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PRINCIPLES OF RECONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL THEORY

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ABSTRACT

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Once again, we are going through “dark times.” The current juncture is critical. For those who associate themselves with critical social theory, broadly understood, there are two options: hypercritique or reconstruction. Either one darkens the picture, uses all possible theories at hand (Adorno, Bourdieu, Foucault, Luhmann) to sketch out a general theory of domination and “closes the system.” Or, alternatively, with the hope of the desperate, one looks for a way out and aligns various theories that propose an alternative vision of the world. This is the task of reconstruction. Drawing on critical realism (Bhaskar), critical theory (Habermas), and antiutilitarian social theory (Caillé), this chapter outlines some principles of reconstructive social theory. Following the distinction between metatheory, social theory, and sociological theory, it explores the epistemological, normative, and existential foundations of reconstructive theory; proposes an articulation between culture and agency as an alternative to the agency-structure debate; and indicates some promising signs that configure a future ontology of the present.

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Keywords: Social theory; critical theory; reconstruction; culture; agency; social change

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Once again, we are going through dark times. Social and political theorists are at a loss and do not really know how to analyze the current conjuncture. They face a typical “Minerva-problem”: As long as the historical processes they

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1 analyze are in flux, the present cannot be properly described. They know a cycle
has come to its end but otherwise they tend to mask their analytical failure with
3 political bravura. Our grand theories of late modernity, post-Fordism and post-
industrialism are only valid until 2007. Not that they are wrong, but the analy-
5 ses of Wallerstein, Habermas, Giddens, Beck, Bauman, Castells, Boltanski, and
others have to be updated, if not reformulated altogether. They were designed
7 to make sense of the after effects of the crisis of the Fordist regime of accumu-
lation that marked the end of the second modernity. They analyze the flexibili-
9 zation of the market and then extrapolate to culture and media, consumption
and identity, state and patriarchy, political parties and social movements, to
11 conclude that everything that was solid and secure has now been outsourced
and fragmented. By the late 1970s, in a book that was itself a symptom of the
13 breakdown of the emancipatory philosophies of history and the dissipation of
utopian energies, Jean-Francois Lyotard proclaimed the advent of postmodern-
15 nity. "Simplified to the extreme, we consider postmodern the incredulity
towards grand narratives" (Lyotard, 1979, p. 7). With hindsight, we can now
17 understand that postmodernism was a swansong of the West and that the cri-
tique of science and the cracking of the cultural code of modernity were only
19 the opening phase of a protracted process of global systemic breakdown. This
time the shift is "for real." It is not just the culture of modernity that is frag-
21 menting and diffracting. The very structures of the global system are being
undone in real time. What we are witnessing is a systemic failure, to be followed
23 by a protracted phase transition, comparable perhaps to the one from feudal-
ism to capitalism.

25 To underscore the challenges and the risks, I propose to call the current con-
juncture "the second postmodernity." The years 2001, 2007, and 2016 are the
27 epochal markers of our times. Each of these dates is emblematic of a crisis.
Together, they indicate a megacrisis with no end in sight. Chaos may spread
29 from the center to the periphery or from the periphery to the center. The geo-
political situation may get further out of hand. Nothing can be excluded, not
31 even the worst. Think about what went wrong in the UK and the USA and
what could further go wrong in China, the Middle East, or Europe. Nothing
33 guarantees that the weakening of autocratic regimes (in China, Russia, or
Venezuela) will usher in democratic ones or that democratic ones will not be
35 transformed from into autocratic regimes (USA, Brazil, and India). We are wit-
nessing a legitimization crisis at a global level, with the reverberations spreading
37 from the economic and political subsystems to all spheres of social, cultural,
and personal life. The ecological, military, technological, economic, political,
39 cultural, and personal risks of the world society are so daunting that the very
survival of the human species is at stake.

41 A systemic take on the intersectionality of vulnerabilities, with each subsys-
tem adding its woes to all the other ones, indicates the limits of hypercomplex-
43 ity. There comes a point where dissipative structures cannot cope. When they
are too far from equilibrium, they break down. The newly minted discourse

1 about the anthropocene is a premonitory pointer that in the medium term the
 2 world may well continue “without us” (Danowski & Viveiros de Castro, 2014).
 3 Whether humanity will rise up to the challenges or regress to a stationary state
 4 of civilization full of strife, conflict, and pathologies remains open. Perhaps we
 5 should think through the deplorable life conditions of the slums of the Global
 6 South to get a glimpse of the coming anarchy in which scarcity, crime, overpop-
 7 ulation, pollution, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our
 8 planet (Kaplan, 1994). In the meantime, we are simply stuck. We can neither
 9 go back nor can we move forward. “The old is dying & the new cannot be
 10 born. In this interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms”
 11 (Gramsci, 1971, p. 276).

