to region, generating opportunities for marginalized populations to articulate connections between their experiences, subjectivities, and desires. In recent years, these struggles and connections have helped translate the everyday crises confronting the poor into constant crises for neoliberal racial capitalist regimes. My analysis of marginalization ends with a discussion of these dynamics in South Africa and Palestine/Israel.

Insecurity and Securitization

The insecurities of dominant classes and racial groups are rooted in a foundational contradiction at the heart of racism, capitalism, and colonialism: wealth and power are produced through domination, exploitation, and dispossession.⁶⁹ The working class is not only the source of bourgeois wealth but also the specter that drives bourgeois fears about crime, violence, disorder, and revolution.⁷⁰ And colonial and racial anxieties produced in the moment of conquest are reproduced by the structures of subjugation.⁷¹

The neoliberalization of racial capitalism has heightened these anxieties. Growing inequality has generated frustration and anger among the urban poor and the increasingly precarious working class. Their life strategies and struggles against marginalization are often disruptive and regularly produce political, economic, and social crises of varied intensity. As the neoliberal US empire loses the ability to enforce its will, the capitalist world system confronts a major structural crisis. According to Immanuel Wallerstein, it is unlikely that a new hegemon will emerge in the near future.⁷² Although crises create opportunities for what Naomi Klein calls “disaster capitalism,”⁷³ they also exacerbate the threat of rebellion and other disruptions of property and power. In the face of repeated crises and insurgencies, the deep-rooted anxieties of the powerful become more visceral.

The racialized poor loom large in the anxieties of the powerful. These anxieties are often articulated through racialized discourses—about crime, immigration, and terrorism—that blame the poor for their own marginalization while targeting them as threats to be contained.⁷⁴ Symbolically transforming the marginalized into the sources of violence, disorder, and insecurity, racialized threat discourses are deployed to conceal structures of oppression and exploitation and to justify racial, colonial, and capitalist projects. As Frantz Fanon suggested, colonizers deny their own brutality by projecting desires of rape, murder, and dispossession onto a “phobogenic object” such as the black male body.⁷⁵ Elites disseminate these discourses to foster popular anxieties

and channel discontent away from themselves.⁷⁶ At the same time, economically marginalized sectors of racially dominant groups often articulate similar discourses to shore up their privileges in the face of competition over jobs, land, and status. As Stuart Hall points out, “moral panics”—such as acute anxiety about black crime—are symptoms of a deeper crisis of capitalism and the state.⁷⁷

In the evocative words of J. M. Coetzee, “One thought alone preoccupies the submerged mind of Empire: how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong its era.”⁷⁸ Seeking to contain the crisis, neoliberals preach hard work and self-reliance; roll out new market policies; employ a range of pressure release politics; and attempt to manage demands through recognition. But even they seem unconvinced that this is enough to restore hegemony. With no other options, elites have increasingly turned to securitization or, in Coetzee’s words, ruthless and cunning repression.⁷⁹

Securitization refers to the proliferation of forces, technologies, and strategies to produce security for the powerful.⁸⁰ Securitization, surveillance, and counterinsurgency strategies have been integral aspects of racial capitalism, colonialism, and empire for centuries.⁸¹ Over the last thirty years, however, the world has witnessed an unprecedented expansion of investments in security: private security and private military companies; gated communities and fortress suburbs; mass deportation and mass incarceration; border walls and vigilante organizations; electronic surveillance and drone wars; and the dramatic growth of police, prison, border patrol, military, and intelligence forces. The last point is significant because the massive expansion of state expenditures on security has come during an era of aggressive cuts in government spending. This reveals an important connection between neoliberalization and securitization—as does the emergence of multinational private security companies, private military and intelligence contractors, and private prison operators. Indeed, Wendy Brown, David Theo Goldberg, Mitchell Dean, Jamie Peck, Elizabeth Povinelli, and Loïc Wacquant have all addressed the entanglements of neoliberalization and securitization.⁸²

My research argues that securitization is a defining feature of neoliberal apartheid. Neoliberal security projects emerge in response to crises generated by neoliberal restructuring. Through networks of private and state security forces, they attempt to address the anxieties of the powerful by policing the marginalized. The racialized poor generated by neoliberal restructuring thus become the objects of racialized threat discourses and the targets of racialized policing. Importantly, neoliberal security regimes often rely on a low-wage labor force recruited from the same population that they target.⁸³ While

providing the symbolic justification for securitization, therefore, the racialized poor also provide the labor upon which securitization depends. But relying on the marginalized to police their own communities demonstrates the internal contradictions of these regimes. And relying on violence to shore up a fragile hegemony does not bode well for their future. Rather than resolving—or even addressing—the crises and contradictions that produce elite insecurities, securitization tends to deepen the marginalization and suffering of the racialized poor. As contradictions intensify and struggles expand, crises become permanent and structural. In turn, the powerful demand more security and racial capitalism grows increasingly unstable. Securitization and crisis, therefore, are best understood as self-perpetuating products of the neoliberalization of racial capitalism. The second half of this book explores the dynamics of neoliberal securitization in South Africa and Palestine/Israel.

METHODS

Neoliberal Apartheid is based on a combination of data sources and research methods: qualitative interviews, ethnographic observations, archival documents, and photographic research. My overall approach to research and the questions that drive this study are informed by the rich tradition of comparative historical sociology.⁸⁴ With a focus on capitalism, racism, colonialism, and empire, my work contributes to what Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens, and Ann Orloff describe as the “third wave” of historical sociology.⁸⁵ My approach to data collection draws on the methods of comparative urban ethnography.⁸⁶ From 2001 to 2006, I spent more than thirty months conducting ethnographic and archival research in Palestine/Israel and South Africa. In 2012 and 2013, I completed more than two hundred interviews and eight months of ethnographic research that make up the bulk of the data that appear in this book. The innovative combination of comparative historical sociology and comparative urban ethnography is one of the unique features of this project.

I have been traveling to Palestine/Israel since 1996 and to South Africa since 2002 as both a scholar and an activist. Over time, I have developed extensive networks of friends and colleagues that facilitated my ethnographic and interview research. In South Africa, my research on marginalization would not have been possible without the incredible help of two tireless research assistants: Thabo Mopasi and Obed Petja. Born and raised in Alexandra, they remain intimately involved in the daily life and politics of the township. With their support, I interviewed government officials, developers, property owners, employed and unemployed workers, social movement activists, and people living

in squatter camps, occupied factories, government houses, hostels, and private homes. In Palestine/Israel, my research on marginalization branched out from my home away from home: Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem. Friends and colleagues in every Palestinian city, village, and refugee camp in the Bethlehem area helped facilitate interviews with Palestinian officials, NGO employees, community organizers, activists, former political prisoners, farmers, laborers, and unemployed workers. I also met with Israeli settlers as well as Israeli anti-occupation activists and NGOs.

I approached the topic of securitization from two directions simultaneously: top down and bottom up. From above, I conducted interviews with people involved in security regimes. In Palestine/Israel, I spoke to current and former Israeli military officials, members of the US Security Coordinator's office, and a wide range of PA officials. In South Africa, I spoke to police officials, private security professionals, members of residents' associations, and people living in wealthy neighborhoods.⁸⁷ These interviews helped me understand the structure of the security regimes and the mechanisms of coordination. From below, I conducted interviews and ethnographic work with Black South Africans and Palestinians who have been targeted by security regimes and subjected to arrests, intimidation, beatings, and torture. Their experiences shed light on practices and forms of violence that those in power were not always willing to discuss. In addition, I spoke with the low-wage workers employed in the bottom rungs of the security regimes: Palestinian security officers and Black South African security guards. These were among the most instructive interviews that I conducted. The experiences of these workers helped clarify the tensions, conflicts, and contradictions within the emerging security regimes.

Along with interviews and ethnographic observations, I gathered an archive of government documents, newspaper articles, court proceedings, publications, personal accounts, maps, and statistics. In South Africa, I drew heavily on the University of the Witwatersrand Historical Papers, the South African History Archive, and the Sandton Library Archive. In Palestine/Israel, I made use of the online archives of the Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ).⁸⁸ ARIJ monitors and documents Israeli colonization activities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The web-based archive includes reports, maps, photographs, and analyses of Israeli settlement and military activities.

Finally, I collected photographic data to document the changing landscapes of marginalization and securitization.⁸⁹ I used my camera as a "notebook" to record visual field notes. The camera often attracted attention and led to informal conversations and tours of neighborhoods. Whether walking alone or with others, I took pictures of the landscape and discussed the images with

associates in the field. Through this process, I was able to collect images and sharpen my analysis. Although photographs can reveal a great deal about the landscape of conflict, they rarely provide clues about how the landscape was produced. My analysis, therefore, stems primarily from data collected through ethnographic observations and interviews. Nevertheless, I present images along with the text to encourage an active engagement with the photographic evidence that informs my work.

Due to ethical concerns about confidentiality, I do not identify my interviewees by name. I know that some people hoped I would use their names when sharing their words and stories. I appreciate that desire and want to acknowledge my debt to the people that I interviewed. But the intensely conflictual context of this research demands added precaution. Therefore, I provide descriptive markers to help readers understand the subject positions and standpoints of my interviewees without revealing their names or exposing their identities. To further protect people's identities, I provide only the month and not the date of my interviews and field notes.⁹⁰

As a white, American, middle-class male conducting research on conditions of racialized conflict and poverty in the Global South, I take seriously the tensions produced by my own subjectivity. Over the last twenty years, I have established extensive networks of trust and support in both South Africa and Palestine/Israel. Yet my social identity continues to shape my relationships and my research.

In Palestine/Israel, race, gender, and citizenship had the greatest impact on my work. My status as a white US citizen provided me with two privileges that Palestinians lack and that facilitated my ability to conduct research: immunity from the physical violence of the occupation and the freedom to move through checkpoints. Whiteness and US citizenship also made it easier for me to meet with American and Israeli officials, who provided key insights about securitization. The Israelis I interviewed and met informally were largely open to my project and willing to share their ideas and experiences. Nevertheless, the fact that I speak Arabic but not Hebrew and lived among Palestinians rather than Jewish Israelis created obstacles in the eyes of some Israeli officials. The importance of gender in Palestinian social relations facilitated my access to Palestinian men but constrained my interactions with Palestinian women. As a result, most of the Palestinians I interviewed are men.

In South Africa, race, class, and gender profoundly shaped my research. Whiteness and class privilege set me apart from the people in Alexandra with whom I worked most closely. But masculinity facilitated my research by reducing concerns about everyday violence in the township. And because I speak

no African languages, my research was only possible because many Black South Africans have an extraordinary proficiency in English, Afrikaans, and multiple African languages. Race and class also shaped my relations with white South Africans and the new Black elite. Without exception, white South Africans welcomed me into their homes, offices, and meetings. Some shared their racial prejudices, some performed political correctness, and some demonstrated their commitment to antiracism. This access was crucial for my research on residents' associations and the private security industry.

Toward the end of my fieldwork, I conducted a series of workshops in Palestine/Israel and South Africa to share the preliminary results of my research. Through these meetings—in churches, schools, and community halls—Palestinians, Israelis, and South Africans asked questions and discussed the connections and links between their struggles. Always facilitated by a local organization, these workshops were a way that I attempted to make sure that my research was not merely about extracting information, but also about sharing information and circulating knowledge.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Neoliberal Apartheid explores neoliberalization and (de)colonization in South Africa and Palestine/Israel over the last twenty years through a comparative study of marginalization and securitization in the Johannesburg and Jerusalem metropolitan regions. More specifically, the geographical focus of my ethnographic research is the northern part of Johannesburg around Alexandra and Sandton and the southern Jerusalem region centered on Bethlehem.

I begin by outlining the histories of settler colonialism and racial capitalism in South Africa and Palestine/Israel and by providing an overview of the political-economic transitions since the 1990s (chapter one). Although South Africa was partially decolonized and Israel remains a settler colonial state, both transitions involved the neoliberalization of racial Fordist economies. The chapter concludes by discussing the impact of neoliberalization and (de)colonization on the Johannesburg and Jerusalem metropolitan regions. In doing so, it introduces the Alexandra/Sandton and Bethlehem areas by situating them within their broader regional and national contexts.

The book then explores the causes and consequences of *marginalization* in Alexandra (chapter two) and Bethlehem (chapter three) with a focus on three themes. Each chapter begins by analyzing the production of racialized poverty and the creative life strategies of the urban poor. While Alexandra has been transformed into a zone of concentrated exclusion for the expendable Black

poor, the Palestinian enclosures in Bethlehem have become sites of concentrated inequality where Palestinian elites live side by side with the poor.

Next, the chapters analyze the pressure release policies deployed to contain the crises generated by marginalization. The State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority use employment to manage popular anger, whereas the South African government introduced a flagship “developmental” project to uplift Alexandra township. But the articulation of this postcolonial project with neoliberal commitments to private property and the market has undermined its impact in ways that reveal the limits of decolonization in South Africa. In Palestine/Israel, the articulation of neoliberal restructuring to a settler colonial project has generated a unique form of “neoliberal colonization” in the villages west of Bethlehem. While demonstrating the political nature of neoliberal restructuring, these chapters highlight the limits of decolonization in South Africa and the continuation of colonization in Palestine/Israel.

These chapters end by discussing resistance to marginalization. I argue that the struggles of the urban poor in South Africa and Palestine/Israel have produced crises for the neoliberal racial capitalist regimes. This provides an important link to the second half of the book, where I analyze the neoliberal security networks that have been built to police these crises.

My analysis of *securitization* in the wealthy neighborhoods around Sandton (chapter four) and in the West Bank (chapter five) also focuses on three themes. First, the chapters highlight the emergence of new security networks in each location. In Johannesburg, these networks are defined above all by privatization. Private security companies and residents’ associations are cooperating to develop advanced strategies for regulating urban space at the neighborhood scale. In the West Bank, securitization involves an imperial network of coordinated state security forces from Israel, the United States, the European Union, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority. Working together, these forces police Palestinians in the West Bank.

Next, the chapters explore the strategies of racialized policing deployed by these networks. In South Africa, a cutting-edge form of “preventive security” employs racial profiling and violence to regulate the presence of young Black men in wealthy neighborhoods. In the West Bank, the security forces use shared intelligence, coordinated arrests, morality policing, and other tactics against the Palestinian poor. Racialized discourses of “Black crime” and “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” enable the expansion of security operations, provide a mechanism for policing the crisis, and demonstrate the symbolic value of surplus populations for racial capitalist projects. The centrality of race to these policing strategies highlights another important limit of

decolonization in South Africa and the continuation of colonial relations in Palestine/Israel.

The chapters end by exploring the everyday lives of the low-wage workers that fill the bottom rungs of the security industry. Private security companies provide one of the primary sources of low-wage work for Black South African men, and the PA security forces are among the only employment options available to Palestinian men in the West Bank. But with low wages and dangerous working conditions, the labor force is not content. Nor does it escape the workers that they are asked to protect the wealthy and powerful by targeting their own communities. The question of racialized labor, therefore, is one of the most important sources of instability for the emerging security regimes. In the end, I question the sustainability of efforts to stabilize fragile racial capitalist regimes through securitization.

In the conclusion, I draw out the overall implications of the book. I begin by discussing the international legal definition of apartheid, which applies to Israel but not South Africa after 1994. Rather than defining apartheid as a political form of racial domination, I propose a political-economic definition that brings together an analysis of racial domination and racial capitalism. Building on this framework, I argue that the transitions of the last twenty years have generated *neoliberal apartheid* regimes in both South Africa and Palestine/Israel. Outlining the core features of neoliberal apartheid, I end by arguing that this concept captures the relationship between inequality, marginalization, securitization, and crisis throughout much of the world today.

CHAPTER 1

South Africa and Palestine/Israel: Histories and Transitions

INTRODUCTION

In 1994, two of the most intractable conflicts of the late twentieth century appeared on the brink of negotiated settlement. In May, Black South Africans participated in the first democratic election of the postapartheid era. An overwhelming majority chose the African National Congress (ANC) as the ruling party and Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first Black president. Perhaps South Africa would finally become a "Rainbow Nation." In July, Yasser Arafat returned from exile to establish the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Representatives of the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization had begun a five-year "peace process" to end the occupation. Perhaps there would be peace in the Middle East after all.

This moment of hope remains a powerful symbol of the simultaneous transitions that have reshaped social relations in Palestine/Israel and South Africa since 1994. The reorganization of state power has been fundamentally different in the two contexts. South Africa became a democratic state and Black South Africans gained formal legal equality whereas Israel remains a settler colonial state and Palestinians are still fighting for freedom and equality. People around the world increasingly acknowledge the striking parallels between Israel's regime of racial domination today and the apartheid regime in South Africa before 1994.¹ Such comparisons have proven extremely productive for efforts to build international solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

Too often, however, comparative studies overlook the social and economic changes in South Africa after 1994. They therefore miss the increasing levels of inequality, the growing marginalization of poor Black South Africans, and the fortification of elite suburbs with walled enclosures and private security

guards. Similar changes are occurring in Palestine/Israel: rapidly expanding inequality, the extreme marginalization of the Palestinian poor, and efforts to fortify Israeli rule with walled enclosures and military deployments. Indeed, for many people in South Africa and Palestine/Israel, the hope of 1994 is a distant memory.

Rather than comparing South Africa *before* 1994 and Palestine/Israel *after* 1994, *Neoliberal Apartheid* sets out to compare the changes that have taken place in both societies since 1994. And rather than focusing only on differences between the two states, it seeks to explain why the transitions of the last twenty years have produced such different states with such similar social and economic relations.

My analysis is grounded in the shifting relationship between racial capitalism and settler colonialism. More specifically, it focuses on the relationship between *neoliberalization* and *(de)colonization* after 1994. To understand these processes, however, requires attention to the previous regimes. The first section of this chapter traces the histories of settler colonialism and racial capitalism and outlines the crises of the 1980s in South Africa and Palestine/Israel. The next section provides an overview of the transitions in both societies since 1994. Similar neoliberal projects were articulated to very different state projects: *partial decolonization* in South Africa and *ongoing colonization* in Palestine/Israel. In both societies, the transitions have produced a combination of *marginalization* and *securitization*. But the specifics differ due to the articulation between neoliberalization and (de)colonization. The last section of the chapter builds on this argument and sets the stage for the following chapters by introducing the sites of my ethnographic research on marginalization and securitization in the Johannesburg and Jerusalem metropolitan regions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The histories of settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel and South Africa are marked by shifting forms of racial capitalism.² For more than two hundred years, European settlement in southern Africa proceeded through the displacement of Africans and the conquest of their land. In the late nineteenth century, however, the discovery of gold and diamonds transformed the dynamics of colonial settlement and South Africa developed a highly *exploitative* racial capitalist system. Zionist settlement in Palestine, on the other hand, began with agricultural plantations that exploited the labor of Palestinian workers. In the early twentieth century, however, the mainstream Zionist movement adopted a much more *exclusionary* racial capitalist project that sought

to reserve jobs for Jewish workers. Despite these historical differences, South Africa and Palestine/Israel developed very similar social formations during the second half of the twentieth century: settler colonial states with racial Fordist economies.

South Africa

In 1652, the Dutch established the Cape Colony at the southwest tip of Africa. For 150 years, Dutch settlers extended the eastern frontier by displacing African populations. After the British took over the Cape in the early 1800s, the Dutch trekked inland while the British continued settling the southwest and established another colony on the east coast. Throughout this period, European colonization led to the displacement, dispossession, and expulsion of African communities. Only a small minority of the displaced Africans were incorporated into the racial capitalist system as enslaved laborers and low-wage workers. Instead, the British and Dutch relied on the labor of enslaved and indentured workers from Asia and east Africa.³

Everything changed with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the late 1800s. Suddenly needing more workers, the Europeans began concentrating African populations into isolated “native reserves” and promoting a racial project that redefined Africans as suited for hard labor.⁴ Yet the demand for labor did not replace the settler colonial demand for land. On the contrary, mining created new motivations for colonization: British fought Dutch for control over mineral deposits, new settlers arrived from Europe, farmers expanded their fields to feed the growing population, and displacement produced a class of dispossessed Africans dependent on wage labor.⁵

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 formalized the emerging system of settler colonial domination and exploitative racial capitalism. The state enforced white supremacy through residential segregation and established separate institutions for governing white “citizens” and African “subjects.”⁶ Pass laws, native reserves, and “influx control” policies provided the foundations for a migrant labor system that supplied Black workers to white-owned mines, farms, and factories. African women were expected to supplement the less-than-subsistence wages of their male family members with agricultural production in the reserves.⁷ The exploitation of Black workers was heightened by an exclusionary “color bar” that reserved skilled positions for white workers. But the system was unstable: overcrowding in the reserves compromised agricultural production while industrialization generated demands for a permanently urbanized, semiskilled workforce. By the 1940s, Africans



MAP 1. South Africa before 1994. By Molly O'Halloran.

were abandoning the reserves in large numbers. The urbanization of Africans threatened to subvert the fantasy of white cities, undermine the migrant labor system, and undercut the wages of white workers.⁸

The racialized anxieties of the white electorate found expression in the discourse of *swart gevaar* ("Black peril"), which dominated the 1948 elections and ushered in the apartheid regime.⁹ The apartheid state solidified the juridical foundations of white supremacy and relied on violence and bureaucracy to buttress the crisis-ridden system.¹⁰ Legalized urban segregation and "separate amenities" secured the white cities.¹¹ Pass laws, police raids, deportations, and forced removals stabilized the migrant labor system.¹² And the transformation of native reserves into partially self-governing "Bantustans" reinforced the system of indirect rule, stripped Africans of citizenship rights, and attempted to

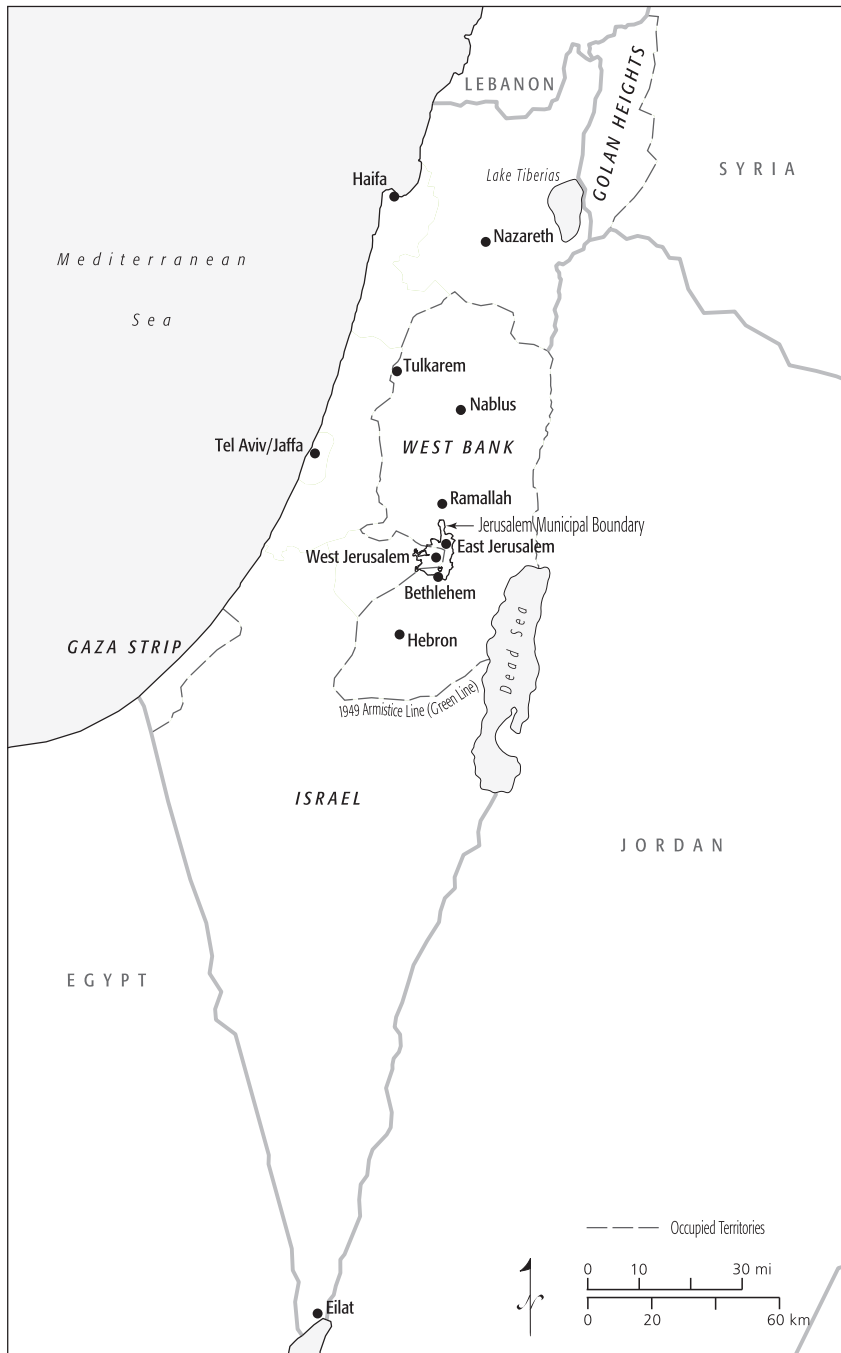
rearticulate the colonial conflict from a question of *race and class inequality* to a question of *national separation*.¹³

The repressive policies of the apartheid state also supported an exploitative racial Fordist economy.¹⁴ From the 1950s through the 1980s, the South African economy was defined by the combination of state support for mining and industry, full employment and extensive welfare benefits for white families, and the superexploitation of Black workers. While continuing to enforce the migrant labor system, the state also expanded the segregated “townships” on the periphery of white cities to address the growing industrial demand for a permanently urbanized working class.¹⁵ During the 1970s and 1980s, these townships and factories became key sites in the struggle against exploitation and exclusion as Black South Africans rose up against the apartheid state and the structures of racial capitalism.¹⁶

Palestine/Israel

The Zionist project of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine emerged in response to a surge of anti-Semitism in late nineteenth-century Europe.¹⁷ Political Zionists countered racist forms of European nationalism by developing a Jewish nationalist movement that adopted the colonial belief in the right of Europeans to settle anywhere.¹⁸ At the time, Palestine was ruled by the fading Ottoman Empire. Facing challenges from abroad and from below, the Ottomans had introduced reforms to modernize the empire and accelerate its integration into the global capitalist economy.¹⁹ These reforms led to the privatization of communal land and the consolidation of absentee landownership, both of which facilitated the early Zionist strategy of purchasing land for Jewish settlements.²⁰

Established in the 1880s, the first Zionist settlements in Palestine were Jewish-owned agro-industrial plantations employing low-wage Palestinian labor.²¹ Modeled on French colonies in North Africa, they prioritized profit over settlement. Because the plantations did not create many well-paying jobs for Jewish settlers, a growing force within the Zionist movement—known as Labor Zionists—began insisting that Jewish enterprises should hire only “Hebrew labor.”²² Deploying a racial discourse that redefined Palestinians as idle and apathetic workers, Labor Zionists adopted a strategy of colonization based on exclusively Jewish collective settlements (*kibbutzim*), the expulsion of Palestinian peasants (*fellahin*) from land acquired by Zionists, and an exclusionary racial capitalist refusal to employ Palestinian workers in Jewish-owned businesses.²³



In the wake of the *Shoah* (Nazi Holocaust), Zionist colonization produced the *Nakba* (Palestinian catastrophe). From 1947 to 1949, the Zionist movement established a Jewish state, displaced 750,000 Palestinians, and took control over 78 percent of historic Palestine.²⁴ The new State of Israel enforced a system of settler colonial domination and racial capitalism similar to South Africa. While encouraging Jewish immigration, the state refused to allow the return of the Palestinian refugees and instead confiscated their land and property.²⁵ The state granted limited citizenship to the minority of Palestinians who remained (the 1948 Palestinians²⁶), but placed them under military rule and subjected them to discrimination and repression.²⁷

From its inception, the State of Israel managed a centralized, racial Fordist economy. Ashkenazi (European) Jews associated with the Labor Zionist movement controlled not only the state but also the Histadrut labor federation and the major Israeli business conglomerates.²⁸ The state supported industrial and agricultural production, promoted full employment for Jewish workers, and provided extensive welfare benefits for Jewish families. Low-wage labor by Mizrahi (Arab, African, and Asian) Jews and 1948 Palestinians helped subsidize the benefits, salaries, and profits of the dominant Ashkenazi society.²⁹

After occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, Israel installed a military administration (later renamed the Civil Administration) to govern the Palestinian population and began steadily colonizing Palestinian land and building Israeli settlements.³⁰ The state combined an exclusionary settler colonial project with an exploitative racial capitalist project that incorporated the occupied Palestinian population (the 1967 Palestinians) into the Israeli economy with wages even lower than the 1948 Palestinians.³¹ By the mid-1980s, 40 percent of Palestinian workers from the occupied territories were employed inside Israel—primarily in construction and agriculture.³² Others worked in factories scattered throughout the occupied territories that subcontracted for Israeli manufacturers. Yet while the 1967 Palestinians became dependent on jobs in Israel, Israeli capital was never fully reliant on their labor.³³ This set Israel apart from South Africa.

Crises

By the 1980s, Israel and South Africa governed structurally similar social formations. As settler colonial states, they employed violence to dispossess the colonized, exclude them from political participation, and suppress resistance. Both states also managed racial Fordist economies. And they both survived

waves of decolonization that transformed Africa and the Middle East from the 1950s through the 1970s. In the 1980s, however, South Africa and Israel confronted political-economic *crises* that threatened to undermine the regimes of racial capitalism and settler colonialism.

South Africa's ruling elite confronted mass insurgencies, militant labor actions, armed struggle, international isolation, and an economic crisis marked by declining profits and growing unemployment.³⁴ The government responded with a combination of repression and reform. While encouraging "independence" for the Bantustans and establishing opportunities for limited political participation by Black South Africans, the government initiated neoliberal reforms to promote investment. At the same time, the state flooded Black townships with soldiers and violently cracked down on dissent.³⁵ Recognizing that the apartheid regime was in crisis, major financial and mining capitalists began reaching out to the ANC. They promised to facilitate a transition to democracy if the ANC was willing to abandon its talk of socialism and redistribution. As the rebellion intensified, the government quickened the pace of political and economic reforms and eventually began negotiating a settlement with the African National Congress and its allies.³⁶

Similarly, Israeli elites confronted mass insurgencies, armed struggle, an international boycott, and an economic crisis that produced stagnation and spiraling inflation. With support from the United States, Israeli business elites forced the state to begin a process of neoliberal restructuring.³⁷ In 1985, Israel signed a free trade agreement with the United States and adopted the Emergency Economic Stabilization Plan, which liberalized trade and investment, reduced social spending, and placed downward pressure on wages.³⁸ The same year, the state introduced an Iron Fist policy to suppress Palestinian resistance through troop deployments and violent repression.³⁹ Yet the resistance intensified, culminating in the first intifada (uprising) in 1987.⁴⁰ As the occupied territories became ungovernable, the state began experimenting with different strategies of control. At the same time, Israeli capitalists insisted that peace with the Palestinians was a necessary precondition for solving the economic crisis.⁴¹ By the early 1990s, the convergence of these streams led the Israeli government to begin negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In short, South Africa and Israel both responded to crises in the 1980s by neoliberalizing their racial capitalist economies and entering into negotiations over decolonization. In both cases, the negotiations were shaped by two assumptions about the relationship between neoliberalization and decolonization. First, South African and Israeli business elites called for negotiated

settlements on the grounds that political unrest hindered their incorporation into the circuits of globalizing capital.⁴² In addition, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) insisted that neoliberal restructuring was a necessary foundation for democracy in South Africa and political independence for Palestine.⁴³ Over the last twenty years, however, the neoliberalization of racial capitalism has entrenched settler colonial rule in Palestine/Israel, placed limits on decolonization in South Africa, and intensified inequality in both societies.

NEOLIBERALIZATION AND (DE)COLONIZATION

Since the early 1990s, South Africa has been partially decolonized while Israel continues its settler colonial project. At the same time, both states have overseen the neoliberalization of racial Fordist economies. The different trajectories of state restructuring have shaped the course and impact of neoliberalization, generating characteristically postcolonial dynamics in South Africa and a unique form of neoliberal colonization in Palestine/Israel. In both cases, however, the combination of (de)colonization⁴⁴ and neoliberalization has produced inequality, marginalization, and securitization.

South Africa

Political negotiations in South Africa led to the democratization and deracialization of the state. After 350 years of colonialism and apartheid, Black South Africans gained formal legal equality and South Africa became a recognizable postcolonial society. With one of the most progressive constitutions in the world and a popularly elected government led by the African National Congress (ANC), the postapartheid state began extending services and support to historically oppressed communities.

During the negotiations, however, the ANC made major concessions to win the support of white South Africans, international financial institutions, and the global capitalist elite. Most importantly, the ANC agreed not to nationalize the land, banks, and mines and instead agreed to constitutional protections for the existing distribution of private property—despite the history of accumulation through dispossession.⁴⁵ In addition, the new South African government adopted a neoliberal economic strategy known as Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) that promoted free trade, export-oriented industry, and the privatization of state-owned businesses and municipal services.⁴⁶



MAP 3. South Africa after 1994. By Molly O'Halloran.

Despite the democratization of the state, these policies have placed limits on decolonization in South Africa.⁴⁷

Neoliberalization generated a shift in the racial composition of the elite by facilitating the emergence of Black capitalists and the growth of the Black middle class. It also led to the collapse of industrial employment, the casualization of wage labor, and growing levels of permanent structural unemployment.⁴⁸ Inequality in South Africa is more severe today than it was under formal apartheid. According to the World Bank, postapartheid South Africa is now the single most unequal country in the world.⁴⁹ Over 50 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, and the official unemployment rate of 25 percent reaches over 35 percent when it includes people who have stopped looking

for work.⁵⁰ And race continues to structure social inequality in South Africa, with poverty and unemployment overwhelmingly concentrated in Black communities.

The South African transition has reproduced racial capitalism while transforming the dynamics of exploitation and exclusion. Deindustrialization and casualization have weakened the labor movement, intensified the exploitation and precariousness of the Black working class, and produced a growing racialized surplus population.⁵¹ Rapid urbanization combined with the newfound mobility of the Black middle class has transformed many existing townships and new shack settlements into sites of concentrated poverty, where the Black poor struggle to survive through informal housing and the informal economy. In some areas, over 60 percent of the population is unemployed and the jobs that remain are increasingly precarious, short-term, low-wage positions. People scrape together a living through a variety of activities including street vending, day labor, odd jobs, recycling, and underground markets for drugs, sex, weapons, and stolen goods. They also share resources, wages, and social grants with extended community and family networks.

Coupled with their increasingly precarious economic situation, the Black poor confront a severe shortage of decent housing. Despite constitutional guarantees of housing for all and the construction of 2.8 million low-income housing units from 1994 to 2013, the housing backlog continues to expand more quickly than the delivery of new homes.⁵² The rising cost of shelter has generated widespread evictions and multiplied the number of people living in informal settlements.⁵³ In 2004, the South African government announced plans to eliminate informal settlements by 2014—with some cities indicating that they would achieve the goal prior to the influx of tourists for the 2010 World Cup. Failing to meet these goals, the state adopted the dual policy of “upgrading” some existing informal settlements while actively prohibiting new land occupations.⁵⁴

The crises of unemployment and homelessness are compounded by landlessness.⁵⁵ Accepting constitutional protections for private property, the new government rejected the use of state-centered mechanisms to redistribute colonized land. Instead, South Africa adopted a market-based program through which the state helps subsidize the purchase of white-owned land by Black clients. This “willing-seller, willing-buyer” program depends not only on the ability of Black clients to access capital but also on the willingness of white landowners to negotiate a price and sell their land.⁵⁶ The program has facilitated the emergence of a small class of wealthy Black landowners but has only led to the redistribution of 7.5 percent of South African land.⁵⁷ As a result,

white elites still own the vast majority of land and most Black South Africans remain landless. This is one of the principal limitations of decolonization in South Africa.

The low-income housing and land-redistribution programs of the ANC government highlight the presence of small-scale developmental projects within an overarching market-oriented neoliberal framework. Similarly, the state has extended water and electricity service to millions of Black South Africans. Yet the simultaneous corporatization of these services has produced fees that make them increasingly difficult for the poor majority to afford. Moreover, neoliberal stipulations that municipalities adopt “cost-recovery” strategies have transformed South African townships into testing grounds for “prepaid” technology that automatically cuts the flow of water or electricity when purchased credits run out.⁵⁸ After years of delay, the South African government began rolling out antiretroviral medication to address the HIV/AIDS epidemic in 2003. Yet the public health system remains severely underfunded, understaffed, and overcrowded.⁵⁹ Likewise, the desegregation of South Africa’s public schools was accompanied by the introduction of school fees. While the majority of schools raise less than R10,000 (\$951) annually, schools in wealthy neighborhoods often charge that much for each student.⁶⁰

In response to widespread protests against neoliberalism, the ANC government has slowly expanded its developmental projects.⁶¹ Yet these projects remain constrained by a narrow vision of development and a broader commitment to the market.⁶² Alongside a Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) program, the state has rolled out skills development programs, public works projects, microcredit loans, support for small businesses, and megaprojects such as the 2010 World Cup stadiums. Moreover, the government initiated a handful of projects that promised to transform Black communities, including the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) in Johannesburg and the N2 Gateway Project in Cape Town. All of these projects retain a market orientation that promotes entrepreneurialism, wage discipline, and private contractors.

Along with these programs, the government has also expanded the provision of social grants, which now reach nearly 30 percent of the population.⁶³ These grants provide an important source of income for millions of poor South Africans. But they are quite small, contain disciplinary conditions, and are only available for pensioners, people with disabilities, and people caring for children.⁶⁴ In other words, working-age people (eighteen to sixty-five) without disabilities or children are expected to sustain themselves through wage labor in an economy that continues to shed jobs.⁶⁵

In addition to the growing marginalization and persistent landlessness of

the Black poor, the limits of decolonization in South Africa are marked by the continued significance of racism. Along with the emergence of a “color-blind” ideology, the South African transition has generated a racialized discourse of crime that rearticulates Blackness as criminal.⁶⁶ With vast inequality and racialized poverty, South Africa has high rates of violent crime. But crime is concentrated in poor Black communities. Nevertheless, the specter of the “Black male criminal” has fueled the development of advanced strategies for securing the wealthy and powerful.

For more than twenty years, private security has been the fastest growing industry in South Africa.⁶⁷ Over 8,000 private companies employ more than 480,000 people and profit from racialized anxieties by selling an ever-expanding range of security services, including alarm systems, panic buttons, stationary guards, neighborhood patrols, video surveillance, and armed rapid-response teams.⁶⁸ Working closely with wealthy residents’ associations, private security companies are at the forefront of securitization in the suburbs.

While private companies have taken the lead in the securitization of wealthy neighborhoods, the state has adopted an aggressive approach to policing poor Black communities.⁶⁹ During the 1990s, the ANC advocated community-based crime prevention initiatives to address the root causes of crime. By the end of the decade, however, the government had reverted to more repressive tactics of crime suppression. The state also deploys its security forces to repress dissent.⁷⁰ As demonstrated most clearly by the massacre of striking mine workers at Marikana in 2012, the postapartheid state is not averse to violently suppressing struggles for social justice by poor Black South Africans.⁷¹

Yet millions of South Africans have risen up to challenge the neoliberal policies of the postapartheid state and to demand decent jobs, housing, and services. Since the 1990s, waves of protest have shaken the country. The state has contained or co-opted many of the insurgencies. But others have crystallized into lasting social movements that mobilize resistance in townships and squatter camps.⁷² More recently, the South African labor movement has experienced a tremendous resurgence.⁷³ And demands for “economic freedom” and “decolonization” are now widespread.⁷⁴ The political, social, and labor movements that make up the South African left are organizing across various spheres to challenge the dominance of the ANC and the racial capitalist policies that have entrenched the inequality that defined apartheid.⁷⁵

The partial nature of decolonization in South Africa should not detract from the tremendous achievements of the freedom struggle. By dismantling the settler regime, Black South Africans ended the violence of colonization and established a democratic state with formal legal equality. This formal equality,

however, exists alongside growing inequality, persistent racism, and continued landlessness. Racial neoliberalism combined with limited decolonization has produced a shift in the racial composition of the elite, deepened the marginalization of the Black poor, and generated advanced strategies for securing the powerful. Yet struggles continue and the new regime remains far from stable.

Palestine/Israel

Unlike South Africa, the transition in Palestine/Israel did not lead to a democratization of the state. The entire territory remains under the sovereign rule of the State of Israel, which exercises power by fragmenting the Palestinian population.⁷⁶ Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are *subjects* of Israeli military rule; Palestinians from East Jerusalem have tenuous *residency* rights; 1948 Palestinians have formal *citizenship* in Israel; and Palestinian refugees confront an enforced *absence* in the diaspora. Although subject to different forms of rule, every fragment of the Palestinian population confronts the same Israeli colonial project. This book focuses on one fragment—the occupied West Bank—within the broader unity of Palestine/Israel.

Israel has restructured its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the 1990s. Through the Oslo “peace process,” Israel and the PLO established the Palestinian Authority (PA) and fragmented the occupied territories into zones of different political jurisdiction. In the West Bank, the Fatah-led PA gained limited autonomy within Areas A and B—which together make up 40 percent of the land—while Israel retained full jurisdiction over the remaining 60 percent of the West Bank (Area C) and ultimate control over the entire territory.⁷⁷ The Israeli military withdrew from the heart of Palestinian cities, surrounded these areas with checkpoints, introduced a regime of permits and “closures” to regulate Palestinian movement, and charged the PA with suppressing resistance in the Area A enclaves. Overall, therefore, Oslo fragmented the occupied territories and enabled Israel to supplement direct military rule with aspects of indirect rule.⁷⁸

In the West Bank, Israel’s new colonial strategy involves *concentrating* the Palestinian population into the enclaves of Areas A and B and *colonizing* Area C by confiscating Palestinian land, demolishing Palestinian houses, and building Israeli settlements.⁷⁹ Since 1994, the number of settlers in the West Bank has tripled to over 300,000 and reaches 500,000 when East Jerusalem is included.⁸⁰ Israel also built a network of “bypass roads” linking the settlements to Jerusalem and the coastal plain.⁸¹ And the state is now building “separation fences” or “apartheid walls” in the West Bank, incorporating settlements and



MAP 4. The West Bank after Oslo. By Molly O'Halloran. Based on B'Tselem, "The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier—November 2014."

Palestinian land into Israel while fortifying the isolation of the Palestinian enclaves.⁸² In short, Oslo has intensified, rather than reversing, Israel's settler colonial project in the West Bank.

The reorganization of Israeli rule has been coupled with the neoliberal restructuring of the Israeli economy. Since the mid-1980s, Israel has undergone a fundamental transformation from a state-led, worker-centered economy focused on domestic consumption to a corporate-driven, profit-centered economy integrated into the circuits of global capital.⁸³ Neoliberal restructuring has generated massive profits for high-tech and finance capital while dismantling the Israeli welfare state, weakening the Histadrut labor federation, and producing widespread poverty. Israel now has the second-highest level of inequality among advanced industrial countries (after the United States) and spends less than every other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country on social safety nets.⁸⁴ Contained within these numbers is significant inequality between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews and even deeper inequality between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel.⁸⁵ The divisions would be even more extreme if they included Palestinians from the occupied territories.

The Oslo negotiations were central to this neoliberal project. Political and business elites argued that peace with the Palestinians would open the markets of the Arab world to US and Israeli capital and facilitate Israel's integration into the global economy.⁸⁶ At the time of Oslo, Shimon Peres outlined his vision for a "New Middle East" based on a regional free trade zone.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the US government and the World Economic Forum hosted a series of Middle East/North Africa (MENA) summits to encourage free trade policies and joint ventures between Israel and the Arab world.⁸⁸ As a result, Israel quickly signed free trade agreements with Egypt and Jordan.

Israel's colonial policy operates through neoliberalism. Neoliberal restructuring enabled Israel to carry out its strategy of enclosure and indirect rule by significantly reducing Israeli reliance on Palestinian labor. To begin with, Israel's transition to a high-tech, globalized economy reduced the demand for industrial and agricultural labor.⁸⁹ In addition, free trade agreements allowed Israeli manufacturers to shift production from Palestinian subcontractors in the occupied territories to export-processing zones in neighboring countries.⁹⁰ Moreover, the collapse of the Soviet Union followed by "shock doctrine" neoliberalism led more than one million Russian Jews to seek opportunities in Israel—further displacing Palestinian workers.⁹¹ Finally, neoliberal restructuring on a global scale led to the immigration of 300,000 migrant workers from

Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa that now compete with Palestinians for the remaining low-wage jobs.⁹²

Whereas Israel previously sought to incorporate 1967 Palestinians into the Israeli labor market, the state now treats jobs in Israel as a privilege for good behavior. The availability of work permits depends on individual and collective subservience; not only does Israel restrict the number of permits during an uprising but individuals with marks on their security record are automatically blacklisted.⁹³ The state also adjusts the number of permits to address the changing demands of Israeli employers in agriculture and construction.⁹⁴ In general terms, restrictions tightened from 1993 to 1996, abated from 1997 to 1999, intensified again after 2000, and bifurcated after 2006 when Israel began increasing the number of permits for the West Bank and eliminated permits altogether for the Gaza Strip.

Overall, the Oslo process has linked the colonial and capitalist projects restructuring social relations in Palestine/Israel today. Palestinians in the West Bank face a deadly combination of colonization and neoliberalization. Intersecting perfectly with the settler colonial logic that predisposed Israel to treat the Palestinians as a surplus population, neoliberal restructuring has intensified the exclusionary dynamics of racial capitalism. Neoliberal colonization in the West Bank has produced vast inequality, extreme marginalization, and intense securitization.

The formation of the Palestinian Authority allowed Israel to partially out-source the occupation. From its inception, the economic policies of the PA have been based on the neoliberal vision of a private-sector-led, export-oriented, free-market-economy.⁹⁵ During the 1990s, however, the PA introduced a public employment program to help absorb surplus workers and contain frustration with Oslo. The schools, hospitals, and pensions operated by the PA are funded primarily by grants and loans from “donor states” in Europe, North America, and the Arab Gulf and from taxes collected by Israel on imported goods consumed by Palestinians in the occupied territories. Israel and the donor states exploit this dependency to shape the policies of the PA, refusing to release the funds unless the PA meets their demands.

As settlements expanded, unemployment soared, and hopes for “peace” collapsed, Palestinians rose up against the Oslo regime in 2000. The second intifada (2000–2005) was far more militarized than the first, with Israel unleashing the full force of its military and Palestinians using not only stones but also guns and bombs.⁹⁶ A racialized discourse of “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” gained traction during the second intifada, transforming every Pal-

estinian into a suspect and justifying an unprecedented expansion of Israeli military deployments. The Israeli military invaded and besieged cities, demolished refugee camps, assassinated leaders, imprisoned activists, and once again began patrolling the streets of cities and refugee camps in the occupied territories. Israel also multiplied the number of checkpoints in the occupied territories; built roadblocks, trenches, walls, and fences around Palestinian communities; and deployed fighter jets and gunship helicopters to attack the enclaves.⁹⁷

Although the World Bank and IMF have always encouraged the PA to reduce public spending, they rallied donor states to finance PA employment during the second intifada in the hope that access to jobs would help contain the uprising.⁹⁸ In the aftermath of the intifada, the PA has followed a more orthodox program of neoliberal economics that calls for cuts to public spending and the promotion of private investment.⁹⁹ Only the security forces remain partially immune from these cuts because they are tasked with suppressing Palestinian resistance inside Area A.¹⁰⁰ Free-trade industrial zones make up the core of the neoliberal vision for economic development in the West Bank.¹⁰¹ Yet the planned industrial estates have largely failed to materialize due to political instability, Israeli restrictions on imports and exports, and the relatively high cost of Palestinian labor compared to neighboring countries. Palestinians without work permits or jobs with the PA increasingly rely on the informal economy, such as street vending, unregulated shops, and domestic work.¹⁰² Undocumented work in Israel and the settlements has become one of the more common informal economic activities.¹⁰³ Moreover, Israel directs an increasing percentage of work permits toward the settlements.¹⁰⁴ As a result, the two principal forms of work available for West Bank Palestinians today are building Israeli settlements on confiscated Palestinian land and working for the PA security forces helping Israel suppress resistance to the occupation.

While increasing the precariousness of the Palestinian working class, the Oslo process also facilitated the emergence of a new Palestinian elite. Along with the leadership of the PA, the West Bank elite is now comprised of Palestinian capitalists with ties to the PA and NGO managers with ties to international donors.¹⁰⁵ They dine at expensive restaurants, drive luxury cars, and live in palatial mansions.¹⁰⁶ Although protected from some aspects of the occupation, West Bank elites remain subject to Israeli rule and confined to the same enclaves as the Palestinian poor. As a result, the Palestinian enclaves are not spaces of concentrated poverty but spaces of *concentrated inequality* where the rich and poor live side by side.¹⁰⁷

Outside of the enclaves, Israel is aggressively colonizing Palestinian land in Area C. Through land confiscations, home demolitions, and permit restrictions, the state dispossesses Palestinian villagers and prevents them from accessing their land. Taking control of Palestinian land enables the state to continue the steady expansion of Jewish settlements. Along with state violence, Palestinian villagers also confront violence by ideologically motivated Israeli settlers. They assault and intimidate Palestinian villagers, destroy their crops, and expropriate their land in order to accelerate Israel's colonization of the West Bank.¹⁰⁸

Israel continues to rely on violence to secure its colonial project.¹⁰⁹ The isolated, walled enclosures are designed to help Israel contain the struggles of the disposable Palestinian poor. In the West Bank, the Israeli military invades the enclosures on a daily basis, deploys military aircraft above the enclosures for surveillance and assault, and operates an extensive network of spies and informants. Despite Israel's celebrated "disengagement" from the Gaza Strip in 2005, Gaza remains Israel's principal laboratory for securitization and extraordinary violence.¹¹⁰ Gaza is surrounded, enclosed, and under siege. Between 2008 and 2014, Israel carried out three sustained assaults on Gaza that killed nearly 4,000 Palestinians.

While the Israeli state retains ultimate sovereignty over the occupied territories, an imperial network of security forces helps Israel police the Palestinian poor. This network involves coordination between Israel, the United States, the European Union, Jordan, Egypt, and the PA. In the West Bank, the network operates through the PA security forces, which have undergone a process of "reform" overseen by the United States and the European Union since 2005.¹¹¹ The new PA security forces are trained by the United States in Jordan and deployed in close coordination with the Israeli military to target Palestinian opponents of Oslo in the West Bank enclosures. Crackdowns on Islamists and leftists involve shared intelligence, coordinated arrests, and weapons confiscations. Israeli and US officials celebrate the success of these operations, but Palestinians increasingly view security coordination as one of the worst aspects of Oslo.

In the face of marginalization and securitization, Palestinians continue finding ways to challenge settler colonialism and racial capitalism. Along with the emergence of a global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, struggles on the ground proliferate. Villagers hold weekly protests against settlement expansion. Workers organize independent trade unions. Youth confront Israeli soldiers at checkpoints. Prisoners engage in hunger strikes to resist administrative detention. Militants in Gaza develop homemade rockets

to challenge the siege. And an emerging youth movement organizes creative forms of civil disobedience such as “freedom rides” on settler busses and “protest villages” on land designated for settlement construction.¹¹²

The Oslo negotiations held out the promise of an independent Palestinian state, but instead allowed Israel to continue its colonial project under the guise of peace. The articulation of this colonial project with a neoliberal project transformed the 1967 Palestinians into a truly disposable population. Neoliberal colonization has intensified the fragmentation of the Palestinian population as well as the marginalization of the Palestinian poor. Yet the continuation of Palestinian resistance combined with Israel’s reliance on a complex security network demonstrates the underlying instability of the Oslo regime.

JOHANNESBURG AND JERUSALEM

In *Neoliberal Apartheid*, I analyze the dynamics of marginalization and securitization through a comparative ethnography of the Johannesburg and Jerusalem metropolitan regions. More specifically, I focus on the northern Johannesburg region, including Alexandra and Sandton, and the southern Jerusalem region, including Bethlehem. In our increasingly urbanized world, cities in the Global South have become key sites of emergence for new regimes of inequality, marginalization, and securitization.¹¹³ Analyzing urban restructuring from the perspective of the Global South brings into focus the relationship between neoliberalization and (de)colonization.

Contested cities throughout the twentieth century, Johannesburg and Jerusalem remain at the forefront of struggles over social transformation today. The difference between Israel’s ongoing colonial project and the postcolonial project of the South African state are perhaps nowhere more evident than in Jerusalem and Johannesburg. Yet the landscapes of both urban regions are increasingly marked by inequality, racialized marginalization, walled enclosures, and advanced securitization. The details are different in each city because of the different combinations of neoliberalization and (de)colonization, but the underlying similarity suggests that the dynamics of restructuring in contemporary cities are more general.

Johannesburg

Founded as a mining town in the 1880s, Johannesburg embodied the shift in racial capitalism that took place with the discovery of gold.¹¹⁴ Responding to capitalist demands for Black workers and calls for racial segregation by white

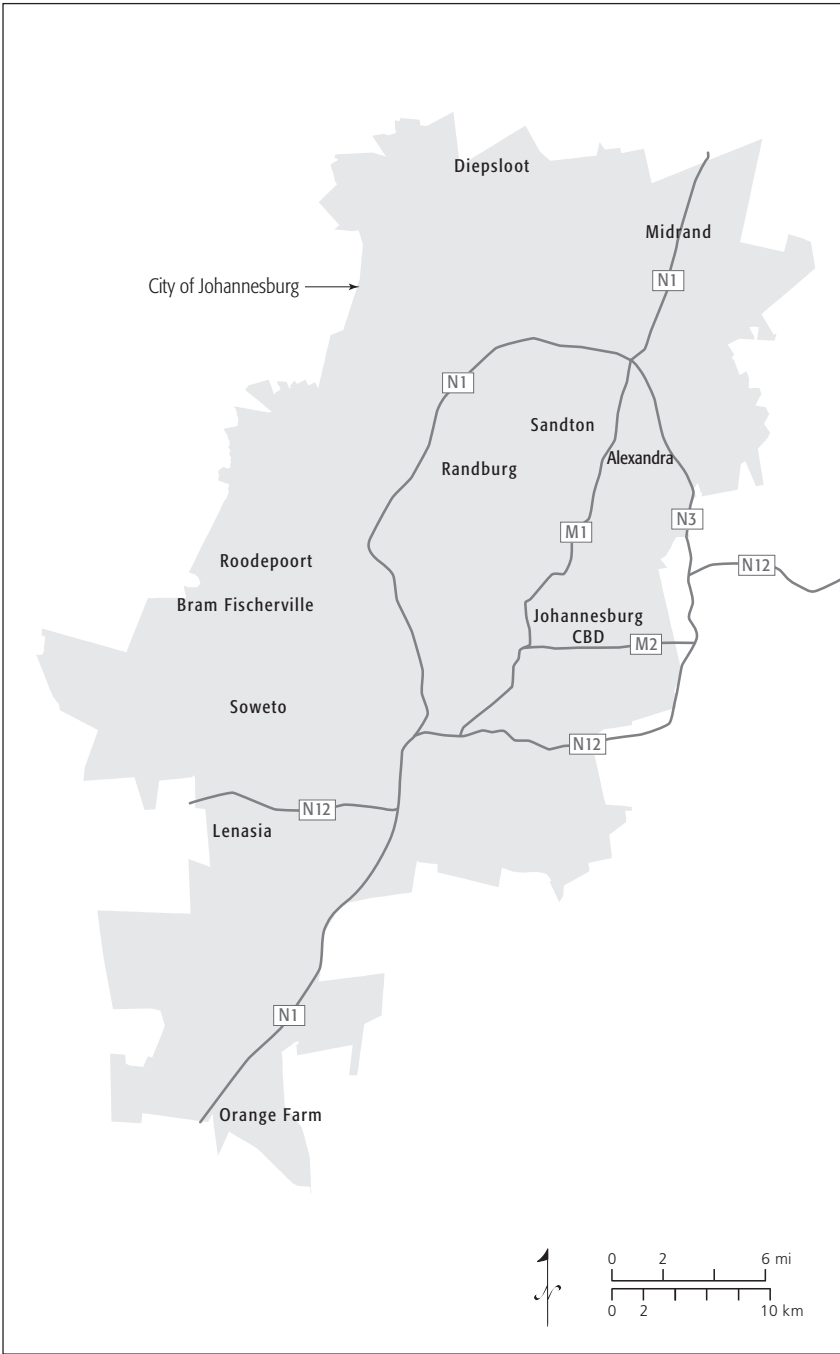
residents, mining companies and the state built hostels, compounds, and townships for Black workers and required Africans to obtain permits to enter the legally designated “white” city of Johannesburg. During the apartheid era, the state destroyed multiracial neighborhoods and forcibly removed Black residents to racially segregated townships south of Johannesburg: Soweto (African), Eldorado Park (“colored”), and Lenasia (Asian/Indian).¹¹⁵ Yet Black South Africans constantly resisted these policies. Residents of Alexandra township, for example, fought a thirty-year battle against repeated attempts to eradicate their vibrant township.¹¹⁶

By the 1970s, thousands of Black South Africans were “illegally” moving into “white” Johannesburg due to severe overcrowding in the Bantustans and growing industrial demands for permanently urbanized, semiskilled labor. The emergence of these “gray areas” began to undermine the apartheid ideal of racial segregation.¹¹⁷ From the late 1970s through the 1980s, militant labor struggles targeted capital while popular uprisings made townships such as Soweto and Alexandra ungovernable.¹¹⁸ These movements were central to the crisis of racial capitalism that forced the apartheid regime to begin neoliberal restructuring and seek a negotiated settlement.

