



A Critical Reading of Neoliberalism from the Perspective of David Harvey

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Abstract

By discrediting the Keynesian versions, it gave way to return to the fundamental principles of liberalism and spurred economists who wanted to revive liberalism. Friedrich von Hayek played a special role in this way. Milton Friedman, the American economist of the Chicago school, accompanied Hayek on this path. Unlike Keynes, both of them believed in reducing the role of the government in the economy and evaluated the market-oriented economy as the only way to achieve political and economic freedom. After some time, neoliberalism inspired by the theories of Hayek and Friedman was criticized by the opponents. As the critics of economic globalization see neoliberalism as responsible for the creation of a world that has brought a minority to fabulous wealth and has plunged a large part of human society into misery; And they think that neoliberalism shows itself all over the world with components such as the difficulty of living, the intensification of the class gap, the intensification of exploitation, etc. trends such as the class division of education and the deprivation of many people from health. As one of the most prominent critics of neoliberalism, David Harvey tried to show the important differences between liberal and neoliberal policies. He introduces neoliberalism as a deviant path to free employers, governments, and capitalists from the constraints on which liberalism was formed. Harvey emphasizes that neoliberalism is a political project that was keyed by the capitalist class in the late 60s and early 70s to curb the power of the working class, at a time when it felt strongly threatened by this class both politically and economically.

Keywords: David Harvey, Critical Reading, Neoliberalism, Economic Globalization

Introduction

Neoliberalism is a concept that has changed definition. As in the late 1960s and early and evolved over time, its application and 1970s, it had a different meaning than today's

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neoliberalism. Classical and neoclassical liberal theorists believed in the spontaneous order of the market and insisted that even at the height of economic crises, the government should refrain from interfering in market interactions. Following the deep economic crisis of 1929, the belief in Adam Smith's views and especially the belief in the "invisible hand" of the market faced a serious challenge. John Maynard Keynes, an eminent English economist who believed in the free economy as the most efficient system for providing people's welfare; He proposed government intervention in the economy to get out of economic crises, especially by using budget mechanisms, which in turn was considered a major development in the history of economic ideas and was called "neoliberalism" in the academic literature of that time. The prefix "neo" meant that classical liberalism has become new liberalism by passing its fundamental principles of non-intervention of the government in the economy.

Keynesianism in the years after the Second World War in the form of the emergence of the ideology of liberal social democracy influenced the economy of many great economic powers in Europe and North America. Western rich countries and even a number of countries emerging from decolonization were looking for a cure for all their economic problems in the healing prescriptions of Dr. Keynes, especially to get out of the economic crisis. But since the early 1970s, following the emergence of financial crises and the resulting interest rate crisis, Keynesian versions no longer worked and stagnation accompanied by inflation gradually gripped all advanced economies. Simultaneously with this development, the life of neoliberalism based on Keynes' ideas also ended.

The discrediting of the Keynesian versions gave way to a return to the fundamental principles of liberalism and a wave of economists who wanted to revive liberalism. Friedrich von Hayek, an Austrian philosopher and economist, played a special role in this field. He, who was marginalized for a long time due to the rise of Keynes' ideas, became a dominant figure among the economic theorists of the world by losing the color of his rival. Milton Friedman, the American economist of the Chicago school, accompanied Hayek on this path. Unlike Keynes, both of them believed in reducing the role of the government in the economy and evaluated the market-oriented economy as the only way to achieve political and economic freedom. With the coming to power of Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in America, the ideas of Hayek and Friedman gained two influential and powerful supporters and launched a huge wave of economic liberalization first in the Anglo-Saxon world and then around the world. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of fundamental changes in China's economic policy, economic liberalization and deregulation covered a much larger part of the world. Many countries transferred thousands of production units from the government to the private sector in order to reduce the budget deficit with economic reforms and implementation of privatization policies. With the development of international trade and the expansion of foreign investments, pale customs borders and barriers to the movement of capital were apparently destroyed, and a large number of national economies turned to externalization, and the project of economic globalization entered a new and unprecedented stage. Strangely enough, this new approach was named neoliberalism, despite its many

differences with Keynesian policies. In other words, both the policy of government intervention in the economy was called neoliberalism and the revival of classical liberalism and the reduction of government intervention in the economy. But after a while, neoliberalism inspired by the theories of Hayek and Friedman was criticized by the opponents. Among them, David Harvey is considered one of the most prominent critics of neoliberalism. Harvey has been working on the front of anti-imperialism for many years and has always taken a position against new capitalism with his researches and speeches and, together with other like-minded people, they are looking for a change in the world's dominant structures.

