

Time and the Political in Japanese Society

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journal or publication title	社会労働研究
volume	45
number	1
page range	100-71
year	1998-09
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10114/00018890

realization of multi-layered 'ensemble of relations' within 'internal nature'. It is the most important focus of the politics for the Freedom that the 'action'-'relation' processes of innumerable 'Private' could be transformed into the one for the self-expression and self-realization of their own 'Internal Nature'. In the present Japanese society, the Natural Right should be acquired as 'Aufheben' of Human Nature (drives, senses and desires) right in the middle of the 'Post-Modern' space/time set¹²⁾.

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12) See my discussion paper for the symposium, "Body, Relation, Time", the 70 th Japanese Sociological Association Annual Meeting, 1997 (Chiba University).

'Association'.

In Japanese society today, it seems that the two moments, namely 'High Information Society' and 'Mass Consumption Society', especially in the 'economic' gesellschaftliche relation and in the 'cultural' one, are crushing out the rhythm of natural time and its relevance with the annual rites. I think that, here, the 'Social time' (Robert K. Merton) left the natural time, and is hung-dangling. It is, now, a succession of 'time-shared' by so many computers on Max Weber's so-called 'Zweckrationalitat'. There appears, on the other hand, the non-linear, spiral time; it is not the 'Modern' Newtonian time, but the time for dizziness as Roger Caillois mentioned, and might be a sort of the 'Post-Modern' time, especially in various progresses of Mass Media (for example, 24 hours TV, diversity of telephone, 'virtual reality' and so on). Like this, certainly, Japanese people began to construct their own space/time axis actively in rather 'Post-Modern' style, within their 'Private' life world¹¹⁾.

In my opinion, such 'Social Time' in the tendency for the enhancement of freedom of the 'Private' against the 'Public' power has to be examined in its significance and meaning, in the course of the social change.

$$D' \{ C [B (A)] \} \longrightarrow \{ C [B (A)] \} D$$

The crucial point is the richness of the above noted 'A' relation, and the substance of the 'D'-'Gemeinwesen' among Japanese people—. Actually, it is the matter of substantial maturation of the 'Modern Society' in Japan, and the condition of the 'Aneignung' of the 'Social Time' for the self-expression and self-

11) See Scott Lash, *Sociology of Postmodernism*, 1990.

of the above — mentioned ② ‘action’-‘relation’ process and some parts of the ① and the ④. This is the substantial core of so-called ‘System’ (for example Jürgen Habermas), and the ③ ‘action’-‘relation’ process and a part of the ④ might be the essential core of the so-called ‘Life World’. And, the vector ruling the former ‘action’-‘relation’ sphere is that of ‘Homogeneity’. On the other, it is the vector of ‘Heterogeneity’ that put into action the latter sphere.

In the three-storeyed construction of the present Japanese society, the ‘Post-Modern’ action-relation process is exactly a combination process between this ‘Homogeneity’ and the ‘Heterogeneity’. In this case, the ‘Homogeneity’ is the horizon for the ‘action’ of technocrat, ‘Yuppies’ and the global flow of the commodities and the money. In contrast with it, the ‘Heterogeneity’ is the stage for the action of ecologist, craftman and the local, traditional culture.

Concerning with my own hypothesis mentioned before, the scheme:

$$D' \{ C [B (A)] \}$$

corresponds to the ‘System’, and the other one:

$$\{ C [B (A)] \} D$$

refers mostly to the ‘Life World’. The ‘Materie’ of D' is the huge accumulation of the ‘money’, the ‘capital’. There are condensed the ‘Ver-Dinglich-ung’ in the ‘economic’ gesellschaftliche relation, the ‘Ver-Sachlich-ung’ in the ‘political’ gesellschaftliche relation and the ‘Ver-Dinglich-ung’ in the ‘cultural’ gesellschaftliche relation. This is the central moment of so-called ‘System’. On the other hand, the ‘social’ gesellschaftliche relation—this does not come to be ‘automatic, mechanical and independent’ apart from personal relations — is wavering between the pole of ‘Isolation’ and the other,

The 'Private' oriented social consciousness among Japanese people has canalized their 'Internal nature' from the above ① 'action'-relation' process to the ③ and ④ 'action'-relation' process, making the bridgehead for value system against the rapid 'gesellschaftszielung' within ② 'action'-relation' process before 1975. I have named it as the original formation of 'Privatism'—the 'Private' centered life consciousness—. But in the course of the Information Society after that, the ① 'action'-relation' process is also 'gesellschaftszielende' mostly, and the foothold of value for the 'Private' has shifted to the ③ and ④ 'action'-relation' processes.

At one time, the life consciousness relying on the 'Private' was opened to local communities, through a variety of neighbourhood actions under the development of the industrialization. But this channel was shut in the period of the 'Information Society' and 'Over Managerial Society' promoted under the 'external pressure' of the first petrol crisis, in 1973 to 74, and the second one, in 1978. There the ④ 'action'-relation' process became depoliticized.

Now, It is the ③ communicative 'action'-cultural' relation process that acts most strongly on the 'Private' centered life consciousness like such 'depoliticized'. The ④ 'action' for self—restoration—'political' relation formation has brought a strange structure. Namely, there, the 'political' social relations for administration and control on the one hand, and the 'Mass leisure' left for depoliticized 'Privates' on the other hand, prop up each other, alienating from each other, simultaneously¹⁰⁾.