The landscape of Johannesburg has been reshaped by the transition. To counter the effects of apartheid planning, the new government amalgamated thirteen distinct local entities into the city of Johannesburg—bringing together wealthy suburbs such as Sandton and Randburg and Black townships like Soweto and Alexandra. The city created a single tax base, opened neighborhoods and schools to all people without regard to race, and introduced plans to rehabilitate the long-neglected Black townships.¹¹⁹ Yet Johannesburg remains a “city of extremes” with concentrations of wealth and poverty, racialized marginalization, and intense securitization.¹²⁰

Since the late 1980s, hundreds of thousands of Africans have moved to Johannesburg in search of housing and work. Gauteng province—an overwhelmingly urban province centered on Johannesburg—experienced a net increase of over 1.3 million migrants from 1996 to 2011.¹²¹ Rapid urbanization has been accompanied by an equally rapid deindustrialization. The transition from manufacturing and mining to services and informal employment has been particularly acute in Johannesburg.¹²²

As the rural poor and migrants from other parts of Africa converged on Johannesburg, white residents and capital fled the downtown areas. Historically white residential districts such as Hillbrow and Yeoville became crowded Black neighborhoods.¹²³ More than three hundred downtown factories closed



MAP 5. Johannesburg metropolitan region. By Molly O'Halloran.

between 1990 and 1994; scores of businesses moved their headquarters to former white suburbs or overseas; and downtown Johannesburg became the center of an informal economy based on retail, services, and labor-intensive textile manufacturing.¹²⁴

After years of declining property values, capital is now reinvesting in downtown Johannesburg. In scenes reminiscent of apartheid-era forced removals, the reconquest of downtown and other parts of Johannesburg has been carried out through mass evictions. The city has outsourced the politically unpopular work of evictions to private security companies such as Wozani—nicknamed the “Red Ants” for the red overalls they wear when they descend on a building to drive out the residents en masse.¹²⁵

Some of the residents displaced by evictions or removed from areas designated for redevelopment have been provided with government-built “RDP” houses in new townships on the urban periphery.¹²⁶ RDP houses measure 3 x 6 m—smaller and more poorly constructed than the “matchbox” houses built for Africans by the apartheid regime. Each consists of one room, a kitchen, and a toilet. But not everyone facing displacement receives a house. Some are sent to “site and service” townships such as Diepsloot, where they are issued a plot of dirt, a bit of tin, and a communal water pipe.¹²⁷

Throughout the urban region, desperately poor shack dwellers have transformed open spaces into informal settlements. In 2004, the city of Johannesburg consolidated a list of 189 informal settlements in the city—out of 392 in Gauteng province.¹²⁸ In addition, more than 400,000 shacks have been erected in the backyards of houses throughout the city.¹²⁹ Whether suspended precariously on the banks of the filthy, flood-prone Jukskei River, erected on the fragile ground above an abandoned mine, or flanking the walls of a fortress suburb, informal settlements have become one of the few options available for poor South Africans in search of fleeting employment and scarce housing.¹³⁰

In northeastern Johannesburg, the historically Black township of Alexandra remains a popular gateway for migrants due to its location near potential employment in the wealthy neighborhoods around Sandton.¹³¹ As I explain in chapter two, Alexandra has become a site of concentrated poverty where residents confront crises of unemployment and housing. Most of the factories in the area have closed, and jobs in the nearby suburbs are becoming increasingly precarious. Unemployment in Alexandra exceeds 60 percent, and most people survive through informal economic activities and social grants. Without sufficient housing in Alexandra, tens of thousands of people live in a dense network of squatter camps, backyard shacks, and occupied factories. In 2001, the South

African government launched the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) in an effort to “upgrade” one of the black holes of apartheid. Although the ARP is a flagship project of the postapartheid state, it has largely failed to transform the township. This stems from a combination of the state’s minimalist approach to development and its reluctance to appropriate private property.

Just across the highway from Alexandra, the northern Johannesburg neighborhoods around Sandton are home to the South African elite. Historically, Sandton was the wealthiest white municipality in the Johannesburg region—known as the “mink and manure belt” for its upper-class rural lifestyle.¹³² With the development of high-end residential suburbs and upscale commercial developments, Sandton became the preserve of the economic elite. In the 1990s, major South African businesses, car dealerships, commercial outlets, and even the Johannesburg Stock Exchange relocated to Sandton where they consolidated a new central business district.¹³³

Still popularly known as the “northern suburbs” despite their incorporation into Johannesburg, the neighborhoods around Sandton are now undergoing intense securitization. A racialized discourse of crime has transformed these neighborhoods into a world of walled enclosures.¹³⁴ As I explain in chapter four, residents’ associations and private security companies are driving the securitization of the northern suburbs. Initially, individual homeowners built walls around their property and hired private security companies to install alarms and deploy armed rapid-response teams if someone tripped the alarm. Later, residents’ associations (RAs) began supplementing these individual enclosures by organizing collective security arrangements for wealthy neighborhoods. Some RAs closed roads, erected boom gates, and contracted private security companies to monitor the gates and patrol the streets. Over the last ten years, RAs in other neighborhoods have been working with private security companies to develop strategies for policing neighborhoods without gates. These cutting-edge “preventive security” initiatives have revived apartheid-era strategies of “influx control” by relying on racial profiling, intimidation, and violence to regulate the presence of poor Black men in wealthy neighborhoods.

The landscape of inequality and (in)security in postapartheid Johannesburg is marked by concentrated poverty in the Black townships and squatter camps and concentrated wealth in the walled-off homes of fortress suburbs. Unlike in Palestine/Israel, the new South African state has invested in the development of marginalized Black areas and securitization is driven by the private sector rather than the state. Nevertheless, marginalization and securitization continue to define social relations in postapartheid Johannesburg.

Jerusalem

A long-standing center of religious and economic life, Jerusalem became the seat of a semiautonomous Ottoman governorate in 1872. Expanding beyond the Old City walls, Jerusalem grew into a cosmopolitan city where Muslim, Christian, and Jewish residents lived alongside foreign diplomats and religious pilgrims.¹³⁵ According to the 1947 UN Partition Plan, Jerusalem and Bethlehem would remain outside of both the Arab and the Jewish states—a “corpus separatum” under the auspices of the United Nations. During the 1948 *Nakba* (catastrophe), however, Zionist forces expelled 70,000 Palestinians from the Jerusalem district, and Arab forces expelled 2,000 Jews from the Old City.¹³⁶ After the war, Jerusalem was bifurcated: West Jerusalem became part of Israel and East Jerusalem (including the Old City) was governed by Jordan as part of the West Bank.

In 1967, Israel occupied East Jerusalem along with the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The state quickly began colonizing East Jerusalem. In addition to confiscating Palestinian land and building Jewish settlements, the state redrew the boundaries of the city—subjecting East Jerusalem to the authority of the West Jerusalem municipality. In 1980, the Israeli government passed a Basic Law declaring that, “Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel.” To concretize this control, the state encircled Jerusalem with three rings of settlements: an inner ring around the Old City, a second ring around East Jerusalem, and a third ring of “settlement blocs” that extends deep into the West Bank.¹³⁷

Yet East Jerusalem remained the center of a Palestinian metropolitan region, including Ramallah to the north and Bethlehem to the south.¹³⁸ To enter East Jerusalem, 1967 Palestinians did not need permits, and the city remained the heart of Palestinian political, economic, social, and religious life. Under Israeli law, Palestinian residents of Jerusalem had a different legal status than Palestinians who were subject to military rule in the West Bank. But this had minimal significance for daily life as all 1967 Palestinians faced occupation, repression, and colonization.¹³⁹

In the 1990s, Israel began intensifying the separation of East Jerusalem from the West Bank. Excluded from the territorial divisions of Oslo (Areas A, B, and C), East Jerusalem would remain under Israeli control as part of the Jerusalem Municipality until its future could be determined during “final status negotiations.” At the same time, Israel introduced permits, closures, and checkpoints to limit Palestinian access to East Jerusalem and accelerated the construction of ring settlements to further enclose the city.¹⁴⁰ Since 2002,



MAP 6. Jerusalem metropolitan region. By Molly O'Halloran. Based on B'Tselem, "The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier—November 2014."

the state has entrenched the separation by encircling East Jerusalem with a “separation fence” or “apartheid wall” that annexes Israeli settlement blocs to Jerusalem and amputates Palestinian neighborhoods from the city by isolating them on the West Bank side of the wall.¹⁴¹

The enclosure of East Jerusalem deprived the 1967 Palestinians of access to their principal city, fragmented the metropolitan region, and divided the West Bank into northern and southern sectors. For Palestinians, moving between Ramallah and Bethlehem—each less than twenty minutes from the heart of East Jerusalem—now requires traveling around the city on a long desert highway known as Wadi Al-Nar (Valley of Fire). Throughout the metropolitan region, the Oslo process has involved aggressive colonization, racialized marginalization, and hypersecuritization.

Israeli colonization in East Jerusalem is especially aggressive. The master plan of the Jerusalem Municipality is based on the overarching goal of creating a 70 percent Jewish majority in the city.¹⁴² Because Palestinians make up 40 percent of the population, the state attempts to achieve this objective through the expansion of Jewish settlements and the quiet transfer of Palestinians. Palestinians are legally allowed to live on only 11 percent of the land in East Jerusalem.¹⁴³ Combined with planning regulations and home demolitions, this has created a severe housing crisis for Palestinians in the city.¹⁴⁴ In the mid-1990s, the Israeli Ministry of the Interior began confiscating the Jerusalem residency cards of Palestinians who could not provide evidence that Jerusalem remained the “center of their life.”¹⁴⁵ And the Israeli police and Border Police maintain a heavy presence in East Jerusalem, where they constantly stop, search, detain, harass, and assault Palestinian residents.

Ideologically motivated Jewish settlers are at the forefront of colonization in East Jerusalem. Religious Zionist organizations take over properties in the heart of Palestinian neighborhoods and violently expel Palestinians from their homes.¹⁴⁶ Religious settlers attack and abuse Palestinian residents on a daily basis. And they have become increasingly belligerent in their efforts to claim control over the Al-Aqsa Mosque and other Islamic holy sites on the Haram Al-Sharif (Temple Mount) in the Old City.¹⁴⁷

Palestinians also confront an economic crisis in the city. Unlike Palestinians from other parts of the occupied territories, Palestinian Jerusalemites do not need permits to work in Israel. Yet 75 percent of Palestinians in Jerusalem live below the poverty line.¹⁴⁸ The crisis began with the enclosure of the city, which led to a collapse of the Palestinian economy in East Jerusalem—especially the hotels, restaurants, shops, hospitals, and schools that catered to customers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition, the manufactured housing

crisis and the discriminatory provision of municipal services have inflated the cost of living for Palestinian Jerusalemites.¹⁴⁹ And neoliberal restructuring has eliminated many working-class jobs. In the face of colonization and marginalization, life for Palestinians in East Jerusalem becomes more precarious every day. Yet most Palestinians continue struggling to survive in a hostile Jerusalem rather than ceding to Israeli pressure by relocating to a Palestinian ghetto behind the wall.

While most studies of Jerusalem focus on the city itself, it is important to consider the impact of Oslo on the broader metropolitan region. Isolated from their urban core, Palestinian cities and villages in the Jerusalem region are subject to the combination of colonization and neoliberalization that is transforming the West Bank today. Enclosed behind walls, they have become sites of concentrated inequality, intense marginalization, and experimentation with new forms of securitization.

To the north lies Ramallah. Without access to East Jerusalem, Ramallah has become the center of Palestinian political, economic, and cultural life in the West Bank. As the *de facto* capital of the Palestinian Authority and the headquarters of most international banks, investment funds, development organizations, and NGOs, Ramallah has experienced tremendous growth and skyrocketing property values over the last twenty years.¹⁵⁰ Visitors to Ramallah are often struck by the lavish lifestyle of the Palestinian elite: fancy restaurants, expensive cars, five-star hotels, and private “villas.” Billboards in Ramallah advertise real estate opportunities, resorts, luxury cars, hotels, private swimming pools, and multinational restaurant chains. Most residents of Ramallah, however, are poor and working-class Palestinians who critique the consumption and complicity of the elites. Like other Palestinian enclaves, Ramallah is a site of concentrated inequality.¹⁵¹

To the south lies Bethlehem, the focus of my research. Historically a small town in the Jerusalem region, Bethlehem is now isolated from Jerusalem and has become the center of its own urban region. As I explain in chapter three, it is a fragmented region comprised of an urban enclave and dozens of scattered village enclaves separated from one another by checkpoints, walls, bypass roads, and Israeli controlled territory.¹⁵² Neoliberal restructuring has enabled Israel to concentrate the population into these isolated enclaves by transforming the 1967 Palestinians into a surplus population and outsourcing aspects of the occupation. Meanwhile, Israel is colonizing the rest of the land in the area. Bethlehem is the site of the fastest-growing settlement in the West Bank as well as the expansive Etzion “settlement bloc” that Israeli officials consider an integral part of Jerusalem. These colonial activities have combined with neoliberal

policies to produce concentrated inequality within the Bethlehem enclaves, to intensify the marginalization of the Palestinian poor, and to accelerate the colonization of village land.

Like Ramallah and other Palestinian cities in the West Bank, the main Bethlehem enclave is a walled enclosure built to contain the struggles of the Palestinian poor. The Israeli military surrounds the Bethlehem enclave, deploys its forces throughout the Bethlehem region, and invades the enclosure on a daily basis to confront demonstrations and arrest suspects. But, as I discuss in chapter five, the security forces of the Palestinian Authority also play an important role in suppressing resistance to Oslo. As such, Bethlehem provides an excellent window into the dynamics of marginalization and securitization within the Jerusalem region and the West Bank more generally.

Unlike Johannesburg, Jerusalem remains a colonial city. The state continues to colonize Palestinian land and displace the Palestinian people. Similarly, the securitization of Jerusalem has been driven by the state rather than the private sector. Despite these differences, social relations in the Jerusalem and Johannesburg metropolitan regions are increasingly defined by marginalization and securitization. In the following chapters, I discuss these dynamics in more detail.

CONCLUSION

Despite promises from the US government, the World Bank, the IMF, and global and local business elites, neoliberal restructuring did not provide a path to liberation in South Africa and Palestine/Israel. In South Africa, the state has been democratized, but aspects of colonialism remain. As long as most of the land remains the property of the white elite and as long as race continues to structure social relations, the process of decolonization will be incomplete. Meanwhile, Israel has supplemented direct military rule and colonial settlement with a form of indirect rule through the Palestinian Authority. The colonization of Palestinian land and the concentration of the Palestinian population are ongoing processes. Instead of leading the way to freedom and equality, neoliberalization has combined with (de)colonization to produce marginalization and securitization in both societies.

South Africa and Palestine/Israel provide powerful reminders that neoliberal restructuring is a context-specific process. Neoliberal projects not only confront historically situated social formations, they also occur in conjunction with other efforts to transform or reproduce social relations. In South Africa, the postcolonial state has combined an overall commitment to free-market

capitalism with small-scale developmental interventions that aim to improve the lives of the Black majority. In Palestine/Israel, neoliberal restructuring has combined with colonization to transform the Palestinians into a truly disposable population.

Despite these differences, both South Africa and Palestine/Israel have experienced growing inequality, the expansion of racialized surplus populations, and the development of advanced strategies to protect the powerful and police the poor over the last twenty years. The details in each context are shaped by historical differences as well as different articulations of neoliberal projects with other state projects. For instance, South African townships like Alexandra have been transformed into sites of concentrated poverty while Palestinian enclaves like Bethlehem become sites of concentrated inequality. Similarly, the private sector drives the process of securitization in Johannesburg, whereas the state controls the process in Jerusalem. Moreover, the walled enclosures of Sandton are fortress enclaves for the elite while the walled enclosures in Bethlehem are ghettos of exclusion to contain the racialized poor.¹⁵³ In both cases, however, the walls constitute symbolic and at the same time very material expressions of the inequality, marginalization, and securitization that define South Africa and Palestine/Israel today.

Although South Africa and Palestine/Israel have undergone vastly different political transitions since 1994, the combination of neoliberalization and (de)colonization has produced similar social and economic conditions in both societies. And beyond South Africa and Palestine/Israel, neoliberal restructuring has contributed to the expansion of inequality, marginalization, and securitization throughout much of the world. The details differ everywhere due to local histories, struggles, social formations, and articulations. Yet the general patterns are clear: concentrations of wealth and poverty, shifts in the racial composition of the elite, intensified exploitation of the working class, growing racialized surplus populations, and increasing investments in security to address elite anxieties and reinforce fragile regimes.

CHAPTER 2

Alexandra: The Precariousness of the Poor

It's a dangerous place for us to live, but I love Alex.

JOURNALIST FROM ALEXANDRA, July 2012

The historically Black township of Alexandra is located just across the M1 Highway from Sandton, the wealthiest neighborhood in Johannesburg. Along the northern edge of Alexandra is the former industrial zone of Marlboro, where nearly 20,000 people live in discarded factories and rundown warehouses. During the struggle against apartheid, factories in Marlboro were targeted by activists, abandoned by industry, and occupied by residents desperate for housing. These repurposed factories underscore the precariousness of the poor in the new South Africa, particularly the dual crises of housing and unemployment.

Long before the establishment of Sandton, Alexandra was isolated from nearby white farms by undeveloped buffer zones. In 1963, the apartheid government announced plans to replace family homes in Alexandra with migrant worker hostels and to accelerate the industrialization of the buffer zones: Marlboro to the north, Wynberg to the west, and Kew to the south.¹ By 1984, these areas employed 75,000 factory workers.²

As the struggle against apartheid intensified in the mid-1980s, factories in Marlboro, Kew, and Wynberg confronted strikes by Black labor unions as well as “organized looting” by township activists.³ The Kensen Tyre factory, for instance, was raided nearly every weekend for tires to burn at the barricades.⁴ By the late 1980s, most capitalists had moved or closed their factories. “They left because of the union organizing and the township mobilization,” explains a former organizer. “It was two ways: they feared this movement coming from the township and they were also taking this hit inside the factories.”⁵



FIGURE 2.1. Former ice cream factory converted for housing

In 1989, when an estimated 80 percent of Alexandra residents lived in shacks, the Alexandra Civic Organization (ACO) began occupying disused factories, subdividing them into rooms, and leasing them to tenants.⁶ Residents paid R300–700 per month (\$69–161) for a small room with water, electricity, and communal washrooms.⁷ By 1999, fifty-nine factories and warehouses in Marlboro—along with several in Wynberg and Kew—had been repurposed for residential use.

A former ACO organizer insists that the factory occupations helped bring down the apartheid regime. Nevertheless, he admits, “administration became a problem.”⁸ Living conditions in the factories are deplorable. Many have dark halls, dangerous stairwells, and poor plumbing; some lack water and electricity; and some are prone to deadly fires. Moreover, the area is polluted with industrial chemicals and has a reputation for violent crime. Yet people living in the factories of Marlboro, Wynberg, and Kew are in some ways better off than those living in the backyard shacks and squatter camps of Alexandra. They are protected from the elements by solid structures; most have water and toilets; and many live in rooms with electricity and concrete walls. Such amenities are hard to find in Alexandra.

The occupied factories of Marlboro provide a glimpse into the precariousness of life in Alexandra after apartheid. Without formal employment or housing, the poor transformed abandoned factories into makeshift residential units. I begin this chapter with a brief social history of Alexandra and then analyze the transformation of the township into a *ghetto of exclusion* for the increasingly expendable Black working class. Confronting a dual crisis of housing and unemployment, the urban poor survive through innovative economic and housing strategies. These strategies, however, have contributed to the fragmentation of the community. I then turn to the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP), a “developmental” project of the postapartheid state. The failure of the ARP demonstrates precisely the limits of decolonization in a context of neoliberal commitments and the ongoing devaluation of Black life. I end by discussing efforts to overcome fragmentation and build social movements in Alexandra today.

ALEXANDRA

Envisioned as a white suburb on the outskirts of Johannesburg, Alexandra was converted for sale to Black South Africans in 1912. Four years later, the South African government established the Alexandra Health Committee (AHC)—comprised primarily of Black property owners—to regulate the affairs of the township. As a result, Alexandra (Alex for short) became one of the only townships where Black South Africans could own property and exercise limited self-government. From the start, however, tensions emerged between middle-class landowners and people who rented rooms on their property.⁹

After 1948, the apartheid regime established a formal legal distinction between urban Africans with permanent residence in the townships and rural migrants with temporary residential permits. Police enforced this distinction with pass raids, arrests, and “deportations” of migrants without permits. In Alexandra, this inculcated social tensions between “bona fide” residents and “outsiders” (or “illegals”) that partially overlapped with the existing divisions between property owners and tenants.¹⁰

The apartheid state also disbanded the AHC and established direct control over Alexandra through the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board (PUAHB). From 1958 to 1963, the PUAHB expropriated the property of five hundred Black landowners and forcibly removed 44,000 residents from Alexandra to Soweto, Tembisa, and Eldorado Park.¹¹ In 1963, the government announced plans to expropriate the remaining property, demolish all family homes, build twenty-five hostels for migrant workers, and develop industrial zones on the borders

of Alex.¹² For the next fifteen years, the state worked to eliminate property ownership and family life in Alexandra.

In 1979, however, the government abandoned these efforts due to popular struggles and a shifting governing strategy. After the 1976 student uprisings, a group of “bona fide” Alexandrans began negotiating with the government to save the township. Their proposals dovetailed with 1979 Riekert Commission, which recommended reforms to promote the growth of a docile Black middle class.¹³ The state agreed to allow African families to remain in Alexandra (Indian and “colored” residents would still be removed), to end the construction of new hostels, to reintroduce limited self-government through an elected community council, and to redevelop the township with a new Master Plan.¹⁴

The 1980 Master Plan promised to address the infrastructural needs of residents—for water, electricity, sanitation, and roads—but prioritized the creation of middle-class housing.¹⁵ The new Alexandra Town Council (ATC) completed the expropriation of private property, forcibly removed Indian and “colored” residents, demolished dozens of old structures, and began developing middle-class residential areas.¹⁶ But the ATC failed to deliver on its infrastructural promises.

This failure fueled resistance and Alexandra soon became a battleground in the struggle against racial capitalism. As a former community organizer explains, “We said that the system of racism and capitalism are linked. There is a symbiosis between them that is intrinsic to apartheid. We cannot separate these battles.”¹⁷ In 1985, the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) organized a network of yard committees, block committees, and street committees throughout the township.¹⁸ The next year, a popular uprising drove the police and the local council out of Alexandra. For a time, Alexandrans replaced the state with organs of “people’s power.”¹⁹ But the state responded by reinvading the township, arresting thousands of youth, and charging the leaders of the AAC with treason.

Linking repression with reform, the state launched another Urban Renewal Programme in the late 1980s that promised development, employment, and housing.²⁰ Still hoping to create a responsible Black middle class, the state encouraged the private sector to build upscale housing on the East Bank of the Jukskei River. It also subdivided the expropriated properties in old Alex, sold some portions to former owners, transferred some portions to long-term tenants, and issued residency permits to other tenants.²¹ This produced overlapping claims to property that continue to cause confusion today.

The population of Alexandra grew rapidly after the abolition of “influx control” in the mid-1980s. In 1989, the Alexandra Civic Organization

(ACO)—successor to the AAC—began organizing for access to decent housing. ACO called on the government to prioritize affordable housing over middle-class housing and encouraged people in need to occupy empty land and abandoned factories.²² Many people who moved into factories and informal settlements were born and raised in Alexandra. But rural migration and land occupations added to the frustration of many “bona fide” residents, who feared losing their township to “outsiders” after losing their property to the state.

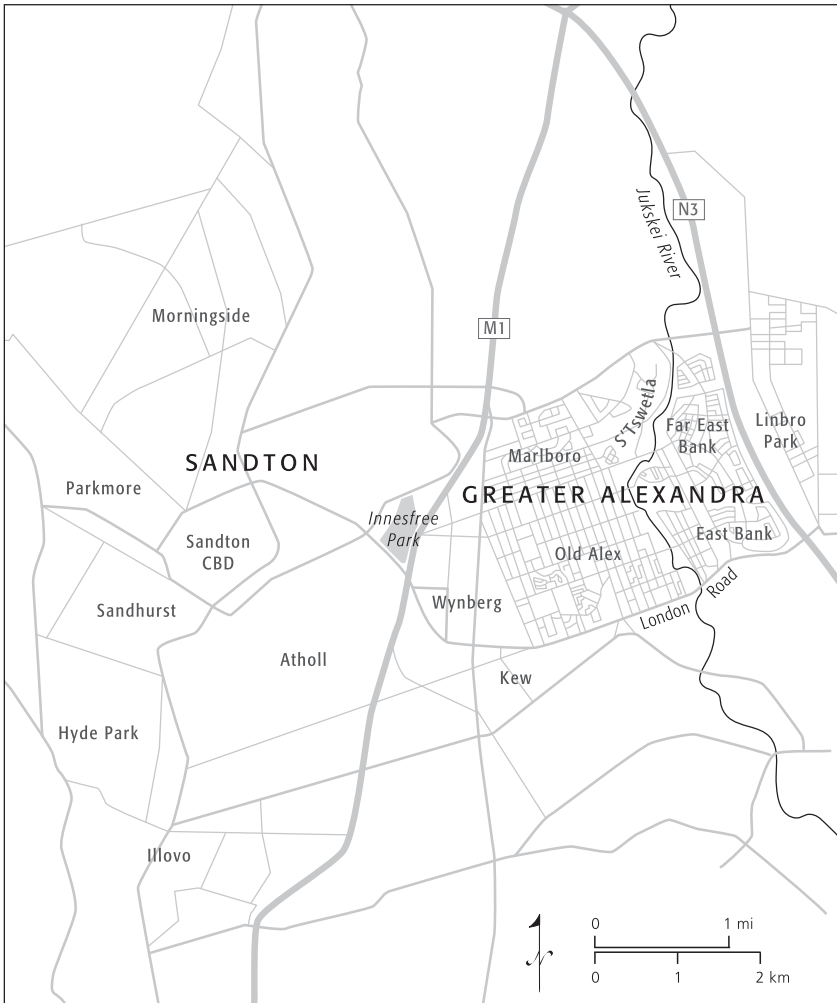
In 1991, with the end of apartheid on the horizon, a Joint Negotiating Forum produced the Alexandra Accord.²³ The accord outlined a vision for redevelopment that included the redistribution of property and the construction of low-income housing on the Far East Bank. This vision, however, was soon eclipsed by a bloody struggle caused by competition over resources, the politicization of ethnicity, and the counterrevolutionary tactics of the apartheid regime. From 1991 to 1994, Alexandra became a battleground between the ANC and ACO on one side and the Inkatha Freedom Party and the apartheid police on the other.²⁴

For the people of Alexandra, therefore, the transition to democracy brought tremendous hope for the future. Many local activists took key positions in the new government and its coalition partners. For the Black middle class, the future looked promising. Yet long-standing tensions and new social cleavages divided the people of Alexandra. And crises of housing and unemployment dampened the prospects for the racialized poor.

GHETTOS OF EXCLUSION

Like many cities in the Global South, the landscape of Johannesburg is marked by concentrations of wealth and poverty.²⁵ While Sandton has been transformed into a fortress enclave for the elite, Alexandra has become a *ghetto of exclusion* for the racialized poor.²⁶ The transformation of Alex began with the apartheid regime’s decision to expropriate Black property, forcibly remove Black families, and build hostels for the industrial working class. When the regime reversed this policy during the 1980s, it adopted a racial neoliberal project to establish a docile Black middle class and directed most of the construction to the outskirts of the township. This set the stage for the transition of the 1990s, when three processes combined to transform Alexandra into a space of concentrated racialized poverty.

First, the end of formal apartheid accelerated the urbanization of South Africans previously confined to the Bantustans. It also enabled migrants from



MAP 7. Sandton and Alexandra. By Molly O'Halloran.

across the African continent to exercise their right to the city by converging on Johannesburg. Since 1994, Johannesburg has experienced a net increase of more than 1.3 million migrants.²⁷ And Alex remains an important gateway for these migrants due to its history and its location near the wealthy suburbs.

At the same time, the ANC government has continued the racial neoliberal project of promoting the growth of the Black middle and upper class. As the rural poor moved into Alexandra, most middle-class and wealthy residents left the township. A few wealthy families moved to the elite northern suburbs. But

most upwardly mobile Black families moved to newly constructed townhouse complexes or formerly white middle-class suburbs on the borders of Alex.²⁸ According to a lawyer from Alex now living in one of these suburbs, the people leaving the township are “people who have steady jobs, people who are self-employed, the middle class, your civil servants, your police, your teachers. They have access to mortgage loans and they are able to acquire property. There are some pockets within Alex where they house middle-class people. But in old Alex today, you will find the working class, the unemployed, and immigrants.”²⁹ Despite moving out, middle-class residents often maintain personal ties, properties, and businesses in the township.³⁰ There is a common refrain among the Black middle class: “We sleep in the suburbs but we live in the township.”³¹ Nevertheless, the full-time residents of Alexandra are increasingly the poorest, most marginalized sectors of the South African population.

While many of the new townhouse complexes are racially mixed, the suburbs near Alex experienced rapid white flight.³² The racial transformation of these neighborhoods has created a periphery of middle-class Black neighborhoods around Alexandra. They share some features with other middle-class and wealthy neighborhoods in Johannesburg. For instance, property owners in the East Bank and the nearby Black suburbs fortify their homes with walls and gates. Compared to the wealthy suburbs across the highway, however, private security companies have a much smaller presence in the Black middle-class neighborhoods around Alexandra.³³

Finally, neoliberalization led to deindustrialization, the casualization of wage labor, and the growing expendability of the urban working class.³⁴ In Alexandra, wage labor is in short supply. Many nearby factories closed during the 1980s and early 1990s to escape union organizers, township activists, and international boycotts. Since 1994, the neoliberal policies of the ANC government have further eliminated working-class jobs. And the corporate strategy of replacing full-time employees with contract workers has undermined the power of organized labor and deepened the crisis of the working class.³⁵ In South Africa, the disposable population is distinctly racialized due to the history of settler colonialism and the continued significance of racism.

Together, these processes have transformed Alexandra into a space of concentrated racialized poverty. In his analysis of urban ghettos in the United States, Loïc Wacquant describes a shift during the late twentieth century from ghettos defined primarily by *race* to ghettos defined by a combination of *race and class* that serve “only to warehouse the precarious and deproletarianized fractions of the black working class”³⁶ Peter Marcuse refers to such spaces as “ghettos of exclusion.”³⁷

THE PRECARIOUSNESS OF THE POOR

The Black poor and working-class residents of Alexandra today confront multiple, overlapping crises. Two issues stand out in particular: unemployment and housing. South African sociologist Edward Webster has described a process of “double precarianization” that is making access to not only jobs but also housing increasingly tenuous.³⁸ Survival in Alexandra increasingly depends on creative housing and economic strategies that weave together formal and informal practices. Without romanticizing these informal practices, it is important to recognize the creative energy of the racialized poor whose labor is no longer considered socially necessary.³⁹ In conditions of widespread unemployment and a severe shortage of decent housing, these life strategies constitute everyday forms of resistance. Nevertheless, for the vast majority of people, such strategies do not provide sustainable livelihoods or opportunities for advancement in the postindustrial racial capitalist economy.

Precarious Employment

Neoliberal restructuring has produced shifts in the racial capitalist dynamics of exploitation and exclusion by generating high rates of unemployment, a defensive labor movement, the casualization of wage labor, and the increasing disposability of Black labor. The unemployment rate in Alexandra is over 60 percent.⁴⁰ Many unemployed workers had jobs in Marlboro, Wynberg, or Kew until the factories closed. A former paint mixer in Wynberg, for instance, explains that management began layoffs in the early 1990s and closed the plant in 2002 when the workers went on strike.⁴¹

Rather than mining and industry, the principal sources of wage labor are now retail and services. Most people from Alex who have steady jobs work as gardeners, nannies, maids, or security guards across the highway in Sandton. These jobs are highly precarious, and most are based on short-term contracts. Workers complain of low wages, wage theft, unhealthy conditions, racism, and abuse. Black workers are subject to intense surveillance and know that they are the first suspects when something goes missing or a crime occurs.⁴² They are stopped, searched, and harassed by police and private security guards as they come and go from work (see chapter four).

In conditions of widespread unemployment, finding a job requires endless and exhausting effort. During a focus group discussion, a domestic worker explained that, “It’s an everyday thing, you understand. It’s an everyday thing. We are always hoping, always looking for something. We tell people day in,

day out, please look for a job for me; wherever you hear an opportunity, call me.”⁴³ Another added, “Every day we go about looking for jobs. People come knocking on your door, telling you there’s a job opportunity. Obviously, we leave everything behind and reach for that particular opportunity, because you know what’s at the end of it: you are going to get an income every month.”⁴⁴ In fact, several women came to the focus group discussion thinking that it was a job interview. Word circulated that I was going to meet with domestic workers, so people came to the interview hoping I could provide jobs. The same thing happened two days later when I held a focus group discussion with security guards.

Increasingly, people find employment through labor brokers—similar to temp agencies—that provide workers to businesses on short-term contracts.⁴⁵ Domestic work, landscaping, security guards, call centers, street cleaners, commercial, and even industrial employment has been outsourced and casualized through the use of labor brokers. Because contract workers are not registered as permanent employees, they are ineligible for benefits.⁴⁶ Moreover, labor brokers increasingly require workers to purchase their jobs with an up-front cash payment. Several workers shared experiences of being told by a labor broker that “the job is yours if you can give me R200 (\$24) up front.”⁴⁷

Countless people in Alex identify as entrepreneurs and attempt to build their own business—from car repair, to township tours, to pest control, to dietary supplements. The director of a legal clinic in Alex explains that 65–70 percent of her clients are aspiring entrepreneurs requesting legal advice.⁴⁸ There are a few success stories, including several young fashion designers.⁴⁹ The most successful entrepreneur I met began by selling *achar* (pickled vegetables) in her high school lunchroom, later purchased a van to transport children to school, translated that into a bus service between Alex and rural Limpopo, expanded that into a business supplying beef from Limpopo to the Johannesburg zoo, and is now seeking government support to purchase a farm so she can raise her own cows.⁵⁰ But the overwhelming majority of entrepreneurs struggle to keep their businesses alive. According to several, the biggest problems they face are securing bank loans, government support, and customers.⁵¹

Most people in Alex survive at least partially through the informal economy.⁵² One of the most widespread informal economic activities in Alexandra is street vending. Many street vendors explain that they used to work in the mines or factories around Johannesburg. Thousands of vendors ply the streets of Alex, selling everything from shoes and clothing, to phone cards and DVDs, to prepared foods and medicinal herbs. Others sell services such as tailoring, typing, hairdressing, and welding. Informal taxis shuttle through the

township while residents with access to free water operate car washes outside their homes. Near the 16th Street police station, people dissect cow heads and sell the organ meat. But the vast majority of street vending is concentrated around the Pan-Africa Mall and Taxi Rank. Although once stigmatized, a new discourse frames street vending as a space of freedom and independence.⁵³ Nevertheless, as a vendor near Pan-Africa points out, “The biggest problem that we face now is that all of the factories are closed so there are not many customers.”⁵⁴ Competition for customers has generated severe antagonism, particularly toward vendors from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, and Somalia.

Increasingly, the Black poor scrape together a living through a variety of means that blur the lines between the formal and informal.⁵⁵ While searching for employment, trying to start a business, or setting up a stand in the street, people also engage in a wide range of other activities to survive. People wait at intersections near the borders of the township, hoping to find day labor. They pick up odd jobs, building a wall or repairing a fridge. Some scavenge for recyclables at municipal rubbish dumps. Others collect scrap metal to sell to the scrapyards in Wynberg and Kew—some going so far as to steal man-hole covers, electrical cables, and even light poles. Throughout the township, people bet on numbers games like *fahfee*. Some survive through theft and robbery; some through sex work and “transactional” relationships. But very few people manage to translate their life strategies into sustainable livelihoods in the postindustrial racial capitalist economy.⁵⁶

Three additional factors enable survival in Alex despite the elimination of wage labor: decommodified services, social grants, and social relations. Unlike most townships in South Africa, many basic services are still decommodified in old Alex. Residents of old Alex pay for electricity, school fees, and visits to the hospital, but most do not pay for water. Similarly, many residents in backyard shacks and council-owned flats do not pay rent.⁵⁷ In addition, some are able to access social grants from the government. Although grants are only available to mothers of young children, pensioners, and people with a chronic disability, the grants often support entire families. Finally, people rely on support from family members, neighbors, friends, and local charities. “Alex is one township in South Africa where you find that even if you are unemployed, you are not going to be exposed,” says a man living in the informal settlement of S’Tswetla. His friend explains that, “In South Africa, we believe in this thing: socialism. Maybe if one of my relatives is working—after he goes to work, now I can clean where he’s staying, cook for him, then when he comes back, we eat together. Life goes on.”⁵⁸

Economic survival in Alexandra is becoming increasingly precarious. As Franco Barchiesi explains, this is not merely a question of shifting economic conditions but also a product of the government's insistence that people should be able to support themselves through wage labor. Thus, the government provides no social grants to working-age (eighteen to sixty-five) people without children or documented disabilities. The gap between the ideology of salvation through employment and the decline in employment opportunities has deepened the impression that political liberation did not provide the freedom that people desire.⁵⁹

In these conditions, it is not surprising to see the emergence of a political discourse insisting that the struggle for "economic freedom" must continue. During the centenary celebrations for Alexandra in 2012, ANC heavyweight Tokyo Sexwale told a crowd in the East Bank hall: "The mission of economic prosperity is now in our hands: upliftment, prosperity, development. If our people don't get prosperity, then we are not doing our job. We need economic freedom."⁶⁰ Months later, the ANC suspended Julius Malema, leader of the ANC Youth League, for criticizing the government's failure to deliver on its promises of "economic freedom." He soon formed a new political party—Economic Freedom Fighters—calling for a more radical approach to the redistribution of land and wealth.⁶¹

Precarious Housing

Coupled with their increasingly precarious economic situation, the poor and working-class people of Alexandra confront a severe shortage of decent housing. Each yard in old Alex is home to numerous families. The old "bond houses" built by the original landowners are subdivided among tenants, and the yards are full of shacks and other structures. It is not uncommon for fifteen, twenty-five, or even fifty families to share a single yard with one water tap and two outdoor toilets. The overcrowding reaches extremes in yards such as at 20 7th Avenue, where 205 shacks occupy every inch of open space.⁶² When it rains or the toilets back up, raw sewage runs through the narrow paths between buildings and covers the floors of homes. In such close quarters, tensions over resources, power, civility, and respect often erupt into violent conflicts. Underlying these tensions is the question of ownership. Each yard is subject to competing claims of entitlement based on relationship to the original owner, length of tenure, and deeds or permits issued by the late apartheid government.⁶³ Those able to establish their authority often set and enforce rules for the yard and even carry out evictions.



FIGURE 2.2. Shacks near the Helen Joseph Women's Hostel

In addition to the overcrowded yards, Alex has three single-sex hostels in advanced states of disrepair. While the M2 (Nobuhle) Men's Hostel is being converted into family housing, the M1 (Madala) Men's Hostel and Helen Joseph Women's Hostel are decrepit.⁶⁴ At the Women's Hostel, standing water blocks several entrances, piles of trash fill the yard, and flooded bathrooms, hallways without lights, and rooms with broken windows are everywhere. In one wing, the electricity has been out for more than five years.⁶⁵ Despite a string of broken promises, renovations remain on hold and the residents feel abandoned.⁶⁶

Between the yards and the hostels, shacks occupy every available space in Alex: open spaces where houses or buildings were demolished, grassy areas around the hostels, walkways along the main roads, tributaries that feed into the Jukskei River, and the banks of the river itself. Stifling hot in the summer, freezing cold in the winter, and always at risk of catching fire, these shacks are the clearest manifestation of the housing crisis confronting the poor in post-apartheid South Africa.⁶⁷ They are also the subject of scorn by "bona fide" residents who blame shack dwellers for every perceived social ill that has befallen the township since the mid-1980s. Many "bona fides" accuse "outsiders" of strategically erecting shacks in precarious locations so that they will be relocated to subsidized houses.⁶⁸



FIGURE 2.3. S'Tswetla along the banks of the Jukskei River

Wedged between the Jukskei River and a cemetery in Marlboro lies S'Tswetla, the largest informal settlement in greater Alexandra. Established in 1986 for people displaced from Alex during the antiapartheid struggle, S'Tswetla later became a site of refuge for people fleeing ethnic violence and a gateway for migrants.⁶⁹ Home to 5,000 people, the settlement sits precariously along bluffs above the Jukskei, which destroys shacks and takes lives when it floods. There is no electricity in S'Tswetla, even though the settlement sits next to a transformer and beneath power lines.⁷⁰ The government provided water in plastic containers until 2007, then installed water lines with taps along the main road. Residents explain that they have to be at the water taps by 4:00 a.m. or the lines become too long. And the metal taps are regularly stolen and sold as scrap metal.⁷¹ Although a few portable toilets sit along the main road, these are rarely used—especially at night. Instead, most residents use either the “bucket system” (using a bucket and emptying it later) or “flying toilets” (defecating into a plastic bag, tying it shut, and flinging it into the river below).⁷²

Along with the factories in Marlboro, there are several occupied factories in Wynberg, along the highway between Alex and Sandton. A building that previously served as a hardware supply company was converted to housing when the business closed down. “I was working in the factory until 2002,” says a resident. “Then they closed the company. The owner said we must stay here until

he can give us our unemployment funds. But he never gave us anything.”⁷³ The unemployed workers brought their families and, over time, other people moved to the factory, which now contains seventy shacks and rooms separated by plywood and cardboard. Chemical runoff from a funeral home next door pools outside the entrance to the converted factory. For several years, residents accessed electricity from the funeral home. But repeated blackouts led to rotting corpses, and it soon became clear that the power grid could not handle the additional load.⁷⁴

Across the highway, closer to Sandton, there is an informal settlement in a municipal park. The Innesfree Park was built on land donated to the city by a farmer, who kept a small piece of the land for his house, his garden, and rooms for his employees. When the farmer died, people began erecting shacks around the workers’ quarters. Now, in close proximity to the opulence of Sandton, the Innesfree Park hosts a large squatter camp. Tensions emerged when the farmer’s son stopped providing electricity and began threatening to evict the residents. He accuses them of theft and other sordid activities, but they maintain that they do nothing illegal and merely want to stay in their homes.⁷⁵

The occupied factories in Wynberg and Marlboro reveal the deep connections between the dual crises of unemployment and housing in Alexandra. When the factories closed down, people without jobs or housing occupied the buildings. Much like their economic strategies, the housing strategies of the Black poor in Alexandra require constant creativity and tremendous energy. Their “quiet encroachment” constitutes a challenge to property and demonstrates that survival in the face of crisis is a constant struggle.⁷⁶ Yet even these informal housing strategies are not entirely decommmodified. Shacks are treated as private property, bought and sold, and even rented out. Indeed, the practice of collecting rent on shacks—or shack farming—is an important source of income for many residents of Alexandra.⁷⁷

Precarious Lives

While jobs and housing are widely recognized as the primary challenges in Alexandra, life itself has become increasingly precarious for the racialized poor in the new South Africa. Evictions, water and electricity cutoffs, shack fires, flea and rat infestations, corruption, crime, and police harassment are everyday complaints in Alexandra. Health care is precarious, especially for people suffering from HIV/AIDS. While the public provision of antiretroviral medication has extended countless lives, medication is no guarantee of

survival in conditions of extreme poverty.⁷⁸ The public health clinics are underfunded and face regular shortages of medicine, equipment, and even skilled professionals.⁷⁹

Pollution is another slow killer in Alex, with chemical waste contaminating the industrial zones and cholera breeding in the Jukskei River.⁸⁰ According to the director of a program that ran a brief river-cleanup campaign, “We took some 120,000 tons of waste out of the river, you know: human fetuses, dogs, and all kinds of crap.”⁸¹ With S’Tswetla on the riverbank and another 5,200 shacks along the tributaries that run through old Alex, a great deal of raw sewage drains into the river. As a town planner describes the river, “You can just imagine, guys living in the middle of that shack development [on the tributaries] are not going to go out at night and walk two blocks to go to the toilet. They do it in a plastic bag and in the morning they just throw it into that outlet. Now it lies there. And once the rain starts, all that washes into the river.”⁸²

The everyday lives of the racialized poor blur the boundaries between the formal and informal and demonstrate that even the most excluded, surplus populations are never truly outside of capital. Widespread unemployment and labor brokers drag down the wages of the employed and weaken the militancy of labor unions. Informal economic practices such as day labor involve intense exploitation. And predatory businesses—from shopping centers to shack farmers—siphon off the money that circulates among the poor.

While survival is a constant struggle in the new South Africa, the life strategies of the poor are about much more than survival. Alexandra is a vibrant place where the streets are constantly filled with people, music, energy, and life. There is tremendous pride and love for the township. As a newspaper reporter explained, “It’s a dangerous place for us to live, but I love Alex.”⁸³ A struggling entrepreneur perfectly captured the contradictions of Alexandra: “This is a shitty place. I love it. It is so alive. Life is good.”⁸⁴ According to a lawyer, it is this attachment to the township that has motivated the residents of Alex to resist removal for more than fifty years: “Attempt to remove the people of Alex even today and you will have a war on your hands.”⁸⁵

FRAGMENTATION AND XENOPHOBIA

Older residents of Alex express nostalgia for an imagined time when the township was a place of coexistence for people from across South Africa and the African continent. Unlike Soweto, Alexandra was never divided into separate residential areas based on official ethnic categories. In Alex, everyone lived together due to the freehold history of the township.⁸⁶ Yet social divisions

between property owners and tenants were rearticulated by the apartheid regime as a legal distinction between “bona fide” residents and “outsiders.” And the counterrevolutionary policies of the apartheid regime led to a politicization of ethnicity in Alexandra during the early 1990s.⁸⁷ Today, these divisions have been reanimated by the policies of the postapartheid state and intensified by struggles over access to jobs and housing. This has multiplied social divisions, fragmented the community, and led to the outbreak of violent attacks on people seen as “outsiders.”

Rapid urbanization combined with neoliberal restructuring created the context for social fragmentation. With tens of thousands of migrants arriving in Alexandra during a time of declining employment and housing opportunities, many “bona fide” residents blame “migrants” and “foreigners” for the social ills of the township and for their individual hardships. Some even idealize the apartheid-era policies of “influx control.”⁸⁸ A local ANC leader said, “It makes sense why the previous government did influx control. You wouldn’t just come into Alex and start doing whatever, except those that bought properties and had permits. There was control here in Alex. There’s no longer control. Everybody comes in.”⁸⁹ An official with the South African Communist Party agreed: “Maybe we need to go back to the apartheid system of influx control.”⁹⁰

Although the division between “bona fide” residents and “outsiders” is entrenched in the identities of many Alexandrans, it is not a coherent division—either between long-term residents and new arrivals or between people living in formal and informal housing. “Bona fide” residents of Alex have lived in rented rooms since the township was established and in shacks for decades. Many now live in occupied factories and informal settlements. Moreover, assertions of belonging are deeply entwined with ambiguous and overlapping claims to property that date back to the apartheid regime’s shifting policy of expropriating, subdividing, selling, and issuing residency permits for property. As a result, social divisions have proliferated and often involve competing claims to ownership and belonging.

The struggle for housing and jobs has deepened the politicization of belonging in Alexandra. Unemployed South Africans complain that people from Zimbabwe and Mozambique are stealing their jobs by accepting impossibly low wages. Street vendors complain that Somalis and Pakistanis are undercutting their prices.⁹¹ The housing crisis has transformed the subsidized housing program of the postapartheid state into a battleground for priority access. Bona fide residents living in backyard shacks accuse migrants of attempting to “jump the housing queue” by erecting shacks in dangerous places or locations slated for redevelopment. Advocates for the expropriated property owners and

their descendants insist the government should prioritize their needs over the needs of newcomers. As a former property owner explains, “Life has been difficult for the bona fides of Alex. I’m truly born and bred here. My great-grandparents came here in 1925 and were able to source a property. Here I am today and I can’t even raise any value from the same property. The wealth of our ownership and the commercial potential of the township is going to foreigners.”⁹²

The postapartheid state has failed to overcome—or even to seriously challenge—these apartheid social divisions. Local officials, for example, regularly describe the residents of Marlboro and Wynberg as migrants and foreigners.⁹³ Moreover, the government actively reinforces these social divisions through its housing and employment policies. Because citizenship is required to obtain a housing subsidy, for instance, the government divides communities based on citizenship status. For instance, when the Alexandra Renewal Project removed shacks from London Road and the Jukskei River between 2001 and 2004, South African citizens who were eligible for a subsidy received RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) houses in Bram Fischerville. People without citizenship, on the other hand, were taken to Diepsloot and issued “site and service” plots where they could build new shacks.⁹⁴

In May 2008, a wave of xenophobic violence began in Alexandra and quickly spread throughout the country. In Alex, two people were killed, sixty injured, and hundreds chased from their homes. For three weeks, crowds attacked African immigrants as well as some South African citizens—especially Shangaan speakers from Limpopo.⁹⁵ Alexandra was swept up in another round of xenophobic attacks in April 2015. Photographers captured the brutality of xenophobia with images of mob violence against a Mozambican migrant in Alexandra.⁹⁶

In the face of this brutality, it is important to recognize that many South Africans attempt to combat xenophobia in their communities.⁹⁷ In 2008, for instance, the community of S’Tswetla came together to protect immigrants and chase away a group of xenophobic attackers.⁹⁸ Others expressed frustration that the violence targeted primarily African migrants—that it was Afro-phobic rather than merely xenophobic.⁹⁹

Xenophobia in Alexandra is rooted in the social fragmentation of apartheid, reinforced by the postapartheid state, and sparked by struggles over access to resources under conditions of neoliberalism.¹⁰⁰ Social fragmentation is not only expressed in the spectacle of xenophobic violence, it also impedes efforts to collectively challenge the policies generating concentrated racialized poverty in Alexandra. In the words of an organizer from Marlboro, “There’s

a problem with the way that people say, ‘We need to focus on bona fides.’ They say that they need houses first and that the people living in Marlboro, S’Tswetla, wherever, they’re not from here. ‘We should have houses first before they get houses.’ They are always saying those things. But everyone needs houses.”¹⁰¹

ALEXANDRA RENEWAL PROJECT: THE LIMITS OF DECOLONIZATION

In 2001, President Thabo Mbeki announced a R1.3 billion (\$156 million) project to improve the conditions of life in Alexandra. With funding from the national, provincial, and local governments, the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) would become one of the flagship developmental projects of the post-apartheid state. Based on a seven-year plan to upgrade the infrastructure and address the unemployment and housing crises in Alexandra, the ARP inspired widespread hope and tremendous expectations.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the project came to an end in 2014 having achieved only limited success.¹⁰³ As a developmental project carried out within a broader neoliberal framework, the ARP reveals the limits of decolonization in postapartheid South Africa.

The ARP was launched in April 2001 at the Alexandra Summit, where the appointed leadership team presented a business plan to the residents of Alex.¹⁰⁴ After two days of discussion, the ARP adopted six overall goals:

- Substantially reducing levels of unemployment;
- Creating a healthy and clean living environment;
- Providing engineering services at an affordable and sustainable level;
- Reducing levels of crime and violence; and
- Upgrading existing housing environments and creating additional affordable housing opportunities¹⁰⁵

From the start, the ARP designated the Greater Alexandra Development Forum (GADF)¹⁰⁶ as the principal liaison with the residents of Alexandra. At first, dozens of local organizations sat on the GADF, including grassroots structures, political parties, and business groups. But when it became clear that the ANC would play the dominant role, many organizations withdrew.¹⁰⁷ The ability of the GADF to shape ARP policies has shifted over time. For many residents, however, both organizations represent the interests of the same local elites.¹⁰⁸

Along with the GADF, the ARP established a network of community liaison

officers (CLOs) to interact with residents. “We are the eyes and ears of the ARP and the tentacles,” explains a CLO. “We place ourselves in those strategic places for information giving and for gathering information that will help our project managers. Our job is to clarify issues with the community and make sure that they understand. Then we take their grievances, their dissatisfaction, back to the project managers.”¹⁰⁹

Despite these structures for community engagement, the ARP has a top-down technocratic structure. ARP officials and members of the ANC-led GADF determine developmental priorities and implement them through a top-down planning process.¹¹⁰ In 2005, an ARP official explained that community meetings were just “talk shops that give people the chance to air their grievances. Meanwhile, the actual planning is taking place somewhere else.”¹¹¹ According to a provincial leader from Alex. “The renewal is that ‘regal’ development imposed from above.”¹¹²

Even from a technocratic perspective, the effort to upgrade Alexandra presented enormous challenges. A member of the ARP management team explained that urban renewal is like fixing a moving bus: “That bus has got serious mechanical problems. It needs to be fixed. But we cannot take that bus to a workshop. We need to climb on that bus, do the necessary repairs while the bus is in motion, has passengers on it. . . . That’s what an urban renewal project is all about. That’s what makes it so difficult.”¹¹³ The three principal areas of intervention were infrastructure, employment, and housing.

Infrastructure

The ARP began by addressing the urban infrastructure, which had been designed for a population of 70,000 but was serving 350,000. The ARP expanded the water, wastewater, sewerage, electricity, and road networks; introduced a waste management system and distributed trash bins; built a new police station, improved street lighting, upgraded the sports facilities, and designed new parks.¹¹⁴ In addition, the project rebuilt two schools and refurbished eighteen others while upgrading four health clinics and building an HIV clinic in the township.¹¹⁵

Despite the improvements, the infrastructure remains under intense strain due to population growth. The former head of the GADF explains that, “Most of the time, you have your sewerage blocked, your water articulation disrupted because it needs maintenance, your electricity supply disrupted because so many people have connected illegally. The infrastructure cannot take the load.”¹¹⁶

Two of the infrastructural goals involved creating new markets. First, planners wanted to create a property market in Alex. According to an ARP official, “That’s the only way you can economically empower the people.”¹¹⁷ Although Alex sits at a strategic location between Sandton, the Oliver Tambo International Airport, and new developments to the north, the township remains physically isolated from the surrounding areas because of apartheid planning.¹¹⁸ This isolation, said a former ARP director, drives down property values in greater Alexandra. He pointed out that in 2005 office space cost R350 (\$63) per square meter in Sandton but only R40 (\$7.20) per square meter in Wynberg.¹¹⁹ The ARP sought to correct this “market imbalance” by widening and extending roads and building bridges to integrate Alexandra into the city’s transportation network and enable residents to “extract value” from their property. But, as I explain below, infrastructure was not the only obstacle to creating a property market in Alexandra.

Another market-oriented goal was to commodify water and electricity in Alexandra through the distribution of prepaid meters. According to the ARP’s initial “Visions and Outcomes” document, “The Project aims to obtain payment levels of 90% and above in terms of all services.”¹²⁰ As of 2013, the ARP had distributed prepaid electricity meters to about half of the residents in old Alex and installed prepaid water and electricity meters in all of the new housing developments. But half of the residents of old Alex still enjoyed decommodified electricity and most received water without payment.¹²¹ Unlike in Soweto, however, very few social movements in Alexandra have resisted efforts to commodify these basic services.

Employment

In 2001, the ARP announced that it would reduce the 60 percent unemployment rate in Alexandra by 20 percent within seven years.¹²² In 2012, however, the acting director acknowledged that the unemployment rate was still roughly 60 percent.¹²³ This is one of the primary concerns of residents and points to a problem with the developmental model of the ARP.

