Globalization, Citizenship, and Rights to the City: Towards a Sociology of Euro-Asian Continental Integration.

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δόξειε δ ἂν παντὸς εἶναι προαγαγεῖν καὶ διαρθρῶσαι τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα τῆ περιγραφῆ, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῶν τοιούτων εὑρετὴς ἢ συνεργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι.

(If a work has been well laid down in outline, to carry it on and complete it in detail may be supposed to be within the capacity of anybody; and in this working out of details Time seems to be a good inventor or at all events coadjutor.)

Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1098a

The Contemporary Global Context

Throughout the 1980s, and especially from the mid-1980s, Japanese society has been globalized to a much greater extent than previously. However, it has faced even greater challenges following the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the European Union during the 1990s and the first decade of this century.

In the 1980s, issues of internationalization and local communities were being discussed. Subsequently, globalization issues and the impacts of globalization on local communities and regions became focal topics that continue to be discussed at the beginning of the 21st century.

This raises the question of how new relationships, spanning the individual, family, neighborhood, local community, local government, national regions, national government (nation-state), globally integrated regions, and the literally global market, are emerging. In other words, our inquiry focuses on new forms relating to the historical differentiation between the societal community and the polity, and to issues of scale that pertain to the newly globalized civil society.

From a juridical-sociological perspective, we could treat issues of citizenship as being linked to fluid, multi-scalar but contradictory "spatial practices of appearance." (Arendt 1958). From the turn of the century, the national habitus conceived as a spiritual hexis $(\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \tau \eta \nu \xi \xi \iota \nu)^{(1)}$, the national hexis conceived as a physical habitus $(habendi)^{(2)}$, and the scale of operation of civil society have evidenced rapid change.

Rescaling Modes of Regulation, Changing Regimes of Accumulation, and Economic Society

The nation-state entails three components: civil, political, and social rights. Marshall (1992) has argued that these three components have historically displayed no evolutionary order. We can, therefore, assume that the same situation prevails at the local, regional, national, and global scales in relation to civil society. What is evident is that the nation-state, conceived as a "Bürgerliche Gesellscaft" (a societal community) comprising an economic and civil society is in a state of crisis pertaining to its existence as a socially integrated national community with international associations.

Evidently, the rescaling of national modes of regulation (the glocalizing ensembles of institutionalized national compromises) and the changing national-local regimes of accumulation scale, namely globalization as extending the economic society as well as the readjusting mode of regulations in the global, global-regional, national, nationalregional, local-urban, and individual (as the front and back regions and the regionalization of personal action that A. Giddens (2013) has pointed out). On the one hand, the concept of globally integrated regions is emerging as a reality. Examples of scaling up include the European Union (EU), Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Mercado Común del Sur (MERCOSUR), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership Agreement (TPP). On the other hand, the integrity of a number of nation-states is collapsing as they are being divided up or scaleddown. Examples include the partitioning of civil society in places like Yugoslavia, East Timor, and the Soviet Union, which are now being historically re-divided, while other areas such as Catalonia (*Catalunya*), Basque (*Euskal Herria*), Scotland, Flanders (*Vlaanderen*), Uyghur (新彊), Tibet (西藏), Hong Kong (香港), and the new regime of Taiwan (台湾) are on the rise.

The Euro-Asian Continent Conceived as a Globally Integrated Region and as Localities

The age of national sovereignty, entailing a perception of the nation-state as a *social telos* has ended. This is apparent not only in Europe, but also in Asia and in other regions. Nevertheless, the previously established nation-states remain active in all areas of the world.

In the age of globalized (and in some cases glocalized) integration ⁽³⁾ in East Asia, including Japan, the concept of a globalized region has been emerging in conjunction with an expanding ASEAN global market. China, Japan, and India, which are extensive economic spheres coexisting within the same region, are being influenced by the extended global market of ASEAN (evidenced by ASEAN+3 (Japan, China, and South Korea), +6 (Japan, China, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand), ASEM, and RCEP). At the same time, they are contending against the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which is another concept of a globally integrated market that is being imposed by the US and its economic power. Evidently, with the transformation and dismantling of established international relations of existing nation-states, what we are witnessing is a new form of global order entailing globally integrated regions and localities, some of which are aimed at rescaling (in some cases involving extension and in others division) and historically new forms of economic and civil society.

