

Citizens' Sociology in the Age of Crises and Changes

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Abstract

Since the fall of 2008, we have entered into an age of crises and changes in that the financial crisis has been aggravating into economic crises occurring throughout the world, while an African American president has taken power in the United States and a new government has started in Japan. In this age, we can be satisfied with neither post-structuralist nor post-modernist social theories, but must try to develop them through a 'deconstruction of deconstruction,' following the critiques of post-colonialism. Grasping our contemporary world with a new sort of social theory, we find the 'Empire'-like system trying to maintain control by manipulating pre-citizen societies on the one hand and by de-citizenizing civil societies on the other. Simultaneously, in this system, various movements for change have been struggling to substantialize a global civil society by citizenizing pre-citizen societies on the one hand and by re-citizenizing de-citizenized societies on the other. The election of the new president in the United States and the birth of an entirely new government in Japan promote these movements even amidst the deepening economic crises of the contemporary world. Under the leadership of the new American administration an international Keynesianism has been spreading in an attempt to overcome the deadlocked Neo-liberalism, and within this new framework the Green New Deal and its variations have been being applied in order to eradicate poverty and enrich welfare by wrestling with environmental problems. In these circumstances, sociology should be further deepened from a Public Sociology into a Citizens' Sociology that every citizen can use to change his/her society so as to be able to live his/her life better. The Citizens' Sociology in this sense should consist of four parts — deconstruction of the concept of citizen, repeatedly renewed social theory for citizens, continuously refreshed analysis of contemporary society and reflectively practical paradigm for citizens to live everyday life.

危機と変革の時代の市民社会学

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要旨

2008年秋以降、世界は、金融危機が経済危機に深まる一方、アメリカにおけるアフリカ系アメリカ人大統領の登場や、日本における初めての本格的な政権交代など、危機と変革の時代に入った。この時代にあって社会理論は、ポスト構造主義にもポスト・モダニズムにも留まってはおられず、ポスト・コロニアリズムに学びながら脱構築の脱構築を続けていかなければならない。その立場から世界をとらえると、「帝国」的システムが、未市民社会を操りながら、市民社会を脱市民化して支配を維持しようとしているのにたいして、変革の動きが、未市民社会を市民化する一方、脱市民化された社会を再市民化しつつ、地球市民社会を実質化しようと闘っているのが現実である。世界的な経済危機が深まるなかで、アメリカにおける新大統領の登場や日本における新政権の出現は、この変革の動きを進めるものといえる。アメリカ新政権の主導のもと、世界に新自由主義を克服する国際ケインズ主義が広がり、環境問題の解決を貧困の克服や福祉の充実につなげようとするグリーン・ニューディールや、そのさまざま

な変種が実施されようとしている。こうしたなかで、社会学は公共社会学をさらに深めて、個々の市民までがそれによって生きることのできる市民社会学とならなければならぬ。市民社会学は、市民概念の脱構築的吟味、たえず更新される市民のための社会学理論、それによる現代社会のくりかえしなされる新鮮な分析、およびそれをもとに日々の生活を生きるみずみずしい実践パラダイム、の4つのパートから構成される。

1. Into the Age of Crises and Changes

The world has been drastically changing since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The United States, the only superpower, has been constructing, whether intentionally or unintentionally, a new system which has been called an 'Empire'. It is a consumption society made and accelerated by electronic-informational marketization and a world-ruling system based on bio-political production symbolized in fast food, jeans, cars, cellular phones and so forth.

This system has been stirring up strong resistance and activating incidents of terrorism such as suicide bombings in societies where people cannot accept this sort of consumption society due to poverty and/or religion. As the United States has been trying to suppress this terrorism with all its powers, the Empire has resembled a sort of old military empire by negating its new aspects by means of the military-industrial complex which has survived even the Cold War and has recovered.

Europe, on the other hand, has been forming a new type of united nation-states, the European Union, based on realistic social democracy and environmentalism and resisting the US to some extent with its diplomatic internationalism. The United Kingdom, however, once took a different road with its own globalism, retaining the image of the British Empire, was committed to the American warfare to thereby expand the image of 'Empire' and caused a split in the EU. This tendency has been weakened upon Prime Minister Brown's taking over after Blair, but there has been no substantial change in the UK's pro-US position.

Moreover, the extension of the EU to relatively developing countries has led to the internalizing of 'North-South problems' and raising the fear of a reduction of living conditions among the people in the core states, thereby giving rise to an uncertain future in terms of the ratification of the Constitutional Treaties and the Treaty of Lisbon. Thus, although the future of the EU cannot be seen as optimistic, its members will be striving to retain their ideas of social democracy, environmentalism and internationalism.

In East Asia huge changes of economic, social, cultural and political structures have occurred along with the rapid economic growth of China. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which has been claiming an East Asian community for some time, has welcomed China's approach,

while South Korea has been quite eager to expand its relationships with China.

This area has seen the lingering of serious problems involving Taiwan and North Korea since the Cold War era. While the former region has been moving toward a resolution through negotiations with China, the latter has continued to make the Far East one of the most unstable areas because of its repetition of experiments with nuclear weapons and missiles in order to pull the US into bilateral negotiations by making use of China's ambivalent position.

Japan, while still having a relatively large economic power, has been almost marginalized in the East Asia as its political power has been weak and internally closed owing to its gradually strengthening tendency toward national isolation (*sakoku*).

