From Monetary Theory of Production to Culture-Nature Life Process:Feminist-Institutional Elaborations of Social Provisioning

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Abstract

The article seeks to contribute to the literature on social provisioning as an organizing concept in heterodox economics. Particularly, the article details social provisioning as an amalgamation of processes and as a part of a system of culture-nature life process. First, the article delineates a categorization of social provisioning activities with respect to motivation in their organization – monetary and non-monetary, emphasizing the differences, as well as links between those. Second, the article discusses valuation of social activities, applying institutional theory. Third, the concept of a social process is delineated. It is argued that the concept captures agency and structure without reducing one to the other, and allows for theorizing open-endedness of social provisioning. The fourth section offers a categorization of processes and briefly explains each one of those, conceptualizing social provisioning within a historical culture-nature life process. Finally, the article concludes.

Keywords: Social Provisioning; Social Process; Institutions; Heterodox Economics; Feminist-Institutional Economics; Post Keynesian Economics; Monetary Theory of Production; Social Economics; Political Economy

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Introduction

The concept of social provisioning formulates the economy as a continuous process of activities taking place in historical time, looking underneath the most visible occurrence of "market exchange". The concept offers avenues for exploring varieties of contexts, social divisions, and conflicts, and enables an open-ended analysis of the economy, where resource creation, human well-being, and valuation are central (Gruchy 1987; Nelson 1993; Dugger 1996; Hutchinson, Mellor, and Olsen 2002; Power 2004; Lee 2009a, 2011, 2012; Jo 2011; Lee and Jo 2011)[1]. Recent methodological specifications of social provisioning as an analytical framework have been offered by Power (2004), applied to Feminist economics, and by Jo (2011), Lee (2011; 2012), and Lee and Jo (2011), applied to heterodox economics[2]. Applications of the concept of social provisioning to specific areas include Power (2006) and Todorova (2013a; 2013b).

The present article offers further elaborations to the social provisioning framework, which could be described as Feminist-institutionalist contribution, as they rely on: 1) viewing the economy as a whole rather than comprised by distinct social-economic or market-non-market spheres, culture-nature; science-value; and mind-body (Jennings 1992; Nelson 2003; Mellor 2006); 2) on a particular application of the "Veblenian" dichotomy in conceptualizing valuation of economic activities that builds on institutional literature (Waller 1982; Bush 1987; Sturgeon 2010; Todorova 2009); and on the basis of those two elements on: 3) developing the concept of social process within a system of culture-nature life processes that unfold in historical time. Thus, the article elaborates on how the social provisioning framework encompasses non-market activities, culture and ecosystems, while building on heterodox theorizing of monetary production.

Particularly, the article details social provisioning as an amalgamation of processes and as a part of a system of culture-nature life process. First, the article delineates a categorization of social provisioning activities with respect to motivation – monetary and non-monetary, emphasizing the differences, as well as links between those, making the feminist point that monetary production is only an aspect of social provisioning; and further that money is only one of the motives for action. Second, the article relies on institutional theory by applying the "Veblenian" (ceremonial and instrumental) dichotomy to analyzing valuation in the economy as a whole. Third, the article delineates the concept of a social process arguing that it captures agency and structure and allows for theorizing open-endedness of social provisioning. The fourth section offers a categorization of social processes and briefly explains each one of those, locating social provisioning within a historical culture-nature life process. Finally, the article concludes.

1. Locating Monetary Production within Social Provisioning: Introducing Motivation

The social provisioning process gives rise to a total social product constituted by inputs and outputs that are specific to the production of differentiated goods and services. At any point of

[1] As Lee (2011) has pointed out, analyses utilizing the Social Fabric Matrix (SFM) (Hayden 1982) and the Social Structure of Accumulation (SSA) (O'Hara 2002), also contribute to the development of a social provisioning framework for heterodox analyses. SFM is best applied to a problem at a point of time, and is designed to formulate adequate policies. SSA is focused on the process of accumulation and conditions for growth.

[2] For a definition of heterodox economics see Lee (2009b).

time the system replaces the existing output, and produces more intermediate inputs and final goods and services – a social surplus that in the capitalist economy goes to household social activities, private investment and government provision of goods and services (Lee and Jo 2011; Lee 2012). Similarly, labor power embodies differentiated skills and biological bodies that ought to be reproduced, maintained, cultivated, and applied in the production of the various inputs and outputs. Consequently, labor power cannot be analytically aggregated into a labor supply that can be increased or withdrawn at will, rather it is "produced" as a result of the life-process that is socially organized and part of nature.

The social surplus is produced by all involved in production but under capitalism it is directed through *monetary activities.* These include monetary *production* and *finance*. Total social product includes commodity (produced for market exchange and driven by the motive of making money) and non-commodity (not for market) output. **Figure 1** uses Marx's notation to depict that money (M) purchases commodities (C) in order to engage in production and accumulate more money (M') through production (P). This can take two forms: M-C…P…C'-M' or M-C…P…C-M' where production actually does not increase the available commodity output, but still results in more money income to producers and sellers[3]. Financial activities skip production (M-M') and thus do not contribute to the social product, but represent a claim on it. On the other hand, activities not motivated by making money produce non-commodities (nC) that sustain labor (L) as well as other aspects of human life, and contribute to the social product.

The implications of this categorization are the following. First, making goods that service livelihood is incidental in the monetary production process. Second, money-oriented activities need not involve production at all (Veblen 1919: 97; Keynes 1933 [1983]; Dillard 1980; Henry 2003; Lee 2009). Third, finance is not engaged in production, but in activities that secure "vested interest," or "free income" - claims on the social surplus (Veblen 1904; 1919; 1923; Hudson 2010). Finally, social provisioning is a broader category than monetary (market/commodity) production and finance, and everybody engaged in production contributes to the generation of social surplus.

The technological basis of social provisioning is provided not only by engineering, science, and production of commodities, but also by birthing, raising, and educating people (Veblen 1921, p. 43), and the production of non-commodities - often theorized as "social reproduction" (Pichio 1992; Federici 2004; Charusheela, S. and Danby 2006; Bakker 2007). Non-commodities help reproduce labor power that enters the production of social surplus, a portion of which again goes to support households' social activities. Thus, "non-market" refers to motivation, and does not mean that this sort of production takes place in a separate sphere that has no relation to market production and money. Non-market "outputs" do not generate income flows and are qualitatively different from market goods and services. They are produced involving produced labor power and (commodity and non-commodity) inputs[4]. That is, the "production" of non-commodities requires commodities and thus necessitates not only labor power but also income flows, and non-market activities are non-monetary only with respect to motivation. While "social reproduction"

[3] This depiction of overall monetary production does not imply that at any one point of time a business enterprise ought to maximize profits.

[4] As households' contribution to production is recognized, there should be also an understanding that they are fundamentally different than firms (Todorova 2009).

is essential for a capitalist economy it cannot be sustained without access to commodities obtained through money. Non-market activities could serve as a buffer to partially offset worsened households' financial positions and livelihood, but only to some extent, because households must obtain money through participation in the market process[5]. While individual households are financially responsible for, and emotionally vested in raising children their reproductive activities are affected and constrained by monetary production and state output both of which determine the level and composition of income and employment (Todorova 2009). Consequently, commodity production emerges out of effective demand, and non-commodity production is affected by effective demand.

The implication for theorizing social provisioning under capitalism is that while there are different motives for undertaking social activities, there is no real separation between the market and non-market spheres within the social provisioning process. This wholeness of the social provisioning process is made even more evident when we introduce valuation in the analysis. The following section delineates two methods of valuation that are applied to the social provisioning process as a whole.

2. *Introducing Valuation: Applying the Veblenian Dichotomy to Social Provisioning*

The two basic components of the social provisioning process: activities driven by monetary motives and those not driven by monetary motives but nonetheless impacted by money can be intersected with two distinct methods of valuation involved in the social provisioning process that have been captured by the so called Veblenian dichotomy – ceremonial and instrumental (Waller 1982; Bush 1987; Sturgeon 2010; Todorova 2009). **Table 1** shows this intersection. As depicted, the ceremonial and instrumental aspects of valuation could be articulated both in activities motivated and not motivated by money. All social activities, output, and processes include both ceremonial and instrumental aspects to various degrees. With respect to monetary production – "the business concern" is in terms of pecuniary valuation, and the "industrial concern" is in terms of serviceability to the life-process, or addressing problems of livelihood. Importantly, the dichotomy is not based on subjective utility. An instrumental theory of value is centered on the life-process on "non-invidious recreation of community" through warranted knowledge, participation, work, and care (Tool 1996; O'Hara 1997; Hutchinson, Mellor, and Olsen 2002).