Undoubtedly, "A Brief History of Neoliberalism" by David Harvey is one of the most important reference books in the critique of neoliberalism. This book exposes an extensive description of contemporary political economy practices in the world order of neoliberalism. The mentioned book has become so famous that it does not need to be introduced. In the first chapter of this book, under the title "Another World of Freedom", Harvey explains the controversy that lies at the heart of the concept of neoliberalism. To what extent does the prefix "neo" distinguish neoliberalism from liberalism? Harvey attempts to show the important differences between liberal and neoliberal policies. He introduces neoliberalism as a detour to free employers, governments, and capitalists from the restrictions that liberalism emphasized on.

Theoretical Framework

Under the guise of deregulation of economic markets, the neoliberal government starts some kind of regulation in order to promote the benefits of free markets with positive

policies. In the process of creating free markets, the government is not only weakened, but the market in the hands of neoliberalism becomes a new technology through which the public sphere is more effectively controlled and efficiency increases. This is a kind of change in governance. By changing from governance to control, neoliberalism takes advantage of new ways of governing. In fact, the emergence of neoliberalism indicates the turn of the executive state, which is responsible for the welfare of humans as well as their economy, to a state that gives power to global companies and uses tools and knowledge; Which through them, it rebuilds people as productive economic investors in their lives. According to Foucault's theory, neoliberalism should be examined not in political institutions, but in economic, social, cultural institutions and all aspects of society. Institutions that are not political at the same time act more politically than any political institution and party. Therefore, as a result of the analysis of power relations, it goes beyond political institutions and neoliberalism is no longer a political institution or a form of governance, but an ideology that operates in all aspects of society. Neoliberalism here is not the police force as an institution to control social deviations, but rather the cultural hegemony and cultural empowerment of the dominant group who have a coat of arms as a rule, which is the lining of that class. Neoliberalism, as the ideology of the ruling class, has created new forms of behavior and semantic rules, and it also prevents the opposing behavior of the ruling class by giving negative labels (Vakili, Pouya; 2018).

Hermeneutic methodology

The knowledge of hermeneutics in its early stages was used as a method to understand

texts, and with the emergence of philosophical hermeneutics, it changed from methodology to ontology. Today, hermeneutics is witnessing the attitudes that lead it in a path that corresponds to the views before philosophical hermeneutics. Eric Hirsch and Emilio Betti and to some extent Umberto Eco are examples of this kind. Quentin Skinner has also put the same type of hermeneutics in his work method. He has done his research on political and philosophical thoughts in the same way and has many works in this field. In the book "Machiavelli" he examines his political thoughts and in his other work called "Foundations of Modern Political Thought", which is one of his most important works in the field of political thought, he discusses the political thought of the Renaissance and religious reform. His other deep and extensive research on methodology can be seen in the book "Meaning and context, Quentin Skinner and his critics". In this work, Skinner's most important articles on methodology and some of the basic criticisms made to them by James Tully are collected and finally, Skinner's answers to these criticisms are given.

If we assume that Skinner's main goal is to understand what the authors do by writing their texts; This concern is raised as to how and through what procedures, the matter on which the main lines of Skinner's methodology are based, is determined. The path that Skinner sets for the researchers of the history of political thought in this field is a comprehensive method that can be used in all stages of research, from collecting information, analyzing, processing and compiling the results, to criticizing and examining the existing works. (Nowzari and Pourkhodaghi, 2010: p. 98)

This method is used to re-evaluate classic texts, according to the discovery of timeless

views or questions and answers raised in them. This method consists of two positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, the effort to interpret the text and discover its meaning is focused only on the text, and it is assumed that every text, if it is pondered enough, will present its own message. In a negative way, one should not pay attention to the fields of shaping and influencing the text, such as the author's life, the political, social and cultural conditions of the authorship of the text (Mortazavi, 2009: p. 288). But the supporters of contextual reading believe that one cannot only understand the thoughts of a thinker by referring to the texts left by him, but one should also pay attention to the context of the written texts. These fields can be things like the language used for political reasoning in the thinker's time, intellectual traditions, political and social tensions of the time, and his expedient reasons for publishing his thoughts. Based on this, contextualism can be seen as the complete dependence and reliance of thought on the environment (Golshani, 2008: p.94).