As for the other issues relating to these nations, one major problem is in regard to who will incorporate what part of the Southern hemisphere, which still has a huge population, in order to introduce its countries and people into the global society. It is easily predictable that USA will try to incorporate Latin America, while Europe will incorporate the Middle East to Africa, and the expanding East, Southeast and South Asia will incorporate the other parts of Asia. Among these three areas, the East to South Asia seems to show the keenest sensitivity to postcolonial phenomena.

Not only China, but India as well, has been expanding influence by its rapid economic growth. Asia, Africa and Latin America (AALA) will play much more substantial roles in the global social formation, such as with regard to the reforming of the United Nations through the reorganization of the Security Council and other institutions than in the 1950s to 60s, when the new AALA nations were first accepted into the international society.

Amidst all these contexts, the financial crisis exploded in the United States in September, 2008 and this has been shaking the whole globe and causing differentiated and deepened economic crises in various countries and regions. This has revealed the failure of the Neo-liberal principles that had led the world economy since the 1980s.

On the other hand, just in the midst of these crises, for the first time an African American, Barack Obama, was elected the president of the United States and he launched a politics of change as soon as he took over power. In its repercussions, in August, 2009, in Japan, for the first time ever, the Liberal Democratic (Conservative) Party was severely routed in the general election, with the result that the Democratic (the largest Opposition) Party gained a landslide victory and took over the political power.

The world economy is still experiencing serious crises, but we can say that even in these circumstances our global society has entered into an age of historic changes.

2. Directions of Social Theories

With what kind of social theory can we cope with these drastically changing realities? After the radical critiques of social theories in the 1960s, there emerged Jurgen Habermas's neo-modernism and Niklas Luhmann's ultra-modernism in Germany, along with the variations on post-modernism of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, and Jacques Derrida's deconstructionism in France.

Habermas's neo-modernism is most easily understandable for people who have been accustomed to Marxian critical and practical thinking. It postulates an ideal communication situation, *Diskurs*, based on the concept of Modernity, and criticizes the reality of contemporary society in view of its alienated forms and tries to open a perspective for a society where *Diskurs* may be realized (Habermas, 1981, 1985). However, this cannot simply provide the basis for a new social theory because Western Modernity has spread so extensively and has become decentralized all over the world in a way such that *Diskurs* can now be considered a sort of its ideological construction.

Luhmann's ultra-modernism, on the contrary, denies this ideal state of Modernity, reduces all social phenomena into flows of communication and tries to explain them as more or less structured forms of communication which persist for short or long periods, no matter from what part of the world society, *die Weltgesellschaft*, they have originated (Luhmann, 1984). Although this is a universal theory such as Georg Simmel's sociology that attempts to explain all social phenomena as 'forms of socialization', we need something more concrete to adequately analyze our contemporary society with its tremendous diversity.

The post-modernist social theories, which were first created by Foucault and intentionally developed by Deleuze and Guattari to apply to the global scale, can give us something to mediate between social theories and our contemporary society. In Foucault's theory, human bodies produce discourses among each other so as to construct, in their whirlpools, powers to create and maintain social structures. These in turn reproduce, in the same whirlpools, human bodies which support and reinforce these social structures (Foucault, 1972, 1984, 1986).

In Deleuze and Guattari's theory these desiring machines, human bodies, while obsessed by the 'Oedipus imperialism' that would continuously enclose them within sexual and authoritative taboos, have produced primitive land machines, despotic lord machines, state machines repeatedly becoming war machines, and finally civilized capitalist machines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972). Therefore, in order to liberate oneself from the civilized capitalist machines which repeatedly reinforce the Oedipus imperialism in spite of seemingly wrestling with and beating it, we should return to the 'rhizome', the layer of molecular unconsciousness in which our bodies are based, repeatedly deterritorialize old

machines for organless bodies to create new existing planes for them, and seek an ensemble of abstract machines which will enable us to create new ways of life as human beings and societies (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980). And, since this task should be performed by our bodies themselves which are manifolds of various desires, we should ultimately no longer have and need any speaker or representation in the repeatedly decentralized world which will follow de-territorialization and reterritorialization of contemporary capitalism.

However, Derrida has already pointed out that even this human-and -society view, which has been repeatedly decentralized and individualized, has its own limits as if it does not doubt the unlimited possibility of Western symbolism itself which cuts off all impurities (Derrida, 1967a). Deconstruction serves to reflect our recognition, to pick up deliberately what has been cut off by our judgment or decision, and to reconstruct with them the reduced reality into a more relevant one. In this sense deconstruction is a recognition which is itself doomed to be an object of another deconstruction, because it is in itself a recognition including judgment or decision which may have cut off impurities (Derrida, 1967b). Especially the position of attaching importance to the role of language and considering supreme the spoken-out coincidence between recognition and reality is a modern Western tradition inherited from Classical Greece. Seeing this universal unconsciously inevitably confines one in a West-centrism (Derrida, 1967b).

Thus deconstruction cannot be other than a radical deconstruction; that is to say a deconstruction of deconstruction; one that must inevitably deconstruct even the assertion, by bio-political unmasking or molecular reconstruction of the anti-Oedipus, that we no longer need any speaker or representation.

