

2017 SNU-HU JOINT SYMPOSIUM

Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

PROGRAM			
DATE	SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2017		
VENUE	Bd 16, Room 548, Seoul National University		
DEC.8 (FRI)	18:30-22:30	Reception Dinner (Hoam Faculty House)	
DEC.9 (SAT)	09:00-09:30	Registration & Opening Address	
	<b>SESSION 1</b>		
	Chair: Kim Hong-Jung		
	09:30-10:20	Sakurai Yoshihide	Medicalization of Natural Death and Restoration of Human Death in Japan: for Sandwich Generation in East Asia
	10:20-11:10	Kim Seok-Ho, Kim Hong-Jung, Lee Sang-Kyu, Kim Eun-Ji, Kwon Oh-Jae	Dream Capital among Korean Youth, Rationally Chosen or Culturally Forbidden?
	11:10-12:00	Carola Hommerlich	Japan's Mass-Middle-Class Phenomenon Revisited: The Quiet Transformation of Status Identification
	12:00-13:30	LUNCH	
	<b>SESSION 2</b>		
	Chair: Sakurai Yoshihide		
	13:30-14:20	Han Sang-Jin	Moralities and Politics on Nuclear Power Plant: How to Explain the Contrasting Trajectories of Japan and Korea, and Which One is Better?
	14:20-15:10	Hashimoto Tsutomu	A Typological Theory of Ideologies in the Light of Recent Issues on Economic Ethics: Second Theory
	15:10-15:30	BREAK	
	<b>SESSION 3</b>		
	Chair: Han Sang-Jin		
15:30-16:20	Muramatsu Masataka	Irony and Humor as Antidote against Narcissism: Idea of Dialogue in Chomin Nakae's Philosophy	
16:20-17:10	Kim Hong-Jung	Survivalist Modernity and Governmentality of Survivalist Dreams: Focusing on Park Chung-Hee	
17:10-17:30	Overall Discussion		
18:00-	Dinner		



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*1*

Medicalization of Natural Death and Restoration  
of Human Death in Japan: for Sandwich  
Generation in East Asia

Yoshihide Sakurai





## Medicalization of natural death and restoration of human death in Japan: for sandwich generation in East Asia

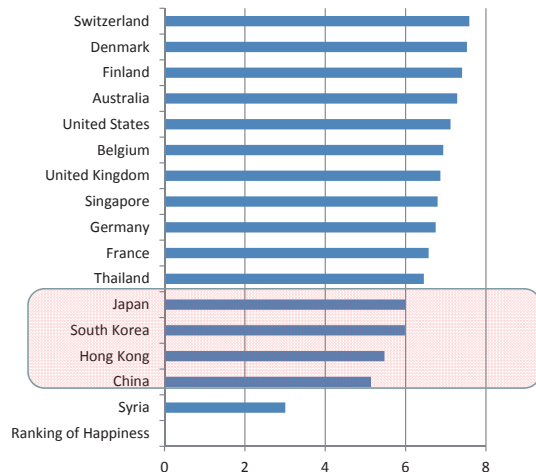
Yoshihide Sakurai

### outline

- 1 well-being in East Asia
- 2 Typology of death
- 3 Brain death: medicalization of death
- 4 Life prolong treatment: medicalization of living
- 5 Sandwich generation and their life course



### Ranking of Happiness 2015



### GDP and Happiness

World Ranking 2016

	GDP	Happiness
China	2	83
Japan	3	53
Korea	11	58
Indonesia	16	79
Taiwan	22	35
Thailand	27	33
Hong Kong	34	75
Malaysia	35	47
Singapore	39	22
Philippines	40	82
Vietnam	50	96

World Happiness Report 2016

The Earth Institute Columbia University

Regressions to Explain National Average Happiness: Log GDP per capita, Social support, Healthy life expectancy at birth, Freedom to make life choices, Generosity, Perceptions of corruption



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## The relationship between objective wellbeing and subjective wellbeing

Objective wellbeing	Subjective wellbeing	
	Satisfaction	Dissatisfaction
Good	High level wellbeing (A)	(B) East Asian puzzle ?
Bad	(C)	Low level wellbeing (D)

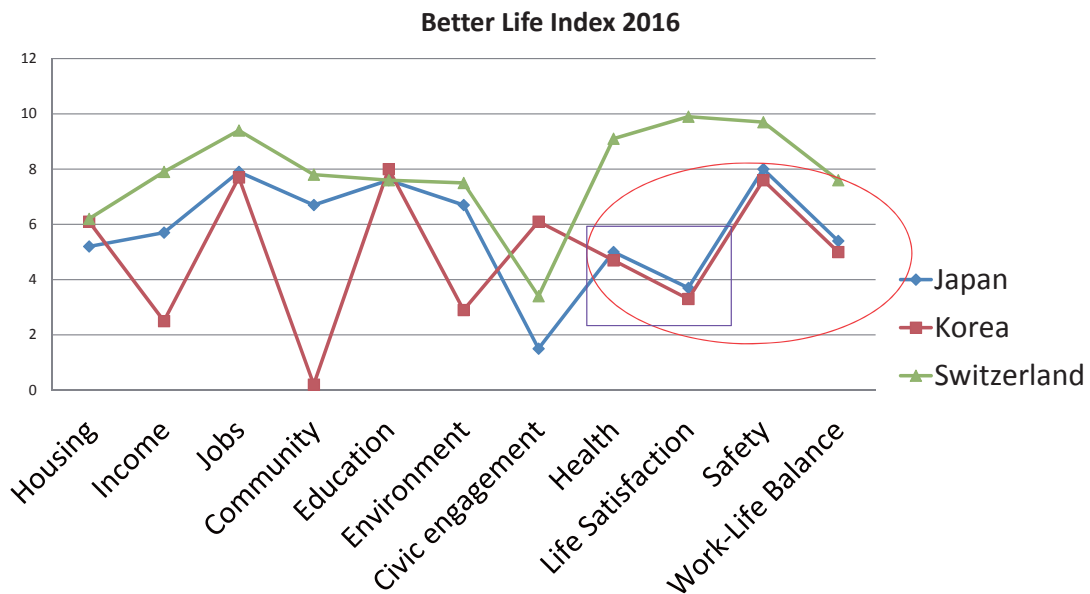
- By Kyung-Sup Chang, South Korea under Compressed Modernity: Familial Political Economy in Transition, 2010 Routledge. (1999)
  - Excessive educational pursuit, family-exploitative welfare, gender-biased industrialization, virtual demise of peasantry, and familial industrial governance were trends in South Korea.



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## Low level of health, life satisfaction, and work-life balance



## Question

**Q 1** How are the feature of super aged and dead person-increasing-society related to well-being in Japan?

- Similar trends of sandwich generational burden in other Asian countries.

**Q 2** How can we ease our fear and heal our emotional wound in this individualizing and competitive society?

- In times of reducing intimate, trustful and cooperative relationships in kinship, neighborhood, and workplace



## Typology of death

### Death and Person

- Third person objective viewpoint
- Second person intimate viewpoint
- First person subjective viewpoint

### Death and its causes

- Social
  - Suicide, traffic, isolated death, disaster, and capital punishment
- Medical development
  - Brain death and organ transplant
  - Life-prolong treatment



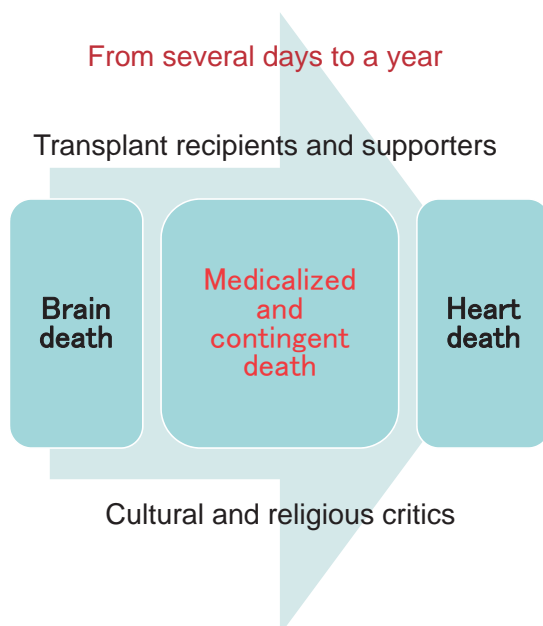
## Act on brain death and organ transplant

### 1997

- Act on brain death and organ transplant was enacted to enable organs transplant from brain dead patients.

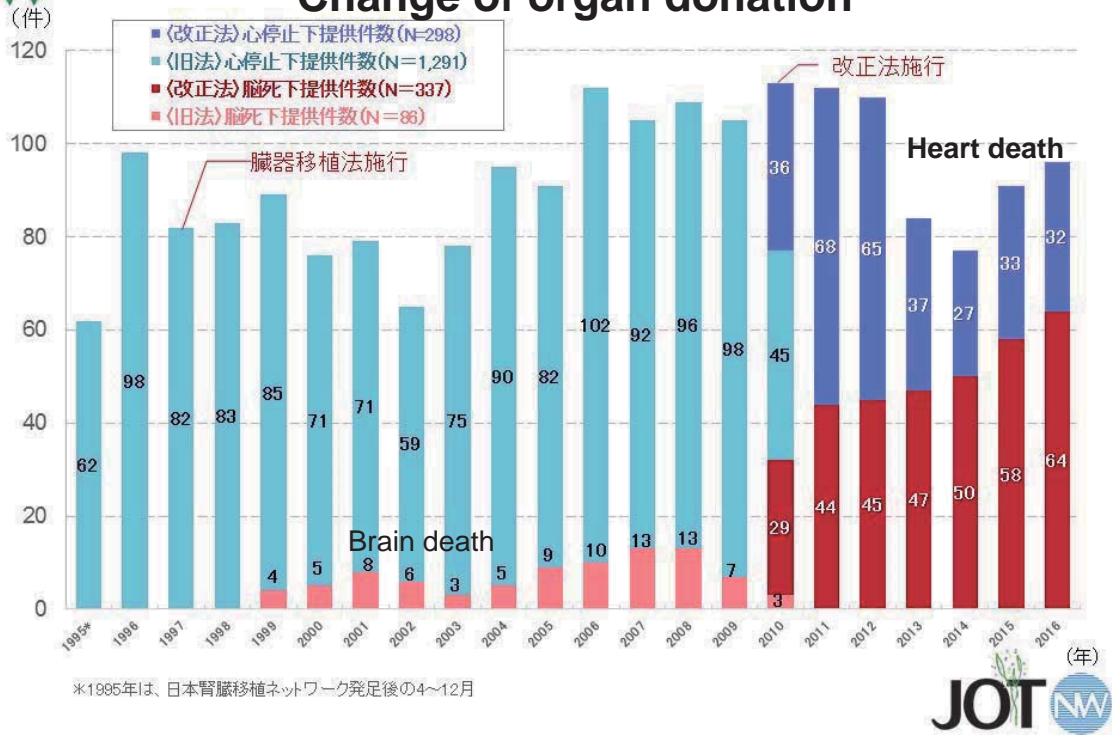
### 2009

- Amended to enable family to be substitute decision-maker, if the donor is under fifteen.

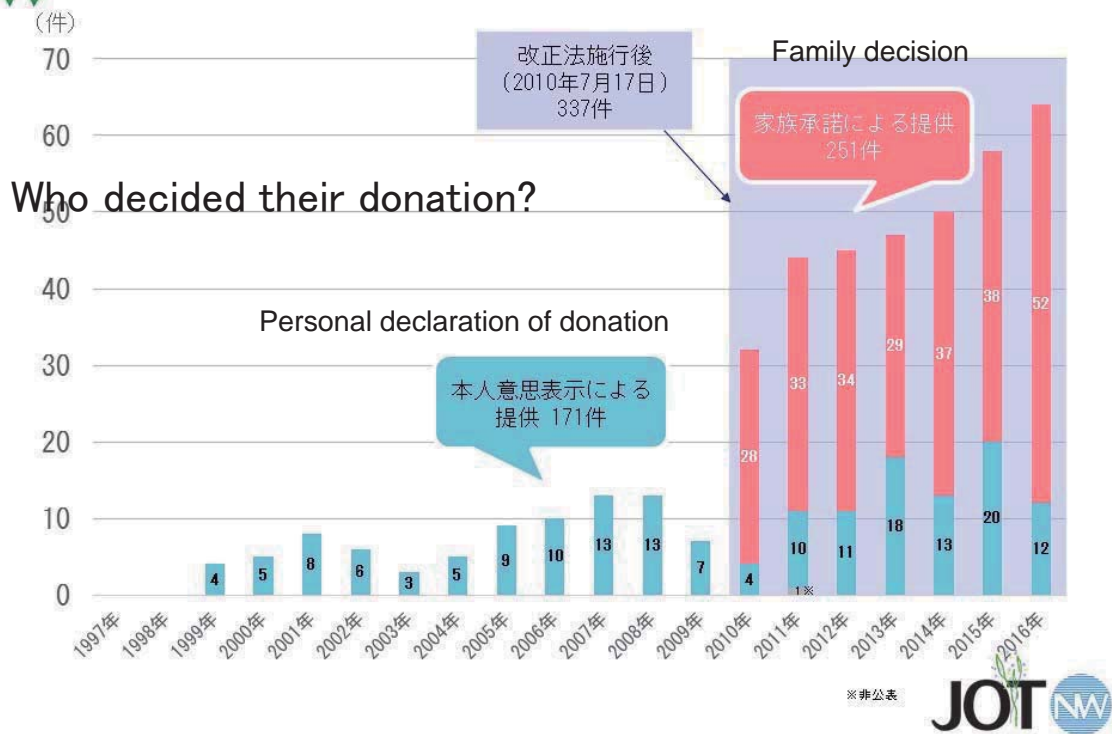




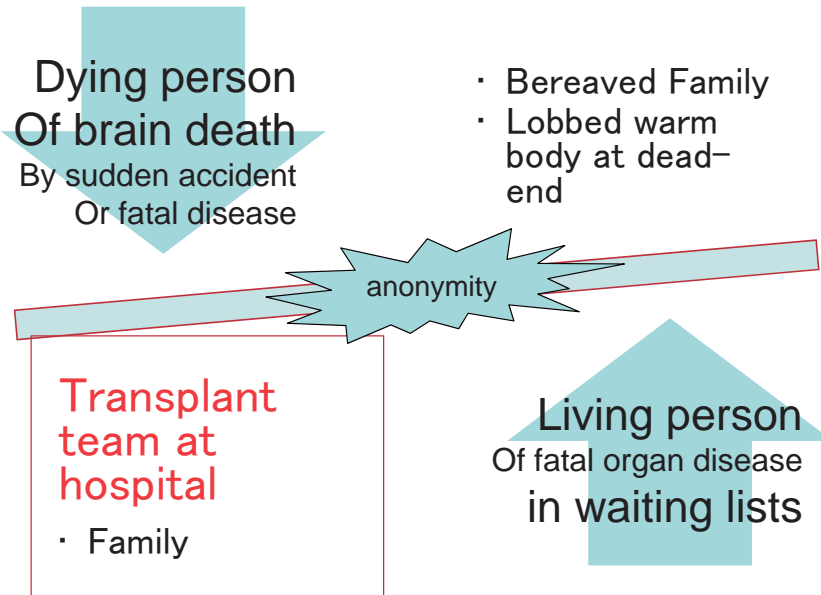
## 臓器提供件数の年次推移 Change of organ donation



## 脳死下臓器提供件数の推移と意思表示 (1997年10月16日~2016年12月31日、提供423件)



Social relations between donors and recipients



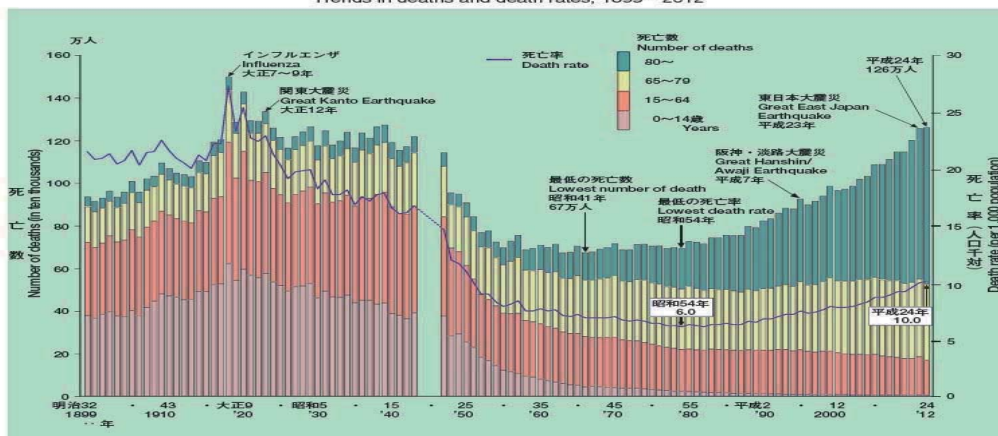
Change of mortality since Meiji to Heisei

死亡の動き General mortality

死亡数は前年を上回る

80% of Japanese will die over 65 years of age, and 50% over 80 years.

死亡数及び死亡率の年次推移—明治32～平成24年—  
Trends in deaths and death rates, 1899—2012

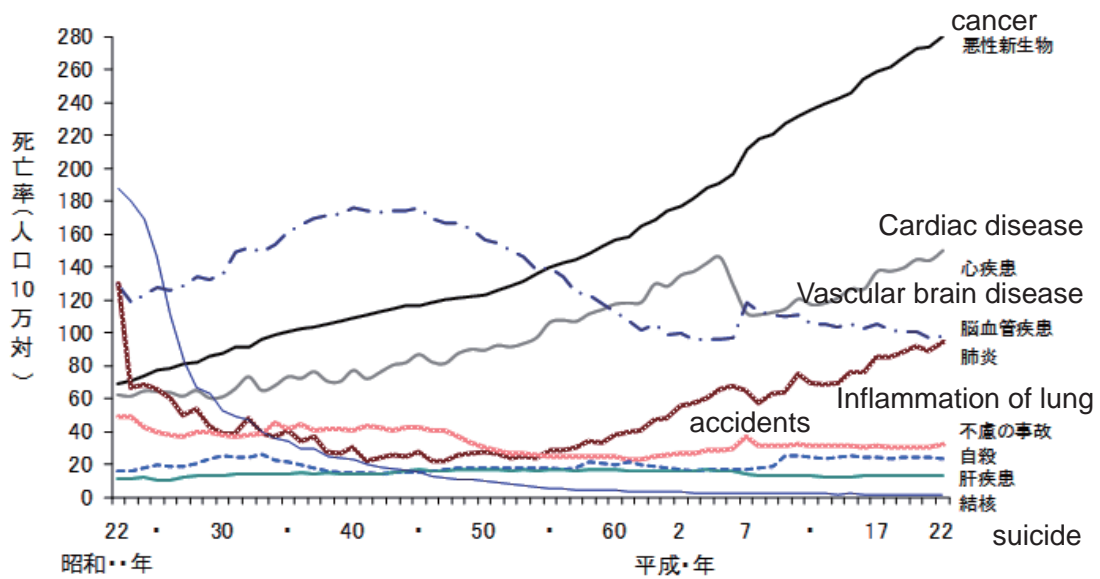




平成24年度診療報酬改定説明会(平成24年3月5日開催)資料等 厚生労働省



### Cause of mortality



厚生労働省 平成28年人口動態統計月報



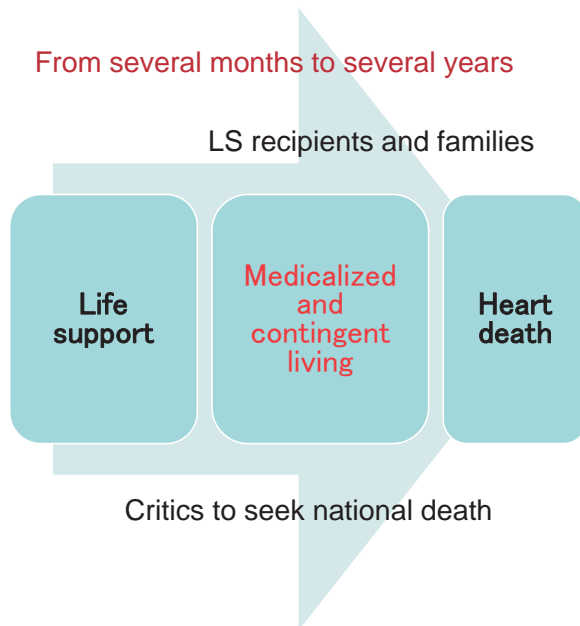
## Life prolong (support) treatment

### Life support

- performed in an emergency to support life after the failure of one or more vital organs

### Life support for agers

- Artificial feeding by gastrostomy, nasogastric, and intravenous nutrition.
- Artificial breathing



## Concern for the medical care on the final stage of our lives

### Critical events

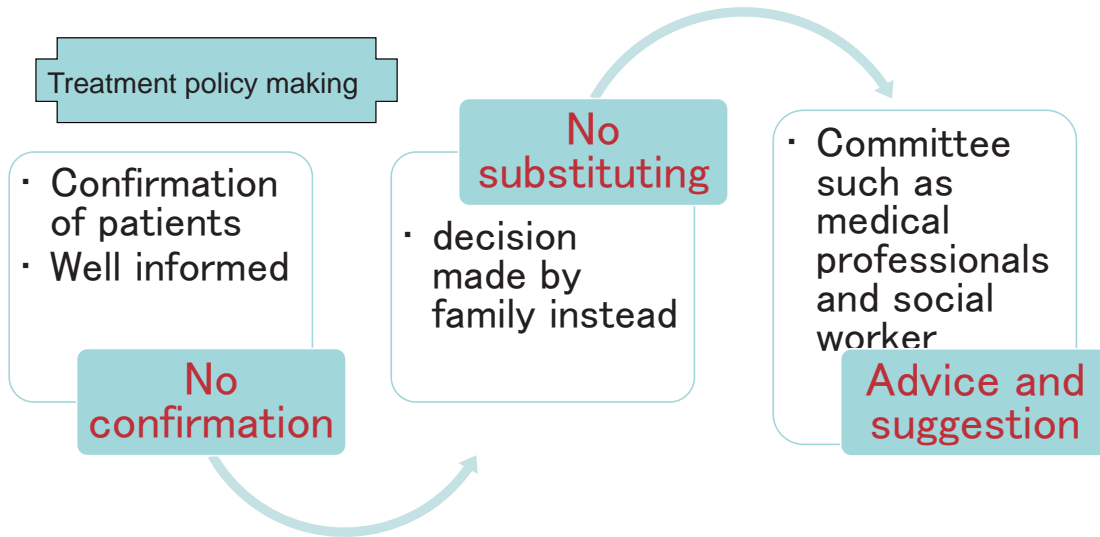
- Removal of artificial breathing at hospital in 2004 and 2006
  - Doctors did it with the consent of the person of terminal cancer and families, however police prosecuted them in the charge of murder.
  - Municipalities and academic association planed the guideline of terminal care.

### Legislation

- Promoting reform of the social security system in 2012
  - Respect for individual dignity and decision in the end of life
- Promoting reform of the sustainable social security system in 2013
  - Community-based integrated care systems and home care

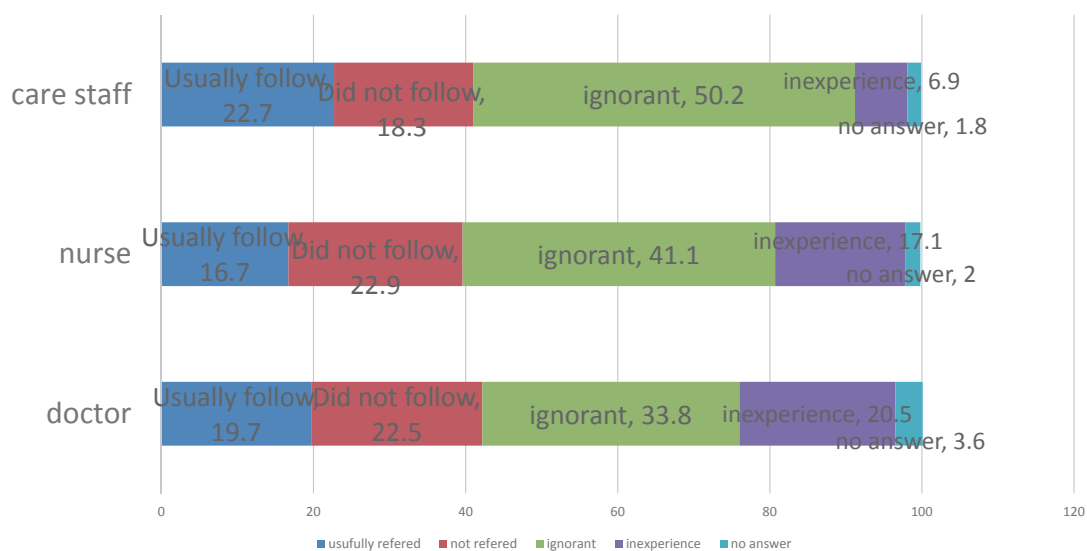


Medical process in the final stage of our lives

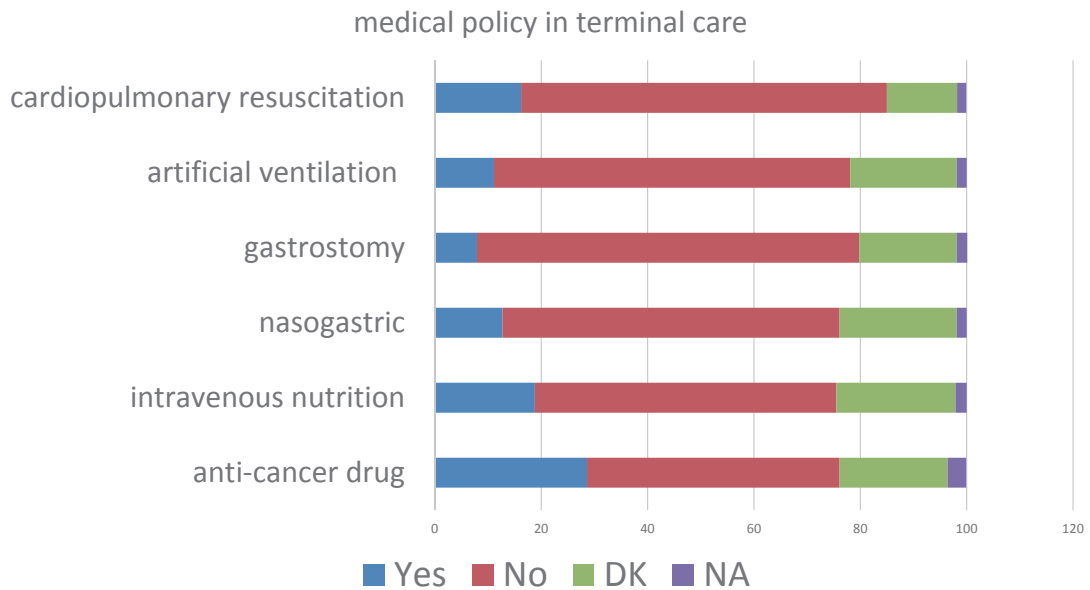


Utilization situation of the medical care guideline of in the end of life sample size cw. 880 nu. 1434 d. 921

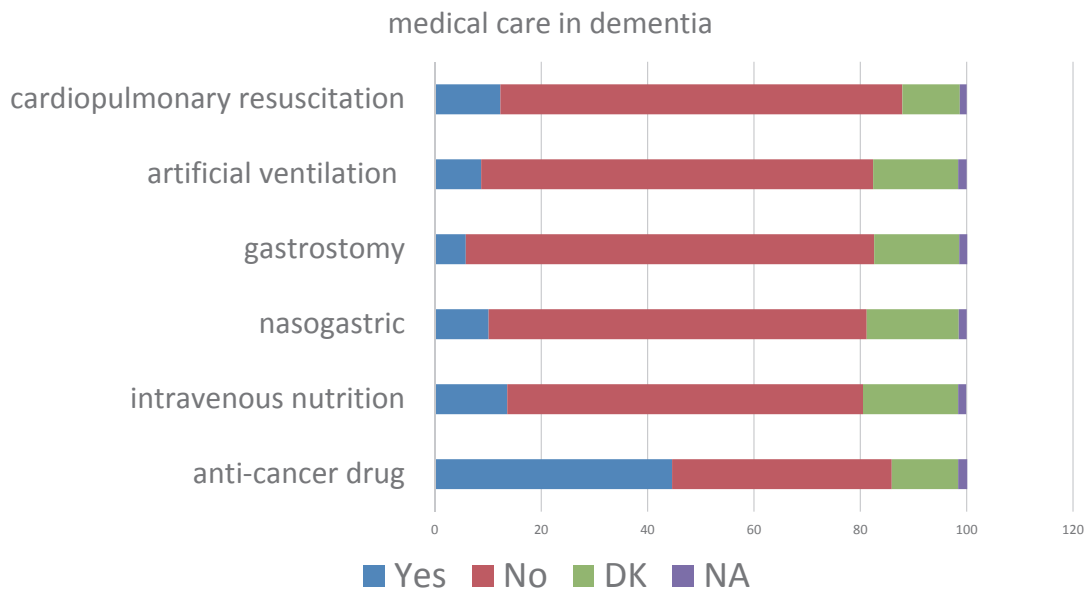
utilitization of the guideline in the end of life 2013



Medical care policy in the end of life stage by terminal cancer 18  
2179 sample size



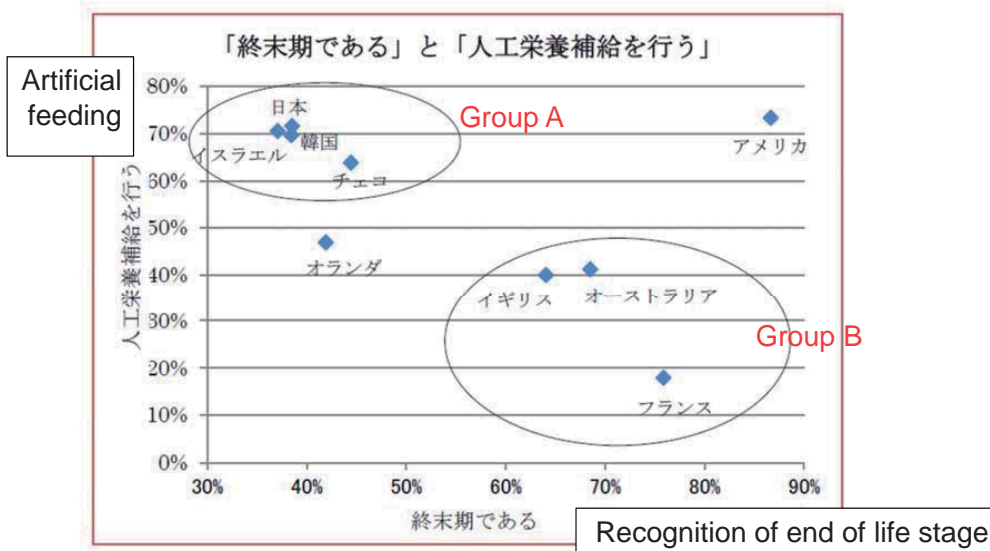
Medical care policy in the end of life stage by dementia 2179 19  
sample size





Comparative study of medical care in the end of life response to assuming case of dementia patients

20

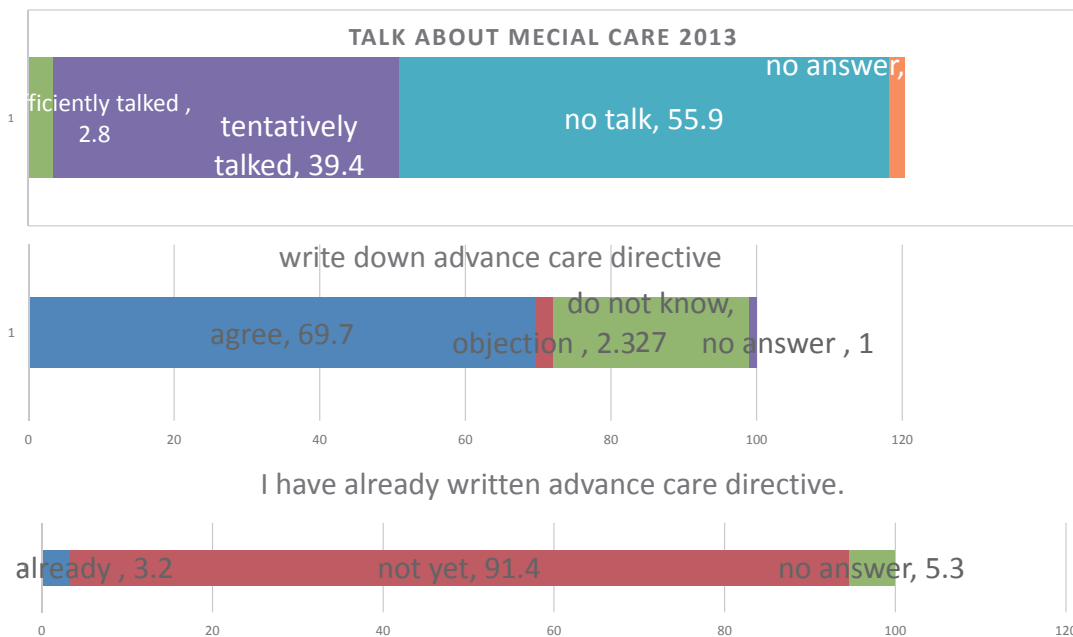


「終末期である」(問 3-1) と「実際には人工栄養補給を行う」(問 3-8)



Survey of the end of life medical care for nations in 2013  
2179 sample size

21



## Conclusion

- 1 Medicalized and contingent dying and living in brain death and organ transplants, and in artificial life support in the end of life destabilized the boundary between life stages. The concept and emotion of the second intimate death became complex.
  