The ARP accepted that the state would play a role in job creation but expected the private sector to become the principal source of employment in Alexandra. Yet only two projects associated with the ARP have generated significant private sector employment: the Pan-Africa Mall and the Alex Plaza shopping center. Both projects produced strong returns for commercial and financial capital, but they have not created many jobs. And most of the jobs are low-wage, precarious positions in retail and services.¹²⁴ In addition, according

to workers, many companies in the Mall and the Plaza use labor brokers to hire workers on short-term contracts.¹²⁵ Beyond these two projects, the ARP has also encouraged entrepreneurship and promised to formalize arrangements for street vendors. Nevertheless, the ARP has not succeeded in helping the private sector become an engine of job creation.

The development model adopted by the ARP directs state funds to private sector contractors for short-term infrastructure and construction projects. Three limitations prevent this model from addressing the crisis of unemployment. First, the process of awarding contracts has been plagued by corruption. ARP officials and contractors are accused of corruption and kickbacks, a lack of transparency, selling houses, and providing cover for white-owned firms.¹²⁶ By 2005, residents were asking how the ARP could have spent R1.3 billion (\$156 million) without visibly transforming the township. Second, contractors from Alex point out that ARP tenders are generally awarded to outside firms that do not hire workers from Alex.¹²⁷ According to a local contractor, “We are more willing to employ semi-skilled, skilled, and unskilled people in Alex. But if we don’t have work, we literally can’t do anything.”¹²⁸ Finally, and most importantly, the use of government tenders for short-term projects could never produce enough sustainable jobs to address the crisis of unemployment. A 2010 report explained that ARP projects had created 22,000 construction jobs since 2001. Yet the report also acknowledged that the jobs “are not considered sustainable except for those that are still employed outside of the project in the private sector.”¹²⁹

In light of its limited success, ARP officials began fiddling with employment statistics. The 2010 report, for instance, claimed that the percentage of residents “not engaged in any Income Generating Activity” has dropped from 31 percent to 27 percent.¹³⁰ In 2012, when the ARP acting director admitted that the official unemployment rate is still 60 percent, he insisted that this figure does not capture the extent of informal economic activity in the township.¹³¹

Housing

Rather than employment or infrastructure, housing remains the standard by which the people of Alex judge the success of the ARP. In 2001, the ARP outlined plans to ensure adequate housing for a population of 350,000.¹³² The plans involved two processes. First, a “de-densification” process to remove 70,000 residents from squatter camps, backyard shacks, and abandoned factories to new developments outside of Alexandra. Second, a “block-by-block”

process to upgrade the housing and infrastructure in old Alexandra.¹³³ The block-by-block approach would have required either the complete demolition and reconstruction of one block at a time or an even more complicated process of determining ownership of each property, installing new infrastructure, and either demolishing or upgrading the existing structures.¹³⁴ In either case, an ARP official explains, “80 percent of those structures are not upgradable. You have to basically demolish them and build from new.”¹³⁵

The ARP began with the targeted “de-densification” of informal settlements. In 2000–2001, the ARP removed 3,200 families from the banks of the Jukskei River.¹³⁶ Most were allocated “site and service” plots in Diepsloot. Others were provided with government-subsidized RDP houses in Bram Fischerville. The ARP then removed 1,900 families to widen London Road (now Vincent Tshabalala Road) and removed shack dwellers from Mandela Yard, Minerva High School, and Iphutheng Primary School. These families were taken to either Bram Fischerville or Extension 8, a new tract of RDP houses on the Far East Bank of the Jukskei.¹³⁷

Each of these removals was bitterly contested. Demanding accommodation in or near Alexandra, residents fought relocation to the distant townships of Diepsloot (29 km northwest of Alexandra) and Bram Fischerville (39 km southwest of Alexandra—on the borders of Soweto).¹³⁸ “We were taken in trucks with no choice and dumped here with all of our things,” explains a woman in Diepsloot. “This area is much worse than Alex and we’d rather go back.”¹³⁹ Moreover, because Bram Fischerville is near Soweto and the informal settlement of Sol Plaatjie, the allocation of RDP houses to people from Alexandra sparked anger among local residents who insisted that they should receive the houses instead.¹⁴⁰ Alienated from their new neighbors, distant from their families in Alex, and isolated from jobs in Sandton, some people left their RDP homes, returned to Alexandra, and built new shacks.

By 2004, people in Alexandra were losing faith in the ARP. Project managers pointed to infrastructural achievements, but people insisted that the ARP had not addressed their main concerns: housing and jobs. In response to protests, the ARP appointed a new director who announced that the project would prioritize housing.¹⁴¹ “While a lot of work has been done in Alex,” he said, “at the end of the day you have two issues which are the defining issues in Alex: housing and jobs. And if you look at housing and jobs, those are precisely the two functional areas that have almost not performed at all. And basically, the response that’s coming back is, ‘Great. Nice clinic’ or ‘Great. Nice school. But I live in a shack and I’m unemployed.’ Until we get those two issues, you can’t

start talking about renewal or transformation.”¹⁴² Under new management, the ARP began new housing projects and agreed to locate all construction within five kilometers of Alex.

Between 2007 and 2012, the ARP built 6,500 housing units on the Far East Bank (Extension 7, Extension 9, Extension 10, Bothlabela, and Bothlabela 2). Along with the earlier removals, ARP “de-densification” projects relocated a total of 25,000 people from 2001 to 2012.¹⁴³ This was far below the initial target of 70,000. Yet the limitations of “de-densification” pale in comparison to the ARP’s utter failure to implement its plans for a “block-by-block” redevelopment of old Alexandra, for reasons that I describe below.

In 2001, the ARP insisted that R1.3 billion (\$156 million) would transform the township. By 2012, the project had spent R2.1 billion (\$252 million) and, in the words of the ARP acting director, “we’re not near the transformation of Alex.”¹⁴⁴ Officials estimate that it would cost another R2.3 billion to build the additional 29,000 units necessary to alleviate the housing crisis. From 2001 to 2008, the ARP budget averaged R247 million (\$29.6 million). By 2012, the budget was down to R55 million (\$6.6 million).¹⁴⁵ At that rate, it would take forty years to build the houses necessary to meet the needs of the 350,000 people who were living in Alexandra in 2001—not to mention the people who have moved to the township since that time.

In 2014, the ARP was quietly terminated, but the residents of Alexandra continued to face a housing crisis. The next two sections analyze in more detail the ARP’s failure to resolve this crisis. After discussing struggles over housing allocation, I turn to the underlying questions of private property and decolonization in the postapartheid state.

Struggles over Allocation

In the context of the housing crisis confronting the racialized poor in Alexandra, the construction of housing in the Far East Bank generated intense struggles. Residents complained about the small size and shoddy construction of the RDP houses. They decried the slow pace of construction. And they denounced corrupt officials for selling houses or allocating them to members of the ruling party.¹⁴⁶ The single most contentious issue in Alexandra, however, has been the allocation of these housing units.

To address concerns about corruption, the ARP implemented a complex process of housing allocation. First, an Allocation Committee determines an area to be cleared of shacks and community liaison officers create a database of residents and shacks in the area.¹⁴⁷ After a planning stage, the CLOs then

collect documentation from the people in the database.¹⁴⁸ An independent contractor reviews the documents and submits them to the Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing to approve RDP housing subsidies.¹⁴⁹ To qualify for a subsidy, the applicant must be a South African citizen age twenty-one or over with financial dependents, a combined household income of less than R3,500 (\$280) per month, and no previous home-ownership or housing subsidy. The Department of Housing then sends the ARP a list of approved applications, and the ARP uses biometrics—fingerprint scans—to ensure that each house is allocated to the proper beneficiary.¹⁵⁰

Many residents of Alex reject the overall approach of targeting specific areas rather than using a waiting list. From 1992 to 1996, the local and provincial governments asked residents to fill out and submit “C-Forms” requesting a housing subsidy. People who filled out these forms were placed on waiting lists that were eventually consolidated into a single list maintained by the provincial Department of Housing.¹⁵¹ When the ARP announced plans for targeted densification and block-by-block upgrades, it abandoned the waiting lists. For many “bona fide” residents, the ARP policy privileges people who “illegally” moved into Alex and set up shacks. Denouncing shack dwellers for “jumping the housing queue,” they insist that the ARP should use the waiting list to allocate housing.

The allocation of RDP houses also led to conflicts related to “shack farming.” Some residents who owned multiple shacks resisted relocation because it would jeopardize their livelihoods.¹⁵² And some residents who moved to RDP houses kept their shacks and began renting them out as a source of income.¹⁵³ The ARP hired a private security company to demolish shacks after relocation and to prevent people from moving onto land that had been “de-densified.” This “counter-land invasion strategy” worked until 2012, when the ARP laid off the contractor due to budget cuts.¹⁵⁴ Finally, some people began erecting shacks in the yards of their new RDP homes and renting them to others. Extension 7 and River Park, for instance, look increasingly like old Alex with multiple shacks in the yards.¹⁵⁵ Underlying all three issues, of course, is the ongoing crisis of unemployment in Alex. Shack farming remains an important source of income, even for people who have received houses through the ARP.

The ARP also faced the question of where to house people who did not qualify for subsidies—usually because they had received a subsidy in the past, earned more than R3,500 (\$280) per month, or were not South African citizens.¹⁵⁶ In Extensions 9 and 10, the ARP built two-story units in which the beneficiary of a housing subsidy lives upstairs in a two-room RDP flat and two families live downstairs in one-room rental units with shared facilities. ARP



FIGURE 2.4. Two-story units in Extension 10

planners hoped that this would not only provide housing for people who do not qualify for subsidies but would also prevent the proliferation of shacks by providing a small income to the beneficiaries.¹⁵⁷ Although the ARP leadership insists that community members were consulted, these units have sparked intense conflicts between the “landlords” above and “renters” below. In some cases, explains a CLO, people who were living next door to one another in S’Tswetla are now living in the same structure—with one person paying rent to the other.¹⁵⁸ Even worse, says another CLO, are cases in which people who had been collecting rent for a shack are now paying rent to their former tenants.¹⁵⁹

Private Property and Decolonization

While shaped by budget constraints and struggles over allocation, the ARP’s inability to diffuse the housing crisis in Alexandra is ultimately grounded in the contradictions of private property and decolonization in the postapartheid state. The inalienability of private property under capitalism and the South African constitution has hampered the ARP on two fronts: in the areas bordering Alexandra and within the heart of old Alex. These two fronts provide an important lens for understanding the dilemmas of land redistribution.

To “de-densify” Alexandra, the ARP required access to land near the township. In 2001, the only parcels of state-owned land in the vicinity were on the Far East Bank. By 2012, the ARP acting director pointed out, “The Far East Bank is basically full. . . . Large-scale development is gone.”¹⁶⁰ Since the late 1990s, the city has attempted to purchase land east of Alex in Linbro Park and Modderfontein, northeast of Alex in Frankenwald, and north of Alex on land belonging to the Islamic Trust.¹⁶¹ According to a 2010 ARP report, “This land is hard to come by because it is scarce, in private ownership, and very expensive.”¹⁶² The breakdown of efforts to acquire this land became a major impediment to the ARP.

Linbro Park is the ideal location for the extension of Alex. Just across the N3 Highway from the Far East Bank, Linbro Park is a sparsely populated area with large plots of land used primarily as horse farms. Yet property owners have refused to sell, arguing that the extension of Alexandra and the construction of high-density, low-income housing would eviscerate property values in the area.¹⁶³ As an ARP official points out, the issue is also about race. “Honestly speaking, there’s still a problem in South Africa about mixing,” says a CLO. “You can see it when you go to other communities and try to negotiate about the land. You can sense that the issue, to some extent, escalates to a question of race.”¹⁶⁴

The question of land ownership on the borders of Alex is rooted in the history of settler colonialism. Although individual property owners may have purchased their land, it was ultimately acquired through the displacement of African populations and the privatization of communal lands. Despite the history of accumulation through dispossession, the 1996 South African Constitution enshrines the sanctity of private property. Although the constitution does not prevent the state from expropriating property for public use, the ANC government adopted a World Bank–approved “willing-seller, willing-buyer” approach to land redistribution. Under this program, the government (or private individuals) can purchase land at market rates from landowners who are willing to sell.¹⁶⁵ The entire process thus depends on the willingness of landowners to agree on a price and sell their land. According to the ARP acting director, “Some people just refuse to sell. They don’t want to sell. Some people want exorbitant prices for their property.”¹⁶⁶ As a lawyer from Alex explains, “If the buyer says, ‘No, but that’s not what the land is worth,’ then the owner says, ‘If you don’t want it for this price, then I’m not willing to part with my piece of land.’ And if you look at how that land was acquired, they got it for a song.”¹⁶⁷

By 2012, the ARP had signed Memoranda of Understanding with several landowners but only a few purchases had been finalized. An agreement to purchase land in Frankenwald was tied up in court. In Modderfontein, questions lingered about which parcels of land were on the table.¹⁶⁸ And in Linbro Park, the price of land remained uncertain. The ARP received R34 million (\$4 million) from the Gauteng Department of Housing to purchase parcels of land in Linbro Park.¹⁶⁹ According to local leaders from the South African Communist Party, the property had been valued at closer to R6 million (\$720,000), but the landowners refused to sell.¹⁷⁰

ARP officials acknowledge that the state has the right to expropriate land for public purposes. "If people don't want to sell, we're going to expropriate," the ARP director explained in 2012. "The landowners know that. The whole public participation process has been to say: 'Government wants that land. If we're not going to get it through willing-seller, willing-buyer, then we'll expropriate at market prices.'" ¹⁷¹ If the ARP carried out an expropriation, the government would determine a price and take possession of the land. The landowner could then bring a case against the government to determine the fair market price. But it could not prevent the government from taking possession of the land. "The problem," says the acting director, "is that you need the money to be able to expropriate."¹⁷² The fact that the ARP can expropriate land but does not have sufficient funds for either expropriations or development suggests that the land issue on the outskirts of Alexandra could be solved if there were sufficient political will.

The other arena in which contestations over private property have impaired the progress of the ARP is within old Alexandra. The inability of the ARP to implement its "block-by-block" approach stems from competing claims to property ownership in the township. During the late 1990s, the ANC government allowed Black South Africans to file claims for the restitution of properties expropriated by the apartheid regime. In December 2000, the government announced that former property owners from Alex who had submitted land claims would receive R50,000 (\$7,000) compensation for the loss of their properties.¹⁷³ From the beginning, therefore, the ARP assumed that all of the land in old Alex belonged to the state. Yet many former landowners rejected this claim and insisted that they remained the rightful owners.

Representing the original landowners and their descendants, the Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association (ALPOA) called for the land to be restored to private ownership. ALPOA argued that people had accepted the R50,000 (\$7,000) for "injustices suffered," not as compensation for lost property.¹⁷⁴ Some former landowners now say that they would accept a fair

compensation package—perhaps R700,000 or R1,000,000 (\$84,000 or \$120,000).¹⁷⁵ Others demand that the government returns their property, removes “illegal” squatters, and helps them redevelop the land.¹⁷⁶

In 2003–4, the ARP demolished forty-four properties in old Alex to widen London Road. One resident was awarded compensation for his home. Although this award stemmed from political connections, it set a precedent that former owners could still lay claim to their properties.¹⁷⁷ As a result, ALPOA took the ARP to court to reopen the ownership debate. In 2005, the Land Claims Commission issued an injunction preventing the ARP from “demolishing, developing, rezoning, or restructuring” any property claimed by members of ALPOA until the question of ownership could be resolved.¹⁷⁸ Despite attempts to negotiate an agreement, the issue remains unsettled and the injunction remains in place. This has effectively prevented the ARP from carrying out the block-by-block redevelopment of old Alex since 2005.

In 2012, the ARP began a land audit in hopes of overcoming this bypass. The audit sought to establish how long each tenant had stayed on the property, record all claims of ownership and residency rights, and compile information about the permits and deeds issued by various governments. ARP officials expected that the audit would demonstrate the complexity of overlapping claims to ownership.¹⁷⁹ As the ARP acting director explained on a local radio station, “The government realizes that there are a number of families living on a specific stand. To whom do you give the title deed? Let’s say the original owner. Then what happens to the other ten to fifteen families on the stand?”¹⁸⁰ Although he feared that ALPOA would resist a resolution, he also acknowledges the complexity of the issue. “Because of the history of South Africa and the fact that property has been taken from people, a lot of people have sympathy for their cause. They don’t want to see the ARP government bullying small guys.”¹⁸¹

In short, private property under capitalism has undermined the effort to redevelop Alexandra. While suburban landowners prevent the ARP from expanding the borders of Alex, the expropriated landowners of old Alex have stifled redevelopment within the township. Yet there is a fundamental difference between these property claims. Suburban property owners are using constitutional protections to maintain control of land acquired under the settler colonial regime. Former property owners in Alex, on the other hand, are calling for the return of land expropriated by the colonial state. This highlights the dilemmas of redistribution and the difficulty of decolonization in a settler colonial state. The ANC government accepts the sanctity of private property, maintains a market-based land redistribution policy, and hesitates to expropriate land

even for one of its flagship developmental projects. Although the state has been democratized, it continues to protect the property that white South Africans accumulated through the dispossession of Africans. Decolonization without land redistribution remains quite limited. On these grounds, the claims of ALPOA are undeniable. Yet redistribution is not merely a technical question of previous ownership. It is a difficult political question that requires the post-colonial state to navigate competing claims by former landowners who were forcibly dispossessed, people who lived in Alex for decades without owning property, and people who were forced to live in the Bantustans and have come to Alex since the end of apartheid. The future of Alex will be shaped by mobilizations based on these claims.

The Unraveling of the ARP

As the ARP began to wind down in 2012, everyone I spoke with expressed anxiety about the future. The ARP acting director feared that divisions between “bona fides” and “outsiders” would continue to hamper transformation. “There are two views,” he said. “There’s a view that says, ‘We must keep as many people as possible in Alex.’ And there’s a view that says, ‘No. Alex is for the old bona fide people and the rest must go.’ We’ve got these two views, you see. Some are in between. But we need to settle on something.”¹⁸²

Along with these visions and the related question of property ownership, another major obstacle to redevelopment is the budget for a development project within a neoliberal framework. The ARP director expects that, eventually, the government will abandon its project to build houses for the poor. “It’s an unsustainable policy. . . . I believe it’s going to collapse in the next couple of years.”¹⁸³

“Conditions in Alex today are appalling. Worse than yesterday,” explains a former community organizer.¹⁸⁴ A lawyer who left Alex for a nearby suburb reflects, “There are people who still today live in those one-roomed houses they grew up in. . . . There are people who still live in those conditions, in squalor and deprivation. When they look at those who are billionaires now, they frown and say: ‘But we thought this freedom is for all of us.’ That is not happening.”¹⁸⁵ According to a provincial legislator from Alex, the problem lies in the constitution. “Private property. That’s the mistake,” he says. “We entrenched the rights of the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, in the constitution. And they never honored what was done for them.”¹⁸⁶ Some ARP officials agree. “I’ve been struggling for the liberation of our people in South Africa since before 1994,” explains a CLO. “I’ll be happy if all of the suffering I’ve experienced in

detention and everything I fought for finally sees Alexandra changed. But if it stays like this, it depresses me. It's an embarrassment. The poorest of the poor, the poorest township in Gauteng faces the richest suburb in Africa."¹⁸⁷

The ARP demonstrates the limits of even the most ambitious "developmental" state projects within the context of partial decolonization and neoliberalization. It is a *pressure valve project*—an effort to assuage the crises and contain the struggles of the urban poor through minimal investments and maximal promises. In that sense, projects like the ARP are much like the Oslo Accords. Slow incremental changes mask deeper continuities. The ARP officials who work most closely with the community understand that pressure valve politics cannot address the underlying crisis. As a CLO explains, "We keep telling ourselves that most of the community members still respect us [the CLOs] and maybe that's why this time bomb does not get detonated. . . . But if things are not happening, there will come a time when they will be saying, 'We're not listening to you anymore.' That's a time bomb. If they start revolting and rioting, it's unstoppable."¹⁸⁸

RESISTANCE

The racialized poor in Alexandra and other South African townships and informal settlements have responded to the precariousness of life with numerous life strategies, both individual and collective. Pressure valve projects like the ARP exacerbate social fragmentation without addressing the multiple, intersecting crises that define the lives of the poor. Instead, townships like Alexandra remain sites of concentrated poverty. "Capitalism is boiling," says a former freedom fighter. "Poverty is getting worse and worse."¹⁸⁹

Among the informal strategies of economic existence, crime stands out in public debates because of the fear that it generates. As I explain in chapter four, crime in South Africa was a by-product of apartheid that went unchecked as long as it did not affect the white minority. After the end of apartheid, criminal networks expanded beyond the townships while crushing poverty produced underground markets for stolen merchandise. "They would say that they are repossessing what was dispossessed," explains a lawyer. "They would justify that by saying that, 'This actually belongs to us' or 'This world was created by our sweat and we need to derive benefits therefrom.' For those, it is a political act."¹⁹⁰

The expansion of criminal networks is, in part, a result of the demobilization of grassroots organizations. Civic organizations and other expressions of people's power in South Africa were intentionally demobilized as part of the

transition. Many grassroots and labor organizers moved into government positions and joined the new elite.¹⁹¹ Without the infrastructure for collective self-organization, some South Africans turned to individual life strategies—ranging from officially sanctioned forms of “entrepreneurialism” to less socially acceptable forms of accumulation and exchange.

Nevertheless, by 1999, communities across South Africa had begun reorganizing themselves to resist neoliberalization and the limits of decolonization. Social movements such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC), and the Landless Peoples Movement (LPM) fought for access to services, housings, jobs, and land. And Alexandra once again became a site of struggle.

Three years before the launch of the ARP, residents living in shacks along the Jukskei River challenged a removal project by occupying 151 unfinished houses and flats in the Far East Bank.¹⁹² In addition to resisting forced removals, the residents argued that they were fighting corruption. “They used to sell one house to three people,” explains a leader of the group. “Someone would come with papers for this house and find another person also had papers for the same house.”¹⁹³

In 2001, residents in the occupied flats of the Far East Bank learned about the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), a social movement bringing together communities and workers in the Johannesburg region to fight neoliberal restructuring—especially the commodification of housing, water, and electricity. The residents joined the APF, calling their local branch the Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee (AVCC). The APF operated as a movement of movements, a forum that facilitated collective action on the part of affiliated community-based organizations through shared resources, strategies, and tactics. Through the APF, the AVCC gained access to legal support, media outreach, and technical skills.

In August 2002, during the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the Alexandra branch of the APF hosted a convergence of social movement activists from around the world.¹⁹⁴ As official delegations to the WSSD met across the highway in Sandton, more than 20,000 protesters converged on the Far East Bank of Alexandra. The protest marked an important milestone in South Africa, as social movements from across the country joined forces as the Social Movements Indaba (SMI) to challenge the neoliberal policies of the postapartheid state. Protesters marched from the Far East Bank, through Alex, past Marlboro, and across the M1 Highway to Sandton. This march announced to the world the resurgence of social movement organizing in South Africa.

In 2005, people living in Wynberg factories also joined the APF. For nearly twenty years, the residents had been living in disused industrial buildings and the former homes of Indian families who were forcibly removed in the early 1980s. Residents in Wynberg paid rent to the putative property owners—ranging from R75 to 150 (\$9–18) per room. An ARP official admits that, “It was beautifully converted. It was clean. It was very decent accommodation.”¹⁹⁵ But the landlords failed to maintain the properties. Conflicts over water and electricity culminated in rent boycotts that began between 1998 and 2001.¹⁹⁶ In 2004, a developer purchased the properties to build a shopping center and began procedures to evict three hundred families from six warehouses, factories, and retail spaces. The Wynberg Concerned Residents (WCR) responded by reaching out to the AVCC and joining the APF.¹⁹⁷

The APF helped arrange legal support for the residents of Wynberg from the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) and the Legal Resources Centre (LRC). Challenging the evictions in court, advocates from the FXI and LRC argued that the residents have a constitutional right to housing and that evictions cannot proceed unless residents are provided with alternative accommodations. The city—through the ARP—claimed that it “does not have any land and/or alternative accommodation available to accommodate the residents.”¹⁹⁸ Insisting that the case was urgent, the new owners offered the residents R500,000 (about \$85 per person) to evacuate their homes. But the residents refused to move unless the developers purchased a piece of land where they could build houses. By the end of 2005, the developers acquiesced, purchased a tract of land near Alex, and donated it to the city. In 2006, the residents moved out and the developers built their shopping center. The residents of Wynberg were dispersed to three different transit camps, fragmenting the community.¹⁹⁹ But the tract of land has yet to be developed. An ARP official explains that the ARP could not develop the land specifically for the residents of Wynberg because this would send the wrong signal, and others would invade strategic properties in order to “jump the housing queue.”²⁰⁰

During the Wynberg court case, people living in Marlboro factories also joined the APF. From 2000 to 2003, the residents of Marlboro had met with building owners, planners, and local officials to consider possibilities for redeveloping the area. Adopting the apartheid discourse of “influx control,” some officials insisted that people living in the factories were illegal squatters and foreigners who should be removed so that the factories could provide jobs for the “bona fide” residents of Alex.²⁰¹ When discussions broke down, the government began issuing eviction notices and, in March 2005, the residents initiated a rent boycott. In response, the purported owners disconnected water

and electricity, threatened residents, and even shot at activists.²⁰² The residents reached out to people in Wynberg and joined the APF.

Preparing to carry out mass evictions, a senior ARP official explained that, “The squats will be removed, but it shouldn’t be a problem. If there is one thing this government has done well, it’s demobilization.”²⁰³ As confrontations intensified, residents learned that the evictions would occur on August 1, 2005, in the dead of winter. A legal team from the LRC began negotiating with the city while the residents built barricades in the streets to defend their homes. As a local organizer explained, “Everyone was scared, but we put up a very strong fight. We were not alone now. We had our neighbors in Wynberg who were experiencing the same problem. So we held hands with the Wynberg people and we fought those evictions.”²⁰⁴ When the police and private security forces arrived to carry out the evictions, the residents held their ground for three days—despite the use of rubber bullets and stun grenades by the police. Eventually, the mayor of Johannesburg suspended the evictions and life in the factories returned to “normal.”²⁰⁵

But the evictions resumed in 2007 and have continued since that time. By targeting individual properties rather than the entire industrial area, the new eviction strategy has fractured the community and undermined collective mobilization.²⁰⁶ At the same time, shacks began proliferating in open spaces throughout Marlboro. According to residents, a new committee took over the area and began selling shacks—possibly in coordination with a local official. “The committee is selling stands just to build shacks. They were selling it for R2,000, R3,000 (\$240, \$360) sometimes,” said a local organizer.²⁰⁷ As word spread, the number of shacks mushroomed. An ARP official explains, “We caught the guys red-handed erecting new shacks with hammers. They said they were buying these shacks for R3,000 (\$360).”²⁰⁸ Throughout the winter of 2012, the city and the ARP fought a running battle with shack dwellers—demolishing shacks only to see them erected again the following day. As of 2014, Marlboro remains a highly contested territory.

In 2005–6, there was widespread optimism that the “new social movements” could challenge the power of the neoliberal state.²⁰⁹ By 2009, however, the APF and the other new social movements in South Africa had been largely dismantled through violent repression, expensive court cases, corruption, and new strategies on the part of the ruling party to capture and contain the insurgent energies of poor South Africans. Within Alex, the APF collapsed even earlier. While this collapse played out through competition between affiliates, the underlying dynamics were driven by the same social divisions that have fragmented the community: ownership and belonging. These social divisions

continue to impede the ability of the people of Alex to organize collective action and rebuild the organs of people's power that helped bring down the apartheid state.

This fragmentation has been most evident in struggles over the ARPs mixed-use housing developments in Extensions 9 and 10—with “landlords” living in RDP flats and collecting rent from “tenants” in one-room units below. Asked to pay rent to their former neighbors—or their former tenants—the people assigned to the rental units revolted.²¹⁰ A group of “tenants” organized a committee and began a rent boycott. They argued that the “landlords” received their houses for free and that the allocation process was corrupt. Many gave expression to long-standing divisions between “bona fide” residents and “foreigners.”²¹¹ Of course, many of these “foreigners” are South African citizens. “You can see where xenophobia is coming from,” explains a politician from an opposition party. “The government is setting these people against each other.”²¹² In response to the rent boycott, a group of “landlords” organized their own committee and threatened to evict tenants for nonpayment. They calculated that they could rent the downstairs units for R1,000 (\$120) per month whereas the ARP only allowed them to collect R350 (\$42) per month.²¹³

The tensions are certainly not universal. Some landlords refused to accept rent from their tenants. And a group of landlords began organizing to challenge the entire system. According to an ARP official, these landlords said: “People of South Africa, we are all suffering. We all have a history of apartheid. We can’t be treating each other like this. So let’s stop harassing the renters and seeking money. Let them stay. We know that the ARP has made us sign lease agreements, but let’s ignore that.”²¹⁴ Nevertheless, the conflict escalated throughout 2012—leading to violent confrontations, unilateral evictions, and widespread tensions. One man showed me the stab wound he had received the night before from a landlord demanding payment.²¹⁵ As a resident warned: “Very soon, they will be killing each other.”²¹⁶ Although mass evictions did not materialize, the crisis continued to smolder while government officials sought to mediate a solution.

The ARP has not only exacerbated the social divisions created by apartheid, it has also failed to resolve the underlying crises of unemployment and housing that make life precarious for the racialized poor in Alexandra. Yet Alexandra is exceptional for having received a large-scale infusion of government resources through the ARP. The postapartheid state has attempted similar developmental projects in very few townships. Even in Alexandra, however, the ANC government’s commitment to neoliberal capitalism and private property has undermined its ability to provide for the people. Yet in the face

of fragmentation and crisis, South Africa has recently witnessed a resurgent labor movement, efforts to organize a united front to challenge the ANC, and popular demands for the “decolonization” of land and higher education.²¹⁷ Underlying these mobilizations is the question of how the crisis confronting the racialized poor can be translated into a crisis for the postapartheid racial capitalist regime.

In the next chapter, I analyze the crisis facing the Palestinian poor in the West Bank today. Whereas neoliberal restructuring is articulated with a post-colonial project in South Africa, Israel has combined a neoliberal project with a colonial strategy of separation and enclosure. But just as the postapartheid state uses projects such as the ARP as pressure relief valves, Israel uses a permit regime and the Palestinian Authority provides public employment to assuage the crisis confronting the Palestinian poor. Yet, as in South Africa, these strategies are unable to contain popular struggles and the neoliberal colonial regime confronts a crisis of hegemony.

CHAPTER 3

Bethlehem: Neoliberal Colonization

What happened after Oslo? The settlements got bigger. The jobs disappeared. And our villages are being strangled.

FARMER FROM AL-KHADER VILLAGE, September 2012

“Welcome to the ghetto,” proclaims graffiti near the main checkpoint leading into Bethlehem.¹ The symbolism evokes not only US inner city neighborhoods but also the Jewish ghettos of Europe: spatial expressions of anti-Semitism for hundreds of years.² While the definition of a “ghetto” is hotly contested, urban sociologists have traced a shift in the structure of exclusion during the late twentieth century: from ghettos defined primarily by race to ghettos that concentrate and contain racialized populations whose labor is no longer considered necessary.³ The Palestinian “ghettos” in the West Bank are distinct because they are produced by a combination of settler colonialism and neoliberal capitalism—a combination that I call *neoliberal colonization*.

As products of settler colonialism, the Palestinian ghettos are the continually shrinking remainders of a national homeland.⁴ Through the Oslo “peace process,” the State of Israel fragmented the occupied territories into an archipelago of isolated Palestinian enclaves separated by Israeli controlled territory. While *concentrating* the Palestinian population into these enclaves, Israel is aggressively *colonizing* the rest of the land in the West Bank.

As products of neoliberal restructuring, the Palestinian enclaves are containers designed to warehouse a racialized surplus population.⁵ By reducing Israeli dependence on Palestinian workers, neoliberal restructuring has enabled Israel to carry out its strategy of concentration and colonization. At the same time, however, the Oslo process produced a new Palestinian elite. Unlike many neoliberal ghettos, therefore, the Palestinian enclaves are not ghettos of exclusion or spaces of concentrated poverty but spaces of *concentrated inequality* where rich and poor live side by side.

Scholars increasingly recognize Israel as a colonial state. But most studies of Palestine/Israel focus on the political dynamics of state violence rather than analyzing the political, economic, and social dynamics unleashed by the combination of colonialism and capitalism. In this chapter, I explore the articulation of colonization and neoliberalization in the West Bank today with a focus on the Bethlehem region. After a brief social history of Bethlehem, I trace the territorial fragmentation of the Bethlehem region into a series of isolated Palestinian enclosures. These *neoliberal enclosures* attempt to contain a colonized population that has become increasingly disposable with the restructuring of Israel's economy. As sites of concentrated inequality and intense marginalization, however, they offer only a precarious form of containment.

I then turn to the Palestinian villages, which are the front lines of struggles over colonization in the West Bank today. In the hills west of Bethlehem, Palestinian villagers confront colonial violence by Israeli settlers and the state. They also confront a crisis of unemployment and rapid urbanization. These dynamics have combined to create an indirect form of displacement and a market-based strategy of colonization. Overall, therefore, I argue that Palestinians in the West Bank today are experiencing a unique form of *neoliberal colonization*. I conclude with a discussion of Palestinian resistance to colonialism and neoliberalism. As in South Africa, it is not only the poor that confront a crisis in Palestine/Israel today but also the racial capitalist regime.

BETHLEHEM

The biblical city of Bethlehem was a small Ottoman town in the late nineteenth century, closely tied to the district capital of Jerusalem. Bethlehem and its neighboring villages grew alongside Jerusalem: skilled construction workers from Bethlehem and Beit Jala built modern neighborhoods in Jerusalem while workshops in Bethlehem and Beit Sahour produced religious artifacts for the city's tourist economy.⁶ The early twentieth century brought new dynamics in the form of Zionist settlement. During the 1940s, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) targeted the area southwest of Bethlehem for colonization and established the Gush Etzion settlement bloc.⁷ Religious Zionists committed to Jewish sovereignty built three settlements; socialist Zionists who envisioned a binational state established a fourth. Yet all four groups came into conflict with the Palestinian villagers that they displaced.⁸

During the 1948 *Nakba* (Palestinian catastrophe), more than 70,000 Palestinians from the Jerusalem region became refugees.⁹ Some fled after hearing of the massacre by Zionist militias in the nearby village of Deir Yassin; others

were driven out by Israeli forces as part of Plan Dalet—a program to secure the Jewish state by depopulating and destroying Palestinian villages.¹⁰ Bethlehem became host to three refugee camps: Dheisheh, Aida, and Azza. Meanwhile, Arab forces expelled 2,000 Jews from the Old City of Jerusalem and besieged and destroyed the Gush Etzion settlements.¹¹

Under Jordanian rule, East Jerusalem was the center of a tourist industry that accounted for 85 percent of the income in the West Bank.¹² Bethlehem provided key destinations for Christian pilgrims—including the Church of the Nativity—and manufactured religious items made of olive wood and mother-of-pearl for the markets of East Jerusalem. Yet the Bethlehem region was generally depressed. Villages along the 1949 Armistice Line (a.k.a. the Green Line) remained in a constant state of tension due to border clashes, incursions, and invasions.¹³ And the refugees, displaced and dispossessed during the *Nakba*, became a reserve army with limited opportunities for employment.¹⁴

After occupying the West Bank in 1967, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and renewed the colonization of Palestinian land. For religious Zionists, the occupation provided evidence of divine support for Jewish settlement in the hills of “Judea and Samaria” (the West Bank).¹⁵ Less than four months after the occupation began, religious Zionists established the first West Bank settlement on the former site of Gush Etzion.¹⁶ Since that time, the Etzion settlements have multiplied and expanded throughout the Bethlehem region.¹⁷

The Israeli military linked colonization to an economic policy that incorporated the 1967 Palestinians into Israel’s racial Fordist economy.¹⁸ While generating a supply of low-wage labor and a captive market, the incorporation of Palestinian workers was also advantageous for colonization. The state made use of an Ottoman-era land law to confiscate land from farmers who stopped cultivating their fields when they found work inside Israel.¹⁹ And Israeli politicians expected that jobs would stifle resistance by raising the Palestinian standard of living.²⁰ Many Palestinians in the villages around Bethlehem now feel that they “fell into a trap” by accepting jobs in Israel while Israeli settlers colonized their land.²¹

During the 1970s and 1980s, Palestinians organized grassroots structures throughout the occupied territories: labor unions, women’s organizations, student groups, popular committees, and voluntary work committees.²² The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Communist Party led the organizing drives in the Bethlehem area.²³ Beginning in 1982, the residents of Dheisheh refugee camp waged a popular struggle against the Israeli military and religious settlers who attempted to establish an outpost across from the camp.²⁴ And, from 1987 to 1993, Palestinians throughout the

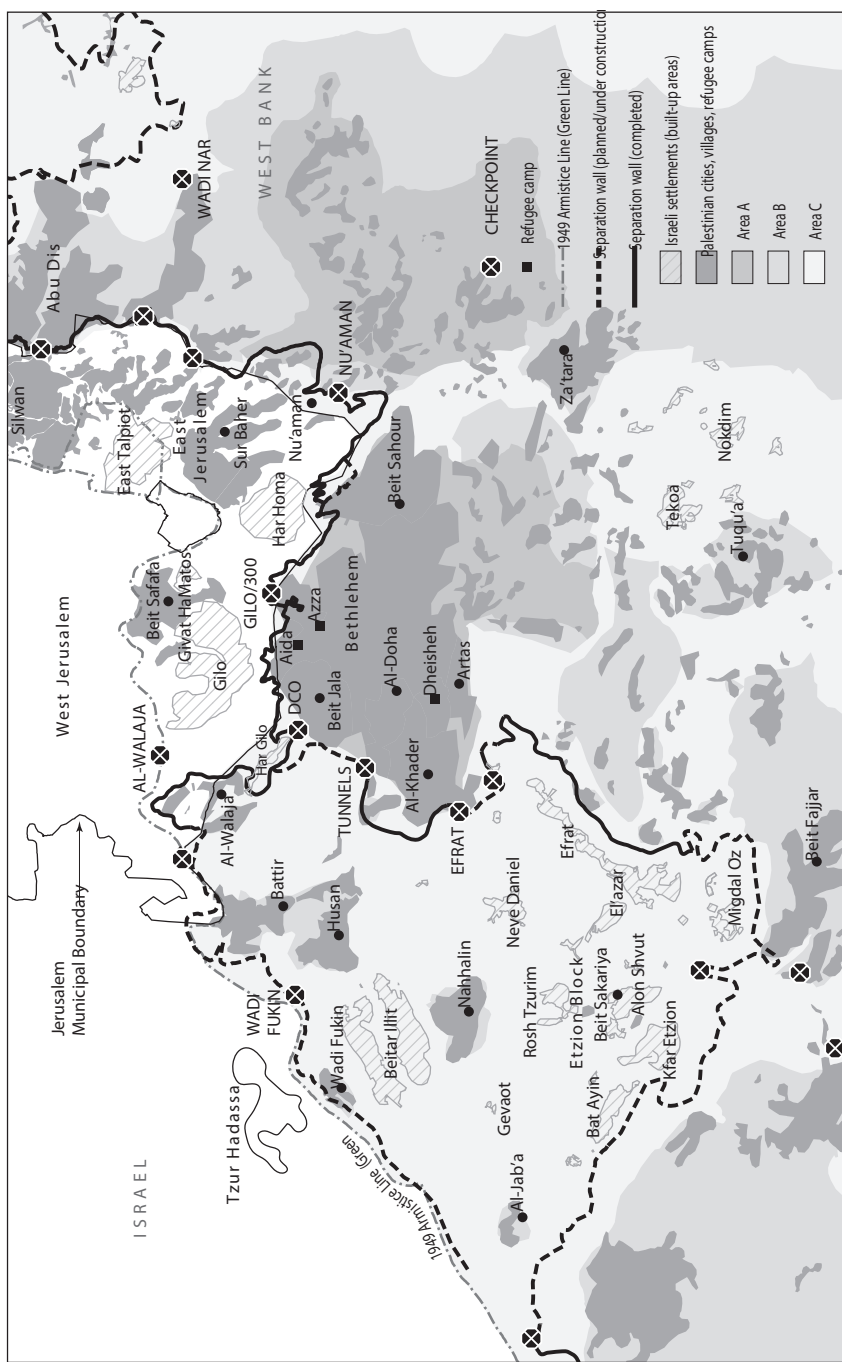
Bethlehem area took part in the first intifada. Children with stones confronted Israeli soldiers, while popular committees organized health care, food co-ops, and schools. The Dheisheh, Aida, and Azza refugee camps became key sites of struggle, and the city of Beit Sahour became the center of a tax revolt that revived the old US slogan: “No taxation without representation.”²⁵ The intifada also witnessed the emergence of Hamas as a rival to the leadership of the PLO.²⁶ To smash the uprising, the Israeli military employed mass arrests, administrative detention, torture, curfews, deportations, home demolitions, undercover agents, broken bones, rubber bullets, live ammunition, death squads, and other forms of collective punishment.²⁷

The Oslo Accords brought an end to the uprising and introduced new dynamics to the occupation. Through the Oslo process, Israel has colonized Palestinian land, concentrated the Palestinian people into isolated enclosures, fragmented the Palestinian population, and, for the first time in history, separated the twin cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

THE BETHLEHEM ARCHIPELAGO

Like other West Bank regions, the Bethlehem district is now a fragmented space. The district is centered on an urban enclave—the “Bethlehem ghetto” (Area A)—that consists of three historic cities (Bethlehem, Beit Jala, and Beit Sahour), three refugee camps (Dheisheh, Aida, and Azza), two villages (Al-Khader and Artas), and a new municipality (Al-Doha).²⁸ The district also includes dozens of separate village enclaves (Area B) to the east, south, and west. Together, these enclaves (Areas A and B) make up 13 percent of the Bethlehem district—leaving Israel with full jurisdiction over the remaining 87 percent of the land (Area C).²⁹ Israel also controls the roads in and out of the enclaves and regulates Palestinian movement with permits, closures, and checkpoints. In the mid-1990s, Israel established the first permanent checkpoint between Jerusalem and Bethlehem: a small hut with a boom gate. Over time, the state fortified the checkpoint, moved it closer to Bethlehem, and erected other checkpoints throughout the region.³⁰

Israel targets Area C for land confiscation and settlement construction. To the north, the settlements of Gilo and Har Homa separate Bethlehem from Jerusalem. The Etzion settlement bloc fragments the rest of the Bethlehem district. The Etzion bloc consists of two large cities, a major cluster of settlements west of Bethlehem, a small cluster to the east, and several hilltop outposts.³¹ Israeli officials consider the Etzion settlement bloc an integral part of “Metropolitan Jerusalem” and insist that these settlements will eventually be



MAP 8. Bethlehem region. By Molly O'Halloran. Based on B'Tselem, "The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier—November 2014."

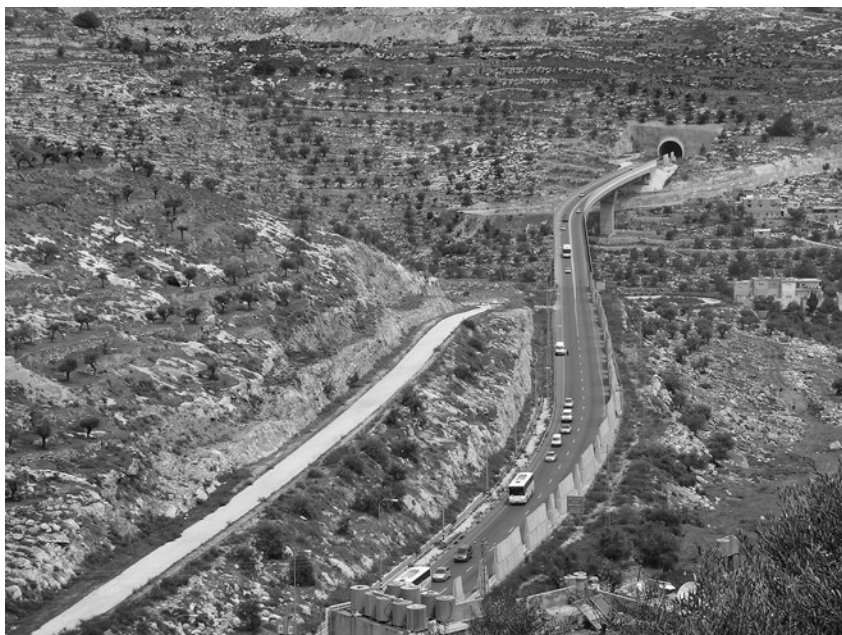


FIGURE 3.1. Bypass road between Jerusalem and the Etzion bloc



FIGURE 3.2. Military checkpoint near Beit Sahour

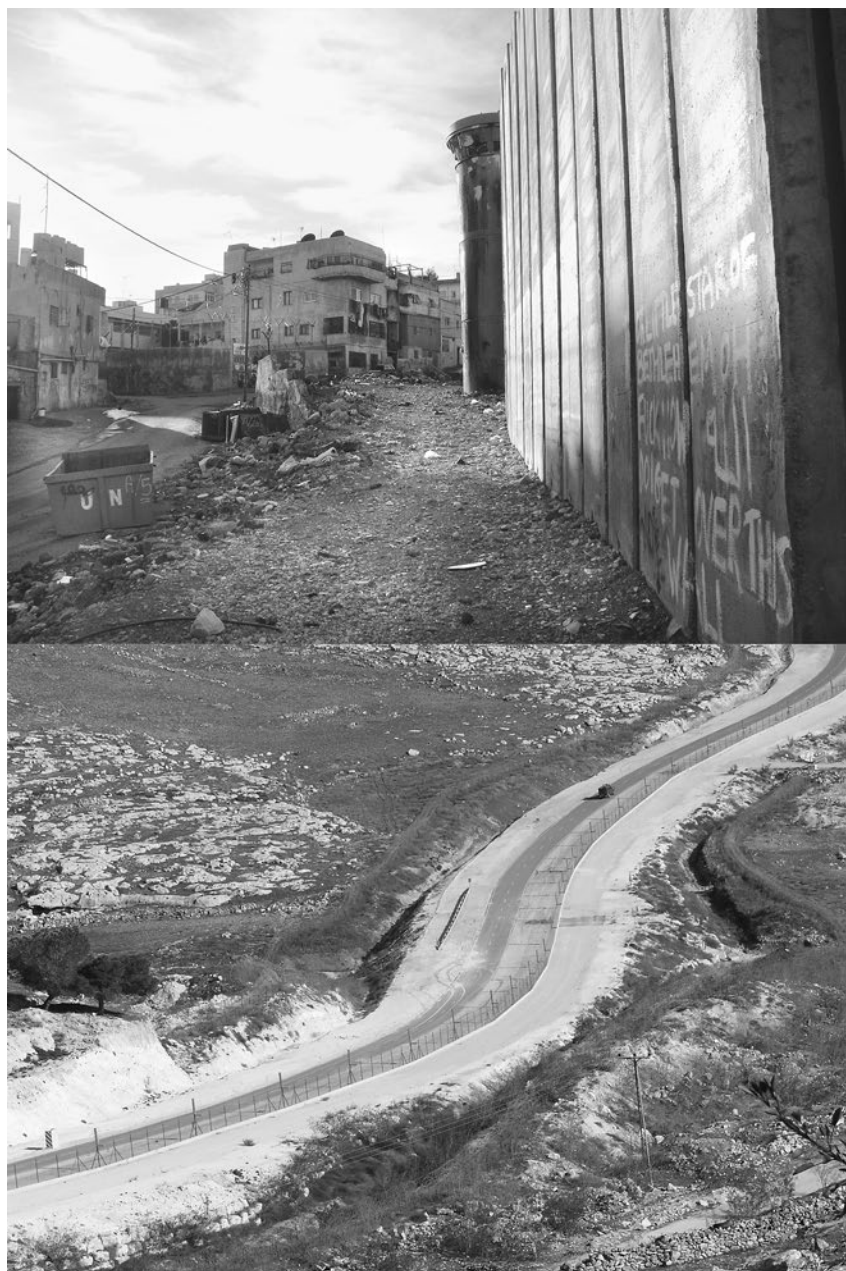


FIGURE 3.3. Walls and fences surrounding Bethlehem

annexed. Since 2004, plans have circulated for a new settlement that would further enclose Bethlehem by linking the Etzion bloc to Gilo and Har Homa.³²

Since the 1990s, Israel has also built three bypass roads in the Bethlehem region to connect the settlements to Jerusalem and Israeli cities on the coast.³³ Until Oslo, Israeli settlers traveled on the main roads through the heart of Bethlehem and the nearby villages. The bypass roads loop around Areas A and B, further constricting and isolating these enclaves. Palestinians are prohibited from traveling on parts of these roads, and their movement is highly restricted on others. Built on confiscated land, the new highways have created a complex grid of tunnels, bridges, and separate (but unequal) roads for Palestinians and Israelis.³⁴

Since 2002, the state has built a series of fences and walls in the Bethlehem district.³⁵ To the north, an 8-meter concrete wall separates Bethlehem from Jerusalem, annexing Rachel's Tomb and transforming Aida refugee camp into a virtual prison. To the northeast, an array of fences, trenches, military roads, and buffer zones zigzag between Beit Sahour and Har Homa, encircling the village of Nu'aman and cutting it off from the West Bank.³⁶ To the west and south, however, Israel has only built sections of the wall due to opposition by settlers in the Etzion bloc who fear that the wall will limit their expansion.³⁷ If Israel constructs the wall as planned, it will enclose seven Palestinian villages—and the land of three others—within a fully isolated annexation zone.³⁸

Israel's new colonial strategy of separation and enclosure has isolated Jerusalem, separated the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, bifurcated the West Bank into northern and southern regions, and fragmented each region into an archipelago of isolated enclaves. Most residents of the main Bethlehem enclave have not visited the nearby villages for fifteen years. In this context, local allegiances and kin-based networks have become increasingly important.³⁹ As a young Palestinian from Dheisheh refugee camp explains, "Israel has succeeded in creating one hundred Palestinian nations—we are more divided than ever and don't really know one another anymore."⁴⁰

NEOLIBERAL ENCLOSURES

Given the intensity of Israel's settler colonial project in the West Bank, visitors to Bethlehem—and especially Ramallah—are often surprised by the signs of a thriving economy. Expensive cafés, restaurants, and hotels cater to a wealthy clientele. Luxury cars and SUVs line the driveways of palatial "villas." Cranes and construction crews transform the landscape to realize the fantasies and investments of the Palestinian elite.⁴¹ Rather than indicators of broad-based and

sustainable development, these displays highlight the shifting class structure of Palestinian society in the West Bank. While most Palestinians confront deepening poverty and unemployment, a small Palestinian elite with ties to the PA has grown rich. This marks one of the principal contradictions of Israel's new colonial strategy. Although designed as zones of abandonment to contain the disposable Palestinian population, the *neoliberal enclosures* in the West Bank have become sites of *concentrated inequality* that intensify the frustration of the Palestinian poor and enhance the conditions for popular resistance. As such, they offer only a precarious form of containment.

Concentrated Inequality

The Oslo process has linked Israel's settler colonial project with neoliberal restructuring in Palestine/Israel. The neoliberalization of Israel's racial Fordist economy has produced tremendous profits for high-tech and finance capital, dismantled the welfare state, undermined organized labor, and generated growing inequality within Israeli society.⁴² Neoliberal restructuring also made the labor of 1967 Palestinians increasingly redundant. With a shift from labor-intensive to capital-intensive production, the Israeli economy is now dominated by high-tech companies that have little need for low-wage Palestinian workers. Israeli manufacturers have also outsourced production from Palestinian subcontractors in the occupied territories to export processing zones in Jordan and Egypt.⁴³ And 300,000 migrant workers from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa now compete with Palestinians for the remaining low-wage jobs in agriculture and construction.⁴⁴ Neoliberal restructuring transformed the 1967 Palestinians into a truly surplus population, which the enclosures in the occupied territories were designed to contain.⁴⁵

The economic policies of the Palestinian Authority are also based on a neoliberal framework. From the start, the PA embraced the vision of a private-sector-led, export-oriented, free-market economy as the foundation for an independent Palestinian state.⁴⁶ This stems in part from long-standing connections between the Fatah leadership and Palestinian capitalists in the diaspora.⁴⁷ But the World Bank, the IMF, and the US government have had tremendous influence over the economic policies of the PA.⁴⁸ As Palestinian economist Adel Samara notes, "the PA's economy may be alone in having been designed from its very beginning by the policies and prescriptions of globalizing institutions."⁴⁹

The economic policies of the PA have generated a new class of Palestinian capitalists. During the 1990s, the PA encouraged the return of Palestinian



FIGURE 3.4. Jacir Palace hotel and restaurants

capitalists from the diaspora and provided economic incentives for political support.⁵⁰ Since 2007, the PA has pursued an even more aggressively neoliberal economic framework.⁵¹ These policies have consolidated the class of Palestinian capitalists in the West Bank. The new class is an unstable formation of wealthy returnees from the diaspora, traditional landowning elites, and business owners who serve the occupation.⁵² Because their ability to conduct business ultimately depends on the consent of the Israeli authorities, Palestinian capitalists generally accommodate the occupation while some even profit from colonization. Yet it is important to note that some Palestinian capitalists have continued a long tradition of supporting resistance to the occupation.⁵³

Oslo also created opportunities for the emergence of a Palestinian NGO elite with ties to international donors. After 1994, the flow of donor aid, the demobilization of Palestinian grassroots structures, and the liberal doctrine of “civil society” led to a proliferation of international and Palestinian NGOs in the occupied territories.⁵⁴ NGOs have become an important source of employment. Although many Palestinian NGO employees have backgrounds in community organizing, the salaried elite has become increasingly professionalized, accommodating, and responsive to international agendas.⁵⁵

Along with the PA leadership, Palestinian capitalists and NGO officials constitute a new West Bank elite. While protected from some aspects of the occupation, Palestinian elites are still subject to Israeli rule. They confront

humiliation, land confiscations, and violent assaults. Moreover, they are confined to the same enclaves as the Palestinian poor. This makes Bethlehem and other Palestinian ghettos spaces of concentrated inequality. Living in close proximity to the lavish lifestyles of the new elite has heightened the class dynamics of the struggle for many working-class Palestinians.

Across from the Israeli “DCO” military checkpoint at the northeastern entrance to Bethlehem, for instance, middle- and upper-class Palestinians dine at a restaurant with a bowling alley. Like most establishments that cater to the Palestinian elite, the employees of the restaurant—waiters, dishwashers, and kitchen staff—are recruited almost entirely from the refugee camps. Under the watchful eye of the Israeli military, working-class youth from Dheisheh, Aida, and Azza camps serve wealthy Palestinians along with Europeans, Americans, and even Israelis. According to a former waiter from Dheisheh, the workers are often humiliated while serving extravagant meals to patronizing clients. When an Israeli soldier entered the restaurant and ordered a meal, the young man told his boss that he refused to serve Israelis. Just then, a Palestinian man at a table overflowing with food snapped his fingers to summon the waiter. “I refuse to serve him too,” the man told his boss. Insisting that he must serve them all, the manager threatened to fire the young man. Throwing down his towel in disgust, the young man stormed out of the restaurant and was immediately joined by other youth from the camps in a spontaneous walkout.⁵⁶

Growing class inequality combined with territorial divisions has intensified the fragmentation of Palestinian society. Yet it is also generating new critiques of the intersecting colonial and capitalist projects that are exacerbating the marginalization of the Palestinian poor.