3. Deconstruction of Deconstruction

Rerurning to the reality of contemporary society, it must be said that this deconstruction of deconstruction has already been raised and repeated by the people who liberated themselves from the colonialism of European, American and Japanese imperialist powers and who have been struggling to become autonomous not only politically and economically but also socially and culturally.

After World War II Franz Fanon foresaw some postcolonial tasks that were to be pursued, extending down to the very origins of civilization and racism, even in national liberation struggles (Fanon, 1952; 1959; 1961a; 1961b). Edward Said reconstructed 'orientalism' as the discriminative recognition of the Non-west by the West in order to open roads for both to overcome it so that we might settle such problems as the Palestine one (Said, 1978, 1993). Stuart Hall tried to open roads in order to move beyond conditions of postcolonial bewilderment toward various types of cultural self-recognition or identity,

based on Britain's New Left studies of workers' lives and some Althusserian theories of ideology (Hall, 1988, Hall & Gay, 1996). And amidst all these streams Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak postulated the problem most clearly and tried to show how to solve it in her own post-colonial criticism (Spivak, 1988, 1999).

What Spivak has revealed in her critical reconstruction — deconstruction — of the position of *sati* (suttees) in Indian history is that they have been buried down with neither words nor opportunities to speak between the interpretation of British colonialists who prohibited by law the custom of immolation as savage and the counter-interpretation of indigenous magnates who criticized and protested against the former as one-sided and violent. The latter insisted that British colonialists did not understand the traditions and culture of the colonized society.

Spivak has also claimed that, if we look at the situation from the position of these subalterns, suttees, we cannot take Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari's assertion that we no longer need any speaker or representation, but we must further advance Derrida's deconstruction beyond its Western limits in order to give these subalterns words and opportunities to speak out. In order to show the universality of women as subalterns, as exemplified in this process, Spivak has also referred to a young lady who was committed to and took some crucial responsibility in the Indian Independence Movement. This lady was overwhelmed and committed suicide, leaving a bodily sign, a difference, that she had been menstruating. Spivak has claimed that this was in order to exclude any conventional interpretation as if this young lady must have taken the action because of an unintentional pregnancy which had resulted from an illicit love affair, or other such claims.

Thus the deconstruction-of-deconstruction-ism, in wrestling with the reality of our contemporary society through continuously repeating deconstruction, has pointed out two things. One is that Western social theories and Western types of social recognition still have fundamental faults if seen from the viewpoints of societies that have been colonized by European, American or Japanese imperialist powers. And the second is that the basic process of social formation which makes use of ethnicity, gender and age as internal colonies, has been working in many cases even in, or especially in, advanced societies. Therefore the deconstruction of deconstruction should be repeatedly carried out on a global scale, including in advanced and seemingly highly civilized societies.

Moreover, Japan, which once engaged in colonialism and has been made one of the objects of post-colonial critiques by ex-colonial nations, has another aspect of semi-colonial-ness in that it has been forced into a dependent or semi-colonial position in military, political, economic, social and cultural terms even after its recovery of state sovereignty following the American military occupation after World War II. This semi-colonial position, and the problem of

semi-colonial-ness, is not easily recognized because it represents a problem of dependence among advanced nations, especially after the postwar economic growth. This position is shared not only by Germany and Italy but also even by Britain and France who were American allies during the War.

It is one of the most important tasks for us, who wish to grasp our drastically changing society in order to clarify our way of life, to take into account the problems raised by post-colonialism in the context of this semi-colonial-ness. We must destroy and reconstruct the multi-layered structures by repeatedly discovering internal colonies so as to repeat again and again the process of deconstruction in wrestling with the reality of our contemporary society.

4. The 'Empire'-like World Control System

A society is in most cases first realized as a problem, a sort of oppression. In this sense a society is a sort of stratification.

We should not forget, however, that any stratification cannot build itself without any communality as its basis, because there would be no stratification, no rule or oppression of one group by another if there was no presupposition that people would live together and need each other. This basic recognition which sheds light on the one-sidedness of the old historical view of class struggles is also quite important for the position which aims to deconstruct social theories by taking over problems raised by post-colonialism in the context of semi-colonial-ness.

A society expands as a higher stratification based on a wider communality to the extent that societies (tribes, nations, ethnicities and such) encounter each other, commit warfare and consolidate one another. A myth is told in order to explain, mitigate and, if possible, overcome contradictions between communality and stratification and from the myth develops a *religion*, of which aspects of social government are reified into a *state*. It makes use of and exercises control on *markets*, which represent a continuous expansion of exchanges based on ecological relationships, so as to create and develop *cities*. Thus, through expansion of all these apparatuses a society becomes systematized and develops into a social system.

The primary form of social system that is more than a class society as an integration of communality and stratification is, therefore, an empire where a state, which has acquired a considerable size by making use of a more or less universal religion, controls a subsistent economy in its territory and market economy in and out of its borders by utilizing cities as strategic bases. Empires have pursued principally unlimited expansion to the extent that their religions as leading ideas have proclaimed the universality of civilization or human salvation, and have encountered and warred against each other so that some

prospered while many others declined. Thus they have woven human history ever since the period from several thousand years before Christ until the twentieth century AD.