- 2 Due to super aged society and its social agenda Japanese seem to worry about their living and dying in elder and end of life stage. Furthermore, the lack of explicit legislation, its sufficient taxation, and care system unfix social trust and subjective well-being.



## Further research

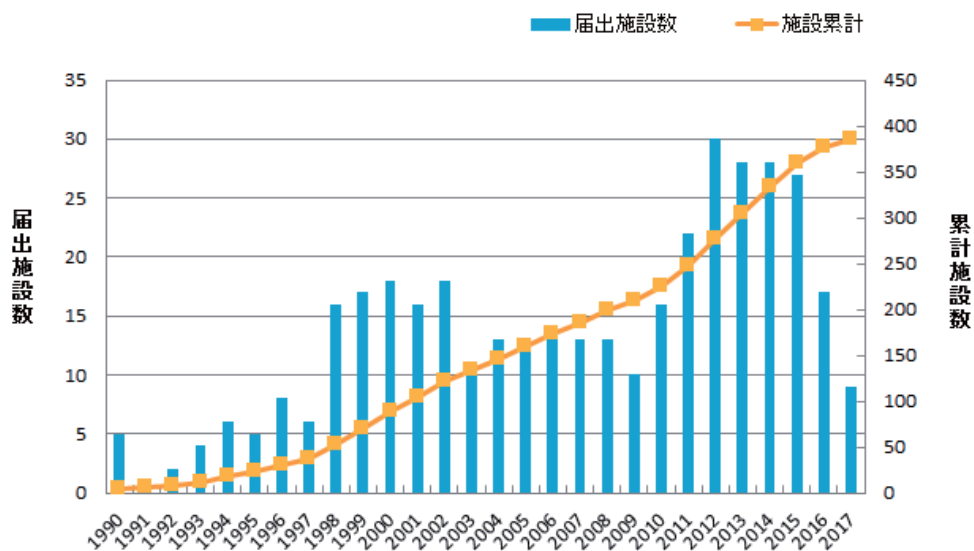
### Sandwich generation

- Due to long stagnation in the 1980s of the US middle agers should take care of children who did not sustain themselves at home and old parents.
- This situation shifted to East Asia and it is serious in one-child policy and low birth rate countries.
- This generation will lose easy rest of their life after raising their children.

### Life course and welfare policy

- New life style for elders should be established to ease their anxiety in long rest lives.





日本ホスピス緩和ケア協会 緩和ケア病棟届出施設の推移・累計施設数 HP  
[http://www.hpcj.org/what/pcu\\_sii.html](http://www.hpcj.org/what/pcu_sii.html)



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### Since 2011

- Engaged Buddhists
- Clinical religious outreach for suffering people by active-listening on bed and café.
- Satoshi Numaguchi, managed Amitaba, hospice supported by five monks.
- Over 200 monks certificated as clinical religious master at Tohoku University.



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 フィリップ・アリエス,1990,『死を前にした人間』成瀬駒男訳、みすず書房。



Thank you for kind attention.

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Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

<h1>2</h1>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Dream Capital among Korean Youth, Rationally Chosen or Culturally Forbidden?</b></p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">• Kim Seok-Ho      • Kim Hong-Jung      • Lee Sang-Kyu • Kim Eun-Ji      • Kwon Oh-Jae</p>
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# **Lack of Dream-Capital among Korean Youths, Rationally Chosen or Culturally Forbidden?**

Kim, Seokho, Kim, Hongjung, Lee, Sangkyu, Kim, Eunji, Kwon Ohjae  
(Seoul National University)

## **I. Introduction**

Although there has been considerable discourse on the miserable situation of young generation in Korea among scholars and journalists, it is surprising to see little empirical evidence supporting their speculation and argument. Most of discourse tend to emphasize how desperate, frustrated, and hopeless the Korean youth are and automatically conclude that they forget to dream about what the future of their life look like. Journalists also assert that Korean youth in 21th century are "3-give-up (sampo) generation" that gives up courtship, marriage, and childbirth for they live in "hell Chosun (Korea)". However, we need more evidence which show the reality of Korean youth in the various aspects.

While it is somewhat true for Korean youth to postpone to dream in order to survive, it does not mean that Korean youth are dreamless generation. Rather, they are "survivalist generation" whose most important problem is not to be eliminated from harsh competition today (Kim 2014). If it is the case, debating whether or not they are dreaming for future is meaningless. The more important questions we have to pose are how much Korean youth dream, what kinds of dreams they dream, and why they do not dream. Specially, this paper attempts to answer the third question, namely the reason that Korean youth hesitate to dream of ambitious future. This paper assumes that Korean youth do not or cannot dream for future based on rational judgement about the divergence of their perceived reality from desired goals. In order to examine this rational aspect of "dreaming" or "non-dreaming", this paper utilizes two concepts: dream-capital and penetration (Bourdieu, 1980; Kim, 2016; Kim et al. 2017; Willis, 1997).

"Dream-capital" is total capability to dream and the essential component of mind (Kim, 2015). Dream-capital is conceptualized as a seed, facilitating the accumulation of other capitals. It is composed of four dimensions: imagination, hope, optimism, and resilience (Kim, 2015; Kim et al., 2017). It is inherited by the parents to children through encouragement, personal myths, self-confidence, religious beliefs, etc. Thus, the capacity of dreaming among young people may vary according to what they are and what they have. Since dreams are pursued and formed associated with rational

cognitions, it is necessary to approach the dream-capital by taking into account the rational judgement of realizability of dream. In other words, young people intentionally or unwittingly penetrate the discrepancy between their capacity, condition, and qualification required to make their dream happen and their actual capacity, condition, and qualification to do so. This is the concept of “penetration” proposed by Wills (1997) and Bourdieu (1980), referring to the ability to recognize the realizability of dream. Based on the penetration, in this paper, youths are expected to decide to dream or not to dream. Since penetration makes youths decipher the complex relationships among various factors related to the possibility of dream realization and comprehend the discrepancy between what they want to do and what they can do, more penetration is expected to lead to less dream-capital.

In brief, this paper deals with the effects of penetration on dream-capital. By analyzing the “Korean Youth Values Survey” data collected by Seoul National University Asia Center, this paper firstly examines how overall level of dream-capital is influenced by total penetration score. As mentioned above, dream-capital is composed of four dimensions of imagination, hope, optimism, and resilience. Penetration also consists of four types such as individual trait, ascribed status, individual qualification, and national/social conditions. Thus, this paper also investigates the effects of four types of penetration on four dimensions of dream-capital. This paper attempts to provide empirical evidences in understanding the ways that contemporary youth pursue their dreams in in South Korea.

## **II. Dream Capital and Penetration**

### **1. Rationality of Dreams and Penetration**

To dream is to produce the imagined world transcending realities. This is why the world of dreams can comprise a variety of visions and fantasies. However, this principle of fantasy is limited, coordinated, and negotiated, in the process of the production of the future executed by the social agents through sober ‘cognition’. Our theoretical hypothesis is that dreaming social agents continue to envisage or calculate the (im)possibilities of subjectively nourished aspirations, by which they manage the intensity and contents of their own dreams. In other words, dreams are pursued and formed in close relation to rational cognitions. They are rationalized fantasies. In this sense, we need to approach the dream-capital by taking into account the capacity to penetrate the dreamer himself and his social environment. In order to establish this



kind of theoretical stance, we draw on Pierre Bourdieu's and Paul Willis' insights in a critical manner.

During his experiences of fieldwork from 1958 to 1961, Bourdieu acquired the following findings, i. e. that the "subjective hopes" of social agents are subtly adjusted by the sensible judgments and evaluations with regard to the "objective chances", and that the way of their producing the future is far from being purely fantastic but in a sense "reasonable" (Olivesi, 2007: 15-6). The reason why there are not so many agents who cherish unrealistic aspirations in the social world is explained by the fact that people are able to reconcile their 'desired future' with the 'possible future' under the guidance of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1997: 311-3). This ability to rationally manage one's dreams varies according to social class. Bourdieu witnessed the attitude of "being doomed to project impossible expectations" from lower proletariats of Algeria (Bourdieu, 1977: 67-8). They were not permitted to have the positive hope for the future due to lack of material resources with which to anticipate better future, at least in their imagination. In most cases, their dreams are hollow and radical at the same time. Short of substantial future, their visions are focused on "revolutionary millenarianism and magical utopianism" (Bourdieu, 1977: 91). So to speak, they hitch a wagon to a star, suffering from the anorexia of rationality which does not mean necessarily for Bourdieu the conscious capacity to make a choice with a calculative reason in a narrow sense of the word, but almost the unconsciously operative competence embodied in the agent's flesh under the form of habitus which is defined as "system of dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1980: 88)".

Whereas Bourdieu threw light on the rationality of dreams in exploring Algerian lower working classes, Willis recognized how realistically the English lower class juveniles figure out the limitations of future possibilities and at the same time what kind of ideological obstacles prevent the cognitive penetration of dominant power structure from leading to actual movement of collective resistance, in his participant observations of 1970s counter-school culture. Willis presented the concept of penetration as "impulses within a cultural form towards the penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position within the social whole" (Willis, 1977: 119). Also limitation is defined as obstacles and ideological resistances confusing and disturbing the full development of such impulses (Willis, 1977: 119). According to Willis, working class juveniles know already that it is not possible to move up the social ladder by mere hard work and get a good job by simply acquiring credentials. The public authority of the school is laughed at and ignored. Doing some cultural practices such as dossing, blagging, wagging, having a laff, they show resistance against the public educational culture (Willis, 1977: 26-30). The peer culture

exerts a negative influence so as to exclude the dream inappropriate for working class boy to harbor. The penetration of Paul Willis is something practiced in a collective setting, and deflected under the influence of dominant ideology. It creates an irony whereby the realization of one's limited reality ultimately results in the maintenance of hegemony.

Bourdieu and Willis both discovered that social agents render realizable the extent of their future dreams through cognitive judgments about their own self, as well as through social class, groups and environment to which they belong. For Bourdieu, this kind of judgment or calculation is executed by the action of habitus, while for Willis it is by cultural interactions within informal peer groups. We propose to resume this insight under the key concept of 'penetration' to apply to dreaming practices of Korean youth of 21st century, and to measure the extent to which they penetrate the realizability of their dreams.

In this research we integrate the insights provided by Bourdieu and Willis as the concept of 'penetration'. Although Bourdieu did not use this term directly, he too pointed out the fact that social agents have the capacity to see through what might and might not be available to them, making negotiation between subjective aspiration and objective opportunity. He suggested that dreaming occurs through constant interaction between rationality and fantasy. That is to say, the 'penetration through habitus'. The rationality of dream construed by Bourdieu is not so much about the narrowly defined capacity to make rational calculation but the comprehensive ability to figure out the complex relationships between capacity one possesses and social environment surrounding him. It does not necessarily entail conscious examination but always requires some kind of sensible judgment about the realities one lives in. In the case of Willis, it implies more of a cognitive ability. Willis sees penetration as the ability to rationally examine the possibility of one's social mobility and objective chances given to him (Welsh, 2001; Abowitz, 2000; Hogan, 1982). The lower class youth are well aware of the objective conditions surrounding them, and through what can be likened to cost-benefit analysis, they conclude that the possibility of upward social mobility is not worth their time, energy and work and therefore refuse to endure all the sufferings that come from longing for the uncertain future (MacLeod, 1987: 68, 105; McGrew, 2011: 253). All things considered, we propose a hypothesis that youths do not construct their dreams through mere desires and fantasies but carefully adjust their aspirations to realities under the rational judgments made through 'penetration'.

## **2. The Effects of Penetration on Dream-Capital**

In this paper, penetration is operationally defined as the “cognitive judgment about the (un)realizability of dream”. That is, it refers to the discrepancy between 1) judgment about the capacity, condition, and qualification required to fulfill one’s dream and 2) judgment about the extent to which one thinks he is equipped with that capacity, condition, qualification. The specific manner in which these judgments are measured will be mentioned in the next section.

As illustrated above, the rational penetration on Dream has been conspicuous in the experiences of Korean youth configuring their futures. Unlike the image of modern youth as a dreamer, the youth of the 21st century had been regarded as an agent who calculates and negotiates futures with their utmost rationalities (Kim, 2015). They are rather accustomed to the structure of competition under uncertain and insecure realities and bound to accept the structure of discrimination. Moreover, they were observed to have deep cynicism on their own lives and society due to uncertain futures (Oh, 2013, 2016; Lee et al, 2015; Cheong, 2016; Cheong & Kim, 2017). Moreover, the diverse discourses regarding youths popular in public sphere after 2010’s also show similar tendencies. For instance, youth are visualized as figures giving up futures as exemplified by the terms such as ‘3 give-up generation’ or ‘n give-up generation’. Korean society seems to be portrayed as rather gloomy and pessimistic in this discourse. They tend to conform to the existing social order and the myth of meritocracy and make efforts to tackle futures (Seo, 2009) armed with such world view. This tendency seems to be amplified more and more especially after the mid-2010’s. Young people in Korea express their sense of resignation and cynicism, self-remorse on strong social barriers which do not allow any expectation and hope for better futures despite their tremendous efforts. Therefore, they are performing ‘penetration’ of Paul Willis and Bourdieu while acutely conscious of the limit of Korean social structures (Lee 2016; Cho et al, 2016; Song & Lee, 2017).

Such observation and diagnosis produced in public sphere and media implicate that Korean youths of 21st century penetrates into the possibility/impossibility of the realization of their own dreams. The reality they penetrate into can be categorized into three dimensions such as national/social dimension, familial dimension, and individual dimension. For instance, we could find the clue for penetration into national and social reality as in the discourse of ‘Hell Choseon’ and ‘Escaping Choseon’. Moreover, as in ‘Spoon Class’ discourse, the penetration into the reality of inheriting familial prestige can be observed. The analysis of such reality could be found in the study of familial reproduction, ‘familial economic community (Cheon, 2017)’, and the relation with social mobility and family structures (Kim, 2016; Han, 2016). With this perspective, we can reread the existing literature on self-developing strategy and rediscover that individual

youths had penetrated into the reality (Seo, 2010; Lee et al, 2015). The penetration of youths into national/social dimension, familial backgrounds and individual realities firmly equipped with their rational awareness and judgement would have influenced their level of dream capital. We can build the following hypothesis.

Higher penetration into individual trait, lower their dream capital will get.

Higher penetration into ascribed status, lower their dream capital will get.

Higher penetration into individual qualification, lower their dream capital will get.

Higher penetration into national/social supports, lower the dream capital of Korean youth will get.

### **III. Methods**

#### **1. Data**

We analyze the “Korean Youth Values Survey” data collected by Seoul National University Asia Center. This survey was designed specifically for the study called “Dream-Capital of Creative Youth: A comparative study on Korea and China”. The ultimate purpose of the survey, however, is to examine the values that the youths of the 21<sup>st</sup> century hold in order to collect information that can serve as a foundation for policy-making and youths-relevant academic research.

The main focus of this survey centers on the concept of ‘dream capital’. Dream-capital is composed of four dimensions – that is, imagination, hope, optimism and resilience. By drawing on various components of dream-capital such as path of dream, contents of dream, and ways of dreaming, this survey aims to obtain a better understanding of the dream that our future generation has and ultimately of the Korean society that it constitutes. Also included in the survey are questionnaires designed to measure their perceptions towards the Korean society, media use along with the measures of SES, cultural and social capital, civic virtue and so on. The total number of cases used for the analysis is 793.

#### **2. Variables**

Our dependent variable is dream-capital. Dream-capital is measured using an index of 19 questions about respondents’ extent of agreement on the following statements: “I enjoy thinking about the future”, “I often picture future success”, “I do not dream for future”, “I talk about my dream others”, “I want to fulfill my hope”, “I am hopeful

about the future”, “I do not lose hope no matter what”, “I feel depleted thinking about future”, “I get anxious thinking about future”, “I talk about my hopes with others”, “I am confident that I can fulfill my dream”, “I express my optimism to others”, “My future will be better than now”, “I can overcome any struggle”, “I recover fast from stress”, “I have dealt well with previous failures”, “I have someone to depend on during hardships”, “I do not recover fast from life’s hardships”, “I tell my special others about how well I deal with difficult situations”. We reverse-coded some responses so that all responses are measured with the same directionality. That is, responses implying high level of dream-capital are all coded as 7 while those implying low level are coded as 1. We averaged them together to create the dream-capital index ( $\alpha = 0.93$ ).

Our key independent variable is ‘penetration’. As mentioned earlier, penetration in this research is operationally defined as the “cognitive judgment about the (un)realizability of dream”. It refers to the discrepancy between 1) judgment about the capacity/condition/qualification required to fulfill one’s dream and 2) judgment about the extent to which one thinks he is equipped with that capacity/condition/qualification. On this note, we had asked the respondents to rate the level of importance of the following aspects in the accomplishment of their dreams: policy support, social environment, parents’ economic status, parents’ social capital, parents’ education, knowing good people, bribing, willingness to challenge, effort, a creative mind, ability to adjust to the flow, one’s own level of education, foreign language skills, and abroad experience. This is #27 on the survey questionnaire and responses were given on a scale of 5, where 1 indicates ‘not important at all’ while 5 indicates ‘absolutely important’. We then asked them to rate their level of acquisition for each, which is #28 on the questionnaire. Responses were also given on a scale of 5, where 1 indicates ‘do not have it at all’ while 5 indicates ‘perfectly have it’. After standardizing these responses, we subtracted the response on #28 from the corresponding response on #27 to obtain the discrepancy score for each quality/condition. We then averaged all the discrepancy score together to create the total discrepancy score. While the values ranged from -2.96 to +3.36, we created a dummy variable where responses smaller than 0 is given the value of 1 while those greater than 0 is given the value of 0. This is because we operationally define penetration as the ability to realize the fact that the degree to which one possess certain conditions/qualities does not fulfill the degree to which they are required for the fulfillment of dream. On this note, individuals with the value 0 believe that they have more of a particular quality than the degree to which that quality is perceived to be important in achieving their dreams. On the other hand, those with the value 1 believe that they have less of a particular quality than is perceived to be important.

In addition to creating the total discrepancy score, we examined whether the aforementioned conditions/qualities can be organized into a fewer number of groups of like characteristics. We thereupon performed factor analysis and the result entailed four factor groups. We have named them 'individual trait' ( $\alpha = 0.83$ ), 'ascribed status' ( $\alpha = 0.79$ ), 'individual qualification' ( $\alpha = 0.70$ ), and 'societal factors' ( $\alpha = 0.57$ ) respectively. The discrepancy scores for each of these groups were obtained through the identical process as mentioned earlier (e.g. level of acquisition of individual trait - importance of individual trait). These four types of discrepancy, in other words, mean four types of penetration.

We wanted to examine the effect of penetration on dream-capital while taking into consideration the various types of other capital - that is, economic, cultural and social. Economic capital is measured with household income by dividing it into quintiles. Cultural capital is measured with the questionnaires designed to measure respondents' cultural knowledge. The responses were given on a scale of 4 where 4 indicates high level of knowledge. We averaged responses given on 11 statements such as 'I know a well-known conductor', 'I know a lot about literature', 'I can speak two or more languages' and 'I have studied art or music outside the school curriculum'. Social capital is measured with the questionnaire that reads 'Are you a member of the following 10 group?' Political gathering, volunteer groups, civil society associations and religious groups are some examples. There are three possible response categories: 1) I am an active member 2) I am a member but I rarely attend any meetings 3) I am not a member. Individuals who responded with 'I am an active member' on any of the 10 groups were coded as 1, while the rest were coded as 0.

We control for several socio-demographic characteristics, including gender, age, region, religion, and marital status along with individuals' educational attainment and employment status. We also control for life satisfaction for it may function as confounding variables. The detailed descriptions on the operationalization of these variables are presented in <Appendix 1>.

#### IV. Results

To provide a clear profile of the sample, the descriptive statistics for the sample is presented in <Table 1>. The 52% of the sample is male while the 42% is female. About 34% of the respondents belong to the age group of early 20s, 31% to late 20s and 34% to early 30s respectively. Individuals with an undergraduate degree make up the largest proportion (68%) of the sample. About 8%, 17% and 7% of the sample have a high school diploma, a college diploma and a master's/PhD degree respectively. Employed individuals make up 55% of sample. Individuals who are married make up 20%, while those who are single or divorced/widowed/separated constitute 78% and 2% of the sample respectively. About 59% of the sample believes in religion and about 52% reside in either Seoul, Incheon or Gyeonggi. The average score of happiness is 3.88.

The average score of dream-capital - our dependent variable - is 3.73. Individuals who are able to penetrate - that is, realizing the insufficient amount of conditions/qualities required in fulfilling their dreams - make up about 56% of the sample. With respect to the four types of penetration, those who are able to penetration on individual trait, ascribed status, individual qualification, and societal factors each constitute 53%, 56%, 52% and 49% of the sample.

Variables (Obsv.: 793 cases)		Mean (S.D.)	Range
Dream-capital		3.73 (0.92)	1-6.8
Penetration	Penetration	0.56	0-1
	Pen.: Individual Trait	0.53	0-1
	Pen.: Ascribed Status	0.56	0-1
	Pen.: Individual Qualification	0.52	0-1
	Pen.: Societal Factors	0.49	0-1
Economic Capital (Unit: 10,000 KRW)	Household Income: 1 <sup>st</sup> quintile	0.23	~250
	Household Income: 2 <sup>nd</sup> quintile	0.27	250~400
	Household Income: 3 <sup>rd</sup> quintile	0.14	400~500
	Household Income: 4 <sup>th</sup> quintile	0.19	500~700
	Household Income: 5 <sup>th</sup> quintile	0.16	700~
Cultural Capital		2.33 (0.49)	1-3.8
Social Capital		0.43	0-1
Gender	Male	0.52	0-1
	Female	0.48	0-1
Age	Early 20s	0.34	0-1
	Late 20s	0.31	0-1
	Early 30s	0.34	0-1

Educational attainment	High School	0.08	0-1
	College	0.17	0-1
	University	0.68	0-1
	Graduate School	0.07	0-1
Employment Status	Employed	0.55	0-1
	Unemployed	0.45	0-1
Marital Status	Married	0.20	0-1
	Single	0.78	0-1
	Divorced/Widowed/Separated	0.02	0-1
Religion	Religious	0.41	0-1
	Non-religious	0.59	0-1
Region	Seoul/Incheon/Gyeonggi	0.52	0-1
	Other cities	0.48	0-1
Happiness		3.88 (0.99)	0-7

<Table 1> Descriptive Statistics of Respondents

With respect to economic capital, income interval (unit: 10,000KRW) for each household income quintile is 250 or below/250~400/400~500/500~700/700 or above. The average cultural capital score is 2.33. Regard to social capital, those who are encoded as having social capital comprise 43% of the sample.

As can be seen in <Table 2>, penetration alone has statistically significant negative influence on dream-capital. This indicates that individuals who are able to ‘penetrate’ – that is, being able to realize the fact that they do not possess enough of the condition/qualities required in fulfilling their dreams – have lower dream-capital. In other words, those who negatively perceive the realizability of their dreams have lower dream-capital than their counterparts. This effect remains even after taking into consideration the socio-demographic factors as well as the economic-, cultural- and social capital, and its coefficient changes only slightly.

