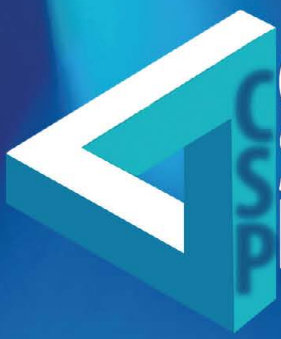
Ural Federal University

Volume 4 No.1 2020

Online ISSN: 2587-8964
Print ISSN: 2587-6104



Changing Societies & Personalities

Changing Societies & Personalities

Online ISSN 2587-8964
Print ISSN 2587-6104

2020, Vol. 4, No. 1

Published **quarterly**
Founded in **2016**

Founder and Publisher:

Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia Boris N. Yeltsin.
Address: 19 Mira street, Yekaterinburg, Russia, 620002

Journal contact information:

51 Lenin Avenue, room 240, Yekaterinburg, Russia, 620000
Phone: +7 (343) 389-9412
E-mail: editor@changing-sp.com
Web: https://changing-sp.com

The Journal is registered by the Federal Agency for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecomunication, Information Technologies and Mass Communication, Certificate of Registration: ПИ № ФС77–65509 from May 4, 2016

Aims and Scope:

Changing Societies & Personalities is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal, published in English by the Ural Federal University. *CS&P* examines how rapid societallevel changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations and values – and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies. The interplay of personality traits and sociocultural factors in defining motivation, deliberation, action and reflection of individuals requires a combination of theoretical and empirical knowledge. Since an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the causes and consequences of the contemporary world's changing socio-political institutions, moral values, and religious beliefs, the journal welcomes theoretical and empirical contributions from a wide range of perspectives in the context of value pluralism and social heterogeneity of (post)modern society.

Topics of interest include, but are not limited to

- value implications of interactions between socio-political transformations and personal self-identity;
- changes in value orientations, materialist and post-materialist values;
- moral reasoning and behavior;
- variability and continuity in the election of styles of moral regime and/or religious identity;
- the moral bases of political preferences and their elimination;
- social exclusion and inclusion;
- post-secular religious individualism;
- tolerance and merely "tolerating": their meanings, varieties and fundamental bases;
- ideologies of gender and age as variables in political, moral, religious and social change;
- educational strategies as training for specific social competences;
- social and existential security.

The journal publishes original research articles, forum discussions, review articles and book reviews.

https://changing-sp.com/ojs/index.php/csp/index

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1

CONTENTS

Editorial

Editor's Note
Elena A. Stepanova 5

Articles

Fourth Industrial Revolution and Emotional Intelligence: A Conceptual and Scientometric Analysis
Riccardo Campa 8

The Security Dimensions and the Formation of Social Exclusion in the Border of Belu Regency, Indonesia
Farid Abud Alkatiri 31

Flesh of the Unborn: On the Political Philosophy of the Unborn
Aireen Grace T. Andal 53

The Role of Intergenerational Differentiation in Perception of Employee Engagement and Job Satisfaction among Older and Younger Employees in Slovenia
Jernej Jelenko 68

Perceived Personal Attractiveness and Self-Improvement Practices
Natalya L. Antonova, Anatoly V. Merenkov 91

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1,

Book Review

Samuel A. Greene, Graeme B. Robertson (2019). Putin v. the People. The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia. Yale University Press

Andrey S. Menshikov *107*

Ethical Code *111*

Instruction for Authors *115*

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5–7
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.086

EDITORIAL

Editor's Note

The current issue of *Changing Societies & Personalities* covers topics pertaining to undergoing transformations in value systems investigated from such diverse perspectives as scientometric analysis of the concepts of "fourth industrial revolution" and "emotional intelligence"; transborder relations, regional studies and transborder policies; philosophical reflections on the status of the unborn human; attitudes towards the attractiveness of the human body; and age diversity in the workforce.

Riccardo Campa begins his article *Fourth Industrial Revolution and Emotional Intelligence: A Conceptual and Scientometric Analysis* with a statement that "science is a collective enterprise". Indeed, scientific discoveries are frequently made independently and simultaneously by multiple investigators. This article analyses the concepts of "fourth industrial revolution" and "emotional intelligence" from the perspective of the sociology of science using research tools offered by scientometrics. Campa subjects to scrutiny a large amount of literature sources dealing with the emergence and historical dynamics of these two concepts, arriving at the conclusion that, on the one hand, the recent growth in the number of publications containing both terms confirms that "more and more scholars are now relating the two concepts, even though they were born in two different scientific disciplines". On the other hand, the nurturing of emotional intelligence is seen as a possible solution to the unwanted side effects of the fourth industrial revolution, in particular, technological unemployment. Evidently, Campa agrees with the growing number of scholars in the assumption that nurturing and enhancing emotional intelligence in children and adults is a new challenge for education systems in technologically advanced countries.

Farid Abud Alkatiri in his article *The Security Dimension and the Formation of Social Exclusion in the Border of Belu Regency, Indonesia* describes the present situation with refugees in the West Timor / East Timor border. In analysing recent publications on the role of the military in border areas, Alkatiri stresses that these forces may cause social exclusion among the refugees' community and the local population. Unfortunately, the existing literature on the problem rarely considers social exclusion and security border issues as an

Received 1 March 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

stepanova.elena.a@gmail.com

integrated question. The researcher applied a qualitative methodological approach: 20 in-depth interviews and group discussions were conducted in 2016–2017 in two refugee camps and three resettlements. This article is valuable in terms of revealing the interdependence between social security policy and social exclusion in the case of Belu regency.

Scientific progress has made it impossible to predict how far the intervention of biotechnologies in human life may extend. Moreover, our past convictions about the moment when life begins and when it ends now seem at least doubtful. For instance, this question is crucial for debates about abortions, since the answer directly affects the opposition "the woman's right to her own body versus the unborn child's right to life". Thus, society is now facing a whole range of ethical and legal dilemmas, which results in some serious disagreements on crucial life issues, including reproductive technologies. Aireen Grace T. Andal in her article *Flesh of the Unborn: On the Political Philosophy of the Unborn* notes that the very issue of the unborn has become the subject of numerous disciplines from biology to feminist studies, from law to ecology. In her article, Andal focuses specifically on the concept of the unborn from the standpoint of political philosophy: "Political philosophy treats the unborn in terms of what virtues ought to govern laws and policies on the unborn. Political philosophy asks questions about the beliefs upon which political institutions and actors employ as guide to determine unborn's political status in the society". Such an approach seems to be valuable due to its shift from the discussion of the embryo or fetus' personhood or consciousness to that of the legitimacy of the embryo' body or fetus which requires protection.

Jernej Jelenko's article *The Role of Intergenerational Differentiation in Perception of Employee Engagement and Job Satisfaction among Older and Younger Employees in Slovenia* is focused on age diversity in the workforce and its impact on values. Jelenko basically agrees with researches from various countries in that "diversity across age and work values inevitably produces generational differences in the workplace which enhance the likelihood of encountering greater age-related perspective dissimilarity with one's coworkers, and can bring forth age discrimination in the workplace and beyond". In the paper, Jelenko analyses the features and routs of age discrimination, highlights the importance of its effects on job satisfaction and employee engagement across older and younger age groups – the ones that play a decisive role in the present and future job market in Slovenia, – and provide important insights into effects of age discrimination on job satisfaction and employee engagement, which could be useful for both human resource management and employees.

The topic of Natalya L. Antonova and Anatoly V. Merenkov's research article *Perceived Personal Attractiveness and Self-Improvement Practices* echoes the current sociological interest in the body as a bio-social construct. The authors point out several factors of such interest, namely, the development of biotechnologies, the explosive growth of the beauty and wellness industry, an increase in the perceived value of beauty and vitality and the emergence of a healthy living movement. It is shown that, in contemporary society, the human body becomes an instrument that

can be used to achieve a higher social status. The article presents the results of a sociological survey conducted in 2019 in Yekaterinburg (Russia), which was focused on investigating commonly shared opinions and evaluations concerning attractive body and personality characteristics. The authors demonstrate significant age- and gender-related differences in the perceptions of male and female beauty, explain widespread stereotypes concerning health and beauty, and present common practices used by the respondents for improving their physical, mental and social characteristics.

In the Book Review section, one can find Andrey S. Menshikov's review of Samuel A. Greene and Graeme B. Robertson's book *Putin v. the People. The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia* (Yale University Press, 2019), which challenges the prevalent approach in authoritarianism studies focused predominantly on the ruling elite, and investigates the "relation between the Russian people and their authoritarian state".

Discussions around the topics raised in the current issue will be continued in the subsequent issues of our journal. In planning to introduce new interesting themes, we welcome suggestions from our readers and prospective authors for thematic issues, debate sections or book reviews.

For more information, please visit our Journal's website: https://changing-sp.com/

Elena A. Stepanova
Editor-in-Chief
Institute of Philosophy and Law, Ural Branch of the RAS,
Yekaterinburg, Russia

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 8–30
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.087

ARTICLE

Fourth Industrial Revolution and Emotional Intelligence: A Conceptual and Scientometric Analysis

Riccardo Campa
Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

ABSTRACT
A growing number of social scientists argue that we stand on the brink of a technological revolution that will drastically change the way we live, learn, and work. One of the terms adopted to name this social phenomenon is "fourth industrial revolution". Other social scientists, in particular psychologists, have independently elaborated and discussed a concept of intelligence which is complementary, and sometimes alternative, to that measured by traditional IQ tests, namely "emotional intelligence". In recent years, these two concepts came into contact and started interacting in scientific literature. Enhancing EI in educational programs has been seen as a possible way to prevent a predicted negative side effect of the fourth industrial revolution, namely technological unemployment. This article provides a diachronic scientometric analysis of terms and concepts. Quantitative and qualitative research tools are applied in order to reconstruct the dynamics of the Emergence, Frequency, Proximity, and Relation (EFPR dynamics) of the two concepts in the scientific literature.

KEYWORDS
Fourth industrial revolution, emotional intelligence, scientometrics, topical analysis, conceptual analysis, sociology of science

Received 23 September 2019
Accepted 15 January 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

riccardo.campa@uj.edu.pl

Background and Aim of the Research

There is a long research tradition in the sociology of science showing that scientific theories and discoveries are multiples, rather than singletons. As Robert K. Merton (1973) stated almost half a century ago, a great variety of evidence testifies "to the hypothesis that, once science has become institutionalized, and significant numbers are at work on scientific investigation, the same discoveries will be made independently more than once and that singletons can be conceived of as forestalled multiples" (p. 364). This awareness invites researchers (especially young researchers) to be extremely cautious when asserting the originality of their ideas or assuming that genius is the main propellant of scientific discoveries. As Merton showed, the hypothesis of multiples itself has been rediscovered many times, to the point that it can be seen as a self-exemplifying idea. In other words, science is a collective enterprise. When certified knowledge reaches a certain stage, new ideas and discoveries are "in the air". Therefore, these ideas are subject to be independently rediscovered by many researchers. The hypertrophic growth of scientific publications, the digitalization of knowledge, and the appearance of new scientometric tools are just making more visible what was understood by the pioneers of the sociology of science long ago.

These considerations also apply to the two ideas on which this article focuses, namely "fourth industrial revolution" and "emotional intelligence". This research aims at reconstructing the historical performance and the interplay of these two terms-and-concepts, by taking the perspective of the *sociology of science* and by using research tools offered by *scientometrics*. When Eugene Garfield (1955) paved the road to scientometrics, this field of study focused almost exclusively on citations and impact factor, and this is still the main focus of the discipline. However, scientometrics has subsequently enlarged its range of analysis to virtually anything measurable in the scientific process. Indeed, as Cantú-Ortiz (2018) specifies, "scientometrics also permits studies about research collaboration, hot research topics, research trends, patenting, funding, and other related topics" (p. 5). Here we provide an example of a scientometric analysis focused on "research topics" and "trends".

More in detail, we will reconstruct the dynamics of the Emergence, Frequency, Proximity, and Relation (EFPR dynamics) of the key terms of our research in the scientific literature. By "Emergence" we mean the moment when the terms "fourth industrial revolution" and "emotional intelligence" made their first appearance in the history of ideas. By "Frequency" we mean both the frequency of the terms in the scientific literature and the frequency of the publications (scientific articles and books) containing the terms. We will pay attention to both the relative frequency and the absolute frequency of the items. By "Proximity" we simply mean the togetherness (or compresence) of the two terms-and-concepts in the same publication. By "Relation" we mean the theoretical or instrumental connection established by the author(s) of the publication between the two concepts. Details about research techniques will be given during the analysis.

A Conceptual and Scientometric Analysis of "Fourth Industrial Revolution"

To investigate the emergence and the relative frequency of the term "fourth industrial revolution", we will use Google Books *Ngram Viewer*[1]. Initially, we will simply extract the graphs provided by that online tool, setting the period on the interval 1930–2008. In Figure 1, one can see the relative frequency of the term.

We are well aware of all the problems and possible mistakes generated by this search tool, starting from that of "false positives". For instance, when searching a term in periodicals, *Ngram Viewer* may identify the foundation date of the scholarly journal or the magazine, rather than that of the issue. That is why qualitative analysis is still needed when it comes to determining the actual emergence of a term-and-concept.

The item detected in 1940 is correctly located and significant. Albert Carr's book *America's Last Chance* uses the expression "fourth industrial revolution". Precisely, he states that "certain writers are inclined to regard the advent of modern communications merely as an additional manifestation of the industrial revolution – as the beginnings of a new phase, a fourth industrial revolution" (Carr, 1940, pp. 141–142). He does not specify who those authors are, but he let us understand that the expression is already in use before World War II. Still, the author does not agree with the use of this formula, because it minimizes the scope of the societal change. He warns that to reject such an interpretation is not quibbling over terms. In his view, what is happening is not just a new phase of an ongoing process. It is something radically new. Therefore, Carr (1940) suggests that "the present upheaval, in fact, may well be called the aerial revolution; for its chief technology instruments are those super-terrestrial, space defying inventions, the airplane and the radio" (p. 141).

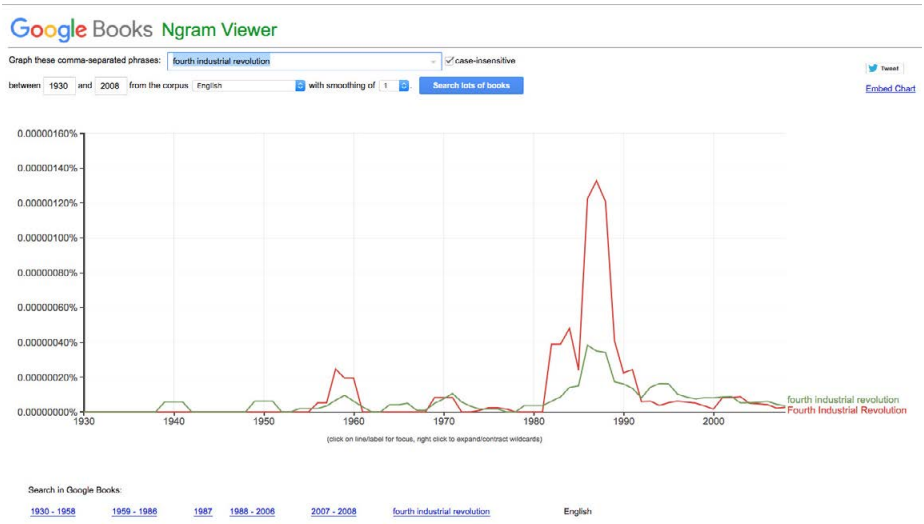


Figure 1. *Google Books Ngram Viewer Graph for the Term "Fourth Industrial Revolution", interval: 1930–2008*

[1] https://books.google.com/ngrams

As we will see, the different phases of the industrial revolution are in general related either to the source of energy that mainly supplies the industrial system (coal, oil, electricity, nuclear power, etc.), or to the type of machines mainly used in the industrial processes (steam engine, internal combustion engine, electrical motor, computer and robot, etc.). In Carr's narrative, the accent is rather on the progressive conquest of space (terrestrial, marine, and aerial space).

In 1948, Harry Elmer Barnes publishes the book *Historical Sociology: Its Origins and Development: Theories of Social Evolution from Cave Life to Atomic Bombing*. The work appears after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing and, not surprisingly, the emphasis goes on the new energy source. However, quite interestingly, the technological breakthrough is still also related to space occupation. These are his words: "With the coming of intra-atomic energy and supersonic stratosphere aviation we face an even more staggering fourth Industrial Revolution" (Barnes, 1948, p. 145).

In 1955, Harold Ordway Rugg and William Withers use again the expression "fourth industrial revolution" in the book *Social Foundations of Education.* In their narrative, the breakthrough is temporally located after World War II and is related to the new energy source and machine typology, while the reference to the occupation of the aerial space drops out of the definition. This is the fragment of the book relevant to our study: "After World War II, we entered a fourth industrial revolution, with great advancement in electronics and in the world-shaping development of atomic power. The world entered a creative age in which nature could be greatly transformed, both as to substance and power" (Rugg & Withers, 1955, p. 45).

On April 12th, 1961, Yuri Gagarin completed one Earth orbit on the capsule *Vostok* and became the first human to journey into outer space. NASA also prepares for space exploration. The space factor is back as a determinant of the new technological phase. Colonel Carl A. Ousley, in his work *National Security in Outer Space* (1962, p. 40), writes:

> The research phase of the American economy is having a phenomenal growth as a result of space exploration. One recent study considers research as the fourth major industrial revolution in American industry following steam mechanization, steel, and electrical-and-internal combustion engines. The fourth industrial revolution, ours, is unique in the number of people working on it, its complexity, and its power to push the economy at a rate previously impossible.

Here the emphasis is on research and space exploration. The idea is that science is the very propellant of the fourth industrial revolution. A few years later, a generic emphasis on science is found also in Asoka Mehta's *Economic Planning for India.* The interesting aspect of this publication is that the author is not sure which phase of the revolution we are experiencing. He writes that "today, science and technology has given us enormous powers. We are witnessing a revolution in agriculture and perhaps, the third or fourth industrial revolution with a series of breathtaking advances in science and technology" (Mehta, 1970, p. 104). Third or Fourth? This definitional uncertainty is typical of the field. For instance, according to Rifkin (2011), the third

industrial revolution starts in the 21st century. He indicates the year 2008 (the financial crisis) as the peak of the second industrial revolution and the beginning of the third one. In this perspective, the fourth industrial revolution is a topic left to science fiction writers. But let us go back to the 1970s.

In 1977, French sociologist Jacques Ellul publishes *Le Système Technicien*. The English translation appears three years later. Ellul discusses also the criteria we use to distinguish the different stages of industrial change. He underlines that, generally, the different stages are associated with energy production: "Observers thus speak of the 'first industrial revolution', characterized by the use of coal as a power source, and by the machines built to use coal. Then came a second industrial revolution, characterized by electricity. The third one causes some wavering: the use of atomic energy" (Ellul, 1980, p. 25). However, in the 1970s, the fourth industrial revolution is rather associated with the new electronic machines entering the production process. The French scholar notices that "for several years now, people have been speaking of a fourth industrial revolution: the one launched by the computer. It is obvious that we are now switching gears, for this is no longer a change or advance in power sources" (Ibid.). Quite interestingly, Ellul put emphasis on the fact that this technological change renders the human force obsolete, because "the dominant factor is no longer a growth of potential or exploited energy, but rather an apparatus of organization, information, memorization, and preparation for decision-making, to replace man in a huge number of intellectual operations" (Ibid.).

What is rather noncontroversial at this stage of the analysis is that the fourth wave of technological innovation started after World War II. For instance, the same periodization is found in Thomas M. Kando's *Leisure and Popular Culture in Transition* (1980), where we read that "the fourth industrial revolution is the label customarily attached to the dramatic increase in productivity that has taken place in the United States and elsewhere in the Western world since the Second World War" (p. 93).

Italian economist Paolo Sylos-Labini in an article published in 1984 (*New Aspects of Cyclical Development of the Economy*), put together the three different criteria used to build a periodization – machine typology, space occupation, and energy source – and stresses that there is consensus on this picture. Precisely, he writes that "it is widely held that we are now living in the fourth industrial revolution which is dominated by electronics, air transportation and atomic energy; indeed, it is argued that we have for some years been in the declining phase of the fourth Kondratieff cycle" (Sylos-Labini, 1984, p. 17).

In the 1980s, Walt Whitman Rostow is one of the most engaged scholars on the definition of this concept. In a speech delivered at the Congress of the United States of America, the economist explains that the fourth industrial revolution is a process that must be nurtured: "The character of the technologies embraced in what I have called the Fourth Industrial Revolution makes it possible for a high proportion of the relevant R&D to be carried forward by the private sector"; however, the government has to guarantee the conditions for the growth, by creating an environment of low real interest rates and keeping inflation under control. If this is assured, "we can expect innovation to proceed rapidly, by normal market processes, in exploitation of the microchipin all

its ramified applications, new communications methods, the insights of genetics, the robot and laser, and new industrial materials" (Rostow, 1983, p. 149).

As we can see, several technologies are included in the definition. Now, the emphasis does not go only on microelectronics, but also on genetic engineering. In the book *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present: With a Perspective on the Next Century*, Rostow presents an historical picture of the industrial revolution and establishes the beginning of its fourth phase in the mid-1970s.

> In short, while agreeing substantially with the emphasis – from Adam Smith to Nathan Rosenberg – on the importance of incremental technological change, I would also reaffirm the legitimacy of Schumpeter's dramatization of the three great industrial revolutions on which he focused in *Business Cycles*: that of the 1780s, with its convergence of the new textile machinery, Watt's steam engine, and Cort's method of fabricating good iron with coke; the railroad revolution, starting modestly in the 1830s but helping induce before long the steel revolution to overcome the high obsolescence rate of iron rails; and the breakthroughs in electricity, chemicals, and the internal combustion engine round about the turn of the century. The fourth, asserting itself from, say, the mid-1970s, after long incubation, embraces four large fields: microelectronics; genetic engineering; the development of new industrial materials (e.g., ceramics, optical fibers, a new round of plastics); and the laser (Rostow, 1992, p. 456).

If the fourth industrial revolution starts in the mid-1970s, of which revolution Carr and others were talking about by referring to the post-war period? Rostow recognizes that there has been a long incubation to this process. In the same book, we read that the author is "inclined to regard the leading sectors of the postwar boom (including plastics, synthetic fibers, and television) as the rounding out of the Third Industrial Revolution" (Rostow, 1992, p. 673). In other words, he resolutely underlines the difference between electronics (vacuum tubes, transistors) and microelectronics (integrated circuits, microchips): "I would identify micro-electronics, genetic engineering, new synthetic materials, and the laser as the Fourth Wave, dated from the mid-1970s" (Ibid.).

In the same year, Devendra Thakur (1992) states that "the scope for India to exploit the skill revolution or the fourth industrial revolution which substitutes skilled labour for both capital and unskilled labour appears large and promising" (p. 296). One year later, Hong-Hwa Lee clarifies that, if there is a consensus about the fact that a major change in the economy is happening, there is no consensus about the name to be given to that change. Indeed, "there are different terminologies used to describe the current explosion of new technologies – 'the fourth industrial revolution', 'second industrial divide', 'the third wave', 'the age of smart machine', and so on" (Lee, 1993, p. 268).

To be precise, there is no consensus also about periodization. In his Ph.D. dissertation about Japanese economic policy, Bai Gao (1994) reminds that "the Japanese economists argued in the mid-1950s that *now* [our emphasis] the fourth industrial revolution was coming, stimulated by the use of atomic power and automation" (p. 280).

According to Zoltan Barany and Ivan Volgyes (1995), this disrupting technological change had to happen before 1989, since one of the reasons why communism failed in Eastern Europe was that "the Communist states missed out on the fourth industrial revolution – the technological revolution – and their economies were doomed to remain largely technologically backward and outmoded" (p. 7).

Writing in the early 1990s, Ira W. Lieberman points out that this breakthrough happened before 1989, but not necessarily in the 1950s or the 1970s. Indeed, he talks about the emergence in the 1980s of "what some analysts are calling the fourth industrial revolution"; he specifies that this industrial revolution is driven by information technology and "involves non-smoke-stack industries such as telecommunications, computers, microelectronics, robotics, fiber optics and advanced and composite materials" (Lieberman, 1993, p. 10).

However, computers, robots, and satellites completely disappear from the narrative of Gilbert Mudenda, who subdivides the phases of economic development by placing some emphasis also on geographical areas:

> The first industrial revolution (1780–1840) was based in the United Kingdom, and its key achievements were the steam engine, the textile industry, and mechanical engineering. The second industrial revolution (1840–1900) was based in Europe (England, France, and Germany), and its key achievements were railways and the steel industry. The third industrial revolution (1900–1950) was based in the United States, and its key achievements were the electric engine and industries manufacturing heavy chemicals, motor cars, and consumer durables. The current phase, the fourth industrial revolution (1950–2000), is based in the Pacific Basin (Japan and California), and its key industries are synthetics and organic (petroleum) chemicals (Mudenda, 1995, p. 85).

One year later, political scientist Donald M. Snow affirms that the current cutting edge is the information-based revolution and underlines the appearance of more sophisticated goods and services; however, he also admits that "the contours of a fourth industrial revolution have not yet appeared clearly on the horizon" (Snow, 1996, p. 14). Notably, this American author is not just assuming that what happens in the USA is happening, or will necessarily happen everywhere. If there are countries that start experiencing the effects of the fourth industrial revolution, there are other countries that are still struggling with the second or the third. And he also reminds us that there are scholars that call "postindustrial" those economies and societies in which the Tertiary sector is prevalent on the Primary and the Secondary sectors, in terms of percentage of GNP generated or number of employees.

In the mid-1990s, however, the emphasis on information technology seems to be prevalent. Indeed, George Kozmetsky and Piyu Yue (1997) distinguish the third industrial revolution, which is "based on inventions and innovations in the areas of chemicals, electricity, petroleum, and the internal combustion engine", from the fourth industrial revolution, in which "information technology is playing a similar pivotal role in changing the way of life for individuals and for corporations"

(p. 5). They also specify that "information technology is defined as the use of computers and telecommunications to process, manipulate, create, and distribute information," and they make it clear that while the third industrial revolution "helped the United States surge into its position as the world's primary industrial power in the beginning of the 20th century", the fourth will have a global scope (Kozmetsky & Yue, 1997, p. 5). They assume that the USA will still have a central role for at least the first half of the 21st century, but this leadership will be challenged by traditional competitors (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan) and by the new emerging economies (China, India, Singapore, South Corea, and other Second and Third-World countries).

Education expert Evans Clinchy (1999) notices that the crucial inventions that have changed our lives emerged from the scientific/military/political alliance, and not from the disconnected scholarly world. The industrial-military complex also shaped "our present fourth Industrial Revolution based upon the digital computer and modern communications technology" (Clinchy, 1999, p. 78). That is why, according to Clinchy, a profound reform of american education is needed.

Communications technology is only one of the many aspects of the fourth industrial revolution according to Dike N. Kalu, who proposes a comparison between technologically advanced countries and Nigeria. Having a background in biology, this African scientist points out that "the United States and the western world have already experienced their second and third industrial revolutions and are currently in the midst of a fourth industrial revolution, characterised mainly by improved communication, increased use of molecular biology techniques and widespread use of food supplements" (Kalu, 2003, p. 54).

One more record signaled by *Ngram Viewer* is the book chapter *Privatization in the Transition Economies* by Ira W. Lieberman, an author that we have already encountered in the early 1990s. In 2008, the American economist has not changed his mind concerning the periodization and the main aspects of the fourth industrial revolution. According to him, the breakthrough is mainly (but not uniquely) driven by information-based technologies and temporally located in the 1980s (Lieberman, 2008, p. 4).

The scan of all books and periodicals is a work-in-progress and, therefore, *the Ngram Viewer* database is largely incomplete. There are no data after the year 2008. Besides, this tool provides the relative frequency of the term, but not its absolute frequency, nor the absolute number of publications containing the term. To collect the missing information concerning the decade 2009–2018, we will perform a search on *Google Scholar*. We will use the retrieved data to reconstruct the annual distribution of the publications containing the term "fourth industrial revolution" (and possible equivalent terms). On this interval, we will work with absolute numbers of publications, rather than relative frequencies of term occurrences. Graphs and diagrams will be crafted in *Microsoft Excel*.

Google Scholar is notoriously less selective than such international citation databases as *Scopus* or *Web of Science*. It also includes works that are not strictly scientific. However, by working on a larger number of items, this tool provides a good

measure of the penetration of ideas in the scientific community and in the grey area that surrounds it. Data extracted from *Scopus* and *Web of Science* are of particular significance for academic bureaucracy. Indeed, they are often used to assign research funds or to structure careers. However, the sociology of science considers the propagation and reputation of ideas more relevant than their inner validity (which is a matter left to philosophers and scientists). As a consequence, data extracted from a more receptive database such a *Google Scholar* seems to be of major significance from a sociological point of view.

The results of our first search wave are presented in Figure 2. As on can see, in the last decade, the growth of scientific publications containing the term "fourth industrial revolution" is an approximately exponential trend.

Those included in the graph are absolute numbers of publications. However, as Figure 3 displays, the global number of publications in the first half of the decade is rather constant (around for million per year). In the second half, it shows more variations, but no clear pattern is visible. In the year 2008, the total number of items reaches 5 million. This means that the performance of the term during the last decade cannot be explained on the basis of the trend of the total number of publications. For instance, the total number of publications decreases from 2015 to 2016, while the number of books and articles including the term "fourth industrial revolution" grows.

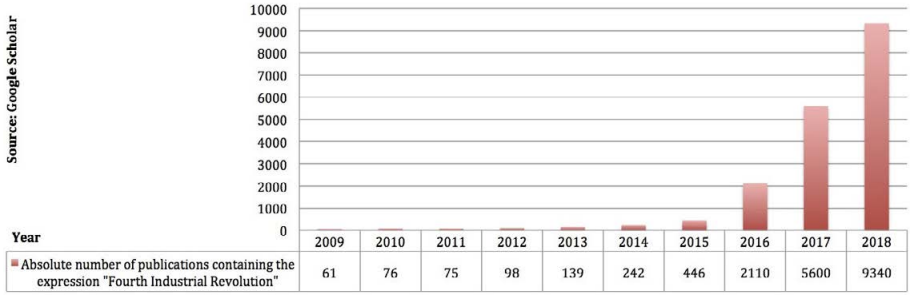


Figure 2. *10-year Distribution Graph of Publications Including the Term "Fourth Industrial Revolution"*

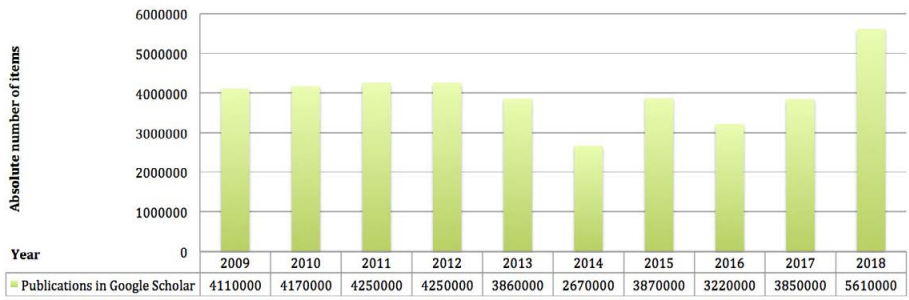


Figure 3. *10-year Trend of the Publications Detected by Google Scholar*

As the *Ngram Viewer* graph [Figure 1] shows, the best performance of the term "fourth industrial revolution" is rather located in the second half of the 1980s. In the first decade of the third millennium, the relative frequency of the term goes down to a minimum. On the contrary, in the second decade of the millennium, we can observe a renaissance of this term-and-concept. Why has the trend changed? The game-changer seems to be the World Economic Forum (WEF) founded and chaired by German economist Klaus Schwab, and annually held in Davos.

In particular, a WEF report published in January 2016 (*The Future of Jobs. Employment, Skills and Workforce Strategy for the Fourth Industrial Revolution*) seems to have played a major role in the current success of the term. In the Preface of the report, Samans and Schwab (2016) writes that "developments in genetics, artificial intelligence, robotics, nanotechnology, 3D printing and biotechnology, to name just a few, are all building on and amplifying one another", and the consequence of all this will be "a revolution more comprehensive and all-encompassing than anything we have ever seen" (p. v).

If in Riftkin's opinion we are at the cusp of the third industrial revolution, according to Schwab the third phase of technological innovation is a historically concluded phenomenon. It started in the 1970s, with the massive entrance of computers and industrial robots into the workplace, and is ending now. Currently, we rather observe the very beginning of the fourth industrial revolution (Schwab, 2017, 2018a).

Schwab's four-phases periodization is now gaining major consensus and it is developed by other social scientists in new directions. In this last representation, each phase of the industrial revolution is associated with the emergence of a new type of *industry*. Industry 1.0 starts in 1784 with the appearance of the first mechanical loom; Industry 2.0 starts in 1870 with the appearance of the first assembly line; Industry 3.0 starts in 1969 with the appearance of the first programmable logic controller; and, finally, Industry 4.0 starts "today" – to say the beginning of the 21st century – with the appearance of smarter machines, devices, sensors, capable of connecting and communicating with each other and with people, via the Internet of Things (IoT) or the Internet of People (IoP). However, the other criteria used to build a periodization (source of energy, geographical location, space occupation) did not disappear from the scientific discourse. The World Economic Forum is now paying much attention also to renewable sources of energy. The fourth industrial revolution is explicitly associated with renewable sources, such as wind turbines, solar panels, advanced storage devices, and hydrogen (Nasman et al., 2017; Zhai, 2019). The global scope of the fourth industrial revolution can hardly be contested, as Schwab (2018b) confirmed by defining the term "Globalization 4.0". Finally, some scholars relate the fourth industrial revolution with the expansion of automated industries on other celestial bodies, for instance, to perform asteroid mining operations (Campa, Szocik & Braddock, 2019).

To sum up, currently, the fourth industrial revolution can be basically identified as the era of "smart industries", powered by "renewable sources of energy", with a "global geographical scope", a temporal location in the "21st century", and a prospect to expand industrial activities in "outer space". Table 1 provides a synoptic frame of the industrial revolution phases as they are generally understood now.

Table 1. *Synoptic Frame of Industrial Revolution Phases*

	Temporal location	Space occupation	Machine type	Geographical Location	Energy Source
1st Industrial Revolution	18th Century (from 1784 to 1870)	Terrestrial (railways, steam locomotive)	Mechanization, Steam engine, Textile industry	England	Water power, Coal
2nd Industrial Revolution	19th Century (from 1870 to 1969)	Marine (steamship, transatlantic crossing, submarines)	Internal Combustion Engine, Electric Motor, Assembly Line	United Kingdom, Western Europe, Russia USA, Japan	Oil Electricity
3rd Industrial Revolution	20th Century (from 1969 to 2000)	Aerial (airplane, radio, television, satellites)	Computer, Automation, Laser, Internet, Mobile phones	Europe, America, Asia	Atomic energy
4th Industrial Revolution	21th Century (from 2000 onward)	Outer Space (spacecraft, asteroid mining)	Internet of things, Cybersystems, Smart industry, Advanced robotics, Artificial Intelligence	Earth	Solar panels, Wind turbines, Storage devices, Hydrogen economy

A Conceptual and Scientometric Analysis of "Emotional Intelligence"

Once again, let us start from the *Ngram Viewer* graph, by searching the term "emotional intelligence". As one can see from Figure 4, it is a relatively new term. It emerged in the mid-1990s and, after a steady growth, it experienced a peak in the mid-2000s.

