Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives Professor R. Santhosh Department of Humanities and Social Science Indian Institute of Technology Madras

Lecture 22 David Harvey: Conditions of Postmodernity

(Refer Slide Time: 0:18)



David Harvey: Conditions of Postmodernity



Welcome back to the class, we are continuing our discussion on globalization and the question of modernity or late modernity or post modernity and as I have been telling you in the previous several classes, the debate about the whole description of the contemporary period, whether to characterize it as postmodern era or an era of late modernity, it has been a very hotly debated topic within the academic circles.

So, in the previous classes, we had I think four or five sessions on Anthony Giddens, a very important and influential British sociologist, who took a very firm stand that he is not ready to characterize the contemporary society as that of post modernity, but rather he would call it a second modernity or late modernity.

And we went through his major arguments, especially two books, one is the 'Consequences of Modernity', we discussed that one full chapter, the first chapter where he summarizes quite a lot of arguments. And in the last class, we also had a very brief look at his later book, 'The Runaway world', where he has used this term, the runaway world to characterize the kind of changing transformations of the globalization.

And he very forcefully argued that the unintended consequence of globalization is taking its own course and looks like we have not much of a control on it. So, that is why he used the term the runaway world, the globalized world is, moving on its own rationality, moving on its own rationale and the earlier optimism about science and rationality, being able to control the world around you more efficiently, that optimism seems to be fading.

So, we concluded the discussion on Anthony Giddens and in today's class, I want to briefly introduce you another very influential book, a title, 'The Conditions of Post Modernity' by

David Harvey and I am not going to discuss this book in detail, because it is a critique of post modernity. It is a critique of the kind of scholarly arguments that began to celebrate the conditions of post modernity from a very strong Marxian perspective.

David Harvey uses a very influential Marxian framework. He is a scholar who uses Marxian framework very influentially. So, he his arguments about globalization is something similar to that of Giddens and maybe to that of Ulrich Beck as well, because Ulrich Beck we are going to discuss him extensively in the coming two or three lectures.

So, being a Marxian scholar or being a scholar who prefers to analyse the social change as well as the social structure from a Marxian perspective by giving primacy to the realm of economics or to the realm of economy. Harvey has very interesting arguments about neoliberalism, about the fixity of capital and a host of other things. So, I would urge you to read David Harvey's other works.

He's a geographer, a Marxian geographer. So, a very interesting arguments by rooting himself very strongly or anchoring himself very strongly in the Marxian tradition of analysing the role of economy, the role of capital, what happened to the capitalist production in the modern era, did that undergo a significant transformation?

Because if you read some of the some of his arguments, especially places where he quotes Marx and Engels from Communist Manifesto and you would simply think that Marx and Engels is talking about globalization, about the capitalists expanding their sphere of work across the globe and then looking for new markets and then, getting labour and then raw materials from across the globe.

So, it looks exactly like a description of globalization that we discuss today. But Marx was talking about the early features of capitalism. So, scholars like Harvey, would strongly argue that, even when we talk about late capitalism, even when we talk about neoliberal capitalism, the fundamental dynamics or the fundamental character of this economic activity remains the same, the logic of this economy, the basic grammar of this economy remains to be capitalist.

So, in that sense, he is extremely critical of the postmodernist claims that the basic pillars of modernity has been washed away and then we need to discard. So, he is not somebody who would agree with those kinds of arguments.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:26)





Key Texts in Human Geography

The Condition of Postmodernity (1989): David Harvey

Contributors: Keith Woodward & John Paul Jones Edited by: Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin & Gill Valentine Book Title: Key Texts in Human Geography Chapter Title: "The Condition of Postmodernity (1989); David Harvey"





Contributors: Keth Woodward & John Paul Jones
Edited by: Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin & Gill Valentine
Book Tife: Key Texts in Human Geography
Chapter Title: Tithe Condition of Postmodernity (1989): David Harvey*
Pub. Date: 2006
Access Date: April 30, 2018
Publishing Company: SAGE Publications Ltd:
City: London
Pinit ISBN: 9781412522616
Online: ISBN: 9781442523742
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.41359781446213742.n15
Print pages: 125-134

02008 SAGE Publications Ltd. All Rights Reserved.

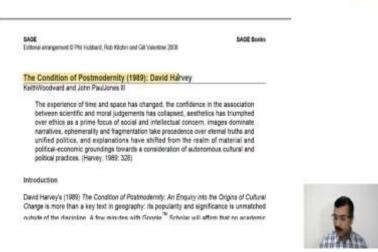
This PDF has been generated from SAGE Knowledge. Please note that the pagination of the online version will vary from the pagination of the print book.



So, since it is a book, I am not spending much time on it rather, I am going to depend upon a review article, a review article published, which kind of summarizes David Harvey's work. This is a part of this the key text in human geography series, the conditions of post modernity contributed by, David Harvey's book published in 1989.

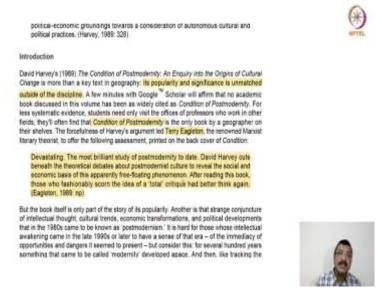
(Refer Slide Time: 05:54)





And this is a kind of a review, a kind of a summary by KeithWoodward and John Paul Jones. So, it looks at the conditions of post modernity and then provides with, it locates the text it locates the overall argument and then, so in that sense, it gives you a kind of a summary of the major argument.

