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Acknowledgements

Finally, I want to thank everyone on the 2023/24 Geographical Society's Committee. Despite the challenges we faced, we still had a great year. I particularly want to thank our Chairperson Juliet O'Flaherty for her guidance and collaboration in creating and organising the *Atlas*. Her dedication to the society has made it a truly amazing year.

My involvement in GeogSoc and editing the journal over the past year has been such a great experience. It has been a pleasure to work with the committee and in such a great society. I hope you all enjoy the 22nd edition of the *Atlas*.

Rachel Doyle
Head Editor
Atlas #22

President's Forward

The closing weeks of the Spring semester of course bring with them a rush of assignments and exams as well as end-of-year campus rituals like The Trinity Ball, but for Trinity Geography this time of year is forever punctuated with the publication of the DU Geographical Society's journal, *Atlas*. This has been a challenging year for the DU Geographical Society and the latest edition of *Atlas* is a testament to the effort and commitment of the current Chairperson, Juliet O'Flaherty and the Head Editor and Librarian, Rachel Doyle. The academic staff of Trinity Geography are incredibly proud of the DU Geographical Society for all the work that goes into producing *Atlas* and of the consistently high caliber of its contents. Every year the pages of *Atlas* showcase a selection of the outstanding work produced by Geography students at Trinity whilst offering critical insights into the challenges faced by Irish society and the worlds beyond. This issue of *Atlas* is no exception and continues the journal's proud tradition of grappling with the most pressing questions of our times whilst keeping a firm footing in historical perspectives.

The strength of Trinity in urban and socio-environmental geographies is reflected across several strikingly original articles that engage a wide range of issues: the role of the global sex economy in shaping race and gender dynamics in contemporary cities; surveillance, gentrification and what the late Mike Davis called "ecologies of fear" in Australian cities; and the environmental injustices produced by mafia control of waste management in Italy's Campania region. These articles are all characterised by creative, intersectional approaches to classic human geographic concerns, proving that Trinity Geography students are operating at the very frontiers of the discipline.

A particular strength of this issue is the two articles on historical geography, one critically exploring representations of Ireland in the work of Strabo and Ptolemy and another engaging Sarashina Nikki's travel diaries from medieval Japan. These articles serve as important reminders of the role of geographic imaginaries in shaping social relations within and between nations, places and communities, something very much germane to an Ireland confronting new forms of difference in the context of old social cleavages. It is reassuring in the face of a world riven with genocide, war, gender inequality, socio-economic injustices, and environmental devastation that Geography students at Trinity College Dublin are engaged in such rigorous and robust analyses of contemporary social and environmental challenges and continue to fruitfully quarry the history of the discipline for timely orientation.

Like its predecessors this excellent new iteration of *Atlas* not only wears the traces of the dedicated work, expansive interests and critical sensibility of the graduating cohort of Trinity Geography students but to the sense of community that has developed amongst them. The contents of these pages are of course a record of long evenings of labour in the Freeman Library, but they are also a testimony to conversations in hallways after class, to debates over coffee and glasses, to laughter shared in Whatsapp chats, and to enduring friendships forged in this place to be carried forth into the worlds you are making.

Rory Rowan
Honorary President 2023-24

Chairperson's Greeting

I am very proud to introduce Dublin University Geographical Society's 22nd edition of Atlas! This year's Atlas encompasses five beautifully written papers ranging from topics of Urban Geography to Medieval Studies. Each edition of Atlas showcases the inspiring academic talent of Trinity's Geography students.

I would like to thank Rachel Doyle for her leadership in creating this year's edition, and Kate Byrne for her wonderful cover design. A huge thank you to all of the sub editors for their essential contributions in producing this volume. I'd also like to thank our Honorary President, Dr. Rory Rowan for his tireless support and assistance throughout the year.

This year in GeogSoc we had several hills to climb and seas to cross due to unforeseen circumstances. I would like to congratulate our GeogSoc executives, Rory Mockler and Jack Brocklebank, without whom a committee would not exist. A special thanks to Siubhán Stockman who stepped up to help whenever was needed. And a huge thank you to the rest of the committee, Gloria Svistal, Brandon Kekedijan, Anna Gibbons, Aisling Davis, and Alison O'Neill for leading events and promoting GeogSoc throughout campus. I am honoured to have worked alongside so many incredible people.

The Geography Society has been a key aspect of geography students' social lives for many years. Despite the issues we faced as a society this year, we have kept up with the important events that GeogSoc members hold dearly as our yearly traditions. These include our annual 'BinGeo', and the society favourite, 'Earth Ball'. We also enjoyed a pub crawl and many

'Geoguesser' nights. I have enjoyed seeing new connections form between members and the friendships made throughout the society.

I am forever grateful for my three years on the GeogSoc committee. I met some of my closest friends through the society and made my favourite college memories at our events. I am hopeful that this continues to be the focal point of the society! And finally, to the readers, please enjoy Volume 22 of Atlas!

GeogOn!
Juliet O'Flaherty
Chairperson 2023/2024

Representations of Ireland in The Geographies of Strabo and Ptolemy: A Critical Analysis
Phoebe Hill

The late BC to early AD centuries remain one of the most poorly understood periods in Irish history (Darcy and Flynn 2008). Therefore, Strabo's *Geography*, written around 7AD, and Ptolemy's *Geography,* written in the second half of the second century AD, have proven to be valuable sources of information relating to this period (Freeman 2001; Raftery 1994). Both geographers write about Ireland as part of their broader efforts to describe the inhabited world (Freeman 2001). However, they approach the project differently. This paper aims to critique the representations of Ireland produced by Strabo and Ptolemy through an examination of their varying geographical philosophies.

Primarily, Ptolemy's geographical works are defined by his mathematical approach. He eschewed ethnography, focusing instead on accurately locating places on the surface of the earth (Freeman 2001). He achieved this aim by matching mathematical locations, calculated with his grid of latitudes and longitudes, to written sources (Darcy and Flynn 2008). Ptolemey's approach is evident in his representation of Ireland which reads as a list of towns, river mouths, islands, and promotions, each located by a set of coordinates (Ptolemy, *Geography,* I). He further identifies four seas and 16 tribes by name (Ptolemy, *Geography,* I). Moreover, a map was originally included, constructed from data provided by coordinate pairs (Darcy and Flynn 2008). A brief

listing of tribal names and towns is the only evidence of the existence of the Irish people (Ptolemy, *Geography,* I). Ptolemy's approach, grounded in mathematical geography, produced a cartographic representation of Ireland which largely avoids mention of the Irish people.

Through this geographical approach, Ptolemy manages to produce accurate representations of the physical geography of the island. Reconstructions of Ptolemy's map of Ireland – that which would have accompanied his original work but has since been lost – show that his representations of the size, shape, and location of Ireland are relatively accurate (Freeman 2001). In particular, Ptolemy correctly places the island as lying to the west of Britain and locates the top and bottom points of the island within several degrees of error to the actual latitudes (Freeman 2001). Therefore, Ptolemy's application of mathematical methods to Ireland produced a detailed cartographic understanding of the island, remarkable in its time for quality and accuracy. Nevertheless, despite Ptolemy's pragmatic, scientific reputation, his representation of Ireland is not without flaws.