Capitalist social provisioning is organized so that pecuniary valuation takes precedent over sustaining livelihood – and in that sense it is ceremonial. Of course in the process of business activity goods and services that serve livelihood are produced, yet this is not the end-in-view of the monetary production process. As finance is entirely pecuniary (represented by M-M'), it is categorized here as a social activity with no instrumental attributes with respect to the social product, albeit the plethora of created financial "products." In no way does this imply that finance is not central for production under capitalism, that money is neutral (not affecting output

[5] This is valid even to a higher degree when households undertake and service debt. For further discussion see: Charusheela and Danby (2006); Todorova (2009).

and effective demand), and that only "real" variables matter for economic analysis[6]. There is no real economy and financial economy. On the contrary, to theorize social provisioning under capitalism, it is essential to unveil pecuniary (ceremonial) valuation and its power to restrict and permit livelihood. The case of community development credit unions and cooperative banks needs further attention. On one hand, if supporting livelihood concerns dominates the relation, one could argue that those do not fall under the described activity of finance. On the other hand, to the extent that these arrangements involve interest, they do fit the provided description of finance. Even if proceeds go to "industrial" ends of livelihood, the mechanism is ceremonial, meaning that livelihood is again to be permitted *only* through pecuniary valuation. From an Institutionalist perspective I would describe the operation of these "social entrepreneurship" financial schemes within the system of capitalism as "ceremonial encapsulation" [7].

It ought to be stressed that "instrumental" is not equivalent to "useful", "good", "efficient", "productive," or to "technology" - all of those notions are subject to valuation. Thus, something is useful or good for a particular end; there is instrumental efficiency and ceremonial efficiency; and there are ceremonial aspects to technology. Further, the productive-unproductive distinction as defined by classical political economy with respect to accumulation of capital is not equivalent to the instrumental-ceremonial dichotomy formulated with respect to continuation of the life process. Particularly "instrumental" refers to the non-invidious continuation of the life process, and is not based on relativist subjective valuation (Tool 1996; Sturgeon 2010).

There is a continuum between instrumental and ceremonial – as social activities, institutions, conventions, etc. contain both dimensions. Both are part of life. However, problem solving involves recognizing the ceremonial aspects for what they are. Thus, the objective of bringing forward a distinction between ceremonial and instrumental logic of valuation is not to purport a world where only instrumental valuation exists – as that is impossible by virtue that people cannot have perfect knowledge, and there is always uncertainty, but to facilitate inquiry into the complexities and conflicts of social provisioning.

Bringing in valuation into the analysis allows recognizing the complexity within both monetary and "non-monetary" activities. First, in addition to the tension between production and speculation, the valuation dimension allows to scrutinize production itself. Monetary production has both ceremonial (pecuniary) and instrumental (making goods that serve livelihood) aspects. The latter is incidental to the process of making money (Veblen 1904; 1921). Second, while the tension between making money vs. making goods, and production vs. speculation has been acknowledged with respect to market activities (Veblen 1904; Keynes 1933 [1983]; Dillard 1980; Henry 2003), "non-market" activities have been either excluded from the analysis of capitalism, or not subjected to a similar scrutiny.

Second, the Veblenian dichotomy can be applied to all activities of social provisioning. In addition to contribute to social reproduction, unpaid activities could also promote invidious distinction. For example, they could be part of conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure, conspicuous waste, and generally invidious distinction (Todorova 2009). Consequently, the

[6] For a further argument that the Veblenian dichotomy avoids the pitfall of "real" vs. "monetary" dualism see Todorova (2009).
[7] For discussions of the term "ceremonial encapsulation" see for example Bush (1988) and Todorova (2009).

Veblenian dichotomy enables us to consider how unpaid activities are as diverse and complex as those performed for money, instead of resorting to their idealization. The implication is that all social activities are treated as deserving critical analysis and as being part of social provisioning rather than separated in two: markets and society.

Third, the dichotomy facilitates understanding of the complexity of activities organized on monetary principles. Thus paid care work is organized as part of monetary production, but it entails "intimate labor" that is not exclusively governed by making money (Bernstein 2010; Zelizer 2010). Only because money enters the provision of care, it does not mean that individuals providing this care are exclusively governed by making money (Folbre and Wright 2013). More generally workers do not seek and keep employment only for purpose of securing means to livelihood. Still, the richness of human relations, does not nullify the centrality of the economic compulsion to sell one's labor, and the dependence on money for livelihood, including the dependence on paid care.

The dichotomy between pecuniary (ceremonial) and industrial (instrumental) is applied not to individual subjective valuation, but is formulated with respect to the continuation of the life-process. The concept of *human proclivities* (or "instincts" in Veblen's analysis) is helpful in analyzing valuation at the level of structure without erasing individuals from the analysis. Instincts are traits developed in social and material interaction and in historical time such as: "parental bent"," idle curiosity", "workmanship", "predation", "invidious distinction," and "emulation".[8] For example, workmanship is a sense of "the demerit of futility, waste, or incapacity," and a concern for continuation of the group life process (Veblen 1899 [1944], p. 29). This is the basis of Veblen's notion of "industrial". Human proclivities that reinforce the instinct of workmanship include the "innate predisposition to parental bent" ("resilient solicitude for the welfare of the young and the prospective fortunes of the group" (1914 [1964], p. 48) and "idle curiosity" (a drive to seek knowledge apart from any ulterior vested interest) (Veblen 1914 [1964], p. 5; Edgell 2001, p. 81). On the other hand, "predation" is an exploit by acquisition and seizure (Veblen 1899 [1994], p. 10), and goes together with invidious distinction such as through hierarchical differentiation of division of labor, wealth, and consumption, and residence (Veblen 1899 [1994]).

Human proclivities are not to be equated with *personal attitudes*. Both involve social values, but predispositions take the form patterns of actions, while infact personal attitudes need not result in action at all. For example, a sexist attitude may not result in action, as a result of socialization into manners. This does not mean that sexism does not exist as an expression of predisposition of invidious distinction that is structurally embedded (albeit evolving) in social activities, conventions, symbols and discourse. Infact, by engaging in social activities, an individual could be part of sexism in ways that he/she does not conceive, because there are institutional settings preceding him/her[9].

Motivation and valuation involve individual perception and action, but distinction ought to be made between individual motives, subjective valuation, and identities on one hand, and

[8] See Waller (2013) for a concise and contemporary discussion of Veblen's formulation of instincts.
[9] This point is akin to the critique of the fallacy of composition arguments that personal thriftiness can increase aggregate saving, and that there is an expansionary austerity.

motivation behind social organization, social values, and structures on the other hand. This point is further pursued in the following section by discussing the concept of social process.

3. *Social Process: Agency within Institutions; Institutions because of Agency.*

Institutionalist and feminist economists have emphasized the importance of theorizing agency and the stability of social arrangements - structures and their variations and specificity (Veblen 1898; Tool 1994; Grappard 1995; Power 2004; Jo 2011)[10]. The present section delineates *social process* as a concept that captures both human agency and structures. Social process denotes continuous interconnected activities, evolution, and agency through collective action. Below I delineate distinctive social categories that are elements of social processes for the purpose of introducing further specificity in institutional analysis of social provisioning, as it is not useful to call everything social an institution.

Structures are the institutional settings that precede the actions of a particular individual or group. Agency involves imagining a different reality and engaging in purposeful action. Individual purposeful actions (expressed for example by choices and patterns of behavior) take place in the context of institutions that precede particular individual(s) and groups. However, individuals are not merely molded and controlled by "mysterious 'social forces'" (Hodgson 2003a, p. 165) - they are socialized in the sense that they have to deal with specific problems that arise from a given environment with available to them tools, methods, and with particular habits of life and thought. Socialization then means that individuals deliberate and act in the context of structure that is itself the result of agency.

While acts are conducted by individuals, *social activities* are organized and carried by going concerns on the basis of historically established institutional settings (Todorova 2014). Thus, the individual act of socializing is a part of a particular social activity that is organized by a *going concern* (household, business enterprise). Going concerns engage in continuous, relatively stable social activities through which they exercise agency that help create symbols and discourse, promote norms, social beliefs, and personal attitudes, and help establish conventions. All of these together with going concern comprise an *institution*. Thus, the business enterprise as an institution includes various types of organizations with particular ownership, managerial, and administrative structures, motivation, long range planning, including pricing, product design and differentiation, market governance, corporate image building, and accounting, as well as other informational flows (Lee 1998). In addition, the institution of the business enterprise encompasses business infrastructure including lobbying and non-governmental organizations, technocrats and the discourse they create, and government agencies concerned with business interests. Those are manifestations of agency of the business enterprise and the state that direct the social surplus (Lee 2012).