(Refer Slide Time: 06:21)



Now, they say that David Harvey's book the conditions of post modernity, an inquiry into the origins of cultural change is more than a key text in geography. Its popularity and significance is unmatched outside the discipline and they quote Terry Eagleton, Eagleton is another Marxist, who has given his expert opinion and which is printed on the backside of this book, conditions of post modernity which is an important argument.

Terry Eagleton argues that it is a devastating book, the most brilliant study of post modernity to date, David Harvey cuts beneath the theoretical debates about postmodernist culture to reveal the social and economic base of this apparently free-floating phenomenon. After reading this book, those who fashionably scorn the idea of a total critique had better think again, it is just a very, very frontal attack.

Because those who fashionably scorned the idea of a total critique are the people who represent the wave of post modernity, because I hope you remember, Francois Lyotard who argued that post modernity brings in an end to the grand narratives. You cannot have a singular theory, for example, a Marxian framework or something like that, you cannot have such kind of a larger framework to make sense of this changing forms of globalization.

(Refer Slide Time: 07:46)







The book itself is only part of the story of popularity, another is the strange conjuncture of intellectual thought, cultural trends, economic transformations and political developments, that in the 1980s, came to be known as post modernism. So, it is just a kind of a general introduction in this section. Maybe we can just go through that. It is hard for those whose intellectual awakening came in the late 90s or later to have a sense of the era, of the immediacy of opportunities and dangers, it seems to present.

But consider this, for several 100 years, something that came to be called as modernity developed a pace and then like tracking the changing temperature of time itself, then emerged a widespread feeling that modernity's cherished moorings, a faith in human rationality and logical communication in economic, political and social progress in science, technology and aesthetic coherence and in just ethical systems of valuation and judgment, were being unhinged to such an extent that the world especially the West, was entering into a new era.

So, this I think we are familiar with this argument, why did we begin to feel a crisis of modernity or why do we say that from 1970s or 80s onwards, the world started or world in the sense, please understand it as the Western world, the Europe, the Euro centric world, started to move from the era of modernity to that of post modernity and what are the reasons.

So, these are the kinds of reasons that many of them are taken for granted conditions of modernity, they say they were being unhinged to such an extent that the world especially the West, was entering into a new era. Though Harvey is always keen geographical imagination, analysing postmodernism, is account of the shifts goes back to issues much larger than discipline of geography and that is why this book is considered to be an extremely important and popular book.

(Refer Slide Time: 09:53)



easily that it pound out lickety-split (Harvey, 2002; 180). Harvey's previous earls on the urbanization of capital, on the history of Second Empire Paris and modern Baltimore, and on space and time within diselection materialism were foundational for Condition of Postmodemity. The book empilies an analysis in a 1987 easily the published in the radical geography journal. Antipode, in which he argued, in line with an earlier easily by Fredric Jameson (1984), that post-modernity is nothing more than the cultural clothing of Resible accumulation (Harvey, 1987; 279). That piece entitle with an challenge befitting Harvey's intellectual dieth to Nacoterni Accitical appraisal. of the cultural practices of postmodemity. appears as one small but necessary preparatory step towards the reconstitution of a movement of global opposition to a plainly sick and troubled capitatish neglamory. (Harvey, 1987; 283), it was Harvey's friend and long-time editor. John Davey, who persuaded him to make that appraisal.

A second thing to know is that Condition of Postmodernity – along with Jameson's denser but similarly minded Postmodernism, or, the Column's Logic of Late Coapitation (1991) – greatly contributed to making its object of analysis passe. This is not to say that there were not already strong orders of postmodernism, and pointage even a sense of intellectual and cultivationable, by 1993. As Harvey (1999: is) noted in his Preface: "When even the developers tell an architect like Moshe Sarfale that they are titled of it, then can (The philosophers) be far behind? Harvey's own strategy was to historicite, incets, and explain postmodernism, and there are few things more disabling for a movement that funcies detached recordings. After Condition, as Eagleton noted, the foundations of an apparently fixe-floating phenomenon were established. Wind out of sails, the ship was grounded, postmodernism's thereis live on, that under different paneses.



long-time editor, John Davey, who persuaded him to make that appraisal

A second thing to know is that Condition of Postmodernity – along with Jameson's denser but similarly minded Postmodernism, or, the Coutival Logic of Late Capitalism (1991) – greatly contributed to making its object of analysis passal. This is not to say that there were not already strong critics of postmodernism, and perhaps even a sense of intellectual and cultural exhaustion, by 1999. As Harvey (1999: is) noted in his Preface: When even the developers tell an architect like Moshe Saffde that they are tited of it, then can (The philosophers) be far behind? Harvey's own strategy was to historical; locate, and explain postmodernism, and those are fee things more disabling for a movement that flancies datached recording. After Condition, as Engletion noted, the Supersidors of an apparently free-floating phenomenon were established. Wind out of sale, the ship was grounded; postmodernism in themse live on, but under different tanners.

Third, in our opinion Condition of Postmodernity should be read in conjunction with the text that followed it, Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference (1996). A much misunderstood book, Justice complements its predicessor; by specifying a suite of ontological questions that by domant in Condition of Postmodernity, by laying out in clear detail a dialectical analytic that underwrites harvey's approach to explanation; and by responding to critics of Condition of Postmodernity by addressing its widely acknowledged sublimation of gendered and raced social relations. Harvey's Justice also presages the current interest by geographers and others in othics and responsibility, and on how to theorize the relationship between culture (social life) and the natural environment. Whereas the book was dissorbed there is largely critique, Justice helps readers understated more faitly from that critique is grounded, while responding to lapses in some of Condition of Postmodernity's





So, these are the sections where he, makes the scholars make a connection between Harvey's previous work and then there later works. So, trying to see how they are in dialogue with a host of other works that are published, which are critical of postmodernity. So, I think we can skip this thing.