Notably, Ptolemy's work includes some mathematical inaccuracies and significant unevenness. Primarily, his latitude measurements are more accurate than his longitude measurements and his estimation of the earth's circumference was 1/6th too small (Darcy and Flynn 2008). Such inconsistencies are accompanied by broader structural failings in his work. For example,

Ptolemy provides more detailed and accurate information for the northern, eastern, and southern coasts than for the western (Freeman 2001). This error likely originates from the writings of Marinus of Tyre, which were based upon the accounts of merchants – many of whom were not well-acquainted with the stormy western coast and therefore had little detail to provide (Orpen 1894) Therefore, the unevenness in Ptolemy's work reflects a broader criticism – that he draws from the writings of others, which could contain their own biases and inaccuracies, rather than from first-hand scientific observations. Toner also examines the issue of sources in his analysis of Ptolemaic place names in Ireland, arguing that only twelve or thirteen names can be positively identified and that many others cannot be trusted as the information provided was garbled by the transmission of place names across linguistic barriers (2000). Therefore, despite the professed objective, mathematical methods of Ptolemy's geography, evidence of bias and subjectivity is visible in his representation of Ireland. Nevertheless, when measuring Ptolemy against the goals of mathematical geography, he does remarkably well. He manages to accurately locate places on the surface of the earth, although his work is far from untouched by human subjectivities.

However, mathematical geography is only one approach to geography which existed in the classical Roman world. There was a strong tradition of descriptive geography, which embraced an ethnographic element, describing what places were like, including their inhabitants, not just where they were located (Tierney

1976). This tradition is reflected clearly in the geographical work of Strabo where he shows interest in human societies, natural features, as well as their interactions in a descriptive style of prose (Van Der Vleit 2003). This descriptive style does not fully reject the mathematical aspects of geographical inquiry but rather seeks to bring them together with questions about human society (Strabo, *Geography*, I. I. 18-19). While Ptolemy does include some effort to bring together physical and human geography by mentioning several towns and tribes, Tierney regards it as insufficient, calling his approach more cartographic than geographic (1976). Therefore, Strabo's descriptive geographical methods are distinct from those of Ptolemy as he embraced both physical and human elements of geography, creating more balanced representations.

This balanced approach is evident in Strabo's representation of Ireland. In his characteristic textual, descriptive style, Strabo begins his representation with a brief sentence identifying Ireland as a large island parallel to Britain to the north, whose length exceeds its width (Strabo, *Geography,* 4. 5. 3-4). Strabo continues his description, referring to Ireland as a frigid place at the northernmost edge of the habitable world (Strabo, *Geography,* 2. I. 13-14). However, he doesn't stop with the physical features of the island. Instead, he continues, describing the people, reflecting his unique understanding of the goal of geographical inquiry. While such descriptions add balance to his representation, they are largely unflattering. In particular, he calls the Irish people "savages" and claims that they engage in man-eating

practices and sexually licentious behaviour (Strabo, *Geography,* 4. 5. 3-4). Therefore, Strabo characterised both the people and the physical geography of Ireland, reflecting his descriptive geographical approach. Nevertheless, Strabo's representation of the physical geography emerges as far less detailed than that of Ptolemy. While Strabo's effort to venture beyond purely physical representations reflects a truer form of geography, the conclusion he reaches should not go without critical examination.

Firstly, Strabo's representation of the physical geography of Ireland is overly vague and riddled with inaccuracies. While Strabo was the first to accurately describe the shape of Ireland (Freeman 2001), he is overly broad, merely mentioning that its length is longer than its width (Strabo, *Geography,* 4. 5. 3-4). Moreover, Strabo inaccurately locates Ireland as lying to the north, rather than to the west, of Britain (Strabo, *Geography,* 4. 5. 3-4). Tierney claims that Strabo's errors reflect his failure to understand mathematics and astronomy (1976). However, Freeman argues that this error goes beyond mere mathematical inaccuracies or source issues as Caesar's *Gallic Wars* had long since corrected the location of Ireland (2001). Rather, this inaccuracy reflects Strabo's effort to mould the world to better fit his geological framework, namely his belief that Ireland laid at the northernmost point of the inhabited world (2001). Therefore, the inaccuracies relating to physical geography are an example of broader biases in Strabo's work, largely the extent to which his geographical framework clouded his ability to work objectively. While Strabo does provide

novel insight into the physical geography of the island, the utility of such information is limited by his own biases. This criticism is also present elsewhere in Strabo's work, namely the information he provides regarding the Irish people.

Despite the merits of a balanced approach to Irish geography, Strabo's description of the Irish people fails to accurately reflect an objective reality of first-century AD Ireland. Primarily, Strabo's account is not just unflattering but also most likely unfounded, with Strabo himself acknowledging having "no trustworthy witnesses" for the tales (Strabo, *Geography,* 4. 5. 3-5). Importantly, the allegations of cannibalism and licentious behaviour included by Strabo were not unique to Ireland but rather commonly directed towards all peoples considered to be peripheral or barbaric by the Romans (Freeman 2001) Therefore, Strabo's descriptions of the Irish people are more likely to reflect Roman classical prejudice against peripheral people rather than objective accounts. Moreover, Strabo's connection between the freezing climate and the Irish disposition reflects another possible error in his thinking. Strabo, like many other classical geographers, relied upon a geographic framework which divided the world into three zones: the frigid, temperate, and torrid (Tierney 1976). This framework argued that civilization could only exist in temperate zones (Freeman 2001). Moreover, Strabo believed that Ireland was located at the very edge of the temperate zone, essentially the end of civilization. Therefore, it is possible that because information relating to such a distant land was scarce, Strabo was forced to

draw upon his ideological frameworks to construct his representation of Ireland – both the Roman civilization/barbarism dichotomy and his geographical zone concept. Therefore, while Strabo may have had the intention of accurately describing a faraway part of the inhabited world, he merely projected many of his classical Roman values onto a distant place, creating a false representation of Ireland and its people.

In conclusion, the distinct geographical frameworks of Strabo and Ptolemy produce representations of Ireland with unique strengths and weaknesses. While Ptolemy provides a relatively accurate representation of the physical geography of Ireland, he neglects to describe the people who inhabit the island. This overly cartographic approach reflects a desire to merely accurately locate places on the surface of the earth, rather than study the nature of places and people which inhabit them. In contrast, Strabo employs a descriptive framework which provides a more balanced representation of Ireland, including both the physical geography and human descriptions. However, his physical representation is overly broad and inaccurate and his human representation is unflattering and unfounded. Strabo's descriptions of the inhabitants provide more insight into Roman Classical prejudice about peripheral people than the objective realities of Ireland in the first century.

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Campania's Ecomafia: Understanding Environmental Extermination and its Effects.