The emergence of social beliefs, discourse, and symbols can be traced to the agency of going concerns. However, those are not directly controlled by going concerns, nor are they necessary

[10] The connection between agency and structure has been theorized in various ways by heterodox economists (Lawson 2003; Hodgson 2003; Dolfsma 2009; Jo 2011; Lee 2012) and widely debated among social theorists. See Archer (1982; 1995).

associated with a single going concern. Institution then encompasses both structure and agency and can be defined as collective action in control and liberation of individual action (Commons 1931, p. 648)[11]. The business enterprise; the household; the state; global organizations; religion; schooling and research; the foundation; the stock exchange; the beauty pageant; military; media; and unions, cooperatives, and collectives are *institutions*. Some institutions are unique to capitalism – e.g. business enterprise and stock exchange trading. Others take a specific form within capitalism - (capitalist) state and (corporate) media. Still, others are present in various, but not in all systems and not in a uniform way (e.g. households; religion; military; beauty pageants) (Todorova 2014).

Conventions consist of procedures and working rules. For example, the conventions of "reduced margins of safety" in lending and borrowing, and the shorter planning span of business enterprises are based on the *procedures* of: securitization; bank fees, commissions, and trading as sources of profits; flexibility of labor and subcontracting; reliance on credit scoring in lending; and the switch to define contribute retirement plans (Brown 2008; Kregel 2008). *Working rules* include legal statutes, contracts, legislation, tax codes, and regulations (such as consumer protection provisions; financial regulation; and tax exemptions). For example, one of the working rules that allowed for the financialization of non-financial corporations and households' balance sheets was global financial deregulation. In order to change working rules and procedures within institutional settings individuals have to engage in a collective action.

Diverse individual *perceptions* and multidimensional *identities* underline collective action. Identities may not be clearly formed and recognized, and are not purely subjective in the sense that they are also based on relatively stable social arrangements – institutions, or structures. For example, (contrary to neoliberal discourse) economic class cannot be transcended by subjective perception[12]. Perceptions are the foundation of formulating problems and action through deliberation and valuation and are controlled by habits (Sturgeon 2010, p. 14). When reflective thought occurs due to doubt or available alternatives, action departs from habit, and involves deliberation - inquiry and judgment (Sturgeon 2010, p. 16). Thus, while habits control perceptions, habitual practices may be questioned by reflective thought.

Conventional wisdom, social beliefs, and symbols affect perceptions. *Conventional wisdom* (Galbraith 1958) is part of *discourse* and represents a knowledge claim and a widely accepted matter of fact understanding of how things work based on "myth". For example, it is a conventional wisdom that financial markets are instrumental for efficient allocation of resources; and that sovereign governments borrow their own currencies and can run out of money like any micro economic unit, while consumers are sovereign and determine production. All of these claims are contested by inquiry. Conventional wisdom is reinforced by *expert discourse* - academic theories, concepts, and methods such as: efficient market hypothesis; consumer sovereignty; and commodity theory of money. For that reason, unlike social belief, conventional wisdom is a knowledge claim, even if those who profess it may not be aware of its theoretical underpinnings.

[11] However, there are various specifications of the concept's content. See for example Hodgson (2003b; 2006).
[12] Theorizing an objective existence of economic class structure need not harm the conceptualization of diverse identities. That is one reason it is important to make an analytical distinction between economic and social class.

A *social belief*, is a shared conviction that does not necessarily make knowledge claims, rather it serves as a center of gravity for a sense of unity among people, as mechanism of coping, and as motivation and justification for (in)action. A social belief could be interpreted and acted upon in varieties of ways. For example, the American Dream is a social belief that has been articulated in a particular way in the politics of "the ownership society"[13] (Todorova 2014). In turn the "ownership society" is *rhetorical construct* used as a justification for financial deregulation and privatization. Government as a household is another rhetorical construct including imagery such as "government debt burden for our children," and the "the government's credit card"[14]. The difference between habits of life and thought and a rhetorical construct is that rhetorical constructs are part of discourse which do not describe reality but create a vision, or a frame (see Lakoff 2004). An effective rhetorical construct may encompass conventional wisdoms, social beliefs, expert language, as well as facts. Expert discourse explains and justifies the activities, norms, and relations of institutions, and expresses cultural values and social beliefs (see Henry 1990; Perelman 2007; Galbraith 2008; Mirowski 2013).

Rhetorical constructs emerge out of, as well as manifest social beliefs, and are directly connected to *norms* such as "pecuniary strength" and "pecuniary beauty" (Veblen 1899) that signify success and worthiness. As Veblen points out norms are inherently moral judgments. And as feminist, institutional, and social economists have insisted, economic activity and value judgment and ethics are intertwined (Dugger 1996; Hutchinson, Mellor, and Olsen 2002; Nelson 2003; Power 2004).

Norms are connected to specific *standards*, such as "pecuniary canons of taste" and "decency" used in the judgment of acceptable and distinct consumption standards (Veblen 1899). The existence of various lifestyles is concurrent to the evolution and persistence of varieties of consumption standards, including size of yards, rooms, and houses, as well as amenities and product specifications that are deemed minimally adequate[15]. Such standards are also symbolized. The proper lawn today is a symbol of "middle class living standards" (another rhetorical construct). While s*ymbols* serve as visualization of standards, moral norms, social beliefs, and rhetorical constructs, they can also be conventions, as they involve procedures and rules. For example, while the lawn is a visual *sign*, it is also something that ought to be maintained in a specific way, and with the use of resources and labor power.

Capitalist activities produce symbols in terms of monetary valuation that create "pecuniary standards" (Veblen 1899). The institution of the stock exchange promotes specific norms of social worthiness. Further it communicates appropriate behavior and personal attitudes via its symbols that are present in everyday life. For example, ubiquitous stocks' prices tickers help establish a social belief of the benefit of "watching the market", as well as of its importance for everybody's livelihood. Related, *rituals* (e.g. ringing the bell at the stock exchange) are also symbols that embody, express, and reinforce social values. Rituals are only elements of social activities. Some rituals may expand and become *customs* – meaning that many people routinely engage in a specific type of activities albeit with elements of variation (e.g. celebrations).

[13] See Wray (2005) for a detailed discussion of the politics of ownership society.
[14] See Todorova (2007).
[15] See Hopkins and Todorova (2014) for a discussion of the gender dimensions of such evolving standards.

The concept of social process encompasses all of the delineated elements. Agency exercised within specific institutional arrangements, based on human proclivities (workmanship, predation, parental bent, idle curiosity) give rise to specific *habits of life and thought*. This concept refers simultaneously to practices and ideas (Todorova 2014). Examples include: financialization, colonization, sexism, racism, nationalism, conspicuous consumption, fashion, and austerity. Thus, austerity is supported by the established conventions of government "sound" finance such as debt ceilings; by the conventional wisdom that government finances are not much different than those of households; by expert discourse of money and finance; by social beliefs about the meaning of "spending beyond our means", and "debt burden" the "future of our children"; by the symbols such as the national debt, the tax-payer, the "government credit," including physical and visual representations such as "debt clocks", as well as personal attitudes and identities of "taxpayers." Thus, specific habits of life and thought are delineated by identifying streamlined elements of social process – conventions, symbols, social beliefs, etc.

Consequently, taken by themselves *personal attitudes* have limited explanatory power. For one as noted personal attitudes do not necessarily result in individual action and in social activities. One may have sexist personal attitudes and still may apply restraints (entirely or in certain degrees and contexts, as a result of socialization into manners) and not engage in sexist behavior. However, this does not make sexism as a habit of life and thought non-existent.

The delineated concepts in this section are elements of a social process. Habits of life and thought indicate an evolution of social process which is driven by agency developing within specific institutions. All of the discussed elements are result of agency and are parts of institutional settings that precede continuous agency. Social processes constitute a system with no finality. This leads us to Veblen's notion of the economy as a life process explained in terms of cumulative causation (Veblen 1898). Next, I offer categorization of processes that formulate a *culture-nature life process*.