12 Against this somber background, I want to propose a move from hypercriti-
 13 que to reconstruction. Precisely because the current conjuncture looks rather
 14 bleak and it’s difficult to see “the rose in the cross of the present” (Hegel, 1971,
 15 p. 35), I want to change tack and explore (with the hope of the desperate) a
 16 way out of the present. While the chapter as a whole outlines the basic princi-
 17 ples of a reconstructive social theory that is indebted to critical realism, critical
 18 theory, and the antiutilitarian movement in the social sciences, the argument is
 19 deployed in systematic fashion. Following the distinction between metatheory,
 20 social theory, and sociological theory, it explores the philosophical foundations
 21 of reconstructive theory; proposes an articulation between culture and agency
 22 as an alternative to the agency-structure debate; and indicates some promising
 23 signs that configure a future ontology of the present.

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27 **WHAT IS RECONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL THEORY?**

29 In Europe, I belong to three theoretical clubs: the “Habermasian family” in
 30 Germany, critical realism in the UK, and the antiutilitarian movement in the
 31 social sciences (MAUSS) in France. Standing in the tradition of critical theory
 32 (Frankfurt School for Jürgen Habermas, the British New Left for Roy Bhaskar,
 33 and *Socialisme et barbarie* for Alain Caillé), all three share a reconstructive
 34 intent and replace the grand gesture of catastrophism with a well-tempered opti-
 35 mism that wants to encourage practical social change. In reaction to the totaliz-
 36 ing claims of a hypercritique that had become the symptom of its own diagnosis,
 37 each of them had to break with the discourse of revolution and counterrevolution
 38 to open up other vistas beyond the instrumental–strategic–utilitarian
 39 nexus of action, alienation, and reification. Each of them knew that to open the
 40 system, they had to devise an alternative to rational choice and retrieve an
 41 emphasis on intersubjectivity, interaction, and alterity. Habermas (1981) did it
 42 by means of a simple distinction between interaction and labor, strategic and
 43 communicative action, life-world and system. Bhaskar (1989) had to go back to
 Aristotle to supplement Marxist structuralism with a humanist transformative

1 praxeology, while Alain Caillé (2000) plumbed the intricacies of reciprocity and
 3 giving in Mauss's *Essay on the gift*, extending the generosity from the small
 5 worlds of family, friends, and neighbors to the politics of civil society. Instead of
 7 a catastrophic approach to the ontology of the present, to avoid the dead end of
 9 their predecessors, all three explored the possibilities of radical reformism. It
 11 is remarkable that they displaced the attention from aesthetics to ethics and
 13 politics. Rationalizing hermeneutics, Habermas systematically worked out
 15 Gadamer's dialogism into a discourse ethics and a theory of deliberative politics.
 17 Toward the end of his life, Bhaskar explicitly invoked eudemonia and openly
 19 talked about human flourishing, not only at the individual but also at the collec-
 21 tive level – “the flourishing of each being a precondition for the flourishing of
 23 all” (Bhaskar, 1994, pp. 264, 294–297) – while Caillé invited his friends to com-
 25 pose a Convivialist Manifesto and release a Declaration of Interdependence
 27 (Caillé et al., 2013).

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15 Inspired by the work of Habermas, Bhaskar, and Caillé, I conceive of recon-
 17 struction as a successor and an alternative to hypercritique. Reconstruction is
 19 the opposite of deconstruction (a euphemism for Heidegger's *Destruktion* of
 21 inherited meanings). Or, better, to the extent that it incorporates critique and
 23 deconstruction, it overcomes the negativity of dialectics in a positive synthesis
 25 that prepares for the worst but hopes for the best. Like Romain Rolland, who
 27 was closer to Tagore, Ramakrishna, and Vivekananda than he was to Freud
 29 and Gramsci, it subdues violence to generosity and corrects the pessimism of
 31 the intellect with the optimism of the will.

25 The difference between deconstruction and reconstruction is one of purpose.
 27 The emphasis is not on removing the rubble and clearing the ground.
 29 Reconstruction is neither creation *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) nor *cum nihilo*
 31 (without constraints). It is not foundation but re-creation of the old through its
 33 re-orientation to something new. It is an attempt to reorganize the existing
 35 structures into a new building and to give it a new function, a new purpose,
 37 and a new end.

31 The end is human flourishing. The theories that interest me are those that
 33 share the purpose of eudemonia and are concerned with humanist ethics and
 35 democratic politics. The selection of theories is always a bit arbitrary. It is
 37 determined as much by scholarship as by personal factors. However, to the
 39 extent that the selection follows some well-established metatheoretical criteria
 41 of theory construction, which I will expose in a moment, it is closer to “intellec-
 43 tual craftsmanship” (Mills, 1959, pp. 213–248).