Francesca Fragnoli

Landscapes, though usually regarded as fixed, physical entities, can speak volumes once interpreted like a text. Such is the assertion of cultural geographers, who assert that reading the landscape as a text involves seeing the terrain as a symbol, representing a multitude of actors, and interactions between social and economic processes, culture, and power (Rogers et al., 2013). It allows for an understanding beyond the visible; to see them as the complex, multifaceted representations of social relations within their historic and social context (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987) that they are. What, then, is revealed from looking at the most contested terrains in Campania, Southern Italy's largest region, using this metaphor? Particularly, the urban areas and once-verdant, fertile fields, that are now marred by mountains of rubbish; the graveyards of buried hazardous waste, threatening columns of black smoke, and scarlet flames grazing the sky? This landscape represents the Campanian waste crisis, and the consequent environmental contestation that has risen. Despite the waste emergency declared in the 1980s formally ending in 2008, the environmental harm caused by inadequate waste management, worsened by organised crime groups' involvement, continued. Indeed, over 30,000 environmental crimes were reported in 2020 (Legambiente, 2021, cited in ANSA, 2021). This essay will present the case of Campania, and the environmental contestation taking place. It will provide an overview of the diversity and complexity of the actors and forces at

play in Campania, where environmental harm is occurring due to poor waste management, mafia involvement, and illicit waste disposal methods. The social and economic context of the region will be depicted, as well as the embeddedness of organised crime in the region. The environmental dispute and the rising contestation will be better understood through an economic lens, drawing on theoretical frameworks such as economic theories and capitalist understandings of the environment. The multitude of actors in waste disposal and governance, the causing of the crisis and who suffers as a result, will be explained, to paint a picture of the complexities of environmental justice and conflict as they exist in the region.

The Campania waste crisis came to be as a result of governmental failures, primarily in the form of inadequate regional waste plans. The region in the early 1980s had reached its waste managing capacity, with its main incinerator being overfilled. This led to the formal declaration of a waste emergency in the 1980s. The waste crisis' effects were noted early on, and later, studies (Senior and Mazza, 2004) demonstrated the concerning trend of higher levels of health issues of people in the region. Links were drawn to the chemicals pertaining from alarmingly large and growing quantities of disposed waste, that were deemed likely to leach toxins into water supplies and soil. Though the crisis was officially declared over in 2008, the waste management issues persisted, leading to protests and locals' aggravation at its politicians. To mitigate the growing waste emergency, waste was sent to be incinerated in Germany, and the

Italian army ordered to clean streets. It was during this crisis, and difficulties administrative and political actors were facing, that Campania-based mafia groups saw an opportunity to expand into the area of business. Indeed, a member of one clan was said to posit that waste is gold (Past, 2013). Environmental crime is among the most profitable forms of organised crime activities (Council of the European Union, 2023). Though taking on many forms, from the trafficking of wildlife, illegal trade of hazardous chemicals, and waste disposal (Guillot, 2022), the consequences it bears range from the degradation of the environment, the reduction of biodiversity, increased pollution, and risks to human health. This growing involvement of the mafia in the industry and their hand in environmental harm led to the term ecomafia being coined.

The effects of the ecomafia on the environment in Campania bears a bounty of social, economic, and environmental consequences for communities. It is people, Nadeau writes, who bear the costs for the mafia's profit, and governments' convenience (2010). Higher than normal levels of toxins such as dioxin are normal in inhabitants' blood (Past, 2013), as well as in that of farm animals. Researchers highlight the significant association between the exposure to illegal toxic waste dumping in sites and cancer mortality (Mazza et al., 2015). The area also has higher occurrences of gastrointestinal diseases, some forms of cancer, diabetes, and circulatory diseases (Cantoni, 2016). It is expected that toxic substances from the dumped waste trickle into water sources, become airborne, and leach into soils. Citizens have reported a rise

of numbers of pigeons, rats, and seagulls near the accumulating piles of rubbish (BBC, 2010). Beyond health issues, the effects of poor and illicit waste management impacts the environment and industries which rely on it, such as the agricultural industry. Indeed, recalls of dairy products had sizable economic hits on Campania, where high quantities of dioxins were found in milk from 25 dairies (Paravicini, 2016). Additionally, certain areas within Campania's crops are considered to be tainted (Saviano, 2015; Paravicini, 2016). Certain groups within the Camorra, the Campania-based mafia, became stakeholders in governance of the area (Martone, 2014, cited in De Rosa, 2018), and thus their territorialisation of the waste disposal industry was only consequential (De Rosa, 2018).

One characteristic feature of capitalism is profit maximisation (Heywood, 2019). As one of the most lucrative forms of criminal activity (Banks et al., 2008, cited in Walters, 2013), it is no surprise that mafia groups are attracted to environmental crime, one facet of which is waste disposal. Though the environment serves many economic functions, environmental economists argue that environmental degradation results from failures of the market system to place value on the environment (Beder, 2011). This concept is evident when applied to Campania, where the arguable lack of value for the environment has caused such evident environmental degradation. Crevoisier's assertion that territory is the template of economic development (2004, cited in Mayhew, 2015) furthers this evidence. The overarching question of who profits from natural capital calls for consideration over the

valuing of nature (Sullivan, 2020) which differs based on stakeholders involved in the contestation. In Campania, it is only select groups that are profiting – corporations paying less to have their hazardous waste disposed of at cheaper rates, the crime groups engaging in the business, and perhaps even governments whose cities are somewhat being managed by waste. By offering the disposal of toxic waste for substantially less per kilo in comparison to businesses on the legal market (Armiero, 2008), crime groups secure business. As the Marxist theory of the secondary contradiction of capitalism predicts, environmental crises develop from capitalist economy, where seeking profit is central (Robbins, 2007). This is evidenced in Campania, where a clear environmental crisis is at play largely due to profit maximisation. This desire for profit comes at the expense of not just the environment, but also at the expense of economic growth in other industries, such as the agricultural one – products from the region are often considered to be tainted (Saviano, 2015; Paravicini, 2016), harming economic growth in the agricultural sector. While the centrality of value in capitalist systems and production is irrefutable (Pulido, 2017), conceptions of what value means in the context of landscapes differs depending on groups asked.

De Rosa points to this competition of meanings and uses of land, and the politicisation of space and the environment (2018). The relationship between working-class people and their environments is considered by Barca (2014), and it is this relationship with the environment, and competing meanings of land and its uses, that mobilised a string of environmental

mobilisations. These rose from frustrations at decades' worth of environmental degradation at the hands of profit-seeking crime groups and government failures. Protests by anti-landfill communities (Bufi, 2008) in Campania involved citizens complaining about re-opening of rubbish dumps that previously had been condemned (Senior and Mazza, 2004), and often demonstrations turned violent, leading to accidents and arrests (La Reppublica, 2004). A decree by then-prime minister Berlusconi stated any protests in the vicinity of plants involving waste management was a penal felony (D'Alisa et al., 2010). In considering the environmental conflict in Campania, Cantoni notes the waste dumping sites being largely in the more vulnerable and socio-economically depressed areas of the region has further aggrieved and alienated locals (2016). Even throughout the history of the entire waste crisis, it has been noted that the government has chosen sites for new landfills and incinerators in these areas, assuming they would not have any reaction (Cantoni, 2016). Certain posit that framing the Campanian conflict in terms of environmental justice movements shows the role of racialisation which hails from the historical perception of southern Italians being inferior to their northern counterparts (Cantoni, 2016). Indeed, the citizens most opposed to the opening of waste landfills have been linked to populations in the global south who oppose industrial, large-scale projects (Cantoni, 2016) that will undoubtedly impact their community negatively.