The secondary form of social system, a new system which overcame empires, is the civil society, a society of citizens, which appeared in the European Commercial Renaissance of the 11th and 12th centuries, expanded their self-government against the Ecclesiastic Authority and Feudal Powers, developed through the Crusades and long-distance trades along the Mediterranean Coast and in Northern Germany and finally overthrew the Absolutist Powers after the Great Voyages and the Reformation. A civil society is a social system (*industrial and urbanized society*) which separates on the basis of a market economy its state from its religion (*separation of religion and state*), puts the state under the control of citizens, basically in a form of universal suffrage (*civic democracy*), and enables principally unlimited expansion both denotatively and connotatively with the world view and with the world control liberated from the transcendental absolute (*science and technology*).

Thus a civil society theoretically is a system which overcomes in all aspects empires, primary social systems, which are based on agriculture as the basic productive forces. As a matter of fact, by the first half of the twentieth century all the existing empires were forced into decline by the development of such civil society. However, in this process, powerful nation states built on some civil societies became imperialist powers through the competitive colonization of the whole world. They triggered two World Wars related to their territorial redivision of the world in the first half of the twentieth century, and drove humankind into a crisis of self extermination in a nuclear war between Nuclear 'Liberal' Imperialism and Nuclear 'Social' Imperialism in the second half of the same century.

After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Nuclear Social Imperialism, a system has emerged based on globalization, the mutually accelerated multiple processes of marketization, informationalization and electronization (computerization) on the global scale. This is the 'Empire'-like system, a system of world control, developed mainly from the United States (Hardt and Negri, 2000).

Therefore, even in inquiring into this 'Empire'-like world control system, we should never miss the difference between the primary and secondary systems of human social system, the difference between empires and the civil society. Civil societies integrated by nation states were called, on their roads to becoming world powers, the British Empire, French Empire, German Empire, Japanese Empire, American Empire, Soviet Empire and such, based on memories of the past, in order to camouflage real desires, and to justify or to criticize them. All forms of imperialism, including nuclear-armed or social ones, are various transitional stages of civil society.

As stated above, empires as primary social systems almost entirely disappeared by the first half of the twentieth century and therefore we should consider the 'Empire'-like system by repeating the process of deconstruction in the one thousand year history of civil society since the eleventh or twelfth century corporate towns in Europe.

5. Pre-citizenship and De-citizenization

The 'Empire'-like system is a world control system which has been built on the American-type mass consumption economy, expanded by informationization and electronization after Fordism. It has spread all over the world, using not only military but also political, cultural and social means, especially after World War II, and has been mentioned as an Empire because it has frequently cited the ideas of freedom and human rights from the American Constitution as elements of its imperium. The consumption economy, rolling into it not only workers but peasants and other people all over the world, has been expanding from material to symbolic aspects of life so that structural powers, constructed through exchanges of discourses, have come to continuously remold our human bodies in a global scale.

Against this background, the people who cannot accept this consumption economy due to their religious beliefs, culture and quality of life, have been engaging in strong protests by such means as suicide bombing. The 'Empire'-like system has been trying to suppress them with the military forces of a 'Multi-national Army' actually organized around the American one. The justification given for attacks on the protests involving suicide bombing is that they are taking a form of terrorism which does not represent the people's will and that the societies producing them are not civil societies, according to the American values, in that systems of universal suffrage have not been established there to make it institutionally possible to show the people's will clearly.

During the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the United States used to overlook or support various forms of military and/or development despotism emerging in these pre-citizen societies as long as they did not support the Soviet side. In particular, the US created and supported a despotic puppet government in Vietnam to counter the national liberation movements. Since the end of the Cold War the US has been engaging in political and/or military surveillance and making attacks on societies considered 'rogue states' or 'the axis of evil' where people are not citizenized yet, in order to stop these societies from becoming hotbeds for terrorism, as claimed.

Among them North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, started as a state which was homologous to China, the People's Republic of China. Therefore, according to such logic, if one goes beyond the criticism of

despotism based on a hereditary individual cult, one logically has to criticize China's political system, which is not a representative democracy in the Western sense. Actually the United States has been criticizing China for its lack of freedom, human rights and democracy.

Among other developing nations, there are many societies which are not citizenized yet in terms of the institutionalization of universal suffrage and also many which are not enough citizenized yet due to the non-function of institutionalized universal suffrage because of unjust elections and such problems. If we seriously take the problems raised by post-colonialists, we should take into account these problems of pre-citizenness of which they, the post-colonialists, also are acutely aware. On the other hand, advanced nations have been mostly citizenized in terms of the establishment of universal suffrage, whether deeply rooted or still not enough.

However, the United States, especially after September 11th, 2001, has been inclined to launch wars against problem states by neglecting or making light of even discussions in the United Nations. The sovereignty of advanced nations other than the US has been neglected or maliciously considered and the sovereignty of many citizens, who have been against and protesting the one-sided wars in some of these nations, has been neglected or brutally treated because their governments have supported or joined the American wars.

In semi-colonial Japan where the Security Pact with the United States has seemingly been grafted onto the pacifist Constitution, there have been many such cases. Not only in Germany and Italy, which have similar positions to Japan as defeated countries in World War II, but also in France and Britain such cases have also appeared.

Moreover, even in the United States, citizens' will has not been exactly reflected in politics due to the complicated system of presidential election and others so that more and more of them have come to feel alienated from the arbitrary decisions of the elected president. These show remarkable signs of de-citizenization, in which the sovereignty of citizens has actually been deprived such that they have become non-citizens in a society in which they had formerly been citizenized.