4. Social Provisioning as a System of Social Processes and a Culture-Nature Life Process

The present section formulates social provisioning as comprised by amalgamation of social processes and as a part of a broader culture-nature life-process (**Table 2**)[16]. The objective is to present a general way to think of social provisioning, yet it should be emphasized that the content of each process is context specific. That is, in a specific study, the content/meaning would change, and if it is warranted the defined processes would change too.

The first category is: *geographies and biological processes*. Bodies, ecosystems, landscapes, and buildings are underlying, as well as are integral part of social provisioning. The analytical conceptualization of *bodies* (as processes, acts, and states) allows for treating birth, cognition and emotions, sex, sexuality, spirituality, development, illness, impairment, aging, and death as part of economic analysis[17]. One implication of "embodiment" is that labor is human life that ought to be sustained. While specificities such as gender, illness, disability, and age can be captured by defining "labor inputs" as heterogeneous, it is the embodiment of labor that turns attention to the consequences of the organization of social provisioning for life. Then, the *ahumane*

[16] Table 2 expands upon Todorova (2014).
[17] For embodying social analysis see Harcourt (2009) with respect to development policies.

presumptions behind expert language and practices such as "flexibile labor markets", "shock therapy", "structural adjustment", and "austerity" become evident[18]. I refer to all of those notions as habits of life and thought because they are not only concepts of expert discourse, but also practices with effects on life - they are ways of knowing and doing, to use John Dewey's ([1922] 1988) reasoning. As the preconceptions of economic analysis have direct bearing on its ends, the ahumane presumptions are also *inhumane*. The biological content of the social processes make this point more poignant as they bring to attention irreversibilities of the life process.

Bodies are parts of *ecosystems,* and not external to nature. People and the economy are not simply interacting with the environment but are embedded in it. Social provisioning is thus embodied and embedded in nature (Mellor 2006). While Table 2 lists ecosystems and bodies as two separate categories for the purpose of emphasizing the embodiment of social provisioning analysis, in reality those are one. For example, human health is affected by biodiversity, and human activity affects biodiversity (Chivien and Bernstein 2004).

Biospheric processes provide life-support systems through transformation of energy; storage and transfer of minerals in the food chains; cycling of nutrients through the biosphere; mineralization of organic matter in soils and sediments and result in various regulation functions such as soil formation and retention; nutrient, gas, water, and climate regulation; waste treatment and water supply; and pollination (de Groot et al 2002). The biospheric processes of ecosystems result in biomass (animals, plants, subsurface minerals) - the "neutrual stuff" that through human experience become resources (DeGregory 1987). Biodiversity is maintained through habitat that is not only living space, but also storage of information for the social provisioning process. Such information includes genetic material and potential for medicinal resources, as well as aesthetic and cultural value (de Groot et al 2002).

Biospheric processes, organization of social provisioning and landscapes are intertwined. For example, slavery and soil degradation are interlinked; and suburban sprawl is connected to the creation of toxic dumps in poor neighborhoods (Merchant 2003). Consequently, environment/habitat/landscape are not just natural backgrounds and spatial patterns, but also part of the social construction of *space* and *place* evolving as a result of resource creation and use, human relations, and ecological processes. Buildings and infrastructure are part of, as well as change landscapes, ecosystems, and human relations. Racial and classed neighborhood segregation has landscape content, with physical borders (river, rail-tracks, and walls), terrains, conditions of mobility, and environmental pollution. The development of various shopping centers is not only a change in landscape but also creation of gendered, raced, and classed space, and a change in political dynamics (Conroy 1998). Thus, landscape evolution represents dynamics of social processes manifested by specific habits of life and thought such as colonization, suburban sprawl, and tourism. Furthermore, landscapes have not only material but also conceptual dimension – referring to the narratives and categorization of areas[19]. Ecosystems

[18] See Harcourt (2009); Izyumov (2010); Stuckler and Basu (2013); and for a preliminary review of issues and literature on flexible employment and health Benavides and Delclos (2005).

[19] Sluyter (2002) explains:

> …[P]eople transform landscape through processes of labor *and* categorization, and the resulting landscape patterns influence the habits of practice *and* thought that structure such processes as well as the conflicts of practice and thought that change structures, either catastrophically or secularly. For example, as Europeans accumulate space at the expense of natives, native land-use

and landscapes are connected to the creation of memories and to cultural memory, historiography, and notions of home. On the other hand, the creation of placelessness through standardization of salesmanship and production, reflected in buildings and landscape, as well as through mobility (physical and virtual) complements the neoliberal ideal of flexible labor markets as habit of life and thought and proclamations of the "end of history"[20]. The ways that history is built-on or erased from localities has consequences for memory, identity and community (Farrar 2011, p. 723). As discussed by Farrar (2011) proliferation of suburban sprawl in North America has been paralleled by an expansion in historical preservation, both of which she argues have the effects of insulation from conflicts (see also Harvey 1997). Thus, landscapes are political. On one hand, fragmentation could make people more politically disconnected; on the other hand, a sense of place also could be central for invidious distinction, such as nationalism, class stratification, racism, and hierarchical gender division of labor.

Gender, race/ethnicity, social class, language, kinship, economic class, worship, and citizenship are not only demographic variables and personal/group characteristics, but social processes with unfolding historically and spatially specific habits of life and thought. They are simultaneously practices, attitudes, beliefs, discourse, and institutional arrangements, and thus treating them as dummy variables is limiting (Figart 1997). Further, it is not sufficient to treat them even as "categories", as they are not fixed in time and are not universal (Boydson 2008, p. 559)[21].

One of the reason I group together language, gender, race/ethnicity, and social class is that their existence is not associated with the operations of specific institutions built around going concerns; yet, they are influenced by, and affect institutional settings (see Rose 2000; Mink 2002; Shah 2001; and Phillipson 2001). For example, in the neoliberal context international organizations, the business enterprise, and the state influence language practices through requirements of communication, education, expert discourse, and dissemination and assessment of scholarship in English (Phillipson 2001), yet language exists independently of those institutions. *Language* then is not just a communication devise that represents reality - its use and development influences conception of reality, and thus reality itself (Lakoff 2004). The use of specific language to formulate issues and describe reality is underlined by power relations. Thus the language of labor flexibility emerges out of the power positions of corporations, elite experts, and international organizations (Fairclough 2002).

Another characteristics that groups language, gender, race/ethnicity and social class together have or may be ascribed various biological characteristics, whose meaning in turn could be socially (re)constructed to support habits of life of thought such as racism, sexism, and hierarchical division of labor. Often in effort to interrogate biologism that underlines invidious distinction the focus of analysis shifts entirely on social construction, perpetuating a dualistic conception of reality – opposition between culture-nature. For example it is common in feminist

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> practices such as annual burning might contract and vegetation succession processes create a more closed forest. Material transformations thus create a landscape morphology that catalyzes Europeans to transform that landscape conceptually into a 'pristine wilderness' and the natives into "preagricultural savages," thus facilitating the further material accumulation of space by nonnatives (Sluyter, 2001, p. 421-2).

[20] Fukuyama (1997)

[21] A more appropriate use of the term "category" is to describe the concepts of: institution; going concern; symbols, social activity, etc. used above to delineate the elements of social process.

economics to use the term "gender" in describing social meaning and relations, and "sex" to refer to biological differences. Yet, such a clear-cut separation comes at a cost of falling into the nature-society, mind-body, emotion-reason dualisms that have been identified by feminists as culprits in sexism and inequalities. Further, this practice obscures the fact that understanding of biology is subject to social construction and interpretation, and that sex cannot be treated as a fixed category. Consequently, the social constructivist approach to gender is problematic, and there is a need to interrogate the notion of "essentialism" in feminist economics, while acknowledging that materiality can be formulated in invidious ways. Rather than the evisceration of biology (and by association geography and ecology) from gender analysis, there is a need for a feminist analytical revision and engagement with nature. For the purpose of theorizing social provisioning the practice of relegating gender exclusively to the social is equivalent to disembodiment. This carries the danger of further contributing to the invisibility of care and reproductive labor in the economy, and obscures health issues that people from various genders encounter.

Conceptualizing gender as a social process could circumvent this problem of social constructivism. The concept does not insulate the social from nature, yet allows for understanding the social interpretation of nature. As a process *gender* encompasses various notions and norms of femininity and masculinity, social beliefs about gender-appropriate behavior, conventions within institutional settings that regulate gender appropriate outcomes, symbols, discourse, and social activities that are structured by going concerns, as well as bodies and ecosystems, the understanding of which is contextual. All of those give rise to habits of life and thought such as hierarchical gender division of labor and male-breadwinner household model that are both ideas and embodied practice.