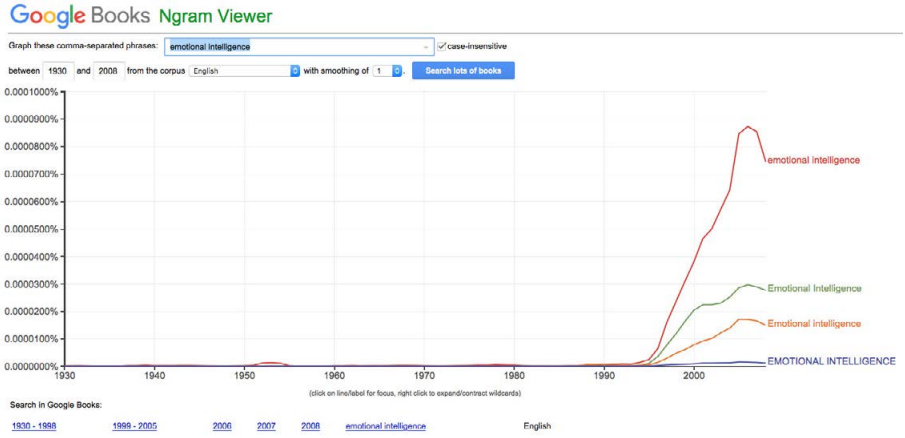


Figure 4. *Google Books Ngram Viewer Graph of "Emotional Intelligence", interval 1930–2008*

This does not mean that the concept is novel. Back in 1964, Michael Beldoch published a work entitled *Sensitivity to Expression of Emotional Meaning in Three Modes of Communication*, which investigates the interrelationships among abilities to identify non-verbal emotional expressions in three modes of communication: vocal, musical and graphic. The work was then republished as a chapter in the book *Social Encounters*, edited by Michael Argyle (1973). More in detail, Beldoch (1973, p. 124) focuses on the "interrelationships among abilities to identify emotional meanings expressed in different media, and the relationship of self-reported personality characteristics as well as various background factors to the several measures of emotional sensitivity".

The expression "emotional intelligence" emerges in 1990 when Peter Salovay and John Mayer publish an article under this title in the journal *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality.* As they make it clear in the abstract, the article "presents a framework for *emotional intelligence*, a set of skills hypothesized to contribute to the accurate appraisal and expression of emotion in oneself and in others, the effective regulation of emotion in self and others, and the use of feelings to motivate, plan, and achieve in one's life" (Salovay & Mayer, 1990, p. 185).

An interesting aspect of this seminal work is that it is mainly based on a literature review. It is a theoretical work, more than empirical research. The authors analyze the debate about the adaptive versus maladaptive qualities of emotion and review the scientific literature on intelligence. They pay particular attention to "social intelligence", an already existing concept, and to the role that emotions play in the traditional conceptions of intelligence. Based on the information collected, Salovey and Mayer (1990, p. 185) describe "a framework for integrating the research on emotion-related skills" and, then, "review the components of emotional intelligence". To sum up, the article forges the concept of emotional intelligence starting from the already existing research and suggests new directions for further investigation.

Still, as one can see from the graph, this article does not receive much attention in the first five years after its publication. Indeed, as regards this concept, the game-changer is 1995 Daniel Goleman's book *Emotional Intelligence: Why it can matter more than IQ*.

Goleman is a scientific journalist and his book belongs to popular science. Still, the author is well informed about the research going on in psychological laboratories, and also shows a good knowledge of the classics of philosophy. His idea of emotional intelligence is based on a synthesis of current research. In particular, his focus is on the brain architecture underlying emotion and rationality. The author starts from a simple observation: contrarily to all expectations, people with a higher IQ often perform worse than people with a more modest IQ level, both in professional and everyday life. In his words:

> IQ offers little to explain the different destinies of people with roughly equal promises, schooling, and opportunity. When ninety-five Harvard students from the classes of the 1940s – a time when people with a wider spread of IQ were at Ivy League schools than is presently the case – were followed

> into middle age, the men with the highest test scores in college were not particularly successful compared to their lower-scoring peers in terms of salary, productivity, or status in their field. Nor did they have the greatest life satisfaction, nor the most happiness with friendships, family, and romantic relationships (Goleman, 1995, p. 35).

The main idea that follows from this observation is that other factors must be at work making for the success of people with lower IQ. In other words, there must be a different way to be smart. The term chosen to indicate this different type of smartness is "emotional intelligence". According to Goleman, emotional intelligence is related to many psychological features, such as impulse control, self-awareness, zeal, persistence, empathy, self-motivation, social deftness, character, self-discipline, altruism, and compassion. To excel in real life, one needs these qualities no less – and perhaps even more – than logical intelligence. Intimate relationships are important factors of success both in the workplace and in sentimental life.

According to Goleman, emotional intelligence is not fully genetically inherited. Since it is not fixed at birth, guidance can be provided as to how teachers and parents can nurture and strengthen this quality in children.

Goleman's book rapidly became a bestseller. As a consequence, many other authors started riding the wave. Subsequent publications focus in particular on the guidance to be provided to teachers and parents. For instance, one year later the appearance of Goleman's book, Dianne Schilling publishes a guide entitled *50 Activities for Teaching Emotional Intelligence*, which emphasizes that different types of intelligence should be nurtured together. In her words, "rational intelligence cannot perform well without emotional intelligence, and emotional intelligence benefits from the cool cognitive judgments of the rational mind. When the two perform together smoothly and efficiently, emotional intelligence rises and so does intellectual ability" (Schilling, 1996, p. 3).

Another guide is published in 1997 by Kerry David Carson, Paula Phillips Carson, and Joyce Schouest Phillips. The three authors quote the work by Daniel Goleman. They refer to him as a renowned social psychologist who indicates that success and failure in everyday life and in the workplace could depend more from "emotional intelligence" than from IQ. They summarize his theory as follows: "He describes emotional intelligence as a multidimensional construct consisting of five factors: 1. mood regulation; 2. self-motivation; 3. self-awareness; 4. empathetic response; 5. interpersonal skill" (Carson, Phillips & Schouest, 1997, p. 150).

At this point, Salovey and Mayer come back into play to claim their role in the creation of the idea. In 1997, they sign the first chapter of a collective work entitled *Emotional Development and Emotional Intelligence: Educational Implications*, edited by Peter Salovey and David J. Sluyter. In the synopsis of the volume, the editors recall that experts in education and psychology have long viewed feeling and thinking as polar opposites. On one pole there is passion, on the opposite pole lies reason. They also underline that emotion has often been labeled as immature, haphazard, and chaotic. However, everything changed when Salovey and Mayer

introduced the concept of emotional intelligence. This notion challenges the belief that intellective processes are unrelated to the management of emotion-laden information. Afterward, innovative schools have focused more carefully on emotional intelligence, emotional literacy, or emotional competence, by developing courses aimed at enhancing these abilities. It is important to notice that the editorial project openly recognizes Goleman's role in popularizing the idea. Indeed, the science journalist is invited to write the foreword to the book. In their contribution, Salovey and Mayer (1997, p. 22) explain that "emotional intelligence is the ability to perceive emotions, to access and generate emotions so as to assist thought, to understand emotions and emotional meanings, and to reflectively regulate emotions so as to promote both better emotion and thought". The authors conclude that we are just at the beginning of the learning curve about this subject.

In 1998, there is an explosion of publications on emotional intelligence. Daniel Goleman tries to replicate the success of his first book on the topic by publishing *Working with Emotional Intelligence,* David Ryback publishes *Putting Emotional Intelligence to Work: Successful Leadership Is More Than IQ*, and Seymour Epstein comes out with *Constructive Thinking: The Key to Emotional Intelligence.*

Other guides are printed in the following years. For instance, *50 Activities for Developing Emotional Intelligence* by Adele B. Lynn (2000), who reports that "quantifiable data on performance in a myriad of industries and organizations has resulted in a body of study called emotional intelligence", and adds that "these years of study have named and identified the 'intangibles' that predict success in the workplace" (p. 1). Her guide is supposed to help nurturing these "intangibles", and in particular emotional intelligence, which "explains why despite equal intellectual capacity, training, or experience, some people excel while others of the same caliber lag behind" (Ibid.).

It is not difficult to explain the success of these publications in a highly competitive society such as the United States of America. They give hope to individuals that, after modest performances in schools and universities, feel hopeless. The message is simple and reassuring: the problem is not you; the problem is the educational system that focuses on the wrong type of intelligence. Besides, school and work are not everything that matters. Interpersonal relationships, love, friendships, family ties, etc., are also fundamental in making a person successful.

While Salovey seems more interested in developing the concept in relation to business, Mayer rather focuses on everyday life. In 2001, together with Joseph Ciarrochi and Joseph P. Forgas, Mayer edits a book entitled *Emotional Intelligence in Everyday Life: A Scientific Inquiry*. As one can see, the emphasis is once again on the scientific character of these studies, to differentiate them from Goleman's seminal work and the many guides published in the following years. In his introduction, "A Field Guide to Emotional Intelligence", Mayer (2001) also traces a brief history of the concept, by stressing once again the importance of his 1990 contribution, crafted together with Salovey.

Also in 2001, Gwen Doty publishes *Fostering Emotional Intelligence in K-8 Students: Simple Strategies and Ready-to-Use Activities.* The book aims

to help teachers to assess emotional intelligence based on their observation. According to Doty (2001), no assessment should be given "until after the school year is underway, when teachers have gained an ample understanding of their students" (p. 143). Besides, each student should be assessed on each of the five emotional intelligence components elaborated by Goleman. Another book aimed at fostering emotional intelligence in children at school is crafted by Margie Blaz, Avi Bitton and Rebecca Reyes. In *Developing Your Child's Emotional Intelligence: Ten Steps to Self Control from Birth to Age Three,* the authors focus "on how and when to teach the basic emotional lessons that will empower your child with self-control and emotional intelligence" (Blaz, Bitton & Reyes, 2003, p. ii).

Emotional intelligence is crucial not only to succeed in business and love relationships but also in higher education. This point is stressed by Darwin B. Nelson and Gary R. Low in their 2003 book *Emotional Intelligence: Achieving Academic and Career Excellence in College and in Life*. An improved second edition has been published in 2010. As the authors clarify, the book "provides students with theory-based and research-derived information about how the brain works in regard to emotional intelligence and practical emotional learning" (Nelson & Low, 2010, p. xvi).

In 2007, Mayer and Salovey, together with Marc A. Brackett, edit *Emotional Intelligence: Key Readings on the Mayer and Salovey Model.* It is a reader including the most important articles and essays published by Mayer, Salovey and their collaborators on the topic of emotional intelligence.

Finally, we want to mention the 2008 article "Emotional Intelligence: New Ability or Eclectic Traits?" published once again by Mayer and Salovey, this time in co-authorship with David R. Caruso, in the journal *American Psychologist.* Here, the authors provide the following definition of emotional intelligence:

> Emotional Intelligence includes the ability to engage in sophisticated information processing about one's own and others' emotions and the ability to use this information as a guide to thinking and behavior. That is, individuals high in emotional intelligence pay attention to, use, understand, and manage emotions, and these skills serve adaptive functions that potentially benefit themselves and others (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2008, p. 503).

To sum up, Mayer and Salovey propose a developmental model of emotional intelligence from childhood to adulthood based on sixteen steps. This process generates four different abilities. According to these psychologists, an emotionally intelligent person can perceive emotions in oneself and others accurately; use emotions to facilitate thinking; understand emotions, emotional language and the signals conveyed by emotions; and eventually, manage emotions to attain specific goals.

In the following decade – precisely in the interval 2009–2018 – publications on emotional intelligence show a constant growth (see Figure 5).

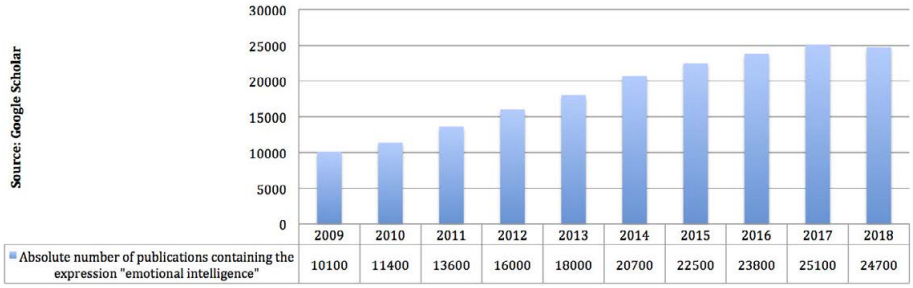


Figure 5. *10-year Distribution Graph of Publications Including the Term "Emotional Intelligence"*

There seem to be a flexion in 2008, but it must be taken into account the fact that it takes time for authors to register their publications in online repositories and for *Google Scholar* to detect them. We surmise that the number of 2008 publications will grow shortly.

State of Proximity and Theoretical Relation

It is time to verify the state of proximity and the theoretical relations between our two terms-and-concepts. Let us start with the first problem, which is inherently quantitative. As one can see in Figure 6, the growth of publications including both terms is really impressive. It shows than more and more scholars are now relating the two concepts, even though they were born in two different scientific disciplines.

Empirical data show that the major change is located in the year 2016. Also in this case, there are all reasons to think that the game-changer is the report *The Future of Jobs Employment, Skills and Workforce Strategy for the Fourth Industrial Revolution,* published by the World Economic Forum in January 2016. Indeed, in Samans and Schwab's Preface, we do not only learn that humanity is at the starting point of a fourth industrial revolution. There is more than this. When it comes to make clear what is needed to turn the societal change into an opportunity, rather than a disaster, the authors prophesize that "overall, social skills – such as persuasion, emotional

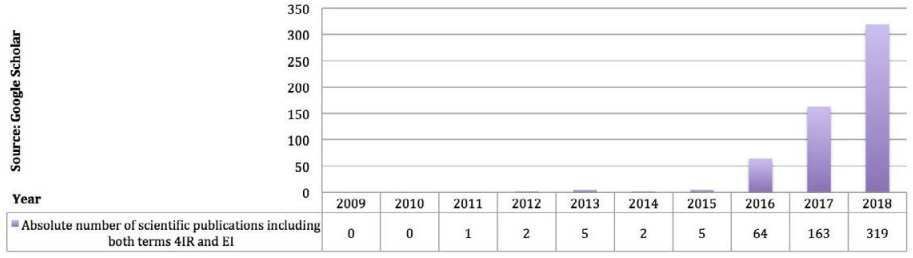


Figure 6. *10-year Trend of the State of Proximity between "Fourth Industrial Revolution" and "Emotional Intelligence"*

intelligence and teaching others – will be in higher demand across industries than narrow technical skills, such as programming or equipment operation and control" (Samans & Schwab's, 2016, p. 22).

The report lists the following ten skills as crucial for employment by 2020: (1) Complex Problem Solving; (2) Critical Thinking; (3) Creativity; (4) People Management; (5) Coordinating with Others; (6) Emotional Intelligence; (7) Judgment and Decision Making; (8) Service Orientation; (9) Negotiation; (10) Cognitive Flexibility. Besides, it provides the following definition of emotional intelligence: "Being aware of others' reactions and understanding why they react as they do" (WEF, 2016, p. 53).

Given the influential role of the Davos annual meeting, it is not surprising to find in the following years many more publications presenting the nurturing of emotional intelligence as a possible solution to the unwanted side effects of the fourth industrial revolution, and in particular technological unemployment. If we include in the count the year 2019, we obtain almost one thousand publications (921, to be precise), which include both concepts. Here we will provide just six examples, two per year, on how the concepts are related.

In 2016, by focusing on "entrepreneurial intelligence", J. H. (Cobus) Oosthuizen expands Schwab's four-type intelligence proposition in order to address the challenges of the new technological phase. First of all, he subscribes to the narrative that humanity finds itself at the dawn of the fourth industrial revolution and that the incoming societal change presents features never experienced before in history. There were radical transformations also in the past, but not with the velocity, breadth, depth, and systems impact of the current one. Oosthuizen (2016) states that "Schwab propagates a 4-type intelligence proposition (contextual-, emotional-, inspired-, and physical intelligence) to be nurtured and applied so as to adapt, shape and harness the potential of disruption" (p. 370). According to Oosthuizen, Schwab's proposition lacks a disposition type of intelligence, namely "entrepreneurial intelligence", which should be added to the model.

In the same year, the Finnish Minister of Finance Alexander Stubb publishes a document entitled *For an Optimistic Revolution.* The author emphasizes the inevitability of the new technological breakthrough, assumes that every challenge is an opportunity, and professes optimism about the outcomes of the process. Stubb also underlines that those feeling pessimistic or unprepared about the societal transformation will not change the course of history by simply complaining about technology. They like it or not, the fourth industrial revolution will happen, and actually it "appears to be upon us". This is the way he describes the upcoming epochal event:

> With the advent of 5G mobile Internet, smaller and more powerful sensors, artificial intelligence and machine learning, this revolution will be as transformational, if not more so, as anything mankind has experienced before. It will change the way we live, work and relate to each other. Artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, 3D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, renewable energy, and quantum computing: such advances are transforming the world faster than we realise. Occupations which only a few short years ago

> appeared safe bets, such as those of bus drivers and lorry drivers, may soon go the way of the horse, thanks to artificial intelligence now being applied to self-driving vehicles (Stubb, 2016, p. 21).

Does he also relate the fourth industrial revolution with emotional intelligence? Yes, he does. Indeed, he insists that "the more technology advances, the more emotional intelligence and empathy come to the fore" (Stubb, 2016, p. 21).

He concludes his speech with an encouraging exclamation: "Welcome to the future".

In 2017, Chris Wilson, Peter Lennox, Gareth Hughes and Michael Brown craft the chapter "How to develop creative capacity for the fourth industrial revolution". They state that "universities have never been more focused on ensuring that graduates are 'employable'", and add that "in the midst of the fourth industrial revolution, numerous studies highlight the potential significance and value of creativity, problem-solving and critical thinking, for successful navigation of the complexities of the future" (Wilson et al., 2017, p. 241). Their declared goal is to elaborate a synthesis of related fields of research, with the aim of constructing a framework for the improvement of creativity. In their synthesis, the concept of emotional intelligence also finds place, and the explicit source of the idea is the World Economic Forum's 2016 report *The Future of Jobs (WEF, 2016).* The four scholars conclude that a reform of certain aspects of pedagogical practice is needed.

In the same year, Bo Xing and Tshilidzi Marwala discuss the relations between education, fourth industrial revolution and emotional intelligence in the article "Implications of the Fourth Industrial Age for Higher Education", which appeared in the journal *The Thinker.* The authors underline that "the fourth industrial revolution is powered by artificial intelligence and it will transform the needs of the workplace from task-based characteristics to human-centred characteristics" (Xing & Marwala, 2017, p. 10). In other words, because of the dominant role of increasingly powerful artificial intelligence (AI) algorithms, it makes no sense for humans to keep competing with machines. The fourth industrial age requires skills that are not exactly those required during the third industrial age when the key driver was information technology. The new required skills are "critical thinking, people management, emotional intelligence, judgement, negotiation, cognitive flexibility, as well as knowledge" (Xing & Marwala, 2017, p. 10–11).

In 2018, Bryan Edward Penprase publishes the book chapter *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and Higher Education*, and, again, emotional intelligence is presented as the tool that can turn the challenges of the fourth industrial revolution into opportunities. The author describes the current technological revolution in the following terms:

> The 4IR often is described as the result of an integration and compounding effects of multiple "exponential technologies", such as AI, biotechnologies and nanomaterials. One example of the emerging reality within the 4IR is the development of synthetic organisms (life from DNA created within computers and bioprinted) manufactured using robotic assembly lines, where

nanomaterials provide immense improvements in the efficiency of production (Penprase, 2018, p. 220).

As this is the situation, the jobs expected to dominate in the coming decades are those arising within the fourth industrial revolution technology sectors, and in particular artificial intelligence, machine learning, robotics, nanotechnology, 3D printing, genetics and biotechnology. However, it would be a mistake to assume that the changing economic systems will only need more scientists and engineers with high IQ and strong logical skills. Indeed, "within those sectors, employers and industries are projecting that social skills that include persuasion, emotional intelligence and capacity for teaching others will be at a premium" (Penprase, 2018, p. 221).

Finally, it is worth paying some attention to *The Future of Work,* a speech given by the Governor of the Bank of England, Mark Carney, at the Central Bank of Ireland on September 14th, 2018. The sequence of the reasoning is the same we have encountered above. First of all, Carney warns that "we are on the cusp of a Fourth Industrial Revolution, which has the potential to transform fundamentally the nature of both work and commerce through advances in AI, automation and interconnectedness" (Carney, 2018, p. 3). One may notice that – at least nominally – we are on the cusp of a fourth industrial revolution since the 1940s. However, it cannot be disregarded the fact that in the new narrative machines are reaching and surpassing many human capabilities. The Governor emphasizes that, unlike past technologies, the new ones may increasingly provide reasoning, sensory perception, and intelligence. In other words, they can do what previously only workers could do.

If this is true, most current jobs will disappear. However, according to Carney, there is no reason to despair, because new jobs will arise that will require different skills. In his view, the end of work (as we know it) can be seen as an optimistic scenario. Not by chance, he says that "technological optimists believe future automation will move beyond substituting for the 'routine-manual' human tasks technology performed in the late 20th century to almost the entire spectrum of work" (Carney, 2018, p. 5).

So, what will humans do in the future? We already know the answer: "It may be left to people to provide 'hearts' – that is, tasks that require emotional intelligence, originality or social skills such as persuasion or caring for others" (Carney, 2018, p. 5).

Conclusion

As our EFPR dynamics analysis has shown, the term "fourth industrial revolution" has been used in the last 80 years – though with different meanings – to symbolize the next "big thing" on the horizon. Currently, it is associated with highly automated and smart production and distribution systems, mainly based on Artificial Intelligence, that will require either very little human workforce or a different type of human worker. The data at our disposal show that much emphasis goes on "emotional intelligence" as the key factor to keep humans in the loop. As a consequence, according to a growing number of scholars, the new challenge of educational systems in technologically advanced countries is to nurture and enhance emotional intelligence in children and adults. It is

difficult to say if scholars are just following a new scientific fashion, or if their convergent analyses are telling something significant about the new world we are entering. As it is often repeated, nobody can predict the future with certainty. But exactly for this reason, it is useful to have at least on paper more than one plan. This scenario analysis invites to craft an educational plan B based on emotional intelligence to be rapidly implemented in case the industrial system evolves in the direction indicated by the experts.

References

Argyle, M. (Ed.). (1973). *Social Encounters. Contributions to Social Interaction*, London and New York: Routledge.

Barany, Z., & Volgyes, I. (Eds.). (1995). *The Legacies of Communism in Eastern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Barnes, H. E. (1948). *Historical Sociology: Its Origins and Development: Theories of Social Evolution from Cave Life to Atomic Bombing.* New York: Philosophical Library.

Beldoch, M. (1973). Sensitivity to Expression of Emotional Meaning in Three Modes of Communication. In M. Argyle (Ed.), *Social Encounters. Contributions to Social Interaction* (pp. 121–131). London and New York: Routledge.

Blaz, M., Bitton, A., & Reyes, R. (2003). *Developing Your Child's Emotional Intelligence. Ten Steps to Self-Control from Birth to Age Three*. Gretna, LA: Wellness Institute.

Campa, R., Szocik, K., & Braddock, M. (2019). Why Space Colonization will be Fully Automated. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change,* 143, June, 162–171. doi: 10.1016/j.techfore.2019.03.021

Cantú-Ortiz, F. J. (2018). Data Analytics and Scientometrics: The Emergence of Research Analytics. In F. J. Cantú-Ortiz (Ed.), *Research Analytics. Boosting University Productivity and Competitiveness through Scientometrics* (pp. 1–11). Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Carney, M. (2018, September 14). *The Future of Work. (Speech given by the Governor of the Bank of England)*. Whitaker Lecture, Central Bank of Ireland. Retrieved from https://www.bis.org/review/r180914b.pdf

Carr, A. (1940). *America's Last Chance.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Carson, K. D., Phillips, C. P., & Schouest, P. J. (1997). *The ABCs of Collaborative Change: The Manager's Guide to Library Renewal*. Chicago and London: American Library Association.

Clinchy, E. (1999). The Loss of Context and Connection. In E. Clinchy (Ed.), *Reforming American Education from the Bottom to the Top* (pp. 71–93). Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Doty, G. (2001). *Fostering Emotional Intelligence in K-8 Students: Simple Strategies and Ready-to-Use Activities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Ellul, J. (1980). *The Technological System*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Corporation.

Epstein, S. (1998). *Constructive Thinking. The Key to Emotional Intelligence.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Gao, B. (1994). *The Social Origin of Economic Reasoning: Three Changing Paradigms in Japanese Economic Policy, 1931–1965. Ph. D. Thesis*. Princeton University.

Garfield, E. (1955). Citation Indexes for Science: A New Dimension in Documentation through Association of Ideas. *Science*, 122(3159), 108–111. doi: 10.1126/science.122.3159.108

Goleman, D. (1998). *Working with Emotional Intelligence.* New York: Bantam Books.

Goleman, D. (1995). *Emotional Intelligence. Why It Can Matter More Than IQ.* New York: Bantam Books.

Kalu, D. N. (2003). *Science and Technology in Nigeria*. Portsmouth: Heinemann Educational Books.

Kando, T. M. (1980). *Leisure and Popular Culture in Transition*. St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby.

Kozmetsky, G., & Yue, P. (1997). *Global Economic Competition: Today's Warfare in Global Electronics.* Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Lee, H. H. (1993). *Democracy, Economic Competitiveness, and Industrial Relations: Political Economy of Comparative Industrial Relations – Theory and Practice* (Vol. 1). Austin: UMI University of Texas.

Lieberman, I. W. (1993). Privatization: The Theme of the 1990s. *The Columbia Journal of World Business*, 28(1), 8–17. doi: 10.1016/0022-5428(93)90050-Y

Lieberman, I. W. (2008). Privatization in the Transition Economies: An Introduction. In I. W. Lieberman & D. J. Kopf (Eds.), *Privatization in Transition Economies: The Ongoing Story* (pp. 1–8). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Lynn, A. B. (2000). *50 Activities for Developing Emotional Intelligence.* Amherst, MA: HRD Press.

Mayer, J. D. (2001). A Field Guide to Emotional Intelligence. In J. Ciarrochi, J. P. Forgas & J. D. Mayer (Eds.), *Emotional Intelligence in Everyday Life: A Scientific Inquiry* (pp. 3–24). New York and Hove: Psychology Press.

Mayer, J. D., Salovey, P., & Caruso, D. R. (2008). Emotional Intelligence: New Ability or Eclectic Traits? *American Psychologist,* 63(6), 503–517. doi: 10.1037/0003-055x.63.6.503

Mehta, A. (1970). *Economic Planning for India*. New Delhi: Young India Publications.

Merton, R.K. (1973). *The Sociology of Science. Theoretical and Empirical Investigations.* Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.

Mudenda, G. (1995). Formulating Technology Policy in Africa: New Directions. In M. Osita Ogbu, B.O. Oyeyinka, & H.M. Mlawa (Eds.), *Technology Policy and Practice in Africa* (pp. 82–90). Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Nasman, N., Dowling, D., Combes, B., & Herweijer, C. (2017). Fourth Industrial Revolution for the Earth. Harnessing the 4th Industrial Revolution for Sustainable Emerging Cities. *World Economic Forum.* Retrieved from https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/sustainability/assets/4ir-for-the-earth.pdf

Nelson, D.B., & Low, G.R. (2010). *Emotional Intelligence: Achieving Academic and Career Excellence in College and in Life* (2nd ed.). London: Pearson.

Oosthuizen, J.H.C. (2016). Entrepreneurial Intelligence: Expanding Schwab's Four-Type Intelligence Proposition to Meaningfully Address the Challenges of The Fourth Industrial Revolution. In *Proceedings of the 28th Annual Conference of the Southern African Institute of Management Scientists* (pp. 370–383). Pretoria, South Africa: SAIMS.

Ousley, C.A. (1962). *National Security in Outer Space*. Washington D.C.: Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

Penprase, B.E. (2018). The Fourth Industrial Revolution and Higher Education. In N.W. Gleason (Ed.), *Higher Education in the Era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution* (pp. 207–229). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rifkin, J. (2011). *The Third Industrial Revolution. How Lateral Power is Transforming Energy, the Economy, and the World.* London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Rostow, W.W. (1983). *Industrial Policy, Economic Growth and the Competitiveness of U.S. Industry: Hearings Before the Joint Economic Committee* (Congress of the United States, Ninety-eighth Congress, First Session, Part 1). U.S. Government Printing Office.

Rostow, W.W. (1992). *Theorists of Economic Growth from David Hume to the Present: With a Perspective on the Next Century*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rugg, H.O., & Withers, W. (1955). *Social Foundations of Education*. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Ryback, D. (1998). *Putting Emotional Intelligence to Work Successful Leadership Is More Than IQ*. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Salovey, P., Brackett, M.A., & Mayer J.D. (Eds.). (2007). *Emotional Intelligence: Key Readings on the Mayer and Salovey Model.* New York: Dude Publishing.

Salovey, P., & Mayer, J.D. (1990). Emotional Intelligence. *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality,* 9, 185–211. doi: 10.2190/DUGG-P24E-52WK-6CDG

Salovey, P., & Mayer, J. D. (1997). What is Emotional Intelligence? In P. Salovey & D. J. Sluyter (Eds.), *Emotional Development and Emotional Intelligence: Educational Implications* (pp. 3–31). New York: Basic Books.

Samans, R., & Schwab, K. (2016). Preface. In *The Future of Jobs. Employment, Skills and Workforce Strategy for the Fourth Industrial Revolution.* Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Future_of_Jobs.pdf

Schilling, D. (1996). *50 Activities for Teaching Emotional Intelligence.* Torrance, CA: Innerchoice Publishing.

Schwab, K. (2017). *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*. New York: Crown Publishing Group.

Schwab, K. (2018a). Foreword. In A. Doucet, J. Evers, E. Guerra, N. Lopez, M. Soskil & K. Timmers (Eds.), *Teaching in the Fourth Industrial Revolution: Standing at the Precipice* (pp. xv–xvi). Abington: Routledge.

Schwab, K. (2018b). Globalization 4.0 – What does it mean? *World Economic Forum.* Retrieved from https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/11/globalization-4-what-does-it-mean-how-it-will-benefit-everyone/

Snow, D. M. (1996). *Uncivil Wars: International Security and the New Internal Conflicts*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

Stubb, A. (2016). For an Optimistic Revolution. In *OECD Yearbook 2016. Productive Economies Inclusive Societies* (pp. 20–21). OECD Publisher. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/internet/for-an-optimistic-revolution.htm

Sylos-Labini, P. (1984). New Aspects of Cyclical Development of the Economy. *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro Quarterly Review*, March, 148, 15–31 (Republished in Wood, J. C. (Ed.). (1994). *Critical Assessment: Second Series* (pp. 86–100). London and New York: Routledge).

Thakur, D. (1992). *Planning and Development of Key Sectors in India: Industrial Sector Development*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

WEF. (2016). The Future of Jobs. Employment, Skills and Workforce Strategy for the Fourth Industrial Revolution. *World Economic Forum*. Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Future_of_Jobs.pdf

Wilson, C., Lennox, P. P., Hughes, G., & Brown, M. (2017). How to Develop Creative Capacity for the Fourth Industrial Revolution: Creativity and Employability in Higher Education. In F. Reisman (Ed.), *Creativity, Innovation and Wellbeing* (pp. 241–274). London: KIE Conference Publications.

Xing, B., & Marwala, T. (2017). Implications of the Fourth Industrial Age for Higher Education. *The Thinker*, 73, 10–15. Retrieved from http://www.thethinker.co.za/resources/73%20xing%20and%20marwala.pdf

Zhai, Y. (2019). It's Clean, Powerful and Available: Are You Ready for Hydrogen Energy? *World Economic Forum.* Retrieved from https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/06/it-s-clean-powerful-and-available-are-you-ready-for-hydrogen-energy/

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 31–52
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.088

ARTICLE

The Security Dimension and the Formation of Social Exclusion in the Border of Belu Regency, Indonesia

Farid Abud Alkatiri
Universitas Muhammadiyah Kupang, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia

ABSTRACT
Security is a key dimension of any Indonesian borderland development program. Apart from security, the Indonesian military must attend to sociopolitical requirements. The area of Belu Regency borderland is a case in point where many East Timorese refugees or "new citizens" have been settled. Sociopolitical tasks of the military are to assist the local government in overcoming any problems of the refugees. This article demonstrates a connection between the security dimension and social exclusion in the border area of Belu. The question of this study is how the security issue is related to social exclusion and how it takes place. The qualitative method is deployed to collect data, through in-depth interview with government and military institution informants, as well as at community levels, together with secondary data. The result of the study shows that the local government has used the Indonesian military to limit the movement and choices of these refugees, and to intimidate them. Therefore, the role of the institution contributes to initial stages of social exclusion, such as limiting the movement of the new citizens and the locals in terms of land and housing access, through intimidation, and limiting any signs of political aspirations.

KEYWORDS
border, security, military-institution, resettlement, refugees, social exclusion

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I would like to thank to the all parties for information sharing, particularly the East Timorese or called "new citizens", the local authorities and traditional leaders of Belu. I would like to appreciate Prof. Iwan Gardono Sujatmiko and Francisia S.S.E. Seda, Ph.D, both from Universitas Indonesia, for our robust discussions.

Received 19 August 2019
Accepted 15 January 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

faridabud79@unmuhkupang.ac.id
faridabud79@gmail.com

Introduction

The Security dimension is an important priority because Indonesia has several direct borders, albeit with a few neighboring countries. According to the Grand Design of Indonesia Borderland Development 2011–2025, the security dimension is a vital in order to maintain security for state and community as stated in the Badan Nasional Pengelolaan Perbatasan Indonesia or the National Authority for Borderland Management (BNPP Report, 2011).

One of the Indonesian borderlands is located in the Belu Regency, West Timor, which has a length of 149.1 km of direct borderland with East Timor, which gained independence in a 1999 referendum. As a result of the referendum, there were waves of refugees crossing over the border into Indonesia, settling nearby in the five sub-districts of the Belu Regency. It was estimated that the number of refugees was more than 27.120 family heads or 135.689 people in 1999, spreading around 200 refugee camps in Belu (Achmad, 2000). However, it went down to around 16.000 family heads or 80.000 to 100.000 people by 2016 in the Belu Regency (Dokumen Internal Forum Korban Politik Timor-Timur, 2016). Social conflict flared up in the borderland during the following years.

In order to tackle the issue of refugees, the central government of Indonesia approved Presidential Decree Number 03 2001, the establishment of the National Institution for Disaster and Refugee Coordination or the *BAKORNAS PBB* at the national level. There is a lower level of hierarchies until the regency level. In case of Belu, the military has been appointed as the voice of the refugees' disaster management board, under the regent of Belu.