The region of Campania's environmental degradation and the subsequent contestation is not a

black-and-white matter. The landscape and its heavily documented scenes of mountains of waste set alight reveal a story of conflict, injustice, and greed. Complicating the contestation further is the convoluted involvement, and culpability of crime groups, industries, and governments. Demonstrating this enmeshed corruption are admissions from former mafiosi about bribery of politicians and officials to gain consent to engage in operations (La Reppublica, 2008). Indeed, mafia infiltration of the waste disposal industry led to the creation of the neologism ecomafia, encapsulating the strand of environmental crime committed by mafia clans. The continuous contamination and degradation of the environment led to prominent contestation over effects on health, industries, and the natural habitat. Beyond the conflict on the ground, larger debates over the valuing of nature and the spatial tendencies of environmental inequalities demonstrate even greater complexity. Through an economic lens, the environmental degradation can be understood as a consequence of profit maximisation, an inherent feature of capitalism. Valuing the environment, a prominent debate across disciplines, can explain both how environmental degradation occurs – environmental economics posit it results from failures of the market system to place any value on the environment (Beder, 2011) – while also helping to explain the manifestation of the differing perceptions and values of natural capital and habitats. Yet, this criminal enterprise and its effects are not merely a Campanian problem, with other Italian regions and even Northern Ireland cited as sites for illicit waste dumping (Wray, 2023), crises which could benefit from similar deconstructions. Following careful analysis

and a multidisciplinary analysis of the minutiae of Campania's ecomafia, waste crisis and environmental conflict, it is clear that just as reading landscape as a text, a deeper consideration of social, economic, and political relations is required to understand this.

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"Eye-spy" Gentrification: Multi-Dimensional Tensions of Urban Regeneration and Geographies of Fear in Australian Cities.

Charlie Kelly

Introduction:

Gentrification theory and the geographies of fear seek to critically examine inequalities in urban space, with respective political economic and social difference approaches. Comparing their political economic and social difference approaches can reveal multi-dimensional inequalities in urban space. This is particularly relevant to the securitization of urban spaces. In contemporary Australian cities, modern urban security strategies have incorporated neoliberal policies that, several authors argue, are producing novel political, economic, and social inequalities. Using relevant urban geography literature, this essay seeks to critically examine how gentrification and the geographies of fear compare and differ in their approaches to evaluating urban inequalities. As a case study the essay will examine the "securitization" of public and Night-Time-Economy (NTE) spaces in Australian inner cities (Melbourne, Perth, and Sydney). Securitization and concurrent hegemonic neoliberal policies targeting these spaces for their economic fertility, have led to securitization-induced gentrification, at a range of scales. Subsequent alternative discourses of fear and exclusion emerge.

Background:

Several waves of gentrification globally in different cities have occurred across time and space (Zukin, 1987; Jonas et al, 2005; Rodgers et al, 2013). The original coinage of theory can be traced back to 1964 by Ruth Glass when working-class communities of London were displaced due to large influxes of young, wealthy middle-class residents from the suburbs looking for affordable accommodation in the city (Glass, 1964). Critical gentrification theory still resonates with its founding, it is a specific process. However, many developed characteristics of gentrification examples has resulted in the broad use of the concept in several schools of thought, stretching its definition. This has led to contestations of uncritical perspectives on gentrification (Slater, 2006), and a flurry of contested responses (ie. Freeman, 2008). Indeed, in recent years the term has become increasingly difficult to define (Lawton, 2019), many definitions are varied and sometimes not elastic enough to capture the full complexities of urban change (Lees et al, 2010). For this essay, however, Gentrification will be flexible enough to be defined as *"The combination of demographic and economic changes accompanying sustained reinvestment in inner urban areas"* (Rogers et al, 2013).

Geographies of fear emerged out of feminist geographic discourse concerned with how fear "*reshapes the temporal and spatial patterns of individual movement through a city, with a particular focus on age and gender*" (Rodgers et al, 2013). Urban spaces associated with crime

(public parks, laneways – especially at night), have spatially restricted women's use and access to urban space because of male-propelled criminal legacies (Bondi and Rose, 2003). Critical feminist geographers insist that *"fear shapes cities and those within them"* (England and Simon, 2010). In this respect, geographies of fear are also associated with the geographies of crime and exclusion, as women and other social groups are excluded from the urban space through associations with crime or other perceived threats and dangers (Pain, 1997). While other social groups can be affected by these fears (Pain, 2009; Bromley and Stacey, 2012), feminist geographers insist that urban fear is a result of patriarchal norms in the city (Bondi and Rose, 2003).

Policing governance in several cities has worked at methods to combat urban crime and reduce geographies of fear. Public crime has particular social and economic impacts on cities. While increased police patrols and targeted policing strategies have been examples of this, novel and more contested examples of crime prevention have affected Western cities. The mass deployment of street CCTV, Facial Recognition Technologies (FRT) and Predictive Policing are contemporary examples of how governments are manifesting novel "*securitizations of everyday life"* (Rodgers et al, 2013; Metcalfe et al, 2020; Wu and Gao, 2022). The spatial impacts of these urban governance schemes have had an indirect but disproportionate impact on producing new geographies of fear and exclusion. The following case studies examine these more in-depth:

Melbourne: Youth perceptions of vulnerability against symbolic power.

In 2010, a rollout of CCTV cameras across Melbourne's rapidly gentrifying inner-city area of St Kilda was aimed at implementing public order after a spate of knife crime (Wilson et al, 2010). Cameras were deployed in public parks, laneways, and tram stations. and shopping malls to target perpetrators. The study by Wilson et al (2010), analyses the experiences of 39 young people aged 16-24 (60% male/ 40% female), engaging with local youth support services, many had experienced homelessness and/or continued to have unstable housing situations. CCTV is argued in the study to exclude young people from public spaces, due to perceived or imagined fears of being watched. Youth are also more prone to being of surveilled due to their larger presence in public spaces (Wilson et al, 2010). In the study, many felt particularly vulnerable to being victims of violent crime after recent stabbing events. Yet concurrently they also felt vulnerable to being socially profiled by figures of symbolic power (security guards, police, CCTV) as perpetrators of crime (both males and females) due to their age and class while in public (Wilson et al, 2010). Their sentiment is echoed in other empirical work on the geographies of fear in young people (Bromley and Stacey, 2012).

This intervention is identified by Bondi and Rose (2003), who describe the contradictions of "making urban public space" that is socially ordered and gendered. St. Kilda is a key tourist hub for Melbourne, with its beaches,

bars, hip brunch spots and other amenities popular with wealthy tourists and backpackers (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). In more privileged suburbs, young people do not experience the same exposure to surveillance, as they are not as visited. Extensive street CCTV coverage is not only a spatial securitization of everyday life, however. A political economic approach can understand that the maintenance of public order and the "civilized" is also for the viability of the city's economic and cultural interests coming from St. Kilda, it is an area increasingly popular with backpackers and tourists (Shaw and Hagemans 2015). Toward the end of the interviews, young people had several questions about their privacy rights, and who controlled and accessed information on the CCTV cameras, raising more nuanced and ethically concerned fears. The authors finally raise ethical questions, about the vulnerability of society's marginalized young citizens being informed of their privacy rights. Furthermore, a critical interpretation of this case study raises Jonas et al's argument of *"Cities for whom?"* (Jonas et al, 2005, chp. 2). Is St. Kilda a home for the indefinitely young homeless or is it for the temporary backpackers?