39 I know of at least three books by three exemplary intellectuals that carry recon-
 41 struction on their cover, exemplify its spirit and specify its tasks. In *Zur*
 43 *Rekonstruktion des historischen Materialismus*, Jürgen Habermas (1976, p. 9)
 analyzes Marxism with a critical-reconstructive intent. He “takes it apart and
 puts it back together” in a different way so that it “attains the goals it has set
 for itself.” By injecting a good deal of philosophical idealism and developmen-
 tal sociology into historical materialism, he reworked it as a form of

1 developmental historical idealism that learns from its experiences and its fail-
2 ures, redirecting it toward the future so that it can realize its potential. In his
3 *Reconstruction of Philosophy*, John Dewey (1920), the eternal optimist, also
4 reformulated the antinomies of inherited philosophy and proposed pragmatism
5 as a progressive theoretical and practical solution to all conceptual problems.
6 The solution is not to be found in the State but in the joint participation in the
7 associations that make up society and that make the full contribution of all its
8 members possible. Both Habermas and Dewey knew that social and cultural
9 change also has an existential dimension. In *Man and Society in the Age of*
10 *Reconstruction* (1940), Karl Mannheim puts the democratic planning for free-
11 dom on the public agenda. Concerned with the rise of authoritarianism in his
12 native Germany, exiled in London, he investigated the prospects for the con-
13 struction of free interdependent individuals in democratic societies through
14 education. “It is only by remaking man himself that the reconstruction of soci-
15 ety is possible” (Mannheim, 1940, p. 15). To reconstruct the social sciences,
16 society, and the individuals all at once, inaugurating an epoch of generalized
17 morphogenesis is the horizon of reconstructive social theory.

18 To overcome the reigning negativism, one has not only to reform social
19 theories and practices but also oneself. The focus on malfunctioning and dis-
20 tress has to be supplemented with an investigation of the conditions of possibil-
21 ity of happiness and flourishing. This is the message of humanist positive
22 psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Although I am not calling for
23 a positive sociology (and certainly not for a positivist one!), I share the disillusion-
24 ment of clinical practitioners and academic psychologists with the almost
25 exclusive attention to failure and to the concomitant neglect of individual ful-
26 fillment and the thriving of the community. Just like psychology, sociology
27 should not just study social pathologies, damaged lives, and crises. As Nigel
28 Thrift (2008, p. 3) says, “There are too many theories, all of them seemingly
29 speaking on behalf of those whose lives have been damaged by the official
30 structures of power.” Sociology is not so much a branch of medicine that dis-
31 penses diagnosis as a propaedeutic that explores alternative ways of living and
32 being together in the world. In order not to be misunderstood, let me, however,
33 underscore that reconstruction presupposes reification and alienation; to over-
34 come it, however, it also focuses on resistance, reliance, and change at all levels.
35 It is an exodus from reification – not an attempt to deny structural domination
36 but an attempt to overcome it by focusing on the common practices that chal-
37 lenge it and are already constructing another world. As a variation of
38 Habermas’s “emancipatory interest,” the reconstructive interest of humanity
39 does not negate reification but it unmasks and understands it as an alienated
40 sedimentation of collective action. As a transformative ontology of social
41 practices, it calls for a reflexive reactivation of the energies that have crystal-
42 lized into second nature. If it slightly exaggerates the possibilities of change at
43 all levels, it is only because it is aware that the forces of destruction have the
upper hand.

1 METATHEORY: THE PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

3 In the preface to my *Philosophical History of German Sociology*
 5 (Vandenberghe, 2009), I developed a framework for the integrated analysis of
 7 metatheory, social theory, and sociological theory. I now want to retrieve that
 9 framework and, based on some recent work with Alain Caillé (Caillé &
 11 Vandenberghe, 2016), I want to outline briefly what reconstruction implies in
 13 each of the theoretical subdivisions.

9 Metatheory is philosophy for social scientists who (like myself) do not know
 11 their canon. Placing itself at the intersection of philosophy and sociology
 13 (within sociology, but investigating its philosophy and making it explicit), it
 15 proposes an inquiry into the philosophical foundations of the social sciences. In
 17 accordance with the classical divisions of philosophy, it scrutinizes the ontol-
 19 ogy, epistemology, methodology, normativity, and anthropology of sociology.
 21 The underlying idea is that those presuppositions do not vary randomly. One
 23 can map them out. Together they form a system. I suggested that, ultimately,
 25 everything depends on the philosophical anthropology one proclaims. As in an
 27 old-fashioned transcendental deduction, the vision of the human being (for-
 29 merly known as “Man”) one adheres to predetermines all one’s other options.
 31 I still subscribe to that analysis, but to further simplify it and make it more
 33 pungent, I would now divide the philosophical spectrum into three classes
 35 (onto-epistemological, normative, and existential) and tie the reconstructive
 37 impetus to some determinate choices within each.

