



## **Night Shifts in the Days of Post-Circadian Capitalism:**

A theoretical proposition to clarify the concept of solidarity when employed empirically to assess precariousness amongst migrant night workers in global cities

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THIS WORKING PAPER seeks to clarify the concept of solidarity, previously employed to explain social cohesion. In so doing, the study will be testing the use of this concept in an effort to assess, formulate, and propose the opposite - that corrosion of capabilities of sociability and solidarity is more prevalent amongst night workers, therefore better suited for nocturnal anthropological research into precariousness amongst migrant night workers performing physical, hazardous jobs at night. At this stage, I do not present results of my own research, but rather aiming to stimulate further theoretical enquiries on the topic of corrosion of solidarity as opposed to social cohesion amongst the burdened class, otherwise called *The Precariat*.

For this purpose, I first examine past contributions explaining how the global transition from circadian to post-circadian capitalism have impacted on the subjectivities of migrant night workers, surviving precarity in global cities. Implicitly, I will explore the triadic relationship between intensification of labour, time regimentation and locality, crucial in the understanding of transition from wealth accumulation to 'world-making' capitalism, encompassing the conditions, mechanisms and processes that have led to:

- The expansion of the working day into the night aided the marching of capitalism from a circadian phase to a post-circadian capitalist age that disrespects the 24-hour rhythm – awake/sleep/relax;
- Major alterations produced over time, to our perception of time, and time regimentation, which have transformed the capabilities for sociability amongst metropolitan workers;
- And to the nocturnal, global city, providing the space and the expendable work force for the marching of capitalism.

Having established the triadic relationship between night work, the special importance of time in making new spaces for capital, and the nurturing ground that global cities provide for 'occupational polarisation' and precariousness, this paper will proceed with demonstrating the ways in which the march of the post-circadian capitalism corrodes

the character of night workers, and therefore corrodes the capabilities of sociability and solidarity among the precariat. In supporting this view, I invite in this interdisciplinary cross discussion, scholars from globalisation studies, focusing on the group of people, *The Precariat*, migrants (Standing, 2011) living and working precariously in *The Global City* (Sassen, 2001); political economy anthropologists (Graeber, 2012; Kalb, 2013) explaining the precise conditions and mechanisms, and the capitalist moment whereby the global transformation, has been moving from 'abstract wealth' to 'world-making capitalism'; sociologists explaining the impact that the 'new economy' has on the 'corrosion of character' of workers (Sennett, 1998), closing the circle with psychologist Ron Roberts (2014) who establishes a radical basis for an understanding of the human wrongs carried out by the 'two bedfellows', *Psychology and Capitalism*, manipulating minds of people and implicitly the human condition towards a 'futures of an illusion' where humans are transformed into 'zombies', eg. purely material objects commodified according to the current political economic interests.

The paradox is that the armies of night workers, part of the 'migrant infantry of capitalism' (Standing, 2011, p. 113) maintaining the global cities, live with respect to the demands of 24-hour societies, and with disrespect to their own 24-hour physiological clock, and working in precariousness, experiencing the 4As (anomie, anxiety, anger, and alienation), through exhaustion, sleeplessness, and isolation. In what follows, I provide a road map to the processes that have led to a transition from circadian to post-circadian capitalism.

### Transition from Circadian to Post-Circadian Capitalism

#### Time.

Even a cursory examination of the contemporary work of scholars in the field of transnational spaces reveals that time – that is time zones, time regimentation and by implication changes in the perception of time – has been neglected by these scholars. Whilst this remains subject to further investigation, it is my contention that this is not the time to prove or disprove fully how this neglect has taken place. However, Standing (2011) employs temporality as a tool in understanding the processes behind the global transformation and the ways in which they condition our lives. Beginning with the conditions that existed in agrarian and later created for an industrialised society and

through to global market society geared towards service industries and consuming, he insists, that this 'new time' or 'Tertiary time' fits a 'tertiary society' (the flexible-labour society) mainly built from precariat, and that 'we need to find a way of 'looking at how we allocate time that is suitable to this people. The industrial or agrarian time does not fit their lives.' The days when time was spent in blocks of years spent at school, followed by the working life sliced into 10-12 hours shifts, after which came home and socialising time with some lucky to spend a short retirement period, those days are behind us. Historian E.P. Thomson chronicled that 'the nascent proletariat was disciplined by the clock' (cited by Standing, 2011, p.115). More, sociologist George Simmel explained, that the minds of metropolitans were controlled by a calculating order ruling their social relationships according to the new 'character of calculability' (Mitchell, 2002). Up to this point, time regimentation meant that the old ways in which time was operating, eg. the blocks of time, school, work, pension (if lucky), were replaced by the new terms of working, on flexible and short-term. 'No long term', any longer.