Neoliberal Palestine

The neoliberal economic policies of the PA have dovetailed with those of Israel to deepen the precariousness of life for the majority of 1967 Palestinians. As Israeli employers reduced their dependence on Palestinian labor, working-class Palestinians began to confront a crisis of unemployment. While maintaining its overall commitment to free-market policies, the PA rolled out a public employment program to contain this crisis during the 1990s and expanded this program during the second intifada (uprising) when Israel sealed off the occupied territories. Seeking to contain the uprising, the World Bank and IMF encouraged “donor states” in Europe, North America, and the Arab Gulf to fund the PA employment program.⁵⁷

After 2007, however, the PA began implementing a strict prescription of

neoliberal reforms under the leadership of PA prime minister Salam Fayyad, a former IMF employee. Fayyad's plan for economic restructuring—the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (PRDP)—was developed in coordination with the World Bank and the British Department for International Development.⁵⁸ The core of the PRDP is public sector fiscal reform and private sector investment. To reduce public expenditures and dependence on donors, the PRDP called for eliminating 40,000 public sector jobs, imposing a three-year freeze on public salaries, and ending subsidized water and electricity for the refugee camps. To promote private sector investment, the PRDP embraced the long-standing goal of establishing free-trade industrial zones to take advantage of the large pool of low-wage labor in the Palestinian enclaves.⁵⁹

In May 2008, Fayyad invited investors to the first Palestine Investment Conference (PIC) in Bethlehem by announcing that, “Palestine is open for business!”⁶⁰ Bethlehem hosted a second PIC two years later.⁶¹ Sponsored by Palestinian business elites in coordination with the United States and the European Union, the PICs sought to promote investment by highlighting business opportunities in the occupied territories.⁶² During both PICs, Israel facilitated the movement of delegates through borders and checkpoints while the PA arrested local activists to prevent demonstrations.⁶³

The first conference opened at the Jacir Palace in Bethlehem, home to the Intercontinental Hotel and multiple five-star restaurants. In the lead-up to the conference, PA security forces requested a list of employees from the hotel. Fifteen workers from the refugee camps were barred from the premises and threatened with responsibility for any disturbances during the conference. When the workers critiqued the PIC as a neoliberal and elitist project, the manager attempted to silence them. Without hesitation, young men and women from the camps quit their jobs and walked out of the building, throwing the hotel—and the conference—into a momentary crisis.⁶⁴

Despite ambitious efforts to attract investors, the private sector in the West Bank remains weak and fragmented. It consists primarily of small, unregulated firms that employ one or two workers.⁶⁵ Moreover, 53 percent of workers are hired without a contract and 35 percent receive less than minimum wage.⁶⁶ With a large pool of Palestinian labor, the PA hoped to attract foreign investors by building free-trade industrial zones along the Green Line (or along the wall).⁶⁷ Despite experiments in Gaza and several locations in the West Bank, the industrial zones have generated little investment and fewer jobs. In Bethlehem, for instance, a building has been constructed and plans remain on the table for a Bethlehem Industrial Estate.⁶⁸ Yet investors remain uninterested due to Israeli restrictions, regional instability, and the relatively high cost of labor.⁶⁹

The Bethlehem area has only two major industries: tourism and stonecutting. For more than one hundred years, tourism dominated the Bethlehem economy and linked the city to Jerusalem. Oslo brought two major shifts. First, Israel's enclosure of East Jerusalem suffocated the Palestinian tourist industry and enabled Israeli firms to capture the vast majority of tourist spending. Second, the PA encouraged the construction of hotels and restaurants in Bethlehem.⁷⁰ Bethlehem experienced a boom in tourism in preparation for the new millennium ("Bethlehem 2000"), but the outbreak of the second intifada in September 2000 disrupted these plans. While some large stores and hotels have experienced a recovery since 2006, the industry increasingly squeezes the smallest players: tour guides, hotel and restaurant employees, small souvenir stands, and the factory workers who produce keepsakes made of olive wood and mother-of-pearl.⁷¹

Tourism in Bethlehem is structured by the Israeli occupation. The Israeli government controls the border crossings and checkpoints, regulates the entry of foreign visitors, and directs tourists toward Israeli businesses. The overwhelming majority of tourists travel with groups organized by Israeli or international agencies: they sleep in Israeli hotels, eat at Israeli restaurants, and buy souvenirs at Israeli stores. In Bethlehem, 85 percent of visitors arrive with such groups and spend only half a day in town: two hours at the Church of the Nativity and a stop at one souvenir shop.⁷² People traveling without a group confront the confusing geography of separation as well as the refusal of Israeli car rental agencies to provide insurance for Areas A and B.⁷³ In addition, tourists receive warnings from Israeli officials and tour guides—as well as their own governments—about the dangers of visiting Palestinian areas.⁷⁴

These restrictions make the Palestinian tourism industry in Bethlehem highly competitive and extremely concentrated. According to a representative of the PA Ministry of Tourism, the industry is "controlled by family money and a group of wealthy tycoons. They dominate the hotel business, travel agencies, and souvenir shops."⁷⁵ Some of the families have worked in tourism for decades; others are new elites backed by foreign investors. Their rivalries are as intense as their labor exploitation.

Due to unregulated construction, the number of hotel rooms in Bethlehem has doubled since 2006.⁷⁶ This expansion, combined with Israeli control over the flow of tourists, has driven down prices in Bethlehem hotels. According to a professor of tourism at Bethlehem University, "Israeli tour agencies are now encouraging people to stay in Bethlehem because it doubles their revenue. They are pressuring the hotels to keep their prices low, hoping that Bethlehem becomes a market for low budget tourists."⁷⁷ Low rates have increased

overnight stays by 30 percent, while providing justification for owners to cut wages.⁷⁸ “The workers are underpaid and are hardly making a living,” explains the professor. “The owners say that they can’t raise salaries. They have been pushed to lower their rates and now they cannot come up.”⁷⁹

While the hotels engage in a race to the bottom, souvenir stores purchase customers from tour operators. Because each group only stops at one store, tour operators determine where customers spend money. Owners of large stores pay 30 to 40 percent commission for each bus. Some pay \$400–2,000 per bus in advance to ensure a steady stream of customers.⁸⁰ “We still make money. But we have to stay open late,” claims a storeowner. “We give 50 percent off at night because customers come in alone and we don’t have to pay commission.”⁸¹ They also make money by squeezing their suppliers.

Until recently, hundreds of small factories in the Bethlehem area specialized in handicraft production for the tourist market—especially olive wood and mother-of-pearl.⁸² The devastation of the second intifada combined with the opening of the Palestinian market to Chinese imports precipitated the collapse of handicraft production. Most souvenir shops in Bethlehem now sell imported goods and demand ever-lower prices from local factories.⁸³ More than 80 percent of the mother-of-pearl and olive wood factories in the Bethlehem region have closed.⁸⁴ Most factories that remain open have accelerated production, driving down both quality and worker safety.⁸⁵

Competition has also devastated the small shops in the souk near the Church of the Nativity. Because most tour groups do not have free time to explore the markets after visiting the church, the old shops in the souk attract few customers. “We used to pay 20 percent commission,” says a shopkeeper standing next to a rack of old, fading postcards. “But now the big stores buy the busses ahead of time. And small stores like mine can’t have more than ten people inside anyway. The business has become a mafia.”⁸⁶ Two young men sit idly in front of another store, talking about long hours and low pay while awaiting the rare customer.⁸⁷

There are two attempts to revive tourism in Bethlehem. The first is a worker oriented co-operative movement to market Palestinian handicrafts internationally. Co-ops help connect small factories with international distributors by visiting expos around the world. “Our goal is to keep people working and to stop emigration,” explains an official with a co-op in Beit Sahour.⁸⁸ The second is a neoliberal initiative to promote tourism through marketing and branding. “Put aside the wall, the occupation, and politics. We are not capitalizing on two million visitors per year,” argues a young consultant. “We need to encourage them to spend more money and more time in the West Bank.”⁸⁹ Backed by USAID,

the PA Ministry of Tourism, and the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the initiative seeks to improve the tourist experience by beautifying the area, promoting cultural activities, and upgrading transportation options.

The other major industry in the Bethlehem area is stonecutting. Stone and marble accounts for 25 percent of Palestinian industrial revenue, and nearly one-third of the factories are in the Bethlehem region—mostly around the village of Beit Fajjar.⁹⁰ In recent years, more than seventy-five (out of 150) factories in Beit Fajjar have closed and only ten to twelve still operate full time.⁹¹ The industry suffers because Israel refuses to issue new permits for Palestinian quarries, confiscates construction equipment from quarries operating without a permit, restricts the export of Palestinian products, and encourages Israeli companies to open quarries in the occupied territories.⁹² The only reason that stonecutting remains profitable is the expansion of Israeli settlements. Because an Israeli law requires all buildings in the Jerusalem region to be faced with “Jerusalem Stone,” more than 70 percent of Palestinian stones are sold to Israeli developers for construction in Jerusalem and the settlements.⁹³ By placing limitations on exports, the Israeli government is able to drive down the price of these stones. Yet the stonecutting industry generates few jobs. Most factories are small, only 10 percent employ more than twenty workers, the industry is increasingly automated, and the jobs that remain are difficult, dirty, and dangerous.⁹⁴ But the spatial dynamic is unmistakable: cutting down some West Bank hills to build Israeli settlements on others.

The neoliberal policies of the PA have produced wealth for Palestinian capitalists—including the owners of hotels, restaurants, and stonecutting factories—but very few jobs for working-class Palestinians. Advertised as the pathway to liberation, neoliberalization has instead exacerbated inequality within Palestinian society and intensified the suffering of the Palestinian poor.

Pressure Valve Politics

In 2009, Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister of Israel on a platform of “economic peace” rather than a final-status agreement with the Palestinian people.⁹⁵ While intensifying the siege on Gaza, Netanyahu proposed twenty-five economic development projects to improve the conditions of Palestinian life in the West Bank. In line with this vision, Israel removed some West Bank checkpoints to facilitate movement between Palestinian enclaves and increased the number of work permits for West Bank Palestinians. Reviving ideas articulated by Moshe Dayan during the 1970s and Shimon Peres during the 1990s, Netanyahu’s vision of economic peace assumed that Palestinians

would accept improvements in their standard of living as an alternative to self-determination and decolonization. As such, it is part of a broader pattern of pressure valve politics through which Israel and the PA attempt to contain the frustration and resistance of the Palestinian poor. In line with other post-Washington Consensus forms of “roll-out” neoliberalism, these pressure valve projects respond to crises and seek to quell resistance.⁹⁶ But they fail to address the root causes of suffering and struggle.

Whereas previous Israeli policies made Palestinian workers dependent on jobs in Israel, the state now treats such jobs as a reward for individual and collective subservience. The flexibility of the permit regime allows the state to address the changing demands of Israeli employers as well as the shifting political context.⁹⁷ The state can adjust the number of work permits to accommodate a busy harvest or increase housing starts, to punish resistance or reward quiescence, to avert an uprising or increase pressure on the PA.⁹⁸ In April 2002, Israel suspended work permits for all Palestinians. Since 2006, the state has punished Hamas by issuing no work permits for the Gaza Strip while rewarding the moderate PA by increasing the number of permits for the West Bank.⁹⁹

In the context of widespread unemployment, the permit regime provides a powerful disciplinary tool for the occupation. Israel blacklists hundreds of thousands of Palestinians for undisclosed “security” reasons, for entering Israel without a permit, or for failing to pay a fine or comply with a military order.¹⁰⁰ Youth who have been arrested for throwing stones expect to never receive permits.¹⁰¹ And the state denies permits to the family members of Palestinians who are incarcerated or have been killed by the Israeli military.¹⁰² In addition, the state uses the permit regime to recruit informants. Children in jail for throwing stones confront interrogators who threaten to revoke their parents’ work permits if they don’t provide information.¹⁰³ Similarly, Palestinians who appeal their placement on the blacklist are generally offered a permit in exchange for information.¹⁰⁴

Israel now directs nearly 50 percent of work permits toward the West Bank settlements.¹⁰⁵ In addition to the industrial zones that Israel has established in several settlements, the state’s settlement expansion policy has generated a steady demand for Palestinian construction workers. Because Israeli labor laws are rarely enforced in the settlements, Palestinian workers confront wage theft, hazardous conditions, denial of social rights, violence and abuse.¹⁰⁶ According to a 2011 survey, 82 percent of Palestinians employed in the settlements would leave their jobs if they could find a suitable alternative.¹⁰⁷ As a Palestinian worker explains, the economic crisis forces them to accept this work: “What logic is there to this—that Arabs build houses for Jews on land



FIGURE 3.5. Palestinian workers building the wall around Bethlehem

belonging to Arabs? Why am I doing this? Because I must work and earn money for my family. So I build, and in my heart I pray that tomorrow they will return all this land to Arabs, and I hate myself, but I have no choice.”¹⁰⁸

Like Israel, the PA also uses public employment as a pressure release valve. Since 2007, the PA has renewed its commitment to free-market economics yet continues to rely on public sector jobs to contain unemployment and resistance. Cuts to public spending under the PRDP reduced the government payroll from 180,000 to 153,000.¹⁰⁹ But the PA continues to pay the salaries of former employees in Gaza in order to contain the impact of the Israeli siege. And 16.5 percent of Palestinians in the West Bank still work for the PA. As a result, 52 percent of the PA budget is allocated for wages.¹¹⁰

More than any other sector, public employment with the PA is concentrated in the security forces. With more than 70,000 employees, the PA security forces account for roughly 30 percent of the PA budget.¹¹¹ This is significant for three reasons. First, the PA security forces are charged with ensuring the security of Israel and are less expensive to deploy than Israeli military personnel. As long as they fulfill their mission, Israel and its allies have no interest in reducing their numbers. Second, security forces are generally immune from neoliberal demands for cuts in government spending. On the contrary, neoliberal

restructuring produces crises that are increasingly addressed by the expansion of security forces.¹¹² Finally, investments in security do not generate sustainable development. The creation of public sector security jobs, therefore, is a short-term effort to reduce unemployment while ensuring Israeli security and containing the crises generated by neoliberal colonization.

But the PA public employment program only creates low-wage, precarious work. The basic wage is NIS1600 per month (\$400)—roughly one-third the wage of a Palestinian construction worker in Israel.¹¹³ And the PA is often unable to pay its employees due to a perpetual budget crisis that stems from dependence on donor states and Israel.¹¹⁴ Some months, PA employees receive half of their salary. Other months, they receive nothing at all. Moreover, PA employees face political pressure to join Fatah.¹¹⁵ Since 2007, the PA has purged members of Hamas from positions in educational and religious institutions.¹¹⁶ Overall, therefore, the public employment project is, in the words of a Palestinian economist, “creating a class that sees its life and its interest tied to the PA and the donors.”¹¹⁷

With the Palestinian poor confronting a crisis caused by neoliberalization and colonization, Israel and the PA have deployed pressure release programs to contain resistance and promote acquiescence. Both employment programs also incorporate Palestinian workers into their own oppression: asking them to either build Israeli settlements on confiscated Palestinian land or cooperate with the Israeli military to suppress resistance to the occupation. These jobs produce intense psychological conflicts and personal crises for working-class Palestinians who have few other options.

Precarious Containment

The pressure valve politics of Israel and the PA do not address the fundamental causes of the crisis facing the Palestinian poor in the West Bank. Colonization, constant repression, and neoliberalization have exacerbated the suffering of the Palestinian poor, intensified the class divisions within Palestinian society, and enhanced the conditions for popular resistance. As a result, the neoliberal enclosures do not provide a sustainable form of containment.

The lives of the Palestinian poor in Bethlehem have become increasingly precarious. People without Israeli work permits, PA employment, or NGO jobs depend on creative life strategies to survive through the informal economy. Israeli checkpoints have become hubs of the informal economy.¹¹⁸ Merchants set up stands to sell shoes, snacks, and drinks; vendors walk between cars selling CDs, phone cords, and tissues; porters help carry bags and groceries; taxi

drivers offer rides to nearby cities and villages. For the right fee, some drivers even take passengers around the checkpoints through mountains and fields.¹¹⁹ Poverty has also created the conditions for a market in illicit goods. Drugs, stolen cars, unlocked iPhones, and other merchandise are available in every Palestinian ghetto.

Refugee camps contain the most concentrated poverty in the West Bank. Dispossessed of their land in 1948, Palestinian refugees now face neoliberal cutbacks on the services provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Association (UNRWA). In Bethlehem, the businesses that cater to the Palestinian elite recruit employees from Dheisheh, Aida, and Azza, and wealthy families hire women from the camps to clean their homes. Although many refugees work for the PA security forces or in Israel and the settlements, the camps confront high rates of poverty and unemployment. As a result, refugee camps have become centers of the informal economy. Many women work from home producing embroidered dresses, scarves, purses, and other items for sale to international visitors.¹²⁰ And many refugee families have transformed a room in their home into a small shop, where they sell basic necessities such as fruits and vegetables, milk and eggs, school supplies and falafel. In Aida camp, home to 3,500 people, there are now more than fifty small stores—most of which sell the same basic items and generate very little income.¹²¹

One of the most common informal economic activities is undocumented work in Israel and the settlements.¹²² Most estimates suggest that 20,000 to 30,000 Palestinians work in Israel and the settlements without permits.¹²³ Some of these workers are blacklisted on “security” grounds; others do not meet Israel’s age and family requirements;¹²⁴ others find that they make more money by not paying the NIS2,000 (\$500) fee to apply for a permit. Some sneak into Israel through holes in the fence, climb over the wall, and or pay drivers to take them around checkpoints. Bold entrepreneurs have devised simple solutions to bypass the barrier—such as erecting a ladder on each side of the wall and charging people NIS10 (\$2.50) to climb over.¹²⁵ Most workers, however, simply converge on areas where the wall has not yet been built—such as the western villages of Bethlehem—and walk across the Green Line.¹²⁶ This casts doubt on arguments that the wall is primarily about security.¹²⁷

Although Israeli law requires employers to provide benefits to all workers regardless of documentation, most undocumented workers do not receive minimum wage, sick days, holidays, pensions, or other social rights.¹²⁸ As a worker explains, “If the bosses know that you don’t have a permit, they will often make problems with you at the end of the month so they don’t have to pay you.”¹²⁹ Undocumented workers live in constant fear of arrest and abuse,

returning home once a week or less and sleeping at their work sites—often without shelter or in cramped quarters. Despite their caution, most undocumented workers have been arrested.¹³⁰ Every worker that I spoke with shared stories about encounters with the police or the military. On the first arrest, they are generally returned to the West Bank. Subsequent arrests lead to jail time (three months then six months then a year) along with a fine and a three-year ban on receiving a work permit.¹³¹

Alongside the informal economy, Palestinians draw on several forms of social support. With funding from the European Union, the PA provides small cash grants to extremely poor families. Some refugees still receive food subsidies from UNRWA. More important, however, are forms of social solidarity from family members in the occupied territories and in the diaspora. Some women have formed rotating microfinance networks with family members.¹³² Each participant contributes a small amount to the fund every month and, on a rotating basis, one person withdraws money.

Poverty in the Palestinian enclaves is compounded by inflation. The 1994 Paris Protocol codified the economic ties between Israel and the PA as a “joint customs union.”¹³³ As a result, the cost of living for Israelis and Palestinians is closely related despite vastly different median incomes and gross national products.¹³⁴ When the 2008 global economic crisis drove up food and oil prices around the world, rising inflation made life increasingly difficult for Palestinians to navigate. Understanding that virtually all consumer goods in the occupied territories are either produced in Israel or pass through Israel, Palestinians see rising prices as a way that Israeli companies extract money from Palestinians.¹³⁵ Shir Hever describes this as exploitation “via remote control.”¹³⁶

In these conditions, credit has become an increasingly important source of livelihood. For years, credit has circulated informally in the occupied territories. A barber in Dheisheh showed me a registry of clients who receive his services on credit. He is currently owed more than NIS30,000 (\$7,500), but this is down from NIS60,000 (\$15,000) during the second intifada.¹³⁷ Since 2008, the Palestinian Monetary Authority has required banks to increase the availability of consumer loans. From 2008 to 2011, bank credit for consumer spending increased 245 percent, reaching nearly \$1 billion—mostly for credit cards, real estate, or vehicles.¹³⁸ “The banks will give you money to buy a car, but not to start an agricultural project or productive program. Nothing developmental,” points out a local leader in Aida camp.¹³⁹ Some suggest that the loans are part of a donor agenda to trap people in debt so they focus on work rather than political struggle. Others expect that the credit bubble will burst,

that the banks will be unable to carry out mass evictions or repossessions, and that the entire system will collapse.¹⁴⁰

Most Palestinians exist in a state of perpetual precariousness. In the words of a Fatah leader from Bethlehem, “They don’t want us to die. They want us to survive. To survive and nothing more.”¹⁴¹ Precariousness in Palestine, of course, is not simply an economic phenomenon. Palestinians confront aggressive colonization and intense repression. Israel deployed the full power of its military against the Palestinian enclaves during the second intifada and has repeatedly attacked the Gaza Strip since 2009. On a more mundane level, the Israeli military surrounds the enclaves and invades them on a daily basis to arrest activists, demolish homes, or issue military orders. Thousands of Palestinian prisoners and hundreds of administrative detainees languish in Israeli prisons. Meanwhile, the state confiscates Palestinian land and provides the settlers with free rein to assault Palestinians and their property. Because the Palestinian Authority participates in the regime of security coordination with Israel, many Palestinians now insist that they live under “two occupations” (see chapter five).

Rather than simply a political project, however, Palestinians in the West Bank today confront a dangerous combination of colonization and neoliberalization. Despite the pressure valve politics of Israel and the PA, the combination is explosive. In the opinion of a former official in the PA Ministry of Finance, “Palestinians can live with much less income if they are satisfied politically. The problem is the combination. Palestinians are not happy with their leadership. There is a legitimacy problem. They’re not happy with the peace process. They’re not happy with the internal politics because of the split [between Fatah and Hamas]. And when you have on top of that the economic crisis, the combination is dangerous.”¹⁴²

Israel’s new colonial strategy seeks to isolate and contain the increasingly disposable colonized population. As sites of concentrated inequality and intense marginalization, however, the neoliberal enclosures in the West Bank have exacerbated the precariousness of Palestinian life and enhanced the conditions for popular struggle. As a result, the containment that they provide is almost as precarious as the lives of the Palestinian poor.

NEOLIBERAL COLONIZATION IN THE WESTERN VILLAGES

While concentrating the Palestinian population into neoliberal enclosures, Israel is colonizing Palestinian land in Area C. As a result, the Palestinian villages

have become key battlegrounds in the struggle over colonization in the West Bank. Although colonial settlement in the West Bank is driven by political and ideological motives, the dynamics are shaped by the articulation between colonialism and capitalism. As a result, Palestinian villages confront a unique form of *neoliberal colonization*. Before tracing the contours of neoliberal colonization, however, it is important to briefly outline the juridical division of the Palestinian villages under Oslo.

Palestinian Villages under Oslo

When the borders of the Palestinian enclaves were established under the Oslo negotiations of the mid-1990s, the core residential and commercial districts of the West Bank villages were designated Area B, and the Palestinian Authority gained jurisdiction over civilian affairs.¹⁴³ The remainder of the village land was labeled Area C and Israel retained complete jurisdiction – including control over civilian affairs such as planning and development. The majority of land in almost every village was designated Area C—including the cultivated fields of farmers, the pastureland of shepherds, and the land set aside for future residential, commercial, and agricultural development. The Israeli military administration requires Palestinians to obtain permits to build on or otherwise develop this land, but – with rare exceptions – systematically refuses to issue such permits. While the population is confined to the small enclaves of Area B, the remainder of village land is open for colonization.

The hills west of Bethlehem are home to nine Palestinian villages that have historically served as the agricultural heartland of the Bethlehem region. Two of the villages (Artas and Al-Khader) are connected to the main Bethlehem enclave; six are isolated in separate enclaves (Wadi Fukin, Husan, Battir, Al-Jab'a, Nahhalin, and Al-Walaja), and one (Beit Sakariya) exists entirely within Area C.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the vast majority of land in every village west of Bethlehem is designated Area C: more than 75 percent of the land in eight of nine villages and more than 90 percent in five. This means that the residents of Beit Sakariya are unable to build anywhere in their village and that the residents of other villages require military permits to build houses, dig wells, repair roads, terrace fields, or otherwise develop the majority of their land. Yet these permits are not forthcoming.

Prior to the second intifada, the Israel military and the PA security forces carried out joint patrols in Area B.¹⁴⁵ Since 2000, however, the Israeli military has reclaimed complete control over security in Area B. The PA police no longer have a regular presence in any of the villages west of Bethlehem.¹⁴⁶ But

the Israeli army continues to patrol the villages. In Al-Khader, for instance, Israeli soldiers park outside the entrance to a school almost every day. Ostensibly there to prevent children from throwing stones at Israeli cars on an adjacent bypass road, the soldiers often assault children walking home from school. In September 2013, I was touring the orchards of the Saint George Monastery in Al-Khader, where several ancient olive trees had caught fire the previous day due to tear gas fired by soldiers outside the school. While we stood among the trees, Israeli soldiers again fired tear gas canisters at children leaving school; two landed inside the orchard and started new fires.¹⁴⁷

The PA exercises its jurisdiction over civilian affairs in Area B through local village councils and executive branches such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture. The budgets of the village councils depend largely on the collection of fees for water and wastewater. Yet many residents cannot pay their fees. "People used to work in Israel but now can't get a permit and can't pay anything to the municipality," says an employee of the Nahhalin village council.¹⁴⁸ As a result, the councils do not provide many services. The Artas village council cannot even afford electricity for the municipal hall. Its lights and computer run on electricity borrowed through an extension cord from the mosque next door. The scenic village has a putrid odor because there is no sewage system and garbage is only collected every other week.¹⁴⁹

Budget cuts and Israeli restrictions also limit the ability of PA executive branches to support Palestinian villagers. For example, only 1 percent of the PA budget is allocated to the Ministry of Agriculture—85 percent of which covers employee salaries.¹⁵⁰ The Ministry of Agriculture is further incapacitated by the fact that most agricultural land is located outside of the ministry's jurisdiction in Area C. "The Ministry of Agriculture does not care for us at all," says an old man from Al-Khader. "So the Palestinian farmer gets weaker and weaker each year and in the end the land does not produce."¹⁵¹

In 2000, the PA and the European Union established regional Joint Services Councils for Planning and Development (JSCPDs) to coordinate service provision between villages.¹⁵² Many Joint Service Councils soon closed due to budget cuts during the second intifada. Although the JSCPD that serves western Bethlehem still exists, coordination is difficult due to Israel restrictions on Area C. In 2012, for instance, after the JSCPD helped repave a road from Battir to Beit Jala, the Israeli military sent bulldozers to raze the asphalt. According to a JSCPD official, repression combined with budget restrictions generates conservative politics: "We often avoid taking risks with projects that we think Israel might destroy. We do not have much money and we want to minimize the friction between soldiers and the people."¹⁵³

Unable to provide many services to village residents or support to Palestinian farmers, the PA has severely limited authority in the West Bank villages. This is especially true in villages such as Beit Sakariya, which exist fully within Area C. “The PA can’t do anything here,” says a village leader. “The PA can only help a little in Bethlehem and Al-Khader. But they can’t do anything here.”¹⁵⁴ As a result, Palestinian villagers are largely on their own against the forces of neoliberal colonization.

Manufactured Farm Crisis

Unemployment has led many village residents who previously worked in Israel to return to farming. According to the World Bank, the number of West Bank Palestinians employed in agriculture doubled from 1995 to 2006.¹⁵⁵ Yet the contribution of agriculture to Palestinian GDP fell from 13.3 percent in 1994 to 5.9 percent in 2012.¹⁵⁶ This is because Palestinian farmers face an intense agricultural crisis manufactured by the colonial state.

To begin with, Israeli authorities issue confiscation orders to Palestinian landowners, expropriating their land to build settlements, military bases, roads, and walls. The Israeli government uses a range of mechanisms to confiscate land for settlements, including confiscations for military purposes, nature reserves, public needs, and “state lands.”¹⁵⁷ Looking up at the settlement of Beitar Illit from Nahhalin village, a young man recalls walking over the empty hills to visit friends in Wadi Fukin. “People grew wheat and lentils on the land,” he points out. “And sheep used to graze on top of the hill.”¹⁵⁸ The settlement now expands over two entire hilltops and is descending into the valleys below—Nahhalin on one side, Wadi Fukin on the other.

Israeli authorities also issue a range of military orders to prevent Palestinians from using land in Area C: “demolition orders” for houses built without permission, “stop work orders” for ongoing projects, and “revert orders” that require the restoration of land to its previous condition.¹⁵⁹ When the Israeli military issues an order pertaining to Palestinian land, soldiers do not give the order directly to the landowner. Instead, they place the written order beneath a rock on the land. Palestinians have forty-five days to challenge the order in court, but do not always find the paper in time.¹⁶⁰

“They wait until we finish the work and get tired, then they tell us to stop,” complains a farmer from Wadi Fukin who had just finished upgrading several *dunums* of land when he received a “stop work” order.¹⁶¹ He and two other farmers from the village spent two years digging wells, building terraces, and planting trees with the support of Palestinian and Dutch NGOs. They

found the military orders under a rock nine days after Israeli soldiers placed them on the land. The same week, a farmer from Al-Khader found a revert order on land that he had just finished restoring after six months of work and a NIS15,000 (\$3,750) investment. The order contained a map, a satellite image taken the previous year, and a demand that the farmer restore the land to its previous state.¹⁶² When a Palestinian landowner ignores a military order, the Israeli military deploys bulldozers to carry out the work and bills the landowner to recover the costs. According to a PA Ministry of Agriculture official, farmers generally follow the orders—especially if family members need permits to work in Israel.¹⁶³

The construction of Israel's West Bank wall has further isolated Palestinians from their land. In more than 150 West Bank communities, the wall separates the residential areas of villages from their fields.¹⁶⁴ In Al-Walaja, for instance, 30 percent of village lands are isolated behind the wall. If the wall is completed according to plan, it will isolate 68 percent of the land of Al-Khader and 37 percent of the land of Artas.¹⁶⁵ The Israeli military controls access to these lands with permits and agricultural gates.

The Israeli authorities also use more mundane methods to keep Palestinians off their land.¹⁶⁶ They confiscate machinery, such as bulldozers, that Palestinians use without permission in Area C.¹⁶⁷ To avoid the costs of recovering confiscated machinery, the owners of farming equipment often refuse to allow people to use their machines in Area C.¹⁶⁸ Simple barriers and everyday forms of harassment also limit Palestinian access to the land. In September 2012, for instance, Israeli authorities erected guardrails along a section of the bypass road around Al-Khader village, blockading several dirt roads used by local farmers. No longer able to reach their fields by car, the farmers resorted to traveling on foot or by donkey.¹⁶⁹ The Israeli police and army also regularly stop Palestinians traveling to their fields along bypass roads or near settlements. Twice within a one-week period, I was with farmers from Al-Khader picking grapes in village lands when the police pulled us over for questioning.¹⁷⁰

The farming crisis also stems from limited access to water. The State of Israel controls all three sources of water in the region: the Jordan River, the Coastal Aquifer, and the Mountain Aquifer (which lies beneath the West Bank).¹⁷¹ The Israeli national water company, Mekorot, extracts 89 percent of the water from the Mountain Aquifer, enabling 500,000 Israeli settlers to use six times more water than 2.6 million Palestinians.¹⁷² While the settlements have access to water twenty-four hours a day, many Palestinian cities, villages, and refugee camps only receive water once every two to three weeks during the

summer.¹⁷³ Palestinians fill large rooftop tanks and hope the water lasts. “The problem is not the lack of resources, but the unfair distribution,” explains a Palestinian water engineer.¹⁷⁴

To irrigate their fields, the villages west of Bethlehem rely entirely on rain and spring water. Yet the flow from these springs has steadily declined due to overconsumption and settlement construction. The large concrete settlements limit the ability of the ground to absorb rainwater, and the use of explosives in the construction process disrupts the flow of underground water.¹⁷⁵ To address the water crisis, Palestinians dig wells and build cisterns, but Israeli authorities regularly target these projects with demolition orders.¹⁷⁶ In addition, settlers have increasingly claimed control over West Bank springs and deterred Palestinians from accessing them.¹⁷⁷

Villages located in valleys beneath settlements also confront soil contamination due to wastewater runoff from the settlements.¹⁷⁸ Wastewater from Beitar Illit, for instance, is often released into the fields of Wadi Fukin and Nahhalin. “Big tanks collect their wastewater and then pump the water onto Palestinian land, which affects the soil, the plants, and the agricultural economy,” explains an official with the PA Ministry of Agriculture.¹⁷⁹ According to a member of the Wadi Fukin village council, the sewage destroys not only the soil but also the reputation of the village: “People say that there is sewage in the village and so they don’t want to buy our produce.”¹⁸⁰

Finally, the farm crisis stems from the inability of Palestinian farmers to market their produce. Historically, farmers from the villages west of Bethlehem sold their goods in the markets of Jerusalem. These markets have largely been eliminated due to the enclosure of East Jerusalem. As an old woman from Battir says, “It is 7 kilometers to Jerusalem. Before, I used to go three times a week with whatever I grew. For the last fifteen years, I haven’t been to Jerusalem once. How can we live?”¹⁸¹ Although some farmers cross into Jerusalem without permits to sell their crops, most farmers from the area have turned to the Bethlehem market. But Bethlehem has a much smaller market and is easily overwhelmed with produce from nearby villages. “If you go in the morning to the market in Bethlehem, you’ll find all of the farmers in the Bethlehem region,” says a farmer from Al-Khader.¹⁸² To make matters worse, Israeli farmers dump produce in Palestinian markets at rock-bottom prices, undercutting the local farmers.¹⁸³ And, on a broader scale, the state limits the ability of Palestinian farmers to export their goods.¹⁸⁴ Subject to export controls imposed by the Israeli military, fresh produce often sits in containers for hours or even days awaiting a security check. As a Palestinian economist jokes, “When a strawberry goes through a security checkpoint, instead of fresh berries we only have

jam.”¹⁸⁵ The situation is compounded by Israeli agricultural companies—such as Agrexco, Mehadrin, and Arava—that operate in settlements, exploit Palestinian labor, and benefit from free-trade agreements by marketing their products as “Made in Israel.”¹⁸⁶

Settler Violence

Along with the manufactured farm crisis, Palestinian villagers also confront colonial violence by ideologically motivated Israeli settlers. Violence by extremist settlers dates back to the 1970s, when groups such as Kach and the Gush Emunim Underground targeted Palestinian political leaders.¹⁸⁷ In 1994, a right-wing settler massacred twenty-nine Palestinian worshippers attending morning prayers at the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. As the heart of religious Zionism in the West Bank, the Etzion settlements are notorious for violent attacks on Palestinians. Among the most extreme settlers in the region are the violent activists of Women in Green and the Bat Ayin Underground.

Settler violence has increased in recent years due to the rise of coordinated “price tag” attacks. After Israel withdrew its settlements from the Gaza Strip in 2005, settler organizations insisted that Palestinians should pay a price every time the Israeli government tried to limit settlement activity.¹⁸⁸ Despite the overwhelmingly pro-settler policies of the Israeli government, “price tag” attacks have proliferated. Although most Israeli officials do not openly condone these attacks, the state does little to prevent or punish settler violence because such violence constitutes an extension of state policy.¹⁸⁹ Patrick Wolfe captures the dynamic perfectly: “Rather than something separate from or running counter to the colonial state, the murderous activities of the frontier rabble constitute its principal means of expansion.”¹⁹⁰

The majority of settler violence involves small-scale attacks on people, buildings, cars, and crops. In 2011 alone, settlers destroyed 10,000 Palestinian trees in the West Bank.¹⁹¹ In the Bethlehem region, settlers uproot olive trees, destroy grape vines, throw stones at passing cars, assault pedestrians, and attack farmers trying to reach their fields. But sometimes the assaults are much more serious. In August 2012, a settler threw a petrol bomb at a Palestinian taxi near Bethlehem. Driving with the windows down to enjoy the summer evening, the passengers—a family of five plus the driver—suffered severe burns when the petrol bomb exploded inside the vehicle.¹⁹² Still covered in bandages a month later, the driver explained that the fire would not go out even after they got out of the car and rolled on the ground: “It was not a normal Molotov cocktail. There must have been benzene mixed with glue or something unnatural,

because we could not put out the fire.”¹⁹³ Similar attacks took place in July 2014, when settlers kidnapped and burned to death a Palestinian teenager in East Jerusalem, and again in July 2015, when settlers threw firebombs into a home in the village of Duma—killing an infant and his father.

In addition to violent assaults, ideological settlers also unilaterally expropriate Palestinian land. Groups such as the “Hilltop Youth” establish settlement outposts by placing caravans on hilltops and then demanding military protection.¹⁹⁴ Settlers also claim land by planting trees and other crops. Near the borders of El’azar settlement in the Etzion bloc, for instance, settlers cultivate new plots of land each year.¹⁹⁵ In October 2012, settlers began cultivating two plots of land belonging to farmers from Al-Khader. On one plot, they planted flowers that spelled the word “victory” in Hebrew.¹⁹⁶ Although largely overlooked, this form of colonization has expanded rapidly since Oslo. Of the land now cultivated by settlers in the Etzion bloc, 55 percent is privately owned Palestinian land.¹⁹⁷ Cultivation provides settlers with a quick, inexpensive way to unilaterally expand the boundaries of the settlements.

It should be clear from these descriptions that the actions of the Israeli state and the settlers are motivated by the colonial project. Driven by political and ideological goals, the state and the settlers use violence to displace and dispossess the colonized Palestinian population. Yet the process of colonization is shaped by the relationship between this settler colonial project and a neoliberal capitalist project. Neoliberalization not only helped create the economic crisis that is leading so many Palestinians to attempt a return to farming. It has also contributed to the rapid urbanization of the villages, the changing class dynamic within the villages, and the expansion of a market-based form of colonization.

Rapid Urbanization

Due to colonial settlement and neoliberal restructuring, many Palestinian villages have experienced a process of rapid urbanization in recent years. Because Palestinians are only allowed to build within Area B, usually less than 25 percent of the village land, the core areas of the villages are becoming more and more crowded. Within Area B, Palestinians have two options for construction. They can either add new floors to existing buildings or fill in the gaps between buildings. A more risky tactic is to build in Area C without a permit, but this often results in a demolition order.¹⁹⁸ As a result, the core residential sections of villages are becoming increasingly dense while also expanding vertically. As an official with the Joint Services Council for the western villages of Bethlehem



FIGURE 3.6. “You came to Artas refugee camp”

explains, “There is no land left for public needs: schools, clinics, sports fields, playgrounds, green spaces, parks, water reservoirs, new roads, sewage treatment, etc. Land prices are unimaginable. Our villages were rural, but they have now become cities.”¹⁹⁹

Many Palestinian villagers express concerns about the urbanization of their villages. “Here in the middle of the village it was all olive trees,” recalls a resident of Wadi Fukin. “Look today, most of it has been built up.”²⁰⁰ A resident of Al-Khader sees a similar pattern: “There will be a demographic bomb in Al-Khader. People used to build individual houses, now they build towers. We started growing up because there is no land.”²⁰¹ According to a geographer from Bethlehem, “The villages have been turned into slums.”²⁰² In Artas village, which borders the Dheisheh refugee camp, a member of the village council told me: “You didn’t come to Artas village; you came to Artas refugee camp.”²⁰³

In describing their villages as cities, slums, or refugee camps, Palestinians are not only pointing to the densification of the built environment. They are also commenting on the changing social and economic conditions in the villages—particularly the sharpening of class divisions. Like the urban enclaves, the villages have become sites of concentrated inequality. Palestinian elites are building multi-million-dollar mansions in the villages. In addition,

restrictions on land use in Area C have inflated the value of the land in Area B. To take advantage of the bubble in land rent, speculators are now building residential towers in the villages.²⁰⁴ Yet rates of poverty and unemployment in the villages rival the cities. As a farmer from Al-Khader village explains, “There used to be three classes in our villages: the rich, the middle class, and the *fellahin* (peasants). But now there are only two classes: the extremely rich and the dispossessed.”²⁰⁵ People recognize that class relations began to change with Oslo. “Since Oslo, there began to be growing class differentiation between the people,” explains a resident of Husan village. “Now we see the social isolation of the poor. The class structure has become clear. There are more problems between families, less cooperation, and more fights between the children of the rich and the poor.”²⁰⁶

When asked about the biggest problem in the villages, residents of the villages west of Bethlehem almost universally point to the crisis of unemployment. Situating the crisis historically, they argue that Israel encouraged the *fellahin* to leave their lands in the 1970s by opening the Israeli labor market. This provided Israeli firms with a source of cheap labor and enabled the Israeli government to confiscate lands that were not being cultivated. Yet the introduction of permits, closures, and the wall has eliminated access to jobs for thousands of Palestinians. Now, says an organizer from Wadi Fukin, “There is no work in our village. Nothing. You can leave the village or stay here and do nothing. There are no other options.”²⁰⁷

Indeed, people without Israeli permits or jobs with the PA have few options in the villages. Some cross into Israel without permits.²⁰⁸ The villages west of Bethlehem are popular crossing routes due to their proximity to Jerusalem and the fact that Israel has still not completed the wall in the area. Workers from across the West Bank arrive in the villages on Fridays and Saturdays. They climb the hills at night on dangerous journeys to Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.²⁰⁹ According to one worker, “I wear nice clothes to move across the border so that I don’t look like a Palestinian worker.”²¹⁰ I have watched workers cross into Israel from the western villages on donkeys, bicycles, motorbikes, and on foot—some dressed up, others in work clothes. The Israeli government knows full well that workers use these paths to cross into Israel. Some Palestinians suspect that the state has not finished the wall because it provides Israeli businesses with access to low-wage workers.²¹¹

The presence of the settlements generates other strategies for dealing with the crisis of unemployment. The village of Husan is located near the entrance to Beitar Illit, the largest settlement in the region. For decades, workers from

Husan have specialized in construction. Each day, more than two hundred village residents work in Beitar Illit, expanding the settlement on land that has been confiscated from Husan and two other villages.²¹² Since 2008, residents of Husan have developed an even more controversial economic strategy. The road from Husan to Beitar Illit is now lined with auto repair shops, gas stations, and grocery stores that cater almost exclusively to Israeli settlers. Many Palestinians oppose this type of business. But a member of the Husan village council is unmoved: “Without Israeli customers, all of the businesses on the main road would close. They can come and go any time of day, because we want to live in peace.”²¹³

High rates of unemployment, a manufactured farm crisis, limited space for expansion, growing inequality, and attacks by settlers and the state place tremendous pressure on the rural poor to leave their villages and seek opportunities in the cities. This constitutes a form of displacement that some Palestinians have identified as a new Israeli strategy of displacement: “indirect forcible transfer.”²¹⁴ An advocate for Palestinian farmers argues that this constitutes a neoliberal, do-it-yourself form of expulsion: “a self-immigration plan for the Palestinians.”²¹⁵ The rural exodus contributes to overcrowding in the urban enclaves. It also opens the door for another form of colonization: land purchases by Zionist organizations.

Land Sales

Although Israel initially discouraged private land purchases in the occupied territories, the state reversed course in the early 1980s during the early stages of neoliberal restructuring. The state began encouraging private developers to buy land from West Bank Palestinians for the purposes of settlement construction. To facilitate the process, the state adopted two policies. First, the state allowed people involved in the transactions to conceal their identities for up to fifteen years; in practice, this often extends to twenty-five years. Second, the state allowed Israeli developers to avoid publicizing the transactions by transferring newly purchased land to the state rather than registering it as privately owned. The state then declares the land “state land” and allots it to the developer for settlement construction.²¹⁶ The ostensible goal of both policies is to protect Palestinians involved in the transactions. But the policies eliminate the opportunity for Palestinians to challenge the legality of the alleged sales and open the door for fraudulent claims.²¹⁷ As a result, transfers of ownership over the most contested land on earth are incredibly murky.

Over time, an extensive web of organizations, individuals, and businesses has emerged to purchase Palestinian land. Three of the most important organizations are the Israel Land Fund, the Land Redemption Fund, and Elad.²¹⁸ Much of their funding comes from wealthy international donors and is funneled through tax-exempt organizations in the US and offshore tax-shelters.²¹⁹ Key to the process is an Arab “front man” who identifies potential sellers, negotiates the transaction, purchases the land, and transfers it to an Israeli front company. The front companies, with names such as Al-Wattan (Arabic for “homeland”), operate on behalf of the organizations and businesses managing the entire operation.²²⁰

In the Bethlehem region, settler organizations have used these methods to purchase land near Rachel’s Tomb and the settlement of Efrat.²²¹ In 2009, two Israeli businessmen announced that they had purchased 2,500 *dunums* (750 acres) along the bypass road connecting the Etzion bloc to Jerusalem and were seeking government approval for the construction of a large new settlement.²²² In 2011, the Israeli military began demolishing Palestinian homes, businesses, and infrastructure in the area—generating speculation that the settlement may soon be approved.²²³

Despite the secrecy and obfuscation, Palestinians are well aware of the process. “Lots of people are selling their land,” complained a community leader.²²⁴ On two separate occasions, people told me they had been offered “blank checks” worth millions of dollars for their land.²²⁵ I also met a man who had been arrested by the PA for attempting to sell his land to settlers. Although he insisted that he just wanted to find out how much the land was worth, a Palestinian court later sentenced him to ten years’ hard labor.²²⁶ The lack of transparency creates tremendous suspicion. When a poor Palestinian buys a new car or builds a new house, neighbors often suspect he has sold land. It also creates the potential for fraud—including the widespread use of forged title deeds by organizations claiming to buy land.²²⁷

Dating back to the early twentieth century, Zionist organizations have presented land purchases as a consensual, market-based practice that is neither colonial nor even controversial. Yet it is important to remember that the land market is embedded in a broader social context. The settler state not only facilitates these transactions, it also creates the crisis conditions that lead some people to sell their land. As a farmer explained, “Nobody would go sell his land except under pressure. Especially to sell land to the enemy.”²²⁸ Colonization, therefore, not only contributes to the agricultural crisis, it also operates through that crisis. The “free” market in land is a key mechanism of neoliberal colonization.

Neoliberal Colonization

In the West Bank, the Palestinian villages bear the brunt of the Israeli settler colonial project. While the state confiscates Palestinian land and manufactures a crisis for Palestinian farmers, Israeli settlers expropriate Palestinian land, destroy Palestinian crops, and assault Palestinian people. Neoliberal restructuring dovetails with this colonial project by intensifying the economic crisis, accelerating the urbanization of Palestinian villages, exacerbating class divisions within the villages, creating a do-it-yourself form of displacement, and producing the conditions for a market-based strategy of colonization. Moreover, colonization of Palestinian land leads to the construction of Israeli settlements. And settlement construction creates tremendous opportunities for capital accumulation due to free land, low-wage construction workers from nearby villages, inexpensive stones and cement from West Bank quarries, and export-oriented agricultural and industrial zones that exploit Palestinian and migrant workers.²²⁹ Altogether, therefore, the neoliberal colonization of the West Bank is at the center of the “ongoing *Nakba*” confronting the Palestinian population.²³⁰

RESISTANCE

The combination of colonization and neoliberalization has made life miserable for most Palestinians in the West Bank. Growing class inequality has exacerbated the territorial fragmentation of the Palestinian enclaves, intensifying existing social divisions and introducing new ones. The result is a completely fragmented Palestinian society. Along with the pressure valve projects and repressive policies of Israel and the PA, this fragmentation is all that prevents explosive social conditions from generating a new uprising or intifada in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, Palestinians continue finding ways to challenge Israeli rule and the precariousness of their existence.

During the 1990s, the Palestinian grassroots structures that sustained the first intifada were demobilized—much like the South African labor unions and civic organizations—due to Israeli repression, PA co-optation, and the rise of the NGOs. The creation of the Palestinian enclosures also limited the opportunities for Palestinian youth to directly confront Israeli soldiers. Along with the rise of Hamas, these processes contributed to the emergence of the suicide bomb as a tactic for challenging colonization. Yet grassroots mobilizations continued throughout the 1990s. In the Bethlehem region, the construction of Har Homa settlement led to sustained demonstrations, and the Dheishah

refugee camp hosted the first gathering of a global movement to defend the Palestinian right of return.

As conditions declined and opposition to Oslo increased, the occupied territories erupted in a second intifada (uprising) from 2000 to 2005.²³¹ The brutality of Israeli repression combined with the demobilization of Palestinian grassroots organizations led to a rapid militarization of the uprising. Armed struggle soon overshadowed popular demonstrations. But armed struggle never became the primary tactic of the Palestinian resistance. Marches, sit-ins, hunger strikes, demonstrations, and other forms of civil unrest took place every day. Palestinian youth gathered at checkpoints to confront heavily armed soldiers with slings and stones. Palestinian organizations played an integral role in the emerging global justice movement. And thousands of international activists joined Palestinians and Israelis in nonviolent direct actions against the occupation.²³²

With US support, Israel unleashed the full force of its military to crush the second intifada. Israel changed the rules of military engagement to allow soldiers to fire live ammunition at stone-throwing youth. The Israeli military invaded and besieged the Palestinian enclaves with curfews, trenches, fences, and walls; deployed F-16 fighter planes, gunship helicopters, and unmanned drones to rain violence from the skies above; assassinated political leaders, killed civilians, and arrested thousands. In Bethlehem, the Gilo checkpoint, Rachel's Tomb, and Al-Khader village became sites of regular unequal confrontations that left dozens of Palestinian children dead and injured. From 2000 to 2008, Israeli soldiers killed more than 4,800 Palestinians, while Palestinians killed 1,000 Israelis.²³³

The most intense fighting in the West Bank took place in March and April 2002. In early March, the army invaded Bethlehem and laid siege to the Dheisheh refugee camp. For six days, Palestinian fighters resisted Israeli attempts to enter the camp. When the army finally took over Dheisheh, Israeli soldiers rounded up all Palestinian men aged fifteen to fifty and took them away in blindfolds and handcuffs.²³⁴ In late March, a young woman from Dheisheh responded with a bomb attack in Jerusalem that killed two Israelis.²³⁵ Three days later, Israel launched a full-scale invasion of Bethlehem as part of a broader campaign that involved a siege on Arafat's compound in Ramallah and the destruction of the Jenin refugee camp. For forty days, Israeli forces imposed a curfew on Bethlehem and besieged the Church of the Nativity, where Palestinian fighters and civilians had taken refuge.²³⁶ The siege ended with thirteen Palestinian fighters deported to Europe and another twenty-six exiled to Gaza.

As the intifada was winding down, 170 Palestinian civil society organizations called on people around the world to support the Palestinian people by organizing “Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions” (BDS) campaigns.²³⁷ The BDS movement has grown rapidly as student groups, churches, trade unions, and other organizations build rights-based campaigns against occupation, discrimination, and colonization. Along with the rise of the BDS movement, Palestinian struggles on the ground continue. Weekly nonviolent protests in villages such as Nabi Saleh, daily confrontations with soldiers at checkpoints and in refugee camps, hunger strikes in Israeli prisons, and independent trade unions in Tulkarem represent some of the most vibrant forms of struggle in the West Bank.

Above all, however, Palestinians challenge colonization through a culture of resistance known as *sumoud* (steadfastness)—the will to remain present rather than succumb to dispossession and displacement. The long-standing connection between Palestinians and their land has intensified in the face of colonization. The village of Beit Sakariya, located entirely in Area C, is surrounded on all sides by Israeli settlements. Settlers assault the residents on a daily basis, and the state refuses to allow the villagers to build homes, dig wells, or even use the speaker at the mosque. But the residents built a school without permission and defied the demolition order. “We have been kicked out of our lands by every way possible,” says a resident of Beit Sakariya. “They refuse us access to water, they take our land, and they use other means to force us out. But my father refused to leave. Now I am on my land and I will protect it.”²³⁸ In the western villages of Bethlehem, farmers continue planting their fields despite limited access to land, water, and markets. As an old man explains, “I don’t make any money from my vegetables. But I continue to farm in order to defend the land.”²³⁹ A handful of nongovernmental organizations help farmers rehabilitate land, plant trees, dig wells, and pave roads. Although Israeli authorities routinely issue demolition and stop work orders for these projects, the organizations and farmers rarely give up. According to one farmer, “When you cut five trees, I plant ten trees. Last year, we planted more than 1,000 trees.”²⁴⁰

The 2011 revolutionary uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt that sparked the “Arab Spring” also galvanized the Palestinian struggle. An emergent Palestinian youth movement began organizing creative forms of civil disobedience such as “freedom rides” to Jerusalem on settler busses and “protest villages” on land designated for settlement construction. Young Palestinian women have taken key leadership positions within this movement. Opposing the continuation of “security coordination” and negotiations between Israel and the

PA, the youth movement has revitalized the critique of the entire Oslo regime. Their protests often feature coffins representing the death of Oslo.²⁴¹

In September 2012, the occupied territories erupted in protests connected to the revolutionary uprisings in the Arab world. As in Tunisia, the protests began when a young, unemployed man in Gaza died after setting himself on fire. People took to the streets to demonstrate their anger at the high rates of unemployment, the rising cost of living, and the growing sense of hopelessness. Targeting the neoliberal policies of the PA, protesters organized marches, demonstrations, and a general strike that shut down the West Bank. Most called on Prime Minister Salam Fayyad to resign; others demanded that President Mahmoud Abbas step down as well. Yet the loudest chants of all echoed the revolutionary slogan of the Arab Spring: “*Al-sha’b yurid isqat al-nizam*” (“The people want the fall of the regime”).²⁴² Although short-lived, the 2012 protests were widely regarded as dangerous crises for both Israel and the PA. In the words of a former PA spokesperson, “all of the factors that led to this volatile situation remain in effect. Whether the spark is political or economic, another blow-up is just around the corner.”²⁴³

Much like the Palestinian poor in the occupied territories, poor Black South Africans confront extreme forms of marginalization. As I discussed in chapter two, neoliberalization combined with partial decolonization in South Africa has produced fragmented, surplus populations living precarious lives in conditions of concentrated abandonment. The principal difference in Palestine/Israel, of course, is that neoliberal projects are articulated with an ongoing Israeli colonial project. Concentrating the Palestinian population into neoliberal enclosures, however, has not produced a viable form of long-term rule. Efforts on the part of Israel and the PA to manage the crisis through employment-based pressure release projects have been no more successful at containing the struggles of the urban poor than the “developmental” Alexandra Renewal Project in South Africa. Although Palestinians and Black South Africans remain divided, the struggles of the poor create a constant crisis for the racial capitalist regimes. In both contexts, the wealthy and powerful have responded by developing advanced strategies of securitization to uphold their fragile systems. These strategies are the focus of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 4

A Legalized Mafia: Security Privatization in Johannesburg

[The] imaginary body of the paranoid imaginings of suburban South Africa has lurked like a bogeyman at the periphery of this story for the past year. It is the threatening body, nameless and faceless, of an armed and dangerous black intruder.

ORFORD 2014

In early 2014, the murder trial of Oscar Pistorius turned a spotlight on the “paranoid imaginings of suburban South Africa.”¹ As a young track star, Pistorius gained worldwide acclaim as the first athlete with two prosthetic limbs to medal at the World Championships and compete in the Olympics.² On February 14, 2013, Pistorius killed his girlfriend, Reeva Steenkamp, at his home in Pretoria. Late at night, he fired four rounds through the bathroom door, hitting Steenkamp three times and killing her instantly.

Prosecutors charged Pistorius with premeditated murder, arguing that he had a history of domestic violence and firearm abuse and that he killed Steenkamp during a jealous rage. The defense insisted that Pistorius awoke to sounds in the bathroom, feared a criminal intruder, felt vulnerable without his prosthetics, and fired in self-defense. Although race remained unspoken, the criminal in South Africa is always imagined as a Black male. The question before the court, therefore, was whether Pistorius knew he was shooting a white woman or thought he was shooting a Black man. If the latter, he could not be guilty of murder.³

The specter of the Black criminal lurked in the background of the trial, presenting itself when a forensic psychiatrist argued that Pistorius suffered from “generalized anxiety disorder” and lived in a secure housing estate due to fears about crime.⁴ By bringing fear into the courtroom, the defense opened a broader conversation about race, crime, and insecurity in postapartheid South Africa. Max du Preez, a journalist and author, offered an uncomfortable but not uncommon explanation for the racialized fear of crime: “It is tied in with the deep seated, subconscious feelings that we are the haves and the former

oppressors . . . and you expect the people who have been oppressed to come back for us.”⁵

Yet prosecutors, pundits, and politicians rarely challenged the premise of the defense that fear invalidates murder. Nor did they question the popularity of privatized violence in fortified enclaves as a strategy to address elite insecurities and confront the racialized specter of crime. Initially, fear proved sufficient grounds for the judge to reject a murder conviction. In 2015, however, an appeals judge upgraded the conviction from culpable homicide to premeditated murder.⁶

In postapartheid South Africa, pockets of wealth and power exist in close proximity to concentrations of racialized poverty. In northern Johannesburg, the affluent neighborhoods around Sandton—just across the M1 Highway from Alexandra—have become laboratories for the development of advanced strategies for securing the powerful and policing poor Black South Africans. This chapter begins with a discussion of crime and insecurity in South Africa and an overview of policing in the postapartheid state. It then traces the fortification of elite white suburbs and the emergence of privatized security regimes. The most sophisticated new strategies of privatized policing operate through a form of “low intensity guerrilla warfare” that targets young Black men. Yet strategies to produce security for the elite are contentious and rely on the labor of the same people they target: poor Black men. This highlights the continuing value of surplus populations—as a source of low-wage labor and as a symbolic threat fueling the expansion of private security industries and fortress suburbs.