Perth: State reclaiming the night in city's "Temple Bar"

Northbridge is a similar primary NTE precinct to Perth City, the capital of Western Australia (Sisson and Maginn, 2018). The historic district is filled with nightclubs, bars, eateries, and other entertainment venues, akin to Dublin's Temple Bar. It has an entertainment and residential area that is dominated by Chinese,

Macedonian and Italian immigrant communities. In recent history, however, the district has been territorially stigmatized by figures of symbolic power (local commentators, politicians, and law enforcement) for its reputation of public intoxication, lethal one-punch assaults, stabbings, and a dominant presence of "undesirable" social groups such as motorcycle gangs. This had been problematic since the early 2000s (Hancock, 2004), but reached boiling point between 2009 and 2014 (Sisson and Maggin, 2018). The authors note this as the production of "territorial stigmatization", and as a result, residents of the city, especially women and other vulnerable social groups felt unsafe (Hancock, 2004).

Caving into pressure from several actors, the WA Government began an extensive "reclaiming the night" resistance campaign to make Northbridge safer (Sisson and Maginn, 2018). This was done through a combination of zero-tolerance law enforcement and urban policies favouring the "small bar" business model through the government distribution of liquor licenses (Sisson and Maggin, 2018). The suburb now experiences high levels of police patrols, extensive CCTV coverage (local council even assists venues in upgrading their CCTV (see fig 1), and greater enforced fines for venues with the threat of revoking of liquor licences if venues do not comply with laws (WA Government, no date).

What resulted, however, was a gentrification of Northbridge through the politicization and fetishization of local geographies of fear. The former counter-cultural

venues of big, brash and cheap Australian motorcycle bars for example, were displaced by exotic tapas eateries, chic Asian restaurants, and smaller themed bars (Sisson and Maggin, 2018). New small bars, for example, "Sneaky Tony's" (a themed American 30s prohibition bar (Lavish Habits, 2021), and "An Sibin" (a themed illegal Irish bar (Veenhuyzen, 2015), lead an ironic continuity of the lawlessness theme. Postmodern pastiches of historically fetishized global lawlessness replace local lawlessness as a gentrified commodity for the *"mature"* consumer the new market now caters to (Sisson and Maggin, 2018; Goulding, 2000; Barthes et al, 2007; Zukin, 1995). Northbridge became a political target for crime prevention, and a concurrent target for neoliberal urban policies to regenerate the area and push out the counter-cultural and independent venues (Sisson and Maginn, 2018). This was achieved through market-based modes of regulation allowing larger hospitality groups to operate "small bars" and monopolize the local NTE (Sisson and Maginn, 2018; Harvey, 2005). Further, this did not necessarily solve the problem of women's fear of crime, despite imagined feelings of security the district remained to be dodgy. The worst perpetrators repelled from Northbridge further will have displaced crime to more domestic spaces, where women are more likely to be victims (Sisson and Maginn, 2018; Bondi and Rose, 2003).

Sydney: Gentrified Fear Spaces through Privatisation of the Inner-City.

The importance of urban policy context, like Perth, has drastically influenced Sydney's culture of urbanization. *"Sydney' s urban public space is **dictated by fear**"* (Audisho and Lubinsky, 2023). This brash statement from the book "Cities Under Watch" underscores the grit of spatial tension between the public and figures of symbolic power that govern urban Sydney. The post-card city was recently ranked the second most unaffordable city in the world by housing price (Turnbull, 2023), with several gentrified and super-gentrified neighbourhoods that are continuously gentrifying due to the city's cost of living crisis. Sydney is also ranked as the 15th most surveilled city in the world by CCTV camera numbers, with 12 cameras for every 1000 people across the city of 5 million residents (Siewert, 2019).

Sydney, with its public discourse dictated by fear, surveillance and privacy has been infamous for deploying gated communities (Kelly, 2023; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). These outer suburban formations are now creeping into the inner city, in what Thompson concludes as: *"New-build gentrification"* identified in Lees et al (2010) (Thompson, 2013). MPREs offer private security through extensive outer surveillance with security guards and CCTV (Kenna, 2010), promoting an imagined feeling of security for the wealthier upper class from the "unsafe" inner city. They also promote stark social polarization, as residents are literally separated from the urban public space (Thompson, 2013). Naturally, in the second most expensive city this has disproportionately affected other inner-city residents and contrasting spaces of sheer

wealth and poverty (Morris, 2019). Yet they can also promote insular geographies of fear within the MPREs due to their social hegemony where residents are at far greater risk of being victims of crime within their complex (Addington and Rennison, 2013). Finally, as Bondi and Rose (2003) point out, displacing public fear of crime does not solve the issue of risk. Women are as, if not more likely to be victims of crime by men in their domestic circle (Bondi and Rose 2003). The examples above show the contradictory nature securitization-induced gentrification can play in perpetuating and reproducing geographies of fear.

Conclusion:

Both Gentrification and Geographies of Fear are concerned with critically identifying and unrooting urban inequalities. The two subjects can intersect, complement, and likewise contest each other in attempts to critically identify urban inequality. The intersections between crime, security, space and society lead to increasingly nuanced formations and contestations, that require further research. Indeed, the gentrification of fear spaces through securitization is a complex process that can literally capitalize on genuine fears held by social groups in urban spaces. In Northbridge, gentrification nearly over apologises for its wealth by making over-priced basic fare seem like genuine, authentic, and quality-filled "experience" for the consumer, validating higher prices that challenge and displace former residents and traders. In the case studies, the policies of local governments were intended to lead to safer urban areas. Yet the authors

assert that the securitization of urban spaces (through surveillance, liquor licensing and land privatization strategies) raises novel ethical, access and privacy concerns for citizens. Fear geographies can affect several social groups in the city, young women are notably affected in several case studies, but also young people, ethnic minorities, and inner-city residents. As cities and technologies grow, critically interrogating the ethics of agendas behind inner-city securitization will be important research for urban geographers for years to come.

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Sarashina Nikki and the Travel Diary of Medieval Japan
Mellisa Pascale

Sarashina Nikki (or *Sarashina Diary*) is a Heian-period diary written by Sugawara no Takasue no Musume in 1060. Born in 1008 in the capital (present-day Kyoto), the author and her family lived for several years in Edo (now Tokyo) in the eastern province. The first part of *Sarashina Nikki* acts as a travel diary that narrates their return to the capital. Setting out in the summer of 1020, the author's family and their entourage traveled west over the famous Tōkaidō route, with the sea on their left and mountains on their right. The author crossed rivers and passes, stayed in makeshift shelters or huts, and encountered storytellers and entertainers. During the course of her ninety-day journey, she watched the leaves change and fall as autumn came and went.

The travel diary of medieval Japan was not merely a report of one's journeys, but an ornately layered piece of literature that experimented with perspective and intertextuality. Typical of this genre, the travel account in *Sarashina Nikki* is less of a record of everyday happenings and more of a memoir, and sometimes even a novel. Writing four decades after her travels, the author's retrospective point of view sometimes emerges alongside the perspective of her younger self, creating tension. She also carefully crafts the narrative with the eye of a novelist, paying attention to scene and the progression of time. Additionally, as an educated woman from the aristocratic class, the author was well-read in the literature

of the Heian period, and she followed the conventions of the medieval travel diarist in weaving established place names and their literary allusions into her work.