Time regimentation has changed our perception of time. Sennett (1998) explains how this happened since with the 'new economy'. His book on the consequences of the new economy on the character of people, seems more relevant now than it perhaps was at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Sennett celebrates the works of the previous thinkers by pinpointing to where the new ways of organising time, particularly working time, was leading – ie, to the flexible working time or "no long term' of the 'new economy' era. By implication, being flexible means that as a worker or consultant you need to arrange your working life around others that your work depends on. Further, he argues, parameters such as work-home, 9-5, weekdays and weekends, have been replaced with working from home, as-and-when-catching-employment, working by the piece, and not by long-term contract.

Whether a consultant or a low skilled worker everybody is expected to fulfil the needs of the world-making/wealth-creating capitalism, at very short notice and till further notice, at the same time. In short, 'no long term', flexi-time, has been intruding the social, the physical, the emotional and the psychological realms of our working lives, and by extension our personal lives. Differences exist however, in that a consultant may be able to buy solutions to escape the time-squeeze, but low skilled workers merely survive and unable to upkeep with the demands on all realms, and precisely on their

(in)capability of household management. Time is not a resource available to workers, in general, and night workers specifically, because any time left in the day, they sleep it through.

The capitalist marching has advanced considerably since the circadian age, considered up to industrialisation (Standing, 2011). Post-industrialisation, more appropriately, the post-circadian age disrespects the physiological rhythm, the 24-hour body clock, in terms of how we spend our waking hours, when and how (little) we sleep and our leisure time. In short, in the circadian capitalist age *regimenting* the *time* meant that both society and production began operating around blocks of time. In contrast, 'post-circadian capitalism' (Beaumont, 2015) is this 'new time' or 'Tertiary time' fits a 'tertiary society' (the flexible-labour society), which surpassed the agrarian and industrial society (Standing, 2011). However, it appears that the transition from money capital making to 'world-making capitalism', or from circadian to post-circadian capitalism, has engrained in its history, the 1688 Anglo-Dutch alliance. Next, Don Kalb and David Graeber guide us, pinpointing the precise historical conditions that have construed for this moment to ignite the marching of a modern, 'creative destruction' that came into being as we experience it today.

## The Birth of the Post-Circadian Capitalist Age

'...The specifics are new, and the important point is that they are not anticipated by Weber's 'abstract wealth'. Abstract wealth does not make news spaces of capital. Abstract wealth is not by itself world-making. Only *capitalism* is.

(Kalb, D., 2013, p. 262)

For Kalb, a global systems anthropologist, the specifics of the capitalist 'moment' are immensely important. From the moment when the Dutch elite navy sponsored by the burghers of City of Amsterdam, with some support from the English invaded the British Isles, the Dutch established the Bank of England, and financed it for the next two hundred years (Kalb, citing Israel 2003). An alliance was forged with a vast amount of wealth and state power, which has fostered the creation of world empires under the flagship of what is known today as Great Britain. Thus, new spaces of capital

accumulation were formed and a new age of living with disrespect to the circadian time distribution awake/sleep/relax was changed forever, and imposed by the capitalists concerned with wealth accumulation onto workers across the globe, within and without the old core capital societies like the Dutch and the British.

The anchoring of the transition from a circadian capitalist era, upon the 'capitalist moment' does not imply, of course, that all the consequences of today's post-circadian capitalism are rooted in that moment, neither that it stands as the only explanation or that the development of capitalism after 1688 was in its entirety due to that alliance. For our purposes, it is not necessary to consider every theory there is on modern capitalism as it came into being, the capitalist 'creative destruction'. However, we are interested in its inheritance to base this analysis on a solid scaffolding.