Generally, the problems faced by refugees in the border areas have been researched by several scholars, especially the issue of aid distribution and access to economic resources. The Working Paper of the International Refugee Rights Initiative (Who Belongs Where, 2010) have stressed that status and political rights have affected the refugees' land access. Furthermore, Horstmann (2011) has analyzed humanitarian aid distribution in the same border area which has been manipulated by certain organizations there. Besides that, Moretti (2015) has conducted research on Burmese refugees on Thai-Myanmar border, stressing the need of refugees' status as migrant workers in the host state because of their unsafe homeland.

The military tasks for security reasons in border areas are quite common, and this has worked when there is consultation with the community on certain goals. Datta (2018) argues that the importance of Indian military in protecting the Indian state's interests in border area with the Bangladeshi border. Research on the issue of military roles in border areas has also also been made by Beehner (2018) on Myanmar's border. The result of the study has shown that the institution has applied its force to carry out an aggressive approach in maintaining the state's consolidation of its boundaries as well gaining certain interests. It has been said that Myanmar's civil-military relations has deteriorated, creating crises for the authority. Meanwhile, Frowd and Sandor (2018) write that the use of the military institution for various security, social, and political reasons can be found in border areas of the Sahel region in Africa.

According to Mann (quoted in Mabee & Vucetic, 2018) armed civilian groups are established in pursuit of the social and political goals of certain powerful actors. Therefore, the military approach has needed, to some extent, to secure Belu Regency. Besides that, the security institutions' involvement with communities in multidimensional aspects of development, to a degree, may create social exclusion problems, where Hall et al. (2013) calls it as the power of forces. Hall et al. (2013) have found the common patterns that one of the causes of land exclusion, particularly land eviction, in the most of Southeast Asia countries, is the use of security institutions to achieve or maintain the interests of governments or other powerful actors.

In the context of Belu Regency, the involvement of security institutions has been found to act as the safeguard and sociopolitical contributor, particularly in the phases of refugee disaster management since 1999. It is believed that the only institution which could deal with the chaotic situation at the time was the military, because of civilian armed groups' movements resorting to violence and creating tensions in many places in Belu.

Besides that, there have been several studies conducted at the community level which have mainly focused on the implications of the resettlement programs for East Timorese refugees. It is strongly believed the programs have not been implemented properly. On the contrary, a program has come to be the embryo of the initial forms of social exclusion of the both refugee and local communities. It can be seen through the development of sporadic resettlement which has caused conflict over land between the two communities (Messakh, 2003; Rame, 2004; Sianipar, 2016).

Moreover, recent studies on the issue of land access of the refugee community have been meticulously analyzed by Alkatiri (2018b), who argues that land exclusion experienced by the refugee's community has been caused by the local cultural institution, or called the *Lembaga Adat*. The local institution has control of a vast area of productive land in Belu Regency, so to some extent, the refugees have been considered as "outsiders". They have been banned from owning the communal land that they have been living on for many years. As a result, they cannot use the land freely for agriculture, making them powerless. In other literature, Alkatiri (2018a) also points out that there has been a conflict of interests among certain figures of the refugee community, who mobilize other refugees to speak up for particular local candidates in the local elections, using social and economically poor conditions as means to gain essential resources for private interests, such as land and housing access. This practice has trapped the majority of the refugees in the land exclusion chain of poverty. Another recent study based on the Indonesian views on the border security of Belu, has indicated that the border of Belu is considered as the hardest border because of East Timor's internal situation, the border's illegal economic activity, and East Timorese refugees who are settled in Belu Regency, so the role of the military institution is seen as crucial (Ulfa et al., 2018).

The use of the military institution by the Indonesian government in the disaster management phases in Belu has sometimes raised conflict between the institution

and the refugees. As a result, to some extent, it has created initial formations of social exclusion within both the refugees' community and the local people. Although there have been a few studies showing that there has been a connection between social exclusion issues caused by violent actions and improperly policy responses, there is still insufficient literature analyzing the connection between the roles of the security institution in creating certain forms of social exclusion within the refugee community, particularly in the border and rural areas. Rodgers (1995) and Commins (2004) have argued that the issue of social exclusion has still rarely been studied in the context of rural areas. The social exclusion and security border issues have been seen separately and rarely analyzed as an integrated issue in much of the existing literature.

This article highlights the advent of social exclusion of East Timorese refugees caused by the security approach paradigm in the border area of Belu Regency. Therefore, in order to analyze the connections, this article is broken down into two main analyses. First, the influence of the military institution post reformation era and its implication on the issue of security paradigm approach in the border area of Belu during 1999 to 2007. Second, it analyzes the effects of the roles of the military institution in the phases of East Timorese refugees' disaster management and its contribution to the formation of social exclusion for the refugees.

Research Method

This qualitative field research has been conducted from October 2016 to February 2017 in two refugee camps and three resettlements in Belu regency, West Timor. The selection of the locations is based on social exclusion experienced by the refugees and their frequent interactions with the military institution in the several locations of resettlement in Kabuna village, Fatuba'a village, Haliwen village, and Manleten village.

The data has been collected from 20 interviewees through in-depth-interviews and group discussions, consisting of refugees, local officials, the military institution, and local people. The interviews have based on structured and semi-structured questionaries, depending on whom the interview taken place. However, most of the refugees have been passive at the beginning of the interviews' session because of two reasons, the traumatic background and military-civilian relation issues. Therefore, the roles of a guider or the former refugee coordinator have been necessary not only to guide researcher entering into refugee's resettlements or camps, but also to make contact with the former armed civilian group leaders. The semi-structured interviews or open discussions have taken place in order to obtain as much as information. Moreover, provocative questions have been in the list in order to keep maintaining the interviews going on because of distrust toward outsiders.

In addition, secondary data has been used as a complementary source, specifically related to the issues of border security, particularly several documents from organization, government, military institutions, in order to obtain a global understanding of the border conditions.

Theoretical Perspectives

Border and security are two integrated issues at the present time. Border has become one of the most important parts of a state, and it is said that the border of a state is seen as a political process (Paasi, 1996). Ulfa et al. (2018) declare that a border needs to be properly managed. This is crucial. Moreover, Prokkola (2009) and Veronis (2013) argue that border is a place where national identity and citizenship are established. This relates to state governability. According to Newman and Paasi (1998), a border is established for important purposes, preventing a state from external and internal threats. Buchanan (cited in Ullah and Kumpoh, 2018) considers that the threats may impact on human life and political authority. Buzan et al. (cited in Hama, 2017) have classified border's threats into three categories: migration, horizontal competition, and vertical competition, which have placed border security as the most important issue for some states.

In the context of migration, Buzan et al. (quoted in Hama, 2017) have declared that society experiences potentials threats when outside migrants enter into a state, changing the composition of the population. The same view expressed by Claudia Aradau (quoted in Hama, 2017) who believes that migrants may produce threats which the refugee community fears. Hadiwinata (2009) and Mietzner (edited in Aspinall & Fealy, 2003) have stated that if conditions have dramatically shifted chaos and become threats to national interests, then the military institution has to be involved for any level of government to play again a significant role to establish stability. Despite looking at refugees as potential threats to national security, Kerwin (2016) and Hama (2017) underline that the rights of refugees have to be fulfilled by the host states.

Border security also becomes a more important aspect, as Kurki and Newman note (quoted in Ullah & Kumpoh, 2018) as the world's agenda discourses take place after 11 September 2001 attack. In other words, the border security has become a multidisciplinary research in its themes and policies (Prokkola, 2009; Stavrianakis & Stern, 2018), because it has not only related to the spatial fixity, but has been expanding dynamically by involving multidisciplinary debates in contemporary research (Cimadomo, 2017; Kolossov & Scott, 2013).

To do its duty, a state has to take responsibility for managing and securing its border. Brunet-Jailly and Dupeyron (2007, p. 4) have stated that managing the internal security is one of the most significant policies for any government. Therefore, Lindstedt (cited in Bruun, 2016) views that the participation of the military institution as a state's representation is needed in a proper manner to increase its controls and interests. Meanwhile, Siregar (2014) also states that border security is a crucial sector not only for protecting citizens who live around the areas. Sabarno also (cited in Rani, 2012) calls it is a part of a nation state building conception. He has pointed out that border security has become a strategic issue for any country which has direct borders with other states.

There have been many studies showing the unsuccessful outcomes of the institution in fulfilling its works. It may because of an isolated area where wars

take place (Martinez, 1994), or it is related to the border's activities that tend to be complicated due to the multidimensional issues (Deliarnoor & Abidin, 2018, p. 25; Laine, 2015, p. 14).

The emphasis on Indonesian border security is needed to assist the government in tackling multidimensional issues. According to some Indonesian scholars, the underdeveloped border areas have occurred because of inward looking or backyard policy approaches from the central government (Arifin, 2013; Purnamasari et al., 2016; Subagiyo et al., 2017) as part of the old paradigm of border development approach. Sasongko (cited in Agung, 2013) declared that, in the old paradigm approaches, the border area had been managed through a militaristic approach.

However, in order to manage it properly, the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono regime established the national board for border management institution or the BNPP (*Badan Nasional Pengelolaan Perbatasan* or the National Border Management Board) in 2010, marking the new phase of the implementation of the new paradigm of border development management. There are several functions of the board, including determining development policies of the border territory and coordinating all related sectors to work based on the Grand Design of the Border Management (Batubara, 2017). However, the function of the board is limited and still needs to be improved further.

In the context of the border area of Belu, Wuryandari (2010) has agreed that the issue of border development of Belu can be analyzed by looking at R. J. May's perspectives of border development. The perspectives are related to territorial, position, function, and resources. The territorial and the position perspectives have related to the agreed borderline between Indonesia and East Timor. Meanwhile, the function and the resource views are related to the function of the border as the territorial borderline and a place of struggle for resource access on the behalf of the interests of certain actors. Wuryandari (2010) believes that the four types of May's perspectives can be used to understand the condition of the Indonesia–East Timor borders. However, the four perspectives have not actually been utilized in the analysis of the study because it did not discuss the connection of the security aspect with social exclusion.

Since the separation of East Timor from Indonesian territory in 1999, relationships on Belu's border have been extremely tense. Records show that several physical and militaristic border incidents have led to serious discussions taking place. The military institution has been active in order to secure the border. According to O. J. Martinez (1994), this type of the border is categorized as alienated borderland where conflict still erupts. As a consequence, the military presence has taken place on the border, reflecting the challenges faced by these conflicts (Ulfa et al., 2018). It is well-known that the border of Belu Regency is considered as one of the most complex and underdeveloped borders in Indonesia. It has lacked human and natural resources (Mulyawan, 2013), as well as proper policies and development concepts (Efendi, Kurniati & Semium, 2013; Hariyadi, 2008).

However, one of the major issues for the local government of Belu is East Timorese refugees' influx since 1999. It is because of the unpreparedness of the

government to receive them. The local government has difficulties in organizing and managing the refugees' needs because of insufficient resources, particularly during 1999 to 2007. This study has found that the complexity of the refugees' issues in Belu have often made them subject to violent actions, either to defend themselves in difficult times from violence or to search for some resources for better living conditions. In fact, Riley (2007) has argued that many developing countries are not prepared to host refugee communities because of the fear of political and economic instability.

Besides facing the security issues, the border area of Belu has faced several forms of social exclusion. Silver (1994) has highlighted the importance of citizenship through social integration within a society, and as an important aspect to measure social exclusion, particularly the issue of citizens' rights. In order to shape social integration, it is important to meet basic necessities, such as resources. Figueroa (1999) has underlined the importance of three types of asset, which are economic assets as sources of productive resources, political assets as related to rights of people, and then cultural assets referred to the social system.

By having those assets in place, to some extent, they can strengthen social integration as referred to in Hillary Silver's solidarity paradigm (De Haan, 2000). Therefore, the rights and duties of citizens can be fulfilled, including accesses of basic needs for a refugee community such as land and housing have remained the most important issues for the community.

In order to fulfill citizens access to basic needs, it is important to guarantee the political process of participations of citizens. Hera (2016) states that the Silver's solidarity paradigm has focused on one of the important themes of the paradigm, which is political rights and duties of the citizens through political participation. The United Nations 2016 report (United Nations, 2016) has stated clearly that the state as a political institution has to guarantee and promote the political participation of its citizens, including inclusive land ownership schemes. If the political participation and the rights are not fulfilled, then a person or a group will face social exclusion (Figueroa, 1999).

The study of land's social exclusion has been conducted by Hall et al. (2013). In their studies, the issue of land exclusion has occurred because of four aspects of power, which are regulation, force, market, and legitimation. In the context of force, the use of the security institutions for the sake of certain actors is part of the power of force. According to Hall et al., the problem of land exclusion is the imbalance of the power relations between powerful actors and vulnerable groups, where the military institution is used to defend or achieve certain interests. The interest may be formally recognized through force of formal and informal regulations, and the state and other actors as the user of power of force may appoint the security institutions to achieve the government's policies or certain interests.

The connection of the security and social exclusion issues are located in the roles of the security institutions, particularly the military, as the actor in the border which represents the state. In acting as the safeguard of the state, the institution may potentially create social exclusion, particularly in dealing with the refugee's community who insists on their rights to land and better housing access Belu. Muddiman (1999)

has collected various studies on social exclusion, highlighting crime as a contributing aspect of social exclusion.

The condition of the majority of refugees in Belu who have limited access of land as an economic asset and housing standard, may lead to discomfort, crime, and conflict (Rodgers, 1995; Unruh & Williams, 2013). Therefore, any potential conflict and crime in the border area has to be overcome by the military institution approach that also may create other forms of social exclusion.

Findings and Discussions

The Indonesian Military and Security Dimension of the Border of Belu Regency

The performance of the military institution is considered important in Indonesia. Historically, it is the TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or the Indonesian National Defence Force) which was previously known as the ABRI *(Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* or the Armed Force of Republic of Indonesia), has been the key player of revolution from 1945 to 1949 against the Dutch and the Japanese (Crouch, 2007) and becoming national development actor since the Sukarno regime (Carnegie, 2010). O'Rourke (2002) and Beittinger-Lee (2009) explain that the institution had become the most powerful political institution in 1968, and the army had full control by 1970 under the regime of Suharto.

The institution has a strong tie in influencing Indonesian history and development through the *dwifungsi* or "dual functions" as adopted since 1960s as the central doctrine of the institution (Honna, 2003; Meitzner, 2006; O'Rourke, 2002; Widjajanto, 2007). The doctrine has been the basis for the institution to involve itself in the national security, extending into sociopolitical affairs to promote national development and stability, besides having full control of the economic sector through formal and informal business (Crouch, 2007; Dreisbach, 2015).

However, the dual functions' doctrine has been replaced by the new paradigm, or called reformation, post the fall of Suharto's regime in 1998 (Honna, 2003). It has led, to some extent, to dramatic change in Indonesia security sector (Mietzner, 2006, p. 1), changing its structural function based on the 2002 Law of State Defence and the 2004 Law of the TNI (Widjajanto, 2007), to be a professional defense force and establish better civilian-military relations (Honna, 2003; Widjajanto, 2007). In other words, the military institution has been reformatted post the fall of Suharto regime, insisting that it is to be professional and accountable. As a result, it is expected that the institution will have better relations with civilians.

The Indonesian border has been underdeveloped for many years. It is well-known that the border of Belu regency is considered as one of the complex and underdeveloped borders in Indonesia. Moreover, Sasangko (cited in Agung, 2013) sees that the development of the area has lacked adequate regulation and integration at the institutional level. It has also lacked human and natural resources (Santri et al., 2005), and lack of proper policies and development concepts (Efendi, Kurniati & Semiun, 2013; Hariyadi, 2008) at least until 2014 where the issue of land and housing distribution came to the fore (Alkatiri, 2018a).

It is believed that the security aspect as one of the main contributing aspect of underdevelopment of Belu regency. The central government has given a special priority to the sector as maintained in the old border development approach. It is because of the dynamics of the Indonesian and East Timor border. Hariyadi (2008) states that the security sector is considered extremely important in the border of Belu Regency, particularly since East Timor has become an independent nation. The border now receives greater attention as result of the historical background of the two nations. Therefore, the role of military institution has been dominant, although the reformation in the military institution has been progressing post the fall of the Suharto's government (Hariyadi, 2008).

As stated earlier, re-formation of the military has been a work in progress. However, the nuances of the dual functions' doctrine are still in place. The military institution has still been invited to work on infrastructure projects, maintain sociopolitical order, and so on, back to the old paradigm approach. Therefore, the involvement of the institution in the development of the resettlement for the refugees in Belu is no surprise (Philpott, 2000).

According to Plowright (2008) the influences of the institution have not been easily wiped out from the national development agenda, although the re-formation began in 1999. On the contrary, the military influence has regained its status under the leadership of Megawati and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government to some extent. In addition, as cited in the national newspaper, the Kompas, the Minister of Politics, Law, and Human Rights under the Joko Widodo's regime, Mr. Wiranto, has asked for additional soldiers to be placed to fulfill their duty to safeguard the state and the protect the society in the border area (Wiranto..., 2019).

There are few reasons why there is a demand for additional soldiers. Hariyadi (2008) has recorded several potential security problems that may threaten the border, such as illegal trading and border crossings, unresolved sections of the border, political instability in East Timor, the effect of disintegration of other provinces, as well as East Timorese's refugees and armed civilian groups in Belu. Nainggolan (2008, p. 97) has pointed out that such security problems are related to the unsolved issues of the refugee community and that are only resolved through the security approach.

In order to fulfill the refugees' needs, the local government of Belu has called for the military institution support, pointing to the institution as the voice of the refugees' management board or called *SATLAK PBP* at Belu regency. At the level of the military institution representation is by the KODIM 1653 Belu under the regent of Belu.

The main duty of the institution was to support the local government to overcome any issues related to East Timorese refugees in Belu, later becoming Indonesian citizens, known as "the new citizens" of Belu (Alkatiri, 2018a; Datta, 2018; Sianipar, 2016). However, the assistance of the military institution in the phases of disaster management in 1999–2007, the issue of the refugee community has been complicated, especially the social and economic needs, including land and housing access. In fact, the involvement of the military institution has created other social exclusion issues. In political and legal theory, citizenship refers to the rights and duties of the members of a nation state (Scott & Marshall, 2009). Citizenship has

traditionally referred to a particular set of political practices involving specific public rights and duties with respect to a given political community (Bellamy, 2008).

The Roles of the Military Institution and The Formation of Social Exclusion of the Refugee

As it is well-known that the border of Belu has been settled by lots of East Timorese refugees since 1999, spreading out into almost 200 camps. Therefore, the military institution was appointed to assist the local government to secure the camps and also to become involved actively in the social assistance distributions until 2007. Achmad (2000) has declared that the involvement of the institution has indicated that the local government to be incapable of managing the issue because the number of refugees was under estimated.

The result of this study shows that the roles of the Indonesia military in Belu are perceived *pro* and *contra* by several parties, including the refugees' group. For certain groups of people, the involvement of the military institution in disaster management phases has been important. There are some reasons why the military institution has become involved in the period of disaster management. According to Nainggolan (2008), the housing project construction has been built by the military institution, which has also delivered social services for the local government at this time.

The former regent of Belu from 2003 to 2013, who has formulated government' policies on the refugee issues, has stated that the local government was not prepared for the influx of refugees. The local government believed that the situation post-referendum East Timor would be smooth going without any conflict. It is believed that the referendum would bring a victory result for the pro-Indonesian option. If this were the case, the number of refugees would be insignificant and they would be easily managed. To be faced with more problems meant that the local government had no other choice except to involve the military institution for assistance.

A similar view has been expressed by some prominent refugees who have worked closely with the military institution. They have stated that the appointment of a military institution to be actively taking part in the disaster management phases had been the correct decision. It is because the institution has been well-trained to face any situations and has enough equipment to assist the local government in the troubled situation. The former regent of Belu, the period of 2003–2010, has said that the military is the only institution trusted to assist refugees, particularly handling armed civilian groups that scare them as well as the local people. According to Huntington (cited in Tornquist, 2013), if any group of society has no capacity to overcome the discontent of a group of people, then the military institution may take control of it because of its solid organization.

An interview with a top official of the military institution in Belu, who has involved in the mobilization process of refugees to several resettlement during 1999 to 2003, reveals that the influx of refugees has pushed the local government to involve the military institution with the main purpose being to stabilize the social and political conditions at the time. As soldiers, they have received and obeyed order from the top military leader from Jakarta to work and assist the local government.

The top official military has continuously argued that the purpose of the involvement of the institution is preventing social conflict, and securing and accompanying the refugees' presence in the resettlement locations in order to avoid rejection by locals. In other words, the presence of the institution in resettlement, to some extent, is not only to prevent objection or protest from the refugees, but also to prevent the rejections by the local people or the owners of the land. Thus, it seems to be a "time boom" for the two communities.

The collected data has shown that, the local people or tribes' members have to accept forcibly or negotiate their land with the government for resettlement development purposes. As a result, some of them have to negotiate with government. Other tribes and local people have handed over their land "forcibly" to the refugees. As a result, they have been excluded from their own land.

According to one prominent refugee figure who is a member of the Local Assembly Representative of Belu Regency, the issue of security has become a crucial aspect during the phases of management because of the activities of the members of militia groups, sporadically intimidating and acting violently towards other refugees This is mainly due to misinformation fed to the suspicious members of East Timorese pro independent groups who entered unintentionally or forcibly migrated into Indonesian territory for security reasons. Furthermore, the assistance of the military also needed to prevent conflicts between the refugee community and the local people mostly in regards to the illegal land occupation issues. Therefore, the refugee community and the local people needed to be accompanied and controlled. Hadiwinata (cited in Wuryandari, 2009) has argued that the potential conflict around the border area could occur because of the huge number of the refugees, social integration failure with the local people, and insufficient attention from the Indonesian government in tackling the social and economic life of the refugees.

On the other hand, several informants have expressed their disagreement, to some extent, of the involvement and over roles of the military institution in the development of border area and the refugee's disaster management phases. This has led to several other problems, including social exclusion of the refugee community.

By performing its main duty and additional tasks, the military institution is seen to have an excess of power (Alkatiri, 2018a; Pusat Pengelola Pendapat Umum, 2007). The institution has dominated and overlapped its duty with that of other institutions' functions in the regency. As a consequence of the militaristic priority, the majority of area in the regency has not been multidimensionally developed by the government, becoming an isolated and underdeveloped area (Patriadi, 2010; Wuryandari, 2009; Wuryandari 2010). In fact, Pamungkas (cited in Wuryandari, 2009) has argued that it has been intentionally created making the border insecure, so that it can have a legitimacy to fully control the border based on the old paradigm perspectives. In fact, the situation of the border area has been quite safe because the Indonesians and East Timorese people who live in the border have similar social and cultural backgrounds.

Another consequence of the excess of the power was highlighted in the 2007–2008 report of LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia – Indonesian Institute of Sciences*) that some people felt insecure doing their activities in the border area

because of the militaristic presence, having experienced pressure and intimidation from the members of the institution (Wuryandari, 2009; Wuryandari & Noor, 2009).

Furthermore, several figures of the refugee community who have close ties with the military institution have explained that the institution has been used by the local government to pressure and intimidate the refugee community, particularly from 1999 to 2001. To some degree the refugees have been forced to take the repatriation program in order to reduce the burden of the local government; however, the majority of the refugees have decided to live in Indonesia.

It is difficult for majority of the refugees to return home because of their involvement in civilian armed groups, their nationalistic perceptions, and the non-acceptance by East Timorese society have seen as barriers. They are not welcome in East Timor anymore because of their previous involvement in human rights issues. Therefore, it is difficult for majority of the East Timorese people to accept them back home.

According to a prominent leader of the group, they have struggled to realize the victory of the first option of the referendum, strongly maintaining East Timor as part of the Indonesian territory, defending what they called “Red and White Flag” or “Garuda” as the symbol of the Indonesian state. They have shown their nationalist and patriotic stance. Therefore, they thought that they should have been treated as the “hero” because of their struggle on behalf of Indonesian interests. To some extent, this thought has led them to various demands on the government as a consequence of their choice leaving their homeland and their consistency of the struggle. However, not all demands have been fulfilled because of the local government resource limitations.

By facing these conditions and living under pressure, the refugee community have very little to choose from, except accepting any offers from the government of Indonesia, either repatriation, transmigration, or local resettlement. Moreover, these conditions have led to manipulation of information and social fictive reports towards them. An interview has taken place with a prominent local official of the government of Belu who has not denied that local government, organizations, and security institutions, have used the issue of refugees for certain interests or as well-known in local terms as “political commodity”. Those institutions have competed with each other in order to achieve resources on behalf of refugees’ disaster management. They thought that the more complicated the refugees’ issues, the more they will obtain and control financial supports from international and national donors. If there is protest from the refugees, then the security institution can be used to stop the protesters.

An official of the local government said that the national and international donors have provided a lot of social aid; however, the majority of the aid has been taken by prominent leaders, government, and security institutions. Pamungkas (2009) also has generally indicated in his study that the refugees have been treated as a “project” for certain people.

Some donations have been implemented in the form of projects or social aid supports through various institutions. This study has found that the involvement of the military institution can be seen through various projects, such as mobilizations of refugees, resettlement and housing construction projects, and other forms of social assistance.

There are lots of refugees mobilized to many different resettlement locations, including the resettlement of Taeksoruk, in the Fatuba'a village. According to the refugees, they have been mobilized into the resettlements without having proper information about the resettlement, including the status of the land and the condition of the house, all they have had to do is to follow the instruction of the local government and the military institution. The refugees have no opportunity to obtain information because the mobilization is militaristically nuanced, so they are afraid to question. As a result, they have ended up in the communal land or traditional land that is not clear about the access and ownership of land. According to the chief of the refugees in resettlement of Taeksoruk, they have been left there without any further information and attention from the government

The head of the village and several members of tribes in Fatuba'a village, have explained that the refugees have suffered because their condition has been so poor. They are witnesses to the abandonment of the refugees without any social or economic support, so they have been the party who assisted the refugees, including handling the land for refugees as agreed between them and the local government. However, the intimidation and conflict of land access has been recorded a few times between the refugees and the members of tribe because it is believed that the land should be owned by the refugees. The refugees have insisted that the land belongs to them because they have lived there for more than 16 years. However, they have been not allowed to actually own it. In fact, according to the central government program, the land of resettlement and transmigration does belong to refugees as the program shows.

Besides that, a huge conflict of land access and ownership registered in the resettlement of Sirani, the village of Umaklaran between the refugees and the local people in 2005. In the resettlement, there were 450 houses built by the military institution. However, the land belonged to the local owners and used for 3 years only as agreed to with the local government. But the refugees lacked the information in regards to the land status; what they knew was that the land belonged to them. As a consequence, conflict was inevitable, the local people started to intimidate and burn down the houses, pushing them to move to another location without any compensation.

Data from the Center for Internal Displaced Persons report (2011) have also shown that there were more than 12 huge resettlements since 1999. The military institution was also appointed as contractor for the resettlement construction project in many places, including the resettlement of Taeksoruk and Aitaman. However, the quality of housing of the resettlement has been questioned by the refugees and even the donors. It has been seen that the quality of the houses for resettlement did not tally with the allocated budget and had not met the quality standards.

The low quality and condition of the resettlement has been explained by a prominent figure of the Planning and Development Board of Belu Regency: the construction has been taking place without having any monitoring from any proper institution, because the main purpose was to achieve the construction target as fast as it could. Almost all informants have agreed that the resettlement projects constructed by the military institution are below standard quality, and the refugees have been

fearful and have no power to question the quality of any military construction project. It has been strongly indicated that the financial supports have been misused funding for other interests. The majority of the houses of the resettlement have not lasted more than 1 year, and others have lasted not more than an average of 2 years. The housing here has been categorized as the lowest housing standard, with a budget of 14,000,000 rupiah per unit, although local organizations and the refugees have believed that the total price of the house was much lower than that based on the price of the building materials and the quality of the house.

According to the prominent figure of the refugees' community in the resettlement of Aitaman, the local government have mobilized them into the location since 2002. The resettlement has not well-constructed, without having basic public facilities such as clean water, health and education facilities, proper road, and so on. Besides that, the electricity facility had just been constructed in 2017. Pamungkas (2009) has stated that the resettlements have been built by the government without meeting the basic conditions needed by the refugees.

It is well-known that the transmigration or resettlement program of the Indonesian government provides land, better public facilities access and land ownership for the refugees; however, it has not realized in the context of the refugees in Belu. In fact, the local government have entered into several agreements with different tribes, arranging the period of the land use for the refugees and the rights of the locals or tribes' members on social assistance to eliminate social jealousy. However, in many cases in Belu, the refugees have had conflicts with the local people or tribes because of land accesses, affecting the process of the social integration program.

Besides having mobilization and construction project issues, the members of military institution have been acting violently towards the refugees in the phase of resettlement construction projects; it has occurred in Kabuna village, particularly in the resettlement of Weliurai and resettlement of Salore. Several refugees have reported that the members of the institution have intimidated and beat them just because of misunderstandings in terms of different characteristics between militaristic and cultural approaches. The refugees had late to assist the soldiers to build the resettlement's houses due to their personal duties at home or attitudes that may not be understood properly by the soldiers. As a result, some refugees have been beat and preferred not to return to the project construction site.

Besides that, the repressive attitude of the security institution has limited the refugee community's freedom to express their opinions. The refugees have faced the military and police institution every time a protest has taken place. The protests were made to express their opinions because they have not been paid adequate attention by the government, particularly on the issue of land access and ownership as well as housing conditions, and including other social issues. The protests often have taken place from 2001 until 2005 in the central office of the local government and the DPRD Belu or the Local Assembly Representatives. However, the government has used the security institution to stop the protest, and even the several prominent refugee leaders have been jailed. These repressive approaches have been taken because the refugees' protests sometimes tended to be violent if their voices were not heard or

addressed. According to Stewart et al. (2005), social exclusion may generate conflict, and usually economic and political exclusion are the main contributing aspects.

According to the prominent leaders of the refugees, their movement to protest for their rights has been manipulated by some persons of the local government as a subversive movement, wanting to establish a new state called the "Great Timor State". This movement is seen as illegal and a threat to national security, particularly in the border areas. This has given legitimacy to the military and police institution to act repressively, limiting their rights to express their opinion and even affecting the social integration of the refugees into the local community.

The accusations on the refugees as "troublemakers" has given a huge space to the military institution to act repressively on behalf of the border security threats. This pattern of the security approach has been improper. Seran (as cited in Pamungkas, 2009) argued that this approach may create oppression potentially towards the refugees. What is lacking from this relationship between refugees as civilians and the military institution are common history, and mutual recognition that they should share to establish a strong relationship (Al-Murshed, 2013). In fact, the refugees have close cultural and social ties with the local people

To some extent, the involvement of the military institution in the formation of social exclusion can still be seen today, although the new paradigm of border development began to be implemented in 2010. The issue of land status and ownership have been unclear since the refugees were mobilized into their resettlement since 2001. These issues have a huge impact on their life, activities, and their agriculture. As a result, they live in uncertainty and easily make conflict with the local people or tribes, particularly in the resettlement of Taeksoruk and the resettlement of Aitaman.

Furthermore, the land access and ownership question, an isolated area of resettlement, and low quality of housing standards built by the military institution has forced some refugees to move out from their resettlements, going back to the camps and staying in the poor conditions there. As a result, they are trapped in a circle of social exclusion and poverty. This is believed as one of the main contributing factors which refugees in Belu have great difficulty to overcome, and creates social exclusion. The influence of the militaristic approach is still strong in the border area, although the military institution has been reforming and improving.

Conclusion

The involvement of security institutions in the border area is something inevitable, for the sake of the national security interests and citizens protections. The reformation of the military institution has been ongoing, trying to be professional and transparent institution after the fall of Suharto's regime. However, it is not easy to remove the institution from sociopolitical and economic interests. In the Belu context, the military institution has been working hard to fulfill its duty, serving the interests of the state as well as protecting the citizens' rights from external and internal threats.

However, there have been other forces at play between the military institution and the East Timorese refugees in the disaster management period from 1999 to

2007. This is due due to the situation of the border and the movement of refugee groups. The institution has been used by the local government to mobilize refugees' settlements with an unclear land status, homes constructed below standard, and denial of the freedom of expression to the refugees. To some extent, it has led the majority of refugees into social exclusion, forcing them to accept the improper government policies, shaping the initial stages of social exclusion during the disaster management period. However, for many refugees, land access and housing problems have been the most important issues that still affected their livelihood until the present time.

The overload of duty and roles of the security institution in the border lands shows that there is a strong connection between the security aspect as a contributing factor to the formation of social exclusion in the border area.

References

Achmad, J. (2000). In Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor. In J. J. Fox & D. Babo-Soares (Eds.), *East Timorese Refugees in West Timor* (pp. 190–206). Canberra: ANU Press.

Agung. (2013). *Posisi Kelembagaan dan Kendala Dalam Mengelola Perbatasan Negara, Wednesday* [The Institution and State Borderland Management Challenges]. Retrieved from https://www.ugm.ac.id/id/berita/7880-posisi-kelembagaan-kendala-dalam-mengelola-perbatasan-negara

Alkatiri, F. A. (2018a). Land Exclusion of the Former East Timorese Refugees in Belu Regency, West Timor. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 9(6), 118–127. doi: 10.30845/ijbss.v9n6a14

Alkatiri, F. A. (2018b). Akses Tanah dan Kendala Legitimasi Eks-Pengungsi Timor Timur di Kabupaten Belu [Land Access and Legitimation Challenges of the Former East Timorese Refugees in Belu Regency]. *Jurnal Kawistara*, 8(1), 22–32. doi: 10.22146/kawistara.33070

Al-Murshed, A. (2013, June 14). Bahraini Military Institution: Doctrine of Exclusion and Clientism. *Bahrain Centre for Studies of London.* Retrieved from http://bcsl.org.uk/english/?p=150

Arifin, S. (2013). Cross Border Approach Sebagai Alternatif Model Kebijakan Pembangunan Kawasan Perbatasan. *Jurnal Hukum IUS Quia Iustum*, 20, 37–58. doi: 10.20885/iustum.vol20.iss1.art3

Aspinall, E., & Fealy, G. (2003). *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralization and Democratization*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Badan Nasional Pengelolaan Perbatasan Report – BNPP. (2011). *Desain Besar (Grand Design) Pengelolaan Batas Wilayah Negara dan Kawasan Perbatasan Tahun 2011–2025* [Grand Design of State's Territorial Border Management 2011–2025]. (SERI BNPP 01S-0111). Retrieved from www.perpustakaan.bappenas.go.id

Batubara, H. (2017). Strategi Jokowi Membangun Perbatasan [The Strategies of Jokowi in Border Development]. *Kompasiana.com.* Retrieved from https://www.kompasiana.com/harmenbatubara/5a1a09ca9f91ce2e7969fda2/strategi-jokowi-membangun-perbatasan?page=all

Beehner, L. (2018). State-Building, Military Modernization and Cross-border Ethnic Violence in Myanmar. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 5(1), 1–30. doi: 10.1177/2347797017748464

Beittinger-Lee, V. (2009). *(Un)Civil Society and Political Change in Indonesia: A Contested Arena*. New York: Routledge.