Thus, there appears the 'automatic' mechanical and independent' social relations apart from the 'action' horizon— they consist

10) See my book, Reference ⑧, especially Part I, Chap., 2 and 4.

strengthening the armed forces' policy by Meiji government at the end of 19th century did not know Hobbes's 'The Leviathan' nor Locke's 'Two treatise of government' and 'Essay concerning human understanding'. The 'Modern' society before 1945 deferred the problem for the individualistic set of space/time axis within life world under the policy 'enriching the nation', and neglected the possibility for some cultural progresses under its policy 'strengthening the armed forces'.

As I have shown, the contents of 'Modern' action-relation process are as follows.

- ① mutulization—interaction—of the actions which reproduce 'internal nature' (drives, senses, desires) in one's body and 'descendant' → 'social' gesellschaftliche relation
- ② mutualization of the actions for social reproduction, such as labour, housekeeping etc.
→ 'economic' gesellschaftliche relation
- ③ mutualization of the actions for ideal production and consumption, as communicative actions
→ 'cultural' gesellschaftliche relation
- ④ participation and involvement into functional groups through the mutualization of the actions centered for self-restoration, such as recreation, sports, leisure etc.
→ 'political' gesellschaftliche relation⁹⁾

And then, in my opinion, the transition from the 'Modern' to the 'Post-Modern' aspects of 'action'-relation' process is going on as follows.

9) See Tanaka, Y. (ed.) *Sociology of Social Relations*. Tokyo: Kobundo, 1996.

Time and the Political in Japanese Society refined this 'action'-'reacion' process by introducing the Budhism and the Confucianism. The former brought the Japanese people a framework of explanation for the 'Life' and the 'Death', and the latter brought a scheme of regulation for central and local administration. I would like to notice a sort of feelings. The idea of '*Shogyo-Mujyo*' ('everything is evanscent') had taken root within the mixture of the 'Shinto' and the Budhism. There, all 'actions' by the people flow, pass and disappear.

The above-mentioned 'Hideyoshi's reforms' and the Tokugawa regime realized an integrated national 'action'-'relation' formation for the first time under the duplicated power structure, namely, the power of the Emperor in Kyoto and Tokugawa Shogun in Edo. Here, the space/time axis for the life world was standardized all at once. Above all, it is very important that the space within 'action'-'relation' frame of reference is enlarged vertically to the '*Ten*'—it means the zenith in the Confucian theory, and besides, means the top of social stratification—. Thus, under the reign of the Tokugawas, the 'action'-'relation' process of Japanese people was made into a kind of 'gesellschaftzielung'.

But, the modernization of it after the 'Meiji restoration' (1867) was developed in the form of so-called '*Wakon-Yosai*' ('Japanese spirit and Western learning'). So, the 'action'-'relation' formation of Japanese people did not have the Newtonian Time nor the Cartesien Space as its own axis. As you see, Thomas Hobbes had met Galileo Galilei actually, and got to know René Descartes through the introduction by Marin Merssenne. And John Locke was a close friend of Issac Newton. All these are the stories and incidents in 17 th century, Nevertheless, the 'enriching the nation,

industry, 155 bps/man. Thus the higher standard of computerization among the motor car industry, manufacturers of electrical machinery and so on, became the driving force for the appearance of the 'Post-Modernity' within 'action'-'relation' process of Japanese people through 1990 s.

(2) Time-Consciousness and the Politics of Freedom in Japanese Society

Now, the 'action'-'relation' formation in Japanese society that comprises the above-mentioned three strata—the 'Pre-Modern', the 'Modern' and the 'Post-Modern'—is not the 'closed' society, but the 'open society' (Bergson). Certainly, within the accumulation of this strata, the 'Modern' action-relation process has the initiatives over the antecedent 'Pre-Modern' one, right now. And, after the 'Plaza' consent in 1985, it has brought about several aspects of the 'Post-Modern' action-relation process. In this way, the 'Sein' of social relations in Japanese society took off its former traditional 'Nature'-'Human Nature' relevance of the Far East 'islands country' and rather, became to exploit its natural environment. But the 'Bewußt-sein' in Japanese society, still now, holds the residue and influences of the 'Pre-Modern' relevance, has never completed its 'Modern' action-relation formation, and began to shape a little bridgehead for the 'Post-Modern' one.

Once, at the beginning of the 'Pre-Modern', Japanese people lived among so many animistic gods of the Shintoism—I think it is one of the natural religions—. There, the time consciousness was, fundamentally, that of seasonal changes and rise and fall of plants, especially of rice. In my opinion, the 'Taika reforms'

one. But, yet, the 'Modern' gesellschaftliche system of social relations subsumes some vestiges of the above-mentioned 'old consciousness' as before, and has never crushed down the feudal, 'Pre-Modern' residue; Mr Hashimoto, president prime minister of Japan, is supported by this political moment, in essence, and so many city dwellers and younger generation who do not support any political party are placed in the opposite pole to it. As the notorious symposium held in the Second World War (it was named 'Surmount of the Modern', in 1942) shows us clearly, in Japanese society, the assertion for extrication from the Modernity may be inclined to get back to the 'Pre-Modern' rather than the pursuit of possibility for constructing the 'Post-Modernity'.