25 In the onto-epistemological class, one finds the premises that define the con-
 27 ditions of possible knowledge. Here as elsewhere, it is the nature of the object
 29 of knowledge that determines and prescribes the knowledge of the object (and
 31 not the other way round). Ontology undergirds epistemology and directs meta-
 33 methodology. The first determinate choice in the philosophy of science con-
 35 cerns the issue of naturalism. Reconstruction implies the radical rejection of
 37 any positivist philosophy of science. With its rigorous critique of positivism
 and its demonstration that positivism does not even hold in the natural
 sciences, critical realism is superior to any other competing philosophy in my
 opinion (Vandenberghe, 2014). It incorporates all preceding critiques of natu-
 ralism (from Weber’s neo-Kantian and Popper’s neo-positivist derogation to
 Winch’s neo-Wittgensteinian and Habermas’s neo-Marxist) and is, therefore,
 the grand finale of the *Postivismusstreit*.

39 The social sciences are human sciences, however, and to make them
 41 human, I consider it essential to consider phenomenological hermeneutics as
 43 their natural-cultural foundation. Although hermeneutics clinches the impos-
 sibility of naturalism, it is compatible in my opinion with critical realism.
 Even more, it represents its idealist counterpart, and it is only together that
 critical realism and hermeneutics offer solid foundations for the social
 sciences.

1 Reconstructive social sciences are not only militantly antipositivist, they are
2 also antiutilitarian in principle. The struggle here is against all forms of rational
3 choice (strategic action, game theory, etc.) – not only in theory but also in
4 practice and in society. If critical realism is the preferred option for onto-
5 epistemological inquiries, the second generation of critical theory (Albrecht
6 Wellmer, Karl-Otto Apel, but above all Jürgen Habermas) occupies a similar
7 position concerning normative issues. The gap between critical realism and
8 critical theory can be closed through the “linguistic turn” in hermeneutics,
9 phenomenology, and pragmatism. All these approaches share a principled anti-
10 utilitarian stand and an insistence on symbolism and world disclosure. They
11 move away from the individual to intersubjective communication and propose
12 a consequent dislocation from interests to norms, ideals, and principles.

13 Although I am willing to concede that one can do better in ethics than dis-
14 course ethics, one can hardly do worse. With its strong defense of universalism,
15 Habermas has defined the *minima moralia* of the modern age and determined
16 the lower limit beyond which one cannot fall. The defense of human rights, citi-
17 zenship, and justice is the *sine qua non* of a decent society. No doubt, one can
18 and should defend stronger options, like virtue ethics and the ethics of care, but
19 in pluralist societies, one cannot impose one’s personal and communal choices
20 on one’s fellows. Eudemonia is the end I said earlier, but from a normative
21 point of view, one can only secure the social preconditions that make the pur-
22 suit of the good life of all and each one possible (Honneth, 1992). As indivi-
23 duals and as communities, we may subscribe to “comprehensive doctrines” but
24 we cannot impose our *maxima moralia* on others. That would be tantamount
25 to paternalism.

26 Having granted Habermas (and by implication also John Rawls) the last
27 word on morality, I should, however, immediately qualify my position and
28 insist that I do not conceive of discourse ethics in narrow rationalist terms.
29 Discourse ethics is more than a formal procedure for the universalization of
30 our maxims of conduct; it is, rather, a formalization and rationalization of a
31 dialogical ethics one finds in philosophical hermeneutics. What we have is not a
32 procedure but a lived process for testing our convictions in dialogue with
33 others, the others being the addressees that allow us, like friends, to understand
34 our limits and overcome our own narrowness. Through the dialogical inter-
35 change of positions, we welcome the other in our thought and in our heart and,
36 thereby, we enlarge our perspective so that no one is excluded.

37 Underneath the onto-epistemological and the normative classes, I have now
38 opened an existential story. It more or less corresponds to a normative philo-
39 sophical anthropology, with the notable difference that the vision of the *anthro-*
40 *pos* is no longer a generic one but a personal one. My existentialism is humanist
41 and personalist, much more in tune with the *Existenzphilosophie* of Karl
42 Jaspers (1932) and Paul Ricoeur (1990) than with the heroic despair of
43 Heidegger, Sartre, and Camus. Not only do I fully subscribe to a positive
anthropology one finds in Habermas, Bhaskar, and Mauss, I also seek to

1 contribute to its realization in daily life. The vision of the human being as *homo*
 3 *symbolicus reciprocans* that I espouse is a normative one – it corresponds to the
 full development of human capabilities of each and every one. It coincides at
 the limit with full human flourishing – the good life of each as a precondition
 5 for the full development of all in a convivialist society.