Embedded in the Marxian thought, anthropological political economy, describes society as divided into two spheres, of production and consumption (or at best three: production, distribution, and exchange). Karl Marx uses modes of production (MoP) to analyse and describe the antagonistic relationship between those 'who command the labour of those who do not' (Graeber, 2012, p. 345), ie. the 1% of capitalists commanding the 99% of workers (actual or potential) in the interest to multiply capital – creating money with money.

From a Marxian perspective, the stratified capitalist society is engaged in creation of wealth and power through a surplus extracted to the detriment of the 'burdened lass' leading an existence of survival. Surplus value is made by the corporations by way of paying wage-labourers less 'than the value their labour generates'. Labour disciplining and fragmentation are tools of the capitalist system, affecting anyone living in this socially stratified society by means of production. These tools employed according to the capitalist ethos to divide capitalists from their workers, and the upper-middle class from immigrants or mainstream society from its peripheral population, with the latter being the force that keeps the flame of the global cities (eg. London, New York) burning around-the-clock. Fragmentation or division is the salient feature of capitalism. Divisions exist between domestic and economic spheres, producers and exploited, makers and consumers. Consequently, owners of means of production are divided from workers; workers are alienated from the production and creation process; peripheral or societies (nurturing highly skilled professionals) are divided from core societies which select the professionals according to their market's needs. Ultimately, Marx viewed both

the workers (exploited) and capitalists (exploiters) as alienated from their own humanity, with alienation coming in variety of forms (Roberts, 2014).

David Graeber (2007) renders the *Possibilities* for this alienation. An outspoken, public intellectual, activist, anthropologist, and “a lifelong hater of corporate smoke and mirrors, who coined the (Occupy Wall Street) movement’s ingenious slogan, ‘We are the 99%’”<sup>1</sup>, who contrasts the capitalist with non-capitalist society to explain that the latter focuses on the self-realisation of human beings where the object of production is not the end result (e.g. wealth), but the creation of social relations amongst people (55). Therefore, onus is on actions and processes by which people shape one another (from poetry to planting onions)<sup>0</sup> and they are: a) motivated by meanings (ideas) and b) proceed through a concrete medium (material). In contrast, capitalist societies’ system produces wealth and concomitantly alienate the workers from their labour. Capitalists produce and consume commodities, and not useful and meaningful products. Therefore, there is no need for corporations to provide creative activities so that workers socialise and invest in the workers’ self-development, especially when technology is advancing so rapidly, can produce and make more profit for corporations vis-a-vis human costs.

So far, Graeber’s distinction focuses on the way capitalists and non-capitalists see their interests vis-à-vis human condition. In *Possibilities* too, Graeber (2007) delves into how growth of capital through expansion. For our purposes is not necessary to consider all aspects of Graeber’s thought on capital accumulation. Rather, we need to narrow down his eloquent and extensive writings to the most pertinent points to frame this proposition, namely that the marching of capitalism has been accelerating through expansion from around 17<sup>th</sup> century or since Don Kalb’s ‘capitalist moment’.

Graber sees ‘capital (a)s a living entity, which constantly seeks to expand – expansion is the key of survival for capitalist firms.’ Capitalism, Graeber says, ‘is not a state of mind but a matter of objective structures, which allow wealth and power to be translated into abstract forms in which they can be endlessly expanded and reproduced.’ In *Debt*, Graeber (2012) challenges the familiar thinking on modern capitalism. As he eloquently chronicles, it goes before ‘the rise of factories (with its workers) and wage labour’, and the wealth accumulated via the surplus value extracted from workers’ labour minus

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wages (Graeber, 2012, p.345). Graeber says, modern capitalism, or the 'new economy' (Sennett, 1998), and more pertinently 'world-making capitalism' (Kalb, 2013) is a 'financial apparatus ... - central banks, bond markets, short-selling, brokerage houses, speculative bubbles, securization, annuities', 'a system that demands constant, endless growth', which 'from our baseline date of 1700 ... the dawn of modern capitalism ... that pump (s) more and more labour out of just about everyone with whom it comes in contact ...' (Graeber, 2012, p.346). To Kalb (2013), 1688 is the precise capitalist moment when abstract wealth capitalism (Friedman, 1978) has permuted into 'world-making' capitalism, with the specific property of creating new spaces for capital.