The 'size' of Japanese society seen from the economic activities has become very huge, from the gross national product of 1930, 13,493,000,000 yen, via 1950, 16,115,000,000 yen, to it of 1990, 435,362,000,000,000 yen. Then the quantity of commodities and money circulating within the 'economic' social relations is also enormous. Moreover, let us look at the progress of computerization among economic activities by the data of 'rate of equipment for information ability'. This is the number that divided the circuit capacity of each industry by the quantity of employees in that industry. In the case of Japanese society, in 1981, the average one for all industries was 30 bps/man—bps means 'bit per second'—, and it of the secondary industry was 6 bps/man, while that of the tertiary industry was 67 bps/man. The average number for all industries increased rapidly from 159 bps/man in 1986 to 400 bps/man in 1987. We have to note that the number of the secondary industry was 540 bps/man, in contrast with that of the tertiary

some aspects of the present Japanese society. After the so-called 'G5' (the meeting of five advanced nations' Ministers of Finance and Presidents of Central Bank at the Plaza Hotel, New York), the Japanese society was involved in the business fluctuations of global economy, completely. As the conference on structural impediments between the U.S.A. government and the Japanese showed us very well, in 1990s, the 'transparency' in social relations of Japanese 'cooperate' society—for examples, deregulation, improvement of exclusive custom on trade, reorganisation of '*Keiretsu*—a chain of subsidiary companies—' and so on—is now required. But from the standpoint of the 'Regulation theory' (Robert Boyer etc.⁸⁾), the 'economic' social relations of the 'TOYOTA' ism or 'HONDA' ism are mentioned as a structural model for 'Post Fordism'. Under the 'Heisei prosperity' (1986—1990), the quantity of supplied information and consumed one increased in geometrical progression. Besides, coupled with the computalization of circulation process mediate between the production of commodities and the consumption of it, the Japanese society today has the aspects of 'Mass Consumption Society' rather unparalleled anywhere in the world.

Thus, here, we Japanese seems to have one confrontation between the highly 'purified' system of capitalistic social relations and the extremely 'privatised' life world. That is the reason why we could discuss about the three strata—'Pre-Modern' action/relation process, 'Modern' action/relation process and 'Pre-Modern'

8) See CEPREMAP, *Approches de l'inflation: l'exemple français* (J. P. Bénassy, R. Boyer, R. M. Gelpi, A. Lipietz, J. Mistral, J. Munoz, C. Ominami), 1977.

ners' —remained obstinately. There appeared a strange coexistence of Democracy and the 'old consciousness'—social consciousness corresponds to 'ancien régime'.

And, at the second stage, the phase of Industrialization, this 'good customs and manners' mores and ideologies were transformed into the social relations in business, and revitalized as Japanese 'collectivism'. Thus, the period 'rapid economic growth' in 1960s changed the Axis between the 'Public' and the 'Private', namely, the Emperor—the common people to it between the business enterprise—the 'Private' people (*'Shimin'*). This shift revitalized the traditional 'good customs and manners' mores firmly in social relations inside the business enterprises, and as its results, produced the unique consciousness that consists of the old traditional mores within the people's working place and the 'private' centered life style within their home.

The third stage, namely, the phase of Information Society, Managerial Society, added the so-called 'computerization' to the Modernization of Japanese society under the external moments of 'petrol shock, —the energy crisis—' (1973—74 and 1978). Here, the aspect of Managerial society means sophisticated administration by the government and the local through 'computerization' of their offices from 1975 to 1985 directly. But, moreover, it is very important for us to notice that the 'computalization' in the processes of production, distribution and consumption of 'commodities' and 'signs' began to be developed in this period, and besides, the 'Management of desires' was also accelerated, simultaneously.

The fourth stage, — the High-Information Society, Mass-Consumption Society and Over-Managerial Society—, is just the

III. Time and the Political in Contemporary Japanese Society

(1) Time and Social Changes in Japanese Society Today

The day, 15th August 1945, was when the Japanese society was liberated from the yoke of Emperor absolutism. I think that the modernization of Japanese society since 1867 entered into the second step for constructing its substantial core here, finishing the outward, superficial modern society. It shows the following phases concretely.

- ① The phase of Westernization-Democratization: 1945—1955
- ② The phase of Industrialization: 1956—1973
- ③ The phase of Information Society, Managerial Society: 1974—1985
- ④ The phase of High-Information Society, Mass-Consumption Society and over-Managerial society: 1985—

At the stage of the first phase, Westernization and Democratization, there appeared the dissolution of 'parasite landownership' by an agrarian reform (1945—1946), and the deconstruction of Gemeinschaftliche social relations inside the rural area, on the other hand. These disarmed the idea of 'fundamental organismus of the stake' (*Kokutai*)⁷⁾ for the Emperor system and the patriarchy ideologies been the centre of Japanese fascism. Nevertheless, after so many reforms of institutions, the social consciousness of 'Pre-Modern' society in Japan—namely, the folkways and mores of village communitys as called a traditional 'good customs and man-

7) 'Kokutai' means, originally, the political body of a society. But, in the case of Japanese society, it was conceptualised biologically so much.

Under the modernization of Japanese society, the newspaper journalism appeared at the beginning of the Meiji period: the 'YOMIURI' (1874), the 'ASAHI' (1879), the 'MAINICHI' (1882). But it was going to retrograde into the so-called 'neutrality', in the process of suppression against the 'democratic rights movement', and also, it changed itself into one of the agents for indoctrination of the Emperor system ideologies as a whole. The broadcasting system in Japan began in 1925, and was a part of the 'full mobilization of national strength' system of the Showa period. Thus, the time of Japanese people in its life world had been treated, always, as one of the resources for enriching the Nation. This character could be exemplified by the development of the study in Time Budgets in Japan too.