While analytically distinct, gender, race/ethnicity, language, and social class may intersect in various ways within specific contexts, which accounts for some of the variations in inequalities across contexts. For example, categorization of people into pre-determined given groupings of *race and ethnicity* is a practice connected to changes in the organization of social provisioning, and particularly to evolution of labor process and the machine process. Zimmerman (2010, p. 6) explains the connection between transitions from bonded to waged labor (in the contexts of US slavery and German serfdom) and the emergence of racial/ethnic categorization practices prompted by anxieties about reliance on free migrant laborers and their productivity and control. He argues that the political economic practices of race and (hierarchical) differential incorporation make profitable the "geopolitics of white imperialism" - the exclusion logic of race (Zimmerman 2010, p. 7). Together with the economic (inclusion) and the geopolitical (exclusion) logics of race, Zimmerman (2010, p. 8) identifies a kinship logic, that involves regulation of sexuality and resistance through sexuality (such as the formation of monogamous patriarchal domesticity among slaves). Thus, the kinship logic of race either supports or undermines the economic and geopolitical logics of race. Consequently, approaching race/ethnicity as a social process prompts exploring not only the social construction of racial and ethnic categories, but also their multiple dimensions of oppression and agency, as well as how they are connected to other developments.

While the creation of racial and ethnic categories has been driven by state and empire and the business enterprise, the race/ethnicity process unfolds without those institutions, as the categories

have permeated multiple facets of life. Distinguishing between social processes whose existence is defined by the activities of going concerns and those that are affected by them is useful for exploring ways to address problems arising from the evolution of those processes. The implication is that a change in the working rules and procedures of the state and the business enterprise, do not eviscerate racism and sexism from the system. As noted above habits of life and thought such as racism, sexism, and nationalism cannot be explained by individual acts of discrimination or violence. Rather, they manifest evolution of social processes: race; gender; citizenship and legal residence in an interplay and intersection with class and other processes that give rise to historically specific conventions (for example, raced/classed/gendered paid domestic work; segregation; and advertising promoting sexism). Neither changes in personal attitudes, nor changes in working rules of the going concerns are sufficient by themselves to address those habits of life and thought as they are only elements of social processes.

Citizenship and legal residency, ownership, contracts, economic class, worship, and kinship are social processes that exist through specific institutional settings that vary in form through time and space - business enterprise, state, religious authorities, courts, and households. Thus, economic class under capitalism is underlined by the specific working rules of the state, the business enterprise, courts, and international organizations. Marx's "economic compulsion" to sell labor power in order to live provides us with the most basic categorization of economic class. Similarly Veblen distinguished between the "kept classes" and the "common man" - "common" in the respect that they are not vested with right to "get something for nothing" – what Veblen (2005 [1919], p. 162) calls "free income"[22].

Social provisioning under capitalism cannot be theorized without the categories of workers, capitalists, and rentiers. Rather than dismissing economic class for fear of universalizing, one ought to make an analytical distinction between social and economic class. In that way the diversity of relations and agency as well as the central distinctive feature of capitalism are present in the analysis. In other words, it is not sufficient to use "class" as a generic term but to make a distinction between economic and social class, while studying how they are interconnected[23].

This point further illustrates the use of making and analytical distinction between the processes that are directly structured by going concerns and those that are influenced by them. *Citizenship and legal residency* won't exist without the state in its various forms, as it involves habits of life and thought such as borders and passports. Yet this process is not entirely explained by the institution of the state as it also involves business practices, social beliefs, attitudes, and conventions of superiority. *Ownership* and *contracts* also are governed by going concerns and institutions such as the state, business enterprises, international institutions, and the courts. Similarly, *kinship* is structured around various forms of tribal, familial and household institutions, and may be sanctioned by a state, religious, and research institutions (see Hewitson 2013; Collier and Yanagisako 1987). *Worship* often involves canons of religious authority, yet it is not entirely centrally governed, as it involves spirituality and agency. Consequently, the point

[22] "It is a division between those who control the conditions of work and the rate and volume of output and to whom the net output of industry goes as free income, on the one hand, and those others who have the work to do and to whom a livelihood is allowed by these persons in control, on the other hand" (Veblen 2005 [1919]: 161).
[23] For those connections see Bowels (2013) and Wolff and Zacharias (2013).

of process categorization is not to provide a general rigid taxonomy, but to assist the exploration of all aspects of social provisioning without relying on separate spheres of life, while at the same time allowing for flexibility and for conceptualizing differences in the ways those processes unfold.

Finally, I demarcate a category of social processes on the basis of identifiable social activities that take place at the micro level and affect the macro level, composition, and distribution of social product. Social activities only guide the delineation of social provisioning processes. As discussed above, a social process encompasses also institutional arrangements such as conventions, symbols, discourse, and social beliefs. Thus, while individuals are integral in the analysis, the delineated categories of social processes are not limited to individuals and groups[24]. This is complimentary to non-reductionist micro-foundations that are not based in methodological individualism (Lee 2009a, 2011; Jo 2011; Lee and Jo 2011).

Within the capitalist system the delineated social processes may take distinctive forms within the two components of social provisioning - activities motivated by making money and those that are not motivated by money, which is illustrated by **Table 3**. In bold are signified those topics that have been traditionally the focus of monetary theory of production. Here I locate those in a broader framework by delineating social processes all of which are part of the economy.

The point of delineating monetary-non-monetary distinction of motivation in organizing activities is not an argument of actual separate monetary and non-monetary spheres. The *analytical* distinction between social activities which *organization* is driven by making money, and those that are not (but nonetheless are impacted by money and commodities) is dichotomous rather than dualistic. A *dichotomy* breaks analytically the social provisioning process in two to allow the study of diverse motives and methods of valuation. The pieces are put back together into one reality of social provisioning process. On the contrary, *dualism* treats those as separate spheres of reality, and establishes hierarchical oppositions (Sturgeon 1991, p. 138; Jennings 1999; Todorova 2009). Further, the analytical distinction between monetary and non-monetary motives is not identical to a distinction between a state and a market sphere – as pecuniary motives and valuation enter a state's activities too, as evident under neoliberalism (Galbraith 2008). Consequently, the distinction depicted in the table is made not to create neatly defined impenetrable spheres of autonomous activities, but to provide the basis of analysis where social provisioning is not identical to monetary exchange, and humans have other dimensions than market participation and material provisioning.

Formulating the process of *care* illustrates this point. Care refers to caring activities and feelings, and involves development of caring relations through attentiveness, empathy, responsiveness, respectful engagement, and labor. Caring involves maintaining relationships (Himmelweit 1995; 1999; Engster 2005; Folbre and Wright 2012). Care process includes activities of caring beyond the households, as well as the institutional arrangements of caring. Analyzing care as a social process would involve the study of the habits of life and thought such as: gender division of labor; the welfare state; domestic service; and migrant care workers in connection to other social provisioning processes such as labor; knowledge, tools, and memories cultivation and transmission; mobility and residence; surveillance, supervision, and direction, in connection to

[24] This is in contrast to a capabilities approach (see Robeyns 2003; 2005).

gender, race, and citizenship and legal residence as processes (Rose 2000; Briggs 2010; Zelizer 2010).

Care and labor are intrinsically connected. First, caring involves labor power and time; second paid work involves care, which is most apparent concerning paid caring work (Himmelweit 1999; England, Folbre, and Leana 2012). *Labor* process encompasses people's bodies, experiences, learning, energy, and time spent producing the social product, as well as its maintenance (including remuneration and care), direction, supervising, and disciplining. Waged vs. unpaid labor are similar in that both produce output, use resources, involve energy, time, and learning, and in context of a capitalist economy, money necessary to obtain inputs, yet differ in their institutional arrangements. Further, the fact that economic compulsion to sell one's labor power is central to the capitalist relations doesn't negate the social and psychological aspects of paid employment. First, labor can be "intimate" – such as paid care in intimate settings; paid care outside of intimate settings; unpaid care in the intimate settings; as well as unpaid care outside intimate settings (Zelizer 2010). Second, within capitalism having a job is part of individuals' social networks, identities, commitments, and social beliefs; similarly labor cannot be separated from those who are performing it and from their biological, psychological, and social needs. Thus, labor power is itself "produced" (as human life) and is maintained and recuperated through care and recreation activities (Pichio 1992; Prasch 2004).