(Refer Slide Time: 10:29)



The d, true operation Confedence of Indomentation should be send in comparation with the syst the followed C, such as comparation to precision and the system of 1998, it is made interestant to those. Justice comparation to the precision and the property place of protection and an extraction of the process of the system of the system of the stress of advantional amounts for the outbranders by a debtorage to place the system of the excellent place of the system of the system of the system of the system of the selection of granteest and session instance. Among the white processing to the selection of granteest and session instance, among the white which proceedings the selection of granteest and session instance, and the selection of granteest and the selection of the selection of the selection and instance. The selection of the selection of the selection of the selection developed and the selection of conference of processing of the selection of the s

in white, do our procession raw, it means once affected from Southeash symptom rad. Ever professional cells from the protein of the spike shouldher of all one of their storms, under a manage, 2022. 2015, for all its procedurate, multiparties, and described manages from an particulation on any or protein year of the Admissional cells of the fearing of under a procedurate or any or procession of the Admissional cells of the fearing open of the control for internal patients. The process, Committee of Processional International Security of consistent and residents of the process. Committee of Processional Committee of the consistent and residents of the process.

Tre Aspense

For many natures, it is reported to must Condition of Photocolomity as a local deceptor

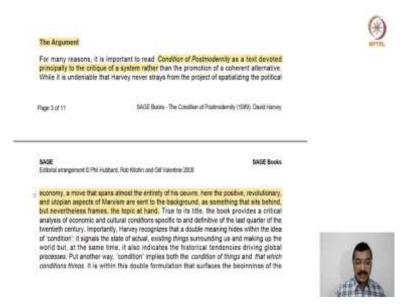


But there is an interesting observation here, in writing about postmodernism a Harvey once affirmed Pierre Bourdieu's injunction that every established order tends to produce the naturalization of its own arbitrariness, quoted in Harvey. For all its uncertainty, multiplicity and disorderliness, the age of postmodernism was very nearly one of these established orders, it was Harvey's mission to unmask that naturalization.

In the process, conditions of postponement, he became part of the times pace contention, it analysed, further naturalizing the book as in Eagleton terms, devastating and brilliant. So, it is a very, very interesting argument by Pierre Bourdieu the very important French sociologist. Every established order tends to produce naturalization of its own arbitrariness and this is a very important advice for every sociologist.

Because we tend to think a particular order as natural and a very powerful order every established order has various mechanisms of making this arbitrariness look like a proper order and it is the duty or it is an obligation of the sociologist or the social scientists to uncover this naturalness and to say that there is nothing natural about it, but it has been brought into a particular scenario through very conscious actions and to unearth or to unravel the kind of dynamics of a particular established order.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:02)



Now, let us get into the specific arguments because this is what is more important than the the larger background of the work. For many reasons, it is important to read conditions of post modernity, as a text devoted principally to the critique of a system, rather than promotion of a coherent alternative.

While it is undeniable that Harvey never strays from the project of spatializing, the political economy, a move that spans almost the entirety of his overlay there, here the positive revolutionary and utopian aspects of Marxism, are sent to the background, as something that sits behind but nevertheless frames the topic at hand.

So, this book 'Conditions of post modernity' is a very devastating critique of the post-modernist arguments about the predominance of culture, about the impossibility of a grand narrative, about arbitrariness of the world about the demise of a modern world and in that sense, it is rather a critique, rather than providing a very well-established alternative based on Marxian framework unlike many of Harvey's other works. So, the Marxian framework analysis of

capitalism, the emphasis on working class movement, working class agency, these things are in the background, but he is not here to give a kind of a prescriptive idea about what is globalization or what is not, but it is rather a kind of a critique.

(Refer Slide Time: 13:28)

economy, a move that spans almost the entirety of his ocuvic, here the positive, revolutionary, and utopian aspects of Marican are sent to the background, as something that sits behind, but nevertheless frames, the topic at hand. These to its title, the book provides a crifical analysis of conforms and cultural conditions specific to and definitive of the last quarter of the invertibility certury. Importantly, Harvey recognities that a double meaning hides within the idea of condition: it signate the state of actual, existing things surrounding us and making up the world but, at the same three, it also indicates the historical tendencies driving plotal processes. Put another way, condition implies both the condition of things and that which conditions things. It is within this double formulation that surfaces the beginnings of the contological development that will come to maturity in Austice, Nature and the Geography of Difference: a condition is, at once, a state of Being and a process of Becoming.

historically, the 'condition of postmodernity is said to have developed out of (or to have been a break with) the vast collection of Western philosophical, artistic, and scientific theories that developed during the period known as 'modernism.' Though beginning with the Enlightenment, this historical era gained ground through the establishment of scientific positivism; the growth, spread, and techno-practical coherences of industrial capitalism; and the development of the democratic late form. These vers in no way discrete historical events or processes; rather, each informed the other. Moreover, they beiged map out a human-centered world aimed at the development of free and autonomous human agents; rational economic orticers naturally embracing science, capitalism, and democracy. By the mid-twentileth century, however, the ideals of modernity had been pushed into crisis by the increasingly gaintg inequalities that accompanied the development of capitalism and by the ever-greater alienation fostered by the violence and devastation of the two World Wars.