It began with 'The study of leisure life' (1923) practiced by Osaka City Office. This survey is the first study on time budgets from the point of view of social politics in Japan. After that, the first 'National Time Budgets Research' was made by NHK (*'Nihon Hoso Kyokai'* —Japan Broadcasting Corporation—) from 1941 to 1942. It is quite a large scale research consisting of four parts as follows: ① Summer Research on 7,730 samples, ② Autumn Research on 30,920 samples, ③ Winter Research on 30,920 samples and ④ Spring Research of 7,730 samples. This was the starting point of positivistic analysis. We must notice this research was practiced just in the course of the Second World War by the Japanese Imperial Fascism. There was one of the political consequences of the use of time among constructing processes of Modern Japanese society since 1867.

through the Sino-Japanese War (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904). It, also, as domestic policy, intensified the indoctrination for the authoritarian ideologies within Emperor system, especially by the 'Imperial Rescript of Education' — its main content were the oppression of human rights and the loyalty to the 'Public'. As exemplified in the novels by Ogai Mori (1862—1922) and Soseki Natsume (1867—1916), the Japanese self-consciousness groped for some foundations of individualism, within the so much restricted 'Private' life. Ogai Mori was one of high-ranking officials, and also a novelist at the same time. Though he had lived the life of the inconsistency between a role of the Superintendent-General of the army surgeon and a 'Private', he said at his death like this: " ...Death is the very important matter that breaks off everything. In my belief, no authority nor power can defy it. I would like to die as Rintaro Mori (his real name, and Ogai is his pseudonym), just as a man of Iwami region. Though I have some contacts with the army and the Ministry of the Imperial Household, I will refuse any outward treatment at the moment of turning point from life to death. I will die as Rintaro Mori, myself" ('A will'). This passage might be rather strange in the context of the Western society. But we have to see the fact that the 'enriching the nation, strengthening the armed forces' policy by the Meiji government made individuals 'Gleichschaltung' into the role system, and did not tolerate the space/time for 'individual' or 'existence' there. The precocious individualism of Soseki Natsume—he was a urbane in Edo and Tokyo — was accompanied with a sort of oriental feelings for resignation, at bottom.

the 'action' of production and consumption within the rice growing agriculture.

Then, it was '*Giri*' ('justice') and '*Ninryo*' ('human warmth') that determine the rhythm within these 'action'-'relation' processes. The former is the principle for the maintenance of 'Public' relations, and the latter is the one for keeping 'Private' relations. The above-mentioned 'direct, primary' gemeinschaftliche relation has been transformed into the 'indirect, secondary' gesellschaftliche relation in the 'business' and the 'armed forces'. There, the social time of Japanese people appeared as the resource for the wealth and power of the 'Public'.

At the opening Japanese nation to foreign trade and diplomatic relations in 1867, Japanese politicians had two options; a course for British type of constitutional monarchy (for example, Shigenobu Okuma) and another course for Preussen type of outward constitutional monarchy (for example, Hirobumi Ito). After the 'reform of landtax', the Meiji government adopted the course of elementary accumulation of capital through the 'Matsukata deflation' policy on the one hand, and oppressed the social movement for bourgeois revolution 'from the bottom' (*Jiyu-Minken Undo*—the movement for democratic rights), on the other hand. It finished up building the military and police organization, as well as the justice and punishment system, especially through the latter aspect. Thus, when the 'Meiji Constitution' was proclaimed at the same time as the enforcement of universal conscription in 1889, Japanese society had chosen the course for Preussen type of Imperial absolutism.

The Japanese capitalism changed into to the imperialism

and the high homogeneity by 'cultural' social relation under the Tokugawa Shogunate regime were, themselves, the seedbed for the modernization process after the 'Meiji restoration' (1867). There, the most important moment was the reform of landtax (1873). Because it denied the land ownership of feudal lords, and confirmed the material foundation for capitalistic development of Japanese economy. It abolished the feudal social standings system formally, at least, and produced a sort of 'deus ex machina' of a mechanism for the mobility of labour power from rural area into urban one. I should like to notice the following facts here. First of all, this period for the construction of 'modern' relation-action process in Japanese society was one of expansion of irrational 'politics' which regards the time within life world and the potential ability of 'Human Nature' among Japanese people as the 'resources' under the 'enriching the nation, strengthening the armed forces' policy, as symbolized by the Act 'full mobilization of national strength' (1938). At the same time, just in the process of this reinforced accumulation of capital, the rhythm and calendar of annual rites in a year which connected to the 'Nature'-'Human Nature' relevance with the above-mentioned 'action'-'relation' process in social formation, has lost gradually its weight with Japanese people's life.

The annual rites and events such as the five seasonal festivals—7th January, 3rd March, 5th May, 7th July, 9th September—, the 'Bon' festival—the buddhist festival for the dead—and the New Year's Day, these have been important knots which mediate 'Human Nature' in the body of Japanese people to the external 'Nature', and have been also the calendar itself for the balance between the 'Sacred' and the 'Profane', making location of the axis in

social time is the same, contemporary, with that of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. As you know very well, Hobbes noted the process for deliberation within our 'Human Nature' —deliberation = de + liberation, so, 'liberation' of sense, wants, desire should be denied and overcome once inside the 'Leviathan', and next transformed into Natural right⁵).