As citizens have, historically, been persons who wish to decide what their society should be and to what direction it should go, they have been sovereigns to the extent that they have exercised their right to do this, their sovereignty. The 'Empire'-like system is a system which has developed from the history of civil societies and, in including both pre-citizen and decitizenized societies in its 'territory', has been revealing the crisis of civil societies on a global scale.

6. Directions of Citizenization and Re-citizenization

Thus, the 'Empire'-like system is a huge contradiction in itself which has been intentionally or unintentionally de-citizenizing already citizenized nations while leaving a wide range of pre-citizen nations un-citizenized. Furthermore, it has been trying to attain its goal of citizenizing some specified nations by means which are contrary to the principle of democracy that should be the proper means for citizenization. Then, what kinds of movements have been trying to overcome this huge contradicting system?

Developing nations, even though having difficulties in promoting economic growth and increasing political autonomy, have been trying to obtain identity through various forms of social activation and cultural creation so as to contribute to fortifying the international society. They also have been contributing to the realization of a global civil society through activities in the United Nations and other various activities such as social and cultural consciousness-raising. Post-colonialism, itself, has been an important part of these contributions, utilizing the strong consciousness-raising efforts of Fanon, Said, Hall, Spivak and others, based on their experiences in the West Indies, Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, India and so forth.

The East Asian zone, expanding from the Asian NIEs and the greater ASEAN, has opened a way for China to participate in their conception of an East Asian Community. China has been growing along this line so as to become a huge resistance which, with its increasing existence, cannot be forced to follow the imperium of the 'Empire'-like world controlling system. There is a possibility that China may create another new 'Empire'-like system if we look at it in a long-span historical context. Many people have already expressed fears about this possibility.

However, the actual direction of China will depend on the extent to which it will be citizenized; that is to say on how its political system of people's democracy will adapt to its actual electro-informationally maketizing society based on a rapidly growing economy. It will also depend, on the other hand, on the responses of Japan, other East Asian nations, India, Russia and others. Problems with North Korea and Taiwan, which are legacies from the Cold War era, are expected to be peacefully solved to the extent that China's importance is more and more increased in connection with the United States through various types of citizenization of the former.

The European Union, which has already provided considerable resistance in and against the present 'Empire'-like system, has, on the one hand, been coordinating with the unique globalism that the United Kingdom has been sticking to, while on the other trying to overcome some North-South problems introduced by inviting more or less developing nations. In dealing with both of these questions, the EU will be able to become a core of the international and

global society with its social democracy, environmentalism and internationalism, all of which have been quite solidly fostered in the history of this region.

Of course, we must recognize that Europe cannot escape from the basic logic of the capitalist world economy as one of the major bases of global activities of multinational corporations, along with the United States. The European Union will have to put regulations on these global enterprises in order to realize its potentialities to citizenize and re-citizenize not only its own people but also the international and global society as a whole in accordance with its historic and on-going experiences of civil societies.

7. A New Stage of Re-citizenization

American Society, which is still the core of the 'Empire'-like system, had been steadily inclining to the conservative side since the 1970s up to 2008. However, this series of reactions could have been mostly predicted if we had taken into account the huge stream including the New Deal of the 1930s, World War II of the 1940s and the civil right movements, anti-Vietnam-War movements, university reform movements, feminist movements, ethnicity movements and others in the 1950s and 60s.

The 'Empire'-like system, which has been constructed on the history of at least two centuries, not to mention the one-thousand year history of civil society itself, may be a gigantic trick deliberately set in order to citizenize the whole world, although there is no word of apology for the people who have been victimized by terrorism and 'wars against terrorism'. In this gigantic trick, even the American people had also been de-citizenized by the steady conservative inclination until 2008 so that they should be facing the task of re-citizenizing themselves in gazing into the realities of our contemporary society.

The presidential election in 2008 was a crossroads for American citizens. There were lots of hopes even in the primaries of this election 2008. In Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton, a woman, at first steadily increased her support, then was challenged and caught by Barack Obama, an African American, and there were a few months of neck and neck competition. On the other hand, in Republican Party, John McCain had been early decided upon as the candidate and was predicted by some people to win the final election. He was obviously old, would not camouflage his white hair, and preferred to appeal to his power and good qualifications of one of the aged.

It was also quite American that McCain selected Sarah Palin, a younger woman, as his partner, while Obama deliberately took Joseph Biden, a white-haired catholic, as his partner. These were selections made in a severe competition, but decisions that would not have been imagined in any other country than the US.

In the final election Obama's ticket gained a landslide victory and the whole process of campaigns 2008 showed how drastically the American society has changed in half a century since the Civil Rights Movements in the 1950s and 60s. Competitions between candidates in terms of gender, ethnicity and age revealed that minorities had really been empowered in this multi-racial and multi-cultural society. It is not clear to what extent this 'Change' permeated the conservative grassroots that colored the Middle and the South orange, but it was at least deep and wide enough to replace the eight-year Conservative Administration with a blue New Administration.