<Table 2> OLS Regression result for Dream-capital (Comprehensive Penetration)

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Penetration	-0.427*** (0.0642)	-0.235*** (0.0603)	-0.233*** (0.0609)	-0.207*** (0.0609)	-0.222*** (0.0608)	-0.198*** (0.0617)
Male (vs. Female)		0.0204 (0.0580)	0.0196 (0.0582)	0.00772 (0.0579)	0.0316 (0.0583)	0.0169 (0.0586)
Late 20s (vs. Early 20s)		0.267***	0.263***	0.248***	0.263***	0.243***



Early 30s (vs. Early 20s)	(0.0722)	(0.0727)	(0.0722)	(0.0722)	(0.0727)
	0.140*	0.136*	0.125	0.146*	0.127
College (vs. High School)	(0.0813)	(0.0819)	(0.0812)	(0.0813)	(0.0818)
	-0.220*	-0.213*	-0.244*	-0.227*	-0.242*
University (vs. High School)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.124)	(0.125)	(0.125)
	-0.210*	-0.196*	-0.175	-0.207*	-0.166
Graduate School (vs. High School)	(0.109)	(0.111)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.111)
	-0.266*	-0.248	-0.213	-0.262*	-0.204
Employed (vs. Unemployed)	(0.151)	(0.153)	(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.154)
	-0.112*	-0.0996	-0.0844	-0.107*	-0.0757
Single (vs. Married)	(0.0603)	(0.0635)	(0.0608)	(0.0603)	(0.0637)
	0.0185	0.0121	0.0386	0.0209	0.0331
Divorced/Widowed/Separated (vs. Married)	(0.0842)	(0.0853)	(0.0842)	(0.0842)	(0.0852)
	0.360	0.351	0.348	0.356	0.338
Religious (vs. Non-religious)	(0.234)	(0.234)	(0.233)	(0.233)	(0.233)
	-0.0661	-0.0643	-0.0350	-0.0488	-0.0230
Other regions (vs. Seoul/Incheon/Gyeonggi)	(0.0601)	(0.0604)	(0.0609)	(0.0610)	(0.0617)
	0.0340	0.0303	0.0286	0.0326	0.0259
Happiness	(0.0571)	(0.0577)	(0.0569)	(0.0570)	(0.0575)
	0.389***	0.388***	0.384***	0.384***	0.380***
Household Income: 2 <sup>nd</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)	(0.0305)	(0.0307)	(0.0304)	(0.0306)	(0.0307)
		-0.0425			-0.0343
Household Income: 3 <sup>rd</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		(0.0837)			(0.0835)
		-0.0513			-0.0395
Household Income: 4 <sup>th</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		(0.1000)			(0.0997)
		-0.0675			-0.0514
Household Income: 5 <sup>th</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		(0.0947)			(0.0944)
		-0.0407			-0.0120
Cultural Capital		(0.0983)			(0.0983)
			-0.175***		-0.164**
			(0.0626)		(0.0636)

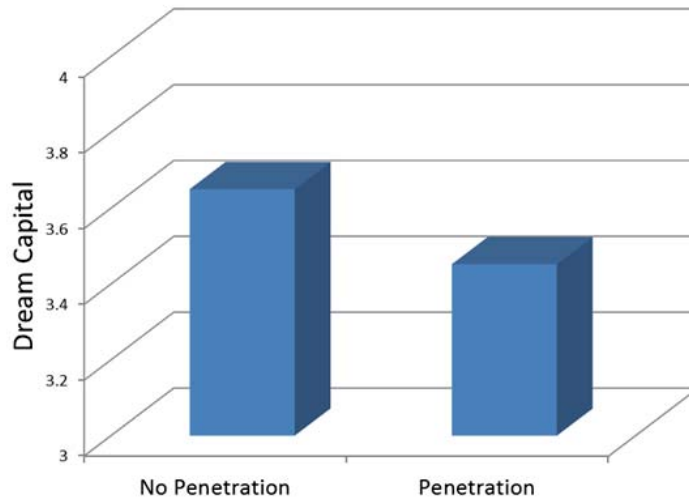
Social Capital					-0.0995 (0.0604)	-0.0748 (0.0612)
Constant	3.550*** (0.0423)	2.231*** (0.185)	2.266*** (0.192)	2.624*** (0.231)	2.281*** (0.187)	2.662*** (0.237)
Observations	793	793	793	793	793	793
R-squared	0.053	0.262	0.262	0.269	0.264	0.271

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

In model 2 where we control for socio-demographic variables along with happiness, the effect penetration has on dream-capital diminishes – that is, the coefficient drops from -0.43 to -0.24. This is due in part to the role that happiness plays in determining the level of dream-capital. It seems that happiness correlates with penetration (possibly affected by penetration) and, as happiness has a positive effect on dream-capital, it takes a part of the total effect that penetration has on dream-capital. As we have mentioned earlier, this study is concerned with the rational and cognitive domains of penetration, upon which we control for happiness in the rest of the models. Notwithstanding, the nature of the relationship remains unchanged upon controlling for the socio-demographic variables as well as happiness. In model 3, we consider the effect of economic capital together with penetration on dream-capital. The change made to the penetration coefficient is nearly non-existent. On the other hand, when we take account of cultural capital in model 4, the magnitude of the penetration effect becomes smaller to some extent. Having higher cultural capital appears to lower dream-capital and this effect is statistically significant. Social capital in model 5 does not have an independent effect on dream-capital and makes only a slight change to the penetration coefficient.

As a consequence, the final model 6 conceptually indicates that even among the individuals who share the similar level of economic-, cultural- and social capital, being able to penetrate insufficient resources in pursuing the dream leads to lowering of their dream-capital (see [Figure 1]). In this sense, we can justify the importance of penetration as one of the vital factors that determine, condition and modify dream-capital. Individuals build up their dream-capital not on the basis of mere reverie or daydreaming, but from rational judgment on realistic condition/qualities based on which they pursue their goals.

][Figure 1] Marginal effects of Penetration on Dream-capital



We will not spend much time discussing the relationship between socio-demographic controls and dream-capital. There are some trends, however, that are worth pointing out. For instance, individuals in their late 20s or early 30s, compared to those in their early 20s, appear to have higher dream-capital. With respect to educational attainment, individuals with a high school diploma seem to have rather higher dream-capital than those with greater educational attainment. This effect, however, does not appear statistically significant in all models and weakens especially after controlling cultural capital. Happiness is positively related to dream-capital: individuals with a greater level of happiness have higher dream-capital. This effect remains robust across all models. Marital status, religion and place of residence do not show statistically significant influence on dream-capital.

<Table 3> shows six models in which we decompose the penetration variable into four discrete predictors. As we describe in the explanation on variables, these four predictors constitute each realm of penetration; namely, individual trait, ascribed status, individual qualification and societal factors. In each realm, individuals judge whether they possess more resources than are needed in fulfilling their dream, and the four penetration indicators mark whether respondents have ‘penetrated’ their relatively insufficient resources in each realm.

<Table 3> OLS Regression result for Dream-capital (Penetration in each realm)

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6

Pen.: Individual Trait	-0.144*	-0.0824	-0.0803	-0.0682	-0.0705	-0.0591
	(0.0743)	(0.0669)	(0.0673)	(0.0667)	(0.0671)	(0.0673)
Pen.: Ascribed Status	-0.335***	-0.223***	-0.221***	-0.210***	-0.219***	-0.207***
	(0.0722)	(0.0652)	(0.0656)	(0.0650)	(0.0651)	(0.0654)
Pen.: Individual Qualification	-0.094	-0.0341	-0.0358	-0.0288	-0.0343	-0.0309
	(0.0705)	(0.0638)	(0.0641)	(0.0634)	(0.0637)	(0.0637)
Pen.: Societal Factors	0.168**	0.168***	0.166***	0.175***	0.169***	0.174***
	(0.0685)	(0.0616)	(0.0618)	(0.0613)	(0.0615)	(0.0615)
Male (vs. Female)		0.00108	0.000328	-0.0133	0.0130	-0.00310
		(0.0587)	(0.0589)	(0.0585)	(0.0589)	(0.0592)
Late 20s (vs. Early 20s)		0.268***	0.264***	0.249***	0.264***	0.244***
		(0.0723)	(0.0728)	(0.0722)	(0.0723)	(0.0727)
Early 30s (vs. Early 20s)		0.135*	0.131	0.119	0.142*	0.123
		(0.0815)	(0.0820)	(0.0812)	(0.0814)	(0.0818)
College (vs. High School)		-0.269**	-0.263**	-0.291**	-0.276**	-0.292**
		(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.125)
University (vs. High School)		-0.256**	-0.244**	-0.216**	-0.251**	-0.210*
		(0.109)	(0.111)	(0.109)	(0.109)	(0.111)
Graduate School (vs. High School)		-0.286*	-0.272*	-0.228	-0.281*	-0.222
		(0.150)	(0.154)	(0.151)	(0.150)	(0.154)
Employed (vs. Unemployed)		-0.104*	-0.0949	-0.0755	-0.100*	-0.0706
		(0.0602)	(0.0633)	(0.0606)	(0.0601)	(0.0635)
Single (vs. Married)		0.0129	0.00797	0.0352	0.0164	0.0319
		(0.0843)	(0.0853)	(0.0842)	(0.0842)	(0.0852)
Divorced/Widowed/Separated (vs. Married)		0.333	0.326	0.320	0.328	0.311
		(0.233)	(0.234)	(0.232)	(0.233)	(0.233)
Religious (vs. Non-religious)		-0.0908	-0.0891	-0.0562	-0.0709	-0.0425
		(0.0599)	(0.0602)	(0.0607)	(0.0608)	(0.0616)
Other regions (vs. Seoul/Incheon/Gyeonggi)		0.0397	0.0368	0.0352	0.0386	0.0338
		(0.0571)	(0.0577)	(0.0568)	(0.0570)	(0.0574)

Happiness	0.388***	0.387***	0.382***	0.382***	0.378***
	(0.0304)	(0.0306)	(0.0303)	(0.0305)	(0.0306)
Household Income: 2 <sup>nd</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		-0.0308			-0.0206
		(0.0838)			(0.0835)
Household Income: 3 <sup>rd</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		-0.0444			-0.0307
		(0.1000)			(0.0995)
Household Income: 4 <sup>th</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		-0.0524			-0.0347
		(0.0948)			(0.0944)
Household Income: 5 <sup>th</sup> (vs. lowest quintile)		-0.0299			0.00282
		(0.0982)			(0.0982)
Cultural Capital			-0.188***		-0.176***
			(0.0623)		(0.0633)
Social Capital				-0.110*	-0.0841
				(0.0602)	(0.0610)
Constant	3.561***	2.330***	2.356***	2.756***	2.385***
	(0.0544)	(0.188)	(0.195)	(0.234)	(0.190)
Observations	793	793	793	793	793
R-squared	0.054	0.268	0.269	0.277	0.271
					0.279

\* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

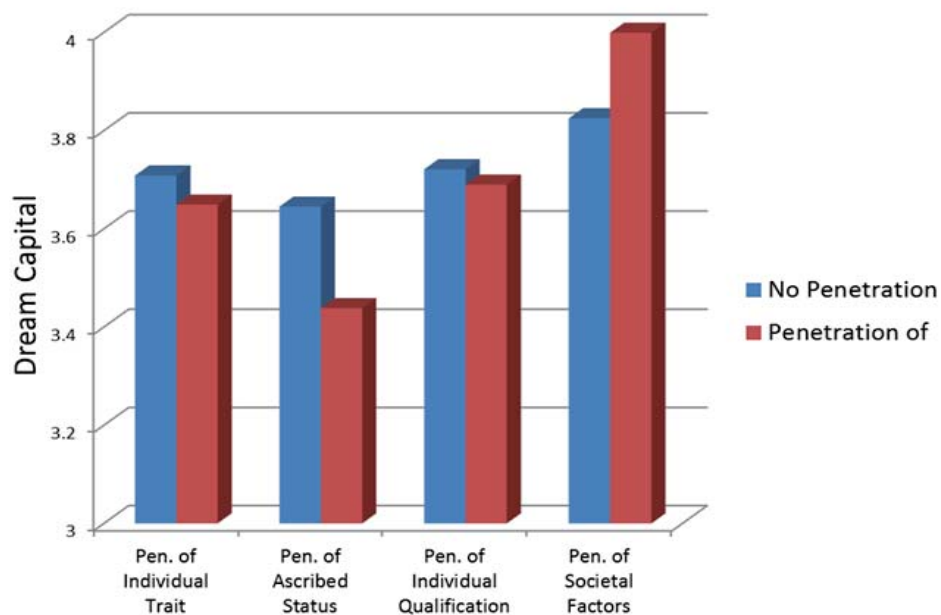
Model 1 includes no variables other than these four penetration variables. The results show that individuals who penetrate their lack of resources on individual trait and ascribed status have a lower level of dream-capital. It is noteworthy that penetration on ascribed status makes a greater gap in dream-capital than that on individual traits or individual qualification. On the other hand, a higher level of dream-capital is observed among those who perceive deficiency in societal factors; in other words, individuals who believe that they are equipped with more than enough societal resources show comparably lower dream-capital.

In model 2 in which we control for socio-demographic variables as well as happiness, the difference in dream-capital led by penetration on individual trait diminishes and loses its statistical significance. The coefficient of penetration on ascribed status weakens as well, but it keeps its significance in statistical sense. On the other hand, the

difference in dream-capital caused by penetration on societal factors remains unchanged. As happiness seems to modify the coefficients, we can assume the correlation between happiness and penetration on individual trait as well as with ascribed status, but not with societal factors. When we control for economic-, cultural- and social capital in model 3, 4 and 5 respectively, the coefficients of the four penetration predictors generally remain unchanged.

Finally, in model 6, penetration on ascribed status and societal factors are found to be important predictors of dream-capital. These effects are found to be statistically significant regardless of the amount of the other three types of capital that individuals have. With respect to ascribed status, among the individuals who share the similar level of economic-, cultural- and social capital, those who are capable of penetrating the insufficient level of ascribed status in fulfilling their dream show a lower level of dream-capital (see [Figure 2]). This implies that in young adults' mind, the judgment on their ascribed status rather than on individual trait or qualification plays a more important role in promoting/inhibiting the development of dream-capital.

[Figure 2] Marginal effects of Penetration in each realm on Dream-capital



Meanwhile, a somewhat opposite relationship is found between penetration on societal factors and dream-capital. Those who consider societal resources - that is, governmental support or social climates - to be relatively sufficient - possess a lower level of dream capital. One possible interpretation on this result is that people may not

feel the need to develop their dream capital when adequate societal environment has been provided.

Despite some heterogeneity within each realm of penetration, the results with the four discrete penetration types appear to be in line with those with the comprehensive penetration measure. These predictors condition dream-capital, hence indicating the significant influence the ability to 'penetrate' has on dream-capital.

## **V. Conclusion**

So far, we have examined the effects of penetration on dream-capital. Specifically, we examine how overall level of dream-capital is influenced by total penetration score and how four types of penetration are shaped by four dimensions of dream-capital, respectively. First, we confirmed that dream-capital is affected by penetration. Even among the individuals who share the similar level of economic-, cultural- and social capital, the ability to penetrate insufficient resources in pursuing the dream leads to lowering of their dream-capital. Second, penetration on ascribed status and societal factors are found to be important predictors of dream-capital. These effects are found to be statistically significant regardless of the amount of the other three types of capital that individuals have. These results imply that the judgment on their ascribed status rather than on individual trait or qualification plays a more important role in promoting dream-capital.

This particular manner with which we analyze the way individuals dream offers new insights into the South Korea youths of the 21st century. Most of the discourses delineating the South Korean youths, ranging from "sampo generation' (generation who gives up three things) to 'hell Chosun', usually focus on the emotional aspects of dream such as despair, helplessness or rage. Concentrating on the emotional attitude, such discourses often result in the descriptions of the youths as helpless and sometimes pitiful individuals who are discouraged and frustrated having faced by the harsh reality. Through this work, we strive to go beyond those assumptions by considering how the Korean youths are cognitively and rationally adjusting and negotiating their dreams. By doing so we hope to enrich the understanding of the ways that contemporary youth pursue their dreams in the 21st century.

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<Appendix 1> Detailed Descriptions on the Operationalization of Variables

Variables	Operationalization	Measurement
Dream Capital	<p>An index created with the following statements:</p> <p>“I enjoy thinking about the future”                      “I often picture future success”                      “I do not dream for future”                      “I talk about my dream others”                      “I want to fulfill my hope”                      “I am hopeful about the future”                      “I do not lose hope no matter what”                      “I feel depleted thinking about future”                      “I get anxious thinking about future”                      “I talk about my hopes with others”                      “I am confident that I can fulfill my dream”                      “I express my optimism to others”                      “My future will be better than now”                      “I can overcome any struggle”                      “I recover fast from stress”                      “I have dealt well with previous failures”                      “I have someone to depend on during hardships”                      “I do not recover fast from life’s hardships”                      “I tell my special others about how well I deal with difficult situations”</p>	1-7
Penetration		
Penetration:	<p>Knowing good people                      Willingness to challenge                      Own effort</p>	

Individual Traits	Creative minds Ability to adjust to flow Social skills	
Penetration: Ascribed Status	Parents' economic status Parents' social capital Parents' education Born talent Sex	
Penetration: Individual Qualification	Educational attainment Foreign language skills Abroad experience	
Penetration: Societal Factors	Policy support Social environment	
Economic Capital	Monthly household income	Lowest Quartile = 1 Medium Lowest Quartile = 2 Medium Highest Quartile = 3 Highest Quartile = 4
Cultural Capital	An index created with the following statements:  I enjoy class music I enjoy literature I am a well-educated person I know a well-known conductor I know a lot about literature I enjoy trying popular restaurants I often borrow or buy books I can speak two or more languages My parents encouraged me to read when I was young I have learned calligraphy outside of	1-4

	<p style="text-align: center;">school I have studied art or music outside the school curriculum</p>	
Social Capital	<p>Are you a member of the following group/association?</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Political gathering  Neighborhood meeting  Volunteer groups  Civil society associations  Religious groups  Alumni associations  Leisure groups/associations  Trade union  Professional associations / art  community  Study groups </p>	<p style="text-align: center;">0 = No 1 = Yes</p>
Gender	Respondent's sex	<p style="text-align: center;">Female=0 Male =1</p>
Age	Born Year	<p style="text-align: center;">Early 20s = 1 Late 20s = 2 Early 30s = 3</p>
Region	Currently residing region	<p style="text-align: center;">Metropolitan cities =1 Small cities=2 Rural =3</p>
Religion	Respondent's religion	<p style="text-align: center;">Non-religious = 0 Religious = 1</p>
Marital Status	Respondent's marital status	<p style="text-align: center;">1 = Married 2 = Single 3 = Divorced/Widowed/ Separated</p>

Employment Status	Have a job	0 = No 1 = Yes
Respondent's Educational Attainment	Respondent: Highest level of schooling attended	High school = 1 College = 2 University = 3 Graduate School = 4
Happiness	How happy are you in general these days?	1-7



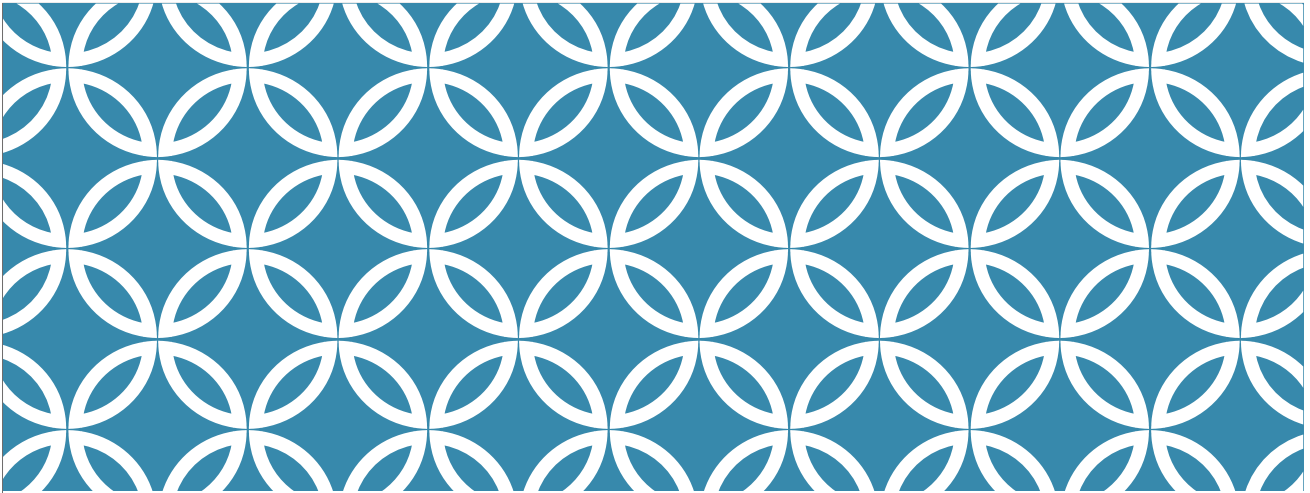
2017 SNU-HU JOINT SYMPOSIUM

Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

<p>3</p>	<p>Japan's Mass-Middle-Class Phenomenon Revisited: The Quiet Transformation of Status Identification</p> <hr/> <p>Carola Hommerich</p>
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## The Quiet Transformation of Status Identification – Japan's Mass-Middle-Class Phenomenon Revisited

Prof. Dr. Carola Hommerich

### MYSTERIOUS MASS-MIDDLE-CLASS

#### Research Questions

- What is the relationship between objective social status and subjective status identification?
- Has this relationship changed over the past 30 years in Japan?

2

# OUTLINE

- I. Social change in Japan – a short recap
- II. Blackbox Mass-Middle-Class  
Determinants of status identification over time – an analysis of SSM and SSP survey data
- III. The quiet transformation of status identification

3

# I. SOCIAL CHANGE IN JAPAN – A SHORT RECAP

Based on: Chivavacci und Hommerich 2017

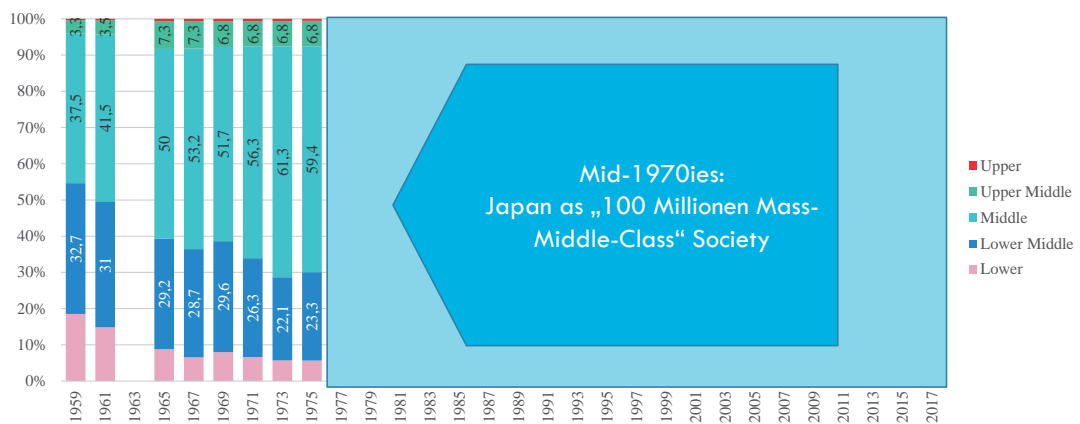
4



## 1950 – 1979: FROM DEFEATED NATION TO MASS-MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY

5

## STATUS IDENTIFICATION, 1959 - 2017



Source: Cabinet Office, Public Opinion Survey of the Life of the People

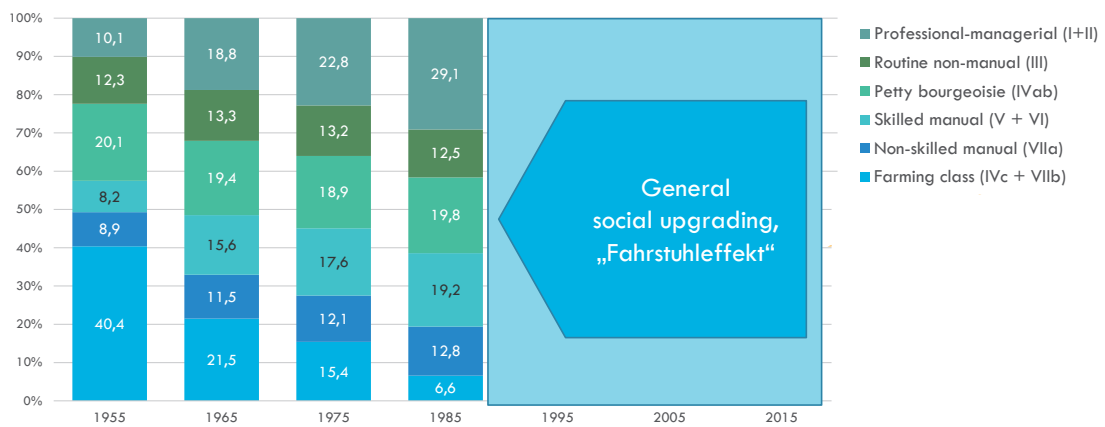
6



1980 – 2015:  
FROM “JAPAN AS NUMBER ONE”  
TO GAP SOCIETY

7

## JAPAN'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE, 1955 - 2015



Source: Hammerich und Kikkawa forthcoming, own calculations with data of the Stratification and Social Mobility Surveys (SSM).  
To ensure comparability with the data prior to 1985, samples here are restricted to male respondents between 25 and 64 years of age.

8

# JAPAN'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE 1955-2015

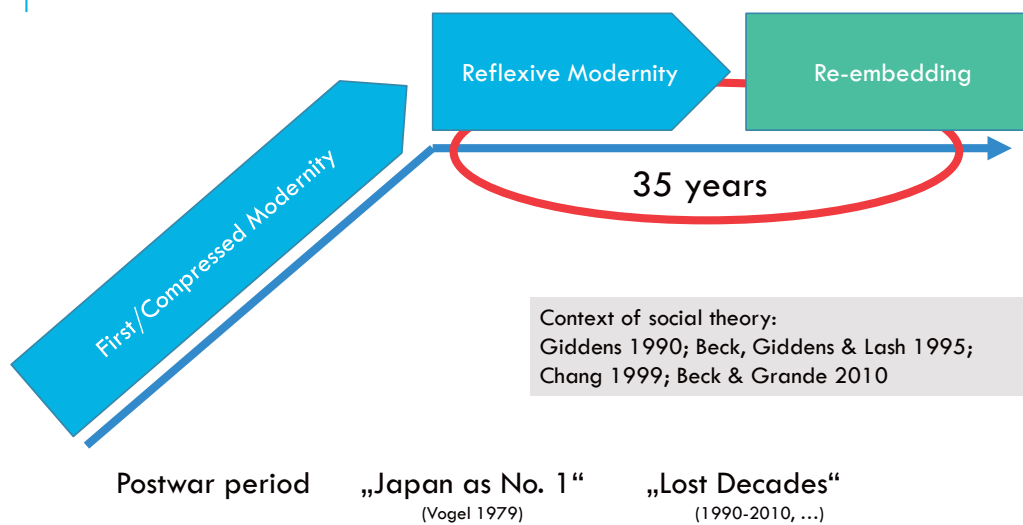
Stabilisation of Social Structure



Source: Hommerich und Kikkawa forthcoming, own calculations with data of the Stratification and Social Mobility Surveys (SSM).  
To ensure comparability with the data prior to 1985, samples here are restricted to male respondents between 25 and 64 years of age.

9

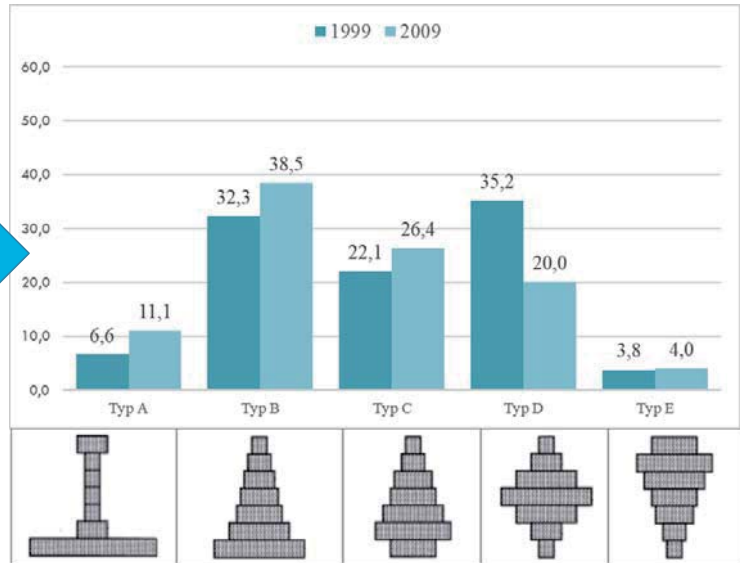
# FROM HIGH GROWTH TO STAGNATION



10

## PERCEIVED SOCIETAL MODEL

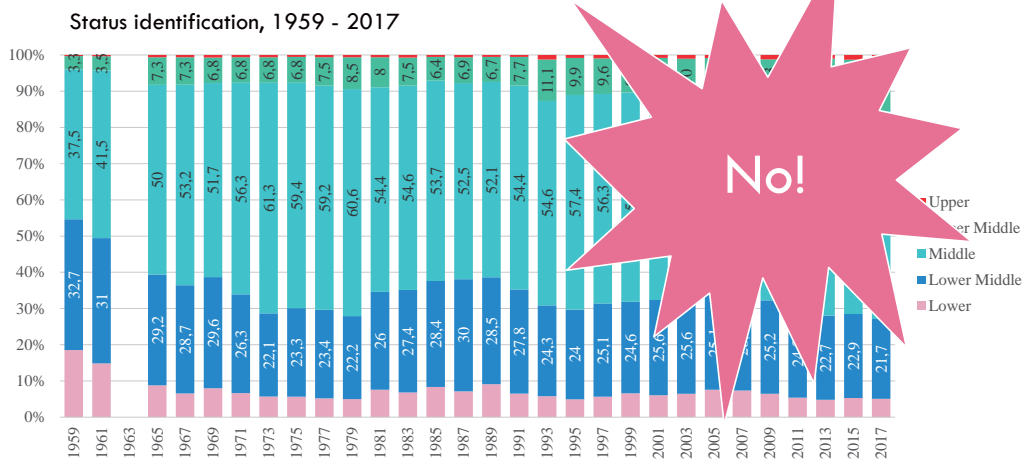
Change in dominant model:  
Japan as  
gap society.



Quelle: ISSP 1999 und 2009, eigene Berechnungen, Hommerich 2017

11

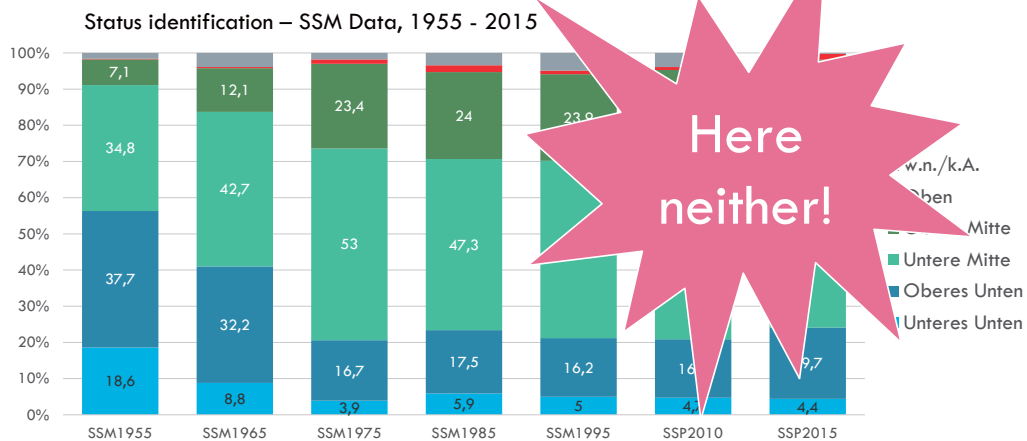
## EFFECT ON STATUS IDENTIFICATION?



