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TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE CATEGORY OF 'JUSTICE' IN THE DISCOURSES OF THE NEOLIBERAL THEORIES

Tatiana Vlasova, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor,
Iuliia Reshetnova, PhD-Student,

*Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Dnipropetrovsk National University
of Railway Transport named after academician V. Lazarian, Dnepr, Ukraine*

Abstract: *The category of justice that asserts universality and invariability becomes extremely problematic in the neoliberal discourses of the state and power. At the same time, the conflict interaction of different current discourses imparts to this category a contradictory character, viz. in the neoliberal context of the social justice policy. The example of relation of the neoliberal conceptions and feminism shows that the category of justice has not become yet a mechanism of improvement of social protection of human rights, including both man and woman.*

Keywords: *postmodernity, contradictions, multiplicity, context, democracy, politics, feminism*

INTRODUCTION

The global Renaissance of the philosophic and political theories of the last decades significantly influences on expanding research trends, which are topical for both the Ukrainian science and the World's science. At the same time, new knowledge spheres implementation testifies the progressive development of the humanitarian knowledge expansion. The category 'justice' with its roots in Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy asserts suprasensitive character, its universality, invariability and necessity. D. Miller (2003) notes that the ancient definition of justice given by Emperor Justinian states that justice is a constant intention to requite everybody accordingly to their merits. This definition is figurative, but it underlines an important component, viz. the invariability principle. The contemporary postmodern situation represents a more revolutionary time than the Western world has ever known, therefore, researchers state in their analysis of transformations with the focus at the change normalization and pluralism of meaning (E. Ericson, D. Risman, Z. Bauman, W. Simon, M. Foucault, I. Zizek et al). On the one hand, the complexity of changes at the social level explains the uncertainty of the justice. On the other hand, political institutions are assessed from the point of determining by individuals their own interests, i.e. the political process is analyzed as a mutually beneficial process.

The problem of neoliberalism in connection with the category of justice in the postmodern philosophical discourses is complicated. Many social and political factors are interwoven due to interrelations with the concepts that have contesting meanings. The philosophic approach to this problem is not used that testifies to the significance of the scientific analysis based on philosophic methodology. The aim

of our article is to analyze the category of justice at the beginning of the XXI century with the focus on its intrinsically contradictory character due to the contestation of discourses incorporated by neoliberalism in the expanding de-democratizing context of the first decades of the XXI century. The main tasks are connected with exposing manifestations of the conflict interaction of different discourses of justice in the complicated processes of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2008).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The complex relations of justice ideas and liberalism theories, represented in many scientific studies (J. Habermas, J. Rawls, F. Hayek, etc.) are well known. The idea of social justice has been at the center of political disputes throughout the XX century. The idea of social justice is very controversial; e.g. right-wing liberals consider it as a threat to the individual and economic freedom, which is necessary for the market economy functioning. Classical liberal ideology has evolved into neoliberalism enriched by the Keynesianism ideas, i.e. the need for the state intervention in the economy and social sphere, the duty on the state to support the most vulnerable categories of the population. During the past decades, the concept of neoliberalism becomes widespread in the philosophic and political debates with the meaning of ideology and policy model with the emphasis on the idea that modern self-organized individuals are more predisposed to care for themselves than to receive help from the welfare state (Eagleton, 2016). Because of obvious reasons, this doesn't give hope for a decent and rational development of life: the contradictions of liberalism in socio-economic and political life are not overcome, but are preserved in the "rules of the game" of neoliberalism between guarantees of justice and interests of private sector. On the other hand, the problem of neoliberalism is complicated due to its uncertain and difficult relations with concepts that have contesting meanings (e.g. democracy). Thus, the inclusion of the democratic paradigm at the basis of understanding the justice accentuates the idea of the transformation of actors of the contemporary social and political changes through the prism of the "free" subject in the "free trade" represented the theories of neoliberalism (Olssen, 2009).

Despite the fact that neoliberalism, as a rule, accentuates the belief in sustainable economic growth, the financial crisis of 2007 forced scientists to question the neoliberal confidence in the advantages of the free market. It requires certain state regulation of the financial and banking sector (Miller, 2007). One of the most significant problems of modern neoliberalism is the problem of globalization. Even today, the formal definitions of neoliberalism are often focused on the values of globalization (Foucault, 2002).

The insufficient theoretical and methodological elaboration of the philosophical principle of justice in the discourses of neoliberalism is evidenced by the fact that in the educational literature this subject is not represented. Results are focused on the elucidation of the contiguity of recent discourses of neoliberalism in their interaction with discourses of postmodern theories. The article is based on the complex methodology due to the interdisciplinary character of the research. Conducting the discursive analysis necessitates the usage of such methods as deconstruction, hermeneutics, neomarxism, equally with the approaches of the gender methodology.