Moreover, the birth of an African-American president signifies the rocking to its foundations of the modern world system that has been constructed during these past five hundred years. This system has clearly been formed and controlled since the Age of Great Voyages by white males originating in Europe and North America. After World War II, as Asian and African colonies were liberated by nationalist revolutions, woman prime ministers appeared in some post-colonial countries such as Sri Lanka and India and then in some advanced nations such as the UK. All these were considerably influenced by the Civil Rights Movements in the US and by the Student and Youth Protests and Women's Liberation Movements as developments of the Civil Rights Movements.

In the United States, white and non-white women and African American men have already been appointed to high posts, not only in state governments but in the federal administration. Yet it is really epoch-making that an African American man has been elected president, in only half a century since the Civil Rights Movements.

Of course, ethnicity as an African American and gender as a female simply show ascriptions. However, how long and how violently people have been discriminated against because of these ascriptions — ethnicity, gender and even age — in European, American and other societies; in spite of Talcott Parsons' sociology which claims that a modern society should evaluate people by achievements, not by ascriptions (Parsons, 1951; 1966; 1969)! Nevertheless, US citizens in 2008 certainly elected an African American man as the president of the United States, giving him the decisive power to make the future of the Modern World System.

Obama may be involved in such strong structural forces regulating the presidency of the United States of America that he will be unable to bring about his 'Changes'. Nevertheless, this *ascription revolution* should help to maintain a value that cannot be turned back. As far as we see, however, Obama has been continuing his efforts to advance the ascription revolution into a revolution of achievements. Moreover, he has been showing his basic hope to abolish nuclear weapons, based on his responsibility as the president of the United States, the only nation that actually used them, in Hiroshima

and Nagasaki, even if they were used, as claimed, ‘only to end the war’.

8. International Keynesianism and Green New Deal

It has been said that the explosion of the financial crisis, triggered by the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers, changed the situation favorably for Obama’s camp. Certainly the timing of a serious accident plays an important role in politics. It is possible to imagine what might have happened if this bankruptcy had occurred after the election day of November. However, this supposition is different in its sense of socio-economic inevitability from another supposition that Bush would not have been reelected in 2004 if the Hurricane Katrina had come and devastated New Orleans a year before.

The world capitalist economy had come to the limits of its self-maintaining capacity due to the effects of the finance centers, which had been conducting business as they had wanted, almost without any regulations. There had been huge gaps between enormously inflated money supplies and the real economies in the world. Obama’s new administration, from the starting point, had to take the responsibility to prevent financial crises from deepening into general economic crises everywhere in the world.

The vision of the new administration, however, has been quite clear so far. In terms of the policy frame, Obama has been trying to reject the unilateralism Bush had been sticking to and to take a multilateralist approach in joining the moves of intervention that major governments have been taking to cope with financial and general economic crises. Moreover, the new administration has been trying to adapt to the development of the world economy by joining an expanded frame, from G7 or G8 to G20, which include newly emerging nations such as China and India, gigantic population powers.

We can call this development a sort of *International Keynesianism* which has revived governmental intervention into economy, though not in different ways by different nations but through multilateral cooperation to make operations more effective. This has come about from the serious reflection on the failure of Neo-liberalism.

In the 1930s, governmental interventions led through bloc formation and militarism to World War II. In the 1950s and 60s, governmental interventions were made in advanced capitalist nations in different and unique ways by utilizing various forms of American aid, under its overwhelming power. Furthermore, amidst the rapid development of Japan, Germany and Italy, who had lost their colonies, and the relative stagnation of Britain and France, who had been troubled about colonial policies and technological innovation, the United States, in sticking to the domino theory of communism, was finally defeated by Vietnam so seriously that the American economy, politics, society and culture fell into

in a total stagnation. Neo-liberalism was adopted as a reaction to this complicated power shift among major capitalist nations, not to mention the problems of the deteriorating Soviet socialist bloc.

Thus, the International Keynesianism, emerging in 2008, has been instituted in an expanded frame of G20 based on the collapse of Soviet and East-European regimes and on the emergence of new nations such as BRICs — China, India, Russia and Brazil in its real order — and others.

Regarding the contents of policies, Obama's new administration has been proposing a new vision and action plans, the so-called Green New Deal, to create employment and activate the economy by wrestling with environmental problems in order to improve medical care and education. These issues can be referred to as America's Inner Third World problems. This Green New Deal may seem like a fairy tale to the people who have been accustomed to the development of huge-scaled agriculture, huge-scaled industries and gigantic-scaled service industries such as world-wide airplane networks, global chains of huge super-markets and so forth.

However, great waves may be generated by the people who massively move in response to this fairy tale or myth so that factories may resume and that hospitals and schools may expand to create employment, to enlarge consumption under new supply of goods and services and to activate the whole economy toward a new structure. We must not make light of what Keynes remarked about the pyramids of the ancient times (Keynes, 1936). A contemporary pyramid which is much more effective than the ancient ones is an economy which makes the largest use of natural energies such as sunshine heat, wind power, geothermal heat and such in order to improve the environment where ill and damaged bodies are healed and where healthy bodies are activated in order to rebuild society by revitalizing spirit and culture.

9. Re-citizenization of Japanese Citizens ?

In the midst of all these contexts, in August, 2009, Japanese citizens at last showed their will to demand a change of government.