Closer analysis of this moment, reveals that the transition from Weberian type 'abstract wealth' (Friedman, 1978) to 'world-making' (Kalb, 2013) capitalism, facilitated the creation of a 'creative destruction' (Harvey, 2001) type of capitalism, no longer just a system to send vast amounts of money to the core, but a 'world-making capitalism', backed by a powerful combination between money capital and state power. This capitalism functions under certain conditions of 'social, institutional, and geographic power relation' (Kalb, p. 260) in order to create the new spaces of capital, endlessly (Kalb, 2013). The mechanisms described by Harvey (2001) as facilitating/aiding the new conditions that Kalb insists that makes the difference between the two types of capitalism, are *commodification, multiplication or intensification of labour power*. The 'precise conditions by which those large amounts of money capital return to the core over a protracted period' (Kalb 2013, p. 260), ie. time regimentation as one mechanism behind the expansion of incessant production in the night spaces in order to create new spaces for capital explain, in part, what pushes workers into precarity in this 'post-circadian capitalism' age (Beaumont, 2015). So far, the two critical components in the analysis of the transition from circadian to post-circadian capitalism, intensification of labour and time regimentation, have been analysed. Next we turn to the third, the global city as the nurturing ground for creating new spaces for capital accumulation into the night. London is *the* 'global city' located in Europe, which makes it unique. And as far as Sassen is concerned it is the very location where 'place-bound labour market for talent [meets] low-wage workers'. Further, she argues that sites like London (and New York) offer the cross-border spaces for recapturing the financial sub-culture, on the one hand, and the needed economic geography of *place*, on the other, both



'involved in globalisation [that] allows us to recapture people, workers, communities, and more specifically, the many different work cultures, besides the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalisation'.

## The Increase of Night work in the Post-Circadian 24-hour City

### Who Are The Migrant Night Workers? Who Needs Them?

Employer demand for migrant workers has become a key feature of labour markets in high income countries. Employers' calls for more migrant workers are typically expressed in terms of 'labour and skill needs' that cannot be met from within the domestic labour force.

(Ruhs and Anderson, 2010, p. 15)

Labour Force Survey (LFS), includes night shifts in the normal course of shift work. The working regulations recommend the night shifts' length as seven hours, starting between 6pm and 12am, but not less than 3h, and maximum 8h within a 24-hour period, in a 17 week rolling period (Unite, 2013). The night workers performing 'hazardous or heavy physical or mental strains' have an 'absolute limit' of 8h shifts (Unite, 2013, p. 16). Descriptives based on the UK's Labour Force Survey (LFS) data have limitations in that they underestimate the number of migrant workers. However, relying on what is available, Migrant Observatory reported 6.6million foreign-born workers in the UK labour market, in 2014 (Briefing, 2015). 36% of these were working as employees and 48% as self-employed, and lived in London. Of the low skilled work sectors, the industry with the highest intake of foreign-born migrants was the food manufacturing (38%), residential and domestic work (32%), and make-up factories (29%). From 1999-2009 the number of UK-nationals working nights has decreased from 10% to 8.3 (ONS2, 2011).

Will Norman (2011), shows in his ethnographic study that nearly 1,5M British males and females are working on various night shift patterns: permanent nights, rotating night shifts – (early/late/night) and the continental shifts nights and days (LFS, July 2008). His respondents refused to give exact details as they were either working on a second job at night or informally. Undoubtedly, if all people working in day shifts would declare the second jobs during the evenings and nights, it is estimated that these figures could double. Gaps and limitations on increase when one attempts to offer an overview of the migrant population on night shifts, when the Labour Force do not include in their surveys students living in residents' halls, many whom are migrants themselves working to pay the high UK tuition fees. Therefore, there are no conclusive figures on the number of migrant night workers in the UK, but the following trends illustrate the need for migrant night workers in the US and Japan have been on the increase for many decades. For example in the US, 'which in many ways leads the way into the 24 hour world' the number of people working on 'alternative shifts' in the evenings or nights, went up from 7 million in 1987 to 15 million in 2008. In 2005, there were nearly 250,000.00 night workers in NYC alone, which represented 7% of the city's 3,3 million workers. Sharman and Sharman (2008) on the *Nightshifts NYC* published these findings in 2008 and argued that the fabrics of modern society have changed since Melbin's study 25 years ago. Rather recent research in Japan shows that, the prevalence of night work among Japanese employees was 13.3% in 1997 to 21.8% in 2012 (Kubo, 2014). More, evenings or unsociable hours of working, and night-time working have been part of many industries and services, like the computer, transport, communication, fire brigades, police, army, and hospitals. The industrialisation (and the heavy mechanical and chemical processes) and emergence and consequences of artificial lighting has contributed to an increase of the night life or 'nocturnalization' of the emerging nocturnal cities. Furthermore, with the international competitiveness in manufacturing, night work complemented the round-the-clock shift system to 'maintain the long operating hours ... and the same level of capital utilisation of machinery'. The late 20th century's production systems included night shifts into the already established two- and three-shift systems, mainly in manufacturing. The world economy expansion at the start of the 21st century brought something new. It expanded/invaded the need to work night shifts in sectors that were never part of global cities' night economy. Of note, are the information and knowledge centres, banking, stock trading and call centres, some of