As a guiding principle of human development (*Bildung*), existential recon-
 7 struction presupposes and projects a humane world of fragile, interdependent,
 and responsive human beings who are mutually concerned and responsible for
 9 each other. It is not just a lofty theory of the human, however, but it is also a
 daily reflexive practice. It is an ethics, for sure, but to the extent that it is lived,
 11 it is also an *ethos*. It involves politics as well, but more in the sense of construct-
 ing the *polis* one wants to live in, with and for others, than of manning the bar-
 13 ricades and continue the struggle, though at times – for instance, when there’s
 a *coup* (like in Brazil or Turkey) or when the extreme right is in power (like in
 15 the USA or India) – this is also necessary.

Rather than spelling out my vision of the human – at the risk of appearing
 17 both highly ingenuous and vulnerable – let me just say that I find my inspira-
 tion in postsecular humanism and convivialism. I worked for years at the
 19 University for Humanistics (www.uvh.nl), a small experimental university in
 the Netherlands that forms humanist counselors as normative professionals.
 21 Humanistics is a normative and empirical applied human science that seeks to
 investigate and further existential process of meaning-giving and to contribute
 23 to the humanization of society. Together with friends and colleagues in Europe,
 I am also active in the convivialist movement (Caillé et al., 2013). The convivi-
 25 alist questions: How can we live together with our differences without massa-
 cring each other? How can we transform our differences into synergies and our
 27 vulnerabilities in forces? How can we maintain hope in times of transition and
 find the energy to explore meaningful social alternatives in the midst of misery
 29 and despair? These questions are too important to be left to cynics and deserve
 a positive answer.

33 **SOCIAL THEORY: AGENCY, CULTURE, AND** 35 **SOCIAL CHANGE**

37 The determinate choices one makes in the metatheoretical domain have impli-
 cations for the social theory one erects on it. It is obvious that the ontological
 39 choices we made, the normative anthropology we elected, and the existential-
 convivialist questions we raised will affect our conception of social action,
 41 social institutions, and social transitions. Following Hans Joas and Wolfgang
 Knöbl (2004, pp. 37–38), I conceive of social theory as a systematic attempt to
 43 give a coherent answer to three central questions that each social science has to
 ponder: “What are the nature and types of social action?” “How is the social

1 order possible?” and “What determines social change?” It is understood that
2 the answers one gives to the respective questions have to be integrated into a
3 general theory of society. That is easier said than done. The general theories of
4 Habermas, Bourdieu, Luhmann, or Latour show that it takes a lifetime to
5 work out the ins and outs of a systematic theory. In the absence of such a
6 unified theory, I will now sketch out some directives for a reconstructive social
7 theory. The main directive consists in an appeal to move away from the
8 agency-structure template. Far too much ink has been spilled on that issue
9 (e.g. O’Donnell, 2010). To move away from the scholastic exercise, I propose
10 three integrated displacements: (1) from action to interaction, (2) from structure
11 to culture, and (3) from order to social change.

12 (1) The first displacement is a logical consequence of the linguistic turn in phi-
13 losophy and its substitution of a philosophy of the subject by a philosophy
14 of communication (Habermas, 1985). The turn to language sidesteps the
15 issue of solipsism that has plagued the philosophy of consciousness for so
16 long, as can be felt in all 1,800 pages of Husserl’s (1973) painstaking analy-
17 ses of the phenomenology of intersubjectivity. In the social sciences, the
18 turn to language and communication is an invitation to return to the ques-
19 tion of social action, while avoiding at once the allure of Weber’s methodo-
20 logical individualism. The individual is not an atom but always already
21 caught up in intersubjective relations that its very existence presupposes (no
22 parents: no children). Human beings do not spring up from the ground as
23 mushrooms after the rain. In the same way as positivism justifies a deficient
24 mode of knowledge of the world (*vorhanden* rather than *zuhanden*, as
25 Heidegger would say, instrumental rather than pragmatic, as Dewey would
26 phrase it), methodological individualism naturalizes a deficient mode of
27 being in the world. The two are connected by the same instrumental-strate-
28 gic attitude to the world (the natural *Umwelt* and the social *Mitwelt*).

29 By privileging the attitude of the objectivating relationship, which Buber
30 calls the intentional “I-It relationship” and which he opposes to the inten-
31 tional “I-Thou relationship” (Buber, 1973), methodological individualism
32 becomes ontological: it neglects the dialogical principle and methodically de-
33 socializes the relations with others to leave an unencumbered and disaffected
34 individual, alone, embattled and in conflict with the others. The intentional
35 relation between I and Thou is ontologically prior to the individual. The indi-
36 vidual only appears as an individual when it sets itself apart from and against
37 other individuals. Unlike the individual, the person appears in and through
38 relations with others. These relations are always mediated by the Spirit, by
39 which I obviously do not mean God (He himself is also mediated by the
40 Spirit) but the whole symbolic array of language, culture, and institutions.

