

Neoliberalism as a mobile technology

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Introduction

Neoliberalism has been viewed as a capitalist machinery that is structuring a new planetary geography. But the newness of the neoliberalism word does not disguise the classic method of relying on old macro-political distinctions. By now, we are familiar with the image of neoliberalism as an economic tsunami that is gathering force across the planet, pummelling each country in its path and sweeping away old structures of power. This approach proceeds on the assumption that neoliberalism is an ensemble of coordinates that will everywhere produce the same political results and social transformation. But the very conditions associated with the neoliberal – extreme dynamism, mobility of practice, responsiveness to contingencies and strategic entanglements with politics – require a nuanced approach, not the blunt instrument of broad categories and predetermined elements and outcomes.

I propose a transversal mode of analysis that skirts an industrial or military model of neoliberal takeover. Neoliberalism is conceptualized not as a fixed set of attributes with predetermined outcomes, but as a logic of governing that migrates and is selectively taken up in diverse political contexts. I present an analytics of assemblage over an analytics of structure, and a focus on emerging milieus over the stabilization of a new global order. Asia offers a rich empirical context for illuminating how neoliberal logic is inveigled into constellations of authoritarian politics and cultural ethics. Specifically, the intricate interplay of neoliberalism as exception and exception to neoliberalism engenders novel milieus that defy a schematic analysis.

An economic tsunami?

Neoliberalism as social phenomenon has been mainly examined through the reframing of Marxist concepts of class ideology and structural change, and the main issue appears to be identifying the scale of neoliberal progression and the appropriate scale of analysis.

A New Left critique views neoliberalism as a class-based ideology that attacks the welfare state in advanced liberal countries such as Great Britain (Hall 1988). Structural Marxists are interested as well in neoliberalism beyond a single country, as the latest stage of capitalist hegemonic domination and organization at the global level. Stephen Gill argues that neoliberalism is an epoch-marking order that relies on the quasi-legal restructuring of relationships between nation-states and transnational agencies. He claims that this global disciplinary regime is accompanied by a hegemonic notion of inevitable progress and social hierarchy associated with 'market civilization' (Gill 1996). Such formulations have influenced broad culturalist remappings in epochal terms (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000), but seem to ignore how particular political environments are also being reconfigured by neoliberal policies.

More recently, Hardt and Negri go beyond the neoliberal North–embattled South model by updating structural Marxism through an infusion of Foucauldian-inflected notions of planetary regulation. They make an epochal claim that we are in a transition to systems of control spread by the 'deterritorialized flows' of global markets (Hardt and Negri 2000, 23, 328–9, 332). There is an emerging Empire of globalized uniformity in labour regimes, creating labouring populations who are

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