Recreation is a social process that involves leisure, recuperation and healing, and artistic and spiritual expression. This process is intertwined with labor, consumption, and communication and expression. It is important to analytically separate recreation from labor and consumption for two reasons. First, this denotes that people cannot be defined solely as laborers or consumers, as they have other aspirations in addition to obtaining money, goods, and services. Second, activities that contribute to the recreation of human mind and body need not be categorized and analyzed as consumption activities – commodities or non-commodities. Yet, under the development of capitalism, and specifically under neoliberalism, recreation (including health and education) increasingly involves commodities (LeBaron 2010).

Undertaking is a social process encompassing *entrepreneurship* and *investment* when motivated by making money, as well as any other initiative resulting in mobilizing resources and undertaking new activity and direction such as building/participating in social movements. This includes *mobilization* - creation and activation of commitment, organization of social activities, and cultivation of networks and communities. The formulation of undertaking as a social process circumvents describing all human initiative as entrepreneurship and applying pecuniary valuation to all activities, and puts forward participation as an analytical element of social provisioning (O'Hara 1997; Hutchinson, Mellor, and Olsen 2002).

Mobility and residence process encompasses not only transportation systems and habitation, but also information-communication systems, and patterns of financial liquidity. In this sense mobility has spatial, informational, and financial dimensions. Rising household debt and precarious employment are as much part of the process as are transportation and housing. Liquidity permits action and is thus central for agency in a monetary production economy. Moving however is different from mobility and may signify precariousness - employment and livelihood insecurity, displacement, and infact a loss of mobility. Evolution of the process of mobility and residence is expressed by habits of life and thought such as: precariousness, migrant care work, suburban sprawl. The process is connected to the evolution of other processes such as

labor; care; debt-credit; threat and punishment; and consumption (Chang 2000; Hayden 2002; Russel 2000).

Consumption process is discussed in more detail by Todorova (2014). It refers not only to the acts of consumption that are part of consumption activities, but also the methods and institutional arrangements of consumption that are connected to production. For example, individualized packaging is a convention emerging from the activities and goals of the business enterprise. Habits of life and thought that mark evolutionary changes in the consumption process are: conspicuous consumption; standardization of consumption; growth of needs; fashion; and tourism. Each of those habits of life and thought also signifies an evolution of in other social provisioning processes. For example, standardization of consumption is a manifestation of the machine process, but could also be a starting point of investigating changes in the labor; care; waste; and mobility and residence processes. Similarly, in addition to consumption, tourism could be the starting point of analyzing the evolution of recreation, labor; care; waste; and mobility and residence processes (Fine 2002; Swaney and Olson 1992; Swards and Mize 2008; Todorova 2014).

Communication, expression, and persuasion process refers to artistic/spiritual expression, folklore, the development and usage of languages, not only as tools of description, but as ways to create meanings, conceptualize realities, frame problems, and establish human relations. This includes political and expert discourse, the emergence of conventional "wisdom", as well as artistic expression and communication of ideas. This process also includes artistic expression and formulating and communicating ideas (Lakoff 2004; Burgin 2012).

The *cultivation and transmission of knowledge, memories, and tools* as a social process is connected to methods of communication and expression, concepts, labor, and care (Dewey [1922] 1988; Veblen 1898-99; Lee 2009b). The process includes, creation, collection, repository, access to, and interpretation of data, and its availability for future use (see Allen 2008). Under capitalism the process also includes the creation of commodities based on data. There is no boundary between ideas and material reality, and knowledge is inseparable from tools, labor, and care all of which embody mind and body, doing and knowing. Those are the basis of *resource creation and usage*. Resources *become* through socially generated knowledge - in that sense they are not natural factors of production waiting to be allocated, but are created. The process involves inquiry, experiments, and application of methods of cultivation, excavation, harnessing, usage, and learning, none of which are opposed to ceremonial valuation. Thus, the resources are endogenously determined within a value structure (Junker 1967; DeGregory 1987; Bush 1987), and in turn affect social processes. This recognition of open system does not negate the concern about the effects of resource development and usage, and has two main implications. First, social valuation is introduced in analysis of resource creation in usage. Second, the focus of inquiry shifts from allocation of given resources to the conditions of their creation, to their composition, and to conflict.

Resources are the basis of, as well as depend on the *machine process.* The scope of the machine process is larger than the machine, and encompasses inquiry, workmanship, invention, design, application, maintenance, and replacement of tools and appliances of production (Veblen 1904). The machine process results in standardization and mass production combined with greater

flexibilization of specialization and the workforce[25]. The greater the division of labor, the greater interconnectedness in the machine process, the greater standardization of tools and units of measurement, and the lesser the agency of the laborer in the production process. Agency in that context deals with decision-making about workmanship, understanding of, and ability to affect the whole production process, as well as to tool-sharing. The machine process also permeates domestic production, through scheduling of tasks, standardized inputs, disposable consumables, and more specialized appliances (Fox 1990). Further, the influence of the machine process is evident in the treatment of bodies – through body-building, mechanized exercise, and monitoring, medication, surgery, transplants, and weight-loss regiments such as "bootcamps"[26]. Similarly, conventions such as mechanical testing, grading, academic units and faculty assessments, and online teaching are examples of the imprint of the machine process on the tools and knowledge cultivation and transmission process (see also Pietrykowski 2001). The ends-in-view are speed, instituted (self) control, automation, and the generation of countable, sufficiently standard outcomes[27].

The delineation of a social process of *surveillance, supervision, and direction* as a part of social provisioning is beneficial for enabling discussion of conflict and agency in the development of institutions. A major aspect of agency in the social provisioning process involves the ability to direct social activities and the production of distribution of social surplus – for example through investment, production, salesmanship, and infrastructural decisions. Parenting is also part of this process and exemplifies the aspect not motivated by money. On the other hand, the predisposition of "parental bent" is manifested also by institutions such as the business enterprise and the state to further pecuniary concerns. Conventions of supervision, surveillance, and direction are most notoriously present in conjunction with the development of threat and punishment, labor, care, consumption, knowledge processes (Parenti 2003; Kaplan 2006). Various dimensions and degrees of the supervision, surveillance, and direction process are exemplified by habits of life and thought such as humanitarian and expert assistance, worker surveillance, policing, self-surveillance,[28] and gated consumption[29]; conventions such as gated communities, districting, passports and IDs; biometrics, security checks, assessment exercises, and performance scorecards; symbols like shop guards, surveillance cameras, neighborhood watch, and border walls; social activities such as work retreats; neighborhood association meetings; and discourses of productivity, efficiency, development, customer service, and safety.

Threat and punishment is a social process that has the results of disciplining but also of resistance. Thus, it is not only the agency of the ruling class that can be accounted for by this

[25] See Pietrykowski (1999) for a discussion about compatibility of mass production and flexible specialization, and the co-existence of flexibility as disposable labor input and flexibility as a way to draw on skills.
[26] Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) is insightful on this generalization of disciplining mechanisms in the capitalist economy. On the other hand, we should note Veblen's (1904, p. 309) point that there is resistance to the discipline of the machine process governing all aspects of human life, perhaps (in Veblenian terms) because of the persistence of the instincts of workmanship and idle curiosity.
[27] Those conventions are also manifestations of the supervision, direction, and surveillance; the threat and punishment; as well as the deprivation processes discussed below, and can be defined as elements of a habit of life and thought - *education as business enterprise.* See also Veblen's *The Higher Learning in America: a Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (1918).
[28] Self-surveillance is done through social media, self-profiling, reality shows, and as Galbraith (2008) describes through "self-censorship" of expression in the process of seeking reputability (for example in expert discourse).
[29] See Todorova (2014).

process (for example through unionization, strikes, riots, and protests[30]). Within social provisioning under capitalism a major threat is the inability to sell one's labor. The normal operation of the capitalist economy at levels of income below full employment is pointedly noted by the various versions of monetary theory of production as a major threat in social provisioning under capitalism (Keynes [1933] 1983; Kalecki [1943] 1990; Wray 2008). This is a threat rooted in economic class relations and is what makes the capitalist, rentier/leisure, and political-professional elite, a *ruling* class[31]. In synergy with this macroeconomic threat is the system of punishment that builds prisons for the created "surplus labor" (Pigeon and Wray 2000). In the context of neoliberal global flexibilization of labor the carceral system and its strategies extends to working class for example through immigration-detention centers (De Giorgi 2007), and punitive welfare regimes (Rose 2000; Mink 2002), reproducing class, gender, and race hierarchies (LeBaron and Roberts 2013). As Parenti notes (2000) the expansion of the penal system has the effect of demobilizing undertaking effort through social breakdown, fear, and draining of human energy. Another aspect of this process is the threat of crime, diseases, and the destitute, resulting in fragmentation of social interaction, immobility, parochialism, and institutionalized attempts to direct, restrict, and criminalize certain populations' mobility and lives (Polanyi [1944] 1957; Federici 2004; Sassen 2013).