Bellamy, R. (2008). *Citizenship: a Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunet-Jailly, E., & Dupeyron, B. (2007). Introduction: Borders, Borderlands, and Porosity. In E. Brunet-Jailly (Ed.), *Borderlands: Comparing Border Security in North America and Europe* (pp. 1–18). Ontario: University of Ottawa Press.

Bruun, K. (2016). Problematising Internal Security: Crime, Community, and Social Exclusion. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2(1). doi: 10.1080/23311886.2016.1178092

Carnegie, P. J. (2010). *The Road from Authoritarianism to Democratization in Indonesia.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Center for Internal Displaced Persons. (2011). *East Timorese Refugees and Resettlements Development* (Report No. 11/2011). Belu: CIS Timor.

Cimadomo, G. (2017). Spatial Practices in Borderland: Bottom-Up Experiences and their Influence on Border Communities. *International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 16(3), 362–382.

Commins, P. (2004). Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas: Characteristics, Processes and Research Issues. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 44(1), 60–75. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2004.00262.x

Crouch, H. (2007). *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.

Datta, A. (2018). Barbed Wire Border Fencing: Exclusion and Displacement at the Indo-Bangladesh Borderland. *India Quarterly*, 74(1), 42–60. doi: 10.1177/0974928417749640

De Haan, A. (2000). *Reclaiming Social Policy: Globalization, Social Exclusion, and New Poverty Reduction Strategies*. New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Deliarnoor, N. A., & Abidin, N. E. J. (2018). The Authority of Borderland Management in Indonesia. *Advances in Social Science Research Journal*, 5(4), 24–37. doi: 10.14738/assrj.54.4336

Dokumen Forum Komunitas Korban Politik Timor-Timur [Internal Document of East Timor Political Victims Community Forum]. (2016). (Unpublished Document).

Dreisbach, T. (2015). Back to the Barracks: Getting the Indonesia Military Out of Politics, 1998–2000. *Innovations for Successful Societies*. Retrieved from https://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/publications/back-barracks-getting-indonesian-military-out-politics-1998-2000

Efendi, J., Kurniati, S., & Semiun, S. S. A. (2013). The Analysis of Cross-Border Potential Economic Development Strategies. *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Science*, 7(8), 50–58.

Figueroa, A. (1999). Social Exclusion and Rural Underdevelopment Retrieved from http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/wbpover/02Social_Exclusion.pdf

Frowd, P. M., & Sandor, A. J. (2018). Militarism and its Limits: Sociological Insights on Security Assemblages in the Sahel. *Security Dialogue*, 49(1–2), 70–82. doi: 10.1177/0967010617739534

Hall, D., Hirsch, P., & Li, T. M. (2013). *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hadiwinata, B. S. (2009). Persoalan Rezim, Konflik Perbatasan, Pengungsi, Konflik Internal Timor Leste dan Kehadiran Pasukan Asing [Regime Issue, Borderland Conflicts, Refugees, the Internal Conflict of Timor Leste, and the Presence of Foreign Troops]. In G. Wuryandari (Ed.), *Keamanan di Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: Sumber Ancaman Dan Kebijakan Pengelolaannya* [The Security in the Border of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Sources of Threats and Policy Managements] (pp. 145–184). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Hama, H. H. (2017). State Security, Societal Security, and Human Security. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 21(1), 1–19. doi: 10.1177/0973598417706591

Hariyadi. (2008). Masalah Perbatasan RI-Timor Leste: perspektif kebijakan [The Issue of the Borderland of Republic of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Policy Perspectives]. In P. P. Nainggolan (Ed.), *Hubungan Bilateral dan Masalah Perbatasan RI-Timor Leste* [Bilateral Relations and Border Issues of RI-Timor Leste] (pp. 31–56). Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengolahan Data dan Informasi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia.

Hera, G. (2016). The Process of Social Exclusion: Case Studies about One Scientific and One Rural Community (Doctoral Thesis at School of Philosophy and History of Science. Faculty of Economic and Social Science). Budapesti University of Technology and Economics. Budapest, Hungary. Retrieved from https://repozitorium.omikk.bme.hu/bitstream/handle/10890/5319/ertekezes.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

Honna, J. (2003). *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*. New York: Routledge.

Horstmann, A. (2011). Sacred Spaces of Karen Refugees and Humanitarian Aid Across the Thailand-Burma Border. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 4(2), 254–272. doi: 10.4232/10.ASEAS-4.2-4

Indonesian Presidential Decree of Concerning the Establishment of the National Institution for Disaster and Refugee Coordination, 03. (2001). Jakarta. Retrieved from https://bnpb.go.id/uploads/migration/pubs/11.pdf

Kerwin, D. (2016). How Robust Refugee Protection Policies Can Strengthen Human and National Security. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 4(3), 83–140. doi: 10.1177/233150241600400304

Kolossov, V., & Scott, J. (2013). Selected Conceptual Issues in Border Studies. *Societe Royale Belge de Geographie*, 1, 1–19. doi: 10.4000/belgeo.10532

Laine, J. P. (2015). A Historical View on the Study of Borders. In S. V. Sevastianov, J. P. Laine, & A. A. Kireev (Eds.). *Introduction to Border Studies* (pp. 14–32). Vladivostok: Dalnauka.

Mabee, B., & Vucetic, S. (2018). Varieties of Militarism: Towards a Typology. *Security Dialogue*, 49(1–2), 96–108. doi: 10.1177/0967010617730948

Martinez, O. J. (1994). *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.–Mexico Borderland*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Meitzner, M. (2006). The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Elite Conflict, Nationalism, and Institutional Resistance (Policy Paper No. 23). *Washington, the East-West Center Washington.* Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/35255/PS023.pdf

Messakh, T. A. (2003). *Kebijakan Pemukiman Kembali Pengungsi di Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: studi kasus Kecamatan Tasifeto Timur* [The Resettlement Policy of Refugees in the Indonesia–Timor Leste Borderland: a Case Study of the Sub-District of East Tasi Feto] (Unpublished Master Thesis). Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang.

Moretti, S. (2015). The Challenge of Durable Solutions for Refugees at the Thai-Myanmar Border. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 34, 70–94. doi: 10.1093/rsq/hdv008

Mulyawan, R. (2013). *Implementasi Kebijakan Pembangunan Bidang Pertahanan di Kawasan perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: studi kasus di kabupaten Belu, Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur* [The Implementation of Defense Development Policy in Indonesia–Timor Leste Territorial Border: a Case Study of Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara] (Working paper). Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Padjajaran University. Retrieved from http://pustaka.unpad.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/pustaka_unpad_implementasi_kebijakan.pdf

Nainggolan, P. P. (2008). *Masalah Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: perspektif keamanan* [The Border Issues of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Security Perspectives]. In P. P. Nainggolan (Ed.), *Hubungan Bilateral dan Masalah Perabtasan RI–Timor Leste* [Bilateral Relations and Border Issues of RI-Timor Leste] (pp. 89–107). Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian dan Pegngolahan Data dan Informasi (P3DI) Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia.

Newman, D., & Paasi, A. (1998). Fences and Neighbours in the postmodern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography. *Progress in Human Geography,* 22(2), 186–207. doi: 10.1191/030913298666039113

O'Rourke, K. (2002). *Reformasi: the Struggle for Power in Post Suharto Indonesia*. New South Wales: Allen & Unwin.

Paasi, A. (1996). Inclusion, Exclusion and Territorial Identities: The Meanings of Boundaries in the Globalizing Geopolitical Landscape. *Nordisk Samhallsgeografisk Tidskrift*, 23, 6–23.

Pamungkas, C. (2009). Otoritas Perbatasan, Pengungsi, dan Aktivitas Ekonomi Ilegal di Perbatasan RI–Timor Leste [The Borderland Authority, Refugees, and Illegal Economic Activities in the Border of Republic of Indonesia–Timor Leste]. In G. Wuryandari (Ed.), *Keamanan di Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: sumber ancaman dan kebijakan pengelolaannya* [The Security in the Borderland of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Sources of Threats and Policy Managements] (pp. 185–236). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Patriadi, H. B. (2010). Isu Perbatasan: memudarnya "imagined state"? [Border Issues: the Decline of "Imagine State"?]. In L. Madu, A. Nugraha, N. Loy & Fauzan (Eds.). *Mengelola Perbatasan Indonesia di Dunia Tanpa Batas: isu, permasalahan, dan pilihan kebijakan* [*The Border Management of Indonesia Within World's Borderless: Issues, Problems, and Policy Choices]* (pp. 1–10). Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Philpott, S. (2000). *Rethinking Indonesia: Postcolonial Theory, Authoritarianism, and Identity.* London: Macmillan Press.

Plowright, K. (2008). Armed Forces of Indonesia (Tentara Nasional Indonesia. *ADF Issue Weapons Systems Brief*. Retrieved from https://www.vostokstation.com.au/TNI-AD.pdf

Prokkola, E. K. (2009). Unfixing Borderland Identity: Border Performances and Narratives in the Construction of the Self. *Journal of Borderland Studies,* 24(3), 21–38. doi: 10.1080/08865655.2009.9695737

Purnamasari, W., Kara, Mh., Sabri, M., & Amiruddin, K. (2016). Perkembangan Pembangunan Ekonomi Kawasan Perbatasan Negara Indonesia-Malaysia di Sambas [Economic Development of Border Territory of Indonesian-Malaysian States in Sambas]. *Jurnal Diskursus Islam*, 4(2), 217–247.

Pusat Pengelola Pendapat Umum. (2007). *Menelusuri Batas Nusantara: tinjauan atas empat Kawasan perbatasan* [Searching for the Nusantara Borders: Reviewing the Four Borderland Territories]. Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengelohan Data dan Informasi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia.

Rame, F. (2004). *Implementasi Kebijakan Resettelement Terhadap Warga Masyarakat Pengungsi Timor-Timur di Kabupaten Belu Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur* [The Implementation of Resettlement Policy Towards the East Timorese Refugees in Belu Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province] (Abstract of Master Thesis). Department

of Political Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta. Retrieved from http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/home/detail_pencarian/26324

Rani, F. (2012). *Strategi Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Meningkatkan Keamanan Wilayah Perbatasan Menurut Perspektif Sosial Pembangunan* [Indonesian Government Strategies in Increasing the Security in the Border Terittory According to the Social Development Perspectives]. *Jurnal Transnasional*, 4(1), 1–17.

Riley, T. J. (2007). *Refugees in Developing Countries: a Growing Problem* (Unpublished Master Thesis). Graduate School of Webster University, London.

Rodgers, G. (1995). What Is Special About a Social Exclusion Approach? In G. Rodgers, C. Gore & J. B. Figueiredo (Eds). *Social Exclusion: Rhetoric, Reality, and Responses* (pp. 43–56). Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies.

Scott, J., & Marshall, G. (2009). *A Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sianipar, K. D. (2016). Resettlement of Former East Timorese Refugees in East Nusa Tenggara. In E. Friedberg & M. E. Hilderbrand (Eds.), *Observing Policy Making in Indonesia* (pp. 79–118). Singapore: Springer.

Silver, H. (1994). Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms. *International Labour Review*, 133(5–6), 531–578. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/document-library/social-exclusion-and-social-solidarity-three-paradigms/

Siregar, C. N. (2014). Membangun Perilaku Masyarakat Atambua Melalui Pemanfaatan Potensi Daerah dan Keamanan Perbatasan Republik Indonesia dan Republik Demokratik Timor Leste [The Society Behavior Development of Atambua Through the Use of the Potential of the Area and Security in the Borderland of Republic of Indonesia and Democratic Republic of Timor Leste]. *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, 13(2), 147–159.

Stavrianakis, A., & Stern, M. (2018). Militarism and Security: Dialogue, Possibilities and Limits. *Security Dialgue*, 49(1–2), 3–18. doi: 10.1177/0967010617748528

Stewart, F., Barron M. M., & Hartwell, M. (2005). *Social Exclusion and Conflict: Analysis and Policy Implications.* London: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE, Oxford University.

Subagiyo, A., Dwiproborini, F., Sari, N. (2017). Development of Indonesia–Papua New Guinea border. Muara Tami District. Jayapura City through Agropolitan Concept. In *3rd International Conference of Planning in the Era of Uncertainty. Earth and Environmental Science* (pp. 1–6). doi: 10.1088/1755-1315/70/1/012032

Tornquist, O. (2013). *Assessing Dynamics of Democratization: Transformative Politics, New Institutions, and the Case of Indonesia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ulfa, N., Fimmastuti, D. R., & Rahmah, A. N. N. (2018). Hard and Soft Border Paradigm for Border Governance in Indonesia: A General Review. *Indonesian Political Science Review*, 3(1), 81–103. doi: 10.15294/jpi.v3i1.9396

Ullah, A. K. M. A., & Kumpoh, A. (2018). Are Borders the Reflection of International Relations? Southeast Asian Borders in Perspective. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 5(3), 295–318. doi: 10.1177/2347797018798253

Unruh, J., & Williams, R. C. (2013). *Land and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (Policy Brief. No. 3). London: The Environmental Law Institute.

Veronis, T. (2013). The Border and Immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau: Governance Practices and the (re)Production of a Dual Canadian Citizenship. *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 28(2), 256–271. doi: 10.1080/08865655.2013.854658

Who Belongs Where? Conflict, Displacement, Land and Identity in North Kivu. Republic of Congo (2010). REFWORLD Working Paper Series No. 03. Retrieved from https://www.refworld.org/docid/53b3ddcca.html

Widjajanto, A. (2007). *Transforming Indonesia's Armed Forced* (UNICSI Discussion Papers No. 15.). Retrieved from https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/pag-72514/UNISCI15_Widjajanto.pdf

Wiranto Minta Tentara dan Polisi Lebih Banyak Jangan Numpuk di Jawa [Wiranto Asked Not to Pile More Soldiers and Police on Java]. (2019, January 1). *Kompas*. Retrieved from https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/01/28/12421541/wiranto-minta-tentara-dan-polisi-lebih-banyak-di-perbatasan-jangan-numpuk-di

World Social Situation 2016: Leaving No One Behind – the Imperative of Inclusive Development (2016). *United Nations*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/2016/09/06/world-social-situation-2016-leaving-no-one-behind-the-imperative-of-inclusive-development/

Wuryandari, G. (2009). *Keamanan Kawasan Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: sumber ancaman dan kebijakan pengelolaannya* [The Borderland Security of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Sources of Threats and Policy Managements]. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Wuryandari, G., & Noor, F. (2009). Implikasi Kebijakan Keamanan di Perbatasan RI-Timor Leste [The Implications of Security Policies in the Border ot RI–Timor Leste]. In G. Wuryandari (Ed.), *Keamanan di Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste: sumber ancaman dan kebijakan pengelolaannya* [The Security in the Border of Indonesia–Timor Leste: Sources of Threats and Management Policies] (pp. 263–318). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Wuryandari, G. (2010). Mencari Format Pengelolaan Wilayah Perbatasan Indonesia–Timor Leste [Looking for Management Patterns in Border Territory of Indonesia–Timor Leste]. In L. Madu, A. Nugraha, N. Loy & Fauzan (Eds.), *Mengelola Perbatasan Indonesia di Dunia Tanpa Batas: isu, permasalahan, dan pilihan kebijakan* [The Border Management of Indonesia Within World's Borderless: Issues, Problems, and Policy Choices] (pp. 195–212). Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 53–67
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.089

ARTICLE

Flesh of the Unborn: On the Political Philosophy of the Unborn

Aireen Grace T. Andal
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ABSTRACT

This work situates the unborn[1] within the wider discussions in political philosophy. Much existing work on the unborn's relevance to theoretical discussions focuses on personhood, moral status and pregnant bodies. However, this work argues that the embryonic or fetal body is the crux of political philosophy's interest in the unborn. There is less work on whether or not to protect the unborn by virtue of having a body, yet it is important because the embryonic or fetal body complicates the boundaries of the unborn's membership to humanity. This work unpacks the relevance of political philosophy in furthering the discussions on the body of the embryo or fetus. The unborn's membership to humanity is inescapably embodied because it is with and through a body that the unborn gains access the human world and touches discussions on moral status, personhood, identity and rights. Three cases are provided to substantiate these discussions: moral status, birth restrictions and gene editing, all of which are related to how the embryonic or fetal body becomes a contested space for membership to humanity. This work concludes that the political philosophy of the unborn contributes to both academic scholarship and political life by problematizing what virtues ought to govern laws and policies on the unborn. Discussions imply that the connection between the contested embryonic or fetal body and political philosophy gathers a variety of deep and important questions, which justifies an intellectual and practical pursuit.

KEYWORDS

political philosophy, unborn, pregnancy, discourse, ethics, moral status

[1] For the purposes of this study, the term "unborn" refers to an offspring of a human mammal.

Received 2 June 2019
Accepted 10 January 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

aireengrace.andal@gmail.com

Situating the Unborn in Philosophical and Political Discussions

There is a growing concern on international legal imperatives for the unborn (Haaf, 2016). Debates are vibrant on the moral and legal aspects of the unborn, especially in terms of how civil law ought to see the unborn's moral and legal status (Simić, 2018). It is in this context that a review of various fields of studies exploring the unborn gain relevance. There are many disciplines and area studies that deal about the unborn from biology to feminist studies to ecology. To be sure, the idea of disciplinary boundaries has been attacked by many scholars, claiming that our experiences are overlapping, messy and cannot be exclusively contained within one field of study. The fetus is an overlapping subject that cannot be restricted to disciplinary turfs. Yet, while it is important not to be caged in disciplinary boundaries, there is a good reason to make use of these boundaries to direct discussions to future trajectories. A subject as controversial as the embryo or fetus is a space to discuss what we seek to realize through philosophy and politics in dealing with an entity in the borderline of membership in humanity. Indeed, discussing the unborn can be "more philosophical than political" or "more political than philosophical". The former deals with moral or ethical discussions which are recurrently theoretically debated and the latter embarks on an interplay of interests and voices among political actors and institutions. The unborn is found sitting uneasily between these spheres as it is in itself a subject of ambiguity. As such, it is informative to analyze how disciplines choose discourses or level of talk about the unborn. This level of talk determines the level of reality about the unborn, from which decisions and resolutions can be drawn.

Philosophy and political science discourses can bring the unborn to different polarities of discourses. For instance, general philosophical discussions about the unborn surfaces ethics of life and reproduction that follow some *prima facie* principles such as non-maleficence, beneficence, autonomy, and justice, and virtues such as fidelity, compassion, practical wisdom, justice, fortitude, temperance, integrity and self-effacement. These questions are rooted in the issue of who are entitled to these ethical principles and in particular, whether or not the unborn can be protected by such principles. Some scholars would then argue that the way to look at this is seeing the embryo or fetus as having capacity to be a person under appropriate circumstances, i.e. specific intrinsic qualities (i.e. cells, genes) for development[2] (See Buckle, 1988). Yet, when contentions on what interpretation of morality is to be taken and applied to rules that govern society, the discussion about the unborn takes a political turn. Political science puts the discussion about the unborn towards cases of reproductive autonomy or freedom and identity and body politics of uterus-owners. It may problematize maternal mortality among marginalized sectors or gender discrimination in infrastructures and everyday life of pregnant persons. A political science approach to the unborn would dwell on the extent of democratic participation

[2] For instance, a seed is a potential plant (since it possesses the capacity to become a plant; it will become a plant if it lives long enough). In the same manner, while an embryo or fetus is not yet an actual person, it has the properties to be a person and it will become a person, if its growth is unhindered and if it lives long enough.

in which political actors deliberate about the unborn. So, whereas general philosophy deals with questions of metaphysics, ethics and epistemologies of the unborn, political discussions dwell more on civil interests aspect of the unborn, such as how the unborn fits "the concept of law's subject: the legal person" (Haaf, 2016).

The Relevance of Political Philosophy

This work argues that the wisdom of political philosophy is necessary to account for why and how societies ought to deal with the unborn. The relevance of political philosophy is found in virtues and normative claims that are contested in political situations. For instance, it problematizes the concept of universal abortion laws in light of "what ought to be". In this sense, political philosophy treats the unborn in terms of what virtues ought to govern laws and policies on the unborn. Political philosophy asks questions about the beliefs upon which political institutions and actors employ as guide to determine unborn's political status in the society. The starting point for these questions is locating the unborn along the standing debates between the moral theories. Dealing with the moral status of the unborn is an abstract matter, which does not have a cut and dry answer; and yet the questions about the unborn are extraordinarily pressing such as how shall international laws be organized for the unborn, and in saying that, there is a tacit reference that there can be universal goals and we can determine what these goals should be. So, instead of merely asking what standpoints contemporary legal systems have toward the unborn, political philosophy further asks what normative principles can be used as guide in the case of the unborn human. The next question is what means should we undertake to carry out these normative guidelines. This then elucidates the validity of the generalizations and the theories used in political philosophy.

The political philosophy of the unborn accommodates the unborn's abstract character *vis-a-vis* human laws. It links the metaphysical and ethical discussions of the unborn to some practical and empirical inquiries such as legal and medical implications of the epistemological complexities of the unborn. Political philosophy therefore unpacks the subject of the unborn by considering the unborn as a political entity imbued with contesting normative claims. It takes the wisdom of philosophical thought to understand the value judgements about the unborn, the embryonic or fetal body and pregnancy within the boundaries of politics such as sovereignty, governance, law and order. The task of political philosophy of the unborn is to account for the connection between the unborn and general political concepts, practices and institutions (e.g. state, individual, rights, community and justice). Corollary to seeing the relationship between the unborn and the political order is seeing how the unborn is ethically situated within a specific political order. These links can help illuminate the kind of moral actions that are justified to be enacted towards the unborn. The aim is to arrive at an understanding of the unborn from a normative perspective as grounds for what is deemed right and the good in politics and political organization. For instance, it is situated in the literature dealing with arguments regarding the threats that the unborn may induce to its maternal organism. The narrower concern

of political philosophy is based on how these principles are integrated in governance. The political philosophy of the unborn is also explicitly laden with norms such as discussions on state policies on fertility, regulation of births and reproductive technologies, and whether/what measures are ethically sound to implement these policies. Debates on this matter centered on the conflict between the survival of the embryo or fetus versus the life and/or health of the maternal organism. Most discussions divide groups into having pro-choice and pro-life leanings. Finally, another level of discussion seeks to unpack whether or not there is indeed a conflict or logical inconsistency between ascribing moral status to the embryo or fetus and granting abortion rights to maternal organism.

The Unborn's Body: A Universal Subject of Inquiry?

That the unborn's body is both epistemologically and politically contentious for rights recognition makes it a vibrant space for discussion (Burda, 2009). For one, the body has been a space of debates and discussions for political philosophers as "the body is not a thing, it is a situation" (de Beauvoir, 1949/2010, p. 68). However, much existing work on this topic falls under practical ethics and focuses on epistemological justifications on why or why not the unborn deserves rights. There are, for instance, longstanding debates about the basis of granting rights such as personhood and moral status – all of which are connected to having a soul or mind. Yet, there is less work on whether or not to protect the unborn by the very virtue of having a body. Most scholars have discussed whether or not an embryo or fetus has a personhood or consciousness (see Benn, 1973; Buckle, 1988; English, 1975; Finn, 2018; Smith & Brogaard, 2003), yet not much work has asked when an embryo or fetus begins to have a legitimate body and when can this body to be protected; or should state policies recognize at all the embryonic or fetal body as basis for the statutory protection of the unborn.

In this regard, the unborn is a rightful subject to political philosophy because the fetal body complicates the boundaries of membership to humanity. While the stage of being an embryo and fetus are necessary to becoming a living human being, it is highly contested if during the process of becoming, the embryo or fetus is already a member of the human species entitled of protection and all other welfare that the body politic can offer. The interim period towards humanhood makes a case for the unborn as a provisionary member of society. While a fetus is not yet a fully-developed person, it is considered as an aspect of life and ecology deemed to be taken care of, just in the case of elements found in nature. To be sure, there is an ongoing debate whether or not the fetus should be seen in the same level as that of other elements of nature (see Ojala & Lidskog, 2011). Indeed, the fetus possesses a controversial body with a survival status that is governed by others and the circumstances that preexisted it. On this basis, it is of particular interest to political philosophy to inquire about the place of the embryo or fetus in governance. In this sense, an embryo or fetus is understood as being in a distinct political and moral position since it is under a preparatory stage with a range of inherent risks to both itself and the maternal organism (Haaf, 2017).

Thus, the embryo or fetus exhibits a contestable political identity that challenges the philosophical questions about the nature of human beings.

Examining the political philosophy of the unborn leads to the inquiry whether the principles in political philosophy are to be regarded with a universal validity that is applicable to the unborn, or whether these principles are rather to be construed as assumptions that only make sense within certain theoretical frameworks. Inquiries on the nature of the embryonic or fetal body create a space of negotiation on whether it is a universalizable subject or an entity with inscriptions of meanings which only make sense within specific contexts (Grosz, 1994). This leads to the question about the scope of what is universalizable assumption about human beings in relation to the demand for ethics and virtue towards the unborn. The problematique of universality is found in the complexity of "oughtness". How to govern especially in a cosmopolitan world is premised on some shared moral principles, whether in the form of some abstract ideas such as preservation of life, liberty and dignity or in the form of societal goals such as achieving peace or pursuit of general happiness. Such bases for collective human arrangements involve the notion of a shared "oughtness", thereby claiming the possibility of the universality of some international laws. However, criticisms to the universality of "oughtness" come to play when considering the many versions of "what ought to be". While universal prohibitions are present in legal practice such as those against various types of aggression (e.g. murder and rape) (Brown, 1991), these restrictions are still based on specific context of causation, intention and voluntary behavior (Mikhail, 2002).

The critique of the idea of universal principles concerning the unborn, its *modus operandi*, liberties and restrictions are reflective of the broader and long-standing question about the existence of any universal principle and parameters of morality. Theoretical polarities in the field of ethics have left scholars with completely different views – (1) those who believe in the subjectivity of moral violations and (2) those that argue for distinguishing between universal moral violations from violations of social conventions. The former is usually associated with hermeneutic traditions and cultural relativism, which see morality as determined by the "art of interpretation" and that having a universal human rights is imperialistic and hegemonic (Ochsner, 1979, p. 54). In contrast, the latter is advocated by a number of scholars who presume that human beings hold an inherent moral judgment based on a complex set of universal standards and principles (e.g. Rawls, 1971). This view argues that societies share universal abstract concepts that every human being is entitled to such as life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Thus, the issue on the universality of governance principles to the unborn bears witness to the relevance of political philosophy.

Stemming from a long history of debates, this work argues that the unborn's body opens up a platform for universal claim. Determining the normative dimensions about the nature of the unborn's body in relation to ethics, politics and law is not an easily resolvable feat. While it makes sense to contest that every virtue is potentially political, and therefore not universal, to say so is to run the risk of making a "rescue narrative" (Smith, 2002) under the logic of relativity. In so doing, it may close further discussions. First, to dismiss the claim of universal virtues as hegemonic can be

accomplished only through taking a universalizing reason. Arguing against any universal virtue to deal with the unborn is in itself an act of universalizing and uses the same logic of universality to propel an argument. To say that universal virtues yield to its own exclusions does not in itself escape the totalizing and dismissive logic of generating its own universalities, hence ironically excluding other epistemologies. Second, seeing the politics of universalization as a hegemonic process does not take into account the founding character of the embryo or fetus and pregnant individuals within the anthropocentric framework. Arguing against the notion of universal virtues, which labels the unborn as a subject only relevant to human history as if there was no other way to make sense of its existence aside from the purpose of being a human (Addelson, 1999; see Ojala & Lidskog, 2011). When applied to the issue of the unborn, the presence of a universal entity (fetus) or condition (in the case of pregnancy) is assumed, *ergo* the issue of universalism is insufficiently addressed, if at all. Finally, having politically-laden virtues need not necessarily be problematic and does not preclude human beings to set normative ends to reflect and offer conjectures about political life. An investigation of how the fetal body becomes an arena of contestation in light of normativities contributes to the understanding of its relevance to theory and practice, between what was, is, and possibly, also, what may come to be.

Ultimately, an examination of the thoughts and works of political philosophers reveals either general virtue systems (e.g. Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Hegel and J. S. Mill) or general frameworks to understand political life (e.g. Machiavelli, Rousseau, Bentham, Marx, Ibn Khaldhun, Arendt, Berlin, Dewey, Foucault, Gramsci, Habermas, Rawls, Sartre and Taylor). In any case, these intellectual activities provide a sense of "what ought to be" either in terms of moral guidelines or frameworks to human action. What the political philosophy of the unborn contributes to these discussions is problematizing the virtues of human beings using the embryonic or fetal body as a point of inquiry on how we should collectively and politically arrange the interests, capacities, voices involved thereof. Thus, it is both important to question uncontested normative expectations and at the same time, decide on "what ought to be".

Of Law, Constitutions and the Unborn

Political philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill and many others have used the body as a metaphor to underpin several of their arguments about political concepts such as "*heads*" of state, long "*arm*" of the law, and "*heartlands*" of countries (Cannon, 1941). These words originated from the Latin *corpus*, which means "body", and thereafter developed to terms such as "international body" for cross-country organizations, "corps" commander for military leaders, and "corporations" for business establishments (Nedermann, 1992). Here, the body is not only a metaphor for societies but a tool to realize that we are part of the bigger whole. This surfaces in the discussions about the extent to which this "bigger whole" accommodate membership. This leads to questions such as: how accommodating should constitutions be of the unborn? How often, and how, should laws concerning the unborn adjust based on local cultures, value-systems and practices? What are

the implications of a written constitution about the unborn on moral and political polarities of particular cultures? There is no simple answer to these questions. But the works of political philosophers offer some guidance. Law can serve as the basis of moral obligation (i.e. Locke's *divine law* and *natural law*), regulation of human actions (i.e. Mills' *Limits to the Law*), or means towards rights and justice (i.e. Rawls' *Law of Peoples*). These views share the notion that law is accountable towards some moral and ethical guidelines, evident in some fundamental principles implicit to the morally-laden legal terms such as obligatory, permissible, and forbidden, or their equivalents (Bybee & Fleischman, 1995). However, there is a need to discuss the extent to which this applies to the embryonic or fetal body. The succeeding sections offer three cases that discuss how the unborn is situated within legal policies through its body: moral status, birth restrictions and gene editing.

The Unborn and the Maternal Organism: Debates on Moral Status

Depending on specific histories and culture about pregnancy, different kinds of constitutions come about, which have generated specific rules for the unborn. But an important normative concern of political philosophy with respect to the unborn is that it faces the issue of the autonomy of the pregnant person or maternal organism in making preferences where this person may confront often conflicting values, desires and beliefs against the unborn (Gillon, 1985). This gives rise to the question about the moral status of the unborn. If the moral status of the unborn can be established, constitutions will have solid grounds for a universal stand on the unborn (see Buckle, 1988). Yet of a more fundamental consideration is whether or not having a moral status is necessary for granting rights to the unborn. The issue on moral status collapses into broader questions concerning the relationship between the maternal organism and the unborn. When the pregnant human body and human embryonic or fetal body are juxtaposed with each other, the question on their distinction from each other surfaces. Since legislation on rights only applies to human history, discussions center humanhood of the embryo or fetus such that if the embryo or fetus is not a constitutional person, then it cannot be granted any constitutionally protected right to life, liberty, and property, nor is it entitled to the equal protection of the law. A pressing debate related to this is whether or not the embryo or fetus has a moral status. Some scholars agree that a mental capacity to desire continued existence, which are attributable only to developed persons, is a requirement to be granted a moral right to life (see Dawson & Singer, 1990; c.f. Boonin, 2003).

However, others find this reasoning rather weak because this criterion for rights means accepting that infants, the severely retarded, or those in coma do not deserve a moral status either. Some would discuss the differences in stages of being "pre-born" implying that moral status must be based on the stage of development of the embryo or fetus. For instance, Suki Finn (2018) argues that while, logically, fetus has the capacity to develop into a person in the womb, that actual condition has no appropriate capacity to develop into a person in the future without the maternal agent. Regardless of the stage of development, a pressing concern remains: is having a *potential* for life a morally relevant characteristic that justifies ascribing an embryo or fetus a moral

status in its current condition? Some scholars see potency in terms of both capacities to develop and to be harmed as well (see Manninen, 2007/2014) For instance, she states that all human beings are in the state of being potentially sick and thus justifying health coverage of people who have actual illness impending. Likewise, it is also not a question of having the desire to be a person in order to possess an interest in it. Moral status then is deserved if possessing it "constitutes a benefit for the individual that potentially possesses that property and a denial of that moral right constitutes a harm" (Manninen, 2007/2014, p. 202).

The discussions that constitute potentials in personhood are rooted from the issue on whether or not the fetus is part of the maternal organism or a separate entity, only residing in a host's womb. On the one hand, some would argue that the fetus is a separate entity from the pregnant person and that pregnant persons are morally liable to their human embryo or fetus in case they deliberately cause impairment to embryonic or fetal health and development and have not fulfilled the duties and obligations of their social contract as parents; thus it is legitimate to penalize pregnant persons for causing harm to human fetuses (Murphy & Rosenbaum, 1999; Smith, 1989). On the other hand, natalists would argue for fetal parthood or the claim that the embryo or fetus is a physical part of the pregnant person and condemn any view that pits pregnant individuals against their offspring or that protects the embryo or fetus "qua fetus" (Johnsen, 1986). Viewed in legal terms, this poses some queries on statutory restrictions for pregnant individuals. In the case of abortion, for instance, whereas the constitutional status of pregnant individuals who are persons with basic rights is necessarily superior to that of non-persons, the embryo or fetus becomes an entity of contestation against which the rights of the pregnant agent might be affected.

Yet there is another strand of discourse that complicates the embryonic or fetal parthood debate and takes an ecological view on matters concerning the unborn. Situating the embryo or fetus in an ecological perspective puts into question the very concept of individuality and the sacredness of DNA as the basis of individuality and personhood (Nelkin & Lindee, 1996). It renders futile the debate on whether or not there is one or two persons in the case of pregnancy because the pregnant organism is a symbiosis rather than a space of contestation for individuality and personhood (Gilbert & Tauber, 2016). This has implications on the policies regarding abortion, because it offers a counter narrative that one's genome determines one's essence in the process of fertilization, which renders as non-issue the uniqueness of either the pregnant individual or the embryo or fetus.

The State and Moral Obligation: The Case of Birth Place Regulations

Birth is a process that separates the maternal organism and the unborn-turned-newborn human being. Here, the relationship between the state and the unborn makes case for discussion under political philosophy in terms of the state's action towards stillbirths or death of the unborn before or during delivery. Death that occurs in the context of unborn-to-newborn transition complicates death and what kind of deaths can be normatively acknowledged. It is important because death is

a universal concern, upon which some universal legal norms such as the "right to life" are underpinned. The unborn complicates the "right to life" because while the fetal body is subject to the threat of death, it carries the issue on whether or not this kind of death is worthy of statutory protection. Ethical issues surrounding birth place regulation are informative in this regard. Birth place restriction is claimed to be an answer to the soaring number of maternal deaths and stillbirths allegedly blamed against "unskilled" birth attendants (Montagu et al., 2017). This kind of policy requires pregnant individuals to give birth only in hospitals and lying-in centers and midwives are no longer allowed to deliver in homes. Yet it opens up questions on whether or not the state infringes any right of those who refuse giving birth in medical facilities in light of the argument that "[p]regnancy is not an exception to the principle that a decisionally capable patient has the right to refuse treatment, even treatment needed to maintain life" (The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, 2016, pp. 1–2). The unborn's body, in this context, becomes relevant because stillbirth or the potential death of the unborn at birth is legitimized as grounds for statutory intervention to the decision of the maternal organism.