RESULTS

The usage of the term "neoliberalism" has been changing during the end of the last century. Primarily it meant "new" liberalism as the XX century revival of the XIX century ideas, associated with the liberty of individuals against the excessive power of government. Although neoliberalism is distinct from the modern liberalism. In the postmodern perspective, neoliberalism is considered as a moral philosophy and economics. Nowadays the predominance is being taken by the idea. Encyclopedia Britannica defines neoliberalism as ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition. Neoliberalism is often characterized in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth (Eagleton, 2016). Beginning in 2007, the financial crisis in the US and Western Europe led to reject the neoliberal insistence on maximally free market and to rise government regulation of the financial and banking spheres. In the postmodern perspective, neoliberalism is considered as a moral philosophy and then as economics. As postmodern challenges have proved to be open to appropriation from the Right, Left, or Center, they are always paradoxically compromised and critical (Miller, 2007).

This opens a problematic field of discourse despite all the contradictory views on postmodernism. In the "Archaeology of Knowledge" M. Foucault (2002) has used the term "discourse" to denote a historically contingent social system that produces knowledge. He notes that discourse is distinctly effects producing what he calls practices that systematically form the objects of what individuals speak. Postmodern scientists assert that we live in a discourse world and society is a text that individuals read in different ways in different epochs. Before investigating the relations between sign and structure, J. Derrida writes (2007), one must see what can be the meaning of the sign, since the sign already possesses the autonomy of philosophical discourse.

It is important precisely in the context of the "name" of justice. Both the "clash" and "struggle" of the justice understanding lead society to value disagreements, which in the end are always negative. Ideological transformations of justice are connected with the change of civil institutions, first of all, the state. The category "social state" has appeared in the discourse of political and social sciences in the middle of the XX century. It should be noted that the functioning of the social state and differences in the content of social policy are caused not so much by the difference in the economic development of modern democracies, but by the leading political ideology (Jagger, 1983). In our opinion, this represents quite convincingly the feminism relations (as a doctrine and ideology) with liberal and socio-democratic tendencies in the beginning of the XXI century.

It is necessary to remember: liberalism is based on an incomplete understanding of human nature and motivations of both man and woman. A. Janar describes the liberal notion of human nature as political solipsism: each person is considered rational, competing and independent. Although feminist philosophers have been able to prove that such views are formed by a specific ideology, it must be acknowledged that the profound changes in gender regimes that have happened over the past 100 years indicate that the liberal "feminism project" was successful. Celebrating the triumph of liberal democracy, F. Fukuyama has proclaimed the "end of history" with

clarification: the only political goal that unites nations and cultures on a global scale is a free market economy (1975). The theory and the practice of neoliberal democracy with the maximum inclusion of free market mechanisms developed actively. Social democracy compared with neoliberalism, aims to deepen democracy by regulating capital and markets in the interests of the majority of the population. Both neoliberalism and social democracy represent state initiatives with the transition from the project to the state program, then with the strengthening of the influence of certain ideas, practices and institutions on social formations. As an axiom, it is perceived now that neoliberalism and social democracy are the most important in the modern Western world. It is significant since feminism, having successfully achieved many goals, has faced new challenges, among which the strengthening of neoliberal discourse. The inequality growth and the deepening of injustice within the framework of neoliberalism create complex conditions for the practical feminism actions aimed at broadening the democratic principles of the state. The neoliberal "turn" can have a variety of potential consequences for feminism. On the one hand, the feminism may be incorporated into neoliberalism; on the other hand, neoliberalism can produce a context that is hostile to feminism, as it increases economic inequality in the processes of "de-democratization" (Walby, 2012). Some researchers believe that feminism provided a key component in the "new spirit" of neoliberalism. The main argument is that neoliberalism brings good to women, however, in which way (?) There is no evidence that a certain feminist group really agrees with. On the contrary, neoliberalism makes achievement of the goals of feminism a more difficult task (Walby, 2012).

The importance of trade unions, an alliance with political parties in matters of equality and democracy in neoliberalism are reduced to the power problem. Moreover, the growing importance of business as a political force initiates those projects that coincide with the corresponding business interests. As a result, public welfare has a disproportionate impact on women. As S. Walby (2012) writes, feminism can change not only the gender regime nature, but also the capitalism nature, viz. labor regimes, the working time regulation, the democracy deepening, the intensification of the struggle against violence in both the public and private spheres. Each of these factors affects the issue of social justice. If democratic processes in the strengthening of civil society will indeed take place, then the feminist projects of gender justice and equality will be able to influence both the form of capitalism and the form of the gender regime.

CONCLUSIONS

To understand the essence of the category of justice is possible only if the conflict interaction of various understandings of justice is acknowledged in the complex processes of "liquid modernity", involving both philosophical, political discourses and discursive practices. In the real socio-economic situation at the beginning of the XXI century, the understanding of the essence of the category of justice is possible only if the conflict interaction of neoliberalism is recognized with the other leading political trends. At the same time, it is the discourse of neoliberalism that determines

the social justice policy representation: social policy is reduced to the legitimation of political power and social justice shows tendencies toward rhetorical maxims. Basing on the example of the relations between neoliberal concepts and feminism, it is visible that this "complicated" project reflects the inclusion of neoliberal ideas in the discourses of feminism, but it is clear that at the moment the category of justice has not become a mechanism for improving the protection of human rights for both men and women.

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