In Japanese society, this process was not developed based on people's voluntarism and activity, but was inflected and driven to a sort of ex-politics under the conditions of the pressure for prohibition and suppression of the 'Private' from the 'Public' power. In such situation, Sorai Ogyu, a Confucian theorist, (1666—1728) tried an analysis concerning the political aspects of 'action'- 'relation' formation in this period as 'legislation system and legitimate Verhalten' (*Hosei-Setstudo*). In my opinion, this is the origin of political science in Japan.

(2) The Use of Time among Constructing Processes of Modern Japanese Society

The notion of 'Time Budget' is proposed by Aleksandr Szalai, a Hungarian sociologist, and his group's study on the time in life world⁶). It seems to be suggestive in the discussion of several problems around the use of time among modernization processes of Japanese society, as understanding the control of it within the planned economy by the nation.

Both the strong institutionalization of 'political' social relation

5) See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Common-Wealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, 1651., Part I, Chap., 6.

6) See Szalai, A. (ed.) *The Use of Time: daily activities of urban and suburban populations in Twelve countries*, 1972.

standing structure

- ② clarification of the crop of rice and the standard of producing power
- ③ stability of payment a land tax
- ④ establishment of '*Chigyō*' relations between a feudal lord and his warriors— '*Samurai*' —.

Thus, under the condition of 'closing the country to foreigners' policy (1639), the 'action'-'relation' process of Japanese people had to be controlled by the strong Confucian ideologies. The 'laws pertaining to the warrior class, the Imperial court and court nobles' (1615) is the most typical example.

There, a slogan of '*Gorin-Gojyō*' — namely, five 'relations' and five values — was exemplified over and over. Five 'relations' are ones of 'lord-vassal', 'father-son', 'husband-wife', 'elder brother/sister-younger brother/sister' and 'friends'. And, five values, corresponding to these five relations, are 'humanity' ('*Jin*'), 'justice' ('*Gi*'), 'salute' ('*Rei*'), 'wisdom' ('*Chi*') and 'trust' ('*Shin*'). This doctrine was spreaded over all social standings — warriors, farmers, craftsmen and merchants. For example, we can find out the following words in the book 'essentials for service regulations' of a famous shop dealing in fabrics for kimono (it is the origine of 'Mitsukoshi' — corresponds to the 'Harrods'). "You (shop assistants and sales ladies) must be careful in your own speech and action, even within your private time, and never bring disgrace on the shop, because in the 'world' ('*Seken*'), your speech and action outside the shop is treated as that of the member of this shop". Like this, the construction of 'action'-'relation' process on space/time axis was very passive, and suppressed extremely. This

'Human Nature' relevance under the rice growing agriculture into the dimension of act and law for the rhythm of 'Human Nature'-'Human Nature' relevance within 'Political' social relation.

By the way, in Japanese society, the old conventional word correspond to Society, '*Shakai*' is composed of the word '*Sha*' and the word '*Kai*'. In this case, the word '*Sha*' means the god within the earth, and the word '*Kai*' means peoples' togetherness, meeting, association. It has signified, originally and concretely, the '*Kagai*'—festival where peoples meet, sing a song, dance with each other in front of the god—, it was held on some days in Spring and Autumn—the 'Anfang' and the 'Ende' of the rice growing agriculture—by ancient peasants. The ancient society cooperated in production and also in annual life itself, and, for that very reason, kept its 'solidarite' by the celebration for its communal god. In other words, the 'relations' within communities that could be secured by the celebration for the god in the earth were the contents of Japanese society. And the 'Taika reforms' made just one 'deconstruction' of this 'naive' society based on agricultural labour into the political body, by the replacement of the god in the earth with the Emperor.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi carried out the 'deprivation of arms among peasants' (1588)—this was the next year of the above-mentioned 'Restriction on Christianity' act—and, moreover, realized the 'overall land survey' (1591). These feudalistic intergrations of Japanese nation and the Tokugawa Shogunate government appeared on them, in short, enforced the rapid 'gesellschaftzielung' of 'action'-'relation' process by the following four items.

- ① separation of soldiers and peasants, and fixation of

vate' life world from the 'public' control power - especially, the freedom for human body and family house. In Japan, it was 1948 when the act for the same purpose was established. Here, again, the Emperor system is the symbol for the Political in Japanese society, and is keeping its own survival over all social changes⁴⁾.

The 'Taika reforms' (645) was, basically, developed on the '17 articles Constitution' —the first constitution in Japanese society— by the Crown Prince Shotoku. First, it set up a direct relation between the government and the Japanese people clearly for the first time. Before it, the various leaders among many local groups had their own private land and private people—serf as 'Nui'. But by this first constitution, these institutions were abolished and here appeared the land for Nation and the people for Nation.

Second, instead of the rules of folkways and mores based on the power of ritual person and group, the rule of law was established there. The control over 'action'-'relation' processes of Japanese people by the institutionalized norms became higher one and more transparent. And I should like to notice the fact that the principle of 'Wa'—harmony and friendship—as the principle for the formation of community was emphasized in particular (the 17 articles Constitution, Article 1, 10).