On the one hand, this regulation may be in "good faith" to avoid stillbirths as a manner of assisting the unborn-to-newborn transition to the interest of the maternal organism. But on the other hand, the state may reveal itself to be punitive and costly for the maternal organism. Hannah Arendt, for instance, with her notion of natality, can expands a discussion on the connection between the unborn's birth and death. She explains that death signifies the loss of a unique identity as much as birth means coming to life of new members of the world who are "unique, unexchangeable, and unrepeatable entities" or participants of the world (Arendt, 1958, pp. 96–97). In the same light, Thomas Nagel (1970) offers a reimagination of the unborn's death, that is, framing death as part of a whole ecosystem which ends one's participation as a member of both natural and social worlds, instead of loss in existence of an ego, thereby making the death of the embryonic or fetal body non-moral, which can be considered as a loss in the Earth symbiosis rather than contesting whether or not it is a loss or "life". This provides some starting point on how to assess statutory interests in the death of the fetal body and its implications to the unborn's membership to society. This issue on membership taps on the idea of viewing maternal and fetal bodies as a public property to justify the state regulation of birth and possibly the utilization of adequate antenatal and delivery care services. Political philosophy offers rich discussions on whether or not there is a clear moral interest for states to regulate birthing processes that justifies the exercise of police power (the limiting of individual rights by the state for public good).

Nature, Medicine and the Unborn: The Case of Genetic Editing

Aside from embryonic or fetal deaths, medical advances concerning the unborn serve as yet another controversial subject for political philosophy. Medical practices are ethically contested not only within statutory boundaries but also as universal moral issues. One of the most pressing recent debates is on gene editing of an embryo after employing *in vitro* fertilization (IVF) and preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD)

(Savulescu, 2001; Williams, 2015). Advances in genomics enable the detection of diseases through extracting embryonic or fetal DNA from the maternal organism's blood, which aims to repair the fetal gene through gene editing. As in the issue of cloning human beings, the legalization of gene editing for creating ideal fetuses is contentious in terms of whether or not creating "perfect fetuses" is a goal worthy of pursuit for humanity.

Given advances in genetic technology, preventing the birth of a fetus with disability or a severe genetic disorder becomes an option. If genetic engineering becomes safe and effective, furthermore, then this may enable even to enhance the genes of the already healthy fetuses. However, there are questions on the moral permissibility of such enhancements. Specifically, moral considerations are placed over the treatment–enhancement distinction (Selgelid, 2014). Debates are usually polarized between bio-conservatives (e.g. Carlson, 2001; Kevles, 1985) and bio-liberalists or transhumanists (e.g., Harris, 2007; Savulescu, 2001). These positions discuss the lines between permissible and impermissible genetic manipulation. On the one hand, bio-conservatives argue that being merely human has its value (Fukuyama, 2002); and because enhancement technologies would often only be accessible to the financially endowed, it is might exacerbate inequalities (Mehlman & Botkin, 1998). On the other hand, bio-liberalists question what could be so different and morally wrong about genetic enhancement given that some enhancements such as hair growth and liposuction for aesthetic purposes are permitted (Agar, 2014). One of the prominent arguments is the Principle of Procreative Beneficence (PB), which premises that parent(s) are morally obliged to select embryos or fetuses which are most likely to have the best life, including enhancement (when possible) based on available genetic information (Savulescu, 2001). Some would also argue that intention to enhance must be weighed as there are enhancements aiming to exceed human ''natural'' limitation (what transhumanists advocate) and enhancement that seeks optimization (see Baertschi, 2014). Scholars agree though that ethical discussions on eugenics revolve around the topic of liberty restrictions and threat to equality (Buchanan et al., 2000; Nozick, 1974). Critics of medicalisation argue that this process obscures our understanding of what is rather natural (Parens, 2013).

This raises the question on the ethical boundaries of in-utero genetic interventions and what states should do on policies regarding these medical practices. Ethics is crucial when legislation assigns moral meanings to the disabled fetal body as a qualifier for policy restriction. Controversy comes at different levels – selecting the best features for an embryo is one thing; genetic prevention to eradicate disability is also one thing; but to desire to change the fetus' features for enhancement purposes is yet another case. Prenatal diagnosis of a severe genetic disorder may count as an exceptional circumstance that justifies genetic manipulation. However, gene editing in the context of enhancing the offspring is argued to be different from mere treatment and requires further ethical assessment (Selgelid, 2014). Political philosophy such as Rawl's (1971) *Theory of Justice* is useful to provide discussions for such interests. For instance, Rawls (1971) recognizes "the interest of each to have

greater natural assets" (p. 92) and that citizens "want to insure for their descendants the best institutional responses. While the unborn is treated in light of its dev genetic endowment (assuming their own to be fixed)" (Rawls, 1971, p. 107). However, if these natural endowments can be modified before birth through genetic editing, then liberty for genetic enhancement would be permissible for Rawls. Yet, this liberty may produce further inequality as technology may not (yet) be accessible to all. On the more pragmatic level, this issue opens up questions on what kinds of ethical systems are the most "workable" to discuss how eugenics link liberty and equality, and from there, establish an ethical spectrum as a rough guideline for how to act on the information revealed by genetic tests and weighing the choices involved in enhancement-related fetal surgeries.

Fleshy Discourses: Unborn's Body and Its Promises to Political Philosophy

The previous examples are suggestive that much still remains to be seen about the unborn's place in humanity. There are still more to unpack when it comes to the political philosophy of the unborn. For instance, the discussions on whether or not the embryo or fetus is part of the maternal organism has only given importance to the embryonic or fetal body to the extent of discussing it as an "attachment" or "body part". Yet there is a need to evaluate the assumption that if the embryo or fetus is a body part, then it does not have a rightful claim for legal protection. It leaves many questions such as those that deal with the legality of extracting body parts. For instance, if selling kidney is deemed illegal, it raises questions if if the same logic can be applied to selling a fetal body for medical purposes such as placenta used for stem cell research? Moreover, the discussions on state intervention to avoid stillbirths call for further exploration as to how the fetal body challenges the "lived-body" of the maternal organism, creating instead a "co-lived body" such as being a *holobiont* or a symbiotic system (Gilbert & Tauber, 2016). Finally, the last example on eugenics seeks for discussions of the unborn's body as an ownership and genes as commodity and investment. This opens discussions that examine genes as currency and potential sources of power that may structure populations into those in power and those without power based on their bodies when they were still unborn, thereby potentially creating a marginalized genes and continuing exclusions even before birth.

As things currently stand, the unborn's body can be a signpost for further discussions with regards to discussions on political philosophy. Indeed, the embryonic or fetal body in the previous examples offers a promising dialogue on controversial alien body's membership to human territory. The depths of this controversy suggest that the unborn's membership to humanity is inescapably embodied. It is with and through a body that the unborn gains access the human world and touches discussions on moral status, personhood, identity and rights. As Drew Leder (1990) reminds us, bodies are ecstatic with a capacity to externally project itself towards others through perception, movement and thoughts. The embryonic or fetal body is not just an aggregate of evolving tissues, but a space through which the unborn, given its fleshy constraints, enters human discourses.

Conclusion: The Unborn as a Melting Pot

The discussions provided in this work have raised concerns about the moral status and political identity of the unborn. This implies that the connection between the contested embryonic or fetal body and political philosophy gathers a variety of deep and important questions, which form an intellectual and practical pursuit. The unborn is thus situated as a universal subject of inquiry in political philosophy by virtue of the complexity of its body and the normative standards applied thereof. In the end, various positions and debates about the unborn boil down to one common premise when it comes to the state – that statutory decisions seek normative bases. The relevance of ethics in the case of the unborn comes to play in providing a "mantra" or guiding principles (Boldizar & Korhonen, 1999, p. 280) upon which most laws are grounded on. Political philosophy provides benchmarks for statutory arrangements when it comes to the unborn. Finally, what inclusive and tolerant thought would go about telling societies on how to deal with the unborn? After all, the unborn is ambiguous and we all have our set of beliefs about maternal practices. Human beings either accept the validity of one principle or another, and some may feel that it is inappropriate to tell states how to lead and govern human population. After all, it is their territory, their culture, their decision.

Yet there is wisdom in recognizing that we need some guidance in one way or another in taking actions concerning a body-owner that is in the borderline of humanity, called the unborn. While there is no immediate answer to ethical dilemmas about the unborn, it is important to heed the importance of yielding to ethics as a logical base upon which succeeding discussions about the unborn can rest. In this context of evaluating political decisions, non-accountability to ethics can be a more potent source of malevolence than is the ambiguity of the unborn's moral status. And the question on what kind of guidance is needed and how do we establish a universalizable principle for the unborn are the reasons why there is a need of a political philosophy of the unborn. This work therefore forwards the continued relevance of political philosophy in discussing international legal systems.

References

Addelson, K. P. (1999). The Emergence of the Fetus. In L. Morgan & M. Michaels (Eds.), *Fetal Subjects, Feminist Positions* (pp. 26–42). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Agar, N. (2004). *Liberal Eugenics: In Defence of Human Enhancement*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Arendt, H. (1958). *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Baertschi, B. (2014) Neuromodulation in the Service of Moral Enhancement. *Brain Topography,* 27, 63–71. doi: 10.1007/s10548-012-0273-7

de Beauvoir, S. (1949/2010). *The Second Sex.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Benn, S. (1973). Abortion, Infanticide, and Respect for Persons. In J. Feinberg (Ed.), *The Problem of Abortion* (pp. 92–104). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Boldizar, A., & Korhonen, O. (1999). Ethics, Morals and International Law. *European Journal of International Law,* 10(2), 279–311. doi: 10.1093/ejil/10.2.279

Boonin, D. (2003). *A Defense of Abortion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, D. (1991). *Human Universals*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Buchanan, A., Brock, D.W., Daniels, N., & Wikler, D. (2000). *From Chance to Choice: Genetics and Justice.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Buckle, S. (1988). Arguing from Potential. *Bioethic*s, 2(3), 227–253. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8519.1988.tb00050.x

Burda, M. (2009). *Understanding a Woman's Moral Obligation to her Fetus: Maternal-Fetal Conflict as a Covenant Relationship* (Doctoral dissertation). Duquesne University, Pennsylvania, United States. Retrieved from https://dsc.duq.edu/etd/363

Bybee, J., & Fleischman, S. (Eds.). (1995). *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cannon, W. (1941, January 03). The Body Physiologic and the Body Politic. *Science,* 93(2401), 1–10. doi: 10.1126/science.93.2401.1

Carlson, E. A. (2001). *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea*. Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press.

Dawson, K. & Singer, P. (1990). Should Fertile People Have Access to in Vitro Fertilisation? *British Medical Journal*. 300 (6718), 167–170. doi: 10.1136/bmj.300.6718.167

Engelhardt, Jr. H. T. (1986). *The Foundations of Bioethics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

English, J. (1975). Abortion and the Concept of a Person. In S. Scalet & J. Arthur (Eds.), *Morality and Moral Controversies: Readings in Moral, Social and Political Controversies* (pp. 282–288). New York: Routledge.

Finn, S. (2018). The Metaphysics of Surrogacy. In D. Boonin (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Philosophy and Public Policy* (pp. 649–659). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Fukuyama, F. (2002). *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Gilbert, S. F., & Tauber, A. I. (2016). Rethinking Individuality: The Dialectics of the Holobiont. *Biology and Philosophy,* 31, 839–853. doi: 10.1007/s10539-016-9541-3

Gillon, R. (1985). *Philosophical Medical Ethics*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons.

Grosz, E. (1994). *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Harris, J. (2007). *Enhancing Evolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Haaf, L. (2016). Future Persons and Legal Persons: The Problematic Representation of the Future Child in the Regulation of Reproduction. *Laws MDPI*, 5(1), 10. doi: 10.3390/laws5010010

Haaf, L. (2017). Unborn and Future Children as New Legal Subjects: An Evaluation of Two Subject-Oriented Approaches – The Subject of Rights and the Subject of Interests. *German Law Journal,* 18(5), 1091–1119. doi: 10.1017/S2071832200022264

Johnsen, D. (1986). The Creation of Fetal Rights: Conflicts with Women's Constitutional Rights to Liberty, Privacy, and Equal Protection. *Yale Law Journal*, 95, 599–625. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6983&context=ylj

Kevles, D. J. (1985). In the Name of Eugenics. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Leder, D. (1990). *The Absent Body*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Manninen, B. (2007/2014). Revisiting the Argument from Fetal Potential. In J. Lizza (Ed.), *Potentiality: Metaphysical and Bioethical Dimensions* (pp. 191–222). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mehlman, M. J., & Botkin, J. (1998). *Access to the Genome: The Challenge to Equalit*y. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Mikhail, J. (2002). Law, Science, and Morality: a Review of Richard Posner's "The Problematics of Moral and Legal Theory". *Stanford Law Review,* 54(5), 1057–1127. doi: 10.2307/1229693

Montagu, D., Sudhinaraset, M., Diamond-Smith, N., Campbell, O., Gabrysch, S., Freedman, L., Kruk, M. E., & Donnay, F. (2017). Where Women go to Deliver: Understanding the Changing Landscape of Childbirth in Africa and Asia. *Health Policy and Planning*, 32(8), 1146–1152. doi: 10.1093/heapol/czx060

Murphy, S., & Rosenbaum, M. (1999). *Pregnant Women on Drugs: Combating Stereotypes and Stigma*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Nagel, T. (1970). Death. *Nous*, 4(1), 73–80. doi: 10.2307/2214297

Nedermann, C. J. (Ed.). (1992). *Medieval Political Thought – A Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic.* London and New York: Routledge.

Nelkin, D., & Lindee, M. S. (1996). *The DNA Mystique: The Gene as a Cultural Icon*. New York: W. H. Freeman.

Nozick, R. (1974). *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. New York: Basic Books.

Ochsner, R. (1979). A Poetics of Second Language Acquisition. *Language Learning,* 29(1), 53–80. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-1770.1979.tb01052.x

Ojala, M., & Lidskog, R. (2011). What Lies Beneath the Surface? A Case Study of Citizens' Moral Reasoning with Regard to Biodiversity. *Environmental Values,* 20(2), 217–237. doi: 10.3197/096327111X12997574391760

Parens, E. (2013). On Good and Bad Forms of Medicalization. *Bioethics,* 27(1), 28–35. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8519.2011.01885.x

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press.

Savulescu, J. (2001). Procreative Beneficence: Why we Should Select the Best Children. *Bioethics,* 15(5–6), 413–426. doi: 10.1111/1467-8519.00251

Selgelid, M.J. (2014). Moderate Eugenics and Human Enhancement. *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy,* 17, 3–12. doi: 10.1007/s11019-013-9485-1

Simić, J. (2018). The Protection of Nasciturus Within the Civil Law. *Pravni Zapisi*, 9(2), 255–270. doi: 10.5937/pravzap0-19193

Smith, G.P. (1989). Fetal Abuse: Culpable Behavior by Pregnant Women or Parental Immunity. *Journal of Law and Health,* 3(2), 223–235. Retrieved from https://engagedscholarship.csuohio.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1383&context=jlh

Smith, B., & Brogaard, B. (2003). Sixteen Days. *Journal of Medical Philosophy,* 28(1), 45–47. doi: 10.1076/jmep.28.1.45.14172

Smith, P. (2002). The Rescue Narrative in Social Theory. *Thesis Eleven,* 70(1), 104–112. doi: 10.1177/0725513602070001011

The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists' Committee. (2016). *Committee Opinion,* No. 664: 1–8. Retrieved from https://www.acog.org/clinical/clinical-guidance/committee-opinion/articles/2016/06/refusal-of-medically-recommended-treatment-during-pregnancy

Williams, J.R. (2015). *Medical Ethics Manual* (3rd ed.). Ferney-Voltaire: The World Medical Association. Retrieved from https://www.wma.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Ethics_manual_3rd_Nov2015_en.pdf

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 68–90
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.090

ARTICLE

The Role of Intergenerational Differentiation in Perception of Employee Engagement and Job Satisfaction among Older and Younger Employees in Slovenia

Jernej Jelenko
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

ABSTRACT

With the ageing population in the developed world, age diversity in the workforce in organizations is growing. Consequently, perception of the work environment, job satisfaction and engagement are influenced by differences in age as well as a corresponding diverse set of values and often manifested through age discrimination. Using an age-diverse national sample (n = 1505) of older (n = 750) and younger (n = 755) workers in Slovenia, this study investigates the understudied influence of intergenerational differentiation (age discrimination) on job satisfaction and employee engagement between two age cohorts. Three different instruments were used: *Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure (IDWM)*, *Job Satisfaction Questionnaire (JSQ)* and *Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9)*. The main goal of the study was to (through structural equation modelling) find out if and how the perception of intergenerational differentiation in the workplace affects job satisfaction and employee engagement between young and old employees. The constructed structural model shows that independent of the age group, intergenerational differences have a direct negative effect on job satisfaction and an indirect negative effect on employee engagement. It was also found that perceived age discrimination has both a greater direct effect on job satisfaction among older employees and a greater indirect effect on older employees' engagement than on younger employees' job satisfaction and engagement. Thus, by

Received 16 January 2020
Accepted 10 March 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

jernejelenko@gmail.com

examining the organizational level the study implicitly identifies that these intergenerational differences in age related values and value changes exist not only in the organization but spread through society.

KEYWORDS
intergenerational differentiation, age discrimination in the workplace, job satisfaction, employee engagement, older workers, younger workers, age-related value

Introduction

The workforce is ageing in parallel with the ageing of the population (Rippon, Kneale, de Olivera & Demakakos, 2014). Simultaneously, an insufficient number of younger workers (18–35 years old) are entering the labour force to replace workers who are retiring (e.g. Chand & Tung, 2014). As a response, in order to stay competitive and preserve economic growth, organizations are challenged to identify older workers' (aged 55 and older) needs and perceptions, and develop practices that retain them (Sausa, Ramos & Carvalho, 2019). If organizations do succeed in retaining older workers, they are consequently faced with the challenge of managing increased age diversity in their work environment. Diversity across age and work values (e.g. Smola & Sutton, 2002) inevitably produces generational differences in the workplace which enhance the likelihood of encountering greater age-related perspective dissimilarity with one's coworkers (Avery, McKay & Wilson, 2007) and can bring forth age discrimination in the workplace (Prelog, Ismagilova & Boštjančič, 2019) and beyond. Many concerns exist about the effect of age dissimilarity, discrimination and age-based value changes in the work environment, as well as the subsequent perceptions once applied outside the workplace. Two of the most important organizational factors for retaining older workers (decreasing the intention to quit) regard personal outcomes such as job satisfaction and engagement (Bentley et al., 2019; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004) and are closely related to positive employee and organizational outcomes at large (e.g. Davar & RanjuBala, 2012).

Researchers found evidence that perceived age discrimination influences workers across different age groups with negative effects on job satisfaction and engagement (e.g. Bayl-Smith & Griffin, 2014; James, McKenchnie & Swanberg, 2011; Snape & Redman, 2003). Since studies suggested that ageism and age discrimination against older adults is more pernicious, past research and the majority of literature findings have more often focused on a particular age group (e.g. Nelson, 2005). This paper differs from past research by highlighting the importance of age discrimination effects on job satisfaction and employee engagement across the two most prominent age groups, older and younger, which will play a deciding role in the broader socio-economic context via the future job market, providing higher economic growth, a sustainable healthcare and retirement system, etc. While the groups differ in

their current values, they are both subject to constant age-related change, suggesting that personal values change normatively with age (Fung et. al., 2016; Heckhausen, Wroch & Shultz, 2010). Also, in light of past studies which tended to focus only on a certain occupation (e.g. Redman & Snape, 2006), this paper focuses on a wide range of different occupations. It makes several propositions; one, that the level of work engagement is subject to the psychological consequence of age discrimination, which is a derivative of intergenerational differentiation, and that it is a psychological antecedent of preference for early or late retirement. It also proposes that job satisfaction is influenced by age discrimination, and employee engagement by job satisfaction. It lastly proposes that the two most diverse age groups perceive discrimination, job satisfaction and employee engagement differently and that their job satisfaction and engagement are correspondingly differently affected. In this manner, it is visible that people of different ages tend to differ in many aspects (key identifying historical events, physical ageing, life stage requirements) (Schwarz, 2005) of their expectations and values allowing us of clear view to recognize the importance of their value.

Intergenerational Differentiation and Age Discrimination

One of the most prominent and common agents of diversity in organizations is age (Glover & Branine, 2001). Consequently, the topic of intergenerational differentiation in the workplace has been immensely popular over the past decade, though research on this topic has often seemed opportunistic, lacking rigour and depth (Costanza & Finkelstein, 2015), or guided by much popular speculation but relatively little substantive research (Reeves & Oh, 2008). The main problems surrounding intergenerational differentiation research were methodological – conceptualization and especially measurement were based on a single item indicator (e.g. Brown, 2001; Utsey, 1998; Williams, Neighbors & Jackson, 2008).

Intergenerational differentiation is based on the assumption that chronological age is the main determinant of an individual's characteristics, assuming that a particular age group is better than another (Cavanaugh & Blanchard-Fields, 2006). The behavioural aspect of that age bias or of intergenerational differentiation is age discrimination. It is linked to the individual's tendency to treat members of the other (in the case of organization) workgroup or members of another generation as inferior (Finkelstein & Farrell, 2007). Age discrimination embodies an unwanted behavioural dynamic between the generations which is grounded in the assumption that each generation or age cohort has different work behaviour patterns, attitudes, expectations, habits, values and motivational mechanisms (e.g. Veingerl Čič & Šarotar Žižek, 2017; Hansen & Leuty, 2012). It is also grounded in a biased assumption that age (any age) is a determining factor of one's ability, talent and potential. Age discrimination can also be perceived through biased decision making and unfair behaviours from superiors or coworkers. In summary, anyone who is subject to unfair or different treatment in the context of his or her employment on the basis of age experiences age discrimination in the workplace (Zacher & Steinvik, 2015).

Although the research in the field of age discrimination has often taken the position of addressing discrimination against the elderly, the assumption that younger employees are not susceptible to age discrimination is not true. For example, Garstka, Hummert & Branscombe (2005) as well as Snape & Redman (2003) indicate that younger employees are in some cases treated less favourably than older employees, so neither younger nor older employees are unaffected by age discrimination (Gee, Plavalko & Long, 2007). Whether older or younger, employees who are subject to age discrimination feel tremendous psychological pressure and burdens. Often, they develop self-defeating patterns of behaviour. Research shows that, similar to other diversity demographics (e.g. gender and race), age diversity rarely has a single effect (Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007). Bias in the form of age discrimination can have a negative effect on productivity (Thorsen, et al., 2012) and the employee-employer relationship (Zacher & Steinvik, 2015), as well as affect working conditions (McCann & Giles, 2002), employee engagement (James, McKechine, Swanberf & Besen, 2013), job satisfaction (Macdonald & Levy, 2016) and one's general life outlook (Donizzetti, 2019).

Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction is a desired or pleasant, positive emotional state which results from the employee's experience at work and represents one of the most important constructs in organizational studies (e.g. Judge, Bono & Locke, 2000). It defines an individual's assessment or experience of all aspects of work (working conditions, elements of work, the workplace, etc.) that are important to him or her (Mullins, 2005). More specifically, it is an individual's emotional response to the work environment, or a result of comparing one's own expectations of one's work and the opportunities offered by work (Armstrong-Stassen & Ursel, 2009) with organizational reality**.** Job satisfaction is indissolubly connected with the work environment, e.g. interpersonal relations (Thorsen at. al., 2012) and social support. Factors such as reward, recognition, cooperation, fair treatment by leaders, sensible organization policy, team spirit, etc. can increase job satisfaction (Abraham, 2012). The impact of interpersonal collaboration can have a positive effect, while the impact of intergenerational differentiation (manifested through age discrimination) can have a negative effect on job satisfaction. Those who perceive the environment positively and interpersonal interactions to be emotionally or instrumentally rewarding with a low perceived degree of age discrimination are usually more satisfied with their work than those who do not (Ducharme & Martin, 2000). Job satisfaction is consequently built on the correspondence between the needs and desires of employees and organizational reality. When employees perceive their job to fulfil their needs, values and personal characteristics, their job satisfaction rises (Ellickson & Logsdon, 2001). Job satisfaction is one of the key prerequisites for an individual's work achievements. Satisfied employees are more productive (Syptak, Marsland & Ulmer, 1999), and according to some studies (using a facet approach to job satisfaction) even more engaged (e.g. Bellani, Ramadhani & Tamar, 2017).

Employee Engagement

Because employee engagement is personified by how an employee thinks, feels and acts in regard to the organizational goals (Cook, 2008) and consequently predicts many positive outcomes for organizations (Saks, 2006), engaging employees is one of the most important management challenges (Avery et al., 2007). "Employee engagement is an individual employee's cognitive, emotional, and behavioural state, directed toward the desired organizational outcomes" (Shuck & Wollard, 2010, p. 103). Cognitive engagement refers to the beliefs about one's employer and the workplace culture, emotional engagement refers to how an employee feels about the workplace (it forms meaningful connections among co-workers [Bakker, 2011]), and behavioural engagement refers to willingness to engage one's job responsibilities to reach high levels of productivity and performance (Shuck & Reio, 2011). It can also be characterized by a "positive fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is characterized by vigour, dedication and absorption" (Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzales-Roma & Bakker, 2002, p. 74). Engagement arises in employees who are emotionally connected with others (Kahn, 1990). Kahn pointed out that those who perceive more supportive conditions for their type of authentic expression tend to be engaged. He assumed that employee engagement requires three psychological preconditions in the workplace: meaningfulness, psychological safety and availability (Ibid.). Schaufeli & Bakker (2004) found a positive relationship between employee engagement and job resources, such as performance feedback, social support, etc. They stated that the most important situational factor in predicting work engagement is work resources (Ibid.). Saks (2006) supports this claims in the framework of social exchange theory. He explains that if the management of an organization devotes to employees the resources needed, they will respond to the organization's devotion by being engaged. Alfez, Shantz, Truss & Soane (2013) also associated employee engagement with organizational support and employee-manager relationships. May, Gilson & Harter (2004) reported that individuals with a rewarding interpersonal interaction with their coworkers expressed greater psychological safety at work, which is also a prerequisite of engagement. Engaged employees are, after all, those who through the work environment feel energetic, dedicated and immersed at their work (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2008). By taking into account the research in this area and broadening the findings, this paper further suggests that intergenerational differences and age (dis)similarities to one's coworkers could have an impact on the level of employee engagement.

The Research Subject and Hypothesized Structural Relationship Model

This research aims to address the relationship between the intergenerational differentiation in the form of age discrimination, job satisfaction and employee engagement. None of the previous studies attempted to integrate these three constructs into a comprehensive model. Prior research and literature have shown that coworker relationships influence employee attitudes and behaviours (Avery et

al., 2007). Findings also suggests that coworker relations may impact job satisfaction and employee engagement. The hypothesized relationship model shown in Figure 1 is based on the assumption that intergenerational differentiation (in form of age discrimination) have a direct effect on job satisfaction and employee engagement. The relationship between intergenerational differentiation (age-discrimination), job satisfaction and work engagement can be understood as a social exchange between the worker and the organization. Social exchange theory (SET) (Blau, 1964; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) suggests that workers who feel valued, appreciated and receive socio-economic resources (from the organization) will be satisfied and reciprocally give organizational investment back in the forms of increased satisfaction, engagement and performance (Kahn, 1990; Saks, 2006; Sousa et al., 2019). May et al. (2004) also found that workers who have rewarding interpersonal interaction with their coworkers expressed greater psychological safety at work, a significant marker of engagement. The hypothesized model is in line with previous research that shows job satisfaction as a driver and an antecedent of employee engagement (Abraham, 2012; Avery et al., 2007; Garg & Kumar, 2012). Employee engagement is related and, in its ambiguous conceptualization, overlapped with some other well-known constructs (e.g. job satisfaction) (e.g. Nimon, Schuck, & Zigarmi, 2015). It differs from job satisfaction because it combines an increased high level of work pleasure (dedication) with high activation (vigour, absorption), while job satisfaction is typically a more passive form of employee well-being (Bakker & Hakanen, 2014). In fact, many researchers (Djoemadi, Setiawan, Noermijati & Irawanto, 2019; Shmailan, 2015) found that job satisfaction has a significant and direct effect on employee engagement. Job satisfaction is an important driver of work engagement, which (compared to job satisfaction, itself) is directly related to individual and organization performance.

To obtain a more thorough understanding of the psychosocial factors influencing job satisfaction and engagement, structural equation modelling (SEM) was used. The hypothesized research model shown in Figure 1 was tested (using SEM) on two different age groups, older and younger workers.

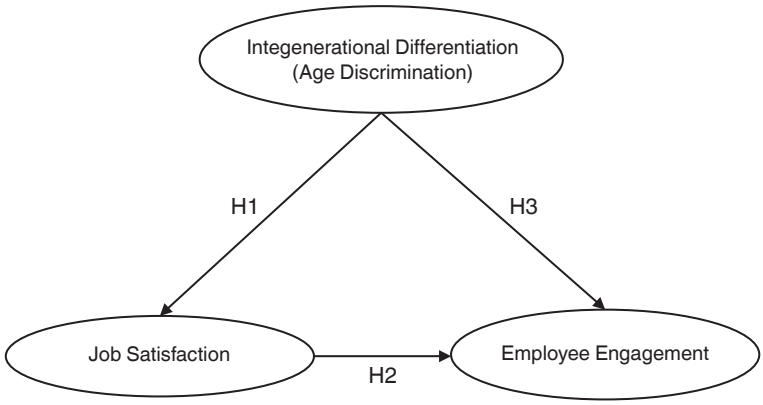


Figure 1. *Hypothesized Model of Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) Effect on Job Satisfaction and Employee Engagement.*

Methodology

Participants and the Procedure

To obtain a more complete understanding of the age discrimination influencing job satisfaction and engagement, this study utilized an age diverse national sample of 1505 workers from a range of occupations and organizations in Slovenia. Participants (n = 1505) were employees of 25 Slovenian organizations recruited through a random sample. The sample was divided between 750 older employees and 755 younger employees. More specifically, socio-demographic characteristics of the overall sample relative to categorisation – older and younger employees – are shown in Table 1. According to the International Classification of Economic Activities (ISIC), participating organizations operated in different parts of industries (Table 2). All organizations involved were approximately equally distributed between the public and private sectors. Out of 25 organizations, 13 (53.5 %) of them (806 employees) were part of the private sector and 12 (46.4 %) were part of the public sector (699 employees).

Table 1. *Socio Demographic Characteristic of Sample*
(n = 1505, Younger Employees n = 755, Older Employees n = 750)

	Total sample		Younger employees		Older employees	
	Total	n (%)	Total	n (%)	Total	n (%)
Gender						
Male	679	45.1	322	42.6	357	47.6
Female	826	54.9	433	57.3	393	52.4
Age						
18–28	250	16.6	250	33.1	/	/
29–35	505	33.5	505	66.8	/	/
55–60	677	44.3	/	/	677	90.2
> 60	73	4.8	/	/	73	9.7
Level of education						
Non-university	754	50.1	348	46.1	406	54.1
University	751	49.9	407	53.9	334	45.9
Position in organization						
Non-Leader	1313	12.8	686	90.9	627	83.6
Leader	192	87.2	69	9.1	123	16.4
Field of work						
Blue collar	719	47.9	346	48.0	373	51.8
White collar	786	52.1	409	52.0	377	48.2

Table 2. *List of Participating Companies According to the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC)*

ISIC code		n of companies	n of employees	Share of participants in the sample (%)
C	Manufacturing	10	632	41.9
P	Education	6	344	22.8
Q	Human health and social work activities	4	236	15.6
I	Accommodation and food service activities	2	116	7.7
R	Arts, entertainment and recreation	1	60	3.9
M	Professional, scientific and technical activities	1	59	3.9
J	Information and communication	1	58	3.8
		25	1505	100

The inclusion criterion for participation was holding an employment contract for either a fixed-term or an indefinite period. The age criterion for inclusion was divided into two groups: from 18 through 35 years old and from 55 and on. Inclusion criterion was also a Slovenian citizenship. Additional inclusion criteria for organizations were that they operate in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia (the primary activity the labour force is located in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia) and have at least 30 employees who were less than 35 years old and at least 30 employees who were more than 55 years old. On the basis of the inclusion criteria described above, the HR department representative of each organization sent a link to the questionnaires via e-mail. The average time to complete a set of questionnaires, including socio-demographic variables, was 8 minutes. All participants were granted full anonymity and given the opportunity to see their own results after they had completed the questionnaires (and data were analysed). Data collection took place from January to July 2018.

Research Tools

Participants filled out three different questionnaires. First was the *Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure*, a self-assessment questionnaire which included seven items. The participants assessed the frequency of behaviour on a 7-point rating scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (always). Participants rated, for example:

- (IGD1) I feel that in communication other employees look down on me and regard me as inferior because of my age;
- (IGD2) In my work, I only work with employees of my age/generation;
- (IGD3) Other employees don't appreciate my knowledge and skills due to my age;
- (IGD4) My manager micromanages my work due to my age;
- (IGD5) Due to my age, I constantly have to do the tasks that the rest of the staff refuses;
- (IGD6) My superiors humiliate me because of my age;
- (IGD7) In my workplace, I only cooperate with employees of my age.

The higher the ratings total of the items, the more the intergenerational differentiation in the workplace is perceived. Based on a preliminary study, the original questionnaire was reduced from 8 to 7 items of intergenerational differentiation. The internal reliability for both questionnaires' variations was adequately high (8 items, $\alpha = .79$; 7 items, $\alpha = .81$), although removal of an item improved internal reliability. Items were then divided into two subsections of factors – cooperation (2 items) and discrimination (5 items). During a preliminary study, it was determined that the results are not equally distributed.

The second questionnaire, *Job Satisfaction Questionnaire*, also a self-assessment questionnaire was developed and used in a broader project of measuring organizational climate and job satisfaction in Slovenia (SiOK). On a 6-point frequency rating scale ranging from 1 (very unsatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied) it measures 11 different facets of job satisfaction, i.e. satisfaction with: (SAT1) work,

(SAT2) direct superiors, (SAT3) salary, (SAT4) status within the organization, (SAT5) working conditions (equipment, premises), (SAT6) training opportunities, (SAT7) continuity of employment, and (SAT8) working hours. Based on a preliminary study, the original questionnaire was reduced from 11 to 8 items or facets of job satisfaction. The internal reliability of the 11-item questionnaire (α = .87) decreased (α = .83) for shortened 8 items questionnaire. The decrease in internal reliability was minimal, corresponding with the reduced number of facets. All the remaining features of the original questionnaire were maintained.

The third questionnaire was *the Employee Engagement Questionnaire Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9).* Participants completed a 9-item shortened version of the established 17-item measure of employee engagement self-reported questionnaire called the UWES-9 (Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzales-Roma & Bakker, 2002). The reason for a shorter version was time-effectiveness and adequately high internal reliability (α = .85–.92). An additional advantage was its free accessibility online. Participants assessed the frequency of behaviour on a 7-point frequency rating scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (always). They rated: (ENG1) At my work, I feel bursting with energy, (ENG2) At my job, I feel strong and vigorous, (ENG3) I am enthusiastic about my job, (ENG4) My job inspires me, (ENG5) When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to work, (ENG6) I feel happy when I am working intensely, (ENG7) I am proud of the work that I do, (ENG8) I am immersed in my job, (ENG9) I get carried away when I am working.