which open 24/7, 365 days a year, which consequently pushed for expansion of other services, such as supermarkets, petrol stations and night bus network. Aggressive expansion of food store chains, in the US and the UK is a useful illustration. Since 1978, the working hours in 82% of 6,599 'Seven-11' food stores had been extended beyond the 7am – 11pm, operating night daily (Sharman & Sharman, 2008). In Britain, just before the 1998 Christmas, Tesco supermarket chain surprised its competitors by opening selected stores for nights. The increased use of night work has stretched the night worker's possibilities and resources, both in mind and body, to levels unseen before in the human history and prior to the capitalist expansion. A great contribution to the emergence of the nocturnal cities came from the engineering of capitalists to exploit the workers' labour power around-the-clock. This is eloquently captured by Mezzadra and Nielson (2013):

The prolongation of the working day beyond the limits of the natural day, into the night, acts only as a palliative. ... But as it is physically impossible to exploit the same individual labour power constantly during the night as well as the day, to overcome this physical hindrance, an alternative becomes necessary between those working people whose power are exhausted by day and those who are used up at night.

One concluding remark is that migrants in particular, are an easy target for supplying their unlimited low-cost labour. Alarming, factors such as the UK's labour market 'growing dependence on migrant workers', the global economic deterioration (in host/sending countries) creating less incentives for migrants to return to their countries, pave the way to an increase in the migrant working in the UK's economy, in low paid private sectors, providing minimal, precarious conditions. More so is the case of growing precariat in the night work sectors.

### Isolation and Alienation: Paving the Way for Bio-Automatons

'Migrants are the light infantry of capitalism. Vast numbers vie with each other for jobs. Most have to put up with short-term contracts, with low wages and few benefits. The process is systemic, not accidental.'

(Standing, 2011, p. 113)

Standing's (2011) *Precariat* is the definition for a disappearing proletariat and an increase of precarious conditions of workers, in relation to capital and state. Standing's

work contributes to the theoretical body of knowledge of Bourdieu (who articulated precarity to describe temporary or seasonal workers) and others to indicate some kind of precariousness. He points out that Weber's notions of class and status could not apply to the *precariat* because it is a class-on-itself, and in-the-making. In short, a class of its own which does not yet have a common identity, and because 'tensions within the precariat are setting people against each other' as oppose to be *solidaire* with each other. The educated migrants holding a degree find themselves at the low end of the labour markets without access to social mobility. For that, they feel frustrated for being deprived of a meaningful life, and consequently seething resentment and *anger* against the celebrity culture and material success experienced by the few. More pertinent to our discussion, the angry precariat resents the life that 'short-termism' or flexi-jobs bring with it, its insecurities and '*no construction of trusting relationships built up in meaningful structures or networks*'(5). Born out of despair, anomie sets in, as Emile Durkheim (cited by Standing, 2011) explains, 'a feeling of passivity'. It is the result of sustained defeat, a negative feeling lived by many in precarious situations, especially when they are labelled as 'undeserving, socially irresponsible' or worse, lazy. Without a deserving place in society, a status and living in growing despair, the anxiety-ridden behaviour makes these people feeling insecure about tomorrow and alienated from today's bread and butter jobs they hold, on short-term basis. In short, the people are expected to be ever more adaptable in a flexible market, which is enough to have anyone prone to the four As – *alienated, anomic, anxious* and *angry*.<sup>3</sup> In short, we should disabuse ourselves from the illusions that a short-termist society has something positive to offer to locals born and educated in their own country, even more so for the migrants. The next part, provides a light discussion on the effects and imminent problems faced by migrant night workers suffering from 'sleep despoliation', 'drifting', and regimentation of time.