Coupled with the idea of 'all the people for the just one ruler—the Emperor—'(Article 12), here, the 'action'-'relation' process was purified politically, and began to be 'gesellschaftliche' from the dimension of folkways and mores for the rhythm of 'Nature'-

4) See my book, *Criticism on Privatism (Shiseikatsushugi Hihan)*, Tokyo: Chikuma, 1974.

Time and the Political in Japanese Society was set, and in its axis, the consistency from the heavenly gods into the Emperors is confirmed over and over, and so, this continuation on time has been transformed into the legitimacy of the Emperor system in Japanese society until today.

II. Time Budgets³⁾ and the Construction of Modern Japanese Society

(1) Time Budgets in Pre-Modern Japanese Society

The Japanese historians adopt, usually, a divisions of periods like this; 'ancient times' A. D. 3C.~12C., 'medieval' 12C.~16C., 'modern' 16C.~1867, 'recent modern' 1867~. But I would like to adopt here, relying on the next two epoch-making events, namely, ① the 'Taika reforms' (645) — there the Emperor Tenchi established the name of an era, for the first time in Japan —, ② the 'Meiji restoration' (1867), the division of periods of 'Pre-Modern' action-relation process (654—1867), 'Modern' action-relation process (1867—1985) and 'Post-Modern' one (1985—). Besides, in Japanese history, these reforms and/or restorations do not mean some fundamental, literally 'revolutional', reconstruction of 'action'- 'relation' process, but mean only a sort of pseudo-evolutional social changes which are running on little by little in its essence, permitting the continuity of basic stratum - they seem to bear resemblance to 'deconstruction'.

For example, as you see, in England, the 'Habeas Corpus Act' was established in 1679, and by this act, the freedom for the 'pri-

3) See my paper, "Time Budgets and Social Activities in Japan", Reference ⑨, Tanaka, Y., pp.260-280.

consciousness of 'Japanese (National) people' appeared, for the first time, in the act 'Restriction on Christianity' by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1587), in Japanese historical documents. The '*Wajin*' had called generically its own 'action'-'relation' processes based on 'Nature'-'Human Nature' relevance noted above '*YAMATO*' at first, and at the 7th century, decided it the name of a country. After that, the Japanese society has strengthened gradually its vertical integration as a nation, exteriorizing both the Ainu society on the northern frontier and the Okinawa society on the southern one inside the nation. At the top of its integration, there has been the Emperor system all the time.

At the stage of '*YAMATO*', the infantile 'action'-'relation' formation of Japanese people was supported with a mythological relevance between the overwhelming 'Nature' and the little powerless 'Society'. It had the following four components.

- ① the myth of the descent of the SunGoddess's grandson to earth (here we can suppose a connection with Korea)
- ② the myth of the sea-nymph and the mountain-spirit (we can assume a connection with Indonesia)
- ③ the myth of the kinship system between the heavenly gods and the local gods (common character among the Indo-European family of languages)
- ④ the myth of the eight headed monster serpent (we can suppose a connection with the Eurasian continent)

The political implication of socio-cultural atmosphere around these mythologies was interpreted by various types of shaman in the lesser 'societies'—its representatives is Queen Himiko, of A. D. 3rd century. There a sort of space/time axis based on mythology

⑤ 'Capital' as the alienated Gemeinwesen (D')

So, according to this schema, Society could be conceptualised like:

$$D' \{ C [B (A)] \}$$

And, also, the following model for a social change could be set:

$$D' \{ C [B (A)] \} \longrightarrow \{ C [B (A)] \} D$$

By the way, four domains of 'action' in people's daily life correspond to four types of 'relation' each.

- ① Action for the reproduction of 'Human Nature'
→ 'Social' social relation (gesellschaftliche Verhältnis)
- ② Action for the social reproduction
→ 'Economic' social relation
- ③ Action for the ideal production/consumption
→ 'Cultural' social relation
- ④ Action for restoration of self
→ 'Political' social relation

And, in my opinion, the concrete representations for these social relations are as follows.

- ① 'Social' social relation—family, community, ethnicity
- ② 'Economic' social relation—production, distribution, consumption
- ③ 'Cultural' social relation—mass communication, education, religion
- ④ 'Political' social relation—law, administration, military force 'Apparat'

The original figure of the Japanese people is the '*Wajin*' which was explained in the ancient Chinese book 'Historical Record of Former Han Dynasty' (A.D. 1st century). And the political self

Peoples form their own life processes through their actions within their life space/life time everyday. This life process consists of the four domains of action.