All three questionnaires together form 24 indicators – the *Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure* (7 indicators), the *Job Satisfaction Questionnaire* (8 indicators) and *Utrecht Work Engagement Scale UWES-9* (9 indicators). In addition, participants were asked to answer 5 socio-demographic questions regarding their gender, age, level of education, position in their organization (leader or non-leader) and field of work (blue or white collar). Altogether there were 29 items analysed in the survey.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed with the IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 and IBM SPSS AMOS. First, descriptive statistics (average and standard deviation) and correlation analysis (Spearman's correlation test [ρ]) were employed. After testing for normality of the distribution, exploratory factor analysis with principal components and varimax rotation was undertaken to examine which indicators comprised coherent groups of items (factors). Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was based on findings of exploratory factor analysis (EFA). CFA was made using a maximum likelihood method, which can be used in most cases where non-normality is present (Finney & DiStefano, 2006). The Kaiser criterion was applied to select the number of factors (Blaikie, 2003) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test and Bartlett's test of sphericity were applied to measure the sampling adequacy (Munro, 2005). The hypothesized model (interaction between the latent and manifest variables and their impact were studied simultaneously) was tested using structural equation modelling (SEM).

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Analysis

Descriptive statistics (averages and standard deviations) and correlation analysis for the variables are presented in Table 3. This analysis included 19 items across the three constructs (Intergenerational Differentiation (4 items), Job Satisfaction (6 items) and Employee Engagement (9 items)). During the analysis the findings of the preliminary study were confirmed; data acquired with the Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure were not equally distributed. The results of Spearman's correlation coefficients between indicators showed that all indicators correlate. The highest values of correlations are among indicators of the same construct, e.g. Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) correlated moderately and strongly. The strongest correlation was between age discrimination on the basis of inadequate knowledge and discriminatory (inferior) communication because of employees' age. In the construct for job satisfaction, the highest correlation was between satisfaction with working hours and continuity of employment. Among indicators of Employee Engagement all correlations were strong. As expected, all indicators of Employee Engagement correlated moderately with satisfaction with work. Also, most Employee Engagement indicators correlated moderately with satisfaction with working hours. Correlations between indicators of Intergenerational Differentiation, Job Satisfaction and Employee Engagement were negative and weak (see Table 3).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis, Reliability and Validity

After examining EFA, CFA was performed. The model was simplified to ensure a proper model fit. Variables with low factor loadings were excluded. In the case of Intergenerational Differentiation 3 out of 7 items were excluded, in the case of Job Satisfaction 2 items out of 8 were excluded, and in the case of Employee Engagement none was excluded. Indicators were eliminated from the scale in consideration of their utility. According to different authors, the exclusion criteria can be very different. Regarding several authors mentioned below, which for interpretive purposes propose different cut-off limits, current factor loadings in combination with sample size is far above the cut-off limit (MacCallum, Widaman, Preacher & Hong, 2001; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). CFA also showed that the model fits the data adequately (all factor loadings were higher than .5) which indicates that all the latent variables are represented by the indicators (Table 4).

In Table 4, indicators of reliability and validity of the constructs in the model were calculated. Composite reliability (CR) and convergent validity (AVE) were achieved in all cases. Internal consistency was identified with Cronbach's alpha coefficient. As seen from Table 4, all Cronbach alpha coefficients were between acceptable and very good (Cortina, 1993). All scales of measurement here are therefore valid and reliable with a high level of internal reliability and adequate discriminant validity.

Table 3. *Average Values (M), Standard Deviations (SD) and Sperman's Correlation Coefficients, between Indicators of the Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure (IGD), Job Satisfaction Questionnaire (JSQ) and Employee Engagement (UWES-9)*

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
IGD1	2.13	1.409	1																		
IGD3	1.84	1.341	.635**	1																	
IGD4	2.06	1.504	.532**	.548**	1																
IGD5	2.14	1.498	.499**	.458**	.510**	1															
SAT1	3.9	0.824	–.165**	–.170**	–.191**	–.224**	1														
SAT2	3.74	1.064	–.225**	–.187**	–.241**	–.245**	.530**	1													
SAT3	2.95	1.045	–.143**	–.132**	–.188**	–.202**	.477**	.413**	1												
SAT4	3.48	0.955	–.228**	–.204**	–.236**	–.263**	.544**	.531**	.606**	1											
SAT5	3.6	1.063	–.166**	–.171**	–.215**	–.206**	.450**	.434**	.435**	.520**	1										
SAT6	3.51	1.038	–.155**	–.162**	–.184**	–.202**	.489**	.462**	.445**	.563**	.542**	1									
ENG1	4.57	1.312	–.114**	–.131**	–.219**	–.189**	.461**	.374**	.382**	.384**	.310**	.328**	1								
ENG2	4.71	1.299	–.135**	–.125**	–.205**	–.203**	.495**	.416**	.376**	.423**	.332**	.346**	.793**	1							
ENG3	4.95	1.351	–.140**	–.136**	–.194**	–.191**	.518**	.391**	.388**	.440**	.356**	.371**	.652**	.714**	1						
ENG4	4.65	1.538	–.170**	–.181**	–.215**	–.224**	.524**	.398**	.418**	.473**	.369**	.418**	.663**	.690**	.813**	1					
ENG5	4.56	1.548	–.136**	–.144**	–.218**	–.241**	.528**	.432**	.416**	.466**	.336**	.389**	.650**	.710**	.737**	.778**	1				
ENG6	4.67	1.610	–.135**	–.103**	–.213**	–.216**	.454**	.362**	.380**	.408**	.345**	.334**	.633**	.669**	.663**	.691**	.763**	1			
ENG7	5.35	1.513	–.149**	–.149**	–.227**	–.194**	.472**	.364**	.369**	.420**	.329**	.356**	.581**	.609**	.716**	.692**	.710**	.684**	1		
ENG8	5.11	1.469	–.159**	–.145**	–.223**	–.213**	.486**	.381**	.370**	.429**	.349**	.356**	.610**	.642**	.691**	.716**	.715**	.734**	.757**	1	
ENG9	5.08	1.448	–.148**	–.145**	–.217**	–.229**	.455**	.345**	.329**	.385**	.324**	.328**	.597**	.612**	.687**	.705**	.677**	.693**	.708**	.831**	1

Note: **p < .01

Table 4. *Standardized Factor Loadings, Validity and Reliability Indicators (n = 1505)*

Variable	Construct	λ	Composite Reliability (CR)	Cronbach α	Convergent Validity (AVE)
(IGD1)	Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace (Age Discrimination)	0.821	0.890	0.820	0.543
(IGD3)		0.776			
(IGD4)		0.694			
(IGD5)		0.643			
(SAT1)	Job Satisfaction	0.724	0.923	0.854	0.502
(SAT2)		0.668			
(SAT3)		0.689			
(SAT4)		0.809			
(SAT5)		0.662			
(SAT6)		0.695			
(ENG1)	Employee Engagement	0.781	0.977	0.958	0.719
(ENG2)		0.815			
(ENG3)		0.867			
(ENG4)		0.879			
(ENG5)		0.875			
(ENG6)		0.838			
(ENG7)		0.851			
(ENG8)		0.872			
(ENG9)		0.849			

Discriminant validity was also tested in order to avoid the possibility of multicollinearity. Discriminant validity shown in Table 5 determines whether the constructs in the model are highly correlated among each other or not. It compares the Square Root of AVE of a particular construct with the correlation between that construct with other constructs. The value of the Square Root of AVE should be higher than correlations. As Table 6 shows, all values of correlations are lower than AVE (convergent validity), so latent factors are appropriately explained by the observed variables (Henseler, Ringe & Sarstedt, 2015).

Table 5. *Discriminant Validity of Factors (Job Satisfaction, Employee Engagement and Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination)) (n = 1505)*

		Job Satisfaction	Employee Engagement	Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination)
SIC	AVE			
Job Satisfaction	0.709	0.709		
Employee Engagement	0.848	0.703	0.848	
Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination)	0.737	–0,357	-0.257	0.737

Structural Equation Model

The model presents a good fit of the data. The Table 6 shows multiple indexes of fit which were developed to address sensitivity in the chi-square statistic. Regarding chi-square statistic sensitivity to the sample size, it is no longer relied upon as a

basis for acceptance or rejection of a model (Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger & Müller, 2003; Vandenberg 2006). As a result, multiple fit indexes were estimated to provide a more holistic view of fit, taking into account not only the sample size but also model complexity and other relevant issues of the study. Indexes CFI, TLI and NFI approved the model fit. PNFI also indicates that the model shown in Figure 1 is parsimonious.

The structural equation model (Figure 2) follows the hypothesized model based on theoretical findings. It includes three constructs (Intergenerational Differentiation measured in a form of Age Discrimination, Job Satisfaction and Employee Engagement). Overall, the structural model included 19 observed variables.

Table 6. *Model Fit (n = 1505)*

Model	χ^2	df	RMESEA (90% CI)	CFI	TLI	NFI	PNFI	p
DU(S/V)	1704	150	0.083 [0.079; 0.087]	0.924	0.914	0.918	0.805	.000

Note: χ^2 – Minimum of Discrepancy, df – Degrees of Freedom, RMSEA – Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (< 0.05 or 0.08), CI – Confidence Interval, CFI – Comparative Fit Index (> 0.90), TLI – Tucker Lewis Index (> 0.90), NFI – Normed Fit Index (> 0.90), PNFI – Parsimonious Normed Fit Index (> 0.60).

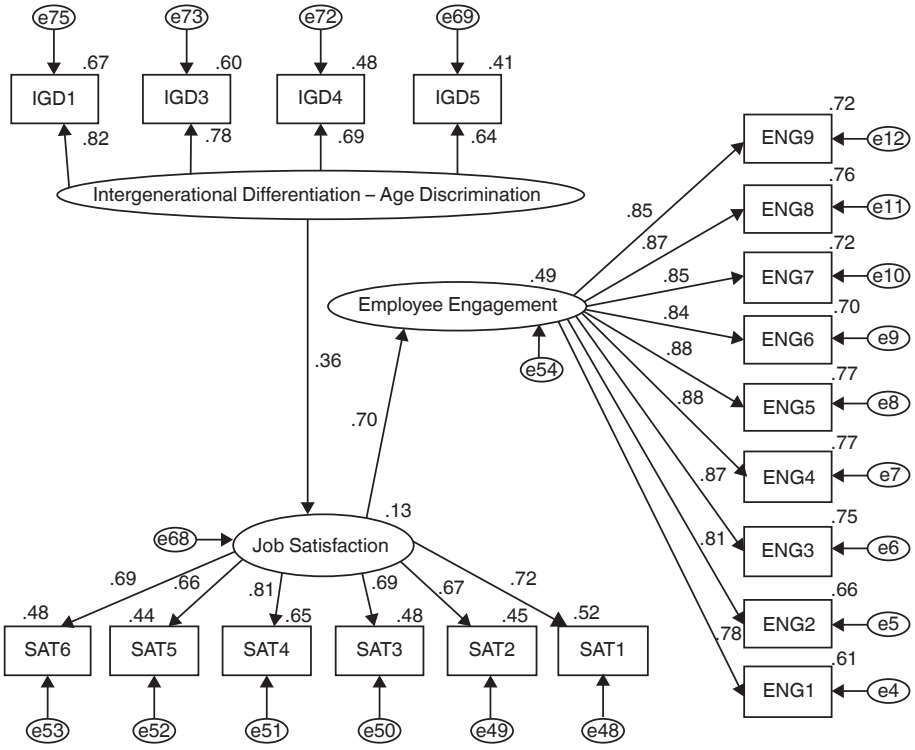


Figure 2. *Structural Equation Model (n = 1505)*

The structural equation model tested on the sample (n = 1505) shows a negative but weak (–.36) although direct effect of Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) on Job Satisfaction. Figure 2 also shows a high (.70) effect of Job Satisfaction on Employee Engagement. Even though the direct effect of Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) is not statistically significant, an indirect effect on Employee Engagement is shown. Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) explains a relatively small (13%) proportion of Job Satisfaction. On the other hand, there is a significantly larger (49%) proportion of Employee Engagement explained by Job Satisfaction and Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) that contributes to the variance explained by its indirect influence. Both factors explain almost half of the variance of Employee Engagement, so the predictive strength of the model with two predictive factors is estimated as relatively good. In additional research, more factors that improve the predictive strength of the model should be identified and incorporated.

When the structural equation model shown in Figure 2 is compared over the two age cohorts, older (n = 750) and younger (n = 755) employees, the data in Table 7 shows that the effect of Intergenerational Differentiation is negative but higher (–.41) for the sample of older employees than the sample of younger (–.32) employees. Intergenerational Differentiation had greater influence on Job Satisfaction among older employees (greater Age Discrimination corresponds to lower Job Satisfaction). In the group of younger employees, Age Discrimination played a less important role regarding Job Satisfaction.

Table 7. *Regression Weights/Influence and R Square Based on a Sample of Older (n = 750) and Younger (n = 755) Employees*

			Older	Younger
Regression weights/influence				
Job Satisfaction	<-	Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination)	–0.41	–0.32
Employee Engagement	<-	Job Satisfaction	0.71	0.70
R Square				
Job Satisfaction			0.16	0.10
Employee Engagement			0.50	0.49

There is little difference regarding the effect of Job Satisfaction on Employee Engagement between younger and older employees. Moreover, Intergenerational Differentiation account for (explains) a greater degree of Job Satisfaction of older employees (16%) than younger (10%). There is almost no difference in the effect of Job Satisfaction on Employee Engagement between the age groups.

Consistent with the lower effect of Intergenerational Differentiation on Job Satisfaction in the younger employee segment, in that age group Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) also make up a lower percent of the explained variance (6% less) than in the age group of older employees.

Discussion

Results of the research confirm the relationship between Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination), Job Satisfaction and Employee Engagement. The hypothesized model was partly confirmed during the analysis. The study confirms that there is a negative but significant direct effect of Intergenerational Differentiation, manifested through Age Discrimination on Job Satisfaction (H1). Also, the findings of Alarcon & Edwards (2011) were confirmed when a significant direct effect of Job Satisfaction on Employee Engagement was (H2) shown. The effect of Intergenerational Differentiation on Employee Engagement is indirect through its effect on Job Satisfaction (H3), as the direct effect was not found as significant. Findings are conclusive and in alignment with SET theory (Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005) and the position of Job Satisfaction as a driver of Employee Engagement (e.g. Abraham, 2012).

A focus of interest was also on how Age Discrimination affects Job Satisfaction and Employee Engagement in groups of young and old employees. The analysis showed that, statistically, the group of younger employees differs significantly from the older employees regarding the effect of Age Discrimination on Job Satisfaction. Intergenerational Differentiation had a higher influence on Job Satisfaction among older employees. Age Discrimination was perceived as more influential while Job Satisfaction was perceived as less. Also, in the age group of younger employees, Age Discrimination played a less important role in relation to job satisfaction. This could be partly understood through generativity (role of older people to nurture and guide younger people and care for the next generation) (Kuther, 2016) and partly through Socio-emotional selectivity theory (SST) (Carstensen, 1992). SST suggests that older people, relative to younger, have greater selection preferences for social contact that fulfils quality relational needs (Carstensen, 1992) and are more focused on maintaining positive emotions and psychological well-being (Carstensen, 1998). Due to the high importance of interpersonal relationships for older employees, Age Discrimination had more erosive effect on older than on younger employees. Moreover, there were statistically different effects of Job Satisfaction on employee engagement between age groups. The predictive strength of the model was 1 % higher in explaining .50 of variance of Employee Engagement and 6 % higher in explaining Job Satisfaction in .16 in the group of older employees, compared to younger employees.

Limitation and Future Research

It should be pointed out that research had certain limitations and that the conclusions based on the results are also limited. First and foremost, the design of the research tools was based or subject to self-assessment (perception of one's own experience of the work environment). Perception always reflects a certain degree of subjectivity, or from another perspective, individuals could only evaluate those aspects of the work that they have become aware of. One of the potential drawbacks of the research was also the conceptualization of Intergenerational Differentiation in the Workplace Measure. The developed and used measuring instrument should serve as the basis or stepping stone for future researchers to construct a superior instrument which will be

(by its conceptualisation) more complex to include more factors. To further explore this field, a higher quality research tool would need to be constructed to comprehensively capture intergenerational differences regarding knowledge transfer, cooperation, etc. Lastly, the sampling process and the structure of the sample should also be taken into account. The acquisition of organizations that were invited to participate was entirely ad hoc. Both organizations and participants (i.e. employees) volunteered for the survey. In this light, a reasonable suspicion has been made: with greater engagement and participation of a particular organization, the more it has (or at least its management structures considered to have) a more optimal (age discrimination free) work environment, higher levels of satisfaction and engagement. Thus, it can be concluded that environments whose leadership did not share this view elected not to participate. Similarly, employees who participated in the research may have considered themselves more satisfied and engaged than the others.

Conclusion

Increasing age diversity in modern organizations is calling to an increased awareness of intergenerational differentiation and the effects of age discrimination on favourable organizational and personal outcomes. It calls for re-evaluation of organizational practice and management, and recognition of the perception of other older workers who hold somewhat different work values (Smola & Sutton, 2002). The findings of study present key implications for both human resource management and employees. It serves as a better insight into effects of age discrimination across age groups. While several studies have already been performed, much time and effort still need to be invested in composing a more detailed multifactor age discriminate measure, and consequently more detailed research.

Despite the above limitations, the study results provide important insight into effects of age discrimination on job satisfaction and employee engagement. First of all, it confirmed the established relationship between job satisfaction (examined by the facet approach) as an antecedent and predictor of employee engagement (Bellani, Ramadhani & Tamar, 2017). Also, perceived age discrimination had a larger direct effect on job satisfaction among older than young employees. Moreover, the data analysis showed that in the group of older employees, age discrimination explained a larger proportion of job satisfaction among older employees and also a larger proportion of their engagement. Results of this study suggest that older employees are more susceptible to age discrimination and that perceived age discrimination causes more negative effects on positive employee outcomes than it does on younger employees. Findings are conclusive with findings of Fung et al. (2016) who found that older people had lower endorsement of agentic personal values and higher endorsement of communal personal values than did younger people. This highlights the importance of interpersonal contact, relationships, and instrumental and emotional help for older generations which according to researchers sits in a negative relation to age discrimination (Chou & Choi, 2011). It also offers important data for HR practitioners and organization management who should systematically and holistically develop

and implement approaches to prevent age discrimination, especially towards older employees.

Although the differences among younger and older employees were statistically significant, it is valuable to note that only the effect from Intergenerational Differentiation (Age Discrimination) on Job Satisfaction showed an important predictive difference between the age cohorts, explaining more about Job Satisfaction among older employees compared to younger. All other differences in the model showed that the predictive model for both groups are largely alike. This suggests, to different degrees for both age cohorts and in the broader social context, that age discrimination where it derives from differences in age-related values and structural changes can have negative impacts on social cohesion and well-being (Abrams & Swift, 2012; Stokes & Moorman, 2019). In addition to those impacts, when those differences take the form of discrimination, more negative individual and socio-economic effects abound, such as segregation and exclusion (Simms, 2004). These forms of estrangement and isolation shock and weaken the integrity of social institutions and foundations, undermining family and community structure while further burdening the welfare state (Stypinska & Nikander, 2018). On the other hand, older employees have greater need for social and emotional support, and this presents a greater opportunity for knowledge transfer that would fulfil and maximize the positive individual and social aspects of intergenerational differences.

References

Abrams, D., & Swift, H. J. (2012). Ageism Doesn't Work. *Public Policy & Aging Report*, 22(3), 3–8. doi: 10.1093/ppar/22.3.3

Abraham, S. (2012). Job Satisfaction as an Antecedent to Employee Engagement. *SIES Journal of Management*, 8(2), 27–36.

Alarcon, G. M., & Edwards, J. M. (2011). The Relationship of Engagement, Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intentions. *Stress and Health*, 27(3), 294–298. doi: 10.1002/smi.1365

Alfez, K., Shantz, A. D., Truss, C., & Soane, E. C. (2013). The Link between Perceived Human Resource Management Practices, Engagement and Employee Behavior: A Moderated Mediation Model. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24, 330–351. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2012.679950

Armstrong-Stassen, M., & Usrel, N. (2009). Perceived Organizational Support, Career Satisfaction and the Retention of Older Workers. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82(1), 201–220. doi: 10.1348/096317908X288838

Avery, D., McKay, P. F., & Wilson, D. C. (2007). Engaging the Ageing Workforce: The Relationship Between Perceived Age Similarity, Satisfaction with Coworkers and Employee Engagement. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(6), 1542–1556. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.92.6.1542

Bakker, A. B., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2008). Positive Organizational Behavior: Engaged Employees in Flourishing Organizations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 29(2), 147–154. doi: 10.1002/job.515

Bakker, A. B. (2011). An Evidence-Based Model of Work Engagement. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 20(4), 265–269. doi: 10.1177/0963721411414534

Bakker, A. & Hakanen, J. J. (2014). Work Engagement Among Public Dentists. In R. J. Burke, A. J. Noble & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Human Resource Management in the Public Sector* (pp. 109–131). Cheltenham, UK: Edwards Elgar.

Bayl-Smith, P., & Griffin, B. (2014). Age Discrimination in the Workplace: Identifying as a Late-Career Worker and Its Relationship with Engagement and Intended Retirement Age. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 44(9), 588–599. doi: 10.1111/jasp.12251

Bellani, E., Ramadhani, S. R., & Tamar, M. (2017). Job Satisfaction as Predictor of Employee Engagement. In *Advances in Social Science, Education and Human Research (Volume 127). 8th International Conference of Asian Association of Indigenous and Cultural Psychology (ICAAIP2017)* (pp. 15–19). Atlantis Press. doi: 10.2991/icaaip-17.2018.4

Bentley, T. A., Teo, S. T., Catley, B., Blackwood, K., Roche, M., & O'Driscoll, M. P. (2019). Factors Influencing Leave Intentions among Older Workers: a Moderated-Mediation Model. *Personnel Review*, 48(4), 989–914. doi: 10.1108/PR-03-2018-0095

Blaikie, N. (2003). *Analyzing Quantitative Data from Description to Explanation*. London, UK: Sage Publications. doi: 10.4135/9781849208604

Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York: John Wiley.

Brown, T. N. (2001). Measuring Self-Perceived Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Social Surveys. *Sociological Spectrum*, 21, 377–392. doi: 10.1080/027321701300202046

Carstensen, L. L. (1992). Social and Emotional Patterns in Adulthood: Support for Socioemotional Selectivity Theory. *Psychology and Ageing*, 7(3), 331–338. doi: 10.1037/0882-7974.7.3.331

Carstensen, L. L. (1998). A Life-Span Approach to Social Motivation. In J. Heckhausen & C. S. Dweck (Eds.), *Motivation and Self-Regulation Across the Life Span* (pp. 341–364). Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511527869.015

Cavanaugh, J. C., & Blanchard-Fields, F. (2006). *Adult Development and Ageing* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Chand, M., & Tung, R. L. (2014). The Ageing of the World's Population and Its Effects on Global Business. *Academy of Management Perspective*, 28(4), 409–429. doi: 10.5465/amp.2012.0070

Chou, R. J., & Choi, N. C. (2011). Prevalence and Correlates of Perceived Workplace Discrimination among Older Workers in the United States of America. *Ageing and Society*, 31, 1051–1070. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X10001297

Cook, S. (2008). *Essential Guide to Employee Engagement: Better Business Performance Through Staff Satisfaction*. London, UK: Kogan Page.

Costanza, D.P., & Finkelstein, L.M. (2015). Generationally Based Differences in the Workplace: Is There a *There* There? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 8(3), 308–323. doi: 10.1017/iop.2015.15

Cortina, J.M. (1993). What Is Coefficient Alpha? An Examination of Theory and Applications. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(1), 98–104. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.78.1.98

Cropanzano, R.R., & Mitchell, M.S. (2005). Social Exchange Theory. An Interdisciplinary Review. *Journal of Management*, 31(6), 874–900. doi: 10.1177/0149206305279602

Davar, S.C., & RanjuBala. (2012). Relationship between Job Satisfaction & Job Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *The Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, 48(2), 290–305. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23509839

Djoemadi, F.R., Setiawan, M., Noermijati N., & Irawanto, D.W. (2019). The Effect of Work Satisfaction on Employee Engagement. *Polish Journal of Management Studies*, 2(2), 101–111. Retrieved from https://pjms.zim.pcz.pl/resources/html/article/details?id=190168

Donizzetti, A.R. (2019). Ageism in an Aging Society: The Role of Knowledge, Anxiety about Ageing, and Stereotypes in Young People and Adults. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 16(8), 1329 doi: 10.3390/ijerph16081329

Ducharme, L.J., & Martin, J.K. (2000). Unrewarding Work, Coworker Support and Job Satisfaction: A Test of the Buffering Hypothesis. *Work and Occupations*, 27(2), 223–243. doi: 10.1177/0730888400027002005

Ellickson, M.C., & Logsdon, K. (2001). Determinants of Job Satisfaction of Municipal Government Employees. *Personnel Administration*, 33(3), 343–358. doi: 10.1177/0160323X0103300302

Finney, S.J., & DiStefano, C. (2006). Non-Normal and Categorical Data in Structural Equation Modeling. In G.R. Hancock & R.D. Mueller (Eds.), *Structural Equation Modeling: A Second Course* (pp. 269–314). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Finkelstein, L.M., & Farrell, S.K. (2007). An Expanded View of Age Bias in the Workplace. In K.S. Shultz & G.A. Adams (Eds.), *Applied Psychology Series. Ageing and Work in the 21st Century* (pp. 73–108). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Fung, H.H., Ho, Y.W., Zhang, R., Zhang, X., Noels, K.A. & Tam, K.P. (2016). Age Differences in Personal Values: Universal or Cultural Specific? *Psychology and Ageing*, 31(3), 274–286. doi: 10.1007/s10433-009-0130-z

Garg, A. A., & Kumar, V. (2012). A Study of Employee Engagement in Pharmaceutical Sector. *International Journal of Research in IT and Management*, 2(5), 85–98.

Garstka, T. A., Hummert, M. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (2005). Perceiving Age Discrimination in Response to Intergenerational Inequity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), 321–342. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00408.x

Gee, G. C., Plavalko, E. K., & Long, J. S. (2007). Age, Cohort and Perceived Age Discrimination: Using the Life Course to Assess Self – Reported Age Discrimination. *Social Forces*, 86(1), 265–290.

Glover, I., & Branine, M. (2001). *Ageism in Work and Employment*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Hansen, J. C., & Leuty, M. E. (2012). Work Values Across Generations. *Journal of Career Assesment*, 20(1), 34–52. doi: 10.1177/1069072711417163

Heckhausen, J., Wroch, C., & Shultz, R. (2010). A Motivational Theory of a Life-Span Development. *Psychology Review*, 117(1), 32–60. doi: 10.1037/a0017668

Henseler, J., Ringle, C. M., & Sarstedt, M. (2015). A New Criterion for Assessing Discriminant Validity in Variance-Based Structural Equation Modeling. *Journal of the Academic of Marketing Science,* 43(1), 115–135. doi: 10.1007/s11747-014-0403-8

Horwitz, S., & Horwitz, I. B. (2007). The Effects of Team Diversity on Team Outcomes: A Meta-Analytic Review of Team Demography. *Journal of Management*, 33(6), 987–1015. doi: 10.1177/0149206307308587

James, J. B., McKechnie, S., & Swanberg, J. (2011). Predicting Employee Engagement in an Age Diverse Retail Workforce. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(2), 173–196. doi: 10.1002/job.681

James, J. B., McKechnie, S., Swanberg, J., & Besen, E. (2013). Exploring the Workplace Impact of Intentional/Unintentional Age Discrimination. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 28(7–8), 907–927. doi: 10.1108/JMP-06-2013-0179

Judge, T. A., Bono, J. E., & Locke, E. A. (2000). Personality and Job Satisfaction: The Mediating Role of Job Characteristics. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85(2), 237–249. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.85.2.237

Kahn, W. A. (1990). Psychological Conditions of Personal Engagement and Disengagement at Work. *Academy of Managerial Journal*, 33(4), 692–724. doi: 10.2307/256287

Kuther, T. L. (2016). *Lifespan Development: Lives in Context*. SAGE Publications.

MacCallum, R. C., Widaman, K. F., Preacher, K., & Hong, S. (2001). Sample Size in Factor Analysis: The Role of Model Error. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 36(4), 611–637. doi: 10.1207/S15327906MBR3604_06

Macdonald, J. L., & Levy, S. R. (2016). Ageism in the Workplace: The Role of Psychosocial Factors in Predicting Job Satisfaction, Commitment, and Engagement. *Journal of Social Issues*, 72(1), 169–190. doi: 10.1111/josi.12161

May, D. R., Gilson, R. L., & Harter L. M. (2004). The Psychological Conditions of Meaningfulness, Safety and Availability and Engagement of the Human Spirit at Work. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 77, 11–37. doi: 10.1348/096317904322915892

McCalister, K. T., Dolbier, C. L. Webster, J. A., & Mallon, M. W. (2006). Hardiness and Support at Work as Predictors of Work Stress and Job Satisfaction. *American Journal of Health Promotion*: AJHP, 20(3), 183–191. doi: 10.4278/0890-1171-20.3.183

McCann, R., & Giles, H. (2002). Ageism in the Workplace: A Communication Perspective. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Ageism: Stereotyping and Prejudice Against Older Persons* (pp. 163–199). The MIT Press.

Mullins, L. J. (2005). *Management and Organizational Behavior* (7th ed.). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Munro, B. H. (2005). *Statistical Methods for Health Care Research* (5th ed.). New York: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Nelson, T. D. (2005). Ageism: Prejudice Against our Feared Future Self. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), 207–221. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00402.x

Nimon, K., Schuck, B., & Zigarmi, D. (2015). Construct Overlap Between Employee Engagement and Job Satisfaction: A Function of Semantic Equivalence? *Journal of Happiness Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Subjective Well-Being*, 17(3), 1149–1171. doi: 10.1007/s10902-015-9636-6

Prelog, N., Ismagilova, F. S., & Boštjančič, E. (2019). Which Employees are Most Motivated to Share Knowledge – the Role of Age-Based Differentiation in Knowledge-Sharing Motivation. *Changing Societies & Personalities,* 3(1), 52–67. doi: 10.15826/csp.2019.3.1.060

Redman, T., & Snape, E. (2006). The Consequences of Perceived Age Discrimination Amongst Older Police Officers: Is Social Support a Buffer? *British Journal of Management*, 17(2), 167–175. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8551.2006.00492.x

Reeves, T. C., & Oh, E. G. (2008). Generational Differences. In M. J. Spector, M. D. Merrill, J. van Merrienboer, M. Driscoll (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Educational Communications and Technology* (3rd ed.) (pp. 295–303). Taylor and Francis Group.

Rippon, I., Kneale, D., de Olivera, C., & Demakakos, P. (2014). Perceived Age Discrimination in Older Adults. *Age and Ageing*, 43(3), 379–386. doi: 10.1093/ageing/aft146

Saks, A. M. (2006). Antecedents and Consequences of Employee Engagement. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 21(7), 600–619. doi: 10.1108/02683940610690169

Schaufeli, W. B., Salanova, M., Gonzales-Roma, V., & Bakker, A. B. (2002). The Measure of Engagement and Burnout: A Two Sample Confirmatory Factor Analytic Approach. *Journal of Happiness Studies*: *An Interdisciplinary Forum on Subjective Well-Being,* 3(1), 71–92. doi: 10.1023/A:1015630930326

Schaufeli, W. B., & Bakker, A. B. (2004). Job Demands, Job Resources, and their Relationship with Burnout and Engagement: A Multi-Sample Study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25, 293–315. doi: 10.1002/job.248

Schermelleh-Engel, K., Moosbrugger, H., & Müller, H. (2003), Evaluating the Fit of Structural Equation Models: Tests of Significance and Descriptive Goodness of-Fit Measures. *Methods of Psychological Research Online*, 8(2), 23–74.

Schwarz, S. H. (2005). Robustness and Fruitfulness of a Theory of Universals in Individual Human Values. In A. Tamayo & J. B. Porto (Eds.), *Valores e Comportamentos Nas Organizacoes* (pp. 56–95). Petropolis, Brazil: Editora Vozes.

Simms, M. (2004). A Theory of Age Exclusion through Closure: "Chronological Age" to "Clinical Need". *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 18(4), 445–465.

Shmailan, A. S. B. (2015). The Relationship between Job Satisfaction, Job Performance and Employee Engagement: An Exploratory Study. *Issues in Business Management and Economics*, 4(1), 1–8. doi: 10.15739/IBME.16.001

Shuck, B., & Wollard, K. (2010). Employee Engagement and HRD: A Seminal Review of the Foundations. *Human Resource Development Review*, 9(1), 89–110. doi: 10.1177/1534484309353560

Shuck, B., & Reio, T. G. (2011). The Employee Engagement Landscape and HRD: How do we Link Theory and Scholarship to Current Practice? *Advantages in Developing Human Resources*, 13(4), 419–428.

Smola, K. W., & Sutton, C. D. (2002) Generational Differences: Revisiting Generational Work Values for the New Millennium. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 23, 363–382. doi: 10.1002/job.147

Snape, E., & Redman, T. (2003). An Evaluation of Three-Component Model of Occupational Commitment: Dimensionality and Consequences among United Kingdom Human Resource Management Specialists. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(1), 152–159. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.88.1.152

Sousa, I. C., Ramos, S., & Carvalho H. (2019). Age-Diversity Practices and Retirement Preferences Among Older Workers: A Moderated Mediation Model Work Engagement and Work Ability. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10(548), 1–10. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01937

Stokes, J. E. & Moorman, S. M. (2019). Sticks and Stones: Perceived Age Discrimination, Well-Being, and Health Over a 20-Year Period. *Research and Aging*, 42(3–4), 115–125. doi: 10.1037/dev0000398

Stypinska, J., & Nikander, P. (2018) Ageism and Age Discrimination in the Labour Market: A Macrostructural Perspective. In L. Ayalon & C. Tesch-Römer (Eds.), *Contemporary Perspectives on Ageism* (pp. 91–108). Springer, Cham. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-73820-8

Syptak, M. J., Marsland, D. W., & Ulmer, D. (1999). Job Satisfaction: Putting Theory into Practice. *Family Practice Management*, 6(9), 26–30.