Quelle: Cabinet Office, Public Opinion Survey of the Life of the People

12

## EFFECT ON STATUS IDENTIFICATION?



Quelle: Hommerich & Kikkawa (forthcoming)

Note: To ensure comparability with the data prior to 1985, samples here are restricted to male respondents between 25 and 64 years of age.

13

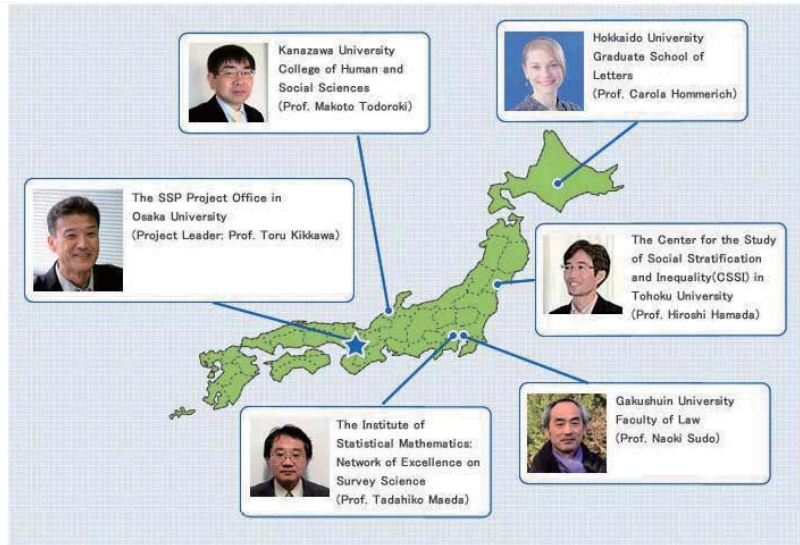
## II. BLACKBOX MASS-MIDDLE-CLASS



14

# SSP Project

Stratification and Social Psychology  
Comprehensive Survey of Social Inequality  
in Contemporary Japan

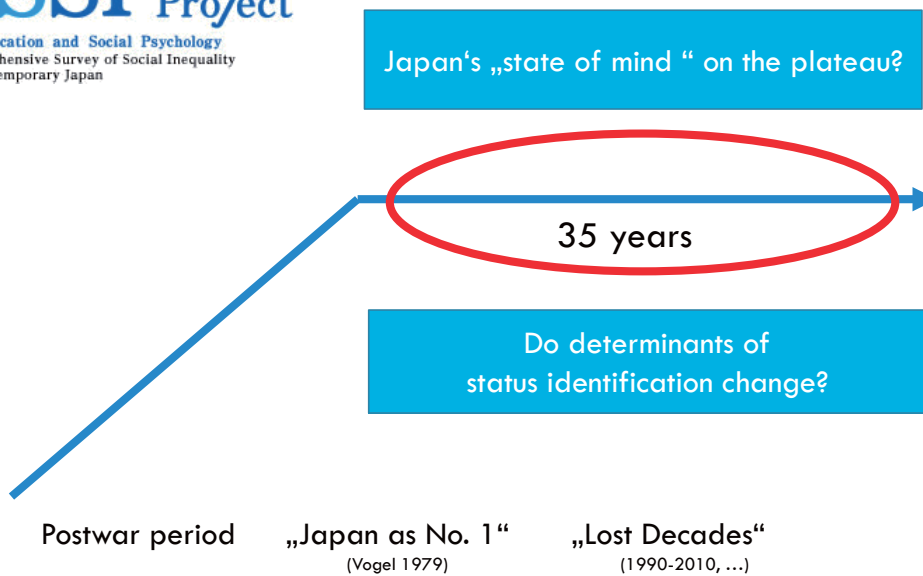


**SSPプロジェクト**  
総格差社会日本を読み解く  
調査科学



# SSP Project

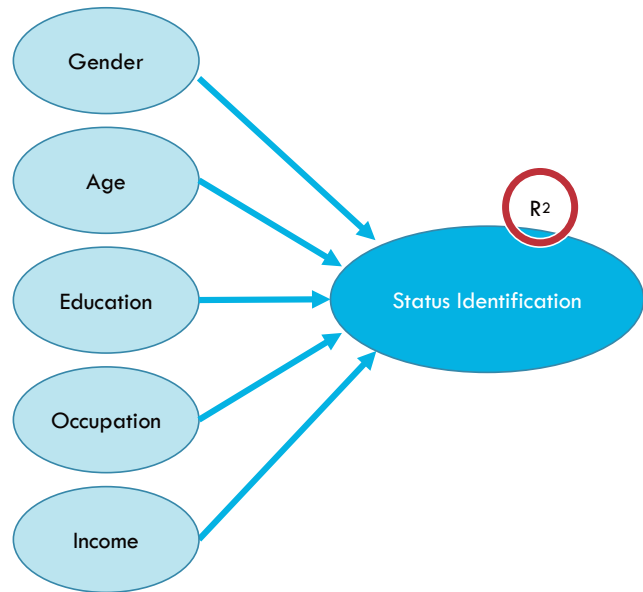
Stratification and Social Psychology  
Comprehensive Survey of Social Inequality  
in Contemporary Japan



16



# WHICH DETERMINANTS ARE (HOW) IMPORTANT?



17

## SSM1985

Determinants of Five-Level Status Identification in 1985

	Correlation		Coefficient		Coeff. (standardized)	
	<i>r</i>	Sig.	<i>B</i>	S.D.	$\beta$	Sig.
Gender (male=0, female=1)	0.057	**	0.156	0.04	0.088	**
Age (25-59)	-0.013		0	0.002	0.002	
Education (years)	0.127	**	0.021	0.008	0.065	**
Household Income (logged)	0.236	**	-0.279	0.027	0.210	**
Professional-managerial (I+II) (reference)						
Routine non-manual (III)	0.027		-0.089	0.056	-0.039	
Petty bourgeoisie (IVab)	-0.006		-0.062	0.061	-0.024	
Skilled manual (V + VI)	-0.047	*	-0.11	0.06	-0.045	
Non-skilled manual (VIIa)	-0.085	**	-0.187	0.058	-0.083	**
Farming class (IVc + VIIb)	-0.004		-0.021	0.08	-0.006	
Not working	-0.003		-0.106	0.066	-0.044	
Coeff. of Determination (R <sup>2</sup> )	0.071	**	<b>Adj. R<sup>2</sup> 0.068</b>			**

Note: \*, p < .05, \*\*, p < .01, n = 2590

## SSM1995

Determinants of Five-Level Status Identification in 1995

	Correlation		Coefficient		Coeff. (standardized)	
	<i>r</i>	Sig.	<i>B</i>	S.D.	$\beta$	Sig.
Gender (male=0, female=1)	0.069	**	0.157	0.032	0.099	**
Age (25-59)	0.001		0	0.002	0.002	
Education (years)	0.184	**	0.036	0.007	0.101	**
Household Income (logged)	0.338	**	0.372	0.022	0.304	**
Professional-managerial (I+II) (reference)						
Routine non-manual (III)	-0.006		-0.131	0.047	-0.061	**
Petty bourgeoisie (IVab)	0.057	**	-0.013	0.05	-0.005	
Skilled manual (V + VI)	-0.073	**	-0.122	0.049	-0.052	*
Non-skilled manual (VIIa)	-0.155	**	-0.272	0.05	-0.118	**
Farming class (IVc + VIIb)	-0.008	**	-0.048	0.081	-0.011	
Not working	0.025		-0.027	0.048	-0.014	
Coeff. of Determination (R <sup>2</sup> )	0.150	**	<b>Adj. R<sup>2</sup> 0.147</b>			**

Note: \*, p < .05, \*\*, p < .01, n = 3091

Source: Hommerich und Kikkawa forthcoming.

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# SSP2010

Determinants of Five-Level Status Identification in 2010

	Correlation		Coefficient		Coeff. (standardized)	
	<i>r</i>	Sig.	<i>B</i>	S.D.	$\beta$	Sig.
Gender (male=0, female=1)	0.057		0.161	0.041	0.101	**
Age (25-59)	0.022		0.005	0.002	0.064	**
Education (years)	0.279	**	0.069	0.011	0.175	**
Household Income (logged)	0.302	**	0.198	0.023	0.218	**
Professional-managerial (I+II) (reference)						
Routine non-manual (III)	0.032		-0.218	0.061	-0.107	**
Petty bourgeoisie (IVab)	-0.06	*	-0.342	0.074	-0.126	**
Skilled manual (V + VI)	-0.052	*	-0.235	0.072	-0.094	**
Non-skilled manual (VIIa)	-0.191	**	-0.449	0.067	-0.204	**
Farming class (IVc + VIIb)	-0.068	**	-0.644	0.161	-0.098	**
Not working	-0.012		-0.209	0.064	-0.104	**
Coeff. of Determination (R <sup>2</sup> )	0.178	**	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.173	**	

Note: \*, p < .05, \*\*, p < .01, n = 1482

# SSP2015

Determinants of Five-Level Status Identification in 2015

	Correlation		Coefficient		Coeff. (standardized)	
	<i>r</i>	Sig.	<i>B</i>	S.D.	$\beta$	Sig.
Gender (male=0, female=1)	0.028		0.131	0.035	0.078	**
Age (25-59)	0.107	**	0.007	0.002	0.076	**
Education (years)	0.276	**	0.073	0.008	0.186	**
Household Income (logged)	0.391	**	0.336	0.02	0.334	**
Professional-managerial (I+II) (reference)						
Routine non-manual (III)	-0.027		-0.197	0.046	-0.099	**
Petty bourgeoisie (IVab)	-0.01		-0.144	0.069	-0.043	*
Skilled manual (V + VI)	-0.048	*	-0.137	0.056	-0.053	*
Non-skilled manual (VIIa)	-0.181	**	-0.334	0.053	-0.142	**
Farming class (IVc + VIIb)	-0.041		-0.382	0.128	-0.058	**
Not working	0.016		0	0.057	0	
Coeff. of Determination (R <sup>2</sup> )	0.226	**	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.222	**	

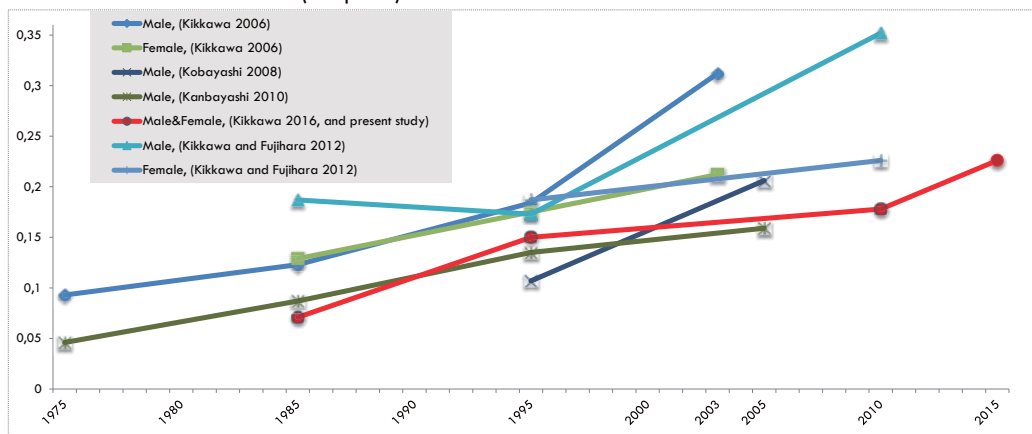
Note: \*, p < .05, \*\*, p < .01, n = 2188

Source: Hommerich und Kikkawa forthcoming.

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## OBJECTIVE SOCIAL STATUS BECOMES A BETTER PREDICTOR OF STATUS IDENTIFICATION

Coefficient of determination (R-square) of status identification in different studies

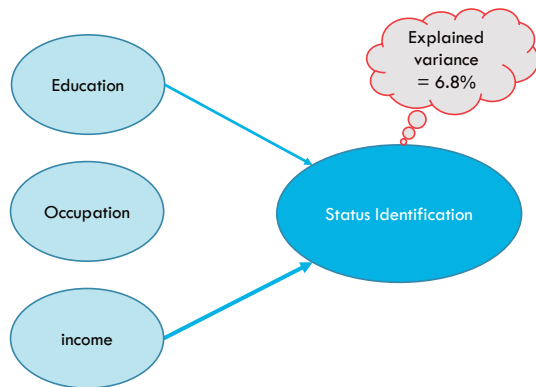


Source: Hommerich und Kikkawa forthcoming.

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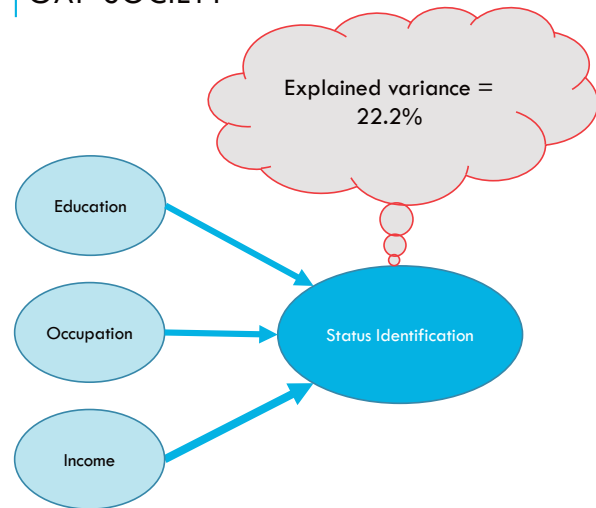
# 1985

MASS-MIDDLE-CLASS-SOCIETY



# 2015

GAP SOCIETY



21

## III. THE QUIET TRANSFORMATION OF STATUS IDENTIFICATION

- The distribution of status identification remains the same, but objective social status has become a better predictor of status identification.
- Kikkawa (1999): “*Chū ishiki no shizuka-na henyō*” →2015: Trend can be confirmed
- Today, Japanese have a more realistic understanding of their social status than in 1985.
- The “quiet transformation” is not the result of a generational change, but the effect of a slowing down of social change and a stabilization of the social structure.

Fahrstuhleffekt → „Leveling out“

(Hommerich and Kikkawa forthcoming, Kikkawa 2016, Kanbayashi 2010b, Sudo 2009)

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## OPEN QUESTIONS

What societal model will emerge after the gap society?

What leads out of the dilemma of reflexive modernity?

- Concept of a “good life” beyond economic growth (Rosa 2016)
- Necessity of a metamorphosis of sociological categories in a globalized world (Beck 2016)
- Social theoretical concepts in the context of East Asia (i.e. Chang; Han & Shim, Yamagishi; Kitazawa & Uchida)

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR  
ATTENTION

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We thank the 2015 SSM Survey Management Committee for allowing us to use the SSM data, and the SSP Project for the permission to use the SSP data.

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2017 SNU-HU JOINT SYMPOSIUM

Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

4

Moralities and Politics on Nuclear Power Plant: How to Explain the Contrasting Trajectories of Japan and Korea, and Which One is Better?

Han Sang-Jin





# **Global Risks and Cosmopolitan Actors in East Asia A Look at the Fukushima Disaster and Nuclear Power Plant**

**Han, Sang-Jin**

Professor Emeritus, Seoul National University, Korea

Visiting Professor, Peking University, China

## **Introduction**

I start from the recognition that sociology has been deeply interested in the question of agency, that is, the subject of social change. To develop Beck's cosmopolitan inquiry further, it is then essential to ask: who are the cosmopolitan actors today? To answer to this question, this paper draws attention to the 2011 Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster of Japan and the issue of nuclear power plant, because this issue touches upon one of the key problems of global risks that Beck (1992, 1999, 2009) emphasized from the beginning and the need for cosmopolitan morality for its solution. This eco-friendly cosmopolitan morality is deeply contrasted to growth-oriented technocratic morality. Cosmopolitan actor can be empirically identified by asking who goes distinctively ahead of others in terms of this cosmopolitan morality. For this purpose, I will use the 2012 survey data of the citizens of Beijing, Seoul, and Tokyo and examine the questions related to the concrete issues of Fukushima nuclear disasters and nuclear power plant.

Beck's theory is more or less structural as a whole. The question then is how to link his structural theory to a theory of social action. The action-theoretical approach is only implicit in Beck. Thus, this paper begins by attempting to find out a reasonable way of linking his theory to social action within his discourse. This will be done by distinguishing push and pull factors in cosmopolitan change. This will be followed by an attempt to bring Beck's advocacy of global city as a cosmopolitan actor to a sociological theory of cosmopolitan actor. A typology of actors based on social identity will be proposed for this. With these two conceptual clarifications, this paper argues that Beck's cosmopolitan sociology can be fruitfully linked to an empirical theory of cosmopolitan actor. The paper will then examine the moral and ethical issues related to nuclear disaster, particularly nuclear power plant (NPP) and attempt to clarify how cosmopolitan morality differs from the techno-ethics inscribed in the development of nuclear technology. The next step is to examine how these two types of morality, eco-friendly cosmopolitan morality and growth-oriented techno-morality, are interacting each other in the case of the Fukushima disaster and NPP issues. The major outcomes of empirical analysis will then be presented with respect to the relevance of Beck's theory. The data analysis supports Beck's concept of global city as cosmopolitan actor by demonstrating that Tokyo goes ahead of Seoul and Beijing in terms of strong cosmopolitan morality with respect to NPP issue. Yet the analysis also shows that in all the three global cities in East Asia, Beijing, Seoul, and Tokyo, it is Public Citizens (and then Popular Citizens) who are stronger in cosmopolitan morality than other groups. These findings show some salient characteristics of cosmopolitan actor in East Asia and can be seen as a genuine contribution to Beck's cosmopolitan sociology.

## **From Structural Theory to Action Theory**

Beck's cosmopolitan sociology, as a structural theory, explains where the main driving force for cosmopolitan change comes from. Basically, he relies on his theory of global risk society. The catastrophic experience of risks, as such, works as a driving force for change. Furthermore, he defines cosmopolitan change to move towards a specific community that he calls cosmopolitan community of risks. As a concept, cosmopolitan community of risks is indeed imaginative and challenging. The community in question is no longer national but global. The concept reveals the common destiny of humanity threatened by such new civilizational risks as climate change, nuclear radiation leakage, pandemic deceases, global economic crisis, genetically modified organism (GMO), international terrorism, and the growing socio-economic disparity. In this context, one can surely argue, as Beck does emphatically, that we should move forward a cosmopolitan cooperation and solidarity to protect earth from the side effects of new technology, to keep a proactive balanced relation between nature and humanity, and to secure the basic conditions for survival of humanity in the age of global risk society. It is relatively easy to spell out the common tasks and goals to be achieved though practice, real cooperation, is often difficult due to conflicting national interests. As others do, Beck (1999, 2000, 2005, 2006, 2009) pays attention to the cosmopolitan role of politicians, policy makers, NGO leaders, businessmen, experts and scientists as main actors of cosmopolitan cooperation. But what is the role of ordinary citizens in this regard? Despite the concept of cosmopolitan community of risks, Beck offers the list of global risks and cosmopolitan leaders, but almost no accounts of its ordinary members, that is, actors with their own dispositions, value orientations as well as practical capability of making decision and intervention. Neither a clearly formulated conceptual framework for social action nor a solid empirical research has been offered by Beck.

On the other hand, Beck clearly recognized the importance of an action-theoretical approach to his theory of risk society.

The social theory perspective developed so far must therefore be expanded and concretised in two further steps. First, it is necessary to conceptualise a subject-oriented and action-theoretical perspective of discontinuous societal change in which human beings appear not only as passive addressees of a semi-autonomous reflexive modernisation "from above" but are themselves the centre of attention as actors with their own interpretations, critiques, protests, interventions and plans. A further set of questions must also be put and developed: How is "reflexive modernisation" or "cosmopolitization" produced, which actors with which positions and power chances are involved, which political and cultural technologies [...] are deployed and which lines and dynamics of conflict emerge as a result? We so far mainly raised the question about new forms of society, but we also have to venture asking questions of new forms of belonging (Beck & Grande, 2009: 23).

Later Beck (2015) suggested a more explicitly formulated conceptual framework that can be used fruitfully to develop an action-theoretical hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> However, this paper wants to stick to Beck's concept of cosmopolitan risk community and deal with cosmopolitan actor in this context. To go back to the starting point, in a research proposal he formulated in 2012, Beck made it clear that he wanted to develop the concept of cosmopolitan risk community as an extension of Benedict Anderson's concept of nation as an imagined community.

---

<sup>1</sup> Shim's paper in this special section is a good example of this empirical research hinging on Beck's suggestion of three components of action transformation. Beck originally suggested it in his Seoul public lecture in 2014.

The key concept of cosmopolitan risk communities is extended from the famous work of Benedict Anderson (1983) on the rise of nation-states as ‘imagined communities’. As Anderson has shown convincingly, the conscious recognition of the fact that one is living through similar experiences and events, and is affected in common with others, formed the original basis of nationalism as a powerful social force. Most citizens of nation-states will never meet face-to-face; nevertheless, they come to share freedoms and responsibilities, past memories and future destinies. Anderson reserved the notion of ‘imagined communities’ for national constructs. My concern in this project, however, is with the following question: how can we turn the concept of ‘imagined cosmopolitan risk communities’ into a strong explanatory tool for the social, economic and political consequences of climate change? (Beck, 2012 :3)

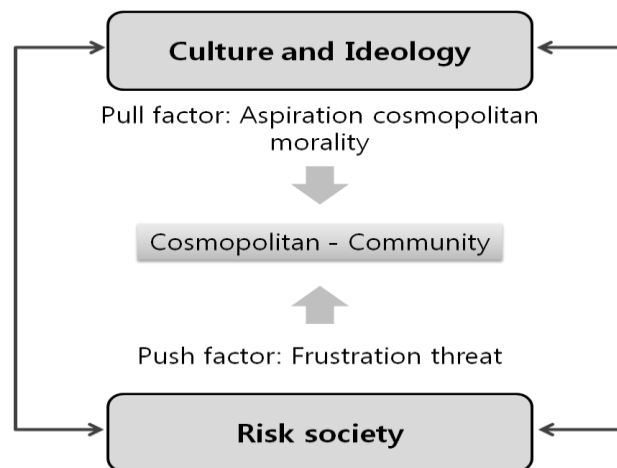
The key point here is the role of shared imagination. People do not meet and talk each other directly but share imaginations including desires, aspirations, and ideology as the common basis of community. Needless to say, there were many structural forces, conflicts, contradictions operating at the basis of the formation of nation state. But Beck takes from Anderson that these structural factors are not enough. There must be something more which link people together in emotion and feeling. Culture and institutions work for this, for instance. Nation protects citizens by the legal entitlement of citizenship and welfare institutions. Citizens’ sense of belonging is nurtured by the common language, the mass media, history textbooks and cultural tradition. As a rule, community presupposes a boundary. Community protects the insider from risks and danger while excluding the outsiders. Now we are living not only in the age of nation state but in a global risk society. We face the new types of risks transcending the national borders, as exemplified by climate change, economic polarization, and pandemic diseases. These types of risks affect everyone around the globe. The long-term catastrophic effects of nuclear radiation leakage, for instance, escape the traditional framework of risk management. How to respond to such global risks we face requires cosmopolitan cooperation and governance. Beck (2000b, 2006, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017) thus stood up to talk and defend the idea of cosmopolitan risk community as an imagined community.

Starting from this observation, this paper attempts to distinguish explicitly two types of driving force of cosmopolitan change. As <Figure 1> shows, one is the push factor, another is the pull factor. The push factor is often ‘negative,’ forcing the actors to exit. It drives the actors to escape from the harsh reality they confront. In contrast, the pull factor is often ‘active,’ inviting the actors to hope, dream or vision towards an imagined better future (Han & Shim, 2010: 478-481; Beck’s response, Beck & Grande, 2010: 432-434). To repeat, the push factor usually works behind the actors enforcing them to get out of the danger and risks threatening their life. Examples are the experienced or anticipated fear, anxiety, despair, frustration, deprivation, isolation, and catastrophe. Beck’s theory of risk society offers good explanation with abundant examples for this driving force. However, the pull factor differs from the push factor since the former usually works in front of the actors providing motivation to move forward towards a better future. What is important for pulling is not simply anger and frustration but hope, aspiration, desire, ideology, and morality. In the case of nation, nationalism as a pull factor was strong and influential, as Beck correctly pointed out. We can then say that cosmopolitan change presupposes cosmopolitan ideology and outlook as a pull factor.

Cosmopolitan pull factor may work in some areas. An example is the area of human rights as global values. Yet human rights as a cosmopolitan morality, though valid in general, can be controversial

when human rights are manipulated as political instruments in the global power politics. World government or cosmopolitan cooperation is still in the initial stage of formation, with far less binding effects than nationalism in the age of nation state. This is probably why Beck puts far more emphasis on the structural reasons for cosmopolitan change, that is, push factor than pull factor. According to him, cosmopolitan change is, in fact, taking place far more broadly and deeply than commonly recognized, as a necessity caused by unavoidable forces. Whether we recognize it or not, independent of how we adjust ourselves to this trend, we are impelled to follow it to survive.<sup>2</sup>

<Figure 1> Action-theoretical Model



This argument, though forceful sometimes, fails to provide a good answer to the pull factor of cosmopolitan change. For instance, the idea of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ (Levy & Sznajder, 2004: 145) means that certain values coming from philosophy have become “emotionally compelling in people’s everyday lives.” This is so because human rights against ‘Holocaust,’ for example, have been firmly institutionalized, shared, and practiced in politics and education. Cosmopolitan ideology can then become a political force. Though this is a good example of cosmopolitan morality in working, we need to formulate an action-theoretical perspective combining push and pull factors more systematically at the level of theory of action.

## From Global City to Cosmopolitan Actor

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<sup>2</sup> Beck speaks of ‘cosmopolitan imperative’ such as “global imperatives, pressures, and constraints” (Beck & Grande, 2010: 413). “These new global risks have at least two consequences: firstly, they mix the ‘native’ with the ‘foreign’ and create an everyday global awareness; and secondly therefore, they create chains of interlocking political decisions and outcomes among states and their citizens, which alter the nature and dynamics of territorially defined governance systems” (417). Beck even stated later that we may need to “abandon the widespread assumption in the social sciences that community building is possible only on the basis of *positive* integration through shared values and norms. Instead, it supports the thesis that another form of community building is also possible, one which arises in the course of conflicts over *negative* values (crises, risks, threats of annihilation) – the thesis of emancipatory catastrophism” (Beck & Blok, 2014: 5).

Another key to Beck's cosmopolitan sociology lies in his concept of global cities as a cosmopolitan actor. Beck originally formulated this idea in the Seoul workshop in July 2014 (Han 2015a) and proposed it during the dialogue with Mayor of Seoul, Park Wonsoo

“All of the common problems faced by East Asia have already come to light. Nations are interconnected...but they confront each other over historical problems. If they fail to give birth to the union of Asia, then there is no reason why (Asian) cities can't take over...Cities such as Seoul can move towards a model of 'United Cities', rather than Nations. Cities are now becoming cosmopolitan and 'global' megacities are becoming ever-more cosmopolitized...this is a starting point for intercity cooperation”

Beck then attempted to conceptualize this idea and offered it as a joint paper and presented in the Paris workshop in December, 2014

In the face of global and cosmopolitan risks states remain locked in the fiction of egoistic sovereignty and fail. Cities, however, are not locked into the fiction of the national container. On the contrary, historically they often held an autonomous position. Faced with global risks they are more open for cooperative cosmopolitan politics. As a consequence, the relationship between states and cities reverses. Cities turn into pioneers, which take up the challenge of cosmopolitan modernity as an experiment to find answers to the world at risk. Hence, the framing of cities as cosmopolitan actor sheds light on the metamorphosis of international relations and as well as international law-making (Beck & Block, 2014, 1)

Here the key points are global city as a cosmopolitan actor and the metamorphosis of global city as transformer of international politics. International treaty, commerce and diplomatic negotiation have been usually monopolized by nation state. However, cities, particularly global cities, have become more and more capable of an independent actor in formulating global policies, negotiating regional or international treaties, and pursuing inter-cities cooperation. Beck viewed these tendencies as an instance of the metamorphosis of international politics. To be sure, a global city shows complex relationships involving history, geography, political leadership and institutions, economic enterprises, international trade and relations. It is also possible to measure the extent of the cosmopolitan capacity of a city by the combination of accumulated indicators (Blok & Tschötschel, 2015). Though the concrete relationship between state and cities may differ from one country to another, there seem to be good reasons for Beck to treat global city as cosmopolitan actor.

However, I argue from an action-theoretical perspective that it is not enough to compare city by city as an aggregated variable. We need to go down to the grassroots level to find out the cosmopolitan citizens: who are they, how large they are, and how do they differ from other groups? In other word, the key question lies in the cosmopolitan capacities of citizens. It is from this perspective that this paper takes a bottom-up (citizens-oriented) approach to cosmopolitan change. We need to show salient characteristics of cosmopolitan citizens by empirical data rather than assuming a city as a cosmopolitan actor. The main question to be asked is why citizens see the problem as they do, and why they act in the specific way as they choose. We need to present citizens as concrete actors. We believe that Beck's idea of city as cosmopolitan actor can be meaningfully (and perhaps better) realized by focusing on citizens' morality and capacity. This strategy of research differs from a top-down approach which assumes city government or political elites to be the main actor. Distinguished from this, a bottom-up approach treats citizens as the main actor of cognitive assessment, moral

reasoning, and participatory involvement.