True to his title, the book provides a critical analysis of economic and cultural conditions specific to and definitely to the last quarter of the 20th century. Importantly, Harvey recognizes that a double meaning hides within the idea of condition. So, that we, that is why this condition, so post modernity this term, condition is something important, it signals the state of actual existing things surrounding us and making up the world.

But at the same time, it also indicates the historical tendencies driving global processes. So, these conditions of post modernity, it actually has two meanings, one is that the kind of actual existing situations, a condition of what actually existed, second one is conditions is understood as things that are necessitated, things that are kind of precondition for certain things to come into picture.

Put in another way, condition implies both the condition of things and that which conditions things, it is a structural thing which produces certain things, you know that certain aspects will come into existence only if certain other conditions are met. So, in that sense, it is understood as a kind of a precondition, other condition, other meaning is that the consequences of a particular thing.

So, he uses these two things. It is within this double formulation that surfaces the beginnings of the ontological development that will come to maturity in justice nature and geography of difference a condition at which a state of being and the process of becoming. So, it is both a state of being and a process of becoming.

(Refer Slide Time: 15:11)

world but, at the same time, it also indicates the historical tendencies driving global processes. Put another way, condition implies both the condition of things and that which conditions things. It is within this double formulation that surfaces the beginnings of the ontological development that will come to maturity in Justice. Nature and the Geography of Ofference's condition is, at once, a state of Being and a process of Becomming.

Historically, the condition of postmodernity is said to have developed out of (or to have been a break with) the vast collection of Western philosophical, unlate, and scientific theories that developed during the period known as "modernism." Though beginning with the Enrightenment, his historical era gained ground through the establishment of scientific positivers, the growth spread, and techno-practical otherences of industrial capitalism; and the development of the democratic state from These were in on vay discrete historical events or processes; rather, each informed the other. Moreover, they helped map out a human-centered world since all the development of free and autonomous human agents; rathoral economic citizens naturally embracing accessor, capitalism, and democracy. By the mid-twentieth containty, however, the ideals of modernity had been pushed into chais by the increasingly giaring inequalities that accompanied the development of capitalism and by the ever-greater elevation of the bodies of the content of the content of modernity human to fragmented, atlenated, and relativistic representations of the notic, revealing a growing disselfaction with appeals to the faundationals that had been the contention of modernity thinking.

Postmodernity met this discontent with several accounts of difference, positionality, and situatedness that appeared to ring the death-knell for aging visions of a world recised in essentialism, totalization, and universality, One of the key moments in this transformation was Jean-Farmoois Lyotard's. The Postmodern Condition (1984) – from which Harney's book derived.





So, historically, the condition of post modernity is said to have developed out of or to have been a break with a vast collection of Western philosophy, artistic scientific theories that developed during the period known as modernism and we had some discussion about modernism or modernity in the very beginning of this particular chapter.

Though beginning with the Enlightenment, this historical era gained ground through the establishment of scientific positivism, the growth spread and techno-practical coherence of industrial capitalism and the development of the democratic state form. So these are the three important terms I hope you remember when we talk talked about three revolutions, the French Revolution, the scientific revolution, and the Industrial Revolution.

So, these three revolutions are set to have led to or given birth to a condition of modernity. These were in no way discrete historical events or processes, rather each informed the other. Moreover, they helped map out a human centred world, aimed at the development of free and autonomous human agents. Human beings who are not determined or controlled by a superhuman or a supernatural power, but human beings who are capable of taking their own decisions and then acting on their own volition, rational economic citizens, naturally embracing science, capitalism and democracy.

But by the mid-20th century, however, the ideas of modernity had been pushed into crisis by the increasing glaring inequalities that accompanied the development of capitalism and by the ever-greater alienation fostered by the violence and devastation of the two world wars. I think we discussed that is not it, in the previous classes.

Because by end of second half or the first half of 20th century, we have had two world wars and then economic inequality was glaring and the ecological crisis was looming. So, optimism that people shared started losing itself significance. Artists, philosophers and even scientists increasingly turned into fragmented, alienated and relativist representations of the world revealing a growing dissatisfaction with appeals to the foundationalism that had been the cornerstones of modernist thinking.

(Refer Slide Time: 17:44)

twentieth century, however, the ideals of modernity had been pushed into crisis by the increasingly garing nequalities that accompanied the development of capitalism and by the ever-greater alienation fostered by the violence and devastation of the two World Wars. Arbits, philosopheris, and even scientials increasingly turned to fragmented, alienated, and relativistic representations of the world, revealing a growing desastation with appeals to the foundationalism that had been the comeration of modernist thinking.

Postmodernity met this discontent with several accounts of difference, posttorality, and altitudeness that appeared to mig the death-finel for aging visions of a world rooted in essentialism total appeared to mig the death-finel for aging visions of a world rooted in essentialism total appeared to the sey moments in this harseburstion was usen-François Lystardia. The Postmodern Constition (1984) – horr which Harvey's book derived the name and to which it serves as a response. Here, Lystard called for a rejection of the grand nametives of modernity, two of which were essecially suspect in the postmodern critique. The assumed total autonomy of the individual (Iberaliat humanism, five market entrepre-neutralium), and the linear determinate progression of history (Marcels socialism, scientific progress). Thinkers such as lither inforcect. Leconer Durids, and Lystard argued that such notions did not reflect any necessity within reality or the historic of things so much as the influence of power and discourse in the ways we know and understand the world (Droon and Jones, 2004). Literies: language, politics, and oven identities became matters not of universals, but of particularity, contriging, and difference.