41 The opening to the other has been at the forefront of recent develop-
42 ments in post-Habermasian moral philosophy. I am thinking here mainly
43 about virtue ethics, the ethics of care, the theory of recognition and similar

1 developments within post-structuralism and feminist theory that emphasize
 2 dialogue, sympathy, and deep intersubjectivity. Typically, they conceive of
 3 moral sentiments as a motivational precondition of communicative engage-
 4 ments. These philosophies of intersubjectivity can easily be recaptured and
 5 developed by a “Habermassian” theory of communication and giving,
 6 whereby giving is the opening act of the cycle of reciprocity that inaugu-
 7 rates the interaction between persons and groups, while communication is
 8 the symbolically mediated mode of interaction that directs reciprocity by
 9 giving it meaning and direction. Within communicative, pragmatic, and
 10 ethnomethodological sociology, communication intervenes as the medium
 11 that allows *ego* and *alter* to coordinate their action in a common plan.
 12 Through further communication between persons and groups, interactions
 13 are integrated in ever-wider circles of cooperation. This is how society
 14 comes into existence. While deep intersubjectivity connects the theory of
 15 interaction to moral philosophy, interaction between individuals and coop-
 16 eration between groups connect it to convivialist politics. As the relation
 17 between the micro and macro-levels of society is thereby at least indicated,
 18 we can now proceed to the analysis relation between agency and order.

- 19 (2) Reconstructive social theory does not focus on agency and structure.
 20 Instead, it foregrounds the relation between agency and culture and ana-
 21 lyzes the problem of order from the point of view of its possible transfor-
 22 mation. Unlike structuralist, poststructuralist, and postcolonial accounts of
 23 culture that conceive of the latter as a form of “symbolic violence”
 24 (Bourdieu, 1977), the hermeneutic analysis of culture does not privilege the
 25 relation between discourse and power, invariably understood as intersec-
 26 tional domination that excludes the expression of marginalized identities in
 27 language. Conceiving of culture as a symbolic way of world-making and
 28 self-disclosure, it foregrounds instead the relations between culture and
 29 power, whereby the latter is no longer only understood as repressive (or
 30 “productive” in the Foucauldian sense) but also as a transformative capac-
 31 ity of individuals, groups, and collectives that self-consciously reflect on the
 32 normative principles of their constitution as a cooperative circle of net-
 33 works, relations, and interactions within society.

34 As a reservoir of cognitive, normative, and expressive forms that disclose
 35 the world as a meaningful one and provide the actors with symbolic repre-
 36 sentations of reality on which they draw when they act and which allow
 37 them to coordinate their action and act together, culture is the living medi-
 38 ator between society and its members. As the totality of symbolic representa-
 39 tions of reality that make intentional and meaningful action possible,
 40 culture is at the same time something that exists “outside” and “inside” of
 41 the individuals. It is both objective and subjective, medium and result,
 42 Spirit and Soul. Culture is the Spirit that connects the Souls and integrates
 43 them in a common universe. It is also what motivates them to act in a cer-
 44 tain way. Ethics is also part of culture. Although traditional ethics can be

1 conservative and reproductive, I like to think of principles, norms, and
 2 values as the premises of a generalized morphogenesis. Ethics encourages
 3 axiological engagement. It holds up ideals to the person and to the collec-
 4 tive, summoning their self-transformation. *Pace* Clifford Geertz, the actor
 5 is not a Spiderman caught in the webs he has spun himself; the Spider-
 6 woman is also a webmaker who not only identifies with culture but is also
 7 capable of distancing herself from it. A reflexive self is a precondition for
 8 social and cultural change. When social development is such that the ideals
 9 can no longer be realized in the current conjuncture, reflexivity becomes
 10 critical. As the identification with an ideal community grows – an ideal
 11 community that counterfactually coincides with Apel’s “unlimited commu-
 12 nity of communication” (Apel, 1973, p. 376) – the dis-identification with
 13 and self-removal from the existent community also increases. When the dis-
 14 enchantment is shared, the cultural preconditions of social change are satis-
 15 fied. Generalized morphogenesis ensues when personal, cultural, and social
 16 changes occur at the same time and reinforce each other.