Along with the changing contours of the economy and the societal community, we are also witnessing a new "habitus" and "hexis" of the societal community and civil society, enabling us to communicate with each other within a given economy and society ⁽⁴⁾. In our search for new, common spatial practices and their associated geographical territory, we will focus on the Euro-Asian Continental Community (ASEAN \rightarrow ASEAN+3 \rightarrow RCEP \rightarrow ASEM).

Issues within Ukraine are emerging as a result of the eastward extension of European integration against the re-division of the territory of the former Soviet Union. Simultaneously, ASEAN's market integration is advancing westward, which should result in the inclusion of India and Turkey.

In addition, China has been proposing a "new silk road" route (- # - B), encompassing the Euro-Asian continent ⁽⁵⁾. Taking place on top of the Japanese economic society, China and the United States are locked in a global competition to acquire new markets: China through the RCEP vs. the United States through the TPP, wherein the RCEP could create an economic society as well as a civil society in relation to the EU, but the TPP just an economic society in the Pacific region.

A Moral Question as a Scale Question

The two directions of eastward-extension of European integration (the EU) and westward advancement of ASEAN are indicative of an issue relating to social integration at a continental level. This seems to be associated with historical conditions entailing the exchange of ideas, information, attitudes, and opinions among urban citizens. In other words, it suggests that a moral question is simultaneously a scale question.

Common issues include how wages are to be paid, rules and norms of capital investments, ways of thinking about abuse of children and animals, environmental protection—including the issue of how to evaluate the nuclear disasters of Chernobyl in Ukraine and Fukushima in Japan—and other matters. In other words, they relate to common goods of the soul as "Good" and, indeed, to the "Continental Supreme Good" (*kalon* <*kalóv*> as the "beautiful" and the "morally right") ⁽⁶⁾ that should be shared within and for the continent that we inhabit. This includes compromises in relation to religious conflicts and the initiation of a global conversation, between Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, and Hindus at a continental level.

We must discuss issues of language, food and water, the urban milieu, tolerance towards different cultural practices, decision-making, and the environment. Moreover, we need to share to a greater extent than we do now across our continent, from end to end, to create an expansive civil society, in which Indian-British, Chinese-Spanish, Vietnamese-German, Russian-Ukrainian, and French-Japanese individuals would be ethnically and racially equal, fellow citizens in their given societal communities. This also entails the sharing of moral problems, thereby instilling a "common moral nobility or virtue ethics" into the concept of the market associated with a continental economic society. ⁽⁷⁾

In the next section, I will address another issue of scale, notably, what Brenner (2000) refers to as the "Urban Question as a Scale Question."

Rights to the City and the Glocalizing Civil Society

Globally, people are still moving to the cities with the aim of experiencing modern urban living, especially in BRICS countries and in developing countries. Even in developed countries such as Japan, despite the fact that most national cities are shrinking in size, many individuals still dream of having a house within a central metropolitan area. For instance, in Japan, people demand the right to live in core national and global cities like Tokyo, Sendai, Sapporo, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka, where they believe they can easily find jobs and enjoy a "non-degraded" niveau.