Given this apparent break with the foundations of modernity, what possibilities remain for the collective politics that Harvey and other Marsists find necessary for undermining capitalises? His solution was to hold his ground, reanalyzing the relation between modernity and postmodernity. He conductes that the latter, in fact, does not represent a break with the former, but rather its continuation, with changes marking adjustments to transformations in





Post modernity met this discontent with several accounts of difference, positionality and situatedness that appeared to ring the death knell of aging visions of the world rooted in essentialism totalization and universality. So, what does it mean? What does this whole idea of a totalizing essentialist and universalistic idea?

Because we know that modernity was carried forward, modernity was espoused, it was a philosophy and ethically espoused on the basis of European enlightenment and it had claimed to have a universalistic character. For example, it had an understanding of what it means to be human, what are the rights and nature of human beings.

And they had a universal view about what human progress means and so these common set of ideas that can be applicable to every part of this world, every part of this earth for all communities and societies. So, these were some of the kinds of essential features of enlightenment project.

And the argument of postmodernist is that, these essentialist or universalistic arguments have lost its significance and rather nothing of these universalistic things will work rather we need to take into account or we need to kind of celebrate the differences, the positionality and situatedness. So, that is why these whole identities became extremely important, the proliferation of identities and sub-identities, the kind of fragmented identities became extremely important.

So, from which Harvey's book derived its name and to which served his purpose. Here Lyotard called a rejection of the Grand narratives of modernity, two of which were essentially suspect in the postmodern critique: the assumed total autonomy of the individual that is liberalist humanism, the free-market entrepreneurialism and the linear deterministic process of history that is Marxist socialism and scientific progress.

So, this whole idea that the total autonomy of an individual whether the individual will be completely emancipated, individual will live as total free agent. And this idea, this whole emancipatory project of enlightenment was very badly criticized by scholars like Foucault, who argued that human beings can never be free in that sense.

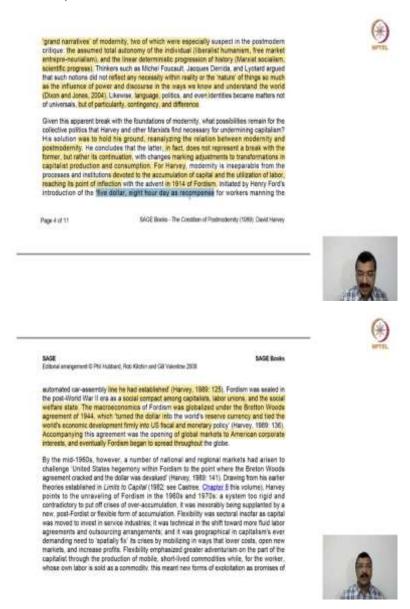
Especially his early writings, which tells you that how there are different forms of discourses, different forms of power structures that really work through you. So, even when you think

about your own agency and then subjecthood, how they are deeply implicated in the power structures.

And also, the linear deterministic progression of history, a kind of a Marxian argument or even a general developmentalist idea that there is a one particular way of progress, is what is required for everybody, all such kind of idea or the argument that the Europe really represents the, a blueprint for every other society to develop. Europe represents the, Europe represent represents the epitome of human progress. So, these ideas became extremely, was subjected to so much of critique.

Thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Lyotard argued that such notions did not reflect any necessity within reality or the nature of things, so much as the influence of power and discourse in the ways we know and understand the world. Likewise, language politics and even identities became matters not of universals, but particularly contingency and difference. Those who are familiar with this literature you know this.

(Refer Slide Time: 21:54)



Given this apparent break with these foundations of modernity, what possibilities remained for the collective politics that Harvey and other Marxists find necessary to undermining capitalism? So, that is the question that Harvey tries to answer. His solution was to hold his ground reanalysing relation between modernity and postmodernity.

So, as I mentioned several times, these scholars, especially Harvey, Beck and Anthony Giddens, they were kind of a defenders of modernity from the discipline of sociology, especially Harvey from a Marxian school, they were the defenders of modernity, who was not ready to go by the fashionable trend of declaring the arrival of post modernity.

He concluded that the latter, in fact, does not represent the break with the former, but its continuation. That is a fundamental argument that we have come across several times, post modernity or the condition what we understand today, the contemporary situation cannot be seen as a completely different realm, separate from, different from that of modernity.

Because the moment you say postmodern, assume that you have gone past modernity, you have said goodbye to modernity, you have gone past modernity, but they will not agree with that characterization, they will argue that it is its continuation, with changes marking adjustments to transformations in capitalist production and consumption.

So, that is why these scholars, for example, from next class onwards, we will have an elaborate discussion on Ulrich Beck's idea of reflexive modernity. He refuses to accept post modernity; he uses to the term reflexive modernity or Giddens talks about second modernity or late modernity. So, why that, I personally I find that argument extremely important, very persuasive.

For Harvey, modernity is inseparable from the processes and institutions devoted to the accumulation of capital and utilization of labour, reaching its point of inflection with the advent of 1914 of Fordism. So, for Harvey or any Marxian scholars, modernity is intrinsically connected with capitalism, you cannot think about or a mere cultural understanding of modernity is very superficial.

Because modernity came into picture only because there was an underlying capitalist economy came into picture and a very significant turn or a significant moment in this entire emergence of capitalist economy was the Fordism of 1914 of Fordism, the famous car maker and the kind of Fordism initiated by Henry Ford's introduction of the 5 dollar, 8 hours a day as recompense for workers manning the automated car assembly line that he established.