- 17 (3) In accordance with reconstructive principles, the transfer of attention from
 18 power₂ to power₁ relations, from “generalized master-slave” relations to
 19 “communicative relations of self-transformation” (Bhaskar, 1994, p. 402),
 20 does not deny the existence of domination, reification, and alienation.
 21 Rather, it analyzes the latter dialectically from the point of view of its possi-
 22 ble transformation by individual and collective actors who consciously
 23 strive to change society, culture, and themselves. With Alain Touraine
 24 (1973), who conceives of historical, social, cultural, and personal move-
 25 ments as transformative modalities of the self-production of society, we can
 26 thus analyse the symbolically mediated constitution of persons, groups, and
 27 society not only from the standpoint of order but also from its transforma-
 28 tion. While functionalist theories conceive of social order as an end in itself,
 29 conflict theories consider it as a problem, not in the Parsonian sense as
 30 something that needs to be solved but rather as something that needs to be
 31 overcome. A transformative theory of society investigates structure, culture,
 32 and practices as relations and processes that are in flux and that can be
 33 changed through active human intervention. The focus on the analytical
 34 elements that make up and produce society presupposes a dynamic view of
 35 the totality. In the absence of philosophy of history, this view is dynamic,
 36 though not dialectical in the strong sense. We’ve lost the belief the history
 37 points to happy end, but we haven’t lost hope (as yet).

39 **SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY: THE ONTOLOGY OF** 41 **THE PRESENT**

43 Social theory is interdisciplinary and concerns itself with an investigation of the
 central problems of the social sciences. Sociological theory is more directly tied

1 to the discipline of sociology and can be considered a scientific attempt to
 2 “grasp one’s time in concepts” (Hegel). As a diagnostic ontology of the present,
 3 sociological theory is a kind of psychoanalysis on a grand scale. “Who are we?”
 4 “What’s wrong with us?” and “What can we do?” When one feels sick,
 5 depressed, and finds it hard to cope, one goes to see a shrink. When societies
 6 are in transition, insecure, and full of pathologies, the sociologist is called in for
 7 a diagnosis (*Zeitdiagnosis*) of their morbid symptoms. As I have indicated
 8 before, the condition of the second postmodernity is dire: the planet is
 9 dying; humanity is sick of itself; the world system is overcomplex and close
 10 to collapse; economics and politics are reaching the end of a cycle; global
 11 legitimation and motivation crises are affecting the life world. Precisely when
 12 catastrophe looms and the horizon seems blocked for another decade, it is
 13 important to revert the perspective and explore possibilities of reconstruction
 14 from the bottom up.

15 The sociologist offers not only critique and diagnosis. S/he also proposes a
 16 therapy, a propaedeutic, and a pedagogy to eudemonia. S/he not only analyses
 17 the social pathologies (alienation and reification; rationalization and disen-
 18 chantment; anomie and loneliness) and psychopathologies (depression, panic
 19 attack, suicide) of over complex postindustrial, hypertechnological, and super-
 20 capitalist societies but also needs to indicate what is functioning and what can
 21 be changed. Once again, Marcel Mauss indicates the right perspective: “The
 22 day when some sociologists, together with some political theorists, smitten by
 23 the future, will arrive at firmness in the diagnosis, fortitude in the therapeutics,
 24 the propaedeutic and, above all, in the pedagogy, the cause of sociology will be
 25 won” (Mauss, 1968, p. 78). AU:4

27 To conclude this chapter, I will now sketch out a path of societal reconstruc-
 28 tion that starts with existential crises and leads, via the workplace, to the advent
 29 of the convivial society. It is as much an ideal type of development as a type of
 30 ideal development that is already taking place in personal life, the work sphere,
 31 and civil society. Commons, communes, new forms of professionalism, and
 32 metareflexive selves already exist. They are increasingly interconnected. The
 33 task of a reconstructive social theory is to underscore their potential relevance,
 34 while that of empirical research is to show their real importance as agents of
 35 the morphogenetic society. Transformative practices and transformative theory
 36 are interrelated, not in the old Leninist sense that theory prescribes practices
 37 and proscribes deviations from the script but rather because of a common
 38 “structure of sensibility” that allows for mutual learning between practitioners
 39 and theorists. The reconstruction of theory and the reconstitution of society
 40 share the same end but not the same means. Theory, methodology, and practice
 41 are interrelated, though this is not the place to show how theoretical practice
 42 and active observation intersect.

43 I will thematize the path forward under three headings: (1) metareflexivity,
 (2) normative professionalism, and (3) post-capitalism.