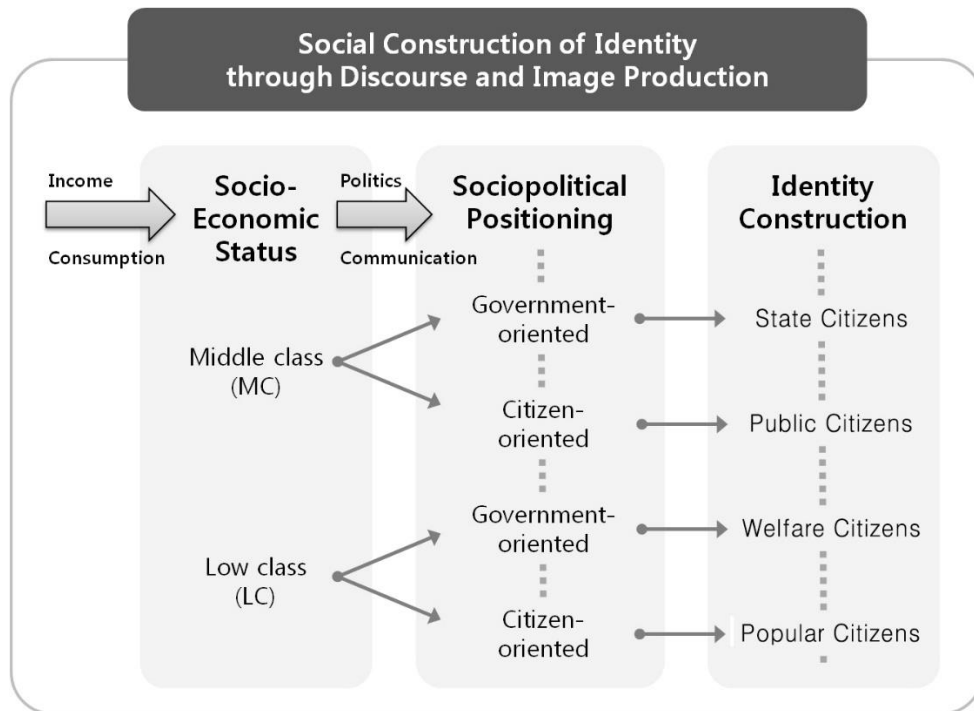
The key question that we face then is how to construct and distinguish the types of citizens with good explanatory power. To make it short, in this respect, I want to distinguish citizens in terms of social identity as a social construction (Han, 2009, 2010).<sup>3</sup> Social identity is neither objective as income and occupation nor subjective as intention and consciousness. In contrast, it is social in the sense that it is shaped through social communication. Starting from this theoretical position, this paper takes a specific strategy of viewing social identity as a combined effect of two main variables: socio-economic status and socio-political position. The first variable, the socio-economic status, means whether one holds the identity of the middle class or not. The formation of this identity is subject to social construction because the public perception of the middle class varies from one period to another depending on many factors. When a country is growing economically, people tend to regard themselves as part of the increasing middle class while keeping a low threshold to it. When they face economic downturn, they tend to consider themselves being closer to the low class. The profile of the middle class is shaped by the force of social construction.

The second socio-political variable refers to the relationship between citizens and the state. In East Asia, the state has operated as the principal pace keeper of modernization. The trajectories of economic development, class formation, and political institutionalization have all been shaped to a great extent by the leading role of the authoritarian state and the political elites who have controlled it. This process of state-centered development has brought about two contradictory consequences. One is the remarkable success in economic growth. Another is the dark side of complex risk society. For this reason, it has become an open question how citizens see the state. Some may continue to follow it while others turn away from it. Thus the key point is whether citizens hold a government-first attitude or a citizen-first attitude, when they view important public policies affecting their life.

**<Figure 2> Construction of social identities**

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<sup>3</sup> The identity approach to social actor and social class as well has been extensively used in Korea based on the experience of social movement and democratization during the 1980s (Han, 2009). This strategy has also been tested in China (Han, 2010) and this approach has turned out to yield high explanatory power over many issues of socio-political significance.



The combination of these two axes offers four types of citizens with distinguishable identities, as <Figure 2> and <Table 1> show. They are “Public Citizens,” “State Citizens,” “Popular Citizens,” and “Welfare Citizens.” The first ‘Public Citizen’ refers to those who embrace the middle class identity and the citizens-first position.<sup>4</sup> An important point is that in East Asia, particularly in China and Korea, the concept of ‘public’ has been long recognized as distinguished from the concept of ‘bureaucratic,’ that is state power. For this reason, there has been many intellectual disputes with the moral claim to defend public interest against state power often giving rise to the national conscience resisting against the misuse of power by emperor (king), the bureaucratic corruption as well as the invasion of foreign armies. They have led public opinion by raising national issues such as justice, independence, liberation, and people’s rights. Sometimes, public interests were articulated in a sharp distinction from state interests narrowly defined by bureaucrats and power-holder. Based on this tradition still alive with appealing force in East Asia (Han, 2002), it is possible to extent the concept of public intellectual to the concept of public citizens and even further to ‘Public Sociology’ (Buroway, 2005).

The second ‘State Citizen’ refers to those who combine the middle class identity and the government-first position. More often than not, they represent the mainstream of the society, shaping official discourses in support for government policies while prioritizing stability to change. For this reason, in China, they are often described as “Stabilizer” as the main beneficiary of economic development in a close affiliation with state power. I want to call them “State Citizens” aptly capturing their deep mentality of placing the state at the center of historical change.

<sup>4</sup> The identity terms have changed, though. Originally, the public citizens were named the ‘middling grassroots’ meaning that they are the grassroots (people-oriented) segment of the rapidly emerging middle class (Han 1997, 2001). Thus, the classification of the types of citizens suggested here reflects an evolutionary transformation of conceptual strategy of action research in the process of social change during the last 30 years.

The third ‘Popular Citizen’ refers to those who combine the low class identity and the citizens-first position. They are less benefited from economic development than the middle class and more capable of demonstrating a bottom-up challenge to the status quo. They are more inclined to act collectively than Public Citizens who prefer discursive deliberation and testing. They understand themselves as an active subject for social transformation rather than being dependent on the authority of the state.

The last ‘Welfare Citizen’ refers to those who combine the low class identity and government-first position. They are poor with high sense of insecurity and anxiety, but with low trust on social movement. Their life, in fact, depends on the welfare provisions by the government. In this sense, they tend to continue to place the state at the center of all national development and, therefore, they tend to follow and support government decisions.

**<Table 1> A Typology of Citizens**

		<i>Socio-political Position</i>	
		Citizen-oriented	Government-oriented
<i>Socio-economic Status</i>	Middle Class	Public Citizens	State Citizens
	Low Class	Popular Citizens	Welfare Citizens

This typology of citizens will be used in this paper to examine which type of actors are more cosmopolitan measured by their responses to the questions related to the 2011 Fukushima disaster and the issue of nuclear power plant. This paper takes Beck’s concept of global city as cosmopolitan actor and goes further to identify cosmopolitan citizens by empirical indicators.

### **The Historical Context of the Fukushima Disaster**

The Fukushima nuclear radiation disaster on March 11, 2011 is the second largest nuclear power plant accident after the Chernobyl disaster of 1986. As the first severe accident of a nuclear power station on the coast, a catastrophic disaster was triggered by a large earthquake and tsunami. Because the uncontrolled situation of the melted-down reactors continued for long, scientists and the public at large were deeply worried about serious contamination of seawater and damages to the ecosystem (Perro, 2011, Lee, 2014; Kang, 2014; Kim & Kim, 2013). It sparked off not only hot global worries but also deep concern about the future of nuclear energy and power plant (Funabashi, 2012; Hasegawa, 2012). It was shocking that a large amount of radioactive materials was released due to meltdown and explosions and that many people, around 150 000, left home to be evacuated by government order or by their own choice (Hasegawa 2012). Thus, it became an explosive political and social movement issue (Kushida, 2012; Hamanshi, 2012, Suzuki, 2014).

Although the disaster was set off by natural disasters (earthquake followed by tsunami), the Fukushima disaster itself is a manmade calamity, as can be seen in the technological and systematic failures that led to the disaster (Funabashi 2012). This accident was a human disaster for which the related electric company and the national government were responsible. A series of “underestimates,” such as that of the height of a possible tsunami, contributed to this catastrophic disaster. A lot of confusing and misleading information, along with the deliberate concealment of information and delay in information disclosure occurred. The so-called “Atomic Circle,” a closed relationship between politicians, government, academics, industry and the media, operated behind this accident



(Hasegawa 2012).

According to the Japanese Police Agency the number of the missing and the dead after the 3.11 accident amounted to 18,000. With 7,197 people died, and 10,905 missing. And many of the missing are believed to have died (*E-News Today*, March 20, 2011). The official number of the dead of this earthquake is the greatest since the war, outnumbering the number of the dead in Kobe earthquake of 1995 (6,434 people). And the Japanese government estimated the direct damage as 16,900 billion Yen (about 226 billion US \$) without including the damage from the nuclear power plant accident. And the people evacuated from the site of disaster suffered from refuge life and from such aftermath as depression, alcoholism, and suicide increase (Kang, 2014; Lee, 2014).

The relation between atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and the construction of nuclear power plants deserve attention too. Despite the Hiroshima nightmare, nuclear budget was passed in the lower house in 1954, de-factor authorizing the official development of nuclear research and industry. Nuclear Committee was formed in the Cabinet in 1957 and Ministry of Science and Technology was established in 1957 as a political push towards nuclear industry. An ironical consensus since 1960s was that nuclear energy can be used to promote peace. Yet the fact is that the atom bombs disaster in 1945 resulted in huge innocent victims, and the 2011 Fukushima catastrophe brought about huge sufferings via radiation exposure and environment contamination. Sensitized by danger of atom bomb, Japan pledged not to make a mistake again in the monument in Hiroshima. But Japan has deliberately chosen the road to build nuclear power. Why has Japan taken the pathway towards nuclearization of the country?

Nomiya (2012; 2013) offers an explanation why and how the Japanese discourses on nuclear issue has been transformed from a negative to a positive frame. In late 1940s, the social construction of nuclear issue was framed by fear and untouchable, but it began to change from the mid-1950s by reinterpreting nuclear research as a legitimate and justifiable policy. Nuclear development began to be seen as a source of happiness, comfortable life, and progress. Tour programs to nuclear power plant began to be organized in 1969 with ten thousand visitors every month. Uranium and radium was presented as healthy materials as exemplified by such advertisements as uranium vegetables, uranium drink, uranium bath, radium hot spring, and radium wine, etc. However, the 2011 Fukushima disaster destroyed this mentality, forcing the public to reconsider the hidden connection of atom bomb and nuclear energy from the perspective of global risks.

### **Beck's Theory of Global Risks and Cosmopolitan Morality**

The 2011 Fukushima catastrophe offers a good example to investigate the influence and relevance of Beck's theory of global risks as well as cosmopolitan morality. Beck gained recognition in Japan with the translation of his book *Risk Society* (Ito & Suzuki, 2009) backed up by the increasing social awareness about environmental risks in Japan. Later on, his concept of individualization became increasingly popular since the early 2000s. Beck became particularly prominent in the Japanese public with his interview on May 13, 2011 with the *Asahi Shimbun* which was titled as "Truth of the Nuclear Accident." He urged Japanese citizens to get involved to prevent industry and professionals from monopolizing decisions.

We can raise the issue of cosmopolitan actor in this context. How can we define cosmopolitan actor in the case of the 2011 Fukushima Daiichi disaster? The conventional approach is rather reactive by and large. It pays attention to the humanitarian concern over the pains and sacrifices caused by disasters. Wherever such disaster takes place, and however remote victims live, we are linked by a cosmopolitan solidarity if, and to the extent to which we help victims and respond to their urgent needs. Examples are joining in a civic campaign designed to offer relief fund or voluntary emergency

service. In the case of the Fukushima disaster, considerable citizens of Seoul and Beijing joined in humanitarian activities of a cosmopolitan kind.

However, this paper is interested in the proactive dimension of cosmopolitan morality. Proactive means that citizens are not only reactive to the disaster by helping the victims, but attempt to prevent its reoccurrence by addressing to the root causes of the problem, namely nuclear power plant. In this respect, two contrasting approaches are conceivable with different foci and impacts. One is a technocratic approach to risk management. Backed up by the world view like Anthropocene and the progress in nuclear energy technology and geo-engineering, this approach argues that all man-made disasters like the Fukushima catastrophe can be reasonably diagnosed and managed by upgrading the capacity of technical prediction and control.

However, as Andrianov et al. (2015:1004) demonstrate, the opinions on nuclear power technology have become increasingly polarized, “with the public (including policy-makers) clustered at one extreme and the representatives of the nuclear sector clustered at the other”.

The majority of policy-makers, including those from nuclear countries, non-governmental ecological organizations, and some other social movements, believe that the conclusions and recommendations of nuclear specialists cannot be trusted and hence oppose nuclear power in both the immediate and medium-term futures.

In contrast, most representatives of the nuclear sector, whether involved in science or industry, strongly believe that nuclear power is both feasible and necessary. Specifically, they perceive nuclear power as the only solution to the problem of providing humanity with a sustainable energy supply, particularly given the various global and local ecological problems (Andrianov et al., 2015: 1004)

An important point that the development of nuclear technology involves ethical and moral dimensions, not just technic and science. Techno-ethic captured by codes of conduct has been extensively discussed to contribute to making engineers and technologists more socially responsible (Andrianov et al., 2015:1003). Among five constraining factors to the large-scale development of nuclear technology, which include “safety, the threat of unauthorized nuclear material and technology proliferation, radioactive waste management, commercial efficiency, and limited natural nuclear fuel resources” (p.1004), perhaps, the first three are more influential in shaping the public perception of global risks. In this context, professional organizations like American Nuclear Society (ANS) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have elaborated professional code of ethics to improve the contribution of nuclear technology to human welfare and preserving environment.

Professional behavior is assessed in terms of following values: community safety, health, and welfare; timely public notification of possible negative consequences of planned actions; support of those guided by similar principles of behavior; only providing services that ANS members have competence in; publicity; continuous professional development; fair treatment of customers; fair competition with the producers of similar goods; condemnation of bribery and unauthorized coercion; and openness to criticism (Code of Ethics of ANS). Finally, ANS members commit to accept responsibility for their actions. The ANS Code of Ethics thus contains a promise to be motivated by a score of positive values, and refers to the ethics of responsibility as applied to human activities in the field of nuclear technologies (p.1010)

Despite all these efforts to bring and improve code of ethics in the field of nuclear technology, it is true that these efforts represent technological approach combined with professional morality. According to that position, whatever the problem we might have, “the necessary solutions lie just over the scientific horizon. Human beings have an extraordinary capability for innovation,” and, therefore,

we should not underestimate “its promise in the face of environmental challenges.” This outlook expressed in geo-engineering and Anthropocene (Corner & Pidgeon, 2010; Hamilton, 2014) recognizes the challenge of global risks to human survival. Conflict is unavoidable with respect to risk governance (Lidskog, 2005; Krupa, 2012; Stirling 2014). As Asayama (2015) points out, the expert often seeks ‘techno-fix’ to keep society unchanged preferring business-as-usual strategy rather than pursuing the renewal of modernity. The technocratic rationality is strong in calculating the costs and benefits. It is more concerned with perfecting means than defending ends themselves. So one can say that technological approach is void of meaning. Yet it is also deeply concerned with human safety and welfare. Technical, but also it is moral. Perhaps, the best example of such techno-moral decision can be found in the experiment of Finland in building a system of spiraling underground tunnels to store nuclear waste. With four operating nuclear plants and a fifth under construction (World Nuclear News 2012), this experiment perhaps shows the technically most advanced way of taking responsibility for nuclear safety.

In contrast to this techno-ethical approach, this paper wants to explore a cosmopolitan eco-friendly morality as a condition of cosmopolitan citizens within the context of nuclear radiation release epitomized by the Fukushima disaster. Deliberation is required because the production of nuclear waste, for instance, contributes to serious environmental degradation whose consequences extend into the future. Beck’s cosmopolitan morality is addressed to the concept of the otherness (Levinas) and difference (Derrida). The otherness includes ecological nature, the future generation, and the excluded minorities. Cosmopolitan morality means the capacity of taking responsibility not just for those who live today and are visible, but also for those who will live on the globe and remain excluded and thus not visible. Cosmopolitan morality calls for equal protection of the environment against the negative side effects of technological development, as aspired by the idea of ecological citizenship (Chandler, 2009; Penz, 2003; Wapner 1997). It also asks about what burdens we are willing to take on for the sake of future generations. This type of morality is less instrumental and more dialogically open, ecologically sensitive, and democratic (Gilbert, 2013; Hashimoto, 2015)

Based on this discussion, we can develop and apply two types of morality to the issue of nuclear power plant. One is the techno-morality based on scientific calculation, control and professional code of ethics. It hinges on the belief in the systemic competence in terms of the professional codes of conduct among experts and scientists. Indeed, the current Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe endorsed building more nuclear power plants even as Fukushima plants continued to release its radioactive contamination. He also asserted that the new nuclear reactors will be completely different from those at Fukushima on the basis of the belief in the type of technocratic rationality and morality. In contrast to this, the cosmopolitan morality raises the question, even in the case of Finland’s experiment, whether and to what extent the deep geological repository may bring out great dangers to future generations (see Spector 2015), given the invisible nature of radioactive danger which is “neither tangible nor conscious of its own lethal doings,” This moral position differs from the technocratic approach by its emphasis on environmental justice and the citizens’ engagement in risk definition and governance rather than relying on the role of experts.

In addition, the technocratic morality expressed in the expert’s code of conduct is deeply concerned with how to secure energy as an indispensable condition for economic growth. This reasoning supports the increase of the nuclear power plant. We can call it “growth-oriented techno-morality.” In contrast, the cosmopolitan morality expressed with concern over ecological sustainability and future generation is likely to lead to the decrease or the shutdown of nuclear power plant as part of the world disarmament goal. We can call it “Eco-friendly Cosmo-Morality.”

## Empirical Research

The empirical data used for this analysis is the citizens' survey data of Seoul, Beijing and Tokyo in 2012. The question we face is how to measure the extent of eco-friendly cosmopolitan morality and growth-oriented technocratic morality by the citizens' response to the issues of nuclear power plant (NPP). One axis of measurement is concerned about the safety of NPP. Another axis of measurement is about the policy option whether NPP should be increased or decreased.<sup>5</sup> The combination of these two axes yields 4 moral positions, that is, growth-oriented strong Techno-morality, growth-oriented moderate Techno-morality, eco-friendly moderate Cosmo-morality, and eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality. We then examine how the types of citizens suggested in <Table 1> are related to the types of morality distinguished above.

<Table 2> Four Types of proactive morality

		Safety of Nuclear Power Plant	
		Agree	Disagree
The increase of Nuclear Power Plant	Agree	Growth-oriented strong Techno-morality	Growth-oriented moderate Techno-morality
	Disagree	Eco-friendly moderate Cosmo-morality	Eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality

Data analysis shows that growth-oriented strong techno-morality occupies 41.0 percentages of all the citizens from the three metropolitan cities in East Asia. Yet the internal difference is conspicuous. It occupies as much as 76.9 percentages in Beijing whereas it does only 12.7 percentages in Tokyo. In turn, eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality occupies 37.6 percentages of the citizens of three capital cities. It occupies as much as 68.5 percentages in Tokyo whereas it is only about 5.7 percentages in Beijing. The citizens of Beijing and Tokyo are so remarkably contrasting from each other that social support to the nuclear power plant construction is incomparably strong in Beijing while it is almost negligible in Tokyo. Beijing citizens tend to accept both the safety and construction of nuclear power plant by absolute majority. These figures significant differ from Seoul and Tokyo as well, as can be seen in <Table 3>. By and large, if we see three cities as a whole, the size of strong techno-morality and strong Cosmo-morality is about the same. But their distribution into the three cities are conspicuously different. Based on this analysis, we can say that the capacity of Tokyo as cosmopolitan actor is the greatest in Tokyo, the middle in Seoul, and the lowest in Beijing.

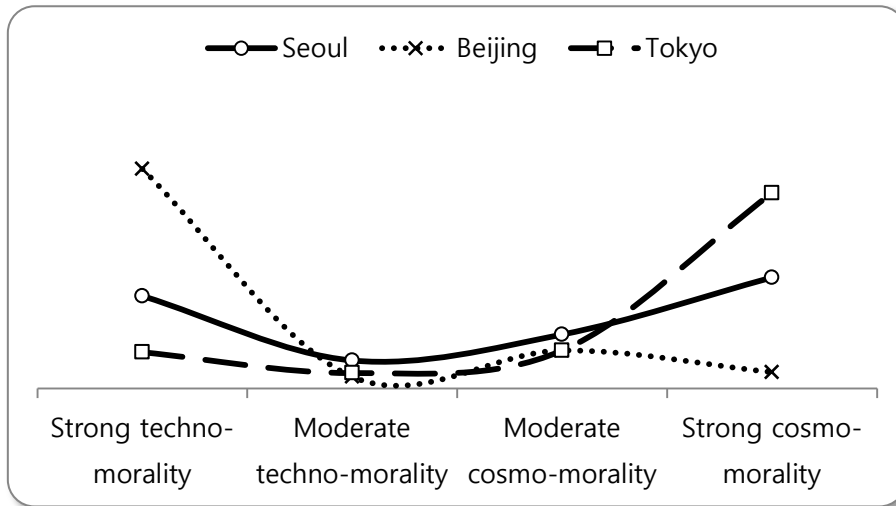
<Table 3> Four Types of Proactive Morality by three Cities (%)

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<sup>5</sup> The citizens survey was conducted in Beijing, Seoul, and Tokyo about one year after the Fukushima disaster. The public concern about the future of nuclear power plant was acute. In this context, two questions were chosen to measure the extent of the public trust on the technocratic management. One question was "How do you think about the safety of the NPP operating in our country?" and another was "How do you think about the opinion that NPP should be increased in our country?" Those who consider NPP "very safe" or "more or less safe" and agree with the opinion either "strongly" or "relatively" can be interpreted to endorse techno-professional solution and the morality built into it. On the contrary, those who consider NPP "very risky" or "more or less risky" and disagree with the opinion either "strongly" or "relatively" can be interpreted as supporting other development than NPP which is more concerned with ecology than growth. This paper interprets this outlook implies, at least, a cosmo-morality which differs from a techno-morality significantly.

Types of morality	Seoul	Beijing	Tokyo	Total	Chi-square
Strong Techno-morality	32.4	76.9	12.7	41.0	588.023***
Moderate Techno-morality	9.8	4.1	5.4	6.4	
Moderate Cosmo-morality	18.9	13.3	13.3	15.1	
Strong Cosmo-morality	38.9	5.7	68.5	37.6	

<Figure 3> Four Types of Proactive Morality by three Cities (%)



Furthermore, a close relationship between the types of proactive morality and the types of citizens has been found. In Seoul, Beijing, and Tokyo alike, the State Citizens go ahead of Public Citizens significantly in accepting the safety and the construction of nuclear power plant. Popular Citizens show the same tendency compared with Welfare Citizens in whichever cities they live. <Table 4> demonstrates that State Citizens and Welfare Citizens are equipped with growth-oriented strong techno-morality, whereas Public Citizens and Popular Citizens possess eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality. This shows that together with cities, social identities have an important explanatory power over the issue of nuclear energy plant and the possibility of cosmopolitan transformation.

<Table 4> Types of proactive morality by social identities (%)

Types of morality	Public Citizens	Popular Citizens	State Citizens	Welfare Citizens	total	Chi-square
Strong Techno-morality	26.8	34.1	63.3	72.4	42.0(639)	232.032***
Moderate Techno-morality	6.0	8.9	5.2	4.1	6.3(96)	
Moderate Cosmo-morality	17.0	15.4	14.9	11.1	15.4(234)	
Strong Cosmo-morality	50.2	41.6	16.6	12.4	36.3(553)	

We can confirm here that regardless of cities, Public Citizens and Popular Citizens possess far greater Cosmo-morality than State Citizens and Welfare Citizens. On the other hand, regardless of cities, State Citizens and Welfare Citizens possess far greater Techno-morality than Public Citizens and Popular Citizens. Difference by social identities is most remarkable in Seoul. For instance, eco-

friendly Cosmo-morality is incomparably high among Public Citizens (44.4 percentages) and Popular Citizens (51.7 percentages) compared with State Citizens (16.7 percentages) and Welfare Citizens (15.8 percentages). Difference by social identities in Beijing and Tokyo is also significant but not as remarkable as in Seoul.

The implications of these findings are as follows. First, Tokyo goes ahead of Seoul and Beijing in terms of cosmopolitan capacity of city as cosmopolitan actor. Second, the Public Citizens are far more capable of acting as a cosmopolitan actor than the State Citizens. Third, in the same way, Popular Citizens are more capable of acting as a cosmopolitan actor than the Welfare Citizens throughout East Asia cutting across national boundaries. Fourth, with respect to the role of the Public Citizens and Popular Citizens, Seoul goes ahead of Tokyo and Beijing. Fourth, in Seoul, eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality is found to be most influential in the cohort groups of the 30's and the 40's, whereas the younger generation like the 20's is more inclined toward moderate Cosmo-morality. In contrast, the cohort groups of the 50's and above are equipped with growth-oriented strong Techno-morality. The characteristics of Tokyo citizens in terms of cohort groups look quite different. The young generation like the 20's appears to be significantly more inclined to strong or moderate Techno-morality, which is very different from Seoul. The old generation like the 50's and above tends to support eco-friendly strong Cosmo-morality. The cohort groups of the 30's and 40's are inclined to moderate Cosmo-morality.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Beck's cosmopolitan sociology is full of new vision and imagination. This paper has attempted to put his concept of cosmopolitan actor into empirical testing by way of introducing an action-theoretical perspective and the concept of cosmopolitan morality distinguished from growth-oriented techno-morality. This paper has attempted to bring Beck's concept of global city as cosmopolitan actor into an empirical research to identify the actors who can be properly called cosmopolitan.

Nevertheless, this paper leaves a few key questions for further research. First, it remains to be investigated how different types of morality are interacting each other in the process of cosmopolitan change and community formation. A more careful and rigorous conceptualization and data analysis is required to shed a new light on this important area of study. Second, based on the analysis and demographic profiles of social identities investigated in this paper, further efforts are necessary to grasp the process and mechanism of cosmopolitan transformation in terms of human actors more fully in East Asia.

Granted that, I would like to conclude with a few final observations about where East Asia stands today. The majority of the citizens of the three capital cities (67.9 percentages) agree that East Asia represents the region in the world where a catch-up modernization has taken place most successfully. These citizens are as large as 84.2 percentages in Seoul, 61.1 percentages in Beijing, and 59.4 percentages in Tokyo. On the other hand, the absolute majority of the citizens of the three cities also think that as a consequence of rapid development they face today complex risks and side-effects of rapid development threatening their everyday life. As a whole, this opinion occupies as much as 88.8 percentages. This figure is particularly high in Seoul (93.0 percentages). Overall, the public perception of risk society is very high and distinctive in East Asia. Furthermore, concerning the future of East Asia, the absolute majority of citizens of the three capital cities (91.5 percentages) replied that they agree with the statement "East Asia should pursue its own model of development from now on rather than following the West."

This strongly suggests that East Asian citizens began to recover their identity while being confronted

with complex risks and dangers as unintended consequences of rush-to modernization. Recovering identity may help open a new space for dialogue and it is an inspiring question how East Asia would develop their own vision of cosmopolitan solidarity and transformation backed up by their own tradition and leading dialogue with the West as initiated by Beck.

In this regard, it is an interesting question to be discursive intensively why and how the Japanese politics has failed to channel the cosmopolitan energy for change into the decision-making of the issue of nuclear power plant whereas in Korea after the transition of political power in 2017 this issue received wide public attention and new experiment of citizen jury and institution of public deliberation has been made possible with considerable success. This requires a careful comparative study between Japan and Korea with respect to the risk and future of nuclear power plant.

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Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

<p>5</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">A Typological Theory of Ideologies in the Light of Recent Issues on Economic Ethics: Second Theory</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Hashimoto Tsutomu</p>
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## A Typological Theory of Ideologies in the light of recent issues on economic ethics: second theory

Hashimoto Tsutomu

### 1. Introduction

When we discuss ethical issues in our society, we usually draw on ideologies, such as liberalism, communitarianism, and egalitarianism. However, people's value consciousness does not always conform to these typical ideologies. In addition, some of the most popular ideologies amongst people in our age might not be well categorized into the conventional ideologies, which were developed in the 20th century. New ideologies may have emerged in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in response to significant social changes. The more complex a society becomes, and the more quickly it changes, the better our analytical tools need to be to keep up with each new phase. In what follows, I would like to present my second framework of categories of economic thought with reference to some examples from contemporary issues in economic ethics<sup>1</sup>.

I shall examine the following six issues: (1) Should we reduce the number of dispatched employees (i.e. temporary workers employed through an agency)? (2) Should we abolish fast food outlets (such as McDonald's)?, (3) Should we strengthen tobacco smoking regulations?, (4) Should we restrict interest rates in gray zones?, (5) Should we introduce white collar exemption?, (6) Who owns companies?

There has been debate about these issues recently in Japan. However, it seems inappropriate to deal with them within the conventional framework of ideologies. For example, there may be wide-ranging opinions about these issues among those who consider themselves liberals: while one might acknowledge the legal status of the interest rate within a gray zone, another might not. Liberalism cannot deduce a single normative implication on these ethical issues: liberalism is itself a complex entity and conflicts within liberalism are unavoidable.

