

SPACES OF HOPE: DAVID HARVEY

Edinburgh University Press 2000

'Globalisation'

mid 1970s American Express advert for global reach used word 'Globalisation'.
Then spread in financial press as legitimisation for the deregulation of financial
markets. It replaced concepts of 'imperialism' and 'neocolonialism'.

NASA picture 'Earth Rise' showed a planet without boundaries.

(most of the world's boundaries established 1870-1925 largely by France and UK)

At other end of spectrum in 'the Body'.

1848 Manifesto of the Communist Party: analysis:

"The need for a constantly expanding market chases the bourgeoisie over the
whole surface of the globe. It must settle everywhere, establish connexions
everywhere...raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products
are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old
wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for
their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes.... As in material, so also in
intellectual production ... National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become
more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there
arises a world literature." (46-7) so, working men of all countries unite!

Likewise Hegel in *The Philosophy of Right*: (1967 edition p150)

"...the result is the creation of a rabble of paupers. At the same time this brings with
it, at the other end of the social scale, conditions which greatly facilitate the
concentration of disproportionate wealth in a few hands."

So capitalism's ability to manoeuvre has defeated place-bound power of workers. (cf.
Tolpuddle Martyrs' exile from Dorset n to Australia)

3.

World Bank: 1995.

Global labour force doubled 1966-95. Productivity of each worker increasing.

"more than a billion individuals living on a dollar or less a day depend.....on pitifully
low returns to hard work.....work in unhealthy, dangerous, or demeaning
conditions. Meanwhile 120 millions or so are unemployed world-wide, and millions
more have given up hope of finding work." (WB 1995:1-2)

Herbert records horror of Nike workers' in Vietnam. p44

1995: Bill Gates wealth greater than combined 40% poorest Americans (106 million)

Organising labour: ethnic, racial and religious, cultural diversity because of migration.

Size of populations in cities is unmanageable and organising has proved easier in
smaller industries (S Wales coal-mining villages)

Alienation of individual is beginning point to translate that into collective struggle:

"Ways have to be found to connect the microspace of the body with the macrospace
of what is now called 'globalisation'." p49.

From Body of individual to Local Struggle to Nation to Global.

"The Churches' ability to work at different spatial scales provides a number of models
for political reorganisation from which the socialist movement could well draw some
important lessons." p51.

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Contemporary Globalisation

Has belief in the term operated as a powerful deterrent to localised and even national political action?

Where did words like 'imperialism' and colonialism, neo-colonialism' go? They were too crude for application to new situation but 'globalisation' has no political clout.

A profound geographical reorganisation of capitalism.

A capitalist world system, the development of underdevelopment and unequal exchange and dependency theory.

1. A. reductions in cost and time of movement over space.

B Building of fixed physical infrastructures to facilitate these movements and support the activities of production, exchange and distribution.

C Construction of territorial organisation. Treaty of Westphalia 1648 recognised sovereignty of nation states in capitalist world, so now that's got to be rethought.

2. Financial deregulation begun in 1970s USA as forced response to stagflation and breakdown of Bretton Woods systems because of uncontrollable Eurodollar market growth. So the shift is from USA controlled hierarchical management to decentralised system coordinated through market and new power blocs – NAFTA, EU, Japanese sphere.

3. Technological Change. Relates to global arms trade and educated élites who trade knowledge internationally.

4. Media and Communications – information revolution, monopolised. There is no alternative is enhanced thus.

All the above synergise.

Consequences

[And Contradictions from chapter 9]

1. Corporations retain strong base in one country but control places by whim.

2. Labour force has doubled in <20 years. Radically feminised. Geographically dispersed, cultural heterogeneous, exploitative conditions. Harder to organise. Sweatshops return to LA and NY as fundamental labour system. Promised unlimited consumerism but defrauded the poor.

3. Flood of migratory movements.

4. Hyper-urbanisation. A major ecological, political, economic and social revolution in organisation of world's population.

5. Changing rôle of state, now more strongly disciplined by capital and finance. They have to pay businesses to come their way. Need for them to defend cultures and are the prime locus of 'backlash'.

6. Competitiveness expands into nations and cities
- .
7. Global environment and political problems. Disruption re population and resources conflicts. Population, pollution, waste generation, environment, climate change, biodiversity.
8. Marketing of cultural diversity as commodity. Cultural counter movements. Identity religion and nationhood?
9. Promised individual rights but freedom to dominate and exploit and marginalise. An elite few gain rather than mass movement for global enlightenment.

Who put globalisation on the agenda? = capitalist class interests operating through US foreign, military and commercial policy.

USA was driving force – a crusade – and supervisory agent, of process USA has thought locally and acted globally, without knowing it.

Opposition can become fascist or self-contradictory.

Myth and Error to assume that everything is to be determined at global level!

UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948 as part of UN Charter.

Then used by USA abroad and ignored, so Amnesty International 1961.

Separation between political and economic rights.**

6.
Body as irreducible basis. Labourer's body used and desires controlled.
Marx says we should be bodies in relationship not alienation.

8.
The Spaces of Utopia [Should he not rather spell this Eutopia for his meaning?]
Attempts to turn horrors of city around (Baltimore)
Public- Private Partnership = public takes risks, private takes profits. Higher tax!
Gentrification = want to be 'close to the action'. Does not go to root of problems.
 - a. manufacturing moves out. Low-paying service jobs, no day care for kids.
 - b. Ghettos of affluence or poverty undermines citizenship and community.
 - c. Institutional fragmentation. Slimming down local government reduces services.
Diversity and nothing holding it together. TINA – in technology this is anathema!

“As we collectively produce our cities, so we collectively produce ourselves.”. p159
“It is in the urban environment – in a world which man himself has made that mankind first achieved an intellectual life... For the city and the urban environment represent man's most consistent and, on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself.” Robert Park, p3. On Social Control and Collective Behavior. Chicago, 1967 edition.

Utopias balance curb freedom whilst allowing imagination free play...ie .don't work.

Sir Thomas More: Utopia. Social harmony in contrast with chaos of England. He excludes all that makes for dynamic relationships. It is changing space and not time. Disney Land is actual built environment, commodity control. So the Malls are like. Shopping Mall as similar fantasy world – nostalgia, gated, surveyed, sanitised, non-political world of endless capital accumulation – they concretise TINA.

The New Urbanism: recreate small town America with community feeling again and communal areas of sociability. Cf. SWFerrers & Poundbury, Dorset. But they are green-field developments for the affluent. Good architectural ideas get eaten just like the communism of the Kibbutz.

These guys give us utopia of space not time whereas –
Hegel and Marx give us the temporal utopia without the realism of the spatial. It's all process and no place, with endlessly open projects and no point of closure. The very word Utopia means No Place (cf Eutopia)
Spatial Utopias think of city space as a container for social action, confines to urban.

Fall of Berlin Wall, capitalism is triumphant: free-market juggernaut, with its mantras of private and personal responsibility and initiative, deregulation, privatisation, liberalisation of markets, free trade, downsizing of government, draconian cut-backs in welfare state and its protections, has rolled on and on.. Dangerous rivalries.

“nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequals.” - a saying.
Free markets do not happen – they need strong state power to make them happen, and all this is a contradiction.

10

Architect shapes world in imagination then builds it.
So alter the balance between co-operation and competition.

11.

Theatres of Insurgent Activity: no one theatre is privileged.