I will refer to this demand as "rights to the city." ⁽⁸⁾ These rights have been demanded by citizens all over the world, for example, in New York, Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Beijing, Shanghai, Moscow, Kiev (*Kyiv*), New Delhi, Tokyo, San Francisco, Chicago, and Taipei.⁽⁹⁾ The more developed a society is, the greater the demand for "the urban" and urban citizenship within popular movements. This is a new phenomenon stemming from uneven development within regions and localities, urban–rural hierarchy, in a glocalized world. As Parsons (1971) noted, a nationalized economic society and a modern civil society could be conceived as a societal community. Specifically, this refers to the historical emergence of a new nation within the United States through a "Democratic Revolution" as a result of social differentiation processes between a societal community and a new polity. We are once again witnessing the same process at the beginning of the 21st century, whereby the nations are re-divided, re-integrated, and re-established at different scales and speeds, and along different dimensions. Thus, some societies would only be economic societies, while others would be civil societies and even political communities.

This has in fact been happening, globally, including in Japan, for over two decades. The rise of Fukuoka and Sendai, the extension of the Osaka region (関西広域連合) and the new and highly concentrated Tokyo metropolitan region (東京一極集中) should be understood in the above context of glocalization. In the future, these popular demands will ultimately result in national regions being re-divided and reconstructed at glocalized scales in contrast to existing national establishments (道州制). Moreover, extended social norms (a globally extended public sphere) at the continental level will preside over national norms. These are matters that we will need to deal with in the near future.

Discussion and Conclusions

As Wiewiorka, a French sociologist, has stated,⁽¹⁰⁾ the social conflict that we are witnessing could entail a new phenomenon that indicates the beginning of a shift in socio-political bargaining between the two or more conflicting nation-states. In light of the bargaining associated with TPP and RCEP, we must consider this issue to be without a near end in a global context for bringing about our future, extended, created, and therefore re-imagined, civil society at the scale of the Euro-Asian continent.

On the road towards this integration, we would need to reconsider the idea of a universalistic national modernity that the EU has been advancing for the Eastern world since the 1950s. Alternatively, the concept of "multiple modernities" can be applied, which, as Y. Singh notes, encompasses the old Indian civilization. A. K. Giri has noted that Indian modernities have emerged out of the processes of criticism, creativity, and struggles through history, as in the revolt of Buddha, the rise of Upanishadic spirituality, Bhakti movements in medieval India, movement for a new renaissance in the 19th

century, and the multi-dimensional anti-colonial and post-colonial struggles for freedom.

Through the generation of some conflict and minor antagonisms in relation to the diplomacy between existing nation-states, we can conceivably progress towards continental integration of Euro-Asia on a millennium time scale. Currently, however, we are just beginning to construct roads, railways, and bridges, along with new social networks and relations at glocalized scales.

We are also just beginning to consider and figure out issues arising at glocalized scales. However, this beginning lays the hard groundwork paving the way for future understanding. Of course, studies and assessments of the future consequences of globalization, that is, glocalization, in the Euro-Asian continent are ongoing, and the jury is still out.

Notes

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- 1. The *hexis* is a spiritual and physical disposition or state that is spatially structured between human action and society. It is also the behavioral properties and sociopsychological environment that integrate linguistic activity (*lexis* $\langle \lambda \dot{e} \xi \iota g \rangle$) and socio-political performance (*praxis* $\langle \pi \rho \tilde{\alpha} \xi \iota g \rangle$). Iwanaga, S. (2013), p. 16. It is the beginning and medium wherein the sense is constructed and maintained between the human action and its object. The common human activity is, by definition, the spatial manifestation of the common *hexis* in action.
- 2. The *habitus* is a key sociological concept in Pierre Bourdieu's sociology (Bourdieu, 1979). However here, the point of definition is in the "means" of habitus and *hexis*, in-between two concepts. It embodies interactive and possessive movements and processes between the human action as an origin of generation and as its object in the society. Moreover, the soul is the origin (*ἀρχή*) of living things and of generation.
- 3. M. Purcell (2008) has pointed out that many in the literature use the term

"glocalization" rather than globalization, in order to more accurately describe both supra-national and sub-national rescaling process, and that the current era has been characterized by a strategic erosion of the national-scale hegemony. He calls it the "Globalization as Selective Glocalization." *Ibid.*, p. 9.