Skinner uses his hermeneutic method to perform an action or create a special effect on the audience. He proposes three types of speech acts: "pure expression", "intentional" and "worker" (Nowzari and Pourkhodaghi, 2010: p. 109). In the meantime, "intentional speech act" is the subject of Skinner's attention. He considers the discovery of the true meaning of a text in the discovery of the author's intentions in its composition. The meaning of intentional speech act refers to the action and practice that the writer performs by writing a text and considering a specific purpose. According to Skinner, the interpretation of the text should be in order to understand this intention. Thus, in order to understand the author's intention, the text and the context in which the text was formed

must be taken into consideration. Skinner proposes these steps to understand the text:

1. Clarifying the meaning and topic of the text.
2. Specifying the controversial context in which the text was formed.
3. Paying attention to the symbols and images that make up the mentality of that period.

Here, an attempt is made to use this method to examine some of the ideas proposed by David Harvey in his critical reading of neoliberalism.

David Harvey and the context of ideas proposed in neoliberalism

From Skinner's point of view, texts are written in response to the questions of time and context. Different questions that change in each course according to its requirements and in a way, represent the spirit and mentality of the course itself. In this way, according to Skinner, texts are not only related to the author's endogenous emanations, but the text is written in relation to its context and period (Pourzaki, 2018: p. 62). In order to get acquainted with the political thought of David Harvey's neo-liberalism, we will talk a little about Harvey's life.

David Harvey (born October 31, 1935, Gillingham, Kent, England), is a professor at the City University of New York and one of the distinguished theorists in the field of geography, anthropology and social issues in general. He is one of the 20 reference authors in the field of human sciences and one of the most reference academic geographers in the world. Harvey received his doctorate in geography from Cambridge University in 1961. He has written many books and articles that are very important in the development of modern geography. His works have

made a major contribution to the spread of social and political issues.

Among his most important works are: *Social Justice and the City* (1973); *Capital Limits* (1982); *Urbanization of capital* (1985); *Awareness and experience of urbanization* (1985); *Postmodern conditions* (1989); *Urban Experience* (1989); *Justice, Nature and Geography of Differences* (1996), *Spaces of Hope* (2000); *Spaces of Capital: Towards Critical Geography* (2001); *New Imperialism* (2003); *Paris, the capital of modernity* (2003); *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005); *Coordinates of the Global Capitalist System: Towards a Theory of Unbalanced Geographical Development* (2006); *Limitations of reforming the current capital system* (2006); *New Income Communist Manifesto* (2008); *Cosmopolitanism and the geography of freedom* (2009); *Social Justice and the City: New Edition* (2009); *Marx's Guide to Capital* (2010); *The Enigma of Capital* (2010); *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism* (2014).

In his book *Social Justice and the City* (1973), Harvey states that geography cannot remain as a solution to urban poverty and related problems. This argument that capitalism destroys space in order to ensure its reproduction and its repetition provides a significant contribution to the development of Marx's theory. Influenced by dialectical materialism, Harvey's later work explains the limitations of complex theory for capital (1982). In his book *The State of Postmodernity* (1989), Harvey refers to the emergence of contradictions within the capitalist system. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (1996) focuses on social and environmental justice. The book *Spaces of Hope* (2000) has an idealistic view and seems to have no opposition to the speculative

way of thinking about how to look at an alternative worldview.

In addition to Karl Marx, Harvey seems to be largely influenced by the thoughts of Sigmund Freud, Charles Darwin, Friedrich Nietzsche and Raymond Williams. In 2007, he was introduced as the 18th most referenced author in the field of humanities and social science books. The ranking was based on the number of scientific references to his books in the Thomas Reuters (ISI) database. Of course, between the years 1984-1988, David Harvey was ranked first by the research center of the Royal Geographical Society, which aims to find geographers with the most references in English-speaking countries. Due to his return to the category of social class and Marxist approaches (as one of the most important methodological tools in criticizing global capitalism, especially its neoliberal form), he has gained double fame. He is one of the leading commentators of *The Right to the City*.