Liberalism is one of the most popular ideologies in our age, yet there are several versions of liberalism. My second theory of categorical analysis on the elements of ideologies examines these in detail. In my first theory of categorical analysis of ideologies on economic thought, liberalism includes the position of "inclusion" and "non-inclusion" in the fourth question. What I call the position of "inclusion" is one that insists that government needs to restrict or develop the business activities of private

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<sup>1</sup> On my first theory, see the first Chapter of my book, *Economic Ethics: What is your Ideology?* (Keizai-Rinri: Anata-wa Naishugui?) Tokyo: Kodansha, 2008 (in Japanese).

companies so as to uphold ethics in society. Government needs to engage companies in the whole entity of ethical society. On the other hand, what I call the position of “non-inclusion” is one that insists government should not intervene in business activities. This position can stem from one of the following three ethical attitudes: (1) An ethical man who thinks that firms should behave freely according to the owner’s independent beliefs, and only an ethical man needs to behave ethically, (2) An idealist who thinks that firms taking a long-run perspective will survive in the market, while firms pursuing short-term profits will be eliminated naturally through market competition, and (3) An egoist who thinks that whether or not firms behave with a long-run perspective is their own responsibility. These three attitudes show different ethical positions, all sharing the view that government should not intervene in the activities of private companies for any ethical reason. In my first categorical analysis, I defined liberalism as containing the positions of both “inclusion” and “non-inclusion.” Liberalism in itself is ethically ambivalent in this regard: the ideology might support government intervention when it enhances the autonomy of individuals, but not when the intervention fails to encourage autonomy. In this chapter, I examine the issue of interventionism from another point of view.

## 2. Inclusionism and Non-inclusionism: a new typology

First, I would like to introduce the terms “inclusionism” and “non-inclusionism”<sup>2</sup> to represent the positions described above. In my first theory of categorical analysis of ideologies on economic thought, categories are constituted mainly from the perspectives of firms and entrepreneurs. However, when we focus on the perspectives of government, workers, or consumers, we can develop other typological theories. While firms and entrepreneurs might be eliminated through market selection, players, such as government, workers, or consumers cannot be entirely weeded out from the market society. Government needs to be maintained even if it fails in economic policies. Workers need to live their lives with the legitimate right to work, though they are sometimes dismissed from companies. Consumers also need to live their lives with the legitimate right to life, though they sometimes fail to buy what they need to consume. When we focus on the perspectives of those players, we cannot assume them to be selected away from market economy.

Thus, in the light of perspectives of government, workers, and consumers, I would

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<sup>2</sup> I do not use the word exclusion or exclusionism since it does not mean that the government excludes any activities of private companies from ethical reasons.

like to redefine the concepts of “inclusionism” and “non-inclusionism” in the following way. Inclusionism is paternalistic interventionism, whereas non-inclusionism is non-interventionism without any paternalistic consideration. The distinction does not correspond to the distinction between interference and non-interference by the government. Non-inclusionism as non-interventionism does not exclude every kind of interference by the government. It rejects arbitrary interference and approves non-arbitrary interference based on the rule of law. Thus, both inclusionism and non-inclusionism admit certain interference by the government.

F. A. Hayek is a well-known anti-interventionist who opposed Keynesian interventionism. However, Hayek allowed for a certain kind of interventionism<sup>3</sup>. For example, he believed that government should exercise its control over illegal activities in the market economy by imposing laws. Government should also guarantee a minimum standard of living to all under its administration. According to Hayek’s conception, these activities are not regarded as interventions, but are in line with non-interventionist policies. For him, interventionism means that there is arbitrary intervention in the market, whereas non-interventionism means that there may be interventions, but there should be no *arbitrary* interference.

In the following argument, I shall adopt this dichotomy and define non-interventionism as an ideological position that allows for intervention only under certain conditions. Interventionism is the position that sanctions arbitrary interference by the government, whereas non-interventionism is the position that only supports non-arbitrary government interference. The word “arbitrary” can be replaced with the word “paternalistic.” Arbitrary interference is paternalistic interference and non-arbitrary interference is non-paternalistic interference. In what follows, I would like to make clear that there are two subcategories within both inclusionism and non-inclusionism.

#### (1) Two subcategories of inclusionism

Inclusionism is the normative idea that the government should govern in a top-down manner. This ethical stance has two subcategories. One is the “priest type” and the other is the “autonomy-building type.”

The priest type holds that the government should help the poorest through the power of paternal love, just as the Catholic Church does. For example, it believes that the government should supply food and accommodation to homeless people with a

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<sup>3</sup> F. A. Hayek, *Constitution of Liberty: the definitive edition*, edited by Ronald Hamowy, The collected works of Friedrich August Hayek, vol. 17, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011 (originally published in 1960).

charitable hand. Thus, government should be benevolent to the poorest while fostering dependence on an authority. This idea of governance would correspond to what M. Foucault calls “pouvoir pastoral (pastoral power)<sup>4</sup>.”

The autonomy-building type, on the other hand, holds that the government should enable autonomy. For example, it believes that the government should supply homeless people with vocational training opportunities so as to encourage autonomy. The term autonomy-building means to make each person an autonomous subject. This type of governance corresponds to what M. Foucault calls “l’institution disciplinaire (disciplinary institution)<sup>5</sup>.”

M. Foucault analyzed the acts of power in the Welfare State developed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the perspective of the power of priest and the power of discipline. He sees the modern welfare state as a complex system in which these two acts of power influence people’s lives. For example, teachers are like the priests in their schools, and they execute the power of discipline to make students more autonomous. Students are controlled in school with both the power of priest and the power of discipline. However, my focus here is on the differences between these two acts of power.

The power of priest views people as if they were as weak as lambs, and tames their behavior. The power of discipline, on the other hand, conceives people as an object, which needs to be trained to become an autonomous being and imposes on them a training program. Let us observe the differences between these acts of powers in the light of relief programs for unemployed workers.

Inclusionism would propose that the government should solve the problem of unemployment drawing on the following two kinds of policy ideas: One is the idea of providing jobs to the unemployed. Government can organize extensive public works programs, such as the building of dams or highways, to provide jobs for the unemployed. This policy is based on the power of priest. The other is the idea of providing training opportunities to the unemployed to allow them to become autonomous enough to find and choose their own jobs. This policy is based on the power of discipline. The question is which type of policy is ethically better than the other. We need to examine our ethical stance in choosing between the power of priest and the power of discipline.

A government with the power of priest is something like a boss who takes care of people’s lives paternalistically, but demands people’s loyalty to all of society by making people obedient to its authority. On the other hand, a government with the power of

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<sup>4</sup> M. Foucault, “The Subject and Power” (Le sujet et le pouvoir) trans. by F. Durand-Bogaert, in H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, ed., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, pp. 208-226.

<sup>5</sup> M. Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*, Gallimard, 1975.



autonomy-building is similar to a coach of marathon runners who sets a training program to help them achieve their own purposes. A society of inclusionism has these two characteristics: a boss and a coach.

## (2) Two subcategories in non-inclusionism

Non-inclusionism is the position of interventionism, which excludes paternalistic interference. There are two subcategories in this position: “humanistic” type and “survivalist” type.

What I call the “humanistic type” here is a normative position which pays attention to people’s dignity as individuals against the act of authoritarian intervention by the government. This position does not deny all kinds of interventions but has a bottom-up approach. In other words, it manages people’s lives not in an authoritarian way but in an egalitarian way. Since every human being, including the weakest, has his/her own pride and dignity, the government should only interfere in people’s lives in a non-authoritarian way and should not injure their pride. For example, this position holds that government is required to eradicate discrimination against minorities or disabled persons and to guarantee a minimum standard of living so that people can maintain their dignity. Thus, humanistic non-inclusionism tries to constitute a society that allows the retention of dignity and pride.

The other type of non-inclusionism is the survivalist type. This position requires people to be self-sufficient and robust rather than to be tamed by the hand of government. Humans need survival instincts and resilience. However, people lose their vital power when their sense of survival declines. As a result, people might become more dependent and more parasitic to the authority. In order to avoid these tendencies, governments can stimulate survival instincts and suppress the tendency to be dependent on the authority. For example, governments can nurture resilience and the spirit of survival through life-long education systems.

In some elementary schools in Japan, there are lectures, which utilize a virtual game of stock investment<sup>6</sup>. The survivalist type of non-inclusionism would promote such lectures in school. This position tries to elicit a sense of self-responsibility and rehabilitates the survival instinct that has been domesticated tamed by the comforts of modern society. J. M. Keynes once pointed out the decline of the “animal spirits”<sup>7</sup> during the Great Depression of the 1930s. This type of non-inclusionism would try to recall the

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<sup>6</sup> “School visit of Professional Investors” (Toushi no Puro ga Demae Jyugyou), Asahi Newspaper, May 14, 2014, p.31.

<sup>7</sup> J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, London: Macmillan, 1936, pp.161-162.

animal spirit in human beings through some institutional settings.

So far, I have explained my framework of categories of economic thought. Figure 1 is the summary of the typological analysis on inclusionism and non-inclusionism as detailed above.

Figure 1. Types of inclusionism and non-inclusionism

Inclusionism	(1) Priest type (Relief of the weak with charitable hand and permission of people's dependency to the authority)
	(2) Autonomy-building type (Disciplinary program to be autonomous and to become independent from the authority)
Non-inclusionism	(3) Humanistic type (Denial of authoritarian interference and recognition of people's dignity)
	(4) Survivalist type (Stimulation of People's vitality to survive through the principle of self-responsibility)

I started by making a distinction between inclusionism and non-inclusionism and pointed out two sub-types in each category. Inclusionism encompasses (1) priest type and (2) autonomy-building type. Non-inclusionism encompasses (3) the humanistic type and (4) the survivalist type. However, there are big differences between (1) and (2), and between (3) and (4), and we need to pay attention to these differences. For example, liberalism is generally conceived as the idea that is composed of (2) autonomy-building type and (3) humanistic type. For liberals, (2) and (3) are close or compatible with each other, whereas (1) and (4) are alien to their way of thinking. However, the differences between (2) and (3) could become contentions among liberals. In what follows, I would like to discuss six issues in contemporary economic ethics and examine the ethical stances in the light of the four categories discussed above.

### 3. Reduction in number of dispatched employees

In Japan, the topic of dispatched employees has become an important social issue and a symbol of new economic disparities. Firms have an incentive to make use of dispatched rather than permanent employees to reduce labor costs. In fact, in 1995 Nikkeiren (Japan Federation of Employers' Association)<sup>8</sup> recommended that Japanese firms reduce labor costs by reducing the number of regular employees who are guaranteed lifelong employment. They recommended changing the status of both

<sup>8</sup> "Shin-jidai no Nihon-teki Keiei" (in Japanese), Nikkeiren Times, No. 23025, May 17, 1995.

professional and regular service employees to non-permanent employees, without automatic wage increases or contributions toward retirement. This report advises limiting the status of regular employees to the core workers.

If we follow this proposal of deregulation in the labor market, our society might become hierarchically divided into permanent and non-permanent workers. From 1945 to the early 1990s, the ratio of permanent workers among all employees was about 80% on average. However, from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, this ratio went down to 70%. The average annual income of permanent workers is now more than 5,200,000 yen (52,000 US dollar), whereas that of non-permanent but full-time workers is about 2,700,000 yen (27,000 US dollar)<sup>9</sup>. As for the life-time income, while permanent employees would earn 200 million yen (2 million US dollar) on average, non-permanent full-time employees would earn half of this amount. What can we say about this income disparity from the different ethical points of view?

From a neoliberal reformist point of view, there is no problem in increasing the number of non-permanent employees, such as dispatched employees or contract employees. According to Professor Naohiro Yashiro, the Japanese economy has been constructed within a patriarchal system where the male is the breadwinner and the female is a full-time homemaker. Male workers earn double what female workers earn, on average. However, if we advocate for females to work outside the home, males will need to share the household affairs with females. To make this possible, we should change the status of permanent male workers to that of non-permanent and create a society in which both husband and wife work as non-permanent employees and together earn enough money to support their family.

However, once we invalidate the stable status of permanent employees, firms are no longer able to force employees to do overtime work without additional payment. In such a situation, many workers would work less and spend their time more at home. If they spent more time with their families, this would create an ideal society in which both males and females work both outside and inside their homes.

It is true that the female labor-force participation ratio would increase if a number of male workers lost their permanent status in their jobs. In fact, such a transformation of job status happened in Canada. The female labor-force participation ratio in Canada is now 13% higher than in Japan, while the birth rate in Canada is higher than in Japan<sup>10</sup>. According to Professor Yashiro, one of the most prominent reformists in Japan,

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<sup>9</sup> For updated information, see the following webpage:  
<http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/06-Seisakujouhou-11650000-Shokugyouanteikyokuhakenyukiroudoutaisakubu/0000120286.pdf> (visited 2016/12/02)

<sup>10</sup> N. Yashiro, *A Strategy to "Sound Market Society": Toward Canadian Type of Society* ("Kenzen-na

our goal in reforming the labor market should be to attain something like the Canadian society, rather than a society in which the weak become victims of the strong, as seen in the United States<sup>11</sup>. We can handle our deregulation policies in our own way without necessarily emulating the experience in the United States.

On the other hand, there is concern about a decrease in the birth rate, which might be accelerated through the deregulation of the labor market, since deregulation makes workers' lives unstable. In fact, marriage rates among low income workers are already relatively low and even those who marry tend to have fewer children due to their low income<sup>12</sup>. According to anti-reformists, we need to raise the average wage of low-income workers and levy additional income taxes on the wealthy in order to increase the birth rate.

In addition, there is the issue of “work contact fraud,” which refers to the practice of paying a contracted employee for the completion of the work rather than the work itself, thereby avoiding paying benefits. This becomes more serious as the number of non-permanent workers increases<sup>13</sup>. A typical case is as follows. A company orders a labor service from a contractor. This contractor collects workers using a job information system and sends those recruited workers to the client company. It thus seems as if the company has employed contract workers in a legitimate way. However, this is the method of disguised dispatched contracts because this company can use those temporary workers to escape applications of the provisions of the Worker Dispatching Act. For example, although companies are required to give workers permanent status when they employ them for three years or longer, they are not obliged to do this when recruiting workers through contractors.

How do we view this situation in the light of economic ethics? The four types of ethical stances raised previously would respond to this situation in the following ways.

First, the priest type of inclusionism would insist that we should transform all non-permanent workers to permanent workers if possible. Government could offer administrative guidance to firms on bestowing permanent status on workers. If all workers had permanent status, the labor market would be secure. The priest type would consider this to be ethically desirable. This position would require significant amendments to the Worker Dispatching Act.

In Japan, the Worker Dispatching Act has been limited in its application to certain specialists. However, the realm of its application became wider in the 2000s. Recently,

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Shijyo Shakai” he-no Senryaku: Canada-gaka wo Mezashite), Tokyo: Toyo-Keizai (in Japanese).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *White Paper on the National Lifestyle*, 2005, Chapter 2 (in Japanese).

<sup>13</sup> H. Sotoi, *Work Contract Fraud* (Guiso-Ukeoi), Tokyo: Roudou-Chousakai, 2007 (in Japanese).

the Worker Dispatching Act has limited the maximum period of a temporary labor contract to three years. However, contracted workers are requested to continue to work as dispatched workers after three years. After working as “dispatched worker,” they are required to become original contracted workers. Thus, they are always required to work as non-permanent workers. In order to cope with this problem, the priest type of inclusionism would propose narrowing the scope of the application of the Worker Dispatching Act to certain specialists defined at its original stage. It would also propose control of the transfer from contracted workers to dispatched workers.

Second, the autonomy-building type of inclusionism would propose a new system of labor market in which non-permanent workers have opportunities to become permanent employees if they are highly motivated to work diligently. In Germany, there are young interns in large companies whose status is temporary. Interns have opportunities to be employed as permanent workers if they are offered a position by the company. Even though they might not obtain permanent status in that company, they are motivated to develop their skills to increase their chance of finding job in other companies. The autonomy-building type would propose introducing this kind of internship system to Japanese labor market.

In addition, the autonomy-building type would support the independent labor union movement led by young workers. For example, government can provide administrative support to workers to organize a small labor union with some colleagues. It also can facilitate negotiations between workers and their employers about working conditions. Government can play the role of a consultant, helping those workers who voluntarily execute worker’s right to organize labor union.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would conceive the situation in the following way. The status of non-permanent workers is legitimate in itself unless it denigrates their dignity as human being. The humanistic type would insist that companies should not discriminate against non-permanent employees. For example, the Company of Tokyo Disneyland hires a number of dancers through dispatched contracts. Those dancers whose contracts were individually mediated by the contract agency named Oriental-Land are required to pay the cost of social security themselves. If they are injured while working, they are dismissed with no social security service<sup>14</sup>. This form of labor contract is problematic as it does not provide for occupational accidents. In fact, the government ordered the company Oriental-Land to change the contracts with Tokyo Disneyland in such a way that the contract company is responsible for workers’ social security. The humanistic type would propose this kind of reform in labor

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<sup>14</sup> <http://maihama.hateblo.jp/entry/2014/06/24/203855> (visited 2016/12/02)

contracts.

In addition, the humanistic type would require administrative control to raise wages for non-permanent workers when their wages are too low in comparison with those of permanent workers. The wage disparity between full-time and part-time workers in Japan was 100:63.9 in 2015<sup>15</sup>, and in the Netherlands it was 100:80 in 2008<sup>16</sup>. In the Netherlands, the revisions to the Labor Act in 1996 and the execution of the Flexible Working Act contributed to reducing the differentials of wages between full-time and part-time workers.

In Japan, there are over 10 million part-time workers, which is one-quarter of the labor force. Wage disparity between male permanent workers and female part-time workers within the same generation and the same educational background is 7:1 at its maximum. The humanistic type would point out that the reality of these disparate wages deeply denigrates the dignity of non-permanent workers.

Moving, finally, to the survivalist type of non-inclusionism, this position would, like Professor Yahiro, advocate for market deregulation, to provide more opportunities in the labor market, and as a result, the transition from permanent workers into non-permanent workers. The rationale would not be to cause workers to lose motivation with the change to a non-permanent status; the survivalist type endeavors to make people tougher and, to serve this purpose, would advocate a policy that promotes savings among non-permanent workers.

It is interesting to see that the internet survey run by Asahi Newspaper Company shows that non-permanent workers are more satisfied with their lives than permanent workers<sup>17</sup>. For example, among workers aged 25 to 35, 59%, 61%, and 62% of permanent, contract and part-time workers, respectively, answered, "I am satisfied with human relations at work." In the same age range, the ratio of female workers who answered yes to the same question was 59%, 64% and 69% in permanent, contract and part-time workers, respectively. In addition, the ratio of female workers who answered, "I have fun working" is 44%, 47%, and 54% for permanent, contract, and part-time workers, respectively. From the perspective of utilitarianism, which can be expressed as "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," the ratio of permanent to non-permanent workers should be adjusted in such a way that both types of workers would be equally satisfied with their jobs. When the ratio of job satisfaction is higher among non-permanent workers than among permanent workers, the labor market needs to be

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<sup>15</sup> Japan Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Basic Survey on Wage Structure, 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Statline, Enquête werkgelegenheid banen, lonen, arbeidsduur, SBI2008, 2016.

<sup>17</sup> "Periodic National Attitude Survey," Asahi Newspaper, on January 5, 2007, p.28.

deregulated and the number of non-permanent workers needs to increase. Thus, a certain type of utilitarianism would agree with the survivalist type, which proposes deregulation in the labor market<sup>18</sup>.

#### 4. Should we abolish fast food chains?

How should we view the ethical status of the fast food industry? McDonald's, for example, had more than 36,000 outlets in 121 countries in 2015, and it contributed to the homogenization of food cultures in the world. Did this homogenization through the fast food industry make people happier? George Ritzer, a well-known American sociologist, warns us that such homogenization of spaces in the world undermines our mind world and the locality of our life<sup>19</sup>.

In 2004, a popular American documentary film, "Super Size Me," directed by Morgan Spurlock, aroused radical criticism to McDonald's. The film shows what happened when Spurlock ate only McDonald's food for 30 days. He consumed an average of 5,000 kcal per day; his weight increased from 84.3 to 95.3 kilograms, a 13% body mass increase, and his cholesterol increased from 168 to 230 mg/dL. He also experienced mood swings, had kidney problems, and had fat accumulation in his liver. From the influence of this film, McDonald's decided not to sell the super-size drinks (1.9 liters) which contained 48 spoons of sugar<sup>20</sup>. What, then are the different ethical standpoints about the fast food industry?

The priest type of inclusionism would say that the government should give its charitable hand to people so that they can live a healthy life. To do this, government can regulate not only the fast food industry but also all food and liquor shops, which might be harmful to people's health. In addition, government can encourage people to have appropriate amounts of rice and miso-soup in their breakfast or require schools to report what kind of breakfast their students' families have. Moreover, the government might be able to improve nutrition by supplying rice directly.

On the other hand, the autonomy-building type of inclusionism would say that the government should disperse necessary information so that people can make their own

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<sup>18</sup> There must be some other ethical positions, which are not categorized in these four types examined here: for example, Marxism, which raises an ideal of emancipation from alienated work, or Ecological Activism, which raises an ideal of reconciliation with nature. However, these ideals are not clear on what policies are appropriate on the issue of the status among permanent and non-permanent workers. The other ethical position is that of the Basic Income. However, this idea is not related to the issue of workers' status.

<sup>19</sup> G. Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society*, Pine Forge Press, 1993.

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.unc.edu/courses/2005fall/engl/012/025/Handouts/SuperSizeMeDATA.pdf>  
(visited 2016/12/12)

judgments about the food industry. Some fast foods have few vitamins and minerals, and this might cause a reduction in people's reasoning and concentration and reduce the will to be independent. In such a situation, government can control the food industry to ensure that people have enough nutrition in their eating habits. In the United States, it is said that 68% of adults and 33% of children are obese or overweight<sup>21</sup>. The autonomy-building type might require an introduction of new tax for overweight people or a free training program to reduce their weight.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would think that governments need not intervene in people's eating habits at all: those who wish to eat fast food hamburgers have that right. However, those who believe in the humanistic type of non-inclusionism are likely to be highly conscious about their eating habits and many of them would not eat fast foods very frequently. This position respects each individual's dignity and tries not to interfere in their private lives, including their eating habits. This position permits the activities of the fast food industry but it also proposes that government should spend its money on creating a local community in which each individual can be recognized as a citizen among them. The humanistic type would insist that in the very central area of the town there should be some facilities for citizens, such as a community center or a public plaza, rather than a shopping mall with fast food shops. It would be ideal for humanists that people nurture healthy communications in such a community center at the weekend.

Finally, the survivalist type of non-inclusionism would admit almost any kind of food shop in the market. If a person falls ill from eating too many fast food hamburgers, it is he who is responsible for paying for his treatment. Of course, those who can control their eating habits would do relatively well in their jobs and might live long. However, this consideration cannot give us a reason to restrict the fast food industry. You should take care of your eating habits first rather than criticizing those of others. Our society has already overcome the absolute poverty where people cannot eat sufficiently. In such a society, this position considers that we should be resilient enough to live our lives without depending on health care by the government.

##### 5. Should we create strict regulations on cigarette smoking?

Along a similar vein, let us examine the issue of restricting cigarettes. Nowadays there is a strong worldwide movement to restrict the tobacco industry. For example,

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<https://www.niddk.nih.gov/health-information/health-statistics/Pages/overweight-obesity-statistics.aspx> (visited 2016/12/12)



there is a movement to force tobacco companies to print photo advertisements on the package of the cigarette boxes to alert users that cigarettes can cause serious damage to one's health. This was legislated in 2000 in Canada; Singapore, Thailand, Brazil, and EU countries followed suit. For example, in Brazil, a photo of an immature baby lying in an intensive care unit is on cigarette packaging. In Japan, the tobacco association voluntarily regulates its advertising. Tobacco advertisements on TV have already been banned.

In Japan, the sale of cigarettes would be totally banned in the future or the tax on cigarettes would be raised significantly so that the price of one cigarette would become 100 yen (1 US dollar). A decade ago, smoking in front of other people was permitted, but there are now restrictions to this liberty. Some might say that this is fascist policy, which forces us to be healthy. However, the World Health Organization (WHO) took the lead in creating the convention on restricting the tobacco industry in 2005 and now 60 countries, including Japan, have ratified it<sup>22</sup>. Due to this convention, signboard advertising of cigarettes no longer exists and advertising in newspapers and magazines has also been strongly regulated. How, then, do we view this movement from the different ethical points of view?

The priest type of inclusionism would support this trend of regulating the tobacco industry. This type would think that tobacco companies should not urge people to buy cigarettes through advertisements because tobacco brings problems of dependence and harmfulness. However, the priest type would behave charitably to those who have been addicted to tobacco by providing medical treatment. Since the patients addicted to tobacco are socially vulnerable, the government should give them its charitable hand.

Second, the autonomy-building type of inclusionism would think that the government should regulate the tobacco industry so as to make people more independent and control their own smoking habits. People would not grow out of a tobacco addiction when the government provides charitable medical treatment. The autonomy-building type would think that government should serve programs for those who want to give up smoking. The program should be one that makes people more autonomous in smoking.

For example, Japan Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare raised three proposals in order to reduce smoking rates in 2006<sup>23</sup>. Among these proposals, the most realistic one is to assist all smokers except addictive patients refrain from smoking if they want

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<sup>22</sup> "Effectuation of WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control" (Tobacco Kisei Jyoyaku Hakkou), Asahi Newspaper, February 28, 2005, p.1.

<sup>23</sup> "Numerical Goals for Reducing Smoking Rate" (Kitsuen-ritsu HIKISAGE-he Suuchi-Mokuhyou), Asahi Newspaper, June 13, 2006, p. 3.

to. If the government carried out this policy, it is expected that, after four years, the smoking rate of males would drop down from 43.3% to 38.4% and that of females would drop from 12.0% to 10.2%. The autonomy-building type thinks that the government should provide incentives to stop smoking to those who want to. Legislation, which bans smoking entirely, not only inside stations and trains but also inside restaurants and pubs, would be proper from this perspective. In Ireland, smoking is not allowed in bars. In England, it is not allowed in offices and restaurants.

In addition, the autonomy-building type would propose that government should raise the price of cigarettes in order to give smokers an incentive not to smoke. According to the estimation of World Bank, the demand for cigarettes would decrease by 4% in developed countries and 8% in developing countries, on average, if the price increased by 10%<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, the autonomy-building type would propose that the government should raise smokers' contributions both medical and health care. In Japan, 100 million people die every year due to the diseases caused by smoking. It is said that this caused additional medical costs of 1.3 trillion yen (13 billion US dollars)<sup>25</sup>. Since there is data that smokers are more likely to have cancer, it could be seen as unfair that smokers and nonsmokers contribute the same amount to the cost of medical care. The autonomy-building type would propose giving smokers incentives to refrain from smoking by increasing the burden of smokers' medical and health care costs.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would propose giving legitimate rights to smokers, in contrast to the proposals by the priest type and the autonomy-building type. According to this type, it is not justifiable that the state regulates the tobacco industry on the ground that people need to have healthy lives. They believe that it injures people's dignity if the state interferes in an individual's private life. For example, the advertisements on the cigarette packages alerting users to health implications isolate smokers, and possible causing discrimination towards smokers. This would be too much in injuring smokers' dignity. The humanistic type would try to protect the right to smoke on behalf of smokers' dignity.

Naturally, the humanistic type would also like to protect non-smokers' right not to be injured by the smoke. Hence, this position would propose a certain policy of co-existence between smokers and non-smokers. For example, it tries to provide smokers "a comfortable smoking space" in public facilities. Public facilities should not be permitted to make all spaces non-smoking. The humanistic type would require

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<sup>24</sup> "Tobacco Control is Accelerated" (Tobacco Kisei ga Kasoku), Asahi Newspaper, December 16, 2004, p.9.

<sup>25</sup> "Various Ideas not to Smoke" (Suwasenu-Kufu Sama-zama), Asahi Newspaper, June 29, 2003, p.26.

isolated smoking spaces in order to protect smokers' right to smoke.

It is true that most of the humanist type people would not like smoking. However, they are tolerant of smokers. They would be tolerant even when their neighbors start smoking in a restaurant or in their office. These types of people would never say "stop smoking" in front of smokers because it might injure a smoker's dignity.

Lastly, how would the survivalist type of non-inclusionism respond to this issue? It may appear that this type would admit smoking in every space, but this is not true. The survivalist type is not the same as libertarianism. This type would strategically regulate smoking in order to enhance people's sense of survival. For example, in Paris, smoking has been banned in offices since February 2007<sup>26</sup>. In Japan, the corporate enterprise Johnson and Johnson (J&J) introduced a rule in January 2007, which bans smoking both inside and outside the office, while working, for workers who deal with medical instruments<sup>27</sup>. The survivalist type would support this idea because these bans would raise the morale of workers and their productivity so that the company can survive in the market economy. This type demands hard work for white collar well-paid employees without cutting corners by smoking. It would impose a high standard of morale for well-paid office workers, while admitting smoking for non-office workers. This type would propose that government should ban smoking entirely in the central area of the city to enhance market competition, while admitting smoking in other areas<sup>28</sup>.

## 6. Should we restrict interest rates in the gray zone?

Let us examine the issue of gray zone interest. Interest in a gray zone is the interest rate, which is beyond the maximum rate stipulated by the Interest Restriction Law but nonetheless legitimate when a borrower voluntarily agrees to pay it to an agency. The zone is between 15% and 29.2% in Japan. However, a big change happened in January 2006 when the Supreme Court denied the legitimacy of gray zone interest<sup>29</sup>. When a borrower asked the agency to pay back his payment for the interest in the gray zone, it became legally admitted. This means that gray zone interest is effectively illegal, although we can still borrow money with gray zone interest.

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<sup>26</sup> "Gate of Paris, Bunch of Cigarette Butts" (Pari no Genkan, Tobacco no Yama), Asahi Newspaper, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 2007, p.9.

<sup>27</sup> "No Smoking during Work" (Kinmu-chuu ha Issai-Kin-en), Asahi Newspaper, January 20, 2007, p.2.