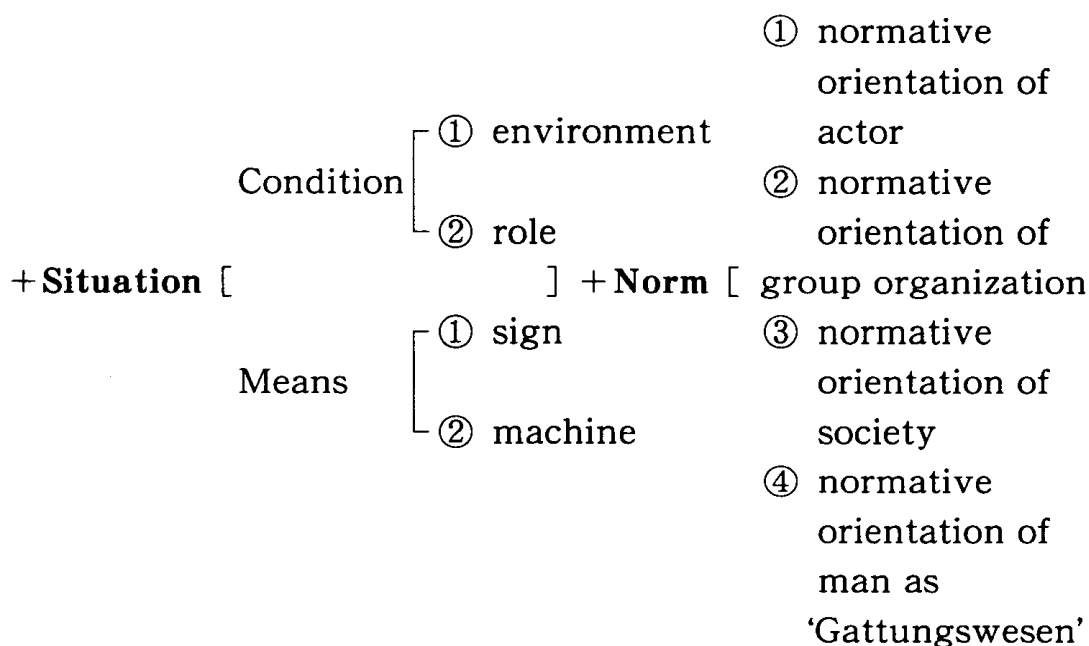
- ① Action for the reproduction of 'internal Nature' in actor's body (for example, sleeping, eating etc.)
- ② Action for the social reproduction (for example, working, housekeeping etc.)
- ③ Action for the ideal production/consumption (for example, TV watching, newspaper etc.)
- ④ Action for the restoration of actor itself (for example, leisure, recreation etc.)

Now, the above-mentioned combination between a material means and an ideal norm acts concretely in these four spheres.

- ① 'individual possession' + 'life norm' in the action for the reproduction of 'Human Nature'
- ② 'possession' + 'role norm' in the action for the social reproduction
- ③ 'possession' + 'language norm' in the action for the ideal production/consumption
- ④ 'machinery' + 'organization norm' in the action among voluntary groups.

Generally speaking, the upward process from 'action' to 'relation' will be developed as follows.

- ① direct, primary, 'Gemeinschaftliche' relation (A)
- ② indirect, secondary, 'Gesellschaftliche' relation (B)
- ③ abstract relation between 'Sache' and 'Sache' (C)
- ④ Gemeinwesen as the content of cooperation, 'communality' (D)



According to this model, a labour action could be conceptualised as follows.

$$A' = A + G \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textcircled{1} \\ \textcircled{2} \\ \textcircled{4} \end{array} \right\} + S \left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ M\textcircled{4} \end{array} \right] + N$$

And, a communicative action, also, could be conceptualised like this.

$$A'' = A + G \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textcircled{1} \\ \textcircled{2} \\ \textcircled{3} \end{array} \right\} + S \left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ M\textcircled{3} \end{array} \right] + N$$

Needless to say, these are all the concepts as a sort of 'Idealtyp'. So, our real action may allow some types of the fusion and polymerization between them.

I should like to notice the combination between a peculiar material means—its possession—and a specific ideal norm—its content, namely how it might be democratic or authoritarian—. Actually, the historical mode of this combination determines the formulation of social actions, and will make an outcome of 'autonomous movement of social relation'.

modernization after the Meiji era, the Time within the life world of Japanese people was the target for exploitation, as the resources for the 'enriching Nation'.

The above-mentioned 'botanical' relevance between 'Nature' and 'Human Nature' in Japan has been interpreted in the religious frameworks of Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Even after the modernization processes, the Time consciousness of Japanese people has the implication of a sort of syncretism among ① traditional 'Pre-Modern' annual events, ② 'Modern' linear time by Galilei, Descartes, Newton, ③ 'Post-Modern' fluctuational time by Einstein, Lorentz, Minkowski. The first aspect corresponds to the Emperor system and conservative political power. The second is the most important base for the Japanese capitalism and 'collectivism' in labour groups. And, the third aspect, at present, acts for the 'take off' from the old, 'Pre-Modern' social consciousness.

My discussion about these issues is based on the following hypotheses.

First of all, Society is, logically, an accumulation of 'action'- 'relation' processes on the specific space/ time axis. Here, an 'action'- 'relation' process means the formulation of social relation through interactions among people's several actions. I would like to consider 'action' in the following model.

$$\mathbf{Action} = \mathbf{Actor} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textcircled{1} \text{ value system} \\ \textcircled{2} \text{ belief system} \\ \textcircled{3} \text{ analysis system} \\ \textcircled{4} \text{ personality trait} \end{array} \right] + \mathbf{Goal} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textcircled{1} \text{ cognition} \\ \textcircled{2} \text{ expression} \\ \textcircled{3} \text{ transmission} \\ \textcircled{4} \text{ production} \end{array} \right]$$

Japanese fascism. And, it was defeated in 1945. Such modernization process was the formation of 'later-started' capitalistic society, and within this process, the primitive accumulation of capital was pursued very hard, utilizing a variety of residues of the Tokugawa feudalism.