Institutional arrangements and agency that result in withholding resources, as well as in "redistribution" through "free income" - creation and capitalization of intangible assets can be described as a social process of *deprivation*. For example, in the context of capitalism, Veblen's (1904) "sabotage of production" or "conscientious withdrawal from efficiency" is a habit of life and thought that emerges out of pecuniary valuation and the business concern of the business enterprise, which leads to unemployment. The recognition of this process allows departing from seeking solutions for issues of poverty and unemployment for example exclusively at the individual level (Galbraith 2008; Wray 2008; Rose 2002).

Waste as a process then describes also the effects of deprivation in terms of loss of human potential applied in instrumental valuation of institutions. Within social provisioning under capitalism waste include also "… expenditure that do not serve human life or human well-being on the whole…and occurs on the ground of an invidious pecuniary comparison" (Veblen [1899] 1994, p. 60-1). As those expenditures are also incomes that represent "vested interests", waste may be viewed as desirable at the individual level (Todorova 2013, p. 1186). Natural systems (e.g. forests; wetlands) have the ability to store and recycle certain amounts of wastes from human activities through dilution, assimilation and chemical re-composition (e.g. filtering of dust particles; water purification) (Groot et. al 2002). Yet, ecosystem regulation functions maybe inhibited in the process of pecuniary valuation (Dorman 2003; Power 2006).

[30] However, with respect to determination of the social surplus, under a capitalist economy with ever shrinking self-subsistence and limited workers' collectives, it is the business enterprise, international financial institutions, and the state that exercise agency. Thus, for example collective action through unionization enables workers only to respond to these decisions. One of the theoretical implications is that there should be a space for theorizing difference in agency. Second, enhancing agency with respect to determining social surplus entails moving away from livelihood being dependent on the state of business expectations. Workers' cooperatives in combination with public service full employment programs, and expansion of non-commodified, non-invidious community and household activities are among the elements, of enhancing such agency. Adopting a holistic social provisioning framework suggests that neither of those is sufficient on its own.

[31] For treatments of class in the social provisioning framework see Lee (2011); Todorova (2013).

Society's usage of tools, skills, labor, and knowledge is always communally generated and ownership regimes prescribe the *distribution* of the social product. Under capitalism money incomes are claims on the social surplus and are distributed based on pecuniary (ceremonial) valuation, and not based on technological measurement and productivity. The importance of prices for distribution is not in forming a "price mechanism" but in their role of signifying claims on social product. Private ownership facilitates the creation of assets that secure individualized class-based claims on social product and represent income flows that give rise to exchange, trade, and speculation. These socially determined claims are possible only because of the application of industrial valuation in society as a whole (including reproductive activities). Enclosures, extraction, and marketization of relations and matter outside of markets give rise to claims on the social product, nature, knowledge, and the industrial arts of the community by virtue of creating commodities ("vested interests" or "free income" as Veblen calls them) salesmanship, restriction of output, and seizure of natural resources (Marx [1867] 1990; Veblen 1923; Polanyi [1944] 1957; Galbraith 2008; Robertson 2008; LeBaron 2010; Nadal 2011).

Exchange, *trade,* and *speculation* involve administration of prices and execution of contracts. Those are the monetary counterparts of gift. Being liquid gives freedom and promise of possibilities. *Gift* is a statement of recognition as fellow humans, acceptance as possible partners, and, once a relationship has been established, a wish to remain bonded in the future; it is not simply giving something to somebody for the purpose of consumption (Henaff 2011, p. 132). Gift is to recognize and honor the other party and to create an obligation of "reciprocal recognition". Henaff calls this a "free obligation" as it involves choice to engage or disengage, and not to return what was given (with interest, like in the case of a loan), but a "debt" of reply, dependence, and gratitude. Those symbolic, rather than legal obligations are central for creating social bonds their purpose is to continue the relationship, and not to conclude it (Henaff 2011, p. 207).

On the other hand, the repayment of debt is the end of a debtor-creditor relationship. In that light the calls for paying down government debt and for balanced budgets are desire to dissolve social bonds and redefine public obligations and gift relations as exchange. The *debt-credit* social process includes but is not limited to the development of monetary debt-instruments and finance. The process encompasses also non-monetary debt obligations and the development of accounting systems. Debt denominated in a money of account is a specific social arrangement of accounting for indebtedness[32]. Money itself is a social relationship – not only between a specific debtor and a creditor, but one signifying hierarchical arrangements in social provisioning[33] (Ingham 1996; Bell and Henry 2001; Tymoigne and Wray 2006).

[32] As Gardiner (2004, p. 202) points out:

> "The essential monetary space for a genuinely impersonal sphere of exchange was eventually provided by states. As the largest makers and receivers of payments and in declaring what was acceptable as of payment of taxes, states were the ultimate arbiters of currency. They created monetary spaces that integrated social groups whose interaction was not embedded in particular social ties or specific economic interests."

[33] Gift could also signify and confirm hierarchical relationships, particularly when there is inability to reciprocate, as under charity as a habit of life and thought. Gift under such circumstances of inequality confirms and perpetuates the prevailing hierarchy as the recipients are under situations of "enduring inferiority," as stated by Henaff (2011, p. 210): "Reciprocal recognition then turns into recognition of unequal statutory positions."

Finally, we ought to consider *violence* as one of the social processes constituting social provisioning. Instead of random individual acts of violence we could then begin to acknowledge the connections between changes in production and reproduction and particular manifestations of violence. For example, enclosures (resulting in the institutionalization of wage labor as habit of life and thought, as well as an ongoing creation of fictitious commodities) reorganize social provisioning. This reorganization however is also a process of violence with specific developments such as rebellions, poor laws, slavery, expulsions, and war (Marx [1867] 1990; Polanyi [1944] 1957; Federici 2004; Sassen 2013).

The delineated processes are evolutionary and intersect in various ways and degrees. All social processes constituting the economy involve cognition, learning, and the formation of expectations. Further, processes do not emerge all at one point of time, and do not evolve in the same pace and direction. Their evolution is multilineal and non-teleological. The processes are context-specific and unfold in historical time as a part of an open system characterized by uncertainty.

Social processes are affected by habits of life and thought. In turn habits of life and thought are based in human proclivities, and may indicate the evolution of and emergence of new social processes. For example, colonization is an observable historically specific habit of life and though based primarily in predation, but also in parental bent, workmanship, and idle curiosity. Colonization and empire are connected to evolution of the social process of "race/ethnicity" – with its conventions, symbols and discourse, social beliefs, conventional wisdom, personal attitudes, and the social activities of various institutions (schooling, business enterprise, state, etc.). Also, colonization and empire had bearing on consumption process[34], as well as on other processes such as ecosystems (McGregor 1995; Forstater 2001). Similarly, financialization is an evolution of the debt-credit social process, but also of economic class, social class, labor, production, innovation, race, and consumption processes[35]. Importantly, further explorations could mean identifying other connections.

Conclusion

The article seeks to contribute to the literature on social provisioning as an organizing concept in heterodox economics by offering elaborations from a feminist-institutional perspective. Heterodox economists have developed analyses that look at the economy beneath the level of exchange. Various explications of a monetary theory of production have enabled us to get to a deeper layer of the workings of the capitalist economy. Locating monetary production within social provisioning reveals another layer of analysis. Further, locating social provisioning within a culture-nature life-process enables us to explore and theorize about how "social" developments are infact part of provisioning, as well as to put living systems in the forefront of selecting criteria for a desirable economy. In that way the valuable insights of monetary theory of production become a part of broader cultural-historical-ecological analyses. While the article's

[34] For example the influx of cacao and chocolate consumption in Europe through Spanish colonial expansion (Jamieson 2001).
[35] For example see: Parenteau (2001); Orhangazi (2007); Cohen (2008); Hudson (2010); Bayliss, Fine and Robertson (2013); and Boyer (2013).

contribution is best defined as feminist-institutional, insights from other heterodox approaches and disciplines have also been used. The objective is to further develop non-dualistic inquiry and analyses of social provisioning and conflict, which build on various traditions in heterodox economics (Todorova 2009).