CRIME AND (IN)SECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The insecurities of the South African elite are rooted in the history of racial capitalism and colonial settlement. Three hundred fifty years of colonial expansion, dispossession, exploitation, and racism consolidated wealth and power for the white minority, but also engendered deep anxieties (see chapter one). These fears transformed displacement and dispossession from the foundations of white rule into the violent desires of the African population. By turning the Black male into a “phobogenic object”—the source of white anxiety—racialized threat discourses provided justification for apartheid policies and tools for policing the crisis of white minority rule.⁷

In postapartheid South Africa, the nightmare scenarios animating white fears about a Black government have not materialized.⁸ Rather, the ANC government has maintained a commitment to reconciliation, nonracialism, private property, and capitalism. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) enabled the perpetrators of apartheid to receive amnesty by acknowledging

their role in human rights abuses. And the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and “willing-seller, willing-buyer” programs have helped consolidate a new Black elite without threatening existing wealth or patterns of accumulation.⁹ In the words of Achille Mbembe, “This is the only country on Earth in which a revolution took place which resulted in not one single former oppressor losing anything.”¹⁰

Nevertheless, the transition has failed to alleviate the sense of insecurity. In part, this is because the state no longer exists to ensure the wealth and power of the white minority. Many white South Africans bemoan affirmative action as “reverse racism,” and elites fear that the government will expropriate their property. Indeed, the example of Zimbabwe looms large.¹¹ Moreover, by making life increasingly precariousness for the Black poor, neoliberalization has contributed to the emergence of illicit markets for stolen cars and other merchandise. Stealing from the white elite is popularly described as “redistribution”—making explicit the political character of crime in postapartheid South Africa.¹² In addition, poor South Africans have resisted marginalization by demanding redistribution, decommodification, and decolonization.¹³ South African elites—white and Black—remain committed to the postapartheid political and economic system. To the extent that the new regime faces a crisis, so too do the ruling classes.

The specter of Black crime has become a focal point for many of these race and class anxieties. Violent crimes and property crimes are a grim reality in postapartheid South Africa. Official statistics demonstrate that South Africa has some of the highest rates in the world of murder, rape, sexual assault, robbery, and burglary.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the poor Black population is disproportionately affected by crime.¹⁵ Statistics released by the South African Police Service demonstrate that the rates of most crimes peaked by 2003 and have fallen steadily since that time. But rape and sexual assault have not decreased substantially and home robbery increased until 2009 and has only fallen slightly since that time.¹⁶ Surveys of South Africans reveal that burglary and home robbery are seen as not only the most common but also the most feared crimes in the country.¹⁷ Indeed, home invasions are highly traumatic—especially when they involve bodily injury or sexual assault. Fears about crime in South Africa thus have a strong material foundation.

Yet, as Jean and John Comaroff observe, there is an obsession with crime statistics in South Africa that intensifies the perception of danger.¹⁸ They point to the widespread tendency to disbelieve statistics demonstrating a decrease in crime. Despite the steady decline in most crime rates from the late 1990s onward, the fear of crime continued to rise.¹⁹ Until recently, victim of crime

surveys suggested that anxiety about crime varied inversely with the actual risk of violence. Africans were disproportionately affected by violent crime but expressed the least fear of violence; whites and Asians were least affected but expressed the greatest fear. That seems to be changing in the most recent surveys.²⁰

The heightened sense of vulnerability stems from the centrality of race to discourses about crime. Crime stories circulate rapidly through the public sphere, invariably portraying the perpetrator as a “Black male.” In the neighborhoods around Sandton, many affluent white residents imagine the nearby township of Alexandra as a nightmare of concentrated criminality and a springboard for attacks on white wealth.²¹ The primacy of race in discourses about crime is evident in the explicit use of racial profiling by police and private security companies. It is also clear in the discomfort expressed by white residents about wealthy Black families moving into historically white neighborhoods.²² Class, gender, and age also shape the discourse. The principal targets of policing are working-class Black male youth; working-class Black women—especially domestic workers—are also intensely policed.

Reanimating the colonial specter of blackness, crime discourses in post-apartheid South Africa concentrate popular anxieties on the menacing figure of the “Black male criminal.”²³ In doing so, they provide an outlet for racial and class anxieties rooted in history and exacerbated by the demise of the old regime, the expansion of racialized poverty, and the resurgence of popular struggles. Of course, anxiety about crime is not omnipresent, and some affluent South Africans recognize crime as a product of poverty and inequality.²⁴ Nevertheless, the discourse of Black criminality demonstrates that the Black male remains a “phobogenic object” in postapartheid South Africa.²⁵ This discourse provides justification for the fortification of wealthy neighborhoods and the development of privatized policing strategies.

POLICING TRANSFORMATION

Under apartheid, the South African police protected the interests of the white minority. Of all police stations, 75 percent were located in white areas. In Black areas, the police did little more than repress dissent and administer discriminatory policies.²⁶ In addition, apartheid—itself a crime—spawned crime in Black communities through enforced poverty, dislocation, displacement, and repression. Rather than combating this crime, the South African police merely ensured that it did not spill over into white areas.²⁷ With the end of apartheid,

these containment mechanisms collapsed and white South Africans experienced an increase in crime.

The South African transition has produced two shifts in policing. First, the ANC government oversaw a process of police reform. The new South African Police Service (SAPS) redistributed police resources to more equitably serve the entire population and began prioritizing crime prevention and community policing.²⁸ Recognizing the social roots of crime, the 1996 National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) emphasized environmental design, educational campaigns, community involvement, and access to the criminal justice system.²⁹ For the first time ever, the South African police began responding to calls from Black South Africans and addressing concerns about crime in Black neighborhoods.³⁰

By 1998, however, the government had begun to replace crime prevention with a more repressive approach to crime.³¹ Although officially a response to rising crime rates, the shift corresponded with a broader reorientation of ANC policy toward neoliberal orthodoxy. Promising to “deal with criminals in the same way a dog deals with a bone,” the SAPS launched crackdown operations as part of a new “war on crime.”³² Militarized troops began to cordon off neighborhoods, stop vehicles, search pedestrians, and raid buildings.³³

The SAPS now do the “dirty work of democracy,” investigating criminal syndicates, arresting and interrogating suspects, and repressing dissent.³⁴ With a reputation for ineptitude, corruption, and violence, their principal targets are poor Black men, vulnerable Black women, Black youth, and African immigrants.³⁵ Moreover, as demonstrated by the massacre of thirty-four striking mine workers at Marikana in August 2012, the SAPS is willing to use deadly force to suppress the struggles of the Black poor.³⁶

Along with police reform, the South African transition led to the privatization of policing. Private security has been the fastest growing industry in the country since the late 1980s.³⁷ The expansion of private security stems from the combination of growing inequality, racialized poverty, anxiety about crime, distrust in the SAPS, and neoliberal faith in the private sector. Over the last twenty years, private security companies have entered fields previously reserved for the police. In the neighborhoods around Sandton, private security companies have taken the lead in developing advanced security regimes.

Private security has a long history in South Africa.³⁸ For decades, private companies provided protection for banks, mines, and other businesses. During the 1980s, the apartheid regime used private security companies as fronts for the illegal trade in weapons, ivory, and diamonds. And after 1994,

former members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and its allied paramilitary units took their counterinsurgency experiences into the private sector.³⁹

Since the early 1990s, the growth of the private security industry has been driven by demand for residential security services. With a heightened sense of vulnerability to crime, affluent residents began fortifying their homes and enclosing their neighborhoods.⁴⁰ They hired private security companies to install and monitor alarm systems and send “armed rapid response” units in case of intrusion. Private security companies now sell a wide range of services and technologies to anxious residents with money to spend.

The private security industry boasts more officers, more weapons, and more advanced technology than the South African police. Private security companies employ 480,000 registered security officers, whereas the SAPS employs just 150,000 uniformed officers.⁴¹ Similarly, private security companies have more firearms, armored vehicles, high-speed cars, tracking devices, and surveillance equipment than the police.⁴² In Gauteng province, for instance, the SAPS emergency response unit has thirty to forty vehicles whereas private security companies have five to six hundred vehicles.⁴³

To attract and maintain clients, private security companies manipulate the racialized anxieties of the elite. Some have even been accused of facilitating criminal activities to amplify fear and generate business.⁴⁴ According to the manager of a private security company, one thing the industry sells is fear. He points out that the market in vehicle security emerged largely because “fear of [car] hijacking has already been sold. A person sees a Black man next to their car door, they get out and they’ve got their hands up. . . . They’ve literally been sold this fear.”⁴⁵ The business also depends on displacing rather than preventing crime. Security professionals admit that most companies welcome high crime rates and see displacement as a way to attract new clients.⁴⁶ When residents in one area develop a new security initiative or intensify their fortifications, a security manager argues, “the area next door experiences more crime and then we go to that area.”⁴⁷

Although small security firms carve out specialized niches within local and regional markets, the industry is dominated by large South African (such as Protea Coin and Bidvest) and multinational corporations (such as Securitas, G4S, and ADT/Tyco). Now owned by Tyco International, ADT is the largest residential security company in the country. ADT boasts 450,000 clients in South Africa—nine times more than the next largest company—and more than 4,000 employees in the Johannesburg region alone.⁴⁸

These privatized armed forces play an increasingly important role in urban governance.⁴⁹ While the SAPS maintain a heavy presence in Black townships such as Alexandra, private security companies prioritize the neighborhoods of the elite. They operate along the lines of a protection racket: enhancing fear and selling security. “We are a legalized vigilante service,” the director of a large security firm told residents at a meeting in northern Johannesburg. “We are a legalized mafia. You pay us and we give you protection.”⁵⁰ Although “legalized” rackets whose existence is accepted by the state, these companies maintain powerful armed forces that help govern fortified territories. The most advanced companies are developing sophisticated security regimes that promote the fragmentation of urban governance and the decentralization of sovereignty.

THE FORTIFICATION OF THE NORTHERN SUBURBS

The neighborhoods around Sandton in northern Johannesburg are home to the South African elite. Established in 1969, Sandton quickly attracted upscale residential and commercial developments and became the wealthiest white municipality in the Johannesburg region.⁵¹ During the 1990s, Sandton and other white suburbs were incorporated into the city of Johannesburg along with Black townships like Soweto and Alexandra. With the end of formal apartheid, downtown Johannesburg and other parts of the city gained a reputation for danger due to rapid urbanization, rising crime rates, and the racialized discourse of crime. Many businesses left the inner city and relocated to Sandton, which became the most important commercial and financial center in Johannesburg.⁵² Simultaneously, South African elites transformed the high-end residential neighborhoods around Sandton into fortified enclaves and laboratories of securitization. Despite their formal incorporation into Johannesburg, these neighborhoods are still popularly known as the “northern suburbs.”

The fortification of the “suburbs” involves a complex rearticulation of race and class. Because of the changing racial composition of the elite, a handful of wealthy Black families have moved into the northern suburbs.⁵³ Black elites share many concerns with their white neighbors; they surround their homes with walls and hire private security companies for protection. In addition, many residents in the northern suburbs have adopted a color-blind language and no longer identify their neighborhoods using explicitly racial terms. Instead, they discuss their neighborhoods using racial/class notions about property, lifestyle, and civility.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, community leaders explain that the presence of even a few Black families is “very unnerving” for many white



FIGURE 4.1. Fortified suburbs of Johannesburg

residents.⁵⁵ And the membership and leadership of every residents' association I interviewed was almost entirely white. Wealthy white residents are therefore driving the development of privatized security regimes, and the fortified northern suburbs remain "white spaces."⁵⁶

Like many South Africans, residents of the northern suburbs do not fully trust the SAPS. This is partially due to concerns—encouraged by private security companies—that the new government either cannot or will not protect the white elite. "You can forget about the police in this country," explains a white woman in a neighborhood near Sandton.⁵⁷ "We simply don't trust them," says her friend.⁵⁸ One resident offers a more subtle analysis. "The guys on the ground are pretty dedicated," he explains. "They take bullets for us if they have to. But they fight crime with one hand tied behind their back because they're always short of resources."⁵⁹

Increasingly concerned about crime but unwilling to trust the police, affluent South Africans have fortified their suburbs and turned to private security companies for protection. Fortification began during the late 1980s and early 1990s, when middle- and upper-class South Africans started replacing the wooden fences around their homes with concrete walls.⁶⁰ Over time, they have extended these walls and added metal spikes, razor wire, security cameras,

motion sensors, and other weaponized accessories. At the same time, gated communities have become the most popular trend for new housing construction: clusters of townhouses for the middle-class and exclusive golf estates for the elite. In South Africa, the defensive impulse to withdraw behind walls is referred to as the “*laager* mentality” in reference to the nineteenth-century *voortrekker* strategy of circling the wagons during battle.⁶¹

The assumption that criminals target the most vulnerable has generated a cycle of intensifying fortification, as neighbors try to outdo one another by building more formidable walls and installing more sophisticated access control systems. In the words of South African investigative journalist Jonny Steinberg, “The security market thrives on the blind necessity of these cascading defenses. It offers more and more, knowing that its clients must take and take.”⁶²

Mobilizing elite insecurities, private security companies profit from the fortification of the suburbs. They market the latest developments in perimeter security (razor mesh wires, electrical coils, galvanized steel fencing); access control (security doors, fingerprint scanners, facial recognition); detection and verification devices (alarm systems, motion-detection beams, video



FIGURE 4.2. *Laager* urbanism



FIGURE 4.3. Perimeter security and armed response

verification); and internal security (retractable security doors, safe rooms, smoke screens, and other disorientation devices).⁶³ The newest trend in home security involves a do-it-yourself approach in which homeowners can monitor their own properties through live video feeds to their cell phones.⁶⁴

Along with technology, private companies sell a range of residential security services. The basic service involves installing and monitoring an alarm system. But the most important market is for “armed response” services.⁶⁵ Private security companies deploy teams of security officers who sit in their vehicles waiting for alarms, panic buttons, and emergency calls. In neighborhoods with sufficient clients, armed response units are always nearby and often respond in less than two minutes.⁶⁶ But profits depend on a careful calculation of the

distribution of clients, the geography of crime, and the cost of salaries and vehicles. Residents often complain that response times decline as companies expand to new neighborhoods.⁶⁷

Residential security, therefore, began as a highly individualized market in which homeowners hired private companies to build perimeter walls, install and monitor alarms, and deploy armed response teams. In the mid- to late 1990s, some neighborhoods began supplementing these individual services with collective security initiatives. The process was driven by residents' associations (RAs), voluntary organizations made up of residents in particular neighborhoods.

According to a local councilor in the northern suburbs, "there has been a paradigm shift from relying on council to provide services to relying on residents to provide for themselves."⁶⁸ In a context of neoliberal restructuring, RAs use voluntary contributions to supplement city services. Some fill pot-holes or plant flowers in medians. In the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, their principal activity involves the development and management of collective security initiatives.

In the mid-1990s, dozens of RAs in Johannesburg enclosed their neighborhoods with fences and gates. Some requested permission from the city to close roads, but most erected gates without the city's permission. In defiance of the law, RAs closed roads, hired private security companies to monitor boom gates, and dared the city to remove the closures.⁶⁹ By 2002, over three hundred roads had been closed in Johannesburg, although only seventy-nine applications had been filed and only twenty-three had been approved.⁷⁰ Since that time, the city and the RAs have fought an ongoing battle over the constitutionality of road closures. This contest demonstrates the contentious relationships between private sector security forces and the state.

The road closures initiated two major transformations in the market for security services: collective bargaining and preventive security.⁷¹ Whereas individual households never had leverage to bargain with their service providers, RAs negotiated collectively for an agreement that would cover the entire neighborhood.⁷² Collective security initiatives emerged in closed neighborhoods because the gates provided a simple mechanism for monitoring and regulating movement through public space. With the power of collective bargaining, RAs began asserting a more central role in local governance.⁷³ Their principal demand was that private security companies work to *prevent* crime, rather than just responding after the fact.⁷⁴

The philosophy underlying preventive security is that crime originates in public space while existing security arrangements focus on private space. The

problem, explains a security professional, is that “public space was ownerless. Nobody was watching it.”⁷⁵ Hoping to prevent crime, therefore, residents’ associations began hiring security companies to establish private “ownership” over public space.

With an eye to prevention, security companies began deploying guards to monitor access gates and patrol the closed neighborhoods. Security teams drive through the streets of gated neighborhoods, watching for “suspicious” behavior and hoping that their presence will prevent crime—or at least displace it to a neighborhood that has not yet purchased coverage. The number of patrols in a neighborhood depends on the negotiated contract and the specific demands of the residents’ association. Residents insist that the gates and preventive security arrangements have helped reduce crime and increase property values, an assessment shared by insurance companies that now offer discounts to residents in closed neighborhoods.⁷⁶

The development of preventive security has rescaled and fragmented white space. The apartheid state organized security at the municipal scale by officially designating entire cities as white space and policing Black movement. Privatized collective security regimes, on the other hand, are organized at the neighborhood scale. Each residents’ association works with a private company to design and operate a localized security initiative. As a result, the northern suburbs of Johannesburg are now governed through a fragmented patchwork of security regimes that incorporate the police but are driven by private sector forces.

At an outdoor RA meeting in 2005, the manager of a private security company kept a close watch on every Black person who walked past. He was there to discuss security and encourage the association to renew his company’s contract. On the four occasions when Black men or women walked by the park, his gaze conspicuously followed their every movement—even when an African woman walked by with a white baby in a stroller.⁷⁷ The manager was demonstrating to an entirely white audience that he understood their anxieties about Black people in “their” neighborhood. As the same manager explained at another meeting that year: “It’s not like the old South Africa. Everybody has the right to walk down the street. Everyone has the right to be anywhere. If we see somebody who looks suspicious, we can’t go up to them and ask them what they’re doing there. This makes our job much more difficult.”⁷⁸

By 2012, however, the rules had changed considerably. The power of RAs in gated neighborhoods set the stage for the emergence of an even more sophisticated private security strategy in the northern suburbs. Recognizing the success of collective bargaining in gated neighborhoods, residents’ associations in

suburbs without gates began working with private security companies to develop preventive security schemes for open neighborhoods.⁷⁹ These schemes represent the latest frontier in privatized securitization.

PREVENTIVE SECURITY: INFLUX CONTROL FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In the early 2000s, the city of Johannesburg began challenging the use of road closures as a strategy of collective fortification. Although residents' associations prevented the removal of existing enclosures, the city clamped down on new road closures. In response, RAs and private security companies began developing new strategies to fortify neighborhoods without gates. These strategies are the most advanced approaches to privatized preventive security in Johannesburg. Formally acknowledging freedom of movement yet targeting Black bodies, they constitute an updated form of "influx control." They mobilize visibility, violence, community, and information to keep out the unwanted. Yet they remain business initiatives grounded in the profit motive.

Influx Control

Privatized approaches to preventive security have redesigned "influx control" for a neoliberal age. Like under apartheid, preventive security companies seek to regulate access to white space and displace crime to other areas. Yet these operations are complicated by formal legal equality. As I noted above, a security manager explained in 2005 that the freedom of movement prevents security officers from stopping people on the streets to question them. In 2012, a security professional explained the latest strategies for preventive security: "People have the right to be anywhere, but we have the right to make it as uncomfortable as possible for them to be in our neighborhoods."⁸⁰ While acknowledging equality, therefore, preventive security companies operate through a loophole.

Although complicated by the postapartheid discourse of color blindness, privatized approaches to "influx control" rely on racial profiling. A white resident who helped develop the security initiative for her RA explains that, "You never say 'Black male' because Blacks are sensitive. You only say male—unless it is a white male, then you say 'white male.'"⁸¹ Yet the managers and employees of several security companies admitted to me that the definition of "suspicious" is quite simple: two Black males. Whenever security officers come across two Black males in their area of operations, they are instructed

to stop and question them.⁸² In the language of the security companies, Black males are often referred to as “Bravos”—military terminology that identifies Black males as potential threats or enemies while avoiding explicitly racialized language.⁸³

Some residents concede that racial profiling is unfortunate. “I understand why Black guys, young Black guys would resent it,” explains one white resident. “I would too if I were an innocent young Black guy walking with a couple of my friends and suddenly I get stopped by these two guys saying ‘What are you doing here?’”⁸⁴ Such voices are often described as naive. The leader of a residents’ association explains that, “One has to put a bit of a racial profile on it, in order to get the guards to be able to identify positively what is a threat and what is not a threat.”⁸⁵ Another RA leader agrees: “Our approach has been, if they are not doing anything wrong, then they won’t mind; if they are, then they will.”⁸⁶

Although the owners and managers of private security companies are predominantly white, almost all of the security guards and rapid response teams are Black—not to mention the construction crews that build the walls ever higher. In addition, most suburban residents employ Black landscapers and domestic workers. Although people may trust their own domestic workers, stories about burglaries often involve facilitation by a treacherous Black cook, gardener, or security guard. The presence of Black workers in the suburbs is therefore absolutely necessary but carefully regulated. In 2014, a suburb of Cape Town issued “Green Cards” to Black workers employed in the area so that security officers could determine who had legitimate reasons to be in the area.⁸⁷ Although many people denounced this revival of apartheid-era pass laws, the Cape Town suburb merely formalized the procedures that operate informally throughout the northern neighborhoods of Johannesburg.

Low Intensity Guerrilla Warfare

In Johannesburg, security companies have developed a relatively coherent set of procedures to regulate access and displace crime. Although different companies sell different services, all preventive security operations in the northern suburbs rely on four pillars: visibility, violence, community, and information. In the words of one professional, preventive security involves “low intensity guerilla warfare.”⁸⁸

The first pillar of preventive security is *visibility*. Rather than sitting in one location like armed response units, preventive security teams actively patrol the neighborhood to create a visible presence. The explicit goal is to make sure

that anyone considering criminal activity feels the gaze of the security officers. But visibility strategies also seek to make the neighborhood a hostile space for anyone deemed undesirable.

Vehicles marked with the logo of the security company monitor streets leading in and out of the area as well as parks, riverbeds, and other “criminogenic” locations. Based on the “broken windows” argument that minor signs of disorder invite more serious crimes, they target the homeless, the poor, “vagrants, scavengers, and recyclers,” and people who generally appear “out of place.”⁸⁹ Security teams stop and question people engaged in “suspicious” activities: sitting in parked cars, selling brooms door to door, marking gates with chalk, or piling pebbles on a sidewalk.⁹⁰ They visit construction sites to question workers, check their papers, and take their photographs. They follow vehicles, drive alongside pedestrians, and respond to reports of “suspicious” people or activities. And when they come across two or more Black men—either on foot or in a vehicle—they stop them, search their belongings, and inquire about their reasons for being in the area. If the “suspects” cannot provide sufficient justification for their presence, the security teams “escort” them out of the area.⁹¹

Offering to demonstrate the process of removal, a middle-class white resident explains, “We are having trouble with people who just sit on the verge [curb], waiting for employers to pick them up. They leave their rubbish all over the place.” Driving down the street, she points to several African men sitting on the corner. “When I pass this corner,” she tells me, “I scream at them and call the security vehicle.” She then proceeds to do just that. While dialing, she opens her window and shouts, “You are damaging my plants again. Please don’t sit on that corner.” She then instructs the call center operator: “Please remove these guys from the corner. They are littering.” When I ask whether the security officers are effective, she says, “It’s not easy. They abuse them but they’re back the next day.”⁹²

A senior security manager acknowledges that these practices are not always about security. His units are encouraged to stop and question “scrap merchants” and “dustbin men”—people who dig through rubbish bins for valuable items. “Hordes of dirty, poor people make clean people behind walls very uncomfortable—but they are not the problem,” he explains. “There are elements of class fear and class snobbery and elements of racial fear and racial snobbery. But this is not a real security issue.”⁹³ Nevertheless, private security officers—like the police—target young Black men who appear poor and unemployed.⁹⁴

Along with visibility, preventive security operations rest on a foundation of *violence*. The cornerstone of every operation is the “tactical unit,” advertised as more experienced, better trained, and more heavily armed than “armed



FIGURE 4.4. Tactical patrols and preventive security

response” teams. Security managers claim to recruit people with high-level military experience—often with 32 Battalion in Angola,⁹⁵ Koevoet in Namibia,⁹⁶ or the United States in Iraq, Afghanistan, or Somalia. “Originally, our team was purely military,” says one senior manager. “All the guys had fought, were basically mercenaries.”⁹⁷ Some companies also hire Black South Africans who “know the area” and “can engage in the local languages.”⁹⁸ The problem with new recruits, says a manager, is that they “just don’t have experience getting shot at.”⁹⁹ So the companies provide advanced training “based on urban warfare tactics” in order to prepare their teams for suburban policing.¹⁰⁰

Preventive security relies on the ability of the tactical units to convey—to customers and targets alike—that they are prepared to use any means necessary to prevent crime in the neighborhoods they have been hired to protect.¹⁰¹ Intimidation is the key. Whereas armed response requires only one person in a small car or light truck, tactical units deploy two-man teams in large black trucks. The units openly display weapons, often semiautomatic rifles and shotguns. One manager admits that the only reason his vehicles display a shotgun is “because it looks good.”¹⁰² Acknowledging that there is never a reason to use a shotgun in an urban environment, he explains that customers want to see “big cars with big guns. It gives them comfort.”¹⁰³

Tactical units employ a range of violent methods to remove people deemed undesirable. They follow pedestrians, ask questions, take photographs, and

contact the police. If intimidation does not work, they can always resort to open threats and physical violence. Many security officers administer their own form of punishment on the spot, physically assaulting lawbreakers and those suspected of criminal intent.¹⁰⁴ Tactical units remove informal squatters from parks by burning down their shacks and harass street traders by confiscating their goods.¹⁰⁵ Pointing to a riverbed where his teams have repeatedly torn down shacks, a senior security manager explains that, “We are making sure people understand that they don’t want to come to this area.” He adds, with a hint of bravado, “You can see the grass growing tall there in the riverbed. The council won’t do their job—so there will probably be a fire here soon.”¹⁰⁶ The owner of another security company explains how his team launched a preventive security operation in a neighborhood that was experiencing high levels of car hijackings and armed robbery. “We came in hard and fast and cleaned up the streets,” he says. “We used a lot of teargas and panel beating at first. It was the Wild West. We banged heads. We grabbed people and told them to move along.”¹⁰⁷

Among security professionals and representatives of residents’ associations, there is widespread consensus that violence is the key to preventive security. “You have to let criminals know that the vehicles will pick you up and sort you out,” a security officer explains during a focus group discussion. His colleague agrees that the only way to deter crime is by “making sure criminals know that there are severe consequences.” Another officer continues, “You must let them know that it will not be a peaceful arrest. You must let them know that they don’t want to come back.”¹⁰⁸ According to a resident leader, the key is to make sure that “it gets out on the grapevine that you don’t—excuse me—you don’t fuck with this area.”¹⁰⁹ Another security officer adds, with the colonial arrogance of a former mercenary, “Africa is ruled by fear. Therefore, you must show your superiority. You must instill fear so that they are scared to come back.”¹¹⁰

Tactical patrols challenge—and often exceed—the limits of legality. Under South African law, private security personnel have the same rights as private civilians. They can apprehend someone that they suspect either just committed a serious offense or is about to commit a serious offense. They are legally allowed to use the minimum force necessary to detain a suspect, except in cases of self-defense. And they have no legal powers to arrest, stop and search, or otherwise harass people they consider undesirable.¹¹¹ “The only way we can stop and search people is if we have a reasonable suspicion that they just committed a crime *or if they consent to being searched*,” explains a senior security manager (emphasis added).¹¹² This “consent” clause provides the leeway necessary for preventive security operations. When a large truck rolls up and two

men with big guns begin asking questions, people often “consent” to being searched. “The things we do are ‘technically’ not legal,” explains a high-level security manager. “We do it, but the fact of the matter is that it is not legal.”¹¹³

Just as some residents refuse to fortify their homes, a few RAs reject companies that market themselves as overly aggressive.¹¹⁴ But aggressive approaches to preventive security are expanding rapidly, and violence is part of the allure. The head of an RA expresses excitement that his security teams is comprised of “street fighters” with experience “fighting in the trenches.” The leader of another boasts that the head of his security company is willing to go “into the deepest, darkest places”—presumably meaning Alexandra. Like the security professional quoted above, he insists that, “This is Africa. It’s a tough, hard place so you need to fight fire with fire.”¹¹⁵

The third pillar of preventive security is an *active community*. Security professionals insist that the entire project depends on residents remaining vigilant and reporting “suspicious” activity. Security officers and RAs urge residents to become active, responsible partners by attending meetings, contributing financially, remaining alert, and reporting unusual people or activities. They express two concerns about complacency. First, they say, successful security schemes can generate apathy. People must be reminded that crime is a constant danger. Second, some worry that not enough residents have embraced the collective approach to security.¹¹⁶ Too many people, they say, hold onto the individualistic belief that protection simply means having a house with more fortifications than the rest of the block.¹¹⁷ Because collective security arrangements depend on voluntary contributions, RAs and security companies must convince residents of the added value of collective security.¹¹⁸

Security companies and residents’ associations engage in constant educational activities to promote vigilance and collective responsibility. They send SMS alerts and e-mails to residents with information about crimes in the area, suspicious vehicles, and successful arrests. Each RA holds a weekly meeting where security officers provide details about recent incidents, emerging threats, and strategies for responding to crime. Officials provide residents with guidelines for identifying suspicious activity and plead with them to report anything or anyone out of the ordinary.¹¹⁹

While encouraging the community to claim ownership over neighborhood space, preventive security operations also activate the boundaries of “community.” Demanding attention to who belongs and who does not requires a particular focus on people whose membership in the “community” is most tenuous: working-class Black men and women employed in the neighborhood as

cooks, nannies, maids, and gardeners. Most residents' associations have auxiliary "Domestic Watch" programs that attempt to enlist these workers into the security apparatus. Residents pay a small fee to send their domestic workers to monthly meetings where they receive training in responsible citizenship and lessons about how to record information about suspicious people, vehicles, parcels, and activities.¹²⁰

Domestic Watch programs navigate the workers' complex position in the "community." Seeking to recruit informants, they emphasize that the workers are part of the community and are threatened by crime just like their employers. In fact, they point out, domestic workers are particularly vulnerable because they are often the only people in the house. At the same time, the programs acknowledge that these workers are often suspected of facilitating criminal activity. They insist that the best way to demonstrate loyalty is by providing information to the security officers.¹²¹ Nevertheless, residents' associations do not completely accept domestic workers as members of the community. Many residents worry that Domestic Watch programs provide workers with information that will fall into the hands of criminals and undermine the security of the "community."¹²² As activated by preventive security initiatives, therefore, the community is bounded but has dangerous working-class Black pores.

The final pillar of preventive security is *information*. Each security company operates a command center that processes calls from residents and dispatches tactical units to follow up on reports of suspicious activity. They also keep extensive databases of information collected from residents, patrols, suspects, victims, and the police. Some security managers believe that knowledge is the key to power and that the information they collect will allow them to recognize and disrupt patterns of criminal activity.¹²³ They dream of building a database that includes the names, vehicles, license plates, and photographs of every criminal as well as every homeless person, construction worker, domestic worker, security guard, and potential suspect who has ever been investigated. For instance, when a suspicious vehicle is reported, they hope to scan the database to determine where the vehicle has been seen before, whether it is suspected of involvement in previous incidents, and whether officers have questioned or identified any previous passengers.¹²⁴ Other security professionals see this as "noise" that distracts from real security work grounded in the presence of physical force. A database might attract clients, they argue, but it is more important to spend limited resources deploying security officers in the streets.¹²⁵

Some companies use video surveillance in open neighborhoods as well.

The leader of a residents' association explained that he hopes to one day have cameras at every entrance and exit to the neighborhood—all forty-seven entrances and exits.¹²⁶ Advocates of video surveillance argue that cameras help eliminate human error, facilitate simple tasks like recording license plates, and serve as a deterrent.¹²⁷ They celebrate advances in technology including license plate recognition, facial recognition, and thermal imaging capabilities as well as high-speed data transfer and processing.¹²⁸ As labor costs continue to rise, they suggest, security managers will need to explore alternatives to the labor market.¹²⁹ For practitioners who prioritize physical force, video surveillance is another distraction. They argue that cameras are expensive and that someone in a control room has to pay attention to a bank of cameras monitoring dozens of sites rather than focusing on their immediate surroundings.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, security professionals expect that South Africans will adopt new advances—including unmanned drones—as they become affordable.¹³¹ In fact, a South African company recently began marketing drone technology for crowd control to help in “preventing another Marikana.”¹³²

To enhance their knowledge/power, preventive security companies operate investigative units that gather information on criminal activities and follow up on incidents. Investigators examine surveillance footage to determine whether a robbery victim was followed home from a shopping mall. They conduct polygraph tests with domestic workers to determine whether a home invasion was an inside job.¹³³ Several security managers claim to have undercover units and networks of paid informants in townships such as Alexandra. One company pays for information that leads to an arrest; another offers rewards for information after a crime has been committed; and still another claims to employ people to hang out on street corners, liquor stores, and local taverns to collect information.¹³⁴

After apprehending a person suspected of committing a crime, some tactical officers like to interrogate the person to gain information about their accomplices, the location of their weapons, and their method of identifying a target. “Once the police get there, it causes confusion,” claims a security officer. “So it is best if we can work the guy for a while before the cops get there.” His colleague adds, “To get them to chat, we drag them around the corner and hope it takes the police two hours to arrive.”¹³⁵ Another officer smiles and explains that he likes to be the good cop. “People talk if you talk nicely to them,” he explains. “I’m the nice cop. I understand where they are coming from. Some guys get angry and emotional—their egos get in the way. I’m not angry at them, so they talk to me. Or else they’ll have to go talk to the big guy in the other room.”¹³⁶

Business

Privatized approaches to influx control that mobilize visibility, violence, community, and information are extremely expensive. These initiatives remain, after all, profit-driven business. In closed neighborhoods, each household pays R300–500 per month (\$36–60). In neighborhoods without gates, the monthly fee ranges from R450–1,200 per month (\$54–144).¹³⁷ On top of the monthly fees, the residents are expected to purchase vehicles, uniforms, and equipment for the tactical units. Before a collective security initiative can even begin, therefore, an RA has to collect an extraordinary amount of money from residents.¹³⁸

Because RAs are voluntary associations, however, not all residents contribute to the collective security initiative. Most RAs report contributions from 30 to 60 percent of residents, leading to widespread complaints about “free riders” who benefit from the security initiative without contributing.¹³⁹ To address this issue, RAs in the northern suburbs lobbied the city of Johannesburg to allow the formation of residential City Improvement Districts (CIDs). In South Africa, CIDs are private organizations authorized by the state to impose compulsory levies on all property owners in an area and to use the money to supplement municipal services.¹⁴⁰ In 2009, the city of Johannesburg prevented the formation of CIDs in the northern suburbs due to concerns about further fortification.¹⁴¹ A city official insisted, “We don’t want [a residential CID] to be nothing more than a high-security neighbourhood or to promote a paramilitary approach to controlling public spaces.”¹⁴² Without the ability to impose compulsory levies, many middle-class neighborhoods without gates determined that preventive security was prohibitively expensive—leaving only the wealthiest suburbs to pursue the latest developments in securitization.

From the corporate perspective, however, preventive security is not as profitable as armed response.¹⁴³ Because of collective bargaining, a security manager explains, the RAs are “extracting value” from security companies by demanding more officers, more training, and more advanced technology.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, he claims, companies must respond to increasingly outrageous demands: “We’ve got ninjas. We can go over walls and through electric fences. We can make sure your Rottweiler won’t hurt us. But why should we go over walls or electric fences? We provide it because the customers demand it.”¹⁴⁵ To maintain their revenue stream, security companies often call on RAs to help enroll additional armed response clients. Some security companies even claim to offer preventive security services merely to retain their armed response clients.¹⁴⁶

One of the fastest growing preventive security programs in Johannesburg is

Community Active Patrol (CAP). CAP began in 2006 as a community-driven project in Glenhazel—a wealthy neighborhood in northeastern Johannesburg. Since that time, CAP has grown to include thirty-four neighborhoods and roughly 150,000 residents. A CAP manager explains that this expansion is grounded in two related processes. First, success at reducing crime in CAP neighborhoods attracts the attention of neighboring communities. Second, the displacement of crime from CAP neighborhood makes neighboring communities increasingly vulnerable and deepens the attraction of CAP.¹⁴⁷

The core of the CAP system is a triangular relationship between a residents' association, a security company, and the CAP Incident Command and Control Center (ICCC). Residents' associations that join CAP sign a contract with the ICCC and select a security provider from three companies approved by the ICCC. The goal, according to a CAP official, is to ensure that security companies remain accountable to communities. "Security companies in South Africa are businesses," he points out. "They're out to make money, not to fight crime. We had to change the paradigm."¹⁴⁸ The three CAP security companies—Cortac, Quemic, and 7-Arrows—are similar operations. Each is owned and managed by people with extensive military backgrounds in South Africa as well as places like Israel, Italy, Canada, and the United States.¹⁴⁹

More than any other preventive security operation, CAP prioritizes the ICCC database. "Information is power," says a CAP manager. "Every different area had information being compartmentalized and going to different security companies. All we needed to do was monopolize the information."¹⁵⁰ The ICCC takes calls from residents in every CAP neighborhood and functions as a central repository for all information gathered by its security companies. The expansion of CAP throughout the northern suburbs has increased its knowledge/power. "If one day we could monopolize Joburg, all of that information coming in would be so powerful that we would be able to start to actually target the criminal elements where they're staying."¹⁵¹ The endgame, it seems, is a privatized monopoly on policing.

Although CAP has established itself as the most ambitious preventive security initiative in Johannesburg, other companies market similar initiatives. Dismissing CAP claims to prioritize community over profit, companies like CSS and 24/7 suggest that CAP simply employs a different business model. Rather than hiring the ICCC to supervise outsourced security contractors, RAs can sign contracts directly with these companies. Just like CAP, they operate independent control centers, maintain databases, and deploy "tactical units" to police public space. Yet each company offers slightly different services to claim a niche in the market. For instance, CSS promotes the use of surveillance

cameras, which CAP rejects. And 24/7 offers a cobranding strategy that uses vehicles and billboards to advertise not only the security company but also the RA itself. Even ADT has reluctantly entered the market for preventive security services.

In short, collective security generated a new market and private security companies have responded. But the new market has merely enhanced the racialized class dynamics of securitization. In the words of a security professional, “Everything boils down to economics—it always comes back to that. To not be dragged into [crime] in the first place depends on the economic ability of each household. You are far less exposed if you pay more.”¹⁵² South African criminologist Mark Shaw describes private security companies as the “guardians of social divisions, between the wealthy and middle class on the one hand and the poor on the other, and so, at least for the moment, between white and black.”¹⁵³

THE DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE SECURITY COORDINATION

The fortification of the northern suburbs, the expansion of the private security industry, and the growing role of residents’ associations have dramatically reconfigured the relationship between public and private security forces in postapartheid Johannesburg. Despite similar missions and mechanisms for coordination, the emerging security formations are marked by contestations over jurisdiction and power. Privatized security initiatives fragment the space of urban governance while private security companies challenge the state’s claim to a monopoly of violence. These tensions highlight the instability of the emerging security regimes.

The policies of the South African government have contributed to the rise of the private security industry and the fortification of affluent neighborhoods. Government policies have exacerbated inequality and racialized poverty, while also establishing the political and legal framework to promote privatization. And despite tensions over road closures and CIDs, the city of Johannesburg has encouraged residents’ associations to play an active role in local governance. Moreover, police and local officials have endorsed—sometimes only tacitly—the violence that private security officers use to confront unwanted visitors in “their” neighborhoods. Rather than an illicit racket, therefore, the private security industry is quite literally a “legalized” mafia.

Like private security companies, the police in postapartheid South Africa are deployed to protect private property and maintain public order.¹⁵⁴ This

broad correspondence has facilitated the coordination of private and public security forces. Indeed, private security professionals like to point out that they operate in close partnership with the police—sharing information and working within the limits of the law.¹⁵⁵

Several formal mechanisms exist for coordination between private security companies, residents' associations, and the SAPS. First, every police district holds a weekly meeting with private security companies in the area. Led by the police commander, the meetings provide an opportunity for police and private security companies to share information, discuss crime patterns, and build rapport. Yet the success of these meetings is highly contingent on not only the strength of individual relationships but also the willingness of private security companies to participate.¹⁵⁶ Some companies—especially those with the most aggressive reputations—often refuse to attend meetings or share information. This generates concerns from the police about private security “vigilantism.”¹⁵⁷

Community Police Forums (CPFs) provide another coordination mechanism. CPFs are official bodies that promote partnerships between the police and residents in each precinct. Some CPFs raise money from residents to buy equipment or sponsor training courses for the police. Others train SAPS managers to adopt a “business-like” approach to budgeting, personnel, and vehicles.¹⁵⁸ In addition, CPFs are supposed to enable residents to hold the police accountable.¹⁵⁹ Again, the success of each CPF is highly contingent and depends largely on the affluence of the precinct. “Ours is now virtually nonexistent. It is a bit of a waste of time. No one contributes,” explains the head of a residents' association.¹⁶⁰

Joint operations are a third form of coordination. The SAPS often enlist private security forces to assist with evictions, water and electricity cutoffs, and the repression of strikes and demonstrations. During the 2012 Marikana strike, for instance, over five hundred private security guards provided logistical support, surveillance equipment, and information on the day that the police massacred workers.¹⁶¹ In Johannesburg, the SAPS solicit officers and weapons from private companies for operations against criminal syndicates. “Occasionally when the police conduct raids in Alex, they ask our security company to help them go in,” explains the leader of a residents' association. “Alex is not a friendly place for the police. They need a lot of help, so the security company will give them six or eight or ten tactical officers to go in and help them raid a place.”¹⁶² The police run the operations, even when they are based on intelligence collected by private security companies.¹⁶³

The SAPS has recently emulated the privatized approach to preventive

security by reviving a long-dormant “sector policing” strategy.¹⁶⁴ The SAPS now dedicates two vehicles to each police sector, with four to eight sectors in each precinct. Officers deployed to a specific sector are expected to become familiar with the area, the residents, and the private security officers. Residents and security officers are encouraged to communicate directly with the officers. While residents and police express hope about sector policing, they acknowledge that private security companies operate far more vehicles than the police in most suburban neighborhoods. One sector within the Bramley police precinct, for instance, includes four suburbs: Illovo, Sandhurst, Parkmore, and Hyde Park. While the police dedicate two vehicles to the entire sector, private security companies deploy two to three tactical units and multiple armed response teams in each suburb.¹⁶⁵

A network of private and public security forces polices each neighborhood: a dedicated police vehicle, tactical units from the preventive security initiative, and armed response units from numerous companies providing services to individual households. According to a SAPS commander, the extensive presence of private security forces in the northern suburbs allows the police to direct their attention and resources to other areas.¹⁶⁶ This has created a territorial dynamic to policing, in which private security forces take the lead in policing the northern suburbs while the SAPS maintain a heavier presence in the inner city and townships such as Alexandra.

Despite coordination and a geographic division of duties, the emerging security formations are fraught with tensions and contradictions. Many security professionals view the SAPS as corrupt, uncommitted, and incompetent. “Only half of the police managers are dedicated,” claims a private security professional. “The other half don’t give a shit.”¹⁶⁷ Another claims that SAPS officers have a policy of “catch and release” and regularly “lose” case files. In the words of one private security officer, “The bobby on the beat is really a bum on a seat.”¹⁶⁸ More tempered critics explain that the police are merely overstretched and understaffed.¹⁶⁹ Regardless of the tone, of course, critiques of the police are good for business.

Private security companies are aggressively expanding into fields previously reserved for the police. Private companies now police public space, investigate criminal activities, and raid criminal syndicates. In 2015 and 2016, the University of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand hired private security companies to disperse protests by students and workers. And security officers assert powers beyond the law by searching pedestrians, stopping vehicles, interrogating suspects, and administering punishments. Security industry representatives talk about taking over aspects of municipal policing or

even “monopolizing” policing in Johannesburg.¹⁷⁰ More immediately, industry representatives lobby the state to empower private security officers to carry out arrests and register as police reservists.¹⁷¹ “Reservists have full policing powers and have to work a certain number of hours each month—but there are often no [SAPS] vehicles for them to ride in. If they could clock in and ride with us, we could do so much more,” explains a security manager.¹⁷² A police commander, however, points out that this would create a serious conflict of interest: “We do not want a double standard where you are working for a specific client while using your SAPS badge.”¹⁷³

This comment highlights a tension between the missions of the police and private security forces: the SAPS have a public mandate to serve the citizens and residents of South Africa whereas private security companies serve only their clients and shareholders. Moreover, the police are charged with combating crime while security companies profit from high crime rates.

Recognizing the market potential of services that the police provide, some private security officials see the police as competitors for market share. Yet they are also cautious about the potential for conflict with the state. “The more functions we take on, the more we’ll be seen as a threat,” explains a security officer.¹⁷⁴ Some local SAPS commanders feel the competition: privatized forces outnumber and outgun the police, pay higher wages and lure away talented officers, and attempt to “take over” operations under police jurisdiction.¹⁷⁵ As a SAPS officer explains, “The fear is where private security companies become a force unto themselves. They must be monitored very closely.”¹⁷⁶

The state regulates the private security industry through the Private Security Industry Regulatory Agency (PSIRA). In recent years, the South African government has sought to limit foreign ownership and the presence of multinational corporations in the security industry.¹⁷⁷ Established companies welcome some regulations, particularly those that prevent “fly-by-night” companies from undercutting their business. But they resist attempts to enforce labor standards, health and safety regulations, and limits on the power of private security officers.¹⁷⁸

Rather than seamless cooperation, therefore, the privatized security regimes in postapartheid Johannesburg are marked by tension and contestation. Residents’ associations and private security companies have fought to expand the governmental power of the private sector through road closures, preventive security initiatives, and demands for residential CIDs. Combined with the fortification of the suburbs, these assertions of power have decentralized and fragmented urban governance in postapartheid Johannesburg. They also highlight the instability within emerging security regimes. For now, the state

retains ultimate authority. But the possibility remains for a more fundamental challenge from the privatized armed forces of the elite.

SECURITY OFFICERS: "IT'S A SHIT JOB"

The security industry confronts its own contradictions, perhaps none more important than the fact that South African elites rely for protection on the very people they most fear: poor Black men. Under apartheid, the South African Police employed Black officers to police Black townships, and the Bantustan strategy employed Black intermediaries to police the scattered reserves. Today, in a context of widespread unemployment, the private security industry has become an important source of low-wage work. Yet the working conditions are deplorable.

Jonny Steinberg notes that most SAPS officers are "near the tail end of a frantic, unseemly dash to join the new black middle class."¹⁷⁹ Private security officers exist even closer to the precarious edge of the paid labor force. As a primary source of entry-level work for African men, private security is one of the few options for poor South Africans in search of steady employment. "When we were growing up, people regarded security guards as low, low people," explains a security officer. "But now everybody wants that job because you can survive."¹⁸⁰ Along with the 480,000 security officers who are currently employed, another 1,380,000 officers are registered and waiting for opportunities.¹⁸¹ Yet many workers explain that they would not work in security if other jobs were available.¹⁸²

Despite this demand, security jobs provide low wages and difficult, often dangerous conditions. As a security guard told me in no uncertain terms, "It's a shit job."¹⁸³ Most security guards work twelve-hour shifts in nine-day cycles: three day shifts, three night shifts, three days off.¹⁸⁴ The official pay scale is based on training level (Grade A–E), with more than 70 percent of workers making less than R1,500 per month (\$180). Officers complain that companies sign contracts with clients for Grade C guards, hire guards with Grade C training, but only pay Grade D wages. Other forms of wage theft include forced overtime without compensation, the deduction of wages for nonexistent pension funds, and the reduction of wages for sick days.¹⁸⁵ And, as a security guard explains, some companies require applicants to purchase their jobs: "If you are to get a job, you have to pay R500 (\$60) up front. That is happening everywhere."¹⁸⁶

Companies also steal unemployment funds deducted from wages by pressuring workers to resign. "If you have been working ten years or twenty years,



FIGURE 4.5. Guarding wealth and privilege in the suburbs

there's a Blue Card unemployment fund," explains a security guard. "If you resign, you get zero." Companies also pressure workers to sign acknowledgments of complaints or warnings, which can be used to fire a worker without distributing the pension fund. Workers are also reclassified as "spares" and denied regular shifts. "To be a spare is to go to the office every day and find out there is no post available for you. So you end up resigning," says a worker. "And once you resign, they are going to take away the money that the company has been paying into the provident fund."¹⁸⁷

Operations that rely on highly trained and experienced officers—such as preventive security schemes—pay much higher wages. "Our officers are very well paid," explains a security manager. They are also "rewarded for proactive behavior" with bonuses based on the number of people they question and rewards for acts of exceptional bravery or stops that lead to arrests.¹⁸⁸ Because these companies employ people with military experience, their officers often take contracts with private military companies operating in Iraq, Afghanistan, or Somalia. This demonstrates the overlap between the work of private security and private military companies protecting the powerful in the early twenty-first century.

Yet most security officers report onerous working conditions.¹⁸⁹ The jobs themselves are tedious and dangerous. Officers stand outside on hot summer days and cold winter nights, guarding a building or lifting a boom gate. Some

wealthy residents understand. "It is the most thankless, most horrible job that anybody could wish to do," explains a resident leader. "You stand there for twelve hours opening and closing a boom. You can try to make it interesting. You can threaten them. You can do a hell of a lot of things, but at the end of the day, it stays a boring job."¹⁹⁰ The most privileged guards have a hut, a chair, and a teapot—but many are denied even these basic amenities. And they are expected to confront armed criminals with little backup or support. As a security officer explains, "When you arrive, you are greeted by the bullet. Some clients say we must jump the wall, where we are greeted with electric wires and dogs as well."¹⁹¹

Despite their sacrifices, workers feel disrespected by clients and bosses. Guards describe being reprimanded for requesting a cup of coffee, reported for taking a bathroom break, and accused of sleeping on the job whenever they sit down.¹⁹² During a focus group discussion, security guards shared many stories, such as the following: "Sometimes the client gives you an instruction, like: 'Don't open the gate for anybody.' In the future, maybe you refuse to open the gate when his friend comes. The friend calls the client and the client calls the office and the office harasses you: 'Why did you refuse to open the gate?' Maybe the person comes back two days later and you open the gate. Then they will accuse you, 'Why did you open the gate?' You do this, you are wrong. You do that, you are wrong."¹⁹³

Security guards also describe racism by clients and bosses. First of all, say security guards, race matters in hiring and promotions. "A white guy like you," a guard tells me, "who never did security work before, won't just start at the beginning where everybody starts. Because of your skin, you will start in the office—even though you don't know anything about security. I've been working security for seven years and you don't know anything, but you are going to manage me."¹⁹⁴

Moreover, security jobs require Black workers to adopt the racialized assumptions of the clients and companies. "The thing with the clients," explains one guard, "because we are living in South Africa, Black persons are always suspect."¹⁹⁵ Security officers learn to consider race when looking for suspicious activities. A control room operator explains that the training is not necessarily explicit. "They won't say directly that you should focus on Black people. But it is clear from the way they work. If a Black person passes and you don't send a car to investigate, then you are in big trouble. But if a white man passes, the bosses will check the footage and go, 'nah.'"¹⁹⁶

Finally, security officers are among the first suspects when crimes occur on their watch—along with gardeners, domestic workers, and construction

crews. "If the guard is working there, he is the first suspect," explains a security officer.¹⁹⁷ Stationary guards are accused of allowing perpetrators to slip past, while control room operators are suspected of delaying the response teams. Companies regularly question their guards using polygraph equipment to determine whether they conspired on an inside job.¹⁹⁸ Security managers point out that guards pose a risk because they know the clients' routines, the layout of the premises, and the location of valuable items.¹⁹⁹ After thieves followed a man home and stole his car at gunpoint, the security officer at the gate was interrogated. When the supervisor accused him of letting the thieves escape, he replied: "Why did the client give them his keys? Because they took out the big guns! They also showed ME the big guns. What was I supposed to do?"²⁰⁰ According to one wealthy resident, this raises a bigger question: "Why should he jeopardize his life for you if he's paid as much as a gardener?"²⁰¹

Suspicion toward security guards leads companies to develop strategies for micromanaging their employees. Security companies place GPS devices and cameras in cars to monitor their security officers. They explain that these devices promote discipline by allowing the company to monitor response times and the movement of the vehicle.²⁰² Companies also conduct regular polygraph tests—not only when employees are hired or when crimes have been committed but as a routine practice.²⁰³ Some even maintain barracks so that their officers do not return to townships and rural areas where they might come into contact with the "criminal element."²⁰⁴ While providing a tool for monitoring and disciplining the workers, barracks also become a site where security officers can hold and interrogate suspects.

Security officers recognize the cruel irony of poor Black security guards protecting the tremendous wealth of elite white South Africans. "The problem is that, because we are Black, we have grown up to have inferiority to the whites. So it doesn't surprise you to go to the suburb and find white people having all of these things," explains a security guard. "But sometimes it feels bad when I'm guarding those big houses and then come back to Alex and see all of these shacks."²⁰⁵ They also resent their low pay in a profitable industry. "I stay in a shack," explains a control room operator. "But where I'm working, we are dealing with more than R500,000 (\$60,000) every day. People come in and leave those checks in the control room. Tomorrow morning, we hand over the checks to the big bosses who will be reading R500,000 or R700,000 (\$60,000–84,000). But they give you peanuts."²⁰⁶

During a strike by private security guards in 2006, a striking worker shared similar sentiments: "We guard billions but we are paid peanuts."²⁰⁷ The controversial strike lasted three full months and received support from sixteen

unions. Workers achieved 9.25 percent raises and a shift in the pay grade system, but almost sixty workers were killed in violent confrontations between striking workers, replacement workers, and the police.²⁰⁸ There were further strike actions in 2012 and 2013.²⁰⁹ As he was leaving our focus group discussion, a security guard stopped to make sure I understand that capital is produced by labor: “They must learn to respect the security guard because the guard is the money maker. They can’t earn the money without the security guard.”²¹⁰

The reliance on low-wage Black labor is part of a broader paradox of post-apartheid inequality and (in)security. Although increasingly disposable, the Black poor in townships like Alexandra remain precariously connected to the wage labor market. Widespread unemployment ensures the availability of a low-wage workforce to serve the elite. At the same time, disposability contributes to the symbolic value of the Black poor as dangerous and threatening specters of insecurity. The profits of the private security industry depend on both the specter and the labor of the Black working class. But with low wages and dangerous working conditions, the labor force is not content. Nor does it escape the workers that they are asked to protect the wealth of the elite by targeting other poor Black men. Although unionization remains uneven, the 2006 strike demonstrates the potential for an organized labor force to disrupt regimes of securitization.

CONCLUSION

The privatization of policing and the fortification of white space are integral to understanding the broader South African transition. Democratization sowed doubt among the white elite about the willingness and ability of the new government to ensure their security. At the same time, the new government promoted privatization as part of a broader neoliberal project that intensified inequality, exacerbated racialized poverty, and produced new sources of race and class anxiety. Despite formal equality and a color-blind ideology, the emergence of privatized forms of influx control demonstrates the limits of decolonization and the continued significance of racism in postapartheid South Africa.

The northern suburbs of Johannesburg have become laboratories of securitization. From the fortification of private property to the emergence of collective security initiatives, the private sector has driven the development of advanced strategies for protecting the wealthy and policing the Black poor. Road closures marked the growing role of residents’ associations, while preventive security regimes in neighborhoods without gates represent the latest advances

in suburban fortification. Wealthy residents and private security professionals celebrate the success of privatized securitization.²¹¹ Along with statistics that show a decrease in crime, they also point to more experiential criteria such as middle-class residents taking walks after dinner.

Yet these security regimes are highly unstable. The relationship between the police and private security companies is rife with tensions. And the security regimes depend on the labor of the same populations that they target: poor Black South Africans. Preventive security regimes generate other destabilizing processes as well, such as escalation and displacement.

Wealthy residents and security professionals fear that fortification is leading to an escalation of violence.²¹² Just like the security forces, criminal networks have acquired more powerful weapons, more advanced technology, and more ruthless modes of operation. Newspapers and security officers increasingly tell stories of shootouts on public streets with high-caliber machine guns. As the head of a residents' association explains, "One concern is that if you get a bunch of vigilantes going around beating up Blacks, you suddenly have Blacks coming in with AK-47s."²¹³

In addition, securitization is built on a strategy of displacement. Displacing crime to areas that have not yet purchased coverage provides security companies with a profitable accumulation strategy. But the strategy displaces more than just crime—it displaces the underlying crisis as well. Whereas the ANC's early interest in crime prevention was meant to address the social roots of crime, fortification merely relocates the crisis. By concentrating crime in areas that cannot afford the most advanced technologies of fortification and the most aggressive forms of preventive security, this temporary fix ultimately intensifies the underlying causes of crime: poverty, racism, violence, and repression. "If I had a bulletproof car," says a wealthy white resident, "I'd drive to Alex for the day and stick out my tongue and laugh at them while they shoot at the car."²¹⁴ Adding insult to the mix is sure to deepen the crisis.