So, this Fordism is seen as a particular way of organizing your production activity in the factory floor. A labourer's work is pre-determined by the speed of the conveyor belt which passes in front of him. So, the production instead of, produce some three of or a group of workers working on a car together and trying to compete it and then working with another one.

We know that the modern car factories or any modern manufacturing units mostly work on the base of these assembly lines or with the help of conveyor belts. So, a worker is supposed to do repetitive similar kind of work and he does a very fraction of this whole process and the product moves to the next level, where the fraction of that remaining part of the work is done by the other person and it moves.

So, Fordism or Henry Ford was able to bring in huge efficiency, great increase in efficiency and productivity with this particular thing and this later got expanded into every form of industrial production and even now, we know that in that industrial scenario, the Ford principle, the principle of Ford or Fordism is really important. Fordism was sealed in the post-World War second era, as a social compact among capitalists, labour unions and social welfare states.

The macroeconomics of Fordism was globalized under the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, which turned the dollar into world's reserve currency and tied the world's economy development firmly into US fiscal and monetary policy. Accompanying this agreement was the opening of global markets for American corporate interest and eventually Fordism began to spread throughout the globe. So, Harvey undertakes this kind of a historical analysis.

(Refer Slide Time: 26:57)

walfare state. The macroeconomics of Fordism was globalized under the Sretton Woods agreement of 1944, which turned the dollar into the world's reserve currency and fied the world's concerns development family into US facal and recordary policy (Harvey, 1969-195). Accompanying this agreement was the operating of global markets to American corporate interests, and eventually Fordian began to spread throughout the globe.

By the mid-1960s, however, a number of national and regional markets had arisen to challinge United States Regionary within Fordiam to the point where the Boston Woods agreement cracked and the dollar was devalued (Harvey, 1985; 141). Drawing from his sanier theories established in Limits to Capital (1982, see Castree, Chapter 8 the volume). Harvey points to the unraveiling of Fordiam in the 1980s and 1970s; a system too high and controllatory to gut off crises of over-accumulation. It was inscribely being supplanted by a new, post-Fordiat or flexible form of accumulation. Flexibility was sectoral insets as capital was revold to invest in service industries; it was technical in the shift toward more fluid later agreements and outpounding managements; and it was geographical in capitalism's ever demanding need to spatially \$1.5 its cities by mobilizing in ways that lower soots, open new markets, and increase profits. Flexibility emphasized greater deventuries on the part of the capitalism tower soots and outpounding the production of mobile, is then-liked commodities while, for the worker, whose own labor is sold as a commodity, this meant new forms of exploitation as promises of future employment were increasingly towars, which in turn bottered increased transience and forenadom within the laboring class.

Critically, Harvey argues that, as the distances and times it took to accumulate capital and croutate commodities shrunk, our experience of space and time similarly compressed. What is more, postmodemby's rise at this juncture – as an intellectual, architectural, artistic, and cultural movement – was not coincidental, for the sear-change called postmodernism is the





By the mid-1650s, 1960s, however, a number of national and regional markets had arisen to challenge the United States hegemony within Fordism to the point where the Bretton Woods agreement cracked and dollar was devalued. Drawing from his earlier theories, establishing the limits to capital, Harvey points to the unravelling of Fordism in the 1960s and 70s, a system to rigid and contradictory to put off a crisis of over accumulation, it was inexorably being supplanted by the new post-Fordist or flexible forms of accumulation.

So, here he analyses the Marxian notions of accumulation, accumulation of capital, accumulation of the surplus which was a part of this Fordism and how this Fordist economic principle, as well as organization of labour, organization work, it reached a kind of a crisis during 1960s and 70s and why it required a more flexible forms of capital accumulation.

Flexibility was sectoral insofar so far as capital was moved to invest in service industries. It was technical in the shift towards more fluid labour agreements and outsourcing agreements and it was geographical in capitalism's ever demanding need to spatially fix its crisis by mobilizing in ways that lower costs open new markets and increase profits.

Flexibility emphasizes greater adventurism in the part of the capitalist through the production of mobile short-lived commodities, while for the worker whose own labour is sold as commodity, this means of new forms of exploitation as promises of a future employment was increasingly broken, which in turn fostered increased transience and nomadism within the labouring class.

So, he argues that by 1960s and 70s or maybe slightly later, the kind of economic activity, the underlying logic of capitalism, while remain the same its forms began to change and more and more service sector became important dominant in the world economy, whether IT related one or financial related one or a host of other service industries became important, which required more flexible approaches towards the workers, the kind of expertise that they have and the

places that they require. So, it became it the cap, the entire economy was forced to become more flexible and adaptive.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:38)

Perhaps the most jarring aspect of Harvey's argument is the suggestion that a great variety of





So, critically Harvey argues that as distances and time it took to accumulate capital and circulate commodities shrunk our experience of space and time similarly compressed. So, this we will come back later, where his overall argument about time space compression, whereas Giddens speaks about time-space distanciation, Harvey talks about time space compression.

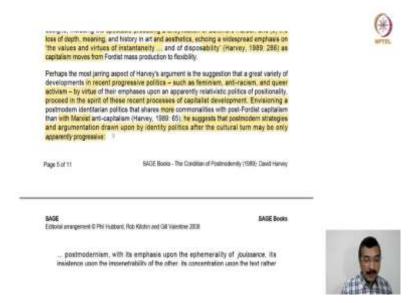
What is more post modernity is rise at this juncture, as an intellectual architectural, artistic and cultural movement was not coincided for the sea change called post modernism is a direct result of this experiential dislocations. So, why previous representations of post modernity might have argued that the moment was fundamentally the product of a cultural transformations from which economic changes like the rise of entertainment industries or the growth of gentrification then followed, Harvey's analysis of the post Fordist political economy turned this formulation up or upon its head. So, here are typical of a Marxist scholar or a Marxist tradition. Harvey is not ready to accept the argument of postmodernist that a kind of a cultural turn brought in this kind of transformations.