This paper will use *Sarashina Nikki* as a source for understanding the roles of authorial identity and textual allusions in the travel diary of medieval Japan. Because we do not know the author's real name (Sugawara no Takasue no Musume means "daughter of Sugawara no Takasue"), this paper will refer to her as "the author." Excerpts from *Sarashina Nikki* are from the edition translated into English by Sonja Arntzen and Itō Moriyuki (2014), printed with commentary in their book *The Sarashina Diary: A Woman's Life in Eleventh-Century Japan*. The travel account begins at the start of the diary and ends with the author's arrival at Sanjō Palace in the capital (pp. 90-108).

Diarist, Novelist, and Memoirist

In his paper "Japanese Travel Diaries of the Middle Ages," Herbert Plutschow identifies two common reasons why travelers set out in Japan: to undertake a trip in an official capacity, perhaps as a nobleman or a warrior, or they set out to lead an intrepid life, usually as a "hermit" seeking seclusion in nature (1982, pp. 29). The author of *Sarashina Nikki* does not directly fall into either of these categories, but her diary is constructed to contain elements of both. Her travels were in a sense official, being ordained by her family's decision to return to the capital. At the same time, the written account of her journey displays a private, wandering mind. The

connective tissue of her narrative is built on an adjustable lens, sometimes widened to include social interactions, at other times focused on her isolated internal experiences with the landscape and with her emotions. As a result, the author possesses multiple identities. She is a traveler on official business, a solo wanderer, and also an author of a piece of literature.

The Heian period, which lasted from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, was marked by a renaissance of literature, with the capital at the center of this. The most famous work produced during this period was *The Tale of Genji*, a novel by Murasaki Shikibu written in the early eleventh century. The author of *Sarashina Nikki*, whose travels began around the time when *Genji* would have first been circulated, was aware of that and other novels. While her return travels were ordained by her family, the author had a personal reason for wanting to undertake the journey as well, which was to live in the capital surrounded by these stories:

> As a girl raised in the back of beyond, even farther than the end of the road to the East Country, how rustic and odd I must have been. But however it was that I first became enthralled with them, once I knew that such things as tales existed in the world, all I could think of over and over was how much I wanted to read them. At leisure times during the day and evening, when I heard my elder sister and stepmother tell bits and pieces of this or that tale or talk about what the Shining Genji was like, my desire to read these tales for myself only increased… (pp. 90)

A novel is meant to be read, and Arntzen and Moriyuki (2014, pp. 6) as well as Plustchow (1982, pp. 63) all assert that the purpose of composing a travel diary was the same. In the opening lines of *Sarashina Nikki*, the reader can observe a correlation between the Heian period obsession with the novel and the design of the travel diary. As a writer attuned to *The Tale of Genji* and the novel structure—a chronological narration that hooks the reader with thrilling episodes of love, adventure, and courtly life, some drawn out for theatrical effect—the author of *Sarashina Nikki* constructs her travel account with similar techniques. While she narrates her travels sequentially, the written time spent on her experiences does not necessarily correlate to the real time they took up. The author pauses to expand on select moments, conscious of what will appeal to a reader's interests and emotions.

One device for expanding a moment was the inclusion of poetry. Early in their travels, the entourage in *Sarashina Nikki* comes across the remains of an old structure. While all pass by without incident, the author internally lingers in this moment by composing a poem: "Not rotted away, / if these pillars in the river / did not remain, / how could we ever know / the traces of long ago?" (pp. 92). By inserting a poem, she decelerates this moment and crafts movement according to her internal journey, rather than the external one, offering points of connection for her audience.

Of course, a key aspect of being able to create this "novel" effect was having read novels, and at the

beginning of *Sarashina Nikki*, the author hadn't yet been able to read *The Tale of Genji* in full; it was a story of which she'd only heard snippets. This is where her role emerges as not only a diarist and a novelist, but also a memoirist. In the forty years between the travels and the completed diary, the author finally reads Shikibu's masterpiece, as well as other works. Other than utilizing the literary sensibilities acquired through decades of reading, the author also inserts her older self. An example of this can be found in the aforementioned poem, "Not rotted away…." Arntzen and Moriyuki suggest that poetry was not only a means of halting movement but also of inserting the perspective of a later self, noting that many poems were most likely not composed on the spot (2014, pp. 24). If the poem is viewed as a later addition, then it becomes even more poignant, as an aging woman reflects on longevity and memory.

The insertion of the author's adult perspective is present throughout the narrative, but we will return to the instance in the opening passage where she calls herself "rustic and odd." In looking back on a former self, the memoirist gains a discerning awareness that can be used to create tension. By presenting herself as somewhat rural, the author creates a distance between Edo and the capital that is measured in more than miles. She is about to undertake a personal journey as well, and that internal voyage is shaped in parts by the diarist, the novelist, and the memoirist.

Utamakura: The Third Journey

The travel diary in medieval Japan could be described as a container for three journeys: the literal, the internal, and the textual. As discussed above, the literal journey in *Sarashina Nikki* describes the author's physical movement over the land, while the internal one chronicles her emotional response to her travels. This section will discuss the third type of travel undertaken by the diarist— the textual journey.

The textual journey is marked by a complex system of allusions to significant places and their prior appearances in other written works, such as another diary or a poem. These allusions, called utamakura, uniquely fuse place with literature by attaching historical, spiritual, or personal importance to a site (Plutschow 1982, pp. 20). *Sarashina Nikki* contains several utamakura, such as Yatsuhashi, the Eight Bridges that originally appeared in the famous *Tales of Ise* (Arntzen and Moriyuki 2014, pp. 105-6), and the Ōsaka Barrier, a mountain pass serving as a border of the capital that could be used as a metaphor for departures or meetings (Arntzen and Moriyuki 2014, pp. 108-9). To exemplify the author's use of utamakura, we will look closely at her portrayals of the Tōkaidō route and of Mount Fuji, as well as at a later travel diarist's examination of these places.

The author was traveling from Edo to the capital via a course named the Tōkaidō. In *Travels with a Writing Brush*, Meredith McKinney describes the Tōkaidō as "particularly dense in *utamakura*, and few literary

travellers failed to pause at these increasingly famous places and to record their visit and its poem" (2019, pp. xx). In the present day, the shinkansen (bullet train) that travels this route between Tokyo and Kyoto is named the Tōkaidō. It is hedged by sea and mountain, and travel diarists taking this route would have followed certain conventions when writing about their travels.

Though the Tōkaidō connected Edo and the capital, the diarist would typically place emphasis on how their journey related to the latter. Plutschow notes that most accounts began at the capital and focused on the author's departure (1982, pp. 2). In contrast, the author of *Sarashina Nikki* was returning to the capital, the place of her birth and early childhood, and as a result she gives her account a unique twist on this convention. While experiencing nostalgia for her home in the east as she departs, the author also longs to return to the capital, where she sees possibilities for her future through the rumor of Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji*. Approaching the Ōsaka Barrier, she claims the utamakura's function as a border place that could embrace going or meeting. She recalls Edo with the image of a Buddha, which had been mentioned as she set out in the beginning, while going to her next destination: "Close to the [Ōsaka] barrier, from above some temporary screening next to the mountain, we could see only the roughly carved face of the Buddha" (pp. 106). Thus, the author's account is shaped by both departure from the east and return to the capital in the west, of going to meet a new life in an old place.