The class structure of Japanese society was as follows. At the stage of 1909, capitalist (1.1%), landed farmer (22.7%), tenant farmer (39.5%), labour (13.4%). Even in 1950, the ratio of agricultural workers (44.6%) was greater than that of labour (38.2%). And, in 1985, capitalist (5.8%), agricultural (8.3%), labour (69.5%). We can find the tendency for 'purification' of the capitalistic society in Japan, especially after 1945. There could be found out, further, a sort of indications for modern society in Japan, namely, the progresses of 'urbanization', 'nuclear family' and 'aging society'. Still more, after 1985, I think that the several aspects of 'Post-Modern' society have been shaped with the progresses of 'high information society', 'mass consumption society' and 'over managerial society' in Japan.

(2) Changing Experiences of Time in Japanese Life World

It is the perpetual character of the Emperor system what we can not fail to notice as one of the most fundamental moment about the Time and the Political in Japanese society. Its pseudo eternity—the continuity itself of unbroken line of Emperors—has been the roots of the legitimacy for political control. Since 1945, this tendency has been weakened, but never exhausted out.

In the periods of long feudalism and, even in the processes of

2) See Reference ④ Maruyama, M.

organic, intimate, not as 'mineral or metallic mineral' relevance that seems to be inorganic, or indifferent.

The history of Japanese society—of 14,000 years, the longest version, after the fireplace of '*Yasumiba* remain' (in Shizuoka prefecture), or of 2,000, the shortest version, after the ancient '*Jyomon*' earthenware (in Fukui prefecture) — has been supported by the 'Nature'—'Human Nature' reference of the action within the rice growing agriculture fundamentally. And the reference of the action in the industry, especially in the big industry, has only 200 years development as its own history in Japan. So, even though the outlook of Japanese capitalistic society seems to be penetrated extensively with the 'Civilization by Capital' (Marx) today, its characteristic pattern of 'action/relation' process is still tinged profoundly with the former reference. The Japanese people, as 'peasant' or 'farmer', has been the bearer of small family management in agriculture, and produced various types of 'familism' social relations. And, also, the rural community, from 'ancient agricultural hamlet' until 'village community', has been influenced by consanguineous family.

But, after the Meiji Restoration (1867), the modernization of Japanese society was promoted very rapidly with the hegemony of the 'top'. The important moment for the transformation was the reform of land tax system in 1873. Because, with this, the land ownership of feudal lord was denied fatally, and there the substantial 'Basis' for capitalistic development was established. Since the Meiji era, the hegemony of the modernization had been that of the Absolutism under the Emperor system, so called '*Tenno-Sei*'²⁾. Its irrational moments had been 'ultra' lized into the

I. Time and the Modernization of Japanese Society

(1) Fundamental Characteristics in the Modernization of Japanese Society

The Japanese society is the processes of 'action/relation' of 120,000,000 human natures, developed and accumulated over the 380,000 km² external nature—physical space—, and the very unique symbolisation forms derived from it. Following the frame of reference of 'Nature'—'Human Nature', that is logico-realistic premise of 'action/relation' process, the Japanese society is an 'island country' consist of 4 relatively big islands and so many accompanying small ones. So, the Japanese history has contained a sort of 'closed society' (Bergson) moment, always.

Its climate is basically mild and damp. As the effect of so much rain by the far eastern Monsoon, there, the evergreen broadleaf trees (oak, pasania, camphor etc.), the deciduous broadleaf trees (maple, japanese oak-quercus serrata-, and so on) and the evergreen conifer trees (spruce, fir tree-abies sachalinensis—etc.) have been developed very well. Coupled with the rice paddy field cultivation that has been the mainstay among Japanese agriculture all the time, such 'External Nature' has had very significant effect on 'Internal Nature' of the Japanese people (As discussed later, the Japanese people as a Nation is itself an artificial fiction. We, Japanese have been arranged into the 'Japanese people as a Nation' gradually, throughout Japanese history), and has fostered the strong image for the living relevance between 'Nature'-'Human Nature'. This living relevance could be called 'botanical' relevance between the Japanese people and its environmental world. It is

ern action/relation process' and 'Post-Modern action/relation process'—these three strata are piled up simultaneously—. I will argue how this characteristic has been affected by the present rapid social changes—'high information society', 'mass consumption society', 'over-managerial society' - in Japanese society today.

Second, I would like to consider the fact that the Time of Japanese people's life world was regarded as necessary resource for 'enriching the nation, strengthening the armed forces' policy in the modernizing process of Japan since 1867. Here, it is need to take notice the strong control and arrangement of Time Budget by the Meiji nation was able to be successful only with the foundation of foregoing Tokugawa feudal regime. It distorted the social relevance between 'Private' and 'Public' into the pattern of 'selfless devotion to his nation—absolute Public—'. It also impeded the formation of individualism among Japanese people on the basis of 'Private' action/relation process.

Finally, I will examine significant aspects of Time under the industrialization, urbanization and privatization after the defeat of Japanese fascism (1945); after that, I will show the prospect for the liberation of the 'ensemble of relations'—it seems to be the most keen theme about 'the Politics of Freedom' in Japanese society today.

Key Words: Accumulated Structure of 'Pre-Modern, Modern, Post-modern' Action/Relation Process, Space/Time Axis, Natural Law

Time and the Political in Japanese Society

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Abstract¹⁾

The aim of this paper is, first, to elucidate the configuration of some problems concerning 'Time and the Political' in the history of Japanese society. I think that the most important characteristic of Japanese society at present is the accumulated structure of three strata, namely, 'Pre-Modern action/relation process', 'Mod-

1) This paper was read at the conference "Time and Value", at Lancaster University, England, 10-13 April, 1997.