Decolonizing Democracy:
Globalization and the Politics of Borders/Boundaries

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This dissertation explores political and intellectual theory which focuses on the formation of political and social boundaries/borders and identities in modern democracy. Two correlating issues serve as the axes for this work.

The first issue involves postwar Japanese democracy, the political discourse of Postwar Democracy. Thus, Part I (*Nationalism and Democracy in Postwar Japan*) examines the ideological formation of national identity and its boundaries, with a particular focus on Maruyama Masao's texts. This section analyzes how the discourse of Postwar Democracy functioned as a theory of political subjectivity of "national democracy."

The second issue examines the transformation of democratic politics within the on-going phenomenon of globalization. The decline of political discourse on postwar democracy, the decaying of the welfare state system, and the development of a new political economic discourse called neoliberalism-- all these various elements contribute to the transformation of sociality itself. How are political identities and its boundaries constructed, and in what social sites? What new power relations are operational? Part II (*Globalization and the Politics of Boundaries*) proposes the possibility for an "non-territorial democracy,"

which is not based upon the ideological articulation with nationalism.

In Part I, the Introduction (*Politics of Boundaries/Borders of Politics*) consolidates these two issues into the question of "democracy and border/boundaries" concerning the formation of political identities (the transformation of socio-political boundaries of modern democracy). In addition, it presents the methodology and theoretical presuppositions of this dissertation.

The first chapter (*Maruyama Masao's "Japan"*) reformulates Maruyama's political thought, specifically with interest in the discourse of nationalism. The focal point of Maruyama's theory on the modern subject was the relative transferal of significance within the intellectual modus, from the spirit of 'nature' (*shizen*) to that of 'invention'(*sakui*). This chapter interprets this historical transition of Maruyama's methodology as one that signifies the transition from nationalism of 'invention' to nationalism of 'nature.' This paradoxical theoretical transition itself indicates how Maruyama's political thought functioned as the stereotypical structure of narrating modern nationalism--the discursive creation of cultural identity and national traditions.

National Democracy and Subjectivity: Reconsidering Maruyama Masao's Theories on Democracy constitutes the second chapter of Part I. This chapter considers the ideological articulations of democracy as a political ideology with other major political ideologies (liberalism, nationalism, culturalism). Maruyama's varying theories on democracy may be summed up as one of national democracy and subjectivity. If solely reliant upon exclusive belonging (the essentialization of forcible adherence to a single nation-state, forging a political identity), democracy cannot escape from the boundaries of national politics, for it has underlining desires for a homogenous nation-state.

Thus, the discussions of Part I identify the ideological articulations on nationalism and democracy. The theory of political subjectivity in Postwar Democracy inevitably developed into a democracy, which was based on an ideology that erected national boundaries with exclusion of otherness, and homogenization of the internal sphere. This democracy functioned as a discourse that united the national identity of "Japan/ese" as a homogeneous nation after its defeat in WWII, to the notion of subjective engagement in and loyalty to democratic politics. This envisioned a "Japan/ese democracy" yet concurrently relegated the "borders of politics" to "borders of the nation."

Chapter Three *Citizenship and the Fluctuating Nation-State: Belonging and Boundaries in the Age of Globalization* initiates Part II of this dissertation, discussing modern citizenship from the perspective of political theory. T.H. Marshall's framework is applied to examine the conceptualization of citizenship within the welfare state system of the latter half of the twentieth century. Modern citizenship is considered analogous to nationality, to which legal, political, and social rights and status are attached. National democracy evolved alongside it, as the ideological sidekick to the nation-state systematic structuralization of inclusion and exclusion (of indigenous people, women, aliens), which presupposes "national" belonging. The concept of modern citizenship is not, and has not been, political neutral or objective, as it itself is steeped in political/social power relations (majority/minority relations).

Furthermore, globalization does not simply dismantle the nation-state system, but also is a transformational process of political governance. Through this process, the concept of citizenship undergoes new changes and transformations. The major changes include: changing concept of "belonging" due to increased mobility of people; the issue of social selection/screening and expulsion/exclusion with increased marketization; the insuffiency of representative democracy, the structuralization of social exclusion through neoliberalism, and immigration policy based on a nation-state's "regulation of diversity." Through these debates, this chapter criticizes the democratic system of governance and its regard of the nation-state as the sole legitimate political unit, for it also viewed the borders/boundaries of the nation as absolute, which produced multiple violent forces of inclusion and exclusion. Yet this transformation caused by globalization does not resolve the issue of violent inclusion/exclusion by the nation-state, but furthers the process of complicating the demarcation of inclusion/exclusion.

Chapter Four (Globalization of the "Alter Ego": The Technologies of National Borders in *Tombes du Ciel*) discusses the system of "national boundaries" as an ideology. The nation-state's holy trinity of territory, citizen, sovereignty worked as the basic prerequisites for the formation of democratic politics in modern nation-states. However, as these conditions are fictional, they are accompanied (and sustained) through ideological reproduction. What are national boundaries, and what is this passport system? What is the political nature of "travel" in this age of globalization?

With such concerns, this chapter focuses on the film *Tombes du Ciel*, and discusses the modern topology of travel and national boundary system. Through interpreting the film plots, this chapter discusses the multiple evolutions of boundaries which accompanies globalization as the "ubiquity of national boundaries" and the "globalization of the 'alter ego.'" Within globalization, the principle of the national identity (the 'alter ego') regulates the identity of traveling people and things, is increasingly differentiated and expanded. The equivocality of the concept of subjects is identified as the politics regarding national boundaries and "transit" in globalization.

Chapter 5 (Part II. Decolonizing Democracy: Neoliberalism and Exclusive Democracy) presents a cumulative approach to all the presented arguments, and discusses the crises and potentials of contemporary democracy. Taking into perspective the structural transformation of various social consciousness and economic conditions surrounding modern democracy, this chapter presents a metacritique of modern democracy and the politics of boundaries, which also serves as a conclusion to this dissertation.

The political/economic discourse of neoliberalism, which interlocks and evolves with globalization, can be formulated into "democratic exclusion"-- a political ideology that institutionalizes the exclusion of "ourselves" in the name of "we/us."

In neoliberal discourse, "social issues" which originate from social systems and structures are rendered into individual and personal affairs. This leads to the structural insecurity of the basis for sociality, and amplifies individual insecurity/instability/unsafety. In this amplification of social insecurity, brought about by the coercion to liberty, the various forms of democracy begins to function as a political system in which the members begin to exclude/eliminate themselves. Also, this social consciousness is usurped into the already-existing formula of representative democracy, and neoliberal politics are united with a new nationalism, which recycles the boundaries of the nation-state.

The following points comprise the conclusion. Democratic thought and its various institutions of the twentieth century has been "colonized" by the nation-state, which produces a national "belonging" and identity. While the prominence of the nation-state sovereignty has declined with globalization, the "sites" of "politics" are increasingly pluralized and differentiated as the "ubiquity of national boundaries," and yet, also progresses towards reappropriation of the boundaries of the nation-state. There is a synchronous advancement of

the proliferation of the sites of "politics" and the political identification with the nation-state. Democratic thought re-articulated the oblivion of equality and the tyranny of liberty within the neoliberal discourse. In turn, the democratic potentials remains with the reconstruction of "the politics of boundaries" and creation of a new political vision regarding liberty and equality in this age of globalization.

The "borders and boundaries" of nation-state politics, founded upon exclusive "territory," needs to be deconstructed, democratic politics need to be reformulated as "non-territorial democracy." Through these processes, the "sites" of politics can traverse local positions to counter globalization.