While wealthy South Africans fortify their *laagers*, the ANC government confronts popular frustrations about growing inequality and racialized poverty. The "unfinished revolution" has generated township protests, land occupations, broad-based social movements, crippling labor actions, and a resurgent student movement.²¹⁵ Along with demands for access to jobs, houses, education, and free basic services, South Africans are increasingly calling for redistribution and decolonization. While deploying the police and private security forces to suppress these struggles, the ANC government also seeks to articulate popular demands to its own hegemonic project.²¹⁶ The future of South Africa will be determined in the cauldron of these struggles.

Before returning to these struggles in the conclusion, I will analyze securitization in post-Oslo Palestine/Israel. As in South Africa, a sophisticated security network has been built to contain the struggles of the Palestinian poor. Rather than “Black crime,” securitization in Palestine/Israel is informed by a racialized discourse of “Muslim terrorism.” And rather than private-sector forces, the most advanced security formation in Palestine/Israel is based on an imperial network of state-based security forces. Although this may appear to contradict the dominant trend in contemporary neoliberal restructuring, it actually demonstrates an equally important trend. Along with private security forces, neoliberalization has produced a dramatic increase in state security forces: police, prisons, military, and intelligence. Employing racialized strategies that target the Palestinian poor while relying on the labor of the very same population, the security network in Palestine/Israel is at least as unstable as the privatized regimes in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5

A Monopoly of Violence? Security Coordination in the West Bank

We don't want two occupations. Leave us with one occupation.

PALESTINIAN LABOR AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZER, 2013

In January 2005, Mahmoud Abbas succeeded Yasser Arafat as president of the Palestinian Authority (PA). He declared an end to the second intifada and promised to rebuild and reform the PA security forces. The United States immediately dispatched General William Ward to oversee the reforms and serve as liaison between the PA security forces and the Israeli military.¹ Later that year, General Keith Dayton replaced Ward as the US Security Coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority (USSC). Under Dayton's leadership, the USSC helped build a sophisticated network of coordinated security forces to contain Palestinian resistance in the West Bank.

After Hamas won the PA elections in 2006, the United States organized a boycott of the Hamas government that prevented the USSC from training Palestinian security forces that report to the PA Ministry of the Interior (MoI). Instead, the USSC worked to strengthen the forces that report directly to President Abbas: the Presidential Guard (PG) and the National Security Forces (NSF).² In May 2007, five hundred freshly trained NSF troops entered the Gaza Strip with new weapons and vehicles. Anticipating a US-backed coup, Hamas officials launched a preemptive attack on the NSF and Fatah forces.³ While Hamas consolidated its control over Gaza, Abbas reestablished Fatah rule in the West Bank by dissolving the elected government and appointing a new PA cabinet led by Prime Minister Salam Fayyad. Since that time, the split between the Fatah/PA-controlled West Bank and the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip has exacerbated the fragmentation of the Palestinian people.

In the West Bank, Prime Minister Fayyad introduced the Palestinian Reform and Development Plan (PRDP), which prioritized “security sector reform” and neoliberal restructuring as pathways to independence.⁴ As part of the reform process, the USSC trained nine special battalions of the NSF and two PG battalions. The USSC also helped reestablish mechanisms for security coordination between Israel and the PA.⁵ In a relationship marked by tensions and contestations, the Israeli military and the PA security forces now work together to suppress Palestinian resistance and enforce order in the West Bank enclaves.

In May 2009, Dayton gave a public address at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.⁶ Describing the speech as a “coming out party” for the USSC, Dayton celebrated the success of security sector reform and the role of the USSC in rebuilding the Palestinian security forces. “What we have created,” he declared, “are new men.” Dayton revealed that “senior [Israel Defense Forces (IDF)] commanders ask me frequently, ‘How many more of these new Palestinians can you generate, and how quickly, because they are our way to leave the West Bank?’”⁷ While generating applause at the pro-Israel think tank, Dayton’s speech fueled Palestinian fears that the PA security forces were becoming an extension of the Israeli military. Islamists and leftists began referring to the PA troops as “Dayton’s army.”⁸ A fuming Fatah leader asked: “What the hell is [Dayton] trying to do? Why doesn’t he just say I’m a collaborator and get it over with?”⁹ After its brief coming out party, the USSC lowered its profile and replaced Dayton.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the regime of coordinated state security forces continues to police the West Bank. This chapter begins by discussing the dynamics of Israeli (in)security and situating the West Bank within the broader array of forces and strategies deployed to police the Palestinian people. I then trace the genealogy of security coordination under Oslo to explain the emergence of an advanced network of security agencies—including forces of the US empire¹¹ and segments of the colonized Palestinian population—that prioritizes the security of Israel. Next, I analyze the strategies and tactics of security coordination. Although justified by a discourse of “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism,” the security forces target all Palestinian opponents of Oslo. Finally, I analyze the dynamics of contestation and cooperation within the network. Security coordination in the West Bank is one of the most sophisticated—and some would say successful—efforts to manage an unruly population. But tensions and contradictions undermine the illusion of stability.

ISRAELI (IN)SECURITY

Israeli journalist Ari Shavit's recent book, *My Promised Land*, opens with an assertion of vulnerability: "For as long as I can remember, I remember fear. Existential fear."¹² Explaining this fear, Shavit argues that "a billion and a half Muslims," "370 million Arabs," and "ten million Palestinians" surround the State of Israel and threaten its very existence.¹³ This explanation incorporates key themes in the dominant discourse of Israeli insecurity: long-standing vulnerability, a small state surrounded by existential threats, and the racialized specter of Palestinian/Arab/Muslim violence. Yet Shavit also confronts the colonial roots of Israeli insecurity. He begins with the 1967 occupation: "For as long as I can remember, I remember occupation."¹⁴ Digging deeper, he acknowledges the displacement of Palestinians during the 1948 *Nakba* (catastrophe) and the perpetration of massacre by Zionist forces in places such as Lydda. "And when I try to be honest about it," he continues, "I see that the choice is stark: either reject Zionism because of Lydda or accept Zionism along with Lydda."¹⁵ Shavit's honest reflections on the relationship between settler colonial violence and vulnerability open a window into the politics of (in)security in Palestine/Israel.

The existential anxieties of Jewish Israelis are grounded in the history of persecution that culminated in the Nazi holocaust. For centuries, Jewish life in Europe was marked by exclusion, expulsion, ghettoization, and racist violence.¹⁶ Political Zionists responded to European anti-Semitism with the vision of a Jewish state ensuring the security of Jewish people everywhere.¹⁷ But as a settler colonial project linked to Western imperial interests in the Middle East, political Zionism also generated new sources of insecurity. As Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian points out, Israeli anxieties are products of the colonial violence through which the State of Israel was established in 1948, expanded in 1967, and reproduced ever since.¹⁸ Anxieties about the return of Palestinian refugees and retaliatory violence by Palestinians living under Israeli rule have shaped the development of Israel as a fortress state: isolated, walled off, and militarized.¹⁹

The Oslo process has intensified Israeli anxieties for three reasons. First, Oslo destabilized two foundations of Jewish Israeli power: racial Fordism and direct military rule. Neoliberal restructuring has eliminated jobs, weakened the labor movement, and dismantled the welfare state—all of which ensured a degree of economic stability for Jewish Israelis.²⁰ Meanwhile, right-wing politicians insist that the redeployment of Israel's military from the Gaza Strip and

Palestinian cities in the West Bank has undermined the state's ability to protect Jewish Israelis. Second, ongoing colonization combined with neoliberal restructuring has transformed the 1967 Palestinians into a surplus population that Israel seeks to contain in isolated enclosures (see chapter three). But the enclosures cannot contain Palestinian resistance to neoliberal colonization, some of which takes the form of violent attacks on Israeli soldiers, settlers, and other civilians. The trauma generated by these attacks is amplified by the state to gain support for securitization. Finally, Jewish Israelis confront the declining hegemony of the neoliberal US empire.²¹ Because Israel relies on financial, diplomatic, and military support from the United States and Europe as well as a colonial ideology that situates Israel as an outpost of the West, the instability of the US empire contributes to the sense of insecurity in Israel.

In short, the anxieties of Jewish Israelis are grounded in the dynamics of settler colonialism, racial capitalism, and empire. Yet economic insecurities generated by neoliberal restructuring, imperial anxieties about the future of Western hegemony, and colonial concerns about challenges to settler domination are all filtered through a racial discourse that identifies Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims as the sources of violence and instability.²² "The troubling scenarios are of Arab discontent and Islamic fanaticism knocking on Israel's iron gates," explains Shavit. "The combination of popular Islamic-Arab resentment from without and desperate Palestinian upheaval from within might yet prove to be explosive."²³ By concentrating Israeli anxieties on the specter of the "Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorist," this racial discourse conceals the material basis of Israeli insecurity, transforms ethnic cleansing from the foundation of the State of Israel into the motivation for Palestinian politics, and justifies the militarization of Israeli society and the deployment of advanced strategies for policing the Palestinian population.

Regular surveys of public opinion among Jewish Israelis conducted by the Israeli Institute for National Security Studies reveal an important tension in the discourse of insecurity. Since 1993, the majority of Jewish Israelis have expressed significant concerns about their personal safety. These fears peaked during the second intifada and have subsided in recent years, but more than two-thirds of Jewish Israelis still express fears about their personal well-being.²⁴ At the same time, however, Jewish Israelis remain confident in the ability of the State of Israel to protect the Jewish population. In 2012, for instance, large majorities expressed confidence in the state's ability to wage war with Syria (94 percent) or all Arab countries (69 percent); to respond to chemical/biological (75 percent) or nuclear attacks (63 percent); and to deal with



FIGURE 5.1. Israeli military patrol along the wall

terrorist activity (86 percent), internal dissent (84 percent), or a revolt by 1948 Palestinians (88 percent).²⁵ The tension between vulnerability and confidence in the state is characteristic of settler colonial societies. It lies at the heart of the Zionist mantra that a Jewish state can provide security for Jewish people in the face of overwhelming threats to their individual safety and collective existence.

POLICING PALESTINE

The network of coordinated security forces that polices the West Bank enclosures is embedded within a globalized security regime that combines settler colonial strategies for counterinsurgency, imperial projects for regional hegemony, and racial capitalist projects for the pacification of surplus populations. To understand the day-to-day policing of the Palestinian enclosures, therefore, it is necessary to outline the contours of this broader regime.

To facilitate its settler colonial project, the State of Israel deploys security forces—military, police, border police, and intelligence—throughout Palestine/Israel. These forces use state violence to prevent the return of Palestinian refugees; enforce a siege on the Gaza Strip; and regulate the lives of Palestinians inside Israel, in East Jerusalem, and in the West Bank. To rule the West

Bank, Israel has developed a multidimensional strategy that Jeff Halper calls a “matrix of control.”²⁶

- Enclosure: Israeli rule in the West Bank is based on the fragmentation and enclosure of the Palestinian population. Through the Oslo process, Israel concentrated the Palestinian population into an archipelago of isolated enclosures (Areas A and B) surrounded by walls, fences, checkpoints, and bypass roads.²⁷ The regime of security coordination is deployed to police the Palestinian population inside the enclosures designated Area A.



FIGURE 5.2. Israeli surveillance camera in East Jerusalem

- **Movement:** The Israeli military uses permits, closures, checkpoints, and segregated roads to regulate Palestinian movement. The checkpoints allow the state to shut down the entire West Bank, seal off particular enclosures, or allow some individuals to pass while detaining others.²⁸
- **Knowledge:** Israeli forces use high-tech surveillance equipment—including satellites and unmanned drones—along with an extensive network of informants and the interrogation of detainees to gather intelligence about Palestinian life in the enclosures.²⁹
- **Punishment:** The Israeli military invades the enclosures to arrest Palestinian activists, uses military courts to determine punishment, and employs an administrative procedure to detain Palestinians for six months without charges (with the possibility of unlimited renewals). In addition, the Israeli military employs collective punishments such as curfews, closures, and home demolitions to pressure Palestinians to police one another.³⁰
- **Bureaucracy:** Finally, the Israeli military administration oversees a bureaucracy of permits for work in Israel or the settlements and for permission to dig wells, build roads, upgrade land, or visit hospitals or religious sites in Jerusalem. The Israeli General Security Service (Shabak) uses these permits as leverage to recruit informants.³¹

Israel's "matrix of control" constitutes a counterinsurgency strategy to fragment the Palestinian population, prevent organized resistance, and repress challenges to Israeli rule. As such, it is integral to Israel's settler colonial strategy of concentrating the Palestinian population into a series of West Bank enclosures (Areas A and B) and colonizing the land that remains (Area C).

Israel's strategies for policing Palestine are closely articulated with US imperial projects in the Middle East. Since the 1970s, US policy in the Middle East has prioritized regional hegemony, access to oil, and the existence of Israel as a Jewish state.³² The "special relationship" between Israel and the United States is manifest in US military, financial, and diplomatic support for Israel; joint military exercises and the exchange of raw intelligence; coordinated operations in the global "war on terror"; and joint support for counterrevolutionary forces in the Arab world and beyond.³³ Since the early 1990s, the United States has chaperoned the Oslo process with attention to Israeli demands—especially regarding security and the right of return—and neoliberal efforts to promote free trade in the Middle East.³⁴

In addition, the United States helps facilitate regional security coordination between Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. Building on the policies of Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian regime of Abdel Fattah el-Sisi enforces the Israeli siege on Gaza

and targets Hamas as part of its crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood. The Hashemite regime in Jordan plays an even larger role in policing the West Bank. While regulating Palestinian movement across the only bridge connecting the West Bank to the outside world, the Jordanian regime also shares intelligence with the United States and Israel and hosts the police-training center where US private security contractors prepare PA security forces for deployment in the West Bank.

Finally, Israeli strategies to police Palestine are connected to a global web of racial capitalist projects to contain and pacify surplus populations produced by neoliberal restructuring. Incubated by the Israeli military, private Israeli companies have emerged at the forefront of a multi-billion-dollar global industry for security technology—including unmanned drones, biometric scanners, and surveillance equipment with facial recognition and other advanced capacities.³⁵ The privatized strategies for residential security in South Africa, for instance, rely heavily on Israeli technology.³⁶ Stressing that their equipment has been tested in the occupied territories, Israeli companies have transformed the occupation into a profitable market opportunity. As elites throughout the world seek solutions for crises generated by racial neoliberalism, Israeli companies export not only technology but also “expert knowledge” and a model of securitization that maintains the illusion of democracy through racial profiling, exclusionary confinement, and outsourced repression.³⁷

The policing of Palestine, therefore, contributes not only to Israel’s settler colonial project but also to the US empire and the global security industry. Although the State of Israel retains ultimate sovereignty in the West Bank, a network of coordinated security forces supplements direct military rule with an indirect approach to policing the Palestinian poor in the West Bank enclosures. As one of the world’s most advanced strategies for managing a surplus population, this network draws the forces of empire as well as the colonized population into Israel’s settler colonial project.

PALESTINIAN SECURITY FORCES

The Oslo Accords laid the foundation for security coordination by creating the Palestinian Authority and charging it with responsibility for suppressing resistance within the scattered enclaves of Area A. After early efforts at security coordination broke down during the second intifada (2000–2005), the United States and European Union stepped in to supervise the “reform” of the PA security forces. The current regime of security coordination is a product of these imperial interventions.

PA Security Forces

The incorporation of the Palestinian Authority into Israel's security regime builds on a long history of settler colonial and imperial strategies for indirect rule.³⁸ Like the Bantustan strategy in South Africa, it involves the creation of semiautonomous proxy forces to oversee the native population. Since its inception, Israel has relied on compliant Arab forces to help manage the Palestinian population.³⁹ In the early 1980s, for instance, the state established "Village Leagues" in the West Bank by appointing submissive village leaders, empowering them to allocate resources, and using them as intermediaries.⁴⁰ But Palestinians rejected the leagues as collaborators and chased them from power. During the first intifada (1987–93), Palestinian popular committees also demanded the resignation of Palestinian police who helped Israel patrol the occupied territories.⁴¹ These experiences convinced some Israeli officials that indirect rule could only succeed with the participation of the PLO. This helped pave the way for the Oslo process and the formation of the Palestinian Authority.

The 1994 Cairo Accords and the 1995 Oslo II Agreement called for the creation of a Palestinian police force that would "act systematically against all expressions of violence and terror" within Area A.⁴² Subsequent agreements required the PA to take explicit measures to demonstrate its commitment to security coordination and the suppression of Palestinian violence against Israelis. Overall, the Oslo agreements charged the PA with responsibility for security in Area A (18 percent of the West Bank), established shared jurisdiction in Area B (22 percent), and ensured full Israeli jurisdiction over Area C (60 percent).

The PA security forces were initially built from existing Palestinian armed factions based either in the occupied territories or the diaspora.⁴³ Arafat established a patronage regime that involved multiple, competing security forces—each loyal to its commander who maintained his position through loyalty to Arafat.⁴⁴ In March 1996, the United States began training and funding the Palestinian Preventive Security Organization (PSO) and the General Intelligence Service (GIS).⁴⁵ The 1998 Wye River Memorandum codified the role of the CIA in mentoring these organizations and created a joint US-Palestinian security committee to ensure that the PA complied with its obligations.⁴⁶

During the 1990s, the PA security forces gained a reputation for corruption and brutality. They subjected Palestinian militants and even nonviolent critics of the PA to harassment and torture. Although Israeli and US officials were never satisfied that the PA was truly committed to security coordination,

Palestinians became increasingly critical of the PA for suppressing dissent, enriching a small elite, and subordinating Palestinian interests to those of Israel.⁴⁷ When the second intifada began in September 2000, Palestinian protesters were questioning the entire Oslo regime. But the brutality of Israeli repression enabled Arafat to deflect antagonism from the PA and direct popular resentment toward Israel.

Security coordination lost all coherence during the intifada. When Israel unleashed the full force of its military against the Palestinian people, many members of the PA security forces joined the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and took part in armed battles against the Israeli army.⁴⁸ Israeli military forces bombed the headquarters, police stations, and prisons of PA security forces; killed hundreds and arrested thousands of PA troops; and either destroyed or confiscated the vast majority of PA weapons, computers, and equipment. By the end of the uprising, the PA security forces were completely decimated.⁴⁹

During the intifada, Israel also invaded PA prisons to capture Palestinian fighters and political leaders. In 2002, for instance, Israeli forces surrounded the headquarters of the Preventive Security Organization in Ramallah and captured two Hamas militants. The PA claimed to be holding the fighters to protect them from Israel, but many Palestinians saw their arrest as a sign that the PA was cooperating with Israel to suppress the uprising. The same year, the PA arrested Ahmad Saadat—the general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—along with several PFLP militants and held them in a prison overseen by the United States and United Kingdom. In March 2006, the Palestinian Supreme Court declared Saadat's arrest unconstitutional, and the newly elected Hamas government ordered his release. In a coordinated assault, the United States and United Kingdom withdrew their forces, and the Israeli military raided the prison and arrested the men.⁵⁰

Throughout the intifada, the United States encouraged a revival of security coordination. While the CIA continued advising the PSO and the GIS, the US government sent high-level delegations to demand that the PA coordinate with Israel to suppress the uprising.⁵¹ By 2003, the United States along with other members of the newly formed “Quartet” (the United Nations, the European Union, and Russia) agreed on a “Roadmap” for ending the intifada and reviving negotiations. The Performance Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution insisted that the PA undergo a process of “security sector reform.” According to the Roadmap, the PA must “declare an unequivocal end to violence and terrorism and undertake visible efforts on the ground to arrest, disrupt, and restrain individuals and groups conducting and planning violent

attacks on Israelis anywhere.” In addition, the PA must rebuild and reform its security forces, carry out “sustained, targeted, and effective operations aimed at confronting all those engaged in terror,” and “progressively resume security cooperation” with the Israeli military.⁵²

Security Sector Reform

In 2005, Mahmoud Abbas became president of the PA and accepted the Quartet’s demands for “security sector reform.”⁵³ The same year, the United States created the position of US Security Coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority (USSC). Following a series of fitful starts and redirections, the reform process gained momentum in 2007 when Abbas dissolved the Hamas government, reasserted Fatah control over the PA, and appointed Salam Fayyad as prime minister. Fayyad prioritized security sector reform, insisting that the PA could prepare a pathway to statehood by demonstrating its ability to establish order and ensure security in Area A.⁵⁴ Supervised by the United States and European Union and coordinated with Israel, the reform process generated the advanced network of security forces that polices the Palestinian enclosures today.

Security sector reform had two principal goals: centralization and professionalization. First, reformers sought to centralize command and control under the new PA Ministry of the Interior (MoI). The PA reduced the number of security branches from seventeen to six: Civil Police (CP), General Intelligence (GIS), Preventive Security (PSO), Military Intelligence (MI), Presidential Guard (PG), and National Security Forces (NSF). Four branches now report to the MoI, but Abbas retained control over the PG and NSF. Moreover, Fayyad often bypassed the MoI by meeting directly with branch commanders. And each branch receives training and support from different international agencies: the USSC (NSF and PG), the EU (CP), and the CIA (PSO and GIS). In short, the reforms have reduced overlap, but the MoI does not exercise centralized control over the Palestinian security forces.⁵⁵

To address the second objective—professionalization—the PA encouraged thousands of troops to retire and began recruiting new troops to take their place. All new recruits are vetted by Israel, the PA, Jordan, and the United States to ensure that they have no history of criminal activity, human rights abuses, or ties to groups on the US list of foreign terrorist organizations.⁵⁶ Because this list includes the major Palestinian opposition parties—Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, and the PFLP—the pool of recruits is limited to depoliticized youth or Fatah affiliates.⁵⁷ Despite the goal of professionalization, therefore,

the vast majority of security personnel still belong to Fatah. Similarly, the heads of the main security forces are members of the Fatah Revolutionary Council. The estimated number of security personnel exceeds 70,000.⁵⁸ Yet the PA security forces also provide income to an undeclared number of confidential informants—expected to be in the thousands.⁵⁹ As one of the few sources of steady employment, the security forces thus serve as a social safety net for Fatah cadres, a patronage network for Fatah leaders, and an instrument of Fatah rule in the West Bank.⁶⁰

Another aspect of professionalization is improved training. In 2007, Abbas inaugurated the Palestinian Academy of Security Sciences (PASS) in Jericho to provide standardized, professional training for all PA security forces.⁶¹ PASS expanded steadily and is now known as Al-Istiqlal University. Although the university employs Palestinian trainers and provides advanced training courses, it has never become the primary training facility that its founders intended.⁶² Instead, seventeen countries and international organizations train the PA security forces—with the European Union and the United States overseeing the largest, most important training programs.

The European Union trains the Palestinian Civil Police (CP) through the EU Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support (EUPOL-COPPS).⁶³ European trainers provide instruction for police recruits, support for the criminal justice system, and advice to CP units throughout the West Bank. Focusing on everyday concerns such as property crime, interpersonal conflict, and traffic offenses, the CP has earned respect for restoring a sense of “normality” to life in Palestinian cities. While some question the ideal of producing “normality” under military occupation, PA officials insist that EUPOL-COPPS and the CP are largely uncontroversial: “Beefing up our efforts to combat ordinary crime is applauded by virtually everyone.”⁶⁴

The United States Security Coordinator (USSC)

The USSC, on the other hand, is highly controversial. With a US-led multinational force that includes American, British, Canadian, and Turkish soldiers along with private contractors, the USSC has taken the lead in rebuilding the PA security forces.⁶⁵ The CIA continues to handle the Preventive Security Organization and the General Intelligence Service, while the USSC has focused on training the National Security Forces (NSF) and the Presidential Guard (PG).⁶⁶

After being vetted by Palestinian, Israeli, American, and Jordanian intelligence agencies, new recruits for the NSF and PG undergo basic training

in Jericho and advanced training in Amman, Jordan. Although PA officials wanted all training to occur in the West Bank, the United States insisted on using the Jordan International Police Training Center (JIPTC) where private contractors from DynCorp trained the new Iraqi army after the US invasion in 2003.⁶⁷ Two highlights of the JIPTC are a “full-size model refugee camp” and the ability to practice with live ammunition, which Israel prohibits in Jericho.⁶⁸

From February 2008 to September 2012, the USSC trained nine special battalions of the NSF and two PG battalions—each composed of 450 to 500 troops. The USSC also provided intermediate and advanced leadership courses for all PA security forces. According to a senior US official, the USSC has trained 9,000 to 10,000 Palestinian troops since 2008.⁶⁹ But the mission of the USSC extends beyond training. As a US official explained, “We do more than just training. We are involved in training, mentoring, good governance, legal, infrastructure. We are trying to teach a man to fish. We could have done more if we had done it for them—but instead we are teaching them how to plan.”⁷⁰ The USSC also funded the construction of new offices for the Palestinian MoI as well as training centers, barracks, and headquarters for PA security forces throughout the West Bank. And, through DynCorp, the USSC supplies the PA with nonlethal equipment including vehicles, computers, and technology for surveillance and crowd control.⁷¹

Until 2009, the USSC also helped coordinate the daily activities of the PA security forces. Because US State Department travel restrictions prevent US citizens from deploying in the West Bank, British and Canadian members of the USSC—as well as DynCorp contractors—worked closely with Palestinian forces on the ground.⁷² Dayton described the Canadian teams as “road warriors” that “move around the West Bank daily visiting Palestinian security leaders, gauging local conditions, and working with real Palestinians in sensing the mood on the ground.”⁷³ Dayton also held weekly meetings with PA district commanders and helped coordinate PA deployments. And, according to a former high-ranking Israeli military commander, it was Dayton who convinced Fayyad to prioritize security as the foundation on which Palestinians could build a thriving economy and an independent state.⁷⁴

PA and US officials argue that Israel and its supporters in the US Congress have prevented the PA security forces from achieving their full potential.⁷⁵ The US Congress stipulates that the USSC can only provide the PA with nonlethal support, forcing the PA to acquire weapons from Jordan, Egypt, and even Israel. Before the PA can acquire firearms, Israel tests the weapons and maintains ballistic records “so that in the event that these weapons are involved in terrorist activity aimed against Israelis, [each weapon] can be identified.”⁷⁶ More

importantly, PA and US officials voice frustration at what seems to be a “Catch 22” situation: Israeli officials demand proof that PA forces are willing and able to perform particular security operations, yet the Israeli military prohibits the PA troops from carrying out these operations.⁷⁷ This creates a peculiar dynamic in which PA officials want to demonstrate their ability to suppress Palestinian resistance, but the Israeli government prevents them from doing so. It also highlights a fundamental impossibility that structures the regime of security coordination: Israeli officials will never fully accept promises by the PA to guarantee Israeli security.

Nevertheless, PA and US officials express pride in the accomplishments of security sector reform. A senior PA official declared, “We have improved our capability, capacity, and professionalism. There is more focus on the rule of law and human rights.”⁷⁸ Another explained that the “new generation” of PA troops provides the key to the future. “Palestinian society is in need of respectable Palestinian security officers,” he said. “Officers who do what they are supposed to do; professionals who provide services seriously, who are not corrupt, not above the law. We are raising a new generation for this—a new generation built from the beginning.”⁷⁹ According to a senior US official, the USSC has provided the PA with the security forces it will need in the event of a final status agreement on a two-state solution.⁸⁰

During his 2009 speech at a pro-Israel think tank, General Dayton explained that the “new men of Palestine” had been deployed in cities throughout the West Bank to assert the authority of the PA. These deployments, he added, were “surprisingly well coordinated with the Israeli army” and “caught the attention of the Israeli defense establishment.”⁸¹ Recoiling from Dayton’s revelations, Abbas appointed a new minister of the interior who announced that the USSC would no longer coordinate directly with district commanders.⁸² The USSC replaced Dayton and reduced its public profile. Despite popular anger over Dayton’s comments about producing “new men,” however, PA officials still use a similar discourse about a “new generation.”

A MONOPOLY OF VIOLENCE: THE DEPLOYMENT OF COORDINATED SECURITY FORCES

Under President Abbas (2005–present) and Prime Minister Fayyad (2007–14), the PA strategy for achieving independence rests on the ability of the PA to neutralize the organized Palestinian opposition and ensure the security of Israel.⁸³ The political platform adopted by Abbas—“One authority, one gun, one law”—captures the goal of establishing what Max Weber called a “monopoly

on the legitimate use of physical force” within Area A.⁸⁴ Yet this project confronts three important limitations. First, the Israeli military exercises ultimate sovereignty throughout the West Bank, including Area A. Rather than a monopoly of violence, therefore, the PA can only hope to establish supremacy over other Palestinian forces inside the enclosures. Second, the effort to establish PA supremacy is not an independent strategy but rather a project coordinated with Israel and the United States. This is the goal of security coordination. Finally, the focus on a monopoly of violence suggests that the security forces target cells that participate in armed struggle. In practice, however, the specter of “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” provides justification for coordinated security operations that target all Palestinian opponents of Oslo. The regime of security coordination, therefore, is increasingly authoritarian.

Coordinated Operations

Security coordination between Israel and the PA takes place on multiple levels. District Coordinating Offices (DCOs) in each region of the West Bank provide a mechanism for coordinating day-to-day activities such as the movement of Palestinian troops between Areas A and B or the entry of Israeli military forces into Area A.⁸⁵ At a broader level, coordination involves the strategic deployment of PA and Israeli forces. After years of neglect, Israel and the PA reconstituted the structures for strategic deployment in 2007 when they acknowledged a common enemy: Hamas.⁸⁶ According to a former Israeli commanding officer, coordinated security operations involve the following principle: “You do more and Israel will do less. You will take more responsibility, we should take less.”⁸⁷

In June 2007, the PA launched a crackdown on Hamas forces in the West Bank and arrested 1,500 Hamas affiliates in four months. Later that year, Fayyad launched a series of operations to reassert the authority of the PA by confronting all organized armed factions in one city at a time.⁸⁸ These operations accelerated when the first two battalions of PA troops returned from USSC training in Amman in early 2008. In close coordination with the USSC and the Israeli military, the PA carried out major operations in Nablus, Jenin, Hebron, and other Area A enclosures.⁸⁹ It was these operations that, according to Dayton, impressed the Israeli military. In June 2009, just weeks after Dayton’s speech, the PA campaign in Qalqiliya ended with the death of five Hamas militants, four PA security officers, and one Palestinian civilian.⁹⁰

While confiscating the weapons of Islamist and leftist militants, the PA and Israel established an “amnesty” program for the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. In exchange for giving up their weapons and refraining from



FIGURE 5.3. PA security forces in Ramallah

armed activities, Israel agreed to remove their names from its “wanted list.”⁹¹ According to a former Israeli commander, PA forces negotiated with Fatah militants to shut down their armed cells and collect their weapons.⁹² By June 2010, 469 fighters had surrendered their weapons, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade was largely demobilized.⁹³ Official estimates and popular perception suggest that there are now very few independent weapons in the West Bank.

The supremacy of the PA has been secured through coordinated arrests, interrogations, torture, shared intelligence, and assaults on the organizational structure of opposition groups. Between June 2007 and August 2010, the PA arrested 8,000 to 10,000 people affiliated with Hamas.⁹⁴ According to a former Israeli military officer, “anyone doing violence since 2000 was arrested by the PA, Israel, or Jordan.”⁹⁵ Palestinian human rights organizations have documented the use of military courts, arbitrary violence, and torture by the PA security forces during these operations.⁹⁶

Arrests and interrogations are often coordinated between the PA, Israel, and the United States. By all accounts, the Israeli Shabak provides the Palestinian PSO and GIS with lists of militants to arrest.⁹⁷ According to a Palestinian lawyer, “The Israelis will say, ‘This guy is involved in one, two, three. Go and arrest him.’ And the [PA] will do it.”⁹⁸ She suggests that this practice allows Israel to avoid politically sensitive arrests while also requiring the PA to demonstrate its commitment to Israel’s security.⁹⁹ A man who was arrested

by the PA in 2013 on suspicion of belonging to Hamas and owning a weapon told me that he was interrogated heavily and subjected to intense psychological torture. One of his Palestinian interrogators told him: “You are now in an American-Israeli hotel.”¹⁰⁰ It is less common to hear of Palestinians held by Israel at the request of the PA. Yet an Israeli interrogator told a Palestinian man who spent nearly twenty years in prison that he would have been released earlier, but the PA asked Israel to keep him in jail.¹⁰¹

Much of the intelligence gathered during interrogations is shared between Israel and the PA. I interviewed several people who had been arrested by both Israel and the PA. All of them explained that they were asked the same questions by both sets of interrogators—implying that there is a single shared security file.¹⁰² A lawyer recounts that her Palestinian clients regularly say: “I was released from the PA, and immediately, when the Israelis came, in the same night, they were questioning me about the same things and the same information.”¹⁰³

While Palestinian officials downplay this exchange, Israeli and US officials confirm that there is an open exchange of intelligence—especially from the PA to Israel and the United States.¹⁰⁴ Information does not seem to flow so easily in the other direction. This might stem from efforts by the Shabak to protect the identities of its Palestinian informants. In any case, one effect is that the PA does not always have enough evidence to prosecute people that Israel instructs it to arrest.¹⁰⁵ The issue remains highly sensitive. In December 2009, when the Israeli military killed three militants in Nablus based on intelligence supposedly provided by the PA, more than 10,000 Palestinians took to the streets demanding an end to security coordination.¹⁰⁶ To avoid this public scrutiny, Israeli prosecutors do not use confessions obtained by the PA in Israeli military courts.¹⁰⁷

Also common are “back-to-back” arrests, when a Palestinian who has just been released by either Israel or the PA is immediately rearrested by the other. The Palestinian prisoners’ rights organization Addameer has documented hundreds of cases of back-to-back arrests since 2007.¹⁰⁸ Because Israel does not always share information, the PA security forces sometimes use back-to-back arrests to discover what Palestinian prisoners have revealed to Israeli interrogators.¹⁰⁹

The Jordanian regime also participates in these coordinated operations and shares intelligence with the United States, Israel, and the PA. In 2010, for instance, Jordanian security services arrested and interrogated Samer Al-Barq and then deported him to the West Bank. While crossing the border, Al-Barq

was arrested by Israel. According to Al-Barq, Israeli interrogators asked him questions based on information that he revealed to the Jordanians.¹¹⁰

Eliminating Opposition

Since 2007, this system of security coordination has largely demobilized the armed Palestinian opposition in the West Bank and reestablished the authority of the PA within the framework of Israeli sovereignty. By 2010, a PA official expressed confidence that Hamas could no longer sustain organized operations in the West Bank.¹¹¹ Three years later, a US official claimed that no Palestinian organization had active armed cells in the West Bank and that coordinated security operations effectively prevent the formation of new cells.¹¹²

Yet the security crackdown extends far beyond the armed wings of opposition parties. To begin with, the crackdown targets the financial and organizational structures of opposition parties. Along with the United States and Israel, the PA has worked to disrupt funding for organizations associated with Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, and the PFLP—including political and social welfare organizations. The United States attempts to eliminate international funding by criminalizing the provision of “material support” to organizations on the US terrorist list and by requiring NGOs that receive support from USAID to police their local partners.¹¹³

The PA and Israel target not only the flow of money but also the leadership networks, educational institutions, and media outlets of the opposition. An Israeli reporter who attended a security coordination meeting in 2008 reported that the head of a Palestinian security force boasted to his Israeli counterparts: “Now we are taking care of every Hamas institution in accordance with your instructions. Lately you gave us the names of 64 institutions, and we have already dealt with 50. Some of these institutions have been closed down. Others we have changed their administrations. We have also seized their money.”¹¹⁴ By August 2010, the PA had reportedly closed 187 organizations associated with Hamas, forced dozens of other organizations to replace their directors with Fatah appointees, and fired nearly 1,000 schoolteachers for their political affiliations. The PA also took control over religious institutions throughout the West Bank by licensing preachers, regulating the content of sermons, and firing two hundred imams.¹¹⁵

The breadth of repression cannot be underestimated. Going beyond organized political factions, the security network targets opponents of Fatah and critics of the Oslo process. Demonstrations are a primary site of repression. In

August 2010, PA security forces disrupted a political rally in Ramallah. Two weeks later, they fired hundreds of rounds to disperse Palestinian youth in Dheisheh refugee camp.¹¹⁶ Like the Israeli police, PA security forces have also arrested teenagers for uploading videos and posting Facebook content critical of the PA leadership.¹¹⁷

In early 2013, Palestinian youth descended on an Israeli checkpoint near Tulkarem to protest the death of a Palestinian prisoner in an Israeli jail. Multiple demonstrators described the PA security forces appearing out of nowhere—possibly from behind the Israeli lines—and pushing the youth back to the center of the city where they arrested several people.¹¹⁸ According to the mother of one young man, the PA officers took her son back to the checkpoint and asked the Israelis if he was the one they wanted.¹¹⁹

Several months later, PA officials in Tulkarem arrested six youth for graffiti demanding an end to security coordination. “The PA became angry when they saw young people talking about coordination—on the walls and online,” says a young activist.¹²⁰ According to the parents of one young man, “They came in the middle of the night like the Israeli army, knocked on the doors, came into the house, disturbed everybody, upset them, asked people questions, searched the house and took our son away.”¹²¹ The PA security forces interrogated the youths about the slogans, held them for two weeks, and told them not to talk about politics. Within hours of their release, four of the men were rearrested by the Israeli military. One of them was sick when the PA arrested him and, according to a close friend, his family had to take his medication to the police station. When Israeli soldiers rearrested the man, they asked his parents: “Where is his medication?”¹²² For his friends, this is clear evidence that the PA shares its security files with Israel.

In early 2016, the PA deployed its security forces against Palestinian teachers during a month-long strike. Throughout February and March, PA security forces set up checkpoints near West Bank cities to prevent teachers from reaching demonstrations in Ramallah. They stopped taxis for questioning, confiscated the ID cards of teachers, and detained and interrogated dozens of activists. Fatah forces accused the teachers of being proxies for Hamas, Israel, or the United States. Yet the strike continued and the PA eventually agreed to the teachers’ demands.

For many Palestinians, this raises serious concerns that the PA is collaborating with the Israeli military to suppress not only armed struggle but also all forms of resistance and opposition. Rejecting what Yezid Sayigh calls the PA’s “authoritarian transformation,” Palestinians increasingly complain that they are living under two occupations, that the PA are subcontractors for the

Israelis, or that they are all part of the same system.¹²³ As a longtime activist put it: “The PA are acting as collaborators. It is really hard to believe that it is the PLO doing this to us.”¹²⁴

Morality Policing and Other Tactics

During the 2011 revolutionary uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, a Palestinian youth movement—unaffiliated with any political faction—began carrying out creative forms of direct action against the occupation.¹²⁵ In June 2012, the youth organized a demonstration at Al-Manara Square in downtown Ramallah to protest a meeting between PA president Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli deputy prime minister Shaul Mofaz at the nearby presidential compound. PA security forces and Fatah loyalists violently repressed the demonstration, beating dozens of protesters and severely injuring three. An independent commission of inquiry found that officials in the PA president’s office ordered the attacks.¹²⁶ At more recent demonstrations, PA security forces confront demonstrators on a side street rather than the city center and, according to one activist, they now “only hit people a few times” rather than seriously injuring them.¹²⁷ As the youth movement continues, young Palestinian women are at the forefront of the struggle. According to one young woman, “Girls began taking a leading role in the demonstrations. They are always in front. The reason is that we know that if it was boys, [the PA security forces] would be more violent towards them.”¹²⁸

The violence of the PA security forces was on display in late August 2013 at a youth demonstration in Ramallah against efforts by US secretary of state John Kerry to resume the Oslo negotiations. Youth carrying coffins symbolizing the death of Oslo were met by a line of Palestinian Civil Police backed by National Security Forces—all in riot gear—outside the presidential compound. As the confrontation escalated, PA security forces attacked the protesters with nightsticks. According to one activist, “We were all together, and then suddenly the women were all in front. We thought we’d be protected, but we were not. I was beaten badly. They broke my glasses and bruised my forehead. They treated us the same as they would treat the men.”¹²⁹ Another explained that her friend was badly hurt during the demonstration but refused to seek treatment. The last time he went to the hospital after a demonstration, she explained, PA security forces entered the hospital and arrested him.¹³⁰ Despite the violence, the protesters did not back down. Led by young women, the youth challenged the PA forces—pushing through the police line, pulling on their riot shields, and chanting against security coordination.



FIGURE 5.4. PA troops confront Palestinian protesters

As this demonstration made clear, women are not protected from the violence of the PA security forces. And state violence continues after the demonstrations. People associated with the PA posted videos of the August 2013 protest online and circulated them widely.¹³¹ PA officials expressed shock and horror that young Palestinian women would use offensive language and would call the troops “spies” and the president a “dog.” “After the demonstration, they continued to attack us,” explains a young activist, “saying that these women are sluts who go to bars and curse God. They attacked our reputation on TV and online.”¹³² Appealing to patriarchal elements in Palestinian society, supporters of the PA argued that the young women should not be taken seriously because they drink alcohol and date men.

While women are the primary targets of morality policing, they are not alone. According to a young man, “They would rather arrest me for marijuana on the street than at a demonstration. They focus on things like marijuana, going to bars, drinking, having girlfriends. They say that your sister does this and that. This type of pressure is especially strong on the women activists and their families. There is also a lot of sexual harassment against the women activists. The point is that they won’t let you seem like you are presenting ethical challenges to the system.”¹³³

The PA also responds to political opposition through paternalism and threats. When the youth movement began, an activist explains, “[The PA

security forces] were uncomfortable at first. Then they began treating us like we are kids. They want to listen to us like you would listen to children. They are trying to undermine our way of thinking. We are not kids, we are upset with the PA. We are resisting the system.”¹³⁴ Another aspect of paternalism lies in the use of family networks to suppress resistance. “They call our families. If you have a relative in the security forces, they will call you and say: ‘Don’t be like this, do something else,’” explains a young activist.¹³⁵ A US official attributes this strategy to the orientalist notion that “Arabs are a tribal society.” He goes on to explain that, “Israel goes in heavy handed. But the PA does things differently. They know that X is the head of the family, so they go talk to that person over tea and say that you must give up these three guys. And they turn themselves in a week later.”¹³⁶

A conversation between the commanders of different PA security forces in the Bethlehem district reveals the shortcoming of relying on families to police their children. One commander explained that when children from the refugee camps throw stones at Israeli checkpoints, PA officials talk to their parents and ask them to intervene. Another commander admitted that this does not always work. “Some of the kids have permission from their fathers to throw stones,” he said. “What can we do? They say: ‘You are Fatah, we are Popular Front.’ We can’t stop them.”¹³⁷ As the commander admits, simplistic notions of “tribe” cannot account for the dynamics of political orientation and party identity.

Alongside paternalism, the PA employs threats and fear to suppress resistance. Not only do PA officials tell activists that the security forces are trying to protect them from the Israelis, they also deploy the specter of Hamas. A leftist explained that his Palestinian interrogators asked him, “What do you really want? If the PA goes, it will be really bad. It’s either us or the Right. If we go, you will be killed. Either stay protected under the system or you will suffer all of your life.”¹³⁸ Another explained that PA officials publicly accuse activists of supporting foreign agendas, working for Israel and the United States, and trying to undermine the struggle for independence. For example, a PA security official appeared on Palestine TV and accused the youth of being paid agents of foreign interests. Describing this incident, a young woman exclaimed: “The security [forces] are financed by the Americans and the Europeans. And they come and say that youth without work, who live in very bad situations, who protest against the Israelis—they say that the youth are paid agents? Even if that was true, the security forces are more foreign-owned than anyone in the country!”¹³⁹

Despite the impossibility of achieving a monopoly of violence under settler colonial rule, security coordination has enabled the PA to establish its supremacy within the enclaves of Area A. The result, however, is a sense of complete

lockdown on political expression in the West Bank. Several people explained that the goal is to depoliticize the population. “Anyone who raises his head gets thirty years in jail,” said one man. “I don’t think about politics. I just want to work, to live, and to feed my family.”¹⁴⁰ Another explained, “As long as you don’t get involved in anything, you can live like a sultan.”¹⁴¹ Most Palestinians, however, remain highly politicized. Moreover, they increasingly raise concerns about security coordination and the authoritarianism of the PA.

THE DYNAMICS OF COOPERATION AND CONTESTATION

Security coordination in the West Bank is a highly contested and unstable formation. While structural dynamics promote cooperation, the PA also participates in security coordination for strategic political reasons. Yet the network is strained by unequal power and tense confrontations due to the underlying colonial dynamic.

Politics of Cooperation

Overall, the regime of security coordination is structured by the colonial relationship between Israel and the PA. Israel remains the dominant partner and Israeli security retains priority. In the words of a former Israeli commanding officer, “Israel has direct control over all areas of the West Bank and so can dictate the framework for security coordination. Israel has a veto on all security issues and decides the scope of the [Palestinian security forces] activities.”¹⁴² A former PA security official agreed: “In coordination meetings, the [Israeli military] gives orders and the [PA] obeys. We have no choice.”¹⁴³

At a certain level, however, the interests of the PA line up with those of Israel. PA officials insist that this is merely coincidental. In the words of a senior PA official, “We work for our own benefit. Whether we meet or don’t meet their goals, we work for our own benefit.”¹⁴⁴ Abbas is even more direct: “Frankly speaking, we are not guards; we are not Israel’s security guards. We are partners. If they want us to cooperate, then we stand ready to do that within the limits of our national interests.”¹⁴⁵

Indeed, there are deep structural reasons for the alignment of interests between Israel and the PA. Most importantly, the PA budget depends largely on funds from donor states and taxes collected by Israel. Israel and the donors use this funding as leverage to extract political and economic concessions from the PA—including security demands. In 2006–7, for example, the United States

organized a boycott of the democratically elected Hamas government. In 2012, the PA faced intense external pressure not to request upgraded observer status at the United Nations. And in late 2013, donor states threatened to withdraw funding unless a final status agreement was reached by mid-2014. While the PA often resists this pressure, financial dependency continues to shape PA participation in security coordination.

But the alignment of interests also stems from political decisions on the part of the PA leadership. Most immediately, the desire for self-preservation grounds PA efforts to demobilize forces opposed to Fatah and Oslo. The crackdown on Islamists and leftists is a Fatah strategy to retain power in the West Bank and prevent a repeat of the defeat in Gaza. At a security coordination meeting in 2008, a senior PA security officer reassured his Israeli counterparts, "There is no conflict between us. We have a common enemy." Another clarified, "Hamas is the enemy and we have decided to wage an all-out war against Hamas."¹⁴⁶

In addition, the PA seeks to promote the interests of the new Palestinian elite through security coordination. As I explained in chapter three, a small class of Palestinians has grown rich as a result of the Oslo process.¹⁴⁷ Backed by Palestinian capitalists, Abbas and Fayyad believe that the best way to attract foreign investment and promote economic development is by ensuring security and stability in the West Bank.

Finally, PA officials support security coordination as a route to statehood. They hope to convince Israel and the United States that they are "willing and able" to ensure security and stability in a two-state solution.¹⁴⁸ According to a former Israeli military officer, "The PA had to prove that it was committed to a peaceful resolution, to diplomacy and negotiations. And that it would prevent violence and chaos in the public sphere."¹⁴⁹ The PA is doing everything possible to demonstrate that it is a "partner for peace." As a Palestinian involved in the negotiations explained, "Now our message to the West is that we are a serious partner and can deliver on our promises. And we are succeeding. Israel is enjoying security because of this."¹⁵⁰ According to the PA leadership, therefore, security coordination can promote the long-term interests of the Palestinian people.

Everyday Contestation

On a daily basis, however, security coordination is highly contested. The dynamics of contestation are shaped by the asymmetrical power relationship between Israeli and PA security forces. During the 1990s, the territorial divisions

of Oslo partially mitigated this contestation: the PA operated in Area A, the Israeli military operated in Area C, and they carried out joint patrols in Area B. Since 2002, however, the Israeli military has operated throughout the West Bank without acknowledging territorial limits to its jurisdiction. Palestinians insist that “Area A” has lost its relevance because of daily military incursions.¹⁵¹ In the words of a US analyst, “Israel recognizes the divisions between Areas A, B, and C when it comes to defining Palestinian zones of operation but tends to ignore them when it comes to defining its own.”¹⁵²

The Israeli military has replaced the spatial division of duties with a temporal division by imposing a nighttime curfew for PA troops. Even within Area A, the curfew prevents PA security forces from being on the streets from midnight to 5:00 a.m. This allows Israeli military forces to patrol Area A and carry out arrests in the middle of the night without encountering armed Palestinian officers. In 2009, the Israeli military began lifting the generalized curfew and allowing the PA to operate night patrols in some parts of Area A.¹⁵³ But the nighttime curfews are still enforced in much of the West Bank, leading Palestinians to explain that they live under two occupations: the Israeli military at night and the PA during the day.¹⁵⁴

Yet the Israeli military also carries out hundreds of daytime incursions into Area A every year. These operations are a constant source of tension between Israeli and Palestinian troops. The Israeli central command does not closely regulate these incursions. Instead, district level brigade commanders have authority over operations in Area A.¹⁵⁵ The standard operating procedure is for an Israeli commander to contact the PA forces through the local DCO and to inform the PA that Israeli troops will be present in a given city at a given time. Israeli commanders do not explain where exactly they will operate or what they will do. But they do insist that PA troops leave the streets in order to prevent confrontations. The PA commanders then instruct their troops to move inside and await permission to return to the streets. This subordination frustrates the PA troops.¹⁵⁶

But the Israeli military does not always inform the PA before entering Area A. During a focus group discussion, PA troops described the humiliation that this generates. “They pass in front of us and we can’t do anything. They pass right in front of us without letting us know that they are entering,” explained an officer. “And the people see them pass in front of a Palestinian police car and just keep going. We can’t speak with them and they don’t speak with us. But the picture is clear to the people. It is not right.” His colleague continued, “They are saying to your people that you are a joke—that you didn’t do anything and so now the occupation is entering.” A third officer explained the impact of

these incursions: “The Palestinian people see the Palestinian security as nothing. They see how the Israelis treat them. And they can’t respond.”¹⁵⁷

Israeli limitations on PA security operations in Areas B and C also generate tension. The Israeli government maintains strict restrictions on the presence of Palestinian troops in the villages of Area B and allows the PA to operate only fifteen police stations in the hundreds of isolated villages in the West Bank.¹⁵⁸ Any time an incident in Area B threatens the security of Israelis, the Israeli military arrives within minutes and facilitates the deployment of Palestinian troops. For instance, the Israeli military often calls on the PA to send troops to a village to confront Palestinian children throwing stones at Israeli cars. Over the last several years, Israel has also begun allowing the PA security forces to expand their areas of operation on the condition that they confront protesters.¹⁵⁹ Silent agreements allow the PA to deploy in certain parts of Area B—where they are sometimes permitted to carry weapons but not to wear uniforms.¹⁶⁰ Stripped of the meaningful symbols of Palestinian sovereignty yet asked to suppress Palestinian resistance, these troops confront the underlying purpose of their deployment.

Incidents that only impact Palestinians—such as domestic violence or theft—are handled quite differently. Village residents begin by calling the Palestinian DCO who then contacts the Israeli DCO to request permission to deploy a Palestinian unit to the area. The Israeli DCO often takes hours or even days to approve the request and sometimes denies the request altogether. If the Palestinian DCO receives permission to deploy PA security forces to Area B, the permit stipulates the number of vehicles and officers that can be deployed, imposes strict time limits on the deployment, and specifies whether the PA officers can carry weapons, wear uniforms, or display flashing lights. The Palestinian police unit then waits at the edge of Area A for an Israeli military escort. When the escort arrives, both vehicles go to the village and the PA police address the issue within the limits stipulated by the permit.¹⁶¹

The PA security forces have no jurisdiction in Area C, which makes up 60 percent of the West Bank. PA officials claim that murderers and rapists escape to Area C, but Israeli police do not arrest them. According to a PA official, “The Israelis refuse to allow the Palestinian side to do what is necessary to protect Palestinian civilians in Areas B and C. There are people who have committed crimes—even murder—and been sentenced to life by Palestinian courts, but they have escaped to Area C.”¹⁶² PA officials also claim that Hamas cells are reemerging in Area C. In 2013, after three attacks on Israelis in Area C,¹⁶³ Israeli officials denounced the PA security forces for not living up to their responsibilities to prevent violence. But the PA pushed back, arguing that the

attacks took place in areas outside of their jurisdiction and are therefore the sole responsibility of the IDF.¹⁶⁴

Even where they are allowed to operate, the PA troops only have jurisdiction over Palestinians from the occupied territories. The PA has no authority over Israelis or foreign nationals that enter Area A. If an Israeli commits a crime in an area under PA jurisdiction, the PA can do nothing more than temporarily detain the person in order to transfer custody to the Israeli military. This limits the ability of the PA security forces to confront violent Israeli settlers. A leading Israeli activist recounts a scene from Hebron when Israeli settlers were harassing Palestinian children. When the activist asked a Palestinian security officer to intervene, he replied: “Our job is to protect the settlers and not get involved in personal conflicts.”¹⁶⁵

Unsurprisingly, the PA troops find this asymmetry insulting. And day-to-day interactions with the occupation intensify their humiliation. Like all Palestinians, PA troops are regularly stopped at checkpoints, served with military orders, and arrested or beaten by soldiers and settlers. Some security officers live in the villages of Area B, but are not allowed to work there. Moreover, they risk imprisonment if they accidentally take their service weapon home.¹⁶⁶ In short, the colonial power relationship between Israeli soldiers and PA troops ensures the instability of the security regime.

Children with Stones

Even more difficult, however, are the daily demonstrations where Palestinian children and youth gather to throw stones at an Israeli military checkpoint, a watchtower along the wall, or settler cars on a bypass road. Over the last several years, Israeli settlers and politicians have introduced a new term for such demonstrations: “popular terrorism.”¹⁶⁷ This redefinition implies that the PA has a legal responsibility under the Oslo Accords to suppress these protests. Regardless of legal responsibility, the PA attempts to prevent these demonstrations as part of a broader strategy to prove its commitment to Israeli security.¹⁶⁸

When the Israeli military learns that a demonstration is brewing, the standard operating procedure is to contact the PA security forces through the DCO and “request” that the PA move the children back. These requests constitute daily demands that the PA continually prove its willingness and ability to cooperate in the suppression of even the least organized forms of resistance.

When the PA deploys troops to prevent Palestinian children from throwing stones, the confrontations are highly charged. According to PA security officers, Israeli soldiers often demonstrate their disrespect for the Palestinian troops by

shooting teargas at demonstrators while the PA troops are trying to push them back. They tell stories of PA troops injured by Israeli fire while standing between the military and the youth. "This happens a lot," explains a PA security officer. "It creates anxiety and makes people see themselves as small."¹⁶⁹

At the same time, the PA troops become—in the eyes of many children—the front lines of the occupation. Children and youth insist angrily that they want to throw stones at the Israeli soldiers: "Why are you trying to stop us? You should be joining us instead."¹⁷⁰ Like the Israeli soldiers, Palestinian protesters show little respect for the PA security officers. A Fatah leader explains, "It is a very difficult job. They are asked to move the children away from the soldiers. They tell the children that it is to stop them from being shot. But the children say, 'Leave me alone. Let me be shot.' And they call them all kinds of bad names."¹⁷¹ Sometimes, the PA troops respond by moving the children away as gently as possible; other times, they use violence; and sometimes the children respond by throwing stones at the PA troops. The PA security forces often reach out to the parents of protesters, putting pressure on them to police their children. Other times, they arrest the children—claiming that it is to protect them from being shot or arrested by the Israelis.¹⁷²

On a Friday afternoon in September 2013, dozens of PA security forces looked exasperated as they tried to move Palestinian youth away from the wall near Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem. Attempting to corral hundreds of children, the PA troops pushed them down a hill toward Aida refugee camp and implored them to stop throwing stones at the Israeli military positions above. But while the troops engaged some children, many more eluded their grasp.¹⁷³

Everyone knew there would be protests that afternoon. Israeli settlers had become increasingly aggressive since negotiations resumed in August—with almost daily "price tag" attacks and assertions of sovereignty over the Haram Al-Sharif (Temple Mount) in Jerusalem. In an effort to prevent confrontations, the PA deployed its security forces at all of the hotspots in the Bethlehem area. But they could not stop the youth from gathering at the entrance of Aida to challenge the Israeli army.