One of the most famous utamakura on the Tōkaidō was Mount Fuji, a now dormant volcano and the highest peak in Japan. Interestingly, the volcano was active at the time of the author's travels, and for the medieval travel diarist, "Mt. Fuji was not Mt. Fuji without smoke," as Plutschow puts it (1982, pp. 22). Accordingly, the author of *Sarashina Nikki* writes of Fuji, "It looks like nothing else in the world…from the mountain's slightly flat top, smoke rises. At dusk, one can even see flames shooting up" (pp. 102). Shifting her focus to the sea, she then muses on the image of the smoke: "Might smoke be rising to meet smoke? I thought; the waves at the Kiyomi Barrier seem to be high indeed" (pp. 102). This well-read author would surely have been aware of Mount Fuji's literary associations, and she appropriately hovers over this utamakura in her travel diary. In doing so, she unites contrasting images of fire and water, just as her journey unites ideas of both setting out and returning.

To demonstrate how utamakura function through the ages, we will briefly look at "Nozarashi kikō," or "Bones on the Wayside," by Matsuo Bashō. Bashō was a seventeenth-century poet, and he modeled his work after the medieval travel diaries of old by implementing the second, textual journey. In his travel diary "Nozarashi kikō," Bashō traveled the Tōkaidō in the western direction, toward Kyoto, just as the author of *Sarashina Nikki* does. Attuned to the Tōkaidō's significance and the utamakura that enrich it, Bashō honors their associations, as when he passes Mount Fuji and writes a haiku: "Mist, chill rain – / Fuji hidden / is all the more entrancing" (McKinney 2019, pp. 250). Though Fuji is no longer

active, Bashō evokes the image of smoke with the mention of mist, offering his own tribute to this famous utamakura.

The function of an utamakura in travel diaries is not stagnant, as Bashō's creative means of recalling Fuji's smoke demonstrate. In *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality*, Edward Kamens discusses how time changes the reader's relationship to an utamakura, saying, "A poetry so designed cannot really bring about such erasures of time's passing; if anything, the attempt reveals most plainly just how much change time does bring about, how impossible it is to dull its force, how deeply we feel that force" (1997, pp. 38). Therefore, the purpose of an utamakura is not to freeze a place in time, but to rather evoke an emotional response in the reader. Bashō accomplishes this by lingering on Mount Fuji with a haiku, draping the mountain in concealment and mystery; the volcano has gone dormant, and this once fiery, now peaceful being elicits a quiet appreciation. The author of *Sarashina Nikki* also creates emotion, connecting the power of the volcano to that of the sea, reminding us that nature has a counter for all. Utamakura offer pathways for connection, for both the diarist and her reader.

Conclusion: Studying the Travel Diary

Sarashina Nikki can be used as a source for understanding the conventions of the travel diary in medieval Japan. The travel diarist was both a novelist, molding the travel account into a compelling narrative with emotional appeal, as well as a memoirist, inserting a later perspective

to create an internal journey alongside the external. Utamakura were employed to engage yet another layer of journeying, one that explores the past associations of a place and the literature written about it. The author of *Sarashina Nikki* uses all of these devices. Fascinated with the contemporary novel *The Tale of Genji*, she crafts time in her travel diary so that engaging moments are expanded, sometimes through poetry. Her older self emerges to retrospectively guide her internal travels, just as utamakura guide the diary's textual journey. The literal travels of *Sarashina Nikki* may have concluded with the author's arrival in the capital, but the diary's literary journey continues.

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Sex, Commodification, and the City: The Racial and Gendered Dynamics of Consumption within the Global Sex Economy
Siubhán Stockman

The commodification of sex and its consumption within the global capitalist economy is shaped by highly gendered and racialized processes of exploitation, which reinforce social and economic inequalities. The expansion of global capitalism facilitated the increasing exploitation of socially reproductive labour along the lines of race and class, as well as gender. As a commodified form of socially reproductive labour, sex work is a highly gendered and racialised type of precarious labour. White, masculine heteronormative desire and consumption within the sex industry developed on the basis of economic domination, and manifests through female objectification and racial fetishisation. These patriarchal social dynamics are enshrined by the neoliberal processes that control the sex industry within the urban landscape, to further wage-labour exploitation. Drawing on the concepts of neoliberal globalisation, racial capitalism, and gender, this essay will explore the ways in which the social and economic exploitation of non-white female sex workers manifests within the global sex economy.

Marxist feminist approaches to capitalism have long critiqued the Marxist focus on commodity production as the sole form of value-producing work, emphasising the significance of social reproduction – a form of labour which is unpaid and predominantly undertaken by women. Recognising the value of socially

reproductive labour involves consideration of the forms of domestic labour, sexuality, and procreation women undertake in the private sphere to produce and reproduce the male worker to the satisfaction of the labour market (Federici, 2014). Since the development of globalisation, the economy of reproductive labour has been restructured on a global scale alongside capitalist activity across the world, which has enabled shifts in global power and the geographical scale of capitalist processes. Harvey's concept of the spatial fix, "capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring" (Harvey, 2001, p.24), emphasises that the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production is dependent upon these geographically uneven processes of surplus value production. Surplus value, produced through labour exploitation, is therefore shaped by geopolitical imperatives and the dynamics of class, gender, and race (Cruz, 2018). Issar (2020), critiquing Harvey's treatment of racial domination as epiphenomenal to contemporary capitalism, argues that a framework of racial capitalism is necessary to develop the Marxist focus on wage-labour exploitation to include the "violent 'extra-economic' forms of domination that have continually fuelled capitalism" (Issar, 2020, p.62). This does not just apply to direct forms of domination and exploitation, but also informal abstract domination within the sphere of production (Issar, 2020). In the wake of globalisation and the uneven geographical expansion of capitalism, socially reproductive labour has become increasingly exploitative along the lines of race and class, as well as gender.

The sex industry can be understood as a form of the commodification of socially reproductive labour, whereby sex-related products and services are sold according to the global capitalist market. Drawing on Marx's concept of commodity fetishism – the perception that commodities hold an inherent value stemming from independent material characteristics (Frayssé, 2019) – women's sexual desirability is fetishized as if it is an inherent quality rather than a product of subjective desire. In comparing the ideas of commodity fetishism and sexual objectification, Keller (2021) argues that both concepts reinforce patriarchal capitalist social structures, perpetuate beliefs that women hold an inherent property of desirability, and present women as object-like through sexualised media. The sex industry is driven by these processes of commodification and objectification that are inherent to modern capitalism, under which subjectivity itself has become productive (Wilson, 2010). Within these capitalist relations, the precarity of sex work is not only inherently gendered, but further exploited through racial othering. As argued by Issar (2020), neoliberalism perpetuates racial capitalist exploitation through the disproportionate amount of racialized non-white women within normative wage-labour, and through cross-class alliances based on white supremacy. To consider the ways in which this racial exploitation is reflected in the sex industry, this essay draws on ideas around sex tourism to developing countries, the racial stereotyping and fetishization of sex workers, and higher policing of migrant sex workers in western capitalist economies.

As the economy of sex work is geographically uneven under capitalism, so are the cultural and social norms associated with masculine desire and consumption. As argued by Frayssé (2019), the things that individuals consume and the ways in which they do so are conditioned by the labour regime, professional culture, and social norms of everyday life. Sex work is not just a symptom of capitalism's destructive forces; arguably western, masculine heteronormative desire for the sex industry has been created by globalisation and transnational capitalism. This desire, and the consumption of sex within the global capitalist market, is fundamentally gendered and racialized – returning to the racial capitalism theory that wage-labour exploitation relies on racialized and gendered expropriation (Issar, 2020).