Reading the text: political thought

Structure

One of the important stages of hermeneutics of intention is reading the text. In terms of content, Harvey's thought is made up of various parts. A Brief History of Neoliberalism is David Harvey's account of this important contemporary discourse. "Brief History of Neoliberalism" tries to provide a critical history of neoliberalism in seven chapters. The other world of freedom, building satisfaction, neoliberal government, uneven geographical developments, neoliberalism with Chinese characteristics, neoliberalism in the experimental crucible and the prospect of freedom are the chapters of this book. David Harvey writes: Neoliberalism believes that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the range of gains resulting from

market-based transactions and increasing the number of these transactions, and seeks to bring all human action into the realm of the market. This requires the creation of information creation technologies and capacities to accumulate, maintain, transfer, analyze and use databases to guide decisions in the global market. These technologies have compressed the increasing density of market transactions in both space and time, creating a particularly intense explosion of what I have called "time-space density." The wider the geographical scope (globalization) and the shorter the period of market contracts, the better. This recent preference for shorter contracts is similar to Lyotard's famous description of postmodern conditions; Conditions in which "temporary contract" replaces "permanent contracts in occupational, emotional, sexual, cultural, family, international and political fields". The cultural implications of such a market-based ethical system are enormous. Today, there are general stories of many global transformations and their effects, but what is mostly missing among them, and the purpose of this book is to fill this gap, is the story of the origin of neoliberalism from the perspective of political economy and how it spread widely on the world stage. In addition, a critical approach to this story introduces us to another window to identify and create an alternative political and economic system.

Evolution of Harvey's comments

Although Harvey's work has been very coherent both theoretically and politically over the past 30 years, it would be a mistake to assume that no cognitive or normative changes have occurred in his thought (Castree, 2007). As a neo-Marxist theorizer, along with other emerging neo-Marxists such as Neil Smith, Erik Swyngedouw, and

Richard Walker, all three of whom were his students at Hopkins University, Harvey established and theorized the theoretical foundation needed for Marxist geography. Harvey also established a more general tradition in radical geography that focuses on supporting the causes of women, people of color, and others in the field of human geography. David Harvey emphasized the importance of space and place for the survival of capitalism and urged Marxists to consider this as an integral part of any project to overthrow the capitalist system.

Main course in geography

Examples of how Harvey's ideas were developed abound. Two main trajectories in contemporary human geography show this. First, several thinkers in economic geography have applied the ideas of spatial (and temporal) fixes to specific research problems, such as the way farmers use credit to finance long-term investments in capitalist agriculture (Henderson, 2001). Second, Harvey's idea in urban geography of how inter-opportunity competition is an essential feature of the capitalist mode of production has inspired detailed studies of what are known as 'growth coalitions' that compete internally for jobs and investment (Cox and Air, 1989). Harvey attempted to show how far cities would go to attract capital. However, after the publication of *The State of Postmodernity*, Harvey's work has been increasingly criticized, especially by human geographers. This is partly because the theoretical spirit of the times has changed and today the radical academics of the new generation consider Marxism to be a relatively outdated critical theory (despite the reference to Marxism that is observed by some social scientists and many political activists).

Harvey's Marxism

Indifference to "difference" is one of the characteristics of Harvey's Marxism, which has been criticized by critics. Over the past decade, the academic left has seen highlighting the issue of social "difference" more as a way to escape the Marxist preoccupation with class as the main focus of oppression and resistance in modern societies. Harvey (1996) believes that non-class differences between individuals should be linked to any project to overthrow capitalism, but should not be reduced to it. Some (Dennis, 1987) say that Harvey's macro views are not properly based on the chaotic complexities of the real world. Harvey (1987b; 1898a) argues that the purpose of his theory is to open a window into the key processes at work, rather than a detailed explanation of any given situation. On the other hand, others have presented new arguments such as negative launch pads. Such as Herod's (2001) work on how wage workers struggle against businesses in place and space, or Peter Jackson's (1999) work on the consumption of goods, which assigns a more active role to consumers than Harvey. Harvey has been criticized by feminists such as Deutsch (1991) and Morris (1992) for the "masculine" nature of her theoretical ideas, as well as for her apparent belief that her Marxism provides a privileged view of the "truth" of the world. They believe that Harvey's insistence on his theoretical claims speaks of his masculine tendency for cognitive dominance and control, a tendency that does not seem to recognize other ways of knowing the world. According to them, Harvey does not see important processes and events in the real world that do not match the Marxist worldview.