He would argue that this cultural turn happened mainly because of the larger changes in the economy and this is a typical Marxian analysis which gives predominance to that of economic activity. Making culture the shadow of economic progress, processes he explained in no uncertain terms that the emphasis upon ephemerality, collage, fragmentation and dispersal in philosophical and social thought mimics the conditions of flexible accumulation.

So, this flexible accumulation, rather than being fixated on a particular geographical area is what is the kind of an underlying process of late modernity or second modernity according to Harvey and that is getting reflected through its cultural forms.

Harvey illustrates this causal reversal by examining key components of Western culture drawing upon the history of the American cityscape, where he assesses several exemplary postmodern urban designs, including the spectacle produced by Disneyfication of Baltimore Harbor and the loss of depth meaning and history in art and aesthetics, echoing a widespread emphasize on the values and virtues of instantaneity and disposability as capitalists move from Fordist mass production of flexibility.

(Refer Slide Time: 32:13)

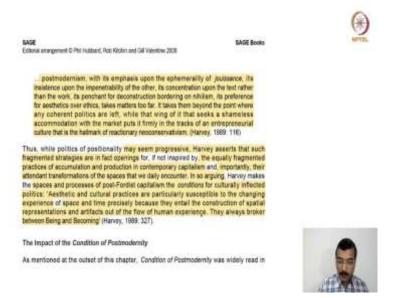


Perhaps the most jarring aspects of Harvey's argument is the suggestion that a great variety of development in recent progressive politics such as feminism, anti-racism, and queer activism, by virtue of their emphasis on an apparently relativistic politics of positionality proceeds in the spirit of these recent processes of capitalist development and it is a very bold argument very, that is why they are using the term a jarring argument.

The argument that the recent movements like anti-racism or queer or feminism, they are emerging or they are also reflecting this kind of spirit of this recent process of capitalist development, a kind of a more flexible, capitalist development. Envisioning a postmodern identitarian politics that shows more commonality with post Fordist capitalism than with Marxist anti capitalism.

He suggests that postmodern strategies and argumentations drawn upon by identity politics after the cultural turn may only be apparently progressive. So, he is not very convinced that many of these identity politics, which revolve around the questions of identity without providing adequate questions to the underlying material conditions might be seemingly progressive, apparently progressive, without any kind of a progressive conditions.

(Refer Slide Time: 33:20)



Postmodernism and it is interesting, let us see his own writing. Postmodernism, with its emphasis upon ephemerality or jouissance, its insistence upon impenetrability of the other, its concentration upon the text rather than the work, its penchant for deconstruction bordering of nihilism, its preference of aesthetics over ethics, takes matter too far.

It takes them beyond the point where any coherent politics are left, while that wing of it that seeks a shameless accommodation with the market puts it firmly in the tracks of an entrepreneurial culture that is a hallmark of reactionary neoconservatives, a very powerful argument. You know that when we talk about identities, we talk about a perpetual fragmentation of identities.

Because the moment you try to fix an identity, it becomes impossible, you will be able to find sub identities and then more fragmented identities within that and feminism is an excellent example into that or say sexuality is an excellent example into that. So, what he argues is that this particular tendency of going for this unending kind of fragmentation of identities leaves no possibility for a united politics.

Because the politics requires a coming together and taking a particular kind of stand and these identitarians, the people who are so preoccupied with the question of identity, they really forego or they really cannot see the kind of possibility of forging a political alliance with others, they are not ready to see the kind of underlying material conditions and more importantly, he argues they have compromised with the entrepreneurial culture that is a hallmark of reactionary neoconservatives.

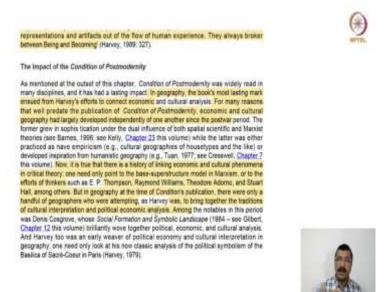
This while politics of positionality may seem progressive, Harvey asserts that such fragmented strategies are in fact opening for, if not inspired by the equally fragmented practice of accumulation and production in the contemporary capitalism and importantly, their attendant transformations of that spaces that we daily encounter.

In so arguing, Harvey makes the spaces and processes of post Fordist capitalism, the conditions for culturally inflected politics, aesthetics and cultural practices are particularly susceptible, susceptible to the changing experiences of space and time precisely because they entail the construction of spatial representation and artifacts out of the flow of human experience.

They always broker between being and becoming. So, this is the nutshell of Harvey's work, 'The conditions of post modernity', summary of the overall argument, we did not go into the

book, but it is an extremely important work which very frontally attacks, many of these postmodernist claims.

(Refer Slide Time: 36:50)



And the latter sections, I am not going into the details, it talks about the impact that this particular book had. The impact of 'Conditions of postmodernity', how it became extremely popular, as mentioned at the outset of the chapter, conditions of postmodernity was widely read in many disciplines and it has had a lasting impact in geography, in theory, in a host of other issues.

Now, it is true that there is a history of linking economics and cultural phenomena in critical theory. One need only point to this base-superstructure model in Marxism or add to the efforts of thinkers like Thompson, Raymond Williams all these are Marxian scholars, Theodor Adorno, Stuart Hall and others.