The article formulates and delineates the concept of social processes that further enables the analysis of an open and going system with non-determined direction and outcomes and of non-reductionist microfoundations. It is hoped that the proposed terminological specifications would assist in the design of non-dualistic and non-deterministic studies and in theorizing about change, agency, interconnectedness, context and structural stability. A particular problem can be formulated and investigated by the identification of specific habits of life and thought that are indicative of evolution in social processes. Any of the discussed elements of social process can be used as a starting point of the analysis. There is no primary institution or primary process that ought to be used as an entry point of the analysis of social provisioning as the material is also cultural and part of nature.

In his essay "Why is Economics not an Evolutionary Science?" Veblen (1898) put forward the notion of the economy as a life process that is explained in terms of cumulative causation. The goal has been to contribute to such conceptualization, and to assist the design of specific studies of social provisioning, which transcend the dualisms of culture-nature, mind-body, and society-economy and blur the boundaries of heterodox approaches and of academic disciplines.

Appendix

Figure1. Categorization of Social Provisioning Activities within Capitalism

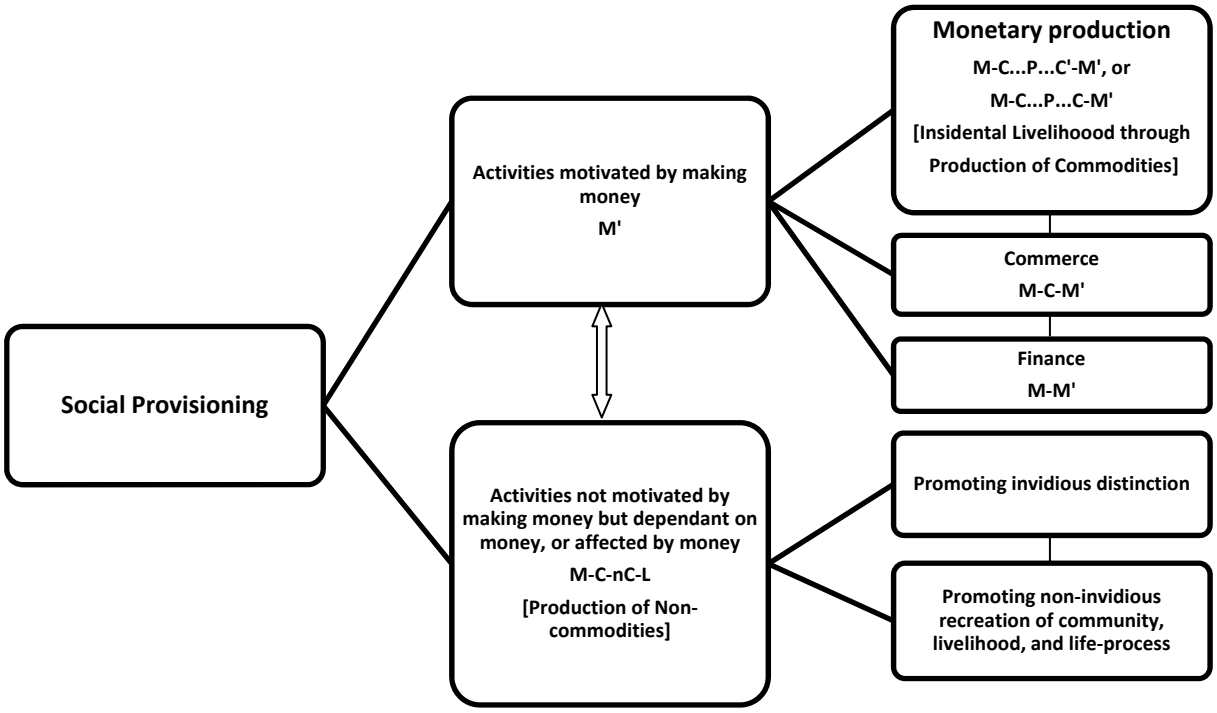

Table 1. Social Provisioning Activities within Capitalism: Motivation and Valuation

Motivation		Valuation	
		ceremonial	**instrumental**
Activities motivated by making money	*Production:*	business concern vendibility salesmanship promoting invidious distinction	industrial concern engineering making "goods" non-invidious distinction
	Finance:	speculation vendibility salesmanship invidious distinction	
Activities not motivated by money (but dependant on/affected by money)		*Unpaid Activities* Invidious distinction	*Unpaid Activities* non-invidious recreation of community and life process

Table 2: Processes: Categorization within a System of Culture-Nature Life-Process

biological life-processes and geographies	**processes that can be identified also as distinct social provisioning activities at the individual level**	**processes not based on a distinct social activity**	
		affected by, but do not operate through specific going concerns	**identified with going concerns**
ecosystems and biosphere biospheric processes production of biomass information sourcing habitat bodies birth cognition and emotions sex development spirituality sexuality illness impairment aging death information sourcing spaces landscapes localities/place buildings/architecture infrastructure	care labor recreation consumption mobility and residence communication, expression, and persuasion cultivation and transmission of knowledge, memories, tools undertaking resource creation and usage machine process supervision, surveillance, and direction threat and punishment distribution deprivation waste exchange, trade, speculation/gift debt-credit violence	gender social class race and ethnicity language	citizenship and legal residency [state, international institutions] economic class [business enterprise, state, international institutions] ownership [business enterprise, state, international institutions, courts, military] contracts [courts, state, international institutions] worship [temples, religious establishments] kinship [households, tribes]

Table 3: Processes Based on Social Provisioning Activities (Continues on next page.)

Processes Based on Social Provisioning Activities	**Examples of how these are manifested as non-money driven activities**	**Examples of how these are manifested as money driven activities**
labor	pregnancy/birthing/breastfeeding; unpaid household and community work; subsistence production; learning; invention	**wage work**; **monetary production**; slavery; debt-bondage; internships; learning; **invention**
care	parenthood; family, community relations; public services	paid care work; market care services
recreation	art; healing; spirituality; connection to nature; public space	art for sale; commercial sports and physical exercise; for profit health system; private fees
mobility and residence	public transportation; public spaces	individualized automobile transportation; suburban sprawl; development of tourism; access to information through fees; internet; gated communities; privatized spaces; (il)liquidity
consumption	consumption of non-commodities	**commodity consumption**; invidious distinction based on consumption
communication, expression, and persuasion	language development; art	corporate media; development of market expert discourse and folklore about markets; art for sale; advertising;
undertaking	mobilization; community organizing	**entrepreneurship; investment**; mobilization
cultivation and transmission of knowledge, memories, and tools	technology; invention; (mis)education; oral history and folklore; public education; public libraries; public pooling of resources; art; destruction of resources	**technology; invention**; (mis)education; schooling in exchange for fees; art, publishing and research driven by money; patents; destruction of resources
resource creation and usage	innovations in not-for market production and activities; reciprocity in use of resources	**financially feasible innovations and R&D**; patents
machine process	domestic "labor-saving" appliances; sharing of tools	standardization for commercial reasons; tools cannot be shared; standardization in education; education as business enterprises; corporate driven education
supervision, direction, surveillance	censorship and political surveillance, detention, and imprisonment - may not be (directly) influenced by monetary motives, but may support vested interests; biometrics; passports; parenting ; silencing	management; productivity assessments; business data mining; marketing surveys and profiling
threat and	censorship and political	welfare system; **unemployment**; **prison**

punishment	surveillance, detention and imprisonment - may not be (directly) influenced by monetary motives, but may support vested interests; stigmatization parental disciplining; spousal financial dependency protests; strikes	**and military industrial complex**; **disciplining workers**; surveillance for salesmanship; **austerity policies**; advertising and consumption based on fear; security and surveillance complex; credit scoring; censorship
distribution	obligations; needs; "human rights"	**administered prices and incomes**; property rights
gift /exchange	gift	**exchange; trade; speculation**; charity
deprivation	malnutrition, ignorance, immobility, etc. caused by ceremonial reasons other than pecuniary motives;	sabotage of industrial efficiency and production; destruction of resources; **austerity policies**; **sovereign taxation**; deprivation from recreation time and resources; paid promotion of mis-information and promotion of ignorance and anti-intellectualism
waste	reuse; repurposing; disposal	recycling and reuse business practices; cost cutting-disposal; **unemployment** and other resource destruction effects of pecuniary deprivation
debt-credit	obligation; **taxation**	**finance; interest; taxation**
violence	invidious comparison based on moral or physical judgment about personal worth; domestic violence; domination (including over nature); war	invidious comparison based on money/wealth; slave trade; dispossession and displacement; environmental destruction driven by monetary acquisition; **prison and military industrial complex**; ecological destruction through extraction

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