Even in citizenized societies, whether the citizens' will is exactly shown or not strongly depends on election systems and political party structures. In the United States the presidential election is based on elections of electorates in each state, proportionately distributed to its population, under the two party system and the candidates are narrowed down through primaries in fifty states conducted in their own different ways. This system has mostly favored the middle to conservative candidates since the majority generally hesitates to make any audacious decision. But in 2008 the US citizens overcame these obstacles and showed the will to ask for 'Change'.

In Japan the general election system was changed from the medium-sized constituency system that had lasted since before World War II into the dual system of single-member constituencies and proportional representation in 1994. In this system political parties have been struggling against each other around the axis of the Liberal Democratic Party vs. its counter parties, aiming at taking over power through the two-party system, by utilizing alliances with Komei Party, the Social Democratic Party and other small parties. Finally the Democratic Party of Japan that was organized in 1998 and consolidated with the Liberal Party in 2003 succeeded in gaining a landslide victory, thereby realizing an actual change of government for the first time after World War II.

This change of government is epoch-making in the political history of Japan. However, since most Japanese citizens are not necessarily supporters of the Democratic Party but have made relative choices under the present election system and party structures, this system and the structures may be changed in the future political conflicts.

Considering the seat allotment in the House of Councilors, the Democratic Party decided, despite its landslide victory, to make a coalition government with the Social Democratic Party and People's New Party. As far as the Democratic Party's manifesto shows, the basic policies of the new government may change the basic patterns and structures of Japan's politics that have comprised the System since the Meiji Era and have been kept with occasional ameliorations by the Liberal Democratic Party.

First, economically, the industrial mode may be changed from the export-oriented one led by big enterprises to an internal demands redeveloping one, creating new international competitive forces with high added values and courteous service orientations. Industries which gain competitive force by low wages will be relatively devaluated while industries with high technological abilities and courteous services attached to merchandise will be reinforced to show the quality of goods 'Made in Japan'. Along this line a Japanese type of Green New Deal is also being pursued in industries coping with environmental problems and creating employment.

Second, socially, on these bases the governmental budget and various investments will be directed toward child rearing, education, medical care, pensions, care of the aged and such in order to create various related employment activating younger and elderly labor forces. This represents a series of social developments which may reset investments from public undertakings into social works and enterprises so as to improve the welfare in a wider sense, while simultaneously expanding and maintaining employment. As for forms of enterprises, non-profit organizations (NPO) will be encouraged in addition to general public and private enterprises.

Third, politically, for these changes, the political leadership will be especially strengthened regarding bureaucrats in order to avoid fiscal wastes, promote

decentralization of power and pursue a well-balanced activation of Japanese society as a whole. If this reform is successful, Japan's politico-economic system, where bureaucrats have been keeping their vested interests almost since the Meiji era by involvements between politicians and business enterprises, will be changed into a new system where new industrial and social policies are developed in order to give chances to many regional societies for self innovation and activation and to revitalize villages engaging in agriculture, forestry and fishery.

Fourth, diplomatically, the basic orientation will be changed from the old one that has been dependent on and too much inclined to the United States to a new one that intends to be equal with it and to put more importance on Asian neighbors in order to cooperate toward an East Asian Community. On this basis the new government is proclaiming its intention to contribute to World Peace and Prosperity by leading the movement for the abolishment of nuclear weapons while taking a resolute position toward North Korea's human rights transgressions and nuclear weapons development policy.

To all of these attitudes and policies, questions have been already raised. Is it really possible for Japan's economy to gain new international competitiveness with new knowledge-intensive and service-oriented industries? Is it really possible for the new government to acquire sources of revenue continuously to enact various social policies so as to expand employment? Is it really possible to change the political and economic system that has been run by bureaucrats for so long? Is it really possible for Japan to establish true diplomatic autonomy by overcoming the long-lasting policy that has lost the trust of Asian nations due to dependence on the US? Japanese citizens, however, can only place their hopes on these new attitudes and policies because the Democratic Party has been showing them in its Manifesto, in a consistent way, as the promise of fundamental changes of the domestic and diplomatic politics.

Japanese citizens should push these attitudes and policies of the new government so that its Green New Deal can activate knowledge-intensive and service-oriented industries through environmentalist projects. These attitudes and policies may also be developed into a 'Silver New Deal' to fluidize the means of the elderly by guaranteeing their livelihood 'to the grave'. With these funds it may be also possible to improve education and medical care and to expand employment opportunities not only to youth, middle-aged and elderly, but also to foreigners.

To do this, Japanese citizens should also reform the election system and party structures in order to express their will consistently within the whole process of Japan's domestic and diplomatic politics. Decentralization, if promoted effectively, could activate agriculture, forestry, fishery and all regional societies. Democratization and citizenization, if advanced more, could make the government less controlled by big enterprises, the Self Defense Forces

and other strong powers. Through these actions, Japan as a civil society will be able to liberate itself from its semi-colonial relationship to the US, to take self-reflective attitudes toward its history since the second half of the 19th century and to participate in a global civil society formation with an egalitarian stance, not only with its Asian nations but with all the people around the world.

In the general election in August, 2009, Japanese citizens manifested their will to wave in this direction, consciously or unconsciously, to various extents.

10. Necessity of Citizens' Sociology

Facing these new situations, sociology must make clear its character and role.