The formation of neoliberalism in Harvey's mind

Harvey sees neoliberalism as a political project, one that was initiated by the capitalist class when it felt both politically and economically threatened in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They hoped to curb the power of the working class by launching a political project. This project, which was considered a counter-revolutionary project in many cases, in its time, suffocated revolutionary movements in many developing countries such as Mozambique, Angola, China, etc. Neoliberalism also sought to eradicate the growing seedling of communism in countries such as Italy, France, and Spain. In Spain at that time, it was feared that communism would rise again. Even in America, labor unions had created a democratic congress that pursued radical goals. In the early 1970s, they, along with other social movements, imposed a host of reforms and reformist and anti-capitalist class initiatives; Of which the following can be mentioned. Environmental protection, occupational safety and health, protection of consumer rights. The overall goal of these movements and struggles was to give more power to the working class, to an unprecedented extent.

A global danger practically threatened the capitalist system and the question was "what should be done?". The capitalist class had come to the realization that it had to fight on several fronts: the ideological front, the political front, and most importantly, it had no choice but to try to curb the power of the working class in any way possible. It was from this crisis that a political project emerged which Harvey calls neoliberalism.

The function of neoliberalism in understanding crises

Between the years 1945 and 1973, there were few crises; In some cases, there are

serious problems, but there are no major crises. The turn to neoliberal policies occurred during a crisis (deficit interest rate crisis) in the 1970s, and since then the whole system has been nothing but a series of crises. In 1982, important moves in the neoliberalization process began, including the removal of Keynesian economists from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. An approach that attempted to purge all major economic institutions of Keynesian-minded economic advisors. Instead, neoclassical theorists took their place and in the first move required the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to apply structural adjustment policy wherever the crisis emerged. In 1982, when Mexico had a debt crisis, the International Monetary Fund promised the Mexican government assistance and rescue from the crisis, but in reality, it rushed to save the New York investment banks with economic austerity policies. After the crisis of 1982, as a result of the structural adjustment policies proposed by the International Fund, the living standards of the Mexican people decreased by 25%.

Today, structural adjustment has become a recurring routine in Mexico, and the people of Mexico have experienced four structural adjustments, and in many other countries, economic adjustment has happened more than once. Neoliberal pressure in the 1970s was accompanied by widespread resistance from the working class, communist parties in Europe, and others. By the late 1980s, the resistance was crushed and the winner of this battle was none other than the capitalist class. Therefore, as much as the intensity of resistance was reduced, and the working class lost its power, the unity and solidarity between the members of the ruling class lost its necessity and effectiveness to the same administration. They no longer have to gather together to think about the

struggle from below because they are no longer threatened. The ruling class is doing very well, so there is no need to change anything. However, even though the capitalist class is doing very well, capitalism is doing badly. Profit rates are better, but reinvestment rates are frighteningly low, so not much money is returning to the production cycle and instead flows into land use and real estate.

Most crises create conditions that pave the way for subsequent crises. Between 1982-1985 there was a debt crisis in Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador and basically all developing countries including Poland. In 1987-1988 in the United States we faced a major crisis in housing savings funds. In 1990, Sweden also suffered a massive crisis, due to which all banks were nationalized. Then, of course, in 1987-1988, the crisis started in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, and then it went to Russia, then Brazil, and in 2001-2002, its destructive waves reached Argentina. In 2001, there were problems in the United States that to solve them, they had to withdraw money from the stock market and inject it into the housing market. This caused the housing market bubble to burst and the great economic crisis of 2008.

The crises of the liberal order have brought it to the point where Francis Fuqua, the author of the theory of "liberal democracy at the end of history", says today about the decline of the liberal order and the impasse of neoliberalism. Although the United States of America, as the hegemonic element of the metropolitan countries, still maintains its first place in the world economy; But it seems that global trends are moving in a direction that does not bode well for the American economy and the capitalist system in general. The rise of China to take over the first place in the world economy has posed

dangerous challenges to the American economy and the traditional capitalist class in general.

Conclusion

Neoliberalism is in the system of liberal ideologies and a form of liberalism that has been adapted to the coordinates of the post-modern era and especially postmodern relativism. In classical liberalism, we believe in some kind of ethics, although humanistic and secular, as well as believing in a fixed and specific concept called "the reason of the foundation", although it is instrumental and profit-oriented. But in neoliberalism, as a result of skepticism in all the elements of the modern world (from modern reason to ethics, etc.), a relativistic style prevails, which; The only criterion and constant measure for it is to give originality to personal interest in the framework of the free market model of capitalism and to generalize this model and profit-oriented logic to all areas of life and relationships of individuals with others and even with themselves.