Exploring the phenomenon of sex tourism, Wilson (2010) focuses on the case of Southeast Asia, particularly Thailand, where the sex industry is almost regarded as a national cultural attraction by western tourists. The development of the sex industry in Southeast Asia stems back to the 1960s and 1970s, as commercial sex was catered towards the US military, and fundamentally oriented towards western male consumption (Wilson, 2010). The racialized power inequalities between the western male consumers and the local female sex workers in cities such as Bangkok and Phuket reflected the shifting relations of industrial production through globalisation, and the changing position of western working men within the industrialising economy. A fundamental aspect of how heterosexual desire is gendered and racialized is through the fetishisation of non-white women, which can partly be

attributed to economic restructuring. Wilson (2010) found that the white men engaging in sex consumption in Thailand stereotyped the non-white sex workers as more feminine and submissive, which they considered more attractive than women in their home countries who they deemed "too masculine". Drawing on a Marxist feminist understanding of racial capitalism, the increasing economic power of white women through globalisation has largely shifted the burden of socially reproductive labour onto non-white women. Racial sexual preferences within the sex industry are shaped by the fetishisation of relative power and control, and fundamentally rooted in economic inequality and the association of white masculine heteronormativity with power.

To consider desire and consumption in a different geographical context, Amsterdam is one of the most renowned cities for sex tourism in Europe. In contrast to the more unsavoury reputation of the Southeast Asian sex industry, Amsterdam presents a fantasy of sexual liberation that disguises the underlying racial and gender inequalities. Despite Amsterdam's geographical location, its sex work industry consists of a high proportion of migrant women, who cater to sexual stereotypes and fetishes along racial lines. In exploring the experience of sex tourism, Chapuis (2016) found that many male tourists actually felt uncomfortable in Amsterdam's red light district – reporting that the place they had expected to reflect their fantasies had instead created a caricature of their desires. Gendered experiences of the red light district were also very different, as female tourists struggled with issues of social stigma and moral judgements regarding

sex work, feeling a need to distinguish themselves from the "immoral" sex workers (Chapuis, 2016). This dichotomy between female tourists and sex workers is inherently tied to race and class, whereby the visitors enforce a sense of perceived moral superiority by drawing on race and class based differentiation. Class is fundamental to cultural judgments of the sex industry and its workers, with sex work typically portrayed as a motif for degeneracy and a threat to male bourgeois values (Hubbard & Sanders, 2003). Although experienced differently, both bourgeois men and women typically view lower class sex consumers, along with sex workers, as vulgar and immoral – highlighting the significance of economic inequality to social and cultural difference.

Alongside patriarchal capitalist social structures, the sex industry is further driven by the objectification of women through spectacles of sex shows and window displays that uphold sex work as part of the visual urban landscape. In the case of Thailand, one of the most infamous aspects of the industry is sex shows, which are widely advertised to western tourists. These shows do not directly cater to sexual desire or gratification, but present a spectacle of women's bodies through acts of vaginal performance involving a wide variety of objects and skills (Wilson, 2010). Returning to the significance of economic globalisation, Wilson (2010) suggests that these shows create a parody of manual labour in the industrialised commodity economy, with the limited productive use value of the skills displayed in these shows reflecting the deskilling of manual labour that occurred through globalisation. In this sense, the exchange value of these

women is based on the promise of sexual skill, rather than actual sexual use value. This spectacle, creating a satire of industrial production, eroticises the economic power of western men within the global market (Wilson, 2010). In the case of Amsterdam, the spectacle of the sex industry is an integral part of the tourist landscape, where the tourist gaze has arguably produced the red light district as a global attraction. As in the case of sex shows, the attraction of red light districts does not solely lie in sexual desire. Chapuis (2016) discusses the dichotomy of seduction and repulsion that exists at the heart of sex tourism, which is influenced by the tourist gaze and dynamics of power. They argue that in Amsterdam, the display of queer and racial bodies creates cultural capital for tourists, where "the display of gender and racial otherness and subalternity is crucial to the tour as an intersectional performance" (Chapuis, 2016, p.624). These examples tie back to the idea of commodity fetishism and perceptions that women's bodies hold inherent objective value to be capitalised on. Whether tourists are enticed or repulsed by the spectacle of sex workers in the windows of red light districts, they are still objectifying them by enacting a tourist gaze that is shaped by perceptions of gender, racial, and economic superiority.

This commodification is not just created by individual consumers, but is heavily influenced by neoliberal urban processes. Beyond the tourist spectacle, the urban space in which sex industries exist are produced by the neoliberal interests of state authorities and the tourism industry, which creates a contradiction in terms of

visibility. Drawing on Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, Hubbard and Sanders (2003, p.87) argue that the spatial practices played out in red light districts "result from a conflict between the representations of space (which seek to impose order on urban space) and spaces of representation (which emerge "organically" from the bodily practices and behaviours of sex workers)". Representations of space reflect the state desire to control and regulate sex work away from the public eye, redirecting it towards marginalised areas of the city rather than trying to eradicate it completely. The spatial organisation is not just created from above, but also through the intersections of power and difference among sex workers. The cultural associations of immorality and deviance attributed to sex work contributes to a spatial hierarchy within the city, which further reinforces material inequalities. Specifically regarding the spatial location of red light districts within late capitalist western cities, red light districts operate as a spatial dispositif, channelling sex industries and workers away from the bourgeois, heteronormative social order (Chapuis, 2016).

Yet despite the moral and material marginalisation of red light districts within the city, these areas are highly commodified, and are a core aspect of global tourism and consumption of eroticism. This contradiction is experienced on a global scale through myths and perceptions; as Aalbers and Deinema (2012) argue, Amsterdam is a real-and-imagined city, with the red light district as a real-and imagined zone, shaped by international perceptions as a result of increasing globalisation. The myth and global associations of

Amsterdam's red light district contradict the idea of red light districts as marginalised, hidden spaces. The state organisation of sex industry to certain areas of urban space, rather than trying to eradicate it completely, highlights the neoliberal imperative of profit accumulation at the expense of gender and ethnic minorities. Despite bourgeois moral aversion, the sex industry is a core aspect of global tourism. The tourist appeal of red light districts is strongly tied to processes of gentrification, urban regeneration, and creative city marketing that commodify these areas to make them appear more attractive. In Amsterdam in particular, the sex industry is a key factor in the urban branding of a liberal, cosmopolitan city, removed from the more immoral or corrupt perceptions of tourist sex consumption associated with less economically developed cities. The geographical differentiation both within and between these cities, and the distinct power relations that shape them, ultimately stem back to the wider processes of neoliberalism and globalisation.

On a concluding note, like many unequal outcomes of capitalist globalisation, the exploitation of non-white female sex workers is enshrined by the neoliberal urban processes that profit from it. Despite the growing employment of women beyond the domestic sphere, the technological transformations that have restructured productive labour have not occurred within socially reproductive labour – subsequently increasing this burden on non-white women. As long as the state benefits from the labour provided by sex workers, this patriarchal social and economic exploitation will prevail.

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