Looking back on the development of social theories since the 1960s, sociology cannot be self-satisfied with either post-structuralism or post-modernism but must repeat the deconstruction of deconstruction of its perspective, theory, methods and analyses of societies by incorporating deep and neglected layers of the post-colonial world. Furthermore, as far as we grasp our contemporary society with this sort of sociology, we must realize that its ruling system, covering the whole world through globalization, is an 'Empire'-like one which has been controlling pre-citizen and de-citizenized societies by bio-political productions that are unique to consumption societies.

Now that American society has begun to be re-citizenized in the deepening crisis of world economy, that International Keynesianism and Green New Deal have emerged and that Japanese Society has also begun to be re-citizenized, sociology should become a citizens' sociology, as a more developed form of the public sociology that Michael Burawoy and others have been trying to promote (Burawoy, 2005; 2008). Citizens' sociology is needed as a more concrete sociology which every citizen can use directly to revitalize him/herself as a sovereign who decides the character and future of his/her own society, while public sociology is a sociology for the public, the collectivity of citizens.

In my opinion, citizens' sociology should be constructed with the following four pillars:

First, *deconstruction of deconstruction of the concept of citizen*. Citizens are usually considered as the agents who emerged in corporate towns in the 11th to 12th century in Europe, built nation-states through the bourgeois revolutions, colonized the rest of the world with these nation-states struggling against each other, repeated imperialist wars, pushed humankind to the verge of extinction by a possible nuclear war between the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers and have finally thrown us into the flood of globalization after the collapse of

the latter. However, this is a rather Europe-centered view of human history. There must have been various movements toward citizenization in many societies who were conquered, colonized or subordinated by the European, American and Japanese Big Powers, and based on these historical bases and through various movements to resist these types of colonialism were born a massive number of new citizens who have been contributing to the formation of contemporary global society. For these reasons, neglected processes of citizenization should be repeatedly excavated by concerned persons and their descendants in post-colonial and other societies around the world in order to deconstruct the deconstruction of the concept of citizen and of world history itself.

Second, *deconstruction of deconstruction of the theory of civil society*. A social theory of, for, and by these citizens, whose concept is repeatedly deconstructed, can only be a theory of civil society and this theory should, itself, also be repeatedly deconstructed.

My own theory for the moment is as follows. A human society is a contradictory integration of communality and stratification. It yields such apparatuses as religion, state, market and city in order to maintain this integration for a long time, so as to make it a system. The primary social system is an empire which is organized by a state authorized through a mediation of the transcendental and the experiential with a religion and which controls the market as an extension of human nature by means of cities, which are morphed powers. The second social system is a civil society which is organized by citizens of these cities in order to take over empires by means of secularizing religions by science, controlling the states by their own democracy, pursuing the enrichment of the possibilities of the market to the maximum and finally expanding cities everywhere with their accumulated wealth, so that the whole world may be industrialized and urbanized.

To what extent can the history of humankind be explained with this theory? How many contradictory facts to this theory are found in historic and on-going processes? We will have to repeat this process of deconstruction in order to accept newly-found facts while renewing our perspective itself from its very basis, as many times as required.

Third, *deconstruction of deconstruction of a theory of global civil society overcoming the 'Empire'-like world controlling system*. The analysis of our contemporary society with the above-stated citizens' social theory shows the conflicting processes of the 'Empire'-like system, that is surviving and expanding by mutual reinforcement of pre-citizen and de-citizenized societies, and a newly emerging global civil society which has been gradually formed through synergetic empowerments resulting from citizenization of pre-citizen societies and re-citizenization of de-citizenized ones. Yet, this analytical theory should also be repeatedly deconstructed in responding to and incorporating new movements very sensitively. Working against re-citizenizing movements in American and

Japanese Societies, contemporary finance centers have been moving toward rebuilding their arrangements to take new offensives and they may trigger new moves toward clinging to pre-citizenness and recurring de-citizenization. The analysis of our contemporary society by means of citizens' sociology should repeatedly reflect on the dynamic interactions of these negative moves and new positive movements toward citizenization and re-citizenization in various points and regions of the global society, in order to deconstruct the analysis repeatedly.

Fourth, *deconstruction of deconstruction of practical paradigms of citizens' sociology*. An actual citizen lives everyday life performing a job in a wider sense. If it is an occupation, he/she participates through it in social formation while perhaps also participating in it through other activities in a trade union, a non-governmental organization, a non-profit organization or other such groups. On the other hand, he/she lives in a family in a community also participating in social formation through activities in non-governmental or non-profit organizations. At the base of all these activities he/she embodies ecological restrictions of human and society through his/her sexuality, that is to say sexual activities in a wider sense. Human beings and their societies, even if making efforts infinitely, will not be able to perfectly solve riddles either about the origin and evolution of life or about the origin and formation of the solar system and the cosmos itself. These are the ultimate contingencies and uncertainties of human beings and its world that demand of us the very deconstruction of deconstruction.

Citizens' sociology, peeping into these abysses, must continuously try to make citizens repeatedly aware of what citizens are, repeatedly learn their social theory in order to analyze their own society, repeatedly grasp their rapidly changing society in its vivid realities and repeatedly innovate their way of life with a repetitively renewed perspective. Thus citizens' sociology should be repeatedly deconstructed as the sociology of, by, and for themselves, and sociologists should be citizens as well as professionals in order to illustrate this sort of sociology.

Note:

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