- 4. As noted by Habermas (1962), this is also the public sphere in which citizens exchange ideas, information, attitudes, and opinions.
- 5. Ukrainian issues culturally and linguistically express the re-integration of Slavic culture to a Latin-Roman one. In fact, Latin-Roman culture itself is based on that of Ancient and Classical Greece, and what we will deal with as a core issue in the article (i.e. as a *dynamis <δύναμις>*) is a new continental basis in culture as more than just classical Greek culture. The breaking news (on April 8, 2016) that Greece has formally signed an agreement to sell a 67% stake in the port of Pireus to Chinese shipping company China Cosco Holding Co. (Stamouli, N. ,2016), indicates the problem not only of the military and economic relationship between the two continents but also of a historically new cultural integration. The port of Pireus is in a way a symbolically important place for the European Integration as well as the city of Brussel.

At the same time, we should realize that on the continent we use the same word, "maidan", to refer both to the square in Kyiv, Ukraine, and to the public space in New Delhi, India. These two places have not been completely distanced culturally from each other, and this is even less true now, in the age of a multimedia and digital society.

6. See Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (1094b). In fact, the importance of kalon in this continental context slightly exceeds that entailed in its classical Greek meaning. τῶν ἔξεων δὲ τàς ἐπαινετàς ἀρετàς., 1103a. (...praiseworthy dispositions we term virtue.), trans. by H. Rackham (1975), p. 69. This issue of social value, which is also one of the points forming the basis of European Integration, has come up in the face of the current issues going on between Japanese in India and Indians in Tokyo. See also Note 11.

To create the music of and for the continent might aid to some degree, as such music would be capable of producing a common quality of human character and disposition.

7. L. Bruni and R. Sugden (2013) notes that, on the supposition that the *telos* of the market is mutual benefit, market virtue in the sense of virtue ethics is an acquired character trait with two properties: (1) possession of the trait makes an individual better able to play a part in the creation of mutual benefit through market

transactions; and (2) the trait expresses intentional orientation towards and respect for mutual benefit (pp. 153–160). If we add historical and geographical conditions to their arguments, the problem of a market virtue that they propose easily becomes a moral and virtue ethics questions, as a scale question.

- 8. Lefebvre originally used this term in a single and absolute sense that indicated the right to the city, or urban citizenship, as something ideal for the future of urban networks and of the polity. More recently this term has been re-evaluated by a number of scholars, including Harvey (2003), Mitchell (2003), Marcuse (2009), Castaneda (2012) and Miraftab (2012) (see the edited volume by Smith and Mcquarrie (2012)). However, here, I use this term in the plural (rights to the city) to signify much more concrete and plural rights for surviving city life.
- For instance, in urban China, the demand has been typically reinforced by the *hukou* system(戶籍・戶口制度).
- Wiewiorka made this point during his seminar on "sociologie du conflit," held in 2001–2002 at l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris.
- 11. Giri (2012) describes in detail that taking inspiration from Bhakti movements, Kabir, Nanak, Mira Bai, Sri Aurobindo, and Gandhi, we can realize that the significance of Indian modernities lies in bringing to the fore strivings for multi-dimensional self-development. However, at the same time, Giri has criticized Habermas' concept of the public sphere and civil society and even the new version of the concept, multiple modernities, by S. N. Eisenstadt (pp. 227–228). Referring to the concept put forth by Eisenstadt (2000), Singh has noted that the traditional resilience of Indian culture would continue to persist with new adaptive responses to the modernization process of contemporary Indian society (2012, p. 165).

In the east part of Tokyo, Nishikasai (西葛西), on the one hand, about 2000 Indians inhabit and work as informational technology technicians and advisors. On the other hand, many Japanese firms have now invested in India for production of industrial products. This juxtaposition demands readjustment of the conflicting social values between Japan and India, a multi-layered and multi-valued civil society, as a Creative Public Sphere, not only for India and Japan but also for the continent, over the traditional concepts of public sphere and civil society by Habermas (1962), according to Giri.

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