## Becoming the 'Zombie' Night Worker

Contemporary capitalist society requires what Johnathan Crary (2013) has identified as the despoliation of sleep in the interests of maximizing the individual's potential – as both a producer and

consumer – for generating profit (Beaumont, M., 2015, location 216-219).

This night-to-night reality of the nocturnal cities of the future includes divisions of invisible night workers, 'travailing at night' rather than travelling through the night. Constantly, fighting sleeplessness whilst awake and working, enduring the bodily exhaustion that is produced by pro-longed physical labour, and the mental alienation from isolation by being cut-off from diurnals' minds and eyes and the social bonds they had before nightshifting invaded their nights, makes of night workers an army losing battles with the precariousness of their nocturnal working lives and sleepless days. Rather strikingly, Standing (2011) argues that with the globalised era setting in, the new dawn of the 'post-circadian capitalism' (Beaumont, 2015) has laid its high demands onto humanity. Namely, it is no longer the case that 'early birds catch the worm', but the sleepless ones.

Murray Melbin's (1978) sociological analysis of the developments of the 24-hour night-time economies – of production and consumption – in the US, concluded that 'if incessancy develops in the workplace, it will soon invade workers' bodies and households'. The time predicted by Melbin has arrived, and recently, art critic and theorist John Crary, (2013) '24/7' depicts the time we live in as the despoliation of sleep. However, rather selectively, or not, highly paid corporate executives have the power to buy solutions to avoid battling sleeplessness unlike the 'burdened class', described by Kreitzman as the segment of population living in *The 24 Hour Society*' (1999, p.4). Kreitzman is also arguing that needs of night workers have been on the rise for many decades now. Yet, he gives examples of most disastrous accidents of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century that happened at night when the night workers are more likely to be exhausted – fatigued with less abilities to concentrate, and exposed to various risks, not just in the work place but also on their return journeys between home and work (34). The research division funded by the Pentagon, where scientists deprive human fellow participants and 'experiment trials of sleeplessness techniques, including neurochemicals, gene therapy, and transcranial magnetic simulation' (Crary, 2013, loc. 21-35) may provide sooner rather than later, an anti-dote to fatigue by 'reducing body's need for sleep' in the post-circadian capitalism. Nevertheless, future bio-automatons, bio-machines don't need to co-operate, support each other or show solidarity to one another! Besides, zombies, the nocturnal workers look and behave like diurnal

creatures, in fact they are indistinguishable from the normal human beings. As articulated by psychologist Ron Roberts, an alienated mind is an 'individual separated from self, other, his/her work' and any control over his predicament:

'Eliminated from the subject matter of the behavioural sciences, the person as a centre of experience has been supplanted by the 'zombie', celebrated by philosopher Dan Dennett as "behaviourally indistinguishable" from a "normal human being"

(Roberts, 2014, p.39)

### Corrosion of Solidarity: A Proposition

We can now rephrase solidarity. In this paper an alternative basis was set for understanding that there are limits to solidarity as a concept used previously to explain social cohesion amongst workers. Also, that when they experience migrant slavery, night shifters choose consciously or subconsciously not to show solidarity one another, choosing small scale conflict instead. On this battle ground, 'set by thriving polarised employment present in global cities' (Sassen, 2001), migrants vie against one another for under minimum wage jobs (Standing, 2011). Instability becomes the normality. 'No long term' becomes the norm in a society where loose bonds are ubiquitous, i.e. no commitment and trust in relationships (eg. divorces) (Sennett, 1998). Sennett's investigation adds to the puzzle. Enrico's portray, once a migrant himself, rearing Rico, his American-born son, resembles incarnation of some past legacies.