In its legal aspect, classical liberalism, to a large extent, referred to John Locke's legacy of colonial exploitation; who wanted to establish a "legal government" and limit the functioning of the government based on judicial principles inspired by liberal law in accordance with the laissez-faire economy and autonomy for the market intended by Adam Smith. But neoliberalism wants to expand and generalize the inspired model of market relations to all spaces and areas of social action and reaction. Of course, in classical liberalism, this matter existed somewhat in a semi-hidden form, but in neoliberalism, it has been given full frankness. Neoliberalism insists on limiting the scope of presence, influence and powers of the political organization and the government

institution in favor of the economic institution (based on the free market model of capitalism), while some neoliberals seem to have a tendency and emphasis on a kind of extreme capitalist anarchism. According to neoliberalism, the role of the government is to create and maintain a suitable framework and institution for the operation of these methods. Neoliberalism values the importance of contractual relationships in the market and therefore emphasizes market-based exchange as a "system of ethics" that can itself guide all human actions and replace all previous moral beliefs.

Critics of globalization evaluate neoliberalism as a political project to continue survival and ensure wealth accumulation of the capitalist minority. Even at the cost of the narrowness of livelihood, the intensification of the class gap, the class division of education and the deprivation of many people from health, and in general the intensification of exploitation in the whole world and a large part of the world community. According to them, neoliberalism, on the one hand, by weakening national cultures, has led traditional peaceful societies into a chaotic ocean filled with tension; And on the other hand, by fueling environmental risks and greenhouse gas emissions and increasing global warming, the survival of the earth has faced a serious risk and an uncertain future. Neoliberalism has become a global problem, and the theoretical and even practical criticism of it in the world has intensified, especially after the Corona crisis. After the economic crisis of 2008 and the events that ended in the Wall Street movement, the political economy critique market flourished and intellectuals and researchers with different approaches seriously criticized the neoliberal ideology. Especially the leftist currents that were marginalized after the collapse of the

Soviet Union and the failure of socialist and Marxist ideas revived in response to the economic crisis that was the result of neoliberal economic policies. Most of these left or quasi-left groups are influenced by the opinions of David Harvey, the famous American neo-Marxist critic. Undoubtedly, the book "A Brief History of Neoliberalism" by David Harvey is considered one of the most important and original reference books in the critique of neoliberalism. In the first chapter of this book, under the title "Another World of Freedom", Harvey explains the controversy that lies at the heart of the concept of neoliberalism. To what extent does the prefix "neo" distinguish neoliberalism from liberalism? Harvey attempts to show the important differences between liberal and neoliberal policies. He introduces neoliberalism as a detour to free employers, governments, and capitalists from the restrictions that liberalism emphasized on.

Harvey evaluates the "commodification" of neoliberalism as the most destructive component of this ideology and believes that this attitude of commodification challenges the dignity and human existence of man. In other words, when the neoliberal government, by removing its supervisory role on working conditions, allows human labor to be treated as a commodity through short-term contracts; In fact, it takes all human dignity and social existence of a person and leaves him alone. In other words, neoliberalism, labor force, which is attached to the material, psychological and moral essence of man, is thrown away like a commodity with a past use-by date. Harvey emphasizes that neoliberalism, contrary to the slogans surrounding the preservation of individual rights, not only does not help the formation of a democratic society; Rather, according to the commodity's view of the labor force as a

tool for the prosperity of the consumer market, it evaluates the free man with democratic rights as a threat to the free market economy, the flow of capital and the interests of capitalists. He also warns that the commodity-consumption attitude of neoliberal policies by fueling unbridled consumer life and looting the natural resources of the planet will lead to the destruction of human living conditions and the survival of the planet. Harvey considers neoliberalism to be a failed project that, contrary to its catchy slogans, is not only unable to eliminate poverty in the world, but has actually served to increase the power of the capitalist elite class and has caused the growing class gap.

However, it seems that the critical reading of David Harvey's neoliberalism is within the system and within the discourse, and is mostly limited to criticizing economic and social models, and Harvey does not go out of the core of humanism and the modern paradigm like his left predecessors.

In this research, by collecting data in a library manner and based on Skinner's hermeneutics, an effort was made to understand and extract the political thought of David Harvey, to understand the important textual elements and the background of his thought. This was possible due to Skinner's hermeneutic methodological capacities and its use. Based on this, on the one hand, an effort was made to pay attention to the author's political-social situation as the context of text formation, and also to explain the ability to explain contemporary crises based on the critical reading of David Harvey's neoliberalism.

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