- 1 (1) *Metareflexivity*: “The only thing we can change right here and right now is
 3 ourselves,” as Bhaskar (2002, p. xxxvi) said. As we cannot change the social
 5 structures overnight, however hard we try, let us see if we can change our
 7 reaction to them and let us work on ourselves. That is not easy either. We
 9 are all too often stuck in repetitions, idiosyncratic habits, and inertias.
 11 Sometimes it takes an existential crisis to change. Nothing guarantees that
 13 the crisis, which may be caused by relational break ups, conflicts at work,
 15 death among friends and family, will be overcome. “Situations at the limit”
 17 (Jaspers, 1932, vol. 2, pp. 201–254) that we cannot change or transcend
 19 without transcending ourselves are existential threats. Persons may fail and
 21 fracture, others will rigidify and mortify themselves; others still may
 23 attempt suicide, wreak havoc through violence or disappear in a haze of
 25 alcohol or drugs. The fracturing of the self may also be the moment of no
 return and reconstruction. The existential questions “Who am I?,” “What
 do I really care about?,” and “What do I want to do with my life?” may
 trigger a process of intense “metareflexivity” (Archer, 2003). This is the
 case when the person reevaluates all her former life choices and tries desper-
 ately to live the life she dreams of: resigning from work, going back to uni-
 versity, coming out of the closet, opening an eco-lodge in the countryside,
 go on a humanitarian mission, doing whatever allows her to do what she
 thinks she ought to do to live in accordance with her ultimate beliefs and
 values. We have all met metareflexive idealists who are not afraid of losing
 their comfort. Whether they are looking for the truth or living in the truth,
 they are engaged in an authentic struggle for self-realization with and for,
 if necessary also against the others.
- 27 (2) *Normative professionalism*: Those people who are driven by ideas and
 29 ideals, principles, beliefs, and love do not necessarily drop out of society.
 31 What they do with their life has implications for social life. Even when they
 33 don’t join social movements, create NGOs, or work as volunteers with the
 35 homeless, by changing themselves, they potentially change society too.
 37 With a sense of finitude and a vocation, they may bring a new spirit to their
 39 family life, to their friendships and, let us emphasize it, also to the work
 41 sphere. By working conscientiously – “being good by doing good”
 43 (Aristotle) – they can become an active source of transformation. It is all
 good and well to join social movements, but as I have learned from
 Habermas, the best place to change the system is from within the system. By
 becoming a “normative professional” – a good teacher, policewoman, fire-
 man, nurse, lawyer, or whatever – and upholding in practice the beliefs and
 values one cherishes, refusing to do what goes against one’s conscience,
 speaking out if necessary against corruption, combating institutional pathol-
 ogies, etc., but always with a focus on truth, one can actually be in the sys-
 tem, without being of the system. By doing what one has to do – “working
 well with and for the others in responsible organisations” (Kunneman, 2010,
 p. 334) – one is already reconstructing society. It is not just by smashing

1 windows and thrashing the police that one is a revolutionary. By working
 2 metareflexively at oneself and with the others, being decent, and working
 3 well, one is already setting an example and contributing to the humanization
 4 of the world.

- 5 (3) *Postcapitalism*: Whether they work in public or in private organizations,
 6 social professionals who consider work as a service, money as a means and
 7 power as a medium for the realization of common values and the common
 8 good are at the forefront of social change. When the ethics of professional
 9 communities will be joined to the politics of civil society, we can expect that
 10 social, cultural, and personal change will ensue in genuine morphogenesis.
 11 Many prosocial projects exist. They are not for the profit of some but for
 12 the benefit of all. They are scattered and lack visibility. Singly, they may
 13 not add up to much but together they are harbingers of the convivial soci-
 14 ety. This society is not a utopia. It exists. It is not only a possible world. It
 15 is actual and real. Their ideologies vary, usually from the ecological to the
 16 radical left. They are the successors of the kibbutzim, the ashrams, and the
 17 *Wohngemeinschaften* of the 1970s. Sometimes they are physical settlements
 18 *in situ*, sometimes they are more global; sometimes they only exist on the
 19 Internet. In comparison with their predecessors, they are intensively inter-
 20 connected. They share similar visions of the world. Commonism, convivial-
 21 ism, solidarity economics, economics of the common good, P2P, etc. They
 22 are all covered in the new experimental journal *Inter pares* (to be launched
 23 soon). Whatever the movements and ideologies they associate with, they
 24 are metareflexive and postcapitalist, local and global, idealist and material-
 25 ist, spiritual and realist, nonhierarchical and participatory, collaborative
 26 and inclusive. They are present on the Internet. However, the revolution is
 27 not necessarily happening there. It may not even be a revolution. It is evo-
 28 lution without violence. To get a glimpse of these myriads of interconnected
 29 local initiatives that are constructing a new society, you need access to the
 30 Internet. Not because the Internet is transforming society and culture as we
 31 know it, but because the screens of our computers are the windows through
 32 which we can observe in real time the joyous, subterranean communities
 33 that are working together to reconstruct society as we know it and bring a
 34 new convivial, postcapitalist society into existence.

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