'Enrico had a somewhat fatalistic, old-world sense of people being born into a particular class or condition of life and making very best of what is possible within those constraints. Events beyond his control, like layoffs, happened to him; then he coped' (Sennett, 1998, p. 29)

This passage offers an entry point into the matrix behind Enrico's character. His character may be the indication of a 'non-drift' attitude that kept him and his wife on track with making a better life for his son, Rico. One generation later, Enrico's son, lives in a paradox. Rico, is both a successful and lost man, due to the flexibility with which he approaches the demands of work at the cost of 'weakening his own character in ways for which there is no practical remedy'. Although a successful entrepreneur, uncertainty creeps in because without any 'looming historical disaster', Rico is one of the 'ideal Everyman' (p.31) who is not 'reckoning the consequences of change or not knowing what comes next' because 'creative destruction' as Schumpeter said, is not

happening on a Richter magnitude, but it is woven into the everyday practices of a vigorous capitalism' (p. 31), which requires people at ease with that. As advocated by Harvard Business School guru, Hohn Kotter, 'consulting rather than becoming 'entangled' in long-term employment; institutional loyalty is a trap in an economy where 'business' concepts, product designs, competitor intelligence, capital equipment, and kinds of knowledge have shorter credible life spans' (Sennett, 1998, p. 25).

Moreover, the 'short-term society' model of 'weak ties vs. strong ties', no longer works in today's 'teamwork' based environment. Mark Granovetter's (1973) 'international networking' model shows that 'absent ties', a term for 'weak ties' create superficial relationships that provide networkers with no social security due to short-term and objective-based type of 'friendships' or collaboration. Lewis Coser (1956) argues that 'shared values' based solidarity create 'weak ties', and short-term relationships between the workers and communities. He argues that verbal conflict instead, creates durable relationships of friendship and progress through admitting differences amongst group members, thus consolidating 'strong ties', that is stronger, longer-term type of networking and bonds when people confront openly over disagreements rather than showing solidarity during a set project led period.

The argument presented here offers an alternative to an understanding of the underlying the mechanisms and techniques of a marching world-making capitalism dismantles around-the-clock the livelihoods of night workers living and working in the nocturnal cities of the future. To live in a post-circadian capitalist age, means to appreciate first and for most the way in which living in a global market society is causing to our sense of time (Standing, 2011). Hence the importance that time-squeeze plays in disguising that, when this post-circadian time intersects with the 24-h society, people live at an unprecedented speed, and with disrespect to their biological clock and leisure time. It is at this critical junction where the corrosion of solidarity is taking place amongst a mass of people, the growing class or precariat, concentrated in the global, nocturnal cities. It is my contention that solidarity does not exist amongst the cohorts and armies of the precariat. Quite the opposite – more so than in other groups of people – there is a rather fierce competition and non-solidarity then there is social cohesion amongst those living and working in precarious conditions. Solidarity model crumbled when it comes to explaining cohesion amongst the burdened ones living with anomie, anxiety, anger and alienation.

In sum, whilst the post-circadian capitalism beats its rhythm creating wealth for the 1%, it destructively controls, and manipulates the waking hours of the 99%. Mainly through 'sleep despoliation' (Crary, 2013), 'time regimentation' (Standing, 2011), 'drifting' in-and-out of a 'short-term society' (Sennett, 1998), which ultimately corrodes solidarity amongst the workers to fight this destructive invasion on their social lives, bodies and alienated minds. Roberts (2014), depicts *Psychology and Capitalism* as bedfellows marching elbow to elbow, stripping off past legacies on human characteristics as social traits and re-brands them in the post-circadian capitalist fashion, 'appropriating (these traits) both in theory and practice, into the individual realm. Ron Roberts' (2014) critique is as alarming as perhaps Sennett's (1998) was at the time, but much grimmer and more radical in its stand for the human wrongs that psychology has pursued so far as a science pushing its individuals, service users or clients, as they may be called, in embracing this science's 'future of an illusion' rooted in the 'political economy or socio-economic foundations of society'. And not at the service of its users, let's be clear on this. In short, let's disabuse ourselves from such illusions (to borrow a phrase from Noam Chomsky, BBC interview, 2016) and take for true the view on today's alienated individual classed in the name of science (read psychological experiments), as purely material objects for both, production and consumption, as consummate and consumer.

'There is always resistance, and because of it, an ineradicable core of freedom, and with it dignity, remains at the heart of the human condition. Only from resistance is the "infinite improbability"<sup>4</sup> of a better world possible.'

(Robert, 2014, p. 106)

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<sup>4</sup> See Boym, S. (2010) for an extended discussion, following Arendt, of freedom as the miracle of the 'infinitely probable.' A reality which though infinitely improbable occurs regularly and publicly.



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