For several hours, the PA security forces tried to keep the youth away from the wall. Tensions escalated each time a PA soldier used violence against the children. Repeated confrontations ended in a barrage of stones as the children turned their anger toward the PA security forces.¹⁷⁴ At the end of the day, the Israeli military told the PA to withdraw its troops and sent in Israeli soldiers to disperse the children with teargas and rubber bullets.¹⁷⁵

Local political leaders say the youth went to Aida that day to defend Al-Aqsa Mosque. But their grievances run much deeper: incursions, arrests, and

administrative detentions; poverty and unemployment; the killing of a fifteen-year-old friend in Aida earlier in the year; the enormous concrete wall surrounding the camp and the city; the siege on Gaza; Israel's refusal to discuss the right of return; and the twentieth anniversary of the Oslo "peace process." For many of the youth, the system of security coordination itself had become a major source of frustration and anger.

PA SECURITY OFFICERS: "AN IMPOSSIBLE JOB"

PA security officers find themselves squeezed between two forces—charged, on the one hand, with not doing enough to protect Israel, and, on the other, with being traitors to their people. A former PA official believes that "everyone in the Palestinian security establishment suffers from a kind of schizophrenia."¹⁷⁶ While many take pride in their work, they also feel disrespected by Israelis and Palestinians alike. Several security officers explained that it is an "impossible job."¹⁷⁷ The psychological impacts are amplified by the fact that many people accept work with the PA security forces because there are so few other job opportunities. A Palestinian NGO worker explained, "I know the people who are soldiers. They don't want to be there—but they have no choice because they need a job."¹⁷⁸

Like the privatized security regime in South Africa, the regime of security coordination in the West Bank depends on the labor of the same population that it targets. The PA security forces recruit troops from a Palestinian working class that has become increasingly disposable due to the combination of neoliberalization and colonization. No longer able to access jobs in Israel, working-class Palestinians now rely on jobs with the PA security forces. This is a source of tremendous systemic instability.

In a context of widespread unemployment, the security forces have become an important source of work—especially for young men with Fatah affiliations. Nevertheless, the wages and working conditions are largely unsatisfactory. To begin with, the wages are insufficient for survival. An assistant police chief explained that he makes NIS3,500 (\$875) each month and that NIS1,500 (\$375) immediately goes to pay off a bank loan. That leaves NIS2,000 (\$500) to feed his family for the month.¹⁷⁹ Rank-and-file troops make only NIS1,600–2,000 (\$400–500). "By the middle of the month," explains a community leader, "the money is gone and the workers are left wondering how they will pay their bank loan or other things. They only think about their salaries. You don't think about the nation or about returning to your land. You only think about how

you are going to live. How are you going to bring bread to your kids or a new notebook for school?"¹⁸⁰

Palestinian troops also confront the stigma of collaboration. As Sabrien Amrov and Alaa Tartir point out, "The PA describes PA-Israel joint work as coordination (*tansiq*), whereas the people use the word collaboration (*ta'awoun*) in its negative connotation."¹⁸¹ Charged with suppressing opposition to Oslo, PA troops often confront neighbors, family members, and other people they have known for years. As a result, they live among people who publicly insult them and charge them with serving the Israeli occupation. As someone involved in the negotiations explains, "Whether [the troops] struggled inside or outside, during the first intifada or the second or in prison, Hamas frames them as collaborators."¹⁸²

To make matters worse, the PA is not always able to pay salaries on time due to periodic budget crises produced by dependency on donor states and Israel. During 2012, for instance, the PA rarely paid full salaries at the end of the month. Security officers and other civil servants received half salaries some months and no salaries other months.¹⁸³ Some troops quit to search for other jobs.¹⁸⁴ Others take pride in the fact that they continued working without pay. "Even without money, people still go to work," explained a security officer. "There is no salary to live—or they give you NIS1,000 [\$250]. Despite all the destruction, there is a dream of the Palestinian people and we will succeed."¹⁸⁵

The entire regime of security coordination rests on this "dream"—the hope shared by Abbas and Fayyad that securitization will pave the way to an independent Palestinian state. According to a Palestinian involved in the negotiations, "The security chiefs at the end of the day are Palestinians and genuinely think that they are doing this for the benefit of the Palestinian people." He went on to explain that, "Because security is the issue always raised by the Israelis, the Palestinians are doing this in order to create a platform for a political agreement. The political horizon is key. If it fails, the soldiers and officers won't want to continue. Until now, they are convinced that they are protecting the Palestinians' best interests at the end of the day."¹⁸⁶ A former PA security official agrees. "The insistence that they will only stay in the game so long as there is hope keeps them, at least in their own eyes, on the right side of a very thin cooperation/collaboration divide. In fact, the only thing that divides cooperation from collaboration is the hope that in the end of the day, what you are doing will pay off."¹⁸⁷

As a young Palestinian activist points out, the PA security forces are not homogenous: "There are people who agree with the system and people who

just need money and people who want the system to fall and people who want to reform the system from within.”¹⁸⁸ He goes on to explain that a young activist recently joined the PA security forces: “He was very poor and lived in the streets—he had no food, no job, no possibilities. So he went to the training. I saw him [in the police lines] at a demonstration when Obama came. We saw each other and laughed. The problem is the line of police, not the individual police.”¹⁸⁹

In Jenin, an open revolt began among PA troops in May 2012. Since that time, the PA has arrested hundreds of troops in connection with attacks on the Jenin governor and the leadership of the PA security forces. While the revolt and the crackdown were driven by local dynamics within the Fatah movement, they were informed by the contradictory position of the PA troops who are drawn from the social milieus that they are expected to target. Recruited among the racialized poor, the “dangerous” classes dispossessed by Oslo, Palestinian troops depend on jobs with the security forces for survival but chafe at their working conditions and their orders to suppress resistance. The contradictions ensure that the system of security coordination rests on an unstable foundation.

As in South Africa, Israel’s reliance on low-wage Palestinian workers highlights the complex dynamics of inequality and insecurity in post-Oslo Palestine/Israel. The racialized surplus population generated by neoliberal colonization remains valuable both symbolically and materially. Widespread unemployment creates a reserve army willing to accept low-wage and often humiliating work with the PA security forces. In addition, as David Theo Goldberg argues, Israeli businesses may no longer rely on Palestinian labor but “Israelis nevertheless need Palestinians to command militarization, American support and weaponry, even its own sense of victimized self.”¹⁹⁰ The Palestinian poor have tremendous value as threatening symbols of violence that justify the construction of an advanced security regime that combines the Israeli military, the PA security forces, and trainers, advisers, and supervisors from the United States and the European Union. More broadly, the specter of “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” contributes to Israeli settler colonial projects throughout Palestine/Israel, US imperial projects throughout the Middle East, and racial capitalist security agendas throughout the world.

SUSTAINABILITY

Security coordination has earned the praise of US officials and many Israeli military leaders. Given its unstable foundations, however, there is widespread debate about its short-term and long-term stability. According to a former

high-ranking Israeli officer, "This is the only aspect of the peace process that is working well. . . . There is nothing else like this. It should be encouraged."¹⁹¹ Another former Israeli officer explains, "The system has been very successful. The numbers are striking. There have been very limited incidents—a few cases every year." When asked whether the system is sustainable, he confidently exclaims: "No doubt about it!"¹⁹²

Other Israeli officials refuse to trust the PA. They argue that the Israeli military, the Shabak, and the enclosures might ensure Israeli security in the West Bank, but not the network of security coordination.¹⁹³ As an Israeli activist explains, "Israel still does not trust the PA despite the achievements of the PA security forces. You can't expect a colonial army or administration to change its behavior overnight. They always deal with the Palestinian security forces with a mixture of cooperation and humiliation."¹⁹⁴ While squeezing the PA with one hand, demanding proof of its commitment to the suppression of resistance, Israel stokes the flames of resistance with the other by invading West Bank cities and camps, colonizing Palestinian land, besieging Gaza, and allowing settlers to carry out "price tag" attacks.

US officials express cautious optimism that the security regime can form the basis of a lasting solution. According to two former members of the USSC team, security cooperation alone "cannot make peace," but security must come first.¹⁹⁵ In the words of a senior US official, "We can encourage investment, but it will only happen if there is security and stability."¹⁹⁶ As long as the PA security forces are allowed to grow, he believes, they will be ready when and if there is a political agreement. The biggest challenge, he admits, is if the Palestinians lose hope in the two-state solution.¹⁹⁷ Dayton also stressed the importance of hope: "If these people are led to understand that a Palestinian state is not in the cards—they'll revolt. And then everything will fall apart."¹⁹⁸

The PA continues to invest hope for a state in security coordination. In 2003, the Roadmap promised that "when the Palestinian people have a leadership acting decisively against terror, willing and able to build a practicing democracy based on tolerance and liberty . . . the Palestinians will have the active support of the Quartet and the broader international community in establishing an independent, viable, state."¹⁹⁹ Now the Palestinian leadership is calling on the international community to fulfill its promises. According to a senior PA official, "We have met all of our security obligations. Everything that has been asked of us in terms of security, we have done. We have done everything asked in terms of security, order, stability, prevent chaos, prevent terrorism. All of these obligations, we have met them. And there is security coordination. We recognize and respect our obligations. The problem is on the other side."²⁰⁰

But it is increasingly difficult to find Palestinians who believe that security coordination and negotiations will lead to independence. More often than ever before, protesters are demanding an end to negotiations and the Oslo regime. A Palestinian NGO official explains that, “[Security coordination] is security for Israel, not for us. You begin to say to the PA, why are you here? The police say that they don’t want the Israeli army to kill us. OK, but you are beating us. Let the army kill and beat us, don’t you do it. Should we make it easier for them?”²⁰¹ A feminist and labor organizer denounces the PA: “Leave us. We don’t want two occupations. Leave us with one occupation. We can face them. We know when we go down to the checkpoint that we will be arrested, injured, or killed. Let us go. Why do you stop us? Why is this your business? Leave us with one occupation. We don’t want two.”²⁰² A leading Palestinian opposition leader explains, “The road itself is leading to a dead end or to an explosion. Either way, Abbas is sure to fail. Either on the one hand, the negotiations fail, which is quite likely. Or on the other hand, they offer an agreement that the people will reject. So in either case, Abbas is lost, finished—his days are coming to an end.”²⁰³

Demonstrators increasingly decry the entire Oslo process and the regime that it produced. During protests in 2012, demonstrators in Bethlehem stood outside the headquarters of the Palestinian Preventive Security Organization and chanted the revolutionary slogan of the Arab Spring: “*Al-sha’b yurid isqat al-nizam*” (“The people want the fall of the regime”).²⁰⁴ In 2013, protesters in Ramallah modified the chant at demonstrations against the resumption of negotiations: “*Al-sha’b yurid isqat Oslo*” (“The people want the fall of Oslo”).²⁰⁵

There is one question on everyone’s minds: What will the PA forces do in the event of an uprising? Israeli officials express concern that the newly trained forces will turn their guns on Israel, like during the second intifada.²⁰⁶ Palestinians fear that the PA security forces will target the people. PA officials seem to recognize that they have no viable options. They would either be crushed by the Israeli military or entangled in an ugly civil war. Understanding the impossibility of their situation, the PA is determined to prevent a sustained uprising. Echoing Margaret Thatcher, PA officials insist that: “There is no alternative”²⁰⁷ or “It is either this or chaos.”²⁰⁸ The imperative to prevent an uprising shapes PA efforts to repress organized resistance and limit confrontations with the Israelis. But as one young activist explained, “Every day, Israel reminds us that we are under occupation. I trust them to create the conditions for another uprising.”²⁰⁹

By the fall of 2015, his prediction came true. On September 13, 2015, Israeli police stormed the Al-Aqsa Mosque and sparked an uprising. As Israel



FIGURE 5.5. “The people want the fall of Oslo”

tightened restrictions on Palestinian life, Palestinians began carrying out individual attacks using knives, stones, and vehicles. Israel unleashed tremendous violence to suppress the uprising and, by early December, over one hundred Palestinians had been killed. Despite growing tensions, security coordination continued throughout the revolt. Although the PA took a step back from directly confronting protesters, PA security forces monitored demonstrations, limited confrontations where possible, put pressure on activists behind the

scenes, and facilitated the entry of Israeli forces into Area A. Indeed, some analysts argued that the prevalence of individual attacks demonstrated that security coordination had effectively eliminated more organized forms of resistance.

CONCLUSION

While the Gaza Strip remains Israel's most important laboratory for developing and testing advanced weapons systems, the West Bank is home to experiments in population management that combine a multidimensional "matrix of control" with a sophisticated regime for policing everyday life. Building on historical strategies for indirect rule, this regime supplements direct Israeli military rule with a vast imperial network developed to police the Palestinian poor in the West Bank enclaves. Along with the Israeli military and the PA security forces, the network comprises a dedicated US agency for security coordination; advisers and trainers from the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Turkey; military, intelligence, and other security forces from Jordan; and financial sponsors from Europe, North America, and the Arab Gulf. This network constitutes one of the most sophisticated and complex responses to urban marginality in the world. It highlights the fact that nation-states operating in isolation cannot always contain the racialized poor. While the Palestinian case is certainly not ordinary, we should not be surprised when the specter of urban uprisings in the Global South attracts the intervention of imperial powers.

Much like their attraction to neoliberalism, PA officials embrace security coordination as a pathway to statehood. Yet they confront a fundamentally different vision from Israeli officials, who view security coordination as a foundation for sustainable colonization. Rather than achieving a monopoly of violence, therefore, the PA remains a proxy force with limited authority inside the West Bank enclosures. Security coordination has allowed the PA/Fatah to assert supremacy over other Palestinian factions within these enclosures. While operating through a discursive focus on "Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism," however, PA and Israeli security forces have carried out an authoritarian crackdown against Palestinian critics of the Israeli occupation, Fatah rule, and the Oslo process. Gaza provides an important foil for the West Bank, an image of what might happen if Israel and the PA fail in their joint effort to enforce stability.

Security coordination is therefore a core aspect of Israel's post-Oslo strategy of colonization/concentration in the West Bank. It exists alongside other

Israeli governmental strategies for other fragments of the Palestinian people—inside Israel, in East Jerusalem, in the Gaza Strip, and in the diaspora. Moreover, it is connected to imperial projects for US hegemony in the Middle East and racial capitalist projects for pacifying the racialized poor in many parts of the world.

Indeed, the imperial security regime in the West Bank is connected to the privatized security regimes in Johannesburg that I discussed in the previous chapter. Most immediately, South African private security companies purchase technology from Israeli firms that develop and test their equipment in the occupied territories. On a broader level, both formations have emerged in response to crises unleashed by the neoliberalization of racial capitalism combined with the political transitions of the last twenty years. Discourses of “Black crime” and “Palestinian/Arab/Muslim terrorism” transform the marginalized into the sources of instability and justify the use of violence and repression to contain the crisis. Yet both formations are also highly unstable, in part because they rely on the labor of the populations that they target and in part because they operate through domination without hegemony. Riddled with contradictions, the most advanced security formations in South Africa and Palestine/Israel struggle to contain the crises confronting neoliberal apartheid regimes.

CONCLUSION

Neoliberal Apartheid

Over the last fifteen years, hundreds of South Africans have traveled to Palestine/Israel to stand in solidarity with Palestinians, bear witness to the occupation, or simply learn about the struggle. Two themes stand out in their testimonials. First, an uncanny and often overwhelming sense of familiarity. A South African who first visited Palestine/Israel in 2007, for example, recalls breaking into tears at a checkpoint: “I recognized it like you smell a rose in one place, you smell it in another place. I don’t know the facts, I don’t know the details, but this is *apartheid*. You have smelled it before. You have experienced it before.”¹ Second, many South Africans understand the situation in Palestine/Israel as worse than anything they experienced under white minority rule. In the words of a South African journalist, “When you observe from afar you know that things are bad, but you do not know how bad. Nothing can prepare you for the evil we have seen here. In a certain sense, it is worse, worse, worse than everything we endured. The level of the apartheid, the racism and the brutality are worse than the worst period of apartheid.”²

In recent years, hundreds of Palestinians have also traveled to South Africa for conferences, speaking tours, or study. After these visits, Palestinians are often buoyed by the expressions of solidarity and inspired by the political freedoms they experience. Many Palestinians are encouraged by South Africa’s rejection of settler colonialism and its model of coexistence based on a common humanity. At the same time, several Palestinians that I spoke with expressed concerns about the persistence of racism and inequality after visits to South Africa. Reflecting on his first visit to South Africa in 2013, for instance, a Palestinian intellectual/activist said: “I always knew there were problems in

South Africa. I knew that the ANC chose the low-hanging fruits of liberation and didn't reach for the high-hanging fruits. But when I saw the slums and the hospitals full of people dying of HIV/AIDS, I understood more. If that's what their liberation looks like, I don't know if I want that."³

In February 2012, a group of Palestinians and Israelis visited South Africa to study the concrete challenges of land restitution and the return of a displaced community. Jointly organized by BADIL and Zochrot, two organizations committed to the right of return for Palestinian refugees, the study group focused on the history of displacement, restitution, and return in District Six, Cape Town.⁴ Beginning in the late 1960s, the apartheid state destroyed the vibrant, multiracial community of District Six and forcibly removed more than 60,000 residents to segregated townships on the outskirts of the city. After 1994, the postapartheid state invited the displaced residents to apply for restitution and has been building new housing in District Six for the returnees.⁵ When complete, the restitution process will enable 2,670 people to return—a small fraction of the original residents and their descendants. The overwhelming majority of the displaced will never return. Yet compared to other expropriated communities in South Africa, District Six stands out as a success story: a rare case of partial restitution and limited return.

Hoping to learn from the “successes and failures” of the District Six experience, the BADIL-Zochrot group spent three days studying land redistribution and restitution in South Africa and two days discussing the practical challenges and possibilities for the return of Palestinian refugees to the homes and lands from which they were displaced in 1948. Their report provides an important starting point for discussions about the practical dynamics of Palestinian return, including conversations about how to create integrated rather than segregated communities as well as ways that restitution could avoid reproducing historical inequalities between landowners and *fellahin* (peasants).⁶ Reflecting on their visit, several Palestinian refugees said that they felt at home in Cape Town among Black South Africans who had experienced similar displacement. Participants also explained that the visit generated new concerns. “The inequality made me think about what I don't want,” said an Israeli activist.⁷ A Palestinian organizer added, “For me, South Africa raised concerns about the economy, about land restitution, about property redistribution.”⁸

Palestinians have found tremendous inspiration in the South African struggle against apartheid. Edward Said and others have pointed to the importance of South Africa in shaping their own visions for a single democratic state.⁹ Indeed, postapartheid South Africa demonstrates that peaceful coexistence, equality under the law, and reconciliation are indeed possible. The South

African struggle has also inspired the movement to build Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns.¹⁰ This global movement has grown rapidly as churches, trade unions, student movements, faculty organizations, and solidarity groups organize BDS campaigns that target the Israeli state and its corporate and institutional supporters. In short, studying the *success* of the South African struggle has been highly productive for the Palestinian freedom movement.

Building on these studies, *Neoliberal Apartheid* suggests that understanding the limitations of liberation in postapartheid South Africa can also prove productive. I begin this conclusion with a discussion of apartheid and (de)colonization in Palestine/Israel and South Africa. While acknowledging the utility of the international legal definition of apartheid for efforts to hold the State of Israel accountable, I suggest that the South African transition calls into question a narrow focus on the state. I then offer an alternative theory of *neoliberal apartheid*, which brings together an analysis of racial domination and racial capitalism, and outline the applicability of this concept to South Africa, Palestine/Israel, and much of the world today.

APARTHEID: PALESTINE/ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

Journalists, scholars, organizers, and others increasingly recognize Israel as an apartheid state. For many people, this recognition is based on similarities between the regimes of racial domination in Palestine/Israel today and South Africa before 1994. Numerous recent studies have documented the parallels: discrimination, segregation, forced migration, pass laws, checkpoints, territorial fragmentation, Bantustans, and violent state repression.¹¹ Increasingly common after 1994, comparisons between apartheid in South Africa and Palestine/Israel gained worldwide attention during the 2001 World Conference against Racism (WCAR) held in Durban, South Africa. The final declaration of the WCAR NGO Forum announced: “We declare Israel as a racist, apartheid state in which Israel’s brand of apartheid as a crime against humanity has been characterized by separation and segregation, dispossession, restricted land access, denationalization, ‘bantustanization’ and inhumane acts.”¹² The parallels are now widely acknowledged. Even former US president Jimmy Carter has described Israeli policies as a “system of apartheid.”¹³

Some legal scholars argue that comparisons with South Africa are less important than the applicability of the international legal definition of apartheid.¹⁴ Under international law, apartheid is defined as a system of racial

domination. The UN International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid defines apartheid as a crime against humanity involving “inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them.”¹⁵ The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines apartheid as a crime involving “an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups.”¹⁶

Recent legal studies have documented the applicability of these statutes to Israeli practices.¹⁷ In 2009, for instance, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa conducted a comprehensive study of Israeli practices in the occupied territories to determine whether Israel could be held accountable under international legal prohibitions against the crime of apartheid. The HSRC study concluded that “the State of Israel exercises control in the OPT [occupied Palestinian territories] with the purpose of maintaining a system of domination by Jews over Palestinians and that this system constitutes a breach of the prohibition of apartheid.”¹⁸ Extending this analysis beyond the occupied territories, other legal scholars have argued that the international prohibitions also apply to Israeli policies towards 1948 Palestinians and Palestinian refugees in the diaspora.¹⁹ Studies such as these highlight the value of international law for efforts to challenge racial discrimination by the State of Israel.

When South African visitors to Palestine/Israel argue that the situation is worse than what they experienced before 1994, they generally emphasize the intensity of state violence against the Palestinian people. Even during the worst days of repression, the South African regime rarely unleashed its full military firepower to annihilate civilians or eradicate townships. The Israeli military regularly deploys such violence against Palestinians—most notably by bulldozing villages in the Negev and the Jordan valley, destroying the Jenin refugee camp in 2002, and brutally assaulting the Gaza Strip during the second intifada and again in 2009, 2012, and 2014. This violence can also be seen in the mass expulsion of Palestinians in 1948 and the ongoing displacement of Palestinians today. The violence is rooted in the racial logic of the Israeli settler colonial project: the necropolitical rationality that equates the welfare of Jewish Israelis with the elimination of Palestinians.²⁰

To explain the differential intensity of state violence toward the colonized populations in South Africa and Palestine/Israel, however, requires attention to the articulation between settler colonialism and racial capitalism. Indeed, the principal difference between Palestine/Israel today and South Africa

before 1994 is the question of labor. During an age of industrial expansion, South African factories, farms, and mines were absolutely dependent on Black workers. The Israeli strategy of enclosure, on the other hand, has emerged during an age of neoliberal hegemony and involves the steady eradication of work for Palestinians. To be sure, the South African settler colonial project operated through violent forms of displacement, dispossession, and exclusion. But the demand for low-wage Black labor prevented the complete elimination of the Black population. Because neoliberal restructuring has reduced the demand for low-wage Palestinian workers, there is nothing to counteract the logic of elimination in Palestine/Israel.

As early as the 1920s, the settler colonial strategy of the mainstream Zionist movement rested on an exclusionary racial capitalist project that sought to reserve well-paying jobs for Jewish workers rather than exploiting low-wage Palestinian workers. This set the stage for the mass displacement of Palestinians in 1948. From the 1950s through the 1980s, however, the State of Israel managed a racial Fordist economy in which the exploitation of Palestinian and Mizrahi workers facilitated high wages and extensive welfare benefits for Ashkenazi Jewish Israelis. As I have argued throughout this book, the neoliberalization of racial capitalism has reversed this trend by making Palestinian labor increasingly redundant. And when a colonial state no longer values the labor of the colonized, there are few structural barriers to elimination.

While Israel remains a settler colonial state, its colonial strategy has been transformed by neoliberal restructuring. The growing disposability of the Palestinian population has enabled Israel to concentrate the 1967 Palestinians into the Gaza Strip and an archipelago of West Bank enclosures (Areas A and B) while colonizing the land that remains (Area C). In the West Bank, neoliberal restructuring has facilitated the colonization of Area C by accelerating the urbanization of Palestinian villages, producing a form of indirect forcible transfer, and creating the conditions for land purchases by Zionist organizations. Moreover, widespread unemployment has produced a pool of unemployed workers desperate enough to accept the exploitation and psychological trauma of building Israeli settlements on Palestinian land or suppressing Palestinian resistance to the occupation. At a broader level, the involvement of the United States and other global actors in training the PA security forces, shaping PA economic strategies, and promoting regional free trade agreements demonstrates the centrality of Oslo to global neoliberal projects.

In short, the Israeli apartheid regime operates through a combination of aggressive settler colonialism and neoliberal racial capitalism. This approach to the analysis of apartheid represents a departure from international law, which

focuses on racial domination but ignores racial capitalism. According to international law, apartheid ends with the elimination of legalized racial discrimination and the transformation of the racial state. Yet even a cursory examination of South Africa after 1994 reveals the pitfalls of such an approach.

The restructuring of the South African state was a remarkable achievement with far-reaching implications. The end of constitutional apartheid democratized the state, institutionalized legal equality, and established constitutional protections against racial discrimination. The new state rejected white supremacy in favor of reconciliation and the rehabilitation of historically oppressed Black communities. Despite the limitations of liberation in South Africa, the restructuring of the racial state deserves tremendous celebration. Indeed, the South African transition demonstrates the possibility of peaceful coexistence on the basis of legal equality and mutual recognition. This is what makes South Africa so compelling for Palestinians and Israelis seeking an alternative to the fragmentation and failure of Oslo. The problem lies not in the model of the state but rather in the exclusive focus on the state.

While transforming the racial state, the South African transition did little to confront the structures of racial capitalism. In part, this was shaped by the balance of power during the negotiations. More importantly, it was rooted in the “two-stage” theory of liberation adopted by the leadership of the ANC and their allies in the South African Communist Party (SACP). De-linking racism from capitalism, the “two-stage” strategy prioritized the transformation of the racial state while postponing the struggle against capitalism until after the “national democratic revolution.”²¹ The analysis of apartheid as a system of “racial capitalism” emerged as part of a radical critique of the two-stage model. Despite compelling arguments by leftists that racism and capitalism were deeply entwined and should be confronted together, the leadership of the ANC and SACP maintained their commitment to the two-stage model. The strategic decision to de-link the struggle against the racial state from the struggle against racial capitalism fundamentally shaped the contours of the South African transition.²²

In South Africa after 1994, the neoliberalization of racial capitalism has intensified the marginalization of the Black poor. Neoliberal restructuring has generated widespread unemployment, intensified exploitation within the jobs that remain, and transformed townships such as Alexandra into ghettos of exclusion that concentrate the racialized poor. In addition, as evidenced by the Alexandra Renewal Project, the ANC government’s market-based frameworks for land redistribution and economic development have hampered even the most ambitious state efforts to “uplift” historically oppressed Black

communities. Moreover, the neoliberal embrace of a color-blind ideology has allowed racism to flourish in the private sector because schools, neighborhoods, and jobs are now officially open to anyone who can afford them. Yet South African social structures remain deeply racialized, as demonstrated by the emergence of privatized security regimes that target Black South Africans in wealthy neighborhoods.

Some analysts dismiss the crisis confronting the poor Black majority in South Africa today as either the lingering hangover of a defeated system or a momentary speed bump on the highway to democracy. But for millions of Black South Africans, the crisis reveals the limitations of liberation itself. According to the international legal definition of apartheid, South Africa is now free. Yet the neoliberalization of racial capitalism has placed harsh limits on decolonization. If settler colonial projects prioritize land, race, and the state, it follows that decolonization demands attention to state formation, racial formation, and land redistribution. The South African transition restructured the state but sidelined the other aspects of decolonization. It is no surprise that South Africa has recently witnessed a resurgence of social movements articulating demands for the decolonization of land and education.

Studying South Africa after 1994, therefore, reinforces the importance of incorporating racial capitalism into the definition of apartheid. As a South African student/activist points out, the international legal definition of apartheid “confines apartheid in South Africa to history.”²³ Like her, many South African scholars, activists, and everyday citizens insist that the transition of the last twenty years has reconfigured apartheid rather than dismantling the system. Some point to a shift from *overt* to more *subtle* forms of racism.²⁴ Others describe a shift from *constitutional apartheid* to *economic apartheid*.²⁵ Patrick Bond and David Harvey argue that South Africa has undergone a shift from *racial apartheid* to *class apartheid*.²⁶

My research suggests the need to move beyond the legal-liberal definition of apartheid as a form of racial domination. Instead, I propose a political-economic definition of apartheid that emphasizes the articulation between racism and capitalism. By acknowledging that apartheid does not necessarily end with the elimination of the racial state, this framework is consistent with the understanding of decolonization as not only political freedom but also social and economic transformation.²⁷ Studying the transitions of the last twenty years through this framework requires attention to the relationship between (de)colonization and neoliberalization. In Palestine/Israel and South Africa, these transitions have generated shifts from *Fordist apartheid* to *neoliberal apartheid*. By way of conclusion, therefore, I outline a theory of neoliberal apartheid.

NEOLIBERAL APARTHEID

As I have argued throughout *Neoliberal Apartheid*, the transitions of the last twenty years in South Africa and Palestine/Israel have produced radically different trajectories of state restructuring alongside surprisingly similar social and economic transformations. While the South African state was democratized and deracialized, Israel remains a settler colonial state. Yet both societies have experienced a combination of *marginalization* and *securitization*. These are the dynamics at the heart of neoliberal apartheid. As a regime of rule with shared features across diverse landscapes of oppression, neoliberal apartheid is increasingly common throughout the world today. Neoliberal apartheid refers to the combination of extreme *inequality*, racialized *marginalization*, extensive *securitization*, and constant *crisis*.

The scholarship and struggles of the last thirty years have documented the immense inequality generated by neoliberal restructuring. With wealth and income increasingly concentrated among a handful of billionaire capitalists, the richest 1 percent of the world's population now owns more than the other 99 percent combined.²⁸ The neoliberalization of racial capitalist systems has enabled some members of historically oppressed populations to join the ranks of the elite. For neoliberals, the shifting racial composition of the elite—along with the middle class—provides evidence that the free market can eliminate racial disparities. They celebrate the growth of Palestinian and Black South African elites. Yet the neoliberal language of equal opportunity and individual achievement masks the continuing significance of racism (even for elites), the declining stability of middle-class life, and the growing class divide between rich and poor.

At the base of this divide are concentrations of racialized poverty. Neoliberal restructuring has deepened the marginalization of the racialized poor by intensifying both exploitation and abandonment. With governments competing over corporate investments and workers competing over low-wage work, jobs have become increasingly precarious, and entire regions have experienced declining demands for labor. Processes of racial and gender formation differentially value people's lives and labor, marking some for superexploitation in sweatshops and service industries and others for abandonment to a life of unemployment and informality. A key feature of neoliberal apartheid is the mass production of surplus or disposable populations whose lives and labor are considered increasingly redundant. By reducing the demand for their labor, neoliberal restructuring has enabled the expansion of necropolitical projects to eliminate the racialized poor. Concentrated in slums, informal

settlements, refugee camps, and other zones of exclusion, the disposable poor must constantly invent creative life strategies to survive. Yet these spaces of abandonment are never external to the dynamics of racial capitalism. The racialized poor provide a desperate workforce, a target for predatory merchants and landlords, and a specter of violence and disorder for neoliberal security regimes.

A common feature of neoliberal apartheid is the combination of unprecedented inequality and marginalization with at least a semblance of formal equality. Since the 1960s, struggles against racism, colonialism, and empire have sparked numerous shifts from overt systems of racial domination and colonial rule to more subtle forms of domination involving political independence, civil rights, recognition, and color-blind ideologies.²⁹ These struggles also contributed to a crisis in the global system of racial Fordism, which depended on explicit colonial and racial domination.³⁰ Out of this crisis emerged experiments in neoliberal restructuring. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the expansion of civil rights and political independence is often articulated with neoliberal restructuring. In fact, liberal economists, international financial institutions, and US officials have prescribed neoliberal restructuring as an antidote to racial domination and colonial rule. In referring to (de)colonization, I seek to highlight the variety of political forms generated by these transitions—from formal equality to partial autonomy to ongoing colonization.

Transitions based on the articulation of neoliberalization and (de)colonization have generated vastly different forms of political “equality” due to context-specific dynamics. By successfully extending civil rights to the historically oppressed Black population, the democratization of the South African state became a crowning achievement in the global struggle against white supremacy. It stands out as one of the most successful expansions of political rights in the late twentieth century. The situation in Palestine/Israel looks vastly different due to Israel’s continued embrace of overt racial domination. From legal discrimination against the 1948 Palestinians, to military rule over the 1967 Palestinians, to the forced exile of the Palestinian refugees, the State of Israel remains an explicitly racial state. This is why the international legal definition of apartheid applies. It is also why achieving a democratic transition similar to South Africa’s would constitute an extraordinary victory for Palestinian freedom.

Yet it is important to recognize that the Oslo “peace process” created a semblance of equality for Palestinians and Israelis, at least temporarily. Oslo replaced the language of military occupation with that of equal partners negotiating a separation. Exercising limited autonomy in the occupied territories,

the PA became a symbol that the 1967 Palestinians had become *separate but equal* and would soon enjoy political independence. The Oslo process dovetailed with other projects to conceal the racial structures of the State of Israel. Israeli officials and supporters, for instance, emphasize the (partial) citizenship of the 1948 Palestinians and engage in “pink washing” celebrations of LGBT rights to suggest that the State of Israel is “the only democracy in the Middle East.”³¹ During the 1990s, these projects gave Israeli practices the appearance of democracy, equality, and a progressive movement toward peace. In recent years, however, Palestinian social movements supported by international solidarity campaigns have undermined these illusions and revealed the structures of racial domination in Palestine/Israel. The growing recognition of Israel as an apartheid state is a product of these struggles.

Despite divergent trajectories of (de)colonization, societies marked by neoliberal apartheid confront an intensification of inequality and racialized marginalization. The expansion of political rights, cultural recognition, and partial autonomy constitute one set of strategies for managing the racialized poor. Neoliberals also preach self-responsibility, blame the poor for their own marginalization, and roll out new market-based solutions and pressure release projects to contain the crisis. Because these projects rarely address the structural causes of the crises confronting the racialized poor, marginalized populations depend on highly exploitative combinations of low-wage work and informal economic activity to survive. People construct life strategies based on everything from the promises of entrepreneurialism to the seductions of chauvinism to the potential of collective action. Many of their life strategies are unauthorized, disruptive, and rebellious.

The anxieties of the wealthy and powerful zero in on the racialized poor, the “dangerous classes.” Racialized threat discourses about crime, terrorism, and immigration symbolically transform the marginalized into the sources of instability and insecurity. Rather than originating with the poor, the insecurities of dominant classes and racial groups are rooted in the contradictions of racial capitalism and magnified by neoliberal restructuring. But threat discourses conceal these structural dynamics, identify the racialized poor as dangers that must be contained, and provide justification for securitization. The marginalized populations generated by racial capitalism thus become the targets of racialized policing.

The proliferation of security forces, technologies, and strategies to manage the marginalized and address the anxieties of the powerful is a core component of neoliberal apartheid. Although racial capitalist regimes have relied on surveillance and violence for centuries, the last thirty years have witnessed an

unprecedented expansion of securitization. Efforts to produce security for the dominant increasingly depend on force and violence: gated communities and mass incarceration; border walls and mass deportations; electronic surveillance and drone wars; and the rapid growth of police, prison, border patrol, military, and intelligence forces.

Because securitization is shaped by local dynamics, neoliberal security regimes operate through context-specific configurations of walled enclosures, private and state security forces, and racialized policing strategies. In South Africa, securitization has involved the fortification of elite suburbs and the rapid expansion of the private security industry. Working hand in hand, wealthy residents' associations and private security companies have developed advanced strategies for policing poor Black South Africans at the neighborhood scale. The most sophisticated strategies involve a form of "low intensity guerrilla warfare" to control the presence of Black South Africans in suburban space. With a highly contested relationship to the state, these "legalized mafias" have generated a fragmented patchwork of urban governance.

In Palestine/Israel, on the other hand, securitization is driven by the State of Israel. The state exercises sovereignty over the occupied territories through military deployments, electronic surveillance, imprisonment, interrogation, and torture. The state has also produced a fragmented geography of isolated Palestinian enclosures surrounded by walls and checkpoints and managed through closures and permits. The most sophisticated addition to Israel's security regime, however, is a network of state security forces facilitated by the United States and the European Union, supported by Jordan and Egypt, and operated through coordinated deployments of Israeli military and PA security forces. The subordinate role of the Palestinian Authority within this network undermines its quest for a sovereign "monopoly" of violence in the occupied territories. This network constitutes one of the most sophisticated and complex responses to urban marginality in the world. While the Palestinian case is certainly not ordinary, we should not be surprised when the specter of the racialized poor in the Global South attracts the intervention of imperial powers.

While the fortress enclaves and privatized security regimes in South Africa are clear manifestations of neoliberal securitization, it is also important to recognize the state-centered security regime in Palestine/Israel as a form of neoliberal securitization. Although neoliberalism is often understood as a withdrawal or shrinking of the state, neoliberal restructuring requires active state intervention to promote market competition and manage crises. Contemporary securitization is best understood as a neoliberal effort to manage crises generated by neoliberal restructuring. This explains why military, police,

border patrol, and intelligence forces are generally immune from neoliberal demands for cuts in government spending. In fact, the massive expansion of state security budgets alongside a reduction of social spending demonstrates the intimate connections between neoliberalization and securitization.

Neoliberal security regimes, however, do not generate stability. Networks of private and state security forces are highly unstable formations marked by deep contradictions. While these forces cooperate under certain conditions, they also struggle over jurisdiction, recognition, and power. Moreover, these networks increasingly rely on the labor of the same populations that they target. Police, prison guards, soldiers, border patrol agents, and private security guards are largely recruited from the same communities that are profiled as dangerous and targeted with repression. This is no coincidence. Because securitization expands in a context of growing unemployment, security forces become one of the primary sources of entry-level, low-wage work—especially for young men. Black South African men build fortress walls around the homes of the elite and patrol the streets of wealthy neighborhoods looking for other poor Black men that might present a threat. Similarly, young Palestinian men find jobs building walls around Palestinian cities or working in the PA security forces confronting resistance to the occupation. Widespread unemployment can create a subservient labor force and license to enact repressive violence can nurture authoritarian tendencies. But security officers confront low wages, oppressive conditions, and racial discrimination. They represent an important contradiction, a potential source of systemic instability, and a dilemma for organizers confronting neoliberal security regimes.

Above all, however, the instability of neoliberal apartheid stems from the reliance on force to shore up a fragile regime. Like pressure release projects and admonitions of self-responsibility, securitization does not address the underlying crises confronting the marginalized. On the contrary, securitization subjects the racialized poor to violent forms of policing and intensifies their suffering. As a result, securitization enhances the conditions for popular resistance. This resistance contains the potential for translating the crises confronting the marginalized into crises confronting racial capitalist regimes.

To be sure, marginalization does not always generate resistance. Some people invest hope in the seductive promises of neoliberalism or see possibilities for reform within the framework of apartheid regimes. Moreover, the struggles of the marginalized are often directed at one another rather than at the structures of domination and exploitation. Nevertheless, the last two decades have witnessed a proliferation of popular struggles, mobilizations, uprisings, and movements challenging the forces of capitalism, racism, colonialism, and

empire. While shaped by local processes of political organizing and articulation, these movements now circulate more quickly than ever before as marginalized populations articulate connections between their experiences and their struggles. As struggles circulate and elites demand more security, contradictions deepen and neoliberal apartheid regimes grow increasingly unstable.

Beyond South Africa and Palestine/Israel, it is now common to encounter aspects of neoliberal apartheid in cities, states, and regions throughout the world. At a range of scales, combinations of neoliberalization and (de)colonization have generated inequality (often with a semblance of equality), marginalization, securitization, and crisis. From the US empire to local elites, neoliberal apartheid regimes rely on violence to maintain power in the face of unprecedented inequality and racialized marginalization. Despite the proliferation of security forces, however, these regimes remain fraught with instability. Understanding the ways that Palestine/Israel and South Africa are implicated in these global processes could contribute to the constitution of broader movements against global, neoliberal apartheid.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. In South Africa, the term *Black* refers to all people of color victimized by apartheid: African, Asian/Indian, and multiracial (“colored” in the language of the apartheid state). Driven by the Black Consciousness Movement, this inclusive redefinition of blackness emphasized a common experience of oppression to challenge the social divisions the apartheid regime instituted. See Biko 1987 [1978].

2. I use the term *Palestine/Israel* to designate all of the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea that was part of the British Mandate and is currently subject to the sovereign rule of the State of Israel. When discussing the period prior to 1948, I refer to this territory as *Palestine*. I generally use the term *Israel* to denote the State of Israel. When I use the term *Israel* to describe a territory, I am referring to the land within the 1949 Armistice Line (Green Line).

3. Abunimah 2006, 144.

4. Other scholars have analyzed the *relationships*—economic, political, and military—between Israel and South Africa. See Adams 1984; Joseph 1988; Polakow-Suransky 2011; Stevens 1975; Stevens and Elmessiri 1976.

5. See, for example, Al-Hadaf 1971a; 1971b; 1972; and Shaath 1971. Nabil Shaath’s 1971 essay rejecting Israel’s attempt to create Bantustans (which he calls “Palestine-stans”) in the occupied territories is particularly important as a historical document due to the role that Shaath would eventually play as chief negotiator for the PLO and adviser to Yasser Arafat during the Oslo process. His essay appeared in *Shu’un Filastiniya*, the Arabic-language journal of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). *Al-Hadaf* is the Arabic-language journal of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

6. Davis 1989.

7. Benvenisti 1984.

8. LAW n.d.

9. Said 1996, 2001, 2004.

10. World Conference against Racism 2001. See also LAW 2001.

11. See, for example, Abunimah 2006; Barghouti 2011; Bishara 2002; Carter 2006; Davis 2003; Farsakh 2005; Kovel 2007; Tilly 2005; White 2014.

12. There are a few exceptions. Three studies compare the politics of “conflict resolution” in Palestine/Israel and South Africa during the 1990s, without considering socioeconomic changes: Adam 2002; Gidron, Katz, and Hasenfeld 2002; Giliomee and Gagiano 1990. More closely related to my work are two studies that compare the impact of economic crisis on the early trajectory of political negotiations: Nitzan and Bichler 2001; Shafir 1999.

13. On the concept of “world historical context,” see Braudel 1980; Mann 1986.

14. For early studies of Israel as a settler colonial state, see Farsoun 1976; Greenberg 1980; Hanegbi, Machover, and Orr 1971; Hilal 1979; Jabbour 1970; Rodinson 1973; Sayegh 2012 [1965]; Zureik 1979. Scholars also developed several related models to explain social relations in South Africa and Palestine/Israel: internal colonialism (Slovo 1976; Zureik 1979), *herrenvolk* democracy (Farsoun 1976; Van den Berghe 1978), and the articulation of modes of production (Wolpe 1975, 1980a, 1980b; Zureik 1979). During the 1980s and 1990s, a few comparative studies continued to employ a settler colonial framework to analyze Palestine/Israel and South Africa: Abdo and Yuval-Davis 1995; Akenoun 1992; Greenstein 1995; Lustick 1993; Mitchell 2000; Shafir 1996; Stasiulis and Yuval Davis 1995; Unterhalter 1995; Younis 2000.

15. Wolfe 2006.

16. Veracini 2007.

17. Wolfe 1999, 2006.

18. Veracini 2011a.

19. See in particular two special issues of the journal *Settler Colonial Studies*: volume 2 (1) (2012) and volume 5 (3) (2015). For critical commentary on this body of work, see Bhandar and Ziadah 2016.

20. Salamanca et al. 2012.

21. Abdo 2011; Abowd 2014; Collins 2012; Hassan 2011; Lockman 2012; Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury 2015; Salaita 2006; Shihade 2012.

22. Earlier approaches to settler colonialism, including studies of Palestine/Israel and South Africa, often analyzed the relationship between colonialism and capitalism. For classic analyses, see Fieldhouse 1966; Fredrickson 1981.

23. Coulthard 2014.

24. Alfred 1999; Coulthard 2014; Goldstein 2008, 2014; Povinelli 2011; Simpson 2014.

25. Byrd 2011; Jackson 2012; Krauthamer 2015; Lowe 2015.

26. Jackson 2012.

27. Wolfe 2006, 402. See also Veracini 2007, 2011b.

28. See Alexander 1985; Lester 1998; McKinley 1997; Mngxitama, Alexander, and Gibson 2008; Murray 1987.

29. Alexander 1985, 2008; Ally and Ally 2008; Mngxitama, Alexander, and Gibson 2008; Sizwe 1979; Saul and Gelb 1986.

30. Alexander 2002, 64.

31. For an excellent overview, see Kelley 2002.

32. Du Bois 1935; James 1938; Williams 1944.

33. Du Bois 1935; Cox 1948; Drake and Cayton 1945.

34. Robinson 2000 [1983].

35. As scholars of intersectional feminism point out, these formations are also shaped by heteropatriarchy and other axes of oppression. While I incorporate gender into my analysis at certain key points, this book is primarily about racism and capitalism. I recognize the lack of attention to heteropatriarchy as a shortcoming of the book. See Collins 1990; Crenshaw 1991; Mohanty 2003; Smith 2006.

36. Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Cox 1948; Gilmore 2007; Mohanty 2003; Robinson 2000 [1983]; Winant 2001; Williams 1944.

37. The core positions in the debate are outlined by Cox (1948) and Robinson (2000 [1983]). Bonilla-Silva (1997) differentiates between racial discourses that preexisted capitalism and modern racial orders (or racialized social structures).

38. Building on the work of Gilmore (2007), I conceptualize *racism* as the “group differentiated vulnerability to premature death.” This definition highlights the fact that racialization not only establishes symbolic differences but also invests these differences with unequal power and value. In line with this approach, Singh (2004) argues that racial systems “stigmatize and deprecate one form of humanity for the purposes of another’s health, development, safety, profit, or pleasure.” I seek to capture this relationship by invoking the differential valuation of human life and labor.

39. Clarke and Thomas 2006; Winant 2001.

40. Foucault 2003; Mills 1997, 2003; Mbembe 2003; Rodriguez 2011; Vargas 2011; Wolfe 2006.

41. Couthard 2014; De Angelis 1998, 2001; Harvey 2003, 2005, 2014; Marx 1906 [1867].

42. Cox 1948; Du Bois 1935; Harvey 2014; James 1938; Wallerstein 2011 [1974].

43. Marx 1906 [1867]; Williams 1944.

44. Mbembe 2003; Wolfe 2006; Vargas 2011.

45. Sassen 2014. See also Davis 2006.

46. Hall 1980, 1986. Hall’s analysis emerged out of debates involving dependency theorists and Althusserian Marxists attempting to make sense of the relationship between capital accumulation and racial domination in Latin America and South Africa.

47. Choo and Ferree 2010; Collins 1990; Crenshaw 1991; Mohanty 2003; Smith 2006.

48. Gramsci 1971.

49. Hall 1980. For an elaboration on the double meaning of articulation, see Hart 2007.

50. Lowe 2015; Vargas 2011; Wolfe 2006.

51. On political articulation, see de Leon, Desai, and Tugal 2013.

52. Hart 2013.

53. Fanon 1961.

54. Block and Somers 2014. See also Brenner and Theodore 2002a; Brown 2015; Harvey 2005; Peck 2010a.

55. Alfred 2005; Bobo and Smith 1995; Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2010; Davis 2007; Duggan 2003; Giroux 2004; Goldberg 2008; Goldstein 2008; Omi and Winant 2015; Roberts and Mahtani 2010; Simpson 2014.

56. Goldberg 2008; Goldstein 2008.

57. Melamed 2011, 42.

58. Brenner and Theodore 2002b; Peck 2010a; Peck and Tickell 2002; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009.

59. Peck 2010a.
60. Omi and Winant 2015, 211.
61. Davis 2006; Sassen 2014; Wacquant 2008.
62. Lacy 2007; Pattillo 2003; Vallejo 2012.
63. Guevarra 2010; Johnson 2015.
64. Bonacich, Alimahomed, and Wilson 2008; Clarke and Thomas 2006.
65. Boggs 2009 [1968]; Davis 2006; Johnson 2015; Sassen 2014.
66. Johnson 2015; Marx 1909 [1967], 1973 [1939].
67. de Leon, Desai, and Tugal 2013; Povinelli 2011.
68. de Leon, Desai, and Tugal 2013.
69. Harvey 2014.
70. Marx 1906 [1867]; Procacci 1991; Abrahamsen 2005.
71. Fanon 1961; Biko 1987 [1978].
72. Wallerstein 2010.
73. Klein 2007.
74. Chavez 2008.
75. Fanon 1967 [1952].
76. Bigo 2002; Neocleous 2008.
77. Hall et al. 2013 [1978].
78. Coetzee 2004, 146.
79. Coetzee 2004, 146.
80. This is a broader conceptualization than the dominant definition within critical security studies that identifies securitization as the process that unfolds when authorities identify something as an existential security threat. See Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde 1998; Waever 1995.
81. Browne 2015; Khalili 2012.
82. Brown 2010; Peck 2010b; Dean 2007; Goldberg 2008; Povinelli 2011; Wacquant 2009.
83. For a similar discussion of black women as employees and targets of the Transportation Safety Administration, see Browne 2015, 147–52.
84. See Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005; Anderson 1974; Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003; Steinmetz 1993, 1998.
85. Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005.
86. Burawoy et al. 2000; Murray 2004; Wacquant 2008.
87. Many of the top-down interviews on security in South Africa were conducted in collaboration with Martin J. Murray.
88. Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem: <http://www.arij.org>.
89. Becker 1974, 1981, 1998, 2004; Berger and Mohr 1967, 1975, 1982; Harper 1982, 1987.
90. I take detailed notes in the field and transcribe them at night. Quotes from field notes are reproduced from these transcripts.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Bishara 2002; Davis 2003; Farsakh 2005; Tilly 2005; Carter 2006; Abunimah 2006; Kovel 2007; Barghouti 2011; White 2014.
2. Although not always theorized, the concept of race is increasingly common in studies

of Palestine/Israel today. Nevertheless, most scholars continue to follow the convention of analyzing difference in Palestine/Israel in terms of nationality. To be sure, race overlaps with nationality and religion in Palestine/Israel. But conceptualizing difference in Palestine/Israel without attention to race has several limitations. First, it obscures the settler colonial character of Zionism. The racialization of Palestinians is a product of Zionism, a political movement to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. Zionism emerged in response to European anti-Semitic racism yet adopted Orientalist doctrines of European supremacy as well as imperialist notions that Europeans could colonize and settle non-European lands. These beliefs racialized the relationship between Zionist settlers and local Palestinians. The creation of Israel as a *Jewish state* formalized the racial character of the settler colonial state. Along with the mass displacement and enforced exile of Palestinian refugees, the Jewish character of the state depends on formal legal discrimination against the 1948 Palestinians. The occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip extended the racialized structure of settler colonial rule throughout Palestine/Israel. Over time, the racial hierarchy has been transformed by the mass migration of Mizrahi and Ethiopian Jews as well as migrant workers and asylum seekers from Europe, Asia, and Africa. Yet Palestinians remain the population most highly stigmatized and most vulnerable to premature death. Second, overlooking the role of race in Palestine/Israel isolates the struggle from the global dynamics of empire. Early Zionist leaders not only adopted Orientalist ideas, they also sought out—and achieved—the support of European imperial powers for the Zionist project. The racial foundations of this support are demonstrated most clearly in Theodore Herzl’s insistence that a Jewish state in the Middle East would provide an “outpost of Western civilization in Asia.” Similarly, the racialization of Palestinians today is closely connected to global processes of racial formation associated with the “war on terrorism.” Within contemporary imperial projects, Goldberg argues that “racial Palestinianization” occurs whenever states declare an act of perpetual war and target their subject populations with securitization and death. Finally, conceptualizing Palestine/Israel in terms of nationality rather than race implies that the only conceivable solution is political separation in a two-state future. While this is in line with the dominant articulation of the Palestinian nationalist project, some on the Palestinian and Israeli left articulate a vision of coexistence in a one-state solution. Moreover, Palestinian civil society organizations have coalesced in recent years behind a three-point platform: ending the occupation of the 1967 territories, ending discrimination against 1948 Palestinians, and ensuring the right of return for Palestinian refugees. By highlighting demands for the right of return and an end to discrimination, these organizations have placed the racialized structure of the Jewish state at the center of the struggle. For other scholarship on race in Palestine/Israel, see Abu-Laban and Bakan 2011; Bakan 2014; Barghouti 2011; Elkins and Pedersen 2005; Feldman 2015; Goldberg 2008; Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury 2015; Rodinson 1973; Sabbagh-Khoury 2014; Said 1978, 1979; Shihade 2012; Shohat 1997; Stasiulis and Yuval Davis 1995.

3. Marks and Atmore 1980; Delius 1983; Lester 1998.

4. Plaatje 2007 [1915]; Wolpe 1980; Van Onselen 1982; Marks and Rathbone 1982; Mamdani 1996.

5. Bundy 1979; Marks and Rathbone 1982; Bonner et al. 1989.

6. Dubow 1989; Mamdani 1996.

7. Wolpe 1980.

8. Wolpe 1980; Legassick 1974.

9. O'Meara 1983; Dubow 1987.
10. Marks and Trapido 1987; Posel 1991; Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989.
11. Lemon 1991.
12. Hindson 1987; Evans 1997.
13. Sizwe 1979; Mamdani 1996.
14. Saul and Gelb 1986.
15. Hindson 1987.
16. Lodge 1983; Murray 1987; Mayekiso 1996.
17. Laqueur 2003.
18. Rodinson 1973; Hilal 1976; Zureik 1979.
19. Schölch 1982; Doumani 1995; Gocek 1996; Tamari 2009.
20. Kimmerling 1983; Graham-Brown 1990; Shafir 1996.
21. Shafir 1996.
22. Shafir 1996; Lockman 2012.

23. Shafir 1996; Lockman 2012; Beinín 2013. Although the Labor Zionist movement claimed the mantle of socialism, its principal ideology was Jewish nationalism. The dominant tendency within the movement saw collective settlements as an effective strategy for Jewish colonization. Moreover, as Gershon Shafir explains, Labor Zionists were “not opposed to the capitalist system of wage labor itself, provided the employees were Jewish” (1996, 81). For more, see Kimmerling 1993; Lockman 1996; Shafir 1996; Shalev 1992, 2000.

24. Flapan 1987; Morris 2004; Pappe 2006; Masalha 2012.

25. Pappe 2006; Masalha 2012.

26. Following a common practice among Palestinians, I refer to the Palestinians who became citizens of Israel after 1948 and their descendants as “1948 Palestinians.” Although often referred to as “Palestinian citizens of Israel,” many Palestinians prefer the term “1948 Palestinians” as a reminder that citizenship does not mean full legal equality and as a way of highlighting their connection to Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.

27. Zureik 1979; Lustick 1980; Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury 2015.

28. Shalev 1992; Sternhell 2009.

29. Zureik 1979; Swirski 1989; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov 1993.

30. Aruri 1983; Said 1994; Hajjar 2005; Gordon 2008; Azoulay and Ophir 2013.

31. Hilal 1976; Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 1987; Samara 1992; Roy 1995; Farsakh 2005.

32. Samara 1992; Farsakh 2005.

33. Roy 1995; Farsakh 2005.

34. Lodge 1983; Saul and Gelb 1986; Murray 1987.

35. Murray 1987; Mayekiso 1996.

36. Bond 2000b; Marais 2001.

37. Shalev 1992.

38. Shafir and Peled 2000a.

39. Hiltermann 1991.

40. Lockman and Beinín 1989; Schiff and Ya'ari 1990; Hiltermann 1991.

41. Shafir 1999; Shafir and Peled 2000a; Beinín 2006.

42. Shafir 1999. During the second intifada (2000–2005), many Israeli capitalists—especially

high-tech security companies—recognized that political unrest was actually good for businesses. See Klein 2007; Gordon 2009.

43. Bond 2000b; Hanieh 2013; Haddad 2016.

44. As I explain in the introduction, I use the term (de)colonization to refer to both the continuation of colonization in Palestine/Israel and the limits of decolonization in South Africa.

45. Bond 2000b; Marais 2001; Ntsebeza 2007; Bassett 2008; Sitas 2010.

46. Bond 2000b; Marais 2001. GEAR replaced the more progressive Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that was developed through conversations with labor and grassroots organizations and emphasized developmental state interventions and wealth redistribution.

47. Alexander 2013; Habib 2013; Saul 2014.

48. Webster and Von Holdt 2005; Seekings and Nattrass 2006; Barchiesi 2011; Alexander, Ceruti, et al. 2013.

49. For raw data from the World Bank, see <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>. According to the most recent World Bank measurement (November 2014), the GINI coefficient in South Africa is 0.77 prior to state spending. Accounting for social spending by the state reduces the number to a still unparalleled 0.59. See Bond 2015.