<sup>28</sup> In Bhutan, smoking both inside and outside the building has been banned from 2004. Bhutan became the first non-smoking country. See "Entire Prohibition of Smoking in Bhutan" (Bhutan de Kokunai Kin-en), Asahi Newspaper, November 17, 2004, p.3.

<sup>29</sup> "Interest Expense, from Overpayment" (Risoku, Kabarai-kara), Asahi Newspaper, July 4, 2007, p.1.

So far, there have been 20 million users of consumer financing in Japan: one out of six people has borrowed money from consumer financing companies<sup>30</sup> 70% of these users have borrowed cash with gray zone interest. Moreover, 2 million users had multiple debts<sup>31</sup>. The consumer financing industry has developed rapidly and a number of millionaires grew out of this industry. For example, according to the data of Forbes magazine on the top 40 millionaires in Japan 2005, the second, the third, and the fifth of top millionaires were managers or ex-managers of big consumer financing companies<sup>32</sup>. Such a consequence of the market economy might not be sound. Japanese government started to reexamine the legal status of gray zone interest in 2006<sup>33</sup>.

According to the principle of the free market economy, people can lend or borrow money at any interest rate through their voluntary contract. In Korea, such situation happened and the interest rate has become totally deregulated. However, what happened was really disastrous. A number of unofficial financing companies emerged and people borrowed money at high interest rates—220% on average<sup>34</sup>. As a result, the number of people who were no longer eligible to borrow money grew to 3.5 million. It also created serious social problems, in that financing companies collected their money from members of borrowers' immediate or extended family. Thus, deregulation of the interest rate brought Korean society to a crisis. How do we view this problem of gray zone interest rates from the ethical perspectives?

The priest type of inclusionism would think that the government should establish an organization of public financing which supports the weakest in borrowing money. This organization can lend money to lower income people for their everyday lives. Government does not need to help those who are simply wasteful spenders but should help lower income people who face difficulties in their daily lives. When they borrow money from consumer financiers, their debt would increase dramatically and they would not be able to clear it. In order to avoid such a tragedy, the priest type thinks that the government should treat the weakest by financing them, with its warm hospitality. This

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<sup>30</sup> "Gray Zone Interest, Substantially Negated" (Gray Zone Kin-ri, Jissitsu Hitei), Asahi Newspaper, January 14, 2006, p.1.

<sup>31</sup> "Drastic Treatment to Gray Zone Interest" (Datsu-Haiiro he Araryouchi), Asahi Newspaper, 1<sup>st</sup> November, 2006, p.10.

<sup>32</sup> "Japanese Top 40 Millionaire" (Nihon no Daifugou Top 40), Forbes (Japanese edition), Vol. 14, No.9, 2005.

<sup>33</sup> The law on interest in consumer financing has changed in December 2006 and the maximum rate of interest decreased from 29.2% to 15-20% by the end of 2009. This law also prohibited gray zone interest. In 2007, Aiful, one of the biggest companies of consumer financing decided to reduce the number of stores to one half. This company also decided to reduce manned stores to one fifth in the future. This law on interest rate defines that consumers can borrow money by the maximum of one third of their annual income. When consumer financing companies violate this law, they have administrative sanctions.

<sup>34</sup> "Gray Zone Interest" (Gray Zone Kin-ri), Asahi Newspaper, April 13, 2006, p.14.

position would think that the government can help the weakest by reducing the burden of debt.

Second, the autonomy-building type in inclusionism would propose the reform of the consumer financing system so that borrowers can return their money without help from the government. For example, this type would propose a law, which forces borrowers to submit a plan for clearing debts in advance. This type would also propose a law, which makes multiple debts illegal. The definition of multiple-borrowers is those who owe money to more than five consumer financing companies (approximately 2 million people)<sup>35</sup>. The autonomy-building type would extend its definition to those who owe money to more than 2 consumer financing companies (approximately 8 million people). Moreover, this type would propose a law, which invalidates debt of interest rates to multiple-borrowers.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would think that consumer financing companies should not injure the dignity of the borrowers' personality. In April 2006, the government ordered business suspension to *Aiful*, one of the biggest consumer financing companies<sup>36</sup>. What *Aiful* did was to collect money illegally. For example, this company accessed a copy of a family register without permission from its customers. It also made phone calls to their offices and parents to get money back. These methods of collecting money are apparently illegal. The humanistic type would insist that the government strictly prohibit this type of behavior.

In addition, this type of humanistic would not permit borrowers to return their money by committing suicide. In 2005, the death benefit return that seventeen consumer financing companies received from the life insurance of consumer credit organizations was 30.2 billion yen (302 million US dollar) and approximately 14% of the return, namely 4.3 billion yen (43 million dollar) was due to suicide<sup>37</sup>. The percentage of death benefits due to suicide would be potentially more than 10% because there were cases in which the cause could not be determined. The humanist type, therefore, would not permit the return of money through suicide.

Lastly, how would the survivalist type of non-inclusionism view this? This position would basically agree with the deregulation of interest rates in order to encourage resilience. It is true that our society is full of disguises and contradictions. Although there are many temptations to commit fraud, this type would insist that people should live their difficult lives by training their sense of survival without any

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<sup>35</sup> "After Abolishing Gray Zone Interest" (Gray Zone Kin-ri Haishi-go), Asahi Newspaper, February 12, 2007, p.9.

<sup>36</sup> "Suspension of Business to Aiful" (Aiful no Gyomu-Teishi), Asahi Newspaper, April 15, 2006, p.1.

<sup>37</sup> "Customer Suicide, Lucky" (Kokyaku Jisatsu, Lucky), Asahi Newspaper, October 16, 2006, p.35.

help from the government. Borrowers should take responsibility for becoming bankrupt with multiple debts. This type would hope that many people become conscious about the reality of the consumer financing market, and good services would survive through market competition.

#### 7. Should we introduce “white collar exemption”?

“White collar exemption” is a policy idea in which we give white collar office workers special treatment in their working environment. It is the idea within labor policy that a company should pay salaries to white collar employees based not on their labor time but on their substantive achievements. Conventionally, salaries for white collar workers have been paid based on both their labor time and what has been achieved. However, if the system of white collar exemption was introduced, the salary would be based entirely on the achievements. This system requires abolishing payment based on labor time, especially for those who earn high salaries.

This policy idea of white collar exemption is sometimes called the “zero overtime payment bill” since it denies payment based on labor time, and this includes overtime labor. This policy would eliminate overtime payment for high income and require salaries to be based on achievements. If this system was introduced, white collar people may reduce their working hours, but would not work sluggishly in order to earn additional salary from their overtime work.

Currently in Japan, some reformists are advocating for a white collar exemption system<sup>38</sup>. They expect a high increase in labor productivity per hour since white collar workers will have an incentive to work as time-efficiently as possible. There is a view that it is not appropriate to pay a time wage for brain workers since their productivity is not necessarily related to the time spent working. In order to enhance brain workers’ productivity, it might be better not to control their labor time. How do we conceive the issue of a white collar exemption system in our ethical considerations?

The priest type would not allow this system because white collar workers in Japan would work much harder than ever under this system. It is a cultural norm in Japan to be loyal to one’s boss and work overtime, no matter how difficult it is. Japanese people tend to respond to requests and to work hard even at the expense of their health. In Japan, people tend to trust those who can respond to an excessive request in an emergency situation. Therefore if the white exemption system was introduced, many

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<sup>38</sup> “Overtime Payment Zero, Guideline for its Introduction” (Zangyou-dai Zero, Dounyuu Houshin), Asahi Newspaper, May 28, 2014, p.1.

people might work for too long and too hard, which may have an effect on their health.

If it is so, this system would not be feasible. The priest type would try to stop excessive working hours, viewing the issue from a long term perspective. Although there would be no problems if people could control their work hours, in reality the government is required to regulate their work hours.

For example, many supervisors at restaurants or convenience stores are regarded as “managers” and they are not paid for their overtime work. However, the status of a manager in these cases is just in the name and it is said that their jobs are substantially not very different from part-time jobs. Supervisors are sometimes required to work longer hours in order to reduce the cost of employing part-time workers. Supervisors are persuaded that they can develop personally by increasing the profit of the stores. They might become voluntarily subordinated in working long hours. In fact, in restaurants and convenience stores, there are a number of supervisors whose health is adversely affected. In order to cope with this situation, we might need to make a law, which restricts excessive overtime work by supervisors in these industries<sup>39</sup>.

Some Japanese workers tend to work excessively long hours. In Japan, 37.7% of male workers work more than 50 hours a week, while in Germany and England it is only 19.3% and 15.3% respectively. Moreover, in Japan, 10.3% of male workers work more than 60 hours a week, while in Germany and in England it is 4.3% and 5.1% respectively<sup>40</sup>. These high ratios might be due to the low premium rate of payment for overtime. The premium rate is 25% in Japan for those who work more than 40 hours a week, while it is 50% in the United States. If we raised the premium rate of payment for overtime, companies in Japan would try to reduce the amount of overtime worked. Currently in Japan, since the premium rate for overtime is low, companies prefer to require permanent workers to work overtime rather than hiring additional workers. However, if this premium rate was higher, companies would prefer to hire additional workers. Thus, the priest type would propose raising the premium rate in order to decrease the number of people working overtime and to hire additional workers

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<sup>39</sup> In January 2008, Tokyo District Court ruled in a court case involving McDonald's Company in Japan that it was illegal to regard the supervisor as a manager without paying a salary for overtime. There are 1,700 supervisors in McDonald's. 10% of them earn less than their subordinate's and 40% of them earn just more than their subordinates. See Asahi Newspaper, January 30, 2008. On the other hand, the average annual income of a supervisor at McDonald's is above 7 million yen (70,000 US dollar). The president Harada of McDonald's Company in Japan is now appealing to the upper court. Thus, it is still not clear whether the supervisor of a McDonald's store should be regarded as a manager. In response to this local ruling about McDonald's, 7-Eleven, a major convenience store company in Japan, decided to pay all the money for supervisors' overtime allowance, while it reduced the executive allowance to the supervisor as a manager. On the other hand, Royal Host, a major group of restaurants, has not yet paid overtime allowance to its supervisors.

<sup>40</sup> H. Asano and H. Gonjyou, “Work Hours and the Level of Satisfaction” (Roudou-Jikan to Manzokudo), in RETI Discussion Paper Series, 11-J037, 2011, p.4 (in Japanese).

whenever possible. The priest type thinks that the government should give its charitable hand to workers and care about their excessive working hours<sup>41</sup>.

Second, the autonomy building type of the inclusionism would think that government should create a system whereby every worker can control his or her labor time independently. If there was such a system, this position would agree with the policy of white collar exemption since it creates autonomy for white collar office workers. It is true that Japanese businessmen tend to work excessively hard due to their ethos of loyalty to the organization that they belong to. In order to avoid their ill health due to their voluntary hard work, workers are ultimately required to control their work time by themselves. The autonomy building type would expect workers to become more autonomous by supporting their ability to manage their time, and they think that this is the best way to avoid excessive work. While Japanese labor conventions require workers' loyalty to the company and excessive working hours, this type tries to change the culture itself.

For example, this type would require government to provide workers with a training program to enhance their ability to manage their time. It would require government to establish a qualification test for personnel self-management. Government could introduce white collar exemption to those who passed the test. Thus, the autonomy building type would require a training program in self-management and the establishment of a qualification test at its first stage of introducing a white collar exemption system<sup>42</sup>.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would be concerned with reducing the amount of unpaid overwork. Workers sometimes refrain from requiring the complete overtime payment because they are afraid of being dismissed. Perhaps many workers would not be able to raise their voice since they would be afraid of being fired or to losing their status within the organization when they request the total overtime payment due to them. In such a situation, this type would try to protect workers' rights to legitimate payment for overwork<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> In France, when workers work more than 35 hours a week, the payment for the overtime work from 36 to 45 hours becomes 125% of the normal wage. Generally speaking, while in European countries the premium rate for overwork payment is applied to all kinds of wages, including bonuses and housing allowances, it is only applied to the basic salary in Japan.

<sup>42</sup> In England, there is a labor contract called "opt out" in which workers can omit the labor time contract if they want to. While EU countries restricts more than 48 hours work per a week, there are 3.3 million workers who work more than 48 hours a week in England and its economy is relatively better than EU countries. However, in England, workers may have to choose "opt out" system in order to keep their common standard of living, not just based on their own free will. Since so many workers choose this system, the "opt out" system is sometimes regarded as the one in which workers are voluntarily subordinated to the company.

<sup>43</sup> For example, in 2005, there were approximately 1,500 offices, which were administratively guided by the Labor Standards Inspection Office as long as we focus on the cases of above 1 million yen (10



However, if white collar exemption was introduced, there would be no issue about overtime. The humanistic type is the position, which respects people's right and dignity. If the white collar exemption brought more severe conditions for workers, this type would deny it. However, if the white collar exemption brought about a situation whereby workers can have the dignity to control their labor time, this type would be ready to support it. The humanistic type would think in the following way: we can agree to a white collar exemption system, but at the same time the company should be responsible for workers' "karoshi,"—death due to overwork.

For this ideal, the humanistic type would propose reviewing conventions about labor management agreements. For example, in Japan, unpaid overwork is not illegal if a firm has a labor contract with its labor union: it is legal for a firm to require workers to work 100 hours per month<sup>44</sup>. This is a loop-hole in Agreement for Overtime Work under article 36 of the Labor Standards Act. 100 hours of overwork per a month is legally permissible for maximum period of six month a year when a company faces on a special condition such as rapid increase of business. At its origin, the labor management agreement was made to build a cooperative relationship between capitalists and workers. However, it is this law that brings excessive overwork and "karoshi." The humanistic type would try to protect workers' human rights by restricting the legal status of conventional labor management agreements.

Lastly, the survivalist type of non-inclusionism would strongly support the white collar exemption system. "Put the time management of overtime work in workers' control. If they don't want to work overtime, let them quit the job." This would be the proposal of the survivalist type.

On the other hand, this type might require the careful protection of blue-collar workers from unpaid overtime work. While white collar workers earn high salaries, blue collar workers would not. If white collar workers felt that they are working too hard, they could transfer their job status from white to blue and decrease the amount of overtime worked. Thus, the survivalist type might focus its concern on elite workers. In our society, there are some people who work in prestigious companies mainly due to their high academic qualifications, but who do not work particularly hard, in non-competitive labor conditions. The aim of the survivalist type would be to force elite workers such as these to confront the reality of the competitive market economy.

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thousand US dollar) of unpaid overwork. After this guidance, 23 billion yen (230 million US dollar) of unpaid overwork in total was finally paid to 170 thousand workers.

<sup>44</sup> "Is There no limit to Overtime Work?" (*Zan-gyou Jikan ni Jyougen wa Naino?*), Asahi Newspaper, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 2016, p.7.

## 8. Who owns companies?

Last topic is the issue of to whom do companies belong to? The answer might be, for example, managers, stockholders, employees, the local community, or customers. We have many answers for this question. How do we answer to this question properly from the four ethical perspectives?

The priest type of inclusionism would answer that companies belong to all stakeholders, including managers, stockholders, employees, the local community, and customers. Therefore, companies should contribute to society, and not simply seek economic profit for themselves. For example, companies should take part in community activities and contribute to events and festivals by way of funding. Stockholders should demand that their companies not simply seek economic profit, but contribute to society, environmental issues, and cultural matters. Moreover, customers should purchase goods from those companies that make the greatest contribution to the whole of society. Thus, the priest type would think that economic society would become morally sophisticated if all stakeholders took responsibility for all of society.

Second, the autonomy-building type of inclusionism would propose that the property of a company should be distributed to both managers and employees who work autonomously. If the property of a company belonged entirely to its managers, employees would not have any responsibility to its management and might not work with a sense of autonomous being. In order to elicit contributions from both managers and employees through their autonomous activities, the autonomy-building type would try to make adjustments in the distribution of property rights so as to make managers and employees autonomous.

Third, the humanistic type of non-inclusionism would focus on the issue of whether working environment for employees is good. The working environment of workers has already been protected to a certain degree by the Labor Standards Act. However, the humanistic type would require additional system in which employees can participate in the decision making process of their company. This type would require not only protecting workers' human rights but also executing their political right for participation in decision making. For the humanistic type, the question of who owns the companies comes down to the question of whether the employees can have a human life. This means that employees need to have the life of a political animal in Aristotle's sense<sup>45</sup> and they should not remain in the life of an economic animal. This type would

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<sup>45</sup> Aristotelian political animal, *Zoion Politikon*, is defined as a citizen who has a right of participating in discussions in a community or a city.

arrange the distribution of property of a company so that employees can participate in its decision making processes.

Finally, the survivalist type of non-inclusionism would stipulate the property relations in a company in such a way that the company can survive in the market economy. The most powerful idea of this type is that of Milton Friedman's, which declares that companies belong to their stockholders<sup>46</sup>. The survivalist type thinks that a company is ethically required to maximize its stockholder's profit. In order to maximize it, companies need not pay any attention to other ethical considerations in society. Of course, it will not deny all ethical considerations of local society or environmental issues. If such considerations promote the image of companies and therefore bring profit, companies will take them into their consideration and behave responsibly. However, the survivalist type thinks that a company should behave ethically and take social responsibility inasmuch as it maximizes its profit for stockholders. Companies can use the index of Corporate Social Responsibility as a tool for promoting corporate image and, consequently, a tool to bring maximum profit to stockholders.

One supplementary comment: it would be a serious misunderstanding to say that this survivalist type neglects economic ethics. This type puts a priority on stockholder's profit. However, when the ethical consciousness of the customers becomes mature and sophisticated, the company will seek ethical contributions to the society on the grounds that the ethics are profitable. The survivalist type primarily requires ethical considerations to citizens as consumers. It is consumers that take initiatives to make society more ethical.

## 9. Summary and a Survey

We have examined six topics on contemporary economic ethics from the perspectives of four types of economic ethics: namely, the priest type, the autonomy-building type, the humanistic type and the survivalist type<sup>47</sup>. Figure 2 is a summary of our argument.

Figure 2: Stances of the four types of economic ethics

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<sup>46</sup> M. Friedman, "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits," The New York Times Magazine, September 13, 1970.

<sup>47</sup> We have examined six issues on contemporary economic ethics but there are apparently more issues. For example, issues such as how the government should serve daily life security expenditure, and how the government should treat bankrupt local governments.

	The priest type	The autonomy-building type	The humanistic type	The survivalist type
Issue of non-permanent and dispatched workers	Give all employees permanent status.	Give non-permanent employees incentives to become autonomous (make them permanent workers after 3 years.)	Do not discriminate against non-permanent employees while their status is legally valid.	Expand the ratio of non-permanent employees. (Validate the status of dispatched workers.)
Issue of McDonald's or fast food outlets	Government should take care of people's nutrition and promote eating habits of Japanese conventional foods.	Prohibit fast foods, which reduce the power of will and autonomy. Prevent obesity due to addictive eating habits.	McDonald's is permissible. Government should supply free medical care to those diseased due to obesity.	McDonald's is acceptable. Government should not give any medical care to the diseased due to eating habits.
Issue of Tobacco regulation	Regulate tobacco and rescue addictive smokers.	Provide training programs for those who want to stop smoking.	Protect the rights of smokers. Give them isolated spaces to smoke.	Make central area of the city a non-smoking zone. Do not smoke during work if you want to earn more.
Issue of gray zone interest rate	Bann gray zone interest rates and establish public financing for	Make borrowers submit a plan for clearing debts in advance. Ban multiple debts.	Ban illegal collection of money strictly. Protect borrower's rights. Prohibit	Allow contracts on interest rates freely. Let people be responsible for the risk of

	the weakest.		returning money through suicide.	bankruptcy.
Issue of white collar exemption	Do not permit white collar exemption. Regulate all kinds of overtime work.	Establish a training program to control labor time independently.	Permit white collar exemption but expand the law in recognizing “karoshi.”	Make overtime payment zero and let people control their own labor time.
Issue of company’s property	Company belongs to all stakeholders. Company should make social contribution.	Distribute properties and responsibilities to both managers and workers in order to make them more autonomous in their jobs.	Establish a system for workers to take part in the decision making process.	Company is owned by stockholders. They need to maximize their profits. They need not have any ethical considerations.

Which type of ethical stance do you take in each issue? As a whole, which position do you take mostly? You might take the position of “inclusionism” which includes the priest type and the autonomy-building type. You might take the position of “non-inclusionism” which includes the humanistic and survivalist types. There are other normative positions: “Liberalism” is composed of the autonomy-building type and the humanistic type. “Welfare-state type” is composed of the priest type and the humanistic type. “Anti-welfare-state type” is composed of the autonomy-building type and the survivalist type. Lastly, “anti-modernization type” is composed of both the priest type and the survivalist.

There must be other combinations of types, which express systematic considerations on ideological problems. In any event, there is no position, which is the “most” ethical. We need to make clear our ethical position through our own considerations. The purpose of this paper would have been achieved if readers could make clear their own ethical positions.

Survey results for the undergraduate students in the third and fourth years in the faculty of economics in Hokkaido University, who attended to my lecture of “Political

Economy II' in 2007, were as follows:

Out of 107 valid answers, 39 respondents chose any of one specific type (priest, autonomy-building, humanism, or survival) 33 chose to combine two types (for example the priest type and the autonomy-building type) 27 chose to combine three types out of four and 8 chose to combine all types.

Out of those who chose only one type, 2 chose the priest type, 13 the autonomy-building type, 20 the humanistic type, and 4 the survival type. Out of those who chose to combine two types, 8 respondents chose the autonomy type and the humanistic type (this is the liberalism type), 14 chose to combine the humanistic type and the survivalist type (this is the non-inclusionism type) were 14 respondents, 7 chose to combine the priest type and the autonomy-building type (this is the welfare state type), 2 chose to combine the priest type and the survivalist type (this is the anti-modernization type), and 1 chose to combine the priest type and the autonomy-building type (this is the inclusionism type). 9 combined all except the priest type were 9 respondents, 7 combined all except the autonomy-building type, 4 combined all except the humanistic type and 7 combined all except the survivalist type.

The most popular position was the humanistic type (19%). The second was the non-inclusionism type, which is the combination of the humanistic type and the survivalist type (13%). The third was the autonomy-building type (12%). When we focus on each element of their choice, the most chosen element was the humanistic type.

Those who chose one particular type of ethical attitude to all six issues seem to be more consistent in their ideological considerations. However, it is also ethically consistent when we chose a combination of ethical types with systematic considerations although you might have difficulties explaining your set of choices on these six issues. The point is to make clear whether your ethical stance is consistent or not. Ethics requires consistency because consistency is the most powerful expression to legitimize our institutions.

In the 20th century, we experienced a major ideological conflict between socialism and capitalism, whereas in the 21st century, we do not have such a major ideological conflict. In a sense, we are living in an age of "post-ideology." This situation, however, is dangerous because our society might begin to operate through our temporary emotions. In order to avoid emotional politics, we have to learn how to have rational discussions on ethical matters. Rather than thinking in a pragmatic way, we should take part in discussions on policy making with a consistent pattern of ethical considerations. Otherwise, our democracy will deteriorate and become more emotional<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> You may think that the consistency in the ethical position is not important and we can make a

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proper judgment responding to each particular situation. Alternatively, you may think that we are simply required to express our ethical feelings based on our individual interests in society. However, these considerations are not appropriate since ethics requires our political decision-making processes to be rational and deliberate. Unless we try to be consistent in our ethical considerations, our democracy will deteriorate. For example, we might feel sympathetic when we watch on TV the grief of the family of a victim of crime, the bewildering life of an extremely poor part-time jobber, the life of poor, elderly person whose pension was cut down, the hard life of a dispatched worker, and so on. Our emotions formed through those TV documentary reports would sometimes cause a certain type of public opinion and thus influence public policy. However, this process is not what we expect for our deliberate democracy since it is not discussed among people who have our long-term perspective on the ideal of our society.

Naturally, we need to be pragmatic in policy making when the matter is so serious that it needs to be dealt with as soon as possible. However, pragmatism in ethical thinking deteriorates our normative considerations and we may become emotional rather than rational. If we had only an attitude of pragmatic compromise, public policies would, in the end, be decided on as a result of our emotions. As a consequence, our democracy would not mature.





2017 SNU-HU JOINT SYMPOSIUM

Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

<p>6</p>	<p>Irony and Humor as Antidote against Narcissism: Idea of Dialogue in Chomin Nakae's Philosophy</p> <hr/> <p>Muramatsu Masataka</p>
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Irony and Humor as Antidote against Narcissism  
Idea of Dialogue in Chomin Nakae's Philosophy

Masataka MURAMATSU (Hokkaido University)

9<sup>th</sup> December 2017, Seoul

1. Introduction

At the beginning of this presentation, I would like to express my special thanks to all the Korean colleagues who organize this symposium. It's always my great pleasure and honor to meet and discuss with you.

In this presentation, after mentioning the general problem about the use, or abuse, of scientific concepts, I will make a short remark about the difficulty of translation and the problem about the introduction of western ideas into Japan. Then I will present the philosophy of Nakae Chōmin, one of the main philosophers in the Meiji era, and demonstrate the influence of western philosophy on him. Finally, we will examine the significance of "Liberty" in his philosophy.

First, I would like to refer to the possible abuse of scientific concepts. Here, I use the word "scientific", not in the sense of natural sciences, but rather in the sense of social sciences or humanities. This abuse of concepts is very common. We need not revisit Nietzsche's critique to realize that those who use scientific concepts may be biased in their understanding of them.

One of the most interesting examples is that of the "Dunning-Kruger effect". The Dunning-Kruger effect is a cognitive bias in which relatively unskilled persons suffer illusory superiority, mistakenly assessing their ability to be much higher than it actually is. Dunning and Kruger attributed this bias to a metacognitive inability of the unskilled person to recognize their own ineptitude and evaluate their own ability accurately. Their research also suggests a corollary: highly skilled individuals may underestimate their relative competence.

The Japanese neuroscientist Ikegaya Yuji relates an interesting and suggestive episode about this effect. When he explains it in his lecture, many of those who have heard it say as follows: "Yeah, it hits the nail on the head. I know such a person." and it seems as though they do not ever question whether or not it could apply to themselves, although their response itself can possibly be a proof of this "Dunning-Kruger effect".

As for me, one of my recent research subjects is the problem of narcissism in western philosophy. I can never decide whether I have chosen this subject in order to critique others or in order to expose myself to self-criticism and self-examination.

This tendency is clearly seen in the use of sociological or political concepts. I have provisionally named this use of concepts in one's own favor the "narcissistic use of scientific concepts".

One of the clearest examples is that of patriotism. Those who declare that they are patriots seem to think that this declaration is already sufficient proof of their patriotism. Based on this self-justification, they consider themselves authorized to criticize those whom they consider to be anti-patriotic. Yet, this self-estimation is contradictory, because it does not depend on themselves to decide whether they are patriots or not. The contradiction of such self-estimation is clear when we think of a person who says "I'm kind" or "I'm beautiful". It is an uninterested third party who is generally trusted to be a fair judge. Moreover, in our highly complicated society, it is always extremely difficult to identify what "patriotism" really means. We can proclaim that we *try* to be patriots, but there is always something uncomfortable in the declaration "We *are* patriots".

The same remark can be applied also to the use of concept "citizen". To understand this point, it is convenient to point out the double meaning of the Japanese word "*Shimin* (市民)", which can mean "citizen" and "bourgeois". This suggests a possible confusion of these two concepts. In fact, because this word "*Shimin*" is used to indicate the participants of anti-governmental movements, especially after the 1960's, the connotation of the word "citizen", that is to say, civic obligation of participation in the public sphere, seems to be often ignored. Those who call themselves "*Shimin*" seem to believe that they can justify themselves with only this nomination.

I would like to suggest, through these examples, the possible confusion, or abuse of sociological or political concepts. As we have seen, this risk of abuse is even more serious when it comes to self-examination. The example of "*Shimin*" suggests to us that the risk of confusion or abuse is as serious as when it comes to the translation of western concepts. In fact, it is impossible to find a Japanese word which means "citizen" or "bourgeois" exactly.

Why does this confusion or abuse of concepts occur? I find that it comes from our natural egoistic tendency or our narcissism. It cannot be denied that we sometimes use scientific concepts and interpret them in our own favor in order to justify ourselves or our own actions. Sometimes, we may use scientific concepts without trying to understanding their real significance in order to beautify our status or our actions. I say, again, that I would like to name such use of concepts as "narcissistic use of scientific concepts".

I find that there may be this kind of confusion about the terms "liberty" and "liberalism" among Japanese people. In Japan, it seems that the term "liberty" does not indicate self-examination or self-criticism, though these are ideally the necessary conditions of any

self-decision based on individual liberty. In these circumstances, any self-decision could be justified under the name of “Liberty” unless they violate laws. In this case, the terms “Liberty” or “Liberalism” would have a very abstract and empty meaning because they would only signify the right to do whatever one wants to do. In other words, the term “Liberty” or the term “Liberalism” may permit many Japanese to behave as they wish without reflection and to justify their actions too easily. In fact, historians tell that many people had justified their egoistic actions under the name of “Liberty” in the Meiji Era. We see how this might be the case when we consider that the Japanese word for liberty, “Jiyu (自由)”, was used in classics of Chinese literature as a synonym of ‘arbitrariness’ or ‘selfishness’

The danger of this confusion has naturally been pointed out by many Japanese intellectuals. Let us consider one example, Maruyama Masao’s article, “Development and features of Japanese Consciousness of Liberty” written in 1946. In this article, Maruyama distinguishes between the liberty which is sought to satisfy sensual desires and the liberty which one needs to decide on acting upon reflection (Maruyama 1995-97: CWM, II-153 ff.) Maruyama pointed out the difficulty for Japanese people of going from this first concept of liberty to the second type. It is not difficult to see a relationship between the so-called “liberty” in the first sense and what I call the “narcissistic use of scientific concepts”.