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2013). *Using Multivariate Statistics* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Thorsen, S., Rugulies, R., Longaard, K., Borg, V., Thielen, K., & Bjomer, J. B. (2012). The Association between Psychological Work Environment, Attitudes toward Older Workers (Ageism) and Planned Retirement. *International Archive of Occupational Environment Health*, 85(4), 437–444. doi: 10.1007/s00420-011-0689-5

Utsey, S. O. (1998). Assessing the Stressful Effects of Racism: A Review of Instrumentation. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 24(3), 269–288. doi: 10.1177/00957984980243001

Vandenberg, R. J. (2006). Statistical and Methodological Myths and Urban Legends. Where, Pray Tell, Did They Get This Idea? *Organizational Research Methods*, 9(2), 194–201. doi: 10.1177/1094428105285506

Veingerl Čič, Ž., & Šarotar Žižek, S. (2017). Intergenerational Cooperation at the Workplace from the Management Perspective. *Naše gospodarstvo/Our Economy*, 63(3), 47–59. doi: 10.1515/ngoe-2017-0018

Williams, D. A., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2008). Racial/Ethnic Discrimination and Health: Findings from Community Studies. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(9), 29 – 37. doi: 10.2105/ajph.93.2.200

Zacher, H., & Steinvik, H. R. (2015). Workplace Age Discrimination. *Wiley Online Library*. Retrieved from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118521373.wbeaa061

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 91–106
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.091

ARTICLE

Perceived Personal Attractiveness and Self-Improvement Practices

Natalya L. Antonova
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

Anatoly V. Merenkov
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the results of a sociological survey of personal attractiveness perceptions and self-improvement practices (exercise, dieting, plastic surgery, learning, etc.) in Yekaterinburg (Russia). The purpose of the research is to identify age- and gender-related similarities and differences in the perceptions of attractive appearance and personality traits among Russians. The survey was conducted in 2019 and covered 680 people of both sexes and different age groups. It also included 33 in-depth interviews with respondents from different age groups. The survey results have shown that people resort to various practices for enhancing their physical shape and personality in accordance with established stereotypes of outer and inner beauty. Younger generations of Russians continue to reproduce gender asymmetry in their ideas of feminine and male beauty. The research has also brought to light a new system of gender inequality: women appear to be much more active in their pursuit of a healthy body and personality growth than men. Inhabitants of Yekaterinburg most frequently resort to such self-improvement practices as exercise and healthy eating. People in all age groups gave lower ratings to such qualities as stamina and productivity at work, which shows their lack of awareness of the role these attributes play in acquiring new knowledge and skills in the digital age.

Received 10 January 2020
Accepted 10 March 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

n-tata@mail.ru
anatoly.mer@gmail.com

KEYWORDS
body, attractiveness, beauty ideals, body modification, socio-demographic groups, gender differences

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
This research was supported by a Russian Foundation for Basic Research, grant № 18-011-00150 A

Introduction

In recent decades, there has been a call for new ways to approach the complex relations between the social and the biological in the social sciences. The main principles in the study of this biological/social division were laid by Herbert Spencer (1876), Emile Durkheim (1895), and Ludwig Gumplowicz (1885). At the current stage, sociology studies interactions between biological and socio-cultural dimensions in human actions (Jackson & Scott, 2014; Meloni, 2014). The interpretative schemes used to explain the behaviours of social groups and communities now include knowledge of biological reality and the physiological functions of the human organism.

Sociologists' current interest in the body as a bio-social construct is determined by the following factors. The first is the rapid development of medicine and biotechnologies (the Human Genome Project, assisted reproductive technologies, cloning, transplantology, neurointerfaces, exoskeletons, and so on), which raises a number of serious questions regarding the enhancement and modification of the human body in accordance with the dominant cultural standards and ideals or against them (marginal practices of body modification as a form of protest behaviour).

The second factor is the explosive growth of the beauty and wellness industry, which makes these services more accessible for various social groups. Plastic surgery (Higgins & Wysong, 2018), fitness services (Crossley, 2006), nutrition counselling and diet programs (Crossley, 2004), and invasive and non-invasive beauty treatments (Yazdandoost, Hayatbini, Farid, Gharaee & Latifi, 2016) have turned into profitable, actively developing areas and have already become an important part of people's lives. These services are now seen as valuable instruments to enhance one's chances for upward social mobility and success in career and family life.

The third factor is the increase in the perceived value of beauty and vitality and the rise of the healthy living movement. More and more people are trying to prolong their working lives by increasing their investment in fitness and healthier diets. The pursuit of beauty and longevity stems from people's desire to improve their inherent or acquired capabilities. Nevertheless, although new practices and technologies allow us to prevent some diseases and delay death, the fundamental laws of nature cannot be changed, as we still get sick, grow old and die.

Sociology seeks to explain and justify modern practices of body modification, identify the factors that determine the development of such practices, and consider interpretations of the human body as embedded in contemporary cultural and social contexts.

Theoretical framework

The human body is a biological entity that grows, reaches maturity, and ages. The body is also affected by processes of socialization as an individual learns to conform to the established socio-cultural norms. The human body can be transformed in accordance with its owner's wishes. According to Michel Foucault (1975), the perception and use of the body is a social construct. Bryan S. Turner (1984) believed that the body can be seen as a social object constructed, controlled, and disciplined by culture. In the modern world, the body is considered attractive and acceptable until it becomes old (Turner, 1987).

Within the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's theory, the body is a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1983). People are simultaneously biological creatures and social agents (Bourdieu, 1990). Social distances and norms characteristic of a specific culture and type of social relationship are "inscribed" into the body. In mid-twentieth-century Russia, for example, name tattoos on phalanges symbolized aggressive masculinity and their owner's belonging to the criminal world. In modern societies, tattoos are often seen as a way to stand out from the crowd and to emphasize one's individuality. When New Zealand Maori women reach adolescence, they start getting traditional female *moko kauae* chin tattoos, considered to be a physical manifestation of their true identity.

Body maintenance and enhancement require significant investments of time, effort, and money, although the result may still fall short of individual and social expectations. The body as an integral part of a human being may also be seen as a form of commodified physical capital (e.g. the body's shape and active capacity) and be used as an object of self-presentation in various markets, as well as an article of exchange, sale, or rent. Fashion models convert their bodily capital into economic capital. In their turn, clients may hire a fashion model and use his or her body for presentation of goods and services, thus converting it into their own symbolical capital.

In postindustrial culture, the body is seen as a tool for enhancing one's chances in life and realizing one's aspirations. For men and women alike, increasing societal pressure to remain healthy, young, and beautiful for as long as possible is often accompanied by a growing feeling of inadequacy in comparison with the perfect body images circulated by mass media (Sklar, 2015). Body image is created by interactions between one's thoughts, views, perceptions, and attitudes in relation to one's body (Cash, 2004). Evaluation of one's own body against a certain ideal determines the individual's position and status within a social group and social system as a whole. Body image dissatisfaction is detrimental to one's self-esteem and impairs the general quality of life (Clay, Vignoles & Dittmar, 2005). For example, the emphasis on a slim female body in contemporary society has led to the spread of eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia (Polivy & Herman, 2002), unnecessary use of medicine such as laxatives and diuretics (Grogan, 2006), and aesthetic surgery (Sperry, Thompson, Sarwer & Cash, 2009).

Laurie Essig observes that in the modern fluid and fast-changing world, people are trying to maintain control over their lives and their future through body practices

(Essig, 2010). Body enhancement thus starts to be seen as a way of augmenting one's life chances: a girl dreaming of a new nose, lips, or breasts is not much different from her peer dreaming of a posh car, big house, and a rich husband. Body modification practices give individuals a feeling of control, which has an intrinsic value of its own. Luisa Stagi (2008) points out that it has now become important to demonstrate an "appropriate" appearance in the system of social interactions. Such an appearance can be obtained through "body tuning", which helps people adapt more efficiently to various situations in everyday life. Those who fail to copy the ideal models can suffer from low self-esteem when comparing their bodies with these (often unrealistic) "perfect" body images (Carlson, 2002). It was found that if a woman's body does not match the ideal model, it may lead to the deterioration in the quality of life for women aged 18–42 (Mond, et al., 2013). Mass media, in turn, increases the pressure on men and women through the circulation of images of specific male and female body types (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Grogan, 1999).

Starting from the late 1980s, consumerist culture emphasized the importance of personal appearance as a determinant of social well-being. The need to demonstrate a beautiful and sexual body (Featherstone, 1991) turned an attractive appearance into an end in itself and the manifestation of the meaning of life. Chris Shilling (2003) introduced the term "body project" to denote the ways in which individuals relate to their bodies. In their individual choices, people may choose to engage in popular body projects or go for something different. People are generally aware of the available methods of body modification; in contemporary Western societies, there is also a trend for closer connection between a person and his or her corporeality (Shilling, 2003).

In contemporary society, the human body is an instrument that can be used to achieve a higher status, gain certain material benefits, and so on. Consumerist attitudes to the body lead to people's alienation from their bodies, as bodies become objects of manipulation. When contact with the biological body is lost, the body ceases to function as the central axis of a man's world (Sartre, 1943) because self-awareness requires bodily sensory experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1964). Having plastic surgery, like silicone lip augmentation, may result in an alienated relationship to one's own body.

Jean Baudrillard (1994) raises the question of the disappearance of the real (or natural) man due to his growing dependence on the social system, together with the general rise in social control. The body itself becomes subject to the social system's requirements and conditions. Arthur Kroker and Marilouise Kroker (1987) speak of the "panic body", a body agonizingly molded according to schemes determined by society. Body-centrism has now reached its apogee, since body modifications are often performed in post-modern society an effort to reinforce one's subjective autonomy.

Anne Balsamo (1996) proposes thinking of plastic surgery as "fashion surgery", that is, an instrument for creating multiple identities: the beauty industry and plastic surgery industry offer their clients surgical refashioning of their bodies – opportunities to "try on" various kinds of bodies the same way we try on new clothes. New technologies enable people to "customize" their bodies, which means that the body is turned into a kind of work in progress, transformed and molded to taste throughout

one's life (Shilling, 2003). The body is not fixed absolutely because it is determined by the culture and discourse in which it is embedded. The Body Positive Movement (Cohen, Irwin, Newton-John & Slater, 2019), which challenges the dominant beauty ideals and celebrates "natural" beauty and acceptance, co-exists with body hacktivism (Duarte, 2013), a movement uniting proponents of extreme body modification who call themselves "cyborgs".

The normative system of contemporary society is much less rigid than that of traditional society. This includes views on how the body should look, how it should be maintained and experienced. Despite the fact that the normative image of a body is a mechanism of social control, modern social systems offer a wide spectrum of options for choosing a body. An individual is left with a choice and has to invest certain effort in molding his or her body in conformity with the selected normative image. Body image and the choice of body enhancement practices depend on the gender, age, ethnic identity, professional, and social background of a person (Blowers, et. al., 2003; Ricciardelli, McCabe & Banfield, 2000). While our individual corporeal nature is biologically determined, culture and society have become an evolutionary adaptation mechanism. The biological and social nature of human being is reproduced in everyday life. A person who wants to be accepted by society has to conform to specific social expectations.

Materials and Methods

Our survey was conducted in 2019 in Yekaterinburg (Russia) and focused on the commonly shared opinions and evaluations concerning attractive body and personality characteristics and practices for enhancing them. The data were analyzed with the help of a combination of methods. The study addressed the following goals: to identify the key characteristics that constitute male and female beauty ideals of Russian people, and the factors that determine the formation and development of these ideals; to reveal the personality, and other characteristics people consider essential for success in professional and private life; and, finally, to consider the most widespread practices of self-improvement including those of body enhancement.

We developed a questionnaire consisting of 12 questions (open, closed, semi-closed). We also developed a guide for in-depth interviews with young people, which comprised three sets of questions aimed at finding out the respondents' perception of male and female beauty; the main practices of building a perfect body; and practices of body enhancement and their health effects. In all the questions, respondents could formulate their own opinion.

The survey covered 680 people of different age groups living in Yekaterinburg. These individuals were chosen with the help of the accidental sampling method ("man-in-the-street" sampling). On average, it took our respondents 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. 30 percent of respondents were men and 70 percent, women. The age distribution in our sample was as follows: people under 30, 51 percent; 31–50, 32 percent; 51 and older, 17 percent. 71 percent of respondents

had higher education, while 48 percent indicated “specialist” in the “occupation” box. As for the income level, 40 percent respondents describe themselves as “middle-class”, that is, they have no difficulties buying basic necessities such as food and clothes as well as acquiring durable goods. Only 9 percent described their income level as low – sufficient only to meet the basic needs. We used Vortex software to process the questionnaire data.

We also conducted 18 in-depth interviews with bachelor’s students majoring in the humanities. Overall, we interviewed 10 first-year students (6 women, 4 men) and 8 fourth-year students (4 women, 4 men). The interviews were conducted at Ural Federal University in the students’ free time. We also had in-depth interviews with 8 respondents aged 30–50 (4 women, 4 men) and 7 respondents aged 51 and older (4 women, 3 men). On average, the interviews lasted 30 minutes. In the next stages, the interviews were transcribed; respondents’ answers to the same questions were grouped to show similarities and differences in their perceptions, which facilitated further interpretation of the results.

Results and Discussion

Our study has shown significant age- and gender-related differences in perceptions of male and female beauty. It should be noted that our physical appearance and personality characteristics are partially hereditary (biologically determined) and partially depend on the environmental factors. With age, it becomes harder to meet beauty standards and to maintain the necessary level of productivity at work. Therefore, more investment of effort, time, and money is required to maintain the desired body image. At this point, a person faces a dilemma whether to be “body positive” and accept the fact that his or her body and its potential are a result of the natural processes of mental and physical development or to try to build a body that corresponds to popular ideals of beauty by using the available means (e.g. exercise, diet, plastic surgery, etc.). Older generations may face additional difficulties since they have to adapt to changing perceptions of attractive appearance and personality in society. Our respondents’ evaluations of the importance of different body characteristics were determined by a combination of biological and socio-cultural factors.

Table 1. *Male Beauty Perceptions of Respondents*
(Percent from the Total Number of Respondents)

Indicators	Under 18	18–23	24–30	31–50	51 and older
Fit and athletic body	25	44	58	68	42
Healthy body	27	58	57	65	70
Beautiful face	30	52	48	27	22
Beautiful figure	21	25	37	29	24
Beautiful smile	20	22	41	24	20
Slim body	15	21	28	30	42
Young body	10	14	15	7	12

At the age of 16–17, development of the human body is determined by the natural processes of growth. Few respondents in this group face any health problems. Respondents in this age group do not consider it necessary to exercise regularly in order to enhance their physical strength or attractiveness: "*As long as I feel healthy, I don't have much to complain about. I'd like to be taller, but it does not depend on me, I was born this way*" (man, 16). Women, however, as our survey has shown, believe that young men look more attractive if they have a slim body and beautiful face: "*I like strong, fit and slim young men with attractive faces, those who take good care of themselves*" (woman, 17). At this age one can get in shape by paying proper attention to diet and exercise. To obtain a perfect face one would have to resort to plastic surgery, but this option is seldom considered by young people.

The body is usually fully developed by the age of 18, which is when young adults become more aware of the need to put some effort into maintaining and improving their physical capacity and fitness. In this age group, the share of men who go to the gym and establish workout routines is considerably higher than in the younger group. Young men seek to build muscle and gain a classically masculine, V-tapered physique. Our study has shown that, unlike older generations, young men in Russia now tend to use cosmetics such as skincare and hair care products: "*I look after myself, I want to be noticed. I use cleansing lotions when I have acne*" (man, 23).

In general, young Russian men continue to reproduce a widespread stereotype of male beauty primarily associated with strength and health. Men strive to have broad-shouldered and lean bodies with well-defined muscles. This ideal male form goes back to antiquity, when a strong physique was essential for those who engaged in physical labour and martial arts. In the modern world, the automation of production has rendered men's physical labour less relevant, but the pursuit of physical strength continues in gyms and fitness centres. 37 percent of respondents reported exercising regularly to be more attractive to the opposite sex, which indicates the persevering nature of this ideal among young Russian adults. Thus, perceptions of ideal male beauty are a part of the system of gender roles and stereotypes, where men are seen as protectors and providers.

By the age of 24, young men's perceptions of male beauty undergo certain changes: first, there is a growth in the perceived value of a fit, athletic body among men aged 24–30 and older. This ideal of male beauty has appeared among middle-aged men comparatively recently: 48 percent of respondents reported engaging in sports and other kinds of physical activity in gyms and fitness centres, which Yekaterinburg, like other large Russian cities, has in abundance. "*Nowadays, a man has to be slim. It's a trend. Actors and politicians set an example. Men with big bellies, those who move little are criticized. You have to look young at any age*" (man, 44). In other words, a significant proportion of Russian men pursue the youthful, fit ideal of the male body. Interestingly, as our survey has shown, there is a growing share of those who try to improve their health through physical exercise and diet in order to be able to stand the pressures of modern life among 31–50-year-olds. "*Men in their forties who take care of themselves and their health look like thirty-year-olds. This is how they prolong their youth*" (woman, 32).

Quite predictably, men of the older age groups have the largest share of those interested in building a healthy, resilient body. 40 percent of respondents in these age groups try to stay in shape by exercising and walking in parks. The survey has shown that men in older age groups share the same image of male beauty with younger age groups. Women tend to have higher standards of male beauty than men themselves. Most men in our sample appear to be ready to embrace the age-related changes in facial appearance; unlike women, they are reluctant to try to slow down these processes or "turn back the time" by resorting to plastic surgery.

Table 2. *Feminine Beauty Perceptions of Respondents*
(Percent of the Total Number of Respondents)

Indicators	Under 18	18–23	24–30	30–50	51 and older
Fit and athletic body	23	44	23	27	16
Healthy body	25	60	58	55	48
Beautiful face	43	35	74	70	52
Beautiful figure	39	25	57	60	48
Beautiful smile	41	22	59	51	46
Slim body	27	21	44	58	44
Young body	16	14	19	11	16

Our survey has shown that feminine beauty standards require a woman to have a beautiful face and figure and to enjoy good health. Some beauty stereotypes seem to be quite pervasive and persistent: for instance, fragile, delicate beauty is still largely seen as a necessary attribute of a "true woman". Women are harsher judges of feminine beauty than men, which is a remarkable gender-related qualitative difference. Throughout their lives, women consistently strive to improve their appearance. Interestingly, women are more pressured to meet beauty standards by other women than by men. Despite calls for gender equality, Russian women still tend to subscribe to the view that while men don't need to look attractive at all times, women do: "*I always need to look pretty. Even if I have to pop outside for a minute, I will put on some make-up and wear something nice... Men can't imagine how much time and effort it takes for a woman to look good*" (woman, 37). Our survey has shown that over 40 percent of women aged 31–50 use cosmetic procedures against signs of ageing that help them look 7–10 years younger. 12 percent of women older than 31 admitted that they would be willing to resort to more radical anti-ageing procedures such as facelifts if they could afford it. In this respect, they adhere to the standards set by many celebrities and digital influencers.

It should be noted that women aged 18–23 share with men the opinion that an attractive body should be fit and athletic. They go to gyms along with men and have the same views about the ways of building an attractive body.

Our study has found that many men and women in all age groups adhere to the cult of healthy eating. 28 percent of women and 20 percent of men under 18, 43 percent of women and 28 percent of men aged 24–30 maintain healthy eating habits. In the middle-aged and senior age groups, more people are now oriented

towards following the guidelines on nutrition they get from the mass media: "*I knew about the importance of healthy eating before. But now in all medical talk shows on TV they keep saying that you need to look after yourself by eating healthily. So, I started limiting myself and now I feel better than I used to*" (woman, 62).

Our study has brought to light the key factors that affect contemporary beauty standards in Russia. 41 percent of our respondents under 18 are not fully aware of the influence of their family, friends, and mass media on their perceptions of beauty and claim to be fully independent in their views on beauty. Twice as many young women as men believe that their views on this question result from their own attempts of self-improvement (27 percent and 14 percent, respectively). Young adults under 24 reported the impact of social networks on their ideas of beauty (25 percent women and 18 percent men).

34 percent of respondents aged 31–50 believe that their views might have been influenced by their friends and family and by celebrities. The cultural imperative to stay young as long as possible makes people resort to different strategies for maintaining a youthful body shape: 71 percent of our respondents in the age group of 24–30, 72 percent in the age group of 31–50, and 75 percent of those aged 51 and older think that their beauty ideals are not shaped by any external influences.

Images of beautiful people in magazines, TV, and social networks stimulated 28 percent of our respondents under 30 and 18 percent of respondents aged 31–50 to engage in wellness and body enhancement practices. 3 percent of young people under 30 and 6 percent in older age groups are interested in modern technologies of appearance enhancement.

The study has shown that older people are more aware of the role of appearance in career development. 22 percent of respondents under 30 believe that employers may consider appearance as a hiring criterion. This opinion is shared by 27 percent of respondents aged 31–50, and 34 percent of respondents in older age groups. About a half of our respondents believe that the importance of an attractive appearance depends on the type of occupation.

The majority of respondents (81 percent in the age group below 30; 69 percent in the age group of 31–50; 67 percent of young people below 30; and 57 percent of middle-aged respondents) point out the importance of a neat and well-groomed appearance for producing a professional and respectable image at a job interview. The ability to communicate with one's boss effectively was ranked third in importance by 55 percent of respondents aged 24–50.

Facial beauty is seen as important for career development by 68 percent of women under 30 and by 35 percent of women aged 31–50. About half of our respondents in all age groups believe that it is crucial to look healthy.

In addition to physical attractiveness, there is, however, another side to success in life – so-called inner beauty, certain personality traits that make us attractive in the eyes of others despite our imperfections or blemishes. People's views on what constitutes inner beauty are formed through communication with others, reading books, watching films, and socializing. In many cases, inner beauty proves to be no less important than outer beauty.

Table 3. *Respondents' Perceptions of an Attractive Male Personality (Percent of the Total Number of Respondents)*

Indicators	Under 18	18–23	24–30	31–50	51 and older
Intelligence	33	51	59	54	51
Respect for others	29	34	49	55	59
Willpower, patience	28	22	34	44	39
Friendliness	26	25	38	43	49
Mental balance, poise	24	24	35	44	39
Communicative openness	21	22	27	24	20
Responsibility	17	25	31	35	39
Stamina and productivity	8	9	10	12	15

Men in all age groups rank intelligence at the top of the list of attractive qualities. This result may reflect the enduring social expectation that men should play a major role in decision-making in all kinds of activities, including politics, warfare, production, and family life, while women should accept secondary roles. In Russia, despite the progress made in the struggle for gender equality, men continue to hold the vast majority of decision-making positions: the corresponding stereotypes in the public consciousness persist (Sillaste, 2016). Respondents in the youngest age group (below 18) attach less importance to intelligence than other age groups, which, in our opinion, could be explained by the fact that young people are not fully aware of the role of intellect in success and professional achievement.

We found that there are significant differences in the attitudes of representatives of different generations towards such qualities as "respect for others". 34 percent of respondents in the age group of 24–30 believe that respect for others is a necessary moral quality; this opinion is shared by over half (59 percent) of respondents in the age group of 51 and older. This contrast can be explained by the orientation of younger generations, who grew up in the conditions of the market economy, towards more individualistic values than older generations. The older generation brought up under socialism largely adheres to the principles of collectivism, which requires people to behave respectfully towards others, regardless of their social status or job title (Arutyunyan, 1979). A lack of respect for others diminishes the value of such qualities as friendliness.

We found considerable age-related differences in our respondents' evaluations of responsibility. In comparison with a collectivistic orientation, an individualistic orientation may result in lower levels of organizational commitment and responsibility. These feelings are enhanced through collective activity, when a group of people work towards a common goal. Russian people of older generations generally have more experience of collective work than representatives of younger generations: "*When I was young, I had to participate in the construction of a new enterprise. I was in charge of hundreds of people. I spent days and nights at work... At that time, commitment was valued highly*" (man, 67).

Table 4. *Respondents' Perceptions of an Attractive Feminine Personality (Percent of the Total Number of Respondents)*

Indicators	Under 18	18–23	24–30	31–50	51 and older
Intelligence	47	43	57	65	60
Respect for others	46	45	62	72	68
Willpower, patience	36	38	22	28	26
Friendliness	47	44	63	68	74
Mental balance, poise	27	29	43	51	58
Communicative openness	25	28	29	31	34
Responsibility	23	25	29	34	38
Stamina and productivity	4	7	8	10	9

Our study has revealed considerable differences in people's perceptions of the personal qualities that women need to develop in order to be successful in their professional and family lives.

In terms of personality traits, our respondents tended to place higher demands on women than on men. For example, in the age group below 18, respondents chose "intelligence" as an important quality for women 1.5 times more often than for men. Interestingly, in comparison with men, women set the bar higher for their own sex. In older groups, the share of those who seek to acquire new knowledge and improve their computer literacy skills to be successful at work is growing steadily: "*I had to change my job. I used to work with specific data collection software and then I had to teach myself to work with different software. Nobody helped me, I did everything myself. There are no men doing this job in my environment. It is considered difficult and tedious, which is why it is mostly women who do it*" (woman, 58)

Respondents consider such qualities as respect for others, friendliness, and mental balance to be more important for women than for men. There are also age-related differences in respondents' perceptions of the qualities women need to achieve success in professional and private life: for example, senior respondents chose the aforementioned qualities 1.5 times more often than young respondents.

Our study has revealed an interesting paradox: while respondents (both men and women) evaluate intelligence highly, they do not give much importance to stamina and productivity in the workplace (this quality was chosen by 8–15 percent of men and 4–9 percent of women in all age groups). This is quite surprising because this quality has been considered crucial for success in professional and family life throughout the history of mankind. The reasons why the younger group rated productivity at work lower than other qualities can include the lower involvement of adolescents in household chores and their lack of interest in intellectual pursuits. As for older groups, they might consider stamina as less significant because they associate this quality with physical strength rather than with mental exertion and therefore think of it as a quality necessary mostly for manual workers. There is a popular stereotype that physical jobs require more stamina than intellectual ones.

Overall, our respondents' perceptions of an attractive personality are quite contradictory and sometimes inconsistent: on the one hand, they attach great

significance to intellectual and cognitive pursuits but, on the other, they do not think that it is necessary to have stamina and be productive to achieve success in life. In other words, there is a lack of understanding that cognitive skills can be formed and developed only through conscious and persistent intellectual effort. Stamina has not lost its former significance even now, in the digital age, as all sectors of economy are undergoing digital transformation and the jobs that consist of manual and routine tasks will soon be rendered obsolete by the development of artificial intelligence. Stamina is necessary not only for manual labour but also for creative and cognitive activities (Campa, 2015).

Our study has brought to light the practices our respondents use to improve their physical, mental, and social characteristics. Self-improvement and self-development are deemed crucial in all age groups. 48 percent of women and 35 percent of men under 18, 65 percent of women and 54 percent of men aged 18–30 engage in different practices of self-improvement. In the group of middle-aged respondents (31–50), the share of such people is smaller (48 percent of women and 41 percent of men) while only every third respondent in the senior age group engages in self-education and self-improvement practices. The unwillingness or inability of middle-aged and senior respondents to work on self-improvement may be explained by the fact that by the age of 40–50, people have already developed a set of habits that determine their way of life and that are quite hard to transform. Not all people in the middle-aged and senior groups are fully aware of the role lifelong learning plays in today's dynamic world.

Our analysis of self-improvement practices has shown that the majority of our respondents associate this process with enhancing their health and building a strong, attractive body: "*For me, self-improvement means primarily working on my appearance. A woman always has to look good. You have to exercise regularly, go to the gym, to your facialist, stick to a diet*" (woman, 34).

Respondents reported that they use gym workouts and dieting to boost their health. Interestingly, in the youngest group (below 18), 45 percent of women and 32 percent of men exercise regularly: this share increases in the group of 18–30-year-olds (47 percent of women and 52 percent of men). In other age groups, the share of those who regularly engage in physical activity decreases: among 31–50-year-olds, 45 percent of women and 36 percent of men do so, while among those at the age of 51 and older, 34 percent of women and 23 percent of men report this. As for eating habits, in the youngest group (below 18), every third woman and every fourth man reported having healthy eating habits: this proportion persists in all other age groups.

In this regard, we should note the effect of a large-scale healthy lifestyle promotion campaign that targeted all socio-demographic groups and was conducted through education institutions, mass media, and social networks. This campaign has succeeded in raising public awareness of the importance of a healthy lifestyle and the role of individual effort and initiative in creating an active, healthy, and attractive body.

More than half of young and middle-aged respondents use clothes to highlight what they perceive as their "strengths" and conceal the "flaws". In older age groups, this share is 25 percent: "*I am really picky about the clothes I wear. It takes me a lot of time to choose clothes for myself; there are imperfections that I need to hide with*

a certain kind of clothes. Therefore, I need to be very careful with what I choose to wear" (woman, 47).

Plastic surgery merits special attention in this respect. Plastic surgery is divided into reconstructive and cosmetic surgery. The latter is mostly used by healthy people. A survey has shown that the majority of American medical students would like to specialize in rhinoplasty and breast augmentation because these procedures are most in-demand among healthy people. Fewer students are willing to master peripheral nerve surgery in the wrist and forearm (Agarwal, Mendenhall, Moran & Hopkins, 2013). While the purpose of reconstructive surgery is to restore bodily functions and help sick people, cosmetic surgery focuses on appearance enhancement and thus becomes a means for improving people's psycho-social wellbeing. Many people in contemporary society are concerned about the correspondence of their appearance to social standards and try to look young for as long as possible: "*I think that plastic surgery is now becoming more and more accessible because the standards of life are improving and medical technologies are developing. So, I consider that it is acceptable and right to use the services of a good specialist to remain attractive*" (woman, 44). Our study has shown that only 9 percent of young and middle-aged respondents and 14 percent of senior respondents are willing to resort to plastic surgery. 74 percent of those who find this option acceptable are women.

Conclusion

The survey results have led us to the following conclusions. First, in large Russian cities such as Yekaterinburg (Korablyova & Merenkov, 2019) Russians of all age groups are interested in enhancing their appearance in accordance with existing beauty stereotypes. Second, there is a persisting gender asymmetry in male and female beauty ideals even among the younger generation. Third, a new system of gender inequality has emerged, different from the one produced by patriarchy and characterized by male dominance in social and cultural life. Our study has shown that women are generally much more willing to spend time, effort, and money on increasing their intellectual capacity than men. Fourth, the main practices of improving appearance include exercising in gyms and fitness centres and following a diet. Even though plastic surgery is now becoming more affordable, people in all age groups are wary of its dangers, which is why it received lower ratings in our survey. Fifth, people of different generations tend to reproduce the same moral values, for example, respect for others. On the other hand, there is a growth in the perceived importance of intelligence across all age groups, which seems quite logical in the current conditions of digitization: many spheres of public life are now being restructured around digital communication. Sixth, such qualities as stamina and productivity at work scored low in all age groups, which is a surprising result since decreased workplace productivity may be an impeding factor to learning new information, acquiring new skills, and keeping up with the accelerating pace of technological change. Finally, the most popular strategy of working on one's inner beauty is self-education.

References

Agarwal, J.P., Mendenhall, S.D., Moran, L.A., & Hopkins, P.N. (2013). Medical Student Perceptions of the Scope of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery. *Annals of Plastic Surgery*, 70(3), 343–349. doi: 10.1097/SAP.0b013e31823b6c19

Arutyunyan, L.A. (1979). Cennosti v sisteme socialisticheskogo obraza zhizni [Values in the System of Socialist Lifestyle]. In L.A. Arutyunyan (Eds.), *Obraz zhizni i cennostnye orientacii lichnosti* [Way of Life and Personal Value Orientations] (pp. 9–32). Erevan: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Armyanskoj SSR.

Balsamo, A. (1996). *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). The Illusion of the End. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Blowers, L.C., Loxton, N.J., Grady-Flesser, M.G., Occhipinti, S., & Dawe, S. (2003). The Relationship between Sociocultural Pressure to be Thin and Body Dissatisfaction in Preadolescent Girls. *Eating Behaviors*, 4(3), 229–244. doi: 10.1016/S1471-0153(03)00018-7

Bourdieu, P. (1983). Okonomisches Kapital, Kulturelles Kapital, Soziales Kapital. In: R. Kreckel (Hg.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten. (Soziale Welt, Sonderband 2)* (pp. 183–198). Gottingen: Schwartz.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Campa, R. (2015). *Humans and Automata: A Social Study of Robotics*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Carlson, J.D. (2002). Social Comparison and Body Image: Attractiveness Comparisons to Models and Peers among Adolescent Girls and Boys. *Sex Roles*, 45(9), 645–664. doi: 10.1023/A:1014815725852

Cash, T.F. (2004). Body Image: Past, Present and Future. *Body Image,* 1(1), 1–5. doi: 10.1016/S1740-1445(03)00011-1

Clay, D., Vignoles, V.L., & Dittmar, H. (2005). Body Image and Self-Esteem Among Adolescent Girls: Testing the Influence of Sociocultural Factors. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* 15(4), 451–477. doi: 10.1111/j.1532-7795.2005.00107.x

Cohen, R., Irwin, L., Newton-John, T., & Slater A. (2019). #bodypositivity: A Content Analysis of Body Positive Accounts on Instagram. *Body Image*, 29, 47–57. doi: 10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.02.007

Crossley, N. (2004). Fat is a Sociological Issue: Obesity Rates in Late Modern, "Body-Conscious" Societies. *Social Theory and Health*, 2, 222–253. doi: 10.1057/palgrave.sth.8700030

Crossley, N. (2006). In the Gym: Motives, Meanings and Moral Careers. *Body and Society*, 12(3), 23–50. doi: 10.1177/1357034X06067154

Duarte, B. (2013). The Body Hacktivism Movement: A Talk about the Body. *PsychNology Journal*, 11(1), 21– 42.

Durkheim, E. (1895/1982). *The Rules of Sociological Method and Selected Texts on Sociology and Its Method*. (W. D. Halls, Trans.). London: Macmillan.

Essig, L. (2010). *American Plastic: Boob Jobs, Credit Cards, and Our Quest for Perfection.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Featherstone, M. (1991). *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. London: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1975). *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*. Paris: Gallimard.

Grabe, S., Ward, L. M., & Hyde, J. S. (2008). The Role of the Media in Body Image Concerns among Women: A Meta-analysis of Experimental and Correlational Studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(3), 460–476. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.134.3.460

Grogan, S. (1999). *Body Image: Understanding Body Dissatisfaction in Men, Women, and Children*. London: Routledge.

Grogan, S. (2006). Body Image and Health: Contemporary Perspectives. Journal of Health Psychology, 11(4), 523–530. doi: 10.1177/1359105306065013

Gumplowicz, L. (1885). *Grundriß der Soziologie*. Wien: Manz.

Higgins, S., & Wysong, A. (2018). Cosmetic Surgery and Body Dysmorphic Disorder – An Update. *International Journal of Women's Dermatology*, 4(1), 43–48. doi: 10.1016/j.ijwd.2017.09.007

Jackson, S., & Scott, S. (2014). Sociology of the Body and the Relation between Sociology and Biology. In J. Holmwood, J. Scott (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Sociology in Britain* (pp. 563-587). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Korablyova, G. B., & Merenkov, A. V. (Eds.). (2019). *Social'noe prostranstvo sovremennogo goroda* [Social Space of a Modern City]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo YUrajt.

Kroker, A., & Kroker, M. (Eds.). (1987). *Body Invaders: Panic Sex in America*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Meloni, M. (2014). How Biology Became Social, and what it Means for Social Theory. The Sociological Review, 62(3), 593–614. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12151

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1964). *Le visible et l'invisible, univi de notes de travial.* Paris: Gallimard.