50. Statistics South Africa 2015. These numbers downplay the extent of unemployment because, as Patrick Bond (2008) notes, “the official definition of employment includes such work as ‘begging’ and ‘hunting wild animals for food’ and ‘growing own food.’”

51. Webster and Von Holdt 2005; Seekings and Nattrass 2006; Barchiesi 2011; Alexander, Ceruti, et al. 2013.

52. Socio-Economic Rights Institute 2013.

53. Bond 2000a; Huchzermeyer 2004.

54. Huchzermeyer 2011.

55. Walker 2005; Ntsebeza and Hall 2007.

56. Greenberg 2004.

57. Lahiff 2008; PLAAS 2013.

58. McDonald and Ruiters 2005; Von Schnitzler 2008.

59. Heywood 2009; Decoteau 2013.

60. Roithmayr 2002. See also Vally and Spreen 2014; Vally 2015. Throughout the book, I use annual average exchange rates when calculating dollar equivalents for the South African rand and the New Israeli shekel. See <http://www.usforex.com/forex-tools/historical-rate-tools/yearly-average-rates>.

61. Marais 2011.

62. Bond 2008.

63. Ferguson 2015.

64. In 2015, the pension and disability grants provide R1350 (\$108) each month while child support grants provide R320 (\$25.60) per child each month. See <http://www.gov.za/services/services-residents>.

65. Barchiesi 2011.

66. Ballard 2004; Goldberg 2008; Samara 2011; Hudson 2012.

67. Bremner 1998; Abrahamsen and Williams 2007; Berg and Nouveau 2011.

68. Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority 2014.
69. Shaw 2002; Samara 2011.
70. McKinley and Veriava 2005.
71. Alexander, Lekgowa, et al. 2013; Desai 2014.
72. Desai 2002; Ngwane 2003; Naidoo and Veriava 2005; Alexander 2010; Naidoo 2015.
73. Bond 2014; McKinley 2015.
74. Shivambu 2014; Mbembe 2015; Pillay 2015.
75. McKinley 2015; Ruiters 2014.
76. Abunimah 2006; Barghouti 2011; Collins 2012; Salamanca et al. 2012.
77. Specifically, the PA acquired jurisdiction over *civilian* affairs—such as education, health care, planning, and development—in Area A (18.2 percent of the West Bank) and Area B (21.8 percent). The PA also acquired responsibility for *security* within Area A. The Israeli military retained control over *security* in Area B (21.8 percent) and control over both *civilian* and *security* affairs in Area C (60 percent). East Jerusalem was excluded from these territorial divisions and remains under full Israeli control. Israel also maintained control over borders and airspace as well as the right to enter Area A in “hot pursuit” of suspects. Similar divisions exist in Hebron (H1 and H2) and, until 2005, in the Gaza Strip (Yellow and White).
78. Said 1996, 2001, 2004; Beinín and Stein 2006; Weizman 2007; Gordon 2008.
79. Gordon 2008.
80. B’Tselem 2013.
81. B’Tselem 2004; Weizman 2007.
82. Sorkin 2005; Backmann 2010.
83. Grinberg and Shafir 2000; Shalev 2000; Nitzan and Bichler 2002; Ram 2008.
84. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2015; Adva Center 2014; Ram 2008.
85. Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2011; Adalah 2011; Adva Center 2014.
86. Shafir and Peled 2000a; Beinín 2006; Hanieh 2013.
87. Peres 1993.
88. Paris 2000.
89. Grinberg and Shafir 2000; Shalev 2000; Ram 2008.
90. Byrne 1997; Samara 2000; Drori 2000.
91. Klein 2007; Lewin-Epstein, Ro’i, and Ritterband 2013.
92. Ellman and Laacher 2003; Rajjman and Semyonov 2004; Drori 2009.
93. Farsakh 2009; Shenhav and Berda 2009.
94. Hanieh 2013; Farsakh 2009.
95. Samara 2000; Hanieh 2013; Haddad 2016.
96. Beinín and Stein 2006; Honig-Parnass and Haddad 2007.
97. Beinín and Stein 2006; Honig-Parnass and Haddad 2007.
98. Farsakh 2009.
99. Palestinian Authority 2008; Khalidi and Samour 2011; Hanieh 2013; Haddad 2016.
100. Usher 1999; Rabbani 2006; Byrne 2009; Sayigh 2011.
101. Lagerquist 2003; Hanieh 2013.
102. Hammami 2004.
103. Amiry 2010; Kav LaOved 2012.

104. Farsakh 2005; International Labor Organization 2013.
105. Hanafi and Tabar 2005; Nakhleh 2012; Hanieh 2013; Dana 2014b.
106. Taraki 2008b; Rabie 2013.
107. Taraki 2008a.
108. B'Tselem 2001, 2002a; Nir 2011; Al-Haq 2013a.
109. Halper 2015; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015.
110. In August 2005, Israel withdrew its soldiers and settlers from Gaza. Yet Israel retained control over Gaza's borders, airspace, and coastline and uses this power to maintain its rule over the territory. Although no longer being actively settled, the Gaza Strip continues to bear the brunt of Israeli military violence. See Li 2006; Weizman 2007; Gordon 2008; Feldman 2013.
111. Byrne 2009; Sayigh 2011; Dana 2014a.
112. Barghouti 2011; Qumsiyeh 2011; Juma' 2013; Abunimah 2014; Alazzeah 2015.
113. Davis 2006; Murray 2008, 2011; Samara 2010; Amar 2013; Samara, He, and Chen 2013.
114. Van Onselen 1982; Callinicos 1981, 1987; Chipkin 1993; Beavon 2004.
115. Lemon 1991; Bonner and Segal 1998; Beavon 2004.
116. Sarakinsky 1984; Jochelson 1988; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
117. Pickard-Cambridge 1988; Hart 1989.
118. Mayekiso 1996; Bozzoli 2004.
119. Bollens 1998; City of Johannesburg 2001; Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Tomlinson et al. 2003a; Beavon 2004.
120. Murray 2008, 2011.
121. Statistics South Africa 2012.
122. Bond 2000a; Tomlinson et al. 2003b.
123. Jürgens, Gnad, and Bähr 2003; Beavon 2004; Simone 2004.
124. Beavon 2004.
125. Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions 2005; Rasmussen 2007.
126. Harrison, Huchzermeyer, and Mayekiso 2003. RDP stands for Reconstruction and Development Programme.
127. Harber 2011.
128. Landsberg 2005.
129. City of Johannesburg 2001.
130. Huchzermeyer 2004.
131. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
132. Carruthers 1993.
133. Czegledy 2003; Beavon 2004.
134. Clarno 2009; Murray 2011.
135. Tamari 2000; Beinin 2013; Abowd 2014.
136. Tamari 1999.
137. Benvenisti 1996; Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamed 1999; Yiftachel and Yacobi 2002; Yiftachel and Ghanem 2004; Margalit 2006; Abowd 2014; Shlay and Rosen 2015.
138. Nasrallah 2005.
139. Benvenisti 1996; Cheshin, Hutman, and Melamed 1999.
140. Yiftachel and Yacobi 2002; Misselwitz and Rieniets 2006; Abowd 2014.
141. Brooks et al. 2005; Michael and Ramon 2004; Klein 2005.

142. Jerusalem Municipality 2005, 32. The Jerusalem 2020 master plan also explicitly promotes segregation: “In a multicultural city such as Jerusalem, spatial segregation of the various population groups in the city is a real advantage. Every group has its own cultural space and can live its lifestyle. The segregation limits the potential sources of conflict between and among the various populations. It is appropriate, therefore, to direct a planning policy that encourages the continuation of spatial segregation with a substantial amount of tolerance and consideration” (Jerusalem Municipality 2005, 33).

143. Margalit 2006.

144. Margalit 2006; B’Tselem 2006.

145. Jaradat 1996, 1997; B’Tselem and HaMoked 1997; Al-Majdal 1999a, 1999b, 2000.

146. Lustick 1988; Dumper 2014.

147. Pullan et al. 2013.

148. Association for Civil Rights in Israel 2015.

149. Margalit 2006; B’Tselem 2006.

150. Taraki 2008b; Rabie 2013; Yaser 2015.

151. Taraki 2008a.

152. United Nations 2009.

153. Marcuse 1997. On gated communities in Palestine/Israel, see Rosen and Razin 2008; Yacobi 2012.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Interview with community organizer in Marlboro, June 2012.

2. Ntoula 1984.

3. Interview with former labor organizer from Alexandria, August 2012; interview with former community organizer from Alexandria, August 2012.

4. Interview with community leader in Marlboro, June 2012.

5. Interview with former community organizer from Alexandria, August 2012.

6. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

7. ACO collected rent in most of the factories, often paying part of the money to the registered property owners. In other factories, residents paid rent directly to the property owner or someone claiming to be the owner. Interview with community leader in Marlboro, June 2012.

8. Interview with former community organizer from Alexandria, August 2012.

9. Sarakinsky 1984; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

10. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

11. Sarakinsky 1984; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

12. Morris 2000.

13. Sarakinsky 1984; Jochelson 1988.

14. Jochelson 1988; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

15. Van Dijk 1980.

16. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.

17. Interview with former community organizer from Alexandria, August 2012.

18. Interview with former labor organizer from Alexandria, August 2012. Like most townships

in South Africa, Alexandra was home to competing civic organizations representing distinct approaches to struggle and visions of the future. The most important organization outside the umbrella of the ANC was the Marxist group Ditshwantsho tsa Rona, publishers of the periodical *Izwi lase Township*.

19. Mayekiso 1996; Bozzoli 2004.
20. Morris 2000.
21. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
22. New Nation 1989; interview with former community organizer from Alexandra, August 2012.
23. Maimane and Mbhele 1991.
24. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
25. Bond 2000a; Beall Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Tomlinson et al. 2003; Nuttall and Mbembe 2008; Murray 2008, 2011.
26. Marcuse 1997.
27. Statistics South Africa 2012.
28. Interviews with a lawyer, July 2012; former freedom fighter, July 2012; ARP official, July 2012; entrepreneur, July 2012; community organizers, July 2012.
29. Interview with lawyer who grew up in Alexandra, July 2012.
30. Interview with entrepreneur who grew up in Alexandra, July 2012.
31. Interview with lawyer who grew up in Alexandra, July 2012. See also Ceruti 2013a, 61.
32. Interview with lawyer who grew up in Alexandra, July 2012; interview with ARP official, July 2012.
33. This is consistent with survey research in Soweto demonstrating that 60 percent of residents have perimeter walls, but only 2 percent have a private security service. See Ceruti 2013a.
34. Webster and Von Holdt 2005; Seekings and Nattrass 2006; Barchiesi 2011; Alexander, Ceruti, et al. 2013.
35. Webster and Von Holdt 2005; Seekings and Nattrass 2006; Barchiesi 2011; Ceruti 2013b.
36. Wacquant 2002, 53.
37. Marcuse 1997.
38. Webster and Bhowmik 2014.
39. Webster and Von Holdt 2005; Alexander, Ceruti, et al. 2013.
40. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra 2000. Interview with the former director of the Alexandra Renewal Project, August 2012.
41. Focus group discussion with unemployed workers, July 2012.
42. Interview with a gardener, July 2012; focus group discussion with domestic workers, July 2012; focus group discussion with security guards, July 2012.
43. Focus group discussion with domestic workers, July 2012.
44. Focus group discussion with domestic workers, July 2012.
45. Interview with Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce, July 2012; interview with former labor organizer from Alexandra, August 2012.
46. Kenny and Webster 1998; Kenny 2005; Barchiesi 2011; Sefalafala and Webster 2013; Webster and Joynt 2014.
47. Focus group discussion with domestic workers, July 2012; focus group discussion with security guards, July 2012.

48. Field notes, June 2012.
49. Focus group discussion with entrepreneurs, July 2012.
50. Interview with an entrepreneur, July 2012.
51. Focus group discussion with entrepreneurs, July 2012.
52. Simone 2004.
53. Interviews with street vendors, July 2012.
54. Field notes, July 2012.
55. Webster 2005.
56. Field notes, July 2012 and August 2012.
57. Field notes, July 2012.
58. Focus group discussion with residents of S'Tswetla, July 2012.
59. Barchiesi 2011.
60. Field notes, June 2012.
61. Shivambu 2014.
62. People's Inspection of Alexandra 2005.
63. Interview with Johannesburg Department of Housing, Region E, July 2012.
64. Interview with former director of the Alexandra Renewal Project, August 2012.
65. Field notes, July 2012 and August 2012.
66. Interview with a resident of the Women's Hostel, August 2012.
67. Murray 2009.
68. Interview with City of Johannesburg official from Alexandra, August 2012; interview with the director of a local radio station, July 2012.
69. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
70. Focus group discussion with community organizers from S'Tswetla, July 2012.
71. Focus group discussion with residents of S'Tswetla, July 2012.
72. Interview with former resident of S'Tswetla, July 2012; focus group discussion with community organizers from S'Tswetla, July 2012; focus group discussion with residents of S'Tswetla, July 2012.
73. Focus group discussion with residents of Wynberg factory, August 2012.
74. Focus group discussion with residents of Wynberg factory, August 2012.
75. Focus group discussion with residents of Innesfree Park, August 2012; field notes from meetings with property owner and local councilor, August 2012.
76. Bayat 2000; Makhulu 2015.
77. Davis 2006; Murray 2008.
78. Decoteau 2013.
79. Field notes, July 2012.
80. Field notes, July 2012; focus group discussion with community leaders in S'Tswetla, July 2012.
81. Interview with directors of Community Work Programme, July 2012.
82. Interview with an Alexandra Renewal Project official, May 2005.
83. Field notes, July 2012.
84. Field notes, July 2012.
85. Interview with a lawyer who grew up in Alexandra, July 2012.
86. Desai 2014.

87. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
88. Interview with the Johannesburg Department of Housing, Region E, July 2012; interview with the Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce, July 2012.
89. Interview with an official with the Greater Alexandra Development Forum, August 2012.
90. Interview with leaders of the Alexandra branch of the South African Communist Party, July 2012.
91. Field notes, July 2012.
92. Interview with the Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association (ALPOA), July 2012.
93. Interview with a community organizer in Marlboro, August 2012.
94. Plots of land with communal water taps and prepaid electricity meters.
95. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008; Turken 2008; Von Holdt et al. 2011.
96. Tromp and Outway 2015.
97. Von Holdt et al. 2011.
98. Focus group discussion with community leaders from S'Tswetla, July 2012. See also Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008, 421.
99. Interview with the director of a local development agency, August 2012.
100. Murray 2003; Coalition against Xenophobia 2008; Lehulere 2008; Turken 2008.
101. Interview with community organizer in Marlboro, July 2012.
102. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra 2000.
103. Manala 2014.
104. Alexandra Renewal Project 2001b. See also Alex FM 2012a.
105. Alexandra Renewal Project 2001a.
106. Initially known as the ADF (Alexandra Development Forum).
107. Sinwell 2005, 2010; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
108. Interview with the director of the Greater Alexandra Development Forum, August 2012; field notes from conversation with local organizers, July 2012. See also Sinwell 2005; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
109. Interview with ARR community liaison officer, July 2012.
110. Sinwell 2005.
111. Interview with ARP director, March 2005.
112. Interview with former community organizer from Alexandra, August 2012.
113. Interview with ARP official, May 2005.
114. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012; see also Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
115. Alex FM 2012a.
116. Interview with former director of the Greater Alexandra Development Forum, July 2012.
117. Interview with ARP urban planner, May 2005.
118. Alexandra Renewal Project 2001c.
119. Interview with ARP director, March 2005.
120. Alexandra Renewal Project 2001d.
121. Field notes from meeting with CityPower, July 2012. See also Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.

122. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra 2000; Alexandra Renewal Project 2001c.
123. Interview with the ARP acting director, August 2012.
124. Interview with an ARP official, July 2012. See also Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
125. Focus group discussion with unemployed workers, July 2012.
126. Interview with ARP director, June 2005; interview with ARR community liaison officer, July 2012; field notes from meeting with urban planner, April 2005.
127. Field notes from meeting with urban planner, April 2005; interview with the Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce, July 2012; interview with a contractor in Alexandra, July 2012. See also Alex FM 2012b.
128. Interview with a contractor in Alexandra, July 2012.
129. Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
130. Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
131. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
132. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra 2000; Alexandra Renewal Project 2001c.
133. Interview with an ARP urban planner, May 2005.
134. Interview with an ARP urban planner, May 2005.
135. Interview with an ARP official, August 2012.
136. Mayekiso 2003.
137. Alex FM 2012c.
138. Interview with an ARP official, July 2012. See also Bonner and Niegtagodien 2008.
139. Field notes, August 2012.
140. Mayekiso 2003.
141. Interview with ARP director, June 2005.
142. Interview with ARP director, June 2005.
143. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
144. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
145. Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
146. Interview with the ARP director, March 2005; interview with the director of a local radio station, July 2012; interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012; interview with the Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce, July 2012.
147. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
148. Alex FM 2012c.
149. Alex FM 2012c.
150. Interviews with two ARP community liaison officers, July 2012.
151. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra 2000.
152. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012. See also Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
153. Interview with an ARP urban planner, May 2005; focus group discussion with community leaders in S'Tswetla, July 2012.
154. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
155. Field notes, August 2012.
156. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.

157. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
158. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
159. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
160. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
161. Interview with a lawyer from Alexandra, July 2012; interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
162. Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
163. Interview with a lawyer from Alexandra, July 2012; interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012; interview with a city of Johannesburg official from Alexandra, August 2012.
164. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
165. Greenberg 2004.
166. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
167. Interview with a lawyer from Alexandra, July 2012.
168. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
169. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012. See also Alex FM 2012a.
170. Focus group discussion with the South African Communist Party, July 2012.
171. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
172. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
173. Mayekiso 2003; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
174. Focus group discussion with the Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association, July 2012. See also Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
175. Interview with a business and property owner, July 2012.
176. Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008.
177. Focus group discussion with Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association, July 2012.
178. Alexandra Renewal Project 2010.
179. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
180. Alex FM 2012a.
181. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
182. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
183. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
184. Interview with a former community organizer from Alexandra, August 2012.
185. Interview with a lawyer from Alexandra, July 2012.
186. Interview with a former community organizer from Alexandra, August 2012.
187. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
188. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
189. Interview with a former freedom fighter from Alexandra, July 2012.
190. Interview with a lawyer from Alexandra, July 2012.
191. Interview with a member of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature, August 2012.
192. Focus group discussion with Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee, August 2012.
193. Focus group discussion with Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee, August 2012.
194. McKinley and Naidoo 2004; Naidoo and Veriava 2005.
195. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
196. High Court of South Africa 2005: Answering Affidavit 11–12.

197. Interview with organizer from Wynberg Concerned Residents, August 2012.
198. Field notes from High Court proceedings, April 2005.
199. Interview with community organizer from Wynberg Concerned Residents, August 2012.
200. Interview with ARP acting director, August 2012.
201. Interview with community organizer from Marlboro, July 2012.
202. Interview with a local political leader, July 2012.
203. Interview with ARP director, March 2005.
204. Interview with community organizer from Marlboro, August 2012.
205. Interview with community organizer from Marlboro, August 2012.
206. Interview with community organizer from Marlboro, August 2012.
207. Interview with community organizer from Marlboro, August 2012.
208. Interview with an ARP official, August 2012.
209. Focus group discussion with the Alexandra Vukuzenzele Crisis Committee, August 2012.
210. Field notes from a meeting of the tenants, July 2012.
211. Focus group discussion with tenants of Extensions 9 and 10, July 2012; interview with a resident of Extension 9, July 2012.
212. Focus group discussion with tenants of Extensions 9 and 10, July 2012.
213. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
214. Interview with an ARP community liaison officer, July 2012.
215. Field notes, July 2012.
216. Interview with a resident of Extension 9, July 2012.
217. Alexander 2010; Saul 2014; Shivambu 2014; Mbembe 2015; Pillay 2015.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Field notes, August 2005. The graffiti is no longer visible.
2. Haynes and Hutchison 2008.
3. Marcuse 1997; Wilson 1997; Wacquant 2008. For an alternative view, see Pattillo 2003. See also the symposium on the “ghetto” in *City and Community* 7 (4) (2008).
4. Salamanca et al. 2012; Collins 2012.
5. Halper 2012. See also Davis 2006; Gilmore 2007; Sassen 2014.
6. Schölch 1982.
7. Katz 1998; Morrison 2004.
8. Katz 1998. For more on the interaction between the socialist Zionist settlements of *Ha-Shomer Ha-Tzair* and Palestinian villagers, see Sabbagh-Khoury 2014.
9. Tamari 1999.
10. Morris 2004; Tamari 1999; Masalha 2012.
11. Gorenberg 2006.
12. Armstrong 1996, 391.
13. Plascov 1982.
14. Tamari 2009.
15. Lustick 1988; Friedman 1992.

16. Morrison 2004; Gorenberg 2006.
17. Lustick 1988; Morrison 2004.
18. Hilal 1976; Graham-Brown 1990; Samara 1992; Roy 1995.
19. From 1980 to 1984, Israel confiscated 800,000 *dunums* of Palestinian land in this way (B'Tselem 2002b). See also Shehadeh 1993.
20. Farsakh 2009; Hever 2010.
21. Field notes, September 2012.
22. Hiltermann 1991.
23. Field notes, September 2012. Interview with community organizer from Nahhalin, September 2012.
24. In 1987, the Israeli government appeased the settlers by building a 20-foot chain link fence around Dheishch and controlling movement in and out of the camp with a revolving gate. See Hamzeh 2001.
25. Schiff and Ya'ari 1990; Hiltermann 1991; Lockman and Beinini 1989; Qumsiyeh 2011.
26. Abu-Amr 1994.
27. Schiff and Ya'ari 1990; Lockman and Beinini 1989.
28. For an overview of the district, see United Nations 2009. For profiles of each village, see the "Village Profiles" project of the Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem: <http://vprofile.arij.org>.
29. United Nations 2009.
30. News from Within 1999a; van Teeffelen 2005.
31. Although the municipalities of Efrat and Beitar Illit are not under the jurisdiction of the Gush Etzion Regional Council, they are part of the Etzion settlement bloc.
32. Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem 2009.
33. Al-Haq 1984; B'Tselem 2004.
34. Weizman 2007; Gordon 2008.
35. Sorkin 2005; Backmann 2010.
36. B'Tselem 2003; Al-Haq 2006.
37. Hever 2010.
38. United Nations 2009.
39. Hilal 2010.
40. Field notes, August 2012.
41. Taraki 2008b; Rabie 2013.
42. Grinberg and Shafir 2000; Shalev 2000; Ram 2008.
43. Byrne 1997; Drori 2000.
44. Ellman and Laacher 2003; Rajman and Semyonov 2004; Drori 2009.
45. Halper 2012, 2015.
46. Samara 2000; Hanieh 2013.
47. Nakhleh 2012.
48. Early studies advocating neoliberal development in the occupied territories include World Bank 1993; Fischer et al. 1994.
49. Samara 2000, 21.
50. Nakhleh 2012; Hanieh 2013.
51. Khalidi and Samour 2011; Hanieh 2013; Haddad 2016.

52. Hanieh 2013, Dana 2014b.
53. Seikaly 2016.
54. Hammami 1995, 2000.
55. Hanafi and Tabar 2005; Nakhleh 2012.
56. Field notes, October 2012.
57. Farsakh 2009.
58. Palestinian Authority 2008; Khalidi and Samour 2011; Hanieh 2013; Rabie 2014.
59. Hanieh 2013.
60. Lakoff 2008.
61. Asali 2010.
62. Nakhleh 2012.
63. Nieuwhof 2008.
64. Field notes, September 2012.
65. International Labor Organization 2013.
66. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 2014.
67. Lagerquist 2003; Hanieh 2013.
68. On the Bethlehem Industrial Estate, see <http://bmipbethlehem.com>.
69. Interview with a representative of the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce and Industry, October 2012.
70. Interview with a professor of tourism, Bethlehem University, September 2012.
71. Interviews with a professor of tourism at Bethlehem University, an official in the PA Ministry of Tourism, and tourism-oriented business owners, factory workers, and tour guides, September and October 2012.
72. Interview with an official of the PA Ministry of Tourism, September 2012.
73. Field notes from trying to rent a car, August 2012.
74. Field notes from meetings with Palestinian tourism businesses, September 2012.
75. Interview with an official of the PA Ministry of Tourism, September 2012.
76. Interview with an official of the PA Ministry of Tourism, September 2012.
77. Interview with a professor of tourism, Bethlehem University, September 2012.
78. Interview with an official of the PA Ministry of Tourism, September 2012.
79. Interview with a professor of tourism, Bethlehem University, September 2012.
80. Field notes from meetings with Palestinian tourism businesses, September 2012.
81. Interview with a Palestinian storeowner, September 2012.
82. Field notes from meetings with Palestinian handicraft industries, October 2012.
83. Field notes from meetings with Palestinian tourism businesses, September 2012.
84. Interview with a handicraft cooperative employee, September 2012.
85. Interview with olive wood factory employees, September 2012.
86. Interview with a Palestinian storeowner, September 2013.
87. Field notes, September 2012.
88. Interview with a handicraft cooperative employee, September 2012.
89. Interview with a tourism promotion consultant, October 2012.
90. Palestinian Authority 2002; Palestine Trade Center 2014.
91. United Nations 2009.

92. Interview with the owner of a large stonecutting factory in Bethlehem, September 2012. See also Union of Stone and Marble Industry 2011; Sherwood 2012; Cali and Miaari 2013.
93. Prusher 2000.
94. Prusher 2000; Palestine Trade Center 2014.
95. Bitterlemons 2008; Lunat 2010; Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre 2011.
96. Peck and Tickell 2002; Wacquant 2009; Peck 2010a.
97. Shenhav and Berda 2009; Berda 2006.
98. Farsakh 2009; Hanieh 2013.
99. Kav LaOved 2012; World Bank 2014.
100. Shenhav and Berda 2009; Berda 2006.
101. Field notes, September 2012.
102. Berda 2006.
103. Field notes, September 2012.
104. Berda 2006.
105. International Labor Organization 2013. See also Farsakh 2005.
106. Kav LaOved 2012.
107. Democracy and Workers' Rights Center 2011.
108. Foundation for Middle East Peace 1998.
109. Interview with a Palestinian economist at Birzeit University, October 2012.
110. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 2014; World Bank 2014.
111. Hever 2013; Abu Amer 2015.
112. Wacquant 2009; Peck 2010b.
113. Field notes, September 2012.
114. Interview with a Palestinian economist at Birzeit University, October 2012.
115. Interview with a Palestinian economist in Ramallah, October 2012.
116. International Crisis Group 2010.
117. Interview with a Palestinian economist in Beit Sahour, October 2012.
118. Hammami 2004; Tawil-Souri 2009.
119. Hammami 2010.
120. Field notes, September 2012.
121. Interview with a Palestinian NGO in Aida refugee camp, September 2012.
122. Amiry 2010.
123. Kav LaOved 2012.
124. Palestinian men must be married with children and meet minimum age requirements that have recently fluctuated from twenty-four to thirty-five depending on the state of unrest and the demands of Israeli employers.
125. Field notes, August 2012.
126. Focus group with undocumented workers, September 2012.
127. B'Tselem 2002b.
128. Kav LaOved 2012.
129. Focus group with undocumented workers, September 2012.
130. Focus group with undocumented workers, September 2012.
131. Kav LaOved 2012.

132. Field notes, October 2012.
133. Protocol on Economic Relations 1994.
134. The one exception was during the second intifada, when the cost of living declined for Israelis but skyrocketed in the occupied territories due to Israeli restrictions on production, transportation, and imports as well as supply shortages and Palestinian monopolies. See Hever 2010.
135. Interview with a Fatah leader in Aida refugee camp, September 2012.
136. Hever 2010, 49.
137. Field notes, October 2013.
138. Hanieh 2013; Dana 2014b.
139. Interview with a Fatah leader from Aida refugee camp, September 2012.
140. Interviews with a grassroots organizer, an economist, and a NGO official, September and October 2012.
141. Interview with Fatah leader in Aida refugee camp, September 2012.
142. Interview with former PA Ministry of Finance official, October 2012.
143. In some villages that border Palestinian cities, such as Al-Khader, small sections of the village were also designated Area A. Even in these villages, however, the majority of land is in Area C.
144. For individual village profiles, see Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem website: “Village Profiles,” <http://vprofile.arij.org>.
145. Heifetz-Yahav 2004.
146. The Oslo agreements stipulated that the PA could establish twenty-five police stations within Area B—yet the Israeli authorities have refused to permit the construction of most stations. One of the proposed police stations would have been in the village of Husan, west of Bethlehem. Israel rejected the proposal due to concerns settlers raised about encountering armed Palestinians on nearby roads. Interview with a member of the Husan village council, September 2012.
147. Field notes, September 2013.
148. Interview with an employee of the Nahhalin village council, September 2012.
149. Field notes, October 2012.
150. Abdelnour, Tartir, and Zurayk 2012.
151. Focus group discussion with Palestinian farmers in Al-Khader village, September 2012.
152. Interview with member of the JSCPD—West Rural Bethlehem, September 2012.
153. Interview with member of the JSCPD—West Rural Bethlehem, September 2012.
154. Interview with community leader in Beit Sakariya village, September 2012.
155. Cali and Miaari 2013.
156. Sansour and Tartir 2014.
157. Shehadeh 1993; B’Tselem 2002b, 2010, 2013.
158. Field notes, September 2014.
159. Field notes, September and October 2012. See also B’Tselem 2008.
160. Interview with officials from the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture, September 2012.
161. Field notes, September 2012.
162. Field notes, September 2012.
163. Interview with officials from the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture, September 2012.

164. United Nations 2012.
165. For profiles of Al-Walaja, Al-Khader, and Artas, see Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem website: “Village Profiles” <http://vprofile.arij.org>.
166. B’Tselem 2008.
167. Interview with a Palestinian farmer from Nahhalin village, September 2012.
168. Interview with officials from the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture, September 2012.
169. Field notes, September 2012.
170. Field notes, September 2012.
171. Amnesty International 2009.
172. Al-Haq 2013b.
173. Field notes, September 2012 and September 2013. Interview with a Palestinian water engineer, October 2012.
174. Interview with a Palestinian water engineer, October 2012. See also Amnesty International 2009.
175. Interview with a Palestinian water engineer, October 2012.
176. Presentation by an advocate for Palestinian farmers, October 2012.
177. United Nations 2012.
178. Interview with farmer from Nahhalin village, September 2012; interview with member of the Wadi Fukin village council, September 2012.
179. Interview with officials from the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture, September 2012.
180. Interview with member of the Wadi Fukin village council, September 2012.
181. Field notes, September 2012.
182. Focus group discussion with farmers from Al-Khader village, September 2012.
183. Interview with official from the Bethlehem Municipality, October 2012.
184. Palestinian Farming and Civil Society Organizations 2013.
185. Interview with an official from the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce and Industry, October 2012.
186. Palestinian Farming and Civil Society Organizations 2013.
187. Lustick 1988.
188. Nir 2011; Al-Haq 2013a; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015.
189. B’Tselem 2001, 2002a; Al-Haq 2013a.
190. Wolfe 2006, 392.
191. Byman and Sachs 2012.
192. Interview with the driver, September 2012.
193. Interview with the driver, September 2012.
194. Weizman 2007.
195. Field notes, September 2012 and September 2013.
196. Field notes, October 2012.
197. Kerem Navot 2013.
198. B’Tselem 2013.
199. Interview with member of the JSCPD—West Rural Bethlehem, September 2012.
200. Interview with community organizer from Wadi Fukin village, September 2012.
201. Focus group discussion with Palestinian farmers in Al-Khader village, September 2012.
202. Field notes, September 2012.

203. Field notes, October 2012.
204. Yaser 2015.
205. Focus group discussion with Palestinian farmers in Al-Khader village, September 2012.
206. Interview with resident of Husan village, September 2012.
207. Interview with a community organizer, September 2012.
208. Amiry 2010.
209. Focus group discussion with undocumented workers, September 2012.
210. Focus group discussion with undocumented workers, September 2012. For a similar dynamic along the US-Mexico border, see Rosas 2006.
211. Interview with a community organizer in Bethlehem, September 2012.
212. Field notes, September 2012.
213. Field notes, September 2012.
214. Al-Haq 2006.
215. Interview with organizer for a Palestinian farmers' union, October 2012.
216. Binkom 2008; B'Tselem 2010.
217. Hass 2012.
218. Algazi 2009; Blau 2012.
219. Several 2011; Blau and Hasson 2016.
220. Blau 2012.
221. Blau 2012.
222. Hasson 2010.
223. Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem 2012; B'Tselem 2013.
224. Interview with community leader in Al-Khader village, September 2012.
225. Interview with a resident of Al-Khader village, September 2013; presentation by a Palestinian farmer from Nahhalin village, October 2012.
226. Field notes, September 2012. See also Ma'an News 2012.
227. Binkom 2008; Hass 2012.
228. Focus group discussion with farmers from Al-Khader village, September 2012.
229. For more on settlement construction and capital accumulation, see Algazi 2009.
230. Interview with a refugee rights organizer in Bethlehem, September 2012.
231. Honig-Parnass and Haddad 2007.
232. Qumsiyeh 2011.
233. For more on fatalities, see the B'Tselem "Fatalities before Operation Cast Lead" webpage: <http://www.btselem.org/statistics/fatalities/before-cast-lead/by-date-of-event>.
234. For details, see reports by Shirabe Yamada: <http://oznik.com/news/020307.html> #Shirabe and <http://oznik.com/shirabe/020312.html>.
235. Medalia 2007.
236. Raheb 2004.
237. Barghouti 2011.
238. Field notes, September 2012.
239. Field notes, September 2012.
240. Presentation by a Palestinian farmer from Nahhalin village, October 2012.
241. Interviews with Palestinian youth activists, September 2013.

242. Field notes, September 2012.

243. Khatib 2012.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Orford 2014.

2. Pistorius 2012.

3. Wiener and Bateman 2014.

4. Germaner 2014.

5. Quoted in Serino 2014.

6. In July 2016, a judge sentenced Pistorius to six years in prison for murder. At the time this book went to press, prosecutors were appealing the sentence as too lenient.

7. Fanon 1967 [1952]; Hall et al. 2013 [1978].

8. See Hugo (1988) for survey research on anxieties about the future in late apartheid South Africa.

9. Greenberg 2004; Southall 2007; Von Holdt 2013.

10. Mbembe 2015.

11. Field notes from the meeting of a residents' association, June 2012.

12. Segal, Pelo, and Rampa 2001; Shaw 2002; Steinberg 2004. For historical background, see Van Onselen 1984.

13. Desai 2002; Ngwane 2003; McKinley and Naidoo 2004; Shivambu 2014; Pillay 2015.

14. Altbeker 2007; Herrendorf, Heiskanen, and Malby 2010; South African Police Service 2013.

15. Steinberg 1999; Shaw 2002; Dirsuweit 2002; Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002.

16. South African Police Service 2013. See Burger, Gould, and Newham (2010) for a critical analysis of SAPS crime statistics.

17. Statistics South Africa 2012.

18. Comaroff and Comaroff 2006.

19. Mistry 2004; Louw 2006; Harris and Radaelli 2007; Burger, Gould, and Newham 2010; Statistics South Africa 2012; Govender 2013.

20. Shaw and Louw 1998; Steinberg 1999; Shaw 2002; Dirsuweit 2002; Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Lemanski 2004; Statistics South Africa 2012.

21. Field notes, June 2012.

22. Interview with the chair of a residents' association, June 2012.

23. Seekings 1995; Steinberg 2001b; Dirsuweit 2002; Lemanski 2004; Samara 2011; Hudson 2012; Henkemen 2013.

24. Interview with the chair of a residents' association, July 2005; interview with a member of a residents' association, July 2005. See also Statistics South Africa 2012.

25. Fanon 1952.

26. Shaw 2002.

27. Shaw 2002.

28. Laufer 2001; Shaw 2002; Singh 2008; Steinberg 2008; Samara 2011.

29. Samara 2003; Singh 2008; Steinberg 2011.

30. Steinberg 2008; Altbeker 2010.
31. Shaw 2002; Samara 2011.
32. Shaw 2002, 86.
33. Samara 2011.
34. Vally 2002; McKinley and Veriava 2005; Altbeker 2010.
35. Samara 2011.
36. Alexander, Lekgowa, et al. 2013; Desai 2014.
37. Bremner 1998; Irish 1999; Laufer 2001; Schönteich 1999; Berg 2004; Lemanski 2004; Minnaar and Mistry 2004; Bénit-Gbaffou 2008; Bénit-Gbaffou, Didier, and Morange 2008; Murray 2008; Berg and Nouveau 2011.
38. See Clarno and Murray 2013.
39. Interview with a private security professional, June 2005; interview with a private security manager, July 2005.
40. Bremner 1998; Lipman and Harris 1999; Dirsuiweit and Wafer 2006; Murray 2011.
41. Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority 2014; South African Police Service 2015.
42. Irish 1999; Schönteich 1999; Shaw 2002; Taljaard 2008; Jaynes 2012.
43. Interviews with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
44. Interview with SAPS officials, June 2012.
45. Interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2005.
46. Interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2005; interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
47. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
48. Interview with an ADT representative, June 2012.
49. Mbembe 2001; Abrahamsen and Williams 2007, 2011; Bénit-Gbaffou, Didier, and Morange 2008.
50. Field notes from the annual general meeting of a residents' association, May 2005.
51. Carruthers 1993.
52. Czegledy 2003; Beavon 2004.
53. According to the leader of a residents' association, Black residents make up around 5 percent of the population in these neighborhoods. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
54. Ballard 2005; Lemanski and Saff 2010; Clarno 2013.
55. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
56. Clarno 2013; Anderson 2015.
57. Interview with two people involved in a residents' association, June 2012.
58. Interview with two people involved in a residents' association, June 2012.
59. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
60. Field notes from tour of northern suburbs, June 2005.
61. Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002.
62. Steinberg 2008, 167–68.
63. Field notes from IFSEC South Africa Conference, June 2012.
64. Field notes from IFSEC South Africa Conference, June 2012. For more on self-responsibility, see Singh 2008.

65. See Diphoorn 2016.
66. Interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2005; interview with the manager of a private security company, July 2005.
67. Interview with the accounts manager of a private security company, June 2012.
68. Field notes from annual general meeting of a residents' association, May 2005.
69. Landman 2006, 2008; Harrison and Mabin 2006; Dirsuiweit and Wafer 2006.
70. Landman 2002; South African Human Rights Commission 2005.
71. See Clarno and Murray 2013.
72. Interview with the manager of a security company, June 2012.
73. Interview with the treasurer of a residents' association, June 2012.
74. Interview with the president of a residents' association, June 2012.
75. Quoted in Steinberg 2008, 165.
76. Field notes from a meeting of residents' association representatives, June 2012.
77. Field notes from the annual general meeting of a residents' association, May 2005.
78. Field notes from the annual general meeting of a residents' association, May 2005.
79. Interview with the owner of a security company, June 2012; interview with the manager of a security company, June 2012.
80. Focus group discussion with private security personnel, June 2012.
81. Interview with two people active in a residents' association, June 2012.
82. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012; interview with managers of a private security company, June 2012.
83. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012; interview with representative of a residents' association, June 2012; field notes from City of Johannesburg Crime Prevention Forum Meeting, June 2012.
84. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
85. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
86. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
87. Du Plessis 2015.
88. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
89. Altbeker 2010. On "broken windows," see Kelling and Wilson 1982.
90. Cook and Whowell 2011; Manala 2014.
91. Field notes from meeting of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the president of a residents' association, June 2012.
92. Field notes, June 2012.
93. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
94. Hansen 2006; Steinberg 2008; Samara 2010.
95. South African Defence Force (SADF) unit that fought alongside anticommunist rebels in Angola during the 1970s and 1980s and was later deployed to suppress uprisings in South African townships.
96. Paramilitary unit that operated alongside the South African Police (SAP) to suppress the liberation movement in Namibia during the 1980s.
97. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
98. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
99. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.

100. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
101. Interviews with the manager of a private security company, June 2012; interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2012. See also Marks and Wood 2010.
102. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
103. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
104. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
105. Interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2012; interview with the manager of a private security company, June 2012.
106. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
107. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
108. All three quotes from focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
109. Interview with the head of a residents' association, June 2012.
110. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
111. Hornberger 2004; Steinberg 2008; Altbeker 2010; Samara 2010.
112. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
113. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
114. Field notes from the meeting of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
115. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
116. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
117. Field notes from the meeting of a residents' association, June 2012.
118. Field notes from the meeting of a residents' association, June 2012.
119. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
120. Multiple interviews with residents and the leaders of residents' associations, June 2012; field notes from a Domestic Watch meeting, June 2012.
121. Field notes from a Domestic Watch meeting, June 2012.
122. Interview with the head of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the head of a residents' association, June 2012.
123. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
124. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
125. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
126. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
127. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
128. Field notes from IFSEC South Africa conference, June 2012.
129. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
130. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
131. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
132. Smith 2014.
133. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
134. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
135. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
136. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.

137. Field notes, June 2012.
138. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 11, 2012. These expenses are in addition to individual household armed response contracts, which cost an additional R200–400 per month (\$24–48).
139. Field notes, June 2012.
140. Berg 2004; MirafTAB 2007; Murray 2011; Didier, Peyroux, and Morange 2012.
141. Interview with a former city official, August 2012. For more on the battle over CIDs in Johannesburg, see Clarno 2013.
142. City of Johannesburg 2009.
143. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
144. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
145. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
146. Interview with the accounts manager for a private security company, June 2012.
147. Interview with CAP official, June 15, 2012.
148. Interview with CAP official, June 15, 2012.
149. Interviews with directors of two of the three companies, June 2012.
150. Interview with CAP official, June 15, 2012.
151. Interview with CAP official, June 15, 2012.
152. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
153. Shaw 2002, 115.
154. McKinley and Veriava 2005; Desai 2014.
155. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012; interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
156. Field notes from meeting of the City of Johannesburg Crime Prevention Meeting, June 2012; interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
157. Interview with the chair of a Community Police Forum, June 2012.
158. Interview with the chair of a Community Police Forum, June 2012.
159. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
160. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
161. McClenaghan and Smith 2013.
162. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
163. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012; interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
164. Dixon 2007.
165. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012; interview with a SAPS commander, June 2012.
166. Interview with SAPS commander, June 2012. See also Samara 2011.
167. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
168. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
169. Focus group discussion with security professionals, June 2012.
170. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
171. Interview with two directors of a private security company, June 2012.
172. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.

173. Interview with SAPS commander, June 2012.
174. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
175. Interview with a representative of the private security industry, June 2012.
176. Field notes from City of Johannesburg Crime Prevention Forum Meeting, June 2012.
177. Interview with a representative of the private security industry, June 2012.
178. Berg 2003; Singh 2008.
179. Steinberg 2008, 23.
180. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
181. Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority 2014.
182. Sefalafala and Webster 2013.
183. Field notes before a focus group meeting, June 2012. See Sefalafala and Webster 2013.
184. Others work six-day cycles and a few work Monday–Friday with weekends off. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012; focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
185. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
186. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
187. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
188. Interview with three directors of a private security company, June 2012.
189. Sefalafala and Webster 2013.
190. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
191. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
192. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
193. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
194. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
195. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
196. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
197. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
198. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012; field notes from IFSEC South Africa conference, June 2012.
199. Interview with the director of a private security initiative, June 2012.
200. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
201. Interview with two people active in a residents' association, June 2012.
202. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
203. Interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
204. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012; interview with the director of a private security company, June 2012.
205. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
206. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
207. Quoted in Zeilig 2006.
208. Mail and Guardian 2006; Zeilig 2006.

209. COSATU 2013.
210. Focus group discussion with employees of private security companies, July 2012.
211. Four interviews with the leaders of residents' associations, June 2012.
212. Three interviews with the leaders of residents' associations, June 2012.
213. Interview with the leader of a residents' association, June 2012.
214. Interview with two people active in a residents' association, June 2012.
215. Alexander 2012; Saul 2014.
216. Hart 2013.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Kardos 2010.
2. Rose 2008; Dayton 2009.
3. Rose 2008.
4. Palestinian Authority 2008.
5. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
6. Dayton 2009; Byrne 2009.
7. Dayton 2009.
8. Field notes, September 2013.
9. International Crisis Group 2010, 12.
10. Zanotti 2010; field notes from meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
11. The US empire in the post–Cold War world is marked by the military dominance of the United States, the unprecedented power of multinational corporations, the worldwide influence of international financial institutions, and the global hegemony of neoliberal economics. Yet the US empire is an insecure empire. Triumphant in the mid-1990s and assertive in the early 2000s, the ability of the United States to enforce its will and maintain order throughout the world can no longer be taken for granted. The rise of the Latin American left, the economic power of China, the aspirations of Russia, the destabilization of the European Union, and the circulation of struggles against neoliberalism and empire constitute short- and long-term challenges to the global hegemony of neoliberalism and US empire. Ecological crises, megadisasters, viral outbreaks, mass extinctions, and nuclear proliferation intensify the crisis tendencies. As Immanuel Wallerstein (2010) argues, the capitalist world system now confronts a structural crisis deeper than the rhythms of accumulation or the rise and fall of hegemons. See Harvey 2003; Johnson 2011; Steinmetz 2005; Stoler 2006; Tadiar 2004; Wallerstein 2010.
12. Shavit 2013, ix.
13. Shavit 2013, 399–401.
14. Shavit 2013, xi.
15. Shavit 2013, 131.
16. Elon 1983 [1971]; Laqueur 2003.
17. Hazony 2000.
18. Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015.
19. Schlaim 2001; Khalidi 2006; Weizman 2007; Collins 2012.
20. Grinberg and Shafir 2000; Shalev 2000; Nitzan and Bichler 2002; Ram 2008.

21. Shavit 2013.
22. Similar to the discourse of the “Arab-Middle Eastern-Muslim” in the United States. See Naber 2006.
23. Shavit 2013, 410.
24. Arian 1997, 2000, 2002; Ben Meir and Shaked 2007; Ben Meir and Bagno-Moldavsky 2010, 2013.
25. Ben Meir and Bagno-Moldavsky 2013, 60.
26. Halper 2000, 2005, 2015.
27. Khalidi 2006; Weizman 2007; Gordon 2008; Khalili 2012.
28. Hanieh 2006; Weizman 2007; Na’aman 2012.
29. Weizman 2007; Moreh 2012; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2015; Berda 2006; Zureik, Lyon, and Abu-Laban 2011.
30. Hajjar 2005; Meari 2011; Khalili 2012.
31. Makdisi 2008; Berda 2012.
32. Plitnick and Toensing 2007.
33. Chomsky 1999; Mearscheimer and Walt 2007; Khalidi 2013.
34. Aruri 2003; Hanieh 2013; Khalidi 2013.
35. Gordon 2009; Hever 2010; Who Profits 2011; Feldman 2013; Fernandez 2013; Stockmarr 2014; Halper 2015; Machold 2015.
36. Field notes from IFSEC South Africa Conference, June 2012.
37. Feldman 2013; Halper 2015; Machold 2015.
38. Mamdani 1996; Steinmetz 2005; Khalili 2012.
39. Schlaim 1988; Gordon 2008; Cohen 2009, 2010; Pedatzur 2014.
40. Tamari 1983; El Fassad 2007.
41. Field notes, September 2013.
42. Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip 1995.
43. Usher 1996; Lia 2006, 2007.
44. Usher 1996; Tartir 2015.
45. Lia 2007.
46. Zanotti 2010.
47. Said 1996; News from Within 1999b; Tartir 2015.
48. Human Rights Watch 2002; Honig-Parnass and Haddad 2007.
49. Focus group discussion with PA security officers, September 2013; interview with a senior PA security official, September 2013. See also Reinhart 2006; Honig-Parnass and Haddad 2007.
50. Alsaafin 2012.
51. Zanotti 2010.
52. United States Department of State 2003.
53. For the early history of PA security sector reform, see Friedrich 2004 and Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs and Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces 2006.
54. Palestinian Authority 2008.
55. International Crisis Group 2010; Sayigh 2011.
56. Byrne 2009; International Crisis Group 2010; Zanotti 2010.

57. Field notes, September 2012. See also Bhungalia 2015.
58. Abu Amer 2015.
59. Interview with a Palestinian economist in Ramallah, October 2012.
60. International Crisis Group 2010; Sayigh 2011.
61. Interview with administrator at Al-Istiqlal University, October 2013.
62. Interview with administrator at Al-Istiqlal University, October 2013. See also Sayigh 2011.
63. European Union 2013.
64. International Crisis Group 2010. For the critique, see Johnson 2010.
65. Sayigh 2011; Zanotti 2010.
66. Zanotti 2010.
67. Swisher 2011.
68. Byrne 2009; Zanotti 2010.
69. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013. See also Zanotti 2010.
70. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
71. Zanotti 2010.
72. Dayton 2009.
73. Dayton 2009.
74. Interview with a retired high-ranking Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
75. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013. Interview with senior PA security official, September 2013.
76. Buhbut 2009 (quoted in Byrne 2009).
77. Interview with senior PA security official, September 2013; field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
78. Interview with senior PA security official, September 2013.
79. Interview with administrator at Al-Istiqlal University, October 2013.
80. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
81. Dayton 2009.
82. Byrne 2009; Sayigh 2011.
83. Interview with PA official involved in negotiations, September 2013; interview with senior PA security official, September 2013. See also Palestinian Authority 2008; Amrov and Tartir 2014; Dana 2014a.
84. Weber 1978 [1919]; Tartir 2015.
85. Interview with PA official involved in coordination, September 2013.
86. Barnea 2009.
87. Interview with retired high-ranking Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
88. International Crisis Group 2010.
89. International Crisis Group 2010.
90. Zanotti 2010.
91. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013. See also International Crisis Group 2010.
92. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
93. International Crisis Group 2010.
94. International Crisis Group 2010.
95. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.

96. The use of torture has reportedly subsided. Interview with Palestinian prison rights advocate, October 2012. See also Addameer 2011.
97. International Crisis Group 2010; Sayigh 2011.
98. Interview with Palestinian lawyer, October 2012.
99. Interview with Palestinian lawyer, October 2012.
100. Field notes, meeting with former prisoner, September 2013.
101. Field notes, meeting with former prisoner, September 2012.
102. Field notes and interviews, September and October 2012.
103. Interview with Palestinian lawyer, October 2012.
104. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013; field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
105. International Crisis Group 2010.
106. International Crisis Group 2010.
107. Interview with Palestinian prisoners' rights advocate, October 2012.
108. Addameer 2011.
109. Interview with Palestinian prisoners' rights advocate, October 2012.
110. Interview with Palestinian prisoners' rights advocate, October 2012.
111. International Crisis Group 2010.
112. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
113. Bhungalia 2012, 2015.
114. Barnea 2009.
115. International Crisis Group 2010.
116. Sayigh 2011.
117. Field notes, September 2013.
118. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian youth activists, September 2013.
119. Interview with the mother of a Palestinian activist, September 2013.
120. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian youth activists, September 2013.
121. Field notes, meeting with parents of a Palestinian activist, September 2013.
122. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian youth activists, September 2013.
123. Sayigh 2011.
124. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian activists, September 2013.
125. Maira 2013.
126. Human Rights Watch 2012.
127. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013; interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
128. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
129. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
130. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
131. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
132. Field notes, meeting with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
133. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
134. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
135. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
136. Field notes, meeting with US official, September 2013.

137. Field notes, meeting with PA security officials, September 2013.
138. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
139. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
140. Field notes, September 2012.
141. Field notes, September 2013.
142. Quoted in International Crisis Group 2010, 23.
143. Quoted in International Crisis Group 2010, 23.
144. Interview with senior PA security official, September 2013.
145. Quoted in Zanotti 2010, 30.
146. Quoted in Barnea 2009, 203.
147. Hanafi and Tabar 2005; Hanieh 2013; Dana 2014b.
148. Washington Institute 2008; Zanotti 2008; Kardos 2010.
149. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
150. Interview with a PA official involved with negotiations, September 2013.
151. Interview with Palestinian prisoners' rights advocate, September 2012.
152. Quoted in International Crisis Group 2010, 20.
153. Dayton 2009; Zanotti 2010.
154. Byrne 2009; International Crisis Group 2010.
155. International Crisis Group 2010.
156. Focus group discussion with PA security officers, September 2013.
157. All quotes from focus group discussion with PA security officers, September 2013.
158. International Crisis Group 2010.
159. International Crisis Group 2010.
160. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
161. Interview with an employee of the Nahhalin village council, September 2012.
162. Interview with PA official involved in coordination, September 2013.
163. One attack took place in area H2 in Hebron—also under full Israeli sovereignty.
164. Field notes, September and October 2013.
165. Field notes, meeting with Israeli activist, October 2012.
166. Interview with Palestinian prisoners' rights advocate, October 2012.
167. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
168. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
169. Focus group discussion with PA security officers, September 2013.
170. Field notes, Aida refugee camp, September 2013.
171. Field notes, meeting with Fatah official, September 2013.
172. Interview with director of a Palestinian NGO, September 2013.
173. Field notes, Aida refugee camp, September 2013.
174. Field notes, Aida refugee camp, September 2013.
175. Interview with director of a Palestinian NGO, September 2013.
176. International Crisis Group 2010, 23.
177. Focus group discussion with Palestinian security officers, September 2013; interview with Fatah official, September 2013.
178. Field notes, September 2013—Aida refugee camp.
179. Field notes, meeting with PA security officer, September 2013.

180. Interview with director of a Palestinian NGO, September 2012.
181. Amrov and Tartir 2014.
182. Interview with a PA official involved with negotiations, September 2013.
183. Field notes, September and October 2012.
184. Field notes, meeting with community leaders in a village near Bethlehem, September 2013.
185. Focus group discussion with PA security officers, September 2013.
186. Interview with a PA official involved with negotiations, September 2013.
187. International Crisis Group 2010, 37.
188. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
189. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.
190. Goldberg 2008, 114.
191. Interview with retired high-ranking Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
192. Field notes, meeting with former Israeli commanding officer, September 2013.
193. International Crisis Group 2010.
194. Field notes, meeting with Israeli activist, October 2012.
195. Dermer and White 2012.
196. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
197. Field notes, meeting with senior US official, September 2013.
198. Quoted in Byrne 2009, 8.
199. United States Department of State 2003.
200. Interview with senior PA official, October 2013.
201. Interview, September 2012.
202. Interview, September 2013.
203. Field notes, September 2013.
204. Field notes, September 2012.
205. Field notes, September 2013.
206. Interview with retired high-ranking Israeli commanding officer, September 2013. See also Kushner and Bedein 2011.
207. Interview, September 2013.
208. Interview with senior PA security official, September 2013.
209. Interview with Palestinian activist, September 2013.

CONCLUSION

1. Interview with a South African who became involved in Palestine solidarity work after his 2007 visit to the West Bank, July 2012.
2. Quoted in Levy 2008.
3. Field notes, September 2013.
4. BADIL-Zochrot 2012.
5. Beyers 2007; District Six Beneficiary Trust 2012.
6. BADIL-Zochrot 2012.
7. Field notes, October 2012.
8. Interview with a Palestinian youth organizer, September 2012.

9. Said 2004; Abunimah 2006.
10. Palestinian Civil Society 2005; Barghouti 2011; Dawson and Mullen 2015.
11. See, for example, Abunimah 2006; Barghouti 2011; Bishara 2002; Carter 2006; Davis 2003; Farsakh 2005; Kovel 2007; Nogueira and Davidson 2012; Said 1996, 2001, 2004; Tilly 2005; White 2014.
12. World Conference against Racism 2001. See also LAW 2001.
13. Carter 2006, 215.
14. MacAllister 2008; Jamjoum 2009.
15. United Nations 1973.
16. International Criminal Court 2002.
17. Human Sciences Research Council 2009; Russell Tribunal on Palestine 2011; Dugard and Reynolds 2013; United Nations 2014.
18. Human Sciences Research Council 2009, 22.
19. MacAllister 2008. See also Davis 2003.
20. Mbembe 2003.
21. South African Communist Party 1981; McKinley 1997.
22. Alexander 1994; McKinley 1997.
23. Interview with a South African student, July 2012.
24. Interview with a South African NGO employee, July 2012.
25. Interview with a South African social movement organizer, August 2012.
26. Bond 2000a; Harvey 2005.
27. On decolonization, see Cabral 1974; Fanon 1961; Cooper 1996.
28. Credit Suisse 2015; Treanor 2015.
29. Alfred 2005; Bobo and Smith 1995; Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2010; Davis 2007; Duggan 2003; Giroux 2004; Goldberg 2008; Goldstein 2008; Omi and Winant 2015; Roberts and Mahtani 2010; Simpson 2014.
30. Cleaver 1979.
31. See Puar 2007.

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