Let me present another example: Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) had already noticed this confusion, or misunderstanding of the concept of liberty at the very beginning of Meiji Era. “Liberty has the danger to be mistaken for selfishness. It is because of this that intellectuals must clarify the concept of liberty”. (Fukuzawa 1866-1870/2002: 231)

Fukuzawa remarked upon the necessity of some norms which permits us self-government. How can we find such norms?

## 2. Chōmin Nakae and the idea of “Liberté morale”, “moral liberty”

Chōmin Nakae is one of the important thinkers who tried to “clarify the concept of liberty” most actively. As is well known, he was called the “Oriental Rousseau” because of his translation of Jean-Jacque Rousseau’s “Social Contract” and its influence over Asia.

Before approaching his concept of liberty, let us examine his life and activities briefly.

He was born in 1847 in Kochi, the town on the island of Shikoku, in a family of *ashigaru*, the lowest ranking of the Samurai. After studying the Confucian classics, he studied French at Nagasaki and Edo. In 1871, because of his direct petition to Okubo Toshimichi, one of the key figures in the early Meiji government, Chōmin won an appointment from the Ministry of Justice to study abroad in Lyon and Paris. He spent two years and four months in France. This stay in France was a decisive period in his life. Just after the collapse of the Second Empire,

France was constructing the third republic. His thought and philosophy was deeply influenced by the ideological controversy in this period.

He came back to Japan in 1874. Upon returning, he occupied himself with education in his own private school for French language. He partially translated “Social Contract” and published it in 1882 with his own comments. In 1887, he published “*Sansuijin Keirin Mondo, A discourse of three drunkards on Government*, which we will analyze. After this, he was considered one of the representative figures of *Liberty Rights movements* and was expelled from Tokyo.

In 1890, at the first general election for the lower house of the newly created Imperial Diet, he was nominated and elected as a representative only to resign in the next year because of his despair with the compromise between political parties and the government. After that, he engaged himself in several business ventures, all of which would fail in the end. In 1901, he was diagnosed with cancer of the throat. Then he left a kind of testament *Ichinen yu han* (A Year and a Half) and *Zoku Ichinen Yu Han* (A Year and a Half, Continued). He died on 13<sup>th</sup> December 1901.

Now let us see his contribution to Japanese thought in Meiji era.

He was generally known as an eminent journalist, excellent theorist of liberalism, and translator of Rousseau. We must add that his intellectual activities were based on western philosophy, particularly 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century French philosophy. It is because of this that we must not be satisfied to only consider him as a pioneer of democracy. To appreciate his thought, we must examine his concepts such as “liberty”, “right”, “state”, etc., from the philosophical point of view.

In order to grasp his political thought totally, it is convenient to clarify what distinguishes Chōmin from other intellectuals of the Meiji era. In regards to liberty, which is today’s subject, it is his emphasis on the moral liberty, based on the profound understanding of Rousseau’s philosophy which sets him apart from other Meiji thinkers. This means that Chōmin demands that we have high moral capacity so that democratic politics can be realized.

Rousseau himself defines “Moral Liberty” as follows. You can also see the original French text on the screen.

“We could add [...] the fact that in the civil state a man acquires moral liberty, which alone makes him truly master of himself; for the drive of sheer appetite is slavery, while obedience to a law that we prescribe to ourselves is liberty.” (Social Contract, I-8)

Moral liberty is defined here as a faculty to obey a law that we prescribe to ourselves. I

would like to insist on the fact that this faculty logically demands another faculty to prescribe a law to ourselves. Here, moral liberty depends on our intellectual and moral faculties.

Chōmin himself was very interested in this concept and presented it for many times, insisting on its importance and necessity for the democracy.

In the same period, any other intellectual would of course have insisted on the necessity of a superior norm which prescribes liberty in the sense of arbitrariness. However, they found that this norm should be naturally settled by authorities. Chōmin himself insisted that this norm should be determined by our moral faculty, that is to say, our moral liberty. We can consider it as one of his most remarkable intellectual contributions all the more because there was much more confusion about the definition of liberty and the relationship between norm and liberty even in the *Freedom and Popular Rights Movement*.

What is interesting is that Chōmin tried to expand the concept of moral liberty.

In an article written for the public in 1881, Chōmin explains moral liberty as follows.

“*Liberté morale*, the moral liberty means a state in which my spirit and thoughts are absolutely unfettered and fully developed, with nothing left wanting. This is precisely what the ancients meant when they spoke of the vast and flowing energy connected with righteousness and the Way.”

The fact that it was written for the public explains why Chōmin did not conceptualize moral liberty rigidly. Moral liberty was defined in a wider scope as an excellent spiritual state in which our spirit and thoughts fully develop. Here, Chōmin did not ignore the moral aspects of human spirit, but rather claims that they are contained in this spiritual state. In other words, we realize our inner nature in this spiritual state, in which our spirit grasps the moral principle which reigns in the universe.

It is because of this interpretation of *the moral liberty* that Chōmin cited the word of Mencius, “the vast and flowing energy connected with righteousness and the Way (浩然の一気)”. Mencius says that this energy “is connected with righteousness and the Way. Without it, man is in a state of starvation.” For Chōmin, this “energy” can be compared to moral liberty. According to him, Mencius and Rousseau are great thinkers in that both of them remarked upon and discussed the human possibility to reach a universal principle. At last, for him, the most important significance of the term “Liberty” can be found in this point.

As is often said, this inquiry regarding this norm is closely related to his great knowledge about the Chinese classics. To clarify this point, we shall discuss shortly his translation of the term “philosophy”.

Chōmin translates the word “philosophy” not with the word “Tetsugaku” which was already popular, but with the word “Ri-gaku” 「理学」、which means the science of “Principle”. Because the Principle is a fundamental concept of Confucianism, we can say that this fact greatly displays Chōmin’s attachment to Confucianism and his conviction of the existence of a universal principle to which everything can be reduced to. The enthusiastic inquiry of the norm of human actions of Chōmin is explained by this belief in such a universal principle. Chōmin does not consider, though, Confucianism as only possible approach to the Principle. All the intellectual trials to grasp the Principle can be called “Ri-gaku” and it is because of this that western “philosophy” is translated with this word “Ri-gaku”.

Here we must emphasize the fact that Chōmin recommended debates and discussions, because the principle shows its different figures according to the place and time. We can find in his philosophy the unity of the pursuit for the absolute principle and intellectual tolerance, or relativism based on the human nature.

What is interesting is that Chōmin elaborated the concept of moral liberty by consulting not only Rousseau, but also the controversy about republicanism in 19<sup>th</sup> France. You see on the screen the philosophers who had influenced Chōmin’s concept of liberty. It is a very interesting subject for Japanese researches to analyze their influence on Chōmin. Yet, today we have no time to present this discussion.

To finish this section, I repeat the points I have made previously. Chōmin can be considered as a great thinker in that he had conceptualized one of the important elements of liberty, that is to say, the possibility to arrive at the universal principle. It was possible not only with the ideas of Rousseau, but with his vast understanding of Chinese classics, especially Confucianism. This mixed culture of the western and Chinese ideas enables Chōmin to formulate the concept of the moral liberty, and to highlight the importance of discussion and of tolerance.

Now we enter into the 3<sup>rd</sup> section.

### 3. Element of self-objectification, spirit of parody or spirit of irony

Yet, if we consider Chōmin only as an idealist who urged the importance of the principle, we will fail to properly understand his thoughts. While it is sure that he was fundamentally democratic and liberalist, he often tried to relativize his ideals. In other words, he sought to make his ideals suitable for contemporary political reality. For example, he notes the danger of radicalism several times, citing the violence provoked during the French Revolution. Adding to these remarks upon radicalism, his famous doctrine about the co-domination by the



Emperor and the people can be interpreted in this scheme. He is not a simple-minded believer of French Republicanism. Recently, a Japanese intellectual has gone so far as to call Chōmin “a conservative philosopher”, contrary to the traditional interpretations.

Here, apart from this point, I would like to make some remarks regarding the danger of psychological identification with the ideal, which is often seen in daily life. We know that a simple psychological identification with superior ideals can, like that with a superior authority, easily bring about attacks against others. This identification, idealizing the self of those who express their loyalty to the ideal, can justify their actions without limitation. It can also take off all the hesitation which is required for the self-criticism. No one can deny that the easy and simple identification with such ideals is the biggest detractor for human tolerance, regardless of the political position that these ideals support. This is a lesson supported by historical evidence.

Now let me return to the case of Chōmin. Did Chōmin, idealist, idealize himself by the identification with his ideals?

I think that Chōmin succeeded in escaping from this idealization of the self. How did he succeed in doing so? From our point of view, it is by the spirit of parody, or that of irony. This spirit enabled him not only to criticize his political opponents, but also to relativize his political philosophy. He was able to adopt his talent of caricature even to himself and this ethos prevented him from identifying himself with the ideals he respected.

This spirit is clearly seen in one of his major works *Sunsuijin keirin mondo*, (*A Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*) firstly published in 1887. You can see on the screen also the English translation and the French translation. In this work, the three principal characters, while drinking for two or three days and nights, debate such matters as political systems, history, and foreign policy. Through their exchange, Chōmin vividly personifies and critiques, in an exaggerated form, the various orientations within the *Freedom and Popular Rights Movement*. The work might be seen as a kind of philosophical experiment. Rather than leading readers to any specific conclusion, Chōmin seeks to make them reexamine their fundamental assumptions. This style is more appreciated by us as the political texts which adopt conversation style ordinary try to induce the readers to a predetermined conclusion.

In *A Discourse*, as was said, three main characters discuss political matters. The main debate is held between ‘The Gentleman’ and ‘The Champion’. Master Nankai, an elderly, Socratic figure who casually drinks *sake* while enjoying the flow of the conversation, observed and moderated this discussion.

The Gentleman is, as his name suggests, a proponent of the modern Western values of liberty, equality and fraternity. He says that given Japan’s limited capacity in terms of physical

size, population, and resources, it must renounce its militaristic policy and instead commit itself to pacifism and a love of ideals, which he hopes will inspire other more powerful nations to do the same. The Champion, on the other hand, belittles the Gentleman's arguments as naïve and unrealistic, and instead proposes a strategy of resource accumulation and military strength supported by colonial expansion.

The argument finishes with the final brief speech of Master Nankai, which recommends constitutionalism, the dignity and glory of the emperor and the happiness of the people and insists on liberty, economic development, and education. This provisional conclusion is so balanced and even eclectic to be laughed at by the other two who find it quite ordinary and mediocre.

One of the problems of interpreting this work is to decide the character who expresses the ideal of Chōmin himself. After the defeat of the World War Two, many intellectuals identified "The Gentleman" with Chōmin himself. According to their interpretation, because of the political circumstances which were opposed to the liberal thought, Chōmin could not express his ideals in a direct way. Though it may be partially true, this interpretation seems to reduce the advantages of this amazing work. This would be because it may transform this work into nothing more than a simple political pamphlet of liberalism. The appealing point of *A discourse by Three Drunkards on Government* is the pluralism of political values described in it and the tension between them. Probably, all the three characters somewhat express Chōmin's political ideas. The impossibility of drawing a final conclusion is an important feature of this work. We could add that it warns us of an impetuous worship of any principles by caricaturizing "The Gentleman" and "The Champion" to some extent, anyway.

After all, if necessary, it is much more natural to seek the figure of Chōmin rather in Master Nankai who advocates a balanced, realistic, and eclectic policy, which reflect, to some extent, the political ideas of Chōmin himself.

What is important for us in the description of Master Nankai is, though, not that he relates a balanced policy, but that he is caricaturized rather than idealized. Like Nakae, Master Nankai is described as an alcoholic, and he is linked with Taoism, of which Nakae was fond. The last sentence is very symbolic. "The two guests never returned. According to the rumor, the Gentleman of Western Learning went to North America and the Champion went to Shanghai. Master Nankai, as always keeps on drinking." We cannot help ourselves but to notice Chōmin's self-mockery. Here Chōmin was acutely aware of his incompetence in the real political world. He criticized his contemporaries by caricaturizing them in the figures of the "Gentleman" and the "Champion". These depictions are so vivid as to prove his literary talent. We must not forget, though, this style of caricature is pointed to Chōmin himself.

We think that this self-mockery style invites us to compare Chōmin to Socrates. Though the difference is great, the self-mockery, or the self-objectification is a feature common to them. We could call this ethos shared by both of them “the spirit of irony”. Because of this spirit, both can never affirm themselves as they are and both are always skeptical about everything, even about themselves. Though seeming to be tragic, this style of life suggests another meaning of the liberty.

We will pursue this point very briefly.

If liberty is liberation from constraints, what is the constraint which is most difficult to overcome? The answer is very simple: it is the constraint of the self. Because the care for the self constitutes our essence, it is difficult, and almost impossible, for us to get rid of our desires, care for our evaluations based on our narcissism.

One might object that the liberty to fulfill one’s desire is an essential component of our liberty. We can, however, be skeptical of this point, because originally the definition of liberty depends on our intentional use of faculties. I have the liberty to swim because it depends on me to decide whether to swim or not, while I do not have any liberty about the beating of my heart. Human desires themselves must be compared rather with the latter. Adding to this, because I am sometimes forced to perceive that my actions are based on my narcissism, I hesitate to think that the actions which originate in narcissism or natural desires should be based on liberty. These actions seem to prove rather our slavery to hidden desires.

Adding to this, though the critic against narcissism is necessary, too severe a critic against narcissism or self-love may be a pathological sign of narcissism itself. What is worse, this type of attacks against narcissism or egoism, including this presentation, can finally lead to violent attacks against others.

Then how does one escape from narcissism? Probably, the most effective way is, as we have seen, self-mockery. It is very important and necessary for us to devote ourselves to ideals. In fact, by having ideals, we develop our faculties. Yet as I have remarked, ideals are dangerous in inviting us to identify ourselves with them and they can deprive us of our moral independence. One must find a point of balance between ideals and moral independence. In order to seek this point, one must be skeptical about his or her ideals in pursuing them at the same time. In other words, one must devote themselves to his or her ideals, in caricaturizing him or herself in doing so at the same time. This is indeed contradictory, but it is an effective way to preserve the psychological flexibility which constitutes tolerance and liberty. In order to live, human beings have, in general, some loyalty to some ideals, norms, or authority. We could add that it is necessary to control the degree of psychological loyalty, in order to preserve our liberty of judgment, our moral liberty. It is finally necessary to be skeptical about that control itself.

From our point of view, Chōmin and Socrates are great in undertaking this difficult

task.

#### 4. Conclusion.

In this presentation, I have insisted on the definition of liberty by the human possibility to arrive at the superior norm, or the universal principle. I apologize, however, if you think that I try to deny the liberty to fulfill one's desire. This was not my goal.

This liberty is very important for our life. Yet, I would like to say at least that important concepts such as "Liberty" cannot be defined sufficiently by only one element. The exclusive definition by only one element should deprive these concepts of their wealth and flexibility. In order to activate these concepts, it is adequate to define them by several elements which can be opposed to each other in some cases. The concepts defined in such a way will help us reflect on our own nature and the society in which we live, and it may provide us with "the vast and flowing energy connected with righteousness and the Way", while the simple definition of concepts and the satisfaction with it make our spirit, idle, inert, and probably narcissistic.

At last let me insist upon the importance of the spirit of parody, or of Irony. As I have said at the beginning of this presentation, our spirit is so narcissistic and egoistic in nature that we naturally make use of concepts in our own favor. To be free, or to try to be free from this natural inclination, we can take a measure of self-mockery and that of parody of ourselves. It will be a very interesting task to elaborate this concept of spirit of parody in its relationships to the concept of liberty. Unfortunately, we have no time today to do so.

What I can say is that Chōmin is a great thinker, not only because he enriched the concept of liberty, in placing it in the crossroads of western philosophy and Chinese classics, but also because he has embodied this spirit of self-mockery and that of parody. In this sense, he seems to be free of our most powerful enemy: narcissism. Thank you for your attention.

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Sociological Reflections on Current Issues in East Asia

7

Survivalist Modernity and Governmentality of  
Survivalist Dreams: Focusing on Park  
Chung-Hee

Kim Hong-Jung



# Survivalist Modernity and Its Logic of Governmentality

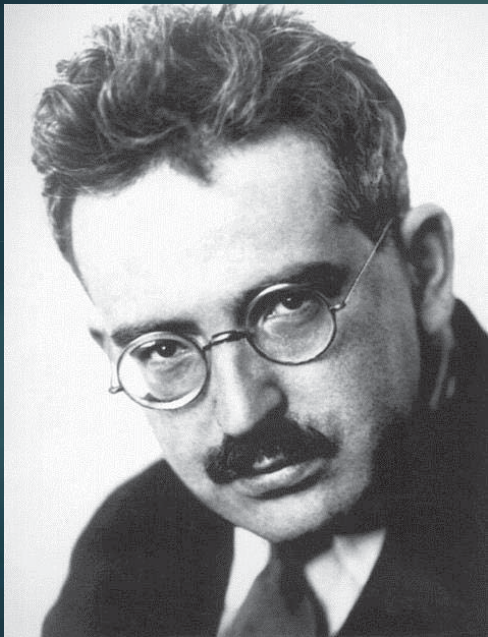
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# Modernity as a Dream

- ▶ Process of deployment of historical reason – Hegel
- ▶ Unaccomplished project of Enlightenment - Habermas
- ▶ Rationalization process – Weber
- ▶ Liberation process of human being - Marx
- ▶ Walter Benjamin's distinctive point of view that postulates modernity is a dream (*Traum*).
- ▶ From 1927 to 1940, Benjamin worked on the history of Parisian arcades containing intriguing traces of 19<sup>th</sup> century's various fantasies (*Phantasmagoria*) : *Das Passagen-Werk*
- ▶ Montage of fragments of dreams : architecture, urban design, philosophy, revolutionary figures, literature, advertisements, technologies, financial markets, etc.
- ▶ Benjaminian modernity is not an epoch, but a "horizon of expectations" (R. Koselleck); a complex mythical construct of progress, development, expansion, etc.
- ▶ Archeology of dreams is the historiography of the past dreams, utopias, dystopias ; collective dreams are viewed as motor of history.





## Two Main Insights of Benjamin's Archeology

- ▶ Firstly, it is not the inquiry into the past, but into the futures imagined in past times.
- ▶ Secondly, dream world is given as an object of research only as a monad; there are various dreams composing modernity.
- ▶ Thirdly, dreams reveal their authentic aspects when they become insolvent, broken, disillusioned.
- ▶ Epistemological possibility of historical dream analysis is founded on the destruction of dreams. Benjamin's archeology of European modernity was conducted, precisely when Europe was passing through the most "dark times" (H. Arendt) such as the Holocaust, fascism, World War, etc.

## Applying it to Korean Modernity

- ▶ Question 1 – what is the most prevalent dream formation of Korean modernity? What kind of collective dream have the Korean harbored for the past 100 years, as driving motor of the construction of the social?
- ▶ Answer 1 – Dream of survival encapsulating metaphorical transferences such as dream of development, prosperity, success, etc.
- ▶ Question 2 - What are the cases which represent typically Korean modern dreams?
- ▶ Answer 2 – I would like to focus on important figures and their discourses as significant cases of survivalist dream
- ▶ The meaning of 2017 – Last year Korean society underwent a deep and choking disenchantment on the occasion of the collapse of Park Keun-Hye regime.

## Thesis of Survivalist Modernity

- ▶ While the dominant dream formation of European modernity was progress, Korean modern dream germinated in the wounds left by the encounter with the European dream : dream of survival
- ▶ I argue that survivalism is the most important underlying regime of the heart which carved out Korean modernity.
- ▶ Kim Hong Jung. 2009. "Ethical Deconstruction of Embodied Neo-Liberalism". 『Society and Theory』14.
- ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ . 2014. "Theorizing Sociology of the Heart" . 『Korean Sociology』48(4).
- ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ . 2015a. "Survival, Survivalism, and Young Generation" . 『Korean Sociology』49(1).
- ▶ \_\_\_\_\_ . 2015b. "Reflexive Nostalgia, Dream of Jung-min and Survivalist Modernity" . 『Society and Theory』27.

## Three Waves of Survivalism - 1

- ▶ International Law regime of survivalism (1894) : Dong-hak peasant's Revolution, Kabo-reform, and Sino-Chinese War in Korean peninsula ; Subsequent to the decline of Sino-centric tributary vassal system, Chosun dynasty entered imperialist world system dominated by the principle of Hobbesian state of nature. Most of Korean intellectuals and opinion leaders attempted to cope with this crisis of self-preservation by adopting social Darwinist logic of the 'Survival of the fittest' (V. Tikhonov. 2010. Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea. Leiden, Boston. Brill).
- ▶ Survival of the nation was given a priority among problems to solve.

## Three Waves of Survivalism 2

- ▶ Cold War Survivalist Regime (1950) – Under a changed international situation of Cold War, Korean society experienced the most traumatic event of 20<sup>th</sup> century: Korean war.
- ▶ In 1961 Park Chung-Hee seized the power, and constructed during 18 years of 'bureaucratic authoritarianism' (Han Sang-Jin), developmentalist, modernized, urbanized, militarized society.
- ▶ Cold War survivalism focused on the national security against the threats from communist aggressions and economic growth : strong propensity to the power, military or economic.
- ▶ Park Chung-Hee systematized the logic of survivalist governmentality.

## Three Waves of Survivalism 3

- ▶ Neo-liberal survivalist regime (1997) – In 1997 Korea society was affected by the global financial crisis, and was drawn into the vortex of the overall neo-liberal restructuring of the society.
- ▶ Survivalism penetrated down into the popular culture, and mentalities of ordinary life.
- ▶ Boom of self-help discourses, survival programs, highly competitive and meritocratic life styles.
- ▶ Overlapping of multi-dimensional survivalistic viewpoints and values
- ▶ In 2017 after 20 years of neo-liberal survivalist era, and with the seizure of power by Moon Jae-In regime, we are witnessing a novel phase.....

## Why Park Chung-Hee is so important?

- ▶ Park was the charismatic leader who invented or reinvented the model of governmental state and society; one of the most important figures who set paradigms of the society-building.
- ▶ From the viewpoint of the dream, he invented (or reinvented) the script, scenario, or narrative of Korean survivalist dream: he drew on the dreams of Japanese developmentalism (Kishi Nobuske); communist dream of mass mobilization and dirigiste economy; and vast aspirations of the Korean people stricken by the poverty and calamities of post-war period.
- ▶ During 18 years, he never ceased to issue these messages of distinctive logic, rhetoric, story, picture of dream-realization of the Korean nation : songs, calligraphies, speeches, etc.
- ▶ The collection of his public speeches are arranged in 16 volumes, from 1963 to 1979; I analyze this collection as the most explicit articulation of Park Chung-Hee's governmentality of dream of survival.
- ▶ I consider Park as the signature figure of Korean modernity, and his discourses as signature texts of survivalist governmentality.



## Biography and Governmentality

- ▶ Chun In-Kwon analyzed Park Chung-Hee's personal psychological traits in his book *Critical Biography of Park Chung-Hee* (2006), focusing on his anxiety of abandonment and strong inclination to violence and power : theory of psychological orphan.
- ▶ His work reveals the possibility to articulate the biographical and the ideological contents of Park's thinking : survivalism
- ▶ "About Park's political thought, we should note that his thought constitutes a closed auto-referential admixture....For example, in this thought the overcoming of poverty and that of dependency on others form the primordial wish dimension. In this sense, the political goal of Park is to react against two trauma" (Chun In-Kwon, 2006: 326-7).

## Landscaping Governmental Narrative of Park's Survivalism

- ▶
  - ▶
  - ▶
  - ▶
- transcendental structure of problems → sovereign leader  
↓  
kairotic emergency → power-seeking → utopia

# Transcendental Structure of Problems

- ▶ Park's logic is predicated, first and foremost, upon the realist vision of the actual situation to which Korean nation is confronted, as a unit of survival.
- ▶ 1. Geo-political situation - Lots of his speeches begin with the revocation of the contemporary international situation impregnated with the atmosphere of struggle for the survival among nations, in particular, in Cold War circumstances.
- ▶ 2. Historical path dependency – Park views Korean history basically as a history of passion, torments, defeats, tragedy, and shame. And this trend went on just in his times, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> republic of Korea.
- ▶ 3. In a nutshell, Korean nation is on the point of really problematic situation where its survival is in crisis

- ▶ "In our north, west, south, and east, there is on-going competitions for the survival, and internationally, we are traversing a process of painstaking predicaments" (박정희, 1966: 354.)
- ▶ "Now we are living in the international society of harsh competition, marvelous transformation, and infinite development, that is to say, in an environment characterized by the survival of the fittest than any other times (박정희, 1968: 74).
- ▶ "We are living in the world where conflicts and tensions never cease and only the most competent can survive" (박정희, 1977: 91)
- ▶ "If our history is that of hardships, crisis, and of invasions from neighbors, it was determined by our geo-political location (...). From a geo-political point of view, Korean peninsula is surrounded by three forceful powers: China, Russia, and Japan (...). This is precisely the position of Korean nation, historically speaking" (Park. 1962. *The Path of Our Nation*)

# Kairotic Emergency

- ▶ If so, what kind of temporality characterizes the contemporary Koreans, thrown into that structurally determined problematic situation?
- ▶ Park never cease to accentuate the emergency of now-time.
- ▶ The quotidian temporality portrayed by Benjamin as “vacant and homogenous” stops, and the now appears as a privileged qualitative moment when human subject is exposed to state of emergency so that he should do something to overcome this crisis.
- ▶ Ample utilization of metaphor of ‘surgical operation’ to justify the military intervention in the politics, 5. 16 coup d’etat.

- ▶ “Now we are at the starting point of the new history. The dark night of poverty, confusion, dependency is coming close to its end. Before our eyes is unfolding the history of prosperity, independency, and self-establishment. Modernization of our country and accomplishment of independent economy! How fascination is this filling our heart with hope? It is an important task imparted to our generation. That is the goal of our state required by the history of nation. And it is the path of our survival that we chose ourselves” (1965. 12. 16 speech).
- ▶ Two different functions of kairos in this narrative
- ▶ Firstly, it serves as a rationale of the procrastination of other values (democracy, equality, welfare, etc) to the unforeseeable future.
- ▶ Secondly, it serves as a rationale of the ideological interpellation calling upon people for the grand-narrative ideology of nationalism and statism.

# Praxeology of power

- ▶ So is posed the question to the subjects who were called by Park; what should be done for the survival?
- ▶ The answer rests on the power; power is the supreme value and method through which survival problems can be solved properly.
- ▶ Two forms of power that Park stipulated as manifest goals: military power (national security) and economic wealth (industrialization).
- ▶ "We should do our best for the 'on-the-one-hand-construction', deploy more vehement struggles against communist aggressors. We should wage this struggle at the risk of our life and win it, for our survival, freedom, for the construction and protection of better-off and prosperous democratic society (...). We can't die. I should survive, you should survive, our nation should survive, the country should survive. To survive, there is no other way than to fight risking life" (PCS 5: 95)

- ▶ In this sense, Park's praxeology flirts with Nietzsche thinking of Power; the theory of will to power.
- ▶ Everything is reduced, in the literal sense of the word, to the power.
- ▶ "Everything is power. We need to cultivate it" (PCS 6: 141).
- ▶ What does not contribute to augmentation and accumulation of power is banned, precluded, and repressed.
- ▶ "Economy is supreme, priority is on the construction, and Labor is sublime" (Park, 1963. *State, Revolution, and I*).



# Sovereign leader

- ▶ In this process of intervenes a special subject who is exceptional.
- ▶ In 1961, Park published a booklet titled "Way of Leader" where he exhibited his specific conception of the centrality of the leader compared to the people.
- ▶ Park incarnated the leader who is beyond life/death problems. Leader should be indifferent to his own survival problem; he has no private life; he dedicates totally his life to the public fate – myth of heroic leader
- ▶ Carl Schmitt's definition of sovereign – sovereign is who decides on the exception (Ausnahmezustand); who decides whether it is the state of emergency or not; who decides in the midst of the state of emergency
- ▶ Park played precisely this role of sovereign since 5.16 cout d'etat.
- ▶ He tried to justify his military action by saying that the coup was the exceptional activity coming from his crucial decision on the state of exception, that is to say the state where the problem of life and death of Korean society should be solved in a exceptional way than constitutional or juridical way.
- ▶ This sovereign leader turns into the sovereign dictator after Yushin regime.

- ▶ Park's complicated conception of the sovereignty.
- ▶ 1. national sovereignty – from this comes his sovereign depression and sovereign anxiety - the preface of *The Path of our Nation* (1962)
- ▶ 2. popular sovereignty - with regard to the elections, he never forgets to mention the constitutional principle of popular sovereignty
- ▶ 3. survivalist sovereignty – a transcendental subjectivity of dictator or leader possess this sovereignty which decides on the state of emergency, and instruct/subjectify people, and save the nation out of the survival crisis.

# Utopia

- ▶ Finally, all of this survivalist governmentality are oriented towards the future utopia at individual and national level as well.
- ▶ Park directed the dream world of modern Koreans, dictating the frontiers of the possibility of desire (what is permitted for desire), the contents and methods of the dreams.
- ▶ What he declares as the paramount dream of the nation of his times are the following ones – reunification of Korea, modernization, wealthy nation, independence, national restoration
- ▶ The future was being produced by Park's programs, projects, and speeches, propagandas.
- ▶ This future image was challenged by multiple resistant discourses, in particular, since 1970s.

# Conclusion

- ▶ In 2016, Korean society underwent a totally unexpected collapse of Park Keun-Hye regime, who is the daughter of Park Chung-Hee.
- ▶ Is this the collapse of Park Chung-Hee's dream, dream of survival and dream of power, dream of development?
- ▶ What novel dream is being created by Korean society?
- ▶ With what kind of dream Korean society will govern itself?
- ▶ Thank you.