But in geography, at the time of the book's publication, there were only a handful of geographers who are attempting as Harvey was, to bring together the traditions of cultural interpretation and political economics analysis. So, the very strength of Harvey is that he brought in the very central fundamental role of political economy and that is what is missing in most of the or many of the postmodernist arguments which give so much of importance to the cultural representations.

The role of economy, the role of material, the role of capital, is very badly missing in many of our narratives, whether it is about a consumption, about the media, about identities, about taste, about a host of other things. So, Harvey, typical of any Marxist or typical of any social science of the old school is here to remind you that you cannot overlook these fundamental, aspects.

(Refer Slide Time: 38:38)



Critical Reactions

Of course. Condition of Postmodernity was not uniformly welcomed in geography, nor for that matter was it praised in all quarters of social and cultural theory. This is to be expected, geography, as this volume shows, is a highly differentiated and other contentious terrain, and many of the lines of conflict within the field are refractions of similar debates within theory more generally. At worst, there were geographers and others who, in claiming Harvey to be a postmodernet, demonstrated that they never read the book, much less its back cover. At its best, at the time of Condition of Postmodernity's appearance, two of the most important intellectual fault lines in critical geography (and elsewhere) were between what was perceived to be an overly structuralist, totalching, and economistic Nanisem (Duncan and Ley, 1962), on the one hand, and poststructuralism and ferminism, on the other hand. These less that the one which are related to but not subsumed by the more substantive tensions between economic and cultural geography, as discussed above — were seniorismes overlapping critical injunctions that together provided a tense intellectual field for the reception of the book, and nowhere a this before illustrated than in two lengthy essays, one by Rosalyn Deutsche (1991) and one by Dercen Massey (1991), both of which drew on poststructuralist feminism to offer withering critiques.

Deutsche began het critique by accusing Harvey of relying on a masculinist and ocularisentric epistermology that unreflexively professes confidence in the ability to clearly grasp causal connections free of any complications that might be introduced by the viewer's social positionality. This totalizing view, she maintained, underlies Harvey's deployment of a rigid Manusit analytic aimed at taming an annuly positingtens the lief with difference and possibility. It also explains his failure to recognize any limits in this perspective, as well as his lask of acknowledgement of both ferminal voic on postmoderman incl. in any way an easy.



And then there is the section on critical responses, I am just mentioning two important people, Rosalyn Deutsche and Doreen Massey who have kind of criticized Harvey's position and especially from a feminist perspective, which you can read in this essay and Harvey has responded to that.

(Refer Slide Time: 39:04)

Reality and representation mutually imply each other. This does not mean, as it is frequently field, that no reality exists or that it is unknowable, but only that no tounding presence, no objective source, or privileged ground of meaning ensure a bruth lurking behind representations and independent of subjects. Nor is the stress on representation is desention of the field of politics. any claim to know directly a truth outside representation energies as an authoritarian form of representation employed in the battles to name reality. (Deutsche, 1991; 21)

Massey's (1991) critique echoes elemente found in Deutsche's while redoubling on Harvey's limited ergagement with fertinist analyses of partiardiry. She begins by quoting a now famous question posses by Nancy Hartisock (1981): Why is it, existly if the moment sheen is marry of us who have been silenced (under modernant) begin to demand the right to name ourselves, to act as subjects maker than objects of history, that just then the concept of subjecthood becomes junder postmodernismi "problemantic" (quoted in Massey, 1991: 33, brackets added; 5the locates the rise of the postmodern not, as Harvey does, within the coordinates of time-space compression, but in two opposing broids: progressive political activity manshaled around difference in fields such as ferminal studies, othnic studies, and Third World studies' (Massey, 1991: 34), and the competitive justing for position among career minded scaderrise. On ballance, however, Massey offers a most hopeful, terminal treading of postmodernisms, while at the same time. affirming a commitment to retaining strong aspects of what characterises the modernist project, most particularly its commitment to change, hopefully progressive! (Massey, 1991: 52). Nomethieses, necloranty commitment to let off the hook.

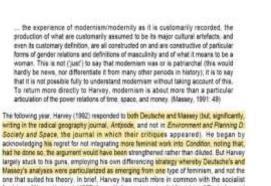
... the experience of modernism/modernity as it is customarily recorded, the production of what are customarily assumed to be its major cultural ariefacts, and even its customary definition, are all constructed on and are constructive of particular





Massey's critique for example, echoes elements found in Deutsche's while redoubling on Harvey's limited engagement with feminist analyses of patriarchy. So, these are the questions but Harvey agrees to many of these...

(Refer Slide Time: 39:19)



feminism of Nancy Hartsock (1987) than with the post-structuralist feminism of Deutsche, and

Page 8 of 11

SAGE Books - The Condition of Postmodernity (1989): David Harvey



See, the following year, Harvey responded to both Deutsche and Massey. But significantly, writing in the radical geography journal Antipode and not in the *Environmental planning*, society and Space journal in which the critique appeared. He began by acknowledging that he regrets for not integrating more feminist work into condition, noting that had he done so the argument would have been strengthened rather than diluted.

So, it is just a very interesting argument that he stuck to his guns, employing his own differentiating strategy whereby Deutsche and Massey's analysis were particularized as emerges from one type of feminism and note the one studied his theory.

Anyway, so we are not going into the details. But just to bring it to your attention that this book is an extremely important one, a very powerful one which has attained a kind of a classic stature, the conditions of post modernity a critique from a Marxian perspective. So let us stop here and we meet for the next class. Thank you.