Mond, J., Mitchison, D., Latner, J., Hay, P., Owen, C., & Rodgers, B. (2013). Quality of Life Impairment Associated with Body Dissatisfaction in General Population Sample of Women. *BMC Public Health*, 13, 920. doi: 10.1186/1471-2458-13-920

Polivy, J., & Herman, C. P. (2002). Causes of Eating Disorders. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 187–213. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135103

Ricciardelli, L. A., McCabe, M. P., & Banfield, S. (2000). Body Image and Body Change Methods in Adolescent Boys. Role of Parents, Friends, and the

Media. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research,* 49(3), 189–197. doi: 10.1016/S0022-3999(00)00159-8

Sartre, J.-P. (1943). *L'être et le néant: Essay d'ontologie phénoménologique.* Paris: Gallimard.

Shilling, C. (2003). *The Body and Social Theory.* London: Sage.

Sillaste, G.G. (2016). *Gendernaya sociologiya i rossijskaya real'nost'* [Gender Sociology and Russian Reality]. Moscow: Al'fa-M.

Sklar, E.M. (2015). Body Image, Weight, and Self-concept in Men. *American Journal of Lifestyle Medicine*, 11(3), 3–5. doi: 10.1177/1559827615594351

Spencer, H. (1876). *The Principles of Sociology*. London: Williams and Norgate.

Sperry, S., Thompson, J.K., Sarwer, D.B., & Cash, T.F. (2009). Cosmetic Surgery Reality TV Viewership: Relations with Cosmetic Surgery Attitudes, Body Image, and Disordered Eating. *Annals of Plastic Surgery*, 62(1)*,* 7–11. doi: 10.1097/SAP.0b013e31817e2cb8

Stagi, L. (2008). *Anticorpi. Dieta, Fitness e Altre Prigioni*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.

Turner, B.S. (1984). *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*. Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell.

Turner, B.S. (1987). *Medical Power and Social Knowledge*. London: SAGE.

Yazdandoost, R.Y., Hayatbini, N., Farid, A.A., Gharaee, B., & Latifi, N.A. (2016). The Body Image Dissatisfaction and Psychological Symptoms among Invasive and Minimally Invasive Aesthetic Surgery Patients. *World Journal of Plastic Surgery,* 5(2), 148–153.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 107–110
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2020.4.1.092

BOOK REVIEW

Samuel A. Greene, Graeme B. Robertson (2019). Putin v. the People. The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia. Yale University Press

Andrey S. Menshikov
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
This text was made possible by the support of the project "Expanding Disciplinary Horizons: New Directions in Russian Studies" at the Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies, University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

In this highly readable book the authors challenge the prevalent approach in authoritarianism studies, which focuses predominantly on the ruling elite, and aim to analyze the "relation between the Russian people and their authoritarian state" (p. 5). The idea of "co-construction of power" in contemporary Russia lies at the center of the book's argument, which highlights emotional commitment to the President. The latter is as important as a repressive state apparatus in sustaining Russian authoritarian regime. The authors emphasize that "the power generally ascribed to Putin himself actually stems from millions of private citizens willingly acting as unprompted enforcers of Putin's power in society… through small scale social pressure" (p. 12). Why do ordinary Russians support their authoritarian ruler? Firstly, it is important to note that over the last 20 years this support was not achieved by the same means and was not based on the same reasons.

During the 2000s, the Kremlin's "goal for the most part was to keep politics away from the people and the people away from politics" (p. 25). Thus, following the maxim "Don't excite the people", the ruling elite could consolidate its power in a trade-off for economic development with the majority of the population who eagerly engaged in the individual pursuit of prosperity. However, the large protests of 2011 that ensued after the "castling" between Medvedev and Putin

Received 1 March 2020
Published online 10 April 2020

asmenshikov@urfu.ru

challenged that strategy. Now “the goal was to transform passive acceptance of Putin’s rule into active participation in that rule by using tried and tested political technologies to mobilize supporters and demonize opponents” (p. 25). These technologies included creation and manipulation of ideological cleavages, or “wedge issues”, such as conflicts over “traditional values” (protection of religious feelings, “LGBT propaganda” ban); normalization and legitimation of current regime by pervasive social institutions such as school, church, employment; adjusting Putin’s image and making him a symbol of the Russian nation and personification of its geopolitical success. The image of the “gatherer of lands” evolved in the context of the conflict in Ukraine when the Crimean Peninsula joined the Russian Federation. Thus, as the authors observe, “Russia emerged from the crucible of annexation and war and global geopolitical confrontation a different country: one in which support for Putin would be based not on fortunes of the economy or the successes of his policies, but on emotion, on pride and on a rekindled sense of Russian identity” (p. 121).

Secondly, this change in the strategy also required a tighter grip on the Internet. By 2012, when television was already steered from the Kremlin, the time was ripe to curtail the freedom of speech in the Internet, to take control over major Internet platforms (social network VK, RIA news agency, etc.), and to deploy “troll factories,” which produced “Kremlin-approved version of online reality”. Thus, to use Hannah Arendt’s term, “a lying world of consistency” (p. 106) was constructed by both television and Internet media. However, fear of repression or broadcasted lies cannot alone account for the long-term enthusiastic support for the Russian President. Collective “effervescence” of the Russian Spring would obviously have an expiry date. Therefore, the authors delve deeper into the “Russian soul” and use social psychology to answer the question why ordinary Russians support their authoritarian ruler. With the typology of personality traits known as OCEAN (openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism), the authors could find that “respondents who were high on agreeableness – who think of themselves as sympathetic and warm, rather than critical and quarrelsome… – were seven times more likely to vote for Putin than those who were low on agreeableness, and they were four times more likely to give Putin a high approval rating” (p. 147). This paradoxical finding that nicer people prefer iron-handed leadership could be explained, in the authors’ view, by three major features of the Russian political landscape rather than by some innate qualities of Russian character. Firstly, in post-Soviet Russia, both before and during Putin’s rule, politics is very much focused on the person of the President, “which makes criticism and disloyalty closely associated with each other” (p. 149). Secondly, as was mentioned above, the Russian media environment is jealously guarded and thoroughly managed by the Kremlin. Thirdly, real ideological divides are absent in the political arena, while nationalism is highly important (p. 151), therefore, “politicians compete in their enthusiasm for Russian patriotism” (p. 151) rather than discuss specific policies or programs. On the one hand, it allows to downplay the differences among Russians and to emphasize their uniqueness in contrast to, in particular, the “Westerners”. On the other hand, it also

makes it very easy to stigmatize those who do not have mainstream views. Thus, the "big three" of Russian politics – "autocracy, state-dominated media, and non-ideological, patriotic politics" (p. 152) – create a different psychological terrain in which political choices have to be made. If the decisions are made dependent on the "friend-enemy" radar, then agreeable people who care for others' opinion about them tend to follow what they perceive as mainstream views, or rather "what they are told is patriotic, communitarian, "normal" position" (p. 152). Thus, psychological conformism can account for the "social consensus around the inevitability and righteousness of Putin's rule" (p. 205). This conformism makes it "hard to think of alternatives" and raises the "costs of being critical" (ibidem).

Although, as the authors recognize, there is little hope for change: "For the time being... the Kremlin is winning" (p. 214), autocracy in Russia is not inevitable, because there is neither historical nor cultural predisposition for "strong man's rule". Russians, like many others, value their freedoms and support freedom of speech, fair courts, and free press. Moreover, potential erosion of this authoritarian consensus is not impossible. Major changes can result from the discontent with the economic failures of the current regime as well as from the weariness of the lack of choice such as Vasily's "sigh of an oppressed creature" – "I don't see anybody... Nobody at all" (p. 222). Finally, the opposition has developed national networks which with "the strength of the weak ties" (p. 186) might be instrumental in the next election cycle to mobilize all dissenting forces to vote for the alternative.

While the hope is faint, the authors build their argument on the assumption that the change is possible and will probably come from elections. Two remarks might be relevant in this context. First, it is quite clear from the interviews that Russians do not regard the current opposition as an alternative (as is pointed out by the authors, p. 206). I would emphasize the difference between electoral alternatives and alternative power structures. "Systemic" opposition and non-"systemic" opposition are similar in that both have the power to mobilize certain sectors of society. The foremost converts this capacity to mobilize votes into resources (offices, finances, access to media), while the latter is curbed from exercising its potential to the fullest extent prior to elections and from benefiting from some victories it incidentally achieves after the elections. However, the "real" power includes the capacity to distribute resources, to establish the rules and enforce them, which actually predates election cycles. For "ordinary" Russians, the distinction, therefore, between the authorities and opposition is not merely between, as propaganda would have it, "order" and "chaos", "stability" and "revolution", but between "real power" and "spouters". To become powerful, the opposition networks would have to be able to achieve more than mobilization, they would need to have the capacity to distribute resources and demonstrate a viable organizational model, and do that obviously in a hostile environment.

Secondly, there seems to exist a deeper moral consensus between the current authorities with their sinister origins in secret services and many "ordinary" Russians. One of the interviewees justified – quite ambivalently – her support for Putin the following way: "We've lost our position, our authority", she [Marina] said.

"Every year they just keep pushing us down, down, humiliating us. It's offensive. From the point of view of an ordinary citizen, well, I just think we have the wrong foreign policy. I mean, in some areas we need to be more firm. Look at the Soviet Union, for example, which I remember, I'm of that age. Because they may have called us the Evil Empire or whatever, but when it came to our athletes, they were always protected and nobody would dare to say a word against them. It was simply unthinkable, even though, I'm sure, they were taking those drugs back then, too. So something's wrong with our foreign policy" (pp. 202–203). Marina, disconcerted with the wrong foreign policy, sees no wrong in foul play, she seems quite unperturbed by her recognition of presumed dishonesty of Russian athletes and prefers power over fairness. I believe she and the current Russian authoritarian regime would agree with the Game of Thrones' character Cersei that "power is power", and who ultimately wields it in Russia is no secret to "ordinary" Russians.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 111–114

ETHICAL CODE

FOR JOURNAL EDITORS

We ask all journal editors to make every reasonable effort to adhere to the following ethical code for *Changing Societies & Personalities* journal articles that are worthy of peer review:

- Journal editors should be accountable for everything published in their journals meaning that they should strive to meet the needs of readers and authors; strive to constantly improve their journal; have processes in place to assure the quality of the material they publish; champion freedom of expression; maintain the integrity of the academic record; preclude business needs from compromising intellectual and ethical standards; always be willing to publish corrections, clarifications, retractions and apologies when needed.
- Journal editors should give unbiased consideration to each manuscript submitted for consideration for publication, and should judge each on its merits, without regard to race, religion, nationality, sex, seniority, or institutional affiliation of the author(s).
- Journal editors' decisions to accept or reject a paper for publication should be based on the paper's importance, originality and clarity, and the study's validity and its relevance to the remit of the journal. Editors should not reverse decisions to accept submissions unless serious problems are identified with the submission.
- Journal editors must ensure that all published reports and reviews of research have been reviewed by suitably qualified reviewers (including statistical review where appropriate), and ensure that non-peer-reviewed sections of their journal are clearly identified.
- Journal editors must keep the peer-review process confidential. The editor and any editorial staff of the journal must not disclose any information about a submitted manuscript to anyone other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial advisers, and the publisher, as appropriate.
- If a journal editor receives a claim that a submitted article is under consideration elsewhere or has already been published, then he or she has a duty to investigate the matter with CS&P Editorial Board.
- An editor should take reasonably responsive measures when ethical complaints have been presented concerning a submitted manuscript or published paper.

Such measures will generally include contacting the author of the manuscript or paper and giving due consideration of the respective complaint or claims made.

- Journal editors may reject a submitted manuscript without resort to formal peer review if they consider the manuscript to be inappropriate for the journal and outside its scope.
- Journal editors should make all reasonable effort to process submitted manuscripts in an efficient and timely manner.
- Journal editors should arrange for responsibility of the peer review of any original research article authored by themselves to be delegated to a member of the CS&P Editorial Board as appropriate.
- If a journal editor is presented with convincing evidence that the main substance or conclusions of an article published in the journal are erroneous, then, in consultation with CS&P Editorial Board, the journal editor should facilitate publication of an appropriate corrigendum or erratum.
- Editor should refrain herself (himself) (i.e. should ask a co-editor, associate editor or other member of the editorial board instead to review and consider) from considering manuscripts, in which they have conflicts of interest resulting from competitive, collaborative, or other relationships or connections with any of the authors, companies, or (possibly) institutions connected to the papers.
- Any data or analysis presented in a submitted manuscript should not be used in a journal editor's own research except with the consent of the author. Privileged information or ideas obtained through peer review must be kept confidential and not used for personal advantage.
- Editors should be alert to intellectual property issues and work with their publisher to handle potential breaches of intellectual property laws and conventions.
- Journal editors should make decisions on which articles to publish based on quality and suitability for the journal and without interference from the journal owner/publisher.

FOR AUTHORS

We expect all authors submitting to *Changing Societies & Personalities* journal to adhere to the following ethical code:

- All authors must warrant that their article is their own original work, which does not infringe the intellectual property rights of any other person or entity, and cannot be construed as plagiarizing any other published work, including their own previously published work. Plagiarism takes many forms, from 'passing off' another's paper as the author's own paper, to copying or paraphrasing substantial parts of another's paper (without attribution), to claiming results

from research conducted by others. Plagiarism in all its forms constitutes unethical publishing behavior and is unacceptable.

- All authors named on the paper are equally held accountable for the content of a submitted manuscript or published paper. All persons who have made significant scientific or literary contributions to the work reported should be named as co-authors. The corresponding author must ensure all named co-authors consent to publication and to being named as a co-author. Where there are others who have participated in certain substantive aspects of the research project, they should be acknowledged or listed as contributors.
- Authors must not submit a manuscript to more than one journal simultaneously. An author should not in general publish manuscripts describing essentially the same research in more than one journal of primary publication. Authors should not submit previously published work, nor work, which is based in substance on previously published work, either in part or whole.
- Authors must appropriately cite all relevant publications. The authors should ensure that they have written entirely original works, and if the authors have used.
- the work and/or words of others, this has been appropriately cited or quoted. Information obtained privately, as in conversation, correspondence, or discussion with third parties, should not be used or reported in the author's work unless fully cited, and with the permission of that third party.
- If required, authors must facilitate access to data sets described in the article. a paper should contain sufficient detail and references to permit others to replicate the work.
- Authors must declare any potential conflict of interest – be it professional or financial – which could be held to arise with respect to the article. All authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might be construed to influence the results or interpretation of their manuscript.
- Authors must avoid making defamatory statements in submitted articles, which could be construed as impugning any person's reputation.

FOR PEER REVIEWERS

We ask all peer reviewers to make every reasonable effort to adhere to the following ethical code for *Changing Societies & Personalities* journal articles they have agreed to review:

- Reviewers must give unbiased consideration to each manuscript submitted for consideration for publication, and should judge each on its merits, without regard to race, religion, nationality, sex, seniority, or institutional affiliation of the author(s).

- Reviewers should declare any potential conflict of interest interests (which may, for example, be personal, financial, intellectual, professional, political or religious) prior to agreeing to review a manuscript including any relationship with the author that may potentially bias their review.
- Reviewers must keep the peer review process confidential; information or correspondence about a manuscript should not be shared with anyone outside of the peer review process.
- Reviewers should provide a constructive, comprehensive, evidenced, and appropriately substantial peer review report, and provide feedback that will help the authors to improve their manuscript. Reviewers should express their views clearly with supporting arguments and make clear, which suggested additional investigations are essential to support claims made in the manuscript under consideration, and which will just strengthen or extend the work. Reviewers must ensure that their comments and recommendations for the editor are consistent with their report for the authors.
- Reviewers must be objective in their reviews, refraining from being hostile or inflammatory. Reviewers must avoid making statements in their report, which might be construed as impugning any person's reputation. Personal criticism of the author is inappropriate.
- Reviewers must be aware of the sensitivities surrounding language issues that are due to the authors writing in a language that is not their own, and phrase the feedback appropriately and with due respect.
- Reviewer must not suggest that authors include citations to the reviewer's (or their associates') work merely to increase the reviewer's (or their associates') citation count or to enhance the visibility of their or their associates' work; suggestions must be based on valid academic or technological reasons.
- Any selected reviewer who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript should notify the editor and excuse himself from the review process.
- Reviewers should make all reasonable effort to submit their report and recommendation in a timely manner, informing the editor if this is not possible.
- Reviewers should identify relevant published work that has not been cited by the authors. Any statement that an observation, derivation, or argument had been previously reported should be accompanied by the relevant citation. Reviewers should call to the journal editor's attention any significant similarity between the manuscript under consideration and any published paper or submitted manuscripts, of which they are aware.
- Unpublished materials disclosed in a submitted manuscript must not be used in a reviewer's own research without the express written consent of the author. Privileged information or ideas obtained through peer review must be kept confidential and not used for personal advantage.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2020
Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 115–126

INSTRUCTION FOR AUTHORS

Thank you for choosing to submit your paper to us. These instructions will ensure we have everything required so your paper can move through peer review, production and publication smoothly. Please take the time to read and follow them as closely as possible, as doing so will ensure your paper matches the journal's requirements.

Use these instructions if you are preparing a manuscript to submit to *Changing Societies & Personalities*. To explore our journal portfolio, visit https://changing-sp.com

Changing Societies & Personalities considers all manuscripts on the strict condition that:

1. the manuscript is your own original work, and does not duplicate any other previously published work, including your own previously published work;
2. the manuscript has been submitted only to *Changing Societies & Personalities*; it is not under consideration or peer review or accepted for publication or in press or published elsewhere;
3. the manuscript contains nothing that is abusive, defamatory, libelous, obscene, fraudulent, or illegal.

By submitting your manuscript to *Changing Societies & Personalities* you are agreeing to any necessary originality checks your manuscript may have to undergo during the peer-review and production processes.

Manuscript preparation

1. General guidelines

Description of the journal's reference style

All authors must submit articles written in good English using correct grammar, punctuation and vocabulary. If authors are non-native English speakers or writers, may, if possible to have their submissions proofread by a native English speaker before submitting their article for consideration.

Please use double quotation marks, except where "a quotation is 'within' a quotation". Long quotations of words or more should be indented with quotation marks.

A typical manuscript is from 6000 to 8000 words including tables, references, captions, footnotes and endnotes. Review articles will not exceed

4000 words, and book reviews – 1500 words. Manuscripts that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length.

Manuscripts should be compiled in the following order: title page (including Acknowledgements as well as Funding and grant-awarding bodies); abstract; keywords; main text; acknowledgements; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figure caption(s) (as a list).

Abstracts of 150–200 words are required for all manuscripts submitted.

Each manuscript should have 5 to 10 keywords.

Section headings should be concise.

All authors of a manuscript should include their full names, affiliations, postal addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses on the cover page of the manuscript. One author should be identified as the corresponding author. Please give the affiliation where the research was conducted. If any of the named co-authors moves affiliation during the peer review process, the new affiliation can be given as a footnote. Please note that no changes to affiliation can be made after the manuscript is accepted. Please note that the email address of the corresponding author will normally be displayed in the published article and the online version.

All persons who have a reasonable claim to authorship must be named in the manuscript as co-authors; the corresponding author must be authorized by all co-authors to act as an agent on their behalf in all matters pertaining to publication of the manuscript, and the order of names should be agreed by all authors.

Please supply a short biographical note for each author.

Please supply all details required by any funding and grant-awarding bodies as an Acknowledgement on the title page of the manuscript, in a separate paragraph, as follows:

For single agency grants: “This work was supported by the [Funding Agency] under Grant [number xxxx].”

For multiple agency grants: “This work was supported by the [Funding Agency 1] under Grant [number xxxx]; [Funding Agency 2] under Grant [number xxxx]; and [Funding Agency 3] under Grant [number xxxx].”

For all manuscripts non-discriminatory language is mandatory. Sexist or racist terms must not be used.

2. Style guidelines

Font:	Helvetica, “Helvetica Neue” or Calibri, Sans-Serif, 12 point. Use margins of at least 2.5 cm (1 inch).
Title:	Use bold for your article title, with an initial capital letter for any proper nouns.
Authors’ names:	Give the names of all contributing authors on the title page exactly as you wish them to appear in the published article.

Affiliations: List the affiliation of each author (department, university, city, country).

Correspondence details: Please provide an institutional email address for the corresponding author. Full postal details are also needed by the publisher, but will not necessarily be published.

Anonymity for peer review: Ensure your identity and that of your co-authors is not revealed in the text of your article or in your manuscript files when submitting the manuscript for review.

Abstract: Indicate the abstract paragraph with a heading or by reducing the font size.

Keywords: Please provide five to ten keywords to help readers find your article.

Headings: Please indicate the level of the section headings in your article:

- First-level headings (e.g. Introduction, Conclusion) should be in bold, with an initial capital letter for any proper nouns.
- Second-level headings should be in bold italics, with an initial capital letter for any proper nouns.
- Third-level headings should be in italics, with an initial capital letter for any proper nouns.
- Fourth-level headings should also be in italics, at the beginning of a paragraph. The text follows immediately after a full stop (full point) or other punctuation mark.

Tables and figures: Indicate in the text where the tables and figures should appear, or example by inserting [Table 1 near here]. The actual tables and figures should be supplied either at the end of the text or in a separate file as requested by the Editor.

If your article is accepted for publication, it will be copy-edited and typeset in the correct style for the journal.

Foreign words and all titles of books or plays appearing within the text should be italicized. Non-Anglophone or transliterated words should also appear with translations provided in square brackets the first time they appear (e. g. weltanschauung [world-view]).

If acronyms are employed (e. g. the BUF), the full name should also be given the first time they appear.

If you have any queries, please contact us at https://changing-sp.com/ojs/index.php/csp/about/contact

Description of the journal's reference style

CHANGING SOCIETIES & PERSONALITIES STANDARD REFERENCE STYLE: ***APA***

APA (*American Psychological Association*) references are widely used in the social sciences, education, engineering and business. For detailed information, please see the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 6th edition, http://www.apastyle.org/ and http://blog.apastyle.org/

In the text:	
Placement	References are cited in the text by the author's surname, the publication date of the work cited, and a page number if necessary. Full details are given in the reference list. Place them at the appropriate point in the text. If they appear within parenthetical material, put the year within commas: (see Table 3 of National Institute of Mental Health, 2012, for more details)
Within the same Parentheses	Order alphabetically and then by year for repeated authors, with in-press citations last. Separate references by different authors with a semi-colon.
Repeat mentions in the same paragraph	If name and year are in parentheses, include the year in subsequent citations.
With a quotation	This is the text, and Smith (2012) says "quoted text" (p. 1), which supports my argument. This is the text, and this is supported by "quoted text" (Smith, 2012, p. 1). This is a displayed quotation. (Smith, 2012, p. 1)
Page number	(Smith, 2012, p. 6)
One author	Smith (2012) or (Smith, 2012)
Two authors	Smith and Jones (2012) or (Smith & Jones, 2012)
Three to five authors	At first mention: Smith, Jones, Khan, Patel, and Chen (2012) or (Smith, Jones, Khan, Patel, & Chen, 2012) At subsequent mentions: Smith et al. (2012) or (Smith et al., 2012) In cases where two or more references would shorten to the same form, retain all three names.
Six or more authors	Smith et al. (2012) (Smith et al., 2012)
Authors with same surname	G. Smith (2012) and F. Smith (2008) G. Smith (2012) and F. Smith (2012)

No author	Cite first few words of title (in quotation marks or italics depending on journal style for that type of work), plus the year: (“Study Finds”, 2007) If anonymous, put (Anonymous, 2012).
Groups of authors that would shorten to the same form	Cite the surnames of the first author and as many others as necessary to distinguish the two references, followed by comma and et al.
Organization as author	The name of an organization can be spelled out each time it appears in the text or you can spell it out only the first time and abbreviate it after that. The guiding rule is that the reader should be able to find it in the reference list easily. National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 2012) or (National Institute of Mental Health [NIMH], 2012) University of Oxford (2012) or (University of Oxford, 2012)
Author with two works in the same year	Put a, b, c after the year (Chen, 2011a, 2011b, in press-a)
Secondary source	When it is not possible to see an original document, cite the source of your information on it; do not cite the original assuming that the secondary source is correct. Smith's diary (as cited in Khan, 2012)
Classical work	References to classical works such as the Bible and the Qur’an are cited only in the text. Reference list entry is not required. Cite year of translation (Aristotle, trans. 1931) or the version you read: Bible (King James Version).
Personal communication	References to personal communications are cited only in the text: A. Colleague (personal communication, April 12, 2011)
Unknown date	(Author, n.d.)
Two dates	(Author, 1959–1963) Author (1890/1983)
Notes	Endnotes should be kept to a minimum. Any references cited in notes should be included in the reference list.
Tables and figures	Put reference in the footnote or legend

Reference list	
Order	Your reference list should appear at the end of your paper. It provides the information necessary for a reader to locate and retrieve any source you cite in the body of the paper. Each source you cite in the paper must appear in your reference list; likewise, each entry in the reference list must be cited in your text. Alphabetical letter by letter, by surname of first author followed by initials. References by the same single author are ordered by date, from oldest to most recent. References by more than one author with the same first author are ordered after all references by the first author alone, by surname of second author, or if they are the same, the third author, and so on. References by the same author with the same date are arranged alphabetically by title excluding 'A' or 'The', unless they are parts of a series, in which case order them by part number. Put a lower-case letter after the year: Smith, J. (2012a). Smith, J. (2012b). For organizations or groups, alphabetize by the first significant word of their name. If there is no author, put the title in the author position and alphabetize by the first significant word.
Form of author name	Use the authors' surnames and initials unless you have two authors with the same surname and initial, in which case the full name can be given: Smith, J. [Jane]. (2012). Smith, J. [Joel]. (2012). If a first name includes a hyphen, add a full stop (period) after each letter: Jones, J.-P.
Book	
One author	Author, A. A. (2012). *This is a Book Title: and Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Two authors	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). *This is a Book Title: and Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge
Three authors	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). *This is a Book Title: and Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge.

More authors	Include all names up to seven. If there are more than seven authors, list the first six with an ellipsis before the last. Author, M., Author, B., Author, E., Author, G., Author, D., Author, R., … Author, P. (2001).
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). *Book Title: and Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge.
No author	*Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (10th ed.). (1993). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.
Chapter	Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor (Ed.), *Book Title: And Subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge. Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor & B. B. Editor (Eds.), *Book Title: and Subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge. Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J.J. Editor, P. P. Editor, & B. B. Editor (Eds.), *Book Title: And Subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge.
Edited	Editor, J. J. (Ed.). (2012). *Book Title: And Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge. Editor, J. J., Editor, A. A., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Book Title: And Subtitle*. Abingdon: Routledge. Editor, J. J., & Editor, P. P. (Eds.). (2012). *Edited Online Book: And Subtitle*. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org
Edition	Author, A. A. (2012). *Book Title: And Subtitle* (4th ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.
Translated	Author, J. J. (2012). *Book Title: And Subtitle*. (L. Khan, Trans.). Abingdon: Routledge.
Not in English	Piaget, J., & Inhelder, B. (1951). *La Genèse de L'idée de Hasard Chez L'enfant* [The origin of the idea of chance in the child]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html
Online	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of Work: Subtitle* [Adobe Digital Editions version]. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org

Place of publication	Always list the city, and include the two-letter state abbreviation for US publishers. There is no need to include the country name: New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Washington, DC: Author Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pretoria: Unisa Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press Abingdon: Routledge If the publisher is a university and the name of the state is included in the name of the university, do not repeat the state in the publisher location: Santa Cruz: University of California Press Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
Publisher	Give the name in as brief a form as possible. Omit terms such as 'Publishers', 'Co.', 'Inc.', but retain the words 'Books' and 'Press'. If two or more publishers are given, give the location listed first or the location of the publisher's home office. When the author and publisher are identical, use the word Author as the name of the publisher.
Multivolume works	
Multiple volumes from a multivolume work	Levison, D., & Ember, M. (Eds). (1996). *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology* (Vols. 1–4). New York, NY: Henry Holt. Use Vol. for a single volume and Vols. for multiple volumes. In text, use (Levison & Ember, 1996).
A single volume from a multivolume work	Nash, M. (1993). Malay. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* (Vol. 5, pp. 174–176). New York, NY: G.K. Hall. In text, use (Nash, 1993).
Journal	
One author	Author, A. A. (2011). Title of Article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx Provide the issue number ONLY if each issue of the journal begins on page 1. In such cases it goes in parentheses: Journal, 8(1), pp–pp. Page numbers should always be provided.

	If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from an online database, give the database name and accession number or the database URL (no retrieval date is needed): Author, A. A. (2011). Title of Article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from a journal homepage, give the full URL or site's homepage URL: Author, A. A. (2011). Title of Article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org
Two authors	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2004). Title of Article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Three authors	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (1987). Title of Article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
More authors	Include all names up to seven. If there are more than seven authors, list the first six with an ellipsis before the last. Author, M., Author, B., Author, E., Author, G., Author, D., Author, R., …, Author, P. (2001).
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). Title of Article: and subtitle. *Title of Journal*, 2, 12–23. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
No author	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Journal Title*, 14, 1–2.
Not in English	If the original version is used as the source, cite the original version. Use diacritical marks and capital letters for the original language if needed. If the English translation is used as the source, cite the English translation. Give the English title without brackets. Titles not in English must be translated into English and put in square brackets. Author, M. (2000). Title in German: Subtitle of Article [Title in English: Subtitle of Article]. *Journal in German*, 21, 208–217. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx Author, P. (2000). Title in French [Title in English: Subtitle of Article]. *Journal in French*, 21, 208–217. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html

Peer-reviewed article published online ahead of the issue	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). Article title. *Title of Journal*. Advance online publication. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxx If you can update the reference before publication, do so.
Supplemental material	If you are citing supplemental material, which is only available online, include a description of the contents in brackets following the title. [Audio podcast] [Letter to the editor]
Other article types	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Title of Journal*, 14, 1–2. Author, A. A. (2010). Title of review. [Review of the book Title of book, by B. Book Author]. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Article in journal supplement	Author, A. A. (2004). Article title. *Title of Journal*, 42(Suppl. 2), xx–xx. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Conference	
Proceedings	To cite published proceedings from a book, use book format or chapter format. To cite regularly published proceedings, use journal format.
Paper	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of paper. *Paper Presented at the Meeting of Organization Name*, Location.
Poster	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of poster. *Poster Session Presented at the Meeting of Organization Name*, Location
Thesis	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of Thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of Institution, Location.
Unpublished work	
Manuscript	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2008). *Title of Manuscript*. Unpublished manuscript. Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). *Title of Manuscript*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
Forthcoming article	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (in press). Title of article. *Title of Journal*. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxx
Forthcoming book	Author, A. A. (in press). *Book Title: Subtitle*.
Internet	
Website	When citing an entire website, it is sufficient just to give the address of the site in the text. *The BBC* (https://www.bbc.co.uk).
Web page	If the format is out of the ordinary (e.g. lecture notes), add a description in brackets. Author, A. (2011). Title of document [Format description]. Retrieved from http://URL

Newspaper or magazine	Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of Article. *The Sunday Times*, p. 1. Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of Article. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from http://www.sundaytimes.com Title of Article. (2012, January 12). *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from http://www.sundaytimes.com/xxxx.html
Reports	
May or may not be peer-reviewed; may or may not be published. Format as a book reference.	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Report No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org
Working paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Working Paper No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org
Discussion paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Discussion Paper No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org
Personal communication	Personal communication includes letters, emails, memos, messages from discussion groups and electronic bulletin boards, personal interviews. Cite these only in the text. Include references for archived material only.
Other reference types	
Patent	Cho, S. T. (2005). U.S. Patent No. 6,980,855. Washington, DC: U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
Map	London Mapping Co. (Cartographer). (1960). Street map. [Map]. Retrieved from http://www.londonmapping.co.uk/maps/xxxxx.pdf
Act	*Mental Health Systems Act*, 41 U.S.C. § 9403 (1988).
Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited. Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of Podcast* [Audio podcast]. Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of Motion Picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET.

	Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
Database	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, A. A. (2002). A study of enjoyment of peas. *Journal Title*, 8(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
Dataset	Author. (2011). *National Statistics Office Monthly Means and other Derived Variables* [Data set]. Retrieved March 6, 2011, from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org If the dataset is updated regularly, use the year of retrieval in the reference, and using the retrieval date is also recommended.
Computer program	Rightsholder, A. A. (2010). *Title of Program* (Version number) [Description of form]. Location: Name of producer. Name of software (Version Number) [Computer software]. Location: Publisher. If the program can be downloaded or ordered from a website, give this information in place of the publication information.

3. Figures

Please provide the highest quality figure format possible. Please be sure that all imported scanned material is scanned at the appropriate resolution: 1200 dpi for line art, 600 dpi for grayscale and 300 dpi for color.

Figures must be saved separate to text. Please do not embed figures in the manuscript file.

Files should be saved as one of the following formats: TIFF (tagged image file format), PNG (portable network graphics) or JPEG (also JPG).

Each file should be no larger than 1 megabyte, the total size of all files attached to one article should not be more than 20 megabytes.

All figures must be numbered in the order, in which they appear in the manuscript (e. g. Figure 1, Figure 2). In multi-part figures, each part should be labelled (e. g. Figure 1(a), Figure 1(b)).

Figure captions must be saved separately, as part of the file containing the complete text of the manuscript, and numbered correspondingly.

The filename for a graphic should be descriptive of the graphic, e. g. Figure 1, Figure 2a.

ISSN онлайн-версии: 2587-8964
ISSN печатной версии: 2587-6104

Изменяющиеся общества и личности

2020. Том 4, № 1

Печатается ежеквартально

Основан в 2016 г.

Учредитель и издатель:
Федеральное государственное автономное образовательное учреждение высшего профессионального образования «Уральский федеральный университет имени первого Президента России Б. Н. Ельцина» (УрФУ)

Адрес:
Россия, Екатеринбург, 620002, ул. Мира, 19

Главный редактор:
Елена Алексеевна Степанова

Адрес редакции:
Россия, Екатеринбург, 620000, пр. Ленина, 51, к. 240.
Телефон: +7 (343) 389-9412
Электронная почта: editor@changing-sp.com
Сайт: https://changing-sp.com

Журнал зарегистрирован Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых коммуникаций, Свидетельство о регистрации: ПИ № ФС77-65509 от 4 мая 2016 г.

Научное издание

Changing Societies & Personalities

Vol. 4, No. 1, 2020

Дизайн *А. Борбунов*
Технический редактор *Т. Лоскутова*
Компьютерная верстка *Т. Лоскутова*

Дата выхода в свет 10.04.2020.
Формат 70 × 100 100/16. Бумага офсетная.
Гарнитура Helvetica.
Уч.-изд. л. 8,0. Тираж 300 экз. Заказ № 369.

Publisher – Ural Federal University
Publishing Centre
4, Turgenev St., 620000 Yekaterinburg, Russia
Phone: +7 343 350 56 64, +7 343 350 90 13
Fax: +7 343 358 93 06
E-mail: press-urfu@mail.ru

Издательство Уральского университета
620000, г. Екатеринбург, ул. Тургенева, 4

Отпечатано в Издательско-полиграфическом центре УрФУ.
620000, г. Екатеринбург, ул. Тургенева, 4
Тел.: +7 (343) 389-94-76, 350-90-13
Факс: +7 (343) 358-93-06
E-mail: press-urfu@mail.ru
www.print.urfu.ru

Распространяется бесплатно